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Broken Windows on College Campuses

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BROKEN WINDOWS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

by

Bradley R Gielow

B.S., Southern Illinois University, 2007

A Research Paper

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Master of Arts.

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice

in the Graduate School

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

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RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

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TITLE: BROKEN WINDOWS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Joseph Schafer

Fear of crime is a major problem in today's society. Much research has been devoted to neighborhood settings on the issue; however, little research has been conducted on college and university campuses. Fear of crime can result in devastating consequences on college students, as well as, campus faculty, administration, and the campus community. Before a solution can be put into effect a cause needs to be identified. Incivilities have led to fear in many settings and are believed to also cause fear on campuses.

DEDICATION

      I dedicate this project to my family and friends. Thank you to my friends and classmates with help in proofreading and providing advice. Thank you to all for your support and encouragement through the entire process.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There are many problems and issues that exist in society today. Crime is one issue that many people may list as a major problem. An equally big problem, that may not immediately come to mind though, is the fear of crime that many people have and experience. Fear of crime can be mentally destructive and take a toll on person in many different ways. The fear can restrict the movements of individuals, possibly limiting people to their homes, or allowing them to only leave during certain hours, and possibly restricting them on how far they travel from their home.

Stories can be found in the news about people falling victim to crimes at malls, movie theatres, office buildings, and other public buildings and facilities. With many people attending schools, especially colleges and universities, these places may be an area where a person feels fearful of falling victim to a crime. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics over twenty million people attended a college or university in 2015. College and university campuses also serve as major employers in many areas, thus an equally large amount of people come to these places to work every day. Although there is research on fear of crime in neighborhoods and residential areas, the amount of research and literature addressing fear on college and university campuses is limited.

Shootings on college and university campuses are newsworthy events and when someone mentions crime on campuses, this is probably the first thing that comes to mind. Events of this magnitude are actually pretty rare; however, crime in general is not a rarity in these places. A great deal of thefts, robberies, burglaries, batteries, and assaults occur on campuses every year. However, just because crimes occur, these may not be the only thing that causes a person to

become fearful of crime. Fear of crime has been identified as a serious problem on college and university campuses (Nasar, Fisher, & Grannis, 1993). Campus administrators may still be searching for an exact cause for the fear of crime on campuses, physical and social disorders can perhaps be identified as a possible cause.

Certain areas can send signals that can cause people to develop a fear of crime. Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory helps explain the matter. The theory explains that a broken window that goes unrepaired can send a signal that no one cares about the particular area, thus leading to additional broken windows and eventually crime. Many incivilities can take the place of broken windows, many of which can be found on college campuses. Incivilities like trash and garbage, excessive noise, graffiti, and poor or improper lighting can signify that there is a lack of stake taken in the campus environment leading to further problems like drug dealing in public. All of these problems can cause a student or even an employee of the institution to develop fear of crime. Once fear of crime is developed, many problems can result, both for the student and the school.

Similar to how fear of crime can restrict the movements of individuals in a residential area, fear of crime can also restrict the movements of college students. This can be devastating in many ways. The college setting puts students in the position to interact and develop skills that they will be able to use in the workplace as well as in life. However, if students are fearful of crime, they may not take advantage of these opportunities, causing them to not take full advantage of the college experience. A student's grades may suffer if they fail to attend class due to fear of being a victim of crime while they travel to and from class, or even during class. Fear of crime may also cause students to suffer financially too because of the high price tag comes with attending college. As a result of the high price, students should not be left with the

burden of having to worry about fear of crime. If a student's fear of crime reaches a maximum, they may transfer to another institution, or even cease their college experience all together. This then not only hurts the student, but also the institution during a time that colleges and universities are competing to boost and retain enrollment figures.

The student is not the only person that has something at stake when fear of crime becomes a problem. Issues arise for the campus administration. Prior events, federal regulations, and court rulings have made campus leaders liable for students who attend their institutions. In two court rulings, campus officials were found liable for failing to prevent foreseeable crimes by taking precautions (Nasar et al., 1993). Some people would question how fear of crime is relevant to the foreseeability of an actual crime. Nasar et al. (1993) answers this question by stating that physical cues including physical disorders become part of the foreseeability test and can influence the seriousness of a threat. Therefore, officials of the university should address such problems and take corrective measures.

The present project will look at the fear of crime among college students and the role disorder plays in the fear a college student experiences. This project will include an overview of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory. Additionally, an overview of campus studies examining fear among students and studies examining fear and disorder on campuses will be presented. Comparisons will be discussed with studies examining fear and disorder in the normal community. Finally, this study will conclude by further explaining why this topic is important, along with policy implications of how college and university campuses can try in prevent a student of becoming fearful of crime.
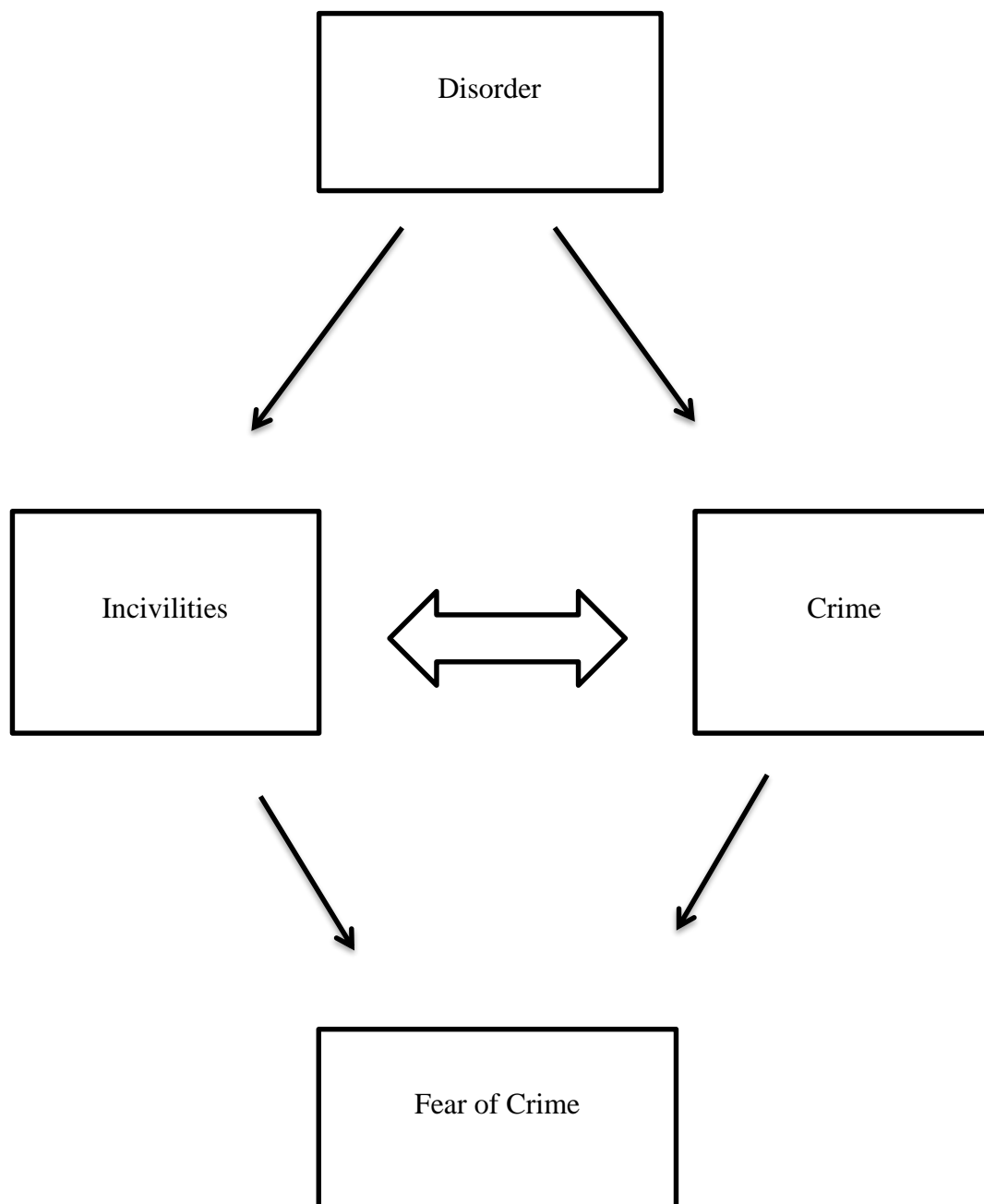
Disorder and Fear

