# NEW VISIONS FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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# A note from the editors

The 2014-2015 NVPA Editorial Board is pleased to present the eighth volume of *New Visions for Public Affairs*. Four of the five articles in this volume of NVPA are authored by M.A. and PhD candidates at the University of Delaware, and the authors of the remaining article are PhD candidates at Virginia Commonwealth University. The articles exhibit a wide range of research topics and methods, which not only represent the variety of paths offered among public affairs schools, but also within the School of Public Policy and Administration. The wide variety of topics featured in each volume of NVPA serve as a powerful reminder of the reach of the field of public affairs and administration.

With this rich history in mind, over the last two years the editors of NVPA have also been interested in the possibility of producing a journal focused on a particular theme. However, a themed edition of NVPA would require a narrower focus that might exclude some of the new visions in student public affairs research. Therefore, our call for submissions did not include a thematic requirement. After selecting these five articles for publication, the editorial board recognized a commonality shared by the first four articles in this volume. They were thematically related in that they all examined particular policies or political processes on marginalized and disadvantaged groups, such as rural, low-income, minority and/or aging populations in Delaware; urban LGBTQ populations; minority and low-income communities targeted for police crime control strategies, and survivors of sexual assault. We hope that, as you read this volume of NVPA, you will keep this theme in mind and consider the articles in relation to one another.

The fifth article does not fit so neatly in this theme but instead stands out as an excellent analysis of primary data relating to federal funding of state and local entities which we were excited to share with our readership.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the NVPA Editorial Board for making this journal possible through their hard work in reviewing and editing its every word. Additionally, we sincerely thank Drs. Maria Aristigueta, Jonathan Justice, John McNutt and Leland Ware for their support of NVPA.

Enjoy,

Gemma Tierney,
Editor-in-Chief

&

Kirsten Jones,
Executive Director

# Broadband Internet in Delaware: Bridging the Digital Divide

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This paper addresses the importance of broadband internet in socio-economic terms and introduces the concept of the digital divide, the gap in broadband access and adoption rates between region, class, and race. After examining the causes for this gap and its perpetuation, the paper compares three policy solutions used in different regions in the United States before making a policy recommendation for the state of Delaware.

## Introduction

Broadband internet is no longer a luxury. The way that broadband internet is used and sold is an ever-changing social, legal, and economic issue. This policy brief will explore that issue in the context of broadband accessibility, with policy options being considered for Delaware communities. As the topic of this report is technical in nature, it will begin with a brief overview of the history and function of broadband internet. Some additional technical terms will be defined in the report as they become relevant. After familiarizing the reader with broadband internet, the report will introduce problems relating to the accessibility and quality of wired broadband internet, describe the causes and consequences of this issue, and describe mechanisms and reasons for amending it. Following that, the report evaluates three policy options that have been implemented to address broadband accessibility and/or adoption in other locations using criteria that is relevant to the Delaware context. After comparing the proposed policy solutions and discussing them, a policy recommendation will be made.

## Background

This paper will focus on wired rather than wireless broadband internet. Although some wireless internet service providers (ISPs) might have qualified as broadband under some definitions, the practical concerns (e.g. tendency towards high cost, low bandwidth, and intermittent signal), asymmetry of wireless internet, and differences between conventional wired and wireless ISPs make it difficult to assess both wired- and wireless-focused policy solutions according to the same criteria. These reasons will be explored further later on.

The internet's economic, social, and political value has exploded on a personal and interpersonal level in the 21st Century. A home internet connection is becoming increasingly important for staying connected to vital resources. The internet allows individuals to access many essential resources,

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such as healthcare, education, social services, job opportunities, and critical real-time information. For instance, 80 percent of Fortune 500 companies only accept job applications online. The internet not only helps people to seek employment, but also enables them to keep their jobs: In the next decade, 80 percent of jobs will require a level of digital literacy that encompasses tasks that require a broadband internet connection (Leanza, 2014). An internet-connected computer allows employees to keep up-to-date with digital advances in the workplace.

More broadly, broadband internet connectivity is good for societies. Regions with better broadband infrastructure have better GDP growth, higher consumer surplus, and better standards of living than regions with worse broadband infrastructure (Du Rausas et al., 2011). Quality broadband infrastructure helps cities and municipalities to attract businesses and creates jobs (McCarthy, 2012).

The internet's increasing integration into everyday activities and essential services has shifted its status from luxury to a necessity. In 2015, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reclassified broadband internet as a common carrier under Title II of the Communications Act of 1934, revised in 1996. This reclassification acknowledges in writ law that broadband internet is not the luxury it once was, but rather an important service to be distributed uniformly and equitably across the country. Section 202 of the Telecommunications Act provides that:

> It shall be unlawful for any common carrier to make any unjust or unreasonable discrimination in charges, practices, classifications, regulations, facilities, or services for or in connection with like communication service, directly or indirectly, by any means or device, or to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, class of persons, or locality, or to subject any particular person, class of persons, or locality to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage (Telecommunications Act of 1996)

Now that ISPs are required to provide their broadband internet service as a common communication service, they are bound by law to avoid and prevent discriminating against any protected classes or regions in terms of service provision practices. How broadband internet's Title II status will be treated from a legal standpoint is still in debate. Title II does provide mechanisms for investigating, penalizing, restricting, and regulating common carriers that have violated Title II, including:

> Unjust or unreasonable discrimination in charges, practices, classifications, regulations, facilities, or services for... or to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, class of persons, or locality, or to subject any particular person, class of persons, or locality to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage. (Telecommunications Act of 1996)

However, the FCC has not released any specific plans to address broadband internet's common carrier status. Furthermore, no major ISP has made plans to change its operations to accommodate the common carrier designation. As it stands currently, Title II's application to broadband internet is mostly theory, and broadband access and adoption are uneven across factors such as geography, income, age, disability, and educational attainment.

**The Policy Problem**

Broadband internet access and adoption rates are uneven across factors including region, income, level of education, and age. These inequalities are in conflict with broadband internet's status as a nondiscriminatory public necessity. The gap in access and adoption, and the

socioeconomic differences between those with broadband internet and those without, is commonly referred to as the "digital divide." The remainder of this paper explores the particular context of the digital divide in Delaware, and how this divide might be bridged.

Rural areas and low-income urban areas have poorer broadband internet coverage than suburban areas and medium- and high-income urban areas. Feser states that "geographically remote and low-income urban communities…are unserved and probably will remain so for some time given the absence of sufficient current demand to motivate purely private sector investment" (2007, p. 70). Most of the estimated 26 percent of Delawareans who lacked home internet connections in 2012 was composed of persons with low educational attainment, persons with disabilities, and/or aging, rural or low-income individuals (National Telecommunications and Information Administration [NTIA], 2014).

A higher percentage of white homeowners have broadband internet service than black or Hispanic homeowners, even when controlling for income. However, a 2013 nationwide telephone survey found that almost half of polled racial minorities had used the Internet in job hunts, and 59 percent said that lacking Internet access is a major disadvantage in job searches. In the next decade, 80 percent of jobs will require digital literacy, but just 37 percent of K-12 schools in America are connected to adequate broadband internet infrastructure (Leanza, 2014). Broadband internet could be used as a tool for leveling the economic opportunity playing field, but instead it is creating yet another divide between socioeconomic classes in America. This is reflected in the gap in technological literacy, internet access, and computer ownership between low-income households and average-income households (NTIA, 2014).

Limited access to broadband internet or a disadvantage in the adoption of broadband internet is detrimental not only to discriminated groups but also the domestic economy: broadband internet access drives job creation directly through infrastructure investment, and indirectly through innovation enabled by faster and more ubiquitous networks. Additionally, greater broadband internet connectivity reduces the costs of connecting firms to potential employees, improves 'job matching,' and therefore improves the efficiency of the job market.

On a larger scale, there are negative economic effects of high international reliance on American internet infrastructure coupled with relatively low domestic broadband internet adoption. While international business relies disproportionately on American internet infrastructure, the United States lags behind South Korea, Singapore, Canada, and other countries around the globe in terms of broadband adoption (Cisco, 2014). This means that many Americans are unable to capture the economic benefits of the network in their own country. Another way of thinking about this is that the United States creates web-based jobs both domestically and internationally, but individuals and firms in countries with higher rates of broadband internet adoption benefit more than the American individuals and businesses making the initial investment.

There are unique causes for both inequitable access and unequal adoption of broadband internet. In terms of access, ISPs have little incentive to improve their services for two main reasons. First, major ISPs tend to lack direct competition between each other in most regions. For example, while AT&T, Comcast, and Verizon may all exist in a single region, AT&T offers DSL (AT&T, n.d.), Comcast's trademark Xfinity is cable internet service (Comcast, n.d.), and Verizon offers fiber internet (Verizon, n.d.). These services are not comparable in terms of bandwidth or pricing and therefore the telecommunications companies are only in competition with each other in a loose sense. Only when packages bundle internet service with phone and cable (services that are much more comparable across the three companies) are they really in competition. Therefore, the growth of other ISPs does not necessarily influence an ISP's motivations to improve pricing or quality of service. Second, it is very expensive upfront to expand an ISP's network (Hartley, 2011), so telecommunications companies may be cost-averse to that investment in the current economic

climate. Due to the significant time, money, and planning involved in expanding broadband infrastructure, it is easy for consumer and business demand for broadband to outpace ISP supply: demand for bandwidth rose by 500 percent over the last five years (Cisco, 2014). Between the noncompetitive environment and high cost of broadband infrastructure development, it is in the interest of ISPs to concentrate service and infrastructure development to low-poverty, high-population areas. This phenomenon is observable in Delaware, where Comcast's service is restricted mostly to New Castle County and suburban Kent County (Figure 1).
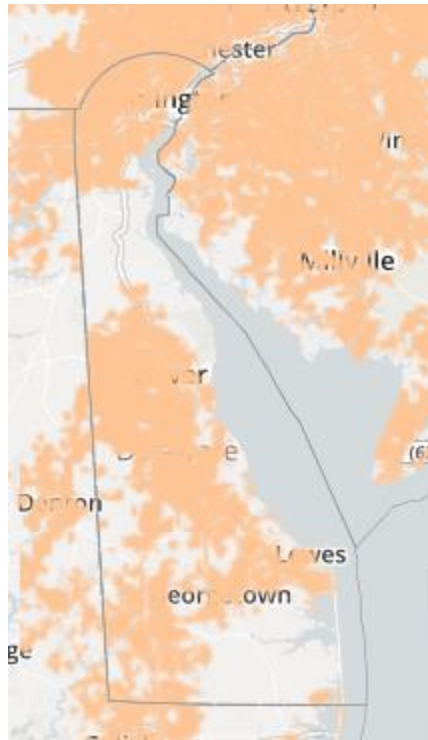


**Figure 1. Orange area represents Comcast coverage by ZIP code, at advertised speeds above 3 Mbps.**
*Source: Federal Communications Commission, 2015*

**Policy Solutions**
     This policy report will consider only bottom-up approaches to broadband development in rural and low-income urban geographies rather than top-down approaches. A large, all-encompassing, top-down program in which the state directly enters the telecommunications market or contracts an ISP to provide service to underserved areas and individuals is unlikely to work for several reasons. A top-down program requires a broader needs assessment and greater capital (both financial and political). It would also lack the established operational contours that private ISPs have had decades and hundreds of millions of dollars to put into place.
     First, to effectively implement a top-down program, the State of Delaware would first need to identify geographic gaps in broadband access. The State would also have to determine how many of those who have broadband internet access are able and willing to subscribe at private providers' current price points. Feser explains that "it has proven very difficult for states to get an accurate picture of where infrastructure gaps exist, given poor data and unwillingness of providers to supply information on their facilities and networks" (2007, p. 71). For example, when the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) proposed its National Broadband

Map in 2008, their intention was to show data on broadband access at the block-level. However, ISPs were encouraged to release data on a voluntary basis, at the level of their discretion (Federal Communications Commission [FCC], 2015). In Delaware, Comcast's coverage on the NTIA map is in units of ZIP codes and Verizon's coverage on the map is in units of census tracts rather than blocks, because that is the level of measurement that each ISP provided (Figure 2).
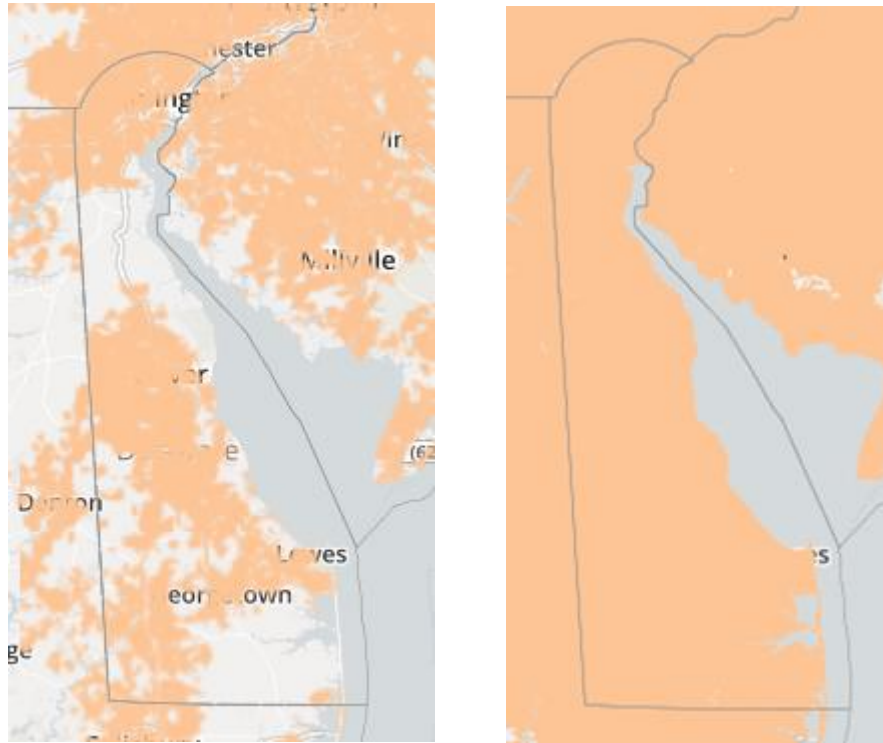


| **Figure 2.** | **(Left) Orange area represents Comcast coverage by ZIP code, at advertised speeds above 3 Mbps.** | **(Right) Orange area represents Verizon coverage by census tract, advertised speeds above 3 Mbps.** |

*Source: Federal Communications Commission, 2015*

Because census tracts are based on population, rural census tracts are comparatively large. Even if a single household in a large rural census tract had broadband, the entire county would appear as covered by Verizon. Because of this, it appears that Verizon has 100 percent fiber-optic coverage in Delaware (a preposterous notion to anyone who has shopped around for broadband in Delaware). When the few statistics that ISPs do provide are thus obfuscated, researchers are left with very little information about the state of broadband infrastructure. Furthermore, Comcast and Verizon were not required to provide any information to NTIA, and could have chosen to provide no data at all (FCC, 2015). Therefore, most broadband access data is instead provided by third party content delivery networks such as Akamai, businesses with interests in telecommunications such as Cisco, or studies conducted by universities and nonprofit organizations such as M-Lab (FCC, 2015). Due to the fact that data is secondhand, scarce, or both, and that ISPs are unlikely to reveal the locations of their networks and facilities, the high-level needs assessment necessary for a top-down policy response to the digital divide would be very difficult to accomplish.

Second, a top-down approach to broadband development will cost more and require greater

political commitment than a bottom-up approach. While the state of Delaware is not facing as stark of a financial situation as some other states, Delaware's struggle to obtain funding for broadband development programs in the same quantities as other states during the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA) does not bode well for Delaware's political commitment and fundraising abilities in the arena of broadband development: during the ARRA, Delaware was a named grantee of just four of the more than 300 grants awarded (NTIA, n.d.).

Many of the quandaries that legislators might face in sponsoring a bottom-up policy approach would be magnified in the case of a top-down approach:

> When state officials take up the broadband policy question, they quickly find that the environment in which they might design and implement any response is characterized by extraordinary debate, complexity, and flux, including the absence of a consensus of the appropriate role of government in broadband provisioning… rapid ongoing changes in broadband technologies and standards… shifting definitions of broadband as bandwidth demands evolve, and widespread disagreement about what speeds to target; the absence of a single optimal technological approach for all provider situations and geographic cases; broadband provisioning business models whose viability… is rather dependent on specific local or regional conditions; multiple potential provider types to address specific broadband needs… diverse sources of potential federal funding… continuing strong rates of market-driven deployment in many areas… a continuously evolving federal regulatory environment and very little state control over the thorniest regulatory issues governing competition in the broadband marketplace. (Feser, 2007, p. 70)

Many of these problems are easier to tackle with smaller programs built from the ground up than with bigger programs provided from the top down.

Finally, the time and money required upfront for the state government to directly provide a service comparable to private broadband internet service produces several additional problems. By the time that Delaware could build a public broadband internet utility that reaches rural and low-income urban households, privately-built broadband penetration may have improved to the point that the public provision was unnecessary, or the demographics of Delaware could change such that the state broadband would be targeting the wrong areas.

