



University of Cape Town School for Advanced Law Studies

**“Bad things happen [be]cause good people do nothing.” A study on
how residents of Athlone and it's suburbs view their roles as
bystanders.**

by

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Abstract

Bystander behaviour in Social psychology and criminology has often been discussed in terms of classic theory (as the bystander effect), bystander intervention for the purpose of crime prevention, situational factors impacting intervention or whether bystanders actually intervene. Other studies have looked at individual motivations for intervention, for example altruism/egoism. This study looks at how bystanders understand intervention and ultimately how they might perceive their roles as bystanders in one community in Cape Town – the broader Athlone area in the Cape Flats. Using a survey (n=60), carried out with both pen and paper and online modes of administration, the study found that bystanders in the Athlone not only often engage in prosocial intervening behaviour, but their view themselves fitting between an altruistic up keeper of social norms and an egoist actively negotiating the risks involved with intervening because there is concern for their own safety. The study also finds that regardless of the controversial position law enforcement and police hold in South Africa, many members of the Athlone community would rely on them when intervention is required.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Bystander intervention, which is the tendency for individuals witnessing a crime, emergency or any event that requires intervention, to abstain from intervening if there are other passive onlookers present (Urschler, Fischer, Kastenmüller and Fischer, 2015), has been understood primarily through a social psychology framework and has typically seen research into the reasons that people fail to intervene in emergencies.

Research into bystander intervention began in 1964, in response to Kitty Genovese's rape and murdered in the presence of 38 bystanders, none of whom intervened (Huston et al, 1981; Schwartz and Gottlieb, 1976). The severity of the incident inspired initial studies by social psychologists focusing primarily on what was initially termed the bystander effect and extended into understanding the diffusion of responsibility by Latané and Darley in their 1968 study.

Research has yielded evidence for the inhibitory bystander effect (Fischer et al, 2011), theorising why individuals feel more responsible for their actions carried out alone compared to in a group or in the presence of others (Feldman and Rosen, 1978). Bystander intervention has been identified as a solution to complex social problems such as bullying, sexual misconduct or harassment in the workplace (Swan, 2015). There has also been a recognition of the potential bystanders have in the public health sphere, which in turn increased interest in promoting bystander interventions (Burn, 2017).

Although most people respond positively when asked if they would help when needed (Hortensuis & de Gelder, 2018), past research has concluded that an increase in the number of witnesses would decrease the likelihood of intervention (Urschler et al., 2015). The extensive research into why people do not intervene and the factors influencing intervention (Urschler et al., 2012) has given way to a new interpretation of bystanders and the role they can play during emergencies/crime. For example, the UNDP (2021) speaking specifically to violence notes that bystanders may take up three roles namely as primary prevention before violence occurs, secondary

prevention as immediate responders and tertiary prevention as emotional support and educators stimulating conversations on bystanderism in communities. Further bystander research in recent literature has portrayed bystanders as much more active during emergencies/crimes, and as having more agency (e.g. Philpot et al., 2019; Lindegaard et al., 2021) i.e., that their behaviour is not solely based on things such as the number of bystanders or if there are personal implications when intervening. The current view of bystanders/bystander intervention is much more nuanced, considering factors such as bystanders' norms and beliefs (Zhong, 2009), prior victimisation and its effect on intervention (Wilbrink, 2019) or even flipping the perspective by questioning how bystanders affect the behaviours of offenders (Shayea, 2017).

Despite the fact that a substantial body of literature exists in psychology, criminology and public health on bystanders and their behaviour, little work has been done on the topic in South Africa.

Although there are early intervention programmes, victim support programmes and crime prevention programmes offered by organisations such as Safer Spaces South Africa, a search on bystander intervention, and bystander intervention programmes specifically in South Africa turns out fruitless. Given the high crime rates in South Africa, it is difficult to understand the lack of research on the topic, as bystanders may, as mentioned above, be used as a means of crime prevention or prevention of social issues (violence, theft, sexual assault etc) in general. Knowing how bystander behaviour can be used in South Africa would then be beneficial, thus the current study seeks to engage the topic by discovering how bystanders of a Cape Town community view their roles as bystanders.

Using a survey (n=60), this study therefore sought to examine bystander intervention in one community in Cape Town, Western Cape, and aimed to understand how people view their role as bystanders and in would respond in a situation in which intervention is required. The findings show that although various factors such as level of danger, type of crime or gender of participant affects one's willingness to

intervene most participants reported they would intervene, however some participants indicated it would be dependent on factors such as those mentioned above. Most participants had witnessed others in their neighbourhood helping during a crime which further indicates that participants in this study believed helping behaviour is prevalent in their community. Most participants were confident that their actions could help stop crime and that they are in fact capable of intervening when necessary.

Participants agreed that calling the police, cooperating with the police and expressing concern for victims of crime were the most appropriate means of intervention. The findings further indicate that participants would typically opt for passive means of intervention (such as calling the police, helping the victim get help or support or saying something, but not necessarily intervening) over direct confrontation or active means, which is expressed and supported by participants' reliance on the police or other law enforcement, thus participants preferred passive intervention over active. The study found that people believe that intervention could decrease crime in their neighbourhoods. However, there was a substantial amount of participants who opted for direct intervention, suggesting that participants would intervene directly if necessary or deemed appropriate. A surprising finding is that most people reported that they have heard about bystander intervention and understood what it meant. The study shows that the respondents to this survey not only believed that someone should offer to help them if they were victimized, but also that people should be required to intervene if they witnessed a crime.

Structure of the dissertation

The structure of the dissertation is as follows; Chapter 2 discusses past and present literature on bystander behaviour describing the development of research on bystander behaviour starting at 1968 with, for example the bystander effect, Latané and Darley's five step model tracking the development of the topic to current studies focusing on bystander behaviour in different terms (e.g., how aggression affects the likelihood of intervention, the frequency at which intervention actually occurs and whether it contradicts past research etc.)

Chapter 3 sets out the Methodology used in the dissertation. This chapter sets out the survey method used (with two modes of administration i.e., pen and paper and online), the research site comprising of Athlone and its constituent neighbourhoods, ethics as well as practical considerations and limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 presents the results obtained, offering visual representations such as graphs, pie charts and tables.

Chapter 5 offers a discussion of the results obtained, covering explanations for the results and conclusions that can be made from them. This chapter contains the conclusion and recommendations sub-heading as well.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Distinguishing the bystander effect from bystander intervention

Two concepts are often misunderstood as interchangeable: the bystander effect and bystander intervention. The bystander effect is the phenomenon in which the likelihood of an individual offering assistance decreases when in the presence of passive bystanders. (Fischer et al, 2011). Hudson & Bruckman (2004) note, however, that this does not necessarily mean people are primarily apathetic or that they fear reprisal, it merely indicates that the presence of witnesses inhibits people from acting in an emergency.

Bystander intervention, on the other hand, is defined as a form of prosocial behaviour in which individuals, or onlookers, engage in an emergency by either offering direct aid, confronting or distracting aggressors, defending victims, calling the police, alerting authorities or calling for medical or emergency response (Burn, 2017). Bystanders may intervene alone or in groups where necessary (Burn, 2017).

Therefore, while the bystander effect focuses on the tendency for people to be less likely to intervene in emergencies, bystander intervention doesn't assess the likelihood of intervention, but examines the act or process of intervening. This dissertation is interested in the latter – intervention.

Research into the bystander effect: early theory

Some of the earliest theories of the bystander effect was the arousal-cost-reward model (Palivian & Rodin, 1968; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). According to this model, individuals witnessing a criminal act or deviant behaviour experience psychological arousal such as distress or fear proportional to the level of danger that they witness (Palivian & Rodin, 1968; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). The model explained the decision-making process individuals undergo while witnessing an emergency, and how individuals weigh the risk, cost and reward of helping (Brewster & Tucker, 2015). The model offered evidence that the higher the level of arousal in an emergency, the more likely bystanders are to offer assistance which subsequently suppresses the bystander effect (Brewster & Tucker, 2015) and that the seriousness of an emergency could override the effect

the presence of others have on helping behaviour (Fischer, Greitemeyer, Pollozek, & Frey, 2006 cited in Brewster & Tucker, 2015). Therefore, an emergency perceived as dangerous or serious may cause higher levels of arousal, in turn compelling individuals to help regardless of the presence of others (Brewster and Tucker, 2015).

Latané & Darley (1968), Latané & Rodin (1969) and Latané & Nida (1981) conducted experiments on the absence of intervention in the presence of a group of people aiming to discern the reason people were less likely to help an individual in distress while there were crowds of people around. They identified a three-phase process that individuals go through when faced with the need for intervention: audience inhibition, social influence and finally the diffusion of responsibility. The diffusion of responsibility made people less likely to intervene when witnessing a crime or distressing situation (Latané & Darley, 1968; Latané & Rodin, 1969 & Latané & Nida, 1981). These studies catalysed further research in bystander behaviour that both supported and opposed their conclusions. Research into the situational factors that influence helping behaviour found that the bystander effect was more likely to occur if individuals did not feel solely responsible for the outcome of the event (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Tilker, 1970 cited in Brewster & Tucker, 2015). Some studies concluded that the bystander effect was more prevalent in cities as compared to rural areas (Gross, 1994; Latané & Nida, 1981; Merrens, 1973 cited in Brewster & Tucker, 2015).

Gender as a situational factor shaped intervention, as males were more likely to intervene when the victim is female (Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Feinman, 1978). Compared to males, females would receive also help more frequently than male victims (Benson, Karabenick, & Learner, 1976; Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Howard & Crano, 1974). Further, it was found that where an individual had larger physical stature, more physical strength, more aggressiveness (Huston, Ruggiero, Conner, & Geis, 1981; Laner et al., 2001 cited in Brewster & Tucker, 2015) and past training in life saving skills, they were more likely to intervene.

Schwartz & Gottlieb (1976) identified 'the reverse bystander effect' which highlighted that people were more likely to intervene where they perceived an increase in the level of danger involved in an emergency (Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1976). This concept shows that bystanders may not always be influenced by crowds when witnessing a crime, but rather they can

recognise the need for intervention given the urgency of the situation. With exception to the reverse bystander effect, Van Bommel et al. (2012) suggests that past research on the bystander effect suggests that researchers may have focused too much on the negative effect the presence of crowds has on helping, neglecting the potential of bystanders during emergencies. The above studies are invaluable to research into bystander behaviour, however, the trend towards negative aspects of bystander behaviour exhibited the need to explore non-inhibiting or positive effects bystanders may have under particular conditions (Van Bommel et al, 2012) i.e., how bystanders might benefit victims or deter crime.

Bystander intervention in bullying and digital communication

Research has also been expanded to examine the actions of peer bystanders in episodes of bullying, particularly among students (Jenkins & Nickerson, 2017; Denny et al, 2014). Jenkins & Nickerson's 2017 work, described a five-stage model consisting of noticing the event, interpreting it as an emergency, accepting the responsibility to intervene, knowing how to intervene and implementing intervention decisions. Jenkins & Nickerson (2017) also examined the association between factors such as gender, social skills and the five-stage bystander model among sixth to eighth grade children and concluded that girls reported greater cooperation and empathy during episodes of bullying. Girls also noticed bullying, interpreted it as emergencies and intervened more frequently than boys. Students with higher levels of empathy were more likely to follow each stage of the model, bypassing the first stage (noticing the event), and moving to accepting the situation as an emergency, knowing how to intervene and intervening (Jenkins & Nickerson, 2017). In the same vein, Denny et al. (2014) found that a variety of factors are associated with an increased likelihood for students to intervene including being female, having a high self-efficacy, being younger, being close to the victim, lacking closeness to the bully and having no experience being a bully or being bullied. They also highlighted the importance of the role of teachers and staff in encouraging students to prevent bullying by developing their empathy, problem solving skills and promoting positive relationships between peers (Denny et al., 2014).

Bystander intervention theory has also been applied to cyberbullying.¹ Using Latané and Darley's (1970) findings indicating that the number of bystanders directly affected the chance of assistance being offered, Markey (2000) conducted a study on the relationship between the response time for intervention with 1) the gender of the individual in need of assistance, 2) the number of bystanders present and 3) whether help was requested from a specific person, by name. The study found that the higher the number of people in an online environment, the longer it takes for victims to receive help. Further, individuals are more likely to receive help if they asked for help from a specific person by name. Markey's (2000) study demonstrated that bystander behaviour follows the same patterns in online environments as in non-computer mediated environments.

Bowers (2014) focused on bystander behaviour and communication habits in cyberbullying encounters. Using Latané & Darley's (1969) bystander apathy theory Bowers sought to determine the process individuals experience when witnessing cyberbullying and the reasons for intervention or non-intervention. The study found that participants chose not to intervene due "pluralistic ignorance" (Bowers, 2014, p. 35), which are reactions based on the behaviours present at an event which creates a diffusion of responsibility. Participants chose not to intervene when witnessing bullying online because others were present, or did not intervene themselves because others did not. The study yielded anecdotal evidence matching steps in Latané & Darley's (1969) study on bystander apathy. Most participants reported having noticed episodes of cyberbullying on various platforms (Latané & Darley's first step of recognition), but participants either did not interpret the event as an emergency or trivialised the event (second step). Respondents did not feel responsibility when witnessing an instance of cyberbullying (third step), likely because technology and social media complicate cyberbullying intervention (Bowers, 2014). The study highlighted, therefore, that even in online environments, bystanders follow similar patterns proposed by Latané & Darley (1969) although they are not "especially cognizant" of the process outlined by the bystander apathy model (Bowers, 2014, p. 39).

¹ Tokunaga (2010, p. 278) defines cyberbullying as "any behaviour performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others".

