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## ABSTRACT

Based on data from the Safe School Study conducted by the National Institute of Education, this report focuses on how students are affected by their perceptions of danger or threatening situations at school. A review of major research studies on student fear provides the theoretical framework for a discussion of the most probable victims of fear, the conditions or events to which fear is related, and the side-effects of fear. Fearful students are more likely to have few friends, less parental support, lower grades, and a lower self-perception of their reading ability than unfearful students. Four primary factors influencing a student's level of fear in school are the student's grade level, the location of the school, recent victimization of the pupil while at school, and crime in the immediate neighborhood. Apprehensiveness among students reduces concentration on assigned tasks and creates an atmosphere of mistrust. A crime reduction program or an improvement program in education, public relations, and school spirit can help to reduce fear. Suggestions for further research include use of interviews and observations to enrich the data base, refinement of the measures of apprehensiveness, delineation of antecedents and consequences of fear, and the study of schools' responses to climates of fear.  
(Author/WD)

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## STUDENT FEAR IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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## CHAPTER I

### FEAR IN HIGH SCHOOLS: AN INTRODUCTION

The focus of this report is fear expressed by students, the fear of being hurt or harmed in school. The source of information is the Safe School Study which was conducted by the National Institute of Education at the request of Congress. The major report from that ten-year effort has already been published,<sup>1</sup> but the question of student fear and apprehensiveness has become so important as to warrant further analysis of the Study data. This report, however, focuses specifically on how students are affected by their perception that they are in some sort of danger of being hurt or bothered while at school. The purpose of this work is twofold: to examine the nature and prevalence of these perceptions and to describe some concomitants and consequences that such a state of fear and concern has for youth.

#### Why Should We Be Concerned?

During recent decades, crime and violence in schools have received a good deal of public attention; numerous studies have prompted countless articles and books. As a consequence of this period of awareness and reporting of unwanted student acts, it has become evident that much public confusion has resulted from misunderstanding such terms as "crime" and "violence" as these are applied to students; this in turn has led to misperceptions of school violence. For example, the public's idea of an "assault" or an "extortion" is not in keeping with usual application of these terms in public school

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1 U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Violent Schools -- Safe Schools: The Safe School Study Report to Congress Volume I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office) 1978. An Abstract of the Study is provided in Appendix B.

settings. To the public at large, a criminal assault would generally be both brutal and fearful; in most school districts, fights in which both parties have agreed to combat are frequently termed "assaults." As a result, the national estimates of "assaults in schools" vastly exceed the real problem -- and the public mistakenly believes that vicious confrontations are a common occurring occurrence in many U.S. schools. Misinterpretation also distorts legal terms which are frequently misapplied to student actions. Hence teachers and the public may easily be misled about the extent of serious behavior in schools because terms with serious, criminal connotations are applied to actions which, in these settings, are usually not so severe.

This misperception of the seriousness of acts is frequently accompanied by a second problem: improper definitions of offenses. For example, school administrators frequently confuse such terms as burglary, theft, and robbery with non-malicious property destruction and vandalism; fights and assaults; and so forth.

The third problem relating to the current lack of knowledge about fear in schools is that the factors contributing to fearfulness have never before been analyzed. Although some schools have reputations as breeding grounds for fearful students, the causes of this phenomenon have been derived almost wholly by conjecture. Understanding of those acts which lead to high fear levels is particularly poor. Does massive property destruction in a school produce as much fear among students as that caused by a gang takeover of a part of the school or by an organized extortion ring?

Due to misperception of the seriousness of offenses, and the improper definition of acts, and the lack of understanding of what leads to fearfulness -- student fear lacked a context adequate for detailed analytical discussion. It is the purpose of this report to provide such a context.



Another reason for concern about fear in schools follows from the issues raised above: the lack of public understanding of fear and its consequences has thus far prevented educators from developing intervention strategies that deal effectively with the problem. Since most programs addressing crime and violence in schools fail even to separate offenses against persons from offenses against property this almost guarantees that existing efforts will not be wholly successful and that they cannot purposefully aim at reducing student fear of violence in their schools.

Another group of reasons for concern over fear in public schools revolves around the observation that student apprehensiveness is slow to build within a school -- and is, therefore, difficult to identify in its early stages. This phenomenon may be explained in many ways. First, many in-school problems (such as fighting, shakedowns, and "hassling") are frequently seen by youth as usual and tolerable aspects of teenage life. Second, youth experience a great deal of peer pressure not to discuss student-related problems with school authorities. Third, adults may not feel that the "problems" (such as locker thefts, hazing, or threats) which students report to them are serious enough for their intervention. Fourth, some of the most pervasive low-level offenses (such as extortion, drug use, and threats) are the most difficult to prevent. In light of these realities, it is not difficult to imagine how foundations for more serious acts (such as drug dealing, assaults against teachers, or arson) become established.

There are two unwholesome consequences to be faced by school administrators when offenses of any kind become routine in their schools. First, students come to believe that the school administration permits these actions as socially acceptable, or that the school authorities are incapable of preventing

them. Since once students realize that school personnel lack the will or ability to prevent these minor offenses, they proceed further to test possible weaknesses in the school. The school will then begin to experience a wide range of problems and high levels of fear. Such transgressions as loitering in the halls, vandalism, insubordination and racial tension will occur frequently and without warning.

So, to counteract past confusion, misconception, and lack of knowledge, we have tried to provide some explanation, clarity, and newly analyzed data. It is our expectation that this paper may serve as a base for comparison for future studies of fear among high school students.

#### What Has Previous Research Told us About Fear in Schools?

The literature discussing the nature and extent of youthful crime, violence, and vandalism in public schools is plentiful;<sup>1</sup> there is even an emerging literature discussing the criminal victimization of students.<sup>2</sup> However, including the Safe Schools report, there are only three major sources for research-based information about student fear in and of schools.

The most extensive study that previously addressed students' fear of crime was conducted by Michael Lalli and Leonard Savitz at Temple University in Philadelphia. In their longitudinal cohort study of approximately 1250 Philadelphia families (all of whom had a twelve year old male child in 1970) Lalli and Savitz discovered that although "Most boys (65%) believed that

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1 Citations to the major literature can be found in: Rubel, Robert J. et al, (compilers) Crime and Disruption in School: A selected Bibliography (Washington, D.C.: National Institute on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, U.S. Department of Justice) 1979.

2 McDermott, M. Joan Criminal Victimization in Urban Schools (Buffalo, New York: State University of New York) 1979; and Dade County Public Schools Experiences of Teachers and Students with Disruptive Behavior in the Dade Public Schools. (Miami, Florida: Dade County Public Schools): 1976.

parts of the city just beyond the local neighborhood were dangerous; 43% of the youths evinced the same fear of their immediate area. School-related settings were of considerable concern to many boys; about one-quarter found the school building itself (halls and rooms) dangerous, and about half were fearful of streets leading to and from school, and the school yard.<sup>1</sup> (For the adolescents filling out the questionnaires, Lalli and Savitz defined "dangerous places" as ones "where there was a good chance that you would be beaten up or robbed.") With regard to schools, these researchers found that 47% of the respondents feared school yards; 28% feared school hallways; and 22% feared classrooms.<sup>2</sup>

By way of commentary, Lalli and Savitz noted that "The perception of the school environment as being dangerous could very well influence the students' ability to do well in school. A student who feels that he is in danger of being beaten up or robbed in the school room is not likely to devote full attention to the teacher. Also, the perception of the school yard and halls as dangerous may account somewhat for the high truancy rates which are recorded by the inner-city schools."<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Savitz, Leonard "Intergenerational Patterns of the Fear of Crime." Interim Report to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice (unpublished): 1976.
  - 2 Lalli, Michael and Leonard D. Savitz "The Fear of Crime in the School Enterprise and its Consequences." Education and Urban Society Volume 8 No. 4 (August) 1976.
  - 3 Lalli, Michael and Leonard Savitz "Delinquency and City Life" Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice: 1972

Lalli and Savitz, "The Fear of Crime in the School Enterprise and its Consequences." op cit. Regarding alternatives available to youth for relieving stress caused by fear of other students in the school community, Lalli and Savitz proposed three general options. First, families could move from neighborhoods with unsafe schools to ones where schools are considered safe. Second, students could affiliate with larger groups of like-minded youth -- perhaps gangs -- in an effort to secure greater personal protection. Third, students could respond to the perceived threat of danger by avoiding school altogether -- by truancing.

The second study that touches on issues of student fear and avoidance was conducted in Dade County, Florida in 1976.<sup>1</sup> Although the primary focus of this work is on the criminal victimization of students, a few of its questions asked about fear and avoidance behavior resulting from what victimization.

Among the most interesting findings were that about one-fifth of the responding secondary school students said that their ability to learn in class was affected by their fear of other students. Although elementary school students more frequently said their learning was affected, the secondary school students reported that the interference was more dramatic and obstusive. Similarly, senior high students reported their fear to be more crippling than did younger students.

Other interesting findings from the Dade County study are these:

- \* The younger the child, the more likely he/she is to avoid places seen as dangerous.
- \* Junior high students tend to respond to danger or fear by having friends around them as a support system.
- \* Older students are much less likely to report to others the threatening behavior of other students.
- \* Payment of extortion money for protection is reported by some (1.5%) senior high students.

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1. Dade County Public Schools, op cit

In sum, the Dade County study depicts students in elementary grades as being victimized and exhibiting some fear and avoidance, but trusting in authority and reporting their problems to school personnel. To alleviate the fear of being bothered or hassled junior high school students seem to find peer support more effective than the "official channels." By the time students are in senior high school, they have largely ceased relying on school authorities and are absorbing discomfitures as they arise.

Violent Schools -- Safe Schools is the third, and most recent research report containing useful information about student fear in schools. Although we will be considering the study data in fine detail in the second part of this report, it is apposite to review the published findings.

In considering eight school-related locations, the Safe School Study found that one third of the large-city junior high school pupils said they avoided three or more of those sites. Although junior high students score higher on measures of fear than do senior high school pupils, even among the latter, 18% in large-city schools report avoidance of three or more places. In rural areas, where crime, violence, and fear are presumably less frequent than in large-city surroundings, about 19% of junior and 11% of senior high school students still report avoidance of three or more places. The two areas most often avoided are bathrooms and places on school grounds.

It was also found that student fear is related to attendance. Fear-induced absences are highest in large-city junior high schools \* where 7.6% of the students report having remained home, out of fear, at least one day during the preceding month. At the other end of the scale, 3.5% of the rural senior high school students so report.

\* the Safe School Study did not obtain any data from elementary school pupils.

When relating fear-induced absences to avoidance of school locations, we find that four times as many youths who report avoiding locations also stayed home at least one day the previous month, out of fear, as did students who avoided no areas of the school.

Patterns of fear and avoidance are also discussed by Savitz and by McDermott. Savitz, as we have already noted, discovered that about one-fourth of his sample of boys found the school building itself -- the halls and rooms -- to be dangerous places. About one-half of the youth feared the streets leading to and from their schools; many students feared the school yard.<sup>1</sup> McDermott's results constitute an interesting counterpoint to the more usual research findings. Of the 270,000 cases of criminal victimization she examined, only 2% of students and 3% of teachers registered "fear of reprisal" as the reason they did not inform police about larcenies, robberies, assaults, or rapes of which they were the victims.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, then, we see that scientifically acceptable research studies have presented mere glimpses of student fear in schools, but have -- to date -- never investigated it in any depth. We do know that some students are so fearful that at times they do not even come to school; that restrooms are among the most feared places in any secondary school; and that large-city junior high schools are the most fear-inducing locations in which a student could find him or herself.

What has not been known -- until this thorough analysis of the Safe School Study data -- is precisely which factors, singly or in combination, increase or decrease the likelihood that a student in any given location will sense fear while at school.

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1 Savitz, Leonard "Intergenerational Patterns of the Fear of Crime."  
Op. cit.

2 McDermott, M. Joan Op. Cit.

## How Do Schools Currently Address Crime and Violence?

Simply put, schools and school districts take one of three directions when confronted with problems of violent or potentially violent actions of students: they ignore the problem, call the police, or develop an internal capability to address the situation.

The first approach -- ignoring the problem -- was the most prevalent one in the 1960s and early 1970s. From many studies as well as from testimony collected by the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency in its 1975 Hearings, we learned that teachers often resisted telling principals of their problems for fear of being considered unable to control their classrooms; principals, for their parts, refrained from reporting the range of misbehaviors to the central office staff for parallel reasons. The school districts, then, were largely unaware of the nature and extent of serious offenses committed in their schools. This situation began to change at about the same time as offices of school security were formed in cities across the country in the early 1970s.

The second approach -- calling the police -- stemmed in part from the fact that improved reporting methods established by newly-formed school security offices forced principals to give new exposure to offenses occurring in their schools. That is, as reporting requirements became stricter, the school district offices became increasingly aware of incidents at each local school. It became more and more difficult for principals to disregard acts; but they realized that if they reported these acts to the police, then their official responsibilities were shared, if not altogether abrogated. Thus the act of calling the police in the early 1970s was more stress-reducing than stress-producing, as it had been in earlier years. Indeed, as long as

police were involved, incidents could be passed off as further examples of the increasingly violent nature of society in general -- and of the increasing violence of students in one's school in particular.

Between 1968 and 1974, the third option -- developing an ability within the school district to respond to cases of violent and criminal student actions -- was generally restricted to large cities.<sup>1</sup> However, by 1979 virtually all cities with internal problems of crime and violence had developed some sort of planned response. A common response was to create a school security office. These vary significantly from city to city, but as a general rule have some responsibility for personal and property security. Many cities have security officers stationed within schools, while others use a crisis-team approach; many cities have intrusion detection systems monitored at a central location, while others involve city police in nighttime patrols. No program known to the writers focuses on fear of crime on a school system-wide basis.

All school systems use suspension and other disciplinary measures. In addition, large school districts have an array of programs designed to involve many of the "rougher" youth in productive activities. On the other hand, the smaller and less well-financed school systems have no such coordinated effort, and in them school security is the primary means for handling major student and school "problems".

#### What Does This Document Contain?

This report presents the most detailed analysis of student fear in schools published thus far. As previously noted, the underlying data were gathered by the National Institute of Education as part of a Congressionally mandated study.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The report to Congress is available free of charge from the Public Affairs Office, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.  
20208



The Study sample consisted of 31,373 questionnaires (an 82% response rate) filled out by students attending 582 public secondary schools (a 91% response rate). Additionally, 6,283 of the students (an 83% response rate) participated in follow-up interviews. We have treated these data with the aim of developing information about student fear in schools.<sup>1</sup>

The Safe Schools Study contains neither physiological nor observational data on individual students; hence, preoccupation with danger of physical harm or harassment was inferred from answers to questionnaire items focusing on avoidance, fear-impelled absence, and self reports of fear.<sup>1</sup> Analysis of patterns of questionnaire responses permitted us to measure the degree of students' fear of being hurt or bothered while in school settings -- as expressed by the students themselves.