Disorder can be defined in many ways based on the situation and place. Kelling (1987) defines disorder as, "a condition resulting from behavior that, depending on location, time, and local traditions, is offensive in its violation of local expectations for normalcy and peace in a community. Whether malevolent or innocent in intent, disorderly behavior powerfully shapes the quality of urban life and citizens' views both of their own safety and the ability of government to ensure it" (p. 95). Skogan (1990) on the other hand defines disorder as, "the inability of communities to mobilize resources to deal with urban woes" (p. 173). Some authors mention the term "incivilities" instead of disorders. For example, LaGrange, Ferraro, and Supancic (1992) define incivilities as, "low-level breaches of community standards that signal an erosion of conventionally accepted norms and values. Included in this definition are (a) disorderly physically surroundings (e.g., trash, litter, un-kept lots, condemned houses, burned-out storefronts, graffiti, abandoned cars), and (b) disruptive social behaviors (e.g., drinking, rowdy youth, loiterers, beggars, inconsiderate neighbors)" (p. 312). After reading and reviewing literature, there does not seem to be any major differences in the meaning of the two terms. Therefore, the decision to use the term "disorder" or "incivilities" seems to be a personal choice among scholars so both terms can be used interchangeably. Wilson and Kelling (1982) were able to explain the steps of how disorder, whether physical or social, can lead to increased fear of crime and increased crime in a neighborhood or area. Often times crime is not the major problem within a neighborhood or area, but the fear of crime is (Taylor, 1999; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Also mentioned when talking about fear of crime, is the discussion pertaining to fear of disorder.

Fear of disorder includes fear of disorderly people. Wilson and Kelling (1982) provide examples of what they consider disorderly people, including: drunks, prostitutes, addicts,

loiterers, rowdy teenagers, and the mentally disturbed. Wilson (1975) mentions that concern is brought on by the panhandlers and rowdy youth, along with the conditions that surround them that consist of litter and trash on the streets, graffiti, and deteriorating abandoned buildings. The drunks, prostitutes, addicts, loiterers, rowdy youth and teenagers, are not necessarily violent or even criminal individuals. However, their disruptive and unpredictable behavior is what instills fear into citizens (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Disorder can take a toll on many facets of a neighborhood, including: commerce, industry, transportation, communication, education, and public safety (Kelling, 1987).

Another explanation of what became broken windows theory originated a few years prior Wilson and Kelling's (1982) work. Hunter (1978) laid a framework explaining how disorder can lead to fear. Figure 1 outlines Hunter's (1978) work. The first step of the framework starts with disorder. Hunter (1978) describes that citizens read into disorder and they perceive disorder internally and externally. Internally the conditions of the neighborhood are attributed to the local residents and neighborhood, and the perception is that the residents are unable to manage and preserve the neighborhood. Externally the responsibility for preserving order is held in the hands of external agencies, and the perception is that they are unable or unwilling to preserve order (Hunter, 1978). Signs of incivility and crime are the result of disorder, the next step in the framework. Hunter (1978) notes that signs of incivility and crime are linked, and that each causes the other, and one does not come before the other. Additional explanations state that high-crime areas will include great signs of incivility, and areas with great signs of incivility can be found in high crime areas. The second step of signs of incivility and crime then lead to the third step, fear. Signs of incivility and crime in one's neighborhood cause residents to feel at risk, and thus shape their fear (Hunter, 1978).

Fig. 1 Hunter's (1978) Explanation of how disorder leads to fear of crime (Taylor, 1999).

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│   Incivilities   │   ⟵══════⟶         │      Crime       │
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Hunter (1978) explains that disorder leads to incivilities and crime, which then leads to fear of crime (Taylor, 1999).

Incivilities are more visible and in some areas are more abundant, making them a good predictor for fear (Wyant, 2008). Due to incivilities being more visible and sometimes more abundant they may be a better predictor of fear than crime (Wyant, 2008). Whereas some incivilities like burned out storefronts and inconsiderate neighbors may not be found on a college campus, many other incivilities can be. Examples of social incivilities that may be found on a college campus include issues like public intoxication, drug use and sales, and loitering. Examples of physical incivilities that may be found on a college campus include vacant lots, litter, student housing or other buildings and areas that appears run-down, along with areas on campus that appear to be in deterioration (Nasar et al., 1993). Physical and social incivilities both present the image of oversight or lack of upkeep and of disorder or unlawful behavior (Wyant, 2008). Any type of incivility, whether social or physical can increase or intensify fears and cause people to feel unsafe, along with producing cues that can signify to people passing through that the area might be dangerous (Gainey et al., 2011; Nasar et al., 1993). Scarborough et al. (2010) conducted research on physical and social incivilities, similar to the one's mentioned above by Nasar et al. (1993), and found that both forms were positively related to fear of crime. Wyant (2008) also found that residents who perceive more incivilities also reported greater fear.

Many similarities have been found between neighborhoods and college campuses, but there are also some differences when studying incivilities. For example, the chances of seeing or even having problems of homelessness, abandoned vehicles, and rundown buildings on college campuses are pretty uncommon. Even trash or litter strewn throughout the most visible or heavily traveled areas of a campus is rare (Sloan et al., 1996). However, this does not mean that the problem is completely extinct from an institution. Incivilities like abandoned vehicles,

rundown buildings and excessive amounts of litter may be present in areas surrounding the campus, areas that the institution do not have control over or places where students still consider part of the college environment. Students may have to pass through these areas when coming to or going from campus if they live in apartments or homes off campus. Students may see the incivilities in these locations and become fearful. This fear may then carry over or automatically be associated with the campus. Steinmetz and Austin (2014) state the physical characteristics of a specific location, including a college campus, can drive a person's fear of crime. In addition, some buildings may appear rundown to people on campus, they are likely still being maintained by the college or university and are not abandoned. Additionally, areas of campus like weeds and shrubs are also thought to be well maintained, however, these areas are sometimes listed as problematic by scholars (McConnell, 1997; Steinmetz & Austin, 2014).

Just because there is a fear provoking cue in one area, does not mean that fear provoking cue will carry over to a campus. Poor or improper lighting was a disorder or incivility that did not draw much attention when fear of crime studies was conducted in neighborhoods. However, poor or improper lighting has consistently been found to increase a student's fear of crime while on a college campus. Students often rank this high due to them not being able to see harmful or threatening persons or situations (Fisher & May, 2009; Lee & Hilinski-Rosick, 2012; Nasar et al., 1993; Steinmetz & Austin, 2014). Another campus characteristic that has been found to increase fear in students is areas with foliage. This can include areas with flowers, grasses, bushes, trees, or areas with intent to bring beauty to an area. Some people would question how an area intended to bring beauty to an area could cause a person to become fearful of crime. Although the intent seems good, these areas can provide excellent hiding spots for offenders and block the view of students passing through, especially if these areas are not cared for and become

overgrown. Even areas that are cared for can become dangerous if bushes or shrubbery becomes heavy. As a result, researchers have found that the amount of foliage or overgrown weeds can increase a student's fear (Fisher & May, 2009). Another social incivility that can normally be consistently found on college or university campuses is groups loitering. Groups, whether small or large, can normally be found outside of common areas on campus, like student centers, recreation centers, or residential halls. Studies have shown that groups of subjects congregating can indicate that danger exists and cause a person to have an increased fear of crime (Fisher & May, 2009). Some scholars may argue that groups congregated in areas may actually bring comfort to a student, or lower their fear of crime. Fisher and May (2009) state that the location, activity, and time of day that a group is loitering will likely determine if a person feels fearful or not of the loiterers. However, sometimes not just one incivility or cue of disorder may immediately cause a person's fear of crime to increase.

Skogan (1990) was another scholar to contribute to the study of the causes of fear of crime. Skogan's (1990) work can be summarized in a three step framework. Figure 2 illustrates Skogan's (1990) view. The first step is neighborhood conditions. These consist of, but are not limited to, poverty, instability, and racial composition. These can then lead to incivilities, which are the second step in the framework. Incivilities then lead to the third and final step in the process, which is more victimization, neighborhood dissatisfaction, people wanting to leave the neighborhood, and changes in the neighborhood structure (Skogan, 1990).

When disorder becomes an issue in a neighborhood, residents begin to show concern for their safety (Skogan, 1990). Wilson and Kelling (1982) studied a series of previous surveys and found that three quarters of people will cross the street if their path intercepts a gang of teenagers. In addition, half reported that they would cross the street if their path intercepted a

Fig 2. Skogan's (1990) View of Broken Windows (Taylor, 1999).

