

Fear of Crime And Bystander Attitudes Toward Intervening in Violent Crime

Shuo Liu

School of Law, Beijing Normal University, Beijing 100875, China

Abstract: Objectives: This study aims to exclude the influence of the traditional "bystander effect" to explore whether contemporary factors affecting bystanders' willingness to intervene in violent crimes relate to their fear of crime, providing more comprehensive information for crime prevention strategies. Methods: Crime scenarios with varying levels of danger were presented in the questionnaire, and data were collected via an online survey platform. Based on 460 valid responses, analyses were conducted using mean score comparisons and correlation tests. Results: The willingness of bystanders to intervene decreased as the weapon used in robberies became more lethal or the number of people involved in fights increased. Among the participants, older individuals (aged 35 and above) were more likely to intervene than younger individuals; men were more inclined to intervene than women; and those with knowledge or experience in crime prevention strategies (involved in security and crime science professions) were more likely to intervene compared to the general population. Conclusions: The fear of crime among bystanders is reflected in increasingly dangerous street violence scenarios. Thus, the study finds that bystanders' attitudes towards intervention are deeply influenced by their fear of crime and provide direction for future research.

Keywords: Bystander intervention; Fear of crime; Situational danger; Violent crime; Street robbery and assault

1 Introduction

The occurrence of violent crime not only has a direct and profound impact on the victims but also affects everyone who witnesses the violent event, and even the broader social environment. Streets, characterized by high foot traffic and anonymity, are more prone to violent crime compared to other settings. For example, in the UK, most physical attacks against strangers occur on the streets.^[1] Moreover, because streets are public spaces, their openness and visibility make street crime especially socially damaging. Witnesses or bystanders may become increasingly fearful of crime, which in turn affects their future roles as "capable guardians" in crime intervention. Particularly in the context of street-level violent crimes, bystanders are more likely to have a natural regulatory effect in crime prevention. Therefore, it is crucial to study the attitudes of bystanders towards intervening in street-level violent crimes.

However, academic research has mainly focused on offenders and victims, following "the crime triangle theory" of crime prevention strategies.^[2] Little attention has been given to the role of guardians in preventing

crime, particularly modern-day factors that influence the role of guardians, like bystanders. Additionally, in an era where violent crime rates, especially street robberies and assaults, remain high, there is inadequate research on violent crimes that include street-level factors. Consequently, this study aims to fill the gap in the existing literature by exploring whether fear of crime is a fundamental factor influencing modern-day bystanders' willingness to intervene. It also investigates whether the intervention attitudes of bystanders vary depending on their gender, age, and background knowledge or experience in crime prevention strategies. Furthermore, this study aims to understand whether bystanders' attitudes toward intervention in crime scenarios at different levels of risk are consistent, delving deeper into how fear of crime influences their willingness to intervene.

Based on this, the study reviews and synthesizes previous literature, highlighting the importance of situational factors and fear of crime as potential influencing factors in bystander intervention. It subsequently outlines the research gaps and objectives, elaborating on the study's research questions, hypotheses,

and their rationale. The "Methodology" section describes the research methods and data analysis process, including the design of the survey and data collection. The results of the data analysis are presented in the "Research Results" section, dedicated to testing the seven hypotheses of this study. Finally, the "Discussion and Conclusion" section critically examines the limitations of the study while providing an in-depth analysis and summary of the research findings, as well as directions for future research.

2 Literature Review

The literature review is divided into three sections. The first section introduces and defines violent crime, highlighting the importance of street robbery and street fighting as representative issues of violent crime, and discussing the disparities in research. The second part of the discussion focuses on strategies for crime prevention and relevant research on bystander intervention, with a particular emphasis on factors influencing bystander intervention. The third section focuses on the research gaps concerning violent crime and bystander intervention, specifically on the interplay between crime fear and the perceived risk level of crime scenarios in their effect on bystander intervention. The research questions and hypotheses of this study are then presented.

2.1 Violent crime and street violence

Though the term "violent crime" might seem self-explanatory as crimes involving violence, there is not a universally accepted definition in academia. Different countries and regions have their interpretations due to variations in their criminal laws and standards of judgment. For instance, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program defines violent crimes as those involving force or threat of force against persons or property, including murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.^[3] This definition is widely cited in scholarly literature, though some scholars have also included "simple assault" within the scope of violent crime studies.^[4] Meanwhile,

the UK Office for National Statistics offers a broader definition that includes not only physical harm or threats of violence but also psychological harm, such as robbery and harassment.^[5] However, Siegel and Welsh have a more expansive view, defining violent crime as any illegal act against persons.^[6, 7] In synthesizing these varied definitions, two consistent elements emerge: "bodily injury (assault)" and "violence or threat".^[8, 9] Given the differences seen across jurisdictions and studies, this research adopts a definition of violent crime as 1) acts of violence that cause harm or pose threats; and 2) crimes against personal or property safety.

Despite its widespread nature, the link between violent crime and the street scene is strong. Streets, as public places, can facilitate various forms of violent crime, mainly because they offer a degree of anonymity, as people on the street largely do not know each other, leading violent offenders to believe that their criminal activities on the street will not be detected in time;^[10] furthermore, streets offer convenience, based on the high density of foot traffic on the street and well-connected roads,^[11] violent offenders can quickly escape after committing a crime, thus making it easier to realize committing a crime without being caught.^[12] As a result, various types of violent crimes often occur on the streets, yet few studies have focused specifically on violent street crime, which is defined in this study as a property security crime or a personal security crime that involves the use of force with a street scenario.

Robbery and assault are highly common forms of violent crime, a reality substantiated by data. In 2023, as many as 16.08% of individuals or households in England and Wales were subjected to some form of criminal victimization. Specifically, 1.29% experienced violent assault, and 0.14% were victims of robbery.^[13] These percentages may seem small at first glance, but when considered in the context of the 2021 population of England and Wales, which was approximately 56 million people,^[14] these numbers become significant. It means that

as many as 9,004,800 individuals and households were affected by crime, among which 722,400 were victims of violent assault and 78,400 were victims of robbery—and the population is only to grow in 2023. Therefore, their actual occurrence is substantial and inflicts irreversible harm on the victims, warranting serious attention.

Violent assaults and robberies are particularly rampant in areas of the United Kingdom such as London, Greater Manchester, and the West Midlands, where the reporting rate has consistently been high.^[15] Furthermore, according to crime maps focused on London, certain downtown areas in the City of London have elevated rates of street robbery and assault crimes.^[16]

Therefore, it's evident that while violent crime is widespread, its connection to street-level scenarios is particularly strong. The code of the streets refers to a set of informal rules or behavioral norms that dictate interactions and behaviors in certain urban settings, especially among individuals involved in or exposed to criminal activities or in economically disadvantaged areas. This code is often centered around concepts such as respect, honor, retaliation, and loyalty.^[17] These principles can exacerbate or perpetuate violent criminal behaviors, like assaults and robberies, thereby strengthening the association between violence and urban street environments.^[18] This is because the honor and respect emphasized by the street code implies that an individual's standing in the community might be closely linked to their willingness to resort to violence in response to perceived slights or challenges, which can escalate minor conflicts into serious assaults.^[19] Additionally, the loyalty stressed by the street code creates an environment where violent crimes are less likely to be reported or punished. This nurtures and promotes a culture conducive to robbery-related crimes.

Therefore, when robbery and assault interact with the street-level setting, they become the most representative types of violent crime occurring on the streets. With this in mind, this study primarily focuses on two types of violent crimes: street robberies and group brawls. Street

robbery refers to a crime where one or more individuals use force, threat, or intimidation in public spaces, such as streets or sidewalks, to steal money or other valuables from victims.^[20] It is one of the most common violent crimes. Street assault is when one or more individuals physically harm victims in public settings. It's an inevitable component of street violence, with serious assaults accounting for approximately 70% of violent crimes.^[21] Crime surveys from England and Wales have confirmed this, showing that assaults (causing injury as well as intent to inflict grievous harm) and robberies constitute a larger percentage of knife-related violent crimes than threats to kill and other selected offenses. The overall crime rate increased by 5% compared to the previous year.^[22] Notably, the harm resulting from street violence is profound. The physical harm to victims could lead to severe injuries or even death. Moreover, the psychological impact, which includes trauma, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder, can have lasting effects on the victims' mental and even behavioral well-being.^[23] What's more, the repercussions might extend beyond those directly involved in the altercation, affecting bystanders and the entire community.^[24] Therefore, street violent crimes must be addressed with prevention and mitigation measures being of utmost urgency.

However, most studies tend to focus on exploring the causes of crime. Steffensmeier and Allan examined gender differences in robbery crimes and found that males are more likely to engage in street violent robberies than females.^[25] Conversely, some scholars focus on preventive measures.

