Trust and the Social Environment

Social trust is another important concept in the exploration of the fear of crime (FOC). According to Walklate (2007), ~~says that~~ trust in others relates back to an expectation of regular and honest behaviour from these others, but ~~that in reality, these social~~this expectation~~s~~ ~~is~~are not always fulfilled in reality ~~(Walklate, 2007)~~.

Crime fears can be seen as an argument against the proliferation of trust among~~st~~ members of the community, especially when victimisation is a factor. For example, the rate of sexual victimisation of women by men ~~that~~ whom they know and trust, rather than by ~~unknown~~ strangers, challenges the notion of a trusting worldview (Walklate, 2007). This creates recognition of the fact that a familiar individual may be no more trustworthy than a stranger, encouraging the breakdown of existing social bonds and discouraging the formation of new ones (Walklate, 2007). Walklate and Evans (1999) have explored the way in which trust influences a sense of ontological security, formulating a theory known as the 'square of trust'.

Where a person is situated within the four mechanisms of the square influences~~impacts upon~~ ~~who can be trusted and~~ how much they can trust and be trusted by ~~people can trust~~ others. For example, ~~This suggests that~~ communities with a high level of disorganisation, poor mechanisms of sociability, a reluctance to ~~offer~~ trust ~~to~~ members of state institutions such as the police, and high levels of organised crime ~~characterised by high levels of organisation~~ would foster very low levels of trust~~, for example~~. The hazards and uncertainties associated with the modern world ~~are also indicated~~have also been suggested to be detrimental to the formulation of social trust (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997).

Mistrust of others and a fear of strangers ~~are~~ have been cited as key components of the FOC concept (Jackson & Gray, 2010; Sommerfeldt, 2013), while tendencies towards particularised trust have failed to promote the formation of social capital that plays a vital role in relationship-building with others in the community (Sommerfeldt, 2013). This extends not only to other civilians, but also to law enforcement agents and justice representatives. Trust and positive perceptions of the effectiveness of police in the local area have been found to be associated with decreasing ~~crime fears~~FOC (Collins, 1991), and the AIC's victimisation survey has reported greater feelings of unsafety among those who believed the police were

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Commented [CE1]: As requested, I have formatted your thesis extract according to our recommended guidelines for theses.

Commented [CE2]: I edited this because as you are following APA-style referencing, your discussion of other people's work should always be written in the past tense, not the historical present tense (when you are referring to the author or authors in the narrative and not in parentheses).

Commented [CE3]: Do you mean FOC?

Commented [CE4]: Do you mean 'an impediment to'? Please clarify this sentence if possible.

Commented [CE5]: Please try to avoid redundant phrases like 'unknown strangers'.

Commented [CE6]: I revised these sentences because they were quite long and confusing. Please check these changes carefully to make sure that your intended meaning has been retained.

Commented [CE7]: What kind of hazards and uncertainties are you referring to here? Please give examples if possible.

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performing poorly in ~~regard to~~ dealing with local crime problems (Johnson, 2005). Beck ~~(as cited in Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, p. 151)~~ suggest~~ed~~s that this change may become increasingly widespread ~~as~~ because people "~~"~~have lost trust in the capacity of institutions to solve contemporary problems"~~"~~ (as cited in Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, p. 151). The proliferation of fear that can result from a lack of belief that law enforcement can competently manage and prevent crime is ~~then~~ argued to lead to greater distrust and fear of others in the local area, causing withdrawal from participation in community activities (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008).

Social trust plays a role in the interpretation and perception of crime victimisation risks and accompanying emotional responses (Rader & Cossman, 2011~~; Walklate, 2007~~; Visser, Scholte~~,~~ & Scheepers, 2013~~; Walklate, 2007~~). In particular, research on the impact of physical and social disorder upon ~~crime fear~~FOC suggests that the presence of such disorder erodes trust in the members of a community, while the experience of being socially integrated and trusting others in the neighbourhood is said to reduce FOC (Alper & Chappell, 2012; Conklin, 1975; Jackson, 2004; Renauer, 2007). It is possible that trust~~,~~ in particular~~,~~ may influence feelings of fear or safety within more insulated and socially active communities.