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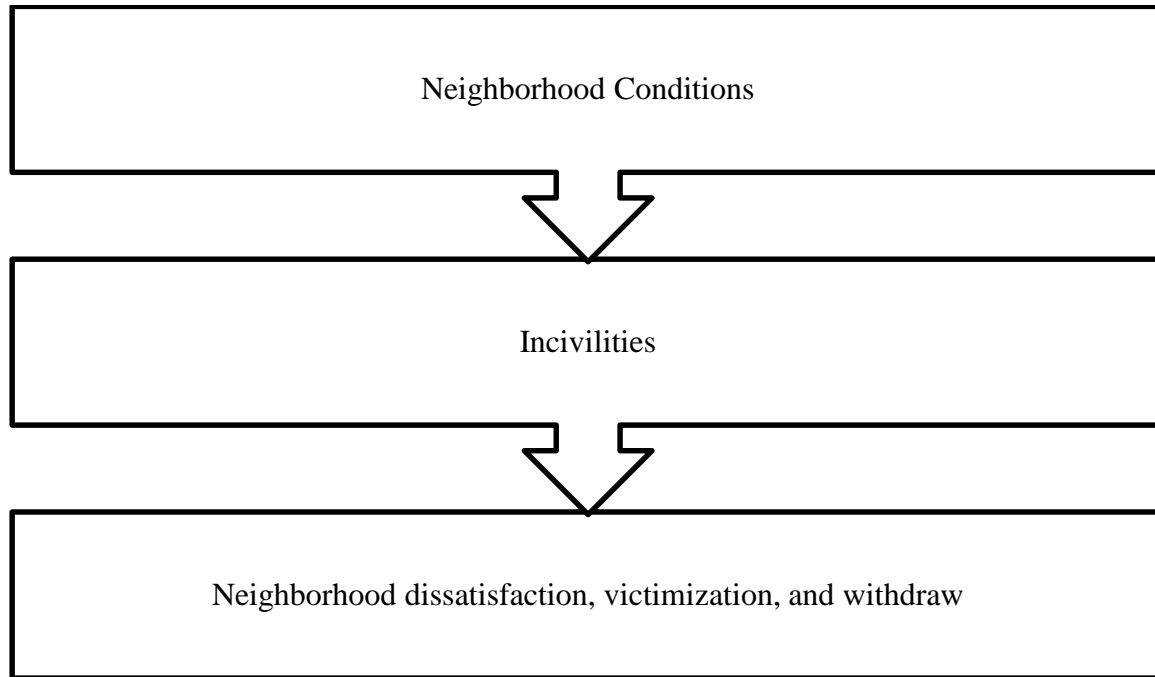
Skogan (1990) illustrates that neighborhood conditions lead to incivilities which then lead to neighborhood dissatisfaction, victimization, and withdraw (Taylor, 1999).

single youth, if that youth looked strange or suspicious. Different people experience different types of fear. For example, Wilson and Kelling (1982) explain that the elderly are often the most fearful, even though they are victimized the least. In addition, they take the most precaution bystaying in their residence behind locked doors. Fear from citizens can take a drastic toll on themselves and the neighborhood or city they live in. When citizens become fearful they may abandon their neighborhood or city. At the same time they are abandoning the shopping centers, transportation systems, churches and other facilities, whether public or private (Kelling, 1987).

Females report higher fear levels, but males are victimized more. This maybe because males are on the streets more and make themselves targets (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This fear causes people to restrict their movements in the neighborhood.

Fear of Crime

Fear of crime is not a new concept. Fear of crime has been the focus of research and has been considered a major social problem for many decades (Gainey, Alper, & Chappell, 2011). In fact, some researchers note that the fear of crime grabs their attention because they consider the fear of crime to be bigger problem than crime (May & Dunaway, 2000; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010). Wyant (2008) explains that fear of crime results when a person feels a physical disadvantage against potential threats or feel susceptible to potential harms including injury or loss of property. Gainey et al. (2011) offer a similar but possibly more understandable definition of fear of crime by defining the concept as one's worry or feeling afraid. Americans are experiencing an increasing fear for their safety and that is affecting their lives and movements (May & Dunaway, 2000). Fear of crime is often measured at the neighborhood level. Wyant (2008) explains that, "fear is greatest when individuals perceived that they were at a physical disadvantage against potential assaults and/or when individuals

believed that they were particularly vulnerable to being victims of crime" (p. 42). Researchers also believe that the fear of crime actually causes more crime, in that people who are afraid are not likely to engage and participate in activities that lead to informal social control (Gainey et al., 2011). Sometimes fear can be a good, healthy reaction, but other times fear, especially, fear of crime can have a greater effect on a person than just being worried or fearful. Warr (2000) explains, "Fear is a natural and commonplace emotion. Under many circumstances, it is a beneficial, even life-saving emotion. Under the wrong circumstances, it is an emotion that can unnecessarily constrain behavior, restrict freedom and personal opportunity, and threaten the foundation of community." (p. 482). Higher levels of anxiety, depression, higher level of interpersonal distrust, along with a person's well-being and health being impaired have all been linked to fear of crime (Scarborough et al., 2010; Wyant, 2008). Not only can fear of crime play a role in a person's health, but fear of crime can also cause people to restrict their movement, causing them to possibly avoid certain people and places (Wilcox, Jordan, & Pritchard, 2007; Wyant, 2008).

Fear of crime is not only a problem at the neighborhood level, but is also a problem on college campuses. College campuses and neighborhoods have been found to be similar because in many ways college campuses are neighborhoods that contain a student population (Barton, Jensen, & Kaufman, 2010). Fear of crime on college campuses has been cited as a major problem, and a problem in need of policy intervention (Fisher, Sloan, Cullen, and Lu, 1998). Gallup (1989) found that 38 percent of students who attend college in America reported having a fear of crime on or near campus. Fear of crime did not use to be much of a problem on campuses, in that campus crime was seen as students pulling pranks or engaging in other immature activities (Fisher, 1995). However, as years have passed this attitude has changed.

Some believe that fearing of crime on college campuses is understandable due to research findings stating that one in three students will become a victim of a crime during their college experience (Fisher, 1995). College students have been found to be fearful for many reasons, with perceptions of crime and disorder near the top of the list (Lee & Hilinski, 2011).

Those fearful on college campuses possess many of the same characteristics as those reported to be fearful in a neighborhood. Fisher and Sloan (2003) report that college women are more fearful and perceive themselves as victims more than college males. In addition, students are more fearful of crime in the nighttime than they are in the daytime. Fisher and Sloan (2003) state that at a large university in the Southeast 71.4% of students reported feeling fear during the night, while during the day that number dropped to 15.3%.

Fear of crime can result from many factors. One of the factors highlighted is social and physical disorder, or the condition of an area (Gainey et al., 2011). Run down areas, litter, and areas that appear un-kept can cause people to feel unsafe (Nasar et al., 1993). Social incivilities like loitering, drug sales, and public intoxication can also cause a person's fear level to increase (Nasar et al., 1993). After conducting their own study, Gainey et al. (2011) concluded that people who report higher levels of disorder report higher levels of fear. Wyant (2008) and Nasar et al. (1993) found similar findings saying that an important link to fear of crime was individual incivilities, which were also found to be predictive of fear at the individual level. LaGrange et al. (1992) echoed the others' findings and added that the increased fear levels due to the incivilities are a rational and functional response. Surprisingly crime rates within an area have been found not to have an impact on a person's fear of crime (Scarborough et al., 2010; Wyant, 2008). However as Eck and Weisburd (1995) argue, just as these areas cause people to become

fearful, they also emit cues to offenders and they also send signals to offenders of possible targets, which in essence leads to crime in the area.