2.2 Street violent crime countermeasures and bystanders

When exploring countermeasures to street violent crime, it's vital first to understand the essence of when crimes occur. Cohen and Felson introduced the routine activity approach, a landmark theory suggesting that crime, particularly direct contact predatory offenses, occurs when three elements converge: a suitable victim, a

motivated offender, and a lack of capable guardianship.^[26] In the context of specific street violent crimes, such incidents as street robberies and assaults may occur when there's a suitable victim (or crime target), a potential offender intent on using force, and no capable guardians around to intervene.

The routine activity theory highlights crime trends from a societal structure, especially situational factors, and is beneficial when considering crime prevention strategies.^[27] Therefore, altering any one of the elements - victim, offender, or guardian - might change the nature of the crime.

Building on this, a range of studies have examined how offenders' lifestyles and routine activities influence their criminal intentions.^[28-30] Conversely, other research has focused on how victims' residential areas and background risk factors make them suitable crime targets.^[31-33] Furthermore, Mustaine and Tewksbury took into account both groups: those who are victims and those who are offenders, as well as a group that encompasses both roles.^[34] However, much of this vast body of literature has primarily looked at the role of offenders and victims in various situational contexts related to crime, with relatively less emphasis on the significant role "capable guardians" play when a crime is in progress. Therefore, this study shifts its focus towards the role of capable guardian.

Felson defines a "capable guardian" as someone who, by their very presence during a criminal event, can prevent the crime from happening, and whose absence makes the crime more likely to occur or to escalate in severity.^[35] Furthermore, the definition of a guardian, in a broader sense, can encompass objects or even societal norms.^[36] Thus, guardianship can manifest in various forms such as CCTV cameras, security personnel, passersby, shopkeepers on the street, and so on. The effectiveness of different "guardians" in preventing crime also varies. As Piza and Kennedy point out, ordinary citizens often play a more significant role in overseeing

and preventing crimes than the police themselves.^[37] Moreover, the sense of social identity and belonging can influence people's choices. For instance, a witness to a crime is more likely to assist a victim with whom they have social ties.^[38]

As proposed by Reynald, guardians often play a pivotal role in crime prevention.^[39] However, a major limitation of his study is that it considered guardians solely as residents present at or near their homes during the day. This overlooks other potential guardians in a crime situation, such as bystanders at the scene of the crime. Later research building upon the routine activity theory also emphasized the role of guardians in crime prevention, such as handlers and place managers. Bernasco et al. in their study on offenders, mentioned adult handlers, referring to individuals associated with and accountable for an offender's behavior.^[40] However, they didn't distinguish between handlers and bystanders. While both can act as capable guardians, the presence of a bystander versus a handler might impact offenders differently. A stranger bystander might exert a less deterrent effect on an offender, which validates the aforementioned notion of anonymity in street settings. Thus, in crime prevention strategies, the role of the "capable guardian" is indeed worthy of exploration, but it's crucial to distinguish between various types of guardians, especially concerning violent crimes occurring in public spaces. This is because, in public areas like streets, a variety of "guardians" are more likely to be present concurrently - be it pedestrians on the street, CCTVs at intersections, or nearby shopkeepers. As a result, crimes bearing street characteristics are more likely to be overseen. Among the multitude of guardian roles, pedestrians not only can witness the entirety of a crime but are also most likely to intervene promptly, causing an interruption in the criminal act. This is because, once a crime is in progress, the effectiveness of CCTVs becomes somewhat delayed.^[41] Therefore, drawing from the aforementioned definitions and extensive research, this study will focus more on

bystanders as potential "capable guardians." Specifically, those present at the crime scene, witnessing the event, and in a position to intervene. We aim to examine the pivotal role of bystanders - as potential "capable guardians" - in street scenarios, particularly during street robberies and assaults. Here, "pivotal role" refers to any appropriate intervention undertaken by a bystander upon witnessing a harmful situation, including both direct and indirect interventions, aiming to prevent the crime or aid and protect the victim, termed as bystander intervention.

2.3 Bystander intervention and the fear of crime

The 1964 murder of Kitty Genovese in New York garnered widespread attention, igniting extensive discussions in the research domain about bystander intervention.^[42, 43] In a seminal study, some academics introduced the concept of the "bystander effect," suggesting that individuals are less likely to intervene when other people are present. This happens because the more people are present, the more diffused the responsibility becomes, leading to inaction by everyone. The size of the bystander group has been identified as a significant factor influencing intervention, a notion widely acknowledged and validated by various scholars.

Contrarily, Levine and Crowther posit that this understanding of the "bystander effect" is somewhat traditional.^[44] Contemporary authors generally argue that social relations should be taken into account when elucidating the determinants of bystander intervention. For instance, people might be more inclined to intervene if they perceive the person in need of help as part of their "in-group" (sharing a common culture or experience).

However, this perspective primarily explores the broader socio-psychological factors, overlooking the subjective elements inherent to the bystander. The essence of bystander intervention amplifies the "lack of a capable guardian" within the crime triangle. Thus, whether a bystander, as a guardian, possesses the capability should be one of the focal points in studying the factors influencing bystander intervention.

Laner et al. concluded preliminarily that, when deciding whether to intervene, bystanders might prioritize their perceived capabilities over sociopsychological factors, such as their social relationship with the victim.^[45] Research has shown that women are more hesitant to help female victims as compared to child victims because they don't necessarily see themselves as more capable than the female victim in question. Nonetheless, assessing a bystander's perception of their capability is intricate. Beyond directly examining a bystander's self-efficacy, one should also consider the objective (perceivable) level of threat.^[46] Bystander intervention is not only centered on individual confidence in their capabilities but is also influenced by the evident threat level in various scenarios.

Certain literature has acknowledged the significance of this impact. Given the intricate nature of a bystander's decision-making in crime scenarios, Latané and Darley proposed the renowned Bystander Intervention Model.^[47] This model outlines the psychological activities of a bystander's decision to intervene in five steps: firstly, noticing the crime; secondly, recognizing its urgency; thirdly, feeling personal responsibility; fourthly, deciding on an intervention method; and finally, implementing the action. Darley and Latané suggested that the "degree of threat" in a situation could be inferred from the perceived severity or urgency of the scenario and the associated potential risks.^[48] The more threatening or severe an event appears to a bystander, the more likely they are to classify it as an emergency and intervene. In other words, an increased perceived threat in a situation can justify a bystander's decision to intervene.

However, the subjective fear of crime influencing bystander intervention has been overlooked. Practically speaking, when the perceived danger surpasses a certain threshold, bystanders might feel the risk is too great, thus hesitating to intervene.

Furthermore, street-level violent crime, while being a significant component of violent crimes, has been scarcely studied as an explicitly identified factor in research. This

is because, in the realm of bystander research, ethical considerations make it challenging to stage real-life spontaneous events for study. The research by Darley and Latané is a notable exception: they conducted laboratory experiments following the Kitty Genovese case to better understand bystander behavior. However, their research was conducted in controlled environments, not actual street settings. When studying "street-level" bystander behavior, researchers typically employ observational methods, watching and recording spontaneous reactions to staged events. Yet, in relevant bystander studies, the street setting as an influential factor should indeed receive more attention.

As such, one of the gaps in the current field of research is that explorations of how different violent crime situations affect bystander interventions have not been very explicitly linked to consideration of the impact of bystanders' fear of crime on interventions. This gap means that there is a lack of understanding of how situational factors of violent crime affect bystander fear, which in turn leads to an incomplete understanding of the factors that inform bystander interventions. The 'street' setting, as a unique situational factor, is not prominently featured in research, making it crucial to address these gaps for a comprehensive understanding of bystander intervention dynamics.

3 The Current Study

In summary, only a portion of the literature has considered the impact of varying degrees of danger in violent crime scenarios on bystander intervention. However, this literature overlooks how different levels of danger affect a bystander's fear of crime and the consequent changes in their willingness to intervene. To fill this gap in the literature, this study builds on the model of bystander intervention in scenarios, assessing the relationship between street violent crime and bystander intervention attitudes under different situational factors. The study aims to explore whether the reasons bystanders are relatively more unwilling to intervene are associated

with the crime scenarios and their fear of crime. This study aims to provide more comprehensive and up-to-date information for crime prevention strategies, particularly in the aspect of the role played by "capable guardians." Accordingly, this study puts forth the following research questions and hypotheses and explains their rationale.

Question 1: Is there a relationship between the age of bystanders and their attitude towards intervening in street violent crimes?

Many studies have considered the relationship between age and bystander intervention attitudes. Most of them suggest that as age increases, bystanders are increasingly less likely to choose to intervene. This might be because concerns about the consequences of intervention can vary between younger and older bystanders, leading to differences in intervention attitudes. Thus, this study further examines the factor of age and seeks to address the question: If younger and older bystanders have different intervention attitudes, is it based on their fear of the crime? Therefore, this study proposes Hypothesis 1.