Due to the lack of ISP transparency and data required for a proper needs assessment, the prohibitively high political and financial capital needed, and the catching up a state-provided service would need to do, a state-level policy framework is implausible and inadvisable:

> What states *should not do*, given the challenging broadband technology market and regulatory environment… is attempt a large-scale strategy that seeks to address all broadband concerns in a comprehensive fashion… States that are seeking to boost broadband deployment and utilization should adopt a policy framework that explicitly encourages innovative *locally-based* solutions to broadband-provisioning. A bottom-up approach sees state government as a catalyst, facilitator, and occasionally co-investor to local initiatives. (Feser, 2007, p. 71)

This paper only considers land-line ISPs. The dark horse of ISPs in rural and low-income urban areas is wireless internet service providers (WISPs). In 2012, 43 percent of Americans reported using mobile phones to check e-mail, and 42 percent reported using mobile phones to browse the Web. The use of mobile phones for internet activities has grown substantially, including among demographic groups that have traditionally lagged behind in terms of broadband internet

adoption and access. In 2012, mobile phone usage among households with family incomes below $25,000 exceeded Delaware's overall broadband internet adoption (NTIA, 2014). Indeed, a larger number of lower-income individuals connected to the internet using only mobile phones than did higher-income individuals (Table 1).

| | Mobile Device Only (Mobile Phone, Tablet) | Personal Computer Only (Desktop, Laptop) | Both |
|---|---|---|---|
| All Internet Users | 3 | 54 | 39 |
| Income < $25,000 | 6 | 57 | 29 |
| Income $25,000 - $49,999 | 4 | 59 | 32 |
| Income $50,000 - $74,999 | 2 | 56 | 38 |
| Income $75,000 - $99,999 | 2 | 53 | 43 |
| Income $100,000 or more | 1 | 44 | 53 |

**Table 1. Type of device used to access the internet by income, percent, 2011.**
*Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2013*

Outside of data plans on mobile phones, the utility of wireless internet declines in Delaware. Two home-oriented WISPs in Delaware, CLEAR and Open Range, have dominated the market. However, Open Range filed for bankruptcy in 2012, and CLEAR only covers the Wilmington area. Satellite internet is an option for rural Delaware, but provides low speeds at a high price (Homsey, Patterson, & O'Boyle, 2011).

Wireless internet certainly has utility in terms of its ability to bypass land-line networking concerns and put the Web in the hands of anyone in Delaware. On the other hand, a data plan that is comparable to a land-line is an unrealistic solution to the problem in areas of low access or adoption (e.g., low-income areas) due to its expense. Additionally, wireless internet plans tend to have significantly lower network speeds than their wired counterparts. Given the lower speeds of WISPs, a wireless broadband solution may not be a solution at all. Finally, there is an entirely different set of technical, political, and legal considerations to be included in a policy option that involves WISPs. Wireless internet service policymaking is a legal quagmire even outside of broadband development. While mobile phone-based internet access has its value in its decentralized network and low device requirements, the high cost of a data plan, sub-broadband speeds, and policy limitations make it difficult to incorporate policy options involving wireless internet into the same framework as options directed towards wired broadband internet provision.

**Evaluative Criteria**

The policy options presented in this brief will be evaluated across four key criteria. A policy addressing the problems of inequitable broadband access and adoption must address both broadband access and broadband adoption as evaluative criteria, for the simple reason that adoption and access are distinct features, and without both, a policy can fail to bridge the digital divide. Policies should also account for cost as well as political and technical feasibility. A policy that is fiscally, politically, or technically infeasible to implement may be worth a moment's contemplation, but it should not be investigated seriously due to the current state of finances, politics, or technology.

**Policy Options**
Status Quo

The status quo should be considered as a policy option. It is possible that, with time, inequality in the access and rate of adoption will flatten out. Due to the combined effect of recent regulations,

gradually decreasing prices for broadband internet service, and expanding broadband internet infrastructure, the market may resolve the problem by connecting the most possible subscribers with internet service. With the reclassification of broadband internet as a common carrier under Title II, ISPs are experiencing major regulation for the first time since the early 1990s. Adjusted for inflation and changes in wages over time, the cost of broadband internet in megabits per second of advertised speed decreased or stayed the same from 2009 to 2012 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2014). Broadband internet infrastructure has expanded in terms of market penetration (OECD, 2014). If these trends continue, broadband internet may become widespread and affordable enough that patterns of inequality vanish. Until that time, however, the current patterns of lagging rates of access and adoption in rural communities, low-income urban communities and low-income, low-education, or elderly households will continue.

Policy Alternative 1: Outreach Program

A potential policy alternative might be an outreach program to improve broadband adoption in marginalized groups. Part of the reason that many people in areas with broadband access don't have broadband is because they don't see the value in having a high-speed home internet connection. A disproportionate share of the people who did not see a need for, or express interest in, adopting broadband were low-income and/or elderly individuals, or individuals with disabilities. However, these are also some of the groups most in need of the resources that the internet connects to them (NTIA, 2014). By focusing on outreach, policymakers can reach underserved populations that are left behind in the digital divide, especially rural and low-income households.

An outreach program with a focus on teaching internet literacy and the value of the internet could easily be folded into an existing library program or digital literacy program as a cost-saver. In fact, the public library is one of the most important resources for internet access and adoption in rural geographies. Additionally, many libraries offer technical education programs:

> Rural libraries have long been a crucial part of the small-town way of life: from developing reading programs for both youth and adults, to providing a place to go on-line and ask technology questions, to simply serving as a gathering place for community events. They are often taken for granted by many residents, but are undoubtedly a source of community pride and identity. (Whitacre & Rhinesmith, 2015, para. 1)

Not only do rural libraries connect the community with public computing centers and educational programs, but they have also been shown to increase overall rates of household broadband internet adoption (Whitacre & Rhinesmith, 2015).

In terms of political feasibility, there is plenty of precedent for outreach programs like the one suggested here. Outreach programs with the goal of improving broadband internet adoption were launched nationally as recently as 2009, as part of ARRA. Included in this provision was the construction and improvement of public computing centers such as library computer labs, and projects emphasizing "sustainable broadband adoption," with a focus on populations with a history of limited broadband internet access and low rates of adoption (NTIA, 2009). A follow-up program adjusted to the strengths and weaknesses of the outreach elements of the ARRA could have a significant impact on rate of broadband adoption.

Care should be taken when implementing outreach programs, especially in low-income urban areas and rural areas. Part of the reason that the existing outreach programs in rural libraries have been so successful in improving broadband internet adoption is because the relationships between librarians and patrons in tightly-knit rural communities lead residents to feel more confident about setting up a home connection (Whitacre & Rhinesmith, 2015). Because every small town and inner-

city neighborhood is different, a one-size-fits-all, statewide policy may not be the best solution. Working with local library staff to design and implement outreach programs is advisable.

Policy Alternative 2: Demand Aggregation

In a demand aggregation policy, the state provides a framework for community members and ISPs to interact openly and for the community to "actively demonstrate and pool regional demand for broadband offerings" (Mix, Beauchamp, & Wendt, 2009, p. 29). Communities interested in getting connected are able to make a case for broadband infrastructure development in areas that ISPs might not otherwise consider. An example of demand aggregation at work is Kentucky's broadband expansion program, ConnectKentucky, which was established in 2002 (Brodsky, 2008). ConnectKentucky provides a venue for community members lobby ISPs for broadband infrastructure development through a system called Request for Proposal (RFP) Development (ConnectKentucky, n.d.). By demonstrating to ISPs the level of demand in particular communities, a demand aggregation system significantly reduces the time and effort needed to connect ISPs and people who want service brought to their area.

There are numerous benefits to a demand aggregation policy. First, the cost is relatively low, because states already have public buildings from which to loan space, websites for hosting forums, and a capable bureaucracy with which to process and mediate formal requests like RFPs. Secondly, demand aggregation is politically feasible: ISPs want to identify potential customers, and communities want broadband (Homsey et al., 2011). In addition to ConnectKentucky, successful demand aggregation programs have been implemented in several states, including Colorado, North Carolina, and West Virginia (Connected Nation, n.d.). Finally, demand aggregation has the benefit of improving broadband access without directly involving the government in the business of building or subsidizing broadband infrastructure—which Delaware has historically struggled to fund.

As there have been a number of successful cases of demand aggregation in action, including ConnectKentucky, a set of steps for the typical demand aggregation initiative can be laid out. First, the state of regional broadband infrastructure, services, and usage is assessed. Following that, public awareness of broadband services is raised. Next, market-driven strategies to identify and pool demand (the "demand-aggregation" itself) are employed. In the case of ConnectKentucky, for example, the broadband needs of rural Kentuckian communities were assessed. Based on this, ConnectKentucky identified the actors and communities that would benefit most from regional broadband development. In most cases, these were healthcare providers, schools, and agriculture. Finally, ConnectKentucky rallied the healthcare providers, schools, agricultural entities, and individuals to pool their regional demand for broadband access. In Kentucky between 2002 (when the program was initiated) and 2008, broadband subscriptions doubled, broadband coverage increased from 60 percent to 90 percent, and home computer ownership rose 24 percent (Mix et al., 2009). If Delaware were to follow the same general steps followed by successful demand aggregation initiatives in other states, they could reasonably expect similar results in Delaware's low-access areas, such as rural regions and low-income areas. In this way, demand aggregation can be used to bridge the digital divide.

Policy Alternative 3: Broadband Cooperative

In a broadband cooperative, rural ISPs cooperate to jointly build and share broadband infrastructure in places of low access. Broadband co-ops are usually subsidized and permitted to run private wire through public conduits, in order to keep costs low and utility lines neat (Homsey et al., 2011). Of all of the policy alternatives proposed, a broadband co-op would have the greatest impact on access. However, it would also be the most costly.

Maryland implemented a broadband co-op called the Maryland Broadband Cooperative

Initiative (MDBC), to great success. With a federal grant of $115 million, MDBC was able to run broadband in low-access areas across Maryland (Figure 3).



**Figure 3. Yellow lines indicate broadband infrastructure built by the Maryland Broadband Cooperative Initiative.**
*Source: Maryland Broadband Cooperative, n.d.*

The political and technical feasibility of this policy option is weaker than that of the other two policy options discussed above. As stated previously, Delaware has struggled to secure federal or state funding for broadband projects in the past, which may be indicative of the state's future level of success. In terms of technical feasibility, while it is very possible to create and operate a broadband cooperative like Maryland's, in which ISPs share infrastructure and run private cable in public conduit, a broadband co-op would require more changes to existing technical practice than would other policy options, which could catalyze political resistance.

The implementation of a broadband cooperative in Delaware would require significant planning, including generating initial funding, as there is a precedent for co-ops to be publicly funded. Another early concern is generating the initial support needed to establish the cooperative: "As is the case with the demand-aggregation approach, a co-operative model in Sussex would benefit from the support of influential officials and significant community institutions, such as elected officials, business groups, governments, large employers, and community foundations" (Mix et al., 2009). After initial funding has been procured and sufficient buy-in has been generated, technical needs should be assessed and areas that would benefit from cooperative broadband development should be identified. Areas that lack broadband internet access should be considered as areas where co-op service will be provided. In this way, the co-op model can be targeted towards underserved groups. Low-access areas tend to have little in the way of infrastructure, facilities, and other technical assets, and these will need to be mutually developed by the broadband cooperative. Finally, a management plan for the co-op should be co-designed between all involved parties. The management plan should address how the cooperative is to be governed, how decisions about broadband development are to be made, and how costs are to be divided (Homsey et al., 2011).

**Policy Recommendation**

It is recommended that a combination of outreach and demand aggregation should be implemented to begin bridging the digital divide in Delaware. Outreach focuses on increasing adoption among people in the digital gap. Demand aggregation targets areas with low-access. Therefore, these two policy options are complementary in that both adoption and access are addressed. Furthermore, since both policies are low-cost, politically feasible, and can be folded into existing operations fairly easily, this combination meets the evaluative criteria set out earlier in this report.

The broadband cooperative policy option is not recommended at this time. In a state that tends to receive little to no funding for broadband programs, an expensive broadband program is likely to be met with significant political resistance, and the programs costs are more likely to outweigh the effectiveness

**Conclusion**

The internet is a vital part of every home and community. The gap in broadband internet access between rural and non-rural regions, and between low-income and average- and higher-income regions, and the lag in broadband internet adoption rates in low-income, low-education, elderly, or differently-abled households are not only inequitable deliveries of an important connection to a greater community, but they also violate broadband internet's recent Title II classification. Connecting underserved communities to the internet will allow low-access and low-adoption groups to more easily access important information, career and education opportunities, government services, and the greater online community.

A combination of outreach programs and demand aggregation initiatives will help to bridge the digital divide between rural and metropolitan, low-income and high-income, uneducated and educated, and young and elderly. In addition to reducing inequitable delivery of a common carrier, these policy responses benefit everyone, through the added economic benefits that newly connected households and businesses create.

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# An Urban Gay History: Knowing Roots to Move Forward

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The lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer (LGBTQ) population in the United States has undergone a violent and oppressive history. The LGBTQ population has demonstrated resilience and strength in the face of police brutality, the HIV-AIDS epidemic, and legislative discrimination. Over the course of the twentieth century, the LGBTQ population formed cultural enclaves in many cities. The density and diversity of urban centers provided conditions under which gay urbanites could foster a sense of community, solidarity, and relative security, in comparison to the opportunities offered by suburban and rural areas. The gay community enclaves that formed in many of the twentieth century's big cities allowed their residents to establish themselves socially, economically, and politically in resistance to the oppressive societal structures that they encountered outside of these enclaves.

This overview of some of the gay urban enclaves that formed during the second half of the twentieth century offers San Francisco as a basis for analysis. Did major events such as the election of Harvey Milk in San Francisco's Castro district help to build an empowering history for the LGBTQ population? Today, the fight for LGBTQ civil rights must still overcome a number of significant challenges, such as in the areas of healthcare, adoption, support services for LGBTQ youth, and protection from various sources of discrimination. By exploring the growth of urban LGBTQ communities over the last 70 years, this paper hopes to offer insight on how LGBTQ communities and their allies can continue to move forward.

## Introduction: The Establishment of LGBTQ Communities in the United States

Until recently, the LGBTQ population in the U.S. was known as the gay and lesbian community, with identities like bisexual, trans,[1] and queer[2] more recently gaining broad recognition in light of recent policy from the federal government. Policies such as the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009 and the Affordable Care Act's non-discrimination

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[1] Trans is a nickname for the transgender and transsexual population. Trans people perform their gender in a manner that is different that their assigned birth sex.

[2] People often identify as queer if they do not want to be placed into the stereotypes that another identity category may have. It is applicable to gender expression or identity, as well as sexual identity. Those who identify as queer should not be assumed to be attracted to any particular gender identity.

provision, which came into effect in 2014, have brought attention to the LGBTQ population and the inequities that this population experiences (The White House, 2014). Over time, the LGBTQ community has narrated their history through books, articles, documentaries, and first person accounts, providing information about how they have survived in a heteronormative United States culture. For instance, although the lesbian and gay populations were not prohibited from buying or renting homes in rural and suburban areas in the 1900s, urban neighborhoods were generally more appealing because they provided better access to resources, safety, and community. As a result, gay and lesbian communities created enclaves in cities like San Francisco and New York City. The development of gay urban communities is well-documented. It has led to the current prevailing climate in urban areas in which future policy relating to LGBTQ civil rights will be evaluated.

In the very early part of the twentieth century it was still very dangerous to openly identify as gay. It was not until the 1920s, when urban density began to increase significantly as high rise construction became more prevalent, that gay and lesbian sub-cultures began to be molded and folks could be out in underground sub-cultures (Higgs, 1999). Being out in all settings is still not a reality for the LGBT community, though the 1970s and 1980s offered more opportunities for the lesbian and gay community to be out in arenas other than sub-cultures. Nearly 100 years later, the dangers associated with being out are still present in communities across the world today.

### Why Congregate in Urban Areas?

The greater density and, following the Industrial Revolution, the greater availability of jobs in cities has created highly diverse populations, in comparison to suburban or rural populations. However, a finer-grained examination of this urban diversity reveals that different ethnic groups often settled in more homogenous, segregated enclaves. In their discussions of processes by which ethnic enclaves and minority ghettos have formed, scholars such as Wirth, Park, and Levine have documented that marginalized groups of individuals will often band together in a community setting (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2011; Levine, 1979). LGBTQ populations have followed similar patterns in the twentieth century. As it stands today, the LGBTQ community is more likely to be accepted in urban areas compared to rural or suburban areas of the United States. There is no concrete reason for an increased level of tolerance in urban centers, but is attributed to the nature of urban culture and documented by Florida in his work surrounding the creative class (Florida, 2005). With more artistic workers and high density come a diverse array of residents and opportunity of anonymity (Florida, 2005). Concentrations of artistic and creative populations are often more accepting of folks who do not fall under on the gender binary, or identify as heterosexual, which describes the LGBT community. However, discrimination and acts of hate persist on an individual, micro-aggressive level regardless of landscape. National policies have addressed some of these acts, but more legislation and cultural shifts in society are necessary to reach full acceptance in all corners of the nation.