The exploration of trust has revolved around the college and university environment, and ~~inferences are supported by~~there is evidence that the cloistered physical and social environments afforded by college campuses may promote the development of generalised trust and a sense of belonging among students (Rader & Cossman, 2011). Students perceive themselves to be at a much lower risk of being victimised by other students on their campus than by non-student perpetrators. ~~Much literature~~Many studies concerned with the role of the social environment have identifie~~d s the capacity for~~that greater generalised trust and community involvement ~~that~~ can foster~~s~~ cohesion ~~to an~~ enhanced~~ a~~ sense of stability within a given community (Kaina, 2011; Kanan & Pruitt, 2002; Lorenc et al., 2013; Oh & Kim, 2009; Sommerfeldt, 2013; Walklate, 2007). ~~The~~ It has been claim~~ed~~s that this counteracts the sense of uncertainty and perceptions about unsafety and disorder that form from experiences within one's physical and social surroundings (Brunton-Smith, 2011; Jackson & Gray, 2010; Lorenc et al., 2013). Recent research ~~is supportive of~~ has supported this view, finding that cohesion in communities reduces social disorder (Franklin, Franklin~~,~~ & Fearn, 2008; Scarborough et al., 2010).

Commented [CE9]: Single quotation marks should be used in British/Australian English, except for quotations within quotations.

Commented [CE10]: Please note that multiple sources cited within the same parentheses should be ordered alphabetically in APA Style. I have corrected this for you throughout this extract.

Commented [CE11]: Do you mean 'erodes one's trust in the members of one's community' or 'erodes trust among the members of a community'? Please clarify.

Commented [CE12]: Do you mean 'insular, socially active' here?

Commented [CE13]: Do you mean in the United States? If you are referring to Australian studies, please use 'university' instead of 'college' here.

Commented [CE14]: Please check that this was what you meant to say.

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The prevailing argument is that society is largely governed by the need to calculate, manage and avoid the occurrence of risks, whether the risks are to an individual, a group or the entire society (Azmanova, 2011; Beck, 1992; Lupton & Tulloch, 1999; Walklate & Mythen, 2008). Emphasis is placed on the individual responsibilities of people in protecting themselves from risks, including those presented by crime, with the implication that victimisation is the result of failure to adequately secure one's self and personal belongings against these risks (Hawdon & Wood, 2014; Walklate & Mythen, 2010). This contradicts the very nature of social trust, implying that others cannot be relied upon to help protect against potential victimisation by crime. The cumulative effect is that the world is a dangerous and uncertain place, where people cannot be trusted and each individual must take measures to protect themselves, their loved ones and their valuables from the risks of criminal victimisation. This is the formation of the fearful culture that is believed to characterise post-modern Western communities. In these types of social environments, the predominant view is that other people are untrustworthy and potential offenders lurk around every corner waiting for victims (Azmanova, 2011; Critcher, 2011; Dupuis & Thorns, 2008; Heber, 2011).

Overall, it appears that the relationship between FOC and the development of social trust is bi-directional in nature. Fear in general appears to decrease trust and cohesion, while social relationships that are mutually trusting foster greater trust and promote cohesiveness and reciprocity, thereby reducing FOC (Sommerfeldt, 2013; Zanin, Radice & Marra, 2013). This is supported by recent findings that social cohesion and trust had a significant impact on FOC levels, with more extensive social networks being associated with lower FOC (Oh & Kim, 2009). Another study has explicitly identified trust as influencing fear of victimisation from physical, interpersonal crimes, findings that "trusting neighbours has more of an effect on fear of violent crime than perceptions of disorder or prior victimization" (Alper & Chappell, 2012, p. 360). This effect may not carry over to property-related offences because "trust has less of an effect on fear of property crime than perceptions of disorder or prior victimization" (Alper & Chappell, 2012, pp. 360–361).

