This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF URBAN COMMUNITIES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

presented by

Juliette Robyn Mackin

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Psychology-
Urban Studies

Robert J. Caldwell
Major professor
John H. Schwitzer

Date 3/24/97

UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF URBAN COMMUNITIES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

By

Juliette Robyn Mackin

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology and Urban Affairs Programs

1997

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF URBAN COMMUNITIES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

By

Juliette Robyn Mackin

Social fabric is an important construct for developing an understanding of the social characteristics and social health of residential communities in urban areas. This study (a) reviews and consolidates the broad literature on the social components of communities, (b) creates and tests a measure of social fabric using interview data, (c) explores the relationship between social fabric and prosocial behavior, and (d) investigates qualities of communities that help form social fabric. In-person structured interviews of 445 residents (households) of 37 residential blocks in Lansing, Michigan, were conducted, and data were analyzed at both the individual and block levels of analysis. Block level data consisted of individual scores aggregated to the mean for each block. The significance level for all analyses is $p < .05$. Social fabric is found to consist of three factors, social ties between residents (ST), the sense of security residents feel regarding their communities (SEC), and the level of community action residents undertake (CA). These factors were internally consistent (alphas = .92, .81, & .81, respectively, at the individual level; alphas = .94, .86, & .88, respectively, at the block level). The three factors significantly correlated with one another (individual level: ST & SEC - $r = .69$, ST & CA - $r = .63$, SEC & CA - $r = .53$; block level: ST & SEC - $r = .72$, ST & CA - $r = .66$, SEC & CA - $r = .52$). Analysis of variance tests showed that each factor differed

significantly by block (ST: $F(36, 408) = 2.91$, eta squared = .21; SEC: ($F(36, 408) = 3.54$, eta squared = .24; CA: ($F(36, 408) = 4.46$, eta squared = .28). Blocks also differed significantly in the variance of responses. Analysis of variance tests showed no significant block differences in prosocial behavior (helping others, interest in local participation). Individual level multiple regression analyses indicated that perceptions of social fabric predicted an individual's prosocial behavior. Helping behavior was significantly predicted by security and community action ($F(3, 315) = 4.49$, $R^2 = .04$). Interest in local participation was significantly predicted by social ties ($F(3, 432) = 3.77$, $R^2 = .03$). All five hypothesized variables (years on the block, respondents' age, crime rating of the block, income rating of the block, and presence of children) were significantly different between blocks. At the block level, none of the independent variables significantly predicted social ties when entered into the multiple regression analysis simultaneously. Income rating and crime rating both significantly predicted security ($F(2, 34) = 20.69$, $R^2 = .55$). Presence of children significantly predicted community action ($F(1, 35) = 6.67$, $R^2 = .16$). Many additional significant correlations between these variables exist at both the block and individual levels.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people whose assistance contributed to the completion of this work. John Schweitzer enriched my Michigan State University experience. He was my Urban Affairs advisor for my entire graduate career, Master's committee member, comprehensives committee member, supervisor of my work as a research and teaching assistant, and co-chair of my doctoral committee. In addition, he has been a wonderful mentor and friend, providing support, encouragement, and a steadfast positive attitude that helped me over the many bumps in the road. Bob Caldwell also made this journey possible. He was my supervisor and co-worker at the Children's Trust Fund, chair of my comprehensives committee, and chair of my doctoral committee. He was my consistent advocate in Psychology. These two faculty members gave me the candles that lit my path, and for their kindness I am truly grateful.

Thanks are also due to my other committee members, Rick DeShon and Tom Reischl. Rick's statistical guidance and assistance were extremely helpful, and facilitated the timely completion of this project. Tom's flexibility and willingness to join the team of a work in progress was commendable. I appreciated their suggestions and thought-provoking discussion questions. This dissertation work was partially funded by the Urban Affairs Alumni Association Robert L. Green Scholarship Award.

I would also like to express my appreciation to my dissertation support group members, Kim Eby, Linda Burke, Bonnie BootsMiller, Holly Angelique, and Manuela Kress. Statistical help was generously donated by Deb Bybee, David Loveland, and David Lounsbury. Thank you to the wonderful project staff with whom I worked in Urban Affairs: Edwin Gomez, Annalie Campos, June Woo Kim, Yu Hsi Lin, Eric Pevzner, Tom Crew, and Fran Fowler. I also want to note the excellent work done by our many interviewers who collected the data for this project and the generosity of the residents of the 37 blocks who gave us time and information, and who let us into their homes and communities. Suzanne Wingate, my ballet and yoga instructor, deserves special recognition for helping me keep balance in my life. My deepest appreciation also goes out to my other friends, colleagues, and family members, who kept me going.

Finally, I want to thank Lance Anderson, my best friend, whose support made this achievement possible. We did it together.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Communities are groups of people who are connected and interdependent in some way. Residential communities provide geographic communality, and have the potential to supply residents with a sense of belonging and a sense of safety, a mechanism for participation, and support from neighbors. Social fabric is what holds societies together, maintains social order, and sustains institutional forms (Short, 1986). At the local level, a strong social fabric means that people have a commitment to, and feel responsible for, each other and the community. Social fabric is widely believed to be an important force in preventing many social problems.

Social fabric is a group level construct because it involves relationships between many people. It is a broad, overarching description of the quality of social networks in a community and a group sentiment of shared responsibility and interdependence. It is the primary social characteristic that makes a community "healthy." Social fabric is believed to be composed of several distinct components. An investigation of the underlying structure of social fabric is one of the main purposes of the current study.

In the quest for healthy communities, it is important to identify the characteristics that improve and sustain a satisfactory quality of life for individuals. When people help each other and the larger community, it is known as prosocial behavior. Prosocial

behavior is an important indicator of a healthy community, because it demonstrates that effective social networks are in place to maintain the community. A strong social fabric is believed to be one of the factors that predicts prosocial behavior. It is important to understand the composition and mechanisms of a community's social fabric in order to clarify its relationship to prosocial behavior. This study analyzes the structure of social fabric in urban communities and uses the resultant measurement tool to identify significant prosocial outcomes.

Background

Decades of research on urban areas have focussed on the problems that cities face (e.g., Darden, Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 1987). Much of the work in cities has involved looking at the physical and economic components of metropolitan areas, including infrastructure development, business investment, housing quality, and transportation (e.g., Kaplan & James, 1990). While these issues continue to demand attention, focus is also shifting to an emphasis on the social factors that impact cities. Social concerns, including gangs, crime, substance abuse, illiteracy, unemployment, and isolation, have become key issues in discussions of urban planning and development. Evidence of social problems in urban areas is abundant, including urban crime and safety issues (Hartnagel, 1979; Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman, & Chavis, 1990), loss of a sense of community (Hunter, 1975; Sarason, 1974), and decreases in civic engagement and social connectedness (Goss, 1994; Putnam, 1993). These common concerns are creating many efforts aimed at restoring community ties, working together toward common goals, and rebuilding a sense of individual responsibility and a respect for the common good (Goss, 1994). The current

research focusses on the concept of a social fabric in order to improve the health of urban communities.

Over the past several decades, researchers and theorists have become concerned about the decreasing strength of social fabric in communities in the United States (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Putnam, 1995; Sarason, 1974). A yearning for community has been growing in this country (Newbrough & Chavis, 1986). In the 1970s, Sarason illuminated the concept of "community" and brought attention to the increased feelings of loneliness and loss of sense of community being articulated by authors of popular books (Cochrun, 1994). Several key factors have contributed to this decline, including industrialization, urbanization, technology and knowledge, residential mobility, and demographic and political changes (Cochrun, 1994; Dunham, 1986; Gates, 1987; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Putnam, 1995).

In pre-industrial society, a sense of community was a natural part of life (Cochrun, 1994). Industrialization and urbanization have decreased the importance of the physical place as part of the meaning of "community" (Dunham, 1986). Dramatic increases in the speed of communications technology have also contributed to this decline. The physical location of workers, for example, matters less than their access to information through computers and facsimile machines. Technology has also altered the leisure patterns of residents in the United States. Emphasis on television and video recorders has led people to recreate at home rather than in the community (Putnam, 1995).

Residential mobility, in part a by-product of urbanization, separates families and support networks and requires "rerooting" in new communities at every move (Putnam,

1995). Demographic changes, including increases in large scale, corporate businesses over small, local businesses, increases in the numbers of women working outside of the home, and increases in the number of single adult households, have also contributed to a weakened social fabric (Putnam, 1995). Finally, political changes have altered the federal government's approach toward societal problem-solving. The 1980s witnessed a shift from a policy of centralized decision-making to a focus on state and local decision-making and problem-solving. The fabric of communities was tested, as members struggled to identify their communities' capacities and work together (Gates, 1987).

These societal level changes have dramatically affected local communities. Putnam (1995) describes the critical impact that these shifts have had on the types and frequency of social interactions in the United States. Over the past generation, participation in a variety of civic and social activities has declined. There have been lower rates of voting, attending church, volunteering, membership in labor unions, participation in parent/teacher organizations, and membership in civic and fraternal organizations. Putnam also notes that neighborliness has decreased since the 1970s. Instead, membership has increased in groups that generally require low levels of interaction and participation, such as national organizations and professional associations. Also, rates of membership in small, informal support groups have increased, perhaps as a way for people to find the social connectedness they are lacking in other areas (Putnam, 1995).

Putnam's (1993) studies of communities in other countries led him to conclude that the combination of social and civic participation, which he calls civic engagement, leads to trust, reciprocity, and effective local government. Networks and norms of civic

engagement comprise "social capital." An erosion of social capital, such as that which is seen in the United States, means that not only are people less engaged with one another, but they are also less prepared to cooperate for shared goals. Where "trust and reciprocity were woven into [their] social fabric" (p. 106), communities enjoy prosperity and efficient government. Where neighborhood solidarity has been created, the incidence of crime has decreased. Putnam concludes that investment in social capital is needed at the local level. Increased social connectedness and civic engagement will improve the functioning of our governments and the strength of our communities.

Gates (1987) calls the societal and political fabric a community's civic infrastructure. Like the physical infrastucture of roads, bridges, and buildings, civic infrastructure also requires periodic maintenance and renewal. Ten aspects of community life are described which differentiate successful from unsuccessful communities. They include citizen participation, community leadership, government performance, volunteerism and philanthropy, intergroup relations, civic education, community information sharing, capacity for cooperation and consensus building, strategic/long range planning, and inter-community cooperation. Gates also identifies community spirit as an important component of communities. These components are used by communities to assess their functioning and to identify social factors that need improvement. Self-assessments help communities select priorities for policy and community development in order to improve the social health and strengthen the social fabric. The concept of social fabric is explained in further detail below.

Social Fabric

People in many societal roles, including politicians, business leaders, law enforcers, teachers, and parents, are concerned about the social health of our nation's communities. People and neighborhoods, particularly in urban areas, are in distress, as evidenced by high rates of crime, violence, substance abuse, unemployment, illiteracy, and other social ills. Urban areas, however, also have many strengths. One major challenge to community development and revitalization efforts in cities is to identify and build upon the positive characteristics that these areas have to offer. By expanding the skills of urban residents and utilizing existing social networks, many exciting improvements can be made in neighborhoods, thereby enhancing the quality of life of their residents.

Community psychologists, planners, sociologists, and other observers of urban life have used many terms to describe the positive aspects of the urban social environment. "Social fabric" is one commonly heard term that illustrates the networks and interconnections between people. It has been defined as the existence of, or nature of, social order and social processes, and the context in which social life takes place (Short, 1986). Works that discuss social fabric often make reference to "community" and to social interactions, cooperation, local self-sufficiency, and communal activities (i.e., activities that meet community members' needs). Most often, the phenomenon of losing these community characteristics is the topic of concern (Short, 1971).

Social fabric is a metaphor, used to illustrate a concept that is difficult to articulate. It is sometimes easier to understand a complicated or abstract idea by looking at it through the filter provided by a metaphor. A metaphor uses a familiar concept, such as fabric, and

ascribes some of its characteristics to another concept. Although the social fabric metaphor is frequently heard, it is often used without explanation, under the assumption, perhaps, that it conjurs up such a familiar image that its meaning will be universally understoood. When using a metaphor to represent such a concept, it is important to understand the various aspects which make the comparison strong; similarly, it is essential to recognize the limitations, where the comparison is no longer useful.

Describing communities in social terms is challenging. Many other constructs that have been used are also metaphors, including community competence (Iscoe, 1974); community attachment (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974); community health (Lackey, Burke, & Peterson, 1987); community satisfaction (Fried, 1984); neighborhood cohesion (Buckner, 1988); and social climate (Krupat & Guild, 1980; Pretty, 1990). These terms describe communities by using other better known or more easily understood concepts. Perhaps taken together we get our best understanding of the social community.

In its common usage, social fabric implies the state of how tightly knit the social networks are in communities. For the purposes of this paper, social fabric will be used to illustrate not only the condition of a community's social health, but also the process of maintaining and improving its social health. The following section describes how fabric can be a metaphor for communities, by discussing the qualities of fabric that are applicable to communities.

The Metaphor

Interwovenness

Fabric is the result of weaving many individual strands or parts into a meaningful whole. The parts are interconnected and interdependent. In order for the fabric to be strong, the parts must be linked together in some way. This interconnection guides the strands into consistent, sustaining patterns. In communities, people are like strands that compose fabric, and social networks maintain norms that guide community members. Strands that stray from the cloth distrupt the pattern or weaken the fabric; people who are socially atypical can disrupt the functioning of a community. The quality of interwovenness is a result of interactions, and in a social sense can be equated with connection and interdependence between community members. The process of weaving (i.e., how tightly the strands are woven together) is an important determinant of the strength of the fabric. The social fabric of a community affects the capacity of community members to live, work, and raise children together in order to sustain the well-being of present and future generations (Henderson, 1995).

Support and Comfort

Fabric is the substance that provides people with warmth and protection. It surrounds us throughout our lives. It shields us from the harsh effects of the environment. Communities also comfort and protect us. Parts that are bound together in fabric are strongly supported by the other parts. The whole fabric is much stronger than any of the individuals strands. Communities that have strong social connections provide support for their members and the whole becomes more than the sum of its parts. In fabric, the sum

of the parts creates a functional entity that has a purpose, such as to keep a person warm. In communities, the sum of the parts can also create an entity that has purposes, such as to keep its members safe.

Weaving

Fabric can be made by an active process of tying many threads together. This activity creates the pattern and design of the fabric. In a similar fashion, communities are formed by social networks. Social traditions maintain the fabric of a community over many years and generations. These traditions contribute to continuity and competence, each generation teaching the next the skills needed to keep the fabric strong. The weaving process may also change over time -- creating new patterns and designs. One of the primary "weavers" is family (Tallman, 1986). Other social institutions and organizations, such as schools and not-for-profits, also contribute to the weaving of the social fabric. Weaving is comparable to creating connection between people and a sense of belonging to the community.

Design

Fabrics come in many colors, styles, and designs. There is diversity in both the parts and the final product. In fabric, the strands can be made from different materials, and the final woven product may include strands from the same materials or from a variety. There is great diversity in individuals and they contribute different qualities to the whole. Communities are also different from one another; there is no one best pattern or style. Communities are entities beyond the sum of their parts, so in order to get to know a community you must understand not only the parts, but the relationships between the

parts. Any individual strand may not be seen as important outside the fabric, but inside the fabric each strand has a purpose and an importance to the whole. The beauty of a design is an outcome of the interactions between the strands. Though the present pattern may guide members, the social fabric is continuously being woven. Designs and materials may change over time, to reflect new membership and responses to new challenges.

Limitations of the Metaphor

As with all metaphors, the use of fabric to describe communities has its limitations. People in a community have characteristics such as autonomy, mobility, the potential for conflicts, and the ability to make decisions. This activity level is not captured in the fabric metaphor, because these qualities are not shared by threads in a fabric. In fabric, the strands are more stationary and consistent, and usually only belong to one fabric. In fabric there is an outsider who chooses the pattern and the strands, and who weaves the product. In communities there are still outside forces but the weaving must be done by the strands themselves.

Two of the important components of social fabric in communities are citizen participation and mechanisms for achieving local decision-making. These components can be seen as important "weavers;" that is, they can be viewed as factors that create and maintain the strength of the social fabric. However, the process of weaving is probably more intentional than most community building. Efforts to build community often develop out of reaction to a common threat, such as an increase in crime, when a problem has already arisen. It would be desirable to make community building more intentional so that concerns could be more efficiently addressed.

The social fabric metaphor, despite its limitations, is a useful tool for describing the social health of communities. The term elicits an understanding of the interconnections between the many and often diverse components of a community and the need to keep the parts of the whole woven together. It is clear that the social fabric is only strong when these connections are maintained, and that with proper care, the social fabric can support community members through generations, changing over time to display new patterns. In the midst of the many terms used to describe the social components of communities, social fabric is the most useful and most inclusive. It incorporates a sense of belonging to the community, a feeling of connection to other members, an experience of support from other members, a sense of personal safety, participation in community affairs, and the process of enabling that participation. Overall it denotes a measure of social or community "health."

The Importance of a Strong Social Fabric for a Healthy Community

Throughout preindustrial history, the social fabric of agrarian-based rural lifestyles featured characteristics like community homogeneity, interdependence, shared responsibility, and face-to-face relationships. Community traditions and morality were incorporated into community life and were not consciously identified (Cochrun, 1994). As urban areas developed and communities became larger and more diverse, many people lost the feeling of community. There is much concern today that the social fabric is unraveling. Attention to strengthening the social fabric must take into consideration the reality of the present urban environment, including diversity within neighborhoods. Residents of cities face the challenge of enhancing the strengths of their communities.

Many communities are like very old, very worn pieces of cloth, where the social fabric has been torn, and where multiple layers of patches have been added. Except for newer, "planned" communities, it is difficult even to see the patterns of the original fabric. The challenge is whether to be intentional and work to reweave the cloth, or to continue haphazardly patching a thin and fragile fabric. It is certainly challenging to return a piece of fabric to its original shape or design; it is much more common to patch. However, patches may be incompatible with the original fabric, which can cause disruptions in the patterns of the community. Strengthening the social fabric will be easier in communities in which the fabric is not torn completely. It takes time and effort to reweave this fabric, but the renewed strength will benefit all of the members of the community.

It has been shown that strong social ties benefit people. Shaffer and Anundsen (1993) compiled studies of the relationships between social and physical health. They found that people who have a strong sense of community and who feel they are supported have more positive physical health outcomes. They have better recovery rates from and lower incidence of disease, including coronary heart disease and breast cancer, better immune functions, fewer pregnancy complications, and better addiction recovery rates. People with weak social ties have significantly higher death rates than those individuals who are socially integrated. Berkman and Syme (1979) also found that people with social relationships have lower mortality rates. Syme (1994) provided evidence that the social environment has an impact on physical health, not only at the individual level, but at the group level.

Social fabric is also believed to help create a socially healthy community. Residents of communities with a strong social fabric benefit from shared traditions, celebrations, and coping. These communities have increased social control (Perkins et al., 1990), which can help maintain social stability and decrease crime. A high level of community health would presumably contribute to a low incidence of social problems and anti-social behavior, including substance abuse, crime, violence, and mental illness (Lackey et al., 1987). As people become more involved in their community, they become more invested in it and protective of it, develop more positive self-images and self-confidence, and prevent self-destructive and anti-social behavior (Lackey et al., 1987).

In the past decade, there has been increased attention devoted to the idea of healthy cities and communities. In fact, Healthy Cities initiatives and conferences have brought researchers and practitioners together to discuss ways to improve the quality of life in urban areas. Healthy Cities initiatives are underway in over 300 cities around the world (Flynn, 1991). Physical factors, such as the quality of housing (Gilderbloom & Capek, 1992) and transportation (Giroult, 1987), have been well-researched, and benefit from being concrete and definable. Huge efforts are underway to promote the physical health of community members, such as the Healthy Communities 2000: Model Standards project, an initiative of the American Public Health Association. This initiative is a framework for improving public health across the United States through collaboration between the private, public, and voluntary sectors at the community level (American Public Health Association).

In order to develop a complete picture of the health of a community, it is critical to focus on social factors (Lackey et al., 1987). Because they are more difficult to identify and quantify, social factors are less often studied in conjunction with efforts to increase the health of communities. However, since it is clear that social factors impact individuals and communities, and since social problems are dramatically impacting urban life, they must be included in community research and community development activities.

Several questions have arisen in the effort to measure social factors. What is the social fabric of a community, how do you measure it, how does it impact people, and how can it be strengthened? In the present conceptualization, social fabric includes the ideas of sense of community and social interaction, including both the attitudes and behaviors that tie a neighborhood or other community together. The following review of literature consolidates the varied research on social components of communities and outlines the structure of social fabric. It also reviews literature related to four prospective outcomes of social fabric (volunteering to help others, donating blood, interest in working with neighbors, and interest in taking on a local leadership role). Finally, the literature review briefly discusses potential predictors of social fabric.

Research Questions

1. Can a measure of the social fabric of residential blocks, a reflection of the social health of a community, consolidate existing research on the many social components of communities? Is social fabric a single construct or does it have a factor structure that reflects the major themes in the literature?

2. Is a strong social fabric at the block level related to the block residents' civic participation at the individual level?

3. What factors of the block or of the block's residents predict strong social fabric?

Chapter 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review has three main purposes. First, it summarizes a broad range of research on the social factors of communities and demonstrates how work done in many disciplines is related to the social fabric construct. Second, literature is presented that supports the hypothesis that a strong social fabric facilitates prosocial behavior. Lastly, variables that have been found to influence the strength of a community's social fabric are discussed.

The Dimensions of Social Fabric: A Multidisciplinary Investigation

Research related to how individuals experience their communities is found in many disciplines, including psychology, urban studies, sociology, urban planning, political science, communications, human ecology, business, and community development. Social fabric is hypothesized in the current study to be the overarching social characteristic of communities. Further, it is believed to consist of several important components. Over the past several decades, many common themes have emerged from the multi-disciplinary literature that suggest which are the most important factors of the social community. Though this body of work is comprised of different terms and multiple measurement instruments, this review illustrates the similarities between studies and how each piece is related to social fabric. The six components hypothesized to comprise social fabric,

illustrated in Figure 1, are Belonging, Connection, Support, Participation, Empowerment, and Safety. Through an investigation of existing research, this review shows how these themes are commonly found in other work on communities.

Belonging

A sense of belonging is a common theme that emerges from the literature as an important social component of communities (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Smith, 1975; Unger & Wandersman, 1985). It is a defining characteristic of social fabric. A sense of belonging relates to an individual's sense of being woven into the fabric of her/his community, that he/she fits into the design of the community, that he/she will feel compelled to work with other community members toward common goals. Belonging includes residents thinking of themselves as a community, feeling like a family, having a feeling of community spirit, sharing values, and being committed to the block's future.