### The Interactions of Gay & Lesbian Communities

While the LGBTQ community is frequently viewed today as possessing a high degree of solidarity and cooperation, this was not always the case. In the past, lesbian and gay communities have crossed paths in social settings, yet often lived in different neighborhoods (Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996; Faderman, 1991). By definition, these sexual identities have little reason to interact with one another. They do not view each other as potential romantic partners, nor do they identify with the same gender. Additionally, gay men and lesbians have different intersecting identities, with different privileges to reap. For instance, as non-visible minorities, white gay men were more like to be employed in high-paying jobs and were therefore more able to participate in gentrification because they were able to invest in real estate and property improvements. Because women were not encouraged to work outside the home for the greater part of the twentieth century, lesbians did not

have the same income-earning opportunities. These differences in privilege led to differences in policy agendas, with lesbians advocating primarily for women's rights, in addition to gay rights (Faderman, 1991).

Due to these differences in privileges, it is helpful to view the events that built gay and lesbian communities through an intersectional lens. For instance, references to gay communities and gay rights activities often imply that they primarily consist of men. However, lesbians participated in the street fairs, social events, AIDS support groups and the bar scene. These events were created by men, due to their economic and social privileges, yet lesbian participation was essential to the success of the community evolving as a result. Lesbians were part of a lower socioeconomic due to the fact that their gender limited their ability to earn income, and in turn, their ability to buy homes and own businesses. It is the intersection of a lesbian's sexual and gender identity that put her at a disadvantage for purchasing a home, even in a gay-friendly neighborhood. Although the two communities had many differences in identity and socialization, they banded together in times of need, such as the HIV-AIDS epidemic and gay rights movement.

**The History of San Francisco's Gay Community**

World War II brought thousands of young people to the San Francisco Bay Area, as the bay served as a major army port (Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996). Gay bars became popular in the Bay Area with the rise of speakeasies during Prohibition. Even after Prohibition, many gay speakeasies transformed into legal bars that served primarily gay and lesbian populations. However, as the general population became more aware of which bars served gays and lesbians, many of these bars began to turn gay patrons away. Because it was illegal for gay people to gather in public places, be served alcoholic drinks, or "act gay" for much of the twentieth century, any behavior that deviated from prevailing sexual norms needed to be hidden from public eye. As a result, rather than becoming isolated from one another due to the dangers of publicly interacting, the gay community created a night life separate from that of the 'straight world'. In this way, they formed spaces where they could have unguarded moments together away from the eyes of the police and the public (Stein, 1997). As more gay community members gained access to San Francisco's exclusive gay nightlife, a subculture gradually solidified in the Castro District. This laid the foundation for what was to become an openly-gay and politically active community in the Castro.

By the 1960s, the Castro became a place of refuge for the gay and lesbian population due to its high vacancy rates resulting from suburbanization. In fact, the neighborhood density had decreased to such an extent that police and emergency personnel were no longer required to live in the neighborhood. The combination of high vacancy rates and lack of surveillance made it possible for the gay community to be more openly gay, and even live together, in the Castro District. However, as the gay population became increasingly well-known through the twentieth century, the intersection of a woman's gender and non-conforming sexual identity continued to be limit her access to well-paid jobs. Therefore, while gay men were able to buy properties in the Castro, lesbians were generally only able to afford to rent houses shared with other women (Stein, 1997).

As the lesbian and gay community began moving into the Castro, signs of a community identity began to appear. The Castro Theater began showing classics and art films, a metropolitan community church was formed, the first gay bar with glass windows was built, allowing passersby to see the patrons inside, and the Castro began to feel like a small town for its gay residents (Stein, 1997). These additions to the community were no different from enclaves in a 'straight' area of a city, however, the churches were open to gay parishioners, films were inclusive of the gay community, and all spaces were safe for gay community members to frequent. People were more relaxed walking around in the daylight because the threat of aggressive behavior from the straight world had vanished with the great migration to the suburbs. San Francisco became such a gay-

friendly city that, in the 1959 mayoral race, candidate Russ Wolden accused incumbent George Christopher of allowing San Francisco to become a safe haven for gay people (Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996; Faderman, 1991). This statement helped to make visible the city's gay and lesbian voting bloc. This visibility laid the grounds for the election of Harvey Milk nearly two decades later.

As the twentieth century progressed, media attention to San Francisco's gay community helped the community to attract new residents to the open culture of the Castro. For instance, *Life* magazine reported on the "problem" of urban 'homosexuality'[3] and published images of the gay bar scene in San Francisco in their June 1964 issue (Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996). Although these reports were not meant to be positive portrayals of gay San Francisco, the publicity created greater demand among gays and lesbians to establish homes and businesses in the Bay area (Higgs, 1999). As Boyd explains, "[Growth of] urban homosexuality in the mid-1960s was not that the number of homosexuals had necessarily grown but that the public space occupied by homosexuals had expanded," as it was documented (2003, pp 202).

### LGBTQ = Inclusive?

Despite its status as an enclave for an oppressed group, the Castro was by no means free of discrimination during the mid- to late twentieth century. White men made up the majority of the population. Lesbians frequently felt unwelcome in gay bars due to the dominance of the gay man's culture, which also dictated dress codes and behaviors. If lesbians were to visit a 'gay men's bar', abiding by their dress code was necessary if they wanted to stay (Faderman, 1991). Additionally, gay people of color were barred from many bars, and it was not uncommon to see Confederate flags outside of gay bars (Stein, 1997). This discrimination was a commonality for nearly all gay communities across the United States, but the Castro has been best documented (Stein, 1997).

### Policy Responses to a Growing LGBTQ Community

In 1953, President Eisenhower outlawed the lesbian and gay population from holding federal jobs. This was a political statement against the growing LGBTQ community, as the federal government would not employ them in any capacity (WGBH Educational Foundation, 2013). Decades later, "Don't Ask Don't Tell" was passed in 1993, ensuring gays and lesbians would not reveal their sexual orientation or participate in any same-gender sexual behavior in the military (WGBH Educational Foundation, 2013). Though repealed under the Obama Administration, for much of the twentieth century the LGBTQ community could not be out in the military or hold a federal job. Also repealed under the Obama Administration, the Defense of Marriage Act was signed into law by President Clinton in 1996, establishing the right of states to refuse to recognize a same-sex marriage that took place in another state. This law was reversed by the Supreme Court ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges* in 2015, which legalized same-sex marriages in all fifty states and stands as the biggest victory for the LGBTQ community in the twenty-first century to date. These policies allowing discrimination against the LGBTQ community limited their human rights to marriage, employment, and a right to express oneself while serving in the military. Policies have slowly adjusted with the growing LGBTQ out population, and a presidential administration committed to valuing all Americans equally.

Attitudes towards LGBTQ populations have been uneven across states for centuries. Two pioneers in recognizing gay rights were Illinois, which in 1962 became the first to decriminalize

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[3] The term 'homosexuality' was used as a medical diagnosis when 'homosexuality' was listed in the DSM-IV as a mental disorder. Since its removal in the later twentieth century, the term homosexual has been rejected by the LGBT community and is no longer accepted. Its usage here communicates the message of *Life* magazine, and the context for media portrayal.

same-gender sex acts in private between consenting adults, and Wisconsin, which passed the first piece of legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in 1982. While national and state-level legislation continued to discriminate against gay populations through the 1990s, there were political victories in smaller geographic areas like the the Castro. The Castro had become so densely populated by LGBTQ households and businesses by the 1970s that politicians could not ignore the gay community when campaigning and implementing policy. According to Stryker and Van Buskirk, "in 1974, 40,000 lesbians and gay voters turned out for the fall elections, representing 12 percent of all votes cast" (1996, p. 65).

**Harvey Milk**

In 1977, Harvey Milk became the first openly gay elected official in the United States when he was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. During his short time in office, Milk was responsible for introducing a gay rights ordinance which prevented gays and lesbians from being discriminated against in the workplace, as well as beginning a campaign against Proposition 6, which discriminated against gay teachers. Although Milk was assassinated by a former member of the Board of Supervisors after eleven months in office, his election to office is arguably the catalyst of the gay liberation movement, fueling creation of the "out and proud" attitude adopted by the community not long after Milk's success (Stewart-Winter, 2009; Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996).

Following the death of Harvey Milk, Castro's gay population began to hang rainbow flags in the neighborhood to signify their personal and community identity to tourists and outsiders. The fact that the community became more expressive in their pride following the death of their first political leader is a testament to the strength of the social network that had formed in the Castro As a result of the social and political traction that had been gained by the Castro during the 1970s, politicians were courting the influential gay vote by the end of 1970s (Higgs, 1999). This population was a force that could not be ignored.

**Social Events & Police Brutality**

Despite the social, economic and political progress of the gay and lesbian population in the twentieth century, gays and lesbians frequently suffered police harassment if they were accused of acting openly gay or deviating from the masculine/man, feminine/female norm in terms of their gender performance. Although gay bars had historically offered a safer space for gays and lesbians to be 'out and proud' in a social setting, they were by no means immune to police harassment. In the mid-1950s, there was a strong push from politicians and police to remove the gay and lesbian population from San Francisco (Stein, 1997). This effort began the practice among some bar owners of discretely letting gay patrons know that they were no longer welcome by giving them a card which read that the bar no longer needed their patronage (Stein, 1997).

Prior to 1962, bars could be shut down for serving gay patrons (Boyd, 2003; Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996). Business owners were aware of this threat and took precautions like bribing local police patrol, requiring membership, or only permitting dancing on an upper floor of the premises. This dance floor arrangement was sometimes made safer by installing a red light that would flash to warn the dancers when police entered the bar downstairs, thus providing them time to switch to dance partners of the opposite gender (Faderman, 1991). However, it did not stop all police raids and violence towards the community. Despite these measures, police raids did occur, often resulting in the gay patrons being physically assaulted, harassed, or treated more harshly than heterosexuals that were arrested (Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996). In the early 1950s, police in San Francisco would bring dogs on raids and would charge female arrestees of "frequenting a house of ill repute" (Faderman, 1991). Police also resorted to entering suspected gay bars under the cover of a gay identity. This practice became so common that gays and lesbians who wore gender-ambiguous

clothing to bars were suspected of being undercover police because they did not know how to "dress properly" (Faderman, 1991).

In 1962, the California Supreme Court ruled in *Vallegra v. Alcoholic Beverage Control* that the California Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control could not revoke a small Oakland bar of their liquor license because they had served gay patrons and allowed same-sex dancing. This ruling made it legal for gays and lesbians to gather in bars in the State of California, and was a turning point for the social lives of the gay and lesbian community (Boyd, 2003). With the ability to legally gather in public bars, the community could more easily socialize and build relationships to foster community development.

## Creating Gay Spaces

The homophile movement worked to educate heterosexual allies about gay and lesbian subcultures, create safer social spaces for the lesbian and gay population to socialize without the threat of police, and eventually integrate the gay and lesbian population into mainstream society (Boyd, 2003; Faderman, 1991). A few organizations based in San Francisco that came out of the homophile movement were the Mattachine Society and Daughters of the Bilitis, founded during the 1950s, the latter being primarily a lesbian community group. Headquarters and satellite offices for these organizations offered an alternative to bars for a place for gays to meet and socialize, as they were founded prior to the 1962 California Supreme Court ruling in *Vallegra v. Alcoholic Beverage Control* (Boyd, 2003). With the 1950s serving as a stealth time for the LGBTQ community, the homophile movement was essential in providing lesbian and gay community members a chance to mobilize for acceptance.

The creation of these spaces seemed to be an extension of the sub-cultures that operated during the first half of the twentieth century. However, instead of secret meeting spaces or parties where the threat of arrest was present, these organizations could function during daylight hours. Without the education-based approach taken by these organizations to advance equality, the lesbian and gay community would have had more limited tools for protesting against discrimination, and may have been more dependent on violent forms of civil unrest. Therefore, the homophile movement served two key roles in gay liberation: creating physical spaces for the gay community to gather, and building a coalition of activists united around a cause and ready to mobilize when needed (Boyd, 2003).

## HIV-AIDS as a Natural Disaster for the LGBTQ Community

After two decades of political progress, the gay and lesbian population was confronted with an unprecedented threat that is sometimes considered to be the most devastating occurrence in the gay community's history. In 1981, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) published a report that recognized AIDS as a distinct medical syndrome, after diagnosing the first patient in 1980. The AIDS epidemic had begun, and its ground zero was in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles (Higgs, 1999).

In the early 1980s the world did not understand how HIV-AIDS was contracted and spread (Stein, 1997; Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996), and AIDS was often referred to as 'gay cancer' or 'gay pneumonia' (Higgs, 1999). Due to the limited medical knowledge about AIDS in the 1980s, there were few healthcare measures for prevention or management and no treatment options; as a result, the disease spread quickly. Gay culture shifted from empowerment to sadness and fear, with political rallies being replaced by vigils for the deceased (Stein, 1997). On Castro Street, many shops closed or changed hands, and by 1984, the Castro District was nearly empty, (Higgs, 1999). Ten thousand San Franciscans had died of AIDS by the end of the 1980s (Stein, 1997). It was not until 1988 that

the CDC mailed an AIDS education brochure entitled, *Understanding AIDS* to every home in America, which explained that using condoms during sex was a key preventative measure.

In the late 1980s, when treatment[4], testing, and education had become better informed by research, the AIDS epidemic became a rallying point (*The Castro: A documentary*, 1997). AIDS support groups were created and more churches began accepting the gay community in light of the illness, and many social events and fundraisers were organized to help the cause (Stryker & Van Buskirk, 1996). Gay and homophile spaces were turned into care centers for those suffering from AIDS.

The rate of AIDS transmission among lesbians was much lower than among gay men due to the fact that bodily fluids are far less likely to be exchanged in many forms of sexual contact between women (Faderman, 1991). However, lesbians were still emotionally affected by the loss of their fellow community members, gay friends, and political allies. Therefore, many lesbians came to traditionally man-dominated neighborhoods to help with treatment and support. The "Dyke March" became a tradition, with lesbians marching in support of the AIDS movement, thereby transforming many gay neighborhoods into lesbian enclaves for a night (Stein, 1997).

Once treatment and preventative measures became more widely available, and President Reagan began to speak out about the epidemic during his last year in office, cities became more welcoming of the next generation of gay community members (aids.gov, 2016). San Francisco regained much of its status as a safe haven for young gay people (*The Castro: A documentary*, 1997). However, today's gay enclaves would likely look much different if the gay communities of the 1980s had not been so severely ravaged by AIDS.

Though it has been over thirty years since the beginning of the AIDS epidemic in the U.S., legislative measures continue to be introduced to combat HIV-AIDS. The Ryan White HIV/AIDS Treatment Extension Act of 2009 was passed under President Obama to ensure HIV-AIDS positive people have access to health insurance (The White House, 2014). Originally passed in 1990, this act has been amended and reauthorized four times. Its resilience is indicative of the LGBTQ community's resilience towards the disease, and shows the commitment policy has made to prevention and treatment.

**Being Gay in 2016**

Although the LGBTQ community is no longer limited to gay-friendly bars, restaurants, and shops to socialize, full cultural acceptance has not yet been achieved. Legally speaking, the LGBTQ community has not been granted all of the human rights enjoyed by heterosexual, cisgender people. Because many anti-discrimination laws are enacted at the state level, it is still legal in some states to discriminate against a person on the basis of gender expression or sexual identity in areas of employment, housing, adoption, or healthcare, among others. Today, dense urban areas continue to be the safest place to live for persons that identifies as LGBTQ, because of the diversity and inclusive culture offered by an urban setting.

The 2015 Supreme Court ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that legalized same-sex marriage in all states was a huge milestone for the LGBTQ community. However there are still states, such as North Carolina, that are passing legislation allowing discrimination against the LGBT community (North Carolina Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act, HB 2, 2016). With policies such as these in current day, it sometimes may feel policy is moving backwards, away from human rights for all people. Though the Religious Freedom Restoration Act has proved to be a barrier for inclusive LGBTQ legislation, any cultural changes moving towards acceptance of the LGBTQ community

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[4] The *antiretroviral* drug zidovudine (also known as azidothymidine and commonly abbreviated as AZT) was approved by the Food and Drug Administration in 1987 as the first treatment for AIDS. It is still widely used in the twenty-first century in conjunction with other antiretroviral drugs (aids.gov, 2016).

cannot be reversed. It takes large shifts in society to permanently change the perspectives of generations.

As more non-discrimination policies are implemented, there is a greater opportunity to create inclusive spaces accepting of all identities. Political activism and participation, as well as education and case law have allowed the LGBTQ population to advance to its current place in society. These same strategies can be used to continue to advance the goal of equality.