Prior victimization has also been pointed to as a cause of fear of crime (Gainey et al., 2011). However, this can be complex for many reasons. Research has shown that people become more fearful only of crimes that they fall victim to (Gainey et al., 2011). Therefore, if a person falls victim to theft, they will become more fearful of falling victim to theft again. They will not become more fearful of becoming a victim of battery or sexual assault.
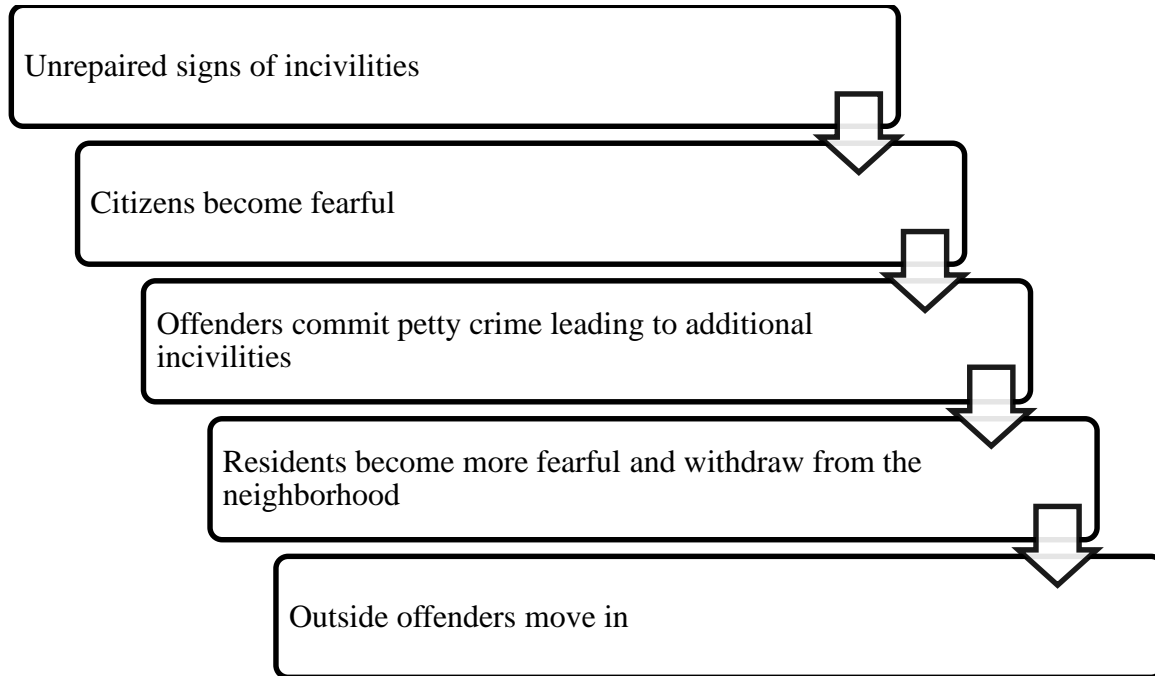
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Broken Windows Theory

Crime is obviously the major research topic within criminology, but social disorder and fear of crime are two other topics that draw interest. While the concepts are not new, Wilson and Kelling's (1982) contribution to the field of criminology is impactful. Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory was not only instrumental to the field of criminology, but has been instrumental for researchers following them (Taylor, 1999).

The basis behind Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory is quite simple. They state that a broken window on a building that goes unrepaired, will soon lead to other windows within the building being broken. Wilson and Kelling (1982) states that the broken window signifies that no one cares about the property and the cost for other people to break the other windows is nothing. Some may believe that the theory only applies to disadvantaged neighborhoods, but this may not totally be the case. This theory applies to affluent communities and neighborhoods, as well as run down areas (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). However, a window does not necessary have to be broken to see the effects of broken windows theory. Any type of disorder can be substituted for the broken window. For example, a small amount of litter, if not tended to, can possibly not only to lead to more litter, but other incivilities and disorganization within a neighborhood like loitering and drug dealing. Such activities can result in the neighborhood turning into disarray and lead to crime taking over the neighborhood.

Often times a theory can be best understand when studied step-by-step. Taylor (1999) carefully maps out Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory. He mapped out a five-step process with each step leading to the other. Figure 3 illustrates Taylor's (1999) explanation.

Fig 3. Taylor's (1999) Map of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory (Taylor, 1999).

Unrepaired signs of incivilities

Citizens become fearful

Offenders commit petty crime leading to additional incivilities

Residents become more fearful and withdraw from the neighborhood

Outside offenders move in

Taylor (1999) explains that unrepaired sign of incivilities lead to citizens becoming fearful. This in turn leads to offenders committing petty crimes and other incivilities. As a result, residents become fearful and withdraw from the neighborhood causing offenders to move in.

The first step is unrepaired signs of incivility. Following is the notion that residents from public spaces become more fearful. The third step in the process is that local offenders emboldened leading to more petty crime, which then leads to more incivilities. This step gives way to residents withdrawing even more, and becoming fearful. The fifth and final step in the framework is serious, outside offenders move into the locale (Taylor, 1999).

Broken windows theory is not just about broken windows. Broken windows theory applies to all types of disorder or incivilities in a neighborhood or community. Broken windows theory is more about the "no one cares" attitude (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). As Taylor (1999) points out, the problem is not about a window getting broken, because windows get broken every day. Where problems begin to arise is how time elapses before the window gets attention, and gets repaired. As more and more time passes without the window getting repaired sends the perception and signal that "no one cares." Also, an important part of the theory is unattended property or behavior. Untended property can easily and quickly signify that no one cares. For example, Stanford psychologist Philip Zimbardo parked an automobile with the hood up and no license plate in the Bronx. At the same time Zimbardo parked a similar vehicle in a nice neighborhood in Palo Alto, California. Within ten minutes of the vehicle being abandoned in the Bronx, culprits began targeting the automobile. First, the radiator and battery were removed from the vehicle. Within twenty-four hours culprits had the vehicle virtually stripped down to nothing. The vehicle in Palo Alto, California, on the other hand sat virtually untouched for more than a week. Zimbardo decided to take a sledgehammer to the vehicle, smashing a portion of the car. Soon after his action, others decided to join in and within hours the automobile had been turned up-side-down and destroyed (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Many things within an area or community can signify that no one cares or unattended behavior. Other examples that may

signify this include: an abandoned, dilapidated piece of property, overgrown weeds that are not controlled, and litter (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Once a broken window or other signal of disorder occurs and goes uncorrected, other events start occurring. For example, Wilson and Kelling (1982) explain that a piece of property becomes abandoned, weeds start overgrowing the property, and a window gets broke out. Families then start moving out of the area due to the conditions and people with no attachment to the neighborhood move in (Taylor, 1999). Before long teenagers start hanging out on the street, fights begin to break out, people start drinking in the street and pass out in the streets due to their drunkenness, and panhandlers start approaching citizens (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). In other words, the community or neighborhood is completely taken over by disorder as a result of a single piece of property becoming abandoned, overgrown with weeds, and a broken window. Such disorder may also serve as an open invitation to criminals and illegal behavior.

Areas that show the "no one cares" attitude will more than likely become the home for illegal behaviors. Wilson and Kelling (1982) report that criminals will find these areas, move in, and take advantage of what the area has to offer. For example, as time moves on drugs may be dealt, prostitutes might solicit for business, cars might be stripped, and muggings may occur. However, if neighborhoods and communities instill informal social control, then maybe they can stop or prevent these activities from occurring (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Nonetheless fear begins to become an issue when disorder starts taking over in a particular area.

Broken windows theory: Prior Research

Since Wilson and Kelling (1982) developed broken windows theory, many scholars have tested the theory. Researchers have tested different variables in many diverse environments. However, most of the research and tests have come in the neighborhood setting. Studies of

broken windows theory have been conducted in cities and countries all over the world including

the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and South Africa (Kelzer, Lindenberg, & Steg,

2008). Most of this research has been conducted in neighborhoods with low socio-economic

status in the inner city. Few, if any, studies have been conducted in small town U.S.A., or the

cozy neighborhood where everyone knows each other, or college and university campuses.

However, a group of authors did test broken windows theory in a rural setting (Franklin,

Franklin, & Fearn, 2008). Broken windows theory has even been tested in the work

environment, including work break rooms and lunch rooms (Ramos & Torgler, 2009). While

research may not seem needed, or useful in some settings, no one really knows what the

outcomes may present. Although, the overall goals of each study completed on broken windows

theory seem to be the same, but the outcome of each project can be interesting and useful, with

some scholars support broken windows-while others falsify the theory.

Even though broken windows theory and the policy implications that resulted from this

theory may not be a cure for all crime and fear of crime problems, there is strong evidence that

the theory has produced a reduction in crime and fear of crime in many areas. In addition, the

theory has gained the support of racial and ethnic minorities in a few cities, a group of people

who are often critical of the police and programs that the police try to integrate (Bratton &

Kelling, 2006). A closer look will examine some of these studies.

