

UC Irvine

UC Irvine Previously Published Works

Title

Responding to Neighborhood Problems: Is the Division of Community Labor Gendered?

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3c76v48r>

Journal

Crime & Delinquency, 64(9)

ISSN

0011-1287

Authors

Wickes, Rebecca

Broidy, Lisa

Hipp, John R

Publication Date

2018-08-01

DOI

10.1177/0011128717750390

Peer reviewed

Responding to neighborhood problems: Is the division of community labor gendered?

Rebecca Wickes

Lisa Broidy

John R. Hipp

Post-print. Published in Crime & Delinquency 64(9): 1215-1241

Abstract

Social disorganization theory positions informal social control as central to neighborhood crime reduction. Although neighborhood ties, fear of crime, and perceived disorder influence the exercise of informal social control, there are significant sex differences for these drivers that might differentially influence men and women's informal social control actions. Furthermore, these differences may be exaggerated under conditions that activate gendered divisions of labor. We use survey data from 4,000 residents in 148 neighborhoods and employ multilevel logistic regression to examine the relationship between sex and informal social control actions. We find that men are more likely to take action than women; however, our three-way interactions reveal family arrangements moderate the relationship between ties, fear of crime, disorder, and these actions.

Introduction

Social disorganization scholarship positions informal social control as one of the most important mechanisms for crime prevention. While specific definitions vary (Bellair & Browning, 2010), informal social control generally refers to the “development, observance and enforcement of local norms for appropriate behavior” (Greenberg & Rohe, 1986, p. 82). More detailed descriptions of informal social control reveal two dimensions. The *perceptual* dimension represents an individual’s attitudes and perceptions about one’s neighborhood that facilitate or constrain informal social control actions (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). The *behavioral* dimension of informal social control represents what people do when faced with a neighborhood problem. This exercise of informal social control (what we refer to herewith as informal social control action) includes, but is not limited to, surveillance, working with others to solve a local problem, and calling the police or other formal agencies of social control (Bellair & Browning, 2010; Warner, 2007).

What people *do* to prevent crime is arguably consequential for the regulation of criminal or deviant behavior (Reynald, 2009; Wells, Schafer, Varano, & Bynum, 2006), yet few studies focus on residents’ actual actions in response to neighborhood problems (Bellair & Browning, 2010; Wickes, Hipp, Sargeant, & Mazerolle, 2016). Also missing from this scholarship is a focus on who ‘acts’ when faced with neighborhood problems. Of particular note here is the potential for sex differences in the likelihood of enacting social control. Censuring deviant acts can result in harm and, thus involves an element of risk (Horne, 2004; Wells et al., 2006). Given men’s greater affinity for risk across multiple life domains (Byrnes, Miller, & Schafer, 1999) and their tendency to assume protector roles in crisis situations (Alway, Belgrave, & Smith, 1998), men may be more likely to exercise informal social control than women in response to neighborhood level problems. And, these sex differences may be highlighted under particular family/household conditions. There are significant gender divisions in housework and these become more pronounced for women when they marry and have children (Baxter, Hewitt, & Haynes, 2008). Mothers are largely responsible for household duties and socialization of children, even if they are employed full time (Yavorsky, Kamp

Dush, & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Married men, on the other hand, are more likely to assume roles that privilege masculinity, like the protector or the defender of the household (Alway et al., 1998). Despite evidence to suggest that gender and family arrangements likely matter for the exercise of informal social control, we know of no research that assesses how marital and family status influence social control actions for women and men.¹

Sex differences may also indirectly influence informal social control actions through their effect on its correlates – specifically neighborhood social ties, fear of crime, and perceived disorder. Studies reveal that the extent of neighborhood social ties, levels of fear and perceptions of neighborhood problems are significantly different for women and men (Barnes, 2003; Campbell & Lee, 1990; Dahlin et al., 2008; Haynie, 1998; Jackson & Gray, 2010; Knies, 2013; Monti et al., 2003; 06; Warr, 1984; Wickes, Hipp, Sargeant, & Homel, 2013). Thus it is possible that the strength of association between these processes and informal social control may vary across women and men in general and in relation to their family and household arrangements.

In this study we bring together administrative and survey data for 4,132 residents living in 148 neighborhoods in Brisbane, Australia. Our paper advances the informal social control literature by focusing on the correlates of informal social control actions by neighborhood residents and assessing the potentially gendered character of these actions. Specifically, we examine if women and men differ in their likelihood to engage in informal social control action, if this difference is a function of sex differences in the key correlates of informal social control action (specifically social ties, fear of crime, and perceptions of disorder) and if they are further conditioned by an individual's marital and parental statuses.

¹ We recognize that studies of collective efficacy do control for gender, but as argued elsewhere (see Wickes et al., 2016), perceptions of collective efficacy are distinct from resident actions undertaken to address crime and/or disorder.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to social disorganization theory and its recent extensions, in particular the systemic model of community regulation and collective efficacy theory, the exercise of informal social control is critically important for the regulation of crime (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Scholars generally agree that in enacting informal social control, individuals are trying to directly influence or prevent unwanted neighborhood behaviors (Warner, 2007). The exercise of informal social control may involve individual actions that convey norms of what is acceptable behavior in the neighborhood via mechanisms such as “gossip”, “scolding” or “disapproval” (Black, 1984, pp. 5-7). Other actions are more collaborative where residents work directly with neighbors, the police or other local government organizations to develop specific criminal response or prevention strategies (Bellair & Browning, 2010; Greenberg & Rohe, 1986; Warner, 2007).

Despite the centrality of informal social control actions to the prevention of crime, the literature is surprisingly quiet on what drives residents to engage in actions that could be potentially risky. In one of the few studies to specifically examine the exercise of informal social control, Wickes and colleagues (2016) found that neighborhood level characteristics were not particularly important in predicting action. Rather, individual and household characteristics were strongly associated with taking action to resolve a local problem. Of interest to our study, their results revealed that under particular conditions women were less likely to engage in informal social control actions when compared to men, whereas participants with children were slightly more likely to exercise informal social control compared to those without children (Wickes et al., 2016). Moreover, when compared to married participants, widowers were less likely to take action, whereas single participants were more likely to take action. This implies the exercise of informal social control may be gendered in important ways, however, this was not the focus of their study and they did not unpack the implications of these results for how and why gender might influence informal social control actions.

Gender and Informal Social Control Actions

The findings from Wickes and colleagues (2016) suggest that decisions to engage in informal social control actions may be a function of sex differences and household dynamics. We know from the literature that compared to women, men are more likely to take risks in their professional and personal lives (Byrnes et al., 1999). We also know that the exercise of informal social control involves some degree of risk, which might explain Wickes and colleagues' (2016) finding that men were more willing to respond to neighborhood problems with informal social control actions than women. The greater inclination of men to engage informal social controls in the neighborhood might be even more pronounced for married men with children. There are significant gender divisions in housework that are exaggerated when marriage and parenthood are part of the equation (Baxter et al., 2008). These differences in the uptake of housework may also be evident in the uptake of informal social control. Essentialist ideas about male and female traits continue well into the 21st century (Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, 2016), and in families, men are still likely to enact roles that privilege masculinity, like the protector or the defender of the household.

Though not specifically looking at informal social control action, a study examining gender role differences in a post disaster context revealed that married men engaged in activities associated with ensuring the safety of the home and the family, whereas married women were concerned largely with the well-being of family and the neighborhood more broadly (Alway et al., 1998). Alway and her colleagues (1998) concluded that the disaster made salient what it means to be a man and that "men protect those who depend on them" (Alway et al., 1998, p. 184). Interestingly, not only did men feel they needed to assume the protector roles, women demanded it of them and even reported disappointment when they did not live up to these hegemonic male expectations.

