CHAPTER 1

# Social Capital and Community Building

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> This vision of a "built" community is one in which residents look out for both themselves and for others, creating environments in which a critical proportion of residents is positively invested. It follows that the community-building process would focus on providing ways for people in the neighborhood to connect meaningfully with one another. A strong or "built" community could be identified by: 1) a large number of block associations and civic participation (attendance at town meetings; voting; school board attendance), 2) stable local voluntary associations, 3) high levels of informal neighbor-to-neighbor interaction, or 4) all of the above.[1]

A growing number of community-based professionals working to bring about fundamental and sustainable community-wide improvements in targeted low-income areas see themselves as *community builders*. Rather than focusing solely on programmatic interventions that directly impact housing, human services, economic opportunity or safety, this new movement is characterized by a belief that significant, sustainable community change can only be brought about by developing and utilizing the social fabric in the targeted communities. The central tenet is that tapping into the social life of the community is a key step in catalyzing collective action, building collaborative relationships among key community members, and building community capacity.

For many, community building begins with an investment in the neighborhood's social infrastructure. The development of healthy and vibrant social interactions in the community produce the conditions thought to be necessary for more formalized participation in community organizations and associations. The attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that develop as a result of social interactions within the neighborhood are increasingly seen as the elements of a community's **social capital**. Social capital, a relatively unheard-of concept a decade ago, has recently been widely used in the literature to describe the nexus of social factors that define a neighborhood's social life and fabric.[2]

> In the context of a community setting, the term "social capital" refers to the specific processes among people and organizations, working collaboratively in an atmosphere of trust, that lead to accomplishing a goal of **mutual social benefit**. Social capital does not refer to individuals, the implements of production, or to the physical infrastructure. Instead, it is a relational term that connotes interactions among people through systems that enhance and support that interaction.[3]

While the term has been used in many different ways across a wide variety of empirical and descriptive studies, there seems to be broad agreement about its central elements. According to the most widely accepted definitions, social capital captures qualities inherent in social relationships—such as trust, shared norms and values—that arise in social groups and promote social organization, cooperation, and collective action for the common good. Social capital holds communities together and facilitates democratic decision making and economic and social development.[4]

This chapter provides a synthesis of social science literature on social capital, paying particular attention to its manifestations in low-income, urban neighborhoods and empirical evidence about its community-level outcomes. We begin with a broad discussion of how the concept of social capital has been used and the challenge of defining it, paying particular attention to the work of researchers whose conceptualizations have influenced the field of community building. We then turn our attention to the common elements that comprise this concept. Our objectives are to disaggregate and define the components of social capital and present empirical evidence

about the outcomes that have been associated with them. Following this, we attempt to reassemble the components of social capital into a coherent theory of change that shows the connections between the components and their collective contribution to community-building outcomes. In the next section we discuss some of the measurement issues involved in assessing social capital at the community level. We conclude with our thoughts about possible ways to facilitate the development of social capital.

## THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1993) has been credited with sparking tremendous interest in the concept of social capital. Since its publication, tremendous interest developed in the social sciences in applying the concept of social capital to research concerned with community well-being, democracy, economic development, public health, and political and civic participation in America and beyond. Although he did not originate the term, Putnam put forward the idea that social capital is a resource "that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" in terms that were most readily applicable to a wide variety of settings.[5] Putnam's assertions about the salience of social capital have been provocative, and widely debated, yet the underlying principle of his earliest work has generated enormous interest in applying it to community building, economic development, and democracy building throughout the world.

Putnam's research, which looked retrospectively at the economic and civic capacity of two regions in Italy, demonstrated a correlation between the effectiveness of governments and the set of attitudes, relationships, and behaviors he saw as indicators of social capital. In the northern region, where government was effective and efficient, residents engaged in civic organizations, mutual aid societies, soccer clubs, literary societies, and unions—while little if any of this activity was found in the less civic southern region. He concluded that these civic activities nurture and reproduce a kind of capital that reinforces trust, norms, and networks—which, taken together, are important resources for the maintenance of a healthy society.

In subsequent work, Putnam applied his theory to the United States, where he found civic life to be generally on the decline, metaphorically deeming this

a nation of people who are "bowling alone."[6] This strong conclusion brought home the notion that America's lack of social capital at the end of the twentieth century relative to earlier times was connected to many of the social ills the nation now faces:

> Even those most sympathetic to the plight of America's ghettos are not persuaded that simply reviving the social programs dismantled in the last decade or so will solve the problems. The erosion of social capital is an essential and under-appreciated part of the diagnosis . . . In any comprehensive strategy for improving the plight of America's communities, rebuilding social capital is as important as investing in human and physical capital.[7]

There has been a tremendous interest within academic, government, nonprofit and philanthropic circles in the debate about the relative importance of social capital, for the nation and particularly for poor communities of color. This work offers a compelling explanation for the persistence of social problems in inner-city neighborhoods, and has particular applicability to the challenge of building communities in these environments. For many, the social capital thesis resonates with an earlier era of social science research spearheaded by William Julius Wilson's work on the urban underclass, which highlighted the role that social isolation plays in the lives and life prospects of inner-city residents.[8] The current work documenting the importance of social capital in American society is reminiscent of studies conducted by even earlier generations of researchers—particularly those from the Chicago School of Sociology—in which scholars have studied the connection between crime and the social organization of inner-city communities for more than fifty years.[9]

## THE CHALLENGE OF DEFINING SOCIAL CAPITAL

> When pundits refer to the value of social capital, do they mean the norms of cooperation that my neighbors and I agree on when forming a neighborhood association? Do they mean the social networks that are broadened when I meet people down the street for the first time? Or do they mean to say that the value of social capital lies in the actual reduction in crime that

> results from the group's actions or in the organizational skills I develop as a member? Often, they seem to mean all three; even more often, they are not explicit about what they mean.[10]

Despite compelling theoretical arguments that support the role social capital plays across a variety of settings, there is little empirical *evidence* regarding social capital in neighborhoods. While community builders and theoreticians cite the important role of social capital in the lives of residents of low-income communities, there is little known about how it actually develops and operates in local communities, mainly because the most cited work has examined social capital at the national or regional level rather than at the neighborhood level. Many notable studies were based on secondary data drawn from large national surveys assessing the relationship between social ties and social trust and other outcomes of interest.[11] To date, we have few examples from primary research of how social capital operates at the neighborhood level.[12]

Part of the difficulty is that social capital is an intangible and imprecise concept. Conceptualization by a number of scholars in a range of disciplines has generated a wide range of definitions with no consensus on how to define the term precisely or to identify which of its features are most salient in neighborhood contexts. There are a few widely used indicators, such as access to social support networks, membership in organizations and voluntary associations, voter participation, and social trust. However, the many variations effectively undermine attempts to draw from this work a set of common features of social capital in urban neighborhoods.