Studies on disorder and fear of crime range from the 1990s all the way through the

current day. There have been many words and concepts that scholars use when studying

neighborhood problems that may lead to fear of crime. Most researchers have settled on the

words incivilities or disorders. LaGrange et al. (1992) use the term incivilities. They break

incivilities down into physical surroundings that are disorderly, such as trash/litter, lots that are

not kept up, condemned homes, burned-out storefronts, graffiti, and abandoned vehicles. The second category they use is social behaviors that are disruptive with examples of public drinking, rowdy youth, loiterers, beggars, and inconsiderate neighbors. LaGrange et al. (1992) kept crimes like rape, robbery, and arson, as well as, minor crimes like theft and assault from their definition of incivility. The explanation provided of why incivilities lead to fear is that people associate the negative neighborhood condition with criminal activity. A three-point Likert scale was used during phone interviews to measure the amount of fear people experience in a given neighborhood. Ten different criminal offenses were also mentioned to the respondent, which allowed them to rank how fearful they were to falling victim to the particular crime while in the neighborhood (LaGrange et al., 1992). The results of the study were pretty much as predicted. Higher levels of perceived incivilities led to an increased or higher level of fear of crime.

In addition, social and physical incivilities led to more fear of property crimes than crimes against person. This can be explained in that crimes against person tend to be more violent crimes, which are usually quite random (LaGrange et al., 1992). Not only were the results of the study reported, but also how the incivilities ranked, or which ones respondents reported as a problem or not as big of a problem. The three incivilities that residents reported as being the most problematic incivility included dogs running loose, unsupervised youth, and trash/litter lying around the area. Incivilities ranking low, or a minor problem, were abandoned cars and vacant homes. Incivilities falling in the middle of the perspective were public intoxication and noise (LaGrange et al., 1992).

Scarborough et al. (2010) studied neighborhood disorder and the relation to fear of crime. Two categories of disorders were developed: social disorders and physical disorders. Examples of social disorders included drinking in public, speeding/reckless driving, stealing of car

registration stickers, gang presence, prostitution, loud music/parties, homelessness, begging, loitering, and truancy (Scarborough et al., 2010). Some of these examples are interesting in that disorders are not often separated from actual crimes. When disorder occurs, an actual law usually has never really been broken, resulting in a crime never really occurring, and an arrest cannot be made by the police. However, some of the disorders listed are actual crimes, like stealing of car registration stickers (thefts) and prostitution. Even speeding/reckless driving is an actual offense. Examples of physical disorders included vandalism, garbage, litter, abandoned cars, illegally parked cars, rundown buildings/homes, overgrown weeds/shrubs, and graffiti (Scarborough et al., 2010). After running an ordinary lest squares (OLS) regression, Scarborough et al. (2010) found that both forms of disorder, physical and social, were positively related to fear of crime. Physical disorder had a stronger correlation to fear of crime than social disorder; however, the difference was not great. Therefore, Scarborough et al. (2010) were able to conclude that disorder does lead to fear of crime.

Other scholars have also looked at disorders, upkeep, oversight, and behaviors in neighborhoods to determine if disorders or incivilities play a role in a person's fear of crime. Wyant (2008) hypothesized that incivilities were a bigger predictor of fear than crime itself. This is because incivilities are visible and can easily be seen in some neighborhoods. Wyant (2008) additionally hypothesized that the disorders can cause people to perceive the environment to be threatening. In order to gauge disorder, Wyant (2008) took a different approach than the previous study that was examined. Six items including, groups of unsupervised teens, abandoned buildings, abandoned vehicles, poorly kept yards, loud or noisy neighbors, and graffiti on sidewalks and walls consisted of the incivility variables. A four point Likert scale was used to determine if residents thought each incivility was a major problem, somewhat of a

problem, minor problem, or no problem at all. The dependent variable in the study was fear, and

many questions were asked to determine how fearful residents were in their neighborhood.

Wyant (2008) then conducted a Linear Regression to examine how predictive incivilities were of

fear. The conclusions allowed Wyant (2008) to confirm that residents perceiving more

incivilities reported more fear. In addition, perceived incivilities significantly shaped a resident's

level of fear. The results showed that incivilities were predictive of fear at the individual level.

Finally, crime rates in neighborhoods were found to not have an influence on a person's fear of

crime in the specific neighborhood (Wyant, 2008).

Support for broken window theory exists; however, the policy implications that have

been developed as a result are not a one size fit all solution to resolving fear and disorder in

every neighborhood. Each approach has to be tailored to the specific area and the specific

problem in which the program is being applied (Skogan, 2008). Broken windows research has

been conducted in Chicago neighborhoods. Skogan (2008) found that residents were more

concerned about graffiti and trash being strewn along the alleys than they were about actual

crimes, like burglary and theft. In addition, when Skogan (2008) viewed complaints brought to

the police at community meetings, he found that the largest category of complaints were social

disorder problems, like prostitution and public drinking. The category receiving the third highest

number of complaints were physical disorder issues, like graffiti, vandalism, and trash and junk

in vacant lots. In total these two categories accounted for nearly fifty percent of the total

complaints. Although Skogan (2008) published his work before any statistical support could be

found or interpreted, he did foresee good things coming out of the program with the work that

was being done. While many social and physical disorders are not necessary violations of laws

or ordinances, therefore would be ignored by many departments for not being police matters,

officers in Chicago were targeting the problems head-on. Instead of focusing on making arrests in some of these neighborhoods, officers along with community members and residents focused on cleaning up trash, graffiti, and overgrown lots along with replacing burnt out street lights and finding ways to target public intoxication and prostitution. Even though Skogan (2008) continued to caution that each approach has to be tailored to the specific area and problem, positives results could be expected from the program implemented in Chicago.

Some fairly recent research has been conducted on the matter as well. Much like Scarborough et al. (2010) and Wyant (2008), Gainey et al. (2011) have also conducted research on fear and disorder.   Gainey et al.'s (2011) research was similar to Scarborough et al.'s (2010) research in that they too looked at physical and social disorders; however, they combined both the physical and social disorders into one category of disorders. The disorders they chose to pursue were abandoned/vacant buildings, excessive noise, littering/garbage in the streets, poor street lighting, public drinking/intoxication, abandoned/inoperable vehicles, loitering, graffiti, drug dealing, and prostitution. Prior victimization has additionally been a point of discussion (Gainey et al., 2011). Respondents were asked if they had been a victim of certain crimes in the last six months. A total of sixty-one percent of the respondents stated they had been a victim of a crime. Fear was the dependent variable in their study and residents were asked to answer a series of questions on a four-point response scale of how worried they were in falling victim to certain crimes while in their neighborhoods. After running OLS regression, Gainey et al. (2011) was able to conclude that disorder and victimization were statistically significant, with those reporting higher levels of fear and having previously been victimized showing higher levels of fear. Therefore, disorder and victimization were predictive of fear of crime (Gainey et al., 2011). Present day research conducted by Stein (2014) continues to show support for broken windows

theory. A positive correlation was found between physical disorders and social disorders. Even though there was stronger correlation between social disorders and fear than there was between physical disorders and fear, support for broken windows theory was still reported (Stein, 2014).

Broken windows theory has also been supported at the rural level, an area, which like college and university campuses, has drawn little to no attention by researchers. Although physical and social disorders loaded onto a single factor, findings suggested that disorder was responsible for fear of crime among citizens (Franklin et al., 2008). In neighborhoods where higher levels of disorder were reported, higher levels of risk or fear were found. While Franklin et al. (2008) stated that citizens in urban areas reported higher levels of risk; disorder is still a powerful predictor for fear of crime.

<u>Broken windows: Why This Matters</u>

Just because an area may be invaded with disorder does not mean that violent crime is also taking over a neighborhood or community. Crime may rise in an area, but the crimes are probably not violent or even serious. This, however, is not what citizens think and believe when they see increased disorder. Wilson and Kelling (1982) say that when people see disorder they believe that crime, and especially violent crime is increasing and they react by changing their behaviors. Residents may step outside of their homes less often, and when they are out on the streets their movements may be modified. For example, they will walk with hurried steps, not talk or look at anyone, and keep their distant from other people (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). In addition, fear may cause citizens to avoid one another, and this can have a detrimental effect, such as no longer taking ownership or pride in their neighborhood. Working together may serve as a prevention strategy to help a neighborhood avoid losing control. If citizens are fearful and avoid one another they are not achieving this either (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). When disorder

and incivilities take over a neighborhood, people do not go out into public spaces. As a further result, when they do not go out into public spaces, they do not intervene with the disorder. When there is weak informal social control and high fear in a neighborhood, this can lead to further decline in the particular area (Skogan, 1990). When there is not any intervention, the disorder continues, causing citizens to withdraw themselves even more, whereas causing them to continue to question their safety (Taylor, 1999). The further withdrawal may only cause more problems, as serious offenders from outside of the area may move into the neighborhood.