It is our hope that educators will be able to use the newly-developed measuring instrument and the information presented here in planning effective programs aimed at reducing fear and violence in schools.

In the next three chapters we describe how fear among junior and senior high school students was measured and present the most important findings obtained by this study.

Thus Chapter II enumerates the characteristics of those students most apt to signal fear by their questionnaire responses.

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix A contains the student questionnaire items which provided the data upon which this report is based. It also describes the technique of combining them into an Apprehensiveness Scale score.

Chapter III directs our attention to the nature of the school setting and of the neighborhood-the environment in which both very fearful students and those totally free of fear live. Here the reader will also find a summary of the attitudes expressed by the students toward people in their environment, e.g. their teachers, principals, fellow students.

Chapter IV systematically treats those conditions or events that contribute to the probability that a given student, or group of students will be afflicted by fear.

The last Chapter of this paper is addressed to school officials who wish to diagnose and reduce fear among their students; it also contains a discussion of therapeutic approaches considered potentially effective by the writers. A set of three Appendices is attached for the convenience of the reader.

## CHAPTER II

### MEASURING STUDENT FEAR: WHO IS AFRAID

Prior to the Safe School Study, no researcher had questioned a large nationwide sample of students about factors affecting fear in public schools. When the Study team arrived at the estimate that some 3.7 million secondary school students were "moderately or very apprehensive" while at school--an estimate corroborated independently by the Gallup Youth Survey -- we decided to subject the relevant data to detailed systematic analysis. We reasoned then that this surprisingly large number, if it were to become public knowledge, would lead both decision-makers and school authorities to plan for remedial action. It was also clear that merely knowing the magnitude of the social problem was not sufficient information for effective planning. By examining empirical data answers had to be provided to the following questions:

1. Who are the most probable victims of fear?
2. To what conditions or events (in the life space of the students) is fear related?
3. What are the concomitants or "side-effects" of fear?

Before focusing on these basic questions, a methodological problem had to be solved: that of deriving from the existing data a satisfactory measure

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The Gallup Youth Survey of October, 1977 (conducted by the Gallup Organization, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey: material used here with permission) found that 18% of a national sample of secondary school students feared for their personal safety while at school. This corresponds closely to the Safe Schools Study finding that 17.4% of secondary school students were apprehensive of harm or being bothered at school. (The 17.4% figure yields the estimate of 3.7 million students).

Since the Gallup Youth Survey was conducted by a different technique (telephone interviews), and with different samples, we view it as an independent confirmation of our findings. Furthermore, the distributions of fear between subgroups (race, age, sex) are virtually identical in both surveys.

of fear. The Scale of Apprehensiveness,<sup>1</sup> based on responses to three questionnaire items, fulfilled the requirement of assigning every respondent to one of four categories-not apprehensive (score 0), slightly (1), moderately (2), very apprehensive (3). Having applied the Apprehensiveness Scale to responses of some 30,000 students, we can here specify what kind of student is most susceptible to fear at school.

#### What Kinds of Students are Most Apprehensive?

Age: Student fear is much more prevalent at the junior high school level than among senior high students. The chance of a junior high school student being moderately or very apprehensive is 1 in 4, whereas the chance of a senior high school student exhibiting that same degree of fear is 1 in 7. Considering enrollment differences in junior and senior highs, the risk rates translate to about 1.7 million junior and 2.0 million senior high youth afflicted by moderate or severe fear of apprehension in the public schools in this country.

It is useful to note that the Gallup Youth Survey (previously cited) tabulated its data by age of respondent. Gallup found that 22% of the 13-15 year olds and 14% of the 16-18 year olds were fearful while in school. Our finding, then, that 13.8% of the senior high students are apprehensive corresponds with the Gallup finding; our figure of 25% for the junior high students is higher than Gallup's because our survey included children in the

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1 fully described in Appendix A, where we also explain why we chose "Apprehensiveness" rather than "Fear" as the dimension measured.

highly apprehensive pre-thirteen age group. The relative apprehension rates for our study and for Gallup's are listed in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1

Apprehensiveness in Junior  
and Senior High Schools  
(percent of students)

Degree of Apprehensiveness	Safe School Study		Gallup Survey	
	Junior High	Senior High	13-15 years (Junior High Ages)	16-18 years (Senior High Ages)
None	43.4	60.4		
Slight	31.6	25.8		
Fearful (moderately or very)	25.0	13.6	22.0	13.8

Race: Our data (and Gallup's Youth Survey) show that in both junior and in senior high schools, relatively more minority students than white students are fearful. Data reflecting this conclusion are presented in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2

Apprehensiveness among Minority and White  
Students in Junior and Senior High Schools

Race	Percent Apprehensive Students	
	Junior High Schools	Senior High Schools
Minorities*	27.4 to 28.2	15.5 to 18.8
White	23.7	13.0

\* Minorities include: Asian-American; Spanish-American; Black; American Indians and Alaskan Natives

Sex: Whereas younger male and female students show approximately equal fear scores, senior high school girls exhibit greater apprehensiveness than do boys. Once again, the Gallup Survey reached the same conclusions. It is our hypothesis that the greater fear scores of the senior high school women are due to apprehension over encounters of a sexual nature.

Grades in School: The Safe Schools Study asked students about their grade point average for the previous semester. The relationship between grades and apprehensiveness is shown in Table 3. Highly apprehensive students are considerably more likely to get below average grades (D's and F's) than higher grades.

TABLE 3  
Apprehensiveness and Grade Average  
(percentages)

Achievement Level	Degree of Apprehensiveness				Total Sample
	None*	Slight*	Moderate*	High*	
High (A's)	17.3	20.6	18.1	13.2	18.2
Above average (B's)	39.3	39.2	37.9	33.0	38.9
Average (C's)	35.7	33.3	35.3	38.2	35.1
Below average (D's and F's)	7.7	6.9	8.7	15.6	7.8

\* Differences between distributions in adjacent columns are significant beyond the .01 level. (Kolmogorov-Smirnov test)

We must insert one word of caution here: there are methodological caveats associated with these findings. Students tend to claim higher grade averages than they actually obtain. <sup>1</sup> Note, for instance, that 57.1% of all respondents assigned themselves above average grades. Assuming that the exaggeration in the positive direction is equally distributed regardless of the respondent's degree of apprehensiveness, we conclude that students "slightly" affected (that is, those who avoid one place or another in school or who worry occasionally about being hurt or bothered by others) show the best grade averages, even higher than the unapprehensive students. But as apprehensiveness increases, grades decline; a steep drop is registered by the small group (n=815) of very apprehensive students.

Closely connected with overall scholastic achievement is an individual's reading ability. As can be seen in Figure 1, the graphed lines for grade averages and for reading abilities are quite similar. It is particularly important to note that the small group of very apprehensive students rated themselves much lower than other respondents in reading ability -- as they did in overall grade performance.

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1 Previous studies have shown that many who claim above-average grades are really average students. Hence the two groups may be combined. To obtain the best estimate of the academic profile of a given sample, subtract the "below average" percentage from that of the "high" (or from "much above average"). Here the percentages are: 9.6, 13.7, 9.4, and -2.4 (reading the columns in Table 3, from left to right).

The findings presented here suggest that preoccupation with being hurt or bothered impedes the learning process. However, they do not solidly support this argument. Since we only have one-time survey data, we cannot exclude the possibility that scholastic deficit and fearful state of mind are related in other ways, e.g. that those students who considered themselves apprehensive were poor readers and/or had lower grades even before exposure to fear-producing environments, or that both kinds of negative effects may be traceable to one common cause.

Number of Close Friends: Whereas one in nine students who are without fear have but two close friends at school, one in six of the combined group of moderately and very apprehensive youths are in that situation.

TABLE 4

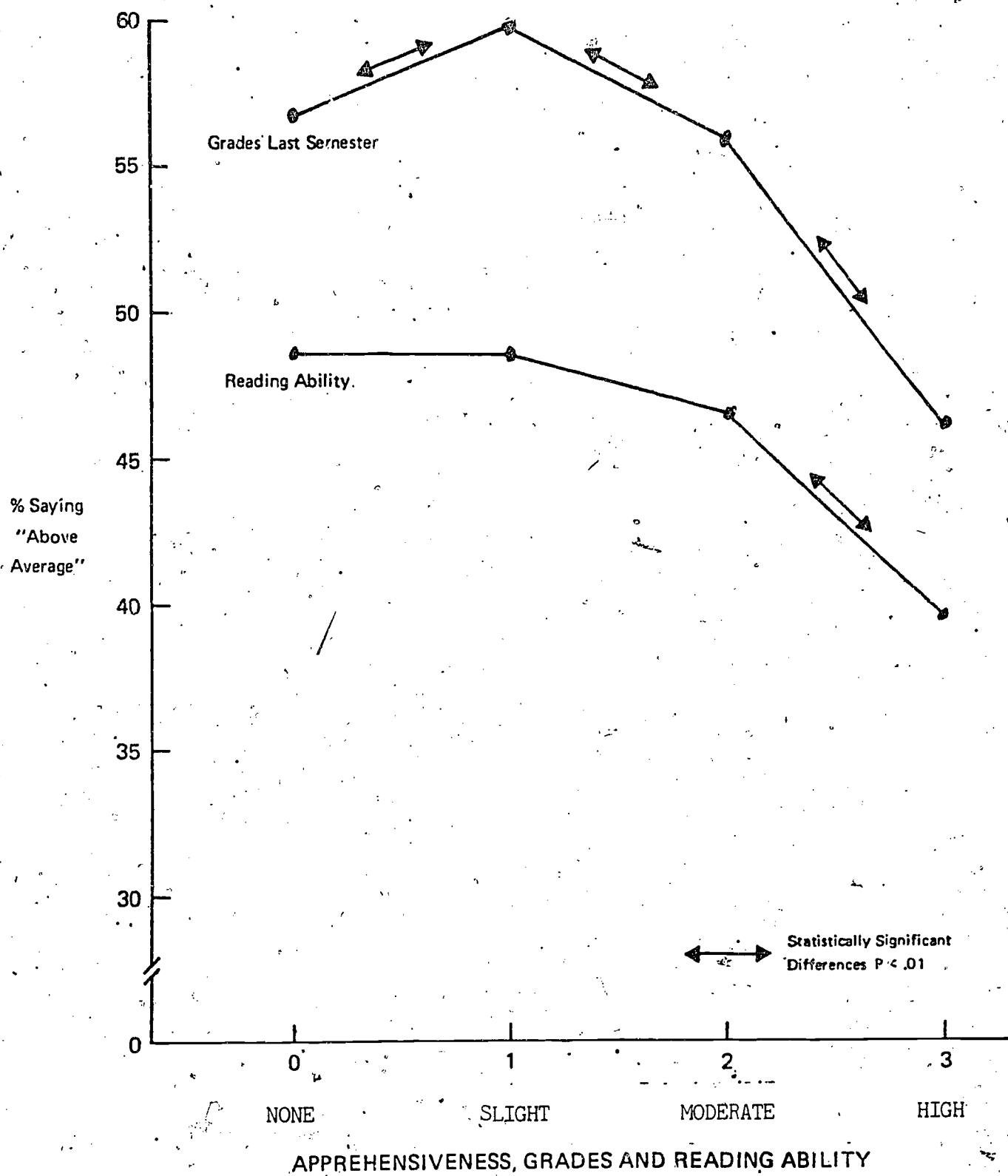
APPREHENSIVENESS AND NUMBER OF  
CLOSE FRIENDS AT SCHOOL

Degree of Apprehensiveness	Percent Having no more than Two Close Friends at School
None	11.2 *
Slight	13.0 *
Moderate	16.3
High	18.2

\* Increases in proportions are statistically significant  
at the .01 level



FIGURE 1



The relation between apprehensiveness and the lack of close friends constitutes another case in which analytic difficulties arise. We are unable to tell whether people who fear for their safety have trouble making friends, or whether the very fact of having few friends (and thus little social support) leads to apprehensiveness. While we believe the latter explanation would be more plausible in the greater number of instances, we recommend further research on this phenomenon.

Parents' Education: Students' expressions of apprehensiveness in school tend to be related to their parents' levels of education. Generally, as the amount of parental education increases, the extent of the child's fear decreases. This can be seen in Table 5 (right hand column) where the mean fear scores of students increase as the level of parental education diminishes. We must caution, though, that this finding possibly just reflects the fact that parents with different educational backgrounds send their children into different educational environments. That is, children of parents with higher education may -- on a national basis -- have less reason to be fearful for their own safety because those children are generally in suburban schools.

Conversely, parents with limited formal education may live in urban areas and inner cities where the schools are indeed places to be feared.

TABLE 5

Apprehensiveness of Students and  
Educational Achievement of Parents  
(percentages)

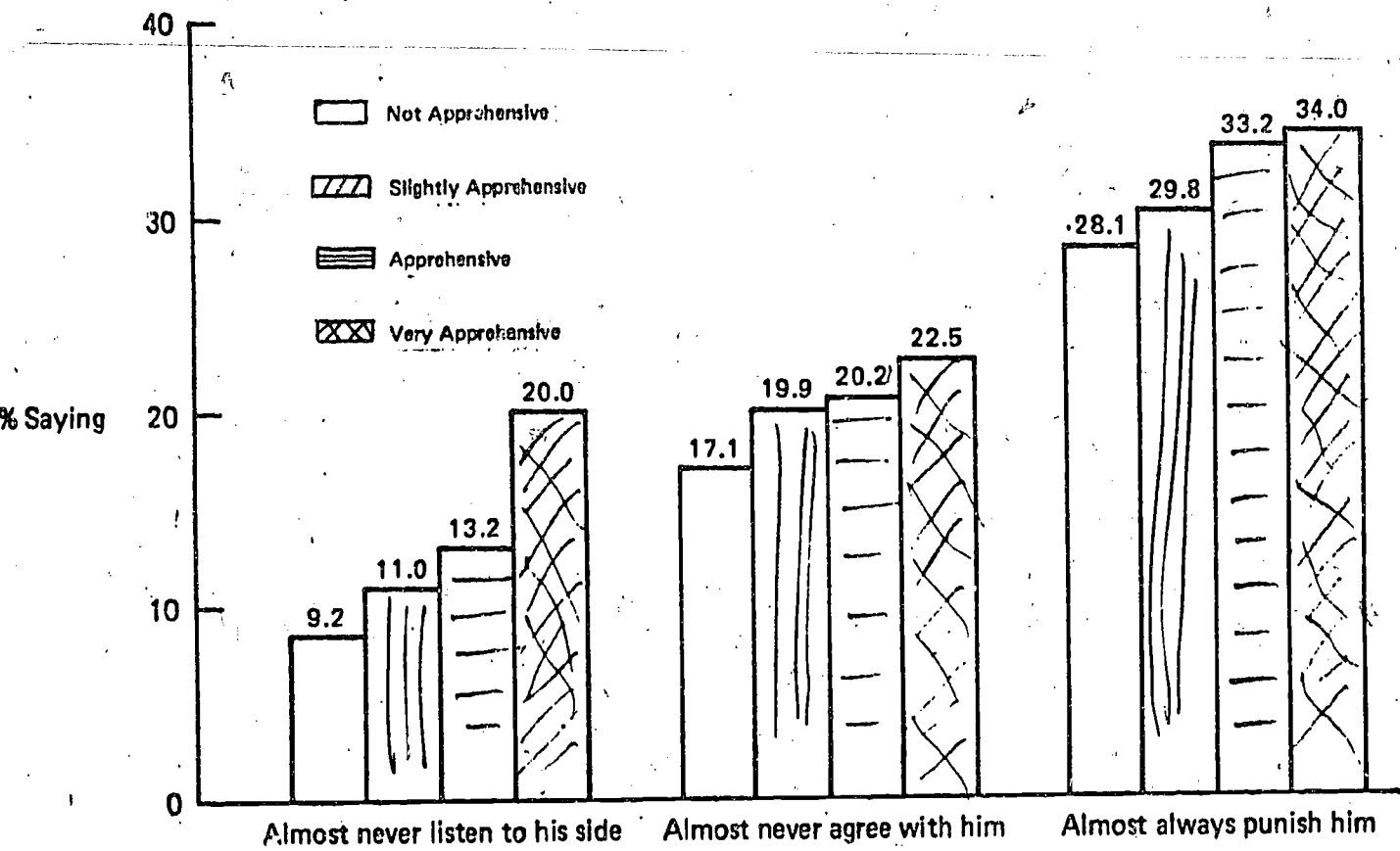
Educational Achievement of one or both parents	Degree of Apprehensiveness				Mean fear Scores per 100 students **
	None	Slight	Moderate	High	
Some College	57.2	27.2	13.4	2.2	60.6
Completed HS.	56.6	26.4	14.4	2.6	63.0
8th grade or less	51.4	29.6	15.2	3.8	71.3
Unknown*	48.1	29.9	18.3	3.7	77.5

\* Includes students living in a household without parents or stepparents.