Connection

Across many pieces of research on communities, a feeling of residents' connection to the neighborhood and to neighbors arises frequently as an important contributor to a strong social fabric (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Key, 1965; Lackey et al., 1987; Smith, 1975). Connection between people creates the social equivalent to the interwovenness of a fabric. The stronger the connection, the greater support and comfort that will be felt by others. In addition, connection facilitates the mobilization of the group in response to community needs. Connection includes such ideas as residents knowing,

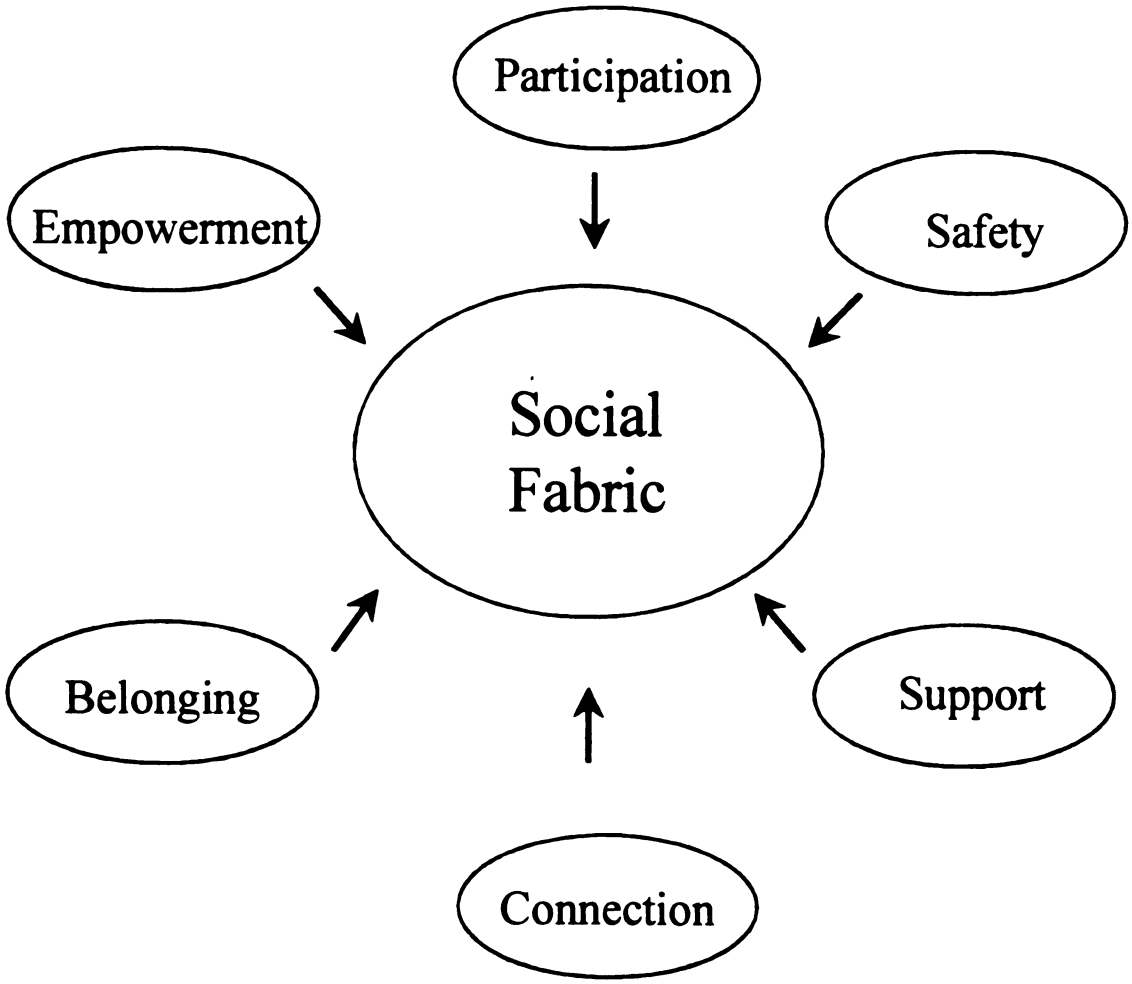


Figure 1 - Social Fabric Components (Hypothesized)

liking, trusting, and socializing with each other, as well as talking to each other about community problems.

Support

Support provided by neighbors is an important indicator of a close community (e.g., Unger & Wandersman, 1985). This component of social fabric is what many people feel they lack when they discuss the unraveling of social fabric. Just as cloth comforts and warms, the support offered by neighbors can comfort and assist others facing life's challenges. Support includes taking care of each others' pets or children, helping each other out when someone has a problem, watching out for each other, borrowing or lending things, giving rides to each other, or generally comforting each other.

Participation

Throughout the literature on neighborhoods emerges the crucial element of participation. This component of social fabric can mean informal interaction between neighbors or formal involvement in community activities and organizations (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Key, 1965; Lackey et al., 1987; Smith, 1975). Participation is the process by which the fabric is woven and maintained. It is how traditions are created and perpetuated, and how social networks are strengthened. Participation includes involvement in social activities or community improvement events, such as clean-ups or flower plantings.

Empowerment

The competence of a community and its members, and the ability to work together to solve problems contributes to a theme of local empowerment (e.g., Lackey et al., 1987;

McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Empowerment is a "process by which individuals gain ... control over their own lives and democratic participation in the life of their community" (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988, p. 726). Community members who are empowered feel that they have both a voice in local decision-making and the power to influence what their community will be like in the future. Empowerment enables communities to create their own unique designs and patterns. Empowerment is assessed by finding out if residents feel that they can reduce the amount of crime, resolve local conflicts, create solutions to local problems, contribute to local decision-making, and get things done together.

Safety

Concern for safety, growing out of fear of escalating levels of crime and decreasing connections between neighborhood residents, is another common issue (e.g., Perkins et al., 1990; Unger & Wandersman, 1985). This component of communities has received increasing attention recently, particularly related to urban neighborhoods. The issue of safety emerges in the popular media as evidence of a deteriorating social fabric and has been documented as the catalyst in movements to strengthen it (e.g., Levine, 1986). A sense of personal safety is an important part of maintaining residents' feelings of interwovenness and support. Safety is assessed in the current study both by asking residents how safe the neighborhood is as a place to live, and if the area is a safe place to walk at night.

Finding These Themes in the Literature

The following section presents topics found in the literature that are closely related to social fabric, and which share components with it. Each topic will be described as the

authors defined it, and places where the major social fabric components are found will be noted. Though the varied topics under review often use different terminology, the ideas are similar. The most relevant topics for the current study include sense of community (e.g., Glynn, 1981; McMillan & Chavis, 1986), neighborhood cohesion (Buckner, 1988; Hartnagel, 1979; Smith, 1975), neighboring (Key, 1965; Unger & Wandersman, 1982, 1985), social climate (Krupat & Guild, 1980; Perkins et al., 1990), community solidarity (Fessler, 1952), community attachment (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981), community satisfaction (Fried, 1984; Whorton & Moore, 1984), and community health (Lackey et al., 1987). Each of these topics contributes to an understanding of the social fabric of communities, but none captures it in its entirety.

Topics Related to Social Fabric

Each of the following research areas is related to social fabric. Several main themes emerge from this collection of works that define the social components most important to an understanding of communities.

Sense of Community

Sense of community is a widely used term that is found in the work of a variety of disciplines. Though definitions differ, the common theme underlying all of them is a feeling of belonging to a group and working together toward common goals. Some researchers in this area discuss sense of community in terms that parallel the concept of "connection," while "support" and "empowerment" are also discussed. Because the work on sense of community is broad, the discussion here will be limited to several key pieces of

research that have as their main purpose the definition, measurement, or theoretical explanation of sense of community.

Hillery (1955) reviewed the literature on "community" across many fields in order to consolidate the multitude of definitions he had found in common usage. From this search, he chose 94 definitions and found 16 different concepts and one area of basic agreement. Most people across disciplines agreed that "community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographic area and having one or more additional common ties" (p. 111). These two common themes indicate that "community" is a place where individuals have connections with one another, due to informal participation. Hillery's work spurred other investigations of what it means to have community.

Glynn (1981) studied psychological sense of community with the goals of identifying and measuring the behaviors, attitudes, and community characteristics which represent this concept. He addressed the relationship between psychological sense of community and the two qualities believed most likely to erode it (competent functioning and satisfaction), and suggested ways to foster psychological sense of community. His psychological sense of community measure was comprised of 60 items and six dimensions, including objective evaluation of community structure, supportive relationships in the community, similarity and relationship patterns of community residents, individual involvement in the community, quality of the community environment, and community security. His psychological sense of community dimensions tap into the ideas of support, connection, participation, and safety.

Perhaps the most frequently referenced work on sense of community is the definition and theory piece written by McMillan and Chavis (1986). In their article, these authors draw from previous research and measures of sense of community and related constructs, such as group cohesion, neighborhood attachment, behavioral rootedness, commitment and satisfaction with the neighborhood, and others, in order to identify the important elements of sense of community.

McMillan and Chavis (1986) define sense of community using four elements. The first element is "membership," the feeling of belonging or sharing a sense of personal relatedness. The concept of membership includes the establishment of boundaries, or criteria for inclusion. These boundaries create a sense of emotional safety that allows intimacy to develop. Group membership also fosters personal investment and encourages the development of a common symbol system. These attributes contribute to a sense of who is part of the community and who is not. The element of membership clearly corresponds to the social fabric component of belonging.

The second element is "influence," the sense of making a difference to the group and the group mattering to its members. From the group cohesiveness research, McMillan and Chavis (1986) draw the following conclusions: members are more attracted to a community in which they feel influential; the stronger the cohesiveness of the community is, the stronger the community's influence on its members to conform; conformity creates closeness and validation; and influence on both a member and the community occurs concurrently. This element corresponds to the idea of connection between community

members, though it also addresses the issue of empowerment due to its attention to the members' potential to influence the community.

"Integration and fulfillment of needs" is the third element, which is used to describe reinforcement, or the motivator of behavior. A strong community provides reinforcement and fulfills the needs of its members. The status of membership, success of the community, and competence of community members are rewards of group membership. The ability of a community to organize and prioritize its activities is determined by the degree to which values of the group members are shared. A strong community is able to bring people together for the reciprocal fulfillment of members' needs. Here, the ideas of empowerment and connection are the primary parallels to social fabric, though fulfillment of members' needs can also be seen as contributing to the support component.

The final element in McMillan and Chavis's (1986) definition is "shared emotional connection." Connection results from shared experiences and interactions between group members. Connection is enhanced by greater frequency of interactions, positive experiences and relationships, purposeful interactions, important shared events, investment in the community (including time, money, and intimacy), reward in the presence of the community, and spiritual bonds between members. The connection component is also an important piece of the social fabric.

In summary, McMillan and Chavis (1986) define strong communities as "those that offer members positive ways to interact, important events to share and ways to resolve them positively, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the

community, and opportunities to experience a spiritual bond among members" (p. 14). These authors describe the usefulness of this concept for neighborhoods, suggesting that community organizers could talk to people about the sense of community in their area, identifying their problems and concerns, and possible reinforcements and motivators for working together. By facilitating the interactions between neighbors and a resolution to a neighborhood concern, the organizer can help increase the sense of community. This example highlights the authors' belief that an understanding of sense of community can be used by lawmakers and planners to develop programs and policies that strengthen and preserve community. They conclude that their article was an effort to find "ways to strengthen the social fabric with the development of sense of community" (p. 20).

Belonging and connection are areas in which research on sense of community contributes most strongly to an understanding of social fabric. In addition, the themes of empowerment, support, participation, and safety are also present in some of the descriptions.

Neighborhood Cohesion

Neighborhood cohesion is the closeness of individuals in a residential community. Though definitions differ somewhat, this concept generally encompasses the ideas of community connection and participation in community activities.

Neighborhood cohesion is conceptualized by Smith (1975) as "a condition of group solidarity" or the social forces that draw people together (p. 145). He sees this concept as a multidimensional one that involves four main components, use of physical facilities, personal identification, social interaction, and value consensus. The "use of

physical facilities" means the degree to which residents use local space and buildings, including commercial, service, and recreational facilities. This component reflects (a) how oriented local residents are to the area, and (b) the interdependence that facilities maintenance requires; these aspects can be seen as parallel to the connection and participation areas of social fabric.

The level of "personal identification" is a psychological component, contributing to individuals' sense of belonging to the area, identification with the area and its residents, feelings that neighbors are friendly and helpful, and feelings of liking and being satisfied with the area (Smith, 1975). This component includes belonging and potentially support. The third component, "social interaction," includes both informal neighboring activity and formal membership or participation in local organizations, which are clearly similar to the social fabric components of participation and connection. Fourth, cohesion involves a consensus among neighbors on certain values and behaviors, including the roles and operations of community institutions, such as schools, police, and local government. Consensus also may occur related to norms of home and lawn maintenance, visiting, borrowing, and so forth. Value consensus can be seen as reflecting a connection between residents that is manifested in its influence on participation.

Smith (1975) uses several different terms to parallel the concept of neighborhood cohesion, including social cohesion and neighborhood solidarity. In looking for measures that approach his conceptualization of neighborhood cohesion, he includes work on satisfaction with the neighborhood, social interaction with neighbors, consensus on values and attitudes, neighborliness, and attachment to the local neighborhood.

Hartnagel (1979) examined the relationship between fear of crime and neighborhood cohesion. He operationalized neighborhood cohesion as how often respondents got together with neighbors ("for a chat") and how many of the adults in the neighborhood respondents would know by name if they met them on the street. This definition of neighborhood cohesion directly relates to the social fabric component of connection. Hartnagel used two other dependent variables, social activity and affect for the community, which were separate from neighborhood cohesion. Social activity was measured by asking respondents how often they went out for entertainment and how often they spent a social evening with friends who live outside the neighborhood. Affect for the community was measured by asking respondents their degree of satisfaction with the neighborhood and city as places to live. Social activity fits well with the social fabric component of participation.

Buckner (1988) also details the components of neighborhood cohesion. In his conceptualization, neighborhood cohesion represents a synthesis of psychological sense of community, attraction to neighborhood, and social interaction within a neighborhood. A neighborhood high in cohesion has residents who feel a strong sense of belonging, fellowship, and identity with the group; who report frequent acts of neighboring; and who are strongly attracted to the area and want to remain there. His definition of neighborhood cohesion includes the social fabric components of belonging, participation, and connection.

Buckner found that attraction to neighborhood and neighboring were highly intercorrelated and he suggests that past efforts to assess neighborhood cohesion, even

though they used different variables, have probably been measuring the same construct. He found that his three components could be meaningfully combined. His measure demonstrated good internal consistency and test-retest reliability at the individual level of analysis, as well as good discriminatory power and criterion-related validity at the neighborhood level of analysis. This issue is one of the main points that the current research will investigate; that is, it will study whether not these individual components are distinct or if they are part of an overarching, unidimensional construct.

Neighborhood cohesion, depending on the researcher, is comprised primarily of the connection and participation components of social fabric. In addition, a sense of belonging and identification has been noted, as well as the minimal involvement of support from neighbors.

Neighboring

Neighboring is generally defined as social interactions between neighbors. This construct has undergone development over time, and now incorporates the social fabric components of connection, support, belonging, and empowerment, in addition to the original emphasis on participation.

Key (1965) chose to look at the frequency component of neighboring; that is, he studied the number of "contacts with other individuals where opportunities for meaningful interactions may occur" (p. 380). His scale is comprised of seven dichotomous items that tap into various types of prospective interactions between the respondent and her/his neighbors, such as "How often do you stop and visit casually with your neighbors?," "How often do you borrow things from or lend things to your neighbor?," and "How often

do you go to parties or get-togethers that include solely or mostly people from the neighborhood?" These items are coded as a one for answers of "at least once a month" and as a zero for answers of "less often than once a month." His items cover the social fabric components of connection, support, and participation, respectively.

Unger and Wandersman (1982) describe neighboring as social interactions between neighbors that potentially create an informal resource whereby people provide social and emotional support to one another and solve problems together in the residential environment. Their neighboring measure included 10 items, such as the number of people on the block that the respondent would recognize, know the names of, see socially, consider close friends, feel comfortable borrowing from or lending to, feel comfortable asking for a ride from, and others.

In a subsequent article, Unger and Wandersman (1983) detailed their findings that blocks where neighboring activities occur are more likely to develop successful block organizations. The authors defined successfully organized blocks as having at least three residents who were members of the block organization. Members in these organizations belonged to significantly more community organizations than nonmembers but tended to "neighbor" less before the block was organized. The authors hypothesize that residents who already have high neighboring may feel less need to join a block organization, since they are able to solve neighborhood problems and address their concerns and needs for support informally. Participation in block organizations significantly increased members' neighboring activities. This article demonstrates the relationship between neighboring and the social fabric components of empowerment and participation. Participation in

neighborhood organizations increased neighboring, but it was also a mechanism for addressing block concerns (empowerment). Unger and Wandersman state that "the organization appears to have enhanced the block's 'social fabric...'" (p. 299).

Unger and Wandersman (1985) continued to study neighboring and broadened their definition to include the following three components: social, cognitive, and affective. The social component involves emotional, instrumental, and information support and social network linkages. Social support involves the various ways that neighbors provide resources to each other. Social networks are the patterns of connections and the frequency of interactions between people.

The cognitive component involves cognitive mapping, the physical environment, and symbolic communication. Cognitive maps are "spatial representations that organize [residents'] knowledge and experiences of their neighborhood environment" (Unger & Wandersman, 1985, p. 150). They include the aspects of the environment which are relevant to a specific individual. Cognitive maps, for example, may help a person decide where to interact with others and where to travel, in order to feel safe. Aspects of the physical environment also communicate meanings even without social interactions. Residents may use their yards, for example, to express themselves or to convey messages, such as territoriality, privacy, or pride.

Three affective bonds are suggested by Unger and Wandersman (1985) to comprise the affective component of neighboring. These bonds are a sense of mutual aid, a sense of community, and an attachment to place. Residents may feel that if they needed help, they could rely on a neighbor, they may develop feelings of membership and

belongingness with the neighborhood, and they may develop a sense of attachment to their place of residence. These authors describe neighboring as "the human glue that binds the macro physical and social aspects of a neighborhood with neighborhood organizations and neighborhood development" (p. 162).

Neighboring is an important part of community life. Depending on the researcher, this topic involves connection, support, participation, empowerment, and belonging. In addition, the cognitive component (Unger & Wandersman, 1985) can relate specifically to the issue of safety.

Social Climate

All of the social fabric components are found in at least one research team's conceptualization of social climate, though none of the definitions alone include all of them.

The social climate of an environment is that setting's "personality." Moos (1976) describes in detail the environmental determinants of human behavior and pays particular attention to the impact that a setting has on the individuals within it. The social climate effects the attitudes, moods, behaviors, physical health, and sense of well-being of individuals. Three broad categories of dimensions form social environments, relationship dimensions, personal development dimensions, and system maintenance and system change dimensions. In the relationship dimensions, Moos includes involvement or cohesiveness (such as belonging, participation, commitment, and emotional connection), support (such as concern for others, efforts to help one another, cohesion, and open communication), and expressiveness (which is significant only in certain environments). It

is these dimensions that fit most closely with the social components of communities described by other researchers. For example, belonging, participation, connection, and support are clearly part of Moos' conceptualization.

Krupat and Guild (1980) describe their process of developing a measure of social climate. After generating and testing items and scales, they arrived at six factors that comprise the social climate of urban areas. Their factors are "warmth and closeness," "activity/entertainment," "alienation/isolation," "good life," "privacy," and "uncaring." These factors combine items about people (e.g., "people gossip") and items about the environment itself (e.g., "relaxed atmosphere"). The authors suggest that social climate measures can be useful in identifying social changes that could produce more pleasant residential climates. They could also be useful in helping individuals or organizations select environments to maximize person-environment fit. Krupat and Guild's definition of social climate incorporates the social fabric components of support, participation, and connection.

The community social environment was also investigated by Perkins et al. (1990) in the context of understanding the relationships between participation in block associations and crime-related block-level social and physical variables. They studied 48 residential blocks from three neighborhoods in New York City. Their social climate measure included the following four components: sense of community, communitarianism (for example, the importance of a sense of community and participation with neighbors), perceived block association efficacy, and block satisfaction. In addition, items addressed issues such as fear of crime, community problems, neighboring, and informal social

control. Social climate, in the form of the neighboring, perceived incivilities, block satisfaction, and perceived block association efficacy scales, was positively and significantly correlated with block-level participation. The authors conclude that social factors facilitate the participation of residents in block associations. Perkins et al. include participation, safety, and empowerment in their definition of social climate.

Social climate is the personality of the social environment. By combining research done by different groups of authors on this topic, all six of the social fabric components, belonging, support, connection, participation, safety, and empowerment, are found.

Community Solidarity

Community solidarity is a measure of the degree of consensus that exists in a community regarding social behavior. It primarily relates to the empowerment and belonging components of social fabric.

Fessler's (1952) work on community solidarity focussed on eight categories of social behavior of members of rural communities. The eight categories were as follows: community spirit, interpersonal relations, family responsibility toward the community, schools, churches, economic behavior, local government, and tension areas. The 40-item index demonstrated high internal consistency, split-half reliability, and discriminant validity. Examples of empowerment-type items are "People won't work together to get things done for the community," and "The mayor and councilmen run the town to suit themselves." Belonging is demonstrated in the items, "The community tries hard to help its young people along," and "I feel very much that I belong here."

Community Attachment

Connection and participation are the predominant social fabric factors in community attachment, though belonging also comes into play. This research topic relates to how socially tied to the community residents are, and the degree to which residents have established social networks.

Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974) measure of community attachment includes "community attitudes and sentiments" (such as belonging, interest in local happenings, and emotional attachment to the area), "local social bonds (networks)" (including the number of people respondents know in the area, the number of friends and relatives living in the area), and the degree of participation in formal associations within the local community (including work-related, political, educational, religious, charitable, civic, and social groups). Additionally, one item asked about the extent of informal participation in local activities. Their conceptualization of community attachment includes belonging, connection, and participation.

Riger and Lavrakas (1981) identify two dimensions of community attachment, which they also call "neighborhood integration," social bonding and physical rootedness. The social bonding factor is composed of three items tapping the extent to which the person has formed personal relationships within the neighborhood. The rootedness factor, also comprised of three items, measures the extent to which the person is settled in her/his neighborhood. These dimensions can be viewed as reflecting residents' degree of connection to their neighborhoods. The authors identified respondents as either high or low on each factor and then created the following four categories of respondents: low

bonded/low rootedness, low bonded/high rootedness, high bonded/low rootedness, and high bonded/high rootedness. They then created typologies of community attachment based on these four categories, and compared each group on demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal variables. These typologies related to the degree to which each group participates in community activities.

Community attachment incorporates belonging into a construct that is based on the degree to which community members are connected to and participate in the neighborhood.

Community Satisfaction

Community satisfaction is a construct that incorporates many of the topics that have been discussed thus far, including social interactions, sense of community, and the responsiveness of local government to citizen concerns. Community satisfaction includes the social fabric components of connection, participation, and empowerment.

Community satisfaction is an important variable that affects overall life satisfaction (Fried, 1984). Fried delineates the structure of community satisfaction using factor analyses of multiple evaluations of housing, neighborhood, and community satisfaction. He differentiates community satisfaction from community/residential/neighborhood attachment, stating that attachment is a deeper, more conceptually meaningful concept that addresses the concern for the decline of community. Community satisfaction, however, is a core indicator of attachment.

Fried (1984) identified four community satisfaction factors, local residential satisfaction, local convenience satisfaction, local interpersonal satisfaction, and local

political satisfaction. The two types of satisfaction most relevant to social fabric are local interpersonal satisfaction and local political satisfaction. Local interpersonal satisfaction assesses the geographic closeness of people providing social interaction, neighborhood interaction, closeness of interactions with close and peripheral friends, and the sense of community in the local area. This type of satisfaction involves the connections between people in the community. Local political satisfaction covers satisfaction with the delivery of services and the responsiveness of local government to citizen participation, including responsiveness to local needs, and the effect of local political participation on local decisions. This type of satisfaction involves the social fabric components of participation and empowerment.

Though Fried (1984) argues that community satisfaction contains four distinct factors, Whorton and Moore (1984) operationalize this construct as a single, unidimensional factor with four items. The coefficient alpha for their community satisfaction scale was .68. The four items comprising this factor loaded most highly on the intended factor when factor analyzed with the rest of the survey items. This point is used to illustrate the debate regarding whether these social components of communities are unidimensional or multidimensional. The current study will look at this issue in terms of the social fabric construct.

Community satisfaction is related to social fabric in that it addresses the connection, participation, and empowerment components of communities. Work in this area also includes a discussion of the relationships between satisfaction, sense of

community, and neighborhood attachment, other topics that have previously been shown to relate to social fabric.

Community Health

Community health is a construct closely related to social fabric that focusses on the empowerment component. It is primarily involved with how community members work together to perform community development functions. The community health construct also incorporates participation, connection, belonging, and support.

Community health is described as the goal of community development (Lackey et al., 1987). A sociological and developmental concept, community health is defined by four attributes, (a) attitudes and values, (b) capacities, (c) organization, and (d) leadership. Attitudes and values strongly influence behavior, including the degree to which citizens participate in community affairs. Healthy communities will have members who (a) take pride in their community, (b) hold a positive vision of the community's future, (c) accept the values and norms of the larger society, (d) feel commitment to the community (they plan to stay in the community and are willing to work toward community improvement), (e) have confidence that community members can resolve community problems, (f) cooperate with each other (members are willing to work together and are provided with opportunities to participate in decision-making and implement community activities), and (g) care about each other's welfare (are friendly to each other, welcome newcomers, and accept each other). These requirements include connection to the community and empowerment of its members to work together and participate in local decision-making.

In order for community members to identify and resolve community problems, they must have certain capacities (Lackey et al., 1987). Community members and organizations must be able to perform community development functions, including identifying and agreeing on long term community goals, problems, objectives, and interrelationships between problems. They must be able to determine the influence of various factors, assign timetables and priorities, identify resources, develop plans, assess and evaluate progress, and resolve conflict among competing interests. In order to perform these functions, community members must possess knowledge and skills for selecting and implementing the appropriate techniques to accomplish tasks associated with each community development function. These functions are important strategies for facilitating community empowerment.