The movement towards bystander intervention; Sexual assault, beliefs, norms and identity

Following the empirical evidence indicating there is indeed diffusion of responsibility in groups of people witnessing a crime or a distressing instance (Feldman & Rosen, 1979), scholars took to exploring the situational and social-psychological influences underpinning bystander intervention particularly in risk management (Burn, 2017) and differences and barriers in helping behaviour from individual to individual with regards to training bystanders in sexual assault prevention (Bennett, Banyard & Garnhart, 2013).

Specific to bystander intervention and sexual assault, researchers such as Burn (2008) took to exploring the situational influences and barriers to helping behaviour in sexual assault on college campuses using a five-step model based on Latané and Darley's (1970) situational model of bystander intervention. Bystanders are first required to notice the event (Burn, 2008). Bystanders who may be distracted by self-focus or sensory distraction would fail to notice an emergency and thus fail to offer help (Burn, 2008). The second step states that bystanders need to recognise the situation as intervention appropriate or they will not intervene (Burn, 2008). The third step is that bystanders need to take responsibility for intervening, and this is influenced by the presence of others (Burn, 2008). The fourth step is making the decision to help, which fails if the bystander has a deficit in intervention skills, which leads to uncertainty about what to say or do (Burn, 2008). The fifth step – act to intervene – is hindered by the audience inhibition barrier (Burn, 2008). If individuals are, for example, afraid of using an inappropriate response or making a mistake (Burn, 2008), intervention will not take place as bystanders would be inhibited. The barriers to intervention posed a greater hindrance to men's intervention in sexual assault than women's possibly because of women's greater awareness of their risk of being sexually assaulted, and further their empathy and identification with sexual assault survivors. The study further concludes that, based on predictions by earlier studies (for example, Gerber et al., 2004), the perception that a potential victim made choices or behaved in ways that increased her risk of sexual assault reduced bystanders' willingness to intervene, particularly among men (Burn, 2008).

The focus of bystander research shifted to include beliefs and emotion experience, expanding the possibilities for research in the field. Zhong (2009) examined the relationship between bystander intervention and the fear of crime, showing how cultural norms and beliefs affect the bystander behaviour/intervention in two Chinese communities in the United States. The

study's results indicated that "fear and crime had a robust and consistent effect on bystander intervention" (Zhong, 2008, p. 258) showing that participants with a higher level of fear were less likely to intervene. The study further highlighted how community norms shape intervention as norms instil a sense of moral obligation, thus, an obligation for intervening as a form of prosocial behaviour. This is particularly true where community norms are strong (Zhong, 2008).

Informal social control also plays a role in the level of bystander intervention. Communities that are proactive in their neighbourhoods and care for the community's reputation are more likely to intervene than communities that experience higher levels of crime, are consequently more fearful and afraid of retaliation for intervening in a crime event (Zhong, 2008). This fear causes physical and psychological withdrawal from communities, which creates low informal social control (Zhong, 2008). Community dynamics are therefore important in bystander intervention, as are community norms, fear of crime and informal social control.

Individual beliefs also shape bystander intervention and such influences can diffuse across groups. Working with teachers and students, Hektner & Swenson (2012) explored how individual beliefs contribute to a culture which breeds peer victimisation and bullying, or encourages bystander intervention. Their study factored in how cultural beliefs and norms would influence which roles individuals would take in episodes of bullying thus, how beliefs and norms would decide whether an individual would be the bully, the victim or the bystander. They found that teachers' beliefs can be transferred to students' perceptions of teachers' actions, which then affect the behaviours of bullies and bystanders (Hektner & Swenson, 2012). Empathy was the key mediator between students' willingness to intervene and teachers' beliefs – when teachers believed victims should assert themselves students were less likely to show empathy towards victims and ultimately less likely to intervene (Hektner & Swenson, 2012). Their results showed that teachers' beliefs had a direct influence on the level of bullying experienced in school as well as the willingness to intervene, and that teacher beliefs on bullying were assimilated by students leading students to develop similar views (Hektner & Swenson, 2012). Although their study is specific to bullying in schools, their results showed how "individual level attitudes and perceptions" (Hektner & Swenson p.

529, 2012) of victimisation and willingness to intervene have a group level effect on bystander intervention.

The role of an individual's identity also has bearing on bystander intervention. Huang (2018) focused on pragmatics and the intervener's relational identity involved in an intervention interaction (Huang, 2018). Huang (2018) argues that the intervener goes through constant construction of their relational identity during the incident, constantly having to negotiate and maintain their identity as a "ratified side participant" to an event (Huang, 2018, p. 89). This process happens in conjunction with efforts made by the offender to unratify the intervener's relational identity, i.e., the offender's attempts to separate the intervener from the situation by bringing into question their relationship/relational identity with the victim and situation in general (Huang, 2018). The intervener's identity construction as a ratified side participant, is therefore, paramount to the intervening process (Huang, 2018). The interveners' identity construction was noted by Huang (2018) to be an important factor in whether intervention takes place. Whether intervention is needed in intimate partner violence or even wrongdoings between strangers, the wrongdoer, according to Huang's (2018) findings, generally attempts to exclude the intervener from the situation entirely. This is done, as noted above, through unratifying the interveners' relational identity in the situation and is expressed by appealing to the conventional norm of not approaching others' private spaces or avoiding conflicts (Huang, 2018).

[Bystander intervention; new avenues, opposition to the initial theory](#)

Most recent literature on bystander behaviour foregrounds bystander intervention and its role in deterring crime and deviance and as a solution to social problems (Swan, 2015), for example crimes or medical emergencies. In some instances, bystander intervention strategies have become legally mandated (Swan, 2015), and research has looked at how to implement these strategies, how effective they may be and how to address prior beliefs and norms associated with bystander intervention. This signalled a clear move away from bystander intervention as merely "helping behaviour" (Levine & Manning, 2013, p. 225,) and the dominance of research focusing on interpersonal-level factors and underlying motives (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006 cited in Levine & Manning, 2013, p. 225) towards studies on the effectiveness of bystander intervention programmes.

One focus of such research has been on the use of WhatsApp Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Groups as a mechanism to increase bystander intervention (for example, Van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2021). Using explorative interviews on WhatsApp, data collected from various social media platforms and reflective focus groups with moderators this study showed that the direct impact of WhatsApp Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Groups is barely measurable despite stimulating social cohesion and capital. The findings show that the main mechanisms for crime prevention are neither direct intervention or the apprehension of offenders, but rather shortening formal and informal communication lines (van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2021). Further, these groups are more successful in “high status” neighbourhoods with high levels of social cohesion. Although the cost of WhatsApp Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Groups are low, they carry with them undesirable social and moral by-products, and inhibit an abstract presence lacking a physical position within neighbourhoods (van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2021). Thus, in terms of bystander intervention they offer little in terms of deterrence, but rather act as a low cost means of communicating when crime has occurred.

Although bystander intervention may be helpful in deterring crime, deviance or simply offering help during emergencies, the way strategies utilising bystander intervention are implemented is important. Burn (2017) shows how it is possible to promote bystander intervention to citizens utilizing informative and persuasive messages to target norms and beliefs, increase knowledge and awareness to reduce bystander uncertainty and combat misconceptions surrounding bystander intervention (Burn, 2017). Burns argues that to promote bystander intervention strategies requires first educating people on the dynamics involved in bystander intervention. Where people understand the dynamics of the situation and how bystander intervention can interrupt criminal acts or deviant behaviour they may be more willing to intervene. Burn (2017) suggests that intervention programmes should offer messages about bystander intervention that are relevant and personal to core audience values if they are to be effective and reduce bystander apathy. Such programmes should offer information on the frequency of deviant or emergency events and how such behaviours might affect those close to potential bystanders (Burn, 2017). Increasing awareness about the intervention process, for example, about the five-step or situational model (Burn, 2017) can also reduce bystander apathy, ambiguity and susceptibility to intervention barriers. Such

situational models can increase individuals' diagnostic abilities, for example, their ability to recognise situations as needing intervention, and overcome one of the biggest barriers to intervention, the failure to recognise the need to intervene (Burn, 2017).

Classic bystander research has typically posited that the presence of others acts as a hindrance to helping behaviour (Garcia et al, 2002). Leibst et al. (2018), however, found in their review of the bystander literature that intervention is more common than has previously been suggested. Bystander intervention is typically viewed dichotomously in the literature, in terms of active and passive intervention (Leibst et al., 2018). Bystanders use de-escalatory interventions such as calling the police or using verbal pleas, pacifying gestures or signalling to third parties (Levine et al., 2011). Bystanders have been found to provide post conflict intervention, such as emotional care or stress reducing interventions as well (Liebst, Philpot, Ejbye-Ernst, Bernasco, et al., 2018; Lindegaard et al., 2017 cited in Leibst et al., 2018). These efforts are typically coordinated and collective in nature (Leibst et al., 2018). The impression left by earlier literature is that witnesses rarely intervene due to the bystander effect, however evidence remains mixed on the effect of crowds on bystander intervention (Leibst et al., 2018).

Other research has looked at different aspects of bystander intervention. Shayea (2017) examined how bystanders affect the behaviours of offenders during a crime, showing that the more bystanders there were (specific to shoplifting) the more likely it was that an offender would commit a crime due to a sense of anonymity and a feeling of being less visible. This counters intuitive views that assume that the more bystanders are present the less likely an offender is to shoplift or commit a deviant act.

Little attention has been paid to what lies in between the two ends of the spectrum of bystander behaviour (intervening or not intervening). Philpot et al. (2019) argue that while there is an array of literature on the perception of an individual bystander, there is little research on situational intervention likelihood, that is the likelihood at least one bystander will intervene. In response, Philpot et al used CCTV footage from three different countries (the Netherlands, UK and South Africa) to gather descriptive data on the situational baseline of bystander intervention, finding that at least one bystander intervened 90.9% of the time

across all situations presented in the CCTV footage (Philpot et al., 2019). They further found that the number of bystanders was positively associated with situational intervention i.e., the higher the number of people present, the higher the likelihood that a victim would be helped. Their study provides recent empirical evidence people do intervene during a crime or emergency (Philpot et al., 2019).

Similarly, Lindegaard et al. (2021) explored how levels of aggression affect the likelihood of intervention. Using CCTV footage from Amsterdam, Lancaster and Cape Town they found that the likelihood of intervention was nineteen times higher when offenders displayed targeted aggression (Lindegaard, 2021). Although they found a significant difference in bystander responsiveness (to aggression) between Amsterdam and Cape Town, their results do not suggest that bystanders in Amsterdam are more likely to intervene than bystanders in Cape Town, but rather that bystanders in Amsterdam are more responsive to violent behaviour (Lindegaard et al., 2021). Their findings support theories of altruistic behaviour which argue that an increase in potential harm motivates intervention (Lindegaard et al., 2021). Their results that aggression intensity did not affect intervention also counter arguments that increased danger level decreases the likelihood of intervention (Lindegaard et al., 2021).

Researchers have examined how crime affects bystander intervention as well. Wilbrink (2019) highlights the importance of acknowledging prior victimisation as a variable in the likelihood someone will intervene. This study examined the likelihood someone would disrupt the situation (direct intervention) or call the police (indirect intervention) and how the choice of intervention was affected by prior victimisation (Wilbrink, 2019). The results show that individuals who have been victimised before are more willing to intervene directly. Wilbrink concludes that negative attitudes towards the police caused a decrease in willingness to intervene indirectly (by calling the police) while individuals who suffered prior victimisation were more willing to call the police.

Bystander research has moved away from the view that bystanders are passive. For example, based on surveillance camera footage of violent situations in urban areas Bloch et al (2018) found that bystanders in violent situations are likely to intervene – providing evidence that reverses the bystander effect and increases the likelihood of intervention. They found that

bystanders do expose themselves to actual risk that the risk of victimisation is low for majority of bystanders, and if they are victimised themselves as a result of the intervention the severity thereof is relatively low too. Further, they discovered that bystander behaviour is dynamic, with bystanders engaging in distancing, ambivalent and even direct forms of intervention directed at stopping violent situations or providing care for victims (Bloch et al., 2018). Although ambivalent and distancing forms of intervention were specific to individual bystander action, bystanders may engage in spontaneous interaction rituals defined by collective efforts to provide aid for victims (Bloch et al., 2018). Collective efforts were initiated once the everyday interaction order breaks down and included bystanders' attempts to stop a perpetrator, help law enforcement or offer collective care for the victim (Bloch et al., 2018). These findings contradict the presumption of civil inattention present in urban interactions due to bystanders' caring for a victim or the perceived violation of social norms (Bloch et al., 2018). They demonstrate that there is more to bystander intervention and bystanders themselves than just the diffusion of responsibility, or the bystander effect and that social relationship ties influence bystander behaviour.

South African research

Much of the bystander literature involves studies outside of South Africa, apart from Philpot et al. (2019) and Lindegaard (2021). Although studies might mention South Africa in passing, little research has been done on bystander intervention or the bystander effect South Africa. What South African research exists focuses on aspects related to bystander intervention and the bystander effect such as intervention initiatives, how bystander intervention relates to the law in terms of bullying and teacher responses to student violence, rather than on the nature of intervention and how it occurs (and if it does at all).

A few studies have explored aspects related to bystander intervention indirectly. For example, Sheilds, Nadasen & Hanneke (2014) examined the psychological and social effects of school violence from South African teachers' perspective in township schools with high rates of violence. Frustration was noted as the most commonly occurring theme. According to their findings, teachers were most commonly frustrated with their inability to control school violence due to a lack of punishment (Sheilds, Nadasen & Hanneke, 2014). Following this, themes surrounding feeling fear or unsafe due to school violence, the fact that teachers

felt they were being blamed for violence in their classrooms, anger towards being held responsible for school violence and depression experienced were noted (Sheilds, Nadasen & Hanneke, 2014). The study does not address bystander intervention directly, however, it does explore teachers' attitudes towards an issue that requires bystander intervention. Given the results of the study, it may be concluded that teachers believe they are hindered from intervening on school violence, which fosters an environment not lacking the encouragement for bystander intervention, or intervention of any kind in schools. As discussed by Denny et al. (2014), teachers and school staff play a vital role in the encouragement of bystander intervention and the development of positive relationships between peers. The study by Sheilds, Nadasen & Hanneke (2014), although indirectly, highlight the need for bystander intervention strategies in schools for both teachers and students, if the issue of school violence is to be combated.