\*\* Calculated by assigning weights of 0-3 to the categories of Not Apprehensive through Very Apprehensive, calculating the means, and then multiplying by 100.

Parental Responses: It is interesting to note that the higher the apprehensiveness of students about their schools, the less frequently their parents will express understanding and concern about school-related problems. This point is displayed in Figure 2, along with information showing that punishment as a response would be more frequent among parents of very apprehensive youth than among those of non-apprehensive youth of their children got into trouble with teachers.

In stating that fewer apprehensive youngsters get their parents' ear when they bring up trouble at school -- or that they are more likely than other students to be punished for doing so -- we do not mean to imply that the home environment contributed to their apprehensiveness in school (although such a possibility cannot be excluded). On the other hand, our data on the interaction between children and parents -- from the perspective of the children certainly do not lead to the conclusion that the apprehensive students' dark view of life in school may be offset by strong family support.



Apprehensiveness of Students and Parental  
Response If Student Were To Have Trouble  
With Teachers

FIGURE 2

Internal-External Control: It appears that there is a negative relationship between a student's fear and his or her feelings of self-worth. That is, students who are moderately or highly apprehensive also less frequently express confidence in their control of their immediate environment. Table 6 summarizes student responses to three questionnaire items designed to measure a youngster's perception of personal control. It should be noted that whereas seven out of ten students subscribe to the Protestant ethic, (hard work will be rewarded), just over one-half of the students have confidence in their own planning abilities. In both of these and in a third questionnaire item, fewer apprehensive students take a positive stance.

TABLE 6

Apprehensiveness and Internal-External Control  
(percent agreeing with statements)

Statement	Slightly or not Apprehensive	Moderately or Highly Apprehensive	All Students
If I study, I will get good grades.	72.6**	68.2	71.8
If I plan things right, they will come out OK.	54.2**	49.2	53.4
Every time I try to get ahead, something or someone stops me.	22.6**	34.4	24.6

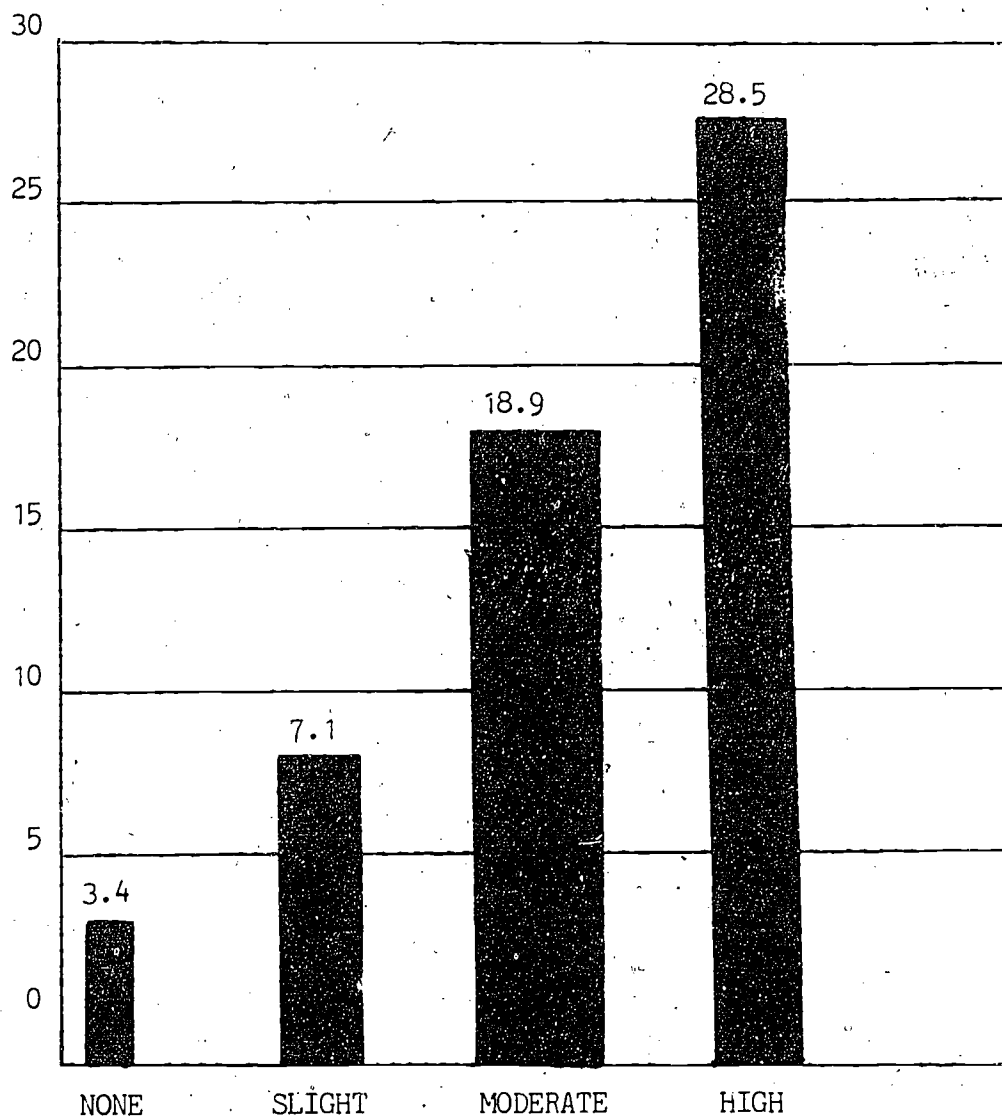
\*\* Difference significant at .01 level.

Previous Victimization: As can well be imagined, there is a strong relationship between the fear expressed by a student and that student's personal experience of physical victimization. Figure 3 demonstrates that the percentage of those robbed and/or assaulted increases dramatically as students report higher levels of fear and anxiety.

The relationship between previous victimization and apprehensiveness plays such an important role among determinants of student fear that it had to be mentioned here-at least briefly. A more complete treatment of it is reserved for Chapter IV.

FIGURE 3

Degree of Apprehensiveness  
and Previous Victimization



DEGREE OF APPREHENSIVENESS

## CHAPTER III

## THE STUDENTS AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

The preceding chapter discussed the distribution of fear among students belonging to readily identifiable subgroups. In trying to answer the initial question, "Who is most apt to be apprehensive?", We reported for instance that--all other things being equal--a junior high student exhibited a probability of 1 in 4 of being fearful while the parallel figure for a senior high school student was only 1 in 7. We also showed that other characteristics (race, and sex) may increase or decrease a person's relative probability of being fearful.

Since most instances of recent victimization, the last variable treated in the preceding chapter, occurred within the confines of the school of the reporting student, it is obvious that the students' environment needs be examined for its fear-arousing potential. Thus we will look through the student reports at the school setting, the teachers, the principal, as well as the students' immediate neighborhood and the amount of crime occurring there.

#### What Do We Know About the Schools Attended by Fearful Students?

Location of School: Table 7 presents a comparison between schools located in central cities of large metropolitan areas ("Large City" schools) and schools in other areas.

The former group contains more students who report being (moderately or very) apprehensive than do schools in any other location.<sup>1</sup>

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1 The four locational categories are delimited here as they were in the Violent Schools -- Safe Schools publication (Volume I, p. 23), viz. (1) Large City: central cities of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) having populations over 500,000; (2) Small City: central cities of SMSA's with populations of 50,000 - 500,000; (3) Suburbs: Noncentral city sections of an SMSA; (4) Nonmetropolitan Small town and rural areas outside any SMSA. When schools in large and small cities are combined, they are referred to as "urban."

TABLE 7

Student Apprehensiveness by Level and School Location  
(in Percent of Moderately or Very Apprehensive Students)

Level of School	Location			
	Large Cities	Small Cities	Suburbs	Nonmetropolitan Areas
Junior High	32.2	26.7	23.6	23.2
Senior High	19.6	14.0	12.0	14.2

Years at Same School: Students who have spent less than a year in the school at the time of responding to the questionnaire are considerably more apprehensive than students who have had longer to become accustomed to their surroundings. Data corroborating this generalization appear in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Apprehensiveness and Length of Enrollment  
in Present School (in percent of Moderately or Very Apprehensive Students)

Level of School	Years in Present School			
	Less than One Year	1-2	3-4	5+
Junior High	30.2	24.2	18.4	24.1
Senior High	16.2	13.0	11.4	14.4



It is curious to note one point which might at first appear to contradict the finding just described: apprehensiveness increases again after four years in one school. But these findings are indeed still consistent. For students in the last group have presumably been held back to repeat one or more grades. It is our hypothesis that these youths are highly visible, may be outsiders in their "new" class, and are singled out by other students. This ganging up may, in turn, lead to higher levels of fear and apprehension than would be expected for youth who have established themselves over several years.

The relationship between apprehensiveness and the time a student has spent in the present school reappears when reassignment due to expulsion and reassignment for desegregation are examined.

TABLE 9

Apprehensiveness Among Students Expelled  
From Another School, and Those Reassigned  
Under Desegregation Orders  
(percentages)

	Degree of Apprehensiveness		
	None	Slight	Moderate or High
Expelled	36.3	27.8	35.9
Assigned for Desegregation	34.2	34.7	31.1
All Others	55.0	27.7	17.3

The data in Table 9 permit us to compare the fear scores of those expelled and reassigned to those of the general student population: whereas 36% of the youth reassigned because of expulsion and 31% of the youth reassigned because of a desegregation process register moderate or high fear levels, only 17% of the general population express such apprehensiveness. By way of tentative explanation, it should be noted that the desegregated and the expelled share an important characteristic: both groups contain relatively large numbers of newcomers to the school -- students known to have attended the school less than one year. Although any person moving into a new environment is likely to be uneasy until new friends are made, we suggest that the anxiety of relocated pupils, may be augmented by their own suspicion of being unwelcome among students who already were attending the school.

As with other analyses of one-time survey data, we must add here a word of caution. In the absence of measures taken before the transfer, we cannot ascribe a higher level of apprehensiveness solely to post-transfer problems. Our conclusion should merely be considered as indicating another probable contributor to student fear in school.

#### How do the Fearful Students View their Schools and their Teachers?

Perception of Fair School Environment: Our data permit us to draw conclusions about fear levels in relation to the perceived fairness of the school.

First of all, we direct attention toward the student's perception of the school's fairness towards racial minorities; students were asked whether they agreed that the treatment of racial minorities "in this school" was fair. As shown in Table 10, the probability of agreeing with this statement was negatively related with the respondent's level of apprehensiveness,

with two-thirds of all respondents concurring that treatment in this regard was fair. But when respondents were separated by race or ethnicity, the detailed figures told a more interesting story.

TABLE 10

Apprehensiveness and the Treatment  
of Racial Minority Groups "In This School"  
(percent agreeing that treatment is fair)\*

Degree of Apprehensiveness	Percent Agreeing
None	70.7
Slight	65.2
Moderate	58.9
High	52.2
All Students	66.9

\* Excludes nonrespondents and those saying "no minorities here."

As expected, many white students (71%) believed their schools treated minorities fairly, while just over a half (53%) of the black students and three-fifths (59%) of "other" (mostly Hispanic) members of minority groups expressed this opinion. (See Figure 4).

However, in each group, level of apprehensiveness strongly influenced the probability that a respondent would consider the treatment of minorities to be fair. The findings displayed in Figure 4 support the hypothesis that

regardless of racial or minority status, as apprehensiveness increases fear students state that racial minority groups are treated fairly at their school.<sup>1</sup>

Apprehensive white students are twice as likely as unapprehensive white students (10% vs. 4.9%) to consider that the treatment of minorities at their school is unfair. This finding reinforces the argument that apprehensiveness per se (regardless of race) is related to a more hostile perception of the school environment.

Attitudes Toward School: Many students who are fearful of the school setting develop hostile attitudes towards the school, other students, and classes they must take. While all percentages in Table 11 are low, the negative responses increase in proportion to the respondents' feelings of insecurity. As students' levels of apprehensiveness rise, their resentment of fellow students increases dramatically. Three times as many moderately apprehensive students dislike their peers as do fearless ones; one in eight very apprehensive students express this point of view as opposed to one in forty five unapprehensive respondents.