Of the existing explanations of FOC, trust seems to align most closely with the social integration model. Trust encourages the participation of individuals in their community, as community members who trust each other are likely to be more cooperative and to take

more active roles within the neighbourhood (Zanin et al., ~~, Radice, & Marra,~~ 2013). Indeed it may be that the sense of belonging and trust among students on the same college campus may motivate students to intervene in cases where a crime might occur (Rader & Cossman, 2011). The apparent bi-directional relationship between fear and trust, however, means that strong FOC levels ~~of crime fear may~~might impede ~~the~~ social trust and integration processes~~,~~ ~~however~~. FOC is described as a '"corrosive factor" … [and a] "serious obstacle to the development and maintenance of high social trust' (Zanin et al., 2013, p. 524)", which ~~indicating~~ indicates the power that fear holds in its capacity to thwart trust within communities ~~(Zanin, Radice, & Marra, 2013, p. 524)~~. ~~Contrarily~~Conversely, the fostering of social trust between individuals, agencies, and communities can help to minimi~~s~~ze ~~crime fears~~FOC (Portela, Neira, & Salinas-Jimenez, 2013; Sherchan, Nepal, & Paris, 2013; Zanin et al.~~, Radice, & Marra~~, 2013).

Fear of Other ~~Alternative~~ Crime Types

Despite the widespread investigation of FOC over many decades, there is a lack of ~~the application to~~focus on offences other than 'street crime'. In particular, while the criminological enterprise has addressed perceptions concerning white-collar, domestic, and cyber ~~offending~~ offences (Dodge, Bosick, & Van Antwerpen, 2013; Piquero, Carmichael, & Piquero, 2008; Wall, 2008; Yamawaki et al., 2012), little attention has been given to ~~crime fear~~FOC in relation to these categories of offences. This may be in part due to the limited coverage of such crimes in the ~~news~~ media (Allen & Savigny, 2012), ~~where~~ which, for example, traditionally ignored assaults taking place between domestic partners ~~traditionally were ignored~~ (Johnson, 2005). The simple lack of visibility of such crimes to the ~~general~~ public may have led to less consideration of the risks of falling victim to these offences. To further this argument, ~~crimes such as~~ white-collar, cyber, and domestic offences often do not provide the media with a visible victim wh~~oom they~~ can be present~~ed~~ to audiences as an object deserving of empathy (Devereux, 2014; Dodge et al.,~~, Bosick, & Van Antwerp,~~ 2013). This is consistent with the ongoing ~~tendencies~~tendency for white-collar crimes in particular to generate less outrage from the public, despite the often massive amounts of harm caused (Dodge et al.~~, Bosick, & Van Antwerp~~, 2013).

Given the constant expansion of globalisation and the development of technologies ~~which~~ that provide new opportunities for crime (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Walklate & Mythen, 2008), it

Commented [CE21]: Please note that when citing sources that have three, four or five authors, you must write out all the names upon first mention and thereafter use only the first name and 'et al.'. This is a rule for APA in-text citations. I have corrected this for you throughout the document.

Commented [CE22]: Again, are you referring to US studies here?

Commented [CE23]: Please note the British/Australian spelling here.

Commented [CE24]: I have assumed that you discussed street crime earlier in the thesis. If you haven't, you could rephrase this as 'fear of crimes other than street crime' to be more specific. 'Alternative' is not an appropriate word here.

Commented [CE25]: Please check that this was what you meant to say.

Commented [CE26]: If you are using quotation marks here, please consider defining this term and what it covers (with examples).

Commented [CE27]: Do you mean criminological studies?

Commented [CE28]: Do you mean domestic violence?

Commented [CE29]: Is this name Van Antwerpen or Van Antwerp? You cited it twice as Van Antwerp at the end of this paragraph (but I changed those citations to 'et al.'). Please check the original source carefully and revise this name if necessary.

Commented [CE30]: Why are domestic violence victims not visible? For security reasons? Or because they are not considered victims at all? Please clarify.

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is important that this gap in the FOC research be~~is~~ rapidly and accurately addressed. At present, ~~available~~ there is evidence to suggest~~s~~ that fear of cyber and white-collar crimes is at least as complex as fear of street crime (ABS, 2011a~~,~~; 2011b; Henson, Reyns~~,~~ & Fisher, 2013; Wall, 2008), ~~although~~ and online financial fraud and identity theft have been identified as ~~being~~ the most feared type of crime among Australian adults (ABS, 2011a~~,~~; 2011b). There is some empirical evidence to suggest that white-collar offending is considered to be at least as serious as street crime, especially by older age groups~~,~~ ~~or~~ and those more highly educated (Piquero et al.~~, Carmichael, & Piquero~~, 2008).