After a decade of work, social capital has come to be associated with a host of behaviors and outcomes that are positive for individuals, social groups, communities, and society at large. Thus, one scholar has commented that "social capital [has] taken a circus-tent quality: all things positive and social are piled beneath it."[13]

In an attempt to clarify this concept, a group of researchers and funders conducted the largest U.S. survey ever designed to measure the nation's stock of social capital.[14] This survey addressed the "circus tent" problem by clearly defining a set of attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that are widely seen as markers of social capital.

Working with an expert panel, these researchers put forth a multidimensional definition of social capital that captured many of the elements others have examined in earlier research:

- Social and interracial trust
- Political participation in conventional and protest politics
- Civic leadership and involvement in groups, clubs, or local discussions about community problems
- Giving and volunteering to charities or special interest groups
- Faith-based engagement as members, participants, donors, and volunteers
- Equality of civic engagement across the community

Data was collected from a national sample of 3,000 respondents and representative samples in forty communities across twenty-nine states, covering an additional 26,200 respondents. The results of this survey allow researchers to tell the story of American participation in religious, civic, and political activities. Comparison of regions, cities, and broadly defined communities help to determine what socioeconomic outcomes are associated with high levels of social capital. What this data does not allow researchers to do, however, is tell the story of how social capital develops in any given **neighborhood**, and whether there are levers that can be manipulated to promote the development of better relationships among neighbors and more participation in the life of the community.

There are, however, two frameworks derived from empirical research that applied conceptualizations of social capital to community development in urban neighborhoods. Together, these frameworks provide a good starting point for exploring the ways in which social capital operates in urban communities and possible points of intervention in the development of social capital.

In one of the earliest empirically grounded studies of social capital in inner-city neighborhoods, Kenneth Temkin and William Rohe identified two dimensions of social capital that capture elements of neighborhood life that are relevant for community builders.[15] The first dimension, *sociocultural milieu*, captures observable behaviors of neighborhood residents and their sentiments

toward their neighborhood. It includes neighboring behavior, sense of attachment and loyalty among neighborhood residents, and the ability of residents to leverage these characteristics into collective action. The second dimension, *institutional infrastructure*, captures the level and quality of organizational ability in neighborhoods that allows them to act on their common interest, and encompasses both the existence of neighborhood groups and the connections these groups are able to build with the wider community.

Building on this work and that of other scholars in the field, Ross Gittell and Avis Vidal developed a framework that predicts how social capital operates in the context of community development corporations (CDCs).[16] They identified two types of social capital, bonding capital and bridging capital, which inform their assessment of social capital in the communities CDCs serve. *Bonding capital* is generated by primary relationships—such as kinship and friendship, and secondary relationships that develop informally through acquaintanceship and neighboring. Bonding capital connects neighborhood individuals and organizations to support information and resource sharing, and leads to the ability of community residents to come together around a common agenda. *Bridging capital* describes the connections between neighborhood members and individuals and organizations outside the neighborhood to share resources and information for problem solving. Community builders work to strengthen both types of capital, and the latter is critically important in the community revitalization context.

Our reviews of these and other studies of social capital suggest a small set of concepts related to attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that are common across research on social capital in urban neighborhoods. These concepts appear to be inextricably intertwined and include social networks, sense of community, and social cohesion. In the next section, we examine each of these dimensions of social capital. First, we review how these concepts have been defined and operationalized. Next, we review empirical research to find clues about how these elements relate to each other. Following this, we examine evidence about the ways in which these features are related to important community-building outcomes, such as community capacity and empowerment.

## DISAGGREGATING THE ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY SOCIAL CAPITAL

### Social Networks

Because community builders believe that improving the social fabric of communities is a key to sustainable change, community builders are concerned with the network of social ties found in the neighborhoods they target for revitalization. Researchers generally speak about two types of social ties. Strong ties connect family members and friends to one another, and are important sources of aid for getting by[17] and for survival and crisis management.[18] So-called "weak ties" are found in acquaintanceship networks, and are important sources of everyday assistance, job information, and access to other instrumental and social resources.[19]

Social networks themselves cannot be used to differentiate one neighborhood from another, because they are largely relevant at an individual level of analysis. To combat this methodological problem, researchers define neighborhoods by how social ties are distributed. At the neighborhood level, networks of social ties are understood as either dense or loose.[20] Dense networks are ones in which everyone in the network knows everyone else and are contrasted with loose networks in which there is less overlap of social ties.[21] Dense networks and loose networks are associated with different types of neighborhood-level outcomes.

While a large body of research analyzes whether social ties at the community level are still as important as they were in an earlier era,[22] most researchers accept the importance of social interactions among residents as a given and use the quantity or quality of social ties to predict other features of community social life and social action.

### Social Interactions Are the Building Blocks of Local Social Capital

Social networks form an important dimension of social capital at the neighborhood level because they are resources for individuals as well as communities as a whole. Donald Unger and Abraham Wandersman identify a number of functions served by neighbors that highlight the role social networks play in the lives of community residents and the way neighbors build social capital that benefits the community as a whole:[23]

- Neighbors often serve as support systems for each other, providing material as well as emotional assistance in times of need;
- Neighbors may serve as a buffer against feelings of isolation, especially in large urban areas;
- Neighbors (and informal neighborhood leaders) may provide each other with links to information about organizations and services that are available both within and outside of the neighborhood;
- Neighbors are able to provide aid, in the form of daycare or emergency help; and
- Neighbors may "join together to exercise their political skills and to better the quality of their living environment."

Through day-to-day interaction with each other, neighbors have the potential to serve as valuable sources of social support, providing material as well as emotional assistance in times of need. Neighbors often fill in the gaps left by poverty or lack of formalized services in a distressed, isolated neighborhood.[24] These relationships are important resources, despite the fact that dense networks of similarly situated people—particularly the poor—may be better at helping individuals get by than get ahead.[25]

## Social Networks and Community Outcomes

While the prevalence of social networks is largely associated with improved quality of life for residents, there is much evidence to suggest that social networks positively influence other community dynamics.[26] For example, networks of friends are associated with reduced crime and social disorder. Wesley Skogan, a noted criminologist, notes that "when residents form local social ties, their capacity for community social control is increased because they are better able to recognize strangers and more apt to engage in guardianship behavior against victimization."[27]

Similarly, Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel's study of low-income housing co-ops in New York supports the notion that interaction with neighbors is an important component of social capital in poor communities.[28] Informal socializing with neighbors in the building, along with strong prosocial norms

and participation in the residents' council, was associated with better building conditions and lower levels of crime than buildings with less social capital. The neighboring component in particular was associated with better outcomes at the collective and individual levels:

> . . . social capital in poor communities can support both survival on a day-to-day basis and improved educational and employment opportunities. Our ethnographic studies suggest that co-ops provide social capital that acts as the first line of defense in times of crisis (Leavitt and Saegert, 1990) In almost every co-op we have studied closely, residents also provide encouragement and practical assistance to each other in pursuing higher education and employment opportunities.[29]