To support the above, their study not only highlighted teachers' perspectives on violence, but the fact that there were very few, if any, psychological help or intervention strategies addressing school violence (Sheilds, Nadasen & Hanneke, 2014). It was stated by teachers that although there are a few programmes offered by the Department of Basic Education, they are often disjointed and piecemeal, and that help often arrives too late or is delivered by unqualified personnel (Sheilds, Nadasen & Hanneke, 2014).

Another study by Pillay & Sacks (2020) explored South African undergraduate students' experiences with cyberbullying, highlighting that "cyber bystanders" are part of cyberbullying instances, for example trolling, and are "powerful in such situations, as they also have the ability to stop and intervene positively in the crisis" (Pillay & Sacks p.376, 2020). Although the study focuses briefly on bystanders, they identify the bully, the victim and the bystander interact in every cyberbullying incident and that cyberspace bystanders act as a wider audience in the background (Pillay & Sacks, 2020).

Laas (2012) examined learner-on-learner bullying from a South African legal perspective, finding that there are discrepancies between learners' attitudes to bullying and their reactions to it. Although learners may feel bullying is morally incorrect, they might not intervene (Laas, 2012). Further, bystanders to bullying can be placed into two categories: victim bystanders and bully bystanders (Laas, 2012). Laas argues, along similar lines to Pillay &

Sacks (2020), that although bystanders witnessing bullying do not contribute directly by simply being present and not intervening, they are in fact contributing negatively. Laas (2012) contends that the South African Constitution creates a “legal duty” (Laas, 2012, p. 74) for bystanders to act during instances of bullying. Laas argues that non-intervention violates not only of Constitutional provisions protecting human rights and dignity, but it goes against its core value of Ubuntu.

A recent meta-synthesis on interpersonal violence programmes for males by Taliep, Lazarus & Naidoo (2017) included literature from 12 intervention programmes and 23 studies. This qualitative meta-synthesis examined English language journal articles, theses, dissertations and reports published between 2000 and 2016 that used a qualitative methodology to assess the effectiveness of intervention programmes using a “gender lens” with a specific focus on the promotion of positive forms of masculinity or that addressed interpersonal violence, sexual violence, gender-based violence, youth violence, and acquaintance or stranger violence involving males (Taliep, Lazarus & Naidoo, 2017). Their literature synthesis yielded seven key thematic categories including programmes which use a positive approach, programmes using a participatory and/or interactive method of intervention and obtaining community and stakeholder support for successful implementation (Taliep, Lazarus & Naidoo, 2017). They also identified programmes that combined multiple intervention strategies, programmes which had cultural relevance, programmes having intentional focus on masculinity or men and finally creating awareness and shifting views and behaviours (Taliep, Lazarus & Naidoo, 2017).

They conclude that to be successful, intervention programmes should use multiple strategies to create a stronger uptake moment and community mobilisation. Mentoring programmes and programmes including skills development, development of values, reflections on gender stereotypes and interpersonal relationship building were cited as important too (Taliep, Lazarus & Naidoo, 2017). Programmes focusing on rights and gender equity should address men’s fear of disempowerment and emasculation to prevent violence (Taliep, Lazarus & Naidoo, 2017). Programmes should promote positive forms of masculinity and avoid messages that denigrating males as abusers or perpetrators. Instead, they should provide safe and supportive spaces for men and/or boys to engage and share feelings, provide care and

support, opportunities to reflect on and deconstruct current masculine ideals, and myths surrounding manhood, as well as iniquitous gender norms (Taliep, Lazuras & Naidoo, 2017).

Conclusion

In summary, the above literature review sets out the development of bystander researcher since Latané and Darley's seminal work in 1968. Based on their experiments, they formulated a three phase process bystanders go through when faced with the opportunity to intervene. Their research culminated in the bystander effect, which is arguably the most recognisable concept in the topic. Research on bystander behaviour then focused less on the psychological processes individuals go through and more on external/situational factors influencing intervention. Research into bystander behaviour to this point had focused on questions from 'would people help?' to how the bystander effect operates in communication and participation (Hudson & Bruckman, 2004) and the factors could cause an increase or decrease in intervention (Kuijsten, 2016). While classical bystander research had regarded bystanders as "something negative" which reduces the probability of prosocial behaviour" and focused on the inhibition of helping behaviour, particularly when there are crowds of people (Hortensius & de Gelder, 2018), current researchers began moving away from the bystander effect and shifted their focus to how bystander intervention can be useful in emergency situations, how bystanders are affected by things such as prior victimisation, for example, or how even how bystanders, offenders and victims negotiate their relational identity during emergency situations and how community norms affect intervention. Given the long history of research on bystander behaviour, the amount of related concepts that has surfaced is not surprising, however, there is a gap in the literature in terms of how bystanders themselves perceive bystander intervention. Much research has gone into areas such as factors influencing intervention or whether the bystander effect inhibits bystanders from intervention, but there has been little to no emphasis on the bystanders understanding of these concepts. Thus, the current study examined how bystanders perceive their roles as bystanders in an attempt to address this gap.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Question

This dissertation examines how people perceive their role as bystanders or witnesses, their willingness to intervene and how their perceptions could influence their reactions to incidents of crime. While the term ‘bystander behaviour’ refers to either the bystander effect or bystander intervention, this study uses the term broadly to encapsulate both.

The study fills a gap in the South African literature on how people perceive bystander intervention in their communities and how this affects how they might respond to street-level crimes when faced with such a situation. As described above, there is scant research in South Africa that explores or explains this phenomenon -- most studies have only mentioned South Africa in passing or used South African data to understand bystander intervention more generally. The study therefore offers insight into how South African citizens themselves view bystander intervention and how they view the potential for bystander intervention as a means of deterring crime. The study’s findings provide support for establishing intervention strategies appropriate to different groups of people that may spur them on to intervene.

Methods

This study used a survey design using mainly closed-ended questions. The questionnaire replicated and adapted measures from two international studies instruments: the Bystander Opportunity Scale by McMahon et al. (2015) and the National College Student Bystander Survey published by the WithUs Center for Bystander Intervention (2019). These instruments focus bystander intervention in respect of sexual assault/intimate partner violence, hate/bias, hazing and alcohol and drug abuse. Drawing questions from these two instruments, the survey instrument for this study was formulated with the aim of gathering data on how bystanders view intervention, how they understand their roles as bystanders and ultimately how they perceive their roles as bystanders.

A survey method is appropriate for the goals of the study which was descriptive and exploratory. Questionnaires were used as the primary source of data collection, because they

require few resources to create, administer and answer and are inexpensive to design and administer (Rani & Roopa, 2017).

Questionnaires are also beneficial to studies, such as this study, faced with time constraints because they allow for efficient use of time (Munn & Drever, 1990). The researcher can design the questionnaire in their own home, participants may respond at their leisure eliminating the need to consult with timetables to ensure there are no clashes and a large amount of data can be collected at one time (Munn & Drever, 1990). Munn & Drever (1990) note that all respondents receive the same standardised questions which ensure that there is little room for researcher error and gives the researcher more control over the stimulus given to respondents (Munn & Drever, 1990). It is important to acknowledge, however, that the researcher has no control over how respondents interpret the questions in questionnaires, only how respondents are presented with the questions (Munn & Drever, 1990).

Questionnaire Administration and Sample

Two modes of administration were used for the survey: pen and paper questionnaires and online electronic administration through SurveyMonkey. Convenience sampling was used in this study and participants were recruited electronically via WhatsApp and Facebook and by door-to-door invitations to participate. The door-to-door invitations were given based on recommendations from participants themselves. Beginning with a household in my area, I was advised on other households that would possibly be willing to participate.

For the pen and paper version, the questionnaire was handed directly to members of the community both door to door and at various parks, bus stations and other points of interest in the research site. This was easy to do as I am a resident of the Athlone community and already belonged to these groups. A few participants who completed the pen and paper questionnaire recommended other participants in their neighbourhood causing snowball sampling for the pen and paper questionnaire as well.

Athlone community Facebook and WhatsApp groups were used as the primary means of distributing and administering the questionnaire online. Access to these groups and forums

was easy to achieve as a resident of the community. The online survey snowballed as members of WhatsApp groups, individuals using WhatsApp as well as Facebook users shared the questionnaire with individuals who they believed were eligible to participate. Most respondents made use of the online survey as it is more convenient for participants to access a link and complete it (See appendices E and F for English and Afrikaans flyers).

These methods yielded a sample size of 60 members of the Athlone community including areas along Klipfontein Road. Nineteen participants responded to the pen-and-paper survey and forty-one responded via the online survey. To get the 19 responses for the pen-and-paper questionnaire, an estimated 40-50 participants were approached in person.

Data Analysis

The data gathered from questionnaires, both the pen-and-paper and online version, were recorded and organised using SPSS. Open-ended questions were coded according to overarching themes discovered in the responses given by participants. The closed-ended questions were coded into categorical variables, and nominal variables where necessary e.g., where participants were required to state their age. Each close ended question was given a numeric value representing a response, for example, 0 represented “No” and 1 represented “Yes”. Questions that were coded with numeric labels were made to be numeric values, while the open-ended questions were coded as categorical variables with string values. Each open-ended response was added as a response for its corresponding variable. For every variable coded the frequency tables and descriptive statistics analysis was done using SPSS. The data from SPSS was then exported to Microsoft Excel on which bar graphs and other graphical representations were done. The results section in this paper will contain the graphical representation of the data in the form of tables and figures (Bar charts and pie charts).

Ethical Considerations

A key ethical consideration regarding the research methods in the study included the anonymity of participants. Both the identity (and any identifying information such as addresses) of the participants and any data collected from them would have to be kept in confidentiality (Abdullahi, 2019). Nayak & Narayan (2019) note that the privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of the participant is a key ethical consideration in online

survey research. Online questionnaires do not require any identifying information from participants apart from demographic information, thus this design offered participants anonymity and confidentiality. In the case of paper questionnaires, anonymity can only be guaranteed if participants are given the option to collect and return questionnaires in a way that does not override anonymity. To this end, participants sealed their questionnaires and dropped them in a box after completion to ensure that the researcher could not link them to their questionnaires. To ensure the safety of the collected data, all data was stored in a password encrypted folder on the researcher's laptop.

Informed consent is another critical ethical consideration. Nayak & Narayan (2019) stress the importance of informed consent stating that it should be provided before and separate from the actual questionnaire or survey particularly in an online environment. An information sheet was included as the first page of both the online and pen-and paper surveys detailing the study, its purpose, ends, and the participants' role. The consent form confirmed that participation in the study was completely voluntary and that participants may cease participation at any point of the study for any reason without consequence, and could skip any questions that they did not want to answer.

The questionnaire was designed to contain only questions that assess information relevant to the research question. Potentially insensitive (culturally or socially) prompts in the original instruments were revised or excluded to ensure that the questions were sensitive to social and cultural differences, were not harmful to participants or would not make them feel uncomfortable (Abdullahi, 2019).

Lastly, the safety of participants in all aspects is of paramount importance particularly during the national lockdown and current global pandemic. To ensure the safety of participants in this regard, lockdown regulations and advised safety precautions and practices related to Covid-19 were strictly followed in the case of hand delivering questionnaires. In the event participants did not feel comfortable with pen and paper questionnaires for fear of contracting Covid-19, they were directed to use the electronic version via the researcher's Facebook page where the link to both the questionnaire and information sheet was posted.

Limitations

Limitations to the study proposed arise from its methodology. The first issue relates to the limited sample size. Given that the sample size makes up a small percentage of the Athlone community, the results cannot be generalised to the entirety of Athlone. Participants were limited to people who have access to the internet, a device capable of doing so (e.g. a smartphone, laptop, tablet etc.) and people the researcher could reach in person as most eligible participants would have been at places such as their work or university at the time of the survey administration. The sample in this study, then, only represents a small snapshot in time of the community and their perception of the research topic.

A second issue relates to low response rates. Nayak & Narayan (2019) have concluded in a study of their own that participation rates for online surveys are generally lower than any offline survey methods. This is particularly problematic given the national lockdown and pandemic environment during which the study took place, which may have made some participants feel uncomfortable with receiving the hard copy questionnaire. Offering an incentive for completing the questionnaire such as tangible or intangible benefits like financial incentives, food, prizes or offering a service such as language lessons may mitigate low response rates (Collins, Bronte-Tinkew & Burkhauser, 2008). To recruit more participants for the pen and paper survey, I attempted offering an incentive in the form of candy, which proved effective for a few participants only. Most participants would either reject the incentive and do the survey or reject both. While offering an incentive in the case of pen and paper questionnaires was beneficial for opening communication with potential participants, it did not prove very effective in incentivising people to take the survey.

This is not the only issue with online data collection methods, however. Respondents may choose not to respond to certain questions, which could skew the results obtained from data collected (Nayak & Narayan, 2019). A possible solution to this is to enable a 'forced response' option for the online questionnaire or survey, however, this might raise some ethical issues (Nayak & Narayan, 2019). Doing so might also lead participants to offer a disingenuous answer from the desire to move on or complete the survey. This study did not make use of forced responses, as it would remove the agency of participants to answer as

genuinely as they could and remove participants' right to skip questions, they felt uncomfortable answering.

Another limitation with online data collection is that there is no means of discerning who is answering the questionnaire or whether they are answering in seriousness or not. This could negatively affect the results of the study in that it may inflate certain aspects or skew results. Data analysis revealed that these limitations are indeed present in the sample. Some online questionnaires were rushed through, unfinished, had sections left incomplete or did not have complete demographic information. This limits the completeness of the data set.