~~In addition, t~~The pervasive myths ~~that continue to surround the area of~~concerning domestic violence in general may have precluded this sub-category of crimes from receiving the necessary empirical attention to date. For example, ~~common views surrounding domestic violence include the view that~~ verbal and emotional abuse are ~~not~~ not commonly viewed as acts of domestic ~~victimisation~~violence, and ~~that~~ victims who return to their abusers are ~~to often~~ blame~~d~~ for their own circumstances (Yamawaki et al., 2012). ~~Furthermore~~Indeed, there appears to be confusion among people about ~~what~~ the ~~sorts~~ types of behaviour that constitute ~~domestic crimes~~domestic violence. For example, ~~while~~ it is generally agreed that it is acceptable for a female to slap a male, ~~it is~~but not ~~believed to be acceptable~~ for a male to strike a female (Chapin, 2009). Female-perpetrated stalking may be seen as more deviant than male stalking (Chapin, 2009).

~~Thus~~In summary, there has been little research about the fear of ~~other~~ crime types other than street crime. The lessened newsworthiness of these crime ~~event~~s, as well as the problems in identifying a victim, means that reporting of these offences and~~,~~ by extension~~,~~ the public response to them ~~is~~ are minimal. ~~There are~~Although some recently published works have ~~which~~ found~~identify~~ that fear of online financial victimisation is relatively high among Australian populations, ~~but~~ such patterns are infrequent ~~and~~ the studies require further replication. Nevertheless, t~~The~~ continuing developments in globalisation and technology ~~which~~that have come to characterise first-world Western communities ~~, however,~~ indicate that further ~~study in the area of~~research into the fear of ~~alternative~~ crime ~~types~~s other than street crime is needed.

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Commented [CE32]: Please note that when citing more than one work by the same author, you should separate the years with a comma instead of a semi-colon. You only need to use a semi-colon if you are citing page numbers with the year (e.g., ABS, 2011a, p. 21; 2011b, p. 30). I have revised this for you throughout the document.

Commented [CE33]: Is this defined within cyber crime? Please clarify.

Commented [CE34]: This seems to be contradicted in the third sentence of your final paragraph. Please check.

Commented [CE35]: Please note that I have created a new paragraph here because your original paragraph was too long. It is important to focus each paragraph on one main topic if possible. This improves clarity and makes it easier for your readers to follow your argument.

Commented [CE36]: Please note that I changed this because 'furthermore' suggests that this sentence has nothing to do with the preceding one. However, you mentioned that verbal and emotional abuse are not usually viewed as domestic violence, which relates to the topic of this sentence.

Commented [CE37]: Please clarify what you mean by this.

Commented [CE38]: Are you referring to the ABS studies cited previously? Please clarify, as there is some contradiction. It might help to move this sentence to that paragraph to follow the ABS reference.

Commented [CE39]: Please check my clarification here.

Commented [CE40]: Most of this paragraph seems to focus on cyber and white-collar crimes, not domestic violence. Please consider revising and expanding it further. Can you mention other reasons why it is important to research domestic violence, for example?

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Trust and the Social Environment

Social trust is another important concept in the exploration of the fear of crime (FOC). According to Walklate (2007), trust in others relates back to an expectation of regular and honest behaviour from these others, but this expectation is not always fulfilled in reality.

Crime fears can be seen as an argument against the proliferation of trust among members of the community, especially when victimisation is a factor. For example, the rate of sexual victimisation of women by men whom they know and trust, rather than by strangers, challenges the notion of a trusting worldview (Walklate, 2007). This creates recognition of the fact that a familiar individual may be no more trustworthy than a stranger, encouraging the breakdown of existing social bonds and discouraging the formation of new ones (Walklate, 2007). Walklate and Evans (1999) have explored the way in which trust influences a sense of ontological security, formulating a theory known as the 'square of trust'.

Where a person is situated within the four mechanisms of the square influences how much they can trust and be trusted by others. For example, communities with a high level of disorganisation, poor mechanisms of sociability, a reluctance to trust members of state institutions such as the police, and high levels of organised crime would foster very low levels of trust. The hazards and uncertainties associated with the modern world have also been suggested to be detrimental to the formation of social trust (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997).