If disorder is not kept in check or controlled, problems, including crime, will just keep steam rolling or snowballing. Wilson and Kelling (1982) add in their framework that after residents withdraw, serious offenders move into the area. This can mean light offenders, such as teenage vandals, becoming braver in their actions and begin causing more trouble than just spray painting graffiti on buildings. In addition, as Taylor (1999) mentions, offenders who are motivated and live outside the neighborhood become aware of the conditions of the disorderly neighborhood. These motivated offenders then come into the neighborhood to take advantage of the opportunities and targets that the area possesses. This leads to crime, including serious crimes occurring on the streets. Despite the fact that Taylor's (1999) work seems be designed for a neighborhood, the reasoning can easily be applied to a college or university campus. If students would replace residents, we would see unrepaired signs of incivilities leading to students becoming fearful, followed by offenders committing petty crimes and causing more incivilities, leading to students becoming fearful and withdrawing or transferring from the institution. Some replacements could be made to Skogan's (1990) view that would make the illustration a fit for campuses as well. If campus conditions replaced neighborhood conditions, we would see campus conditions leading to incivilities, with incivilities leading to campus

dissatisfaction, victimization, and withdrawal, or transfer from the institution. Once students withdraw from an institution problems can arise with the student and the institution.

Once the problem of disorder can be identified within an area then the process of diverting or eliminating the disorder can begin. This can sometimes be achieved through informal rules. Wilson and Kelling (1982), while conducting a study in Newark, New Jersey followed a police officer on foot patrol who tried to rid the streets of disorder. The police officer was able to target drunks, addicts, loiterers, and rowdy teenagers in different ways. For example, drinking was permissible on city streets, and bottles had to be in paper bags and drinking was not allowed at the main intersections in the city. Additionally, drunks and addicts were allowed to sit on steps and stoops, but they were not allowed to lie down on the street. If teenagers were being loud or rowdy, they were simply told to keep quiet. Loitering and panhandling was not allowed and people found in violation were sent on their way. The police officer would arrest violators for vagrancy if they continued to cause problems and break the informal rules. Under most circumstances though, citizens do not necessarily want people arrested for disorderly behavior, but rather just remind them and make them aware of appropriate behavior in the neighborhood (Kelling, 1987). The residents of Newark spoke through a survey saying that they valued public order and appreciated the police for trying to maintain that order. The informal rules may not have been the same from neighborhood to neighborhood. In addition, the residents of the neighborhoods decided what the appropriate level of order was for the area (Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

Many citizens enjoy and are thankful for the police in maintaining public order, but residents may be required to play a vital role as well for many reasons. If the initial broken window, public drunk, or sign of disorder goes unchecked, the disorder will continue to flourish.

As a result, residents have to keep their neighborhood in check (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). There are many ways and examples where community residents can be involved and help deter disorder in their neighborhood. One way is just simply being vigilant and being aware of what is going on in the neighborhood (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This can be achieved through programs like Neighborhood Watch, or informally by just knowing a person's neighbors and who belongs in the neighborhood and who does not. Residents showing that they care about an area can go a long way as well. High levels of upkeep, gardening, and signs of personal identification are all ways that citizens show that they do care about their neighborhood and reduce or prevent disorder (Taylor, 1999). Wilson and Kelling (1982) introduced the concept of having meetings with those of differing opinions over neighborhood order. For example, if citizens and teenagers are in conflict over hanging out on the street, then possibly a meeting between the two parties could help solve the issue. Most issues regarding order in the neighborhood can be solved among the residents themselves without getting the police involved. In fact, perhaps getting most issues corrected with minimal to no police involvement is the best course of action (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Delegating social control to strangers in the neighborhoods is something that citizens do not want to do, however (Kelling, 1987).

Other reasons that make the situation difficult to tackle are legal and ethical issues. Many of the disorderly activities are not illegal, so police cannot make arrests and courts and judges cannot convict and hand down punishments. Criminal laws define acts, but disorder is only a condition, with no clear definition (Kelling, 1987). For example, in some areas police could make arrests and charge a person as "suspicious person." Additionally, gangs of teenagers can form, and most of the times congregate without breaking any laws. Other offenses that police often made arrests for that helped keep social order in check included "vagrancy" and "public

drunkenness." On the other hand there are mixed feelings as to whether the police should get involved in certain order maintenance practices. As already discussed, most order maintenance can be handled without the police. However, Wilson and Kelling (1982) point out another argument that normal citizens do not wear the badge and do not have the same power and responsibility as the police. As a result, they feel that citizens already do a great deal and order maintenance should be a responsibility of the police. Even though the offenses may still remain on the books in some areas, they have been decriminalized in others. Part of the argument to decriminalize such offenses is that the offenses do not harm anyone. As Wilson and Kelling (1982) point out, this is not necessarily true. Wilson and Kelling (1982) explain that destruction of a neighborhood can result by failing to do anything about the drunks and the vagrants. In addition, Wilson and Kelling (1982) remind everyone that the one broken window can easily turn into a thousand broken windows if proper attention is not paid. No matter who takes the role, whether police or citizens, maintaining order on the streets and in the community is an important and vital job. Perhaps the job can be recognized as vital and important enough that police and citizens will work together to achieve a common goal of disorder and crime prevention. This can be achieved through community oriented policing or even problem oriented policing. No matter the approach, police have to identify the problems that people or business owners, living or working in the area are facing. This can be achieved through meetings or working hand-in-hand with the residents, workers, and owners. From here, problems can be identified, and the proper approach in correcting the problem can be established (Taylor, 1999).

<u>Fear on College and University Campuses</u>

College and university campuses should not be excluded from the focus of research on fear of crime. Students attending, living, and walking on campuses must feel safe (Lane, Gover,

& Dahod, 2009). Campuses are part of communities just like many other neighborhoods. Some

scholars state that a college or university campus has three components of a community,

including a fixed geographic location, common ties among people, and social interaction

(Dobriner, 1969; Mansour & Sloan, 1992; Poplin, 1972; Sloan, Fisher, & Wilkins, 1996). A

campus has a fixed geographic location, because the campus is a physical place that takes up

space and has geographic markers that consist of buildings, labs, libraries, and may have gates

that identify boundaries and logos in different locations (Sloan et al., 1996; Steinmetz & Austin,

2013). Despite the fact a wide range of ages can be found on campuses, the age distribution, for

students at least, is relative homogeneous (Fox & Hellman, 1985). The people on campus share

the same ties or work toward the same goal by attending the institution. Students attend to obtain

a quality education or conduct research. Faculty attends campuses to educate students, conduct

research, and work. Colleges and universities employ a strong workforce who attends campuses

to work and make sure the everyday functions of such a place are fulfilled. When all are

calculated together, each shares the same social interaction (Sloan et al., 1996). Along with the

similarities, researchers have demonstrated that a great deal can be at stake at such a place.

Issues of concern exist with fear of crime and criminal activity on college campuses.

Students, parents and family members of students, administration, faculty, staff, and campus law

enforcement all feel an effect and have a concern of crime and fear of crime (Fisher & Nasar,

1992; Jennings, Gover, and Pudrzynska, 2007; Lane et al., 2009). Fear of crime can have a

negative effect on a student's educational progress (McConnell, 1997). The quality of life of a

college or university student can be threatened due to fear of crime, which could lead to other

problems (Fisher & Nasar, 1992). Increased crime and fear of crime on a campus may prevent

prospective students from attending such institutions (Jennings et al., 2007). If Skogan's (1990)

and Taylor's (1999) views are applied to college campuses current students may choose to withdraw from their current institution. This may mean a student transferring to a new institution or deciding to cease obtaining their education altogether if the level of fear reaches a maximum level (Fisher & Nasar, 1992). A faculty or staff member's productivity may decrease as a result of increased fear of crime. Additionally, a parent's concern for their child's safety may increase because of the rising fear of crime on campus (McConnell, 1997). An increased fear from a parent may decrease the chances that a parent will spend the tuition to send their children to a place that is unsafe or to where their children will be fearful of crime (Jennings et al., 2007). Furthermore, parents of students may convince their child to transfer to a different institution if they feel the current campus is unsafe (Fisher & Nasar, 1992). A potential decrease in tuition income can become stressful for college or university administrators in a time when competition for enrollment and tuition dollars are at an all-time high. Competition is high and funding for colleges and universities appears to be decreasing, so every dollar seems to be valuable for institutions, and cannot be lost. Tuition is not the only form of income for a college though. Campuses are often the home to many stores and restaurants that people go to shop and dine. Sporting contests, concerts, and conventions are just a few examples of events that draw large crowds each year. Campus leaders are excited to host these events because they bring in revenue and have the opportunity to show off the campus. However, if visitors are fearful of their safety during their visit, they will likely not return and not recommend others to visit the campus. Therefore, this causes the campus to lose in many ways.