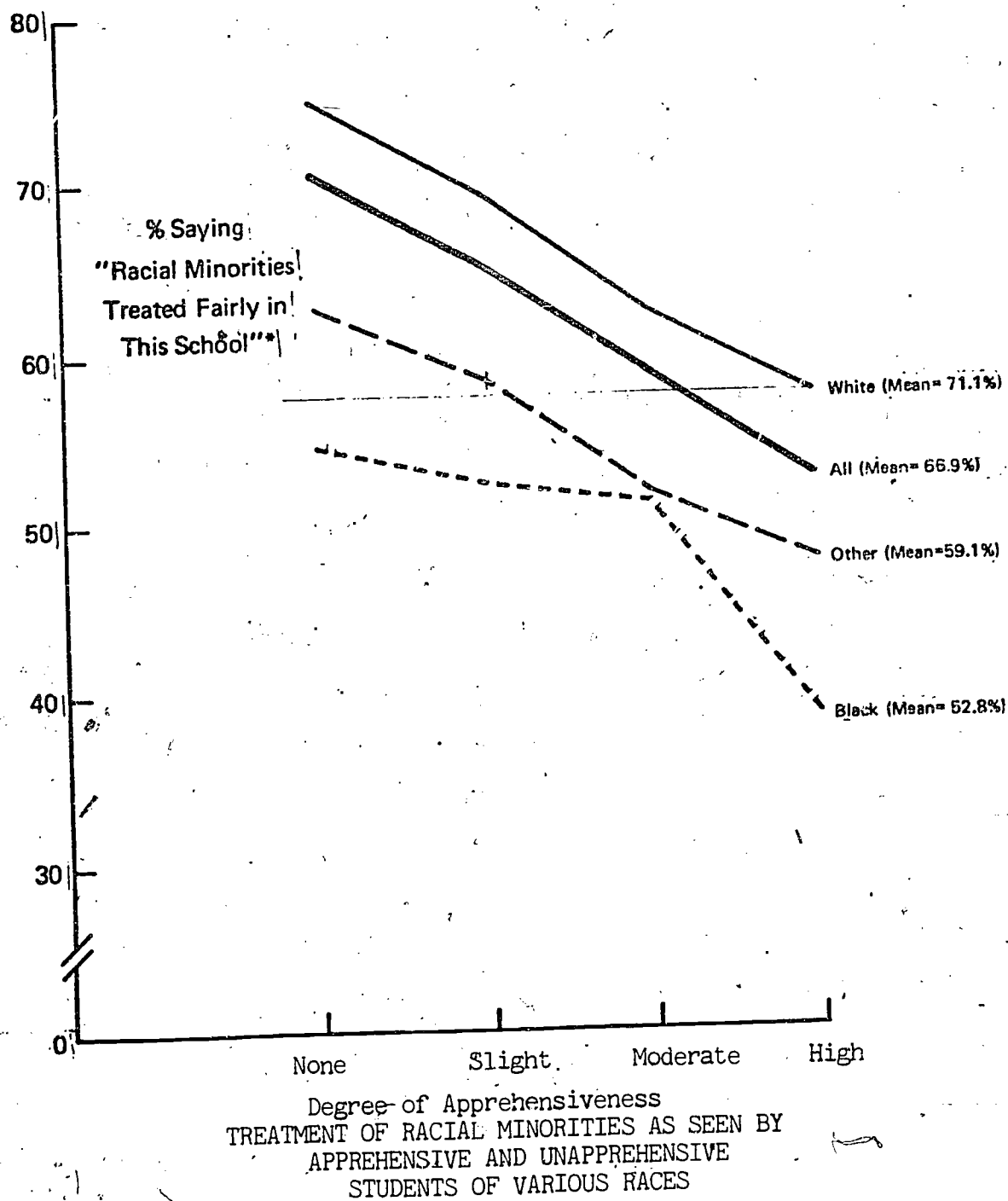
TABLE 11

Apprehensiveness and Student  
Attitudes Towards School  
(percentages)

Students Who Don't Like	Degree of Apprehensiveness			
	None	Slight	Moderate	High
This School	9.5	7.4	10.1	15.6
The Students	9.2	3.3	6.5	12.2
The Classes Taken	9.4	10.0	11.0	15.2

<sup>1</sup> It could be argued that the view of the apprehensive students may be the most realistic one; for they empathize with the other underdogs. Note, for instance, that the highly apprehensive whites show a lower percentage in the graph than the unapprehensive or slightly apprehensive respondents among "other" minorities.

FIGURE 4



\*Excludes nonrespondents and those saying "no minorities here."

Perception of Teachers: Our findings regarding students' perceptions of teachers are consistent with common sense: teachers are more often blamed by apprehensive than by unapprehensive students for allowing disruptive or threatening conditions to exist in the classroom. The proportion of respondents saying that teachers almost never keep order rises in steady progression from 4.8% for unapprehensive youth to 12.9% among very apprehensive youth.

A teacher's failure to maintain order is more frequently considered a serious matter by apprehensive than by fearless students (as may be inferred from students' answers to the question "Which one of these things should your teachers work hardest to do?"). Seven out of eight students consider the teacher's primary function to be that of promoting academic or vocational goals either by motivating students to learn or by transmitting knowledge or useful skills. Only a minute proportion (4%) of all respondents viewed "classroom control" as the teacher's "number one" responsibility.<sup>1</sup> In summary, the higher a student's level of apprehensiveness, the more apt he or she is to say that:

- A) the teacher's most important function is that of keeping control in class;
- B) the teacher almost never maintains such order;
- C) the student does not like the classes he or she is taking

Another reason that students subject to apprehension dislike their classes may be that these students believe that teachers treat them unfairly. The proportion of students saying that teachers are almost never fair rises with level of apprehensiveness from 8.4% (not apprehensive) to 15.7% (very apprehensive).

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<sup>1</sup> However, among apprehensive students, this judgement was made more than twice as often as it was among fearless ones.

While apprehensiveness clearly has a negative impact on students' views of their teachers' fairness that same feeling does not seem to influence their perceptions of the principal. How the students rated the fairness-unfairness of their teachers and principals is summarized in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Apprehensiveness and opinions of Fairness of Teachers and Principals  
(in percentages)

ITEM RESPONSE	Degree of Apprehensiveness			
	None	Slight	Moderate	High
Teachers are fair: almost never	8.4	9.2	10.5	15.7
The Principal is fair: disagree	14.4	11.7	12.6	16.8

Despite the fact that students are likely to have much less daily contact with their principal than with their teachers, principals are called unfair by more students than are teachers (13.5% vs. 9.1%). However, the relative number of judgments that their principal is unfair does not increase with student apprehensiveness. Thus, while many more apprehensive students than others ascribe unfairness to their teachers, the principal is labeled unfair somewhat more often by students in the extreme categories of very or not apprehensive.

Perception of Social Friction within the School: That apprehensiveness and the perception of the school environment as hostile are positively related, is again documented by our inquiry into students' observation of dissension between racial, ethnic, or social subgroups within the school. Here relatively

more apprehensive than unapprehensive students seem to be aware that members of the subgroups "do not get along well." Further, this response may be an indicator of the relative incidence of such aspects of social friction as affluence vs. poverty, or students' differing nationalities. The relevant data are presented in Figure 5.

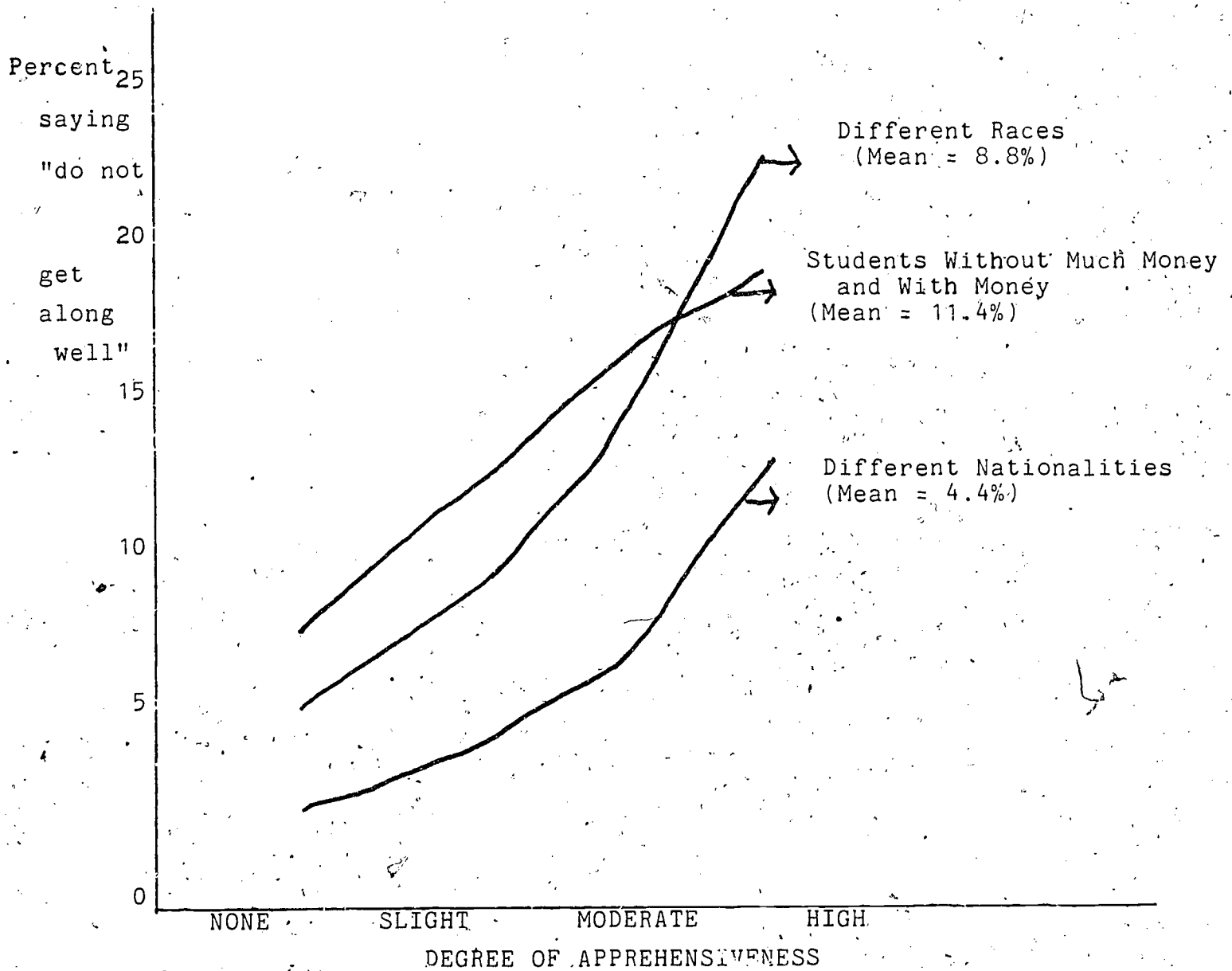
Dissension between the well-to-do and the less well-off was observed by one student out of nine; one in eleven viewed interaction between students of different races as less than friendly; and only one in twenty-three respondents said that different nationalities did not get along well. These ratios establish the relative prevalence of the three types of social disharmony within the school, as seen and reported by our national sample of high school students. Figure 5 clearly shows that as students become increasingly more fearful more and more of them perceive all three types of social friction. It is interesting to note that only the level of apprehensiveness of the individual answering the question seemed to matter. Interclass dissension was observed by all three racial/ethnic groups. Less disharmony between races and between nationalities was noted by white than non-white respondents: here again, with minority status held constant, the more apprehensive the students the more they view social interaction negatively.

#### How Does the Neighborhood Affect Student Fear?

Analysis of student responses relevant to this topic brought forth no surprises. Findings presented here reflect common sense notions regarding the interrelationship between schools and their neighborhoods. Specific findings are set forth below.



FIGURE 5



APPREHENSIVENESS AND THE PERCEPTION  
OF SOCIAL FRICTION IN SCHOOL

### Schools in areas where students come from High-Crime Neighborhoods:

Figure 6 shows that neighborhoods where students report incidents of violent crime are those that also generate higher proportions of apprehensive individuals than do areas where no crime or little crime is observed. It should be noted that the combined percentages of "moderately" and "very" apprehensive students increase from 14% to 23% and then to 33% as the level of crime observed by the respondents rises. Furthermore, this progression, which is shown graphically in Figure 7, holds equally for large and for small cities and for suburban areas -- and is even somewhat more marked in nonmetropolitan areas. (NOTE: The degree of neighborhood crime was determined on the basis of students' responses to three specific questions in the questionnaire; no outside source was used to verify the relative safety of the neighborhood.)

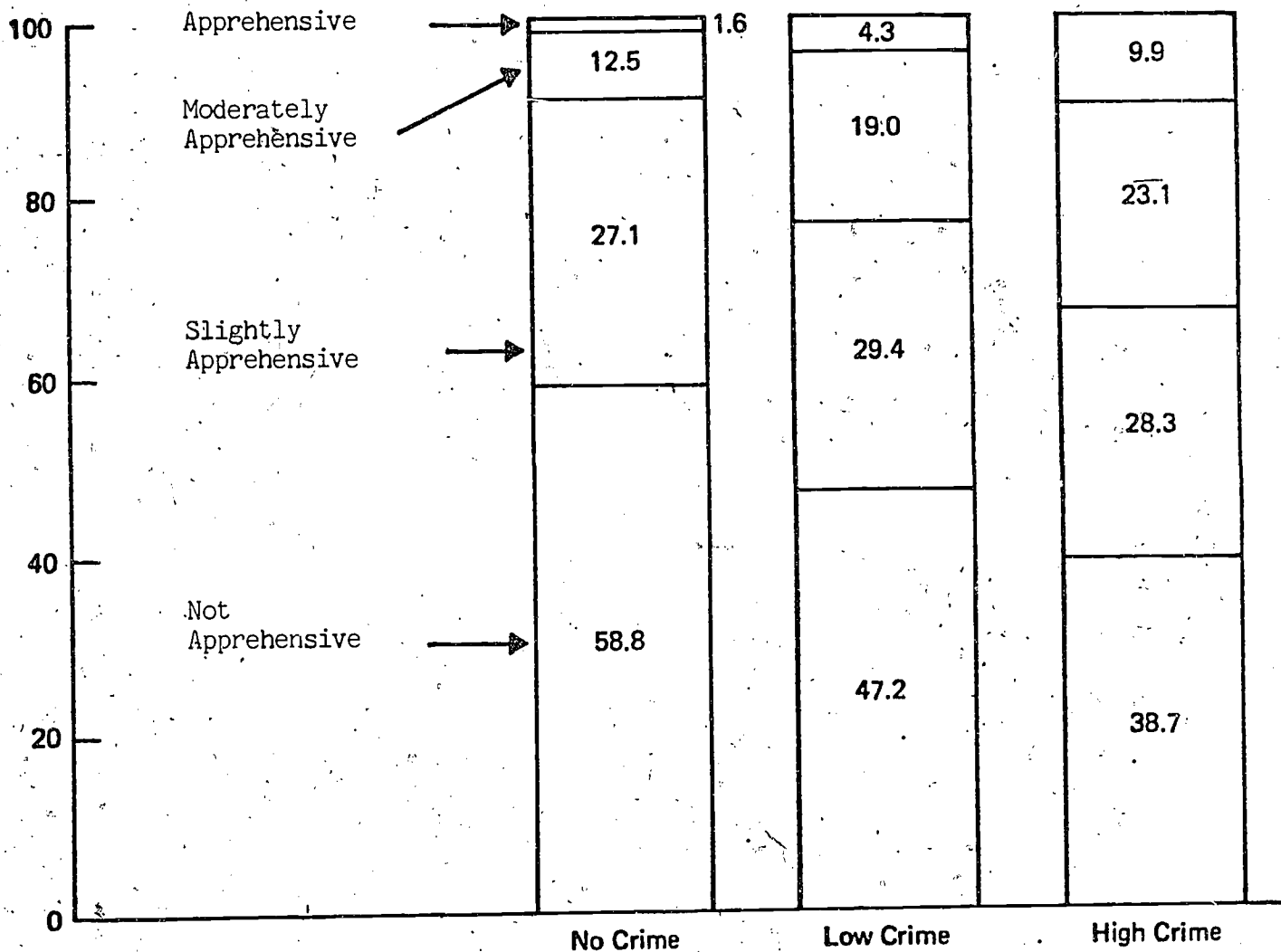
Neighborhood Influence on Students: The influence of a high crime neighborhood on students who must pass through it to get to school is easy to imagine. When students who are moderately or very apprehensive at their schools are compared to nonapprehensive students regarding their sense of the community surrounding the school, obvious perceptual differences appear. Of those in our sample who represented the 3.7 million moderately or very apprehensive youth in this country, 11% say they are afraid on the way to school at least once a week; this compares to only about 1.5% of the non-apprehensive youth who fear their school's neighborhood.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Thus, all other things being equal, those who worry about being hurt or bothered at school are seven times as likely to experience fear on their way to school. The students' responses are consistent and live up to expectation, but they do not provide a clear indication of where their fears of harm originate. The above statistics would suggest that many derive their apprehensiveness from the school setting, especially those who were victimized there or who witnessed aggression committed against their peers. However, as one may infer from Figure 7, quite a number of students acquire their fearful outlook within their immediate neighborhood (see next section) and, literally, bring it to school with them.