Mistrust of others and a fear of strangers have been cited as key components of the FOC concept (Jackson & Gray, 2010; Sommerfeldt, 2013), while tendencies towards particularised trust have failed to promote the formation of social capital that plays a vital role in relationship-building with others in the community (Sommerfeldt, 2013). This extends not only to other civilians, but also to law enforcement agents and justice representatives. Trust and positive perceptions of the effectiveness of police in the local area have been found to be associated with decreasing FOC (Collins, 1991), and the AIC's victimisation survey has reported greater feelings of unsafety among those who believed the police were performing poorly in dealing with local crime problems (Johnson, 2005). Beck suggested that this change may become increasingly widespread because people 'have lost trust in the capacity of institutions to solve contemporary problems' (as cited in Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, p. 151). The proliferation of fear that can result from a lack of belief that law enforcement can

competently manage and prevent crime is argued to lead to greater distrust and fear of others in the local area, causing withdrawal from participation in community activities (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008).

Social trust plays a role in the interpretation and perception of crime victimisation risks and accompanying emotional responses (Rader & Cossman, 2011; Visser, Scholte & Scheepers, 2013; Walklate, 2007). In particular, research on the impact of physical and social disorder upon FOC suggests that the presence of such disorder erodes trust in the members of a community, while the experience of being socially integrated and trusting others in the neighbourhood is said to reduce FOC (Alper & Chappell, 2012; Conklin, 1975; Jackson, 2004; Renauer, 2007). It is possible that trust, in particular, may influence feelings of fear or safety within more insulated and socially active communities.

The exploration of trust has revolved around the college and university environment, and there is evidence that the cloistered physical and social environments afforded by college campuses may promote the development of generalised trust and a sense of belonging among students (Rader & Cossman, 2011). Students perceive themselves to be at a much lower risk of being victimised by other students on their campus than by non-student perpetrators. Many studies concerned with the role of the social environment have identified that greater generalised trust and community involvement can foster cohesion an enhanced sense of stability within a given community (Kaina, 2011; Kanan & Pruitt, 2002; Lorenc et al., 2013; Oh & Kim, 2009; Sommerfeldt, 2013; Walklate, 2007). It has been claimed that this counteracts the sense of uncertainty and perceptions about unsafety and disorder that form from experiences within one's physical and social surroundings (Brunton-Smith, 2011; Jackson & Gray, 2010; Lorenc et al., 2013). Recent research has supported this view, finding that cohesion in communities reduces social disorder (Franklin, Franklin & Fearn, 2008; Scarborough et al., 2010).

The prevailing argument is that society is largely governed by the need to calculate, manage and avoid the occurrence of risks, whether the risks are to an individual, a group or the entire society (Azmanova, 2011; Beck, 1992; Lupton & Tulloch, 1999; Walklate & Mythen, 2008). Emphasis is placed on the individual responsibilities of people in protecting themselves from risks, including those presented by crime, with the implication that victimisation is the result of failure to adequately secure one's self and personal belongings against these risks (Hawdon & Wood, 2014; Walklate & Mythen, 2008, 2010). This contradicts the very nature

of social trust, implying that others cannot be relied upon to help protect against potential victimisation by crime. The cumulative effect is that the world is a dangerous and uncertain place, where people cannot be trusted and each individual must take measures to protect themselves, their loved ones and their valuables from the risks of crime. This is the formation of the fearful culture that is believed to characterise post-modern Western communities. In these types of social environments, the predominant view is that other people are untrustworthy and potential offenders lurk around every corner waiting for victims (Azmanova, 2011; Critcher, 2011; Dupuis & Thorns, 2008; Heber, 2011).

