

FEAR

(less)



Masterthesis

FEAR(less) – A case study on high-rise housing estates in Vienna and Berlin

Submitted by:

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Abstract

The thesis at hand deals with an empirical study concerning fear of crime in deprived high-rise housing estates in Vienna and Berlin. A survey among 100 residents in each case study neighborhood revealed two types of fear of crime. The experienced fear captures the characteristics of risk perception, emotion and a behavioral reaction whereas expressive fear only embraces the latter. Experienced fear hardly exists among residents whereas expressive fear scores fairly high values. In general, the level of fear of crime is higher in Berlin's

Obstalleesiedlung than in Vienna's Trabrenngründe. However, no isolated explanatory model could be discovered. An interplay of different factors are assumed to be responsible for expressive fear whereas disorder variables score significantly high. Furthermore, the generalization thesis appears to be of relevance as well in some cases. A comparison of significant factors leading to fear with carried out crime prevention strategies revealed that these do hardly have any fear of crime preventive effect.

Et al	and others
Ibid	in the same place
n.s.	not specified
OAS	Obstalleesiedlung
QM	Quartiersmanagement (Neighborhood Management)
TBG	Trabrenngründe
USA	United States of America

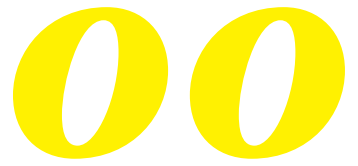
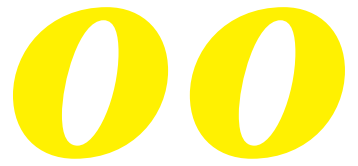


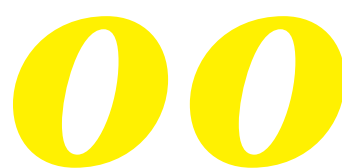
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01

Introduction

“Crime was simultaneously thought of as both preventable and inevitable”

(Lupton 2000: 35)

Lupton’s notion towards crime lets one wonder whether the same applies for fear of crime. Can we prevent fear of crime as it is regularly attempted with crime? Or is it something unavoidable? Does it even exist? Fear of crime has become a *“concept of everyday language”* (Jackson 2004: 311) where hardly anyone knows what it exactly refers to. It is extensively used by different stakeholders of society. The media business, especially the press is an extensive circulator of the crime subject. Headline-catching events regularly include crime incidents in order to draw attention and sell more copies.

This behavior conveys high crime rates to the recipient even though academia has proofed extensively that there is a huge discrepancy between objective crime data and the subjective perception of crime – the so-called fear of crime paradox (Schwind 2007: 414). Coming back to the role of the media, studies could only verify weak moderate effects of media on fear of crime (Hirtenlehner 2009: 14; Gerber et al 2010: 148).

Another circulator of the fear of crime issue is the political sphere. The interior security aspect including crime and fear of crime is often one of the central themes in party platforms as the following quotes from the current 2011 Berlin City parliament election campaign illustrate:

„Die Gewaltbereitschaft in Berlin nimmt stetig zu. Die Brutalität erreicht erschreckende Ausmaße. Nahezu keine Woche vergeht, ohne Meldungen über lebensbedrohlich verletzte Opfer. Die Angst der Bevölkerung wächst.“¹

(CDU Berlin Wahlprogramm 2011: 44)

„Die Angst vor Straftaten nehmen wir ernst, auch wenn die Polizeistatistik keinen Rückgang der Kriminalität verzeichnet. Niemand kann absolute Sicherheit versprechen, aber manches kann besser gemacht werden.“²

(Die Grüne Wahlprogramm zur Berliner Abgeordnetenwahl 2011: 109)

These excerpts show how politics exploit the fear of crime issue among residents in order to tighten laws, shape criminal policies or more generally speaking to legitimate their

¹ “The propensity towards violence is steadily rising in Berlin. Brutality is reaching frightening dimensions. There is hardly any week without reports about seriously hurt victims. The level of fear among the population is rising.” (own translation)

² “Fear of crime is a topic that we take serious even though crime statistics register a decrease towards crime. No one can promise absolute security but some things can be improved.” (own translation)

own power (Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 60; Kury 2003: 9; Pantazis 2000: 414). Quite often one can register a frequent usage of the term before new elections as in the Berlin case. No matter what level of power we are on, fear of crime is repeatedly in the center of attention during election campaigns. Stummvoll (2003: 12) coined this phenomenon quite appropriately “Politisierung des Alltags” (politicization of the everyday-life).

Fear and anxieties occupy an enormous power to shape our society as they can justify many measurements and actions on behalf of different actors. From a top-down perspective, this can for instance include changes in policies such as installing CCTV surveillance in public spheres. Not only the elected might

use fear of crime as an argument for actions but also residents get goad on to act by fear. The average resident might justify illegal gun possessions or neighborhood watch initiatives by referring to high level of fear of crime. Hardly anyone could or even would be able to give detailed justifying crime data on the small scale.

The extensive presence of fear of crime in media and politics reflects the strong public discourse on the topic. The combination of this public discourse on fear of crime and the phenomenon’s strong characteristic in terms of power explains the intense interest on behalf of academia to research the fear of crime. Murray Lee already coined this with the term “fear of crime feedback loop” (Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs in Kury, 2008, p.55/ Farrall 2006: 27).



Graph 1: Fear of crime feedback loop (own design)

It embraces the circular process where the fear of crime discourse leads to scientific research which again reinforces the public debate. However, this circuit should be viewed critically as it harbors a certain danger. As mentioned beforehand, objective crime data does not equal the subjective perception of becoming a victim of crime. But when academia is participating in the public discourse through publishing their findings it might again transmit that there exists a problem related to crime.

What should be the role of academia then? Ignoring the phenomenon of fear of crime in order to avoid false interpretation by the media who might spread misleading information by condensing information? Or should they try to analyze the real causes and characteristics of the phenomenon?

The author of this thesis has decided for the proactive approach and therefore will try to understand the nature and mechanisms behind fear of crime. The main motivation is to derive preventive or at least counter steering strategies in order to improve the quality of life on the smallest geographical scale. Different crime prevention strategies are carried out all around the world with the main purpose of reducing crime in terms of delicts. But do they also have an impact on feelings of insecurity? The urban context chosen are high-rise housing estates in

outer city location in Vienna and Berlin. The main focus lies on the residents' perception of their direct environment. Case study areas are deprived neighborhoods which often have a negative reputation in the rest of the city regarding security and general quality of life. Do their inhabitants actually adopt this attitude and consider their direct environment as an unsafe place? If so, what are the origins of this? Is there such a thing as a specific fear of becoming a victim or does it rather describe insecurities of modern times? How could one counteract fear of crime? Do crime preventive strategies already tackle the causes of fear of crime or are we in need of another approach?

All these questions around fear of crime in marginalized neighborhoods of Vienna and Berlin are in the main focus of this thesis.

1.1

Relevance of the topic

Before going into detail concerning the theoretical basis of fear of crime and other important concepts related, the importance of the topic for today's society will be presented.

From an academic point of view, the body of research is steadily growing (Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 527) but it does

not depict one united picture. It contains a multitude of definitions, approaches and models. Fear of crime cannot be characterized as an unexplored topic but especially the impact of certain crime preventive strategies on fear of crime in marginalized neighborhoods has not been treated yet.

Reuband (2009: 233) gives supportive arguments for a focus on fear of crime as he points to its more profound influence on people's well-being in comparison to the relevance of actual victimization experiences. Of course victimization can have traumatizing effects and strongly influence a person's mental and physical health but one also has to think of the strong numeric gap between victimized and feared persons. What if 5% of the population becomes a victim of crime but 25% are actually convinced of being at a serious risk of victimization?

Lüdemann's point of view that fear of crime is an influencing variable for the quality of life (2006: 285) sounds convincing. Hence one could wonder why the main focus of many crime preventive strategies exclusively lies on preventing crime. Why is fear of crime just given secondary importance? Of course it is obvious that crime data is objective and relatively easy to collect due to its numeric format. Still, one should be aware of the offense-reporting

behavior on behalf of victims that strongly influences the bright-field data (Schwind 2007: 398) and therefore also does not depict reality as it might be desired.

To sum it up radically, the legitimization of power is easier to execute when focusing on crime, only. But what is it that shapes our daily life experiences? It is not any precise and objective figures but rather our subjective feelings while navigating through public and private space. The fear of crime paradox (see chapter 1) helps to illustrate this line of thought. Hence, low crime rates alone do not lead to high feelings of security automatically but the individual's perception is important. Furthermore, as a consequence of feeling unsafe we might even limit our range of operation and therefore also impair our quality of life. Lupton (2000: 21) even considers fear of crime to be a "constriction in your everyday life". She points out that fear of crime can but not always has to be a remarkable social problem. This constriction is the result of the adjustments people carry out in order to avoid feelings of insecurity (Mesko 2008: 174). In line with Lüdemann, Zarafonitou (2008: 166 ff.) even claims that people with a low satisfaction in their neighborhood feel twice as unsafe as those being satisfied.

Lüdemann (2006: 286 ff.) gives convincing arguments why fighting fear of crime is an important issue for a neighborhood's quality of life. First of all, fear of crime produces individual costs for the urban dweller. One has to spend an increased amount of time for taking detours in order to avoid dangerous places and situations. Furthermore the feared person is limited in its personal freedom due to reactant behavior. In addition opportunity costs, monetary, coordination and transaction costs arise for the feared resident when one for instance has to ask others for help or takes a taxi in order to avoid the feared spaces and people. Besides these individual costs, Lüdemann also points out negative externalities that transcend the individual perspective (see Graph 2).

Decreases in turnovers, vacancy of shopping facilities and sinking real estate prices are just a few examples. These can even amplify fear of crime as a weakened local infrastructure rooted in decreasing demand can reinforce the isolation of a neighborhood. This can lead to an increase of its degree of deprivation but as the strongest consequence even create no-go areas. People might avoid these and thus this opens the opportunity for the creation of non-socialized spaces for criminals. As a result, real places of fear might emerge if we follow Wilson and Kelling's "*broken-windows*" theory (see 2.1.2.)

However, other scholars (i.a. Kury/Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 63/64) reveal that the level of fear of crime



Graph 2: Fear of crime & socio-economic decay cycle (data: based on Lüdemann 2006: 286 ff.; own layout)

within the population is hugely overestimated. Methodological problems of the surveys conducted are said to be the main reasons for that. In case that this is true, many political decisions are initiated and realized without justification.

The ongoing debate about the degree of importance of fear of crime and its dimensions convey a certain demand of research in this field. The question whether fear of crime actually is a problematic issue in Vienna's Transdanubian Rennbahnsiedlung and Berlin-Spandau's Obstalleesiedlung will be approached in this paper.

1.2

Focus & research question

This thesis focuses on researching the phenomenon of fear of crime in high-rise housing estates in outer city deprived neighborhoods.

In the context of this thesis, fear of crime relates to everywhere outside of the resident's very own sphere – the public and semipublic space. This included for instance stair cases, garbage rooms, parking spaces and public spaces outside such as the

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

IN HOW FAR IS FEAR OF CRIME PRESENT AMONG RESIDENTS OF DEPRIVED NEIGHBORHOODS?

SUBQUESTIONS

- 1. Does fear of crime exist among residents in deprived neighborhoods?**
- 2. If yes, what is its nature?**
- 3. How to counteract fear of crime? Are crime prevention measurements appropriate strategies to reduce the level of fear of crime in deprived neighborhoods?**

playgrounds or local shopping centers. The decision to research people's feelings of security in public spaces is due to the assumption that the home is often considered to be a place of control and security (Lupton 1999: 9). Of course one should not ignore the high share of domestic violence but in the framework of this project, the focus is laid on fear of crime in public and semipublic areas due to the limited availability of sensible data such as victimization experience in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, a special interest in understanding urban processes played an important part.

The main interest is to analyze whether residents of high-rise housing estates in outer city deprived areas actually have to deal with arising feelings of insecurity in the semi-public and public spaces of their neighborhood. The population of

the neighborhoods analyzed are composed of significant shares of foreigners, low-income residents and unemployed who in general have to struggle with their daily life. On purpose, neighborhoods with a certain negative reputation but which are not known to the main trouble hotspot of the city have been chosen.

1.3 Structure

The content of this thesis can be divided into three main parts: a theoretical, practical and an analytical component. Graph 3 depicts a sketch of the research design.

The general introduction is followed by chapter 2 which includes the results of an in-depth literature review.

Thereby, theoretical knowledge on fear of crime and crime prevention could be collected (see Graph 3, phase I).

1 THEORY

- Literature review
- Concepts of fear of crime characteristics
- Origin
- Concepts of crime prevention

2 CASE STUDIES

- Research/ on-site visits/ interviews
- Neighborhood profile
- Physical structure
- Demographics
- Specifics
- Crime prevention strategies
- Survey among residents

3 ANALYSIS

- Discussion of survey results
- Matching with crime prevention strategies
- Comparison of cities
- Conclusion

Graph 3: Structure of the thesis (own layout)

The papers analyzed are mainly taken from Anglo-Saxon and German-speaking scientific journals, books and other related publications. The selection represents the broadness of the body of research that has been conducted in these countries towards fear of crime.

The third chapter contains information concerning the case study areas (see graph Graph 3 phase II) that have been compiled with the help of on-site visits, informal interviews with local experts such as the police or neighborhood management offices and an analysis of grey literature (e.g. reports, information flyer). These different sources helped to draw a comprehensive picture of the physical and social situation in the case study neighborhoods. In June/July 2011, a survey among 100 local residents in each case study neighborhood has been conducted by the author.

Finally, all the information gathered is analyzed and discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

02

Theoretical part

The theoretical element is divided into three main parts. Fear of crime and crime prevention are treated individually whereas the last is an innovative combination of both in terms of content.

2.1

Fear of crime

A literature review on fear of crime reveals an extensive body of research where a broad variety of perspectives on the topic can be found.

The most common fact referred to is that fear of crime is a matter of public and academic discussion (Bannister 2001: 807; Boers 1993: 65; Reuband 2009: 233; Gabriel et al 2003: 600). However, there are different opinions about the exact beginning of this interest. The USA is regarded to be the starting point of academic discourse on fear of crime where first interest arose around the 1960ies/1970ies (Walklate 2001: 930; Boers 1993: 66). This interest in the Anglo-Saxon academic world still exists as the recentness of many articles and quantity of literature available reveals.

German-speaking researchers did not discover the topic until the year 1989. The enormous social and societal changes that came along with the fall of the Berlin wall lead to an increased perception of insecurities. This was

especially true among the East-German population and marked the beginning of an in-depth research on fear of crime in Germany (Gerber et al 2010: 142).

The Austrian case is less intense due to the fact that the country did not face such intense and rapid social changes compared to the reunited Germany. Of course, the stream of immigrants from countries behind the Iron Curtain since the early 1990ies had a certain impact too but the living conditions for the initial population did not change as profoundly. Thus, no significant level of fear of crime was noticed. In combination with a hardly existing academic criminological infrastructure this resulted in a less intense research on the topic in Austria.

Germany	Austria
Boers	Hirtenlehner et al
Kury	Sessar/ Stangl
Lüdemann	
Obergfell-Fuchs	
Oberwittler	
Reuband	

Table 1: Fear of crime authors according to country of focus

The Austrian academic research pool mainly offers articles by Hirtenlehner and Stangl. These two academics are opposed to six authors on the German part who often drafted more than one document with a special focus on fear of crime (see table 1). The comparison shall underline a lack of interest and maybe also need in the Republic of Austria concerning fear of crime. If this is due to an absence of the fear of crime in Austria itself or just the hardly-existing interest on behalf of researchers shall be answered through the empirical part of this thesis.

2.1.1

General introduction to fear of crime

A definition of the term fear of crime is a difficult undertaking as there is strong terminological confusion (Hirtenlehner in Kury 2008: 108). However, the majority of researchers agree upon the complexity of fear of crime (Vanderveen 2008: 34; Kury/Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 54; Eriksson 2008: 15; Jackson 2004: 298). So far, the level of research often concentrated on describing the phenomenon with the help of empirical studies but the development of an all embracing concept has often been neglected (Hollway 1997: 256; Lupton 1991: 1).

Psychological emergence

Prior to focusing on the characteristics of fear of crime, its emergence will be presented from a psychological perspective. To my mind, one has to comprehend first how the individual develops fear of crime before analyzing possible catalysts and reflecting about countermeasures. A three-staged process describes the psychological genesis of fear of crime and consists of a cognitive, affective and conative dimension. This distinction is applied by most German-speaking researchers (Kury/Obergfell-Fuchs in Kury, 2008, p.54/ Hirtenlehner in Kury, 2008, p. 109/ Lüdemann, 2006, p. 291/ Boers, 1993, p. 67 ff./ Reuband, 2009, p. 234 – 235/ Gerber et al. 2010: 143).

Cognitive level

On the cognitive level, a person conducts a primary appraisal in the sense of Lazarus' approach. This means that the person demonstrates first of all a certain degree of risk sensitiveness. Kiliass describes risk sensitiveness as the awareness of a person to be exposed to a risk (in Gerber 2010: 144). The affected person might pose himself questions such as:

*Why are these people following me?
Do I carry anything valuable with me?*

Subsequently, an evaluation of the individual's coping abilities follows.

Can I run away?

Do I care if someone is stealing that backpack?

The subjective victimization risk is assessed which means that the individual is estimating his personal likelihood of becoming a victim of crime. Important attributes for assessing the risk include gender, age and contextual factors such as own behavior, attractiveness of the good and past experiences. Hirtenlehner (2003: 162 ff.) states that this evaluation is rather a specific result of the direct environment than of concrete crime experiences. However, it should be emphasized that a person can only develop fear when there is a discrepancy between the perception of personal likelihood of victimization and coping abilities. A young male person for instance may be at a high risk of being attacked as he shows some provocative behavior but he maybe does not care that much and feels confident enough to cope with consequences of that incident. Summarizing the cognitive level, fear of crime does not mean the perception of risk only (Pantazis 2000: 147; Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 545; Reuband 2009: 235; Lupton 2000: 23) but also an anticipation of consequences and a lack of effective protection. However, further requirements have to be fulfilled in order to diagnose fear of

crime from a psychological point of view.

Affective level

The second stage of the psychological genesis of fear of crime is shaped by an affective dimension. Emotions arise as a reaction to the danger assessed and the feeling of inability to meet this challenge. This crime-related feeling of insecurity depends on the individual's vulnerability. The concept of vulnerability is a result of perceived competences and resources (Reuband 2009: 237 ff.). It is connected with gender, age, health, the social, psychological and financial position (Pantazis 2000: 416; Reuband 2009: 237). Kanan and Pruitt (2002: 529) highlight the distinction between social and physical vulnerability. Especially the social vulnerability is of strong interest for this thesis as it describes a "*frequent exposure to fear-inspiring situations*" which is due to ethnicity and income. However, they have not found any consistent evidence yet for this specific hypothesis. Further indicators for social vulnerability are the perception of disorder and incivilities (Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 544).

Conative level

The third stage of the emergence of fear of crime is known as the conative dimension. It encompasses the behavioral reaction to prevent or

fend off crime after having assessed a certain risk, rating inadequate coping abilities and reacting with an emotion of fear. This dimension can include avoidance of people and places or taking prevention measures as for instance changing modes of transport (Gerber et al 2010: 144).

Recapitulating the three-staged psychological model it becomes clear that **fear of crime** contains **more than** just **being afraid** of becoming a victim of crime. The person has to:

1. *Evaluate its subjective victimization risk*
2. *Generate feelings of insecurity (emotion)*
3. *Show a behavioral reaction*

Definition

The knowledge about the psychological development of fear represents the necessary basis for actually describing the character of the fear of crime phenomenon. It has to be emphasized again that there exists no unique approach among researchers. If fear of crime is still an appropriate term for this complex phenomenon can be a matter of discussion as well. But as Vanderveen (2008: 41) argued convincingly one should not abandon the term as there exists an already vast body of research. In addition, the wording “*fear of crime*” seems to appeal to many people and groups.

Traditional approach

An example for a traditional definition of fear of crime is given by Hirtenlehner (2003: 120) as he breaks it down to an emotional reaction towards delinquent behavior that is perceived as a personal risk. Hence, this approach does not take the third part of the psychological model into account.

Experienced vs. expressed fear

Some researchers (Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 528) overcome this tight definition. Reuband (2009: 237 – 238) for instance offers an interesting division of the fear of crime concept where he refers to an individual fear of crime with a personal character similar to the traditional one. This model has been in the focus of many academic studies. In addition, Reuband is convinced about the existence of a so called social fear of crime that rather describes a cross-social phenomenon. Farrall et al (2006: 1 ff.) are in line with Reuband but introduce new termini. The individual fear is termed “*experienced fear*” as it relates to “real crime” - thus to specific moments of anxiety. In contrast to that, the so called “*expressive fear*” refers to concerns about broader social issues and expresses concerns about social cohesion and moral consensus.