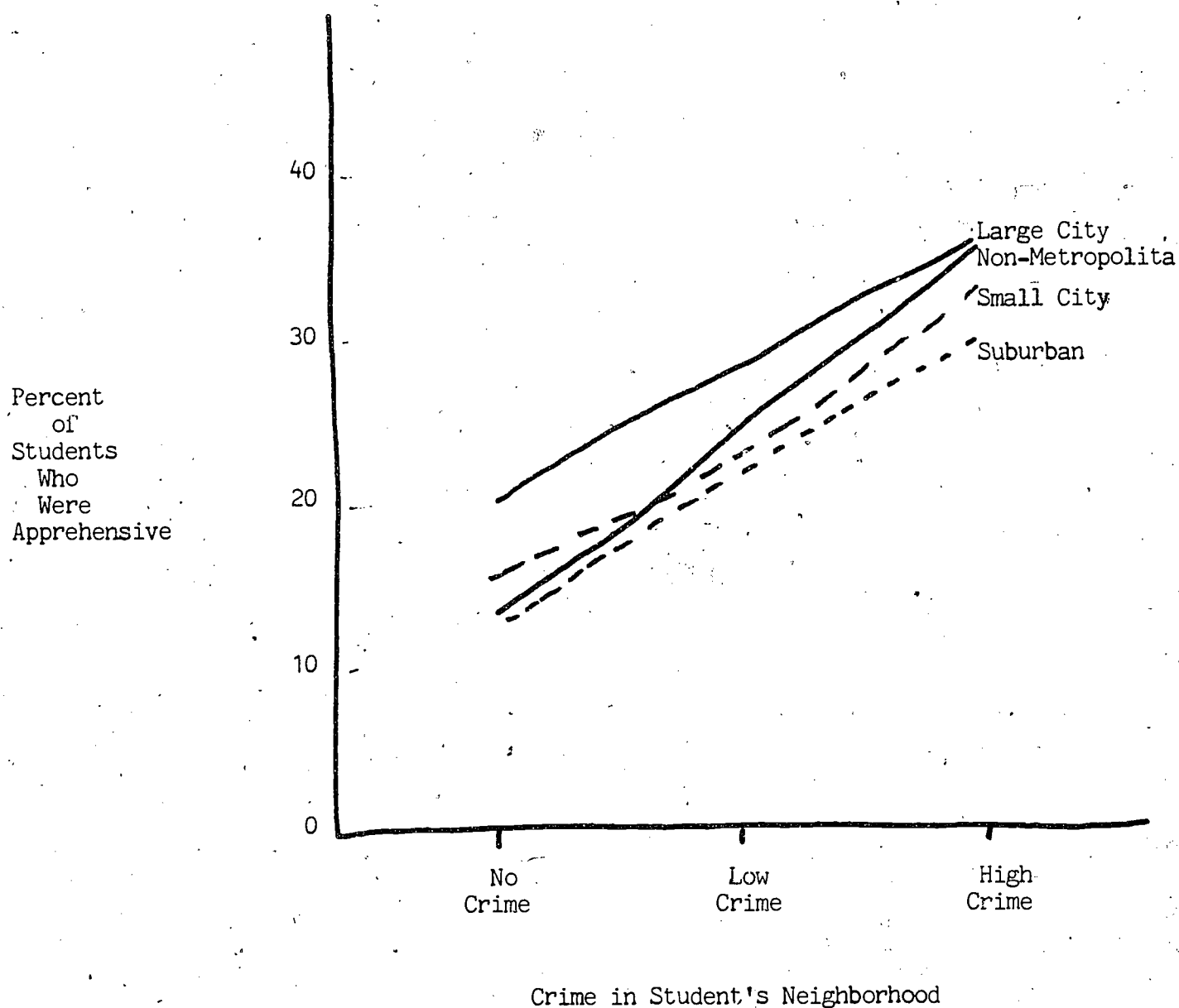
FIGURE 6

Degree of  
Apprehensiveness



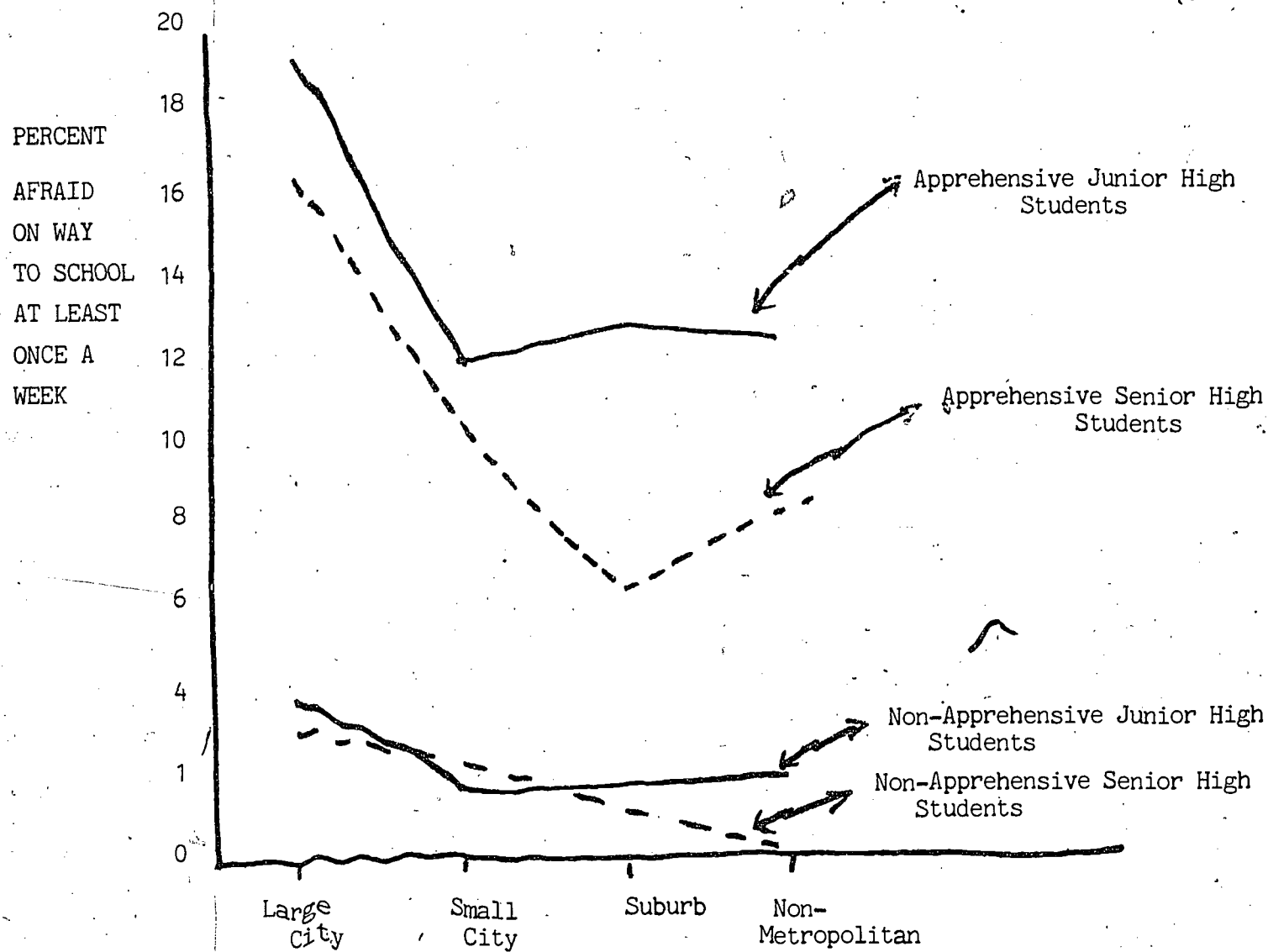
CRIME IN STUDENT'S NEIGHBORHOOD AND APPREHENSIVENESS

FIGURE 7



Proportion of Apprehensive Students According  
to Location of School and Crime  
In Student's Neighborhood

FIGURE 8



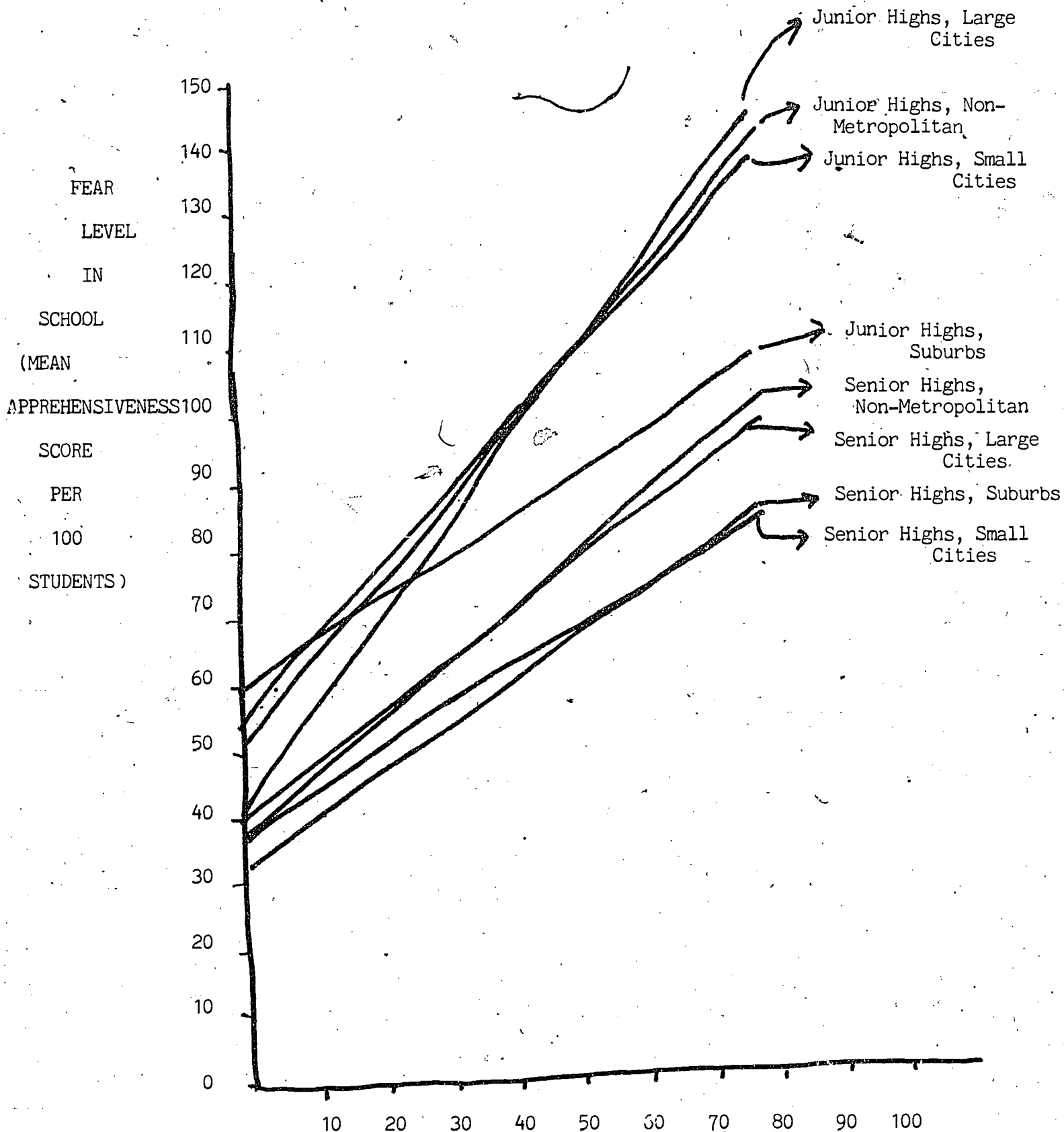
Apprehensive at School and  
Fear on the Way to School

Crime in the Immediate Neighborhood: No observer of the American scene will be surprised to learn that schools in central cities are attended by students from areas with much higher incidence of street crime than the suburbs have. Since reported crime varies greatly among schools in the same type of location, (for instance, the percentages of students reporting street crime ranged from 4% to 72% in large city senior high schools) we decided to examine the relation between crime in the street and the mean level of apprehensiveness in school on a school-by-school basis. Such analysis reveals significant positive correlations in junior and senior high schools in the four types of locations, i.e. in all eight groups of schools. The higher the percentage of students reporting any of the three criminal acts for their neighborhoods (activity of fighting gangs; robbery of their parents; or burglary of their homes in the last year) the higher the mean fear score for the respective school. The information from this analysis is displayed in Figure 9.

This Figure leads us to conclude that the relative number of students reporting street crime affects the fear level in junior high schools (except suburban ones) much more dramatically than in senior high schools. Indeed, as the proportion of such reports rises from 30% to 70%, the mean fear scores (per 100 students) rise from about 80 to 130.

When many students in a school perceive crime in their neighborhoods -- and register relatively high fear scores -- the mean score for the entire school is bound to be rather high.