Researchers examining the connection between neighborhood social climate and participation in block associations have found that the nature of the social relationships in a neighborhood significantly predicts a neighborhood's ability to organize more instrumental types of organizations. Unger and Wandersman reported that informal assistance, through the types of neighboring behaviors identified above, facilitated block organizing.[30] This in turn opened doors for more social interaction, activism around particular neighborhood problems, and the development of familiarity with neighbors. In this same vein, Perkins found that neighboring, along with other social climate variables, such as perceived incivilities in neighborhoods, block satisfaction, and perceived block association efficacy, were significantly and positively associated with block level participation in the local residents' association.[31]

The density of social networks and the nature of the social ties that comprise them are associated with different types of neighborhood-level outcomes. Networks characterized by strong ties among family members and among friends are viewed as important sources of aid for getting by[32] and for survival and crisis management.[33] Those networks characterized by weak ties, such as acquaintanceship networks, are important sources of everyday assistance, effective mechanisms for transmitting information, and useful connectors to other instrumental and social resources because they are varied and diverse.[34] As one scholar noted:

> Where dense networks, in which everyone or almost everyone knows everyone else, are good for mobilizing [social support], widely dispersed ties to many kinds of people, even if these ties are casual acquaintanceships, are most important from the standpoint of job mobility, material aid, and so on.[35]

A significant body of literature examines the ways in which different types of social ties serve different purposes. In 1973 Mark Granovetter, an economic sociologist, developed an argument about the social importance of "weak ties," that has particular relevance for researchers who are interested in the utility of social networks.[36] Granovetter held that when individuals interact regularly only with an insular or close-knit group, they may experience difficulties in gaining access to things (good information or services) that require a diverse range of contacts and are less likely to be part of social networks that would inform them of societal issues and motivate civic participation. Individuals with contacts linking into diverse social networks (the *weak ties* among acquaintances), on the other hand, are much more likely to communicate with a wide variety of people, therefore being better informed about societal issues and more likely to engage in collective action.

Weak ties may be particularly beneficial to jobseekers who often find out about employment opportunities through a friend of a friend. Xavier de Souza Briggs has shown that living in a neighborhood with employed adults has a positive effect on young jobseekers in a straightforward way. Young people who participate in a local social network with people who are more connected and better off are privy to information that would otherwise be inaccessible to them. A growing number of studies support Briggs' conclusion that living in a neighborhood with gainfully employed adults provides more than just role models. Indeed, such research indicates that doors can be opened as a result of being part of a social network that facilitates information sharing about opportunities within and outside of the neighborhood.[37]

When we think about social networks, then, we should bear in mind that knowing, even casually, a wide variety of one's neighbors is the key feature of this dimension of social capital for increasing access to important information in a community. It is important to avoid romanticizing the idea, or to pin too many hopes on the development of overlapping, dense social networks in dis-

advantaged neighborhoods. While it is important for residents of poor places to have bonds in the neighborhood for social support as well as bridges to others outside the neighborhood, research has shown that neighborhood poverty constricts the size and structure of social networks, particularly for black women. Poverty has also been found to limit the number of mainstream contacts that are accessible for both men and women.[38] As Xavier de Souza Briggs, Elizabeth Mueller, and Mercer Sullivan observed in their study of the social effects of nonprofit community development corporations on urban neighborhoods:

> Though we know from case studies that neighboring and other community-oriented behaviors can be promoted, images of urban neighborhoods—poor and non-poor—swarming with dense, close relationships among large numbers of people are terribly misleading. More accurate is the image of many small worlds co-existing and coming into fairly limited contact in any shared space.[39]

## SENSE OF COMMUNITY

One of the most obvious outgrowths of neighborhood-based social interaction is the development of *sense of community*. Building a sense of community is often invoked as a key element to community-building success because it represents important attitudes and feelings that largely define healthy communities. Sense of community is a key concept in community-based research, and has been conceptualized by some influential theoreticians as "the glue that holds communities together."[40]

Sense of community has been defined as a strong attachment that people feel toward others based on where they live, work, or go to school, or with which groups they affiliate.[41] Sense of community describes the extent to which people feel that they are part of a community that can be spatially or nonspatially defined. This concept taps into community members' underlying feelings of belonging, togetherness, mutuality, and camaraderie that are theoretically linked to behaviors that enhance community life. While it may seem intuitive to think of sense of community in relation to one's community of residence, there is a large body of research focusing on the role sense of community plays in a number of contexts. It has been examined in reference

to how people feel about living in particular cities, and it has also been studied in relation to small group processes in unions, the workplace, schools, colleges, and religious congregations. The sentiment captures how much people stick together or feel like members of an identified community that they both contribute to and benefit from.

Tremendous interest in sense of community motivated a concerted effort by scholars in the latter half of the twentieth century to define, operationalize, measure and study it and its impact on society.[42] However abundant, this research literature is often difficult to interpret, as sense of community and its component elements—community attachment and community satisfaction—are often poorly defined and used interchangeably. As such, the task of clearly operationalizing this construct is difficult in basic research and in the applied research that would be of interest to community-building practitioners. Even if we focus on understanding sense of community from a community psychologist's perspective—since that field more than any other has placed sense of community at the center of its work—the task is incomplete:

> To date, there have been less than 30 published research studies that directly measure a psychological sense of community. Although there are some common methodological and theoretical trends that run through these studies, there seems to be little trouble getting people to agree on a general definition of psychological sense of community, yet the development of a standardized, operational definition of the construct has eluded researchers. At least five measures of the construct have been developed, and there is still a lack of agreement as to what specific dimensions make up psychological sense of community.[43]

Despite the lack of clarity in the literature, there are studies that are noteworthy in their attempts to tackle this definitional and empirical challenge. In one of the earliest attempts to operationalize and measure psychological sense of community empirically, Thomas Glynn created a survey that reflected attitudes and behaviors identified in the literature (and by expert judges) as related to the psychological sense of community (PSC) concept.[44] Glynn's measure tapped into six dimensions of PSC: "objective evaluation of community structure, supportive relationships in the community, similarity and relationship patterns

of community residents, individual involvement in the community, quality of community environment, and community security."[45] Glynn was also able to demonstrate a relationship between the attitudes and behaviors associated with PSC and perceptions of community satisfaction and community competence. While Glynn is credited with creating a measure that successfully differentiated between communities with high and low levels of sense of community, his work has been criticized because of its treatment of sense of community as an individual-level variableinstead of one that truly measured sense of community as a characteristic of communities.[46] Our review of the literature found many references to his work, but few examples of how his measure has been used in the field.

The theoretical approach to PSC put forward by McMillan and Chavis and later operationalized by Chavis and colleagues appears to be the most widely accepted use of the concept and brings together many of the common themes from prior research.[47]

> Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging and being important to each other, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met by their commitment to be together.[48]

According to their definition, individuals demonstrate strong (or high) PSC toward a particular referent group in four ways:

- A feeling of belonging
- A feeling that they influence and are influenced by their community
- A belief that their needs can be and are being satisfied by the collective capabilities of the group
- A feeling of emotional connectedness or a strong sense of investment in the collective

These four dimensions—membership, influence, integration, and fulfillment of needs—can be readily applied to a variety of geographically bound and interest-oriented communities.

## SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY OUTCOMES

It is widely believed that a sense of community is a precondition for resident participation in community organizations and local action. Indeed, community builders understand sense of community to be a precursor to effective community change:

> There are certainly examples of community development initiatives that are cognizant of the importance of developing and improving both the social and physical characteristics of a neighborhood. The Dudley Street Initiative in Boston is a fine example of community building. The first several years of activity were spent developing a sense of community among neighborhood residents. Only then did community organizers turn their attention to housing production.[49]

While a large body of work explores sense of community descriptively, there appears to be much less work that explores sense of community in a way that would allow for the testing of a cause-effect relationship between sense of community and other local characteristics or outcomes.[50] Furthermore, few of the studies of sense of community have been in poor communities, which may limit our understanding of how important sense of community is in relationship to the overall social capital in the types of neighborhoods community builders target.

David Chavis and Abraham Wandersman conducted one of the most extensive examinations of the sense of community concept in their analysis of cross-sectional, longitudinal data drawn from two studies of neighborhood organizations. They reported that sense of community plays a catalytic, if indirect, role in motivating participation in voluntary organizations:

> In the neighborhood environment a sense of community can be both a cause and effect of local action. People feel more secure with their neighbors when they have a sense of community. They are more likely to feel comfortable coming to their first meeting of an association and because of regular communication among neighbors they are more likely to hear about it.[51]

While Chavis and Wandersman focused primarily on establishing a connection between sense of community and the longer-term outcome—resident participation—they also uncovered intermediate connections along that pathway and the preconditions for participation and empowerment, which are important to explore. Specifically, Chavis and Wandersman demonstrated that three factors directly related to sense of community—the perception of one's environment, one's social relations, and perceived ability to affect community life and exert control within community—also influence participation in community affairs. One of their key findings is that, quite often, sense of community and other important community attributes have a reciprocal relationship that makes determining causal connections among elements of community social capital difficult.

Their findings about sense of community have been supported by related research,[52] which suggests that when neighborhood residents share a sense of community they are more likely to feel attached to the neighborhood, engage in neighboring behavior, and participate in collective efforts to make the neighborhood better.

Much of the remainder of what can be considered "sense of community research" is limited to defining its demographic correlates—that is, the types of people and places that tend to report a "high" sense of community, and the types of community or individual traits that appear to moderate its development. Most researchers contend that sense of community tends to be highest in places that are residentially stable and associated with neighborhoods that have high rates of homeownership or are characterized as safe and orderly.

These relationships are considered conventional wisdom even though there is some empirical evidence to the contrary.[53] For example, while it makes intuitive sense that sense of community would develop in places that are safe and orderly, and where fear of crime is therefore low, some researchers have suggested that there is a curvilinear relationship between local problems and sense of community. That is, a moderate degree of disorder and a moderate fear of crime may serve as a catalyst for the members of a community to come together to work on resolving threats.[54] In this case, coming together to work on a problem can be a precondition for developing a sense of community, instead of the converse.

Researchers also suggest that household composition may significantly influence how sense of community develops. Single adults and elderly residents living

alone tend to score lower on measures of sense of community than respondents who have small children, or couples.[55] On the other hand, parents with small children watch out for them as they play in local parks and in front of their homes, and as a result, they typically interact with and get to know the children and parents as well as other residents in their neighborhood.[56] These findings suggest that residents who have many social outlets outside of the community, or those who are more isolated from their neighbors for other reasons may not be as likely to interact much with neighbors. Consequently, single adults and homebound elderly are not as likely as parents with young children to experience a high degree of sense of community, even if they are long-term residents of the neighborhood. This suggests that household family composition may be a key to thinking about the types of strategies that a community-building effort may need to adopt in order to foster the development of sense of community in neighborhoods where it is low.

## SOCIAL COHESION

Researchers use the term social cohesion in neighborhoods to characterize a community according to the extent to which residents share a sense of community, an attraction-to-place, patterns of regular interaction among themselves, and a sense of trust and mutuality. According to Buckner, "a neighborhood high in cohesion refers to a neighborhood where residents, on average, report feeling strong sense of community, report engaging in frequent acts of neighboring and are highly attracted to live in and remain residents of the neighborhood."[57] While sense of community represents a set of important feelings about neighbors, social cohesion extends to a set of cognitive and behavioral patterns across a group of residents that can be used to distinguish a socially cohesive neighborhood from one that is less so. Social cohesion suggests that neighbors share a common sense of values, and that these common values produce a set of observable patterns in how people behave toward each other in private settings as well as publicly in the neighborhood.

Much of what is written about social cohesion focuses on commonly accepted values and norms that are realized in a given community. "Common values" in this sense does not refer to homogeneous ethnic, religious or political perspectives, necessarily, but rather to the goals of safety, decent housing, and orderliness that most of us hope to enjoy in our neighborhoods.[58]

## Social Cohesion Grows out of Social Contacts in a Neighborhood

Those who have studied the formation of a group or community's acceptance of norms for public behavior have found that regular social contacts are an important factor for transmitting common values and reinforcing social cohesion. Furthermore, a community with a high level of sense of community is expected to demonstrate high levels of social cohesion, in which members feel they are part of an extended family and exhibit the levels of trust and mutual assistance that reflect a willingness to stick together.

It is widely held that poor, ethnically heterogeneous communities with highly mobile populations are less able to support the types and level of social ties that are the precursors to social cohesion. Heterogeneous groups of poor people move in and out of low-cost, typically run-down areas, not staying long enough to establish the social ties and associations that form the basis of social cohesion among neighbors.[59]

Even though poverty and its related conditions may seem like the most likely explanatory factors of the lack of social cohesion in a neighborhood, other factors may be more significant predictors of neighborhood social cohesion. The most immediate examples are racial and ethnic diversity. Researchers have found that racial—and especially ethnic—homogeneity promotes a level of acceptance and togetherness among neighborhood residents. Furthermore, racially and ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, and those in which people share socioeconomic status and other social characteristics, are more likely to develop social cohesion and shared norms because trust develops more readily in these settings. According to Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams, "residents of low-income *heterogeneous* neighborhoods tend to be more suspicious of each other, to perceive less commonality with each other, and to feel less control over their neighborhoods than do the residents of more homogeneous neighborhoods (emphasis added)."[60] The presence of a cultural group that dominates an area politically, economically, and culturally is cited as a predominant characteristic of neighborhoods that maintain high levels of social cohesion.[61] Therefore, while racial and ethnic integration is a goal that is often associated with community building, practitioners must acknowledge and respect the role that shared racial and ethnic history plays in developing social cohesion, particularly in low-income areas.

### Social Cohesion Provides the Foundation for Informal Social Control

Cohesive neighborhoods are often identified by their ability to act collectively to promote their own interests. One way this is done is by exerting what sociologists call informal social control,[62] which is the willingness of neighbors to look out for each other and to intervene to stop crime, disorder, or behavior that they view as inappropriate. Effective informal social control allows communities to set standards for public behavior and to police themselves. In a cohesive community, people care about how other members of the group perceive them, and take care not to tread on the rules that govern public behavior.