Many people would like a crime free world, but that is far from reality. In addition, many people would enjoy areas of higher education, where there are many young people filled with potential, but again this is far from being true. As Lee and Hilinski-Rosick (2012) report, while

college campuses may have once been safe havens protected from world happenings, that is no longer the case. News of shootings on college campuses litter the news, so when most people think about crime and fear of crime on college and university campuses, most of the time shootings, or other high profile events, are the first things that come to mind (Fox, Nobles, & Piquero, 2009). However, shootings seem to be somewhat of a rare occurrence in such places. Shootings do draw a great deal of media attention, but there are many other crimes that occur on campuses every day that do not receive the same amount of attention. College and university campuses present many attractive opportunities for the commission of crimes due to the large quantity of electronic equipment and property that students possess, along with the other opportunities that students present (Nasar et al., 1993). In addition, the diversity of a campus and the transient nature of people on campus provide further opportunities for a crime to be committed (Fisher & Nasar, 1992). Crimes including thefts, robberies, assaults, sexual assaults, batteries and non-violent crimes, account for many of the crimes that occur on campuses every year and are the crimes in which many students and faculty members are most fearful of. Sexual assaults seem to be the most feared crime on campuses, especially by women; however, crimes like harassment, burglary, assault, and robbery are feared since these crimes can lead to a sexual assault (Lane et al., 2009). Although violent crimes do occur on campuses, just like shootings, violent crimes are pretty rare and only account for a small portion of crimes that occur on campuses (Jennings et al., 2007).

Much attention is often drawn to shootings on campus; however, the majority of crimes that occur on campuses do not involve firearms. In fact, the majority of crimes are not even violent in nature. Sloan (1994) reports that burglaries and thefts account for sixty-four percent of crimes reported to campus authorities, with only ten percent being violent in nature. This can be

attributed to the large amount of opportunities that a college campus provides. Not only are

there a large amount of potential targets on a campus, but many college campuses are bordered

by areas of high unemployment and low socioeconomic status with many motivated offenders

(Nasar et al., 1993; McConnell, 1997). The bordering areas around certain campuses can also be

filled with social and physical incivilities including public intoxication, drug use and sales,

loitering, vacant lots, run-down buildings and housing, litter, and other signs of disorder which

may signify that the area is unsafe (Nasar et al., 1993). These sights may cause a student's fear

to be intensified, especially if they have to travel through the area during the course of their daily

routine activities (Nasar et al., 1993). Fox and Hellman (1985) argue that location is no

indication of crime or fear of crime and that no college campus is immune or can be considered

safe with campuses in both the urban and rural settings reporting similar rates of crime. Other

scholars have attributed the fact that campuses offer unlimited access and mobility along with the

diversity of populations on campuses contribute to crime and fear on campuses (Steinmetz &

Austin, 2014). Jennings et al. (2007) states that violent crimes on college and university

campuses are actually decreasing and are only a small proportion of the crimes that occur on

campuses. However, reported to authorities is key, as under reporting is a major problem on

campuses (Jennings et al., 2007).

The topic of fear of crime has been the focus of only a few studies (Lane et al., 2009;

Wilcox, Jordan, & Pritchard, 2007). As a result, there can be a difficulty in getting a handle or

grasp on how severe the problem is. Research conducted by Steinmetz and Austin (2014)

indicated that nearly forty-two percent of college and university students were fearful of crime

while on campus. In the same study, only a small percentage of students reported ever being a

victim of crime. A separate study indicated that nearly fifty percent of college students are

fearful while on campus (Nasar et al., 1993). Jennings et al. (2007) tried to gauge how fearful students are while on campus. Instead of gauging fear with a percentage though, they measured fear on a Likert scale. They found the average fear level of 2.58, which they classified as a moderate level of fear. Other scholars have supported these claims and have found fear of crime to be a larger problem among students, but students failed to provide a reason for their fear (May and Dunaway, 2010).

For the most part, many colleges and universities set a priority in keeping a clean, well maintained setting, especially areas that are heavily traveled or are viewed by visitors or people passing through. Some people even go as far as describing campuses as park like (Sloan et al., 1996). However, colleges and universities have little to no control over areas that fall just outside of the boundaries of the campus. These areas may contain some of the social and physical disorders that are not typically seen on college campuses, such as abandoned vehicles and abandoned or vacant buildings (Nasar et al., 1993). So, while the campus may not create or cause a student to have be fearful of crime, these areas outside the campus in which a student may have to pass through during their routine activities, may generate fear of crime. In addition, most campuses do not have barriers so people who are not affiliated with the campus may easily gain access. Therefore, intoxicated individuals and drug dealers can easily enter a campus causing a student's level of fear to increase (Nasar et al., 1993). In some cities or towns this again is not an issue as the campus may be situated in a very nice area or sometimes at the edge of town or outside the city where the surroundings do not play a role. However, other college and university campuses may be situated in the heart of a city or metropolitan area. This is the case with the University of Chicago and Yale University; people or passers-by can observe the disorder near these campuses (Sloan et al., 1996). However, once off campus (e.g. crossing the

street), things can quickly change. A person may find themselves in the heart of the metropolitan area or in areas that are rundown and experience major crime problems. Nevertheless, one should note that research suggests the location of the campus, whether urban or rural, has no impact on campus crime rates (Fox & Hellman, 1985).

Constrained Behaviors

Although many students are reluctant to report crimes to campus police or authorities, they may be reluctant to report their fear of crime as well. Some studies have shown that students may not report a strong fear of crime on campus, but the same studies show that some students participate in constrained behaviors. Constrained behaviors or prevention measures have been found to be positively related to fear (Lane et al., 2009). Jennings et al. (2007) define constrained behaviors as changes in behaviors or actions that individuals purposefully make to reduce their risk of being a victim of crime. Fisher and Sloan (2003) provide many examples of constrained behaviors that students may use including carrying mace, carrying keys in a defensive manner, walking in groups, or using an escort service provided by the institution or their police department. Additionally, Hickman and Meuhlenhard (1997) found a strong relation between fear of crime and constrained behaviors. Constrained behaviors do not necessary have to fall into a category or be one of the examples provided by Fisher and Sloan (2003) though. In addition to the constrained behaviors already mentioned, other constrained behaviors may include a purposeful change in one's daily schedule or routine as a result of a fear of crime. In fact, in a study conducted by McCreedy and Dennis (1996), twenty-seven percent of students stated they would avoid night classes strictly due to a fear of crime. Most of the constrained behaviors discussed seem fairly simple, other constrained behaviors may be considered extreme. Tewksbury and Mustaine (2003) found that not only do twenty-two percent of college students

carry mace for self-protection, but seventeen percent of students reported carrying guns or

firearms for self-protection. Nasar et al. (1993) indicated a larger number, over thirty-four

percent of students reported carrying mace, stun guns, or knives. Lee and Hilinski-Rosick

(2012) found that students often travel paths that they are familiar with and feel safe on. They

argue that this action does not require much thought or planning, and may even come natural.

So, while this cannot really be considered a constrained behavior, the action is still a behavior

that causes students to avoid certain areas of campus that maybe unsafe. Many students, over

fifty percent, report taking collective actions, such walking with groups of people as a result of

their fears (Nasar et al., 1993). However, constrained behaviors are not the only tool that

researchers use to measure fear of crime when people may not feel comfortable reporting such a

feeling.

Negative Aspects of Fear of Crime on College Campuses

Having an increased level of fear on a college or university campus can lead to many

negative aspects. As Gainey et al. (2011) explains, having a fear in a particular area can lead

people to stop engaging in activities that contribute to informal social control. Even though

some might argue that informal social control is not really necessary, or hard to develop with a

transitory group of students, the unitedness or image can still suffer. Fox and Hellman (1985),

however, argue that cohesiveness can be measured on campuses with factors like the percentage

of freshmen who drop out, the percentage of students who graduate, and the percentage of in-

state students being taken into account. The core principles of a college education can take a hit

and become destabilized by an increased amount of crime and fear of crime on a campus

(Jennings et al., 2007). Furthermore, females who typically report having more fear of crime

than their male counterparts may restrict their participation in activities on campus due to their

fear of crime (Jennings et al., 2007). This can be detrimental to the whole college experience because campus activities have an impact on a person's education just as much as the classroom education does. Additionally, the reputation of a college or university and the activities students experienced may drastically affect their future endeavor (Tseng, Duane, and Hadipriono, 2004). For example, those items can potentially generate a negative effect on students when they enter the workforce or pursue opportunities in their career.