In order to develop a sharply focused picture of the impact of neighborhood crime or fear levels at schools, we must separate the direct and indirect impacts of observed neighborhood crime. By indirect, we mean the effect on students not reporting any direct experience with neighborhood crime. So we



Percent of Students in School Who Reported Crime in their Neighborhood

School Fear Level and Reported Street Crime

must ask: does the proportion of students who report crime in their neighborhoods affect the level of apprehensiveness of those students in the same school who do not so report and also have not been victimized in the last month?

To perform the rather stringent test needed to answer this question, we first divide schools of each type according to the percentage of street crime reports into equal high, medium, and low subgroups. We then calculate school-by-school, the mean fear score for those remaining students who were not subject to physical aggression (e.g. assault or robbery) while at school. The means for all schools belonging to the same subgroup are shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13

## Fear in School and Neighborhood Crime

Fear levels of students who were not victimized at school and did not report neighborhood crime (per 100 students)

Level and Location	Averages of schools where the proportion of street crime reports was:		
	Low	Medium	High
<b>Junior</b>			
Large City	85	92	100
Small City	78	83	81
Suburb	68	69	76
Nonmetropolitan	64	71	84
<b>Senior</b>			
Large City	57	62	66
Small City	48	52	50
Suburb	38	43	51
Metropolitan	43	42	54



The data presented in Table 13 support the argument that the larger the relative number of students who come from crime-ridden areas, the higher the apprehensiveness of those who were neither victimized in school in the last month nor reported crime in their neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup> In most schools (except in junior highs in large central cities) the overwhelming majority of the student body consists of nonvictimized students from crime-free neighborhoods; therefore, we may reasonably claim that those students coming to the school from crime-ridden neighborhoods strongly influence the climate of fear at the school.

Indeed, in all but nonmetropolitan schools this factor is so powerful as to obscure the effect of the victimization rate on the nonvictimized who do not report street crime. A multiple regression analysis relating this factor and the percentage of students victimized to the level of apprehensiveness of other students in a given school leads to the coefficients listed in Table 14.

These coefficients seem to tell us that the relative number of students who have observed crime in their neighborhoods (fighting gangs in action, their homes burglarized, or their parents robbed in the past year) plays a decisive role in determining the level of apprehensiveness of the school's student body. These youths establish a climate of fear in school not only because they bring it with them from their own environment, but also, we might conjecture, because they serve as role models for others who in turn adopt

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<sup>1</sup> The statistical analysis of the arrangement of means in Table 14 is thus: since the data in each cell were obtained independently, the probability of observing a perfect pattern in a row (such as that in the top row) is one in six. The probability of obtaining five or more perfect patterns in eight instances (as is the case in Table 13) is less than half of one percent.

TABLE 14

Victimization, Neighborhood Crime, and  
their Correlations with the Fear Level of  
Nonvictimized Students who Reported no  
Street Crime

School Level and Location	Percent Victimized (per school): simple correlation coeff.	Percent Reporting Crime (per school): simple corr. coeff.	Both Indepen- dent Variables: mult. corr. coeff.
Junior High Schools			
Large City	.25	.39**	.43
Small City	0	.42**	.42
Suburb	.23*	.34**	.37
Nonmetropolitan	.38**	.37**	.49
Senior High Schools			
Large City	.20	.32*	.34
Small City	0	.25	.25
Suburb	.30**	.31**	.41
Nonmetropolitan	.21	.18	.25

\* The hypothesis that the correlation ( $\rho$ ) equals zero  
can be rejected at the .05 level of significance.

\*\* The hypothesis that the correlation ( $\rho$ ) equals zero  
can be rejected at the .01 level of significance.

their caution and fearfulness. It is also probable (although we can present no corroborative evidence from our data) that some students from neighborhoods where aggression is most rampant acquire aggressive patterns of behavior (whether as self-defense, role modeling, or through more subtle processes) which may appear menacing to others in school. This behavior is then likely to raise the entire student body's level of apprehensiveness thus further intensifying the spread of fear.

School Location and Proportion of White Students: As discussed much earlier (Table 2), white students are on the average less fearful than minority students; moreover, this generalization holds even when sex of respondent and educational level of school are held constant. Therefore, one may expect that the higher the percentage of white students the lower the school's fear level in comparison with similar schools. This negative correlation between the school level of fear and the proportion of white students attending it was observed in all subgroups of schools but it was particularly marked in all four types of urban schools, as shown in Table 15.

- 
- 1 The difference in fear scores is due to some extent to white students' less frequent experience with victimization at school and street crime in their neighborhoods. When the experience with threatening events is made equal for white and non-white students, by statistical means as in the middle column of Table 15, the negative relationship between the percentage of whites and the school fear level diminishes only slightly, except in large city senior high schools. (The entry of  $-.25$  is the only coefficient in the table that is not statistically significant this means that in these schools the negative relationship does not hold when experiences are equated.)

TABLE 15

Level of School Fear  
and Proportion of White  
Students in Urban Schools

	Zero-order Correlation	Partial Correlation*	Number of Schools
Junior High Schools			
Large City	-.524	-.454	55
Small City	-.593	-.452	49
Senior High Schools			
Large City	-.454	-.250	52
Small City	-.581	-.517	45

\* The partial correlation statistically eliminates the effects of differential victimization and reported street crime.

## CHAPTER IV

## AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS AFFECTING STUDENT FEAR

Up to now, we have presented information on a string of factors which have been found to affect students' fear in and of their schools. We have discussed these individually in order to establish with some clarity which factors are more likely than others to contribute to student fear in schools. It is the purpose of this section to reexamine a few of the elements already discussed in relation to those primary factors which strongly influence fear levels in schools. There are four such primary factors: the grade level of the student; the location of the school; recent victimization of the pupil while at school; and crime in the immediate neighborhood, as reported by the students.

Grade Level of Pupil: As previously shown in Table 1 junior high students are much more apt than senior high school students to express apprehensiveness: 25% of the former were "moderately" or "very" fearful, whereas only 13.8% of the senior high school students so reported. Furthermore, they register higher fear scores than older students when race and sex of respondent are held constant; i.e. higher proportions of junior than senior high youth -- whether male or female, and of whatever race -- are more fearful.

Both from the information developed by the Gallup Survey (see page 19) and from student data of the Safe School Study we know that fear decreases with more years' experience in a school (except for those few who had to repeat a grade).

Again we see (in Table 8, p. 31) that when students are divided by the plight of junior high students, number of years spent in the same school, each respective junior high school group contains many more apprehensive students; we also note that those who have been in the same junior high school for 3-4 years, and have therefore profited from maximum familiarity with the school environment, are nevertheless worse off than the least class in senior high school, the newcomers.

School Location: As previously demonstrated (Table 7, p. 31), large central cities are beyond a doubt the location of schools containing the largest proportion of fearful youth: 32.2% in junior, 19.6% in senior high schools.

Recent Victimization: Students who were robbed and/or attacked at school during the preceding month are-naturally-likely to be apprehensive lest they incur another act of aggression. That previous victimization influences students' fear levels was briefly mentioned on p. 30 (in Figure 3). The data from Figure 3 may be transformed into a direct comparison of victimized and nonvictimized students in terms of level of apprehensiveness. Figure 10 shows how powerfully recent victimization affects fear among high school students; note, for instance, that the proportion of highly apprehensive students quintuples after victimization by attack or robbery (10.9% vs. 2.2%). But the impact of past aggression on fear level is not the same in junior and senior high schools. (See Table 16):

FIGURE 10

DEGREE OF  
APPREHENSIVENESSVICTIMIZEDNON-VICTIMIZED

HIGH (300)

10.9%

2.2%

MODERATE (200)

36.7%

12.8%

SLIGHT (100)

26.9%

27.8%

NONE (0)

25.5%

57.2%

MEAN FEAR SCORES  
PER 100 STUDENTS

Victimized 133

Non-Victimized 60

APPREHENSIVENESS OF VICTIMIZED  
AND NONVICTIMIZED STUDENTS

TABLE 16

Apprehensiveness and Victimization in Junior  
and in Senior High Schools

(percent of apprehensive students)

LEVEL	Robbed and/or Assaulted in Preceding Month	
	YES	NO
Junior High	52.4	21.3
Senior High	42.0	12.3
All Students	47.5	15.0

As we have said repeatedly, whether one compares students robbed and/or assaulted or those not victimized in the preceding month, apprehensiveness is more frequent in junior than in senior high schools. However, in senior highs the effect of victimization is more powerful. Table 16 shows that as a result of victimization, a senior high student's probability of being apprehensive increases from 12% to 42% (3 1/2 times), while that of a junior high student rises only 2 1/2 times (from 21% to 52%).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The percentage of apprehensive youth listed in the bottom row of Table 16 (47.5%) refers to all victimized students. Those subjected to both robbery and assault show a higher percentage of apprehensiveness (56.4%), as do those reporting several instances of either type of aggression. But not even in the most extreme group -- those 136 students subjected to five or more assaults in the preceding month -- were all victims apprehensive (only 96 out of 136, or 71%).



The strong positive relationship between victimization and apprehensiveness holds equally for youngsters of both sexes, as indicated by the distribution of mean scores per 100 students shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17

Apprehensiveness and Victimization by  
Sex of Respondent and Level of School

(mean fear scores per 100 students) +/-

Robbed and/or Assaulted in Last Month ?	Junior High School		Senior High School	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
YES	145.3	146.3	125.5	125.3
NO	74.8 **	78.3	47.1 **	56.4

+ For meaning of Mean Fear Scores see Figure 10

\*\* Differences between these scores are significant at the .01 level.

Data presented in Table 17 help explain some apparently inconsistent findings mentioned earlier (p. 21). We said that more girls in senior high school exhibited some fear than did boys, despite the fact that fewer girls than boys in our sample had been victimized (3% versus 7.2%). The reader's attention is directed to the bottom line of Table 17, where the fear scores of those students are listed who were not subjected to robbery and/or assault. Among senior high, the fear scores of girls are much higher than those of boys (56.4) versus 47.1), while in junior highs the scores of nonvictimized boys and girls are much closer to each other. We hypothesize that the higher fear levels of nonvictimized high school females may be related to anxiety over the threat of sexual attack; for the Violent Schools -- Safe Schools report and the Gallup Youth Survey agree that boys are almost three times more likely than girls to be attacked, a ratio unaffected by grade level.

The overall effect of victimization on level of individual apprehensiveness is clearly powerful: it raises the fear scores in junior highs by some 90% and by about 145% in senior highs (percentages based on data in Table 17). In fact, personal experience of attack or robbery is the single most important determinant of individual apprehensiveness detected in this study.

Interestingly enough, attacks or robberies occurring at school do not only raise the level of fear of the individual victims but also, by their frequency generate anxiety among those not yet stricken, and thus contribute to a climate of fear within the whole student body. That the relative frequency of acts of aggression against students affects the nonvictimized students in the same school is shown conclusively in Table 18 below.

TABLE 18

Mean Fear Scores of Nonvictimized Students  
in Schools with Low and High Proportions of  
Victimized Students\*

Level of School and Proportion Victimized	School Location			
	Large City	Small City	Suburban	Nonmet.
Junior Highs:				
Proportion LOW <sup>+</sup>	94 <sup>#</sup>	81	66	71
Proportion HIGH	110 <sup>#</sup>	84	75	84
Senior Highs:				
Proportion LOW	52	52	40	49
Proportion HIGH	75	52	56	56

\* For the meaning of Mean Fear Scores see Figure 10.

+ LOW and HIGH refer to the lowest and highest 25% of the schools in each group arranged according to the percentage of respondents who reported an attack or robbery at school in the past month. After this classification, the mean fear score of all nonvictimized students in each school was calculated; the table shows the mean of school means in the group, multiplied by 100 to avoid decimals.

# The probability that in eight independent comparisons "High" will exceed "Low" at least seven times is .035. (When the two variables, proportion victimized and mean fear level of nonvictimized students, are matched school-by-school, all schools except those in small cities show positive correlations significantly above zero.)

Crime in the Immediate Neighborhood: As previously shown, neighborhood crime plays a major role in whether or not fear will exist among secondary school students (see Figure 9, Table 13 and Table 14). As noted, even though most students have not themselves been victims of street crime, students from high-crime neighborhoods consistently report higher levels of personal apprehensiveness than do youth from low-crime neighborhoods. And the higher the percentage of students who observed neighborhood crime, the higher the average fear level of the nonvictimized students who do not report street crime, and hence of the student body of the school. In all but nonmetropolitan schools, this effect is so marked that it even exceeds the impact of the incidence of victimization on the fear level of the nonvictimized, itself a powerful determining factor.

#### Combined Impact of the Major Factors

When the combined impacts of reported neighborhood crime, recent victimization, and school location on individual fear level of students are subjected to simultaneous analysis (Table 19), we can assess the relative effect of each factor on student fear while taking the other two factors into account.

TABLE 19

Apprehensiveness by Previous Victimization  
 Neighborhood Crime Level and Location of School

(In percent of  
 students who were apprehensive.)

A: Assaulted and/or Robbed in Preceding Month					
Crime in Student's Neighborhood	Location of School				
	Large Cities	Small Cities	Suburban	Nonmetro- politan	All Areas
None	46	48	42	42	44
Low	56	51	50	42	49
High	61	60	57	57	58
All	53	51	47	44	48
B: Not Victimized in Preceding Month					
None	18	14	11	12	12
Low	25	19	19	20	20
High	30	27	25	32	28
All	22	16	14	14	15

Inspection of Table 19 makes it evident that the percentages in the upper portion of the table are of a different order of magnitude from those in the lower one. This contrast reinforces our argument that recent victimization is the most powerful factor that the study reveals as affecting fear. When we proceed to read percentages down the columns, we also note that crime in the student's neighborhood plays the second most important role in determining apprehensiveness. Last, upon going through the rows from left to right, we conclude that urban areas are more affected by fear than other school locations.

All other things being equal, junior high school students show higher fear levels than those in senior high; we have documented in several tables that this generalization holds under various conditions. (For instance, from Table 16 one can compute that Table 19, had it been doubled in size, would have shown 21% apprehensive for nonvictimized junior highers and 12% among seniors instead of the 15% apprehensive for all victimized appearing in the bottom right-hand cell. Among the victimized, the differences in fear level of junior and senior high schoolers are smaller, about  $\pm 10\%$  away from the means for all students listed in Table 19A.) The patterns of proportion apprehensive were similar enough for both levels to combine them into a single table that is easy to interpret.

Thus it should be remembered that the following four factors affect fear among high school students in descending order of importance: 1. previous victimization, 2. neighborhood crime, 3. level of the school, and 4. location of school.