**Conclusion**

San Francisco exemplified the events that built an LGBTQ community within the United States, with other major urban areas following similar trajectories, though usually to a lesser and less visible extent. In present day, the diversity of urban areas continues to create an inclusive environment for the LGBTQ population. At times it takes the devastating event such as the HIV-AIDS epidemic to bring attention to a marginalized community, which can result in attitudinal changes that save lives. As awareness of the LGBTQ community increases and more anti-discrimination policies are implemented, there is hope that suburban and rural areas will become more accepting and welcoming towards LGBTQ populations. Until then, cities continue to offer space for LGBTQ populations to experience a sense of community and pride.

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# Urban Unrest: Crime Control in American Cities and the Sociological Implications of Police Strategy

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Dating back to the initial days of urbanization in the United States, the impact of crime and delinquency on cities has differed vastly from the impact on suburban and rural spaces. While a number of factors are believed by criminologists to precipitate such urban violence, primary justifications for policing's altered approach to cities include curbing poverty, lowering unemployment and working towards neighborhood revitalization. A wide array of crime control strategies have targeted the unique sources of anti-social behaviors that plague city neighborhoods, including targeted patrols and other forms of policing that focus on particular offenses or offender groups. While criminological research has revealed that some of these programs have been successful in reducing levels of urban delinquency, the strategies have undoubtedly resulted in a range of far-reaching sociological implications. Through a review of prior literature, this paper will explore a range of crime control strategies which have been employed in American cities over time, as well as to assess the various impacts they have had on urbanites – including those who have been disproportionately impacted by some strategies. This paper will also offer a discussion related to the role policymakers have in this regard – and the importance of considering the sociological implications in crafting future urban crime policy.

**The troubling state of American cities**

In a 2007 article, historian Michael Katz discusses the then-forty-year anniversary of the infamous riots that plagued Newark, New Jersey and Detroit, Michigan. Katz uses the anniversary as an opportunity to explore the conditions – income inequality, unemployment, failing schools, poverty, policing practices and general urban decay – that precipitated the riots and the widespread urban unrest at that time, as well as to explore the condition of cities four decades following the tipping point that landed the devastating and deep-seated urban troubles at the forefront of news coverage and policy debates (Katz, 2007). After posing a thought-provoking question – "why aren't U.S. cities burning?" – in the very title of his article, Katz offers not an answer, but a response: "the question is puzzling because many of the conditions thought to have precipitated the eruption of violence in the 1960s either persist or have grown worse" (2007, p. 23). He further expresses a sense of puzzlement that more cities were not in a state of disarray and disorder at the time of his writing, given the grave inequities facing urban spaces.

In the wake of recent unrest in Baltimore, New York City and Ferguson, Missouri, as well as several other cities throughout the country, Katz might be inclined to revisit his

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2007 response. Whether triggered by fatal police shootings or emanating from a more general sense of frustration and discontent with government, sometimes violent unrest has plagued American cities as of late. Amidst protests, the emergence of movements like "Black Lives Matter" have sought to organize voices and communities around the need to advocate for African-American populations, and predominately in urban settings (Garza, 2014). According to the movement's website, "Black Lives Matter is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks' contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression" (Garza, 2014). The coalition and those who identify with its message and objectives have mobilized in recent months – predominately following instances of alleged abuse of power by law enforcement officials or in the wake of police-involved shootings or violence. However, the very existence of such a coalition represents something much broader than any single event (Garza, 2014). Social advocacy emanating from unrest has been described as representative of a deep-seated discontent with government, as well as a perceived lack of equity and justice amongst a substantial subset of the American population.

**The urban context**

In examining the present state of American cities and the unrest that has plagued several urban centers in recent years, it is useful to first discuss the unique characteristics of cities that set them apart from other spatial arrangements. More than half of the world's population resides in cities across the globe, adding gravity to studies related to urban affairs (Glaeser, 2011). Scholars seeking to understand how and why cities have formed have often identified fixed attributes – whether a port or industry – as resulting in the formation of such communities (Glaeser, 2011). These agglomerations of population, capital and enterprise, however, have carried with them a range of threats and dangers unique to such spatial concentrations, with disease, crime and congestion being prominent urban plagues identified throughout history (Glaeser, 2011). In fact, the challenges associated with the rise of urbanism in the United States have, at one time or another, attracted what some have described as "unprecedented professional, political, and bureaucratic attention" (Barnes, 2005, p. 580). From education to law enforcement, community development to infrastructure improvements and enhancements, cities have historically presented policymakers with a wide range of needs and concerns (Barnes, 2005).

Over time, urban theory has evolved to encompass a wide range of perspectives on the nature of cities and how they function – or, in some cases, how they can cease to function. Scott and Storper (2014) make the argument that "cities are so big, so complicated and so lacking in easily identifiable boundaries that any attempt to define their essential characteristics is doomed to failure" (p. 1). Scholarly attention to cities has increased, focusing in part on the unique attributes that make understanding such physical, political and social constructs challenging (Scott & Storper, 2014). Cities are depicted in scholarly literature as everything from sources of economic development to cultural centers, regional hubs of commerce and government to gateways to international trade and facilitators of globalization (Scott & Storper, 2014; Barnes, 2005; Pierre, 2011). Yet another view of cities – and perhaps one that is most appropriate for the broader scope of the present discussion – is that of "the city as a theater of class struggle, centered on land markets as machines for distributing wealth upward and on associated political claims from below about citizenship rights to urban space and resources" (Scott & Storper, 2014, p. 2). It is this lens through which scholars can examine and evaluate the recent unrest plaguing American cities.

This paper seeks to examine one of the most pressing challenges confronting urban residents and leaders alike: public safety. At once a political lightening rod and the subject of desperate pleas for assistance and intervention from among many subsets of the urban community, crime frequently

dominates the urban discourse in America. This paper will feature an analysis of prior literature – namely through exploring policing strategies and policies which have received among the most attention in criminological literature. It will continue with an assessment of literature which has tracked the sociological implications of these strategies – impacts which have been highlighted in recent months and years in the wake of several pronounced demonstrations of unrest and discontent. This scholarly examination finally will seek to make the argument that policymakers should take into consideration the vast and far-reaching sociological implications that accompany urban crime control measures, and that have come with such strategies for many decades. While combating criminality in urban spaces presents public leaders with a range of challenges, their responses to those barriers carry the potential of contributing to broader sociological constructs that might very well prove to be more destructive than the crime they seek to prevent; this argument will be addressed in the review of prior scholarship that follows, as well as in the discussion of the resulting policy implications.

## Crime in American cities

Criminologists researching delinquency and means of governmental social control have developed a growing body of theory related to the commission of criminal acts, in part focusing on the conditions under which one is most likely to perceive crime as a justifiable risk in an attempt to better one's position or achieve some other end (Roncek, 1981). Among the situational factors taken into consideration by would-be criminal actors are the likelihood of detection and the probability of apprehension by law enforcement, factors that can change vastly from one neighborhood or block to the next (Roncek, 1981). Such discussions are common among those investigating American cities, and in particular, the unique impact of such delinquent activity on residents of cities. In the field of urban sociology, inquiries into the relationship between crime and city life are critical (Roncek, 1981). Research has investigated both the prevalence of criminal activity in cities compared to that in rural or suburban locales, as well as the conditions within urban areas that are believed to foster criminality among both residents and outsiders (Roncek, 1981). Urban sociologists advocate for the position that cities are more "structured organizations of people and environments" than the result of the happenstance – a reality which undoubtedly permeates each layer of the social fabric of such spaces (Roncek, 1981, p. 76). It is this theory, criminologists assert, that allows for the differential levels of crime in particular urban neighborhoods (Roncek, 1981). And the environmental qualities – physical and spatial attributes and arrangements – of urban spaces in America can, in a sense, cultivate locations prime for such criminality (Roncek, 1981).

### *Fear of crime*

Central to research on crime in American cities is the element of fear that is associated with urban living (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). For many city residents, researchers have found, fear can be almost a daily struggle associated with an urban lifestyle (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). While fear is at once both personal and social, it can also have a strong impact on the social organization of the broader community, reaching almost to a societal level in terms of its impact on collections of individuals (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). Some levels of fear can be linked to rumor and the development of reputations associated with particular places – such as neighborhoods, blocks or city wards – and evident in both subsequent observations and experiences in such places (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). Considerations of the concept of crime and its relation to fear are complicated by the understanding and conceptualization of crime possessed by many individuals and families, particularly those who reside in cities (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001).

Crime is a relatively ambiguous term. Research has found a wide range of associations to the concept – reactions that depend in large part on the experiences of individuals and those with whom they are in contact (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). Anecdotes and stories about particular crimes permeate discussions among urban residents, giving way to confusion, uncertainty and apprehension for future personal and collective community safety (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). Concerns are often flamed by the relatively negative frame the news media paints of urban spaces, particularly when focusing on stories about crime, delinquency and public safety – a large focus of news content related to American cities (Dreier, 2005). Such sociological reactions to dialogues about urban crime eliminate the possibility of dispassionate analyses of the actual prevalence of delinquency, giving way to the exaggerated levels of fear that exist within cities (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001).

According to Schweitzer, Kim and Mackin (1999), the fear of crime identified among city dwellers "may have more effect on some urban residents than actual crime" (p. 59). The development of psychological stresses and the cultivation of fear of one's surrounding environment can lead some urban residents to confine themselves in their homes, their freedom inhibited similar to that of prisoners (Schweitzer, Kim and Mackin, 1999). The authors go so far as to suggest that high levels of fear associated with criminality and delinquency can be as traumatizing and impactful as witnessing a criminal act, or even being the victim of a crime (Schweitzer, Kim and Mackin, 1999). Levels of fear are related in part to the sense of community felt by residents in particular neighborhoods. The absence of such social organization – as well as relationships with youth in the community – has been identified as a contributing factor to this anxiety (Schweitzer, Kim and Mackin, 1999). Such fear also tends to be more intense in neighborhoods with higher levels of racial segregation, supporting the theory of the role of community cohesiveness in predicting social disorder (Krivo, Peterson & Kuhl, 2009). Aside from community closeness and interpersonal relationships, research has identified the presence of nearby merchants and crime watch signs as factors contributing to higher levels of fear within urban communities (Krivo, Peterson & Kuhl, 2009). Regardless of the source of such fear, it has been argued that the presence of any level of fear related to crime makes more of a difference in terms of urban quality of life than the degree to which one perceives the threat of crime as real or likely (Pain, 2001).

### Impacts of urban crime

Research on the ever-present fear of crime in cities has also led to increased inquiry into the greater impacts of delinquency on daily life in urban spaces across America. According to Krivo and Peterson (1996), urban neighborhoods that are considered "extremely disadvantaged" are characterized by higher rates of criminal activity (p. 620). This could relate to the presence of factors that allow for a prime environment for delinquency, equated primarily with the low anticipation of police intervention and apprehension (Krivo and Peterson, 1996). Such neighborhoods, in addition to being magnets for at least some degree of criminality, are also characterized "by a high degree of social isolation from mainstream society" (Krivo and Peterson, 1996, p. 619). Whether this is a result of crime itself or factors that allow for it to grow more prevalent could perhaps be a matter of debate, but either theory gives way to a broader deterioration of neighborhood conditions (Krivo and Peterson, 1996). Kaslow (1973) attributes some urban crime patterns to the lack of economic opportunity found in many cities, connecting to criminological theories of anomie and strain as causes of delinquency among inhabitants. These negative factors can contribute in part to what is described as a "delinquent subculture," fostering an environment ripe for offending (Kaslow, 1973, p. 29).

It is also worth exploring the effects of crime patterns on various aspects of urban life outside of the aforementioned fear paradigm. Rising rates of criminal activity in particular neighborhoods can result in changes in the demand for housing in such locales (Naroff, Hellman & Skinner, 1980).

Such trends of flight from, or avoidance of, particular neighborhoods can impact property values for remaining residents and pave the way for hikes in property taxes – a major source of revenue for American cities (Naroff, Hellman & Skinner, 1980). At the same time, disinvestment in urban communities stemming from individual responses to crime patterns can result in budgetary constraints for city governments that could, ironically, inhibit the ability of police departments to effectively control crime (Naroff, Hellman & Skinner, 1980). Reduction in crime rates can provide additional property tax revenue for city governments, and can lead to the reinvestment in communities by both individuals and businesses (Naroff, Hellman & Skinner, 1980).

It is important to note that urban crime patterns have historically extended to surrounding suburban neighborhoods, which eventually experience some of the same quality of life challenges and financial pressures faced by cities (Stahura & Sloan, 1988). Traffic congestion, poverty, deterioration of available housing quality and even unemployment, coupled with the broader issue of crime and community disinvestment, have begun to invade suburban regions surrounding city centers (Stahura & Sloan, 1988). Such factors in cities are considered by criminologists to be motivators for criminal activity, and extensions of these phenomena to suburbs tend to mark the advent of crime spikes in the same locales (Stahura & Sloan, 1988). This is also seen through the participation of suburbanites in city crime, or the victimization of suburban residents by urban-based offenders (Shihadeh & Ousey, 1996). Such occurrences point to the lack of spatial containment of urban crime in America, a further cause for the attention paid to the issue by both public officials and law enforcement leaders.

### Law enforcement responses to fear of crime

The unique challenges facing urban spaces related to crime and criminality and the widely prevalent fear among urban residents leads to an analysis of the response of law enforcement to crime in cities. Growing levels of fear related to perceived and actual crime in urban spaces has in recent years drawn an increased amount of attention from law enforcement agencies seeking to improve the quality of life for city dwellers (Silverman & Della-Giustina, 2001). In the context of the role of social capital in curbing delinquency and eliminating the fear of future criminality, Walklate (2001) identified the disintegration of community social networks as one impetus for crime control in urban spaces. Researchers have asserted that considerations on the part of public officials and police agencies must include views of criminal activity expressed by urbanites rooted in personal experiences (Walklate, 2001). Fear of crime within communities can lead to adjustments in official policing policy in reaction to such offenses or offense patterns, particularly when police leaders begin to view containment and mitigation of community fear as a priority (Silverman & Della-Giustina, 2001). An awareness of the nature and extent of such fear is necessary for effective intervention by law enforcement professionals, whose impressions are typically guided, at least in part, by experiences and interactions with the communities they serve (Silverman & Della-Giustina, 2001).

Fighting crime that touches urban areas has historically been a focus of policing in America (Bayley, 1998). One of the primary goals set for law enforcement is the curbing of "group violence," which research indicates poses more of a threat to cities than suburbs or rural regions (Bayley, 1998, p. 18). Research also suggests that the presence of complicated social networks in cities facilitate the rapid transmission of information on events, including criminal acts or threats to public safety, and exert pressures on police to react (Body-Gendrot, 2001). Political pressures for crime control from various sources – including citizens, interest groups, businesses and others – as a means for maintaining existing investments in communities and promoting further support also place the burden of urban policing at the forefront for city officials and police leaders (Body-Gendrot, 2001). Further, the argument has been made that crime control can become a means for promoting the

initial stages of urban renewal and revitalization (Lehrer, 2000). When crime rates fall, researchers purport, new businesses open, streets are considered safe at night and more individuals and families live in urban spaces or invest in communities through purchases and the patronage of businesses – contributing to an overall sense of improvement in urban spaces (Lehrer, 2000). It is this collection of arguments supporting the need for urban crime control, in part, which has spurred American law enforcement agencies to implement a unique set of strategies in the nation's cities.

**Urban crime control strategies**

Since the initial days of urbanization in America, communities have struggled to maintain a sense of power or control over their neighborhood spaces (Beecher, Lineberry & Rich, 1981). The issue agendas topping the minds of community activists and residents can vary greatly by block or neighborhood, but research has identified urban crime as an issue paramount for many individuals as well as associations (Beecher, Lineberry & Rich, 1981). Scholars have linked the pursuit of regaining community power with the desire to rid city neighborhoods of crime, particularly when linked to urban renewal goals and initiatives (Beecher, Lineberry & Rich, 1981). Hence, cities have employed a variety of crime control strategies in order to enhance public safety and help launch revitalization efforts. Such efforts have traditionally been rooted, according to Tilley and Laycock (2000), in theory related to the wickedness of crime that posits commonly held beliefs about crime and draws from social research:

> There appears to be a strong inclination to approach crime in ideological terms. Crime is wicked so some wickedness must be rooted out to deal with it. Individuals must be blamed, or defective social arrangements must be held responsible. Social scientific research is generally more concerned with explanation than judgment, and is more likely to suggest a clinical approach to reducing crime (p. 215).

Cities have historically employed a variety of tactics to combat crime, with some resting upon research-based policy suggestions, and others closely aligned with politically favorable options (Tilley and Laycock, 2000).

*Traditional methods and untraditional experiments*

Historically, the patrol component of any American police department has been responsible for delivering the bulk of police services to the public (Walker & Katz, 2008). Marked patrol vehicles and uniformed police officers serve as the most visible representation of law enforcement agencies, which, on average, assign a majority of sworn personnel, to such patrol duties (Walker & Katz, 2008). On a daily basis, patrol officers respond to calls for service as well as initiate investigations based upon observations made in the field, and are typically the individuals who come into the most contact with the population they serve (Walker & Katz, 2008). The basic goals of patrol divisions and platoons revolve around deterring crime, enhancing a sense of public safety in their respective communities, and ensuring that officers are available for service when needed (Walker & Katz, 2008). Research related to the deployment of police officers suggests the use of random patrol patterns, rapid response to calls for service from the community and intensive arrest and enforcement procedures and policies as means for improving effectiveness (Walker & Katz, 2008). Such studies have also suggested that increasing the size of police departments by adding sworn officers helps to increase the efficacy of departmental operations (Walker & Katz, 2008). However, while putting more officers on the streets might lessen response times and improve the responsiveness of police agencies, further research related to urban policing asserts that simply

increasing patrols is not an effective means for true urban crime prevention (Tilley and Laycock, 2000).