Personal understanding

Within the framework of this thesis the aforementioned broader conception of fear of crime in the sense of Farrall and Reuband will be applied. Hence, fear of crime can have different facets – an individual one and one expressing broader social issues. Jackson et al (2004: 298 ff.) summarize it most convincingly as they describe fear of crime as an interplay of risk perception, emotion, vulnerability and the interpretation of one's environment. This also includes the reading of one's social environment as well as the physical surrounding. This approach appears most persuasive as it encompasses factors of the micro and macro level (Farall et al 2006: 31; Wilcox et al 2003: 323) and therefore allows a plurality of approaches to explain fear of crime. However, behavioral reaction will be added as these reflects the impairment of the quality of life – a concern of main importance.

2.1.2 Explanatory models

In general, one can register a clear distinction between Anglo-Saxon and German-speaking literature when it comes to factors that are assumed to lead to the emergence of fear of crime. Whereas the British-American researchers focus on meso-level factors such as the community and

neighborhood, the German speakers often emphasize the role of the macro level with its global risks and general insecurities (Gerber et al: 152). Nevertheless, some scholars also use multifactor models that work with the different approaches.

The following paragraphs contain an overview about the major explanation models of fear of crime. These are partly overlapping and none dominates (Bannister 2001: 808-809; Hirtenlehner 2003: 120; Lüdemann 2006: 287 – 288). For that reason, they are presented in a random order which does not refer to any hierarchical structure.

Victimization model

The victimization approach takes the micro-level as a point of departure and explains fear of crime as a product of victimization. Thus, a person has already become a victim of crime and therefore is afraid of an iterated crime experience. Victimization does not necessarily have to be direct but can also be an indirect one (Lüdemann: 2006: 287). This is the case if a person for instance witnesses a crime or a related person becomes a victim. However, the majority of scholars (i.a. Zarafonitou 2008: 164; Hirtenlehner 2003: 121; Reuband 2009: 239) neglect the exclusive power of explanation of the victimization model with different arguments. On the one hand, Reuband (2009: 240) states that crime is already

perceived as a “*daily risk*” and people therefore consider it as part of their reality which cannot be avoided. On the other hand, victims of crime show other ways of coping with their experiences than only fear. Taking precautions or neutralizing the incident (*cognitive dissonance reduction*) are just two alternatives that might even prevent a rising level of fear (Zarafonitou 2008: 161). Furthermore objective data reveals that only a small part of society becomes a victim of crime but the fear of crime rates are way higher. Thus, not everyone feared can have been a victim of crime beforehand (Hirtenlehner 2003: 121).

In connection with the victimization model the “*fear of crime*” paradox is an interesting concept to look at. It describes the frequently empirically stated fact that cohorts with lowest victimization risks show the highest level of fear of crime (Boers 1993: 71; Wilson 1982: 4; Covington 1991: 231 - 232). It especially applies for women and elderly who show high levels of fear but are statistically less likely to become a victim of crime than men or young people. This can most likely be explained by a higher vulnerability of these groups as they for instance sometimes feel inferior in terms of physical strength.

Disorder approach

The classical disorder approach focuses on how people experience and interpret urban space (Hirtenlehner 2008: 130). The perception of certain physical and social characteristics, the so called incivilities leads to an increased level of fear of crime. Hunter coined incivilities in 1978 as indicators of urban decay (Eifler et al 2009: 416). In connection with fear of crime incivilities show a collapse of community morals, standards and values. They are perceived as a sign for an eroding informal social control and diminishing interpersonal trust within the neighborhood. It is conveyed that no one is taking care of the environment and therefore leads to the assumption that nobody might intervene in case of danger. Incivilities can either be aesthetical detractions such as graffiti or litter, unpleasant contacts with persons like youth gangs, beggars, drunken people or things that pose a risk to one’s health like needles or condoms (Oberwittler 2008: 227). According to Reuband (2009: 243) physical disorganization contributes less than social incivilities to the emergence of fear.

Broken-Windows-Theory

The disorder approach is based on Wilson and Kelling’s „Broken-window“ theory which was published in 1982. It draws a link between crime and disorder on the community level.

The name derives from its main line of thought:

“If a window is broken and left unrepaired all of the rest of the windows will be broken soon”

(Wilson/ Kelling 1982: 3).

The perception of a broken window is interpreted as a sign of normlessness and a pre-stage of crime. As a consequence inhabitants will withdraw from public space and use the streets less intense. The decrease of social control now really occurs and thus more windows will be broken. If worst comes to worst people even move out and new people arrive in a community characterized by anonymity and weakened informal social control. The theory is not limited to broken windows as incivilities but also includes others such as littering or public drinking (Wilson/ Kelling 1982: 5). The process explained cannot only happen in dilapidated areas but also in more affluent ones.

Eifler et al (2009: 417) remark that the influence of incivilities as signs of disorder on fear of crime is not undisputed among scholars. Kanan and Pruitt (2002: 530) for instance recognize a link between incivilities and the perception of risk. Boers however reflects on it even further and is aware of the fact that fear of crime needs the perception of risk and an emotional reaction as well

(Nonnenmacher 2007: 497) – just in line with parts of the psychological emergence model. Thus Boers acknowledges only an indirect influence of disorder on fear of crime. Hirtenlehner (2008: 127) disapproves the classical disorder theory as an explanation model for fear of crime. Despite these disaccords, the disorder approach seems to find much more approval in the scientific community than the victimization model (i.a. Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 71). However, critics arise that disorder in urban space is not enough to explain fear of crime solely but suggest a focus on social factors (Oberwittler 2003: 45).

Social disintegration model

The social disintegration approach assumes that there exists a relationship between fear of crime and local social capital.

The concept of local social capital covers the dimensions of contacts to neighbors, interpersonal trust, social cohesion and collective efficacy (Lüdemann 2006: 288).

The last-mentioned describes the common informal social control of a community.

Lüdemann (2005: 50) distinguishes between bonding social capital that can be found within one neighborhood and bridging social capital which can exist between different neighborhoods and strata of society. Local social capital is of

special importance if the individual is unable to exercise control alone and thus belongs to the group of vulnerable. Even if the own coping abilities are weak, a strong local social capital is implying informal control in the neighborhood, support structure for coping with social problems, sense of familiarity (Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 531 ff.) and hence can decrease the individual's fear of crime (Eriksson 2008: 15-16). According to this theory fear arises due to missing (integration in) local networks, weak community organization and poor neighborhood amenities (Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 76 – 77). It supposes that low local social capital leads to a decreased social control which results in incivilities and in a final result in fear of crime (Eifler et al 2009: 416). Jane Jacobs (1961: 36) already called for “*eyes on the street*” as a tool of social control in order to improve the perception of security.

In reverse, the level of fear of crime decreases the more a person is involved into the community. Bellair (1991: 680) doubts that a high frequency of social contacts is necessary and even possible in nowadays society. He even favors “*weak ties*” as these also can contribute to the collective efficacy. As already shown, the social disintegration model is strongly connected with the disorder approach as incivilities are perceived as signs for a diminished informal social

control and once again can lead to fear of crime (Covington 1991: 232; Boers 1993: 72; Hirtenlehner in Kury 2008: 313; Nonnenmacher 2007: 494).

Research could neither proof nor deny the importance of the model in unison. Several researchers approve it (i.a. Nonnenmacher 2007: 497 – 498), others are denying it (Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 545) and still others only state an indirect effect of social disintegration on fear of crime (Eriksson 2008: 15 -16). But the fact that for instance the German government focuses with its comprehensive program “*Socially Integrative City*” (Soziale Stadt) on strengthening the social capital in deprived neighborhoods, approves a certain acceptance of the concept. In how far it contributes to a lower level of fear of crime, will be discussed with the help of empirical data in chapter 5.

Generalization thesis

The generalization approach considers fear of crime not as a rational response to posed risks but as a sign of deeper insecurity (Hirtenlehner 2003: 162; Reuband 2009: 242). The phenomenon therefore is transcending the area of crime (Sessar 2008: 29). Hence, it is more a social problem than a personal condition (Zarafonitou 2008: 159). The idea proceeds on the assumption

of fear of crime being a “*facet of general insecurities and as a result of social transitions*” (Hirtenlehner 2003: 122/ 2009: 16). Other aspects of nowadays general insecurity include social fears, personal fears, disorder and fear of crime (Hirtenlehner 2008: 149). In this model fear of crime is inseparable of other forms of insecurity which can be of social, cultural, economical and political nature (Kury 2003: 10). But why do people actually project their general fears such as fear of becoming unemployed or losing the current social status onto crime? First of all, intangible fears become nameable and people have something concrete to express (Hollway 1997: 265).

Secondly, fear of crime can be a way to express dissatisfaction about living conditions towards the administrative and political levels. Deriving from that the ordering character of fear of crime for measurements and policies becomes clear (Hirtenlehner 2009: 17; Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 75; Zarafonitou 2008: 159). Interestingly, the generalization thesis has mainly been used by the German speaking part of academia (Gerber et al 2010: 151) which might be explained by the strong social changes since 1989.

Other models

As already indicated, fear of crime is a complex phenomenon and offers

a variety of explanation models. However, the above mentioned are the most frequent and relevant ones according to the basis literature on fear of crime. Nonetheless, two further approaches that can be of relevance for this thesis will be mentioned.

On the one hand, the social status can be of importance. Empirical research states that inhabitants with social problems or less education show higher level of fear than better-off (Covington 1991: 238 ff.; Pantazis 2000: 420; Oberwittler 2003: 43; Nonnenmacher 2007: 501; Brå 2008: 9/15; Hirtenlehner 2009: 19). It is assumed that these people are more vulnerable and therefore show difficulties to cope with risks. Furthermore low social capital, lack of social control and the high share of foreigners are associated with this so called “*precariat thesis*”.

On the other hand, the closely related presence of “the stranger” is a point of departure for understanding the phenomenon (i.a. Lupton 1991: 13 ff.; Lüdemann 2006: 298; Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 530). The confrontation with difference or sometimes even clash of cultures makes people afraid of the unknown and unpredictable. Hence, this skeptical attitude makes it even more difficult to agree upon common norms and values. If these are not given no strong local social capital is able to arise and the level of fear

increases (Covington 1991: 238). Summarizing the models presented, one can conclude that there is no single explanation for the emergence of fear of crime.

2.1.3 Measurement of fear of crime

The measurement of fear of crime holds an extensive part in the academic discourse. Discussions reveal that no method is generally accepted yet and objections are raised concerning every approach. In general, there are two distinctive ideas towards measuring fear of crime: the quantitative and the qualitative one. Most of the times the reliability and validity of data retrieved are in question. Before showing their unique advantages and disadvantages, the origin of measuring fear of crime will be presented.

Standard indicator

In the 1960ies, US-American researchers developed the so-called “*standard item*” or “*standard indicator*”. The name is misleading as it does not originate from characteristics as high quality and precise measurement but its extensive use in empirical research over the past decades

(Kury 2003: 10; Reuband 2009: 238). The standard item asks whether there is an area in the respondent’s neighborhood where he would not go to alone at night. A reformulated version inquires:

“How safe do you feel or would you feel being alone in your neighborhood after dark?”

The question has been criticized for its general and rather unspecific character as it does not ask for crime directly (Reuband 2000: 185; Kury 2003: 10; Kanan/ Pruitt: 528; Jury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 55). However, Reuband (2000: 191) admits that the majority of respondents actually make the connection towards crime. Kanan and Pruitt (2002: 528) fault that the standard item does not capture dimensions of a broader defined fear of crime such as social fears. Further critique includes the remark whether this kind of question is asking for an emotional reaction or just an evaluation of the perceived risk of crime as not every risk perception leads to fear of crime (Pantazis 2000: 418; Kanan/ Pruitt 2002: 528).

The validity of the standard item can also be challenged as crime often does not happen during nighttime exclusively. Therefore a certain risk should in all objectivity also exist during daytime. Notwithstanding, one should be aware of fear of crime

being subjective by definition. All in all, one might doubt that one can capture the complexity of fear of crime with one single question.

Quantitative vs. qualitative approach

In general quantitative methods are known to lead to stronger fears than qualitative interviews in case one consults the same person (Sessar 2008: 25 ff.). The problem of many quantitative measurements is their standard and closed character (Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 53) which results in an overrating of fear due to a given choice of answers. Farrall et al (2006: 1) name that an “*invocation of attitude*” as the interviewee is sort of led to express something he “*hardly experiences with any frequency*”.

However, in most cases the focus lies on quantitative instead of qualitative methods (Lupton 1999: 2). The increased amount of work, limited time and financial resources can explain this model of choice.

Problems of measurement

In addition to having the choice between either a quantitative survey or qualitative interviews other problems occur concerning the measurement of fear of crime. In general, methods measuring the level of fear of crime include an overestimation of frequency of fear experiences (Jackson 2004: 299).

Another frequent distortion is a non-attitude on behalf of the respondents (Kury/ Obergfell-Fuchs 2008: 77).

This behavior describes respondents who only have vague ideas about crime. In order to give an answer generally accessible information (e.g. media; friends and acquaintances) is expressed instead of neglecting feelings of insecurity.

To sum it up, the measurement of fear of crime is a challenge within academic research.

2.2

Crime prevention

2.2.1

Overview

One main goal of all research on fear of crime should be to prevent or at least reduce fear of crime within society. Until now, there is no such specific term as “*fear of crime prevention*” but various institutions and political levels deal with the concept of crime prevention in general. Hence, it seems reasonable to define this term first before dealing with the specifics of counter measurements against feelings of insecurity.

Definition of crime prevention

There are many definitions of the term crime prevention and so far

no unified approach, applying for all countries, exists. Therefore, the lowest common factor shall be my point of reference here - the United Nations' definition. In 2002 the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) declared that crime prevention has to be considered as

"[...] strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring and their potential harmful effects on individuals and society, including fear of crime by intervening to influence their multiple causes."

(ECOSOC resolution 2002/13)

Crime prevention approaches

Crime prevention measurements often have different starting points depending on the basic criminological theory applied. The following differentiation shall illustrate crime prevention targeting people in contrast to measurements influencing environmental factors. However, the two ideal types are often interwoven and in the field a clear distinction is often difficult.

a) Developmental approach

A distinction of crime prevention measurements in this category can be done on three levels whereas each stage focuses on a different developmental stage of crime (cf. Schwind 2007: 17).

1. **Primary prevention** aims to reduce the deeper causes of delinquent behavior. It includes actions such as improved welfare policies, drug prevention or the

promotion of the sense of right and wrong. These activities are geared towards the whole society.

2. In contrast to that, **secondary crime prevention** aims to discourage the potential offender and reduce the opportunities to commit a crime. CCTV surveillance in hotspots areas, taxi services only for women or specific changes in urban design are only a few examples of secondary crime prevention.

Whereas primary and secondary crime prevention strategies aim to prevent first-time delinquencies, **tertiary crime prevention** gears towards keeping the delinquent from reoffending. This can for instance be done through probation service or the execution of a prison sentence.

b) Situational crime prevention

The so called situational crime prevention can mainly be found in the category of secondary crime prevention. It approaches the problem of crime by focusing on the opportunity to commit a crime. Certain physical conditions as well as lifestyles might convey that committing the crime is a good choice as there is a suitable target as for instance an old wealthy woman carrying jewelry without protection – Felson's and Cohen's routine activity theory (1979). Another criminological basis of situational crime prevention is Cornish's and Clarke's rational

choice approach (1986) who assumed that the criminal offender is taking a decision which appears rational to him to engage in specific criminal acts after considering for instance the risks and rewards.

These theories can be seen as the theoretical foundation of the concept of situational crime prevention which aims to *“reduce the opportunities for specific categories of crime by increasing the associated risks and reducing the rewards”* (Clarke 1995: 91). Situational crime prevention has often been contested for the conjecture that the strategies actually rather displace crime instead of preventing it. The most typical examples of situational crime prevention are CCTV surveillance and changes urban design.

One of the first who drew a connection between architecture and crime was Oscar Newman with the *“defensible space”* concept of 1972 that is based on an empirical study. A defensible space should *“create the physical impression of a social fabric that defends itself”* (Newman 1972:3). Hence, the main idea behind is to increase feelings of responsibility with the help of design features. It is assumed that people who feel responsible take care of their neighborhood and intervene in case of incivilities or the intrusion of strangers. Hence, an urban decay as Wilson and Kelling

propose can be counteracted just by physical interventions.

The architect Newman based his crime-inhibiting concept on the principles of natural surveillance, territoriality, image and milieu (). The model is limited to physical interventions.

The CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) approach's inventor Jeffery has had the similar basic idea of design criteria by in the 1970ies. Hence, the strategies of natural access control, natural surveillance, territorial reinforcement and target hardening are part of the concept as well. Later on, community building strategies have been integrated with traditional policing methods (Altes/ Van Soomeren 1998: 1). These strategies are being carried out by the collaboration of different actors and local residents. The measurements encompass steps to improve the quality of life and creating activity space. However, attention should be paid to the acceptance of these spaces on behalf of residents.

Therefore, the CPTED approach also calls for a social program which includes for instance education facilities which might be a necessary addition in deprived neighborhoods. A

special point of interest in areas with a high share of adolescents is the facilitation of leisure activities targeting this group. Altes and Van Soomeren point out that they should have an allocated
“[...] place to meet that isn’t organized. The only thing that should be organized is the choice of the right location and the design of the shelter”.

(Altes/ Van Soomeren 1998: 3)

A typical CPTED process should also include the planning of further maintenance and more generally speaking a development process in collaboration with the neighborhood. The role of the police within CPTED is to support safety networks, to install community boards and to remove jeopardizing elements from the community such as drug dealers.

To sum it up, CPTED overcomes the initial limitation to physical strategies and is aware of the fact that crime is not a technical but a social problem, too.

2.2.2

Crime prevention in Austria/ Vienna

The following chapter illustrates the general state of the art concerning crime prevention in Austria in general and Vienna in specific.

In contrast to crime prevention pioneer countries as Great Britain or

the Netherlands, crime prevention is a relatively neglected topic within Austria’s political and societal sphere (Stangl/ Zetinegg n.s.: 3). There is no legal framework on neither political level that deals with a broader crime prevention approach or at least considers it to be a task of importance. Stummvoll (2004: 13) concludes that

*“Prävention grundsätzlich Privatsache der Bürger ist, und die Polizei diese dabei zu unterstützen hat“.*³

Police

Paragraph 25 of the security police law (§25 Sicherheitspolizeigesetz) is pointing to this crime preventive task on behalf of the police. The Austrian police express their official will towards collaborative work but hardly any is carried out in reality. If so, it only takes place on an informal basis (Stummvoll 2004: 14/40). Hence, the crime preventive work on behalf of the executive power is limited to two main fields – the information center of the criminal investigation department (*Kriminalpolizeilicher Beratungsdienstes - KBD*) and the liaison officers (*Kontaktbeamte*). The small unit (in terms of number of staff) of the information center of the criminal investigation department started in 1974 and mainly advises a self-selective group

³In principle, prevention is a private matter. However, the police have to support residents in their crime prevention activities. (own translation)

of people seeking help and advice concerning the prevention of drugs, sexual crime, violence and property crime (Stummvoll 2004: 23). As a consequence, the majority of people are not within reach as a proactive behavior on behalf of residents is needed in order to pass on the specific knowledge.

The concept of the liaison officers has been initiated at around the same time but their scope of duty differs significantly. A common police officer has to fulfill the tasks of repression and prevention at the same time. Since 1984, there is a special group of officers who focus on youth (*Jugendkontaktbeamte*). The liaison officers are often asked for help in order to mediate intercultural or neighborly conflicts but due to a lack of training and motivation they hardly ever contribute to anything like social cohesion.

According to Stangl (n.s.: 4) the concept is not well accepted and respected among members of the police which is reflected in their motivation to conduct the job. Stummvoll (2004: 41) explains this by organizational-administrative reasons as well as specific cultural attitudes.

Austrian Center for Crime Prevention

The national wide acting association “Österreichisches Zentrum für

Kriminalprävention” mainly aims to fight violence, abuse and addictions. Differently as its name indicates, its activities only focus on conducting programs at schools and kindergardens. A scientific or networking dimension is not part of their scope.

Other actors

In addition, there exist of course other actors who are dealing with crime prevention in its broadest sense.

The Viennese Team Focus is for instance a small group of social workers who are observing, analyzing and trying to find solutions to conflicts and social problems in public spaces such as parks or metro stations.

Other institutions and initiatives often focus on the prevention of drugs and violence while frequently targeting at offenders at risk such as youth or other residents of deprived areas. However, there is no such thing as an official crime prevention network in Austria where best practice approaches are exchanged, collaborations enforced and which classifies crime prevention as a matter of importance within Austrian society.