CHAPTER 3

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Studies into the issue of fear of crime and disorder on college campuses should continue to be researched in the future for multiple reasons. Fear of crime and disorder that may lead to or cause many distractions for students, the administration, and the campus itself to just name a few. Disorder and fear of crime on a college campus can possibly lead to a snowball effect of problems for students and the institution as discussed above. In a day and age when colleges and universities are competing hard to recruit and retain students having a bad image painted by disorder and fear can lead to a whole host of problems.

Little research has been conducted in this particular area. Research has been conducted in the neighborhood setting in multiple areas. Other research has been conducted on fear and disorder, but not much attention has been payed to the college or university campus for conclusions to be drawn. College campuses are similar to the typical neighborhood, yet enough differences exist that separate research needs to be conducted. Some people go to campuses to work or go to school and some even reside on such places, even if just for a short period of time. With so many people likely finding themselves in one of these settings at some point in their lives, research should be warranted for personal and public safety.

Not only do people attend college and university campuses, but a great deal is at stake when people are on campus. People can attend a college campus for a variety of reasons, but the most likely reason a person will attend is to obtain an education. Such an education does not come cheap, with ease, or without effort. As a result, a great deal of stress is often felt while trying to reach one's goal. Having to worry about one's safety can add stress to an already stressful situation. Coming up with a solution to ease fears of crime can sometimes be difficult

depending on the setting and may require a group or collective effort. Since there is a lack of research, there is also a lack of policy implications or solutions to help deal with fear of crime and disorder on college campuses. Thus, many scholars have suggested collective efficacy when seeking solutions in the neighborhood setting.

Collective efficacy consists of people, normally neighbors, who have a strong tie to the neighborhood or community. Those who live in neighborhoods with strong cohesion and collective efficacy are more likely to report lower levels of fear (Gainey et al., 2011; Scarborough et al., 2010; Wyant, 2008). In addition, neighborhoods with strong social cohesion are more likely to band together and use informal means to deal with disorders (Wyant, 2008). Having neighbors to form strong ties with on a college campus are not exactly the same as in a neighborhood. Incoming students may live in the dorms their first year or two, and then move off campus to an apartment or house to complete their academic career. So, due to the transition, forming social bonds can be quite difficult. An academic year generally consists of nine months, so students normally fail to develop a social bond along with faculty who normally just see the campus as a place of employment (Sloan et al., 1996). Many colleges and universities have campus organizations, fraternities, and sororities where there is room and opportunity to form social bonds and take pride in the campus. Social bonds do not necessarily have to be formed in order for problems to be identified and addressed though. Fisher and Nasar (1992) suggest that campus leaders conduct safety audits to identify, address, and make changes to problem areas. These groups could possibly consist of campus administrators, faculty, students, and campus police. Focus groups consisting of student and staff can be used by campus administration to gather qualitative information on how to make people on campus feel safer (Lane et al., 2009). In addition, Scarborough et al. (2010) suggested that the government should encourage residents

to come together in the form of block parties or social events to try in strengthen and build social cohesion and collective efficacy. Campus administrators could also form social events with students to try in build social cohesion and collective efficacy on campus. Support from campus members may be quite helpful, and perhaps completely necessary to combat disorder and fear.

Police and community leaders have also attempted to combat disorder and fear within particular areas. William Bratton, a former police leader in two major American cities, New York and Los Angeles, also implemented ways to combat broken windows and ease fear among residents. During his time as commissioner and chief in New York and Los Angeles, Bratton had officers focus on minor offenses including prostitution, graffiti, and panhandling (Bratton & Kelling, 2006; Keizer, Lindenberg, & Steg, 2008). Implementation of such a program seemed to be successful in more ways. Bratton claims that not only did the number of major crimes drop, but there was also a reduction in the number of police shootings and complaints against the police in New York during the timeframe of implementation (Bratton & Kelling, 2006). Similar approaches have since been implemented in cities around the world with equal success (Keizer et al., 2008). Bratton further added that while focusing on minor offenses was not a cure-for all problems, his crime prevention strategies seemed to reduce fear along with crime and were supported by the community members, especially by minority groups (Bratton & Kelling, 2006).

Moreover, since most of the issues or problems that fall into the particular disorder categories are not considered criminal offenses, many people and maybe even police departments believe that their responses to such matters are useless. However, this is not the case as police in Chicago found out. The police in Chicago took a community oriented policing approach and worked with citizens and residents on cleaning up disorder. Some of the activities included working with citizens on community clean up days or graffiti paint outs (Skogan,

2008). Police not only worked with citizens, but they also worked with businesses or store owners, who are also a vital part of neighborhoods. Police went to stores and asked store owners to place signs that discouraged patrons from giving money to panhandlers (Skogan, 2008). Sometimes getting other people or departments involved is necessary. During community meetings when problems were mentioned, the police would summon the help of city service agencies to address problems, such as tree trimming, clearing vacant lots, and repairing sidewalks (Skogan, 2008). Such a program could be viable on a college campus. Getting students to attend a "community meeting" maybe difficult, but perhaps officers could attend meetings that are often hosted by residents or community assistants in dormitories. The drawbacks to such a program are that people, including students, have to be willing to participate, and sometimes campus police departments may not have the staffing to support such a program.

Criticism of policy implications, programs, and research is going to arise across all areas. Broken windows research is no different. Some questions and arguments may come up on what works or does not work; however, there seems to be one thing that most researchers agree on, which is the promising programs need to be implemented without delay (Keizer et al., 2008). A one size fits all plan to ease fear of crime will not work on the campus setting because not all campuses are the same. Some campuses are commuter based while others are residential or more autonomous than others (Fisher et al., 1996). Early intervention in fighting disorder is important because signs of disorder only lead to additional disorder. Research has shown that the presence of graffiti doubled the number of people littering and stealing in a particular area and once disorder has spread, getting rid of the problem can be quite difficult (Keizer et al., 2008). Thus, fixing the broken window or issues as soon as possible is important.

Additional research into the issue of fear and disorder should be warranted. There is a lack of current research on the issue. Some argue that the lack is due to campuses once being considered safe and horrors from the world never find college and university campuses (Lee & Hilinski-Rosick, 2012). There are many situational factors that can play a role. For example, something what triggers fear for one person may not necessarily cause fear for another. In addition, a single person's fear may change while on the same campus. For example, a factor may cause a student to be fearful during the nighttime, but not during the daytime, or an event may occur that causes a person to become fearful of crime (Steinmetz & Austin, 2014). Other factors that should be accounted for include: the time of day when students take classes (day versus night), the location of their residence, and other features of a student's life (Fox et al., 2009). Many colleges already offer responses for some of these situational factors. For example, providing rides or escorts for students or faculty during night or evening hours (Jennings et al., 2007). Sometimes, these programs or services are not often used because people are either unfamiliar with the program or the program could be in need of an update. Finally, there are many characteristics of a campus that makes the place unique and not quite the same as a residential neighborhood (Lee & Hilinski-Rosick, 2012). Most campuses are probably fairly safe and far from being considered a ghetto, students deserve better than having to worry about falling victim while attending an academic institution. There is always room for improvement even with schools that report minor or minimal problems.

Crimes that go unreported to authorities, especially campus authorities also complicate matters. Many crimes that occur on campuses often never get reported to the police for various reasons. This raises the question that if students are reluctant to report a crime, are they also unwilling to report their fear of crime while on campus? Jennings et al. (2007) found that males

are more likely to be victimized, but report lower levels of fear. Women seem to report more fear than men, but the findings are still interesting. Knowing who is fearful and to what degree is important so strategies, especially cost-effective ones, can be implemented by campus administrators (McConnell, 1997). Under reporting seems to be a problem that has faced researchers for many years, and should be an issue that scholars continue to try in combat to accurately measure crime and fear, especially on college campuses.

Further research needs to be completed on this topic to see if the surrounding area of a campus plays any role on fear experienced while on campus. Little to no research has been conducted on whether areas surrounding an area contribute to fear of crime on campuses. Despite the fact that areas bordering a campus may actually be considered off campus, students may have to travel through these areas while walking or passing through on their way to and from campus. Many apartment complexes, shops, restaurants, and entertainment establishments are situated in the immediate area surrounding colleges and universities. Campuses that are free of or have minimal disorder and incivilities may still be situated in areas that are full of disorder and incivilities. Even though these areas may not fall into the boundaries of a campus, they still may cause a student additional stress, prevent them from attending certain functions, or possibly withdraw from the institution. As a result, campus administrators may have to work with officials from the home city of the college or university if a problem is deemed in these areas.

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