H1: Younger bystanders are more likely to intervene in violent crimes.

Question 2: Is there a relationship between the gender of bystanders and their attitude towards intervening in street violent crimes?

Gender characteristics can lead to variations in social empathy and a sense of justice. As such, Jenkins et al. suggest that women are more likely than men to engage in bystander intervention.^[49, 50] However, this perspective warrants reconsideration, especially in situations involving high levels of crime danger. Given that men, compared to women, typically express lower levels of fear towards crime, these studies propose Hypothesis 2.^[51-53]

H2: Men are more likely to intervene in violent crimes.

Question 3: Is the willingness of bystanders to intervene in violent crime scenarios related to their knowledge and experience in relevant fields?

The field of security and crime science has a broad definition.^[54] The discipline of safety and crime science integrates the study of crime with various scientific domains, exploring contemporary approaches to understanding and addressing criminal issues,^[55] for instance, employing environmental design techniques for crime prevention (CPTED). Therefore, those who are involved in criminology or in scientific professions aimed at solving crimes can be considered to be "engaged in the security and crime science professions", including those with knowledge (academics studying crime prevention) and relevant experience (security guards, police). Compared to the general populace, individuals involved in the security and crime science discipline possess more knowledge of crime prevention, especially in recognizing and acting during emergencies. Experiments by Banyard et al. indicate that, due to their training experiences, they are more likely to intervene.^[56] This study uses the term "security and crime science professionals" to represent those with knowledge and experience related to crime prevention. Based on this, we propose Hypothesis 3.

H3: Bystanders engaged in security and crime science professions are more likely to intervene in violent crimes.

Question 4: Faced with increasingly dangerous crime scenarios, will bystanders make different decisions?

The level of threat or danger in a situation can influence a bystander's decision to intervene.^[57] However, no existing literature has tested the differences in bystander intervention attitudes by setting progressively dangerous scenarios. Moreover, based on Christy and Voigt's study on child abuse incidents in public places, distinguishing between direct and indirect interventions is valuable.^[58] As a result, this study proposes Hypotheses 4 and 5.

Combining definitions from previous literature, this study classified and defined the interventions as follows:

Direct interventions include directly intervening (DIRECT) and distracting the offender (DISTRACT).

Indirect interventions encompass actions like seeking

help or calling the police (DELEGATE), documenting the offense (DOCUMENT), and waiting for the right moment to delay assistance (DELAY).

H4: As the lethality of weapons increases, the likelihood of direct intervention decreases.

H5: As the number of people fighting increases, people are more inclined to intervene indirectly.

Question 5: Will bystanders who choose to intervene in certain crime scenarios make consistent decisions when faced with other situations?

Inspired by Fischer et al.'s study on bystander interventions in dangerous and non-dangerous situations,^[59] it would be valuable to continue investigating the responses of intervening or non-intervening, directly intervening or indirectly intervening bystanders in other crime scenarios. And there is currently a lack of literature focusing on this aspect. Hence, Hypotheses 6 and 7 are proposed.

H6: People are likely to intervene when there's a gun involved, and they may also intervene when two groups are fighting.

H7: People are very likely to intervene in an unarmed robbery scenario. However, when two gangs are involved in a fight, they are less likely to intervene.

4 Methodology

4.1 Participants

The survey method used in this research is convenience sampling, and like most researchers involved in population studies, convenience sampling is popular due to its cost-effectiveness and efficiency.^[60] Participants are any individuals who took part in the survey through an online link. This is because anyone can be an observer, and utilizing the efficient and convenient features of convenience sampling to gather a large amount of data from participants, aids in the dispersal of the sample to study the differences in attitudes towards intervention across different groups, which is meaningful. For ethical reasons, this study was directed only towards adults aged 18 or over who had read the "Participant Information

Sheet" and ticked the "I have read and agree to participate in this survey" option. As of August 2023, a total of 536 participants took part in the survey. Four responses ticking the "I do not agree to participate in this survey" option and 70 incomplete responses were deleted. To better test H2, two responses from individuals unwilling to disclose their gender were also removed, leaving 460 valid responses to be used in the analysis for this research.

4.2 Design

The data collection for this research was achieved through conducting an online questionnaire survey, with the research location being Cyberspace. This is because the theme of the study is directed toward non-specific groups, and online survey questionnaires can utilize the advantages of the Internet to gather data from different groups.^[61] This research used the Qualtrics platform to create and distribute the online questionnaire, which was then shared and promoted via social media platforms such as Facebook and WeChat, to ensure a substantial number of data responses could be collected. The questionnaire was designed to be completed within 5 minutes to avoid fatigue-induced biases in the data.^[62]

4.3 Materials

Before beginning the questionnaire, participants were first required to read the Participant Information Sheet, which included detailed information about the study, as well as the definition of violent crime used in this research. A trigger warning with multiple-choice options followed, alerting that images in the survey might involve violence and crime, and allowing participants to decide whether to proceed. The questionnaire underwent a pre-test, initially examined by one male and one female to test for any potential adverse effects in content and images; no issues were found. It was then shown to five people (two adult males, two adult females, and one elderly person) to check for any panic or distress caused by the images, with no negative results reported. This was all to test participant sensitivity, ensuring the survey could be widely distributed. Ticking the "Yes, start answering"

option in the trigger warning signified participants' confirmation that they were over 18 and voluntarily decided to participate.

The survey primarily consists of three sections: 1) Demographic questions; 2) Questions evaluating bystander intervention attitudes in various violent crime scenarios; and 3) Additional questions on factors influencing intervention attitudes.

For the first section, to analyze the demographic characteristics of the respondents and test H1-H3, questions related to age, gender, occupation, and any involvement in safety and crime professions are posed. The second section is the focal point of this study. To better control for variables and address gaps in existing literature, the questionnaire design is grounded in Latané and Darley's bystander intervention scenario model. Firstly, following the model's initial step, the survey emphasizes that a violent crime activity is ongoing and introduces two street crime scenarios (street robbery and assault). Participants are stressed to understand that they are witnessing a crime scene, alerting them to the crime in progress. Next, in line with the model's second step, each violent crime scenario is presented pictorially. This offers a more tangible and clear representation, suggesting that, as Clark and Word posited, the more ambiguous a situation, the less likely people are to intervene.^[63] Moreover, enabling participants to grasp the crime scenario directly from the pictures can reduce ambiguity and the fatigue resulting from textual descriptions.^[64] This approach leads to shorter response times, prompting participants to interpret scenarios as emergencies more swiftly – an efficacy confirmed by Laner et al.^[65] Following the model's third step, each picture represents a crime scene of varying intensity, with danger levels ranging from mild to very severe, such as "unarmed robbery" to "gun robbery" and "two people fighting" to "two groups clashing". However, only the victim and the offender are depicted, eliminating the influence of group size on bystander intervention, and accentuating the

response.

4.4 Procedure

After forming a clean dataset with 460 valid responses, encoding was performed for the independent variable "gender" in this study. Since data from participants who chose "prefer not to say" had been cleaned, males were encoded as (1) and females as (2). To better study the differences among different age groups, participants aged 18-24 and 25-34 were defined as "young adults" and encoded as (1); participants aged 35-44 and 45-54 were defined as "middle-aged" and encoded as (2); participants aged 55-64 and 65 or older were defined as "elderly" and encoded as (3); Relatively speaking, participants aged 18-34 are considered "young people"

robbery; 2) robbery with a bat; 3) robbery with a knife; and 4) robbery with a gun. The corresponding answers and scores are detailed in Table 1. [66] This seven-point scale would produce more reliable results, with neutral ratings also helping participants save more thinking and reaction time, ultimately leading to objective scale scores. [67] The average score for participants' responses to each item was calculated to assign scores to each participant's responses. Similarly, the four questions about the "intervention attitude" towards fighting were: 1) two people fighting; 2) a small group attacking one person; 3) a large group attacking one person; 4) two groups fighting, and the same approach was applied to questions, answer items, encoding, and data processing as with street robbery.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
Extremely unlikely	Very unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Both possible and impossible. (Neutral)	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Extremely likely

Table 1 Likert Scale Responses and Scoring Illustration

while those aged 35 and above (middle-aged and elderly people) can be regarded as "older individuals".

To investigate whether individuals who have studied or worked in crime-related fields differ in criminal domain testing, the independent variable "involvement in security and crime science disciplines" was encoded as (1) for those involved, and (2) for those not involved. To better study occupational relationships, students were encoded as (1); since responses for the "other" option were all about other types of employment, such as freelancers, individual entrepreneurs, etc., these 76 responses were categorized under "employed" and encoded as (2); the remaining responses were named "other," mainly including retired, unemployed, etc., and encoded as (3).