Summary

The information gathered leads to the conclusion that Austria is an undeveloped country in terms of crime prevention. Stummvoll summarizes it to the point while saying:

„[...] die Verantwortung für Sicherheitsaufgaben wird [...] an den staatlichen Souverän übertragen, was dazu führt, dass Eigenvorsorge und Eigeninitiative für kommunale Präventionsmaßnahmen in dieser Gesellschaft unterentwickelt bleiben.“⁴

(Stummvoll 2004: 41)

2.2.3 Crime prevention in Germany/ Berlin

The “First Periodical Report on Crime and Crime Control” by the Federal Ministry of Justice and of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (2001) encapsulates the German approach to crime prevention as:

„Erfolgreiche Kriminalprävention ist eine gesamtgesellschaftliche Aufgabe.“⁵

(Federal Ministry of Justice et al. 2001: 457)

Consequently, crime prevention in Germany is carried out at all different levels: the national, the federal and the local one. In general, measurements at these levels can

be categorized according to the developmental crime prevention model (see chapter 2.2.1) and include for instance youth policies or criminal prosecutions.

The report also draws attention to the aspect of fear of crime as it asks for crime prevention strategies that aim to reduce the objective risk of victimization as well as influencing the conditions for the emergence of fear of crime (2006: 459). The subsequent report of 2006 is even calling for evaluations of the “*effect of community-based crime prevention on the reduction of feelings of insecurity*” (2006: 483 – 484).

Community-based crime prevention

Community-based crime prevention (*Kommunale Kriminalprävention*) is given special importance in Germany as it is taken for granted that most crime is rooted and conducted locally. A strong focus on the local level shall respond to specifics of the community. The concept can be categorized as a situational crime prevention strategy (Stummvoll 2003: 11).

The idea of community-based crime prevention has been inspired by the “*community policing*” trend that started in the 1980ies in the USA. During the early 1990ies crime prevention in Germany changed to be perceived as cross-societal task

⁴ The responsibility for security is transferred to the state. As a consequence, individual arrangements and proactivity towards community-based crime prevention remain underdeveloped in this society. (own translation)

⁵ Successful crime prevention is a task for the society as a whole. (own translation)

where the local level holds main importance (Wurzbacher 2008: 152). In addition, a change of attitude towards the police being the only institution with the task of ensuring a safe environment and society took place. Until then, local governments' housing, social and youth policies already caused crime preventive effects but these were more or less by-products that have not been planned directly (Feldes, 2008: 256).

Community-based crime prevention embraces the basic principle that local social powers pick up local problems of public security, develop solutions collaboratively and implement these in interdisciplinary working groups. The majority of initiatives deal with crime related to youth, drugs and public spaces. An estimated number of 2000 German cities and municipalities have installed committees of communication and cooperation with the police, local governments, politics, justice, economy, social services and other actors in order to contribute to improve the local quality of life. Most of the successful local crime prevention bodies pursue a cross-departmental approach where all kinds of local powers are involved.

Examples for local crime prevention bodies in Berlin are crime prevention councils (*Präventionsrat*) even though there are only a total of three in the whole city. However,

the Neighborhood Councils (*Quartiersräte*) within the program Socially Integrative City (see below) can be assigned as local crime prevention bodies as well.

Federal Committee Berlin against Violence

The majority of federal states (*Bundesländer*) in Germany have installed federal crime prevention councils (*Landespräventionsräte*). The City of Berlin instead has established the Landeskommission Berlin gegen Gewalt as the central crime prevention body which aims to reduce crime and violence. It links crime prevention actors, informs the public about activities related to the field and especially focuses on the prevention of violence at schools and juvenile delinquency.

Police

The Berlin police corps shows a broad variety of activities related to the prevention of crime. This includes special programs towards property crime, elderly, domestic violence, violence in public space, victim protection (including homosexuals), youngsters, violence at schools, stalking and many more. However, the police are limited towards interventions in urban planning processes since 2002 when the status of a public agency (*Träger*

öffentlicher Belange) has been lost. Before, property developers were obliged to include the police into their building projects through the accessibility of plans. This opened the opportunity for remarks towards aspects that might pose a problem of urban security and can be prevented during planning processes already.

The framework of the so called Berlin model (*Berliner Modell*) of 1998 describes the role of the police to be of a citizen-oriented character. Its crime preventive element is the increased frequency of police presence in the neighborhoods which is realized with patrols on foot and via public transport (Pütter 1999: n.s.).

Socially Integrative City

The Socially Integrative City (*Soziale Stadt*) program has been initiated in 1999 by the national government in collaboration with the Federal States in order to counteract the decay of socially disadvantaged areas. Neighborhoods have been chosen along socio-demographic areas which indicate processes as for instance social segregation, discrimination and others pointing towards deprivation. Even though crime preventive effects are not named as a primary goal of the program, it contributes to many aspects that are given importance by criminological theory.

The main tool in order to achieve goals like social cohesiveness, the promotion of ethnical and social integration or the sense of ownership is the so called Neighborhood Management (*Quartiersmanagement*). Specially allocated neighborhood management teams are most of the time located in the center of the area and take on a cross-linking role. The concept of the Socially Integrative City takes upon the German approach of crime prevention as a joint task and therefore institutions like housing societies, neighborhood centers, local businesses and school are included into the activities conducted.

Another tool within the program are the Neighborhood Councils (*Quartiersräte*) which consist of interested local residents. These bodies form part of decision-making processes such as the allocation of program funds and therefore add the participative dimension to the Socially Integrative City program.

However, Wurzbacher (2008: 210) notices a lack of a detailed adjustment of the Neighborhood Management Offices towards the prevention of (violent) crime. Nonetheless, the crime preventive effect can not be neglected. One can even consider the Socially Integrative city to be a community building strategy that fits into the CPTED model (see 2.2.1). It supports the community as it “*helps to organize people, and literally offers*

a roof for neighborhood activities and contacts” (Altes/ Van Soomeren 1998: 2). Furthermore the tool of the Neighborhood Council supports the “involvement of local people in the planning of activity spaces” (ibid.). As a consequence, “it is both a condition of and a contribution to the process of community building” (ibid.).

Conclusion

An analysis of data concerning crime in prevention in Germany/ Berlin reveals a strong focus on social measurements in order to reduce (fear of) crime (Schubert 2007: 34). Situational crime prevention is conducted to a lesser extent. However, crime prevention is not perceived as the duty of a single institution in Germany. Stummvoll gives an interesting perception of what character successful crime prevention as a task for the society as a whole would be:

„Wenn City-Management und Kriminalprävention zu Synonymen werden, und der Kriminalpräventionsbegriff weitgehend im Begriff Lebensqualität aufgeht, dann wird dem Thema Sicherheit eine Dimension zuerkannt, sodass man mit Recht von Kriminalprävention als gesamtgesellschaftlicher Aufgabe sprechen kann.“⁶

(Stummvoll 2003: 12)

From the plain information given concerning the approach towards crime prevention in Germany, we can assume that the abovementioned statement is valid - or at least the main line of thought gears towards that direction. If it is also true for the Obstalleesiedlung and which effects it has on fear of crime, will be discussed later.

2.3 Fear of crime prevention

Even though fear of crime is mentioned in the ECOSOC resolution 2002/13 (see 2.2.1), it is in general a rather ignored aspect within academic research. In contrast to that politicians often take it into focus or at least regard it as a side benefit or an aim in addition to declining numbers of crime. But how shall policies work if there is no reliable basic knowledge on preventive measures on behalf of the scientific community?

Besides the already mentioned neglect, a few scholars proposed some strategies to fight fear of crime in their papers.

Hirtenlehner (2003: 162 ff.), who is an advocate of the generalization thesis, asks for measurements at two levels. On the one hand, policies should be taken on the global and national level to fight general insecurities. On the other hand, local policies

⁶In case that city management and crime prevention become synonymous as well as crime prevention a synonym for quality of life, then the topic of security has reached a dimension where we can talk of crime prevention as a task for the society as a whole. (own translation)

should focus on the creation of informal social control and collective efficacy. Thus local networks should be strengthened and social disintegration prevented.

The Swedish Crime Prevention Council (Eriksson 2008: 16) educes from a study on segregation and fear of crime that the level of participation should be increased in order to reduce the level of fear of crime. Furthermore, Eriksson demands measurements that “*deal with conditions that affect people’s perceived and actual vulnerability*” (ibid.).

Jackson’s (2004: 310 – 311) focus lies on tackling anti-social behavior and other signals of illness of the community. Hence, he acknowledges the disorder as well as the social disintegration theory to be of high relevance.

This overview of proposals on behalf of academia concerning preventing fear of crime shall illustrate that policies can have a broad character and shouldn’t concentrate on one aspect only. However, there should be awareness concerning the fact that there is no perfect solution to the fear of crime no matter whichever strategies you might take (Lupton 2000: 32). Nonetheless, academia could at least change its focus towards taking the prevention of fear of crime into consideration for their research.

03

Case studies

The Transdanubian neighborhood Trabrenngründe in Vienna (Austria) and the Obstalleesiedlung in Berlin-Spandau (Germany) have been chosen as case study neighborhoods in order to analyze the phenomenon fear of crime in a comparative manner.

3.1 Selection of case study neighborhoods

The two case study areas have been selected along different criteria that helped to structure the selection procedure.

Language

One preliminary demarcating element was the matter of language. Due to the probability of problems arising regarding translating a standardized questionnaire and then comparing these results, the selection has been limited to German-speaking areas only.

Physical structure

In terms of physical structure, high-rise housing estates with varying numbers of floors have been selected. Both areas have been built in the period of modernist planning between the 1960ies and 1970ies. The seven to



Picture 1: Berlin, Obstalleesiedlung
(source:www.bing.com)

fifteen-stories Trabrenngründe have been built between 1973 and 1977 which is similar to the construction period of the Obstalleesiedlung. The two-floor to seventeen-floor housing estate inhabited since 1975.

The predominant type of building with its high-rise character has often been criticized because of a lack of human dimension. In his book *“Life between buildings”* of 1987, Jan Gehl states that arrangement and physical structure of housing estates of that era prevent social interaction and stem



Picture 2: Vienna, Trabrenngründe (source:www.bing.com)

the so called “life between buildings”. In his opinion, multiple levels, large spaces, wide streets and tall buildings as they can be found in both areas convey a cold and impersonal surrounding. In addition, the senses and communication between people is made difficult as the physical arrangements prevent visual and auditory contact (Gehl 1987: 52 ff.). However, both neighborhoods still impress with their relatively high share of common green space (see picture 1+2).

Location

The two neighborhoods are located in the periphery of the city. The Trabrenngründe can be found in the north-east of Vienna’s city centre. The neighborhood is located

approximately 3 km away from the provincial border to Lower Austria (*Niederösterreich*).

The Obstalleesiedlung is located around 17 km westward from the geographical centre of the city and around 3 km away from the border to the federal state of Brandenburg.

Size of population

The case studies selected where requested to be of similar size in terms of population.

The Viennese census track of 2001, the only statistical data available on such a small geographical scale, indicated 9.004 inhabitants for the Trabrenngründe.

The Social Urban Development Monitoring 2010 with the geographical reference system



Picture 3: Berlin, Obstalleesiedlung
(source:www.bing.com)



Picture 4: Vienna, Trabrenngründe
(source:www.bing.com)

of “Living Environment Areas” (Lebensweltlich orientierte Räume - LOR) stated that 10.821 inhabitants live in the statistical sector Berlin Maulbeerallee (key 05020523) where the Obstalleesiedlung occupies most of the area.

Problem areas

The judgment concerning a certain degree of problematic nature of the case study areas was a difficult

undertaking. In the case of Vienna, the author drew upon the findings of the international study “*Insecurities in European Cities. Crime-related fears Within the Context of New Anxieties and Community-based Crime Prevention*” which classified the Transdanubian area to be perceived as a problematic area concerning youth and social infrastructure by media and politics (Sessar et. al 2007: 76).

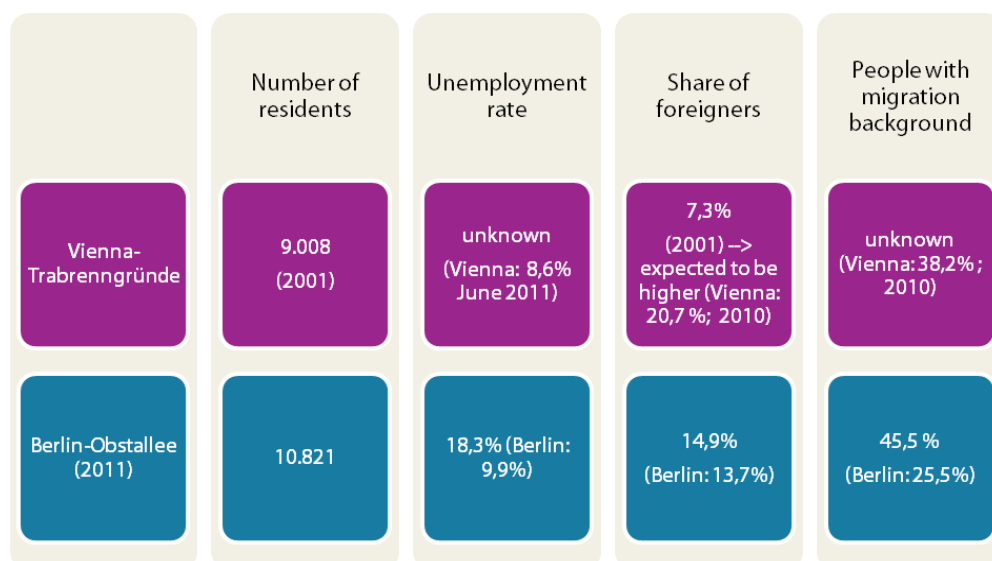


Figure 1: Comparison of general data – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (data: Statistik Austria, Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2010; own layout)

The Obstalleesiedlung has been integrated into the program Socially Integrative City (see chapter 2.2.3) in 2005 which gives evidence that it is a socially disadvantaged area. The area is classified level two (out of three) which refers to medium intervention.

Other criteria

The citation of further criterions (see figure 1) would appear reasonable but because of availability and comparability of data they can't be utilized as the aforementioned. Noteworthy are the share of foreigners and people with migration background in both neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the Viennese data of 2001 is out of date and does not depict policy changes in terms of accessibility to the council housing estates in Austria. In 2001, the percentage of foreigners among residents was only 7,3% but since 2006 the social housing market has been opened up to foreigners. Hence, one could assume that the share of foreigners has been rising enormously since then. In addition, the quota of citizenship by naturalization has been rising between 2001 from 5,3 naturalizations per 100 inhabitants to 5,8 in 2004. This probably has led to rising shares of people with migration background as well.

3.2 Vienna Trabrenngründe

Location

The Viennese case study Trabrenngründe is situated in the 22nd district in the north-east of Austria's capital, more precisely in Kagran. The area analyzed is bordered by the Lieblgasse in the north, the Hugo-Wiener-Weg in the east, by the eponymous Rennbahnweg in the south and the Austerlitzgasse in the west (see picture 5).

History

The name of the neighborhood Trabrenngründe derives from trotting tracks that were to be found initially on the grounds of the housing estate before the 1920ies. In the 1970ies, the City of Vienna constructed the largest housing development of that time on this greenfield site. From 1973 to 1977 2.424 new housing units have been built in order to fight the problem of housing shortage.

Physical structure

The housing complex is composed of six spacious courtyards that are arranged around an elongated courtyard. Five of these are closed in but accessible via passages from all directions. This type of construction



Picture 5: Trabrenngründe case study area (sources:www.bing.com)

leads to an intensification of noise-related problems such as echo. The courtyards feature many green spaces including lawn, bushes, trees and many paths. In addition, there are a few playgrounds and seating possibilities.

The buildings complexes of the Trabrenngründe lack a common height but instead the different numbers of floors break up the usual strictness. In combination with different colored facades a character rich in variety is achieved even though the general housing type might propose a more homogenous and dull appearance.

In order to fulfill the demands of local amenities, a shopping center is situated between the northern

and southern row of courtyards.

It is designed as a promenade and sheltered by a glass and steel construction. However, in summer the construction affects the quality of stay negatively as it accumulates the heat.

The courtyards are car free zone's and parking is possible all around the area as well as in underground parking below the shopping center.

Infrastructure

Since 2006 the neighborhood is well connected to the metro network due to the extension of line U1. The station allows residents to reach the historical city center within 15 minutes and therefore contributes



Picture 6: TG inner courtyard (own picture)

enormously to an extension of their spatial mobility. Another mode of transport is the bus line 27A but main importance is given to the metro.

Housing market

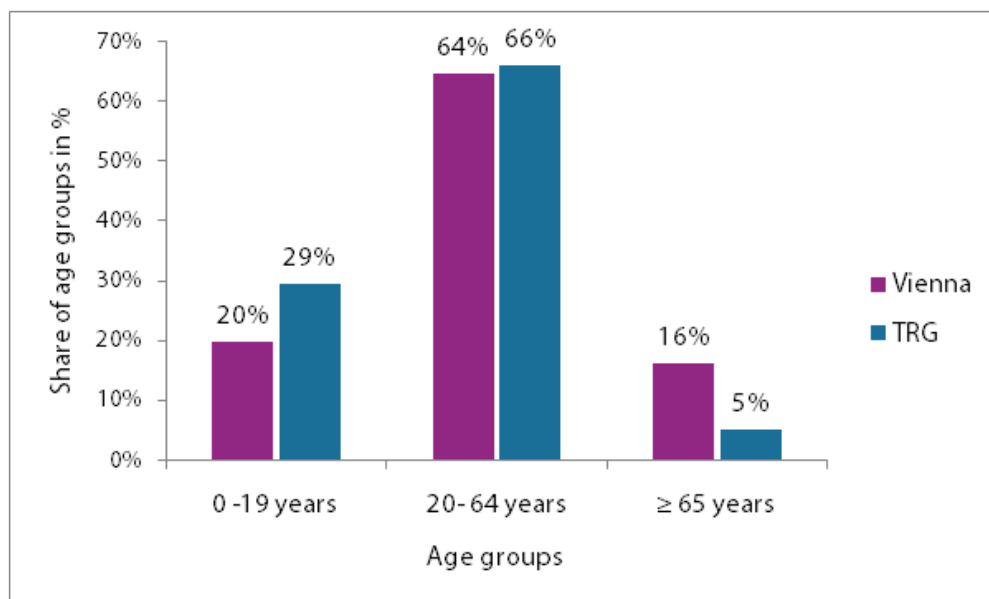
All of the council housing apartments (*Gemeindebau*) of the Trabrenngründe are owned by the non-profit municipal body “*Stadt Wien -Wiener Wohnen*” and fall under the general rent law. In 2006 the access to these housing units changed as the social housing market was opened to non-Austrian citizens due to pressures from an EU ruling. Before 2006, officially only Austrian citizens could apply for social housing. Since 2006 however, non-Austrian citizens with a long-term residence permit can apply for social housing (Reinprecht 2007: 40). This had a strong impact

on the composition of the population. Reinprecht refers to the emergence of intercultural conflicts between residents and newcomers. If this is also the case in Vienna will be discussed in chapter 5.

Population structure

The following data is based on the micro census of 2001 for the registration district 80 (*Zählsprenkel*) where the Trabrenngründe are part of. It should be clarified that the registration district 80 covers more than the actual size of the Trabrenngründe but it is the smallest statistical unit available. The area has been home to 9.004 people in 2001 that lived in 2.424 housing units. In terms of age, the Trabrenngründe are in comparison to the whole city of Vienna a strikingly young district. Whereas the percentage of the working-age population between 20 and 64 years is nearly on the same level, other age groups show a high degree of deviation. The share of people below 20 years nearly reaches one third compared to one fifth in the Viennese average which indicates a high amount of households with many children.