Thus, more unique strategies than simply hiring more police officers have been strategically employed in the greater effort to curb urban disorder across the country. One such initiative was undertaken beginning in 1992 in Kansas City, Missouri, where a single patrol beat had devolved into one of the most dangerous areas in the country (Walker & Katz, 2008). As part of the later-dubbed "Kansas City Gun Experiment," police began to focus resources on the neighborhood with a homicide rate twenty times higher than the national average (Walker & Katz, 2008). Such an area, commonly referred to as a *hot spot*, a space with a disproportionately high crime rate or rate of calls for service from residents and others (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 205). The 29-week experimental period in Kansas City resulted in a halved rate of overall gun crimes and a 67 percent drop in the homicide rate for the targeted area (Walker & Katz, 2008). While other criminal acts and calls for service were not impacted as heavily – in some cases, not at all – the experiment provided support for the theory of policing strategies targeted towards specific offenses as being successful (Walker & Katz, 2008). A 1989 study of over 300,000 calls to police officials in Minneapolis, Minnesota found that three percent of addresses accounted for 50 percent of all calls for which police were dispatched (Sherman et al., 1989). Similar statistics have been cited by various researchers as evidence of differential consumption of police services among particular populations and locales (Walker & Katz, 2008). Traditional patrol strategies were further tested through the Kansas City Preventative Patrol Experiment, conducted in 1972 (Walker & Katz, 2008). The department, for the first time, adjusted levels of police patrols in particular neighborhoods, deploying additional personnel to areas with higher crime rates, and experiencing subsequent success in lowering rates in those specific areas (Walker & Katz, 2008). In part, the experiment provided support for the line of thinking that simply adding patrols to certain areas without an altered focus or a particular emphasis on preventing certain offenses had no net impact on crime or feelings of safety among residents (Walker & Katz, 2008).

Such research and experiments point to the need, many argue, for more creative policing strategies, particularly in urban spaces in America (Walker & Katz, 2008). Whether it is a form of hot-spot patrolling or using specialized units to target specific offenses or offender groups, criminologists have offered support for less traditional approaches (Walker & Katz, 2008). One such attempt was made in Minneapolis, when police units would crack down on quality of life and nuisance violations, as well as more serious offenses, in particular neighborhoods for short periods of time to instill a sense of "residual deterrence" among residents (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 229-230). The measure was expected to lead to residents being more fearful of committing crimes based upon the heightened expectation of police detection and intervention (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 229-230). More proactive policing strategies based upon community initiatives and targeted towards improving the relationship between police and the populations they serve, are considered more effective than the historic plans of police agencies to merely increase the size of departments (Walker & Katz, 2008).

### Successes in combating urban crime

Scholars of urban studies have also identified examples of successful crime control mechanisms in particular cities. In New York City, for example, a study analyzing crime rates and police activity identified several trends related to law enforcement productivity and public safety (Corman & Joyce, 1990). Taking into consideration the decision of a criminal to commit an act, the funding of public safety by government officials and the provision of police services to respond and investigate particular acts, the study found that, over time, higher arrest rates coincided with lower crime rates, pointing to the deterrent effect of intensive arrest policies (Corman & Joyce, 1990). In

addition, higher crime rates were connected with lower police productivity when considering workload and effectiveness (Corman & Joyce, 1990). In the analysis, crimes of passion and other relatively unpredictable acts that would not likely be impacted by general deterrence in particular neighborhoods were excluded from the study's findings (Corman & Joyce, 1990). Thus, according to the study's results, increasing levels of arrest can lead to lower levels of urban crime.

A more out-of-the-box strategy to curbing urban disorder was employed in Los Angeles, California, when Police Chief Wiliam Bratton identified five high-crime sections of the city and launched targeted efforts to "reclaim" public places in those areas (Sousa & Kelling, 2009, p. 41). One of the areas selected in the "Safer Cities" initiative was MacArthur Park, a 40-acre public space near the city's downtown region and within the department's Rampart Division (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). The historically beautiful park, by the early 2000s, was considered to be "lost to the criminal element" (Sousa & Kelling, 2009, p. 42). Four gangs took over control of different portions of the park; drugs were dealt in public; graffiti permeated the space; prostitution was rampant, particularly in restroom facilities; and an overall sense of the loss of control of the park colored experiences and observations in the park (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). The Alvarado Corridor Initiative, within the larger "Safer Cities" program, adopted a hard line approach against the quality of life issues facing the park which had resulted in the space becoming essentially inaccessible to many members of the public despite its public nature and support (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). Additional officers were added to the patrol beat; all offenses were prosecuted, despite the relatively minor nature of some misdemeanors; special and undercover units were deployed to supplement uniformed operations and patrols; television monitoring systems were implemented; additional signs were posted announcing the rules of the park; and maintenance personnel from the city worked to better maintain the aesthetics of the area (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). Public offices and agencies also enhanced programming in the park, including the scheduling of concerts and outdoor events, to help draw residents to the space (Sousa & Kelling, 2009).

The LAPD's approach to reclaiming MacArthur Park as a public space was posited on the principles of community policing, defensible space and crime prevention (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). While data released at the time of the study's conclusion was still relatively scarce, it was concluded that the crime rates of many offenses within the park dropped with the implementation of the tactics of police officials assigned there (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). Adding police resources to the park, joined by cooperation from other public agencies, seemed to result in a greater sense of empowerment among police leaders and beat officers alike, as the once out-of-control space was slowly transformed back into a welcoming park that could again fulfill its promises to residents as a community resource (Sousa & Kelling, 2009). On the other hand, this case is also referenced as an example of a community's ability to regain ownership over particular urban landscapes, and to restore a sense of pride among a community in the maintenance and upkeep of the public space (Sousa & Kelling, 2009).

Elements of community policing identified in the LAPD's Alvarado Corridor Initiative can be linked to a broader body of research backing the effectiveness of such outreach initiatives by law enforcement agencies in American cities (Saunders, 1999). Community policing captures elements of partnership, crime prevention and problem-solving techniques that aim to mobilize available community resources around the goals of law enforcement agencies (Saunders, 1999). While such strategies have been criticized as merely a response to negative publicity following poor encounters between police and members of the communities they serve, the strategies have been found effective in some cases (Saunders, 1999). The sense of ownership that develops from such partnership-oriented initiatives can result in joined efforts between police and members of the public to prevent crime, with residents reporting observations of criminal acts or suspicious activities (Saunders, 1999). Police responses to such tips can lead to improved relationships between the two

parties, and contribute to the further sharing of observations from residents with law enforcement (Saunders, 1999). Ideally, such developments could improve, in general, the favorable view of police agencies and the team approach to crime prevention (Saunders, 1999).

**Sociological implications of urban crime control**

Crime control measures in American cities, including those that have realized seemingly positive, crime-reduction successes, have become the subject of voluminous research related to the ensuing deterioration of police-community relations, and the further sociological implications for urbanites. Taking into consideration even the basic behavior patterns of law enforcement officers in urban centers, researchers and practitioners alike have identified a "quasi-military" approach that has been met with heavy criticism (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 93). From the type of uniform worn to the ranking systems akin to those in the military, officers are increasingly being perceived as members of the armed services (Walker & Katz, 2008). Police officers differ from military troops in a number of ways, ranging from the peacekeeping functions to the goal of providing service to a community rather than to achieve ends related to wartime or a foreign enemy (Walker & Katz, 2008). The element of discretion exercised by police also draws distinctions with military command structures and protocol (Walker & Katz, 2008). In a lengthy volume on the topic, Radley Balko (2013) writes:

> Police today are armed, dressed, trained, and conditioned like soldiers. They're given greater protections from civil and criminal liability than normal citizens. They're permitted to violently break into homes, often at night, to enforce laws against nonviolent, consensual-acts – and even then, often on rather flimsy evidence of wrongdoing. Negligence and errors in judgment that result in needless terror, injury, and death are rarely held accountable. Citizens who make similar errors under the same circumstances almost always face criminal charges, usually felonies (p. 334).

While a portion of Balko's argument rests on research and discussions related to law enforcement's role in the nation's War on Drugs, the point regarding the military-style approach of America's police forces extends beyond drug raids and seizures, permeating even the most basic of emergency responses or neighborhood patrols (Balko, 2013).

**‘Us vs. Them’ approach to urban policing**

It has been argued that this very basic set of attitudes and characteristics function to delegitimize the traditional authority and responsibilities of police agencies, fostering an "us versus them" attitude that can in some instances be "used to justify mistreatment of citizens" (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 93). The law enforcement approach is also criticized for displaying a "war on crime" demeanor that many describe as inappropriate given the duties to serve civilian populations – resulting in growing levels of disconnect between officers and the citizens they serve (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 93-94). Some departments in past decades have experimented with shifting to different types of uniforms without ranking structures to emphasize the differences between officers and troops, but such efforts were short-lived, owing to identification issues in the community and the absence of a guiding rank structure that has become so prevalent in police agencies (Walker & Katz, 2008).

Researchers analyzing the impact of aggressive policing practices in particular neighborhoods in New York City identified a link to perceptions of police legitimacy connected to such practices:

> Citizen perceptions of law enforcement are relevant to how the public views specific police practices; when people perceive that the police are targeting them without cause, the authority

of the police is delegitimized, but when people believe they are being treated fairly, they are more likely to believe that police actions are justifiable (Lachmen, La Vigne & Matthews, 2012, p. 6).

Part of the challenge for law enforcement agencies seeking to uphold a positive reputation and presence in urban neighborhoods is the pattern under which young people are introduced to the criminal justice system (Shedd, 2012). Many youths first interact with the police and the larger justice system without facing a single charge, but rather being the subject of targeted police practices (Shedd, 2012). According to Shedd (2012), "as neighborhoods and schools have become more scrutinized during the current era of mass incarceration, some youth end up on a 'carceral continuum,' in which supervision and surveillance exist at varying levels of severity" (p. 26).

It is also important to consider the distribution of policing strategies and the ensuing effects on views of police legitimacy. Scholars point to empirical evidence when arguing that the impact of the criminal justice system is "neither evenly nor randomly distributed across people or places," a factor that can greatly aggravate already tense police-community relations (Shedd, 2012, p. 26). Research involving young urban residents found that certain policing policies, such as "stop and frisk" and other strategies employed in predominately urban contexts, "tend to reduce compliance and voluntary cooperation with law enforcement" (Tyler & Fagan, 2012, p. 30). As individual opinions about law enforcement can come from a variety of factors, it is often difficult to isolate whether a positive or negative outlook could be more directly derived from the experiences of a friend or loved one, or perhaps a personal encounter with an officer (Tyler & Fagan, 2012). However, personal interactions have been found to play a significant role in shaping such perceptions, and scholars suggest that sweeps or arrest campaigns that target minority youth – even for offenses as minor as loitering – can have significantly negative impacts on police-community relations, and ultimately, the greater goals of combating urban crime (Tyler & Fagan, 2012). Such patterns – both perceived and supported by empirical data about discrepancies in police action across communities or with reference to particular types of individuals – can also result in greater suspicion of police misconduct (Miller & Davis, 2007).

### Impacts of racial and ethnic disparities in police action

Minority populations living in urban communities in America have been shown, through empirical evidence, "to be the disproportionate recipients of both proactive policing strategies and various forms of police misconduct" (Brunson & Miller, 2005, p. 613). Research examining behavior patterns related to policing in disadvantaged urban areas has found that more aggressive actions on the part of law enforcement officers are typically met with less cooperation or compliance (Brunson & Miller, 2005). An analysis of population figures suggests that negative police actions, including disrespect, disproportionately impact black people in comparison to other population groups (Brunson & Miller, 2005). It is this growing body of research that suggests that the "consistent finding of minority distrust and dissatisfaction with the police can best be understood with reference to the nature of policing in their communities, including their interpretations of their own experiences with the police" (Brunson & Miller, 2005, p. 614). Neighborhoods described or known as "dangerous" tend to be inhabited primarily by minority individuals and families, as are the *hot spots* patrolled or targeted most frequently by urban police forces (Brunson & Miller, 2005).The patrol officers who work in such neighborhoods, some researchers have argued, tend to view minorities as being more predisposed to criminal tendencies than non-minority counterparts (Brunson & Miller, 2005). A prior study involving interviews with young black men living in urban spaces resulted in a series of observations many held with regards to the police (Brunson & Miller, 2005). Most of the negative accounts related by young men involved being "hassled" by police officers, when most

instances resulted in no formal charges or judicial action (Brunson & Miller, 2005, p. 623). The study's authors contend that most negative perceptions of police among the group analyzed resulted from proactive policing strategies – including vehicle and pedestrian stops – and other instances in which it was perceived that police were engaging in a confrontation with the subjects without sufficient cause or suspicion (Brunson & Miller, 2005). The phrase "just messin' with us" captures the opinions of many of the young men in regards to the interactions prompted by police in their neighborhoods (Brunson & Miller, 2005, p. 623-624).

Such opinions can also be generalized to include entire urban minority populations, inclusive of both juveniles and adults (Weitzer, Tuch & Skogan, 2008). Research on both statistics and political factors indicates that "race is the most important fault line along which Americans divide over policing," with three decades of research on police-citizen encounters and assessment of law enforcement agencies, documenting disparities related to race and ethnicity (Weitzer, Tuch & Skogan, 2008, p. 401). These tensions can be traced through history in accounts of the relationship between police and black communities in Philadelphia, particularly in the period between 1945 and 1960 (Johnson, 2004). A significant part of the twentieth century was characterized by clashes between the two factions, with some incidents turning violent (Johnson, 2004). Police in the city have been criticized for using incarceration "as a means of urban social control," with high levels of arrests compounded by accusations of excessive force and brutality (Johnson, 2004, p. 131). Investigations and studies into the tumultuous period identified police brutality and other alleged misconduct as the chief cause for widespread urban rioting in Philadelphia, as well as in other cities wrought with such violence and disorder (Johnson, 2004).

The disparities in police-community relations based upon race and ethnicity are evident in the results of a study interviewing young people in an urban space on the topic of law enforcement and community perceptions of the police (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Brunson and Weitzer found that interviews with white youth yielded more positive views of the police than those with black youth, with the former group reporting more positive encounters with law enforcement than the latter (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). In addition, police treatment of residents in predominantly white neighborhoods appeared to be less problematic than that in predominantly black neighborhoods, with racially and ethnically mixed areas falling in between the two ends of the spectrum (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Instances of verbal abuse, alleged suspicionless stops and other forms of harassment were abound among the black youth surveyed. One of the interviewees, Maurice, related:

> [The police] assume you run the streets, steal cars, or smoke weed because you dress a certain way, like baggy pants or a long T-shirt and Nike brand shoes. They consider you as a gang member just because of what you were wearing or how you talk (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009, p. 868).

Further disparities in police conduct in particular urban neighborhoods were identified by the researchers in relation to overall police services and response time, which was perceived by black respondents to be better for predominantly white neighborhoods in comparison to their own (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

### Implications for policymakers

In his book on the militarization of America's police forces, author Radley Balko presents a range of policies which he argues would have to be enacted for significant change to be realized (Balko, 2013). The last need he presents revolves around the public: he writes, "the most difficult change is the one that's probably necessary to make any of these others happen. The public needs to start caring about these issues" (Balko, 2013, p. 331). He goes on to express optimism related to the

growing attention being paid to law enforcement activity and the strategies police employ across the country, but posits that "…while exposing individual incidents of misconduct is important, particularly to the victim of the misconduct, it's more important to expose the policies that allow misconduct to flourish" (Balko, 2013, p. 332). The argument of this paper closely resembles Balko's point here: it is critical to examine the policies which allow for the various law enforcement strategies outlined in the preceding examination of prior research. And while public attention is a component of this need, it is critical that policymakers pay close attention to the sometimes-devastating consequences of these strategies.

Prior research indicates that tensions in urban spaces can result from the same proactive policing practices that are often justified as necessary to keep cities in America safe. Such tensions – resulting in part from racial and ethnic disparities in police action – can spark instances of civil disorder, particularly following a particularly high-profile event or altercation; at a minimum, those tensions can evolve to permeate the social fabric of a city and have a pronounced impact on quality of life and other factors. This phenomenon has received widespread media attention in recent months and years following several high-profile events. Sometimes extended periods of unrest, notably in Ferguson, Missouri and in Baltimore, have resulted not only in property damage, but also in personal injury both to civilians and law enforcement officials. While contextual, these instances point to a significant challenge confronting policymakers in America today: the preceding discussion illustrates the root causes of the political pressures that have dictated urban crime control and suppression strategies over time, but it also points to structural implications stemming from such law enforcement tactics. The sociological implications of some of these law enforcement strategies seem to perpetuate perceptions of inequity and foster sentiments of a lack of self-efficacy among substantial segments of America's urban population.