In order to enforce social controls, residents require the ability to distinguish between community members and outsiders. The effectiveness of social control also requires a sense of trust that all members of the group accept community rules, and that punishment can be meted out without the fear of retaliation.[63] These informal controls are used to draw boundaries around the types of behavior that are acceptable, such as the upkeep of one's residence, refraining from public consumption of alcoholic beverages, and so on. Neighborhoods that are able to enforce rules about public behavior and proper maintenance of the physical environment demonstrate the power of collectively held values, which may be enforced through gossip, a carefully worded memo from the neighborhood association, or a knowing glance.[64]

### Social Cohesion, Informal Social Control, and Community Outcomes

Informal social control is a key community-building concept, with applications across many of the areas in which CCIs intervene. It is through contact with neighbors that shared values and norms are transmitted and maintained, resulting in the expectations about acceptable behavior that govern neighborhood action.[65] All communities have some level of informal social control, which can be exercised through a variety of means:

> At the least formal end of the continuum is the individual acting alone or with the primary peer group to uphold social norms . . . in this case, social control is exercised through direct confrontation or more subtle peer group pressure . . . roughly in the middle would be a group of neighbors getting together to enforce local norms. For example, a group may form to deal with a local teenager who is causing trouble in the neighborhood.

> The group does not have a name, does not really think of itself as a group or hold regular meetings, and has no purpose other than to address the problem immediately at hand . . . at the most formal end . . . are the neighborhood organizations . . . through various group activities they can help to define and reinforce informal norms for acceptable public behavior. Clean-up and beautification programs, for example, set a certain standard for property maintenance . . .[66]

Researchers have documented how informal social control is used to promote a wide range of positive community outcomes:

> The social dimension of neighborhood can be posited as affecting homeowners' maintenance behavior by encouraging them to conform to the other residents' norms as to what constitutes "minimum acceptable" neighborhood housing quality. Neighbors may consciously or unconsciously apply social pressure through threats of stigmatization or ostracism to those who do not acceptably maintain their dwellings . . . one would also expect to find that the greater the "cohesiveness" of the neighborhood, the stronger should be the aforementioned stimuli encouraging conformity by any given homeowner in that neighborhood.[67]

There are real benefits associated with a cohesive community, not the least of which is a heightened ability and propensity to develop the capacity to engage in political or collective action on behalf of the community. Social cohesion, informal social control, and trust are directly related to a community's ability to come together and act collectively to combat violent crime and other antisocial behavior.[68] Informal social control is particularly important in regard to a community's ability to supervise teenagers and prevent juvenile delinquency, gang membership, and related youth-perpetrated crimes.[69] As Michelle Alberti Gambone notes in this volume, neighborhoods with strong informal control have lower juvenile delinquency rates than neighborhoods that lack monitoring and control.

The overall effects of social cohesion and informal social control are referred to in the literature as community competence, collective efficacy, or community empowerment, three terms which capture the ability to bring about

desired community goals.[70] The conceptual link across each of these manifestations of community power is the notion that communities in which there are informal and formal associations and a sense of familiarity, trust, and shared values are able to organize themselves to act collectively to bring about commonly understood goals. In contrast, communities that lack social cohesion and mechanisms to impose informal social controls are also less able to develop the capacities that advance community empowerment.

## SOCIAL CAPITAL AND EMPOWERMENT

Our literature review supports the notion that social capital is an important resource for communities to consider as they assess their assets and devise strategies for renewal and improvement. While the case can be made for social networks, sense of community, social cohesion, and informal social control as precursors to community empowerment, the field still has not developed a cohesive theory of change about how these elements are related to each other in a causal chain.

Part of the difficulty in explaining the connection between social capital and empowerment is that—like social capital—empowerment is relevant at many levels of analysis.[71] At the individual level, empowerment refers to beliefs about one's competence, efforts to exert control over one's environment, and an understanding of the sociopolitical environment.[72] At the organizational level, empowerment refers to both the empowering practices of organizations that provide opportunities for people to participate and gain control over their lives, the degree to which organizations are empowered to deliver key resources to their constituents, and the ability of organizations to be catalysts for change within their sphere of influence.[73] At the community level, empowerment is generally understood as the ability of a community to initiate improvement efforts, respond to threats to quality of life, and provide opportunities for citizen participation.[74]

In community settings, resident participation in collective action drives the empowerment process and is tied more closely than any of the other elements of social capital to empowerment at the individual, organizational, and community levels.[75] The pathway of change that promotes resident empowerment requires the development of a sustaining social network and a sense of

community at both the individual and group level. These concepts are intricately related to participation in collective voluntary activities, understood as both a cause and an effect of empowerment.

Some researchers limit the definition of the empowering manifestations of resident participation to those activities in which the individual has a role in decision making, such as membership on the governance board or steering committee of a CCI. Others recognize that participation in any organized activity in which the individual volunteers in order to achieve a common goal has value as part of the empowerment process.[76] In terms of building skills and competencies, as well as the felt sense of empowerment, participation in voluntary activities offers a number of opportunities to gain experience organizing people, identifying resources, and developing strategies for achieving goals.

At the organizational level of analysis, social capital plays itself out through two types of community organizations: those that are empowering, and those that are empowered. *Empowering* organizations are characterized by democratic and participatory decision-making structures and shared leadership.[77] An empowering organization "not only needs structures which enable participation and empowerment, but must also provide a climate which facilitates these processes. Constructive participation requires an atmosphere characterized by mutual trust, openness and honesty, and respect and concern for others."[78] These are the types of organizations in which members feel supported and are encouraged to develop skills and competencies that enhance functioning in other settings. Empowering organizations promote the benefits and reduce the costs of participation for members, and offer members a chance to share experiences and develop a sense of identity with others.[79] An organization's success as an empowering institution is often measured by assessing the degree of psychological empowerment of participants, which can be completely independent of actual organizational competence or effectiveness.

*Empowered* organizations are not necessarily those that are empowering for members, but they are the institutions seen as players in their communities and among peer organizations. These organizations thrive among competitors, accomplish their goals, and develop management and communication practices that enhance their effectiveness.[80] They consistently demonstrate the ability to identify and gain access to internal and external resources required to put plans in action. They also have the ability to network with other organizations

to share information, create a strong base of support, and collaborate to achieve common goals.[81] An organization's power can also be reflected by the influence it exerts over the local environment and by its ability to become engaged in relevant policy debates.

A community's ability to mobilize resources toward common goals effectively hinges on the community's organizational resources as well as its social relationships. Thus, promoting the development of social capital can be an integral step in promoting community empowerment. Although our review suggests clearly the nonlinearity of the relationship between social capital and empowerment—largely due to the intervening role that resident participation plays in connecting elements of social capital to the processes we see as empowering for communities—it is safe to say that some level of social capital is required to mobilize communities to act collectively on their own behalf. Our framework highlights the role that social capital—meaning social networks, sense of community, social cohesion, and informal social control—plays as a *precondition* of collective action and collaboration, which lead to community empowerment. The model also suggests that social capital is *produced* as a result of collective action, making it difficult to distinguish social capital as product from social capital as resource. Social capital produced at one point in time for one purpose can be used at a later point for another purpose.[82] Promoting even a small success in a community can jump start a process that will have benefits for years to come.