Married women and mothers are generally responsible for securing and maintaining the social and emotional ties that sustain a family while husbands and fathers take primary responsibility for generating the material and instrumental resources the family needs to both thrive and stay safe. And, while there is evidence that this gendered division of labor is shifting, it remains the case that

women, particularly mothers, prioritize emotional work and childcare over paid labor (Baxter et al., 2008; Biachi et al., 2012; Yavorsky et al., 2015). Moreover, even when married women work, the traditional division of household labor persists (Treas & Dronbic, 2010). Of course, none of these factors impact directly on single women's informal social control behaviors. These women likely have fewer expectations that others will look after their personal safety, thus it is possible that single women and single mothers are more likely to engage in informal social control than their married counterparts.

In addition to the influence of marriage and family status on differences in women's and men's informal social control actions, it is also likely that the key correlates of informal social control influence these gender differences. As we discuss below, this is particularly likely with respect to neighborhood social ties, fear of crime and perceptions of neighborhood problems, since each of these exhibit significant variation as a function of gender.

Social ties and informal social control actions

According to social disorganization theory, neighborhood social ties are important for deterring crime and delinquency (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kornhauser, 1978). Evidence suggests that they are also a significant predictor of informal social control action (Wickes et al., 2016). Studies find that individuals living in communities with strong local networks and high levels of organizational participation experience fewer muggings, robberies and burglaries (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Further, when individuals have strong social ties, they are more likely to perceive greater neighborhood level informal social control (Ross & Jang, 2000; Wickes et al., 2013), be concerned about engaging in norm violating behavior (Bursik, 1999) and engage in specific forms of public and parochial informal social control actions (Wickes et al., 2016). What is largely absent from this scholarship is whether the strength of the association between social ties and informal social control action differs for women and men. For the most part, women have more private ties (Dahlin et al., 2008; Knies, 2013; Monti et al., 2003) and larger parochial networks than men (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Dahlin et al., 2008). Women also spend more time socializing with

neighbors (Barnes, 2003) and are more likely to know their neighbors by name than men (Campbell & Lee, 1990). The types of support women and men provide to members of their neighborhood network also present consistent gender differences. Women are more likely than men to provide emotional support to others, to report receiving emotional support from others and to have close ties to non-kin (Liebler & Sandefur, 2002; Wellman & Wortley, 1990).

These gender differences in social ties and their potential influence on the exercise of informal social control have not been a central focus of social disorganization scholarship. Yet one study does provide evidence that female social ties may be more effective in controlling crime when compared to male social ties (Rountree & Warner, 1999). Looking across 100 neighborhoods in Seattle, Washington, Rountree and Warner (1999) found that neighborhood violence was lower in areas where female ties were prevalent. These results indicate that women's ties may be more effective in regulating unwanted behavior within the neighborhood. This suggests there are important gender differences in how ties are leveraged for informal social control actions. Even so, we do not know whether having social ties similarly influences the likelihood of engaging informal social control for women and men. Given how different their ties are in character and function, it may be that social ties have a different motivational effect on women and men for the exercise of informal social control.

Further, marital and family statuses may come into play here. As noted in the previous section, married women and mothers are generally responsible for securing and maintaining the social and emotional ties that sustain a family, with mothers more heavily involved in childcare than fathers (Baxter et al., 2008; Bianchi et al., 2012; Craig, 2006; Yavorsky et al., 2015). Taken together, this literature suggests that for women, especially women with children, neighborhood social ties may be in greater supply and easier to access when a problem arises than would be the case for fathers or men and women without children. Thus our first research question asks if the strength of

the relationship between social ties and informal social control actions is different for men and women and further if these relationships vary under different parental and marital circumstances.

Fear of crime, perceptions of disorder and informal social control

Fear of crime could also influence the exercise of informal social control. Fear of crime leads to lower neighborhood social capital and weakens shared perceptions of informal social control (Whitley & Prince, 2005). It may also constrain behaviors necessary for the informal regulation of crime (Ferraro, 1995; Liska, Sanchirico, & Reed, 1988; Rader, Cossman, & Allison, 2009). A study of 6,500 respondents from across 26 major U.S. cities reveals that not only does fear of crime reduce activities associated with informal social control, this lack of active engagement further increases fear over time, suggesting a negative feedback loop (Liska et al., 1988). At the same time, fear of crime can be functional, providing a “positive mobilizing force that could be harnessed to achieve utilitarian goals” (Jackson & Gray, 2010, p. 1), thereby motivating the deployment of informal social control (see also Hawdon & Ryan, 2011; Pattavina, Byrne, & Garcia, 2006).

Some of the apparent inconsistencies in informal social control action among those who express fear of crime may be a function of differences in both levels of, and coping reactions to, fear of crime for men and women. Even though women are less likely to experience victimization, they are significantly more likely to report being fearful of crime than men (Ferraro, 1995; Jackson & Gray, 2010; Snedker, 2015). Further, we know that fear of crime is more likely to constrain women’s behavior than men’s (Liska et al., 1988; Rader et al., 2009). There is also evidence that for women, fear of crime invokes concerns for personal safety whereas for men it is more likely to invoke concern for the safety of others—particularly one’s spouse or significant other (Haynes & Rader, 2015). In this way, fear may invoke a self-protective response among women that constrains their informal social control actions while heightening men’s informal social control actions as they seek to protect those they care about. This implies a potential moderating effect for gender. We also argue that parental and marital status may further influence this relationship. Our second research question therefore asks if the relationship between fear and informal social control is stronger for women

when compared to men and if this relationship is heightened for women and men in traditional family roles.

Perceptions of disorder and fear of crime are strongly linked (Snedker, 2015). High levels of perceived disorder influence fear and subsequent withdrawal from community life (Liska et al., 1988; Markowitz et al., 2001; Skogan 1990). Studies demonstrate that when residents perceive problems as too 'big', they may feel overwhelmed and unable to respond or feel there is little they can do to resolve the issue (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007). This suggests that those perceiving higher levels of disorder may be less inclined to engage in informal actions to combat neighborhood problems. Again, we argue that there may be important sex differences that have not yet been fully explored.

Evidence for sex differences in perceptions of disorder is mixed. In their study of disorder involving nearly 10,000 residents in 300 neighborhoods, Wickes and colleagues (2013) find that women report higher levels of disorder than men. Using data from a victimization survey across 12 US cities, Snedker (2015), reports no gender differences in perceptions of physical disorder, and higher perceptions of social disorder among males. At the same time, she finds these perceived conditions are more likely to translate into fear of crime for women than men, suggesting differences in the salience of their effect, if not their actual levels. That women are also slightly more likely than men to report greater overall concern for neighborhood problems (Pitner, Yu, & Brown, 2012) is consistent with the argument that neighborhood problems might be more salient for women (see also Hipp, 2010).

Though the literature is unclear, it is likely that the relationship between informal social control action and perceptions of disorder may also be conditioned by sex. Specifically, even if men and women perceive similar levels of disorder, as we argue with fear, these perceptions may constrain women's behavior more so than men's, which may help explain gender differences in the deployment of informal social control. Thus our final research question asks if the strength of the

association between these perceptions and actions differs for women and men and, again, whether this relationship is heightened for women and men in traditional family roles.