Residents older than 64 years only claim a share of 5% among the whole population in the Trabrenngründe. This very low percentage might be due to the fact that the first residents moved in around 1974. They might

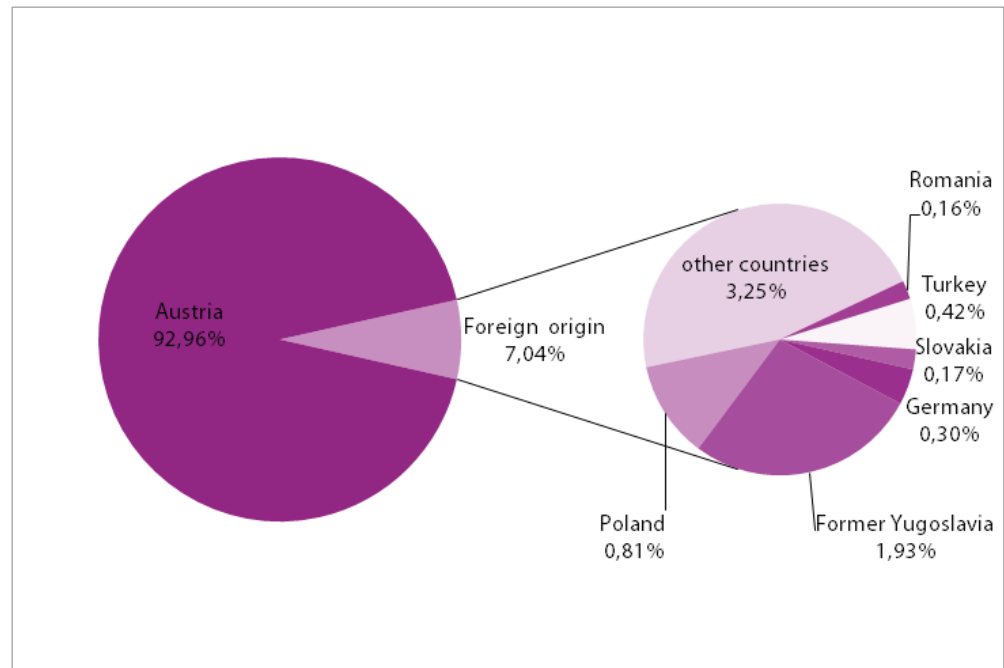


Graph 4: Age structure - Vienna vs. Trabrenngründe , 2001
(Data: Statistik Austria. Austria Population Census 2001; own layout)

have been young families at that time which moved in before or around reaching the age of 30. Therefore, only a small group of them was older than 64 years in 2001. Of course, one can assume that this changed since the last census track as these people have reached their retirement age by now. However, the Trabrenngründe should rather be considered a dormitory town at the edge of the city then a paradise for pensioners due to a lack of entertaining amenities and nature. Therefore, only a few are expected to move to the area after their retirement or even stay longer. It would be interesting to see the data of today in order to analyze whether first movers stay in the neighborhood.

In 2001 only around 7% of the Trabrenngründe's residents were

Non-Austrians. This very low number can be traced back to the limited accessibility to social housing at that time. The origin of the people moving in after 2006 probably did not change that notably. Hence, one can assume to be able to rely on the 2001 data. Back then, the majority of foreign population immigrated from one of the Former Yugoslavian countries (Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Montenegro) as war refugees. Other foreign majorities in Trabrenngründe come from Poland and Turkey. The remaining groups come from different countries of origin and do not represent any majority group.



Graph 5: Foreigners in Trabrenngründe, 2001 (Data: Statistik Austria. Austria Population Census 2001; own layout)

Social & cultural infrastructure

The Viennese case study neighborhood is equipped with three kindergartens within its borders and two more nearby. Furthermore, one secondary school can be found just close by as well.

Since 2010 the wohnpartner office overtakes important tasks within the Trabrenngründe. The neighborhood service center acts on behalf of the city of Vienna in order to strengthen the community and improve the quality of life for the individual as well as for the general public. Its activities range from conflict management for disputes among neighbors to community work. The main strategy is to help residents to overcome their inhibitions of trying to solve conflicts

– an attitude which is especially needed in case of interethnic conflicts. Projects carried out vary from court festivals, a local choir, instructed chess matches to improve intergenerational relationships to beautification activities in the shopping arcade in collaboration with residents.

Activities for youth are quite rare and mainly limited to an adventure playground and a youth center. If one considers the high proportion of nearly 30% of residents below 20 years, the quantity of offers appears insufficient.

Further social institutions can be taken from Table 2.

In terms of culture, nothing can be found in the area which forces their residents to either leave the area or give up cultural activities.

INSTITUTION	FOCUS
Wohnpartner	Neighborhood counseling/ community work
MAG 11 - Elternberatung	Parent counseling
Aktivspielplatz	Adventure playground
JZ Rennbahnweg	Youth center
Nachbarschaftszentrum Rennbahnweg	Neighborhood assistance/ community center

Table 2: Selection of social & cultural infrastructure in Trabrenngründe

Local Amenities

Since the early beginnings of the Trabrenngründe, a small roofed arcade offers the possibility of local supply. It is located in the center of the housing blocks and within reach from all courtyards. However, the accessibility for people with mobility problems is limited due to stairs leading to the elevated small shopping center. The Rennbahnpassage hosts around 15 shops of different kinds such as gastronomy, groceries or kiosks which are all somewhat on the lower price scale. Furthermore, most of them belong to chains and hardly any independent small shops can be found anymore. This indicates either a low purchase power among residents or that more affluent ones spend their income in more attractive shopping facilities. Agreeing with the hypothesis of a low income targeted arcade is the fact of vacant sale space.

Even though the roof offers protection in case of bad weather, the arcade is not used as a place to meet and exchange by the majority of residents.

It is rather a place of transition that most leave after they have finished their errands. The people who stay there longer can be divided into two groups. They are either adolescents who sit on the public benches or go into the internet café. Or it is the unemployed and welfare recipients who spend their days in the low-price “Stüberl” (small rooms/ snuggery).

Problematic aspects

The following problems concerning the neighborhood Trabrenngründe have been collected with the help of informal interviews and on-site visits. A few years ago, the local police station moved from its central position in the middle of the housing block (Rennbahnweg 27/3/R2) to a greenfield site just outside the housing blocks (Puchgasse 1). Even though the distance between old and new station is only 700m, the perception of police force among residents might have been distorted. The contorted court yard structure of the area does not make it easy and convenient to find help on behalf of the executive.

Besides, the sheer presence of the police is dramatically reduced and the usual interaction between residents and police force about events and facts in the neighborhood is impeded. Hence, one can assume that this had an effect on the level of fear of crime in case that the presence of police force is perceived as a contributor to feelings of security.

According to wohnpartner other problematic aspects include the level of noise and vandalism. Sound-related problems are reinforced by the already mentioned courtyard structure on the one hand. On the other hand, the location of benches near bedroom windows offers seating possibilities for the bored adolescents during nighttime from spring till autumn. This reveals a further difficulty in the Trabrenngründe – the lack of activities and future prospective for young people. Due to insufficient leisure time activities they are at risk to start the use of drugs or vandalize public space. They are forced to spend the majority of their leisure time in public space as there is not enough allocated space for youth. As a consequence, the courtyards are occupied during summer which leads to conflicts with neighboring residents. During winter, the problem is relocated to stair cases of some housing blocks as they provide shelter from the cold. This often goes along with vandalism and dirtying of these spaces which does not contribute to

good intergenerational relationships. However, wohnpartner points out that the local youth may appear aggressive but real conflicts actually only occur with non-local adolescents.

Furthermore, the low interest on behalf of tenants to participate in community building strategies might pose a problem towards the quality of life in the Trabrenngründe. Wohnpartner traces it back to a lack of multipliers among residents. If this lack of participation really poses a problem will be discussed later on.

Crime prevention strategies

The police for instance tends to perceive the Trabrenngründe as a problematic area (Brenner 2006: 39). Nonetheless, hardly any crime preventive measurements are being carried out in the Austrian case study neighborhood. However, this should just be seen in line with the general Austrian approach to crime prevention (see 2.2.2).

Of course, the few local social facilities might have crime preventive effects but there are for instance not enough institutions that take care of the high amount of young people at risk.

The wohnpartner office should be seen as an exception to the general of ignorance of crime prevention but it mainly deals with people seeking help instead of outreaching work.

However, situational crime prevention has been realized by Wiener Wohnen

as CCTV surveillance has been installed in a few garbage rooms and around the underground car park aiming at decreasing physical incivilities such as dirtiness, graffiti and vandalism.

Besides this rather technical solution to such a form of deviance, the City of Vienna already introduced the concept of *WasteWatchers* in 2008. Patrolling people in uniform, civilian dress or with a gilet are present in all parts of town including the Trabrenngründe. They have the right to impose fines in case of bulk rubbish, illegally left shopping cars, dog excrement or cigarette stubs in order to improve the cleanliness of the city.

3.3 Berlin Obstalleesiedlung

Location

The neighborhood Obstalleesiedlung is situated in Staaken which belongs to the district of Spandau in the west of Berlin.

The name-giving Obstallee functions as a north-south divide. The area analyzed is bordered by the Maulbeerallee in the north, the Blasewitzer Ring in the east, by the Heerstraße in the south and the Magistratsweg in the west.

Some borders can not be as clearly distinguished by streets therefore see picture 7 for the exact boundaries.

History

The name of the neighborhood Obstallee literally means “*boulevard of fruits*” and refers to the use of the area at the end of the 19th century.

The housing estate Obstalleesiedlung has been built on a former allotment garden area and greenfield site in the early 1970ies. The reason behind the construction of the Obstalleesiedlung was a shortage of housing in the walled-in West Berlin.

Physical structure

The housing complex Obstalleesiedlung consists of various types of buildings. Small estates of terraced houses are also situated within the area but these have not been taken into consideration for the empirical fieldwork. Most of the buildings in the Obstalleesiedlung are multilevel buildings ranging from five to ten levels. In the west of the area, five differently colored unattached high-rise buildings of seventeen floors shape the neighborhood’s appearance. Four of these are building the corner pillars for the shape of the shopping center “*Staaken Center*”.

The majority of the other complexes are serpentine-like arranged from east to west. There are no closed-in courtyards like in the Trabrenngründe

but most of the buildings are open to two sides or build three-sided courtyards. As a consequence, noise problems are not fostered by the physical structure.

The areas in between the buildings are characterized by green spaces such as lawn, bushes, trees and many paths. Furthermore playgrounds as well as a soccer cage and a skate park are to be found in the public space of the Obstalleesiedlung. Parking lots are located all around the neighborhood. The main contingent can be found along Obstallee where a spacious elevated garage has been placed.

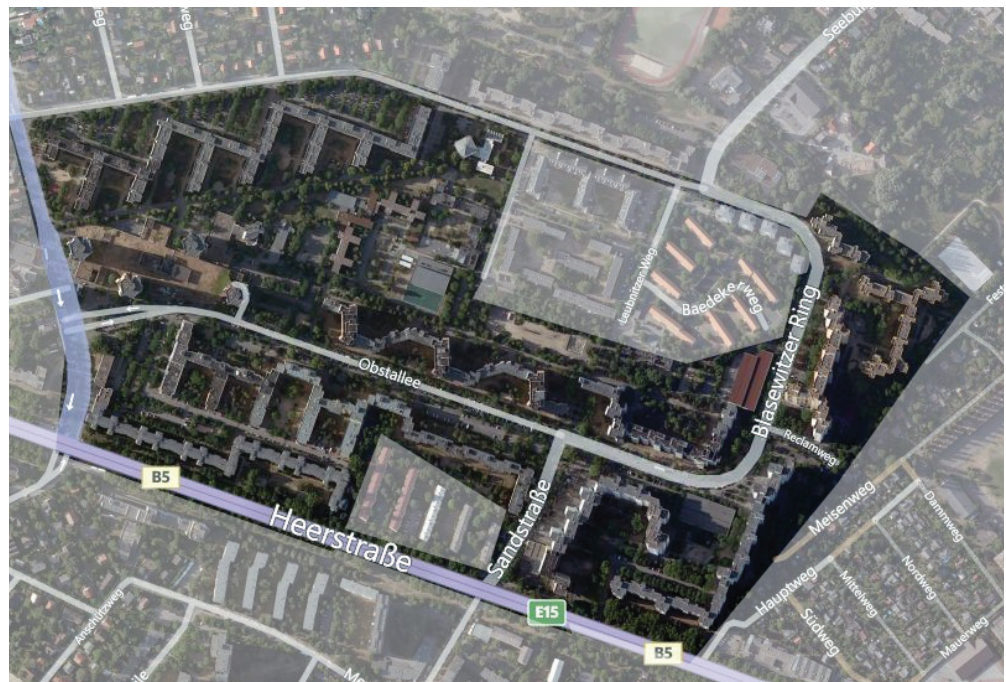
Infrastructure

The neighborhood is well connected to the bus network as the lines 137, M37, 132 and M32 pass the area. It takes approximately 15 to 20 minutes to Rathaus Spandau, the closest metro stop nearby that connects with the rest of the city.

Housing market

The housing units along Obstallee are mainly owned by two housing associations.

On the one hand, the GEWOBA, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the City of Berlin, manages 1.850 housing units in the neighborhood. On the other hand the GSW AG (stock company) holds around 2.750 units.



Picture 7: Obstalleesiedlung case study area (own picture)



Picture 8: Obstalleesiedlung inner courtyards (own picture)

The formerly public owned GSW is now property of foreign investment trusts. The numbers concerning housing units are referring to a slightly larger area but depict the shares quite well. Besides these major companies, a few smaller housing associations are managing some buildings. However, one can consider GSW and GEWOBA as the relevant housing companies.

The neighborhood management office states that segregation related to income is a problem affecting the housing market. Some perceive the quality of life to be so low that the more affluent among them move to other parts of the city. Hence, the area has to face a concentration of poverty. As a consequence, the neighborhood has to deal with serious vacancy rates which lead to a call for action

in order to gain the status of an attractive living environment – also an important fact for the profitability of housing companies. The GSW for instance tries to attract new tenants with very low rents and vouchers for furniture shops. However, the very low rent of 3€/m² (Ø Berlin 5,21€) is only fixed for three years and then the rent is lifted to another, often higher level. Hence, the affordability is caused to totter as many people who take this offer do not move there because they have a preference for the neighborhood but just because of monetary reasons. Since the Obstalleesiedlung/Spandau itself has become a gathering place of displaced people from other neighborhoods besides other estates in the periphery. A result of this rental strategy is that many tenants who take these offers



Picture 9: Obstalleesiedlung - low rental level?
(own picture)

have to move out again which results in high resident turnover rates. Finally, the feeling of social cohesion suffers, anonymity increases even further and the image of the neighborhood declines even further.

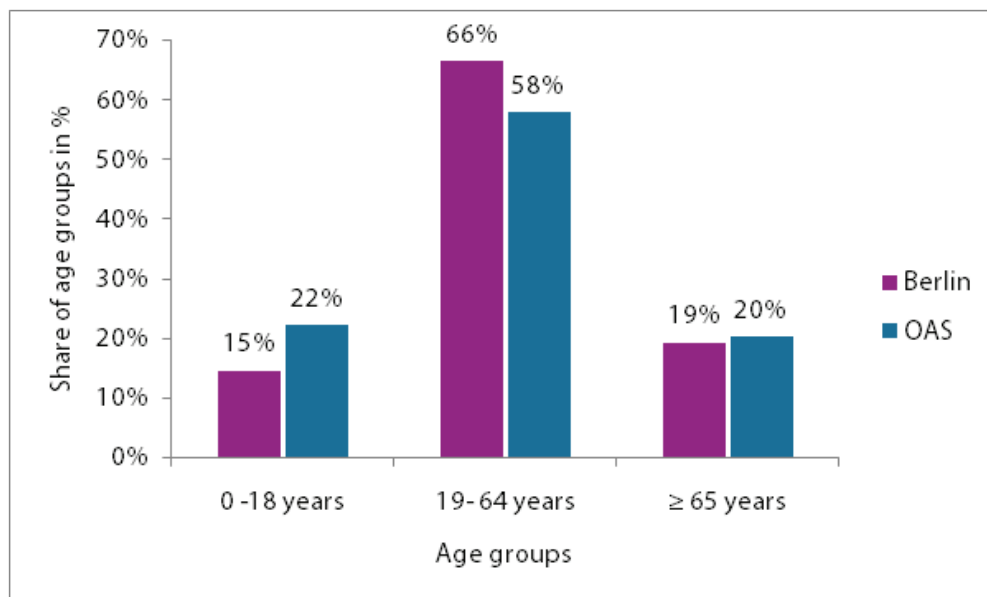
In addition to this questionable strategy on behalf of GSW, the police add that no attention seems to be paid to the allocation of housing units. More precisely, different ethnicities are brought together who somehow have problems to find common values. As a result, conflicts increase and the demand towards social infrastructure amplifies as well.

Population structure

The Social Urban Development Monitoring states 10.821 people living in 2010 in the statistical sector “*Lebensraum Maulbeerallee*” where the Obstalleesiedlung belongs to.

A comparison of the neighborhood’s age structure with the average Berlin data reveals a comparably high share of people below 19 years in the Obstalleesiedlung. Most interestingly, the share of people in their working age is lower than the Berlin average. This proposes a high percentage of single parents and/or a high number of families with more than two children. The data concerning people who are older than 64 years is on the same level in the Obstalleesiedlung like in Berlin. It indicates that first movers either stay when they reach the retirement age or that the numerous homes for elderly people attract many non-locals. The most striking specific in terms of age structure is the discrepancy between high shares of youth compared to a relatively low number within the age groups of their parents.

In 2010, 14% of inhabitants of the Obstalleesiedlung had a non-German nationality which approximately equals the Berlin average of 13,7%. However, the share of residents with migration background is even higher: in 2010 nearly every second (45,5%) inhabitant of the Obstalleesiedlung has either been born abroad or is younger than 18 years and has a foreign born parent. Interestingly, overall only every fourth person (25,5%) in Berlin has a migration background. This data suggest a trend towards segregation along ethnicity in the Obstalleesiedlung. The strongest



Graph 6: Age structure - Berlin vs. Obstalleesiedlung, 2010
(Data: Social Urban Development Monitoring 2010; own layout)

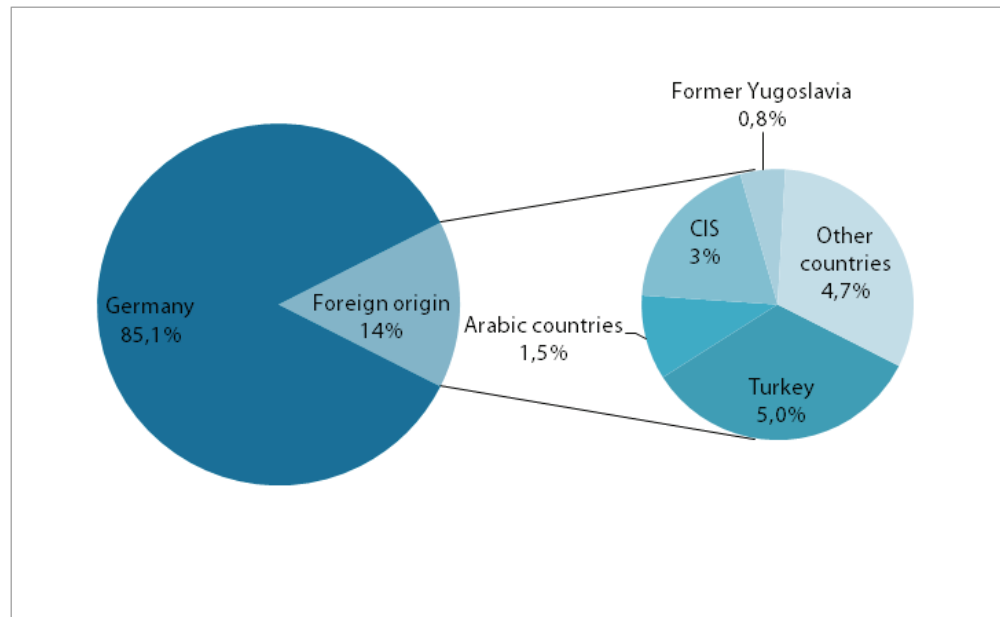
non-German group in the area comes from Turkey. This trend is in line with the Berlin case (3,2%) in general even though the share of Turkish in the Obstallee is significantly higher. Another strong ethnicity are residents from the Commonwealth of Independent States countries such as Russia or Belarus. Whereas they compose only 1% of all of Berlin inhabitants, three out of a hundred live in the Berlin-Spandau's Obstallee. Another interesting specific of the neighborhood is the relatively low share of people from former Yugoslavia (0,8%) in comparison to a Berlin average of 1,4%. Hence, one can conclude that the share of foreigners might be at the same level as it is true for the whole capital but deviations become obvious when analyzing the percentage of inhabitants with

migration background. The area is probably home of guest-workers from Turkey and their preceding generation. Furthermore, the Obstalleesiedlung has a positive reputation among people from the former Soviet Republic who might move there because of existing local cultural networks and the related social cohesion.

Social & cultural infrastructure

In contrast to many other housing estates from the modernist era, the Obstalleesiedlung also offers educational institutions such as two primary schools and one secondary as well as three kindergartens. Hence, it's not only a dormitory town at the edge of the city but a small city itself.

The local community center



Graph 7: Foreigners in Obstalleesiedlung, 2010⁷
(Data: Social Urban Development Monitoring 2010; own layout)

(*Gemeinwesenzentrum*) near the shopping center holds an important role concerning the social infrastructure of the neighborhood. It is run by the *Gemeinwesenverein Heerstraße Nord* (community work association) which is active since 1978 to improve the *Obstalleesiedlung*'s quality of life. The center hosts the Evangelic parish, a day nursery, facilities for elderly and disabled, a health center and rooms of the community work association itself.