The figures in Table 19 are relative frequencies which indicate how many students in a given group are apprehensive; however, they can also be used to estimate how an individual's probability of being apprehensive would change as an effect of a variable. While any student's chance of being apprehensive triples after he or she has been robbed or assaulted (from 15% to 48%), it quadruples after victimization for a student from a suburban neighborhood without crime (from 11% to 42%). If a student comes from a high crime area in a large-city and has not been victimized in the last month, he or she is 66% more likely to be fearful than a large-city youth from a crime-free neighborhood (30% to 18%); and for a student in a nonmetropolitan area, this same situation causes the chances of fear almost to triple (from 12% to 32%). Thus we are able to calculate odds much as might an actuary working for an insurance company; as the actuary determines the probability

of an event's occurrence from reported experience, under various combinations of precipitating conditions, so we may predict the probability of an individual's feeling apprehensive depending on different combinations of the three variables.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas the preceding analysis focused on the fearfulness of individuals, this final section will use the school as the analytical unit. Here we inquire how some school-related characteristics influence the fear level of schools of the same level and type of location. The regression coefficients (beta coefficients) derived by eight stepwise multiple regression analyses are presented in Table 20; the coefficients show by their magnitude and direction which variable affects the fear levels of the schools in the group.

The table should be read in two directions, vertically and horizontally: in either direction, numbers closest to +1.0 or -1.0 indicate the "strongest" relationships. Vertical reading (down the columns) will highlight the independent variables that most importantly account for fear in a type of location. Horizontal reading (across the rows) will reveal both the locations where the independent variable plays an important role and the number of times it surfaced as an important factor.

Most of the relationships observed in the individual analysis of apprehensiveness reappear in somewhat different form in Table 20, which deals with the institutional analysis of fear by showing what factors contribute to the fear level of a school. Thus, in Table 19 we saw that recent victimization and being exposed to crime in one's neighborhood made it probable that the student

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1 When we refer to the effect of a factor, we intend it in the statistical sense, not in the logical one. We have refrained from calling even such a powerful factor as recent victimization a "cause" of fear, for the concept of causality requires one-to-one relationships which do not exist anywhere in our data. Even the highest percentage in Table 19, (61%) implies that almost 40% of the respective group do not respond to the three conditions with apprehensiveness. Clearly, then, we are not in a position to assert causality, but can draw inferences based on relatively high levels of probability that we are right.

would be fearful at school while the institutional equivalents (% Victimized, % Reporting Crime) are seen in Table 20 as affecting the fear levels of many schools.

Two comments seem in order with respect to the findings appearing in Table 20. First, given the numbers of schools and of independent variables included in the eight analyses, we consider the multiple correlation coefficients ( $R^2$ 's) to be of satisfactory magnitude. (The F-values shown for the test of  $R^2$  are such that all are significant except for small city senior highs.)

Second, the influence of the eleven independent variables listed in Table 20 explains 33% to 44% of the total variance in the four groups of senior high schools and between 49% and 63% of the variance at the junior high school level.

However, the top three of the independent variables -- percentages reporting crime, proportion victimized, and proportion of white students -- have so strong an effect on a school's fear level that only two or three of the remaining eight are even of secondary importance.<sup>1</sup> The impact of the top three is somewhat smaller in non-metropolitan senior high schools, where level of apprehensiveness is positively related to the average size of a class in a given school (i.e. the larger the class, the higher the fear level). A similar situation obtains among large city senior highs, where the effect of the three major variables is overshadowed by that of two factors at the bottom of the table--#10, the percentage of students reading at least one year below grade, and #11, Excess of White Teachers (defined as percent white teachers minus percent white students). It is also interesting to note that the size of school (i.e. its enrollment) appears prominently in the Table

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1 In small city schools, the percentage victimized has no effect on school fear level--the only exception to the above generalization.

TABLE 20

Standardized regression coefficients (beta) with  
the school mean of apprehensiveness as the dependent  
variable and eleven independent variables

Independent Variable	Junior High School				Senior High School			
	Large City	Small City	Suburb	Nonmetro-politan	Large City	Small City	Suburb	Nonmetro-politan
1. Percent Reporting Crime in Neighborhood	.518	.253	.203	.420	.146	.318	.188	.178
2. Percent Victimized	.255	.060	.313	.313	.154	.047	.395	.263
3. Percent White Students	-.436	-.803	-.297	-.286	.198	-.567	-.320	-.174
4. Condition of Building	.057	.135	-.069	-.132	-.186	.000	.085	-.017
5. Years as Principal	.025	.000	.015	.000	.213	.152	-.104	-.081
6. Principal's Age	.154	.132	.170	.024	-.047	-.204	.068	-.013
7. Enrollment	-.030	.042	-.075	.170	.058	-.105	.029	.196
8. Student/Teacher Ratio	.081	-.060	.101	-.210	.063	-.030	.010	-.260
9. Average Size of Class	-.039	-.046	.149	-.052	-.059	.052	-.066	.300
10. Percent Students Reading at least one year below grade	-.036	.036	.237	.085	.307	-.076	.052	.014
11. Excess of White Teachers	-.026	-.511	-.047	-.098	.299	-.138	-.136	.034
$R^2$	.630	.548	.486	.519	.439	.424	.373	.331
F	6.642	5.261	9.381	6.908	2.849	2.508	5.579	3.154
Number of Schools	55	49	121	75	52	45	115	82

64

65



only once, ranked third among influential variables in suburban senior high schools. This finding is surprising, for the Safe School Study had led us to believe that the positive relationship between school size and school violence would also hold for student fear.

In this part of the report, we have been examining a number of factors that influence student fear in public secondary schools. We have looked at them both singly and in various combinations. In the final part of this work, we will examine some of the implications of our findings and propose a method for identifying and coping with those factors which may lead to fear.

CHAPTER V  
WHAT SHOULD EDUCATORS KNOW ABOUT  
REDUCING FEAR IN SCHOOLS?

Summary of Findings

Our data have shown that physical aggression has an extreme psychological effect on the student body of American secondary schools; it creates a subgroup of youngsters so adversely affected by fear as to merit the label of "socially and educationally disadvantaged." For example, our data point to about 3.7 million apprehensive students in public high schools. We know that students are frequently led by apprehensiveness to avoid some school locations, and that in extreme cases, fear of the school setting makes students avoid school altogether.

But this study has discovered that fearful youngsters differ importantly from others in more ways than by their avoidance patterns. We know, for example, that the apprehensive student is more likely than others to have fewer friends in school and will have less social support at home than unapprehensive students. Should trouble begin in school -- and such trouble more frequently involves apprehensive students than unapprehensive ones -- the former's parents will less likely be willing to listen to their children's side of the story and more likely to punish them. On the average, fearful students receive lower grades than do others, and they are more likely to rate themselves below average in reading ability. For many apprehensive students, the school has an aura of hostility, with little promise of academic reward or safety from aggression; more of them than of fearless students perceive teachers as unable to keep order in class or to teach interesting subjects. Larger proportions of fearful than nonfearful students detect social friction among fellow students; indeed, the apprehensive student, regardless of race, is less apt than the unapprehensive one to rate the school's

treatment of racial minorities as fair. Thus, more than others, apprehensive youth will tend to dislike their school, their teachers, and their fellow students. In general, such adolescents see themselves as suspicious of their surroundings and helpless to modify conditions of a game which appears beyond their control.

#### What are the Implications for Educators?

Apprehensiveness among students has an obvious impact upon the business of education: It reduces concentration on assigned tasks, creates an atmosphere of mistrust, and undermines school spirit. More subtly, the school administrator's inability to reduce fear levels has the direct effect of telling students that staff are not in control of the school's social climate -- that student disorder is more powerful than the adult call for order.

Teachers and administrators should be able to identify fear-impelled behaviors through any number of proxies. Student avoidance of certain school areas -- especially bathrooms -- should be such an indication; and increases in overall absentee rates should be another. As stress-producing behaviors build up in the school, student complaints are likely to become frequent. As the stress-producing behaviors then evolve into extremely fear-producing ones, students are likely to form defensive cliques and begin vigilante action against some of the perpetrators. By then, the direction of parental complaints will have shifted; those will now be going to the superintendent, not the principal. And local news media will probably have produced stories about the school's problems. Transfer and absentee rates will be high. In extreme cases, substitute teachers will refuse assignments to such schools, while teacher absences due to "illness" will be proportionally much higher than the school district average.

Central office personnel in large cities who wish to identify schools with potentially high fear levels should look for junior high schools in high crime areas containing high percentages of minority youth and high percentages of students who have been victims of personal violence. For their part, central office staff in small cities should locate those schools with low percentages of white students with white teachers.

In addition to these broad implications, some areas of conjecture also suggest themselves. First, for large-city senior high schools, the important variables affecting fear levels appear to be reading level and excess of white teachers. Hypothetically, then, teachers in schools with high percentages of youth who read at least one year below grade level might be likely to pressure students to improve (causing the youngsters to feel stress) or to demonstrate their sense of hopelessness about the students' futures (also producing such stress).

Second, a suggestion arises from the data for district administrators whose charge includes nonmetropolitan senior high schools which contain large classes and which experience high levels of student victimization. Such administrators should be alert to the possibility that their schools are more likely to house higher proportions of apprehensive youth than would be found in other schools.

But merely knowing the profile of apprehensive youth is a far cry from knowing what to do to alleviate the problem. Fortunately, however, solutions to this issue do tend to flow out of an understanding of the predicament; the data about student fear provide insights that are translatable into intervention strategies to supplement fundamental and established approaches for reducing fear in public schools.

### What Can Schools Do To Reduce Student Apprehensiveness?

Clearly, the easiest way to reduce the fear of crime is to demonstrate that such fear is baseless. If the school is experiencing high fear levels due to high crime levels, it stands to reason that crime reduction is clearly in order. If, on the other hand, a high fear level exists independent of an obvious high crime level, an education/public relations/school spirit improvement program is required. Because each approach must be carefully designed to match the needs of each local school or school district, we can here only outline the general parameters of those methods we have just mentioned.

While crime reduction programs can be effected through any number of approaches, one that is commonly used by school districts involves the development and analysis of "incident profiles."<sup>1</sup> This strategy arose out of the realization that intervention in and/or prevention of unwanted behaviors cannot occur until the parameters of such behaviors are understood. The first step in creating an incident profile is to establish a clear definition of criminal behaviors and to separate from those all classes of non-criminal rule-infractions. The second step involves delineating categories of offenses -- listings of kinds of incidents which particularly concern a school or school district (for example: assaults, student vs. teacher; or assaults, student vs. student with harm; or assaults, outsider vs. student, and so forth). The third step calls for recording critical information about each incident that occurs in a school (perhaps on cards;) such information should include whom and what a given incident involved and when and where it occurred, and also, what disposition was made. The fourth and final step in incident profiling is the actual development of the profile; this process is best done after numerous incidents have been logged for a particular category. Then it is

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<sup>1</sup> For a complete treatment of incident profiling, see Robert J. Rubel (ed.) Identifying Your School's Crime Problems: Simple Steps that Precede Costly Action. (College Park, Maryland: Institute for Reduction of Crime, Inc.) 1978.

necessary to pull out cards which deal with a given type of incident, and from them to prepare a brief generalized narrative on the incident. (Such a description might read thus: "Most student-on-student assaults occur immediately before or after school in areas where busses are loaded and are perpetrated by repeat offenders against students of the same sex and race, but lower grade level. Most incidents result in no serious injury, and occur as a spinoff of petty extortion attempts...")

Once incident profiles have been produced, police or school security specialists can be called upon to provide technical advice regarding crime reduction approaches that fit the specific situation. However, even persons with no previous law enforcement experience can in a general way begin to reach interpretive conclusions from these profiles; the following examples will serve to illustrate how such understandings can, at the broadest level, be achieved. For instance, if crimes against persons appear to occur more often than any other kind of incident, then one might deduce that underlying problems in the school include racial tension; outside disruption to the order of the school; a need for better lines of communication with students; a need for greater teacher involvement with pupils; or a need to involve students in security planning. On the other hand, if crimes against property are found to occur most frequently, then one might most reasonably decide on such intervention approaches as a burglar alarm system; improved communications with staff concerning securing personal property; improved custodial attention to building security at night; or possibly, a comprehensive school security system which focuses primarily on property protection.

A list of resources potentially useful to schools seeking assistance in addressing school-based crime and violence problems is included in Appendix C of this report.

Public-awareness/school spirit improvement efforts at ameliorating student perceptions of dangerous persons and places usually require the development of the incident profiles we have just described, for those may serve to prove that actual danger does not exist. Such evidence will enable staff and students to have discussions capable of generating all the ideas necessary to launch a school-improvement program. The administration should enter into meetings with students and staff with the foreknowledge that: (a) the students' perception of fear-inducing situations may not accord with either the staff's or the administration's perceptions; and (b) unless these meetings are conducted in a way that allows students to feel "ownership" in the school, little lasting good will be realized. For as the literature on school-based crime and violence frequently emphasizes, students' feelings of pride in and ownership of the building and all it represents tend to constitute a major variable associated with neat and orderly schools.

This last point is most important, for meetings between youthful students and adult staff are frequently dominated by the latter. This leads students to the discouraging conclusion that the concern or program under discussion is being forced on them by the teachers and administrators. Meetings intended simultaneously to improve school spirit and to reduce an amorphous feeling of apprehensiveness among the student body must therefore be carefully orchestrated; these must be geared to producing in students a sense that they are making valuable contributions to the solution of a shared problem.

#### Other Suggestions for Reducing Student Apprehensiveness

As previously mentioned, the proportion of moderately or seriously apprehensive students in a school directly affects the school's overall social climate. The principal goal of the administration of a seriously afflicted school is thus to chip away at situations which lead to apprehensiveness. The

data presented in this report suggest a number of useful approaches.

- o Improve neighborhood police patrols before and after school hours, if the school is located in an area which students regard as fear-induced, for our data show that fear of neighborhoods influences fear-levels in schools.
- o Develop methods to make new students feel welcome and not threatened, for our data indicate that students new to a school are more apprehensive than students who have attended it for a while.
- o For students with low grade averages, supplement general counselling services so as to cover individual apprehensiveness. The data show that apprehensiveness frequently occurs together with poor reading and achievement levels.
- o Provide crisis counselling services for students who are victims of crimes (especially of violent, personal crimes) while in school. As repeatedly mentioned in this report, previous victimization sharply increases the likelihood that a student will be fearful while in school.
- o Involve parents in discussions of student apprehensiveness, for it appears from our data that apprehensive students frequently do not receive home support that could help mitigate effects of threatening in-school situations.



- o Give students opportunities and encouragement to have a real voice in the governance of schools and classrooms for the data indicate that slightly over one-half of all secondary school students feel they cannot control their own lives.

### Implications for Further Research

This report is based on information collected for the Safe School Study. Any secondary analysis of data assembled for other purposes may have certain advantages but also is likely to have some limitations. Strengths of this study are the ability to draw on a large nationally-representative sample of students who were asked a wide range of questions about themselves, their families and friends, and their schools. Only a small part of these data were used in the present analysis. In fact, the information obtained from students and companion questionnaire data from their teachers opens up a rich mine for others who may wish to explore them further.

But the limitations of this study are no less important in planning future research. The Safe School Study was a cross-sectional questionnaire survey. It lacked the longitudinal dimension which might have shown the development of fear, conditions which actually preceded it, and fear's consequences. Inferring cause and effect in the present case has been difficult, and the text has repeatedly noted where alternative explanations of findings may be plausible.