Questionnaire design of the kind used for this study is also limited in that it cannot account for causality and can only be used to gather descriptive data (Munn & Drever, 1990). Thus, this study cannot make any conclusions about how variables interact but can only describe them as well as aspects related to them.

A further limitation to the use of a questionnaire generally is response bias. More specifically, socially desirable response bias. As noted by Wetzel, Böhnke & Brown (2015), socially desirable response bias is most occurring in questionnaires designed to measure infrequent, but socially approved behaviour and frequent socially disapproved behaviour. Thus, socially desirable response bias is the tendency for participants to respond in positive self-descriptions (Paulhus, 2002 cited in Wetzel, Böhnke & Brown, 2015). When participants were asked if they have ever intervened during a crime, they may have responded in a positive self-description as intervening or offering another help during a crime is seen as a socially approved behaviour.

Finally, Munn & Drever (1990) note that questionnaires have the probability of producing superficial answers from participants. Therefore, there can be no further information gathered on the research topic or related questions unless there are follow up interviews. This may limit the discussion or conclusions made about the results obtained as there will be a lack of further investigation into responses. For this reason, having follow up interviews were under consideration, however, this is contingent on factors such as participants' willingness as well as how restrictions on movement may affect the ability to conduct interviews. It is also

possible to avoid superficial answers by wording items on the questionnaire adequately. No follow up interviews were conducted in this study due to time constraints.

Reflection

To reflect on my methods during data collection and analysis, I draw on my research notes taken during data collection and while I was collating and analysing the data and responses.

During the coding of variables, inputting of data and analysis thereof trends that stood out the most were particular to missing values i.e., participants skipping questions, as well as the presence of acquiescence bias. Many participants chose to skip prompts in the second table on the survey, the table which asked participants about instances when they've had the opportunity to intervene in various situations and whether they have or not.

Upon reflection, this may be the case for one of two reasons; either the table contained too many prompts, thus participants were less inclined to complete it as it seemed time consuming, or the instructions regarding the table were unclear or confusing. During my time doing field work, not many participants spoke about the survey, or asked questions about it. However, some participants spoke about their views on crime in their neighbourhoods, while some chose to express their opinions on why people would not intervene on crime.

Further, participants who did the pen and paper questionnaire all chose to do the English version despite some being seemingly Afrikaans speakers. This might be, because I as the researcher approached them speaking English, gave the instructions in English and detailed all the information about the study in English as well. Participants might, therefore, have felt influenced to do the English version, because of the way I approached them. This could have contributed to participants misunderstanding certain instructions. Participants chose not to ask for help while completing the questionnaire. I would ask if they needed further instructions when a participant seemed as if they were struggling however, participants never accepted help.

The online sample contained incomplete questionnaires (skipped questions) and what can be perceived as confusion regarding how to answer certain sections. Although an online version

would reach a larger sample and have more a snowball effect, it was unsupervised. The researcher is, therefore not present to give instructions or answer queries about the questionnaire itself or informed consent. Further, it may be that the questionnaire was too long, or contained questions that seemed too long or wordy to participants.

Data collection has proven to be a much more nuanced, intricate procedure than I expected it to be. Trying the utmost to maintain the integrity of one's research is often met with unpredictable situations often related to human behaviour, preference or error (by either the respondent or researcher). These instances affect the data output as well as the entire methodology of the study in general, but they play an important role in examining one's own research so that future endeavours may prove more efficient and provide more reliable results. Through reflecting on the methodology of a study in practice, it is easy to spot issues like the ones mentioned above, and in doing so researchers may improve on their methods.

Chapter 4: Findings

Understanding the research site: Athlone

The research took place in the Athlone area (see Appendix A for map).

Athlone is home to a diverse group of people. Typically described as a working-class area, perceived as a place for those classified as “Coloured” by the Population Registration Act of 1950, Athlone was, and is, populated by a mixture of working class Capetonians.

Historically, Athlone came to house many displaced residents of District Six, who had roots in the East Indies, from India, and from Malaysia and Madagascar (Layne, 2008; Dumbrell, 1998).

The areas in the research site are all in close quarters, with Rylands, Belgravia, Silvertown, Kewtown, and Surrey Estate all within relatively short distance of each other (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014). Gatesville is a smaller area within Rylands which has become known as the “business section of Rylands” (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014, p. 2) and is bustling with commuters, consumers, food/clothing stalls and stores both large and small. Surrey Estate is surrounded by two more suburbs namely, Primrose Park and Greenhaven. North of Surrey Estate lay Heideveld with Welcome Estate and Bonteheuvel along Jakes Gerwel Drive, while Manenberg, border by Duinefontein Road, is situated towards the Southeast of Primrose Park. While the Athlone and its suburbs have active CBDs, malls, shopping centres and an active informal trading community (“bakkie” traders, hawkers, “spaza” and “house shops”), the Cape Flats generally remains “unacceptably poor” (Standing 2003, p. 2). Most residents fall into the working class, with a large portion (46%) being unemployed as stated by Standing (2003). That said, speaking specifically to housing, the Cape Flats has experienced an increase in the number of infill developments (e.g., large, medium and small flats) and a human and informal settlements (City of Cape Town, 2019.). Dumbrell (1998), however, notes that historically houses on the Cape Flats were made of wood and iron as those materials were cheaper (Drumbell, 1998), and while there are flats and wood-iron houses remaining on the Cape Flats, many residents have taken to renovating their houses using brick instead. Geographically, houses in Athlone are typically built close to each other, with some residents building shacks or “separate entrances” to either rent out or allow family to live there.

The geographical closeness of the Athlone district and its houses can be seen as a physical representation of the communities' closeness. From the bustling streets of Gatesville, its community owned stalls and stores, to the exemplification of community connectedness seen in acts such as the community driven rejuvenation of the Nantes, a large park in the Athlone community (City of Cape Town, n.d.) the community, although being described as having high crime rates and a mostly working-class population, often displays acts of unity. More so, "house shops" nestled in residential areas, smaller CBD's such as Gatesville, neighbourhood parks and mosques and churches act as places of congregation for both adults and children alike. Long standing neighbourhood and community traditions (e.g. "taking cookies" to neighbours during Ramadan, or attending neighbourhood sporting events) weave unity and familiarity further into the Athlone community and its suburbs.

While the community itself can be seen as unified and connected, crime rates remain high as mentioned above. Members of the community are often exposed to various crimes resulting in fear and concern for their safety. Given that many residents make use of public transport, children often walk to school and not every resident can afford home security crime has become an extremely concerning social ill for residents of Athlone. The visibility of crime in the neighbourhoods only adds to the fear experienced by residents.

Athlone experiences relatively high levels of crime, including business robberies, robberies of individuals, drug trade, theft, hijackings and motor vehicle thefts (Naidoo, 2018). Unlike the residential suburbs that surround it, like Pinelands and Rondebosch, Athlone experiences organised crimes and gang warfare as well (Naidoo, 2018). Crime data shows that robberies are more prevalent in Belgravia, on Klipfontein Road, Athlone CBD, Gatesville and Bridgetown (Naidoo, 2018). There has also been a 32.9% increase in drug related cases between 2016 and 2017, and 70% of the crimes committed in Athlone and its constituent suburbs have been attributed to drug abuse (Naidoo, 2018). Other kinds of crimes – for example, burglaries at non-residential premises, common assault and malicious damage to property have decreased over the same period (Naidoo, 2018).

Demographics: Who answered the survey?

Sixty people from the greater Athlone area participated in the survey. People ranged in age between 20 to 74 years of age, although as figure 1 illustrates, most people fell between the ages of 23 and 54.

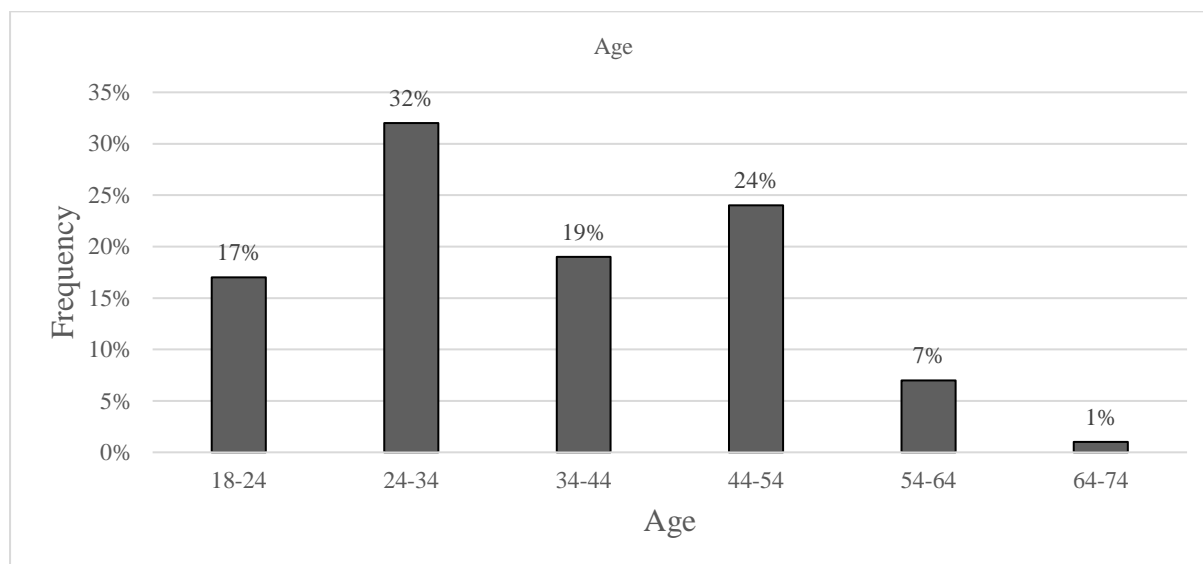


Figure 1: Age distribution of survey participants

Gender

Sixty percent of the sample was female with the remaining 40% male. This fits with the demographics of the area -- the Western Cape and the city of Cape Town have more females than males (Statistics South Africa, 2012, 2018; Small, 2016). The 2016 Census also shows that Athlone and its constituent suburbs, is 52.3% (Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2013). Thus, the female to male ratio of participants for this study fits the population statistics for the research site.

Ethnicity/Race

The sample was made up of mostly of Coloured² people (85%; n=51). Black African participants (6.7%; n=4), White participants (3.3%; n=2) and Indian participants (1.7%; 1 participant) made up a small proportion of the sample respectively. Two participants did not

² This dissertation recognizes that apartheid-based race classifications are contested, but also that these classifications are used by many people – especially Coloured South Africans – as self-identified race descriptors. They are not used here as derogatory labelling or to denote ethnic or racial hierarchy.

disclose their ethnicity while 1 participant selected the “other” category, noting “Human Things”. There were no Asian participants.

The sample is broadly in line with the demographics of the Athlone Municipality, although Asians are underrepresented compared with the population statistics. The Strategic Development Information and GIS Department (2013) describes Athlone as having 62.3% Coloured residents, 8.5% Black African residents, then 22% Asian residents and 2% White residents.

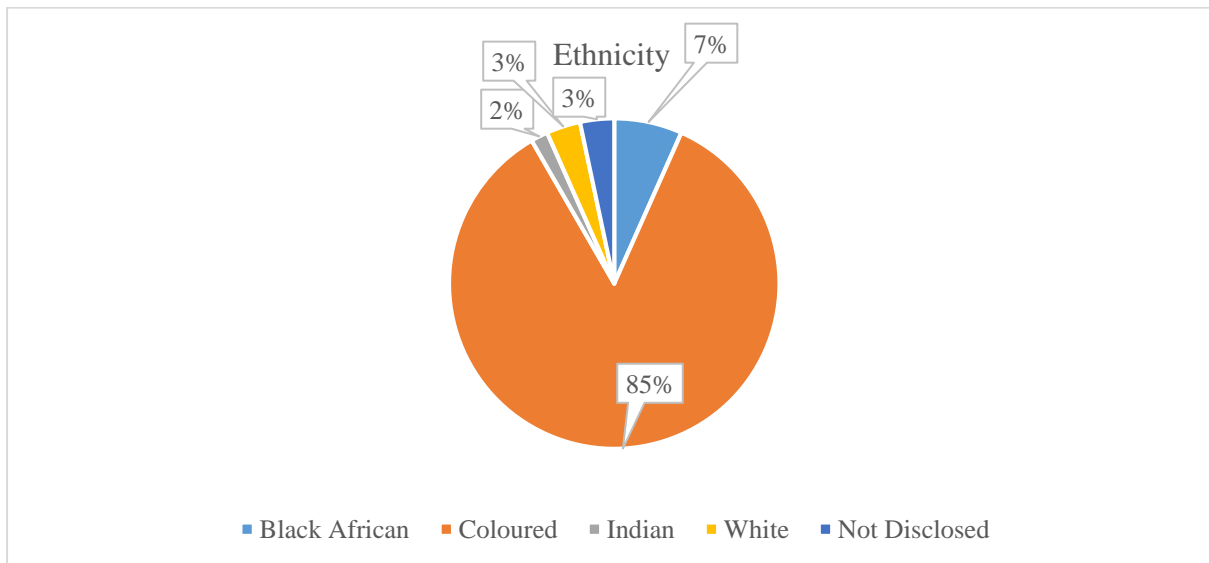


Figure 2: Race of participants (percentage).