The main dependent variable of this study is "intervention attitude," and the "intervention attitude" toward street robbery was measured through a Likert scale with four questions. Participants were asked how likely they would directly/indirectly intervene if they witnessed a crime activity as shown in the images: 1) unarmed

5 Research Results

Based on the methods mentioned above, this study considered a sample size of 460 valid participants. Figures 1 to 4 present histograms depicting the distribution of participants' gender, age, employment status, and area of expertise, respectively, illustrating the sociodemographic statistics of the sample.

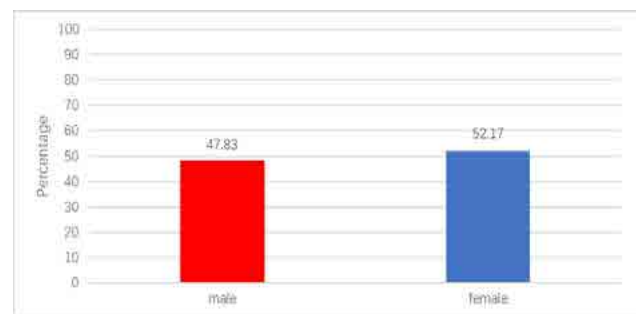


Figure 1 Proportion of Males and Females within the Sample

Firstly, Figure 1 displays the proportion of males and females in the sample. It's evident from the chart that females slightly outnumber males, making up 52.17% of the total sample, while males account for 47.83%. Even though there are marginally more female respondents,

the difference is not pronounced, with only a 4.34% disparity. This gender distribution suggests that the sample selection for this study is relatively balanced in terms of gender. This balance is crucial for the reliability and representativeness of the study since the gender distribution of the sample should mirror the actual scenario in the research domain, without any significant bias. In doing so, the conclusions drawn from the study are more likely to be generalizable, better reflecting the circumstances of the entire population.

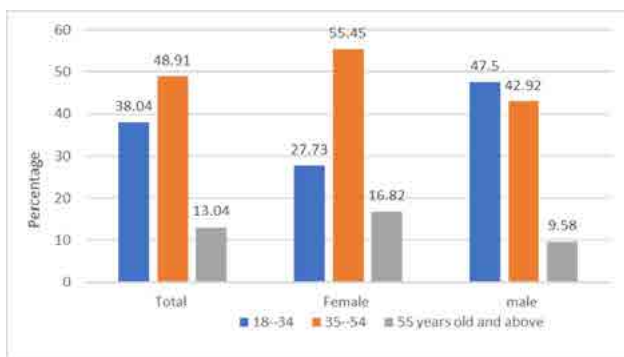


Figure 2 Proportion of Different Age Groups within the Sample

Further, Figure 2 presents the distribution of different age groups within the sample. The overall distribution shows that there's a relatively balanced proportion between respondents aged 18-34 and those aged 35-54, at 38.04% and 48.91% respectively. This indicates that the majority of participants are middle-aged, followed by younger individuals, with only a small fraction being seniors (13.04%). Mirroring the overall distribution, the majority of female respondents are concentrated within the age bracket of 35-54 years (55.45%), followed by younger individuals (27.73%) and seniors (16.82%). In contrast, the highest proportion of male respondents falls within the 18-34 age range, accounting for 47.5%, while males aged 35-54 make up 42.92%, a difference that is not substantial. Overall, middle-aged individuals have a higher representation in the sample, with a majority of the female subgroup being middle-aged, whereas the male subgroup consists of a larger portion of younger individuals.

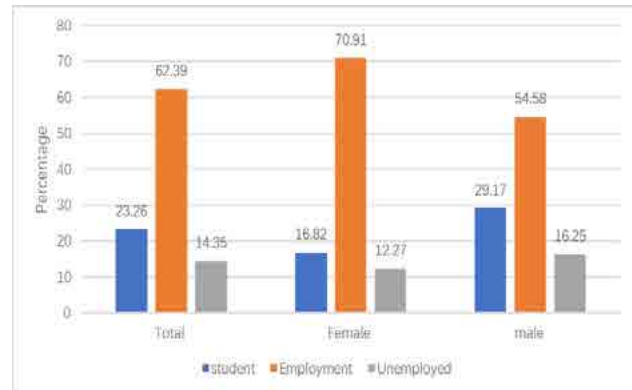


Figure 3 Proportion of In-sample Work Conditions

Regarding the employment status of participants in the sample, as illustrated in Figure 3: Overall, students make up 23.26% of the total sample, while employed respondents have the highest proportion at 62.39%. Those unemployed account for 14.35%. Specifically, female students represent 16.82% of the female respondents, while employed females account for the highest proportion at 70.61%, and unemployed females make up 12.27%. Similarly, employed male respondents have the largest share at 54.58%, followed by male students at 29.17% and unemployed males at 16.25%. However, the proportion of male students in the total is slightly higher than that of female students. This indicates that the majority of participants, whether male or female, are employed.

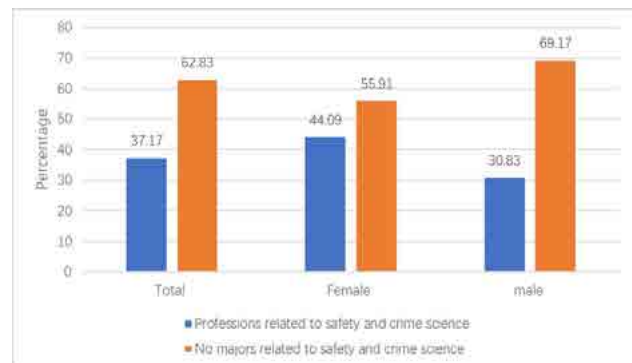


Figure 4 Proportion of the Sample Involved in Security and Crime Science Professions

Figure 4 illustrates the proportion of respondents in the sample who are involved in professions related to security and crime science versus those not involved in this field. Overall, the majority do not specialize in

related professions (62.83%), but there are still 37.17% of participants who are involved in related professions. Based on the previous discussion, those involved in "security and crime science-related professions" can be considered knowledgeable and experienced in the field. Among them, the difference in female respondents with related knowledge and experience is relatively small. This might reflect gender equality or appeal in this field. However, there is a larger disparity among male respondents. A significant majority of them lack related knowledge and experience (69.17%), which might indicate that the field has lower appeal among male audiences.

To test H1-H3, scores were derived based on the aforementioned scoring method. The y-axis represents scores for bystander attitudes when faced with violent crime scenarios: scores above 0 indicate support for intervention, with higher scores suggesting a stronger inclination to intervene, whereas scores below 0 indicate a lack of support for intervention, with lower scores suggesting a stronger inclination not to intervene. The x-axis represents different age groups: 1 represents respondents aged 18-34 (young adults), 2 represents respondents aged 35-54 (middle-aged), and 3 represents respondents aged 55 and above (elderly).

From the box plot, it can be observed that there are differences in bystander attitudes based on their age. The box plots for middle-aged and elderly respondents are higher than those for young adults, indicating that when confronted with violent crime scenarios, middle-aged and elderly individuals are more inclined to intervene than young adults. Although the box plot for the elderly appears positively skewed, those for young and middle-aged adults seem to be symmetrically distributed. This suggests that scores for the majority of young and middle-aged respondents are concentrated in the higher score range. Within the box plot, some outliers should be noticed, some of which are below -2. These outliers might represent extreme cases (non-intervention) among young and middle-aged individuals.

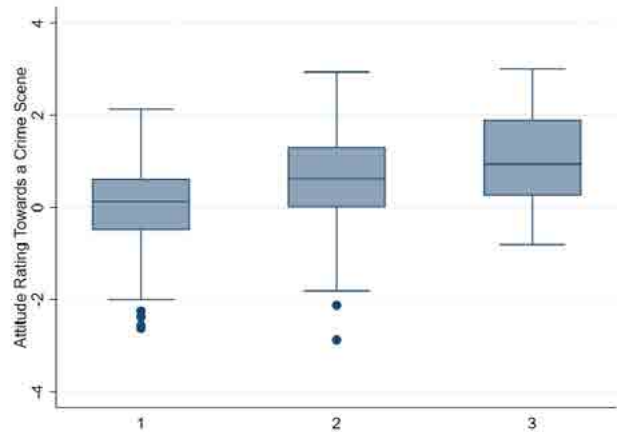


Figure 5 Box Plot of Bystander Attitudes and Age When Confronted with Violent Crime Scenes

Subsequently, a correlation analysis was conducted between bystander attitudes and their age. As shown in Table 2, the Spearman correlation coefficient between "Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene" and "Age" is 0.3476, indicating a positive correlation between them. With a P-value of 0.0000, this correlation is highly significant. The Pearson correlation coefficient between "Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene" and "Age" is 0.3380, also suggesting a positive correlation. With a P-value of 0.0000, this relationship is again highly significant.

	Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	Age
Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	1.0000	0.3476
P-value	0.0000	0.0000
Age	0.3380	1.0000
P-value	0.0000	0.0000

Table 2 Correlation matrix between bystander attitudes and age when confronted with violent crime scenarios, with Spearman's correlation test at the top of the table diagonally and Pearson's correlation test at the bottom of the table diagonally (the same applies below)

In this context, the Spearman correlation coefficient is used to measure the non-linear relationship between two variables, while the Pearson correlation coefficient measures the linear relationship. Based on the values of these correlation coefficients, it can be concluded that

there is a significant positive relationship between the two variables. This implies that when faced with violent crime scenarios, bystander attitudes are related to their age, with older individuals showing a stronger inclination to intervene. Thus, H1 is not supported.

Consistent with the scoring methodology and results described above, ratings of bystander attitudes in the face of violent crime scenarios and their gender were derived, with the horizontal coordinates being the different genders, with 1 representing males and 2 representing females, as shown in Figure 6. As can be seen from the box-and-line plot, there is a difference between bystanders' attitudes and their gender. The box-and-line plot for males is higher than that of females, indicating that the attitudes of males are more inclined to intervene than females when confronted with violent crime scenarios. The box-and-line plots for males and females appear to have a positively skewed distribution. This suggests that for both males and females, most of the scores are clustered in the higher score bands. In the box plots, the presence of some outliers for males, with values below -1.8, and for females, with some outliers above 2 and others below -2. These outliers may represent more extreme scenarios for both males and females.

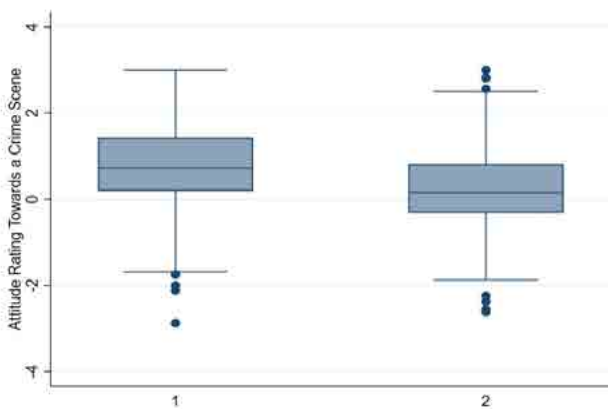


Figure 6 Box plot of bystander attitudes and gender when confronted with violent crime scenes

Subsequently, a correlation analysis was conducted between bystander attitudes when faced with violent crime scenarios and their gender. As presented in Table 3, the Spearman correlation coefficient between "Attitude Rating

Towards a Crime Scene" and "Gender" is -0.2302. This indicates a negative correlation between them, suggesting that males are more likely to support intervention. With a P-value of 0.0000, this correlation is highly significant. The Pearson correlation coefficient between "Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene" and "Gender" is -0.2582, also indicating a negative correlation and implying that males are more inclined to support intervention. With a P-value of 0.0000, this relationship is again highly significant. Thus, H2 is supported.

	Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	
	Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	Gender
Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	1.0000	-0.2302
P-value	0.0000	0.0000
Gender	-0.2582	1.0000
P-value	0.0000	0.0000

Table 3 Correlation matrix between bystander attitudes and gender when confronted with violent crime scenarios

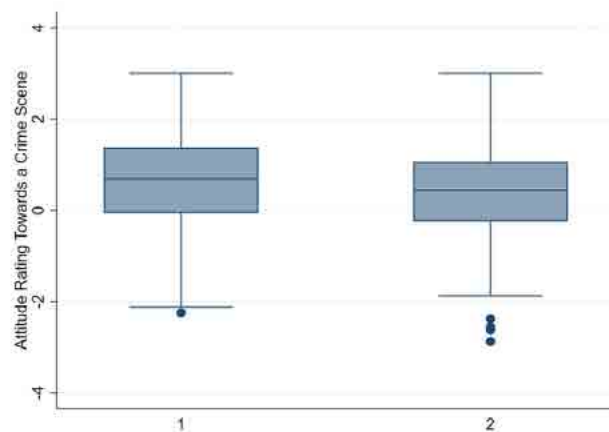


Figure 7. Box plots of bystander attitudes and specialization when confronted with violent crime scenarios

Figure 7 shows the ratings of bystanders' attitudes toward intervention about whether or not they have relevant knowledge and experience, with the horizontal coordinate being whether or not they are involved in a security and crime science major, 1 representing involvement in a security and crime science major, and 2 representing a security and crime science major that is not involved. As can be seen from the box-and-line plots, there is a difference between bystanders' attitudes and

their relevant knowledge and experience: the box-and-line plots for those with relevant experience are higher than those without, suggesting that attitudes of professions involved in security and crime sciences are more inclined to intervene in the face of violent crime scenarios than those that are not involved in security and crime sciences. Similarly, there are some outliers worth noting, with values below -2. These outliers may represent the more extreme case of the two (no intervention).

Subsequently, a correlation analysis was conducted between bystander intervention attitudes and their professional experience in related fields. As presented in Table 4, the Spearman correlation coefficient between "Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene" and "SCS" (which stands for involvement in security and crime science professions) is -0.1246. This indicates a negative correlation between them, suggesting that professionals in security and crime science-related fields are more likely to support intervention. With a P-value of 0.0075, this correlation is statistically significant. The Pearson correlation coefficient between "Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene" and "SCS" is -0.1297, also indicating a negative correlation and implying that professionals in security and crime science-related fields are more inclined to support intervention. With a P-value of 0.0054, this relationship is again statistically significant. Thus, H3 is supported.

	Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	SCS
Attitude Rating Towards a Crime Scene	1.0000	-0.1246
P-value	0.0000	0.0075
SCS	-0.1297	1.0000
P-value	0.0054	0.0000

Table 4 Correlation matrix between bystander attitudes and relevant professional experience when confronted with violent crime scenarios

To explore the study in greater detail, Hypothesis 4: "As the lethality of weapon increases, the likelihood of direct intervention decreases" was tested. Figure 8 displays the average scores for direct and indirect interventions

by bystanders in four different street robbery scenarios. The x-axis represents four street robbery scenarios with varying degrees of danger, and from left to right, shows increasingly lethal weapons ("now_mean" corresponds to "unarmed street robbery"; "bwo_mean" corresponds to "bat-wielding robbery"; "kwo_mean" corresponds to "knife-wielding robbery"; "gwo_mean" corresponds to "gun-wielding robbery").

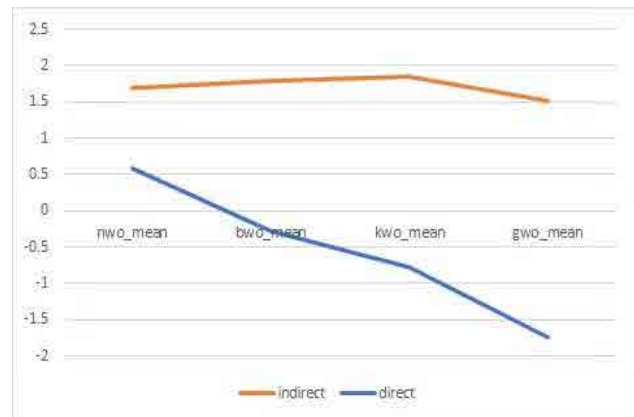


Figure 8 Line graph of the likelihood of people intervening as weapons become more lethal

From the figure, it can be seen that the blue line representing direct intervention shows a consistent downward trend. This suggests that generally speaking, as the weapon becomes more lethal, the likelihood of direct intervention decreases, confirming H4. Additionally, the orange line representing indirect intervention shows a slight upward trend from unarmed robbery to knife-wielding robbery, before turning downward at gun-wielding robbery. This suggests that the likelihood of indirect intervention increases from unarmed robbery to knife-wielding robbery but decreases in the scenario of gun-wielding robbery.

Similarly, to validate the Hypothesis 5: "As the number of people fighting increases, people are more inclined to intervene indirectly", Figure 9 displays the average scores for both direct and indirect interventions by bystanders across four distinct street assault scenarios. The x-axis signifies the number of individuals involved in the fight, progressing from left to right, indicating

an increasing number of assailants: 1 represents a fight involving two people; 2 denotes a small group (about 3 people) assaulting one person; 3 signifies a large group (approximately 7 people) attacking one person; and 4 represents two groups clashing (consisting of at least ten individuals).