METHODS

To answer these questions, we draw on survey data from the Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS). The ACCS is a longitudinal panel study of urban communities in Australia funded by the Australian Research Council (see <http://www.uq.edu.au/accs/index.html>). The overarching goal of the ACCS is to understand and analyze the key social processes associated with the spatial variation of crime and disorder across urban communities over time. Our paper employs data collected in 2012 representing the fourth wave of the ACCS survey in the Brisbane Statistical Division (BSD) located in Queensland². Brisbane is the state capital of Queensland and the third largest city in Australia (over 2 million people). The Brisbane ACCS sample comprises 148 randomly drawn state neighborhoods (suburbs) with an average residential population of 5,321 people (range from 245 to 20,999).

The ACCS Survey Participants

The Wave 4 Brisbane ACCS survey sample comprises 4,132 respondents. Respondents were randomly selected using random digit dialing and the number of participants in each neighborhood ranged from 13 to 67 respondents (mean = 30). The response and cooperation rate for the Brisbane ACCS Wave 4 was 35.69 percent and 46.27 percent respectively³. The survey lasted approximately 25 minutes and the in-scope survey population comprised all people aged 18 years or over who resided in private dwellings with telephones in the selected Brisbane neighborhoods.

² This survey wave provides the most comprehensive data to explore citizen informal social control responses. Prior waves do not include the same level of detail on the exercise of informal social control as Wave 4.

³ In contrast to face to face surveys like those used in the PHDCN or the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Study, phone response rates tend to be lower. This is true for the ACCS surveys response rate. Yet the response rates for ACCS are on par with or indeed higher than other studies in Australia and the United States using phone contact (Duncan & Mummery, 2005; Lai, Zhao, & Longmire, 2012; Pickett, Chiricos, Golden, & Gertz, 2012).

Variable Information

Dependent variable: The outcome variable in this study comes from a series of questions asking respondents whether they engaged in an activity to address a neighborhood problem in the last 12 months. Thus it captures actual reported actions that residents took in response to identified neighborhood problems. First respondents were asked whether a series of issues or problems were: a) not a problem, b) some problem, or c) a big problem. Problems included 1) drugs; 2) public drinking; 3) people loitering or hanging out; 4) people being attacked or harassed because of their skin color, ethnic origin, or religion; 5) vandalism and/or graffiti; 6) traffic problems like speeding or street racing; and 7) young people getting into trouble. Following a cognitive model of survey response for informal social control related questions (Matsueda & Drakulich, 2016), respondents acknowledging a particular issue as some problem or a big problem were then asked if they had done anything to resolve the problem in the last 12 months. The outcome variable is the response to this question with 0 representing no action and 1 representing action. We combine responses to the different problems into a dichotomous variable: action/no action. While many people report problems in their neighborhood, only a minority engage in informal social control actions, so disaggregating the dependent variable would affect analytic power.

Individual level independent variables: Our goal in this paper is to examine the influence of social ties, fear of crime and perceptions of disorder on informal social control actions and to assess variation in these relationships across gender and as a function of marital and family status. Our measure of *social ties* comprises an index of the following items: 1) How many relatives and friends live in your community (none to more than 10); 2) How many people would you say you know in your community (none, few, many, most); and 3) How many times have you had contact with a neighbor in the previous week (none, once, twice, three or more). We created this measure by conducting a principal components analysis and computing standardized factor scores.

While we do not have direct measure of respondents' fear of crime, we utilize a proxy measure that captures residents' general concern for safety, which has been linked to their fear of crime (LaGrange & Ferraro, 1987). To measure *feel safe at night*, residents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with the statement "I feel safe walking down the street after dark". Response categories were measured on a five point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree (with values from 1 to 5) such that higher values indicate feeling safer at night.

In our analyses, *perceived neighborhood problems* represent the degree to which residents perceived the problems noted above. Response categories for these items were 'no problem', 'some problem' and 'big problem' (scored from 0 to 2 - higher scores represent more significant problems)⁴.

We include *gender* (1=female, 0=male) of the respondent in our models and include three dummy variables to capture *marital status*, these were widow (1=widow, 0=other), divorced (1=divorced, 0=other) and single (1=single or never married, 0=other) with married as the reference category. We also include a measure of the *number of children* in the participant's household. Combined, these indicators allow us to identify single and married parents to reflect family status.

Neighborhood level control variables: Though our interest is in the individual level influences that affect informal social control actions, we recognize that the neighborhood context may also affect this relationship. To control for the influence of the neighborhood context, we include neighborhood level measures of *reciprocated exchange*, *the proportion of single headed families*, *residential stability*, *median household income*, *population density* and *ethnic heterogeneity*.

Reciprocated exchange represents the degree to which residents provide material and social support to each other. It captures the parochial networks necessary for informal social control (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). The items that comprise our measure are derived from the Project for

⁴ In supplemental analyses we included each separate problem type as a control variable predicting action. Our results were unchanged from the models that employed a composite scale of all problems. In our final analyses we use the composite scale for parsimony.

Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN). They ask residents to comment on how often they and people in their community: 1) do favors for each other; 2) visit in each other's homes or on the street; and 3) ask each other advice about personal things such as child rearing or job openings. Response categories include: never; rarely; sometimes; often. To ensure econometric reliability, we used the full ACCS sample (N=4,132) to construct our neighborhood-level measure of reciprocated exchange. This ecological measure was constructed based on factor scores from a maximum likelihood factor analysis. The factor score is a standardized value with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. We correct for individual-level biases by accounting for compositional effects in which neighborhood assessments may be systematically affected by the characteristics of respondents in the neighborhood. We estimated fixed effects models in which the outcome measure was the previously computed factor scores, and included indicator variables for all neighborhoods, as well as several individual characteristics that might systematically bias perceptions, and then used the estimated coefficients for each of the neighborhoods from this analysis as unbiased estimates of reciprocated exchange in the models.⁵

In line with Rountree and Warner's (1999) earlier work, we also include a measure of *single headed family households*. Our measure of single headed family households represents the proportion of households with a single parent and at least one child under the age of 15. It was derived from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2011 census. As neighborhood poverty, residential mobility and ethnic heterogeneity weaken the capacity for perceptions of informal social control (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997) and may therefore also impact the exercise of informal social control, we used the 2011 census data to construct additional control variables: *median household income*, *residential stability* (the mean of two standardized measures - percent owners and percent same households in the last five years) and *population density* in the

⁵ The individual level characteristics included in the model were: household income, education level, length of residence in the neighborhood, female, age, homeowner, marital status (single, widowed, divorced, and married as the reference category), presence of children, and speaking only English in the home.

neighborhood. To create a measure of *ethnic heterogeneity* we used the ancestry of the ACCS survey respondents to construct a Herfindahl Index measure of diversity. We computed the proportion of the survey residents in five categories: white, Middle Eastern, Asian, African, and other, and then created a Herfindahl index. We also control for prior rates of total *neighborhood crime* using Queensland Police Service incident reports from 2009 to 2011. The rate is per 100,000 persons.

Individual level control variables: The social disorganization literature highlights individual level variables that might influence informal social control actions. We therefore controlled for a range of individual and household socio-demographic characteristics. These included: *approximate gross household income* (1=less than \$20,000, 2=\$20,000 to less than \$40,000, 3=\$40,000 to less than \$60,000, 4=\$60,000 to less than \$80,000, 5=\$80,000 or more), *highest level of education* (6=post graduate qualifications, 5=a university or college degree, 4=a trade, technical certificate or diploma, 3=completed senior high school, 2=completed junior high school, 1=primary school, 0=no schooling), the *length of residence* in the home (1=less than 6 months, 2=6 months to less than 12 months, 3=12 months to less than 2 years, 4=2 years to less than 5 years, 5=5 years to less than 10 years, 6=10 years to less than 20 years, 7=20 years or more), and the *age* (and age squared) of residents. We included two dummy variables to capture *employment*: working full time (coded as 1) vs. all other categories (coded as 0) and working part time (coded as 1) vs. all other categories (coded as 0)⁶. Additionally we controlled for the residents' ethnic origin as *non-white* with an indicator for immigrants not born in Europe or North America. Summary statistics for the variables included in the analyses are presented in the Table 1.