In order to fulfill the needs of activities and services on behalf of the high share of youth, a number of specialized institutions and facilities can be found in the area. If they are sufficient in quantity and quality will be revealed in chapter 5. Table 3 indicates services that are directly

located within the borders of the case study.

Local amenities

The *Staaken* center in the west of the neighborhood can be considered the as the main facility for daily needs. Around 30 shops fulfill the majority of daily needs such as a post office, bank and groceries. However, the majority of shops related to fashion and grocery mainly targets low income groups - a fact that is ironically underlined by the center's slogan "*schnell-gut-günstig*".

The center is guarded by private security staff and closed at night. Nonetheless, different groups such as alcohol consumers or youth use the roofed outdoor facilities at nearly every time of the day.

⁷CIS = Commonwealth of Independent States (countries from former Soviet Republic): e.g. Russia, Belarus/
Arabic countries: e.g. Egypt, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia

Institution	Focus
Gemeinwesenverein Heerstraße Nord	Local community center (focus on elderly, disabled etc.)
„Gemischtes – das Kulturzentrum in Staaken“	Cultural center
FIZ – Familie im Zentrum	Center for families
KiK Jugendcafé	Youth café
Jugendzentrum STEIG	Youth center
Contract Kinder -& Jugendhilfe des Gemeinwesenvereins	Child and youth welfare
Staakato Kinder und Jugend e.V.	Body responsible for streetwork and the like
Harmonie e.V.	Integrational offers for ethnic Germans
Stadtteilbibliothek Heerstraße	Neighborhood library Heerstraße

Table 3: Selection of social & cultural infrastructure in Obstalleesiedlung (own layout)

Other possibilities for shopping such as discount supermarket chains are located in the Sandstraße which target the same group of socially disadvantaged. Both facilities do not convey anything towards the feeling of a lively small scale city but rather contribute to a lack of life taking place after working hours.

Problematic aspects

The floor plans of the majority of buildings do not allow any other ground floor usage than apartments. In combination with the concentration of local amenities in the shopping center and around Sandstraße a lack of life on the streets after working hours is being

produced. Residents do not have any reason to spend time outside anymore as neither cultural offers nor attractive gastronomy exists.

Even though the local police in charge states a downwards tendency of crime, certain offences still take place. Places of gambling and amusement halls around the Staaken Center may seem like refuges of crime but actually they are victims of burglary on a regular basis.

Further institutions and places that get robbed once in a while are for instances other shops in the Staaken Center or the community center. Other delicts on-site include burglary of basements and vandalism. Police cars in front of the housing blocks can be an indicator for domestic violence



Picture10 : Obstalleesiedlung: Elevated flower beds - unplanned seating possibilities (own picture)

even though no data was available for that assumption. Still, many delicts or rather incivilities frequently remain below the threshold of delinquency. However, the physical structure of the Obstalleesiedlung partly even favors incivilities. Elevated flower beds all around the case study area, which are enclosed by concrete, offer unplanned seating possibilities. These can for instance be used as places to stay for youth gangs or alcohol consuming groups. The neighborhood management office as well as the police diagnosed a general problem of alcoholism for the Obstalleesiedlung which might be seen in close relation to social problems such as unemployment. Nonetheless, not the whole area can be considered to be full of problems but there are some hotspots which are

mainly located around the Staaken Center. Certain buildings nearby such as the orange tower block are connected with certain social and crime-related problems such as drugs. In addition, the neighborhood management points to the problem of insufficient lighting which belongs to the responsibility of the local housing companies.

When analyzing the local age structure with its high proportion of youth, the question concerning the existence of youth gangs becomes obvious. According to the police, the young generation is not organized in fixed networks and gangs. The neighborhood management office adds that there are also many young people coming to the neighborhood – from the author's point of view

this can mainly be true for male youngsters as females hardly use the public space of the area anyway.

Crime prevention

There are various approaches to crime prevention in the Obstalleesiedlung. The strong focus on social activities for different groups is obvious when analyzing the various institutions for local youth and other social infrastructure. The mentioned institutions aim for instance to offer activities for youth at risk or to improve the integration of foreign born residents. Furthermore, the Obstalleesiedlung is a designated area of the program Socially Integrative City. The resulting Neighborhood Management Heerstraße Nord exists since 2005. In the framework of the program, several local projects are supported and the approach of community-based crime prevention is fostered.

The program Action Spaces Plus (*Aktionsräume Plus*) can be seen as an extension of the Socially Integrative City as it connects different areas of this program (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin 2010: 61 ff.). The Obstalleesiedlung is part of the area Spandau-Mitte which constitutes one of five case studies. The program especially focuses on the improvement of education of children and young people whereby special attention is paid to language

skills and the integration of residents with immigrant backgrounds.

In addition, the concept calls for creation of additional weather protected sport and leisure facilities for young people – a weakness of the Obstalleesiedlung. These measurements are the most relevant strategies in terms of crime prevention as they target towards taking care of at-risk offenders and excluded.

Besides these rather social measurements to prevent crime, strategies of situational crime prevention have been conducted as well. The demolition of a bench in front of the shopping center where mainly alcohol consuming people stayed is only one example. The aim was to reduce social incivilities that incorporated the presence of drunken people and their deviant behavior such as noise or urinating in public space. Even though one suitable spot was taken away, the police remark that public drinking could not be eliminated but only displaced – the common critique of situational crime prevention.

Another crime preventive strategy has been the installation of CCTV in the elevated parking garage along the Obstallee.

The role of the police concerning crime prevention is orientated along the Berlin model (see 2.2.3). Despite regular visits of liaison officers, one

might criticize the absence of a police station within reach.

The center management has employed private security staff in order to deter potential burglars as well as to improve the subjective feelings of insecurity on behalf of clients and shop owners. The same strategy has been realized by the housing company GEWOBA. On the one hand, these private security employees offer the advantage of finding another level of communication. Compared to the police, no one expects them to execute law. On the other hand, they can only refer to property rights respectively rental law in case of neighborly conflicts. This might undermine their acceptance on behalf of residents and offenders at risk as they can only expel someone from the property affected but not detain. In how far all these measurements undertaken in the Obstalleesiedlung are accepted on behalf of residents and if they might reduce their level of fear, will be analyzed in the empirical part of this thesis.

04

Fieldwork – Survey

4.1 Derived hypotheses

The in-depth dealing with theory on fear of crime and the case studies' specifics lead to the derivation of the following hypotheses which shall help to answer the research questions. The hypotheses will be checked for validity with the help of an empirical study.

1. There is a negative correlation between fear of crime and satisfaction with the neighborhood.
2. Fear of crime is higher among residents in the Trabrenngründe due to a minimum of crime preventive strategies conducted.
3. Physical disorganization contributes less than social incivilities to the emergence of fear (Reuband 2009: 243).

4.2 Selection of respondents

As pointed out before, it was one of the goals to grasp the local residents' perspective on their neighborhood. Especially, feelings of security are in the center of attention. For that reason standardized survey among 100 residents in each case study area has been conducted.

As there have not been enough financial and temporal resources, a non-random quota sampling has been chosen to simplify the interviewing process. Quotas concerning age structure and gender of the survey participant have been given to the interviewer to easily find respondents and minimize its influence on the results.

However, one should be aware that it is not a representative sample due to the method chosen and the relatively low number of a hundred respondents for each city. The quota in terms of gender posed problems as the Viennese census tracks utilizes 19 years as the threshold and Social Urban Development Monitoring 18 years. Furthermore, the decision concerning the percentage related

to gender was difficult in the Berlin case as the borough level (*Bezirke*) is the only stage where proportions of gender can be found. But the borough Spandau uses 20 years as the limiting age and whereas the locality uses 18. Nonetheless, these quotas were applied.

and asked for the follow-up process of the survey.

After the data was collected the interpretation of results was conducted with the statistical program SPSS.

4.3 Realization of the survey

The collection of data took place in June and July 2011. The survey was conducted in different areas of the case study neighborhoods as well as at different times in order to achieve the broadest selection of inhabitants possible.

Within the author's role as the interviewer she posed the questions of the questionnaire (see annex) without showing it to the respondent. Like that, a real conversation could take place and the interviewee did not only tick a number but also gave explanations on demand. Each interview took between 8 and 30 minutes depending on the respondent's willingness to go into detail. In general, the feedback towards the survey which was named "*Quality of life in...*" was very positive. Often, people felt the need for expressing their opinion about the conditions in their living environment

05

Survey results

5.1

Samples

Age/ gender

Both neighborhoods have a comparably high share of young population (see 3.2). However, the direct comparison shows that the percentage is significantly higher in the Austrian case. As a consequence of that high share, the proportion of residents older than 64 years is really low. This is unfavorable for this study as especially the opinion of elderly would have been an interesting aspect to analyze in the context of the fear of crime paradox (see 2.1.2.1).

The mean age in the Trabrenngründe has been 41,2 years compared to 43,7 years in the Obstalleesiedlung.

Country of origin

Surprisingly, both data sets include approximately the same proportion

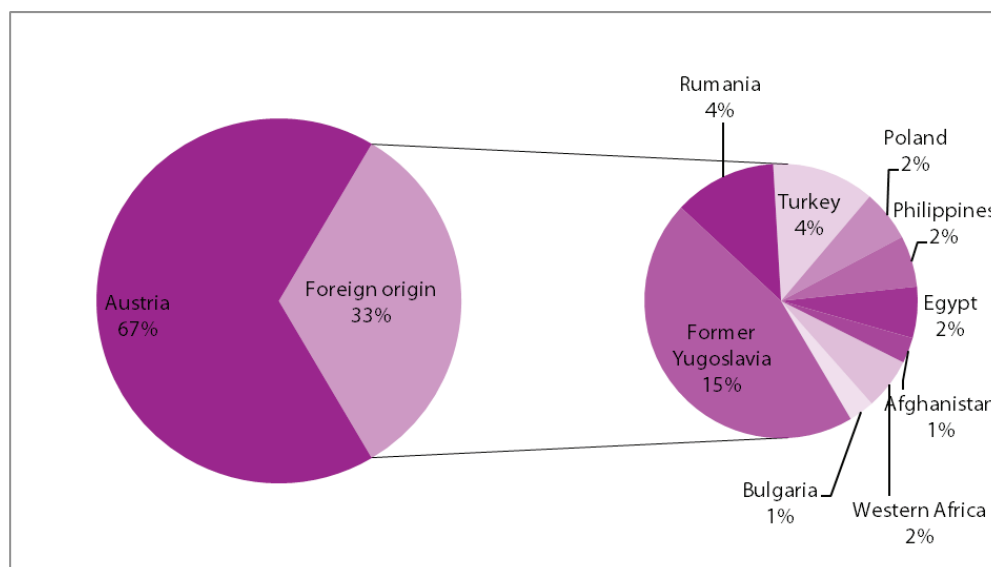
of people with an origin from the case study country compared to ones with foreign background.

Nonetheless, differences can be found which at the same time refer to the specific immigration history of each case study (see graph 8+9). Among respondents of Vienna's Trabrenngründe nearly every sixth inhabitant emigrated from a country of Former Yugoslavia. The majority came as refugees in the early 1990ies due to the Yugoslav wars which lead to rising immigration in other parts of Austria as well. The second biggest groups are the Turkish population who came as migrant workers already in the 1960ies/ 1970ies as well as Romanian people.

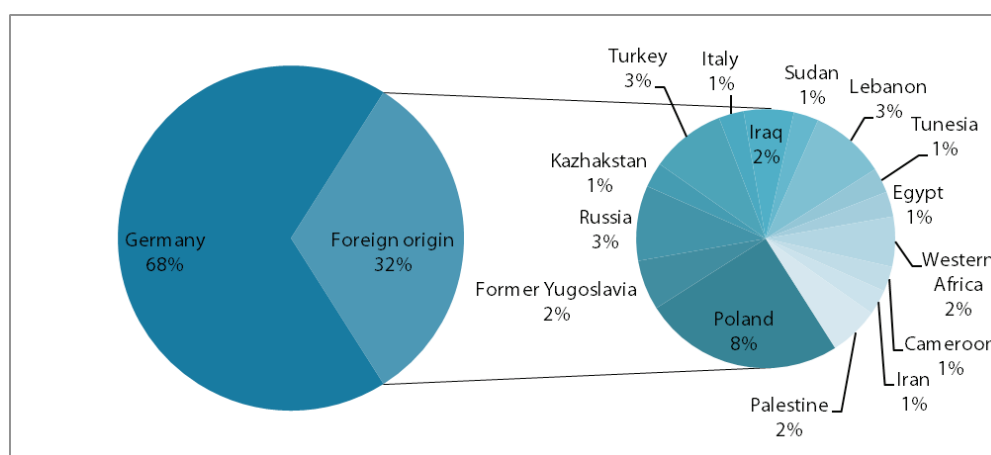
There is a contrast between the Berlin average data and the Obstalleesiedlung as Polish people

	0- 19 years		20 – 64 years		≥ 65 years	
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀
Trabrenngründe	15	14	33	33	1	4
Obstalleesiedlung	11	11	29	28	9	12

Table 4: Interviewed people according to city, age and gender (Data: Statistik Austria. Austria Population Census 2001; Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2010; Bezirksamt Spandau; own layout)



Graph 8: Respondents' country of origin, Trabrenngründe (own data & layout)



Graph 9: Respondents' country of origin, Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

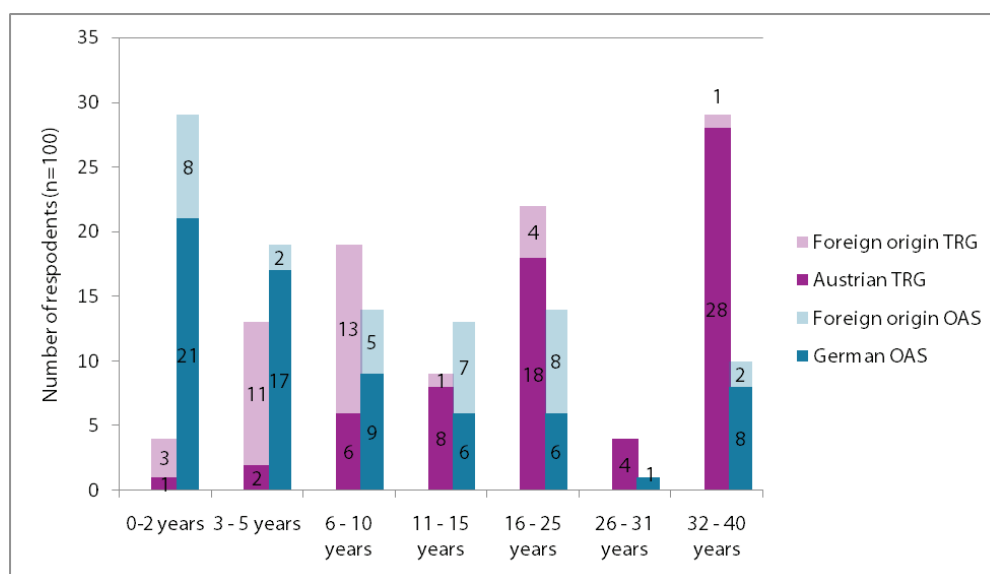
have been the most numerous group among interviewees only in the latter. Immigrants from Turkey and Russia are the second highest representatives of people with migration background in the Obstalleesiedlung. The origin of the remaining foreigners is quite diverse but mainly portrays African countries.

Duration of residency

Even though both neighborhoods have been built at around the same time with similar physical form for the same reason of housing shortage, differences concerning the length of residency are significant among respondents (see graph 10). The Viennese data is characterized by

nearly 29% of residents who can be considered first movers. In contrast to that, only 10% of the Obstalleesiedlung's residents have been living there for more than 31 years. The assumption that the Berlin case study neighborhood is rather a place of transition than of settling down, can be underpinned by the high share of 48% of interviewees who moved to the area within the past 5 years – probably a result of displacement processes within the district and other parts of town. Vienna only accounts 17 new residents among respondents who lived there between a few month and five years. This fact is also reflected in the mean value concerning the length of the stay: the Trabrenngründe account 18,9 years whereas the Obstalleesiedlung offers a mean value of 10,5 years. In addition, graph 9 illustrates quite

well the already mentioned change concerning the access of social housing in Vienna in 2006. Within the past ten years, 17 interviewees with migration background moved to the Trabrenngründe in contrast to nine people without foreign roots. However, if this is a valid trend cannot be verified with such a small sample. In Berlin, the opposite development can be diagnosed: the number of newly arriving Germans without migration background is 3,8 times higher than people of foreign origin who arrived within the past five years. Displacement processes and internal migration within Spandau may play a role to the high share of Germans. In addition, existing ethnical networks elsewhere and the outer city location of Staaken may influence a foreigner's decision not to choose that location by first choice.



Graph 10: Duration of residency according to ethnicity – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung

Household characteristics

	Unmarried		Married		Divorced		widowed	
	TRG	OAS	TRG	OAS	TRG	OAS	TRG	OAS
Single-person household	3	10	/	/	7	10	6	9
Two-person household	4	11	22	11	2	/	/	1
Three to four persons household	21	18	16	10	3	1	1	2
Five or more persons per household	7	12	7	5	1	/	/	0
Total	35	51	45	26	13	11	7	12

Table 5: Household size and family status – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung

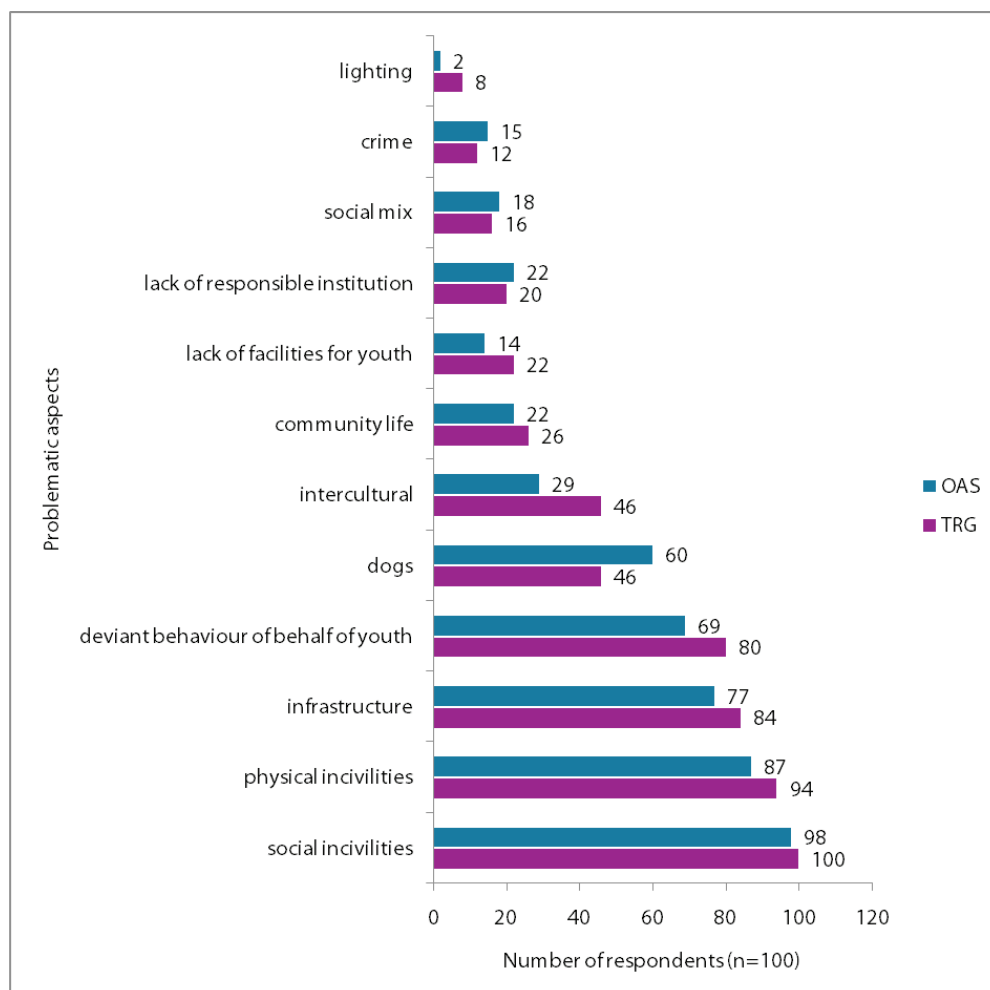
The Transdanubian neighborhood Trabrenngründe appears to be home of the traditional Western-European nuclear family as 41 respondents live in a household consisting of three to four persons. In addition, 45% are married which is only true for 26% in the Berlin case study. The Obstalleesiedlung however is characterized by a high proportion of 29% of single-households. These are nearly equally distributed with divorcées, unmarried and widows. Hence, the neighborhood is not the typical residential destination for young single as one might assume at first sight but rather a refuge for people who may have trouble to find affordable housing elsewhere.