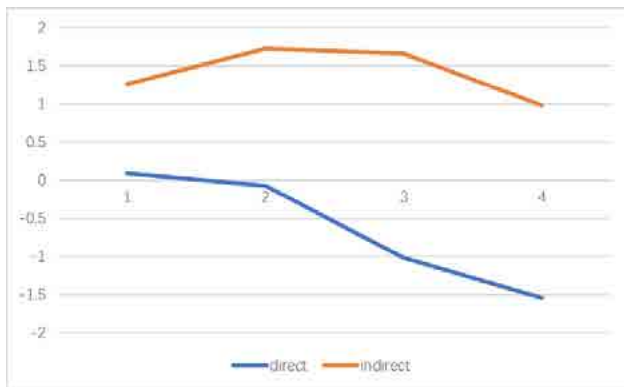


Figure 9 Line graph of the likelihood of intervention as the number of fighters increases

From the graph, it's evident that the trend line in blue, which represents direct interventions, continuously declines. This indicates that as the number of people fighting increases, the likelihood of people intervening directly diminishes. Conversely, the trend line in orange, symbolizing indirect interventions, rises from the scenario with two people fighting to the scenario with a small group against one, but slightly decreases from the small group against one to the two-group clash, with a pronounced decline when faced with two groups clashing. This demonstrates that as the number of individuals involved in street assaults grows, there's some variability in bystanders' indirect interventions. However, the overall trend still leans towards a lower propensity to intervene, especially in the two most dangerous crime scenarios, where the tendency is notably downwards. Importantly, regardless of how many people are fighting, scores for indirect intervention consistently exceed those for direct intervention, indicating a persistent preference for indirect intervention. Consequently, H5 is confirmed.

To delve deeper into potential variables, such as

examining if respondents' choices for intervening in the two most dangerous crime scenarios are consistent, a comparison of average values was conducted for the two most perilous intervention variables and one least perilous intervention variable to verify H6-H7. The rationale for this analysis is as follows: Taking direct intervention as an example, based on previous scores, respondents were divided into two groups: those scoring above 0 are considered "interveners" while those scoring below 0 is termed "non-interveners". Subsequently, "interveners" ("if gwod>0") and "non-interveners" ("if gwod<0") from the gun robbery scenario (the most dangerous scene in the first questionnaire) were identified. Their attitudes in the scenario where two groups fight (the most dangerous scenario in the second questionnaire) were observed. If the average score of the interveners is greater than zero and still surpasses that of non-interveners, it indicates that interveners would still likely intervene directly in the new scenario. The same logic applies to indirect interventions. For both direct and indirect interventions, scores above 0 represent attitudes of "possible intervention", "very likely intervention", or "extreme intervention". Therefore, all should be regarded as "interveners".

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
A.groupfod (if gwod>0)	63	0.190476	1.982644	-3	3
B.groupfod (if gwod<0)	345	-2.02319	1.378631	-3	3
C.groupfoi (if gwoi>0)	352	1.451705	1.71899	-3	3
D.groupfoi (if gwod<0)	72	-0.93056	1.930674	-3	3

Table 5. Ratings of whether bystanders who intervene in gun robberies would also intervene in scenarios of two groups fighting

Table 5 presents the differences between the two most dangerous scenarios in the two types of crimes (gun robbery and group clash). Within the table, variables A and B represent the respondents who intervened during a gun robbery "(if gwod>0)" and those who did not intervene "(if gwod<0)", respectively. At this time, it is assumed that these respondents have respective scores for their attitudes towards direct intervention when facing two groups of people fighting "groupfod (if gwod>0) "

and "groupfod (if gwod<0)". Similarly, variables C and D represent the same two scenarios as A and B but focus on indirect interventions.

Thus, the results from Table 5 show that bystanders who directly intervene in a gun robbery scenario have an average score of 0.190 for also choosing to directly intervene in a scenario with two groups fighting. However, if they did not intervene in the gun robbery, their average score for directly intervening in the group clash drops to -2.023. This suggests that those who might directly intervene in a gun robbery scenario might also directly intervene when two groups are fighting ($0.190 > 0 > -2.023$). Similarly, for those who opt for indirect intervention during a gun robbery, their average score for choosing indirect intervention in a group clash scenario is 1.451. If they did not intervene in the gun robbery, the average score drops to -0.931 for indirect intervention in a group clash. This indicates that bystanders likely to indirectly intervene in a gun robbery scenario might also do so when two groups are clashing ($1.451 > 0 > -0.931$). Overall, the results for both direct and indirect interventions align, confirming H6.

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
E.groupfod (if nwod>0)	265	-1.316981	1.766024	-3	3
F.groupfod (if nwod<0)	130	-1.992308	1.542655	-3	3
G.groupfoi (if nwoi>0)	385	1.166234	1.871776	-3	3
H.groupfoi (if nwoi<0)	45	0.3111111	2.17237	-3	3

Table 6 Ratings of whether bystanders who intervene in unarmed robberies would also intervene in scenarios of two groups fighting

Table 6 presents the differences between the least dangerous scenario in the two types of crimes (unarmed robbery) and the most dangerous scenario (two groups clashing). Essentially, in Table 6, the "gun robbery" scenario in Table 5 is replaced with "unarmed robbery" to better analyze the differences and address the research questions. Within the table, variables E and F represent the respondents who intervened during an unarmed street robbery "(if nwod>0)" and those who did not intervene "(if nwod<0)", respectively. At this point, it is

assumed that these respondents have respective scores for their attitudes towards direct intervention when facing two individuals fighting "groupfod (if nwod>0)" and "groupfod (if nwod<0)". Variables G and H respectively represent the indirect interventions for the aforementioned scenarios.

The results from Table 6 show that for bystanders who directly intervene in an unarmed robbery scenario, the average score for also choosing to directly intervene in a scenario with two groups fighting is -1.317. However, for those who did not intervene in the unarmed robbery, their average score for directly intervening in the group clash drops to -1.992. This suggests that if bystanders are likely to directly intervene in an unarmed robbery, they lean towards not intervening in the more dangerous scenario of two groups clashing, even though the average score of the original "interveners" in the more dangerous scenario is still higher than that of the original "non-interveners" ($-1.992 < -1.317 < 0$). However, results for indirect interventions show a contrasting trend: Bystanders who chose to indirectly intervene during an unarmed robbery have an average score of 1.166 for choosing indirect intervention when two groups are fighting. For those who did not intervene in the unarmed robbery, the average score for indirect intervention in the group clash is 0.311. This suggests that if bystanders likely indirectly intervene in an unarmed robbery, they might also indirectly intervene when two groups are clashing ($1.166 > 0.311 > 0$). Interestingly, the average score of the variable "H.groupfoi (if nwoi<0)" is greater than 0, indicating that bystanders who chose not to intervene in the unarmed robbery are inclined to intervene when faced with the relatively more dangerous scenario of two groups fighting ($0.311 > 0$), but this inclination is restricted to indirect interventions. Overall, H7 holds true for direct interventions. However, for indirect interventions, one should take note of the observed differences in outcomes.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

Although the results of the aforementioned study have

yielded preliminary effects, there are still some limitations and deficiencies in the methodology and measurements of this research. This section will explain and analyze the research results and explore these limitations based on this foundation.

Firstly, in terms of questionnaire design, the limitations of convenience sampling are still evident. As pointed out by Henry, this could lead to issues of uneven distribution between the sample and the general population.^[68] While the gender distribution in this study is balanced, there is a bias in the age groups, specifically, the elderly are the least represented (accounting for less than one-fifth of the sample). Therefore, the study cannot be applied across all age groups of bystanders. Fortunately, based on a review of previous literature, this study focuses on the contrast between "young people" and "older individuals", without targeting specific age groups, which to some extent mitigates the potential biases introduced by convenience sampling.

Setting aside this limitation, the study still showed promising results: The attitudes of bystanders towards intervention were significantly related to their age, gender, and whether they had relevant knowledge or experience. Both Hypotheses 2 and 3 were confirmed; namely, men and those with expertise in safety and criminology were more likely to intervene in violent crimes. This is consistent with the findings of Fischer et al. and Latané and Darley. This could be because men, compared to women, generally have a lower fear of crime or greater self-efficacy, making them more likely to intervene. However, it is important to note the outliers in this study, as some men scored lower than the lower whisker, indicating they were extremely unlikely to intervene in instances of street violence. This might be due to differences in the types of crimes, as Fox et al. suggested that personal assaults have a more pronounced impact on men's fear of crime.^[69] Therefore, future research could benefit from a more comprehensive discussion, including setting up scenarios that account for different types of

crimes to minimize the impact of outliers.