Suburb/Neighbourhood

Figure 3 shows that most of the participants came from Manenberg (21.7%), followed by Athlone CBD (11.7%), Surrey Estate and Primrose Park (10.0% respectively). Silvertown and Gatesville had 1 participant each. Ten participants who resided outside of the research site responded to the survey, with one participant each in Bellville, Big Bay, Bishop Lavis, Brackenfell, Eesteriver, Khayelitha, Mitchell’s Plain, Muizenberg, Rondebosch East and Vangaurd Estate. The snowball sampling plan, which was designed only to access participants from Athlone, acted in an unpredictable way, allowing the survey to reach areas far beyond the proposed research site. Although it was not planned for the research site to include such a large range, the data was retained as the research question is not Athlone-specific, and the data gathered from these areas is still valuable as it speaks to a wider understanding of the view people have of their roles as bystanders.

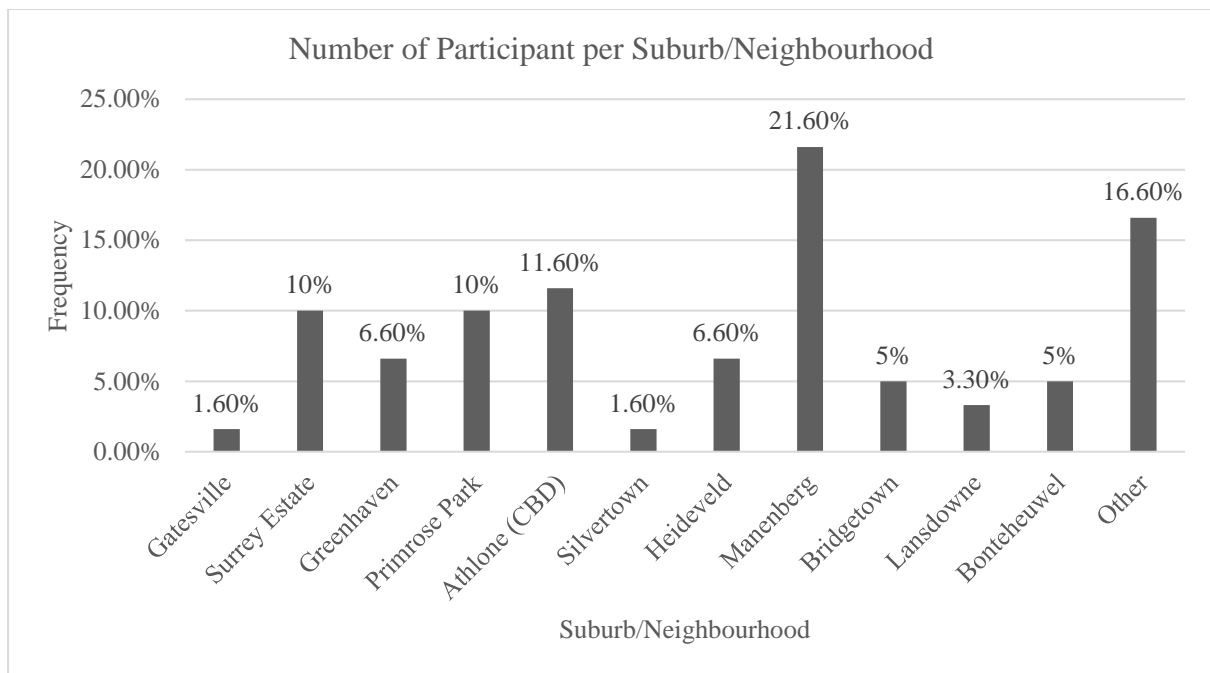


Figure 3: *Distribution of participants per suburb/neighbourhood*

How people view their roles as bystanders: witnessing crime and offering help

Although the July to September 2020/21 crime statistics reported by the South African Police Services showed an overall decrease of 16.7% in community reported serious crime in the Western Cape, the crime rate remains higher than most provinces in South Africa (SAPS, 2020). Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that 77% (n= 46) of the sample reported having witnessed a crime in their neighbourhood.

The majority of participants said they were familiar with the term ‘bystander intervention’. Over half (59.3%) of the participants knew what bystander intervention was. While 55.9 % of participants claimed to understand what bystander intervention means i.e., they understand the terminology itself. It was not possible, however, to probe through a closed-ended survey instrument what participants understood these terms to mean.

Primarily, bystanders have been viewed as passive and reluctant to intervene (Fischer et al 2011). Interestingly, though, 66.6% (n=38) of people in this study who had witnessed a crime had also seen someone offering help during the incident, for example by stopping the

perpetrator or calling the police. In addition, 67.3% of participants had offered help themselves when witnessing a crime taking place.

| <i>Witnessed someone offering help during a crime</i> | | |
|---|----|--------|
| Yes | 32 | 66.6% |
| No | 16 | 33.3% |
| Total (n=48) | | 100.0% |
| <i>Offered help themselves during a crime</i> | | |
| Yes | 33 | 67.3% |
| No | 16 | 33.3% |
| Total (n=49) | | 100.0% |

Table 1 *Helping behaviour when witnessing a crime*

The majority of participants had therefore both witnessed helping behaviour by others in their neighbourhood, and also intervened themselves. This shows that people in this study are willing to intervene when witnessing a crime, which counters the prevailing view that bystanders are reluctant to act.

Do people think their intervention helps?

Table 2 shows that most participants (75%) believed that their intervention helped when they were faced with a situation they perceived as a crime. There is much that can be unpacked about the fact that more participants believe their actions helped a situation they perceived as a crime, for example, the results may indicate that bystanders are confident in their ability to intervene or simply that participants in the current study have been more successful than not in intervention suggesting they have had prior experience with intervention (either intervention themselves or witnessing intervention).

| | N | % |
|-------|----|--------|
| Yes | 27 | 75% |
| No | 9 | 25% |
| Total | 36 | 100.0% |

Table 2 Did intervention diffuse or help the situation at all?

People offered help in different ways. As figure 4 shows, most people intervened by interrupting the offender's actions (22.6%). This type of intervention, however, seems to be more nuanced as a participant added on the survey:

“Interrupted”, but the offender “still got away with the stolen goods”

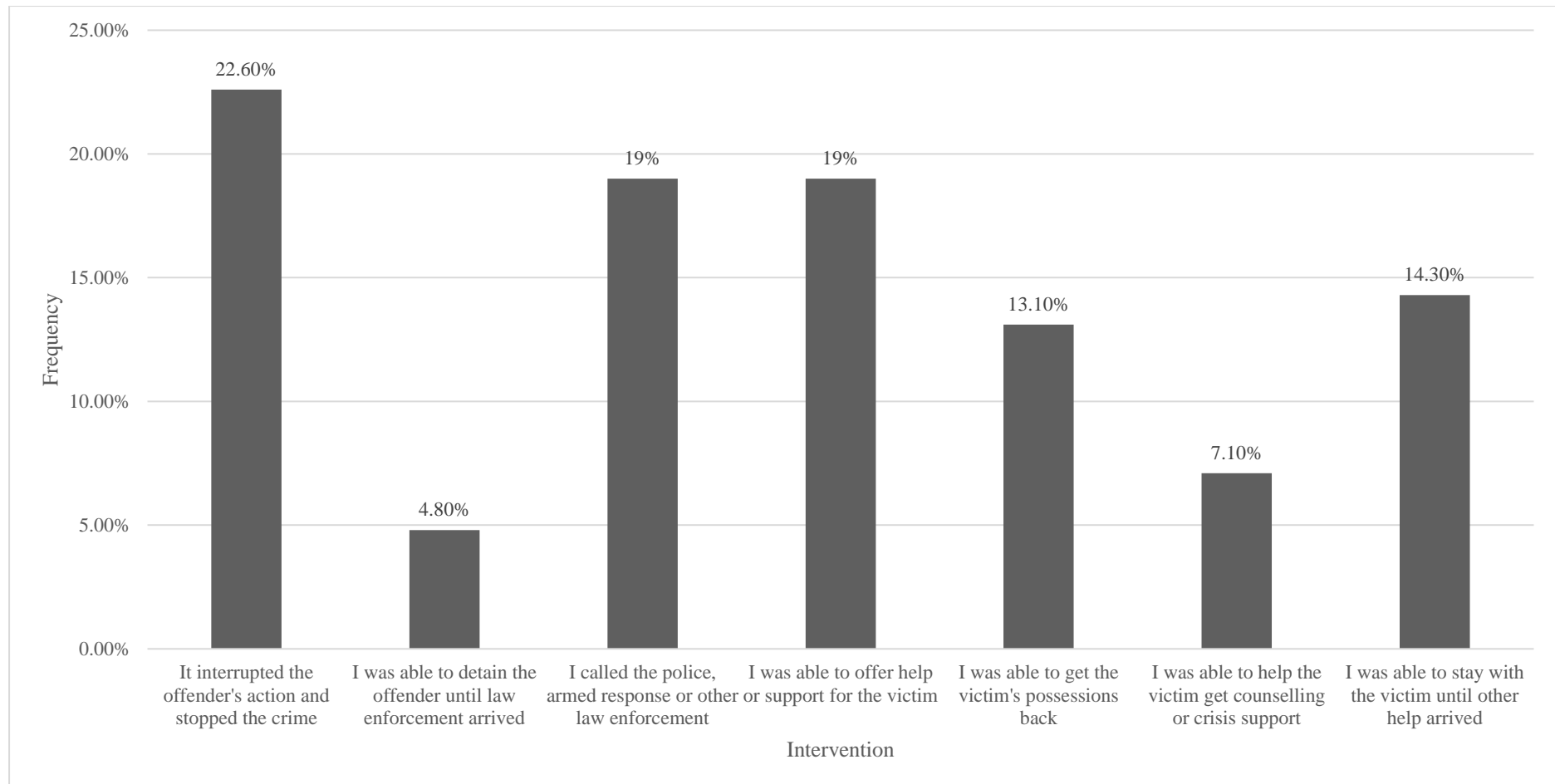


Figure 4: *Different ways people offered help.*

It is impossible to know how many participants who said they stopped an offender, actually just interrupting the crime. Whether or not the intervention was successful, it is important that bystanders intervened in this way. The quote above illustrates that while one can successfully interrupt the crime, this may not mean that the victim does not suffer loss, or that the offender does not 'succeed'. Bystanders may choose this intervention and may see it as a 'successful' response regardless of the intervention's effect on the crime itself. This study did not ask about bystanders' views on this issue, but this is an important opportunity for future research.

Calling the police, armed response of other law enforcement accounted for 19% of responses and offering the victim help or support received the same number of responses. A few people (4.8%) reported detaining the offender until law enforcement arrived. Respondents also reported getting the victim's possessions back (13.1%) or stayed with the victim until other help arrived (14.3%). These results may give insight into how bystanders believe they should help when witnessing a crime. It appears that bystanders either help actively by interrupting the crime or intervening in the event (e.g. by reclaiming possessions) or passively by calling the police or law enforcement. These findings may also suggest that bystanders think more dynamically about their helping behaviour, deciding on a course of action depending on the situation.

Looking at why participants felt intervention was not helpful provides an interesting comparison. Figure 5 shows that most people said that that 'things happened too fast' to enable them to intervene (24.10%). Others blamed the fact that the police, armed response or other law enforcement did not arrive, or arrived late received (20.7%). This suggests that participants may believe that successful intervention relies on the police, armed response or law enforcement, but the assistance they required was not forthcoming.

Interestingly only one respondent felt that the offender wasn't deterred by their actions which might indicate confidence the fact that intervention – any kind of intervention – makes a difference. Two respondents started intervening, but got scared and stopped, and although this prompt received few selections, participants seemed to express concern for their safety:

“Most people do not intervene for fear of getting hurt or have themselves or family members become targets if known to the offender.”

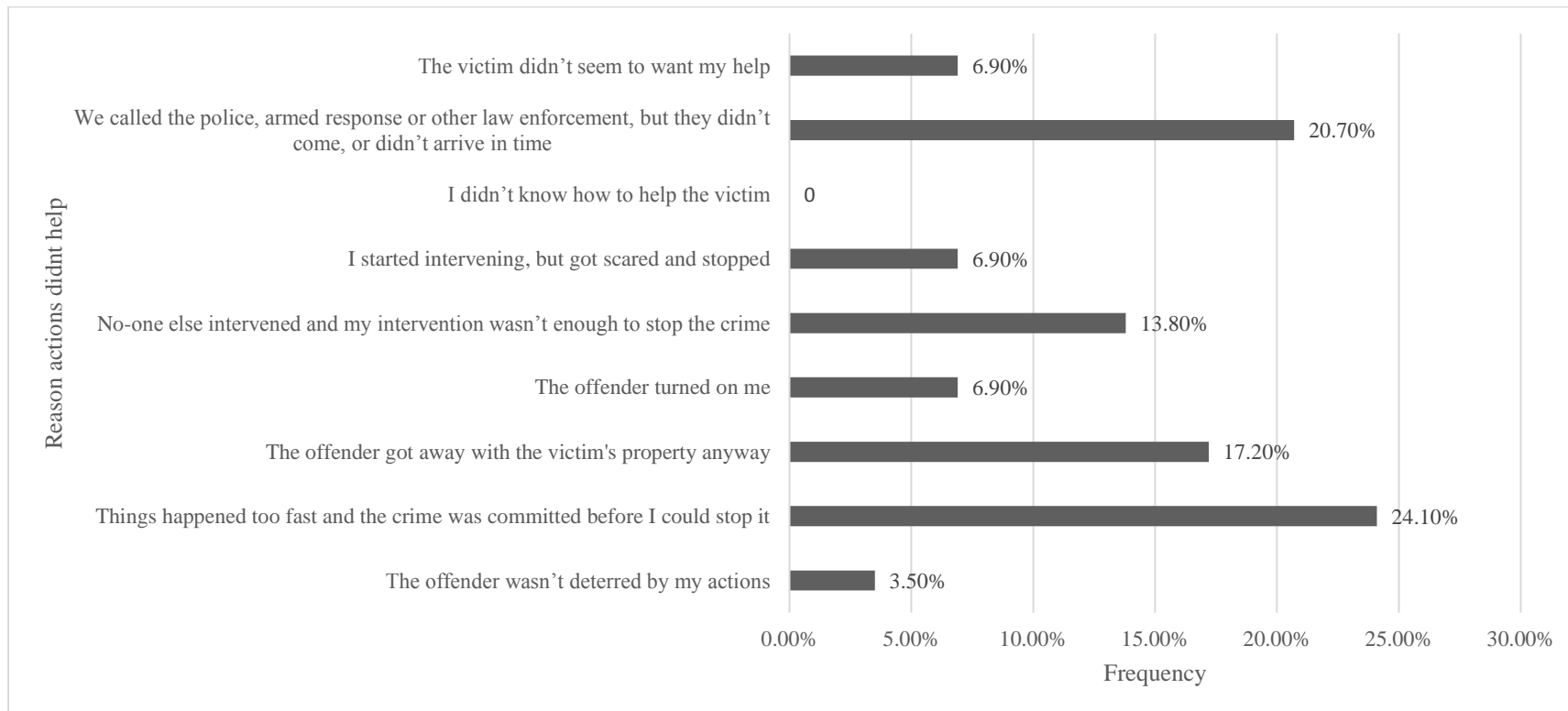


Figure 5: Reason people believed their actions didn't help.