Lackey et al. (1987) also propose that healthy communities have the capability to perform these functions on a community-wide or neighborhood-wide basis, due to an organizational structure in which citizens volunteer their time for community development activities outside of the realm of formal government structure. It is essential that full community participation occurs, so mechanisms must exist to ensure opportunities for all people and groups. In addition, it is important that community members have the perception that opportunities to participate do exist. The community organization and its leadership must (a) exercise democratic participation, (b) have a positive vision of the future, (c) nurture its members, (d) have a problem-solving outlook, (e) engage in the development of leadership and membership abilities, and (f) establish productive links with other organizations and agencies inside and outside of the community.

Finally, these authors stipulate that healthy communities provide leadership opportunities for all members of the community and contain mechanisms for continual renewal and education (Lackey et al., 1987). The leaders must have a broad view of the community and must practice the values of a healthy community as described earlier.

Lackey et al. (1987) call for the development of a community health survey with four scales corresponding to the attributes that comprise their definition. They propose the survey be used to create community profiles, to compare communities on similar characteristics, and to establish a measure of community health. These authors argue that the human aspects are more important to community health than a community's physical attributes or appearance. They hypothesize that communities that score high on community health would score low on social problems and anti-social behavior.

Duhl's (1984, 1986) conceptualization of healthy cities fits well with Lackey et al.'s (1987) descriptions. Like Lackey et al., Duhl focusses on the importance of involving all groups of people in decision-making to address community issues. He believes that healthy cities are ones with strong neighborhoods and grassroots leadership. Healthy cities do not disenfranchise any groups. These characteristics describe the empowerment theme. In order for residents to gain a voice, they must come together and participate in community affairs. Communication and networks are important components of healthy cities that fit into the connection theme.

Duhl (1984, 1986) uses the metaphor of a human organism to explain the nature of cities as living, growing, changing entities, rather than simply economic or physical structures. As part of the metaphor, Duhl describes the idea of reciprocal maintenance,

that is, the requirement that each part of the organism -- or city -- must be assisted or nourished by the others. This philosophy parallels the component of support in the social fabric conceptualization. In addition, Duhl describes healthy cities as involving values and having an identity that its residents can share. These qualities correspond to the belonging component of social fabric.

Community health provides a focus on the importance of empowerment in order for social fabric to be strong. Empowerment occurs through citizen participation. A healthy community has members who feel commitment to the area (connection) and who have a positive vision of the community's future (belonging). Additionally, a healthy community is one that provides assistance and nourishment to all its members (support).

Summary

Several common themes emerge in the many definitions of social components of communities that conceptually fit into the social fabric idea. A sense of belonging has been a common theme (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Smith, 1975; Unger & Wandersman, 1985). The feeling of connection to the neighborhood and to neighbors has also arisen frequently (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981). Support provided by neighbors has been an important indicator of close communities (e.g., Unger & Wandersman, 1985). Throughout many of the descriptions, participation has emerged, both in terms of informal interactions between neighbors and through formal involvement in community activities and organizations (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Key, 1965; Lackey et al., 1987; Smith, 1975). Concerns for safety, growing out of fear of increasing crime and decreasing

connections between neighborhood residents, has been another common issue (e.g., Perkins et al., 1990; Unger & Wandersman, 1985). Finally, the competence of a community and its members, and their ability to work together to solve problems, has contributed to a theme of local empowerment (e.g., Duhl, 1986; Lackey et al., 1987; McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Table 1 summarizes how the social components of communities described above overlap with the concept of a social fabric. Taken together, these research topics provide a complete picture of the social community. Across multiple researchers, several of these themes incorporate all six of the hypothesized social fabric components, though no single study has previously provided a measure of all six themes. Some of the studies have even begun to compare these topics to each other, such as sense of community and social support (Pretty, Andrewes, & Collett, 1994) and sense of community and social climate (Pretty, 1990).

The measure of social fabric used in the present study includes items related to the six components, belonging, connection, support, participation, empowerment, and safety, that cover the breadth of issues related to the social context of communities. Social fabric is a comprehensive composite variable that provides a complete picture of aspects of communities that are widely discussed and which have important implications for the quality of life of residents of urban communities. The extensive use of the six components throughout the literature on communities indicates the degree to which people are trying to understand the living, human side of cities. Exploring social fabric provides a way to capture all of these important elements in a coherent way.

Table 1

Social Fabric Themes Found in Literature on the Social Components of Communities

Social Components of Communities	B	C	S	P	E	Sa
Sense of community	x	X	x	x	x	x
Neighborhood cohesion	x	X	x	X		
Neighboring	x	X	X	X	x	x
Social climate	x	x	x	X	x	x
Community solidarity	X				X	
Community attachment	x	X		x		
Community satisfaction		x		x	x	
Community health	x	X	x	X	X	

Key: B = Belonging C = Connection S = Support
P = Participation E = Empowerment Sa = Safety
x = mentioned by at least one researcher in the area
X = mentioned by all researchers in the area

This study will use factor analysis to determine whether or not these six components are distinct factors or if they comprise a unidimensional measure of social fabric. If socially strong communities, and the factors that strengthen them, can be identified, programs can then be implemented that build these strengths in other neighborhoods.

Measuring Behaviors and Attitudes

Through review of the literature and comparison of the many constructs that relate to the social fabric, one distinction became apparent. Some of the constructs focus primarily on attitudinal ideas and others on behavioral ideas, though most of them have components that reflect both. Affective ideas include feelings and perceptions, such as a

feeling of belonging or satisfaction, or a perception of neighbors as being friendly. The affective component relates to the qualities of a fabric, such as its interwovenness and the support and comfort provided. Behavioral ideas include activities and actions, such as participation in community events or neighborhood watch groups, or acts of helping a neighbor. The behavioral component relates to the processes of weaving, creating, maintaining the fabric. This section will briefly discuss the distinction between these ideas and whether it is a meaningful one for the social fabric construct.

Some researchers have focussed attention on the affective components of community, including the social climate of a community (Krupat & Guild, 1980), satisfaction with the community (Fried, 1984; O'Brien & Ayidiya, 1991), and the psychological sense of community (e.g., Glynn, 1981). Social climate includes such affective components as "warmth/closeness," "alienation/isolation," "uncaring," and so forth. Psychological sense of community includes such attitudes as feelings of belonging and identification, shared emotional connection, and emotional safety (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Interestingly, even though these concepts are clearly affective, the operationalization of the constructs often includes behavioral components. For example, social climate, as defined by Krupat and Guild (1980), includes items related to activity and entertainment. Sense of community as defined by McMillan and Chavis (1986) includes the concept of community members influencing each other and meeting each others' needs. O'Brien and Ayidiya's (1991) neighborhood community construct includes such affective items as the perception of fit in the neighborhood and having things in

common with neighbors and behavioral items such as how often respondents socialize with neighbors and numbers of crimes.

There are also components of communities that relate directly to behavioral ideas, including participation in activities. The concept of neighboring is frequently found in literature related to the social components of local communities (e.g., Unger & Wandersman, 1982, 1983). The concept of neighboring involves the idea that neighbors interact informally to provide socioemotional support and material goods to each other, as well as solve problems in their residential environment. These same authors, however, later expanded the definition of neighboring to include three components, including social, cognitive, and affective components (Unger & Wandersman, 1985). Similarly, citizen participation in community activities is viewed as a behavioral construct, though in the discussion of community attachment (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981), for example, participation is closely tied to the connection residents feel with their community.

Articles that describe measure development (e.g., Buckner, 1988) have demonstrated that scales which combine affective and behavioral items demonstrate good internal consistency and validity. The social fabric measure of the current study includes both affective (e.g., "People on this block feel connected to each other") and behavioral ("People on this block participate in social activities") items. Factor analyses will help determine if these items fit well together in their respective sub-scales, or if they need to be separated into attitudinal and behavioral groups.

Identifying a Meaningful Community

For decades, discussions have occurred regarding the expansion of the definition of "community" from one related to "place" to one that includes "process" (Dunham, 1986). No longer is where a person lives the only, or perhaps even the most important, community he/she has. Dunham argues that people have both communities of place and of interest (Cochrun, 1994). However, even communities of place are varied. Some research refers to rural communities (e.g., Robinson & Wilkinson, 1995; Fessler, 1952), workplaces (e.g., Klein & D'Aunno, 1986; Lambert & Hopkins, 1995), or specialized residential communities like universities (e.g., Pretty, 1990). Cochrun suggests that the modern experience of loss of sense of community could be due to a "misalignment between a person's community of place and community of interest" (p. 92). Glynn (1986) found that people who included "neighborhood" in their definitions of community scored higher on actual sense of community, community satisfaction, and community competence. Chavis and Wandersman (1990) argue that the neighborhood level offers the greatest opportunities for planners to influence sense of community.

Neighborhoods and towns, despite their decreasing degree of importance to a total definition of community, are still where people live, raise children, and recreate. They offer many opportunities for interactions and for building community, for strengthening the social fabric that supports, protects, and guides us. In particular, urban problems are often tied to place, and in order to remedy them, the community of place needs to be the focus of community building. The current study focusses on community and social fabric in urban neighborhoods.

Levels of Conceptualization and Measurement

One of the purposes of this study is to investigate the appropriateness of the residential block as a level of analysis for research on community phenomena. Though the individual level of analysis is important and contributes useful knowledge, a broader perspective needs to be taken in order to understand the effects of context on individuals (e.g., Senn, 1988). Senn, a social psychologist, describes the drawbacks of an over-reliance on individualistic explanations of social behavior, because individualistic theories "ignore the context-dependent nature of much social behavior" (p. 49). He concludes that "individuals are so intricately interwoven in a fabric of social relations that a representation of the individual separated from the social context is theoretically inadequate" (p. 50). In the current study, prosocial behavior is still considered an individual behavior, but it is viewed in the context of a residential environment. It is hypothesized that the strength of the social fabric in this environment will influence individuals' behaviors.

An alternative theoretical explanation is offered by organizational psychologists to this social psychological conceptualization. Schneider (1987a, b) proposed the attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) framework as a way of understanding person-environment fit in organizations. The ASA model states that organizations are functions of the kinds of people they contain, and that the attributes of the people themselves, not the nature of the external environment or the organizational structure, are the underlying determinants of organizational behavior (Schneider, 1987b). This framework can be applied to residential blocks or communities by assuming (a) that people on blocks choose to live there because they perceive the people there to be similar to themselves (attraction), (b) that the block

would recruit and encourage people to live there who had attributes desired by others on the block (selection), and (c) that people who found that they did not fit in on the block would move (attrition). The result of this cycle in both organizations, and presumably on blocks, is that over time the people on the block would become more similar to each other, that the block would become more homogeneous with regards to its members (Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995). This theory would be used to explain differences between the culture or climate of different organizations or communities.

Many researchers have tested this theory in organizational contexts with mixed results. For example, Bretz, Ash, and Dreher (1987) found only weak support for the hypotheses that personality characteristics of employees and organizations affected individuals' selection of organizations and that people attracted to a particular organization are more homogeneous than the applicant pool. George (1990) found evidence that the personality characteristics of group members influenced the affective tones of their work groups. She also found that negative affective tone had a negative effect on prosocial behavior, but that positive affective tone had no effect. She concludes that she found indirect evidence to support Schneider's ASA framework. Jackson et al. (1991) studied turnover and group heterogeneity in top management teams. They found that the turnover rates of groups were predicted by group heterogeneity and that individual turnover was predicted by dissimilarity to other group members. As their measure of dissimilarity they used demographic characteristics of the individuals rather than personality characteristics, because demographic characteristics are differences individuals bring with them to the organization. These researchers wanted to rule out

conformity and socialization effects as explanations for homogeneity. Jackson et al. did not find evidence that similarity led to selection bias, as would be expected in the ASA model.

Schneider et al. (1995) provided an updated analysis of the ASA framework by reviewing the current literature. They found that the literature provides indirect support for the proposal that organizational founders and top managers have long-term effects on organizations, due to their establishment of organizational goals, through the ASA cycle. They also found direct and indirect evidence that over time organizations become relatively homogeneous regarding their members.

The ASA framework is one explanation for differences that are found in the "personalities" of various residential communities. It is important to remember that the ASA cycle takes place over time. While people have some choice over where they live, other factors besides the climate of the block -- such as income constraints or location -- may have overriding influence on whether or not a person stays or leaves. Some blocks do have active members, and there is historical evidence of discrimination in housing in order to select residents with desirable characteristics. However, organizations arguably have greater power to select and retain organizational members than blocks do.

These theoretical discussions focus on the importance of looking at the interrelationships between context and individual when trying to learn about social behavior. Community developers often face the difficult task of choosing an appropriate target for their work. The Healthy Cities efforts that are displayed nationally are large scale projects, usually city-wide strategies, to improve the infrastructure or physical health

characteristics of the city's residents. When looking at social characteristics, it is important to attend to a "community" to which people can relate. Particularly because measures of social components, including social fabric, illustrate social interactions and identification with communities, the city or neighborhood can be too large an area (Davidson & Cotter, 1986). Neighborhoods can also be difficult to define geographically, or may be interpreted differently for different residents. On the other hand, studies at the individual level are also problematic. Because the research on social fabric, and other social components of communities, requires looking at interactions between people, the community level of measurement is most useful (Hill, 1996).

The current study uses the residential block as the unit of analysis for social fabric. The block, defined as including houses on both sides of a street, between cross streets, is small enough to assess meaningful interactions between residents and large enough to involve interactions that are community level rather than household or family level. In addition, blocks are usually straightforward to define geographically. The block level of measurement has been used in studies involving neighboring in Nashville (Unger & Wandersman, 1983) and community participation in New York City (Perkins et al., 1990), however, both of these studies used blocks with larger numbers of residents than the blocks in the current study.

Social Fabric's Role in Improving Cities

Sense of community and a strong social fabric have been hypothesized to contribute to individuals' willingness to engage in civic participation and voluntary activities (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). Chavis and Wandersman found that sense of

community stimulated satisfaction with the residential environment, encouraged neighboring relations, and enhanced perceptions of individual and group empowerment. They found that a neighborhood sense of community can be both a cause and effect of local action.

Sense of community has been linked to political participation (Davidson & Cotter, 1989), social climate has been linked to participation in block associations (Perkins et al., 1990), and a sense of community identity and shared community interests have been linked to zoning process participation (Hutcheson & Prather, 1988).

Social fabric is being investigated because it is hypothesized to contribute to the health of communities. Specifically, this study will test whether social fabric at the community level has an impact on prosocial behaviors of individual residents.

Prosocial Behavior

It is important to identify if social fabric as conceptualized here has any impact on individuals. Social fabric is expected to be a positive component of communities and to contribute to an improved quality of life for residents. One way social fabric can make a positive contribution is for it to facilitate prosocial or helping behavior. People who know, trust, and interact with each other will be more likely to help each other (Hinde & Grobel, 1991). For this reason, it is expected that the social fabric components of connection, support, and belonging would be most related to individual helping.

Prosocial behavior is action undertaken voluntarily and intentionally to benefit someone else (Kohn, 1990). This category of behavior is broad and includes many levels, types, and motivations, including helping, cooperation, and exchange (Bar-Tal & Raviv,

1982). Helping behavior is seen as one type of prosocial behavior that encompasses sharing, aiding, and donating. It is defined as an act that benefits others with no external rewards promised a priori in return (Bar-Tal & Raviv, 1982).

Volunteering to Help Someone

The literature on helping behavior focusses to a large extent on the development of altruism and cooperation in children (e.g., Eisenberg, 1982) and the differentiation of various forms, motivations, and patterns of helping (e.g., Kohn, 1990). The research on developmental components of helping describes the stages of moral development and the acquisition of reasoning skills using social learning theory, cognitive learning models, and equity theory (Bar-Tal & Raviv, 1982; Smithson, Amato, & Pearce, 1983).

The components contributing to helping behavior include individual states and traits, and environmental and situational factors (Kohn, 1990). Individual states involve the person's moods, level of confidence in the situation, and feelings of guilt or responsibility. Individual traits include self-esteem, locus of control, assertiveness, and values. Examples of environmental factors are community size and density, while situational factors include the context in which helping is presented, such as how direct or ambiguous the need is, and how similar the respondent feels to the person needing help (Kohn, 1990). In the current study, it is hypothesized that communities in which there is a stronger social fabric will produce individuals who have a greater likelihood of helping others.

Kohn (1990) describes factors in the category of individual states that contribute to helping. While contented people are more likely to help others, sympathetic sadness or

guilt (specifically guilt that contributes to a feeling of responsibility) also cause people to help. Anger tends to decrease prosocial behavior. Critical to "state" effects on helping is the sense of being proficient at the activity in question. That is, a person must feel confident that he/she can help in order for behavior to occur. In addition, self-reflection, if it reminds us of moral obligations, can also increase helping. Though the current study focusses on the community characteristic of social fabric, it is expected that the quality of social fabric will influence individual states. For example, communities in which members are connected to each other and supportive of one another are likely to produce in those members feelings of responsibility toward one another that may result in helping. In addition, residents of communities with strong social fabric are likely to be more satisfied, which in turn could increase the likelihood of demonstrated helping behavior.

Many individual traits have been identified as contributing to helping, although situational factors often interact with these effects (Kohn, 1990). A potential helper must have a moderate level of self-esteem, an internal locus of control, and a general sense of competence, as well as assertiveness and interpersonal skills, in order to help. If a strong social fabric reflects empowerment and participation, then it could contribute to increased self-esteem and sense of competence in community members. There is not a connection between religious affiliation and prosocial activities, including helping a neighbor or participating in neighborhood organizations. In fact, people who attend church were found to be more intolerant of ethnic minorities than nonattendees. Helpers are more likely to endorse egalitarian political views, and people with high levels of moral reasoning are more likely to be politically liberal.

According to Kohn (1990), most studies do not demonstrate gender differences in helping, though men and women have somewhat different conditions under which they feel comfortable helping. He suggests that men prefer task-oriented or active helping, while women are likely to help emotionally. Levine, Martinez, Brase, and Sorenson (1994) found that men were more likely to help a stranger in some situations, and attributed this difference to women's fear of interacting with strangers, especially when the strangers are men. In part because of these differences in the forms of helping, this study assessed "helping" generally, without specifying particular activities.

Situational factors are very important determinants of helping. In general, the more people who are present, the more responsibility for helping is diffused, decreasing the likelihood of helping. Small towns are often lauded for the level of helpfulness, cooperativeness, and kindness of the residents, while cities are viewed as places where people are less likely to help one another (Kohn, 1990). However, a meta-analysis on population size demonstrates that there is a nonlinear relationship with helping. Steblay (cited in Eisenberg, 1991) found that for instances of helping a stranger, in several Western countries, regardless of whether bystanders were present, and regardless of the gender or age of the person needing assistance, levels of helping increased linearly as population increased for small rural communities (up to population 50,000), levels were highest in cities with 60,000 to 300,000 people, and levels were relatively low in cities of 1,000,000 or more. Levine et al. (1994) found a significant negative correlation with helping for cities with populations from 350,000 to over 2,000,000. Though population size is an important variable, population density was the strongest and most consistent

predictor of overall helping in their study. It is important to note, as Korte (1981) indicates, that urban-nonurban differences in helping occur only related to helping a stranger. These distinctions are not relevant to the current study, since all surveyed communities were located within the same city, and block size was relatively uniform. In addition, most reported instances of helping in these data involved a known recipient, rather than a stranger.

In addition to the distinction between internal and external factors contributing to helping behaviors are factors related to the helping behavior itself. McGuire (1994) used factor analysis to categorize reported helping behaviors. She found that three factors, Benefits, Frequency, and Costs, accounted for 84% of the variance. Benefits of Helping accounted for 47% of the total variance, and combined the perceived benefits to the recipient and to the helper. Frequency of Helping accounted for 29% of the variance, and Cost of Helping accounted for 9%. She also differentiated between helping among strangers and among familiars. Helping a stranger is more likely to occur in instances that require little intimacy, or under conditions of great need. Helping someone who the helper is familiar with usually takes the form of Substantial Personal helping (e.g., loaning someone a car, cleaning up a home, sending someone food, etc.) or Emotional helping (e.g., listening to a friend's problem, providing moral support, celebrating a birthday, etc.). Overall, McGuire found that the following four scales were most important: how often the helping behavior occurs, how much the recipient benefits from receiving the help, how costly it is for the helper, and how much intimacy it requires between the helper and the recipient. These scales are relevant to the study of social fabric in several ways. As stated

earlier, it is believed that communities with a strong social fabric have residents who are connected to one another and support one another, and thus feel a sense of responsibility toward each other. This network could create a social norm of helping that would provide benefits to the helper by way of social affirmation and approval. Similarly, the costs of not helping, such as community disapproval, could outweigh the costs of helping, such as time spent.

Amato (1990) studied helping behavior in everyday life and found that most everyday helping occurs between friends, family members, and other familiar individuals. Much of the help provided to familiar others is planned, while help provided to a stranger is usually unplanned. Amato concluded that the level of helping people exhibit in everyday life is related to the number and type of social roles that they play; that is, their level of social participation. The larger a person's social network, the more frequent are opportunities to provide help to others. For these reasons, communities where people know each other and interact with each other are expected to have greater proportions of "helpers." Helping in spontaneous situations is predicted modestly by individual differences and consistently by situational variables. Individual characteristics (both personality and social network variables) are better predictors of planned helping than of spontaneous helping.

There are clearly many variables that impact helping. In communities there are two main facets of helping behavior that are most relevant to the idea of a social fabric, helping a known recipient and helping an unknown recipient. Helping a known recipient, such as a friend or neighbor, is an important mechanism for creating and maintaining social

networks. Helping an unknown recipient (a stranger) is an indication of a commitment to the larger community.

Donating Blood

Blood donation is often used as a convenient example of "helping behavior" (Piliavin & Callero, 1991). In the current study, blood donation is used as an example of helping an unknown person, an indication of a person's commitment to the larger community. Though there is little published research on the activity of blood donation, the one book on the subject is a comprehensive look at the blood industry in the United States (Piliavin & Callero, 1991). Most blood in the United States is now collected on the "community responsibility" philosophy, which means that donors are recruited through appeals to a moral sense of responsibility and they are not paid. For this reason, blood donation is viewed by these authors as an altruistic activity.

In the general population, 9% of men and 4.7% of women claim to have given blood in the previous year (National Center for Health Statistics [NCHS], 1989). Donors tend to be in their 30s and have higher than average education and income. A greater proportion of whites (7.5%) than blacks (3.3%) report donating (NCHS, 1989). Central cities import blood, while rural areas export it. Piliavin and Callero attribute the difference between urban and rural rates of donation to sense of community, susceptibility to social pressure, and the existence of social norms of mutual support. These characteristics in the current study contribute to the expectation that helping is more likely to occur in communities with a stronger social fabric.

According to Piliavin and Callero (1991), no clear patterns emerge from the research related to the personality characteristics of blood donors. "Altruism" is the reason most often given by donors as their motivation for donating. The two primary theories that explain donation are 1) personal norms and an attribution of responsibility to oneself, and 2) the impact of modeling. This information suggests that blood donation is more likely to be related to a person's feelings that she/he ought to donate and to knowing someone who has donated, rather than to a particular personality trait. Awareness of community need was found to be a primary motivating factor in several studies cited by these authors. People are most willing to give blood if they perceive a need exists and the community support exists. Further, it is expected that people must feel a part of the community (have a sense of belonging) in order to take on the responsibility of helping.

The perceptions of community norms affect a person's blood donating activity (Piliavin & Callero, 1991). These authors found that perceptions of community norms strongly affected the individuals' actions and personal norms. To study blood donation, Piliavin and Callero (1991), and other researchers cited in their work, use "within the past year" as a cutoff to differentiate donors from non-donors. This same criteria was used in the present study.

In this study, helping is viewed as an outcome of a community's social fabric. Helping a known person was assessed by asking respondents whether or not they had volunteered their time within the past month to help someone without getting compensated. Helping an unknown person was assessed by asking respondents whether or not they had donated blood within the past year. Due to the nature of blood donation,

and the external factors that restrict this activity for some groups in the population, this variable will not be used alone. Instead it will be combined with the other helping variables. An individual's helping behavior is viewed as distinct from the concept of social fabric, which in this study is operationalized as the aggregate perceptions of a community's residents regarding the social networks of the group and the overall group sentiment about the community.