Additionally, bystanders with relevant knowledge and experience, such as those specializing in safety and criminology, are more likely to possess an extensive knowledge base compared to others. This equips them to react more quickly and with greater confidence in handling urgent situations like street violence. Their extensive experience may also have desensitized them to the fear of crime, making them more likely to intervene. This was similarly observed in the study by Banyard et al.^[70] However, despite pre-testing the questionnaire, the study overlooked the need to provide an explicit definition for "specializing in security and crime science," which may have led to varying interpretations among participants. This could introduce a possible bias in validating Hypothesis 3, which states that "bystanders engaged in security and crime science professions are more likely to intervene in violent crimes," affecting the validity of exploring the link between bystander intervention and their relevant knowledge and experience.

Furthermore, although the study results showed that young and older bystanders have different attitudes towards intervention, the validation for Hypothesis 1 contradicted the study's initial assumption: that older individuals are more likely to intervene. This could be due to modern young people's higher dependency on technology, exposing them to a higher volume of violent crimes reported online, which in a sense "desensitizes" them to the fear of crime,^[71] and hence, makes them less likely to intervene. Future research could consider crime sensitivity by investigating the personal experiences of victims and their understanding of violent crimes, to better examine the fear of crime as a factor influencing bystander intervention. Another oversight in the study was the neglect to consider individual past experiences with crime, which has been proven to deeply affect one's fear of crime.^[72, 73] Lastly, when investigating participants' personal experiences, ethical considerations should be made, as well as considerations for cultural and

neighborhood differences, as these factors could influence people's perception of the fear of crime, even if they have direct or indirect experience with criminal activities.^[74]

In summary, this study elicited a range of intervention responses from bystanders by presenting crime scenarios of varying degrees of danger. These varied responses effectively illustrate how different factors in crime scenes influence the willingness of bystanders to intervene. They also demonstrate a range of reactions produced by the interplay between the fear of crime and the perceived level of danger in the scenarios. This is particularly evident in the validation of Hypotheses 4 and 5, which indicate that as weapons become more lethal or the number of people fighting increases, people's willingness to intervene either gradually decreases or shifts toward safer modes of intervention (indirect intervention). This is because, when controlling for other variables, the increase in weapon lethality and the number of fighters intensifies people's sense of danger, thereby affecting their willingness to intervene. The fear of crime is reflected both in the presented scenarios and in the chosen methods of intervention.

Furthermore, each scenario explored various modes of intervention in detail, allowing for shifts in people's choices between direct and indirect interventions. These choices reflect a range of responses to dangerous situations, showcasing how the fear of crime manifests through different forms of intervention. These responses are detailed through a seven-point Likert scale, collectively illustrating how bystander attitudes toward intervention change across a range of scenarios. This accurately reflects that the fear of crime can serve as one of the factors influencing bystander intervention. Moreover, the examination of Hypotheses 6 and 7 shows that when bystanders intervene in one high-risk crime scenario, they are also likely to intervene in another high-risk scenario, whether through direct or indirect means. This indicates a consistent level of fear and, thus, a consistent willingness to intervene when crime scenarios

are of similar risk levels. By the same logic, if bystanders intervene in a low-risk crime scenario, they are generally unlikely to intervene in a higher-risk scenario, although subtle differences emerge for indirect intervention. This is because indirect intervention has a broader capacity for risk tolerance compared to direct intervention. Hence, for riskier scenarios, the overall willingness to intervene among bystanders is reduced. However, there are potential inaccuracies in comparing street robbery and assault, two different types of crimes. Future research can explore various types of street crimes more broadly to eliminate potential biases.

These findings are also reflected in the research by Palmer et al., which delves into the effects of direct and indirect intervention on crime prevention from various perspectives.^[75] One limitation, however, is that the survey attempted to use images to display different crime scenarios to elicit quicker and more authentic intervention decisions from participants. Although efforts were made to control potential variables in each image, such as day and night environmental factors and the same street setting, subtle differences in street scenarios still exist. As mentioned earlier, "street" implies a public space, but streets in different public settings might produce different effects.^[76] For instance, a street near a store is more likely to have a police presence compared to a street adjacent to a park, which may alleviate bystanders' fear of crime and make them more inclined to intervene.

Finally, the additional questions in the third part of the survey also showed consistent results. As shown in Figure 10, after completing all the aforementioned questions, participants evaluated the factors influencing their attitudes toward intervention. A majority of people (78%) considered capability as the main factor they take into account when facing intervention decisions, followed by a fear of violent crime (64%). This aligns with the literature reviewed earlier, suggesting that scenarios involving higher levels of criminal danger are more likely to induce fear in bystanders, prompting them to reassess

their capabilities and make decisions about intervening in criminal activities.^[77] Additionally, open-ended questions in the survey indicated that the vast majority of participants felt that the prompt arrival of law enforcement could alleviate their fear of crime.

Therefore, policymakers in crime prevention should be aware that, on one hand, bystanders can act as "capable guardians" to prevent or interrupt criminal activities, but should first acknowledge the impact of the level of danger in a criminal situation on bystander fear. That is, greater emphasis should be placed on the essential impact that fear of crime has on bystanders, rather than only considering the level of danger as a sufficient reason for bystander intervention.^[78] Furthermore, focus should also be given to how fear can affect their judgment of their capabilities. On the other hand, rapid responses to bystander intervention activities should be made, or post-event rewards should be given, to reduce the fear bystanders have when facing violent crimes, thereby boosting their confidence and perception of their capabilities for intervention.

Reference

A. Articles/Books/Reports/News

- [1] Aebi, M. F., Caneppele, S., Harrendorf, S., et al., 2021. European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics – 2021. Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- [2] Allen, G., Audickas, L., Loft, P., et al., 2018. Knife crime in England and Wales. London: House of Commons Library.
- [3] Anderson, E., 2000. Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city. WW Norton & Company.
- [4] Armitage, R. and Ekblom, P., 2019. Rebuilding crime prevention through environmental design: Strengthening the links with crime science. Routledge.
- [5] Arnd-Caddigan, M., 2015. Sherry Turkle: Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other. Basic Books, New York.
- [6] Bandura, A., Freeman, W. H. and Lightsey, R., 1999. Self-efficacy: The exercise of control. Springer.
- [7] Banyard, V. L., Moynihan, M. M. and Plante, E. G., 2007. Sexual violence prevention through bystander education: An experimental evaluation. *Journal of Community Psychology*, vol.35(4): 463–481.
- [8] Batterton, K. A. and Hale, K. N., 2017. The Likert scale what it is and how to use it. *Phalanx*, vol.50(2): 32–39.
- [9] Bennett, T. and Brookman, F., 2010. Street robbery. In: *The Handbook on Crime*. Devon: Willan.
- [10] Bernasco, W., Ruiter, S., Bruinsma, G. J., et al., 2013. Situational causes of offending: A fixed-effects analysis of space-time budget data. *Criminology*, vol.51(4): 895–926.
- [11] Christy, C. A. and Voigt, H., 1994. Bystander Responses to Public Episodes of Child Abuse. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, vol.24(9): 824–847. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1994.tb00614.x>
- [12] Clark, R. D. and Word, L. E., 1972. Why don't bystanders help? Because of ambiguity? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol.24(3): 392.
- [13] Clarke, R. V. G., 1992. Situational crime prevention: Successful case studies.
- [14] Clutter, J. E., Henderson, S. and Haberman, C. P., 2019. The impact of business improvement district proximity on street block robbery counts. *Crime & Delinquency*, vol.65(8): 1050–1075.
- [15] Cockbain, E. and Laycock, G., 2017. Crime science. In: *Oxford research encyclopedia of criminology and criminal justice*.
- [16] Cohen, L. E. and Felson, M., 1979. Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach. *American Sociological Review*, vol.44(4): 588–608. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094589>
- [17] Cook, K., 2014. *Kitty Genovese: The murder, the bystanders, the crime that changed America*. WW Norton & Company.
- [18] Crime Rate, 2023. Crime and safety in City of London. viewed August 17, 2023, <https://crimerate.co.uk/london/city-of-london>
- [19] Darley, J. M. and Latané, B., 1968. Bystander intervention in emergencies: Diffusion of responsibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol.8(4p1): 377.
- [20] Doeksen, H., 1997. Reducing crime and the fear of crime by reclaiming New Zealand's suburban street. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, vol.39(2–3): 243–252.
- [21] Farrington, D. P. and Loeber, R., 2000. Epidemiology of juvenile violence. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics*