Concerning the share of households bigger than five persons however, the Obstalleesiedlung and the Trabrenngründe hold a similar level of 17% respectively 15%. This similarity can be seen in connection with the same share of residents with migration background as foreigners

often tend to live in larger family units than the typical western European family.

5.2 Awareness of problems

Within the survey, respondents have been asked repeatedly for problematic aspects in their neighborhood (questions 2, 3, 5, 6). Graph 11 indicates the number of respondents that perceive certain local aspects as problematic. Interestingly enough, all of the aspect mentioned can be seen in some connection with explanatory models of fear of crime and will therefore be analyzed in depths later towards their significances within the emergence process of fear of crime. incivilities. The graph however depicts a certain trend towards an increased awareness of social and physical.



Graph 11: Problematic local aspects – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

In both case study neighborhoods, they have been perceived as the most problematic aspect. However, the situation seems to be slightly worst in the Trabrenngründe as every single respondent identified at least one kind of social incivility as a problem.

Other problems of the neighborhoods are the lack of high quality and the sheer quantity of social and leisure infrastructures. These could be of importance for fear of crime if one considers for instance Jacobs' "*eyes on the street*" ideas.

In addition, deviant behavior on behalf of youth seems to be a stronger problem in Vienna than in Berlin whereas dog-related conflicts are a more intense issue in the Obstalleesiedlung. Of further interest for the analysis of fear of crime could be the higher share of intercultural conflicts in Vienna as well as aspects of the community life.

Interestingly, crime is one of the least-mentioned problems. However, it cannot point into any direction concerning the actual level of fear

of crime as most of the explanatory approaches focus on other aspects than the perception of crime itself.

5.3 Fear of crime

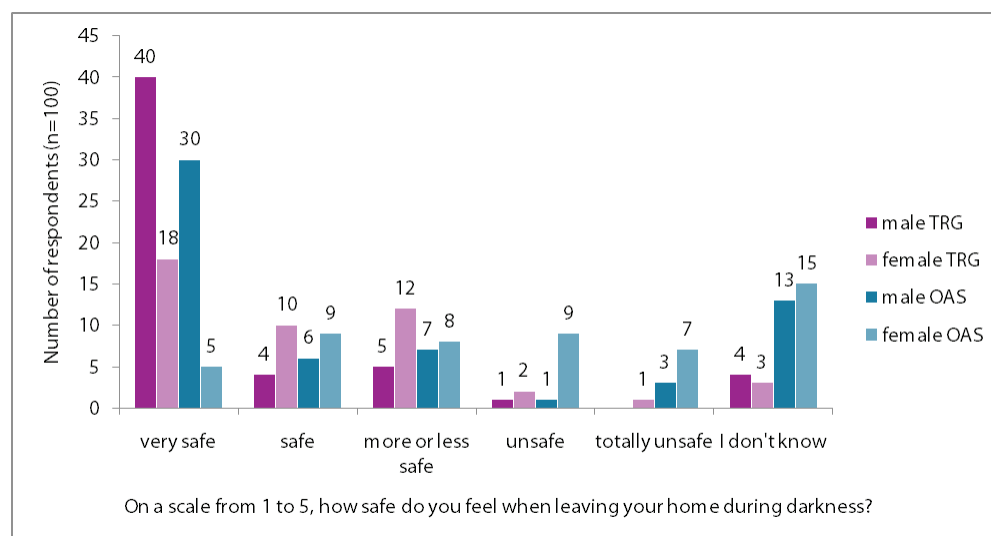
Standard indicator

Before presenting results and explanations concerning fear of crime, an interesting observation will be added. During the survey, many respondents irrespective of age, gender or ethnicity reacted towards this question the following: “Well, I personally feel very safe but my wife/ friend/ neighbor feels very unsafe...” In general, the standard indicator states that people of the Austrian case study neighborhood seem to feel much safer in their

neighborhood at night. Whereas around only every third resident of the Obstalleesiedlung feels very safe in his/her neighborhood during darkness, it applies for more than half of respondents (58%) in the Viennese case. The mean value (1 = very safe) of 1,92 for Vienna and 2,90 underline the aforementioned differences.

In line with many other studies, male respondents seem to feel way safer than their female neighbors. In the case of Vienna, more than twice as many men feel very safe compared to women. In the Obstalleesiedlung, it is only five women feeling very safe in opposition to 30 men (see graph 12).

The comparison of both neighborhoods does not verify any similar phenomenon to the fear of crime complex (attention: we do not talk of fear of crime yet!).



Graph 12: Standard indicator & gender – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

Every fifth female resident of the Trabrenngründe feels very safe compared to every twentieth in the Berlin case study. Why are there so immense discrepancies between the case study neighborhoods? Is it maybe individual victimization experiences or does it reflect deeper insecurities? Despite the unsolved questions, one should keep in mind the critique towards the standard item and therefore other aspects will be analyzed before concluding a certain level of fear of crime.

Funnel model vs. single component model

In chapter 2.1.1 it has been revealed that fear of crime is more than just the perception of the risk of becoming a victim of crime. In order to be able to give any final statement towards the existence of fear of crime the three phases of the psychological emergence model will be used as an auxiliary tool. The newly developed funnel model with its filtering elements (see figure 2) assumes that fear of crime only exist in case of all three levels being fulfilled.

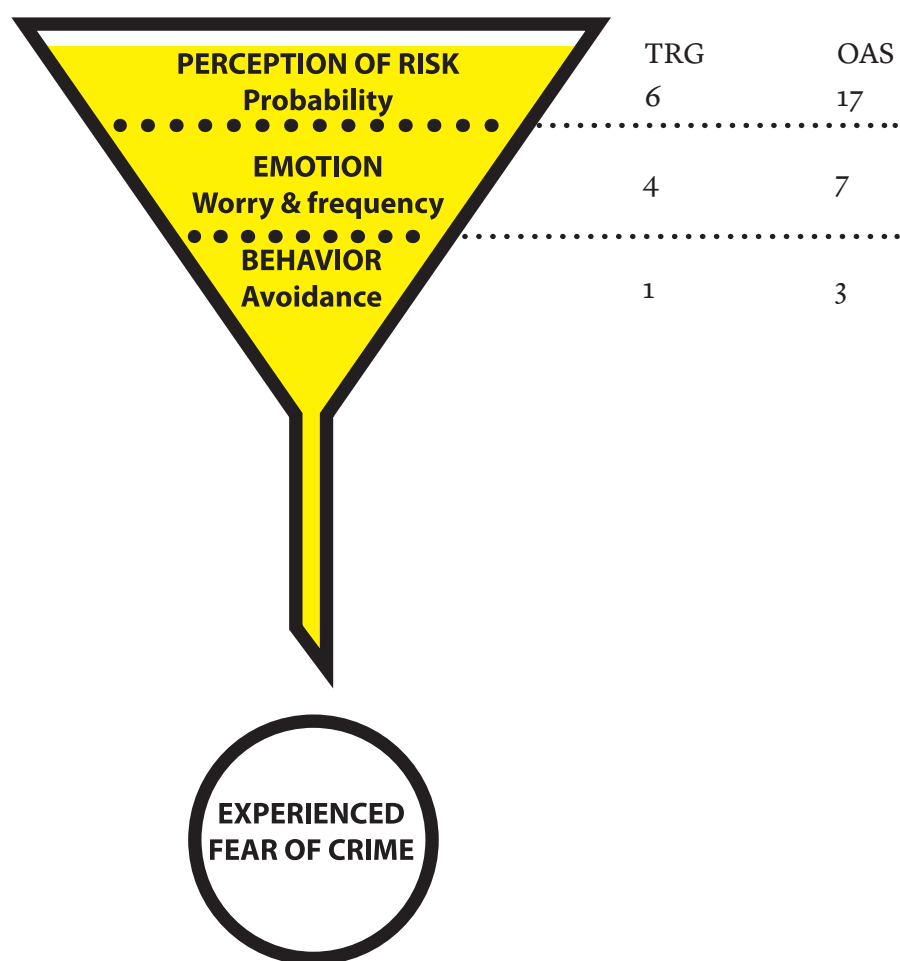


Figure 2: Fear of crime funnel model & corresponding values Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

Funnel model

(1) Evaluation of a certain subjective victimization risk

This item has been measured with the help of the survey's question 10:

On a scale from 1 to 5, how high do you consider the probability of becoming a victim of crime within the next time?
(1 = very high; 5 = very low)

People who indicated level 1, 2 or 3 are considered to perceive a certain risk of becoming a victim of crime for themselves.

In case of the Trabrenngründe six female respondents stated to be at risk. Half of them is younger than 20 years, two belong to the age group 30 to 50 years and one is older than 65 years. Surprisingly, it is rather women with migration background than Austrian-born women who feel at risk. In Berlin's Obstalleesiedlung the share of people perceiving the risk of becoming a victim of crime was nearly three times as high with 17%. In contrast to the Viennese data, a certain gender balance was gained as seven men and ten women ticked the corresponding answers. The share of male population which assumes a high level of probability of victimization has to 57% a German background. In terms of age, 80% of male respondents belong to the age group 50 to 64 years. In addition to that, two rather young men below 30 years are worried to become a victim of crime. In terms of age one can state that

three women older than 65 felt to be at risk in the Obstalleesiedlung. Another three women between 21 and 29 years felt at risk whereas all the other age groups are quite equally represented. Seven out of these ten women are from Germany.

(2) Generate feelings of insecurity (emotion)

The second stage of the developmental model has been grasped with questions 9 and 9 c):

On a scale from 1 to 5, how high is your level of worry concerning that you become a victim of crime (in your neighborhood)?

On a scale from 1 to 5, how frequently are feeling worried?

The funnel model filters all respondents who show high levels of probability as well as at least more or less frequent worriedness. In case of Vienna, this is true for two women only. These are between 30 and 64 years old which does not indicate any trend in terms of age. Furthermore, the share of people with migration background is now equal to Austrian women. The number of respondents in the Obstalleesiedlung stating risk perception and an emotion has been decreased by 2,4 times compared to stage I of the model. However, the gender-balance has been kept on the same level. The concerned male respondents are now exclusively from Germany and

are aged between 50 and 64 years. The proportion between German women to women with migration background is now 80 to 20. All female respondents are relatively equally distributed in terms of age groups.

(3) Show a behavioral reaction

The third and final dimension of fear of crime according to the psychological model is the behavioral reaction following risk perception and emotion. In the context of the survey, all respondents belong to this category in case they avoid (to whatever degree or frequency) places or people within their neighborhood during daytime/night or in case they ever carried out any measurement to feel safer in their neighborhood (question 12).

The Trabrenngründe data only reveals one woman of 32 years with migration background as showing fear of crime. Concerning Berlin, the funnel model diminishes the number of feared people in the sense of the psychological emergence model down to three people concerned. In line with the Viennese case study, these are exclusively female inhabitants. Interestingly, no pattern in terms of age or country of origin can be identified.

Matching with standard indicator

The standard indicator has been repeatedly criticized for depicting an

increased level of fear of crime (see 2.1.3).

A synchronization of the funnel model results with the standard indicator (see 5.4.1) reveals an interesting outcome. If one considers the indicator's levels 3 to 5 (more or less/unsafe/ totally unsafe) to depict fear of crime, the standard indicator states 21 respondents of the Trabrenngründe showing a level of fear of crime. This is 21 times as much as the funnel model reveals. For the Obstalleesiedlung, the standard indicator reports 35 people which are nearly twelve as many as the new measurement states. To conclude, there is no match between the standard indicator and the funnel model as the former states twelve to 21 times higher values as the latter.

Single component model

If one checks the values of each dimension of the funnel model without filtering, interesting deviances appear (see fig.3). A surprising outcome is that the proportions of each dimension do not decline proportionally as it does within the filtering model. Its strongest element is the behavioral reaction. The majority of people are conducting some which includes avoiding behavior or carrying defensive tools such as pepper spray with them. This appears surprising as every respondent has been asked explicitly towards worry and

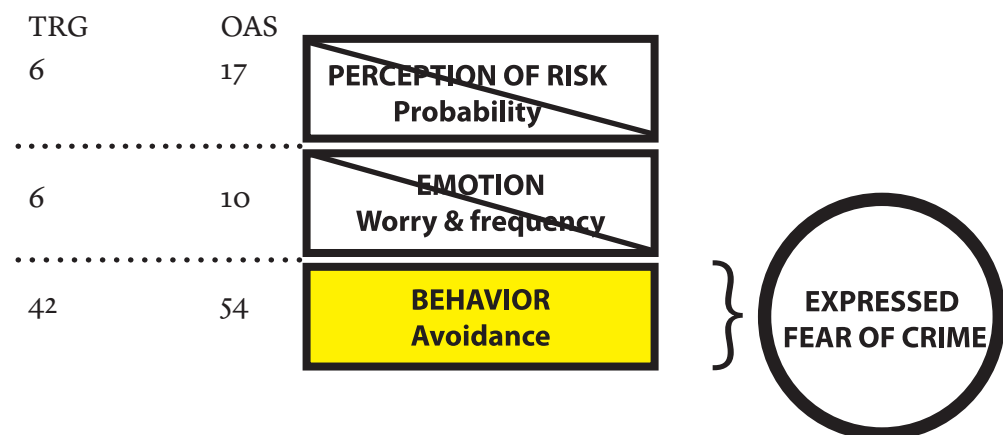


Figure 3: Measurement of expressed fear & corresponding values Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

probability. However, these did neither state any risk awareness nor feelings of worry to become a victim of crime.

Discrepancies between the elements I and II as in the Berlin data can be easily explained. Some people might feel at risk but do not develop any emotional reactions. This could for instance be the case if someone thinks his/her level of vulnerability is quite low due to his/her physical strength. Offenders might attack him/ her but actually the person is able to defend himself, does not care or is not shy away from consequences.

Nonetheless, the enormous deviation for category III does not appear reasonable as people have to have a reason for carrying out preventive behavior. Probably, the element captures what other authors such as Farrall or Reuband call expressed or social fears – an expression for dealing with broader social changes (see 2.1.1.2). People feel insecure due to the current social conditions

and therefore feel the need for taking actions. When you ask them however if they feel at risk, they do not but their behavior of securing something helps them to deal with the surrounding insecurities.

In contrast to that, the funnel model grasps the individual dimension of fear of crime as people directly state a concern for their own physical, psychological and/ or monetary well-being – the individual or experienced fear of crime is being measured.

5.4 Expressed fear

Gender

Similar to experienced fear, the gender balance is not given in the case of expressed fear. In the Trabrenngründe the share of women showing expressive fear is 69% compared to 63% in the Obstalleesiedlung.

Occupation

A comparison of the occupational structure of the feared population with the total samples reveals a drastic increase of feared among pupil and students which might suggest insecurities about the future. Contrary to that, there are less unemployed among the ones affected by fear than in the fearless sample which contradicts the generalization thesis again.

Origin

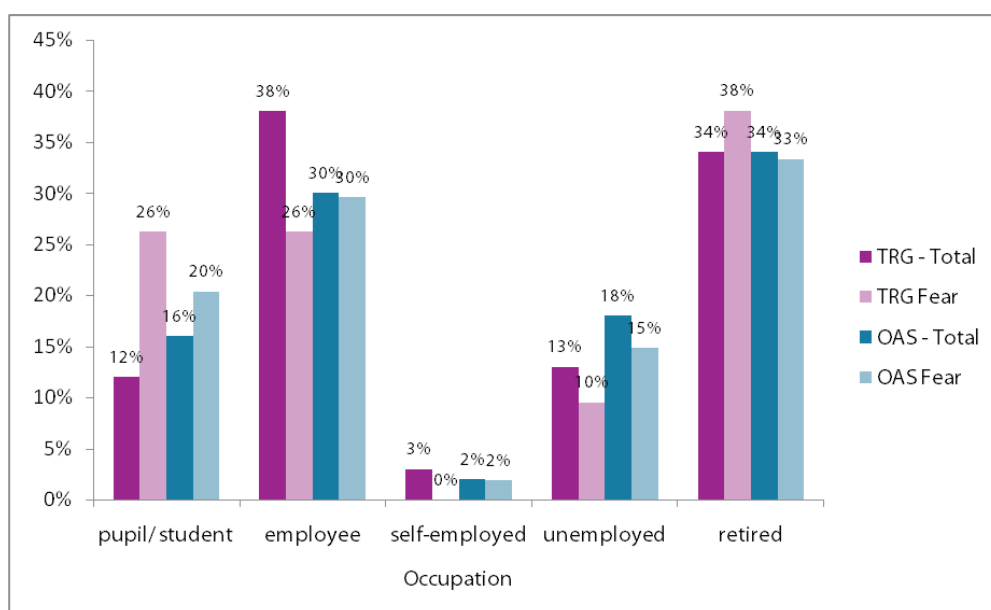
There is no deviating pattern in comparison to the total samples concerning the ratio of nationals and non-nationals - neither for the Trabrenngründe nor for the Obstalleesiedlung. Hence, origin does not seem to be an influencing variable on the emergence of expressed fear.

Satisfaction with neighborhood

In the context of this thesis, quality of life shall be limited to the perception of the direct living environment with its physical and social specifics. It has been inquired with the introductory question:

“On a scale from 1 to 5, how much do you like to live in this neighborhood?”

Both neighborhoods showed surprisingly similar results when considering the mean value (1= very satisfied; 5= not satisfied at all). This even slightly increases among the feared population in both neighborhoods- an indication for the already mentioned connection between fear of crime and quality of life. However, as the level of expressed fear is higher in Vienna, it cannot be evaluated as the significant variable.



Graph 13: Occupational pattern – Expressive fear vs. total sample size – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

	Trabrenngründe	Obstalleesiedlung
Mean of total population	2,84	2,78
Mean of feared population	3,02	2,87

Table 7: Mean value of satisfaction with neighborhood, Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung

Residency

The length of residency only seems to correlate in the Viennese case where the mean value increases from 18,9 years to 19,6 years. Hence, the longer they live there, they are more likely to develop expressive fear. However, this is not true for the Obstalleesiedlung.

Matching with standard indicator

The standard indicator points insecurity among 21 Viennese respondents whereas expressed fear accounts 42 feared people for the Trabrenngründe. A similar difference can be acknowledged for the Obstallee where a value of 35 feared persons is opposed to 54 according to the new measurements. In contrast to the experienced fear the standard indicator therefore underestimates the level of expressed fear.

“Angsträume” – Spaces of fear

The previous chapter indicates two types of fear in the case study neighborhoods– the experienced fear and the expressed fear. Both however, include the characteristic

of people carrying out preventive behavior (see table 8). One can therefore conclude that there exist public spaces or people that are connected with feelings of fear. The German term *Angstraum* describes these comprehensively as spaces that are avoided due to their physical structure, location and type of use (Kaldun 2001: 22).

As the main motivation behind this project is to find strategies to impede barriers within the everyday life, these spaces or human beings are the obvious starting points for preventive actions.

In both neighborhoods, every respondents carrying out any behavior according to category III conducts any kind of avoidance – of spaces or/ and people. All other strategies such as building networks with neighbors or being accompanied by another person or dog only applied for a maximum of a third of respondents carrying out any kind of behavioral reaction.

	Total number of people with preventive behaviour	Avoiding spaces or people	exterior help	tool/equipment
TRG	42	42	11	14
OAS	54	54	15	15

Table 8: Type of behavior carried out in order to feel safer in the neighborhood – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung

The shopping center is the main Angstraum in the Trabrenngründe as twelve people named it precisely. Half of them added that they avoid the area because of the loitering youth.

The second most stated urban space with five mentions is the attached underground parking where urban myths and the general darkness are declared to be the decisive factors. In terms of reasons for avoidance in general, the local youth as well as the presence of drug users are the main motivators in Vienna. The share between people avoiding because of the specifics of a spaces or type of use is on an equal level.

In the Obstalleesiedlung, the Staaken Center is with 19 mentions the most avoided space. The people affected mainly accuse loitering youth and drug consuming people to be responsible for their behavioral reaction. The Obstallee itself and a rather dark path (Wirtschaftsweg) are following with three mentions each. In addition, certain parking areas and courtyards are avoided by two people each. If one only considers the

cause behind avoidance behavior in the Obstalleesiedlung the presence of youth and bad lighting is mainly responsible.

Both neighborhoods have furthermore in common that people often just mentioned one aspect – either the space they avoid or why they conduct this kind of behavior. This leads to the assumption that for some respondents social incivilities have a stronger influence on their perception of insecurities and for others physical aspects play a more important role.

However, the Angsträume mentioned show that both are strongly tied together. Interestingly, in both cases the shopping center has become a space of fear and it is the presence of loitering youth or other deviant behaving groups that cause discomfort. But why do they choose exactly these spaces? The Scandinavian saying “people come where people are” (Gehl 2010: 65) grasps the process quite well. The bored or unoccupied

meet where some liveliness can be found that helps to overcome the monotonousness of their own lives. These spaces appear to be the only option of entertainment as the rest of the neighborhoods are mainly limited to residential use. Hence, the lack of allocated and accepted space contributes to the occupation of the shopping center. In addition, these fulfill exactly their demands – the need for spaces of consumption as well as a meeting place without obligation. However, their sheer presence seems to intimidate others even though they might hardly have any real contact. Or is it other aspects that contribute to the avoidance behavior?