<<Table 1 here>>

Analytic Approach

⁶ The employment response options included: working full-time, working part-time, on a sick or disability pension, on a sole parent's pension, on an aged pension, retired - self-supporting, unemployed and seeking work, home duties, student and other.

We estimated multilevel logistic regression models in which the outcomes were whether the respondent reported engaging in informal social control action (1) or took no action (0) in response to any neighborhood problems they report. The 12,470 problems reported by respondents are at level 1, nested in the 3,772 respondents at level 2 and the 148 neighborhoods at level 3. We used the `melogit` command in Stata to estimate the models. In full models, we assess the influence of social ties, fear, perceptions of disorder and gender, before examining our gender interactions. In all models, the variance inflation factor values were below 4, providing no evidence for problems related to multicollinearity in our models (Kennedy, 1998; Neter et. al., 1996). There was only a modest amount of missing data, which we accounted for using a multiple imputation strategy.

RESULTS

We begin by establishing the relationship between sex and informal social control actions. As expected, accounting for our control variables at the individual and neighborhood levels, we see a direct relationship between sex and informal social control actions with females significantly less likely to take such action compared to males (Table 2, model 1). The odds of women engaging in informal social control action are 17.4 percent less than men ($\exp(-.191)=.826$). This relationship holds even when controlling for social ties, fear of crime, and perceptions of disorder (Table 2, models 2, 3 and 4). In model 5 of Table 2 we include all three variables, and we see that sex remains significant, perceived problems and the presence of more social ties remain positively associated with informal social control action, however feeling safe in the neighborhood is not significant. As Wickes and colleagues' (2016) study revealed, neighborhood control variables are not significant predictors of informal social control actions when individual level variables are included in the model. One exception is population density, which decreases the likelihood of social control action.

<<<Table 2 here>>>

In Table 2 we see that females report more ties with their neighbors than men. A t-test identifies this as a statistically significant difference ($p < .01$). At the same time, females report feeling significantly less safe in the neighborhood than men. And perceived disorder is only

modestly higher for woman than men. These differences confirm that women and men experience and perceive ties, fear and disorder differently. Given these differences, and our theoretical expectations, we assess whether there are sex differences in how these mechanisms influence whether or not women and men engage in informal social control. To test this, our next analyses examine the interaction between sex and each of these indicators (ties, fear and disorder) (see Table 3). Contrary to our expectations, the strength of the relationship between these three variables and actions is the same for women and men. It appears that even if the nature and extent of women's and men's experiences in these domains vary, they similarly motivate women and men towards informal social control actions. It is worth noting that differences in the amount of ties, fear and disorder women and men report do not explain gender variation in informal social control (mediation models available on request).

<<<Table 3 here>>>

Next we assessed if the division of labor across women and men, instantiated through marriage and parenthood, is linked to informal social control action. In Table 4, model 1, we find that compared to married men with children, married women ($b=-0.480$) and married mothers ($b=-0.400$) are significantly less likely to enact informal social control as are single women ($b=-0.540$) and single men ($b=-0.371$). Single mothers were somewhat less likely than married men to exercise informal social control, though this did not reach conventional statistical significance. Instead it is men in traditional familial roles who are more likely to respond when such problems exist in the neighborhood.

In models 2, 3 and 4, we capture the three-way cross-classification of marital/family status, the drivers of informal social control actions (ties, fear and disorder) and informal social control actions. In these models we are interested in whether the strength of the associations between ties, fear and disorder and informal social control actions differ for men and women as a function of their marital and family status. Our results point to a number of differences in the activation of informal social control across women and men when we account for variation in marital and family status.

Results suggest that social ties work differently than fear and disorder in influencing informal social control. Looking first to social ties (Table 4, model 2), compared to nearly all marital and family arrangements, married fathers with many neighborhood ties are the most likely to exercise informal social control in response to a neighborhood problem. This can be seen in Figure 1, in which we plot the predicted values based on these three-way interactions: for example, the five bars on the left for married fathers plot the main effect for social ties given that this group is the reference category. Only single fathers are as likely as married fathers with many friends to enact informal social control. It is notable that the number of social ties has a particularly strong positive relationship with enacting informal social control for married and single fathers (seen in the relative heights of the bars in the graph between very few and very many ties).

<<<Table 4 here>>>

<<<Figure 1 here>>>

In model 3 we consider the moderating role of feelings of safety for these relationships. These interactions are plotted in Figure 2, and we find that among those who feel unsafe in the neighborhood, single mothers and married men with no children are more likely to exercise informal social control compared to married men with children (the left bar in each clump of bars in this figure). However, whereas married fathers are more likely to exercise informal social control as their perceptions of safety increase, single mothers are the opposite in that they are most likely to engage in action when they perceive a more unsafe environment. Single fathers are as likely to exercise informal social control as married fathers in a very safe environment, but much less likely in an unsafe environment.

<<<Figure 2 here>>>

We see a similar pattern for the moderating role of neighborhood disorder (Figure 3), as married fathers who perceive disorder are *less* likely to engage in informal social control than single mothers or married men without children who see many problems in the neighborhood. Married men without children, and particularly single mothers, show the most pronounced effect in which they

engage in much more informal social control activity as the number of perceived problems increases in the neighborhood. We discuss these findings in greater depth below.

<<<Figure 3 here>>>

DISCUSSION

Traditional and contemporary social disorganization scholarship focusses on the processes that influence an individual's perception of informal social control rather than examine what triggers informal social control actions. We address this by examining the conditions under which individuals engage in informal social control. Drawing on the broader informal social control literature, we asked if women and men were as likely to enact informal social control action, if sex interacted with key correlates of informal social control action (ties, fear and disorder) and finally if differences in the likelihood of responding to neighborhood problems are associated with women's and men's marital and family statuses in ways that might implicate broader social norms and gendered expectations associated with marital and family roles and responsibilities.

In the main we find that women are less likely to engage in informal social control action. We also find that individuals with stronger neighborhood ties and those who perceive higher levels of disorder are more likely to engage in informal social control actions, but fear has no influence on the likelihood of engaging in informal social control actions. Further although we had hypothesized the strength of the relationship between social ties, fear, disorder and informal social control action would be different for women and men, we found no support for this in our models. Our results revealed that sex does not interact with ties, fear and perceived disorder to influence informal social control outcomes. Though women and men have distinct ties to neighbors and often have divergent views of the levels of safety and disorder that characterize their neighborhoods, this has no real influence on their differential likelihood of stepping in when neighborhood problems emerge.