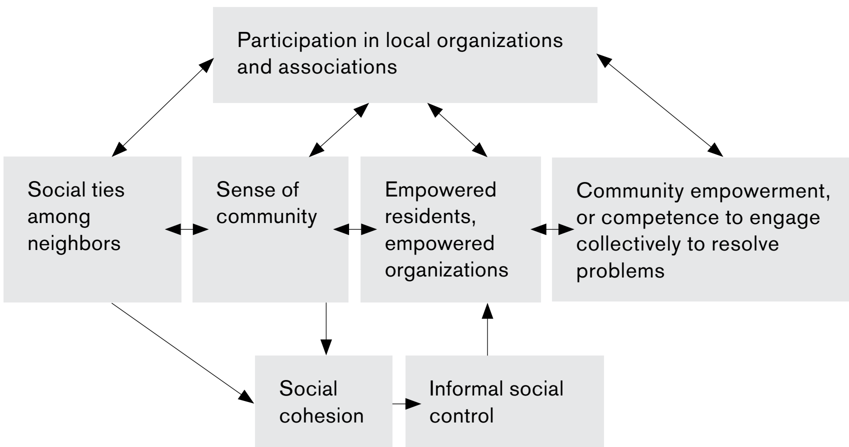
In the next section, we draw on these reviews to surface a *theory of change* that explains how social capital develops in a neighborhood and how it benefits community-based efforts to improve local conditions. In the final section, we address the limits of this model, and of the social capital concept generally, in relation to poor, inner-city communities.

## PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER: A Framework for Community Social Capital Development

> Neighborhood residents involved in community building spend most of their time jointly working on productive activities that directly address the problems and opportunities to which they give high priority, whether it is cleaning up a vacant lot, planning a housing rehabilitation project, trying to improve school quality, or mounting a citizens' patrol to prevent crime. As they do these things they are automatically building social capital—developing friendships and mutual trust, sharing and strengthening common values, learning how to work together as a team to get things accomplished, building confidence that they can achieve meaningful results, and strengthening their own institutions. This capital then spills over into the future.[83]

Figure 1.1 represents how we understand these important attitudes, behaviors, and relationships coming together in a pathway of change that leads to community empowerment and to positive changes in community conditions. Notice that few of the connections are linear. As our review of the literature illustrates,

**Figure 1.1: Social Capital and Community-Building Theory of Change**



any model of social capital and its related components is recursive, with many of the elements understood as both *preconditions* and *products* of social capital formations. For example, social ties tend to increase the likelihood that residents will participate in neighborhood associations and the like, but participation can also create new opportunities to make new ties or to strengthen those that already exist. The next step in our model suggests that sense of community is a feeling shared by residents who get to know each other and begin to feel that they are part of a whole. These feelings increase the likelihood that community members will engage with neighbors informally and through organizations and associations. Here again, we see that the arrows in our model go both ways: sense of community *promotes* participation and yet it is also *promoted by* participation in local organizations. Likewise, social cohesion and the overlapping construct, informal social control, develop in communities where people know each other and come to share a common set of norms and values. Both social cohesion and informal social control predict a community's ability to come together and act in its own best interests, yet they derive, at least in part, from participation in local associations or organizations.

The literature shows that by far, the prevailing driver in community social capital development is participation in local organizations and associations, as this is linked to each of the elements of social capital as a precondition as well as an outcome. Most importantly, participation in local organizations is strongly connected to both the feelings of empowerment and actual empowerment at the individual and organizational levels. These outcomes, along with participation, are directly linked to community competence in bringing about desired changes, which are the ultimate goals of community building.

The multidirectionality of elements of our model complicates the task of telling the story of how social capital is produced in communities. Our theory building is also complicated by the conceptual overlap of the concepts themselves, and the similarity of many of the measurement instruments that have been developed to assess them, such as sense of community and social cohesion, which use very similar survey items. A further complication concerns levels of analysis: many of the concepts in the model are measured at the individual level of analysis through surveys or interviews that collect data from neighborhood residents, yet are aggregated to characterize attributes of the community as a whole. These are serious methodological challenges, and until now, few

researchers have been able to devise a strategy to capture the features of social capital by studying communities as a whole.

Despite these challenges, the literature allows us to present a model for understanding how the elements of social capital depend on each other and lead to community empowerment and to tangible community change.

### A Word about Measuring Social Capital

A scan of measures of community social context indicates that few measurement tools have been designed, validated, and used in communities to measure social capital. Social capital measurement tools rely heavily on the use of surveys, but include some interview protocols; observational tools; checklists; measures of social relationships and networks in communities; and scales that assess attitudes and behaviors that are related to, or proxies of, various dimensions of neighborhood-based social capital, such as sense of community or neighboring.[84] There are also tools that can be used to document the breadth and depth of participation in neighborhood organizational and civic affairs, and measures of constructs that are widely viewed as key elements of social capital, such as social cohesion and informal social control. Despite the important work that has been done to develop measures, some gaps remain.

A major measurement challenge is developing community-level measures for social capital that go beyond aggregating its manifestation at the individual or organizational level. For a number of the dimensions of social capital, a key question at the community level is whether having a high average level of a particular dimension in the community is sufficient, whether it needs to be distributed in a particular way across the community, or whether it and other dimensions are required to improve a community's ability to produce better outcomes.

## FINAL THOUGHTS: Community Building Creates Spaces for the Development of Social Capital

There is far less empirical work on how to produce or promote the development of social capital than one would expect, given the almost universally accepted view that this is an important attribute of healthy communities. We believe that this void is due at least in part to the challenges of defining and measuring social capital. Research on the dimensions of social capital that are most rel-

evant to neighborhoods may have somewhat limited applicability to distressed urban settings, since much of the published research is drawn from neighborhoods that are neither poor nor distressed.

Despite the dearth of research-based evidence, there is a wealth of practical knowledge that strongly suggests that creating social capital is an important part of community builders' work, and that it can be done in many ways. For example, community organizers have long operated with an understanding of the value a catalytic event can have on building a sense of community, which is necessary for mobilization. Raising consciousness about a catalytic event may cause residents to recognize a common threat to their well-being. Gentrification, the expansion of a local institution, or problems with the police may also foster the development of a sense of community among people who had never acknowledged a common plight before.