Explanatory approaches

The subsequent chapter deals with trying to find a common pattern for the origin of expressed fear of crime. The focus on this type of fear of crime has been chosen due to different reasons. On the one hand, the number of people affected by “experienced fear” is very low in both neighborhoods. This would call for proceedings towards the methodology of qualitative interviews rather than analyzing such a small sample from a standardized questionnaire which does not allow drawing any conclusion regarding the basic set. On the other hand, preventive measurements geared towards this kind of fear could fairly

be justified when considering any cost-effectiveness ratio.

Victimization

Overall, eight residents of the Trabrenngründe have become a victim of crime⁸. In line with many other empirical studies not every person affected does translate these into the same kind of fear. Two persons even did neither state experienced nor expressed fear. Six of them reported the conduction of behavioral actions without claiming another exposure to risk and uprising emotions. No victimized inhabitant of the Trabrenngründe developed fear of crime in the experienced sense.

The Obstalleesiedlung accounts slightly higher results as thirteen of all respondents have become a victim of crime. Two of the victims developed the experienced type of fear of crime that could be measured with the funnel model (see 5.4.2). One person has become a victim of burglary whereas the other one was attacked by a dog. Seven victimized respondents show their experience with expressed fears whereas four did not refer to any kind of fear.

Hence, one can conclude that victimization leaves it traces but can neither explain expressed nor experienced fear. In the case of the Trabrenngründe, 85% of respondents showing expressed fear have not been

⁸ Victimization includes property and violent crime experiences that occurred within the past year in the neighborhood.

victimized compared to 87% in the Berlin case study. As a consequence, one has to examine other approaches for their explanatory power towards fear of crime.

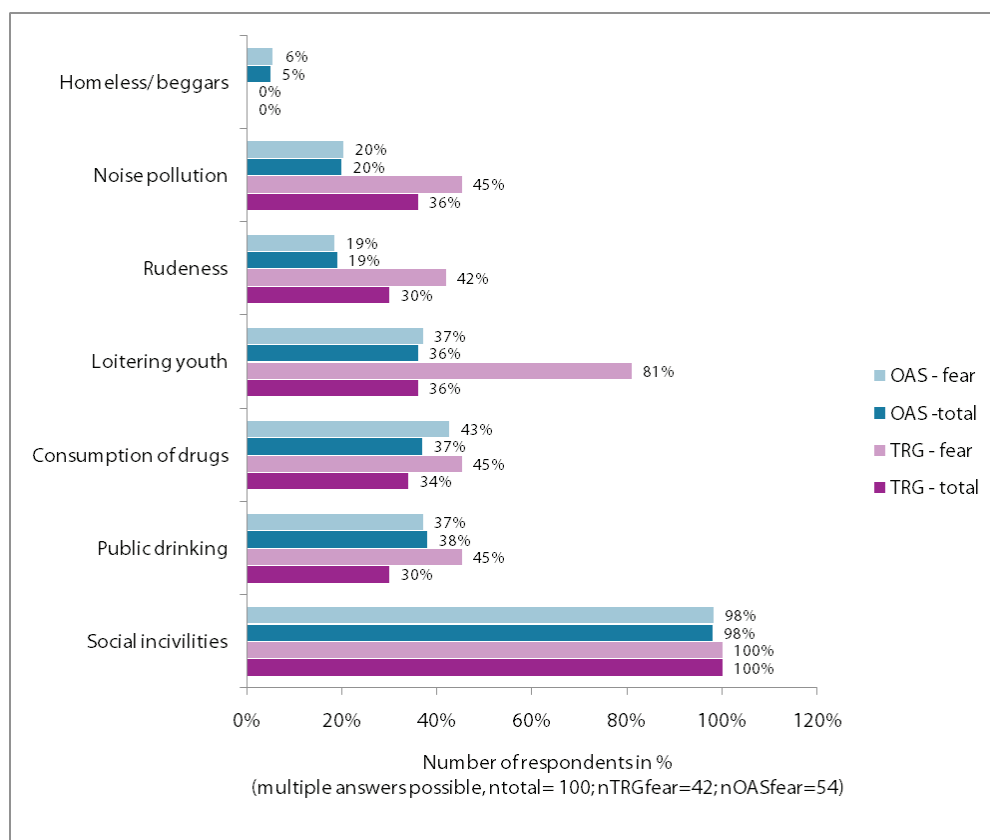
Disorder

It has already been revealed in chapter 5.2 that social and physical incivilities are perceived by an overwhelming part of residents. People showing expressed fears do this to a similar degree (see Graph 14).

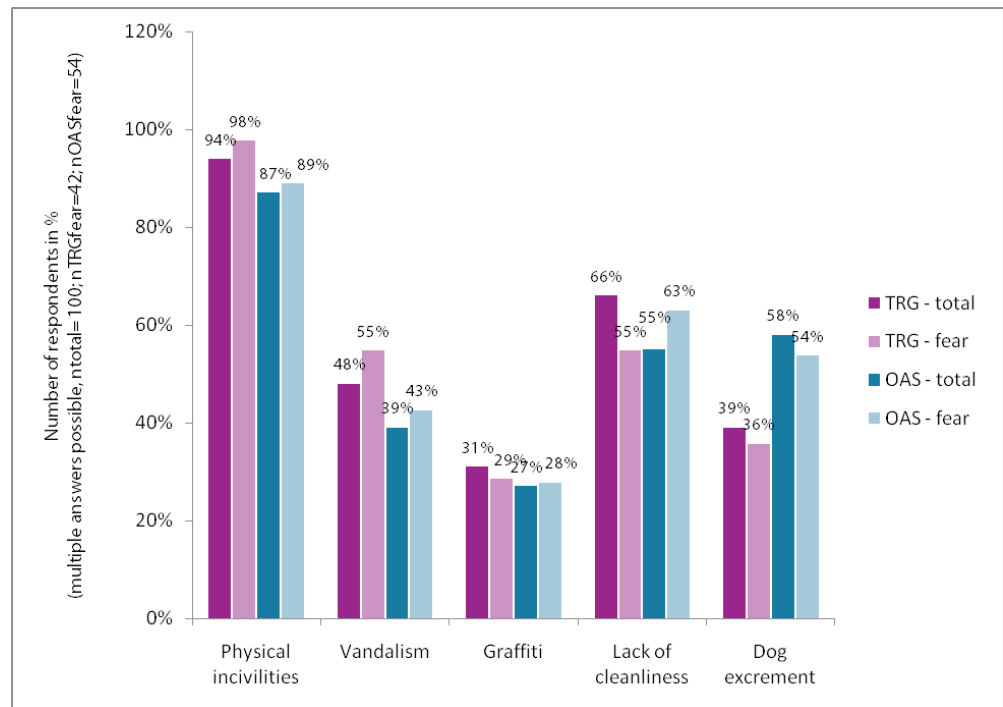
Overall, the Viennese population seems to suffer more intensely from social incivilities than the one from

the Obstalleesiedlung. The only exceptions are beggars and homeless people who cannot be found in the Trabrenngründe at all. Strikingly strong is the perception of loitering youth on behalf of 81% of feared respondents in the Trabrenngründe. Especially if one compares this value with the total population in Vienna which is only 36%. As a result one can conclude that 94% of Viennese interviewees who consider the loitering youth as a problem also develop expressed fear.

Other striking differences are the perceptions of rude behavior as well as noise. Whereas 42% respectively 45% of residents of



Graph 14: Expressed fear vs. total sample size– Perceived social incivilities; Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)



Graph 15: Expressed fear vs. total sample size – Perceived physical incivilities; Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

the Trabrenngründe consider it as a problem, they are only an important issue for every fifth person from the Obstalleesiedlung. In summary it can therefore be said that social incivilities play a more important role in the case of Vienna than Berlin. Special reference has to be paid to the role of loitering youth concerning the origin of expressed fears in the Trabrenngründe. However, this is contrary to the generally higher share of expressed fear in the Obstalleesiedlung of 54% to 42%. Therefore, social incivilities cannot be the explicatory variable, only.

In regard to physical incivilities (see graph 15), the survey reveals lower values compared to the social

ones. Reuband's hypothesis (2009: 243) that physical disorganization contributes less to the emergence of fear than social incivilities cannot neither be verified nor falsified. In general, the share of perception of physical incivilities increases with the emergence of fear. However, it does not reach the level of perception of social incivilities.

Of main importance in both cities is the lack of cleanliness as more than half of feared people state. In Vienna it decreases with fear whereas the share of people perceiving dirt in Berlin shows a higher perception among the feared. The adventurous assumption of dog excrements being perceived as an indicator of lack of common norms and therefore

contributing to fear can only be falsified. However, it is an important issue in the Obstalleesiedlung. The WasteWatcher initiative is therefore no fear of crime preventive approach as assumed but can still be seen as a relatively successful strategy to improve the neighborhood's quality of life.

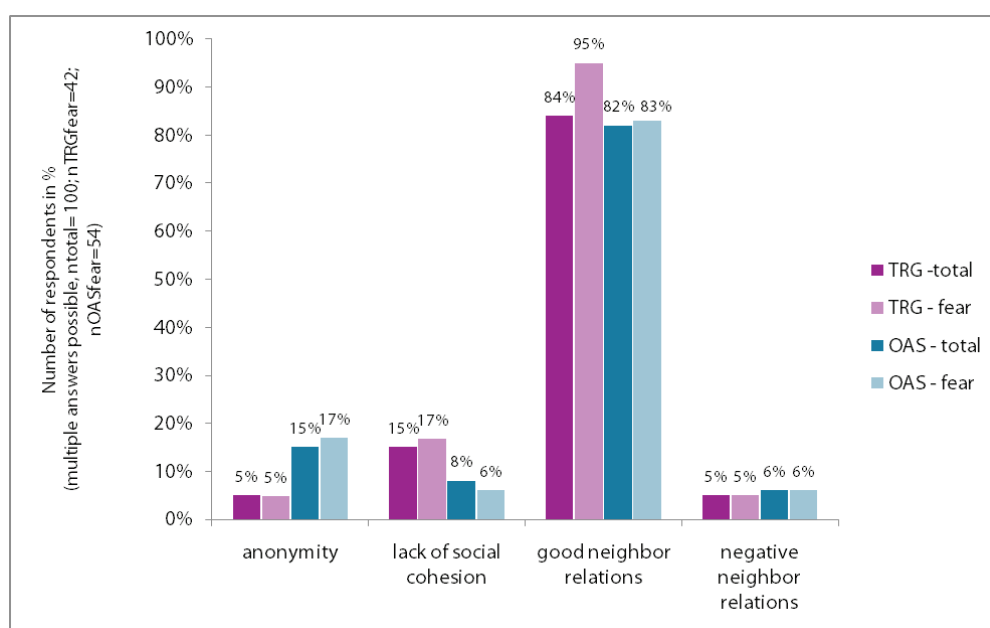
The perception of vandalism is less important in Berlin compared to Vienna. Maybe one could draw a connection to the high perception of loitering youth who might be accused for vandalism by some feared people. In Berlin on the contrary, vandalism is only rated second last on the list of physical incivilities. However, in both cities the share rises with fear. Finally one can conclude that social incivilities seem to be of stronger importance than physical deviances. However, it seems to be rather an interplay of different aspects of these

categories than one single dimension only. An exception to that assumption is the loitering youth in Vienna's Trabrenngründe. Despite that, no individual type of incivility scored significantly high which suggests the aforementioned assumption of an interplay of forces. Some dimensions such as vandalism and the consumption of drugs show slightly higher shares among the feared than in the total size population.

Social disintegration

In order to check whether social disintegration possesses relevance concerning the origin of expressed fear, certain elements connected to the community life have been analyzed.

Regarding anonymity, the Trabrenngründe do not reveal any deviating data between feared and



Graph 16: Expressed fear vs. total sample size - Social cohesion – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung

the total size sample. Only 5% of both groups criticize that neighbors do not know each other. In the Obstalleesiedlung however this share is more than three times as high due to higher turnovers among residents which are produced by contradicting policies of housing companies and displacement effects in other parts of town. In comparison to the whole population, the feared people of the Obstalleesiedlung show a minimal increase of perceiving anonymity as a problem of 2%. Hence, relevance towards the emergence of expressed fear of crime cannot be stated. Even though the Trabrenngründe possess a relatively low level of anonymity, data reveals that it does not automatically translate into social cohesion.

In terms of lack of social cohesion, the Trabrenngründe score nearly three times as high as its German counterpart. 17% of feared Viennese respondent find fault with the feeling that everyone only takes care of himself instead of building a *Gemeinschaft* in the sense of Ferdinand Tönnies⁹. This discrepancy between duration of residency, having a community where one knows each other but still not having a common basis might be a result of the weak social and leisure-orientated infrastructure. In Obstalleesiedlung, the basic conditions are the same but one has laid a stronger focus on community building strategies – just

in line with the CPTED approach (see 2.2.1).

However, neither measurement carried out suggests a higher level of fear of crime in Vienna which would have been to expect if one takes social disintegration as a decisive factor. The analysis of neighborhood relation produced contradicting results. No difference can be found concerning feared and the total in terms of negative neighbor relations in neither case study.

84% of the all respondents of the Trabrenngründe stated being satisfied with their neighbor relations with at least one aspect. The ones showing expressed fear among them show this to a degree of even 95%. That would mean that the more fear the better the neighbor relations. Logically however, this should translate into local social capital and therefore impede fear. Nonetheless, these data do not apply for the Obstalleesiedlung and therefore a generalization is not possible in any case.

Interestingly however is that the share of Berlin people stating directly their dissatisfactions is on the same level as in Vienna with around 6% respectively 5% for the feared. Hence, some people in Berlin seem to be undecided towards their relations with neighbors which might be connected with the lower mean value

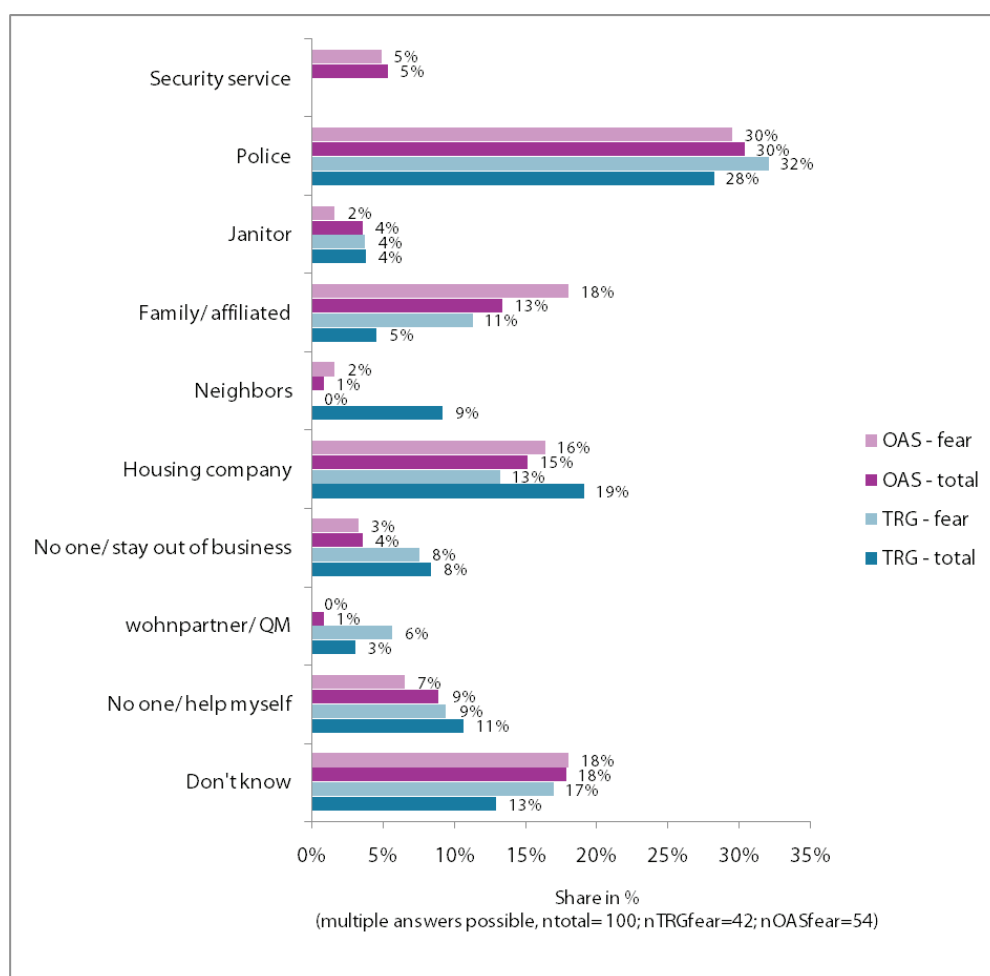
⁹For Tönnies *Gemeinschaft* is referring to the social formation of a community based on tradition which shows characteristics of solidarity, common values and beliefs. Its counterpart is *Gesellschaft* which is characterized by individuals that are connected through laws and contracts only. (Tönnies 1963: 16 ff.)

concerning the duration of residency. However, neighborhood relation do not seem to be a determining influencing variable in the process of the emergence of fear of crime as only around 5% of feared people state any dissatisfaction with this aspect. Recapitulating the results, no single dimension analyzed in the connection with expressive fear and social disintegration reached a higher proportion than 17% among respondents. As a result, the role of social disintegration factors can be evaluated as not reaching a significant level.

Perception of responsibilities

But what about the assumption that the lack of a responsible institution, someone who knows and cares about different aspects of the neighborhood leads to the emergence of fear of crime? In order to examine this hypothesis the respondents have been asked whom they would turn to in case of problems in (semi-) public space.

First of all, graph 17 reveals that there is no single natural person or institution in charge that enjoys



Graph 17: Person to turn to in case of problems in (semi-) public space – Expressive fear vs. total sample size - Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

public confidence to a maximum degree in any case study.

The feared population among the respondent show a certain trend towards seeking help on behalf of the police. In Vienna, this share is 12% higher among feared respondents than the total population size which leads to a share of 40% in the Trabrenngründe looking for help by the executive force.

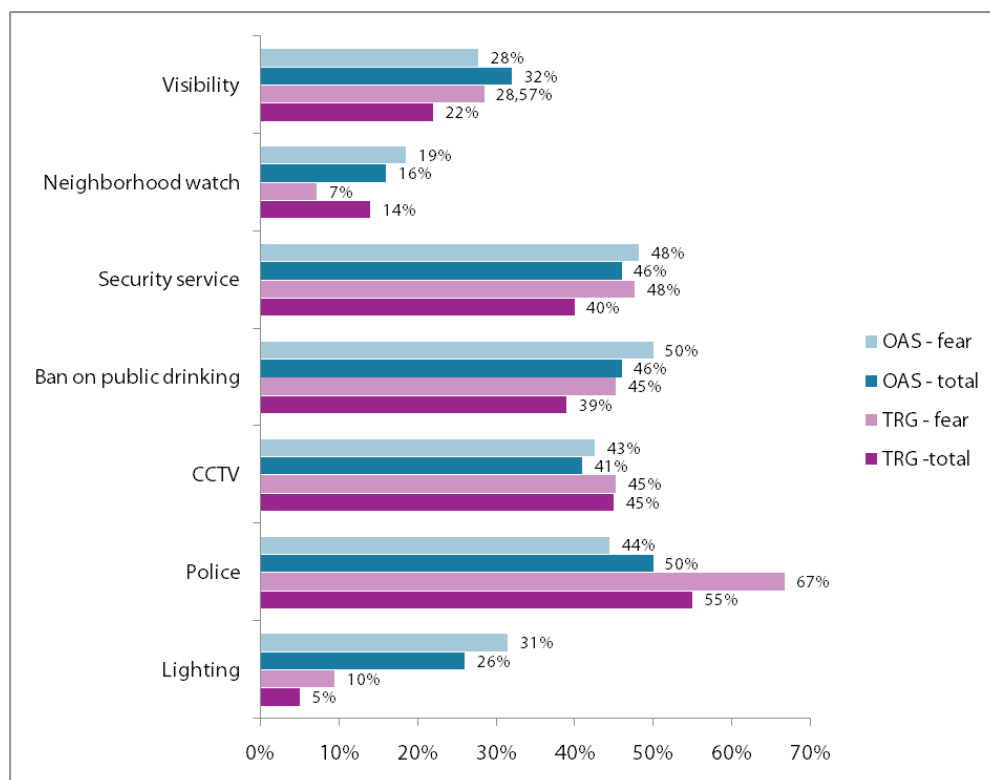
In addition the graph shows that people affected by expressed fear seem to turn towards family and closely related. This can interpreted as a return to the traditional community because the “world outside” (or *Gesellschaft* in Tönnies sense) conveys feelings of instability and insecurity. In Vienna the share rises by 6% to up to 11% compared to 13% reaching the level of 18% of respondents the *Obstalleesiedlung*. These insecurities of modern times are also reflected in the shares of people who have no clue who might be the appropriate support in case of problems. Both neighborhoods reach a level of every fifth feared person not knowing where to turn to and therefore it is positively correlated with expressed fear.