In a grand sense, we know that gender is important. Though differences in the way women and men engage with their neighborhoods do not account for gender differences in informal social

control actions, we suggest that gender differences in the likelihood of responding to neighborhood problems are tied to the gendered division of labor and activated under conditions that promote this division. We find that, among married respondents, the bulk of neighborhood level social control is left to fathers. Married women, with and without children, are significantly less likely to engage in informal social control actions than married fathers. Additionally, single women without children do less in response to neighborhood problems than married fathers. Though we cannot directly test whether this is a function of gendered expectations, we suspect that it reflects men's roles and identities as protector and women's willingness to defer related behaviors to men (see also Haines et al., 2016). The only exception to this is single mothers, who are as likely to intervene in neighborhood problems as married fathers. It may be that single mothers feel compelled to protect their children because they cannot defer this responsibility to their partner the way married mothers can. On the other hand, protecting their children, for married women, might mean staying safe to rear them and deferring the potentially dangerous job of intervening in neighborhood disorder to husbands and fathers (Alway et al., 1998).

Yet these relationships become more complicated when we consider three way interactions with gender and the mechanisms associated with informal social control actions. We find that married fathers with many social ties in the neighborhood are more likely to engage in informal social control actions compared to women (married and unmarried, with or without children) with many social ties. Though we are not able to effectively test this with the data we have available, these results point to differences in men's ties and how these ties may support actions that involve risk. Considering the differences in the type of support women and men provide and receive, it is possible that men's provision of instrumental support (Liebler & Sandefur, 2002) is more consequential for informal social control actions given the purposive orientation of this form of support. If it were simply that more ties leads to more support and thus more action, we would find no differences between married fathers and married mothers. Instead we argue that fathers' neighborhood ties are qualitatively different to women's ties and utilized differently in the face of a

potentially harmful threat. Understanding the form and function of men's neighborhood ties and how they support informal social control is an important area for further research.

The results of this research also reveal that when problems are considered significant or when fear is heightened, married men with children are then less likely to exercise informal social control when compared to single mothers and married men without children. Unpacking these relationships is more difficult, as there are no studies to theoretically guide us in our extrapolation from the data. As we noted above, single mothers are as likely as married fathers to exercise informal social control. But, whereas married fathers' motivation to act weakens under conditions of neighborhood fear and disorder, this is not the case for single mothers. It is possible that single mothers feel even more responsible for the protection of their children in disorderly neighborhoods where fear is elevated. They may not be able to defer responsibility to others in the neighborhood and instead are forced to take specific actions to protect their children. Although we hypothesized that for married women, protecting their children might mean staying safe and deferring the potentially dangerous job of responding to neighborhood problems to others (Alway et al., 1998), in disorderly neighborhoods, married fathers and married mothers may equally refrain from action, but take other measures to keep their children safe, or if resources permit, they may move to a safer neighborhood. We can only speculate from our results, but argue that as our understanding of the *exercise* of informal social control is extremely limited, a concentrated focus on the gendered dynamics of informal social control actions is needed.

While our findings offer a significant advance of the literature, we must also recognize the limitations of our study. First, as we mention earlier, we are not able to assess how couples determine the division of labor for responding to community problems. Second, survey research cannot fully capture the gendered dynamics of informal social control. We suggest that future studies take a more ethnomethodological approach to better understand the ways in which women and men 'do gender' when faced with neighborhood problems. Third, our analyses rely on cross-sectional data, thus we can only examine the correlational relationship between our variables of interest. Additionally, the

null relationship we find between fear of crime and informal social control action may be a function of our measure of fear of crime. In our analyses we use a global indicator of fear of crime. We note the significant advances of this concept in the literature, yet this was the only measure available in the ACCS survey. Finally, our measure of social ties does not reflect the quality of these relationships. It is hoped that future studies will consider the form, function and density of neighborhood social ties in order to better understand how they can be leveraged for informal social control actions.

In summary, our study offers important reflections for theories of social disorganization and related hypotheses about the circumstances under which individuals will respond to neighborhood level problems. Our findings reveal that gender differences in the division of ‘community labor’ may be similar to those found in household and childcare labor. Marriage and having children may change the dynamics of who does what when it comes to caring for the neighborhood’s safety and well-being in much the same way as they influence for household chores and child related duties. This is significant because it suggests that though neighborhood ties, perceptions of neighborhood disorder and feelings of personal safety similarly motivate action for females and males, the likelihood of action is also tied to the private/public divide that has long characterized gendered distributions of labor. Therefore we argue that it is not just neighborhood level processes that motivate and constrain informal social control actions, but broader socio-cultural norms and processes. Here we highlight those embedded in women’s and men’s structural positions in the household, but we contend that other socio-cultural norms and processes may also be important, including ones tied to race/ethnicity, age, geography, the labor market and even historical contexts. We think this is an important direction that could extend the explanatory power of social disorganization theories by furthering our understanding of when and why individuals are willing to take action in response to neighborhood level problems.

REFERENCES

- Alway, J., Belgrave, L. L., & Smith, K. J. (1998). Back to normal: Gender and disaster. *Symbolic Interaction, 21*(2), 175-195.
- Barnes, S. L. (2003). Determinants of individual neighborhood ties and social resources in poor urban neighborhoods. *Sociological Spectrum, 23*(4), 463-497.
- Baxter, J., Hewitt, B., & Haynes, M. (2008). Life course transitions and housework: Marriage, parenthood, and time on housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*(2) 259-272.
- Bellair, P. E., & Browning, C. R. (2010). Contemporary disorganization research: An assessment and further test of the systemic model of neighborhood crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 47*(4), 496-521.
- Bianchi, S. M., Sayer, L., Milkie, M. A., & Robinson, J. P. (2012). Housework: Who did, does or will do it, and how much does it matter? *Social Forces, 91*(1), 55-63.
- Black, D. (1984). Social control as a dependent variable. In Black, Donald (Ed.), *Toward a General Theory of Social Control* (pp. 1-36). London: Academic Press.
- Bursik, R. J. (1999). The informal control of crime through neighborhood networks. *Sociological Focus, 32*(1), 85-97.
- Bursik, R. J., & Grasmick, H.G. (1993). Economic deprivation and neighborhood crime rates, 1960-1980. *Law & Society Review, 27*(2), 263- 283.
- Byrnes, J. P., Miller, D. C., & Schafer, W. D. (1999). Gender differences in risk taking: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 125*(3), 367-383.
- Campbell, K. E., & Lee, B. A. (1990). Gender differences in urban neighboring. *The Sociological Quarterly, 31*(4), 495-512.
- Campbell, K. E., & Barrett, A. L. (1992). Sources of personal neighbor networks: Social integration, need, or time? *Social Forces, 70*(4), 1077-1100.

- Dahlin, E., Nyberg, L., Bäckman, L., & Neely, A. S. (2008). Plasticity of executive functioning in young and older adults: Immediate training gains, transfer, and long-term maintenance. *Psychology and Aging, 23*(4), 720-730.
- Duncan, M., & Mummery, K. (2005). Psychosocial and environmental factors associated with physical activity among city dwellers in regional Queensland. *Preventive medicine, 40*(4), 363-372.
- Ferraro, K. F. (1995). *Fear of crime: Interpreting victimization risk*. New York, NY: SUNY press.
- Foster-Fishman, P. G., Cantillon, D., Pierce, S. J., & Van Egeren, L. A. (2007). Building an active citizenry: The role of neighborhood problems, readiness, and capacity for change. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 39*(1-2), 91-106.
- Greenberg, S. W., & Rohe, W. M. (1986). Informal social control and crime prevention in modern urban neighborhoods. In Ralph B. Taylor (Ed.), *Urban Neighborhoods* (pp. 79-118). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Haines, E. L., Deaux, K., & Lofaro, N. (2016). The times they are a-changing... or are they not? A comparison of gender stereotypes, 1983–2014. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 40*(3), 353-363.
- Hawdon, J., & Ryan, J. (2011). Neighborhood organizations and resident assistance to police. *Sociological Forum, 26*(4), 897-920.
- Haynes, S. H., & Rader, N. (2015). Concerns about crime for self and others: An analysis of individual and contextual effects. *Criminal Justice Review, 40*(3), 303-321.
- Haynie, D. L. (1998). The gender gap in fear of crime, 1973-1994: A methodological approach. *Criminal Justice Review, 23*(1), 29-50.
- Hipp, J. R. (2010). Resident perceptions of crime: How much is 'bias' and how much is micro-neighborhood effects? *Criminology, 48*(2), 475-508
- Horne, C. (2004). Collective benefits, exchange interests, and norm enforcement. *Social Forces, 82*(3), 1037-1062.