- of North America, vol.9(4): 733–748.
- [22]Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018. Violent crime. viewed 2018, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/violent-crime>
- [23]Felson, M., 1995. Those who discourage crime. *Crime and Place*, vol.4(3): 53–66.
- [24]Felson, M., 2017. Linking criminal choices, routine activities, informal control, and criminal outcomes. In: *The reasoning criminal*. Routledge, 119–128.
- [25]Felson, R. B. and Paré, P.-P., 2005. The reporting of domestic violence and sexual assault by nonstrangers to the police. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol.67(3): 597–610.
- [26]Fischer, P., Krueger, J. I., Greitemeyer, T., et al., 2011. The bystander-effect: A meta-analytic review on bystander intervention in dangerous and non-dangerous emergencies. *Psychological Bulletin*, vol.137(4): 517–537. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023304>
- [27]Fox, K. A., Nobles, M. R. and Piquero, A. R., 2009. Gender, crime victimization and fear of crime. *Security Journal*, vol.22: 24–39.
- [28]Gale, J.-A. and Coupe, T., 2005. The behavioural, emotional and psychological effects of street robbery on victims. *International Review of Victimology*, vol.12(1): 1–22.
- [29]Galesic, M. and Bosnjak, M., 2009. Effects of questionnaire length on participation and indicators of response quality in a web survey. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol.73(2): 349–360.
- [30]Harari, H., Harari, O. and White, R. V., 1985. The Reaction to Rape by American Male Bystanders. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, vol.125(5): 653–658. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1985.9712039>
- [31]Hart, T. C. and Rennison, C. M., 2003. Reporting crime to the police, 1992-2000. US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Washington, DC.
- [32]Hattis, S. H., 2020. Crime in the United States 2020. Bernal Press.
- [33]Haynie, D. L., 1998. The gender gap in fear of crime, 1973-1994: A methodological approach. *Criminal Justice Review*, vol.23(1): 29–50.
- [34]Henry, G. T., 1990. Practical sampling. SAGE.
- [35]Hindelang, M. J., Gottfredson, M. R. and Garofalo, J., 1978. Victims of personal crime: An empirical foundation for a theory of personal victimization. Ballinger Cambridge, MA.
- [36]Jacobs, J., 1992. The death and life of great American cities. Vintage, New York, 321–325.
- [37]Janssen, H. J., Weerman, F. M. and Eichelsheim, V. I., 2017. Parenting as a protective factor against criminogenic settings? Interaction effects between three aspects of parenting and unstructured socializing in disordered areas. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol.54(2): 181–207.
- [38]Jenkins, L. N., Fredrick, S. S. and Nickerson, A., 2018. The assessment of bystander intervention in bullying: Examining measurement invariance across gender. *Journal of School Psychology*, vol.69: 73–83.
- [39]Jenkins, L. N. and Nickerson, A. B., 2019. Bystander intervention in bullying: Role of social skills and gender. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, vol.39(2): 141–166.
- [40]Kaufman, K. L., Mosher, M., Carter, H., et al., 2006. An empirically based situational prevention model for child sexual abuse. *Crime Prevention Studies*, vol.19: 101.
- [41]Kelling, G. L. and Wilson, J. Q., 1982. Broken windows. *Atlantic Monthly*, vol.249(3): 29–38.
- [42]Killias, M., 1990. Vulnerability: Towards a better understanding of a key variable in the genesis of fear of crime. *Violence and Victims*, vol.5(2): 97–108.
- [43]Krosnick, J. A., 2018. Questionnaire design. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Survey Research*, 439–455.
- [44]LaGrange, R. L. and Ferraro, K. F., 1989. Assessing age and gender differences in perceived risk and fear of crime. *Criminology*, vol.27(4): 697–720.
- [45]Laner, M. R., Benin, M. H. and Ventrone, N. A., 2001. Bystander attitudes toward victims of violence: Who's worth helping? *Deviant Behavior*, vol.22(1): 23–42.
- [46]Latane, B. and Darley, J. M., 1968. Group inhibition of bystander intervention in emergencies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol.10(3): 215.
- [47]Latané, B. and Darley, J. M., 1969. Bystander" apathy". *American Scientist*, vol.57(2): 244–268.
- [48]Latané, B. and Darley, J. M., 1970. The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help?
- [49]Levine, M., 1999. Rethinking bystander nonintervention: Social categorization and the evidence of witnesses at the James Bulger murder trial. *Human Relations*, vol.52: 1133–1155.
- [50]Levine, M., Cassidy, C., Brazier, G., et al., 2002. Self-categorization and bystander non-intervention: Two

- experimental studies 1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, vol.32(7): 1452–1463.
- [51] Levine, M. and Crowther, S., 2008. The responsive bystander: How social group membership and group size can encourage as well as inhibit bystander intervention. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol.95(6): 1429.
- [52] Maimon, D. and Browning, C. R., 2010. Unstructured socializing, collective efficacy, and violent behavior among urban youth. *Criminology*, vol.48(2): 443–474.
- [53] Manning, R., Levine, M. and Collins, A., 2007. The Kitty Genovese murder and the social psychology of helping: The parable of the 38 witnesses. *American Psychologist*, vol.62(6): 555.
- [54] McKillop, N., Brown, S., Wortley, R., et al., 2015. How victim age affects the context and timing of child sexual abuse: Applying the routine activities approach to the first sexual abuse incident. *Crime Science*, vol.4(1): 17.
- [55] McNeeley, S. and Wilcox, P., 2015. Street codes, routine activities, neighbourhood context and victimization. *British Journal of Criminology*, vol.55(5): Article 5.
- [56] Miller, J., 2013. Individual offending, routine activities, and activity settings: Revisiting the routine activity theory of general deviance. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol.50(3): 390–416.
- [57] Mustaine, E. E. and Tewksbury, R., 2000. Comparing the lifestyles of victims, offenders, and victim-offenders: A routine activity theory assessment of similarities and differences for criminal incident participants. *Sociological Focus*, vol.33(3): 339–362.
- [58] Palmer, J. E., Nicksa, S. C. and McMahon, S., 2018. Does who you know affect how you act? The impact of relationships on bystander intervention in interpersonal violence situations. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol.33(17): 2623–2642.
- [59] Piliavin, I. M., Rodin, J. and Piliavin, J. A., 1969. Good samaritanism: An underground phenomenon? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol.13(4): Article 4.
- [60] Piquero, A. R., Intravia, J., Stewart, E., et al., 2012. Investigating the determinants of the street code and its relation to offending among adults. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol.37: 19–32.
- [61] Piza, E. L. and Kennedy, D., 2003. Transit stops, robbery, and routine activities: Examining street robbery in the Newark, NJ subway environment. *Crime Mapping*.
- [62] Rader, N. E., Cossman, J. S. and Porter, J. R., 2012. Fear of crime and vulnerability: Using a national sample of Americans to examine two competing paradigms. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol.40(2): 134–141.
- [63] Reid, L. W. and Konrad, M., 2004. The gender gap in fear: Assessing the interactive effects of gender and perceived risk on fear of crime. *Sociological Spectrum*, vol.24(4): 399–425.
- [64] Reynald, D. M., 2010. Guardians on guardianship: Factors affecting the willingness to supervise, the ability to detect potential offenders, and the willingness to intervene. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol.47(3): 358–390.
- [65] Rose, G., 2022. Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials. *Visual Methodologies*, 1–100.
- [66] Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W. and Earls, F., 1997. Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, vol.277(5328): 918–924.
- [67] Siegel, L. J., 2015. *Criminology: Theories, patterns, and typologies*. Cengage Learning.
- [68] Siegel, L. J. and Welsh, B. C., 2016. *Juvenile delinquency: The core*. Cengage Learning.
- [69] Skogan, W. G., 2017. The impact of victimization on fear. In: *The Fear of Crime*. Routledge, 129–148.
- [70] Smith, C. and Allen, J., 2004. *Violent crime in England and Wales*. Home Office London.
- [71] Steffensmeier, D. and Allan, E., 1996. Gender and crime: Toward a gendered theory of female offending. *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol.22(1): 459–487.
- [72] Stratton, S. J., 2021. Population research: Convenience sampling strategies. *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*, vol.36(4): 373–374.
- [73] Welsh, B. C. and Farrington, D. P., 2009. Public area CCTV and crime prevention: An updated systematic review and meta-analysis. *Justice Quarterly*, vol.26(4): 716–745.
- [74] Wright, K. B., 2005. Researching Internet-based populations: Advantages and disadvantages of online survey research, online questionnaire authoring software packages, and web survey services. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, vol.10(3): JCMC1034.
- [75] Zwi, A. B., Krug, E. G., Mercy, J. A., et al., 2002. The effect of business improvement districts on the incidence of violent crimes. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public*

Health, vol.26(5): Article 5.

B. Legislation/Policy Paper/Rule

[1]Office for National Statistics, 2021. Crime in England and Wales: year ending December 2020. viewed 2021, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingdecember2021#violence>

[2]Office for National Statistics, 2021. Population and household estimates, England and Wales: Census 2021,

unrounded data. viewed 2021, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/populationandhouseholdestimatesenglandandwales/census2021unroundeddata>

[3]Office for National Statistics, 2023. Crime in England and Wales: year ending March 2023. viewed 2023, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2023>