Working with Neighbors

In the literature on social components of communities, there is much discussion that mobilization of citizen participation can have a dramatic effect on addressing local problems (e.g., Florin & Wandersman, 1990). A shared sense of urgency combined with a belief that individuals can have an impact contribute to action (Perkins et al., 1990). Davidson and Cotter (1989) found that a sense of community was related to contacting local officials, voting, working on public problems, and overall political participation. They also found (1993) that sense of community was related to community development. Burn (1991) found that communication and personal contact between residents increased participation in a local recycling program. Levine (1986) described the impact of an interactive neighborhood crime watch on decreasing the local crime rate. Citizen participation in this example consisted of neighbors watching out for each other and working together to monitor the neighborhood. The current study investigates whether social fabric impacts the degree to which residents are willing to work with neighbors to improve conditions on the block.

Unger and Wandersman (1983) made a distinction between informal interactions between neighbors to provide support and material goods, and formal associations between neighbors, to solve social problems in their communities. They found that communities in which residents participate in informal neighboring activities, such as socializing, asking to borrow food or a tool, asking for a ride, and so forth, were more likely to have successful block organizations.

Wandersman and Giamartino (1980) found that sense of community and neighboring, key components of a strong social fabric, were related to participation in community organizations. Wandersman (1984) discusses the relationship between citizen participation and the development of community as a reciprocal one. He also lists the many positive community outcomes that have been associated with civic participation, including improving the quality of the physical environment, enhancing services, and preventing crime.

Participation has been found to increase individual and community decision-making and control, improve equity of resources, and enhance quality of life. Community organizing has led to stronger social networks, increased community participation, enhanced psychological empowerment, and community competence (Wallerstein, 1993).

Leadership

"The recruitment and maintenance of leaders is thought vital to the success of citizens' action groups" (Rich, 1980, p. 570). Leadership is an important component of local action efforts, because it is key individuals, often as volunteers, who organize and facilitate these activities. Neighbors, according to Rich (1980), may reap benefits from

coordinating their efforts to solve problems, but this coordination is not automatic. It takes the extra attention of a small group of people to get action started and to keep it functioning. Leadership in neighborhood organizations and activities takes time and energy. Rich explains that in order for people to be willing to take on a leadership role, the benefits must outweigh the costs. Potential benefits include the achievement of community goals (such as increased safety due to the implementation of a neighborhood watch), incidental benefits due to the leadership position (e.g., personal contacts made through the leadership position that enhance the leader's professional career), or enjoyment of the leadership role in and of itself. This study hypothesizes that a strong social fabric will facilitate residents' interest in taking on a leadership role, because of the perception of benefits to the individual and/or to the neighborhood.

This study will test whether or not social fabric at the block level influences individual behaviors and attitudes, including volunteering to help others and donating blood, interest in working with neighbors, and interest in taking on a local leadership role. In addition, it will look at several predictors of block level social fabric in order to identify areas of potential intervention for community development work.

Predictors of Social Fabric

Because social fabric is hypothesized to be an important component of healthy communities, it is useful to understand what factors contribute to and strengthen it. The literature has many examples of demographic variables that correlate with social characteristics of communities, though there is little agreement across studies; variables that are significant in one study are found to be non-significant in others (Hill, 1996).

The variables that have had mixed results related to sense of community include years living in the community, income, age, home ownership, and the presence of children (Hill, 1996). Key (1965) found no significant differences in neighboring due to age or socioeconomic status. Unger and Wandersman (1982) found the life stage of an individual was indicative of neighboring activities. Of the block level variables, only socio-economic status was significantly associated with neighboring. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), in their study of community attachment, found that length of residence had positive and significant direct effects on all local social bonds except participation in informal social activities. It also had positive and significant effects on community sentiments, including sense of community. Involvement in the social fabric of communities was found to decline with advanced life-stage. Riger and Lavrakas (1981) argue that life circumstances, particularly the life cycle stage, play an important role in determining the level of attachment to the local community. Age tends to differentiate groups in physical attachment, and the presence of children tends to differentiate links among neighbors. Levine's (1986) case study of a neighborhood crime watch illustrates that perception of crime can be a catalyst for local action. The current study will look at the following variables as block level predictors of social fabric: years on the block, income, age of the respondent, presence of children, and crime rating.

Summary

This literature review was intended to serve three purposes. First, it summarized the work done on social components of communities and demonstrated how each topic area discussed themes which are relevant to social fabric. The second section presented

relevant literature on helping behavior and local participation, in order to prepare the reader for looking at these variables as potential outcomes of block level social fabric. Third, this review identified the variables that are hypothesized to predict block level social fabric.

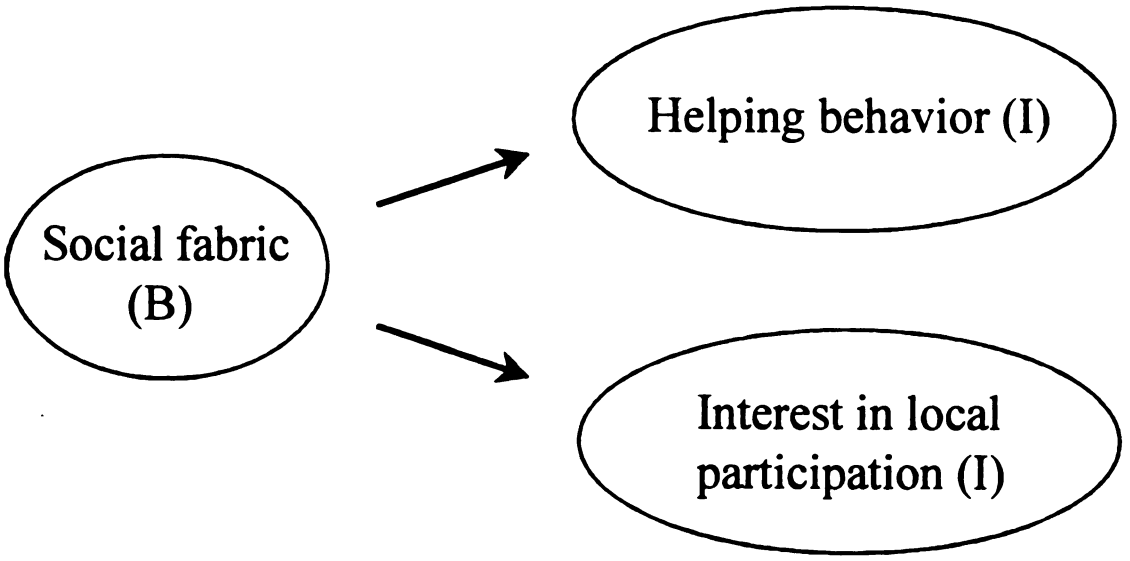
It is hypothesized that social fabric is comprised of the following six factors: belonging, connection, support, participation, empowerment, and safety. These themes are represented in other work on social components of communities, but have not yet all been addressed by any one study. It is also hypothesized that social fabric at the block level will influence individual level helping behavior and interest in local participation. Finally, it is hypothesized that the number of years residents have lived on the block, residents' ratings of the degree of crime and the income levels on the block, the respondents' ages, and the presence of children will predict the strength of the social fabric at the block level. By identifying the factors that create social fabric, the conditions under which it is strengthened, and the impacts it may have on individuals, effective community programs that utilize this information can be created. Community building can occur in a planful way to strengthen other neighborhoods.

Hypotheses

1. Social fabric is comprised of 6 factors, that can conceptually be identified as Belonging, Connection, Support, Participation, Empowerment, and Safety (see Figure 1). Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses will be performed to identify the factor structure of the 33-item social fabric measure.

2. Social fabric at the block level will predict individual level helping behavior and interest in local participation (see Figure 2). Hierarchical linear regression modeling will be used to determine the relationship between social fabric and the individual level outcomes.

3. Number of years residents have lived on a block, residents' ratings of the degree of crime and the income levels on the block, the respondents' ages and the presence of children on the block will predict the strength of the social fabric at the block level (see Figure 3). Multiple regression analyses will be used to test the predictive value of these independent variables on social fabric.



B = Block level
I = Individual level

Figure 2 - Outcomes of Social Fabric (Hypothesized)

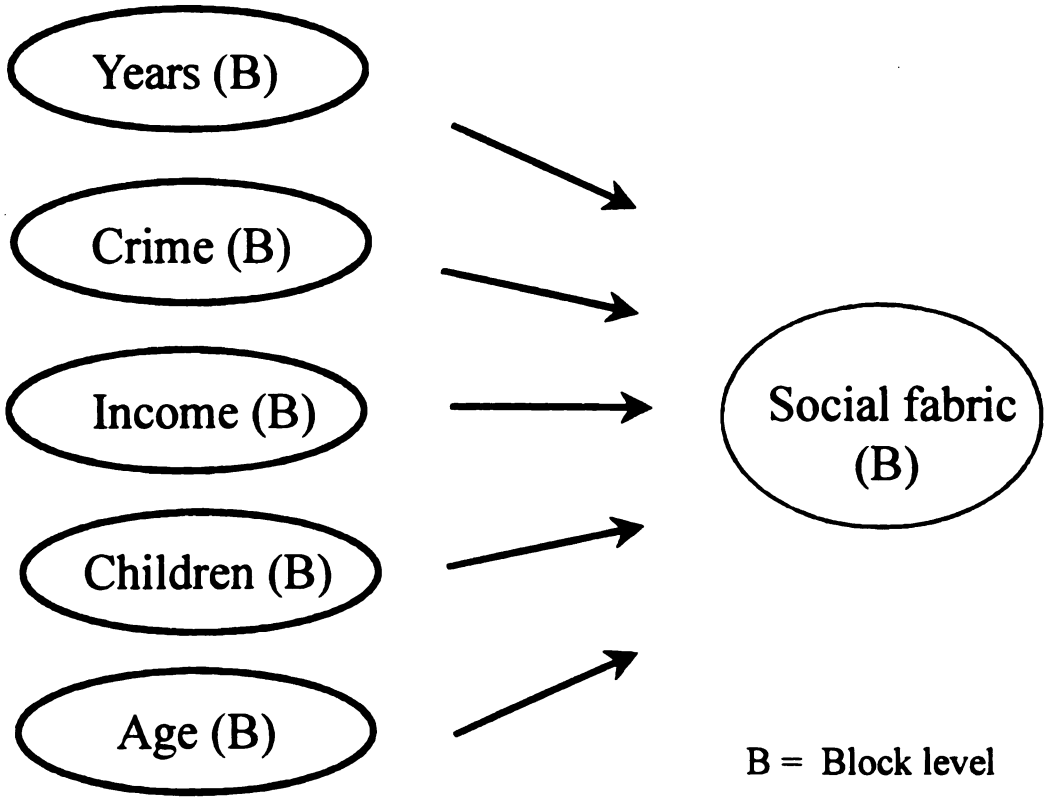


Figure 3 - Predictors of Social Fabric (Hypothesized)

Chapter 2

METHOD

Setting

This study was conducted in Lansing, Michigan, a medium-sized Midwestern city. This city is both the capital of Michigan, and therefore houses state government offices and functions, and an industrial center, known for manufacturing and related businesses of the automobile industry. See Table 2 for demographic information about Lansing.

Table 2

Lansing, Michigan -- Demographic Information

Lansing, Michigan -- Demographics*	
Total Population	127,321
Total Households	50,635
Proportion of Households Occupied by Owners	54.8%
Median Rent per month	$356.00
Racial Demographics: White	73.9%
Black	18.6%
Hispanic (of any race)	7.9%
Asian	1.8%
Native American	1.0%

*1990 Census of Population and Housing

This study looks at the social fabric of residential blocks, that is, groups of houses that face each other on residential streets. Blocks were selected by inspecting maps of the city and by driving through identified areas.

Selection Criteria

Research team members selected blocks which contained approximately 15 to 25 housing structures. Blocks needed to be primarily residential, comprised of mostly single household structures, though some of the housing structures were subdivided into a number of smaller units. In most instances there were clear geographic boundaries that identified the ends of the block, such as a cross street or a dead end. In several situations we extended our "block" to include a small number of houses comprising the adjacent block. This inclusion took place when the adjacent block only contained a small number of houses and when residents on the originally selected block indicated that they felt the adjacent block to be part of their community. In several other instances the selected blocks had a cross street that divided one side of the target block and ended at that street. In these cases we found that the residents viewed that cross street as the demarcation of their block, so we used the residents' perceptions to indicate the geographic boundary of their block.

Blocks were chosen to reflect a wide variety of geographic locations, political wards, and mean housing values (an approximation for socio-economic status). We also included some blocks that are members of neighborhood associations, some that have a community police officer assigned to the region, and some that are members of neighborhood watches. Geographic dispersion was accomplished by mapping blocks onto

a city map and including the boundaries of the neighborhood associations, community policing districts, and political wards.

Exclusions

Blocks that contained apartment buildings, schools, and social or religious institutions were excluded. Apartment buildings were excluded for several reasons. First, it is often difficult to access residents due to building security. In addition, apartment buildings are hypothesized to create a social fabric that may be distinct from the block on which the building is located. Similarly, residents of these buildings may not participate in activities or interact with residents on the block who do not live in the apartment building. Schools, social groups, and religious institutions were excluded because they would be expected to create a social meeting place that would have added an additional variable to consider when evaluating the blocks' social fabric. For the purposes of this study, blocks with these institutions were not included, in order to avoid the need to partial out these potential effects. A small number of blocks had a business at the corner, on the cross street, but not on the block itself.

Appendix A describes the 37 individual blocks included in this study. See Table 3 for summary information about the blocks.

Research Participants

Four hundred forty-five residents participated in this study. Research participants were 18 years of age or older. They had to have lived on a selected block for at least one month, so that they could comment on the social characteristics of the block. Each occupied household was contacted for an interview, and only one member of each

Table 3

Summary Information about the Residential Blocks in the Sample

Total number of blocks	37
Range of total number of households per block	9 - 40
Mean total number of households per block	21
Mean number of vacant units per block	1
Mean total number of possible households per block (total - vacant)	20
Range of interview completion rates	29% - 88%
Mean interview completion rate	61%
Total number of interviews completed	445
Range of approximate mean housing value	$22,750 - $136,100
Overall percent of households that owned their property	71.9%
Average household size	2.96
Mean housing value	$46,752
Number of dead end blocks	6
Number of blocks with clear cross streets	25
Number of blocks with community police officers	4
Number of blocks with neighborhood organizations	22
Number of blocks with neighborhood watches	10

household was interviewed. Interviewers surveyed the first adult to come to the door. If that person was unwilling to participate, the interviewer surveyed any other adult member of the household. Any housing structure that was subdivided into more than one unit was considered to have multiple households, and one respondent was sought from each unit. Response rates ranged from 29% to 88%, with an overall response rate of 61%. Less than 20% of blocks had smaller than a 50% response rate, with only one block (less than 3%) having fewer than one third of households responding. Most of the blocks with low response rates also had high rates of refusals, that is, households did not participate by choice, not because residents were not contacted. Of the blocks with less than a 50% response rate, the rates of refusals ranged from 20% to 38%. There is no apparent pattern to the low response rates. These blocks have a range of housing values, had a large variety of interviewers, and are located in various regions of the city. They are also varied in their social fabric scores, with some blocks being above the means on these variables and others being below the means.

Design

This cross-sectional study utilized a nested research design; that is, individual interviews of residents were aggregated in order to obtain data at the block level. The individuals living on the same block are "nested" within that block and are assumed to be more similar to each other than to individuals on other blocks, due to the effect of the block. The interviews gathered residents' perceptions about the social fabric on their blocks. The interviews began in May, 1995. The bulk of residents were interviewed during October and November, 1995, although interviews continued through January,

1996. These data were collected by members of the research team (four graduate students) and twelve trained interviewers (undergraduate students). Residents completed the interviews voluntarily and without compensation.

Procedure

Interviewer Training

The interviewers were graduate and undergraduate students at Michigan State University. The graduate students were research project employees for Urban Affairs Programs. Ten of the twelve undergraduate students were paid as interviewers. One student received course credit through the Department of Psychology for her participation, and one student participated as part of a summer scholarship research program.

All interviewers were interviewed by a project administrator and provided an overview of the research project. The interviewers were then trained by a member of the research team or by an experienced interviewer. Training was comprised of both classroom and field experience components. A three hour classroom training session included an explanation of the purpose of the study; distribution and discussion of interview materials; and instruction in interviewing requirements, procedures, and record-keeping. Also discussed were the topics of safety, standardization, translators, and transportation. Each trainee observed a minimum of one interview in the field, had an opportunity to discuss any questions, and then completed a minimum of one interview in the field in the presence of an experienced interviewer. The person in training then received verbal feedback and suggestions from the experienced interviewer. The trainee

was accompanied by an experienced interviewer until the trainer felt comfortable that the new interviewer could complete interviews alone. Due to the straightforward nature of the interview form, most interviewers were able to go on their own after one or two observation and feedback sessions.

Although most interviews were conducted by a single interviewer, during 11 interviews two interviewers simultaneously completed separate interview forms in order to obtain a measure of interrater reliability. As in the rest of the interviews, the questions were asked by only one interviewer. There were 87 closed-ended questions on the interview form. The interview form can be found in Appendix B. Out of a total of 957 items across the 11 interviews, 18 items were inconsistently marked, for an interrater agreement of slightly greater than 98%. Seventeen of the 18 items were on two of the survey forms. Fifteen of the 18 items were part of the social fabric scale (in which response options ranged from 1 to 5) and all but one item of the 15 items had a discrepancy of one number, that is, one coder noted 1 (strongly agree) and the other 2 (agree) or one coder noted 4 (disagree) and the other 5 (strongly disagree).

The interviewers were each assigned their own blocks and either went alone or in groups to the blocks to complete interviews. The interviewer to whom the block was assigned was responsible for maintaining records regarding the number, dates, times, and nature of contacts to each household. Interviewers met weekly with members of the research team to collect completed interview forms, discuss problems and progress, and assign new blocks.

Interviews

Contact with every household on the selected block was attempted a minimum of three times, over a two week period, before efforts to obtain in-person interviews were discontinued. For each household, contacts were attempted at least once in each of the following three time periods: during the day, in the evening, and on a weekend. Most households were contacted more than three times. Interviewers went door-to-door, requesting interviews from one adult member of each household. As part of their introduction, interviewers explained the voluntary nature of the study (see Appendix C for a copy of the standard introduction). Interviewers had a block "map" on which they indicated which households were contacted, on which days/times, and what the result was, including if the unit was vacant or if the adults living there declined to participate. If no resident was home or no one answered the door, the interviewer left a flyer that described the study (see Appendix D) and provided the research office phone number and a contact person.

In some cases, residents were given the opportunity to complete the survey form without being interviewed. A survey form was left at a household under any of the following three circumstances: (a) if no personal contacts were made with a household member after multiple attempts, (b) if a resident who had agreed to be interviewed at a later time was subsequently not contacted, or (c) if a resident requested. A small number of residents requested that the interviewer return to pick up the completed survey. In the other cases, postage-paid return envelopes were left along with the survey forms. This material was left either with a resident or in a visible place, such as inside a screen door.

Approximately 25 surveys, or less than 6%, were returned by mail. If a resident declined to participate, the interviewer attempted to identify either a more convenient time to return or another adult member of the household who may have been willing to participate. Once an interview was completed or the residents declined, the household was no longer contacted. If the residents did not speak English, an attempt was made to find a translator. One research team member translated the interview form into Spanish. Two interviews were completed in Spanish. Three interviews were initiated and not completed. In two situations, the interviewer felt that the respondent was not able to understand the questions and answer in an accurate manner. In one other situation, the interviewer felt his safety was in jeopardy and chose to terminate the interview early.

Interviewers read the survey instructions and questions to all residents who agreed to be interviewed. Interviews took place at the door or inside the residents' homes. The interview took approximately 45 minutes to complete, with individual variation from 35 minutes to 1 ½ hours. Though the interview questions were the same for all respondents, some residents elaborated more fully on the open-ended questions, or complemented their interviews with stories or examples.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

Statistical analyses were performed using three software packages. The confirmatory factor analysis was run using CFA.BAS. The hierarchical linear models were conducted using the PROC MIXED procedure in the SAS System. All other analyses were run using SPSS for Windows.

Hypothesis 1

Social fabric is comprised of six factors that can conceptually be identified as Belonging, Connection, Support, Participation, Empowerment, and Safety.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

This hypothesis was tested using confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses. These analyses were used for data reduction purposes, to create measures of social fabric for use in subsequent analyses. Confirmatory factor analysis was performed at the block level by entering the 33 social fabric items and specifying the hypothesized six factor solution. The first run demonstrated that there were many items that loaded higher on other factors than on their hypothesized one, and many items that loaded highly on more than one factor. Subsequent runs were then undertaken, in order to explore a more fitting factor solution. At each run, items were dropped that did not load highly on any factor. Additionally, items were removed from factors with which they did not load well and

added to factors with which they loaded more highly. After six runs, a three factor solution was achieved that included 18 of the original items. The first factor (see Table 4, Appendix E) was comprised of 11 items and represented social ties between residents (alpha = .95). These items were all from the original groupings of connection, support, and belonging. The average correlation between items in this cluster was .64. The second factor (see Table 5, Appendix E) contained 5 items and involved community action and participation (alpha = .92). These items were all from the hypothesized participation and empowerment groups. The average correlation between items in this cluster was .70. Finally, the third 2-item factor (see Table 6, Appendix E) indicated residents' perceptions of the safety of the block (alpha = .94). The correlation between these items was .88.

Principal Components Analyses

Because the confirmatory factor analysis did not yield the expected six factor solution, exploratory factor analyses were performed in SPSS to test the new three factor solution. Principal components analyses at the individual level were used to identify factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 (see Table 7, Appendix E). This procedure yielded six factors, though the first three factors were the only ones that accounted for greater than 5% of the variance. The final factor analysis was a principal components analysis, with varimax rotation and listwise deletion, that specified a three factor structure. This solution showed a satisfactory scree plot. Of the original 33 items, 2 items were dropped due to a lack of consistent fit with any of the three factors. The two dropped items were "Children of the same age on the block attend different schools" and " People on this block influence each others' behavior." The three factors are named "social ties,"

"security," and "community action" (see Figure 4). The means of the items in each factor were calculated to form three new variables, which were used in subsequent analyses.

Social Ties

The first factor contains the bulk of the items which were originally identified as connection, support, and belonging items. This 14-item factor is comprised of both affective and behavioral items related to the social connection and support that exists between residents on the block. The coefficient alpha of this factor is .92. At the block level, these items create a factor with a coefficient alpha of .94. Table 8 (see Appendix E) presents detailed information about this factor.

Security

The second factor combined items from all six original groupings. The nine items in this factor relate to residents sense of security and trust on the block. This factor has a coefficient alpha of .81. At the block level, these items create a factor with a coefficient alpha of .86. Table 9 (see Appendix E) presents detailed information about this factor.

Community Action

The third factor is comprised mostly of participation and empowerment items. The eight items relate to community improvement and finding solutions to community problems. This factor has a coefficient alpha of .81. At the block level, these items create a factor with a coefficient alpha of .88. Table 10 (see Appendix E) presents detailed information about this factor.