This paper points to the need for policymakers to pay careful attention to the deep-seated implications of some of the very same policing strategies that have been trumpeted as having played a pivotal role in reducing urban crime. In particular, the following elements of these implications are perhaps the most critical for policymakers to address, especially in light of recent unrest and the growing movement calling for law enforcement reform:

1. **Disproportionate impact of policing strategies based on race and ethnicity**: This represents what is arguably the most devastating effect of many of the police strategies outlined in this paper, and what could be seen as the most pressing concern for policymakers to address. Extensive data points to the disparate impact of these strategies for minority communities particularly in cities, as well as the resulting deleterious effect on police-community relations. Given the demographics of cities, this element is of utmost importance for urban policymakers – as has been demonstrated in cities like Baltimore and Ferguson in recent years.

2. **Militarization of police agencies**: Concerns related to the militarization of police departments also permeate discussions of crime control in American cities, though such an issue is hardly confined to urban geographic boundaries. The acquisition of military-style equipment and the transition over time to apparel that more closely resembles that of the armed forces has fueled arguments that police agencies foster a "war" mentality while on patrol.

3. **Deterioration of police-community relations and strained perceptions of police legitimacy:** Finally, the erosion of police-community relations in some locales, coupled with diminishing views of police legitimacy, have roots in both the abovementioned factors as well as others. That being said, the implications of this strained relationship have an even broader impact on the effectiveness of law enforcement, in part when it relates to

how citizens cooperate with, and provide information to, police about crimes that have taken place.

The agenda for elected officials and law enforcement leaders is, in reality, significantly longer than this, and could just as easily include addressing the War on Drugs or other significant policy initiatives (Balko, 2013). However, the three elements above are rooted in some of the most severe impacts of urban policing strategies. The preceding discussion points to the importance of considering these implications not only when crafting new law enforcement strategies, but also in addressing existing policies.

Policymakers are in a unique position to take these factors under consideration when devising policing plans and deployment strategies, as well as in discussions about programs and initiatives housed in law enforcement agencies. Recent events serve to underline the need for policymakers serving urban spaces to take a dual approach to crime, devising strategies that not only serve to curb criminality and enhance public safety, but also ensure that all populations are served equitably and in a fair, professional manner.

**Conclusion**

American cities have historically been ground zero for a wide range of proactive law enforcement strategies as police seek to enhance public safety and combat the criminality that impacts urban populations in unique and significant ways. Justifications for aggressive practices can be derived from crime rates, as well as the links between neighborhood crime and other social issues that plague urbanites across the country. While some strategies take the form of modified patrol assignments or specialized units seeking to detect particular offenses or offenders, others constitute more aggressive, categorical sweeps of particular neighborhoods or criminal *hot spots* – initiatives that are among those that impact the greatest number of urbanites and seem to provoke significant public criticism and opposition. Crime control efforts are made more complex by the continuously emerging empirical and qualitative data, and research findings that showcase disparities in who is targeted by such policies. These patterns can result in a number of sociological implications for urban residents, particularly related to police-community relations and the perceptions of law enforcement among city populations. Such tensions, stemming from urban policing policy, can lead to instances of civil disorder, as well as a greater disconnect in wider efforts to curb criminality and enhance public safety in American cities. With such results likely to have long-term implications for American cities, policymakers are confronted with the challenge of understanding the sociological component of law enforcement strategy, and to better consider methods through which such negative implications can be mitigated while simultaneously enhancing public safety. And if recent events are any indication, this challenge will become more important in the months and years to come.

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# The Role of Geographic Location on College Campus Sexual Victimization Rates in the U.S.: A New Methodological Approach

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Though colleges and universities throughout the United States have been progressively focusing on sexual victimization and emphasizing training sessions for faculty, staff, and students, the underlying determinants of sexual victimization on university campuses remains uncertain. One understudied potential variable is the geographic location of a college campus. This paper presents a data collection and analysis framework that explores the relationship between whether a college campus is located in an urban versus rural location and the campus's rate of sexual victimization. The paper begins with a literature review on variables affecting rates of college sexual victimization. We then operationalize the independent variable of urban versus rural campus location, and offer a methodological approach to determining how this variable relates to sexual victimization rates. This, in turn, has a range of policy implications, including how institutions of higher education should proceed to implement sexual victimization trainings and other related programs.

## Introduction

Colleges and universities throughout the United States have been increasingly stressing sexual victimization trainings and information sessions for faculty, staff, and students as a means to increase campus safety and compliance with Title IX requirements (Bidwell, 2015). This is important since approximately 1 in 4 women and 1 in 17 men will be sexually assaulted while in college (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007). Nevertheless, the key underlying determinants of sexual victimization among university students remain uncertain. Prior research has examined the influence of factors such as living arrangements, membership in Greek organizations, age, and gender. However, the factor of whether a college campus is located in an urban versus rural location remains understudied. This variable merits further examination due to the

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fact that, in the general population, sexual victimization rates vary greatly by geographic location (Duhart, 2000; Ruback & Menard, 2001). For instance, one study found that, in 1998, urban areas had a rape and sexual assault rate of 1.8 per 1,000 individuals in the population, compared to suburban and rural areas, which had a rate of 1.4 and 1.3 per 1,000 individuals in the population, respectively (Duhart, 2000).

Universities in urban settings may face socioeconomic and cultural forces that are substantially different from universities in suburban or rural locales. These forces may, in turn, result in different rates of sexual victimization. Our article begins with a literature review of research on sexual victimization rates on college campuses. We then outline a methodological framework for studying the relationship between whether a college campus is located in an urban versus rural location and the campus's rate of sexual victimization. A better understanding of this potential relationship will aid colleges and universities in tailoring their efforts to deal with sexual victimization issues and to educate and protect all members of the campus community. Our work concludes with a discussion of policy implications and avenues for future research.

## Literature Review

The phrase 'sexual victimization' encompasses an array of forms of sexual violence (e.g., harassment) (Hamby, Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2005). Perilloux, Duntley, and Buss (2014, p. 82) defined sexual victimization as "being a nonconsensual (unwilling) participant in [any] sexual activity with another person" and claimed that this "can be committed by a wide range of people, including strangers, acquaintances, current or ex-romantic partners, dates, fellow employees, neighbors, fellow students, and others." There is significant debate about what particular actions fall under the terms 'sexual violence,' 'sexual assault,' and 'sexual victimization,' e.g. assault, verbal harassment, stalking, and sexual exploitation (Kilpatrick, 2004). There is also debate regarding the use of gender-neutral versus gender-specific definitions of acts of sexual violence. For instance, some parties point to statistics that yield much higher sexual victimization rates among women than men as demonstrating that men and women do not have an equal propensity to perpetrate or experience sexual violence. This debate extends beyond traditional heteronormative violence, as researchers have recently started paying greater attention to intimate partner violence among gay couples (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011).

Narrow definitions of sexual violence, such as those that exclude psychological or verbal abuse, result in false negatives about the number of instances of sexual victimization. Conversely, broad definitions may trivialize extreme forms of physical abuse by grouping them under the same umbrella as 'softer' forms of abuse (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011). Comprehensively, the University of the Pacific (2015, para. 2) delineated the nine major sexual victimization acts as "sexual misconduct, rape, sexual touching, sexual harassment, stalking, physical assault/battery, dating/relationship/domestic violence, theft, and threat of harm." Additionally, the criminal classification of sexual assault now represents a broad spectrum of sexually violating acts (Koss & Achilles, 2008). Many factors complicate the empirical estimation of the prevalence of sexual victimization, such as low rates of incident reporting and survey methodology issues. Early research that relied on the legal definition of rape to guide victimization surveys drastically underestimated actual sexual victimization rates (Campbell & Townsend, 2011). Research has shown that one underlying reason for the underreporting of rape, in particular, is that many survivors do not label their victimization as rape if the offender was known to the victim (Koss, 1985; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987).

The definition of sexual violence used in research has become less narrow over the years. Despite this, sexual victimization remains drastically underreported today (Marchetti, 2012; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). In fact, sexual assault is the most underreported violent crime in the U.S. (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003). Prior studies have found drastic underreporting by collegiate victims, with approximately 90% or more survivors not reporting their victimization through official avenues (e.g. law enforcement, university officials, etc.) (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Fisher et al., 2000; Koss et al., 1987).

This occurs due to feelings of distrust towards law enforcement officials, or a fear of not being believed (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Fisher et al., 2000; Warshaw, 1988). Additionally, survivors may want to avoid 're-living' their experience by having to discuss it in detail during an adjudication process, especially when the criminal justice officials to whom they are reporting are not properly trained with how to best handle sexual assault victims (Campbell, Sefl, Barnes, Ahrens, Wasco, & Zaragoza-Diesfeld, 1999). Thus, population studies that allow survivors to self-report their experiences outside of the criminal justice system may reveal more accurate figures (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2015).

The wording of sexual victimization survey questions can greatly influence participant responses (Aguilar, Mahapatra, Busch-Armendariz, & Dinitto 2015; Kolivas & Gross, 2007; Koss, 1993; Koss et al., 2007). Behaviorally-specific questions that cover the broad spectrum of sexual violating acts and survivors' understanding of these acts have become a best practice for garnering a more accurate measure of sexual victimization rates. For instance, a question regarding whether they have ever had sex when they were too intoxicated to provide consent may facilitate a higher level of self-reporting than would a question that requires the respondent to identify as being sexually victimized (Koss, 1985; Koss et al., 1987; Koss & Achilles, 2008; Krebs, 2014). Consensus is also building around the use of self-administered survey instruments to ask individuals about their sexual victimization experiences (Krebs, 2014). In fact, in recent years, self-reported 'campus climate surveys' or similar instruments have emerged as a best practice toward identifying university-related sexual victimization problems (Cantalupo, 2014; White House Task Force, 2014).

Several studies have analyzed potential explanatory variables for varied sexual victimization rates across college campuses. One of the most common variables considered in this regard is the influence of involvement in Greek life on college campuses (Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss & Wechslet, 2004). Researchers have focused upon the way that fraternity membership can facilitate sexual objectification and abusive attitudes toward women that is fostered by a narrow conception of masculinity (Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Several studies have highlighted the way in which the fraternity culture on college campuses can support male sexual aggressors searching for situations to victimize women (e.g., Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006; Boswell & Spade, 1996; Franklin et al., 2012; Martin & Hummer, 1989).

Other prior research on sexual victimization in college communities has generally focused on variables relating to survivor and perpetrator characteristics. One of the most common variables considered is gender (Jordon, Combs, & Smith 2014; Turchik & Hassija, 2014), with most research focusing on female victims and male perpetrators. Studies have also revealed that college freshmen and sophomores are at a greater risk of victimization than upper-class students (Gross, Winslett, Roberts, & Gohm 2006). On-campus versus off-campus living arrangement has also been recognized as a key variable in these sexual victimization studies, especially considering the different services that may be available to students that live on-campus as compared to those that live in the surrounding community (Hamby, 2014). Part-time versus full-time enrollment status has also been studied (Fernandez & Lizotte, 1995). Enrollment status may be an important variable due to the fact that full-time students are more immersed in the campus atmosphere and more active in social events. Finally, differences in sexual victimization rates have been found across different academic programs, although causal explanations are not well developed for this variable (Roska & Levey, 2010).

The variable of whether the college is located in a rural or an urban setting has generally been overlooked in these prior studies (Vanderwoerd, 2009), despite the fact that geographic location has been shown to correlate with other key differences in the campus culture of a university or college (Bègin-Caouette, 2013). In studying how internationalization inputs and outputs differ in rural, suburban, and urban vocational institutions in Quebec, Bègin-Caouette (2013) discovered that urban and suburban institutions tend to operate in similar ways, while rural institutions tend to operate uniquely in terms of

these internalization inputs and outputs. Further, one study on rates of sexual assault that examined the variable of college location using 1995–2013 National Crime Victimization Survey data found "there was no significant variation in rape and sexual assault rates across urban, suburban, and rural areas" for females (Sinozich & Langton, 2014, p. 10), resulting in the overall mixed message about the campus location variable.

Despite this, research on sexual victimization rates in the general population have found significant differences in the rate of sexual victimization in urban versus rural areas. For instance, Cole and Smith (2008) found that the violent crime rate in large cities was 29 per 1,000 individuals in the population, compared to 20 per 1,000 individuals in the population in rural areas. Boyle, Georgiades, Cullen, and Racine (2009) also found urban residence to be indicative of much higher rates of violence. However, in contrast, Ruback and Menard (2001) analyzed Uniform Crime Report data (i.e., officially reported data gathered by the FBI), as well as data from rape crisis centers in Pennsylvania, to find that rural counties had higher sexual victimization rates than urban counties. Nevertheless, while prior research on sexual victimization in different geographic areas has been mixed, a majority of studies have concluded that related crimes occur more frequently in urban areas as compared to rural ones.

This paper contributes to the literature on the underlying variables that affect college sexual victimization rates by presenting a methodological approach to examine the often-overlooked variable of rural versus urban campus location, which has yet to be sufficiently investigated. Campuses in urban settings may differ from campuses in rural settings in key ways that affect their rates of sexual victimization. Therefore, this study proposes an observational analysis of cross-sectional data in order to examine the presence and extent of the potential relationship between a college's urban versus rural location and their rate of sexual victimization. The following sections of this paper review the selected variables, sampling plan, and data collection techniques to be used in our proposed methodology.

**Discussion of Variables**

The independent variable (IV) for this study is whether a college or university is located in an urban or rural location. We operationalize this variable according to the U.S. Census Bureau's (2015) urban/rural classification system, wherein areas containing less than 10,000 people are considered non-urban. Under this framework, any higher population is considered urban (e.g., urban clusters contain 10,000 to 49,999 people, and urban cores contain 50,000 or more people), setting a distinct numeric boundary for the urban/rural divide.

Next, the dependent variable (DV) is the rate of sexual victimization within a college community. This DV is operationalized based on the Koss et al. (1987) Sexual Experiences Survey (SES).[1] The SES is a measurement tool that has been used in several prior studies (e.g., Gidycz, Van Wynsberghe, & Edwards, 2008; Humphrey & White, 2000; Jordon et al., 2014; Thompson & Kingree, 2010), and gathers high reliability metrics when deployed on university students (Koss et al., 1987). This 10-question scale uses behaviorally specific questions, which is regarded as a best practice (Koss, 1985; Koss et al., 1987; Koss & Achilles, 2008; Krebs, 2014) to assess sexual victimization based on rape (both attempted and completed), unsolicited sexual contact, and sexual coercion. Developed from the initial survey by Koss and Oros (1982), the 1987 SES employs no (0) / yes (1) responses, which are summed to determine whether the respondent has been sexually victimized. The questions are carefully worded in order to try to mitigate the effects of victim blaming and differences in understandings of what constitutes sexual victimization (Koss et al., 1987).

Based on the number of variables that emerged in the literature review, we recommend that age, gender, race, income, relationship status, employment status, living arrangement, academic program,

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[1] Though there are other relevant scales, such as Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, and Anderson's (2003) Sexual Coercion Tactics Scale, the SES is more widely accepted and used in prior studies.

Greek membership, college standing, and enrollment status be used as control variables. While extensive, the inclusion of these eleven control variables increases the internal validity of the research design by accounting for alternative factors that may influence sexual victimization rates. Operationalized definitions for these control variables are provided in Table 1.

| Variable Name | Definition (Author, year) | Measurement |
|---|---|---|
| Age | "Length of time in completed years that a person has lived" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013a, para. 1) | Under 18 (if selected, ends questionnaire for respondent), 18–20, 21–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, and 65 or over |
| Gender | "A person's biological sex" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013a, para. 2) | Male (0) or Female (1) |
| Race | Self-identification of an individual's racial category (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013c) | White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or other |
| Income | Income received in U.S. dollars during the preceding calendar year before payments (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013b) | Under $2,500, $2,500–$4,999, $5,000–$7,499, $7,500–$9,999, $10,000–$12,499…$95,000–$97,499, $97,500–$99,999, $100,000 or more |
| Relationship Status | Self-identified relationship status as of survey administration date (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008) | Legally married, Widowed, Separated, Divorced, Never married but have partner/significant other, Never married with no partner/significant other |
| Employment Status | Standing with regard to being a paid employee as of the survey administration date (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014) | Employed - working 40+ hours/week, Employed - working 1–39 hours/week, Not employed - looking for work, Not employed - not looking for work, Retired, Disabled - not able to work |
| Living Arrangement | Student housing situation as of the survey administration date (Muslim, Karim, & Abdullah, 2012) | Off-campus (apartment, house, fraternity/sorority house, or other) (0) or On-campus (university residence halls or student housing apartments) (1) |
| Academic Program | A disciplinary field of study with specific course requirements (Roska & Levey, 2010) | Author-developed categories based on the academic program listings from included institutions (e.g., accounting–urban/regional planning) |
| Greek Membership | A student that has been initiated into a sorority or fraternity and participates in their activities (Pike, 2003) | No – not a member (0) or Yes – a member (1) |
| College Standing | Student pursuing an undergraduate (i.e., bachelor's) or a graduate degree (i.e., master's or doctoral) (Manese, Sedlacek, & Leong, 1988) | Undergraduate (with a contingency asking number of credits completed: 0–30, 31–60, 61–90, 91–120) or Graduate (with a contingency asking what type: master's or doctorate) |
| Enrollment Status | Number of credit hours a student is enrolled in during the semester of the survey administration (MacCann, Fogarty, & Roberts, 2012) | Full-time (12+ credits for undergrad students, 9+ credits for grad students) or Part-time (< 12 credits for undergrad students, < 9 credits for grad students) |

**Table 1. Control Variable Definitions and Measurements in Sexual Victimization Study**

**Methodological Approaches to Studying Campus Sexual Victimization Rates**

With the primary variables of interest established, we next discuss methodological approaches to studying the potential correlation between campus location and sexual victimization rates. The establishment of our proposed research design, sampling technique, and data collection procedure sets the stage for the execution of a study on the relationship between campus location and sexual victimization rates.