Additionally, the graph reveals that the lack of social cohesion is quite high in Vienna as no feared person would ask his neighbor for help in case of a problem.

Fear of the stranger

Despite the fact that 46% of residents of the Trabrenngründe perceive problems between Austrian citizens and people with migration background, this does not have any significant influence on expressed fear. The share of people considering intercultural aspects as a problem is even lower among them with 45%. As a consequence, Hirtenlehner's generalization thesis of fear of crime expressing general insecurities such as problems connected with increasing immigration does not apply for the Trabrenngründe as one might have assumed. Nonetheless, the level of intercultural problems is comparably high in contrast to for instance social disintegration criteria. But as there are no deviations between feared and non-feared it cannot explain its origin solely.

In Berlin on the contrary, 33% of the feared population claim intercultural problems whereas only 29% of the whole sample do likewise. Even though the level of perception of intercultural problems is slightly higher for the feared respondents it is still only every third person of them who perceives cultural conflicts as a problem.



Graph 18: Accepted solutions on behalf of residents to increase feelings of insecurity
(own data & layout)

5.5 Proposed solutions

Despite a lack of clear decisive factors that influence fear of crime, it appears interesting to examine what interviewees in general and the feared among them proposed as solutions towards feelings of insecurity. This strategy maybe gives another hint towards the origin of the expressed fear phenomenon. The interviewees of both case studies seem to feel a certain lack of control as the police, CCTV, security services and the ban of public drinking is among the most accepted approaches.

Demand for control

The police seem to be of increased importance on behalf of feared people in Vienna as two thirds of them call for an increased presence of police.

Interestingly, exactly the opposite is happening in Berlin. Here, the number of people with expressed fear asking for police interventions even declines from 50% down to 44%. This leads to the assumption that the trust towards formal institutions is way less grounded in the Obstalleesiedlung's population. Instead they call for more security services patrolling the area in order

to increase feelings of insecurity. The same applies for the Trabrenngründe even if the increase is not that strong.

Fight against incivilities

In order to decrease public drinking, 39% of the Viennese and 46% of the Berlin population call for a ban on alcohol. The feared among them even call for it to a stronger degree which lets assume that there is a connection between this type of social incivilities and expressed fear.

Situational crime prevention

CCTV is a strategy carried out in both neighborhoods and seems to be likewise accepted despite its controversy in terms of data security. Feared people show a slightly higher share of asking for more technical surveillance than the total population sizes.

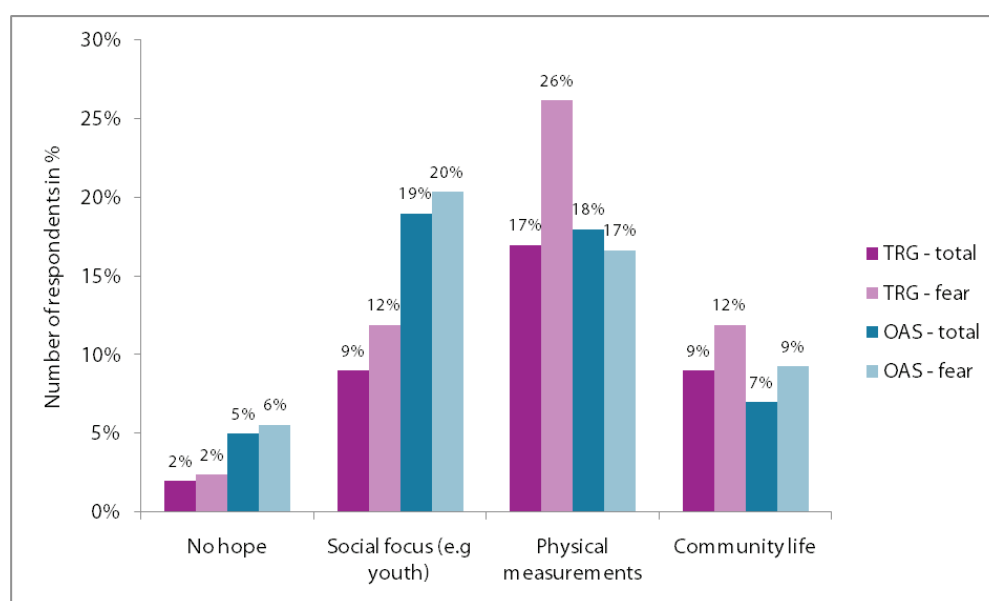
The call for improved lighting is much stronger in the Obstalleesiedlung than in the Trabrenngründe.

However, in both cities feared people consider it as a larger problem with a demand for action than the whole sample.

Physical changes to improve visibility are in Vienna more favored by people affected by expressive fear than by all respondents in the Trabrenngründe. The Obstalleesiedlung's data reveals exactly the opposite trend.

Social problems

The comprehension of a connection between social problems and quality of life is better known in the Obstalleesiedlung than in Vienna. Even though 80% of the Viennese feared population stated their mistrust towards loitering youth, they do not propose to change



Graph 19: Own ideas to improve quality of life – Expressed fear vs. total population size – Trabrenngründe vs. Obstalleesiedlung (own data & layout)

that situation by offering more facilities for them or more generally speaking to solve social problems of unemployment and deprivation. In Berlin every fifth person proposes a strategy like that no matter if expressing fear or not.

Strategies to improve the community life such as contributing to social cohesion by organizing common events are not very widespread in neither of the case studies. However, the feared population of both areas rather proposes this approach in comparison to the whole population. This might propose a connection with the emergence of fear of crime but if so it has to work on a very small scale as only every tenth is aware of the importance of community life. The call for physical improvements is especially strong among the feared of the Trabrenngründe whereas one cannot state anything similar for the Obstalleesiedlung.

06

Conclusion

The comparison of two similar appearing neighborhoods in Austria and Vienna revealed interesting results in terms of fear of crime.

Phenomenon

The concept can be distinguished between an experienced kind of fear which expresses the individual dimension and the expressed fear which rather embraces the dealing with broader social issues. Both types can be measured in the case study neighborhoods. The former has been measured with the help of a funnel model which reveals one person in the Trabrenngründe and three in the Obstalleesiedlung who experience fear of crime in its tightest sense. A modification of the model helps to identify expressive fear among 42 residents in the Viennese case study and 54 in Berlin. Surprisingly, the frequently used standard indicator overestimates experienced fear of crime and underestimates expressed fear and is therefore inapplicable for neither type.

Nature of expressed fear of crime

Expressed fear of crime is shown through avoiding behavior without stating any risk perception and emotions. The majority of the people affected are women. In

Vienna, the share of young people still studying is exceptionally high. However, this does not apply for the Obstalleesiedlung. Hypothesis 1 (see 4.1) of a negative correlation between fear of crime and satisfaction with the neighborhood could not be verified to a significant degree.

The expressed fear also finds its expression in the affected people's everyday life as the use of public urban space is impaired. The people concerned avoid certain kinds of spaces and types of uses. In both neighborhoods the shopping center, the main local amenity and entertainment infrastructure as well as parking areas have been the main "Angsträume". In both cities, social incivilities such as the consumption of drugs or loitering youth had been a strong motivator for avoidance behavior. However, social and physical incivilities are de facto hard to separate.

Origin of expressed fear of crime

The measurements conducted could not extract one specific cause of expressed fear.

Of strongest importance seems to be the disorder approach. Hypothesis 3 could neither be verified nor falsified. Hence, physical disorganization seems to contribute less to the emergence of fear than social incivilities if one considers the overall value of physical incivilities. However, in case one considers single aspects they reach higher values than the social ones among the feared populations. Loitering youth appears to play a significant role in the Trabrenngründe in relation to fear. A fact that diminishes the role of disorder is that Vienna in general accounts higher scores among the perception of incivilities but finally exhibits a lower level of expressed fear.

Victimization and social disintegration aspects have no significant influence on the emergence of expressed fear. Nonetheless, a trend towards a call for Gemeinschaft among the feared population is an interesting result. Of special interest could be the generalization thesis however it produces contradicting results as well. On the one hand the local youth of the Trabrenngründe seems to express a general concern about their future but this does not apply for Berlin. The lack

of correlation between intercultural conflicts and the fear of the other weakens reversely the importance of the generalization thesis.

Finally one can conclude that there is no single explanatory model for the origin of expressed fear but data rather points towards a combination of different factors.

Evaluation of carried out crime preventive strategies

Hypothesis 2 claims that the Trabrenngründe show higher level of fear due to a minimum of crime preventive strategies conducted and was falsified. Interestingly, the Viennese case study is sparsely equipped with social and cultural infrastructure and has to deal with many noise and youth-related conflicts. The Obstalleesiedlung however has to face similar problems of social incivilities but to a less extent which might be due to its stronger social infrastructure and projects carried out. However, the level of expressed fear shows higher values among residents of the Obstalleesiedlung which indicates the importance of the generalization thesis again.

The German approach of community-based crime prevention does not seem to work towards fear of crime prevention. This is possibly due to the fact that these rather gear towards community building strategies than

control – a frequently requested aspect on behalf of the feared. However, does that not impede the liveliness of the neighborhood? Of special interest is the fact that a stronger police force does not seem to be desired on behalf of the feared in Berlin – a result of a stronger will towards a social control by the community than an executive force? Both neighborhoods however carry out situational crime prevention strategies such as CCTV which probably contribute to a less intense expressed fear. A focus on the reduction of incivilities seems to be a suitable starting point for fear preventive actions but the relevance of other approaches has to be examined further.

Finally one can conclude that the origin of fear of crime is a very complex process that cannot be captured comprehensively with a standardized questionnaire. However, the ground is prepared with the help of this thesis to at least raise some interest in towards the topic.

Nonetheless, the survey revealed that crime preventive strategies do not automatically have fear of crime preventive effects which challenges the decision-making basis of many strategies conducted and opens the field for research focused on *“fear of crime prevention”*.

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Annex

08

Annex A: Questionnaire in German



Lebensqualität: öffentlicher Raum Rennbahnweg

Jessica Kramer
M.A. Urban Studies

Anonyme Umfrage zum Thema Lebensqualität im öffentlichen Raum der Großwohnsiedlung Rennbahnweg im Rahmen der Masterarbeit. Die Daten werden nur für meine Masterarbeit verwendet!

1. Seit wann leben Sie hier?

Seit (Monat/Jahr) _____

2. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wie gerne leben Sie hier?

1 (sehr gern) 2 3 4 5 (gar nicht gern) weiß nicht
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Warum? _____

3. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5 (1= sehr zufrieden), wie zufrieden sind Sie mit nachfolgenden Dingen am Rennbahnweg?

	1	2	3	4	5	weiß nicht	Bemerkungen
Soziale Angebote (z.B. Jugendclubs, Seniorentreffs, Kindergärten, soziale Beratung, ärztliche Versorgung)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Freizeitangebot (z.B. Cafés)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Baulicher Zustand:							
Eigenes Wohnhaus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Grünanlagen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Sauberkeit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Sicherheit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Hausbesorger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Verhältnis zu den Nachbarn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

4. Wie würden Sie das Verhältnis zu Ihren Nachbarn im Hausaufgang allgemein beschreiben? (z.B.: höflich, freundschaftlich, oberflächlich, vertraut...)

5. Gibt's irgendwelche Probleme am Rennbahnweg? Wenn ja, welche?

6. Gibt es Probleme mit nachfolgenden Dingen am Rennbahnweg?

	Nein	teilweise	ja	ja, mir egal	weiß nicht	Bemerkung
Straßenbeleuchtung	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Heruntergekommene Gebäude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Schmutz/ Müll	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Was? Wo? _____



Lebensqualität: öffentlicher Raum Rennbahnweg

Jessica Kramer
M.A. Urban Studies

	Nein	teilweise	ja	ja, mir egal	weiß nicht	Bemerkung
Herumhängende Jugendl.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Öffentlicher Alkoholkonsum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Graffiti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Vandalismus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Hundekot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Drogenspritzen u.ä.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Sandler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Belästigung von Frauen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Sonstiges _____

7. Wenn es Probleme vor Ort im öffentlichen Raum (z.B.: Graffiti, Jugendgangs) gäbe, an wen würden Sie sich am ehesten wenden um dies zu ändern?

Weiß nicht	<input type="checkbox"/>	Niemanden	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wohnpartner-Lokal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Nachbarn	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hausbesorger	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wohnungsunternehmen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Polizei	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sonstige	_____

8. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wie sicher fühlen Sie sich am Rennbahnweg, wenn Sie das Haus ...

	1 (sehr sicher)	2	3	4	5 (sehr unsicher)	weiß nicht
a) Tagsüber verlassen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
→ Gibt es Orte, die sie dann meiden?						
nein	weiß nicht	ja	Ort/ Vermeidungsgrund			
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____			
b) bei Dunkelheit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

verlassen?

→ Gibt es Orte, die sie dann meiden?

nein	weiß nicht	ja	Ort/ Vermeidungsgrund
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

9. Wie hoch ist Ihre Sorge, dass Sie in der nächsten Zeit Opfer einer Straftat werden könnten auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5? (z.B.: Beleidigung, Sachbeschädigung des Autos o.ä.)

1 (sehr hoch)	2	3	4	5 (keine Sorgen)	weiß nicht
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Wenn 1 bis 4:

a) Welche Straftat? _____

b) Wo genau? _____

c) Wie oft machen Sie sich diese Sorgen? (Skala von 1-5, 1 = regelmäßig, 5 = nie): _____



Lebensqualität: öffentlicher Raum Rennbahnweg

Jessica Kramer
M.A. Urban Studies

- 10. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wie hoch schätzen Sie die tatsächliche Wahrscheinlichkeit ein, dass (Sie) in der nächsten Zeit Opfer einer Straftat werden?**

1 (sehr hoch) 2 3 4 5 (sehr gering) weiß nicht

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Warum? _____

- 11. Sind Sie in den letzten 12 Monaten hier in der Obstalleesiedlung Opfer einer Straftat geworden? Wenn ja, was genau und wo?**

nein ☐ Keine Angabe ☐ ja, aber anderer Bezirk ☐

Ja ☐ _____

Wenn ja, welchen Einfluss hatte dies auf Ihr Sicherheitsgefühl?

- 12. Haben Sie jemals Maßnahmen ergriffen um sich am Rennbahnweg sicherer zu fühlen (z.B.: andere Wege genommen; Begleitung durch Andere etc.)? Wenn ja, welche?**

nein ☐ Keine Angabe ☐

Ja, und zwar ☐ _____

- 13. Würde es helfen folgende Ideen umzusetzen, damit Sie sich hier sicherer fühlen?**

	ja	teilweise	nein	weiß nicht	Bemerkungen
bessere Straßenbeleuchtung	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Videoüberwachung öfftl. Plätze	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Verbesserung der Übersichtlichkeit/ Einsehbarkeit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Größere Sauberkeit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Alkoholverbot an öfftl. Plätzen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Höhere Polizeipräsenz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Private Sicherheitsdienste	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Nachbarschaftswache	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

- 14. Was ist/ sind Ihre Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der Lebensqualität des Rennbahnweges**



Lebensqualität: öffentlicher Raum Rennbahnweg

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M.A. Urban Studies

15. Am Ende bitte ich Sie noch um einige persönliche Angaben.

Geschlecht:	männlich	<input type="checkbox"/>	weiblich	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alter:	_____Jahre			
Familienstand:	ledig	<input type="checkbox"/>	verheiratet	<input type="checkbox"/>
	geschieden	<input type="checkbox"/>	verwitwet	<input type="checkbox"/>
Haushaltsgröße:	1 Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	2 Personen	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3 – 4 Personen	<input type="checkbox"/>	> 5 Personen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Geburtsort:	_____			
Lebensunterhalt:	Student	<input type="checkbox"/>	Arbeitnehmer	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Selbstständig	<input type="checkbox"/>	Arbeitssuchend	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Rentner/in	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Wohnungs-:	_____			
Verwaltung				

Danke vielmals, dass Sie sich bereit erklärt haben, an der Studie teilzunehmen!

Annex B: Questionnaire in English



Quality of Life: Public space _____

Jessica Kramer
M.A. Urban Studies

Anonymous survey on the quality of life in the public space of the large housing estate _____.
The data will be used for my master thesis only!

1. Since when do you live here?

Since (month/year) _____

2. On a scale from 1 to 5, how much do you like to live here?

1 (very much)	2	3	4	5 (not at all)	don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Why? _____

3. On a scale from 1 to 5 (1= very satisfied), how satisfied are you with the following aspects in the Trabrenngründe?

	1	2	3	4	5	don't know	Remarks
Social infrastructure (e.g. youth center, club for elderly, kindergartens, medical care)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Leisure facilities (e.g. cafés)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Structural condition:							
Own building	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Green areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Cleanliness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Security	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Janitor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Neighbor relation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

4. How would you describe your relationship with your direct neighbors in your staircase? (e.g. : polite, amicable, , superficial, acquainted...)

5. Are there any problem in the Trabrenngründe? If so, which ones?

6. Do the following things pose any problem in your neighborhood?

	No	partly	yes	yes, don't care	don't know	Remark
Ligthing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Rundown buildings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Dirt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	What? Where? _____



Quality of Life: Public space _____

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	No	partly	yes	yes, I don't care	I don't know	Remark
Loitering youth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Public drinking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Graffiti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Vandalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Dog excrement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Drug consumption	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Beggars/ homeless	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Molesting of women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

Other _____

7. In case of problems in public space (e.g. graffiti, youth gangs) whom would you ask for help most likely?

Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	No one	<input type="checkbox"/>
wohnpartner-Lokal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Neighbors	<input type="checkbox"/>
Janitor	<input type="checkbox"/>	Housing association	<input type="checkbox"/>
Police	<input type="checkbox"/>	Others	_____

8. On a scale from 1 to 5, how safe you feel when leaving your neighborhood ...

	1 (very safe)	2	3	4	5 (very unsafe)	I don't know
a) During the day?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

→ Are there any spaces you avoid?

no	I don't know	yes	space/ reason behind avoidance
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

b) During darkness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

→ Are there any spaces you avoid?

no	I don't know	yes	space/ reason behind avoidance
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

9. On a scale from 1 to 5, how high is your level of worriedness that you become a victim of crime within the next time in this neighborhood? (e.g.: insult, property crime etc.)

1 (very high)	2	3	4	5 (no worries)	I don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If 1 to 4:

a) Which crime? _____

b) Where exactly? _____

c) How often do you feel worried? (scale 1 to 5: 1 = regularly, 5 = never): _____



Quality of Life: Public space _____

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M.A. Urban Studies

10. On a scale from 1 to 5, how high do you consider the actual probability that you become a victim of crime within the next time in this neighborhood?

1 (very high) 2 3 4 5 (very low) I don't know

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Why? _____

11. Have you become a victim of crime within the past 12 months in this neighborhood? If yes, what happened and where?

no ☐ refuse ☐ yes, but in another borough ☐

yes ☐ _____

If yes, which influence did it have on your feeling of security?

12. Did you ever conduct any strategies in order to feel safer in your neighborhood? (e.g.: taking other paths; being accompanied by someone else etc.)? If so, which ones?

no ☐ refuse ☐

yes, I did ☐ _____

13. Would it help to increase your feelings of security if the following ideas are put into practice?

	yes	partly	no	I don't know	Remarks
Improved lighting-	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
CCTV in public spaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Improved visibility	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Ban of alcohol in public spaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
More police	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Security service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Neighborhood Watch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

14. What kind of proposals do you have in order to improve the local quality of life?



Quality of Life: Public space _____

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15. Finally, I kindly ask for some personal data.

Gender:	männlich	<input type="checkbox"/>	weiblich	<input type="checkbox"/>
Age:	_____Jahre			
Family status:	ledig	<input type="checkbox"/>	verheiratet	<input type="checkbox"/>
	geschieden	<input type="checkbox"/>	verwitwet	<input type="checkbox"/>
Household size:	1 Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	2 Personen	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3 – 4 Personen	<input type="checkbox"/>	> 5 Personen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Place of birth:	_____			
Occupation:	Student	<input type="checkbox"/>	Employee	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Self-employed	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Retired	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Housing:	_____			
association				

Thank you very much for your participation!

MA Urban Studies

Masterthesis: FEAR (less) -

A case study on high-rise housing
estates in Vienna and Berlin 2011

Jessica Kramer

A0900265

Universität Wien