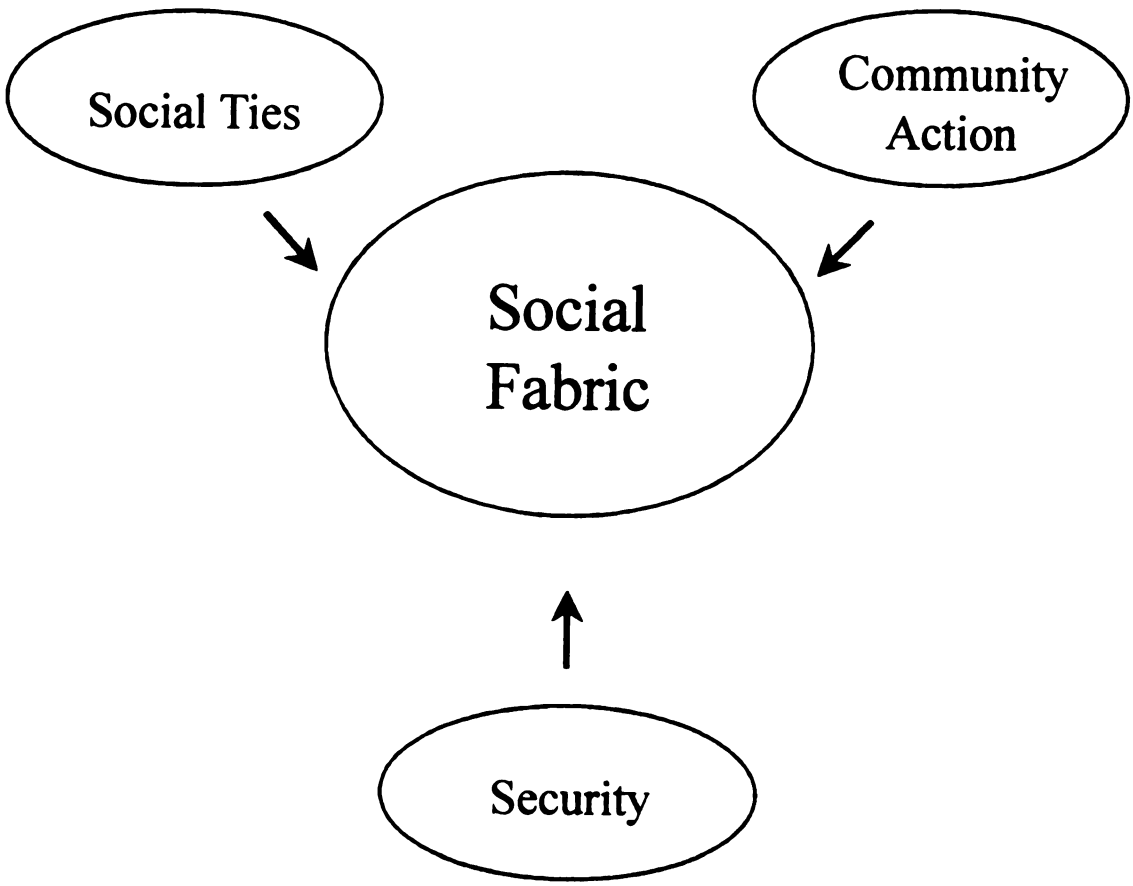


Figure 4 - Social Fabric Components (Results)

Analysis of Variance

Three analysis of variance tests were performed at the individual level, one for each factor, to examine differences between blocks on each of the social fabric components. All three ANOVAs were significant at the $p < .05$ level. The Fs are as follows: social ties ($F(36, 408) = 2.91$, eta squared = .21), security ($F(36, 408) = 3.54$, eta squared = .24), and community action ($F(36, 408) = 4.46$, eta squared = .28). These results indicate that there are differences between blocks in the degree of social fabric. There are also differences between blocks in the variances of the social fabric responses. Levene's test of homogeneity of variance (found in the SPSS software) indicated that social ties and security have significant differences by block, while community action does not (social ties: 1.91, $p < .05$; security: 2.15, $p < .05$; community ties: 1.15, ns).

Correlations Between the Three Factors

The three social fabric factors are highly intercorrelated at both the individual and block levels (see Table 11) at $p < .05$. Social ties and security are most highly correlated, while security and community action have the lowest correlation.

Table 11

Correlation Matrix of the Social Fabric Factors

		Social Ties	Security
Individual Level	Security	.69	---
N = 445	Community Action	.63	.53
Block Level	Security	.72	---
N = 37	Community Action	.66	.52

Reliability and Validity

Interrater reliability was collected on 11 surveys. Two raters attended each of these interviews and completed the survey forms, though only one of them asked the respondent the interview questions. Out of a possible 957 short answer questions, 18 discrepancies were found, giving a 98% agreement rate. Seventeen of the 18 disagreements were found on two surveys and 13 of them involved ratings that differed by only one point on the five-point scale.

As described previously, the three social fabric factors were found to be internally consistent, with coefficient alphas of .92, .81, and .81. The average item-total correlations for the social ties, security, and community action factors were .64, .51, and .52, respectively.

The items that create the social fabric scales were written to satisfy the need for content validity, that is, they cover the domain of items about this construct, as suggested by previous research on the topic. The three factors, however, are highly positively correlated, which indicates that they represent related constructs. The three factors are significantly correlated with other questions from the interview (see Table 12, Appendix E, for the individual level correlation data). For example, the social ties factor is significantly correlated with the number of social activities that occurred on the block in the past year, though this variable is also significantly correlated with the community action factor. The number of community improvement activities that have occurred on the block during the past year is only significantly correlated with the community ties factor. Neither of these variables is significantly correlated with security. Interestingly, the

number of years a resident indicated he/she would like to stay on the block was significantly correlated only with the person's score on the security factor. Other variables, such as the degree to which people know others on the block or the frequency with which they talk to neighbors, correlated significantly with all three social fabric factors.

Hypothesis 2

Social fabric at the block level will predict individual level helping behavior and interest in local participation.

The following variables were used in the analyses to test this hypothesis:

Helping behavior: Helping behavior is a dichotomous variable measured using a combination of three dichotomous items. Individuals were identified as "helping" if they reported participating in at least one of the following three activities: (a) volunteering time within the past month to help someone without receiving compensation, (b) volunteering time within the past month to help a person on their block, or (c) donating blood within the past year.

Interest in local participation: Interest in local participation was measured as the summation of two closed-ended survey items, "How interested would you be in working with your neighbors to improve conditions on this block?" and "How interested would you be in assuming a leadership role on the block?" (for these two items, 2 = very interested, 1 = somewhat interested, 0 = not interested). Interest in local participation has values ranging from 0 to 4.

Social fabric: Social fabric was measured using the three factors identified using exploratory factor analysis (described earlier). The three factors are social ties, security, and community action.

Analysis of Variance

Analysis of variance tests were performed at the individual level for each of the dependent variables, to examine differences between blocks on helping and interest in local participation. Neither analysis yielded significant results, indicating that there are no differences between blocks in the mean level of helping or interest in local participation. ANOVAs were then performed to test whether there were any block differences in the two components of the interest in local participation variable. Neither interest in working with neighbors nor interest in assuming a leadership role had significant between block differences.

Hierarchical Linear Models

Six hierarchical linear models were tested, one for each social fabric component for each of the two dependent variables. These analyses were done to assess the amount of variation in helping and interest in local participation that was due to differences between blocks. Because there were no significant differences between blocks in the analysis of variance tests on these two dependent variables, it was unlikely that differences would emerge in the HLM analyses.

Social Fabric as a Predictor of Helping

Hierarchical linear models were attempted for each social fabric component with helping as the dependent variable using the GLIMMIX procedure in the SAS System.

This procedure was selected to accommodate the dichotomous nature of this dependent variable. The analyses, however, would not converge to provide covariance parameter estimates. It is assumed that these data do not provide adequate variance on the dependent variable to run this procedure. Due to the finding that there was not a significant difference between blocks on helping, it is unnecessary to pursue analyses that attempt to account for block level effects.

Social Fabric as a Predictor of Interest in Local Participation

The hierarchical linear models (hlm) were run using each social fabric component (social ties, security, and community action) as a predictor of interest in local participation. These analyses were used to identify if the social fabric of the residential block had an influence on the individual residents' interest in working with neighbors or taking on a leadership role on the block. With all 37 blocks included, the maximum likelihood would not converge, perhaps due to linear dependence. For some undetermined reason, dropping block number 36 from the analyses allowed convergence to occur. It is unclear what characteristics of block number 36 prohibited the analyses from running. This block is not an outlier in its mean or variance scores for any of the social fabric factors, for its scores on either of the dependent variables in these analyses, or for any other demographic characteristic that could be identified (such as number of households, vacancy rate, housing value, response rate, refusal rate, or geographic location.) For each of the three analyses, block number 36 was dropped, so $n = 36$ blocks instead of 37 blocks in these analyses. Without block number 36, $n = 432$ at the individual level. No block effect was found for any of the three social fabric components on interest

in local participation. However, since this procedure tests both block and individual level effects, these analyses did indicate individual level relationships between the variables under study.

Social Ties. The social ties variable had a significant individual level effect on interest in local participation ($F(1, 35) = 10.11$, $p < .05$), but did not have a significant effect at the block level. Convergence was achieved in four iterations.

Security. The security variable at the individual level approached significance as a predictor of interest in local participation ($F(1, 350) = 3.60$, $p = .06$). Security did not have a significant block effect on this dependent variable. Convergence for this analysis was achieved in three iterations.

Community Action. The community action variable had a significant individual level effect on interest in local participation ($F(1, 350) = 7.12$, $p < .05$), but did not have a significant block effect. Convergence was achieved in four iterations.

Individual Level Correlations

For a correlation matrix of these variables, see Table 13, Appendix E. Social ties are significantly positively correlated with both helping and interest in local participation, though the correlations are small. A sense of security is significantly positively correlated with helping, but not with interest in local participation. Community action is significantly positively correlated with interest in local participation, but not with helping. When the participation variable is divided into its two components, all three social fabric subscales are significantly positively correlated with interest in working with neighbors and none are significantly correlated with interest in assuming a leadership role on the block.

Individual Level Multiple Regression Analyses

Using individual level data, helping behavior was significantly predicted by respondents' sense of security on the block and the block residents' degree of community action (see Table 14, Appendix E), but not by the block's degree of social ties. Social ties significantly predicted helping only when that predictor was entered alone; when the other two predictors were added, the impact of social ties diminished.

Interest in local participation, in contrast, was predicted only by the block's level of social ties, and not by security or community action (see Table 15, Appendix E). Community action was a significant predictor when entered alone, but its effect was removed when social ties were included (see Figure 5).

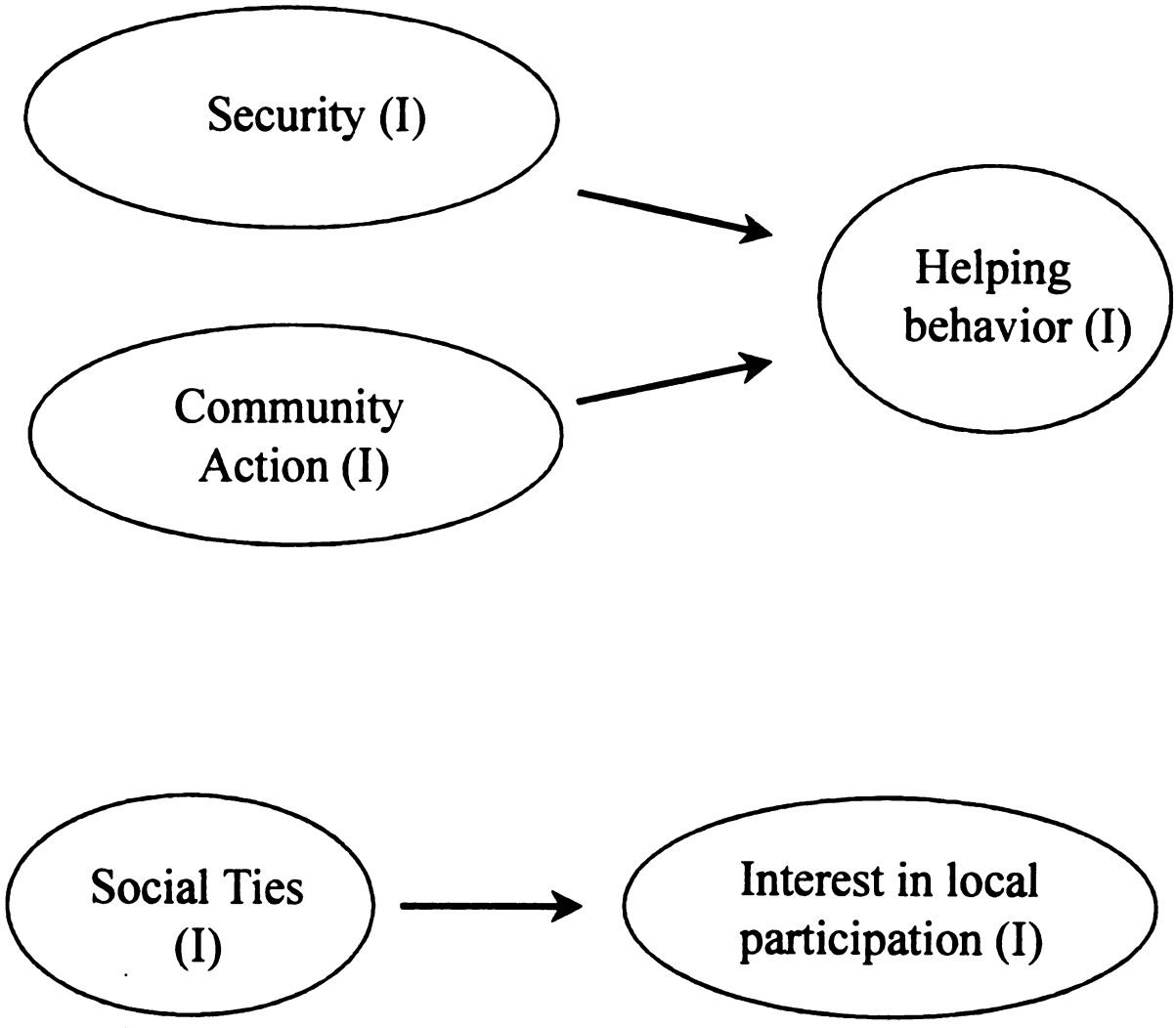
Hypothesis 3

Number of years residents have lived on a block, residents' ratings of the degree of crime and the income levels of the block, the respondents' ages, and the presence of children on the block will predict the strength of the social fabric at the block level.

Predictors of Social Fabric

Analysis of variance tests were performed at the individual level to investigate any between-block differences in the predictor variables. Correlations and multiple regression analyses, at both the block and individual levels, were examined to identify relationships between social fabric and the five predictors. At the block level, these variables were aggregated by taking the mean.

Years on the block: Residents were asked how long they have lived on their block. (continuous variable)



I = Individual level

Figure 5 - Results of Individual Level Regressions

Crime rating: Respondents were asked to rate the amount of criminal activity on their block compared to other blocks in the neighborhood/city. (choices ranged on a three point scale from "more on this block" to "less on this block")

Income rating: Respondents were asked to select a category that best describes the financial condition of people on their block. (choices ranged on a five point scale from "well-off" to "poor/low income")

Age: Respondents were asked to provide their age. (continuous variable)

Presence of children: Respondents indicated the number of people living in the household by age group. For these analyses, this variable at the individual level is dichotomous and indicates whether or not the household has children (residents under 18 years of age). At the block level this variable indicates the proportion of households on the block with residents under 18 years of age.

Analysis of Variance

Five analysis of variance tests were performed at the individual level, one for each predictor variable. All of these analyses were significant at the $p < .05$ level. The Fs are as follows: years on the block ($F(36, 406) = 2.37$), income rating ($F(36, 404) = 6.66$), crime rating ($F(36, 396) = 2.12$), age ($F(36, 402) = 2.77$), and presence of children ($F(36, 401) = 2.06$). These results indicate that there are significant differences between blocks on these variables.

Correlations

For correlation matrices of these variables, see Tables 16 and 17, Appendix E. At the individual level, the number of years a respondent had lived on the block was not

significantly correlated with any of the social fabric components. At the block level, however, the average number of years residents had lived on the block was significantly positively correlated with both social ties and security. The longer residents live on a block, the more social ties they report and the greater the sense of security on the block.

The income rating of the block was significantly positively correlated with all three social fabric components at the individual level. At the block level, the income rating was significantly correlated with social ties and security, but not with community action. The higher the residents rated the income of the block's residents, the more social ties and the greater the sense of security they reported.

Age of the respondent, at the individual level, was significantly positively correlated only with security. At the block level, the average age of the respondent significantly positively correlated with both security and social ties. The older the respondents were on a block, the greater the sense of security and the more social ties they reported.

At the individual level, the crime rating of the block was significantly correlated with all three social fabric components. That is, blocks that were rated as having less than average crime rates had higher scores on social ties, security, and community. At the block level, the average crime ratings across the blocks were significantly correlated only with security. Blocks where residents reported lower crime rates also reported a greater sense of security.

Interestingly, the presence of children had a negative effect on social fabric. Households with children had lower scores on security and community action. The sizes

of these correlation coefficients, though they were significant, were small. These relationships were similar at the block level, though the correlation coefficients were larger. As the proportion of households with children increased, the sense of security and the degree of community action decreased.

Individual Level Multiple Regression Analyses

Years, crime rating, income rating, age, and presence of children were entered simultaneously as independent variables into multiple regression analyses, using each of the social fabric subscales as dependent variables.

Social Ties. Crime rating and income rating were the only two variables that significantly predicted the degree of social ties on the block (R square = .08) (see Tables 18 & 19, Appendix E).

Security. Crime rating, income rating, and age significantly predicted the degree of security residents feel about the block (R square = .20) (see Tables 20 & 21, Appendix E).

Community Action. Income rating was the only significant predictor of degree of community action on the block (R square = .05) (see Tables 22 & 23, Appendix E).

Social Fabric Components. A sense of security significantly predicted the degree of social ties (R square = .48). Social ties significantly predicted community action (R square = .40) (see Tables 24 & 25, Appendix E).

Block Level Multiple Regression Analyses

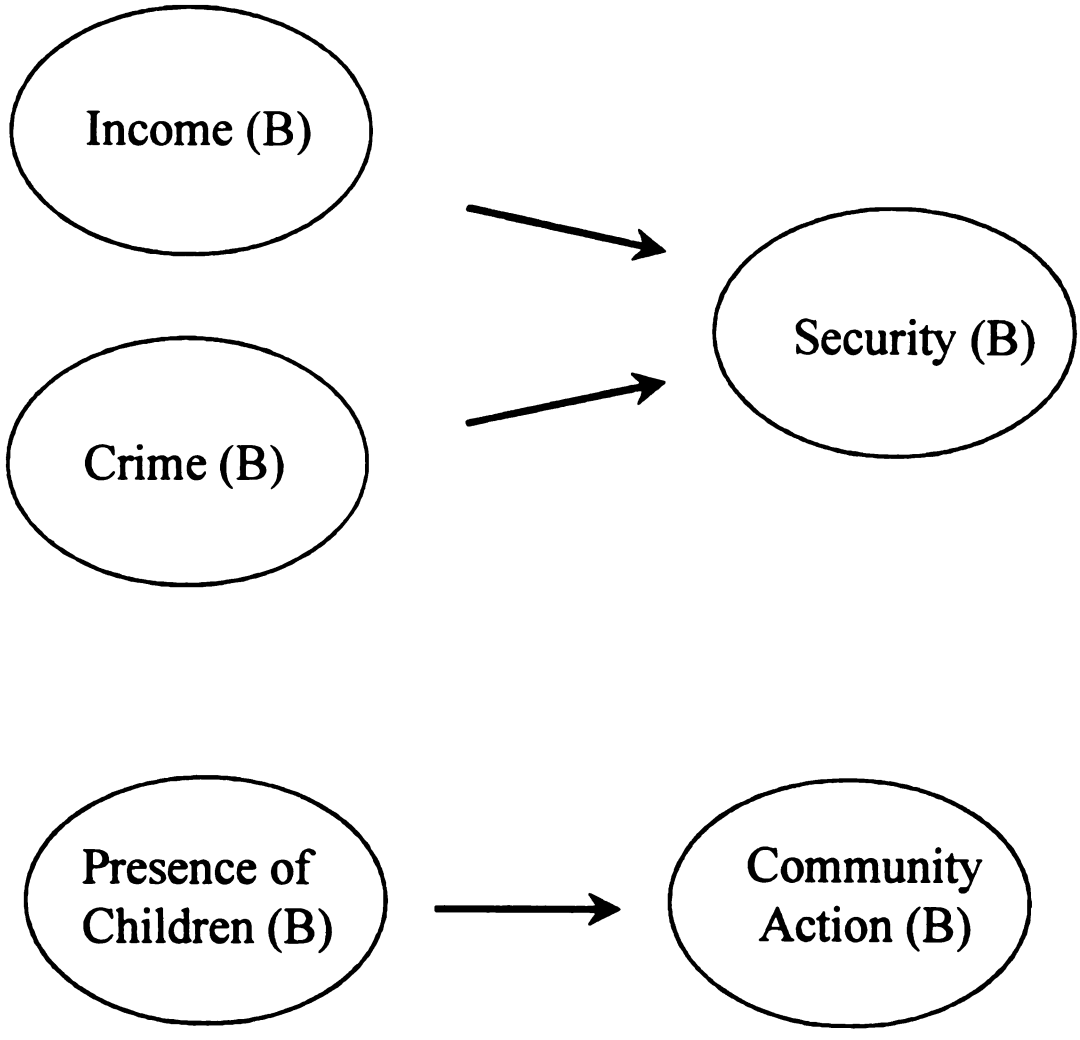
Social Ties. At the block level, when all five independent variables were included in the regression analysis, none of them were significant. However, when entered separately, the average number of years living on the block, the average income rating of households on

the block, and the average age of respondents all significantly predicted social ties (R squares = .13, .13, & .16) (see Tables 26 through 29, Appendix E).

Security. At the block level, when all five independent variables were entered into the regression equation, the average income rating and the average crime rating were both significant (R square = .55) (see Tables 30 & 31, Appendix E). When entered separately, average years on the block, average age of the respondent, and the proportion of households with children were also significant (R squares = .18, .33, & .22) (see Tables 32 through 34, Appendix E).

Community Action. When the five independent variables were entered simultaneously at the block level, only the proportion of households with children was a significant predictor of community action (R square = .16) (see Tables 35 & 36, Appendix E) (see Figure 6). None of the other four independent variables reached significance, even when entered into the regression equation separately.

Social Fabric Components. As was found at the individual level, residents' sense of security was a significant predictor of the block's social ties (R square = .51) (see Table 37, Appendix E) and social ties was a significant predictor of community action (R square = .43) (see Table 38, Appendix E).



B = Block level

Figure 6 - Results of Block Level Regressions

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

This study had the following three main purposes: to identify the factor structure of social fabric, to clarify the relationship between social fabric and the prosocial and pro-community behaviors of community members, and to confirm the characteristics that contribute to a strong social fabric. The findings from this study help inform us about the qualities and structure of the social components of communities, and how these qualities can be enhanced to support community development efforts and strengthen neighborhoods.

Factor Structure of Social Fabric

Instead of confirming the hypothesized six factor solution as suggested in the literature, social fabric was found to be comprised of three factors, including social ties, security, and community action.

Social Ties

The first factor, Social Ties, is inclusive of the three areas originally called connection, belonging, and support. Social ties is a factor that involves residents' perceptions of their neighbors and interactions between them. It appears that residents view social ties as one construct and do not differentiate their social interactions into the three hypothesized areas. They also do not seem to differentiate between the affective and

behavioral components of connection with neighbors and receiving support from neighbors, as these groups of items fit together well into this factor.

The emergence of this factor suggests that previously described concepts, such as the support component of neighboring (Unger & Wandersman, 1982), the connection component of community attachment (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974), and the belonging and connection components of sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986), are viewed by this group of residents as part of the same construct. This factor represents the interwovenness of the social fabric, and the support and comfort afforded by a strong social fabric. Considering social ties or social interaction as one construct simplifies the model of the social community.

Security

The second factor was labeled Security. "Safety" was one of the hypothesized subscales. This factor encompasses items that relate to residents' sense of safety specifically, and also includes items that more broadly contribute to a secure environment or reflect this sentiment. This factor includes items related to the block residents' level of trust, degree of shared values, and ability to resolve conflict and decrease crime. The results of this study confirm that security, or a sense of safety, is a distinct component of the social fabric of communities, and is one measure of its strength.

Community Action

The third factor, Community Action, seems to combine the originally hypothesized components of participation and empowerment. Community action includes participation in community improvement and social activities, commitment to the block's future, and

ability to create solutions to local problems. Discussions about participation in the community, both informally through interactions with neighbors and formally through involvement in local organizations, were common in the literature (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Key, 1965; Lackey et al., 1987; Smith, 1975). Empowerment themes (e.g., Lackey et al., 1987; McMillan & Chavis, 1986) also emerged regularly. The results of this study indicate that participation in the community and residents' perceptions of their ability to resolve local problems and participate in local decision-making are part of the same construct. Community members participate when they believe their involvement will make a difference, and by being involved they are more likely to have a voice regarding community issues.

Since the three factors are significantly correlated, it is clear that these concepts are related. It makes sense that communities with strong social ties would also be communities in which people felt secure, and where people would feel comfortable participating in local decision-making. It is important to remember, however, that these findings are correlational and based on cross-sectional data. Therefore, they do not provide information regarding the directionality of the relationships between these three factors.