Participants were not only “concerned for [their] own safety”, but for the safety of their family as well, as another participant noted that “bystanders don’t intervene because they fear for the lives.” Despite recognising that there are safety concerns that stem from intervening on a crime, bystanders in the study understood the value of, and took a proactive stance towards, intervening on crime. As one participant noted:

“most people are scared to intervene, [but] I have a belief [that] bad things happen [be]cause good people do nothing.”

The findings suggest that that bystanders might in fact recognise the need for intervention, contrary to past literature, and that they may not fear the risk involved with intervening as much as anticipated. No participants reported they did not know how to help the victim, which further suggests bystanders in this study have confidence in their ability to intervene.

Table 4 shows how participants thought of their role in intervening in crime. The results showed most people felt that crime was a problem in their neighbourhood (83% agree/strongly agree) and that they were willing to intervene in a crime (60% agree/strongly agree). Participants took a very proactive stance towards intervention, believing that they were capable of intervening (49% agree/strongly agree) and that their actions can help stop a crime, (66% agree/strongly agree). In support of these results one participant, for an open-ended question wrote that they felt people should “help with courage.”. Eighty one percent of participants felt that crime would decrease in their neighbourhood if community members would intervene when they see a crime happening and 73% felt that community members, including themselves, should be required to intervene during a crime. Most participants know what to do when witnessing a crime (70.5%), showing that these people feel confident in their intervention as bystanders.

Although most people felt that other people in their neighbourhood were willing to intervene when a crime was taking (60 % strongly agreed or agreed), there was a sizeable group (24.5%) who remained neutral indicating that participants were possibly unsure, or did not want to speak for other community members. Overwhelmingly, though, participants in this study not only have confidence in their willingness to intervene, but also in others’ willingness to intervene. These findings supplement earlier findings reporting that

participants believe their intervention helped during a crime (see table 2). Contrary to existing literature that argues that bystanders are apathetic or don't know how to intervene, these findings indicate that bystanders are more proactive in crime intervention than previously concluded.

| | Crime is a problem in my neighbourhood. | I expect people to help me if I am a victim of a crime. | I am willing to intervene if I see a crime. | I am capable of intervening if I see a crime taking place. | I believe that my actions can help stop a crime. | I know what to do if I see a crime being committed. | Law enforcement will intervene when they see a crime happening. | Other people in my neighbourhood are willing to intervene when they see a crime occurring. | Crime would decrease in this neighbourhood if members, including myself, should be required to intervene if we see a crime taking place. | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|--|--|---|---|--|--|-----|
| Strongly Disagree | 2% | 0% | 2% | 6% | 0% | 4% | 6% | 7.5% | 6% | 4% |
| Disagree | 7.5% | 7% | 4% | 13.5% | 6% | 6% | 0% | 7.5% | 4% | 4% |
| Neutral | 7.5% | 7% | 34% | 33% | 28% | 20% | 9% | 24.5% | 9% | 15% |
| Agree | 30% | 36.5% | 30% | 27% | 34% | 47% | 43% | 34% | 26% | 30% |
| Strongly Agree | 53% | 44% | 30% | 22% | 32% | 23.5% | 41.5% | 26% | 55% | 43% |

Table 4 Views on crime and bystander intervention.

What should bystander intervention should look like?

Contrary to the notion that the police and community members are at constant odds, table 4 shows that about 85% of the sample agreed that they would call the police, armed response or other law enforcement (41.5% strongly agreed and 43% agreed). Only 6% strongly disagreed that they would call the police. Although represented by a small portion of the sample, it indicates there are people who would not rely on the police when there is a need for intervention.

To further gauge what participants think bystander intervention should look like, they were provided with a set of seven statements, and asked to select any number of statements they thought applied to what bystanders should do when witnessing a crime. Again, most participants felt that they should call the police, private security or other law enforcement (x% of responses). A participant added that:

“Sometimes it can be a dangerous feat but as a bystander we should try to call the police or armed forces to try protect the victim from being harmed”

More than just viewing the police as the most fitting response, participants might feel that calling the authorities is a means of intervention that would allow them to act on their desire to intervene, help a victim and remain safe at the same time. Some participants also felt that they should cooperate with police or other law enforcement during the investigation of a crime (15.4%), while fewer participants took a more active, direct means of intervention by confronting the offender (9.3%) or intervening in the situation (10.3%). Many participants felt that they should express concern or support for victims of crime (15.9%), or should assist the victim get help or assistance (e.g. from a counsellor).

Participants added open-ended responses echoing reliance on police, armed response or law enforcement. One participant (P20) added that bystanders should “make a video or take picture if it's possible” as a means of intervening by documenting the crime, which could serve as evidence which contributes towards the investigation – thereby cooperating with

authorities. By recording the crime, bystanders not only offer a contribution to the police's investigations, but they also raise awareness that crimes are being committed.

One respondent felt that bystanders should "always involve the police and when making a case [not] withdraw the case" (P26). Others felt that the way in which bystander should intervene "depends on the situation. If there are deadly weapons involved, the police should be called immediately" (P42). Although these responses differ, they indicate that bystanders in this study were more inclined to call the police i.e., passively intervention than to actively or physically intervene themselves.

This reluctance may stem from a fear of violence. Participant 53 explained that it is "extremely dangerous to take matters into your own hands" and that "it is best to help by reporting it to the police or law enforcement who has the necessary skills and equipment to deal with crime. Innocent people have lost their lives although some have turned out to be heroes but unfortunately too few.". These responses show the concern bystanders feel for their own safety, which acts as a barrier to intervening, and secondly the dependence participants in this study show towards the police. One participant (P19) expressed their distrust for the police/law enforcement writing that they instead "choose violence" as a response. This participant added:

"I chose not to rely on the police, because I strongly believe that they are more corrupt than a lot of criminals; sad part is that they have the law on their side."

This statement illustrates that there are in fact bystanders who would preferably act independent from the police or other law enforcement bodies.

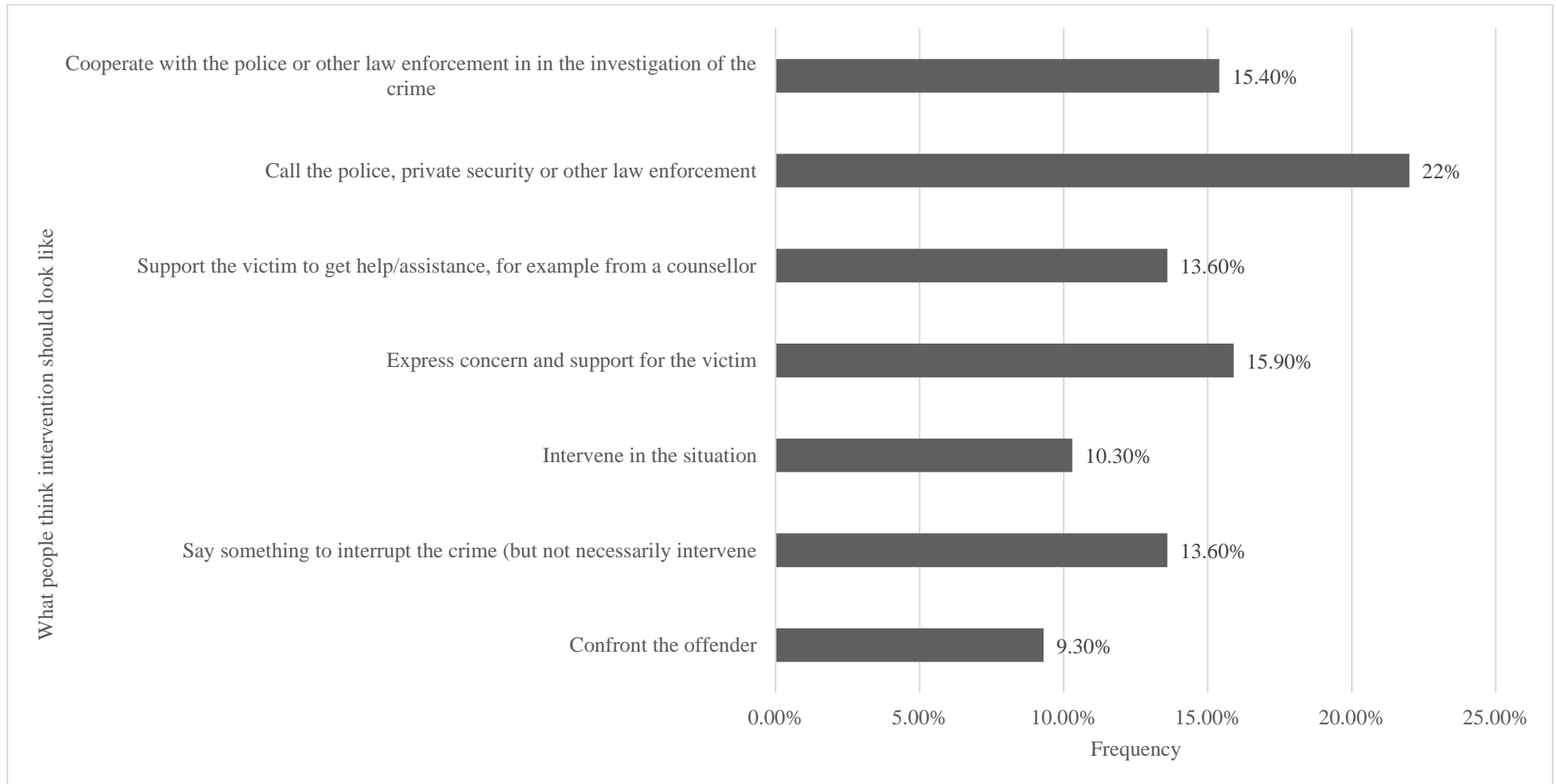


Figure 6: *What should intervention should look like?*

Most open-ended responses focused on the fearing for bystanders' own safety. Participants were afraid that intervening may prove dangerous either for their own safety, or the safety of those close to them. For example, participant 28 states that "most people do not intervene for fear of getting hurt or have themselves or family members become targets if known to the offender." Participant 38 repeats the concern for one's own safety as a bystander by noting that they "would intervene and help where I can depending on what the crime is and how it would affect my safety". For participants in this study, there seems to be a constant negotiation between being altruistic (i.e., intervening) and preserving their own safety. Participant 41 explained that their "biggest fear when being in such a situation and having the opportunity to intervene is my safety. This often holds me back from intervening." Participant 54 agreed, stating that "sometimes intervening might put yourself at risk."

Participant 51 pointed out that this is also gendered, noting that "for women, depending on the crime and who is committing it, it is difficult to intervene without potentially putting your own life in danger. Participant 24 also noted that that "it's not always wise for a woman to physically intervene but causing a distraction can help the victim get away from the situation."

It is interesting to note that despite painful histories and longstanding rifts that exist between the police and residents of suburbs like Athlone, participants noted that the best course of action would be to call the police or law enforcement. These results are important as they may contradict the notion that community members prefer not to depend on the police, or are at odds with them. In the very least, the fact that most participants support the idea of intervening by calling the police may call for the re-evaluation of the schism between police and community members.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Do people know about Bystander Intervention in Athlone?

There is no literature on bystander intervention programmes in Athlone, or in South Africa, yet the results showed that most people were aware bystander intervention. Although it is difficult to understand how most participants in the study would have heard the term, or understood what the term means, there are a few programmes that might have contributed to the knowledge on the topic, including the Safe Schools programme run by the Western Cape's Education Department. This programme was aimed at installing security systems in schools and creating a safer schooling environment in general by influencing learner behaviour as well as working with communities, local police, other local organisations and neighbourhood watches/patrols (Western Cape Government, 2021.). In addition to this, the Western Cape's Education Department has created a "Safe Schools Call Centre" – a toll-free number that educators, parents and students may use a to report crimes ranging from abuse (physical, alcohol or drug related) to vandalism or corruption in schools (Western Cape Government, 2021). The call centre offers information on various issues, including abortion, alcoholism, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, racism and pregnancy (Western Cape Government, 2021). The programme also offers a community police forum which makes it possible for members of communities to liaise with police stations, establishing and maintaining a service partnership between the community and the SAPS to fulfil the needs of the community, improve transparency and accountability (Western Cape Government, 2021). The programme may have sensitised residents to bystander intervention or intervention given the variety of issues covered by the Safe Schools programme and created closer links between SAPS and people in the community. Further, given that the programme is focused on the promotion of "joint problem identification and problem solving by [SAPS] and the community." (Western Cape Government, 2021), it is possible that these initiatives may have led to the promotion of helping behaviour in communities, thus creating a pool of knowledge on what bystander intervention is relative to the community.