- Jackson, J., & Gray, E. (2010). Functional fear and public insecurities about crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 50(1), 1-22.
- Kennedy, P. (1998). *A guide to econometrics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Knies, G. (2013). Neighbourhood social ties: How much do residential, physical and virtual mobility matter? *The British Journal of Sociology*, 64(3), 425-452.
- Kornhauser, R. (1978). *Social sources of delinquency: An appraisal of analytic models*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- LaGrange, R. L., & Ferraro, K. F. (1987). The elderly's fear of crime: A critical examination of the research. *Research on Aging*, 9(3), 372-39.
- Lai, Y-L., Zhao, J. S. & Longmire, D. R. (2012). Specific crime-fear linkage: The effect of actual burglary incidents reported to the police on residents' fear of burglary. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 35(1), 13-34.
- Liebler, C. A., & Sandefur, G. D. (2002). Gender differences in the exchange of social support with friends, neighbors, and co-workers at midlife. *Social Science Research*, 31(3), 364-391.
- Liska, A. E., Sanchirico, A., & Reed, M. D. (1988). Fear of crime and constrained behavior specifying and estimating a reciprocal effects model. *Social Forces*, 66(3), 827-837.
- Markowitz, F. E., Bellair, P. E., Liska, A. E., & Liu, J. (2001). Extending social disorganization theory: Modeling the relationships between cohesion, disorder, and fear. *Criminology*, 39(2), 293-319.
- Matsueda, R. L., & Drakulich, K. M. (2016). Measuring collective efficacy: A multilevel measurement model for nested data. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 45(2), 191-230.
- Monti, D. J., Butler, C., Curley, A., Tilney, K., & Weiner, M. F. (2003). Private lives and public worlds: Changes in Americans' social ties and civic attachments in the late-20th century. *City & Community*, 2(2), 143-163.
- Neter, J., Kutner, M.H., Nachtsheim, C.J., & Wasserman, W. (1996). *Applied linear statistical methods*. Chicago, IL: Irwin.

- Pattavina, A., Byrne, J. M., & Garcia, L. (2006). An examination of citizen involvement in crime prevention in high-risk versus low-to moderate-risk neighborhoods. *Crime & Delinquency*, 52(2), 203-231.
- Pickett, J. T., Chiricos, T., Golden, K. M., & Gertz, M. (2012). Reconsidering the relationship between perceived neighborhood racial composition and whites' perceptions of victimization risk: Do racial stereotypes matter? *Criminology*, 50(1), 145-186.
- Pitner, R. O., Yu, M. S., & Brown, E. (2012). Making neighborhoods safer: Examining predictors of residents' concerns about neighborhood safety. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 32(1), 42-49.
- Quillian, L., & Pager, D. (2001). Black neighbors, higher crime? The role of racial stereotypes in evaluations of neighborhood crime. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(3), 717-767.
- Rader, N. E., Cossman, J., & Allison, M. (2009). Considering the gendered nature of constrained behavior practices: among male and female college students. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 25(3), 282-299.
- Reynald, D. M. (2009). Guardianship in action: Developing a new tool for measurement. *Crime Prevention & Community Safety*, 11(1), 1-20.
- Ross, C. E., & Jang, S. J. (2000). Neighborhood disorder, fear, and mistrust: The buffering role of social ties with neighbors. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 28(4), 401-420.
- Rountree, P. W., & Warner, B. D. (1999). Social ties and crime: Is the relationship gendered? *Criminology*, 37(4), 789-814.
- Sampson, R. J. (2013). *Great American city: Chicago and the enduring neighborhood effect*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sampson, R. J., & Groves, W. B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(4), 774-802.
- Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277(5328), 918-924.

- Skogan, W. G. (1990). *Disorder and decline: Crime and the spiral of decay in American neighborhoods*. California, CA: University of California Press.
- Snedker, K. A. (2015). Neighborhood conditions and fear of crime: A reconsideration of sex differences. *Crime & Delinquency*, 61(1), 45-70.
- Treas, J., & Drobnic, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Dividing the domestic: Men, women, and household work in cross-national perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Warner, B. D. (2007). Directly intervene or call the authorities? A study of forms of neighborhood social control within a social disorganization framework. *Criminology*, 45(1), 99-129.
- Warr, M. (1984). Fear of victimization: Why are women and the elderly more afraid? *Social Science Quarterly*, 65(3), 681-702.
- Wellman, B., & Wortley, S. (1990). Different strokes from different folks: Community ties and social support. *American Journal of Sociology*, 96(3), 558-588.
- Wells, W., Schafer, J. A., Varano, S. P., & Bynum, T. S. (2006). Neighborhood residents' production of order: The effects of collective efficacy on responses to neighborhood problems. *Crime & Delinquency*, 52(4), 523-550.
- Whitley, R., & Prince, M. (2005). Fear of crime, mobility and mental health in inner-city London, UK. *Social Science & Medicine*, 61(8), 1678-1688.
- Yavorsky, J. E., Kamp Dush, C. M., & Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J. (2015). The production of inequality: The gender division of labor across the transition to parenthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 77(3), 662-679.

Table 1. Summary statistics of variables used in analyses

	Total sample		Females		Males	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Take action to address problem	0.17	0.38	0.17	0.37	0.18	0.39
Rating problems (1=none, 2=some, 3=big)						
Drugs problem	1.78	0.67	1.80	0.66	1.75	0.67 *
Public drinking problem	1.41	0.58	1.43	0.59	1.37	0.57 **
People loitering problem	1.38	0.57	1.39	0.57	1.35	0.57 *
Ethnic harassment problem	1.11	0.36	1.12	0.38	1.09	0.33 **
Graffiti/vandalism problem	1.60	0.61	1.61	0.60	1.58	0.61
Traffic problem	1.88	0.64	1.90	0.64	1.86	0.65
Young people getting into trouble problem	1.44	0.59	1.45	0.59	1.43	0.59
Proportion taking action in response to specific problem						
Drugs problem	11.2%	31.5%	10.5%	30.6%	12.3%	32.9%
Public drinking problem	11.4%	31.8%	11.8%	32.2%	10.8%	31.1%
People loitering problem	21.3%	41.0%	19.4%	39.6%	24.6%	43.1% *
Ethnic harassment problem	14.5%	35.3%	12.7%	33.4%	17.9%	38.5%
Graffiti/vandalism problem	14.3%	35.1%	13.8%	34.5%	15.2%	35.9%
Traffic problem	26.7%	44.2%	25.0%	43.3%	29.2%	45.5% *
Young people getting into trouble problem	16.4%	37.0%	16.8%	37.4%	15.8%	36.5%
Individual measures						
Length of residence	5.64	1.20	5.61	1.19	5.68	1.21
Household income	4.62	2.22	4.49	2.22	4.81	2.21
Years of education	3.79	1.36	3.76	1.39	3.83	1.33
Employed full-time	37.4%		27.5%		52.2%	
Employed part-time	18.8%		26.2%		7.8%	
Not working	43.8%		46.3%		40.0%	
Non-white	2.0%		1.7%		2.5%	
Female	59.8%		100.0%		0.0%	
Age	52.93	14.81	52.23	14.95	53.97	14.54
Widow	6.4%		8.6%		3.1%	
Divorced	10.0%		10.7%		9.0%	
Single	11.4%		10.1%		13.4%	