Overall, it appears that the relationship between FOC and the development of social trust is bi-directional in nature. Fear in general appears to decrease trust and cohesion, while social relationships that are mutually trusting foster greater trust and promote cohesiveness and reciprocity, thereby reducing FOC (Sommerfeldt, 2013; Zanin, Radice & Marra, 2013). This is supported by recent findings that social cohesion and trust had a significant impact on FOC levels, with more extensive social networks being associated with lower FOC (Oh & Kim, 2009). Another study has explicitly identified trust as influencing fear of victimisation from physical, interpersonal crimes, finding that 'trusting neighbours has more of an effect on fear of violent crime than perceptions of disorder or prior victimization' (Alper & Chappell, 2012, p. 360). This effect may not carry over to property-related offences because 'trust has less of an effect on fear of property crime than perceptions of disorder or prior victimization' (Alper & Chappell, 2012, pp. 360–361).

Of the existing explanations of FOC, trust seems to align most closely with the social integration model. Trust encourages the participation of individuals in their community, as community members who trust each other are likely to be more cooperative and to take more active roles within the neighbourhood (Zanin et al., 2013). Indeed it may be that the sense of belonging and trust among students on the same college campus may motivate students to intervene in cases where a crime might occur (Rader & Cossman, 2011). The apparent bi-directional relationship between fear and trust, however, means that strong FOC levels might impede social trust and integration processes. FOC is described as a 'corrosive factor … [and a] serious obstacle to the development and maintenance of high social trust' (Zanin et al., 2013, p. 524), which indicates the power that fear holds in its capacity to thwart trust within communities. Conversely, the fostering of social trust between individuals, agencies and

communities can help to minimise FOC (Portela, Neira & Salinas-Jimenez, 2013; Sherchan, Nepal & Paris, 2013; Zanin et al., 2013).

Fear of Other Crime Types

Despite the widespread investigation of FOC over many decades, there is a lack of focus on offences other than 'street crime'. In particular, while the criminological enterprise has addressed perceptions concerning white-collar, domestic and cyber offences (Dodge, Bosick & Van Antwerpen, 2013; Piquero, Carmichael & Piquero, 2008; Wall, 2008; Yamawaki et al., 2012), little attention has been given to FOC in relation to these categories of offences. This may be in part due to the limited coverage of such crimes in the media (Allen & Savigny, 2012), which, for example, traditionally ignored assaults taking place between domestic partners (Johnson, 2005). The simple lack of visibility of such crimes to the public may have led to less consideration of the risks of falling victim to these offences. To further this argument, white-collar, cyber and domestic offences often do not provide the media with a visible victim who can be presented to audiences as an object deserving of empathy (Devereux, 2014; Dodge et al., 2013). This is consistent with the ongoing tendency for white-collar crimes in particular to generate less outrage from the public, despite the often massive amounts of harm caused (Dodge et al., 2013).

Given the constant expansion of globalisation and the development of technologies that provide new opportunities for crime (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Walklate & Mythen, 2008), it is important that this gap in the FOC research be rapidly and accurately addressed. At present, there is evidence to suggest that fear of cyber and white-collar crimes is at least as complex as fear of street crime (ABS, 2011a, 2011b; Henson, Reyns & Fisher, 2013; Wall, 2008), and online financial fraud and identity theft have been identified as the most feared type of crime among Australian adults (ABS, 2011a, 2011b). There is some empirical evidence to suggest that white-collar offending is considered to be at least as serious as street crime, especially by older age groups and those more highly educated (Piquero et al., 2008).

In addition, the pervasive myths concerning domestic violence in general may have precluded this sub-category of crimes from receiving the necessary empirical attention to date. For example, verbal and emotional abuse are not commonly viewed as acts of domestic violence, and victims who return to their abusers are often blamed for their own circumstances (Yamawaki et al., 2012). Indeed, there appears to be confusion among people about the types

of behaviour that constitute domestic violence. For example, it is generally agreed that it is acceptable for a female to slap a male, but not for a male to strike a female (Chapin, 2009). Female-perpetrated stalking may be seen as more deviant than male stalking (Chapin, 2009).

In summary, there has been little research about the fear of crime types other than street crime. The lessened newsworthiness of these crimes, as well as the problems in identifying a victim, means that reporting of these offences and, by extension, the public response to them are minimal. Although some recently published works have found that fear of online financial victimisation is relatively high among Australian populations, such patterns are infrequent and the studies require further replication. Nevertheless, the continuing developments in globalisation and technology that have come to characterise first-world Western communities indicate that further research into the fear of crimes other than street crime is needed.