Behavioral and Affective Items

In the literature, affective and behavioral constructs were both included in descriptions of the important social characteristics of communities. In this study, both affective and behavioral social fabric items were included together, though they all were asked in the context of the respondent's perceptions of the people on the block as a

whole. Interestingly, although the three resulting factors represent constructs that seem to differentiate behavioral from affective (social ties and security seem affective while community action seems behavioral), the behavioral and affective items were still combined in these factors. For example, social ties includes feeling connected as well as taking care of each other's plants, pets, or kids. Security includes both feeling safe and resolving conflict. Community action includes both participation in community improvement activities and being committed to the block's future. The social ties and security factors have slightly more affective than behavioral items and the community action factor has slightly more behavioral than affective items.

Comparing Levels of Measurement

Preliminary factor analyses were completed at both the block and individual levels, with similar results. The factor analysis used to create the social fabric factors was completed at the individual level to maximize the available sample size (see Tables 7 through 10, Appendix E). A factor analysis using the same criteria (three factors specified, varimax rotation, 31 items) was then completed at the block level (see Tables 39 through 42, Appendix E). At the individual level, the three factors account for 48.7% of the variance; at the block level, this three factor solution accounts for 64.9% of the variance of those data. With some rearranging of items, the three social fabric scales are maintained at the block level.

Social ties remains the largest factor, with 14 items at the individual level and 15 at the block level. Three items belonging to social ties at the individual level are not in the block level factor (people feeling isolated from each other and people talking about

community problems moved to the community action factor, and people liking each other moved to the security factor). Four items from the other factors are added (people can create solutions to block problems, people feel they belong here, people can resolve conflict on the block, and people can reduce the amount of crime on the block). The most significant change is that several empowerment items are shifted from security to social ties.

The security factor at the individual level has nine items and at the block level has eight. As mentioned above, three items are lost from security at the individual level; these items all become part of the social ties factor at the block level. At the block level, security adds two items (people on the block like each other -- from social ties, and people can persuade the city to respond to their needs and concerns -- from community action).

At both the individual and block levels, community action has eight items, though there are two changes. At the block level, the item "people can persuade the city to respond to their needs and concerns" moves to the security factor, and the item "people can create solutions to block problems" becomes part of the social ties factor. The community action factor at the block level has the following two items that it does not have at the individual level: "people talk about community problems" and "people feel isolated." These items are both part of the social ties factor at the individual level.

Although there are changes in the location of some items, the three conceptualizations of the factors remain intact at the block level. This finding is important evidence for the generalizability of these three social fabric factors. It lends support to the assertion that social ties, a sense of security, and community action are key variables in

understanding the social health of communities. The blocks in this study differed significantly on each of these three variables, which suggests that these variables are also able to distinguish between blocks with varying levels of social health.

It is interesting to consider the meaning of different levels of social fabric. It is unclear what level is ideal for promoting community health. Although it has been implicitly understood that more sense of community and stronger social fabric is better, there are also drawbacks to the high end of the scale. While a strong social fabric provides security, involved citizens, and a tight social network, too much "community" may be stifling, or it may be a result of oppression or a common local crisis (Hunter & Riger, 1986). In this study, respondents were asked to identify how much sense of community there was, overall, on their block. The majority of respondents, 65.4%, stated that the sense of community was "just about right." Only 1.4% of respondents felt that there was "too much" sense of community, and one third (33.3%) felt that there was "too little" sense of community. This simple finding suggests that while most people are satisfied with their community's social ties, a large proportion of people would like to have more.

The Social Fabric Metaphor

This exploration of the social components of communities has provided support for the usefulness of conceptualizing social health as a fabric. The social ties factor, in particular, incorporates characteristics such as interconnections, support, and belonging which can easily be compared to a fabric's interwovenness, warmth, and design. The social fabric terminology recognizes the importance of a community's network and the

value of investigating both individual and group levels. However, the social fabric metaphor has some limitations. In this study, the security and community action factors emerge as important components of social fabric, though they do not as easily fit into the metaphor. The threads that comprise a fabric do not have autonomy, mobility, the potential for conflict, or the ability to make decisions. The level of activity implied by the community action factor is not adequately captured by the social fabric metaphor. Similarly, there is not a simple parallel for the security component of social fabric as described here. Community action and security can be seen as "weavers" of the fabric; that is, factors that help determine its quality or strength. The social fabric metaphor also does not deal completely with potentially large degrees of change over time. Communities are more dynamic than fabric, with some qualities that make them more analogous to Duhl's (1984, 1986) metaphor of an organism, living, growing, and changing. Though fabrics can change over time, it is most likely that they will become worn and eventually discarded, rather than undergo maturation or healing. Despite these limitations, the social fabric metaphor allows us to understand some components of communities more easily.

Social Fabric's Influence on Helping Behavior and Interest in Local Participation

This study found relationships between social fabric and both helping and interest in local participation at the individual level only. No block level influences were identified. These findings suggest that individuals' perceptions of the social fabric of their block are more important than the block on which they live in predicting their likelihood to help others and their interest in local participation. The aggregated perceptions of all respondents on a block did not predict individual level behavior or interests. However, at

the block level, response and refusal rates were significantly correlated with residents' interest in assuming a leadership role on the block (see Table 43, Appendix E).

Helping was predicted by the individuals' sense of security on the block and by their perceptions of the block's degree of community action. People were more likely to have helped someone in the community if they felt that the community was safe and if they perceived the residents of the community to be involved in local activities. Social ties were only a significant predictor when analyzed alone; when security and community action were added to the equation, the effect of social ties became nonsignificant.

It is somewhat surprising that social ties were not a stronger predictor of helping, since it is believed that people are more likely to help others when they know each other and feel responsible for each other (Amato, 1990; Kohn, 1990). On the other hand, it is possible that people feel less responsible to help personally if they perceive that their community has a high degree of social ties, because they may believe that residents in need will be taken care of by others in the community. In this study, individuals' sense of security in their community impacted their helping behavior. This variable has not been discussed in the literature as a predictor; however, it may play a role in a person's assessment of the costs and benefits of helping (McGuire, 1994). The relationship between helping and community action may be due to the individuals' level of participation in the community and their locus of control and perceptions of empowerment. The helping literature indicates that locus of control is one individual trait that influences helping (Kohn, 1990). It is likely that people who perceived their block as

having a high degree of community action were themselves more involved in community activities.

When multiple regression analyses were run using helping as the independent variable and the social fabric factors as the dependent variables, helping was found to be a significant predictor of social ties and security, but not of community action (see Tables 44 through 46, Appendix E). This finding provides evidence that a relationship between helping and social ties does exist, although it is in the opposite direction than was hypothesized. Helping and security appear to have a bidirectional relationship, and helping does not appear to predict community action.

Interest in local participation was predicted by the individuals' perceptions of the degree of social ties on the block. Respondents were more likely to be interested in working with neighbors to improve conditions on the block or in assuming a leadership role if they saw the block as one where the residents interacted and supported each other. Community action was also a predictor of interest in local participation when analyzed alone, but its effects became nonsignificant when social ties were added. Interest in local participation was created by combining two items -- interest in working with neighbors and interest in assuming a leadership role. All three of the social fabric components correlated significantly with interest in working with neighbors and none of the components correlated with interest in assuming a leadership role. It seems that interest in leadership is reliant on variables other than the community's influence; such variables may include personality characteristics and personal preferences. On the other hand, interest in

working with neighbors is related to residents' perceptions of the social fabric of their neighborhoods.

Multiple regression analyses indicated that interest in local participation predicted social ties and community action, but not security. However, interest in working with neighbors did significantly predict security (see Tables 47 through 50, Appendix E) . The relationship between interest in local participation and social ties appears to be bidirectional, as does the relationship between interest in local participation and community action.

It is commonly believed that conflicts or crises contribute to increased participation, as residents work together toward a common goal (e.g., Wandersman, 1984). If this is true, then residents who are comfortable with the degree of social fabric might be expected to participate less than people who perceive improvements to be needed. In this study, residents who rated the sense of community as "just about right" were significantly less likely to express interest in assuming a leadership role on the block than people who rated the sense of community as "too little" ($F(2,431) = 3.14$, $p < .05$, eta squared = .01). Very few respondents in this sample rated their block as having "too much" sense of community, though these respondents also had a higher mean level of interest in a leadership role than people who felt the sense of community was "just about right." There was not a significant relationship between ratings of sense of community and interest in working with neighbors; this finding is somewhat surprising given that interest in working with neighbors had stronger relationships with the social fabric factors than did interest in assuming a leadership role ($F(2, 431) = 1.10$, ns).

Differentiation of Helping and Social Fabric

It is important to identify whether the dependent variables in this study, helping and interest in local participation, are distinct from the social fabric variables that were hypothesized to predict them. For example, a respondent was considered a "helper" if he or she had helped someone during the past month. This activity could have included any type of helping outside their immediate household. In many cases respondents reported providing assistance to someone on the block. The social fabric factor "social ties" includes several items that describe concrete support given between neighbors.

At the individual level, the helping variable is significantly correlated with five of the six "support" items, though the non-significant correlation was with the item, "The people on this block help each other out when one of them has a problem" (for the complete correlation matrix, see Table 51, Appendix E). Also, one of the support items became a part of the security factor. The significant correlations have magnitudes that range from $r = .12$ to $r = .14$. When the helping variable was divided into its component items, volunteering to help someone had the same correlation results as the helping composite variable. Volunteering to help a neighbor, however, was significantly correlated with all six items, with magnitudes ranging from $r = .16$ to $r = .24$. Donating blood was significant with none of the items. At the block level, none of the helping components were significantly correlated with any of the six support items.

At the individual level, using multiple regression analyses, helping was significantly predicted by security and community action, but not by social ties. This finding suggests that there is some distinction between helping and social ties. Conceptually, helping

reflects the respondent's personal behavior, and social ties reflects the respondent's perceptions of both the activities and sentiments of the people living on her or his block. The correlation between helping and social ties, though significant ($r = .11$, $p < .05$), was small, with helping accounting for a mere 1% of the variance of social ties.

Differentiation of Interest in Local Participation and Social Fabric

Similar correlation analyses were run for the interest in local participation variable (see Table 52, Appendix E). Nine items which seemed most related to local involvement were selected from the social fabric section; these items included residents' participation in community improvement activities and the city recycling program, residents' discussions about community problems, and residents' ability to create solutions to local problems. At the individual level, interest in local participation and both of its components, interest in working with neighbors and interest in a leadership role on the block, were significantly correlated with people on the block talking about community problems (part of the social ties factor) and people being able to reduce the amount of crime on the block (part of the security factor). These correlations were the strongest relationships of the variables assessed, and the only two items on which interest in leadership was significant. These correlations ranged from $r = .18$ to $r = .24$. Interest in local participation and interest in working with neighbors had identical patterns of significance across all nine test variables. They were also significantly correlated with people getting things done together to improve conditions on the block, people participating in community improvement activities, and people being committed to the block's future (all part of the community

action factor). Interest in local participation was correlated with social ties and community action.

Interest in local participation was not significantly correlated with people being able to resolve conflict when it arises on the block, people being able to create solutions to problems on the block, people participating in the recycling program, or people being able to persuade the city to respond to their needs and concerns. In the multiple regression analyses, interest in local participation was predicted only by social ties. Community action, which had the most similarities to interest in local participation, became a nonsignificant predictor after social ties was included. This finding suggests that respondents differentiated the social fabric items from their personal interest in local participation, though there are clearly relationships between these variables.

At the block level, several very different findings emerged. Interest in taking on a leadership role was significantly correlated with the perception that residents can resolve conflict on the block ($r = .40$, $p < .05$); this relationship was nonsignificant at the individual level. Interest in working with neighbors was significantly correlated with the items, "residents get things done together to improve conditions on the block" ($r = .46$, $p < .05$) and "people participate in community improvement activities" ($r = .53$, $p < .05$). None of the other individual level relationships were retained at the block level.

Levels of Analysis

The attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) model suggests that organizations, or blocks, become homogeneous over time, which results in individuals being more similar to others in their own group than to members of other groups. Social fabric was found to

differ significantly across blocks, which suggests that the block is a meaningful level of measurement for this construct. However, social ties and security had significant differences in variances across blocks, which means that the level of agreement on these factors was not consistent across blocks. The degree of consensus, therefore, would be an interesting variable to pursue in future research, rather than taking the average view of residents on a block, as was done in this study. Also, contrary to what would be expected given the ASA framework, there were no differences in helping or interest in participation across blocks. It appears that it is more meaningful to look at these variables at the individual level.

Limitations of the Prosocial Variables

One possible explanation for the lack of block level effects (and small individual level effects) of social fabric on prosocial behavior is the manner in which prosocial behavior was measured. Helping, for example, was a dichotomous variable (helper or not) that combined three items that were also dichotomous. One component, blood donation, was a small group of respondents, and this variable did not contribute to the relationships between helping and social fabric. It would be interesting to measure helping using observational data or structured situations, though this method is resource intensive. It would also be possible to specify particular forms of helping that would likely be influenced by social fabric and combine these items, rather than leaving helping broad, as was done in this study.

The interest in local participation variable could also be measured in different ways. It seems clear from the correlational results that interest in working with neighbors

and interest in assuming a leadership role had different patterns of relationships with the other variables in the study. It may be advisable, therefore, to use these variables separately in the future. Also, interest in local participation could be measured using observational data, structured situations, or data collected from local organizations.

Because the prosocial variables in this study appear to be influenced more by individual factors than by community ones, it may be more appropriate to investigate other variables that are more likely to be influenced by social fabric. Such variables might include outcomes such as crime rates, physical health measures, community appearance measures, voting rates, or rates of participation in community activities. If these outcomes are influenced by social fabric, then efforts to increase the strength of the social fabric would be warranted. Block parties, pot luck dinners, neighborhood crime watches, community resource exchanges, and local food rescue programs are examples of projects that are likely to increase interactions between neighbors, augment feelings of safety, and facilitate resident participation in local decision-making.

Demographic Predictors of Social Fabric

The five variables used as predictors of social fabric in this study (years on the block, crime rating, income rating, age of the respondent, and presence of children) provide useful information for community developers and city planners about policy level influences on the quality of community life. Demographic characteristics, though difficult to change, can be influenced by legislative decisions, such as tax incentives, police funding, and so forth. It is important to understand the role of these factors in order to focus local energy in ways which support useful policy development.

Social Ties

At the individual level, ratings of the block's degree of social ties was predicted by the individual's rating of the block's degree of crime and income level. At the block level, the crime rating was no longer significant. The average income rating was a significant predictor of social ties, as were the average number of years residents had lived on the block and the average age of respondents on the block. The perception of crime only appears to impact perceptions of social interactions on the block at the level of the individual. However, the age of the respondent and the number of years spent living on the block were only relevant as block level measures. The degree of social ties that are developed has more to do with the average length of stay of all residents than the length of stay of any individual resident.

The relationship between the length of stay on the block and the degree of social ties could indirectly provide support for the ASA model. Blocks on which residents have lived longer may be communities in which the ASA process has occurred and where residents have become more similar to each other. When residents are more similar to each other, they may be more likely to develop and maintain social ties with one another.

These findings provide support for the implementation of policies that encourage resident investment in and commitment to local communities. Policies that already exist include tax incentives for home ownership and tax credits for the purchase of local and state bonds. Community developers can provide residents with inducements to remain in particular areas by creating pleasant physical environments that include places for residents to meet informally, such as corner parks, roadside benches, and community centers. The

influence of an individual's perceptions of crime and income on his or her perceptions of the social fabric indicates areas in which local efforts can make a difference. For example, a local campaign to address residents' fear of crime could increase residents' ratings of the strength of the community's social fabric without altering the actual crime rate. This strategy would be particularly useful in areas where crime rates are low, but fear of crime is still high.

Security

All five of the demographic variables were significantly correlated with security at the block level; however, only the average ratings of the block's level of crime and income remained significant in the regression equation. Crime and income ratings are significant predictors of security ratings at the individual level as well. In addition, age of the respondent is also a significant predictor at the individual level. Crime and income ratings would be expected to predict an individual's perceptions of security on the block. It also appears that the older the respondent, the more likely he or she was to give a higher security rating to the block.

Many communities are addressing the issue of resident perceptions of security by increasing funding for police patrols, restructuring police departments to incorporate a greater emphasis on community policing, and developing neighborhood crime watch groups. These strategies address safety at multiple levels. Planners can also increase perceptions of and actual safety by adding street lighting to unlit areas, adding emergency call boxes to areas with heavy pedestrian traffic, and extending the hours of public transportation later into the evening.

Community Action

The rating of the block's income level was the only individual level predictor of community action. Individuals who rated their block as being comprised of higher income residents also rated the residents as participating more in community activities and being better able to create solutions to address local issues. At the block level, the proportion of households with children predicted the level of community action of the block. This relationship was a negative one; the greater the proportion of households with children, the lower the rating of community action.

Because income is a very difficult variable to change, local efforts addressed at changing perceptions may be more fruitful methods for enhancing this component of social fabric. Social change has occurred in very poor communities through the efforts of small numbers of active and committed residents. Although policy work should be pursued to ensure that all community members have an income that provides them with a satisfactory quality of life, strategies can be undertaken to demonstrate the potential for community action in communities of all income levels. Voter registration drives, recruitment of residents to local boards and commissions, and selecting community members to advise city planners and legislators are methods of involving citizens in decision-making and illustrating that involvement is an important facet of creating solutions to local problems.

The relationship of children to community action is an interesting one. This finding may indicate that households with children are busy with child care and school involvements, and are less available for other community activities. Further investigation of this finding is warranted in order to determine if communities with greater proportions

of households with children truly have lower rates of community action, or if residents in these communities have different expectations or understandings of what community action is. Planners need to be aware of which areas of the city have large proportions of households with children, in order to address concerns particular to families; such concerns may include access to safe recreation areas, transportation to local schools, and the availability of child care settings. Local participation is important in these communities because decisions that influence such issues as educational curriculum, recreational opportunities, and funding for schools and parks are often made at the local level.

Across all three social fabric components, the one consistent predictor, in most cases at both the individual and block levels, was the income rating of the residents on the block. Residents' perceptions of the income level of the block affected their perceptions of the social fabric of the block. The three social fabric components were run in a correlation analysis with 1990 Census data (see Table 53, Appendix E). The Census data have several variables that can be used as proxies for income, including housing values, rental costs, percent of housing units that are owned, and percent of housing units that are occupied. At the block level, the only correlations that were significant were between the social fabric component security and two Census variables, housing value ($r = .48$, $p < .05$) and percent owned ($r = .45$, $p < .05$). It seems reasonable that people who live in areas where the housing values are higher and in which a greater proportion of residents are homeowners would feel more secure on their blocks. This finding provides support, using an external data source, that income is an important factor in determining the social fabric of a community.

Relationships Between the Three Components

The ratings of the sense of security on the block significantly predicted the degree of social ties, which, in turn, predicted the degree of community action. These relationships were evident at both the individual and block levels. The high intercorrelations between these three variables could be due, at least in part, to response bias, since the items from which the variables were created were measured in the same section and on the same response scale. However, since the items in this section formed three distinct factors, there is likely some relationship between these variables that is attributable to conceptual or theoretical bases. It is not surprising that blocks where residents feel more secure would be blocks where residents also feel comfortable interacting. Further, blocks where residents interact more frequently could be expected to have a greater degree of participation in local affairs, and to have residents who feel more confident in their ability to contribute their voices regarding local decision-making. It is important to keep in mind, however, that these are correlational and cross-sectional data, and that the direction of causation between these variables has not been established.

Summary

This study makes several contributions to our existing knowledge about social fabric. First, it provides support for three main components of the social community that are meaningful and distinct. A network of strong social ties, a sense of security, and active engagement in the community, or community action, comprise a strong social fabric and make "communities of place" healthy. These components contribute to a satisfactory quality of life for community members. Second, this study found no evidence of a block

impact on individuals' prosocial behavior. It appears that the individual level of analysis is an appropriate way to understand this variable. Social fabric, however, did impact prosocial behavior. An individual's perceptions of the social fabric of the block was a predictor of her or his helping behavior and interest in local participation. The social fabric components differentially related to these dependent variables, with security and community action predicting helping, and social ties predicting interest in local participation.

Finally, this study demonstrated that all five of the predictor variables (years on the block, crime rating, income rating, age, and presence of children) had relationships with at least one of the social fabric components. These relationships changed somewhat between the block and individual levels, as well as when variables were tested separately versus together. At the block level, the social ties factor was predicted by years on the block, income rating, and age, only when the independent variables were entered into the regression analysis separately. Security was predicted by both income rating and crime rating; although when entered separately, all five predictors were significant. Community action was predicted only by the presence of children.

Community development efforts which focus on the three social fabric components can strengthen communities by promoting resident interaction, by increasing the sense of security, and by facilitating participation in local decision-making. In addition, policy decisions and planning projects can have an impact on demographic variables that also influence the strength of a community's social fabric.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Block Information

Street #	Total Households	Done	Response Rate	Vacant	Vacancy Rate	Refusals	Refusal Rate	Housing Value	Mean Rent
1	25	12	57%	4	16%	5	24%	$32,900.00	$368.50
2	22	14	67%	1	5%	8	38%	$49,750.00	$228.00
3	16	14	88%	0	0%	1	6%	$45,450.00	$302.50
4	16	13	81%	0	0%	1	6%	$49,750.00	$366.50
5	14	10	71%	0	0%	1	7%	$50,300.00	$331.00
6	15	8	53%	0	0%	6	40%	$49,200.00	$328.00
7	17	13	87%	2	12%	1	7%	$29,750.00	$299.00
8	23	17	74%	0	0%	0	0%	$35,300.00	$342.00
9	31	20	71%	3	10%	1	4%	$46,350.00	$384.50
10	20	12	80%	5	2%	3	20%	$37,500.00	$343.00
11	40	16	46%	5	13%	7	20%	$36,550.00	$362.50
12	20	13	68%	1	5%	2	11%	$33,750.00	$346.00
13	9	6	67%	0	0%	1	11%	$82,900.00	$0.00

Street #	Total Households	Done	Response Rate	Vacant	Vacancy Rate	Refusals	Refusal Rate	Housing Value	Mean Rent
14	18	12	67%	0	0%	4	22%	$32,150.00	$270.50
15	19	11	58%	0	0%	5	26%	$40,700.00	$392.00
16	25	10	42%	1	4%	9	38%	$63,350.00	$231.50
17	25	16	73%	3	12%	0	0%	$22,750.00	$317.50
18	22	11	50%	0	0%	6	27%	$40,450.00	$313.50
19	28	10	37%	1	4%	8	30%	$30,350.00	$328.50
20	34	21	66%	2	6%	7	22%	$34,800.00	$327.00
21	22	15	71%	1	5%	0	0%	$36,450.00	$324.50
22	24	15	63%	0	0%	2	8%	$43,600.00	$385.50
23	21	14	67%	0	0%	3	14%	$54,500.00	$144.00
24	17	6	40%	2	12%	5	33%	$50,700.00	$335.00
25	22	13	59%	0	0%	3	14%	$40,300.00	$320.50
26	30	15	54%	2	7%	4	14%	$71,300.00	$499.00
27	24	12	50%	0	0%	5	21%	$36,850.00	$358.50
28	18	13	72%	0	0%	2	11%	$30,150.00	$354.50
29	16	6	38%	0	0%	4	25%	$84,400.00	$345.00
30	15	10	67%	0	0%	0	0%	$48,000.00	$367.00

Street #	Total Households	Done	Response Rate	Vacant	Vacancy Rate	Refusals	Refusal Rate	Housing Value	Mean Rent
31	22	8	36%	0	0%	8	36%	$47,700.00	$369.00
32	23	12	55%	1	4%	10	45%	$43,450.00	$316.00
33	12	8	67%	0	0%	0	0%	$49,800.00	$467.50
34	17	4	29%	3	18%	4	29%	$30,150.00	$285.00
35	21	10	50%	1	5%	1	5%	$44,700.00	$393.50
36	25	13	57%	2	8%	4	17%	$32,350.00	$323.00
37	16	12	75%	0	0%	0	0%	$136,100.00	$488.00

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Interview Form

Date:_____
Interviewer:_____
Block:_____
Household:_____

Sense of Community Questionnaire

PART I : Block Questions
In this section, you will be asked questions about your block (describe geographic boundaries).