Children	0.36	0.48	0.38	0.49	0.33	0.47	
Perceived problems in neighborhood	1.51	0.39	1.53	0.39	1.49	0.38	**
Social ties in neighborhood	0.00	0.72	0.03	0.73	-0.05	0.71	**
Feel safe in neighborhood	3.74	1.12	3.54	1.18	4.04	0.94	**
<i>Neighborhood measures</i>							
Percent aged 15 to 24	14.11	2.70	14.09	2.71	14.12	2.69	
Population density	10.98	8.95	11.11	9.00	10.78	8.87	
Ethnic heterogeneity	0.68	0.12	0.68	0.12	0.69	0.12	
Residential stability	-0.01	0.65	-0.01	0.65	0.00	0.66	
Median income	1524.6	437.2	1518.9	434.4	1533.1	441.2	
Percent single parent households	15.49	6.49	15.55	6.49	15.42	6.49	
Total crime rate	23.66	23.50	23.55	22.76	23.83	24.56	
Reciprocated exchange	-0.28	0.24	-0.28	0.24	-0.29	0.24	
N	3,772		2,256		1,516		

Table 2. Multilevel logistic regression model predicting informal social control action

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Female	-0.191 * (0.085)	-0.184 * (0.086)	-0.221 ** (0.084)	-0.154 † (0.087)	-0.197 * (0.086)
Perceived problems in neighborhood		0.237 * (0.114)			0.312 ** (0.119)
Social ties in neighborhood			0.555 ** (0.058)		0.548 ** (0.059)
Feel safe in neighborhood				0.067 † (0.038)	0.035 (0.041)

Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .1$. T-values in parentheses. All models include the following household-level measures: length of residence; household income; years of education; employed full-time; employed part-time; non-white; female; age; age squared; widow; divorced; single; children; owner. All models include the following neighborhood-level measures: percent aged 15 to 24; population density; ethnic heterogeneity; total crime rate; residential stability; median income; percent single parent households; reciprocated exchange.

Table 3. Multilevel logistic regression model predicting informal social control action

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Female	-0.192 * (0.087)	-0.577 * (0.287)	-0.161 (0.354)
Social ties in neighborhood	0.628 ** (0.089)	0.549 ** (0.059)	0.545 ** (0.059)
Feel safe in neighborhood	0.037 (0.041)	-0.035 (0.065)	0.035 (0.041)
Perceived problems in neighborhood	0.313 ** (0.119)	0.300 * (0.119)	0.321 † (0.169)
Interactions			
Female X social ties in neighborhood	-0.132 (0.111)		
Female X feel safe in neighborhood		0.101 (0.073)	
Female X perceive disorder			-0.024 (0.205)

Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .1$. T-values in parentheses. All models include the following household-level measures: length of residence; household income; years of education; employed full-time; employed part-time; non-white; female; age; age squared; widow; divorced; single; children; owner. All models include the following neighborhood-level measures: percent aged 15 to 24; population density; ethnic heterogeneity; total crime rate; residential stability; median income; percent single parent households; reciprocated exchange.

	(1)		Interactions with social ties		Interactions with feel safe		Interactions with problems	
Employed full-time	-0.119		-0.119		-0.104		-0.129	
	(0.107)		(0.107)		(0.106)		(0.107)	
Employed part-time	-0.215 †		-0.200 †		-0.202 †		-0.216 †	
	(0.119)		(0.119)		(0.118)		(0.119)	
Single mother	-0.397 †		-0.374 †		1.648 *		-2.793 **	
	(0.219)		(0.220)		(0.666)		(0.910)	
Single female (no children)	-0.540 **		-0.518 **		-0.718		-1.269 †	
	(0.161)		(0.161)		(0.484)		(0.651)	
Married mother	-0.400 **		-0.356 *		0.035		-0.952	
	(0.138)		(0.140)		(0.480)		(0.632)	
Married female (no children)	-0.480 **		-0.453 **		-0.251		-1.096 †	
	(0.137)		(0.138)		(0.451)		(0.562)	
Single father	-0.488		-0.441		-2.091		-0.587	
	(0.318)		(0.326)		(1.509)		(1.162)	
Single male (no children)	-0.371 *		-0.384 *		0.319		-0.922	
	(0.172)		(0.175)		(0.601)		(0.700)	
Married male (no children)	-0.281 †		-0.261 †		1.056 *		-1.773 **	
	(0.145)		(0.146)		(0.510)		(0.617)	
Perceived problems in neighborhood	0.313 **		0.309 **		0.305 *		-0.124	
	(0.119)		(0.119)		(0.119)		(0.257)	
Social ties in neighborhood	0.545 **		0.823 **		0.553 **		0.550 **	
	(0.059)		(0.137)		(0.059)		(0.059)	
Feel safe in neighborhood	0.032		0.036		0.141		0.031	
	(0.040)		(0.041)		(0.094)		(0.040)	
Interactions with measure of interest								
Single mother			-0.542 †		-0.606 **		1.348 **	
			(0.287)		(0.187)		(0.489)	
Single female (no children)			-0.277		0.078		0.444	
			(0.200)		(0.126)		(0.373)	
Married mother			-0.414 *		-0.108		0.334	
			(0.193)		(0.122)		(0.374)	
Married female (no children)			-0.304 †		-0.052		0.377	
			(0.178)		(0.114)		(0.329)	
Single father			-0.143		0.401		0.106	
			(0.423)		(0.366)		(0.612)	

Single male (no children)				-0.486 *		-0.179			0.342
				(0.227)		(0.151)			(0.398)
Married male (no children)				-0.240		-0.346 **			0.915 *
				(0.192)		(0.126)			(0.367)

*Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .1$. T-values in parentheses. All models include the following household-level measures: length of residence; household income; years of education; employed full-time; employed part-time; non-white; female; age; age squared; widow; divorced; single; children; owner. All models include the following neighborhood-level measures: percent aged 15 to 24; population density; ethnic heterogeneity; total crime rate; residential stability; median income; percent single parent households; reciprocated exchange.*