Even when community organizing to understand or combat neighborhood concerns is not the motive, community builders recognize the need to create opportunities for residents to get to know each other informally. Such gatherings serve as a precursor to building a sense of community, social cohesion, and the ability to exert informal social control. Social ties can develop as a result of participation in organizations and associations, such as churches, block associations, or local PTAs, which provide a forum for residents to interact regularly in the neighborhood. These participatory patterns are in some ways as important indicators of social organization as the prevalence of more formal community organizations, such as the CDCs or CCIs. Even activities that are designed to be recreational can have positive side effects related to the development of social ties, and thus social capital, in a given community. As Mercer Sullivan noted:

> The difference between a socially organized and a socially disorganized neighborhood cannot always be attributed to the presence or absence of formal organizations. In some areas, informal networks of kin and friends, rather than formal organizations, are the threads that hold together the social fabric. Strong organizations themselves draw on local social networks.[85]

Similarly, community builders can organize community gardens, community celebrations, study circles, cleanup campaigns, block parties, rummage sales,

block or building patrols, and other activities that require only a short-term commitment to help residents interact, get to know each other, and develop a sense of trust for each other. Social capital may also be fostered through support or affinity groups that form around a common interest. Quilting circles, single parent clubs, and local book clubs are examples of the types of informal groups that build community along lines of interest and affinity. There are also ways to build community across other interest groups, like those that form to support recovering addicts, recently released prisoners, or teens in trouble. These community-building activities can facilitate the development of a sense of community and set the stage for a wider range of social, economic, and political interactions with neighbors.

All opportunities for interaction occur in a physical space. Thus, place may be an important determinant of the development of social networks, and therefore social capital, in a neighborhood. Moreover, all places are not equal facilitators of social interactions between residents. As noted in the introduction to this volume, green spaces in a community create opportunities for social interaction, while places marred by physical deterioration and vandalism are associated with less social interaction.

Ethnographers have documented the importance of ordinary places in promoting the types of informal interactions among neighbors that are the building blocks of social capital.[86] Thus, the constellation of physical spaces that make up a neighborhood—private businesses, such as barber shops and stores; other community institutions, such as churches and schools; public land, such as parks and basketball courts; and private property, such as front porches—can be important settings for building and maintaining social capital in a neighborhood.

It is in this area that many of the themes highlighted in this volume come together. For example, economic development and microenterprises that create a rich network of small businesses in the neighborhood can create sites for the development of social capital. Projects focused on the physical conditions of neighborhoods and housing, which promote common spaces, such as parks, gardens, and courtyards where people can congregate, can facilitate social interaction. Crime prevention strategies that make the neighborhood safer, and consequently encourage people to spend time outdoors in common spaces, promote this dimension of social capital. And, as Gail Meister notes in this vol-

ume, schools can be an important setting for community residents to interact and to come together to address educational issues.

The simple core of social capital as a community concept is that people need to know their neighbors, interact with them, and develop a level of trust so that when a threat or need arises there is a network in place that can be built upon to address the problem collectively. Promoting casual interactions among neighbors, then, serves to create communities out of places where people had formerly interacted only as strangers, building social capital along the way.

## Endnotes


1. Rebecca Stone, Lisa Dwyer, and Gayatri Sethi, "Exploring Visions of 'Built' Community," in *Core Issues in Comprehensive Community-Building Initiatives*, ed. Rebecca Stone (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1996), p. 21.

2. For a comprehensive review of the ways that the term social capital has been used in the literature, see Ellen Wall, Gabriele Ferrazzi, and Frans Schryer, "Getting the Goods on Social Capital," *Rural Sociology* 63, no. 2 (June 1998): 300–322.

3. Marshall Kreuter, Nicole Lezin, and Adam Koplan, "National Level Assessment of Community Health Promotion Using Indicators of Social Capital," *WHO/EURO Working Group on Evaluating Health Promotion Approaches* 21 (January 1997), p. 2.

4. See Robert D. Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life," *The American Prospect* 4, no. 13 (spring 1993): 35–42; Putnam, "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America," *The American Prospect* 7, no. 24 (1996): 34–48; Ross Gittell and Avis Vidal, *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1998).

5. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 167.

6. Putnam, "The Prosperous Community," 1993; Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

7. Putnam, quoted by Marion Orr, *Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986–98* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kans., 1999), p. 4; the Putnam source is, "The Prosperous Community," 1993, pp. 39–41.

8. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

9. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

10. Carla M. Eastis, "Organizational Diversity and the Production of Social Capital," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 42, no. 2 (September 1998), p. 66.

11. The General Social Survey (GSS) is one example of the secondary data sets researchers have used to study the relative decline of social capital. In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam uses results from the GSS, national surveys conducted by the Roper Center and the League of Women Voters, and the

Labor Department's Current Population Survey (CPS), along with other secondary sources of survey data to illustrate his point about the decline in social capital and civic engagement. Other studies based on secondary data have had a major role in shaping how social capital is understood. See Ichiro Kawachi et al., "Social Capital, Income Inequality, and Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health* 87 (September 1997): 1491–98; Avery M. Guest and Susan K. Wierzbicki, "Social Ties at the Neighborhood Level: Two Decades of GSS Evidence," *Urban Affairs Review* 35 (September 1999): 92–111; Avery M. Guest and R. Salvador Oropesa, "Informal Social Ties and Political Activity in the Metropolis," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 21 (June 1986); Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls, "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy," *Science* 277 (August 15, 1997): 918–24, Sampson, "Linking the Micro- and Macro-Level Dimensions of Community Social Organization," *Social Forces* 70 (September 1991): 43–64.

12. See Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel, "Paths to Community Empowerment: Organizing at Home," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (August 1996): 517–50; Xavier de Souza Briggs, Elizabeth J. Mueller, and Mercer Sullivan, *From Neighborhood to Community: Evidence on the Social Effects of Community Development* (New York: New School for Social Research, Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, Community Development Research Center, 1997):139–171; Gittell and Vidal, *Community Organizing*; 1998, and Kenneth Temkin and William M. Rohe, "Social Capital and Neighborhood Stability: An Empirical Investigation," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 1 (1998), for notable exceptions.

13. Xavier de Souza Briggs, "Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 1 (1998): 178.

14. The Saguro Seminar: Civic Engagement in America is an initiative of Professor Robert Putnam at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. The project focuses on increasing knowledge about levels of trust and community engagement and on developing strategies and efforts to increase this engagement. A signature effort has been a multiyear dialogue on building bonds of civic trust among Americans and their communities. Three dozen foundations, other funders, and the Saguro Seminar joined together to sponsor the largest-ever survey of nearly 30,000 Americans on civic engagement. More information on the Saguro Seminar, Better Together or the *Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey* is available at: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/saguro/index.html.

15. Temkin and Rohe, "Social Capital," 1998.

16. Gittell and Vidal, *Community Organizing*, 1998.

17. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998.

18. Carol Stack, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

19. The term "weak ties" was popularized by Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology 78* (May 1973): 1360–80; Mark Granovetter, *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

20. See Matthew A. Crenson, "Social Networks and Political Processes in Urban Neighborhoods," *American Journal of Political Science* 223 (August 1978): 578–94 for an interesting look at differences in political behavior across close-knit and loose-knit neighborhoods.