_____ How long have you lived on this block? [years & months]

I will be giving you a list of statements. Let me know how well each one describes the people on this block, using the following categories:

(1) Strongly agree or definitely true
(2) Agree or true
(3) Neutral, not sure, or don't know
(4) Disagree or not true
(5) Strongly disagree or definitely not true

_____ People on this block know each other. [C]

_____ People on this block participate in social activities (e.g., pot lucks, group garage sales, etc.) [P]

_____ People on this block socialize with each other. [C]

_____ It is fairly safe to walk on this block at night. [Sa]

_____ On this block people talk to each other about community problems. [C]

_____ People on this block take care of each others' plants, pets, kids. [S]

_____ People on this block feel connected to each other. [C]

_____ People on this block feel comfortable borrowing and lending things from each other. [S]

_____ People who live on this block think of themselves as a community. [B]

_____ The people on this block help each other out when one of them has a problem. [S]

_____ Children of the same age on this block attend different schools. [-P]

_____ People on this block watch out for each other. [S]

_____ Residents on this block can reduce the amount of crime on the block. [E]

_____ People on this block trust each other. [C]

_____ People on this block comfort each other in times of need. [S]

_____ Residents on this block attend the same church(es) or place(s) of worship [P]

_____ People on this block feel like a family. [B]

_____ Residents are able to resolve conflict when it arises on this block. [E]

_____ People on this block would give rides to each other if needed. [S]

_____ A feeling of community spirit exists among the residents on this block. [B]

_____ People on this block like each other. [C]

_____ When faced with a problem on this block, residents can create a solution. [E]

_____ People on this block feel isolated from each other.[-C]

_____ People on this block share the same values. [B]

_____ People on this block influence each others' behavior. [C]

_____ People on this block get things done together to improve the block. [E]

_____ Residents are committed to the block's future. [B]

_____ People on this block participate in community improvement activities (e.g., community clean-ups, flower plantings, etc.). [P]

_____ People on this block have a voice regarding important community issues. [E]

_____ People on this block feel that it is a safe place to live. [Sa]

_____ People on this block participate in the curbside recycling program. [P]

_____ People on this block can persuade the city to respond to their needs and concerns. [E]

_____ People on this block feel they belong here. [B]

▸Overall, what is your feeling about the sense of community on this block?

_____ Too much ▸What should be changed?

_____ Just about right

_____ Too little ▸How could it be increased?

▸What is it that you feel contributes most to your sense of community on your block?

▸What is the best thing about living on this block?

▸What is the major problem facing this block?

Y N DK Do you know anything about the history of this block?
▸If yes, briefly describe: (How far back have you heard about? Have you heard about people? Buildings? Events?

Please answer this set of questions with Yes, No, or Don't Know

Y N DK Is this block part of a neighborhood organization?

Y N DK Is this block part of a neighborhood watch group?

Y N DK Is there a neighborhood or community newsletter?

Y N DK Is there a clear leader on your block whom you can go to with questions, concerns, or suggestions?

Y N DK Do you have a community police officer assigned to your block?

Y N DK Do people from this block get together to hold meetings?
▸If so, where? _____

Y N DK Do people from this block get together to socialize?
▸If so, where? _____

_____ (#) In the last year, how many social activities have occurred on this block [not including private events]? (e.g., pot lucks, group garage sales, etc.)

_____ (#) In the last year, how many community improvement activities have occurred on this block? (e.g., community clean-ups, flower plantings, etc.)?

Y N DK Are there other activities on this block?
▸If yes, describe the types of activities:

_____ Which of the following categories best describes the financial condition of the people on this block?

a. well-off
b. middle income, on the higher side
b/c. middle income
c. middle income, on the lower side
d. poor/low income

▸What is your feeling about the amount of criminal activity on this block?

_____ There is more criminal activity on this block than on other blocks in this neighborhood/city
_____ There is about the same amount of criminal activity on this block as on other blocks
_____ This block has less criminal activity than other blocks in the neighborhood/city

▸How interested would you be in assuming a leadership role on the block?

_____ Very interested
_____ Somewhat interested
_____ Not interested

▸How interested would you be in working with your neighbors to improve conditions on this block?

_____ Very interested
_____ Somewhat interested
_____ Not interested

PART II: Individual Questions
In this section, you will be asked some questions about you or your household.

_____ Do you:
(1) own your home
(a) Why did you buy on this block?
(b) How is your home financed?
_____ mortgage _____ land contract _____ cash _____ other (how?)
(2) rent your home
(a) Would you buy a house on this block? Y N DK
(b) Why/why not?

Y N DK Does anyone in your household have a car?

Y N DK Does your household have a telephone?

How many people in your household are
_____ Under 5 years of age?
_____ 5-12?
_____ 13-17?
_____ 18-64, including yourself?
_____ 65 or older, including yourself?

_____ What is your age?

_____ What is your gender?

▸What is the race/ethnicity of the respondent? (If uncertain, ask)

_____ White	_____ Black	_____ Hispanic
_____ Asian	_____ Native American	_____ Other

Y N DK Are any other racial/ethnic groups represented in your household? (check all that apply)

_____ White	_____ Black	_____ Hispanic
_____ Asian	_____ Native American	_____ Other

▸What is the highest level of education (how far in school) that the adults in your household have reached? [check for each adult]
_____ Junior high/middle school
_____ Some high school
_____ Graduated from high school/earned GED
_____ 1-2 years of college or other training
_____ 3-4 years of college

_____ Finished 4-year college (Bachelor's degree)
_____ Some post-college education
_____ Finished graduate/professional degree (MA, PhD, MD, DDS, etc.)

▸What religious affiliation do you have, if any? _____

Y N DK Do you or any of the adults in your household regularly attend a church or other place of worship in the neighborhood? (If yes, where?)

Y N DK Do you or any of the adults in your household stay at home or work at home during the day?

▸How much do you like living on this block?
_____ Love living here
_____ Like living here
_____ Do not mind living here
_____ Do not like living here
_____ Hate living here
▸Why?

_____ Estimate the number of years you plan to stay on this block.

_____ Estimate the number of years you would like to stay on this block.

▸ Where do you get information about your community? Please rate the following sources of information based on how much they tell you about your community:

	NONE	A LITTLE	A LOT
Lansing State Journal (newspaper)	_____	_____	_____
Local television news	_____	_____	_____
Community/neighborhood newsletter	_____	_____	_____
Neighbors (word-of-mouth)	_____	_____	_____
Neighborhood leader	_____	_____	_____

▸ Please rate the following statements from 1-5 based on the following scale:
(1) All (100%)
(2) Most (75%)
(3) Some (50%)

(4) Few (25%)
(5) None (0%)

_____ How many families/households on this block do you know by sight?

_____ How many families/households on this block do you know by name?

_____ How many families/households on this block do you socialize with?

_____ How many families/households on this block do you consider friends?

▸How often do you talk to your neighbors?
_____ very often
_____ fairly often
_____ sometimes
_____ hardly ever
_____ never

Y N DK Is there anyone on this block that you particularly like?
If yes, why?

Y N DK Is there anyone on this block that you particularly dislike?
If yes, why?

Y N DK Within the past month, have you volunteered your time to help someone without getting compensated (paid, helped out yourself)?
If yes, what did you do?

Y N DK Within the past month, have you volunteered your time to help someone on your block without getting compensated?
If yes, what did you do?

Y N DK Have you donated blood within the past year?

Y N DK Do you have a library card for a local library?

Y N DK Have you used your local library within the past year?

Is there anything else about this block that we should know?

Thank you very much for your time!

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Introduction

Sense of Community Project Introduction

Hi. My name is _____ from Michigan State University. We're working on a project to improve conditions in Lansing neighborhoods. This block has been selected so we will be interviewing someone from every household on the block to get your perspectives about your block. Would you mind taking a few minutes to be interviewed? Your participation is voluntary, but it would help us to hear from as many people as possible to get the most accurate picture that we can. Eventually we will be working with some of the blocks on community projects.

Explain the boundaries of the block (from _____ to _____)

-- Make sure the person is 18 or older (ask if unsure).

-- If the person is hesitant, find out if a different time would be better.

-- If the person wants to know how long it takes, make sure to let them know that it depends on how much they have to say (but at least 20 minutes).

-- If the person does not speak English, try to use someone else in the household as a translator, or try to ascertain what language he/she does speak, so we can try to find someone.

-- Refer to John Schweitzer if the person has concerns about the survey (353-9144)

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

Flyer

Greetings!! Urban Affairs Programs at Michigan State University is working on a project to strengthen Lansing neighborhoods. We are asking all households on this block to participate in an interview process that will help us find out how you feel about your block. Your opinions will be used to help improve Lansing neighborhoods.

An interviewer will be coming to your door soon. Your input is needed and greatly appreciated! So, please participate.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call John Schweitzer at Michigan State University, 353-9144.

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

Data Tables

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Table 4

Social Ties -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block know each other.
2. People on this block feel connected to each other.
3. People on this block take care of each other's plants, pets, kids.
4. People on this block feel comfortable borrowing and lending things from each other.
5. The people on this block help each other out when one of them has a problem.
6. People on this block watch out for each other.
7. People on this block comfort each other in times of need.
8. People on this block would give rides to each other if needed.
9. People who live on this block think of themselves as a community.
10. People on this block feel like a family.
11. A feeling of community spirit exists among the residents on this block.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings **Social Ties**	Factor loadings Comm. Act.	Factor loadings Safety
1	.53	**.73**	.28	.27
2	.83	**.91**	.53	.47
3	.47	**.68**	.29	.31
4	.54	**.73**	.34	.50
5	.67	**.82**	.43	.56
6	.79	**.89**	.48	.57
7	.68	**.82**	.40	.45
8	.57	**.75**	.50	.51
9	.76	**.87**	.57	.55
10	.52	**.72**	.13	.50

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings **Social Ties**	Factor loadings Comm. Act.	Factor loadings Safety
11	.77	**.88**	.65	.56

Table 5

Community Action -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block participate in social activities.
2. On this block people talk to each other about community problems.
3. People on this block participate in community improvement activities.
4. People on this block get things done together to improve the block.
5. People on this block have a voice regarding important community issues.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings Social Ties	Factor loadings **Comm. Act.**	Factor loadings Safety
1	..57	.49	**.75**	.17
2	.64	.50	**.80**	.01
3	.65	.21	**.80**	-.01
4	.86	.48	**.93**	.13
5	.82	.49	**.91**	.22

Table 6

Safety -- Descriptive Data

1. It is fairly safe to walk on this block at night.
2. People on this block feel that it is a safe place to live.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings Social Ties	Factor loadings Comm. Act.	Factor loadings **Safety**
1	.88	.50	.07	**.94**
2	.88	.62	.16	**.94**

Principal Components Analysis -- Individual Level

Table 7

Factor Data

Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct. of Variance	Cum. Pct.
1 - Social Ties	11.20	36.1	36.1
2 - Security	1.98	6.4	42.5
3 - Community Action	1.92	6.2	48.7
4 (not included)	1.16	3.7	52.4
5 (not included)	1.05	3.4	55.8
6 (not included)	1.04	3.3	59.2

Table 8

Social Ties -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block feel connected to each other.
2. People on this block know each other.
3. People on this block take care of each other's plants, pets, kids.
4. People on this block feel comfortable borrowing and lending things from each other.
5. The people on this block help each other out when one of them has a problem.
6. People on this block socialize with each other.
7. People on this block comfort each other in times of need.
8. People on this block feel like a family.
9. People who live on this block think of themselves as a community.
10. People on this block watch out for each other.
11. A feeling of community spirit exists among the residents on this block.
12. People on this block feel isolated from each other (reverse coded).
13. On this block people talk to each other about community problems.
14. People on this block like each other.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings **Social Ties**	Factor loadings Security	Factor loadings Community Action
1	.67	**.72**	.29	.26
2	.51	**.71**	.05	.04
3	.52	**.71**	.14	.01
4	.55	**.68**	.30	.08
5	.56	**.66**	.32	.14
6	.48	**.65**	-.04	.22
7	.56	**.61**	.38	.22
8	.48	**.59**	.30	.20
9	.57	**.57**	.38	.31
10	.55	**.55**	.45	.21
11	.65	**.55**	.48	.35
12	.40	**.49**	.34	.22

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings **Social Ties**	Factor loadings Security	Factor loadings Community Action
13	.40	**.47**	.06	.43
14	.44	**.45**	.40	.28

Table 9

Security -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block feel that it is a safe place to live.
2. People on this block feel they belong here.
3. People on this block trust each other.
4. It is fairly safe to walk on this block at night.
5. People on this block share the same values.
6. People on this block would give rides to each other if needed.
7. People on this block participate in the curbside recycling program.
8. Residents are able to resolve conflict when it arises on the block.
9. Residents on this block can reduce the amount of crime on the block.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings Social Ties	Factor loadings **Security**	Factor loadings Community Action
1	.70	.09	**.83**	.02
2	.50	.14	**.67**	.19
3	.59	.46	**.61**	.09
4	.42	.21	**.59**	-.16
5	.37	.26	**.51**	.19
6	.47	.46	**.48**	.18
7	.24	.13	**.46**	.09
8	.33	.35	**.43**	.16
9	.18	.11	**.34**	.22

Table 10

Community Action -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block participate in community improvement activities (e.g., community clean-ups, flower plantings, etc.).
2. People on this block get things done together to improve the block.
3. People on this block have a voice regarding important community issues.
4. Residents are committed to the block's future.
5. People on this block participate in social activities (e.g., pot lucks, group garage sales, etc.).
6. People on this block can persuade the city to respond to their needs and concerns.
7. When faced with a problem on this block, residents can create a solution.
8. Residents on this block attend the same church(es) or place(s) of worship.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings Social Ties	Factor loadings Security	Factor loadings **Community Action**
1	.62	.12	.10	**.77**
2	.65	.31	.24	**.70**
3	.56	.08	.31	**.68**
4	.59	.23	.47	**.57**
5	.49	.42	-.03	**.56**
6	.39	-.11	.37	**.48**
7	.44	.32	.40	**.43**
8	.21	.15	-.17	**.40**

Table 12

Correlation Matrix of Social Fabric Factors and Other Survey Items

S.T.: Social Ties Factor
SEC: Security Factor
C.A.: Community Action Factor
SocA: Number of Social Activities on Block in Past Year
ComI: Number of Community Improvement Activities on Block in Past Year
Like: Number of Years Resident Would Like to Stay on the Block
Sight: Proportion of Households on Block Residents Know by Sight
Name: Proportion of Households on Block Residents Know by Name
Soclz: Proportion of Households on Block Residents Socialize With
Friend: Proportion of Households on Block Residents Consider Friends
Talk: Frequency of Talking to Neighbors

	S.T.	SEC	C.A.	SocA	ComI	Like	Sight	Name	Soclz	Friend
S.T.	1.00									
SEC	.70*	1.00								
C.A.	.63*	.53*	1.00							
SocA	.17*	.07	.27*	1.00						
ComI	.00	-.02	.16*	.25*	1.00					
Like	.09	.14*	.03	.03	.10	1.00				
Sight	.34*	.27*	.11*	.12*	.01	.06	1.00			
Name	.37*	.26*	.14*	.10*	.03	.09	.73*	1.00		
Soclz	.34*	.22*	.13*	.14*	.03	.03	.48*	.50*	1.00	
Friend	.37*	.25*	.11*	.05	.03	.17*	.47*	.58*	.53*	1.00
Talk	.41*	.27*	.19*	.13*	.05	-.05	.39*	.37*	.49*	.33*

* $p < .05$

Table 13

Correlation Matrix of Social Fabric Factors and Prosocial Behavior Variables

S.T.: Social Ties Factor
SEC: Security Factor
C.A.: Community Action Factor
Help: Helping
IntPart: Interest in Local Participation
IntWork: Interest in Working with Neighbors (part of IntPart)
IntLead: Interest in Assuming a Leadership Role (part of IntPart)

	S.T.	SEC	C.A.	Helping	IntPart	IntWork	IntLead
S. T.	1.00						
SEC	.69*	1.00					
C.A.	.63*	.53*	1.00				
Helping	.11*	.15*	-.02	1.00			
IntPart	.15*	.09	.13*	.19*	1.00		
IntWork	.16*	.11*	.14*	.22*	.86*	1.00	
IntLead	.09	.03	.07	.09	.83*	.43*	1.00

* $p \leq .05$

Table 14

Multiple Regression Analysis for Social Fabric Variables Predicting Helping

Dependent Variable: Helping
Independent Variables: Social Ties, Security, Community Action

Multiple R	.20
R square	.04
Adjusted R square	.03
Standard Error	.45

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	3	2.70	.90
	315	63.19	.20

F = 4.49 Signif. F = .004

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Social Ties	.06	.06	.10	1.14	.26
Security	.14	.06	.18	2.22	.03
Comm. Act.	-.13	.05	-.18	-2.51	.01
(Constant)	.37	.17		2.14	.03

Table 15

Multiple Regression Analysis with Social Fabric Variables Predicting Interest in Local Participation

Dependent Variable: Interest in Local Participation
Independent Variables: Social Ties, Security, Community Action

Multiple R	.16
R square	.03
Adjusted R square	.02
Standard Error	1.09

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	3	13.56	4.52
	432	517.17	1.20

F = 3.77 Signif. F = .011

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Social Ties	.23	.12	.14	1.94	.05
Security	-.09	.13	-.05	- .69	.49
Comm. Act.	.11	.11	.06	1.00	.32
(Constant)	.74	.36		2.04	.04

Table 16

Correlation Matrix of Social Fabric Factors and Demographic Predictors - Individual Level

S.T.: Social Ties Factor
SEC: Security Factor
C.A.: Community Action Factor
Years: Years on the Block
Income: Income Rating of the Block
Crime: Crime Rating of the Block
Age: Age of the Respondent
Children: Presence of Children in the Household

	S.T.	SEC	C.A.	Years	Income	Crime	Age	Children
S.T.	1.00							
SEC	.69*	1.00						
C.A.	.63*	.53*	1.00					
Years	.02	.08	-.00	1.00				
Income	.26*	.39*	.22*	.09	1.00			
Crime	-.18*	-.25*	-.09*	-.04	-.19*	1.00		
Age	.09	.18*	.06	.71*	.14*	-.08	1.00	
Children	-.02	-.11*	-.10*	-.30*	.09	-.06	-.41*	1.00

* $p < .05$

Table 17

Correlation Matrix of Social Fabric Factors and Demographic Predictors - Block Level

S.T.: Social Ties Factor
SEC: Security Factor
C.A.: Community Action Factor
Years: Average Number of Years on the Block
Income: Average Income Rating of the Block
Crime: Average Crime Rating of the Block
Age: Average Age of Respondents on the Block
Children: Proportion of Households with Children

	S.T.	SEC	C.A.	Years	Income	Crime	Age	Children
S.T.	1.00							
SEC	.71*	1.00						
C.A.	.66*	.52*	1.00					
Years	.36*	.43*	.07	1.00				
Income	.36*	.69*	.22	.37*	1.00			
Crime	-.28	-.47*	.01	-.22	-.29	1.00		
Age	.41*	.57*	.13	.88*	.54*	-.28*	1.00	
Children	-.31	-.46*	-.40*	-.42*	-.54*	.03	-.57*	1.00

* $p < .05$

Table 18

Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting Social Ties (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variables: Years, Income, Crime, Age, Children

Multiple R	.30
R square	.09
Adjusted R square	.08
Standard Error	.67

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	5	18.69	3.74
	416	184.84	.44

F = 8.41 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	-.00	.00	-.08	-1.27	.20
Crime	-.19	.06	-.14	-2.99	.00
Income	.18	.04	.22	4.66	.00
Age	.00	.00	.10	1.42	.16
Children	.02	.07	.01	.22	.83
(Constant)	3.44	.26		13.28	.00

Table 19

Multiple Regression Analysis for Income and Crime Predicting Social Ties (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variables: Income, Crime

Multiple R	.29
R square	.08
Adjusted R square	.08
Standard Error	.66

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	2	17.40	8.70
	427	187.98	.44

F = 19.77 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Income	.18	.04	.23	4.90	.00
Crime	-.18	.06	-.14	-2.96	.00
(Constant)	3.44	.26		15.47	.00

Table 20

Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting Security (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variables: Years, Income, Crime, Age, Children

Multiple R	.42
R square	.21
Adjusted R square	.20
Standard Error	.50

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	5	27.07	5.41
	416	104.85	.25

F = 21.48 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	-.00	.00	-.09	-1.42	.16
Crime	-.19	.05	-.18	-4.04	.00
Income	.22	.03	.34	7.58	.00
Age	.00	.00	.15	2.36	.02
Children	-.05	.05	-.05	-.99	.32
(Constant)	3.83	.20		19.66	.00

Table 21

Multiple Regression Analysis for Crime, Income, and Age Predicting Security (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variables: Income, Crime, Age

Multiple R	.44
R square	.20
Adjusted R square	.19
Standard Error	.50

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	3	25.99	8.66
	423	106.18	.25

F = 34.51 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Income	.22	.03	.34	7.64	.00
Crime	-.19	.05	-.18	-3.97	.00
Age	.00	.00	.11	2.51	.01
(Constant)	3.84	.19		20.31	.00

Table 22

Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting Community Action (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variables: Years, Income, Crime, Age, Children

Multiple R	.27
R square	.07
Adjusted R square	.06
Standard Error	.63

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	5	12.41	2.48
	416	164.09	.39

F = 6.29 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	-.00	.00	-.09	-1.37	.17
Income	.16	.04	.22	4.47	.00
Crime	-.08	.06	-.07	-1.47	.14
Age	.00	.00	.03	.42	.67
Children	-.12	.07	-.10	-1.84	.07
(Constant)	3.57	.24		14.64	.00

Table 23

Multiple Regression Analysis for Income Predicting Community Action (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variable: Income

Multiple R	.22
R square	.05
Adjusted R square	.05
Standard Error	.63

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	9.24	9.24
	439	174.42	.40

F = 23.25 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Income	.17	.03	.22	4.82	.00
(Constant)	3.77	.12		30.25	.00

Table 24

Multiple Regression Analysis for Security Predicting Social Ties (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Security Factor

Multiple R	.69
R square	.48
Adjusted R square	.48
Standard Error	.50

Analysis of Variance

DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
1	101.33	101.33
443	108.60	.25

F = 413.34 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Security	.85	.04	.69	20.33	.00
(Constant)	.27	.16		1.67	.09

Table 25

Multiple Regression Analysis for Social Ties Predicting Community Action (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action
Independent Variable: Social Ties Factor

Multiple R	.63
R square	.40
Adjusted R square	.40
Standard Error	.50

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	73.95	73.95
	443	110.76	.25

F = 295.76 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Social Ties	.59	.03	.63	17.20	.00
(Constant)	1.14	.12		9.40	.00

Table 26

Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting Social Ties (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variables: Years, Income, Crime, Age, Children

Multiple R	.48
R square	.23
Adjusted R square	.10
Standard Error	.30

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	5	.84	.17
	31	2.87	.09

F = 1.81 Signif. F = .14

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	.01	.02	.15	.42	.68
Crime	-.27	.12	-.18	-1.05	.30
Income	.09	.26	.15	.72	.48
Age	.00	.02	.08	.19	.85
Children	-.18	.01	-.12	-.57	.57
(Constant)	2.89	1.01		2.86	.01

Table 27

Multiple Regression Analysis for Years Predicting Social Ties (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Years

Multiple R	.36
R square	.13
Adjusted R square	.10
Standard Error	.30

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.48	.48
	35	3.23	.09

F = 5.17 Signif. F = .03

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	.02	.01	.36	2.27	.03
(Constant)	3.23	.11		28.50	.00

Table 28

Multiple Regression Analysis for Income Predicting Social Ties (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Income

Multiple R	.36
R square	.13
Adjusted R square	.11
Standard Error	.30

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.49	.49
	35	3.22	.09

F = 5.29 Signif. F = .03

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Income	.21	.09	.36	2.30	.03
(Constant)	4.20	.32		12.97	.00

Table 29

Multiple Regression Analysis for Age Predicting Social Ties (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Age

Multiple R	.41
R square	.16
Adjusted R square	.14
Standard Error	.30

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.61	.61
	35	3.10	.09

F = 6.89 Signif. F = .01

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Age	.02	.01	.41	2.63	.01
(Constant)	2.78	.26		10.52	.00

Table 30

Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting Security (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variables: Years, Income, Crime, Age, Children

Multiple R	.77
R square	.60
Adjusted R square	.53
Standard Error	.19

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	5	1.60	.32
	31	1.09	.04

F = 9.12 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	-.00	.01	-.06	-.25	.81
Crime	-.36	.16	-.28	-2.26	.03
Income	.22	.08	.44	2.90	.01
Age	.01	.01	.25	.85	.40
Children	-.13	.19	-.10	-.68	.50
(Constant)	3.27	.62		5.25	.00

Table 31

Multiple Regression Analysis for Income and Crime Predicting Security (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variables: Income, Crime