In addition, more subtle methods of inquiry would be helpful. Interviews could yield more precise and complete information based on the respondent's particular circumstances. Observation of students in school and elsewhere could also add rich insights into the process of becoming afraid, and the ways that fears are played out.

The apprehensiveness scale itself could also be improved. The questions asked students whether they feared being hurt or bothered while at school. However, the fear of being bothered is really quite different from the fear of being hurt. Further refinement of questions would therefore be profitable; this could more closely pinpoint whether particular instances of fear involved apprehension over being hurt or being bothered, and it could more precisely identify stress-inducing acts. Approaches to this form of research might include informal interviews with students (and perhaps with staff), and in-school observations to help identify fear-inducing situations.

One might also ask what are the relative strengths of fear-inducing variables. This report has demonstrated that some variables are important to some groups, while other variables are more important to other groups. For example, we have seen that although in large-city junior high schools neighborhood crime, the percent of white students, and previous victimization are the chief variables affecting apprehensiveness levels in school, for large-city senior high schools the primary variables are percent of students reading at least one year below grade level, and excess of white teachers over the racial mix of students. In each case it would be interesting to know in addition how school environments - the social structure and processes of interaction in schools - act to increase or decrease fear levels.

Clearly distinguishing antecedents and consequences of fear will require careful conceptualization as well as more adequate research designs. Several domains of variables are candidates for causes based on this analysis. These include aspects of the school environment, the junior high school experience, the mix of students present, neighborhood crime, and the student's own characteristics. It is also possible that a number of victims are

offenders too who may be fearful of retaliation. Some information on personal misconduct would be useful to check on this possibility.

A range of areas might profitably be examined as possible consequences of apprehensiveness for students. These include effects on learning, other activities in school, peer relations, parent and teacher awareness and support. Effects on learning in the classroom are particularly germane to the educational toll of fear whether it is distraction from studies, avoidance of essential areas of the school or missing school completely. Here again, observational studies could be most beneficial. In considering effects on the learning and interpersonal relations of fearful students, some conceptualization of the role of their intrapsychic states may also prove useful. For example, is the identified lack of a sense of control over one's future a product of fear? If so, it might restrict participation of various kinds and prove to be a key intervening variable. Further multivariate analyses will help to show how different variables operate together, but prior conceptualization may dictate different kinds of multivariate analyses.

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Yet another area might be to examine the school rather than the student to see how schools respond to climates of fear. A number of suggestions have been made in Chapter V for ways to combat fear based on crime and other factors. Studies of the school decision-making process, the practices instituted to respond to student fears and their effects on fear levels would be valuable additions to the scant literature. Similar questions here and in the previous areas could be raised about fear among teachers where even less is known than about fear among students. A large number of experimental studies based on these ideas could explore which kind of reactive procedure is effective, where and under what conditions.

Every list of implications for further research has an open-ended quality to it. The reader may see other topics, approaches and conceptualizations to follow up. Their power in each case lies in their ability to explain fear-related events through empirical analysis. We have argued that fear has a strong relationship to the student's interpersonal relations and educational progress. We hope that others will soon be able to specify these connections in more detail, building on the information provided in this report.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### A SCALE TO MEASURE APPREHENSIVENESS AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: DEVELOPMENT AND USE.

Within the framework of the Violent Schools -- Safe Schools study a questionnaire was administered to over 30,000 students in over 600 public junior and senior high schools from February to May 1976 and from September, 1976 to January, 1977.

The three questionnaire items that form the Apprehensiveness Scale are reproduced here together with the percentage distributions of the responses. The number of responding students was 31,373.

16. Do you stay away from any of the following places because someone might hurt or bother you there?

	<u>%</u>
The shortest route to school.....	8.1
Any entrances into the school.....	9.2
Any hallways or stairs in the school..	8.9
Parts of the school cafeteria.....	9.3
Any school restrooms.....	21.3
Other places inside school building...	12.7
School parking lot.....	11.5
Other places on school grounds.....	16.8

17. How often are you afraid that someone will hurt or bother you at school?

	<u>%</u>
Most of the time.....	2.7
Sometimes.....	17.3
Almost never.....	41.3
Never.....	37.9
N.A.....	

24. Did you stay at home any time (last month) because someone might hurt you or bother you at school?

	<u>%</u>
Yes.....	4.3
No (or N.A).....	95.7

Since the responses to item #16 did not fall into a scalable format, we decided to measure the degree of avoidance by counting the number of listed places avoided by individual students. The resulting distribution appears below in TABLE A-1.

TABLE A-I

Question: "Do you stay away from any of the following places because someone might hurt or bother you there?"

No. of Places Avoided	%
None	61.9
1-3	22.6
3-5	12.6
6-8	2.9
	100.0

When item #17 was correlated with a number of attitudinal items, it was found that those "almost never" afraid did not differ in their responses from those never afraid and from those who did not answer the question at all. Hence, these three categories were combined for scaling purposes.\* In other words, we broke the distribution into the positive(+), "afraid", group (i.e. those saying sometimes or most of the time) and the negative(-) remainder.

Similarly, avoiding no place at or around school was considered the negative answer in item #16, with those avoiding one or several places the positive (+) group. Absence from school for reasons of fear during the last month (#24) formed of course a natural dichotomy. The nonrespondents were included in the negative group. In this manner, break points in the three distributions were derived that were satisfactory for the construction of a Guttman-type scale without doing violence to the meaning of the response categories that were to be combined.\*\* The three questions were entered into the scalogram analysis with the following proportions of positive answers:

#16, Avoids at least one place (in or around school) "because someone might hurt or bother you there", 38.1%.

#17, Is sometimes (or most of the time) afraid that "someone will hurt or bother you at school", 20%.

#24, Stayed at home any time (during last month) "because someone might hurt you or bother you at school", 4.3%.

\* That the "almost never" and "never" afraid were as alike as peas in a pod (in their other responses) is hardly surprising given the difficulty of distinguishing between the two categories when the question is asked in the present tense.

\*\* Two other cutting points, i.e. in #16, avoids one place or two, in #17, afraid most of time, were tried but rejected as less satisfactory.

When the three dichotomized items were interrelated, the patterns shown in TABLE A-2 emerged.

TABLE A-2

Apprehensiveness Scale Patterns and Scale Scores

<u>Item #16</u>	<u>Item #17</u>	<u>Item #24</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Scale Score</u>
-	-	-	54.9	0
+	-	-	22.5	1
+	+	-	13.1	2
+	+	+	1.4	3
-	+	-	5.1	1
-	-	+	1.5	2
+	-	+	1.0	3
-	+	+	.3	3

We have separated the "error" patterns, amounting to just under 8% of the total, from the "perfect" scale patterns in order to show what scale score we assigned to them in the actual process of measurement. The coefficient of reproducibility,  $R_{rep}$  when computed à la Guttman was  $R_{rep} = .973$ , when calculated by the more stringent "One Score, One Prediction" rule\*,  $R_{rep} = .946$ .

By combining\*\* the scale and error patterns and eliminating rounding error we obtained the following distribution of scale scores:

<u>Score</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Degree of Apprehensiveness</u>
0	54.9	Not apprehensive
1	27.7	Slightly apprehensive
2	14.6	Moderately apprehensive
3	2.8	Very apprehensive
	100.0	

\* As described by Karl Schuessler in Analyzing Social Data, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971. pp. 329-330.

\*\* The three bottom rows of error patterns could have been scored 1,2,2, thus transforming the scale into a simple index counting the number of +'s. Conceptually, an item (#24) with so extreme a split deserves more weight than the other two.



The reader will note that all three items composing the scale contain the terms "hurt" and "bother you": the former implies a threat to physical safety and thus may be expected to generate fear. The meaning of "bother", while varying regionally, denotes even at its strongest a lesser hazard, an annoyance, irritation, or trouble; its anticipation may render a person nervous or pre-occupied but not fearful. This was our rationale for labeling the psychological dimension measured by the scale as apprehensiveness.

### Instructions for Use of the Apprehensive Scale

Persons having data processing equipment of their disposal can obtain the scale scores of individual respondents automatically by way of the following specifications\*:

```

COUNT      Q16Y=Q16.1 TO Q16.8(1)
COMPUTE      APPSCALE=-1
IF           (Q16Y EQ 0 AND Q17 GT 2 AND Q24 NE 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y GT 0 AND Q17 GT 2 AND Q24 NE 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y EQ 0 AND Q17 LE 2 AND Q24 NE 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y GT 0 AND Q17 LE 2 AND Q24 NE 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y EQ 0 AND Q17 GT 2 AND Q24 EQ 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y GT 0 AND Q17 LE 2 AND Q24 EQ 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y GT 0 AND Q17 GT 2 AND Q24 EQ 1) APPSCALE
IF           (Q16Y EQ 0 AND Q17 LE 2 AND Q24 EQ 1) APPSCALE

```

For the benefit of persons who wish to derive scale scores by coding and hand-tally we summarize the procedure, described on the preceding pages, as operations on filled-in questionnaires.

1. Count the number of "yes" circled in item #16 a-h, code "-" if none, "+" if one or more.\*\*
2. In #17, code "+" if "1" or "2" is circled, if not "-"/
3. In #24, code "+" if "1" is circled, if not "-".
4. Match the pattern obtained against table A-3 of scale scores and record the respective score on the questionnaire.

\* As per SPSS, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, N.Y. McGraw Hill, 1975.

\*\* In coding directly on the questionnaire, if the number of "yes" circled is entered (since one may wish to know which respondents avoid many places), care should be taken not to obscure these numbers or the circles in the rows which tell us what places are most frequently avoided.

TABLE A-3

## Apprehensive Scale Scores

<u>Pattern</u>			<u>Score</u>
<u>#16</u>	<u>#17</u>	<u>#24</u>	
-	-	-	0
-	+	-	1
-	-	+	2
-	+	+	3
+	-	-	1
+	+	-	2
+	-	+	3
+	+	+	3

Note: Patterns have been reordered to simplify visual matching. After the first decision is made, the coder need look at four rows only.

## APPENDIX B

### ABSTRACT OF THE SAFE SCHOOL STUDY

The Safe School Study was undertaken by the National Institute of Education in response to Congress' request that HEW determine the number of schools affected by crime or violence, the type and seriousness of those crimes, and how school crime can be prevented. The study is based on a mail survey of over 4,000 schools and on an on-site survey of 642 schools, and case studies of 10 schools. Principals, teachers, and students contributed to the study.

#### Risks of Crime at School

Although school violence and vandalism increased during the 1960's, they have leveled off since the early 1970's, and there are some hints of a decline. Still, about 8% of the nation's schools (6,700) have a serious problem with crime. Secondary schools are more likely to have a serious problem than elementary schools.

The risks of crime directed against schools are higher in the Northeast and West than in the North Central and Southern States, and tend to be spread throughout urban and suburban areas. The risks of personal violence are higher in junior high schools than in senior highs, and are higher in larger communities.

#### Extent of the Problem: Personal Violence

About 2.4 million secondary school students (11%) have something stolen from them in a typical month. About 1.3% of the students (282,000) report being attacked in a month. Relatively few are injured seriously enough to need medical attention.

Among secondary school teachers, about 12% (130,000) have something stolen at school in a month's time. Some 5,200 are physically attacked, about 1,000 of whom are seriously enough injured to require medical attention. Around 6,000 have something taken from them by force, weapons, or threats.

Young teenagers in cities run a greater risk of violence in school than elsewhere, except in high crime neighborhoods. There, schools are safer than the surrounding communities.

#### Extent of the Problem: Vandalism

Over 25% of all schools are subject to vandalism in a given month. The average cost of an act of vandalism is \$81. Ten percent of schools are burglarized, at an average cost per burglary of \$183. The annual cost of school crime is estimated to be around \$200 million.

#### Other Factors in School Violence

Most offenses are committed by current students. Victims and offenders are generally of the same age and sex (usually male). In a majority of cases, victims and offenders are also of the same race. The incidence of interracial violence is not significantly greater than would be expected by chance alone.

## RESOURCES

ORGANIZATIONS

- NATIONAL CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND ALTERNATIVES IN THE SCHOOLS:** 833 Ritter Hall South; Department of Psychology; Temple University; Philadelphia, PA 19122. The Center is dedicated to the study of school discipline and the dissemination of information about corporal punishment and alternative means of discipline in the schools. Their publications are inexpensive and useful.
- NATIONAL ORGANIZATION ON LEGAL PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION:** 5401 S.W. 7th Ave.; Topeka, Kansas 6660. NOLPE is a valuable resource for those interested in keeping track of legal issues that pertain to the handling of discipline and crime cases in public schools. Their publications include in-depth monographs on specific topics; the School Law Journal and NOLPE Notes, a monthly publication.
- CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND:** 1520 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.; Washington, D.C. 20036. CDF is a youth-advocacy organization with a long-term and specialized interest in suspensions and expulsions. They have produced a number of readable and sensitive works in this area and in a range of other areas.
- CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION:** 6310 San Vicente Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90048. The Foundation is particularly active in the area of Law-Related Education. They have now implemented their program in a number of school systems across the country. Their course curriculae have recently been published by Scholastic Books in New York under the title: *CRIMINAL JUSTICE* and *CIVIL JUSTICE* within the Living Law series. These particular works are designed for use in secondary schools.
- NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CITIZENS IN EDUCATION:** Suite 410; Wilde Lake Village Green; Columbia Maryland 20740. In addition to providing a telephone hotline (800-NET WORK) to help parents share information, this organization has a valuable publication dealing with citizen involvement with helping schools reduce crime and violence.
- COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE:** 550 11th St. N.W. Wash. D.C. 20530. The Community Relations Service has prepared a number of publications that are useful for schools and for school districts. Further, the CRS has Regional offices that provide assistance to all parts of the country when school systems have desegregation-related problems.
- CENTER FOR IMPROVED LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS:** Box 730, College Park, MD 20740. This non-profit Center serves to help schools and school districts maintain safe and secure school environments. They offer workshops, on-site assistance, and publications. There is a small research division also located in this Center. The area of speciality is criminal offenses committed in schools, not disciplinary infractions.

PUBLICATIONS

*School Administrator's Discipline and Control Update* Croft NEI Publications; 24 Rope Ferry Road; Waterford, Connecticut 06385 is a particularly useful newsletter. Information is timely, well written, and presented concisely. Generally, issues include an interview with an educational leader on a topic related to the theme being carried by the newsletter that month. For example, the May, 1979, issue carried an interview with Dr. Irwin Hyman, the Director of the National Center for Study of Corporal Punishment, discussed above.

*Creative Discipline* American Friends Service Committee, Southeastern Public Education Program; 401 Columbia Bldg.; Columbia, S.C. 29201. This monthly publication is a goldmine of resources and programs. The theme is very positive, and programs throughout the country are presented -- usually one or two programs per issue. Alternatives to suspension, and methods of developing positive student outlooks are recurring themes.