Other types of safety and anti-violence/abuse programmes may also have taught residents about bystander intervention. Some of these programmes can be found among “Diversion Programmes” targeted at the youth, which comprise multiple interventions tailored to children in the age groups 10-12 years and 13-17 years old (Western Cape Government, 2021.). Some of these interventions may have contributed to the knowledge of bystander intervention and helping behaviour through fostering life skills training, anti-substance abuse training, anti-sexual assault training as well as therapeutic interventions aimed at giving children, including those who have committed offences in the past, the skills needed to negotiate life and difficult situations (Western Cape Government, 2021).

Many community-based programmes in the Western Cape and South Africa focus on prevention and/or skills development and personal growth. Safer Spaces, an initiative with the aim of violence prevention in South Africa, offers programmes targeted at youth. Their martial arts intervention theory, for example, aims to address youth aggression and violence among risk male youth by focusing on the creation of group norms, rules, and the creation and cohesion of peer to peer and peer to coach bonds; establishing trust among peers; instilling self-esteem and regulating responses to explore different ways to resolve conflict (Safer Spaces, n.d.). This kind of programme may well emphasise the role of bystanders in intervening to prevent and disrupt crime.

Although there is little evidence suggesting there were any initiatives specific to bystander intervention training in Cape Town, or in Athlone, it is possible that an association has been created through associating the two words “bystander” and “intervention” that appear instinctively linked. Yule (2010) points out that people know which words tend to occur together. For example, the word “hammer” is frequently associated with the word “nail” (Yule, 2010). Thus, the collocation of words sees the organisation of our knowledge based on how frequently they occur together (Yule, 2010). If this is the case, the words “bystander” and “intervention” might be associated with each other, therefore it stands to reason that people might

understand the meaning of the term “bystander intervention” simply because they know what each word means. Bystander intervention may be understood in the same way, where an element of meaning is added to either bystander or intervention. In combination with the frequency the words bystander and intervention are used together either in research or casual conversation, people could have created an understanding of the term through collocation.

Furthering the above, collocations are “subtle and not-easily-explainable patterns of word usage that native speakers all know” (Manning & Schütze, 1999 p. 141) and are defined by limited compositionality (Manning & Schütze, 1999). Natural language expression is compositional if the meaning of the expression can be predicted from the meaning of its parts, however, collocations are not fully compositional in that there is typically an element of meaning is added (Manning & Schütze, 1999). For example, when one speaks of strong medication, strength is not defined as physical strength, but rather is understood as chemical potency. Bystander intervention could be understood in the same way, where an element of meaning is added to either bystander or intervention. For example, instead of bystander being defined as an individual who is present, but does not participate, it could be understood as someone who witnesses a crime or emergency. In combination with the frequency the words bystander and intervention are used together either in research or casual conversation, people could have created an understanding of the term through collocation.

It is also possible that participants in the study only indicated they have heard of the term before and understand due to acquiescence bias, which is the tendency for participants to answer in agreement with the statement/question regardless of their true experiences (Baron-Epel, Kaplan, Weinstein & Green, 2010). Acquiescence bias might have begun in the first question, which asked whether participants have heard of the term bystander intervention before. However, when considering other findings in the study, for example, what participants reported doing when witnessing a crime, or whether they are willing to help, we see that they have not simply answered in agreement regardless of their experiences, but that they had deeper, personal experiences with bystander intervention and offering help, and with crime and victimisation in their neighbourhood or suburb that have shaped their views.

Crime and bystander intervention in the Cape Flats

It is of no surprise that participants reported that they have witnessed a crime in their neighbourhood/suburb. Cape Town has one of the highest rates of crime in the country (SAPS, 2020) and participants hailed from high crime areas like Manenberg, Surrey Estate, Primrose Park and the central Athlone area. Some other areas that saw fairly high rates of participants were Heideveld, Bonteheuwel, Greenhaven and Bridgetown. The Cape Flats – where the greater Athlone area is located -- has often been characterised by gangsterism, which has increased crime such as drug related gang warfare and high levels of violence (Kinnes 2017). It is reported that 70% of all crime in the Western Cape can be attributed to gangs (Kinnes, 2000 cited in Bowers Du Toit, 2016). Although many types of crime occur on the Cape Flats, gangsterism is typically viewed as its largest issues, with some calling gangs “evidence of an epidemic; whereby social issues are thriving through the streets of *the Cape*.” (February, 2019, p. 1).

Described as an area where social issues are prominent (February, 2019), poverty, over-populated residential demarcations, scarce resources, few jobs (February, 2019) and youth living in congested spaces (February, 2019) characterises the socio-economic problems in the area. Standing (2003) speaks to the urban crisis presented by the “contrasts and social fragmentation” (Standing, 2003, p. 1) built on the policies of apartheid. The population of Cape Town is highly polarised racially, socially, spatially and economically (Standing, 2003). The Cape Flats sees a high degree of segregation in terms of race, space and economy and while living conditions are seen to vary between areas it can be generalised that the overall condition of the Cape Flats is exceptionally impoverished (Standing, 2003). The unemployment rate for residents under the age of 30 years sits at 61% and those who can find employment often receive low wages and a flexible labour market making wages uncertain and insufficient most of the time (Standing, 2003).

In addition, the infrastructure in the Cape Flats has been described by Standing (2003) as “unacceptably poor” (Standing, 2003, p. 2). State schools and hospitals are

underfunded and overcrowded while the communal areas have become derelict and left as such (Standing, 2003). These conditions echo the state of many urban ghettos that have emerged during the past 30 years globally (Standing, 2003).

Understanding the possible causes of crime is important as it would allow us to explore the results of this study more thoroughly, particularly why participants have reported witnessing crime, how this affects their intervention and ultimately how it influences their view of their roles as bystanders. Considering the above, the characteristics noted in the Cape Flats by authors such as Standing (2003), Kinnes (2000, 2017), Bowers Du Toit (2016) and February (2019) shed some light on potential causes for the high crime rates present in the Cape Flats. The origin of crime on the Cape Flats can then be discussed in terms of social exclusion, past oppression and inequality. Noting that the Cape Flats is “home to a vast number of people and families who precariously exist outside the formal economy-what many social scientists refer to as being socially excluded.” (Standing, 2003, p. 2) attributing crime to such conditions would bring to light how crime and bystander behaviour has been influenced by it.

Social issues and poor conditions experienced by its residents in general could then be attributed to the Apartheid regime. Seekings & Natrass (2005) have tracked inequality and class separation in South Africa both during and after Apartheid, presenting a picture of post-Apartheid South Africa, depicting a society which has become highly unequal due to the nature of the Apartheid regime, being a distributional one seeking to racially stratify South African society. The racially discriminatory policies fortified the unequal distribution of earnings, the rise of unemployment and congruently a rise in the earnings of the skilled minority (Seekings & Natrass, 2005). Seekings & Natrass (2005) contend that even though the racial discrimination in earnings and employment had all but dissipated post-Apartheid, the gap in income already present substituted racial stratification and “By the end of apartheid, South Africa had a clear underclass of unemployed people in that economic and social conditions had created an especially disadvantaged class.” (Seekings & Natrass, 2005, p.273). The “underclass” (Seekings & Natrass, 2005, p.

273) has been defined as a class constituting primarily of welfare dependants, the long term unemployed, the ghetto poor, criminals and in some contexts those who lay beyond the social, political or economic boundaries of so-called civilised society (Murray, 1984; 1990 cited in Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Seekings & Nattrass (2005) contend that although South Africa exhibits many of the characteristics a conservative definition of the underclass posits, there is an alternative definition which stems from class theory.

Wright (1997 cited in Seekings & Nattrass, 2005) suggest that the unemployed constitute an underclass that is oppressed, but not exploited while other scholars such as Wilson (1987, 1991 and 1996 cited in Seekings & Nattrass, 2005) suggest the distinction of the underclass from those members of society that are economically disadvantaged lies in their marginal economic position or frail attachment to the labour force being strengthened by their neighbourhood or social milieu. Both definitions are in line with the “socially excluded” (Standing, 2003, p. 2) of the Cape Flats therefore, the inequality present is what leads to high crime rates in the area. Mengistu, Pindur & Leibold (2000) further offer three dominant factors leading to high crime rates in South Africa generally however, they are all tied to South Africa’s historical development. These factors include illegitimacy of prior regimes, multiple police forces and mismatched police strategies constituting policies of community policing focused on neighbourhood conditions (Mengistu, Pindur & Leibold, 2000).

In understanding the origin of crime – the conditions which cause or perpetuate crime on the Cape Flats – we may understand bystanders’ views of their roles as bystanders. The scourge of inequality has historically and presently characterised not only the Cape Flats, the Western Cape and South Africa. This historical and contemporary inequality has brought about conditions hindering social development, and impacted both crime rates as well as the behaviour of those who constitute both victim and perpetrator. Many residents are now desensitised to crime or victimisation (Mrug, Madan & Windle, 2015). A community experiencing high rates of crime would see high levels of exposure to crime therefore desensitising it, in turn affecting

bystander behaviour including an individual's perception of their role as a bystander, and their willingness or unwillingness to intervene (Wilbrink, 2019). Moreso, victimisation would be perpetuated under such conditions. Interestingly, however, the results in the current study indicate that participants residing in Athlone (The Cape Flats), despite being desensitised to crime and victimised, intervene more frequently than not. Further, the conditions of inequality and social exclusion did not seem to hinder participants from intervening, which may be attributed to the nature of the communities on the Cape Flats as discussed in the description of the research site (see page 27).

Past literature on bystander behaviour mostly depicts bystanders as passive (depending the amount of bystanders present), and reluctant to intervene due to the diffusion of responsibility (Fischer et al, 2011; Von Bommel et al, 2012; Urschler, Fischer, Kastenmüller & Fischer, 2015). The results for this study, however, indicate that bystanders are more willing to intervene than not, with participants reporting that they have witnessed someone offering help during a crime. Although the study did not address group bystander dynamics, or behaviour in emergency situations, the findings do support contemporary research that suggests that bystanders would intervene in fact intervene (Philpot et al, 2019; Wilbrink, 2018).

Wilbrink (2018) has argued that bystanders who suffered prior victimisation were more inclined to intervene – whether indirectly or directly (for example, by calling the police). Most of the participants in this study had been victims of a crime themselves, which may account for the high levels of willingness to intervene. Further research is warranted to understand whether this willingness to intervene is influenced by the type of crime and/or emergency experienced.

Philpot et al (2019), Fehr & Fischbacher (2004), Fehr & Gächter (2002) and Gächter (2014) suggest that bystanders are likely to intervene due to a desire to protect social norms when witnessing norm breaking behaviour. To further this point, Philpot et al (2019) noted that individuals are likely to intervene even where they risk a cost to their safety or security (Fischer, Greitemeyer, Pollozek, & Frey, 2006; Harari, Harari

& White, 1985 cited in Fischer et al., 2011). Bystanders perceive a victim's distress and intervene to either alleviate the victim's suffering or to alleviate their own discomfort or unpleasant arousal caused by witnessing the situation (Batson, 1987; Cialdini et al., 1987; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981 cited in Cialdini, 1991). High levels of bystander intervention are therefore central to cooperative societal living (de Waal, 2007; Verbeek & Peters, 2018 cited in Philpot, 2019) where the desire to maintain societal norms and hinder those who break them is high. This contradicts initial theory on the bystander effect by Latané & Darley (1968), Latané & Rodin (1969) and Latané & Nida (1981) who argued that bystanders undergo a response process including phases of audience inhibition, social influence and diffusion of responsibility (Latané & Darley, 1968; Latané & Rodin, 1969; Latané, Nida & Wilson, 1981 cited in Kuijsten, 2016). These processes cause a fear of judgement by others (a social cost), misinterpretation of the situation and ultimately diffusion of responsibility (Kuijsten, 2016). More recent research, however, indicates that individuals would more likely intervene, possibly bypassing these processes (Philpot et al, 2019).

For the current study participants reported both helping and witnessing helping behaviour more often than not, suggesting that instead of fearing a social cost, misinterpreting the situation or simply diffusing responsibility bystanders took to protect cooperative living (protecting social norms and hindering those who break them). The view then, is that bystanders may not understand their roles as passive non-agents, but rather as agents of social maintenance – maintaining the norms central to their community/neighbourhood as participants in the study have reported high levels of bystander intervention.

Taken against the backdrop of previous research, this study's findings highlight a possible change in the way bystander behaviour is perceived and more importantly how individuals view their roles as bystanders; from diffusing responsibility due to fear of incurring a social penalty, to directly or indirectly intervening. To the extent that the findings offer insight into individuals' views of their roles, it appears that participants see more merit in offering intervention than not and further, they might

view intervening as a means of peacekeeping and preserving a cooperative society with established norms and values. Two aspects are salient here: participants' prior victimisation and their desire to maintain established social norms while subduing perceived distress either in oneself or another. These two factors influence how bystanders view their roles, either as passive or as an individual who could enact stability or social congruence to a situation.

The number of individuals available to intervene and their reasons for doing so were not the only important factors influencing how participants view their roles as bystanders. The types of interventions people choose during a crime is important too, as it allows us to identify which courses of action bystanders see as most effective, or rather more beneficial either to themselves, the victim of a crime or the situation entirely.

Most participants thought their intervention helped or diffused a crime. Sjögren et al (2020) argue that self-efficacy is associated with increased defending i.e., increased bystander intervention. This study's results complement Sjögren's research, that where someone holds a strong belief in their own ability (i.e., self-efficacy), they are more likely to intervene. Bandura (1997) argued that successful past behaviour, vicarious experience, verbal encouragement or discouragement and finally physiological and affect states during the event influence action (Bandura, 1997 cited in Krieger, Serrano & Neighbors, 2017). Observing others intervening instils self-efficacy though fortifying the idea that it is possible to intervene (Krieger, Serrano & Neighbors, 2017). Bystanders in this study reported high levels of intervention (both by themselves and their communities), and felt that their interventions would help or diffuse criminal situations. Many participants in the current study also reported witnessing others intervening, and therefore had vicarious experiences with bystander intervention. Future research should focus deeper on whether confidence in one's ability to intervene impacts the belief of whether the intervention helped and how self-efficacy influences an individual's view of their role as a bystander.