21. Some influential theorists add a third dimension, a "closed network," as a critical element of social capital in a neighborhood. Coleman was particularly interested in the closure of intergenerational networks, which is defined as one in which the parents know the children their children know, and the parents of these children, allowing for better supervision and social control.

See James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94, supplement (1988): S95–S120; see also Robert J. Sampson, "What 'Community' Supplies," in *Urban Problems and Community Development*, ed. Ronald F. Ferguson and William T. Dickens (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999): 241–92.

22. See, for example, Guest and Oropesa, "Informal Social Ties," 1986; Guest and Wierzbicki, "Social Ties," 1999; Roger Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods, People, and Community* (New York: Plenum Press, 1984).

23. Donald G. Unger and Abraham Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 10, no. 5 (1982): 493–509.

24. Stack, *All Our Kin*, 1974; Unger and Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," 1982. See also, Donald G. Unger and Abraham Wandersman, "The Importance of Neighbors: The Social, Cognitive and Affective Components of Neighboring," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13, no. 2 (1985): 139–69.

25. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998, p. 178.

26. Robert J. Sampson and W. Byron Groves, "Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (January 1989): 774–802; Wesley Skogan, "Fear of Crime and Neighborhood Change," in *Communities and Crime*, ed. Albert J. Reiss Jr. and Michael Tonry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 209–23; John Kasarda and Morris Janowitz, "Community Attachment in Mass Society," *American Sociological Review* 39 (1974): 328–29.

27. Skogan, "Fear of Crime and Neighborhood Change," 1986, p. 216.

28. Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel, "Social Capital and the Revitalization of New York City's Distressed Inner City Housing," *Housing Debate Policy* 9, no. 1 (1998): 17–60.

29. Ibid., p. 48.

30. Unger and Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," 1982.

31. Douglas D. Perkins et al., "Participation and the Social and Physical Environment of Residential Blocks: Crime and Community Context," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (February 1990): 83–115.

32. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998, p. 178.

33. Stack, *All Our Kin*, 1974.

34. Briggs and Mueller, *From Neighborhood*, 1997.

35. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998, p. 188.

36. Granovetter, "Weak Ties," 1973; Granovetter, *Getting a Job*, 1974.

37. Briggs' research is reminiscent of the central thesis of William Julius Wilson's argument in *The Truly Disadvantaged*, that inner city youth were socially isolated from middle class blacks who offered access to the types of social capital we are talking about here.

38. David A. Reingold, "Social Networks and the Employment Problem of the Urban Poor," *Urban Studies* 36 (October 1999): 1907–32.

39. Briggs and Mueller, *From Neighborhood*, 1997, p. 204.

40. Seymour B. Sarason, *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology* (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1974); David M. Chavis and Abraham Wandersman, "Sense

of Community in the Urban Environment: A Catalyst for Participation and Community Development," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (February 1990): 55–81.

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42. See Thomas J. Glynn, "Psychological Sense of Community: Measurement and Application," *Human Relations* 34 (1981): 789–818 for an extensive review of this literature.

43. Jean L. Hill, "Psychological Sense of Community: Suggestions for Future Research," *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (1996): 431–38.

44. Glynn, "Psychological Sense of Community," 1981.

45. Hill, "Psychological Sense of Community," 1996, p. 432. Hill summarized Glynn's work into these useful categories.

46. John E. Puddifoot, "Some Initial Considerations in the Measurement of Community Identity," *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (October 1996): 327–36.

47. See, for example, Anne Brodsky, "Resilient Single Mothers in Risky Neighborhoods: Negative Psychological Sense of Community," *Journal of Community Psychology*, 24, no. 4 (1996): 347–63; Christopher Sonn and Adrian Fisher, "Psychological Sense of Community in a Politically Constructed Group," *Journal of Community Psychology*, 24, no.4 (1996): 417–30.

48. David W. McMillan and David M. Chavis, "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1986): 6–23.

49. Temkin and Rohe, "Social Capital," 1998, pp. 61–88.

50. See Hill's work for a critical review of this literature.

51. Chavis and Wandersman, "Sense of Community," 1990, p. 73.

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53. See as an example Hill, "Psychological Sense of Community," 1996.

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55. Jack L. Nasar and David A. Julian, "The Psychological Sense of Community in the Neighborhood," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 61 (spring 1995): 178–84.

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61. Raphael Sonenshein, "The Battle Over Liquor Stores in South Central Los Angeles: The Management of an Interminority Conflict," *Urban Affairs Review* 31 (July 1996): 710–72; Andres Torres, *Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New York Political Economy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

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63. Claudia J. Coulton, Jill E. Korbin, and Marilyn Su, "Measuring Neighborhood Context for Young Children in an Urban Area," *American Journal of Community Psychology 24* (February 1996): 5–32.

64. Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams, "Safe and Secure," 1982.

65. Note, too, that norms and values are not always thought of as "positive:" the norms and values that govern the behavior of gang members are certainly strong and contribute to informal social control. There is also a very large body of research that looks to norms and values in poor communities as a way to account for the social pathology or culture of poverty that some have used to explain the persistence of socially unacceptable behavior and attitudes.

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69. Sampson, "What 'Community' Supplies," 1999; see also Ora Simcha-Fagan and Joseph E. Schwartz, "Neighborhood Delinquency: An Assessment of Contextual Effects," *Criminology* 24 (November 1986): 667–703.

70. Eugenia Eng and Edith Parker, "Measuring Community Competence in the Mississippi Delta: The Interface between Program Evaluation and Empowerment," *Health Education Quarterly* 21 (summer 1994): 199–220; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, "Neighborhoods and Violent

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72. Marc A. Zimmerman has made an enormous contribution to the literature concerned with individual empowerment. See, for example, Marc A. Zimmerman, "Psychological Empowerment: Issues and Illustrations," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 23 (October 1995): 581–99. Marc A. Zimmerman and Julian Rappaport, "Citizen Participation, Perceived Control, and Psychological Empowerment," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 16 (1988): 725–49; Marc A. Zimmerman and James H. Zahniser, "Refinements of Sphere-Specific Measures of Perceived Control: Development of a Sociopolitical Control Scale," *Journal of Community Psychology* 19 (April 1991): 189–204; Marc A. Zimmerman et al., "Further Explorations in Empowerment Theory: An Empirical Analysis of Psychological Empowerment," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 20 (December 1992): 707–27. See also Charles Keiffer, "Citizen Empowerment: A Developmental Perspective," *Prevention in Human Services* 3 (1984): 9–36.

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78. Pursely, "Empowerment and Utilization," 1996: p. 59.

79. Zimmerman, "Empowerment Theory," 2000.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Coleman, "Social Capital," 1988; Roberta Miller, "Healthy Boston and Social Capital: Application, Dynamics, and Limitations," *National Civic Review* 86 (summer 1997): 157–66.

83. G. Thomas Kingsley, Joseph B. McNeely, and James O. Gibson, *Community Building Coming of Age* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1998), p. 34.

84. See www.aspeninstitute.org measurement database for descriptions of most of the community-building measurement tools reviewed in this chapter.

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