Multiple R	.74
R square	.55
Adjusted R square	.52
Standard Error	.19

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	2	1.48	.74
	34	1.22	.04

F = 20.69 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Crime	-.37	.15	-.29	-2.45	.02
Income	.30	.06	.60	5.00	.00
(Constant)	3.78	.51		7.39	.00

Table 32

Multiple Regression Analysis for Years Predicting Security (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variable: Years

Multiple R	.43
R square	.18
Adjusted R square	.16
Standard Error	.25

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.49	.49
	35	2.20	.06

F = 7.80 Signif. F = .01

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	.02	.01	.43	2.79	.01
(Constant)	3.51	.09		37.51	.00

Table 33

Multiple Regression Analysis for Age Predicting Security (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variable: Age

Multiple R	.57
R square	.33
Adjusted R square	.31
Standard Error	.23

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.88	.88
	35	1.82	.05

F = 16.91 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Age	.02	.00	.57	4.11	.00
(Constant)	2.93	.20		14.47	.00

Table 34

Multiple Regression Analysis for Children Predicting Security (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variable: Children

Multiple R	.57
R square	.33
Adjusted R square	.31
Standard Error	.23

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.88	.88
	35	1.82	.05

F = 16.91 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Age	.02	.00	.57	4.11	.00
(Constant)	2.93	.20		14.47	.00

Table 35

Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting Community Action (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variables: Years, Income, Crime, Age, Children

Multiple R	.42
R square	.18
Adjusted R square	.04
Standard Error	.34

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	5	.77	.15
	31	3.55	.11

F = 1.34 Signif. F = .28

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Years	-.00	.02	-.00	-.01	.99
Income	.04	.14	.06	.28	.78
Crime	-.01	.29	-.00	-.24	.98
Age	-.01	.02	-.17	-.40	.69
Children	-.73	.34	-.46	-2.12	.04
(Constant)	3.91	1.12		3.48	.00

Table 36

Multiple Regression Analysis for Proportion of Households with Children Predicting Community Action (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variable: Children

Multiple R	.40
R square	.16
Adjusted R square	.14
Standard Error	.32

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.69	.69
	35	3.63	.10

F = 6.68 Signif. F = .01

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Children	-.63	.24	-.40	-2.58	.01
(Constant)	3.45	.12		29.89	.00

Table 37

Multiple Regression Analysis for Security Predicting Social Ties (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Security Factor

Multiple R	.72
R square	.51
Adjusted R square	.50
Standard Error	.23

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	1.90	1.90
	35	1.81	.05

F = 36.64 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Security	.84	.14	.72	6.05	.00
(Constant)	.32	.52		.61	.54

Table 38

Multiple Regression Analysis for Social Ties Predicting Community Action (Block Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variable: Social Ties Factor

Multiple R	.66
R square	.43
Adjusted R square	.42
Standard Error	.26

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	1.86	1.86
	35	2.46	.07

F = 26.56 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Social Ties	.71	.14	.66	5.15	.00
(Constant)	.73	.48		1.53	.14

Principal Components Analysis -- Block Level

Table 39

Factor Data

Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct. of Variance	Cum. Pct.
1 - Social Ties	14.22	45.9	45.9
2 - Community Action	3.49	11.3	57.2
3 - Security	2.40	7.7	64.9
4 (not included)	2.09	6.8	71.7
5 (not included)	1.30	4.2	75.9
6 (not included)	1.04	3.4	79.2

Table 40

Social Ties -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block know each other.
2. People on this block feel like a family.
3. People on this block feel connected to each other.
4. People on this block socialize with each other.
5. People on this block watch out for each other.
6. People who live on this block think of themselves as a community.
7 People on this block feel comfortable borrowing and lending things from each other.
8 A feeling of community spirit exists among the residents on this block.
9. When faced with a problem on this block, residents can create a solution.
10. People on this block feel they belong here.
11. The people on this block help each other out when one of them has a problem.
12. People on this block take care of each other's plants, pets, kids.
13. People on this block comfort each other in times of need.
14. Residents are able to resolve conflict when it arises on the block.
15. Residents on this block can reduce the amount of crime on the block.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings **Social Ties**	Factor loadings Community Action	Factor loadings Security
1	.75	**.85**	.15	-.08
2	.74	**.83**	-.13	.19
3	.83	**.82**	.31	.26
4	.76	**.74**	.33	-.32
5	.77	**.73**	.22	.43
6	.78	**.73**	.32	.39
7	.58	**.71**	.12	.25
8	.88	**.69**	.40	.49
9	.71	**.65**	.47	.24
10	.64	**.65**	-.09	.46
11	.69	**.63**	.20	.50

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings **Social Ties**	Factor loadings Community Action	Factor loadings Security
12	.40	**.59**	.18	.15
13	.65	**.59**	.22	.50
14	.38	**.52**	.09	.31
15	.16	**.37**	.17	-.01

Table 41

Community Action -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block participate in community improvement activities (e.g., community clean-ups, flower plantings, etc.).
2. People on this block get things done together to improve the block.
3. On this block people talk to each other about community problems.
4. People on this block have a voice regarding important community issues.
5. People on this block participate in social activities (e.g., pot lucks, group garage sales, etc.).
6. People on this block feel isolated from each other (reverse coded).
7. Residents are committed to the block's future.
8. Residents on this block attend the same church(es) or place(s) of worship.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings Social Ties	Factor loadings **Community Action**	Factor loadings Security
1	.71	.06	**.84**	-.01
2	.81	.24	**.84**	.22
3	.75	.23	**.82**	.17
4	.79	.22	**.81**	.31
5	.60	.29	**.71**	.14
6	.70	.53	**.60**	.25
7	.73	.49	**.50**	.48
8	.21	-.02	**.46**	.02

Table 42.

Security -- Descriptive Data

1. People on this block share the same values.
2. People on this block trust each other.
3. People on this block participate in the curbside recycling program.
4. People on this block like each other.
5. People on this block feel that it is a safe place to live.
6. People on this block would give rides to each other if needed.
7. It is fairly safe to walk on this block at night.
8. People on this block can persuade the city to respond to their needs and concerns.

Item number	Communality	Factor loadings Social Ties	Factor loadings Community Action	Factor loadings **Security**
1	.74	.12	.23	**.83**
2	.83	.48	.19	**.75**
3	.57	-.09	.36	**.66**
4	.70	.12	.53	**.64**
5	.73	.56	-.17	**.62**
6	.69	.50	.30	**.60**
7	.58	.44	-.24	**.58**
8	.24	.30	.18	**.34**

Table 43

Correlation Matrix of Response and Refusals Rates with Prosocial Behavior Variables (Block Level)

Response: Interview Response Rate of Block
Refusal: Interview Refusal Rate of Block
Blood: Proportion of Respondents on Block who are Blood Donors
Helping-a: Proportion of Respondents who Helped Someone During Past Month
Helping-b: Proportion of Respondents who Helped Neighbor During Past Month
Leader: Interest of Respondents in Taking on a Leadership Role on the Block
Workwith: Interest of Respondents in Working with Neighbors for Block Improvement

	Response	Refusal	Blood	Helping-a	Helping-b	Leader	Workwith
Response	1.00						
Refusal	-.65*	1.00					
Blood	.02	-.12	1.00				
Helping-a	-.01	-.05	-.25	1.00			
Helping-b	.29	-.10	-.17	.48*	1.00		
Leader	.41*	-.33*	.09	-.31	.15	1.00	
Workwith	.25	-.06	.05	.02	.22	.54*	1.00

* $p < .05$

Table 44

Multiple Regression Analysis for Helping Predicting Social Ties (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Helping

Multiple R	.11
R square	.01
Adjusted R square	.01
Standard Error	.72

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	1.98	1.98
	317	162.82	.51

F = 3.86 Signif. F = .05

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Helping	.17	.09	.11	1.97	.05
(Constant)	3.31	.07		44.48	.00

Table 45

Multiple Regression Analysis for Helping Predicting Security (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variable: Helping

Multiple R	.15
R square	.02
Adjusted R square	.02
Standard Error	.57

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	2.27	2.27
	317	101.53	.32

F = 7.08 Signif. F = .01

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Helping	.19	.07	.15	2.66	.01
(Constant)	3.32	.06		61.71	.00

Table 46

Multiple Regression Analysis for Helping Predicting Community Action (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variable: Helping

Multiple R	.02
R square	.00
Adjusted R square	.00
Standard Error	.64

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	.05	.05
	317	129.05	.41

F = .11 Signif. F = .74

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Helping	-.03	.08	-.02	-.34	.73
(Constant)	3.14	.07		47.52	.00

Table 47

Multiple Regression Analysis for Interest in Local Participation Predicting Social Ties (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Social Ties Factor
Independent Variable: Interest in Local Participation

Multiple R	.15
R square	.02
Adjusted R square	.02
Standard Error	.68

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	4.69	4.69
	434	202.57	.47

F = 10.05 Signif. F = .00

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Interest in L. P.	.09	.03	.15	3.17	.00
(Constant)	3.30	.06		59.13	.00

Table 48

Multiple Regression Analysis for Interest in Local Participation Predicting Security (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variable: Interest in Local Participation

Multiple R	.09
R square	.01
Adjusted R square	.01
Standard Error	.56

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	1.05	1.05
	434	136.52	.31

F = 3.32 Signif. F = .07

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Interest in L. P.	.04	.02	.09	1.82	.07
(Constant)	3.65	.05		79.75	.00

Table 49

Multiple Regression Analysis for Interest in Local Participation Predicting Community Action (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Community Action Factor
Independent Variable: Interest in Local Participation

Multiple R	.13
R square	.02
Adjusted R square	.01
Standard Error	.64

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	3.04	3.04
	434	180.13	.42

F = 7.31 Signif. F = .01

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Interest in L. P.	.08	.03	.13	2.71	.01
(Constant)	3.07	.05		58.33	.00

Table 50

Multiple Regression Analysis for Interest in Working with Neighbors Predicting Security (Individual Level)

Dependent Variable: Security Factor
Independent Variable: Interest in Working with Neighbors

Multiple R	.11
R square	.01
Adjusted R square	.01
Standard Error	.56

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
	1	1.63	1.63
	437	136.10	.31

F = 5.23 Signif. F = .02

Variables in the Equation:

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sign. T
Interest in Ww/N	.09	.04	.11	2.29	.02
(Constant)	3.62	.05		68.70	.00

Table 51

Correlation Matrix of Helping, Helping Components, and Support Items

KidsPets: People on this block take care of each others' plants, pets, kids.
Lending: People on this block feel comfortable borrowing and lending things from each other.
Helpout: The people on this block help each other out when one of them has a problem.
Comfort: People on this block comfort each other in times of need.
Giveride: People on this block would give rides to each other if needed.
Watchout: People on this block watch out for each other.
Helping: Composite of Help-Gen, Help-Neighbor, and Blood
Help-Gen: Helped someone in the past month.
Help-Neighbor: Helped someone on the block in the past month.
Blood: Donated blood within the past year.

Individual Level	Helping	Help-Gen	Help-Neighbor	Blood
KidsPets	.13*	.13*	.24*	.01
Lending	.14*	.16*	.24*	.00
Helpout	.10	.08	.20*	.02
Comfort	.14*	.12*	.17*	.01
Giveride	.12*	.14*	.17*	.05
Watchout	.13*	.12*	.16*	.04

*$p < .05$

Block Level	Help-Gen	Help-Neighbor	Blood
KidsPets	.21	.03	.17
Lending	.15	.20	.29
Helpout	.08	-.11	.22
Comfort	.28	.08	.06
Giveride	.19	.01	.11
Watchout	.13	.01	.05

Table 52

Correlation Matrix of Interest in Local Participation and Local Involvement Items

Improve: People on this block get things done together to improve the block.
Community Imp.: People on this block participate in community improvement activities...
Talk about Probs.: On this block people talk to each other about community problems.
Reduce: Residents on this block can reduce the amount of crime on the block.
Resolve: Residents are able to resolve conflict when it arises on this block.
Solution: When faced with a problem on this block, residents can create a solution.
Future: Residents are committed to the block's future.
Recycle: People on this block participate in the curbside recycling program.
Persuade: People on this block can persuade the city to respond to their needs & concerns.
Participation: Interest in Local Participation (Composite of Workwith and Leadership)
Workwith: Interest in Working with Neighbors to Improve Block Conditions
Leadership: Interest in Assuming a Leadership Role on the Block

Individual Level	Participation	Workwith	Leadership
Improve	.12*	.12*	.08
Community Imp.	.12*	.10*	.09
Talk about Probs.	.22*	.20*	.18*
Reduce	.25*	.24*	.19*
Resolve	.01	.04	-.02
Solution	.08	.08	.05
Future	.12*	.12*	.08
Recycle	.00	.00	.00
Persuade	.06	.05	.05

*$p < .05$

Table 52 (cont'd.)

Block Level	Workwith	Leadership
Improve	.46*	.23
Community Imp.	.53*	.31
Talk about Probs.	.23	.26
Reduce	.23	.17
Resolve	-.09	-.40*
Solution	.07	-.24
Future	.29	.07
Recycle	.18	.22
Persuade	-.09	-.09

*$p < .05$

Table 53

Correlation Matrix of Social Fabric Factors and 1990 Census Data Variables (Block Level)

	Housing Value	Rental Value	Percent Owned	Percent Occupied
Social Ties	.21	.03	.23	.00
Security	.48*	.07	.45*	.04
Community Action	.23	.03	.17	-.13

*$p < .05$

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

Amato, P. R. (1990). Personality and social network involvement as predictors of helping behavior in everyday life. Social Psychology Quarterly, 53(1), 31-43.

American Public Health Association. (unknown). Community Strategies for Health. Fitting in the Pieces. [Brochure]. Washington, DC: Author.

Bar-Tal, D., & Raviv, A. (1990). A cognitive-learning model of helping behavior development: Possible implications and applications. In N. Eisenberg (Ed.), The Development of Prosocial Behavior (pp. 199-217). New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Berkman, L. F., & Syme, S. L. (1979). Social networks, host resistance, and mortality: A nine-year follow-up study of Alameda County residents. American Journal of Epidemiology, 109(2), 186-204.

Bretz, R. D., Jr., Ash, R. A., & Dreher, G. F. (1989). Do people make the place? An examination of the attraction-selection-attrition hypothesis. Personnel Psychology, 42(3), 561-581

Buckner, J. C. (1988). The development of an instrument to measure neighborhood cohesion. American Journal of Community Psychology, 16(6), 771-791.

Burn, S. M. (1991). Social psychology and the stimulation of recycling behaviors: The block leader approach. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 21(8), 611-629.

Chavis, D. M., & Wandersman, A. (1990). Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development. American Journal of Community Psychology, 18(1), 55-81.

Cochrun, S. E. (1994). Understanding and enhancing neighborhood sense of community. Journal of Planning Literature, 9(1), 92-99.

Darden, J. T., Hill, R. C., Thomas, J., & Thomas, R. (1987). Detroit. Race and Uneven Development. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Davidson, W. B., & Cotter, P. R. (1986). Measurement of sense of community within the sphere of city. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 16(7), 608-619.

Davidson, W. B., & Cotter, P. R. (1989). Sense of community and political participation. Journal of Community Psychology, 17(April), 119-125.

Duhl, L. J. (1984, October). The healthy city: Its function and its future. Paper presented at Beyond Health Care: A Working Conference on Healthy Public Policy, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Duhl, L. J. (1986). Planning for and getting a healthy city. Communities, Summer/Fall, 55-57.

Dunham, H. W. (1986). Commentary. The community today: Place or process. Journal of Community Psychology, 14, 399-404.

Eisenberg, N. (Ed.). (1982). The Development of Prosocial Behavior. New York: Academic Press Inc.

Eisenberg, N. (1991). Meta-analytic contributions to the literature on prosocial behavior. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17(3), 273-282.

Fessler, D. R. (1952). The development of a scale for measuring community solidarity. Rural Sociology, 17, 144-152.

Florin, P., & Wandersman, A. (1990). An introduction to citizen participation, voluntary organizations, and community development: Insights for empowerment through research. American Journal of Community Psychology, 18(1), 41-54.

Flynn, B. C. (1991). Healthy cities Indiana: Mainstreaming community health in the United States. American Journal of Public Health, 81(4), 510-511.

Fried, M. (1984). The structure and significance of community satisfaction. Population and Environment, 7, 61-86.

Gates, C. T. (1987). The National Civic Index: A new approach to community problem solving. National Civic Review, 76(6), 472-279.

Gilderbloom, J. I., & Capek, S. M. (1992). Santa Monica a decade later: Urban progressives in office. National Civic Review, (Spring/Summer), 115-131

Giroult, E. (1987). Selection of environmental health indicators. Paper presented to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe workshop on healthy cities indicators. Barcelona, Spain, ICP/HSR 619/6.

Glynn, T. J. (1981). Psychological sense of community: Measurement and application. Human Relations, 34(7), 789-818.

George, J. M. (1990). Personality, affect, and behavior in groups. Journal of Applied Psychology, 75(2), 107-116.

Goss, K. A. (1994). Rebuilding community amid chaos. Chronicle of Philanthropy, 6(12 July), 1, 12-15.

Hartnagel, T. F. (1979). The perception and fear of crime: Implications for neighborhood cohesion, social activity, and community affect. Social Forces, 58, 176-193.

Henderson, Z. P. (1995). Renewing our social fabric. Human Ecology Forum, 23(1), 16-18.

Hill, J. L. (1996). Psychological sense of community: Suggestions for future research. Journal of Community Psychology, 24(4), 431-438.

Hillery, G. A., Jr. (1955). Definitions of community: Areas of agreement. Rural Sociology, 20, 111-123.

Hinde, R. A., & Grobel, J. (Eds.). (1991). Cooperation and Prosocial Behavior. Cambridge, GB: Cambridge University Press.

Hunter, A. (1975). The loss of community: An empirical test through replication. American Sociological Review, 40(5), 537-552.

Hutcheson, J. D., Jr., & Prather, J. E. (1988). Community mobilization and participation in the zoning process. Urban Affairs Quarterly, 23(3),346-368.

Iscoe, I. (1974). Community psychology and the competent community. American Psychologist, 29(August), 607-613.

Jackson, S. E., Brett, J. F., Sessa, V. I., Cooper, D. M., Julin, J. A., & Peyronnin, K. (1991). Some differences make a difference: Individual dissimilarity and group heterogeneity as correlates of recruitment, promotions, and turnover. Journal of Applied Psychology, 76(5), 675-689.

Kaplan, M., & James, F. (Eds.) (1990). The Future of National Urban Policy. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kasarda, J. D., & Janowitz, M. (1974). Community attachment in mass society. American Sociological Review, 39(June), 328-339.

Key, W. H. (1965). Urbanism and neighboring. Sociological Quarterly, 6, 379-385.

Klein, K. J., & D'Aunno, T. A. (1986). Psychological sense of community in the workplace. Journal of Community Psychology, 14(October), 365-377.

Kohn, A. (1990). The Brighter Side of Human Nature. Altruism & Empathy in Everyday Life. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Korte, C. (1981). Constraints on helping behavior in an urban environment. In J. P. Rushton & R. M. Sorrentino (Eds.), Altruism and Helping Behavior: Social, Personality, and Developmental Perspectives (pp. 316-327). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Krupat, E., & Guild, W. (1980, June). The measurement of community social climate. Environment and Behavior, 12(2), 195-206.

Lackey, A. S., Burke, R., & Peterson, M. (1987). Healthy communities: The goal of community development. Journal of the Community Development Society, 18(2), 1-17.

Lambert, S. J., & Hopkins, K. (1995). Occupational conditions and workers' sense of community: Variations by gender and race. American Journal of Community Psychology, 23(2), 151-179.

Levine, M. D. (1986). Working it out: A community re-creation approach to crime prevention. Journal of Community Psychology, 14(October), 378-390.

Levine, R. V., Martinez, T. S., Brase, G., & Sorenson, K. (1994). Helping in 36 U. S. cities. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67(1), 69-82.

McGuire, A. M. (1994). Helping behaviors in the natural environment: Dimensions and correlates of helping. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20(1), 45-56.

McMillan, D. W., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. Journal of Community Psychology, 14(January), 6-23.

Moos, R. H. (1976). The Human Context: Environmental Determinants of Behavior. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

National Center for Health Statistics. (1989). "AIDS knowledge and attitudes for October and November, 1988." Advance Data, no. 167, April 19.

Newbrough, J. R., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Psychological sense of community, I: Foreword. Journal of Community Psychology, 14(January), 3-5.

O'Brien, D. J., & Ayidiya, S. (1991). Neighborhood community and life satisfaction. Journal of the Community Development Society, 22(1), 21-37.

Perkins, D. D., Florin, P., Rich, R. R., Wandersman, A., & Chavis, D. M. (1990). Participation and the social and physical environment of residential blocks: Crime and community context. American Journal of Community Psychology, 18(1), 83-115.

Piliavin, J. A., & Callero, P. L. (1991). Giving Blood. The Development of an Altruistic Identity. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Pretty, G. M. H. (1990). Relating psychological sense of community to social climate characteristics. Journal of Community Psychology, 18(January), 60-65.

Pretty, G. M. H., Andrewes, L., & Collett, C. (1994). Exploring adolescents' sense of community and its relationship to loneliness. Journal of Community Psychology, 22(October), 346-358.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). What makes democracy work? National Civic Review, 82(2), 101-107.

Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. Journal of Democracy, 6(1 January), 65-78.

Rich, R. C. (1980). The dynamics of leadership in neighborhood organizations. Social Science Quarterly, 60(4), 570-587.

Riger, S., & Lavrakas, P. J. (1981). Community ties: Patterns of attachment and social interaction in urban neighborhoods. American Journal of Community Psychology, 9(1), 55-66.

Robinson, D., & Wilkinson, D. (1995). Sense of community in a remote mining town: Validating a neighborhood cohesion scale. American Journal of Community Psychology, 23(1), 137-148.

Sarason, S. B. (1974). The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Schneider, B. (1987a). E = f(P,B): The road to a radical approach to person-environment fit. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 31(3), 353-361.

Schneider, B. (1987b). The people make the place. Personnel Psychology, 40(3), 437-453.

Schneider, B., Goldstein, H. W., & Smith, D. B. (1995). The ASA framework: An update. Personnel Psychology, 48(4), 747-773.

Senn, D. J. (1988). Myopic social psychology: An overemphasis on individualistic explanations of social behavior. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 3(2), 45-52.

Shaffer, C. R., & Anundsen, K. (1993). Creating Community Anywhere. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Perigee Books.

Short, J. F., Jr. (Ed.). (1971). The Social Fabric of the Metropolis. Contributions of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Short, J. F., Jr. (Ed.). (1986). The Social Fabric. Dimensions and Issues. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Smith, R. A. (1975). Measuring neighborhood cohesion: A review and some suggestions. Human Ecology, 3(3), 143-160.

Smithson, M., Amato, P. R., & Pearce, P. (1983). Dimensions of Helping Behaviour. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Syme, S. L. (1994). The social environment and health. Daedalus, 123(4), 79-86.

Tallman, I. (1986). Social history and the life-course perspective on the family: a view from the bridge. In J. F. Short, Jr. (Ed.), The Social Fabric. Dimensions and Issues (pp. 255-281). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Unger, D. G., & Wandersman, A. (1982). Neighboring in an urban environment. American Journal of Community Psychology, 10(5), 493-509.

Unger, D. G., & Wandersman, A. (1983). Neighboring and its role in block organizations: An exploratory report. American Journal of Community Psychology, 11(3), 291-300.

Unger, D. G., & Wandersman, A. (1985). The importance of neighbors: The social, cognitive, and affective components of neighboring. American Journal of Community Psychology, 13(2), 139-169.

United States Department of Commerce, Economics, & Statistics Administration Bureau of the Census (November, 1992). 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

Wallerstein, N. (1993). Empowerment and health: The theory and practice of community change. Community Development Journal, 28(3), 218-227.

Wandersman, A. (1984). Citizen participation. In K. Heller, R. H. Price, S. Reinharz, S. Riger, A. Wandersman, & T. A. D'Aunno (Eds.), Psychology and Community Change. Challenges of the Future (pp. 337-379). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.

Wandersman, A., & Giamartino, G. A. (1980). Community and individual difference characteristics as influences on initial participation. American Journal of Community Psychology, 8(2), 217-228.

Whorton, J. W., & Moore, A. B. (1984). Summative scales for measuring community satisfaction. Social Indicators Research, 15, 297-307.

Zimmerman, M., & Rappaport, J. (1988). Citizen participation, perceived control, and psychological empowerment. American Journal of Community Psychology, 16(5), 725-750.