**Research Design**

When approaching a study of this nature, there are several research designs that may be useful. A non-experimental cross-sectional research design is recommended for this study, as it will allow researchers to compare different campuses at a single point in time in terms of their rates of sexual victimization. Cross-sectional designs involve the collection and analysis of data from one specific point in time, thus giving the researcher a 'snapshot' of the population at the point of time when the data is collected. A cross-sectional design is less costly and time-intensive than a longitudinal study, and also avoids threats to internal validity such as maturation and testing effects. The design will look at urban and non-urban university students with one observation, and is non-experimental; the researchers will not introduce treatments or external variables. This is appropriate since it is not possible to manipulate the IV, nor conduct experiments as sexual victimization would harm subjects. The cross-sectional approach would focus on one-time student responses regarding the DV, IV, and control variables (Levin, 2006). Though causality cannot be conclusively tested in cross-sectional designs, the inclusion of several control variables allows researchers to better interpret the correlation between the IV and the DV.

**Sample**

The authors recommend using a multistage cluster sampling method to determine the pool of survey respondents. First, a database identifying all four-year U.S. colleges as rural or urban will be developed. From this database, two random samples containing an equal number of schools will be selected from among the urban colleges and the rural colleges.

Next, a list of academic programs[2] at each university selected will be assembled using data from the university's website. In this first stage, the researchers will order (stratify) the academic programs by size (i.e., number of degree-seeking students in each program), largest to smallest at each university, which can usually be gathered from the Registrar's Office or Institutional Researcher. Next, the researchers will employ a systematic sample to select each program to include.

Once the academic programs have been selected, the researchers would email each selected academic program's chair at each of the universities (which can be derived from each program's website), introducing the study and its importance in a cover letter and then request the name and email address for each student within the respective program. The researchers would then alphabetically order the students based on last name, within each program at each university separately. The researchers would employ a systematic sample per program to determine the final list of students to be included in the study. The systematic sample would ensure an equal representation of students per program by including last names ranging across the spectrum of possible last names. Cluster sampling from academic programs is recommended because it may be easier to obtain a list of students in each academic program than it would be to obtain a list of all students enrolled in the

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[2] Academic programs as clusters work better than dorms, student organizations, etc. due to the wider inclusion of students of all ages, standings, and living situations. For the purposes of this research, students with undeclared majors ought to be disregarded.

university. An equal number of students will then be selected from each list to be survey respondents. The survey responses of each group will be the basis for the research analysis.

**Data Collection**

Given the sensitive nature of collecting sexual victimization data, the choice of method for data collection procedures is of paramount importance. In addition to determining the most methodologically sound data collection measures for such a study, a number of other factors must be taken into consideration. For example, questions must be worded to gather reliable data while also not re-victimizing the respondent.

Researchers could survey respondents via focus group or one-on-one interviews, but we believe this would take great skill to balance gathering information from the participants while also being sympathetic when victims inform the interviewer about their victimization experience(s). Focus group interviews could also reduce the likelihood of victims being honest as they may be embarrassed to do so in front of other participants. This data collection method would also provide practical difficulties, as it would take a great deal of time and resources to interview a large enough sample of participants.

Therefore, we posit that survey research is the superior data collection method since it allows researchers to gather data from a large sample of participants in a timely and affordable manner. According to Krebs (2014), self-administered survey research is becoming an accepted best practice for asking participants about their sexual victimization experiences.

Under this proposed methodology, we recommend an emailed SurveyMonkey questionnaire as the mode of observation. This recommended data collection technique is appropriate due to the advantages of accessibility, low cost, and rapid turnaround (Creswell, 2003). The email survey technique offers increased access to students of all ages, races, and geographic dispersion. Other advantages include greater anonymity[3] and a reduction in biasing error (Andrews, Nonnecke, & Preece, 2003). Further, respondents have the time to consider answers, as opposed to the immediate response required in interviews (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The SurveyMonkey questionnaire will consist of: 1) the SES; 2) a question asking which university the student attends (to verify urban or rural location); and 3) questions on each of the control variables. All questions will be closed-ended, and all responses will be anonymous.

We recommend that the questionnaire be administered at the end of the spring semester due to the fact that more students may be regularly checking their university email accounts due to upcoming finals and graduation. Additionally, administering the survey earlier in the year would also exclude any victimization that occurs later on in new students' first year.

We believe the data collection period should last three weeks, which is comparable to prior sexual victimization surveys (e.g., HEDS Consortium, 2015). Cobanoglu, Warde, and Moreo (2001) found 5.97 days to be the mean response time for email questionnaires, and extending this by about 15 days would allow adequate time for lagging responses. Since the SES has been vetted in prior research (e.g., Thompson & Kingree, 2010), and the other variables are measured in ways similar to U.S. Census Bureau and prior studies, there would be no need to pilot the questionnaire.

However, there are some limitations to our proposed methodology that bear mention. First, the email questionnaire requires simple questions and allows no opportunity for probing (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The researchers have no control concerning who completes the questionnaire (Seale, 2012), and often a low response rate is garnered through email surveys (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, & Levine, 2004). To address this latter issue, researchers should send two

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[3] This anonymity is even more important in sexual victimization research because it is such a sensitive topic that is drastically underreported by victims.

reminder emails encouraging participation. The first should be sent out one week after the original email, and the second should be sent out a week before the questionnaire closes.

Reliability errors may also exist, which may reduce the generalizability of the study results (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). It is also important to recognize that many of the challenges faced by this study are common issues encountered in survey research. Despite these shortcomings, this research design still offers a robust method to better understand sexual victimization at an urban university compared to a rural university. The cluster sampling technique works well with the already organized academic programs, and the email questionnaire offers the crucial advantages of accessibility and anonymity. A study of this nature is essential, as colleges need to know if variables such as geographic location have an influence on their sexual victimization rates so that they can use this information to make their campus environment safer for students.

**Conclusion**

It is evident that, despite the increasing attention being paid to campus sexual victimization, there are still major gaps in the existing research on the underlying causes of sexual victimization. One under-researched variable is the location of a university in a rural setting versus an urban setting. This article has proposed a new methodological approach which can be used to fill this noteworthy research gap.

While policy solutions aimed at addressing sexual victimization continue to arise at the institutional, state, and federal levels, more research on the underlying causes of sexual victimization remains necessary. Subsequent policy discourse and actions may be better equipped to address the breadth of issues and concerns that surround collegiate sexual victimization. Research results regarding the variable of a rural versus urban setting will help college administrators tailor their efforts to reduce sexual victimization to the particular context of their college community. For instance, the content of trainings or the regulation of Greek life activities may need to be differentiated based on the college campus setting.

Clearly, there are major implications for research of this nature (e.g., additional trainings, increased police patrols, etc.), and our methodological considerations have organized an approach to dissect the correlational relationship between a school's location and their campus sexual victimization rates. Findings from related future research can help to construct new, innovative approaches to combating sexual violence at colleges and universities across the country. If studies utilizing the methodological approach recommended here unveil differences between urban and rural universities' sexual victimization rates, policymakers at all levels can then shift their policy focus to include other relevant variables. With the overarching goal of reducing campus sexual victimization rates, it is vital that researchers examine the wide range of possible variables that may affect sexual victimization rates.

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# Trends in Federal Competitive Funding and Implications for Organizational Development

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Federal funding plays a significant role at the state and local level in three primary ways. First, federal funds represent a large percentage of state and local government revenues. Second, federal funding impacts the development of local and regional economies in positive and negative ways. Third, federal funding can be used politically to reward or to encourage behavior. Still, reporting requirements limit the research on competitive-only federal funding. This paper uses the Consolidated Federal Funds Report to analyze changes in federal funding over time, the types of programs that have experienced increases or decreases in funding over time, and the implications of these trends at the local level. As overall federal funding has increased, competitive funding has increased at a faster rate from 1983 to 2010. As community resources diminish and the direct federal role decreases, local communities increasingly depend on competitive funds for resources. This raises a number of implications for organizations, education, and research described in this section. First, organizations must develop and maintain the capacities necessary to successfully apply for, manage, and report on grants. Second, education for students of public policy and administration must focus on the unique challenges of a field increasingly dependent upon grants. Finally, future research will need to integrate the concept of competitive funding, to better understand its distribution and impact on local communities.

## I. Introduction

Federal funding represents a vital resource for state and local governments and non-profit agencies. The amount of federal funds devoted to subnational grants, contracts, and direct aid has increased by $3.2 trillion from 1983 to 2010 (in 2010 dollars). Federal funding plays significant fiscal, regional development, and political roles in local communities. First, federal funding accounts for about 20 percent of state and local government revenues (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Second, the totality and distribution of federal grants and contracts reveals de facto federal development priorities that have significantly shaped regional economies (Markusen, Hall, Campbell, & Deitrick, 1991).

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Third, the regional distribution of federal funds can provide political rewards for past activity or incentives for future behavior, with data on these funds often used to advance partisan views on federal expenditures Despite the importance of federal funds for state and local governments and nonprofit organizations, research tends to focus only on the federal role in funding. Specifically, much of the public debate highlights politicized notions of "donor" and "recipient" states. This approach focuses on the federal decisions that result in some states receiving more funding than others (for example, see Chamberlain, 2006; Tierney, 2014). These predominant perspectives on federal funding yield an incomplete understanding that fails to account for the characteristics of competitive grants as distinct from other funding. The ability to apply for, obtain, and manage competitive grants depends in part upon community level capacity. This calls for careful attention to the local organization and administration of grant management at the local level. Communities that lack this capacity may have difficulty accessing important federal resources.

This paper seeks to further our understanding of the distinct role of competitive federal funding at the state and local level, through an analysis of the distribution of federal funding from 1983 to 2010. The paper proceeds in four main sections. The first section reviews the role of federal funding at the community level. The second section introduces a framework for identifying competitive grants using federal funding data. The third section examines changes in federal competitive funding since 1983. The fourth section discusses the implications of competitive funding trends for professional and organizational development needs at the state and local level.

## II.  Major Roles of Federal Funding at the State and Local Levels

Federal funding plays a dynamic role in both the development and political decision-making of local communities. Two primary examples illustrate common roles for federal funding. First, the distribution of federal funding can reveal federal development priorities and encourage growth in specific communities, whether by design, in effect, or both. Second, federal funding can be used as a political tool to reward particular political behaviors or incentivize future behavior. In addition to the impacts of these federal priorities, the capacity of local funding applicants also influences the distribution of federal funds throughout the country.

Federal funding serves as a regional development tool: the distribution of federal funding can shape community growth and development, even in the absence of an explicit federal regional development policy. For example, Forsyth (2002) discusses the federal role in the development of the planned community of Irvine, California. Irvine's development was facilitated through funding from federal agencies, but this funding was not provided as part of a unified federal policy specifically targeting regional development. Due to this lack of a unified development-focused policy, the federal agencies that contributed funding frequently experienced coordination problems. This example shows that federal funding can play an activist role in regional development even when it is not part of a targeted regional development policy. Markusen (2003) argues that regional development research that ignores the impact of federal funding (notably some studies of Irvine's growth) overlooks an important force behind regional growth and development in America. Indeed, a large portion of federal dollars, especially through formula grants, targets areas of poverty or other distress. Regional equity has increased where federal funding has targeted growth (Jung & Ho Eom, 2004). Federal funding can strongly affect regional development, even absent federal regional development policy priorities.

However, regional development activity does not always target areas of greatest need. Therefore it may exacerbate rather than mitigate levels of inequity (Joassart-Marcelli & Musso, 2001). For instance, in the Chicago metropolitan area in the 1990s, federal funding favored suburban areas over urban areas. This funding pattern led to sprawl and greater inequality between the urban

core and the suburban fringe (Persky & Kurban, 2003). These considerations highlight the potential of targeted federal funding to determine the winners and losers in opportunities for regional development.

Federal funding can also act as a political tool. For instance, some argue that federal funding can shape voting preferences. Kriner and Reeves (2012) found that, between 1988 and 2008, incumbent presidential candidates or parties who increased federal funding to a county in the year preceding a presidential election were likely receive more votes from that county in the following year. Voters even seem to prefer certain forms of federal funding over others. For example, voters in areas receiving disaster funding were more likely to reward incumbent presidential parties that had provided local response funding, rather than preparedness funding (Healy & Malhotra, 2009).

This correlation between voting and federal funding does not necessarily translate to a single causal sequence. In addition to incentivizing voter activity, federal funding can be used to reward citizens for certain behaviors, or to keep promises to citizens. Areas with higher voter turnout during a federal election generally receive more federal funding, suggesting that the funding is meant to reward citizen behavior rather than to reward or incentivize state and local politicians (Martin, 2003). In turn, areas where the popular vote for a winning presidential candidate was low often received more funding following the election, as presidents seek to improve their relationship with these areas through increased funding (Taylor 2008). Additionally, states that host early primaries or caucuses are more likely to receive federal funding following an election, because candidates tend to make more campaign promises earlier in the primary election cycle (Taylor, 2009).

Federal funding levels also positively correlate with the level of ideological agreement between those responsible for federal funding and those receiving funding. Bertelli and Grose (2009) found that funding allocations from the Department of Defense and the Department of Labor were highest in those congressional districts whose senators had higher ideological congruence with the agency heads. Congruence of party affiliation between legislators and the president is also correlated with increased funding to districts and counties (Berry, Burden, & Howell, 2010). Further, Nicholson-Crotty (2004) finds that states whose policy agendas better align with the federal government's agenda may attract increased federal grant funding. The likelihood that funding allocations are subject to political manipulation is uneven across funding sources. For instance, Lee (2003) found that members of the U.S. House of Representatives were especially likely to earmark funds to most directly benefit their congressional districts.

The discussion above focuses on the role of the federal government in the distribution of federal funds. Additionally, the institutional capacity of state and local governments and non-profits to successfully apply for and manage federal funding must be assessed. In Southern California cities, federal funding was found to be positively correlated with the local applicants' fiscal capacity and institutional strength (Joassart-Marcelli & Musso, 2001). Additionally, higher rates of federal funding flow towards metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs[1]) with higher civic capacity and more advocacy activity (Lowe, Reckhow, & Gainsborough, 2015). This leads Lowe, Reckhow, and Gainsborough (2015) to conclude that the competitive process itself, not just the final allocation of resources, could contribute to regional disparities.

The capacity to successfully acquire federal funding does not depend on any single structural or institutional feature. The presence of strong targeted support can increase an applicant's grantsmanship capacity, as shown by the cases of Irvine or MSAs with high civic capacity (Forsyth, 2002; Lowe, Reckhow, & Gainsborough, 2015). However, organizations vary in the extent to which targeted support can increase their capacity to attain federal funding (Hall, 2008). The ability to

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[1] Metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) are regions in the United States with high population densities at their cores and strong economic connectivity throughout. MSAs are designated by the Office of Management and Budget.

obtain federal funding depends upon having the knowledge and resources needed to apply for and continually manage grants. Further research is required to better understand the characteristics that make organizations successful in procuring federal grants.

### III.  Data and Methods

Given the significant impact that federal funding has at the local level, the remainder of this paper examines changes in federal funding over time. These changes are important to understand, as they may reveal unique pressures on administrators at the local level. In order to unravel some of the causes and effects of these changes, this paper addresses three research questions:

1. What types of programs have experienced funding increases versus decreases over time?
2. What is the pattern, if any, of when funding has increased or decreased over time?
3. What implications do these trends have for grant recipients at the local level?

Data for this effort draws from reports of federal funding catalogued in the Consolidated Federal Fund Report (CFFR). Data is reported as individual allocations or de-allocations of federal funds. In the available time period covering 1983-2010, there were 10.4 million individual funding transactions. The variables included in the original federal report include Federal Information Processing Standard (FIPS) code to the place level,[2] program code, objective code, sign (positive for allocations and negative for de-allocations), amount (in dollars of year allocated), and year. In addition, funding from 1993-2010 includes information on the code of the funding agency. Table 1 provides a detailed list of variables.