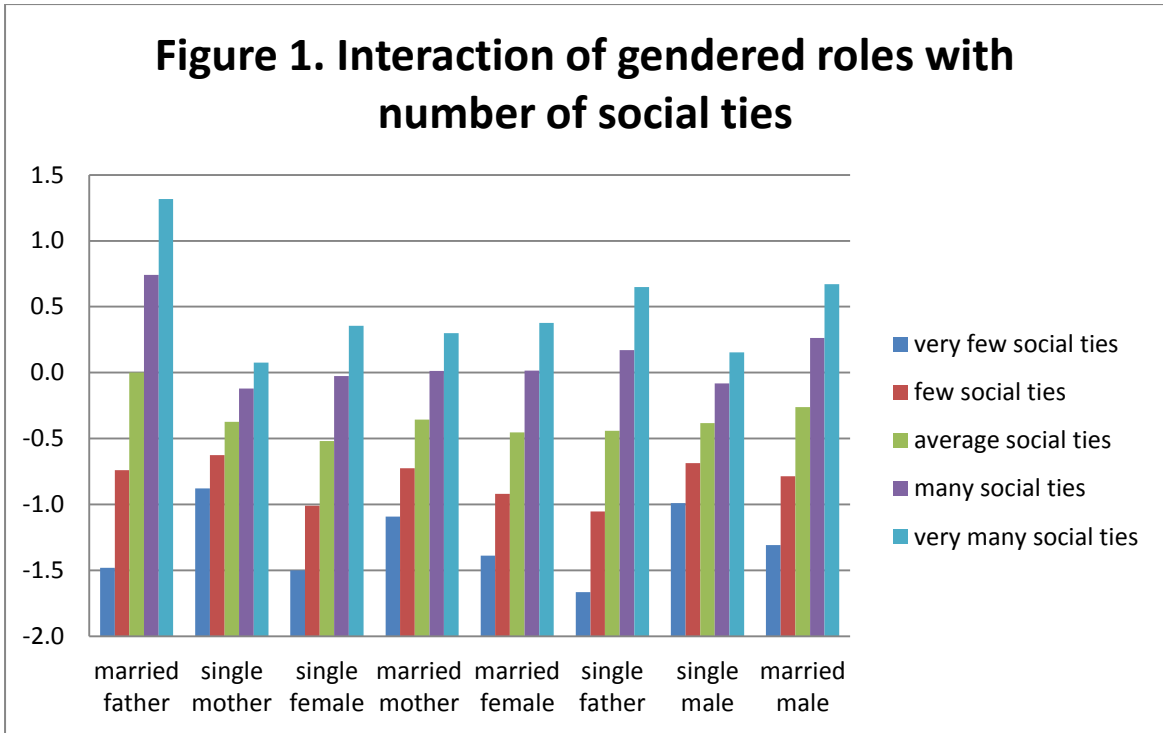


Figure 1. Interaction of gendered roles with number of social ties (Color)

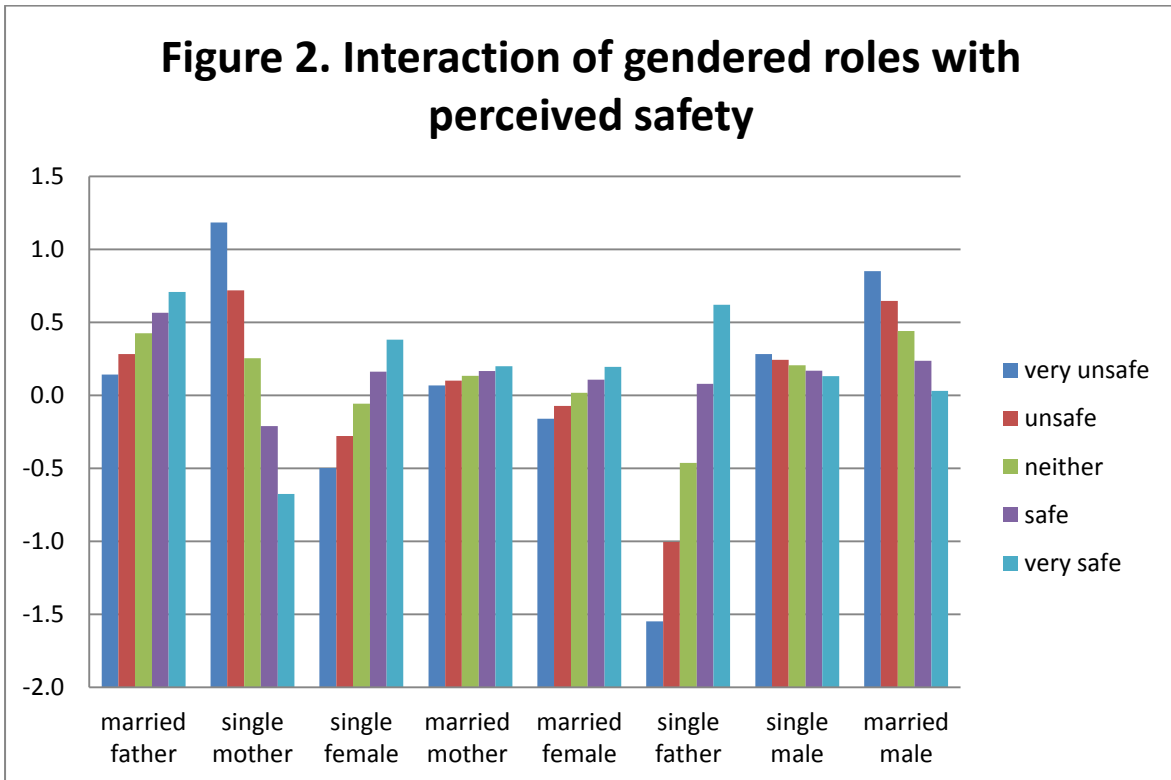


Figure 2. Interaction of gendered roles with perceived safety (Color)

Figure 3. Interaction of gendered roles with perceived problems

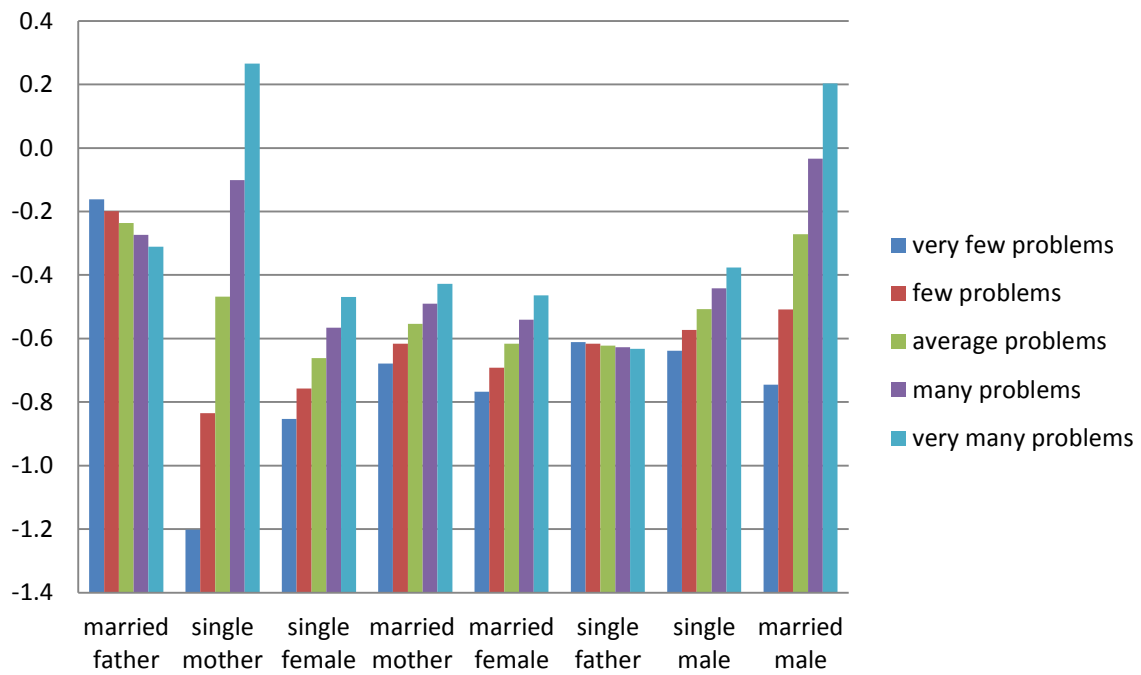


Figure 3. Interaction of gendered roles with perceived problems (Color)