This data does not indicate the type of grant management capacity. Practically, there are two primary groups of grants: formula grants, wherein the funding amount is determined through a mathematical formula, usually based on need and population, and project grants, also known as competitive grants, wherein funding is allocated based on a competitive application process. Both formula grants and project grants involve an application process, but formula grants generally provide funding to all applicants, while project grants are only awarded to a portion of the applicants.

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[2] The Federal Information Processing Standard (FIPS) code is used to locate specific states, counties, or places. Because not all CFFR data includes FIPS codes to the place level, analysis is conducted at the state level.

| Variable | Description |
|---|---|
| Program | 6-digit program code. There are 3,640 unique program codes. |
| Objective | 2-digit objective code. See list below for 9 options.<br>DR – Direct payments for individuals (retirement and disability only)<br>DO – Direct payments for individuals (other than retirement and disability)<br>DX – direct payments other than for individuals<br>GG – Grants (block, grants, formula grants, project grants, and cooperative agreements)<br>PC – Procurement Contracts<br>SW – Salaries and Wages<br>DL – Direct Loans<br>GL – Guaranteed/Insured Loans<br>II – Insurance |
| Sign | Positive for funds allocated or negative for funds de-allocated. |
| Amount* | Uses the original amounts with the addition of sign value for those that are negative. |
| FIPSState | 2-digit state Federal Information Processing Standards (FIPS) code. |
| FIPSCounty | 3-digit county FIPS code. |
| FIPSPlace | 5-digit place FIPS code. |
| Agency | 4-digit funding agency code for years 1993-2010. There are 631 unique agency codes. |
| Year | Year of funding award. 1983-2010. |
| FundAmount_2010* | Calculated funding amount using the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator. |
| FIPS* | 5 digit code. Concatenated State and County FIPS code. |

**Table 1. Variables in Consolidated Federal Funds Report Data.**
*Data Source: Consolidated Federal Funds Report, 1983-2010*
*Calculated from original

While the CFFR does distinguish between competitive and formula grants, the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (CFDA) gives some insight. The CFDA provides data on federal funding programs, including a short description of the program, and the type of assistance (e.g. competitive grant, formula grant, or loan). By cross-referencing each program code found in the CFFR from 1983 to 2010 with the corresponding CFDA program listing, the type of assistance of most CFFR entries could be determined. For example, the CFDA entry for program code 10.555 (The National School Lunch Program) indicates that it is a formula grant program. Eligibility is limited to states, territories, and non-profits. Funding use is limited to providing eligible children with lunches that meet federal nutrition requirements. The CFDA defines several types of assistance, which are summarized in Table 2.[3]

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[3] The CFDA details seven types of non-monetary assistance. For the purposes of this paper, I combine all non-monetary assistance programs into one funding type.

| Type of Assistance | Description | Total Number of Programs |
|---|---|---|
| Formula Grants | Allocation of funding based on formula for continuing activities. | 309 |
| Project Grants | Grants for specific projects of specific time periods. | 1,960 |
| Direct Payment for Specified Use | Financial assistance to individuals or firms | 200 |
| Direct Payment for Unspecified Use | Direct payments for individuals (retirement and disability) | 69 |
| Direct Loans | Loans for a specific time period | 36 |
| Insured Loans | Loan with specified responsible lender | 78 |
| Insurance | Financial assistance to ensure reimbursement for losses under specific conditions | 10 |
| Non-Monetary | Technical assistance and other types of non-monetary support. | 74 |
| Unsure | Unable to identify. | 646 |
| Total Single Code | | 3,382 |
| Total Multiple Code | More than one of the above. | 258 |
| **Total Program ID** | | **3,640** |

**Table 2. Total Number of Programs by Type of Assistance (1983-2010).**
*Data source: Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance*

The list of current CFDA programs provided information on the type of assistance for 48 percent of programs (1,732 out of 3,640 total programs). For archived programs or programs with catalog numbers that had changed over time, alternative methods were used to identify assistance type. A search was conducted using Google for each of the remaining CFDA program numbers and titles, to gather available information on the funding source. This information was collected from the National Archives, Federal Register, CFDA archives, Fedspending.org, state funding reports, and other sites. For the vast majority of these programs, the assistance type was identified using descriptive program narratives on non-CFDA sites. Occasionally, the type of assistance was determined through the identification of keywords and concepts. Examples of this include references to a funding formula (indicating a formula grant), a competitive selection process (indicating a projects grant), or loan requirements (indicating insured or direct loans). These methods brought the total number of programs for which a primary type of assistance code could not be determined down to 646 programs, or 18 percent of the CFDA listings.

Of the approximately 3,000 programs for which a funding type was identified, seven percent included multiple types of assistance and therefore could not be categorized according to a single type of assistance. Therefore, in this analysis, these programs were considered in calculations relating to aggregate funding, but were not considered as part of the individual award types.

This data represents federal funding to state or local governments, local NGOs, private companies, and individuals. Funding allocations to the District of Columbia, U.S. territories, or funding without a geographic designation were excluded. Of the original 10.4 million allocations of

funding, 10,289,800 occurred in one of the 50 U.S. states. These 10.3 million allocations became the data of interest. Longitudinal changes in funding were analyzed using aggregate and per capita measures. Per capita measures were based on the most recent preceding decennial census (1980, 1990, 2000, or 2010). All the funding types outlined in Table 2 were used to generate the aggregate and per capita measures of federal expenditures by state.

## IV. Federal Funding: Growth of Grant Funding over Time

From 1983 to 2010, federal funding dollars increased by 173 percent, from $1.8 trillion to $5 trillion.[4] Grant funding levels, particularly formula and project grant dollars, increased at an even greater rate than federal funding overall: formula grants increased by 253 percent, from $112 billion to $394 billion, and project grants increased by 350 percent, from $26 billion to $118 billion. This difference in the growth of grants versus overall federal funding means that the proportion of federal funding provided by grants grew from 7.5 percent in 1983 to 10.3 percent in 2010.

In general, grants are made to governmental organizations or non-profits, rather than individuals. Additionally, only 28 percent of federal funding is allocated in the form of direct payments to individuals (such as retirement and disability). Therefore, as the proportion of federal funding represented by grants increases, organizations experience a greater increase in allocations than do individuals.

| Type of Assistance | Funding in 1983 (2010 Dollars) | Funding in 2010 (2010 Dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| Formula Grants | $111,739,668,302 | $394,419,366,421 |
| Project Grants | $26,229,293,226 | $117,971,510,908 |
| Direct Payment for Specified Use | $207,425,602,392 | $672,453,288,608 |
| Direct Payment for Unspecified Use | $519,931,448,963 | $721,873,387,836 |
| Direct Loans | $1,020,766,218 | $75,302,633,710 |
| Insured Loans | $83,164,576,426 | $411,110,272,233 |
| Insurance | $233,895,921,999 | $1,334,358,800,199 |
| Non-Monetary | $117,794,575 | $266,959,875 |
| Total Single Code | $1,183,525,072,101 | $3,727,756,219,790 |
| Total Multiple Code | $647,182,870,958 | $1,267,330,375,921 |
| **Total** | **$1,830,707,943,059** | **$4,995,086,595,711** |

**Table 3. Total Funding in 1983 and 2010 by Type of Assistance, 2010 Dollars.**
*Data source: Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance*

## V. Changes to Competitive Funding at the State Level

Organizations and agencies that are dependent on federal funds must dedicate significant time and resources to the processes of grant application, management, documentation and reporting. These duties are particularly intensive among entities that depend on *competitive* funding, as this type of funding is not guaranteed from one year to the next. As explained in the section above, competitive grants have increased at a faster rate than formula grants. The distribution of competitive grant money has produced differential impacts across states. As shown in Table 4,

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[4] All funding amounts listed in this paragraph have been adjusted to 2010 dollars, using the Bureau of Labor Statistics Inflation Calculator, http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm

Alaska, Massachusetts, and Maryland ranked as the top three recipients of per capita competitive funding in both the 1980s and the 2000s. Other states, like Louisiana and North Dakota, have shown recent increases, which may be due to changing demographics and needs in these locations. In the 1980s, Louisiana was among the bottom ten states for average annual federal competitive funding per capita. After Hurricane Katrina in August 2005, Louisiana experienced a large increase in federal funding allocations (Plyer, 2015). In North Dakota, booming economic conditions associated with shale oil extraction from the Bakken Formation have resulted in significant development pressures and concerns about adverse environmental and social impacts, which may have garnered the attention of federal funding sources.

| Top 10 States Funding Per Capita 1983-1989 | | Top 10 States Funding Per Capita 2000-2009 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **State** | **Average Annual Funding Per Capita** | **State** | **Average Annual Funding Per Capita** |
| Alaska | $468 | Alaska | $1,494 |
| Massachusetts | $299 | Massachusetts | $678 |
| Maryland | $238 | Maryland | $525 |
| Vermont | $203 | Montana | $440 |
| Rhode Island | $171 | North Dakota | $422 |
| New York | $170 | South Dakota | $422 |
| Utah | $158 | Hawaii | $413 |
| New Hampshire | $157 | Vermont | $380 |
| Washington | $153 | Louisiana | $379 |
| Colorado | $149 | New Mexico | $364 |

**Table 4. Top 10 States by Average Annual Competitive Funding Per Capita: 1983-1989; 2000-2009 in 2010 Dollars.**

Other states have consistently struggled to obtain competitive federal funding. As shown in Table 5, six states ranked among the bottom ten recipients during the 1980s and 2000s: Arkansas, Kentucky, Florida, Indiana, Georgia, and South Carolina. While the total amount of competitive federal funding going to these states has increased, per capita competitive funding continues to lag. Four of these states are southern states, indicating a potential regional difference in funding. While Louisiana's recent increase in funding may improve the southern average, the consistently low per capita funding levels of many other southern states suggests a pattern of regional disparity.

| Bottom 10 States Funding Per Capita 1983-1989 | | Bottom 10 States Funding Per Capita 2000-2009 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| State | Average Annual Funding Per Capita | State | Average Annual Funding Per Capita |
| Arkansas | $57 | Florida | $130 |
| Kentucky | $61 | New Jersey | $130 |
| Louisiana | $61 | Indiana | $135 |
| Florida | $63 | Ohio | $159 |
| Indiana | $70 | Georgia | $160 |
| Nebraska | $72 | Kentucky | $165 |
| Kansas | $74 | Arkansas | $169 |
| Georgia | $74 | Michigan | $172 |
| South Carolina | $75 | South Carolina | $173 |
| Texas | $77 | Illinois | $179 |

**Table 5. Bottom 10 States by Average Annual Competitive Funding Per Capita: 1983-1989; 2000-2009 in 2010 Dollars.**

## VI. Implications and Conclusion

This analysis has demonstrated the major roles of federal funding, and the ways in which these roles have become more significant since the 1980s. In the 28 years included in this analysis, overall federal funding at the local level increased by 170 percent, while competitive grant funding increased by 350 percent. In addition to these increases, federal competitive funding is also playing an increasing role at the community level not only because of the increase in funding dollars, but also because of tightening state and local budgets, and the decline of direct federal intervention in local communities.

This trend raises a number of considerations for grantees, educators, and researchers. First, grantees must develop and maintain the organizational capacities needed to apply for, manage, and report on grants. Second, education for students of public policy and administration must focus on the unique challenges of a field increasingly dependent upon grants. Finally, future research will need to employ a more fine-granted typology of grants in order to better understand the distribution and impact of competitive funding on local communities. Current reporting practices, such as that employed by the CFFR, limit but do not preclude the potential for future research in this area.

The increased amount of federal funding at the community level has at least three significant implications for the practice of public administration. First, practitioners must learn to navigate the complex federal funding process. The grant life cycle outlined in Figure 1 places large responsibilities on individual agencies. Before beginning an application, an organization must have the capacity to identify funding opportunities that apply to their programs. While this seems conceptually simple, there are often more than 2,000 grant opportunities listed on the federal grant website Grants.gov.[5] Once opportunities are identified, most funding applications have a short time period, meaning that potential applicants must be ready to submit applications quickly. In addition, organizations must prove that they have the capacity to effectively carry out the award. Subject matter expertise is often necessary, but potential grantees must also demonstrate that they possess the fiscal capacity to document and manage funding use. Those with a history of successful grant management are looked upon more favorably by reviewers. The complexity of the federal grant process requires applicants to have a well-developed organizational skill set.

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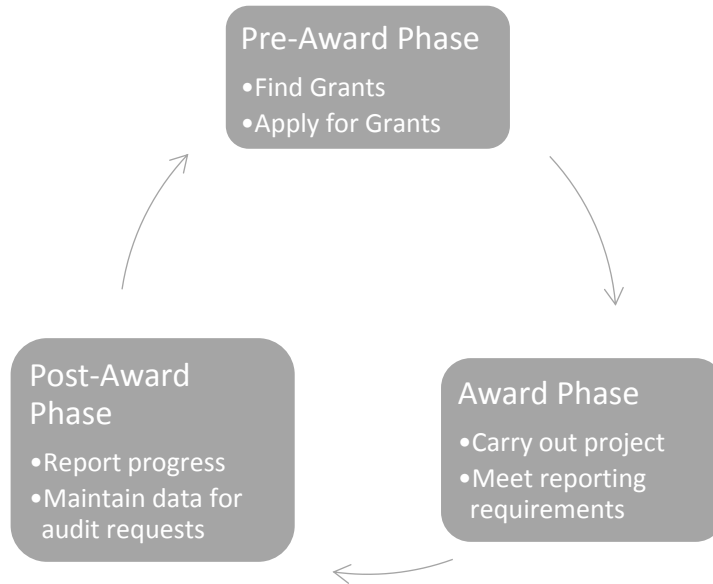[5] On December 23, 2015, there were 2,008 open funding opportunities.

**Figure 1. Life Cycle of a Grant – Applicant responsibilities**
*Adapted from Grants.gov Grant Lifecycle Timeline http://www.grants.gov/web/grants/learn-grants/grants-101/grant-lifecycle.html*

If selected to receive a federal grant, an organization must then implement the program as it was described in the grant application. Organizations must be prepared to act quickly to meet project deadlines while devoting significant resources to the preparation of detailed documentation. These demands require a robust organization with strong financial and programmatic reporting capacity.

In the final stage of the grant life cycle, grant recipients must demonstrate that their funding was used effectively. This includes financial and programmatic reporting. Recipients must also maintain data for auditing purposes. Misuse of funds may result in the grant recipient having to pay back federal funds or being charged with fraud. For this reason, documentation is vital to the grant process. The post-award phase may also involve an evaluation of the funded project or program.

In order to address these challenges, a number of organizations, such as university research offices, have developed divisions devoted to grant management. However, while grantsmanship capacity is important for all funding applicants, not all applicants can feasibly create such grant management units. In many cases, this level of focus on grant management would reduce the amount of attention that a local government or NGO could devote to its provision of services. The primacy of competitive grants requires organizations to develop grants management capacities in addition to their operational responsibilities.

The grant life cycle has additional implications for organizations seeking to maintain competitiveness for federal funding. An organization's ability to successfully apply for a grant depends on its existing grant management systems. Therefore, organizations must maintain some capacity to manage grants, even when they are not actively seeking them. To successfully manage a grant, an organization must maintain relationships with key stakeholders, expertise or experience relating to the grant opportunity, and strong accounting systems. In addition, organizations must constantly explore new project ideas due to the brevity of many grant application cycles. Organizations that already have well-developed project idea when a grant opportunity is announced will be at an advantage. Thus, maintaining grant management capacity requires an ongoing

organizational process of building and maintaining resources, institutional capacity, and programmatic ideas.

In addition to these organizational implications, public administration and public policy education must also adjust its curricula to reflect increased grant-dependence. For master's-level students preparing for careers in public service, there must be a stronger emphasis on the grant writing and management process. As local-level dependence on federal grant funding increases, administrators must be prepared to manage grants. Grant management is one of the skills needed "to lead and manage in public governance", which is a core competency of the Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA, 2014, p. 7). Doctoral students must also be actively engaged in the process of writing and managing grants during their studies. This experience will help them to obtain and manage grant funding in their career, and will help them to better instruct future public administrators.

Future research must use this understanding of competitive capacity to evaluate the impact of federal funding. Where federal funding is targeted specifically at increasing local capacity for grant management, analysis should be conducted to better understand if this goal has been achieved. Additionally, research should examine the grant management capacities that are specific to *competitive* grants. The model of analysis explained in this paper can provide a way to assess the efficacy of efforts to increase grantsmanship capacity. For example, research could compare regional variation in the procurement of federal grants, and explore whether this variation correlates with past capacity-building grant funding.

This paper used CFFR data to examine federal funding. However, because federal funding reporting changed in 2010, future research can draw from the new reporting site, USASpending.gov, to investigate trends in federal competitive funding in more recent years. USASpending.gov provides greater detail on grantees and sub-grantees, but does not identify whether funding opportunities are competitive, despite the significance of competitive grants in comparison to other federal funding. More comprehensive data on the federal funding process can help researchers better understand the implications of the federal government's increasing use of competitive grant funding.

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