While most participants reported that they offered help during a crime (for example by interrupting the offender's actions, calling the police or offering help or support for the victim), there were some that chose not to intervene. Wilbrink (2018) concluded in their study that on average people hold a slightly more positive than negative attitude towards the police and that an individual's level of satisfaction with the police has a positive effect on their willingness to intervene as bystanders. Research on victim's attitudes towards police and the likelihood they would report victimisation to the police also suggests that their assessment of the cost and benefit related to reporting crime impacts behaviour (Bowles, Garcia and Garoupa, 2009 cited in Boateng, 2016). In essence, victims who perceive more benefit from calling the police will do so and those who perceive more cost will not (Bowles, Garcia & Garoupa, 2009; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Kaukinen, 2002; Boateng, 2016). Further, Boateng (2016) notes that Kaukinen (2002) contend that victims choose to call the police based on their rational assessment of the situation. There is, however, contestation about the notion that perception will impact willingness to contact the police, with some scholars arguing instead that actual contact with the police is more important (Boateng, 2016). Further, victims need to be sure that information they give the police will remain confidential and that their case will be treated fairly, efficiently and they will not be further victimised by the system (Boateng, 2016). Victim's attitudes towards police, their confidence in and satisfaction with police will influence their decision to call the police.

Given the above, it seems counterintuitive that participants in the current study are so willing to call the police. It is possible that their willingness to rely on the police indicates that they value a passive type of bystander that intervenes indirectly, as seen in Willbrink's (2018) study. Although participants saw bystanders as agents of indirect intervention or crime control, they did not opt for indirect intervention alone. Active, direct methods of intervention chosen by participants contradict the findings of past research on the bystander effect (Latané & Darley, 1968; Latané & Rodin, 1969; Latané & Nida, 1981), which argued that bystanders prefer to act as non-agents or a passers-by. More participants opted to directly intervene than simply waiting with the victim until other help arrived. These findings offer support to current research which argues that people help regardless of the presence of others

and the risk involved in intervening. Even participants that did not intervene did so because things happened too fast and the crime was committed before they could intervene, rather than because they didn't see anyone else intervene or because they thought that their intervention alone wasn't enough to stop the crime. These results support the notion that bystanders will indeed offer help – whether direct or indirect (Philpot et al, 2019; Wilbrink, 2018; Leibst, 2018).

Contrary to past research participants in this study were inclined to intervene, whether with direct or indirect means. However, as previously mentioned, more participants felt calling the police would be an appropriate intervention. Regardless of the view the public holds of the police participants in this study were willing to rely on the police. Mengistu, Pindur & Leibold (2000) state that the public views the police as incapable of controlling crime, while there is much literature on police corruption and bouts of police brutality (Faull, 2007; Mwanajiti, et al, 2002; Faull & Rose, 2012). There is clear evidence the police have held a controversial position in South Africa. It is for this reason the results in the current study offers an unexpected development. Both the history and current state of the South African Police remains controversial in terms of their relationship with the public. Samara (2009) offers a view, based on members of the Cape Flats community's anecdotal accounts during "Operation Crackdown" of police officers that paints them in an aggressive and violent manner. Further, that police tactics do little to address crime, but rather victimise community members (Samara, 2009). There was, as Lamb (2021) writes, an inheritance of the institutional culture of aggressive masculinity (Clark, 2008 cited in Lamb, 2021) and militarisation present in policing during colonial rule. This type of policing would – policing to benefit a neoliberal state - , in the words of Samara (2009) allows for the perception of security held during Apartheid that "townships were areas to be controlled" (Samara, 2009, p. 204).

Seeing clear evidence for distrust in the police by South African residents, what would motivate participants in the current study to rely on the police as much as they have. In looking at the historic and current state of the Cape Flats (see pages 50 – 54) in relation to the need for, and ability to acquire security (specifically private security) an answer comes to light. As private security is for-profit (Asomah, 2017) residents of the Cape Flats, especially those from areas more impoverished than

others, lack the financial capability to acquire private security. Asomah (2017) notes that a key issue with private security is that it is dependent on one's ability to pay for it, and further the marketing strategies of private security companies often pit the rich against the poor. This then results in an emphasis on "us against them" categorisations which ultimately leads to a "get tougher on crime" stance targeting those incapable of meeting the expectations of consumerism and marketized society (Asomah, 2017). The inability of Cape Flats residents to acquire other means of security would lead them to either rely on the police or intervene on crime themselves, which accounts for the high levels of intervention and reliance on the police found in the current study. The fact that many residents living on the Cape Flats are not capable of acquiring private security sheds some light not only the conditions of safety and security in the area, but also on bystanders' behaviour in general. Further their views of their roles as bystanders might be influenced by the lack of security options they have. Speaking specifically to the "us against them" and "get tougher on crime" notions, (Asomah, 2017) bystanders begin to shape their views based on the means of intervention at their most immediate disposal. Thus, bystanders may come to view themselves as either active helpers (direct intervention) or reliant on the police (indirect intervention) as this is their most appropriate option given their evaluation (a cost- benefit analysis) of the situation and interventions at their disposal.

The willingness of participants to intervene in the way they have, and the reasons they've chosen not to might not stem from their view of their own roles as bystanders, but rather a complex cost-benefit decision making process. In this case, the results for this study can be situated in older literature focusing on the bystander effect and the cost, risk, reward process individuals undertake when witnessing crime or deviance (e.g., Palivan & Rodin, 1968). Bystanders might use the cost, risk, benefit model not to decide whether to intervene or not, but instead how they should go about intervening. Bystanders might be inclined to intervene or not before witnessing a crime or deviant act for any of the reasons discussed in literature (prior victimisation, self-efficacy, individual/personality dispositions etc), but only decide which would be the best type of intervention relative to the situation based on the cost, risk, benefit model as discussed above.

Bystander behaviour may even have been influenced by external factors present during the crimes participants witnessed. Bystander intervention then, can be viewed as dynamic. A bystander's behaviour could change given certain factors influencing their decision to intervene or not. Therefore, in an attempt to discover how participants view their roles as bystanders, the discussion would benefit a closer look on how participants view intervention, i.e., what they think intervention should look like.

Participants were generally in agreement about what the nature of bystander intervention should entail, being inclined to agree that offering a victim support, expressing concern for the victim and helping them get help, calling the police, law enforcement or private security, confronting the offender, saying something to stop the offender and helping the police or law enforcement during the investigation of a crime are things bystanders should be doing. Further, participants were generally inclined to agreeing that crime would decrease if people in their neighbourhood would intervene when witnessing a crime and that people (including themselves) should be required to intervene when a crime takes place.

What is of note here, is participants felt that calling the police, law enforcement or private security is an ideal type of intervention, more people believe community members should be required to intervene and that crime would decrease if people intervened than those who believed they are capable of intervening and related to the former, participants seem to hold a strong view that members of their neighbourhood/suburb/community should be required to intervene and that intervening would help reduce crime. Although this might, however, indicate the presence of acquiescence bias, as intervening and holding the opinion that it could reduce crime can be considered pro-social thus, socially acceptable/desirable, the evidence in support of intervention is very strong.

Literature on altruism and egoism may explain the views bystanders might have of their roles. Cialdini (1991, p. 124) notes that "it is that, as a species, we have evolved

both biologically and socioculturally so that, when we pay attention to another's suffering, we hurt in a way that frequently leads to helping.” Cialdini (1991) further identifies four emotional states experienced when witnessing another's suffering and its relationship to the tendency to help, including reflexive distress, normative distress, sadness and empathy. Three of the four are important for navigating the participants' responses. First, reflexive distress entails a “self-oriented, aversive, arousal based affective state” (Cialdini, 1991, p. 124,) in the onlooker that results from exposure to cues of pain. Once this state is active, the observer seeks avenues to alleviate this distress in themselves (Cialdini, 1991). Bystanders take a risk-benefit outlook that aims to reduce arousal at minimal cost. Helping a victim and thus terminating their suffering is one such strategy.

Next; normative distress refers to discomfort resulting from the “violation of social or personal standards of conduct” (Cialdini, 1991, p.124). There are, certain social norms present in our society that increase helping behaviour (Berkowitz and Daniels, 1964; Gouldner, 1960 cited in Cialdini, 1991). Social responsibility, one such norm, is highly regarded in our society. Failing to help is viewed negatively (Cialdini, 1991). The need then to reduce social disapproval and increase social approval can therefore influence helping behaviour and bystander intervention (Cialdini, 1991). Additionally, personal norms may influence helping behaviour as well due to the desire to avoid personal sanctions and damage to one's self-esteem (Cialdini, 1991). Finally, Cialdini (1991) notes that empathy has also been identified as a motivational influence on helping behaviour. Batson & Shaw (1987 cited in Cialdini, 1991) contend that empathy is motivated by altruism, thus it is inclined towards the interests of others as opposed to having an egoistic nature inclined towards self-interest.

These three emotional states fit the narrative offered in earlier sections of the high levels of bystander intervention: the desire of individuals to reduce discomfort experienced by the contradiction of social norms (see Philpot et al, 2019) and the empathy resulting from prior victimisation (see Wilbrink, 2019). All of the emotional states presented here can be situated in the cost-benefit-reward model (Palivian &

Rodin, 1968; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner & Clark, 1981). Bystanders are often faced with the task of calculating the most beneficial path either for themselves (e.g., reflexive distress) or others (e.g., empathy). Taking the results for the present study into consideration, bystanders exhibit a role somewhere between altruism and egoism. For example, many participants would rely on the police as an ideal type of intervention, and more participants would consider saying something to interrupt the offender, but not necessarily intervene (i.e., intervening indirectly), which may be linked to an egoistic role as there is an underlying motivation favouring self-interest. Additionally, many participants echoed sentiments of concern for their own safety, particularly in open ended responses. This might be rooted in normative or reflexive distress, as there is a desire to alleviate the distress experienced however, direct intervention is pushed aside in their calculus of the situation and indirect intervention is preferred (e.g., calling the police.).

Although participants were more inclined towards indirect intervention, they showed behaviour oriented towards others as well. Expressing concern and support for the victim and the strong agreement with the fact that crime would decrease if people intervened and that member of their communities, including themselves, should be required to intervene would suggest a sense of altruism. Normative distress may therefore be a motivational factor for helping however, the agreement that community members (including participants themselves) as well as the empathy shown in the expression of concern and support for victims of crime indicate an altruistic role taken by participants in the current study. Having results indicating both egoistic and altruistic perceptions of bystander roles might seem contradictory, but Schulz (2015) argues that altruism does not require an ultimate desire for the wellbeing of others there only needs to be some sort of desire for it, as for as long as “an organism has desires at all, it is reasonable to assume that it has ultimate desires for increasing its own wellbeing” (Schulz, 2015, p. 4). Further Schulz (2015) contends that egoistic behaviour could lead to the evolution of altruists and further, the evolution of neither altruists nor egoists, instead there is a possibility for the evolution of reflex-driven helpers.

The point is therefore that it is indeed possible to be or assume a role of a bystander between an altruistic and egoistic one, not to argue for or against the validity of a

claim nor to delve into an analysis of the concept as that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Bystanders likely exhibit behaviours that are altruistically motivated, egoistically motivated or may be both simultaneously. Bystanders may not view their roles along the lines of altruism or egoism when making their risk, benefit, reward decision although we may infer that their motivations are altruistic or egoistic. Bystanders might rather view their roles according to the type of distress they experience, or the motivational nature of their behaviour. For example, we could argue that bystanders who intervene due to empathic motivations, may do so because they have perhaps been a prior victim of crime (see Wilbrink, 2019), and will offer support for a victim, show concern or even directly intervene. They are thus behaving altruistically and therefore may view their role as an empathic helper seeking to increase the well-being of others. Whereas bystanders who intervene due to normative or reflexive distress could be motivated to help in an egoistic way and may therefore seek to alleviate the distress within themselves in the most beneficial manner (for example, calling the police, saying something, but not intervening). These bystanders could therefore view their role as one that upholds social and/or personal standards and norms. This can be seen in the current study when participants strongly agree with the notion that others, including themselves should be required to help, that crime would decrease if members of their community intervene during crime, that cooperation with the police is an ideal means of intervention.

The view bystanders hold of their roles might not be as clear cut or black and white as we may intuitively believe. How then does this discussion contribute to the view participants hold of themselves? The answer to this lies in the connection between the data and literature on altruism and egoism. Bystanders could, based on their reported methods of intervention and agreement or disagreement of related statements, either view themselves as an empathic altruist seeking to increase the interests of others or an egoist seeking to uphold social and/or personal standards and norms so to alleviate distress or something entirely in-between i.e., an impartial, reflex-driven intervener, intervening where appropriate.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This dissertation aimed to discovering how bystanders, particularly members of the Athlone community view their roles as bystanders. The study's results have contributed to the literature by demonstrating the complexity of bystander behaviour. The current study not only explored how bystanders in a Cape Town community view their roles as bystanders, but how nuanced their view can be and thus, how nuanced bystander behaviour can be. It is not simply about whether bystanders would intervene or how situational factors influence intervention, rather the study displays how bystander behaviour can be influenced by how bystanders themselves understand the concept. Different understandings of bystander intervention, more specifically different views on bystanders' roles, may influence how bystanders intervene. Further, the study contributes to literature on bystander intervention as exhibits that bystanders are more inclined to help than not, with participants holding generally the same view on bystander intervention, the nature thereof, the most appropriate interventions to use and that communities may benefit from bystander intervention in terms of controlling crime in their areas.

The study further presents interaction with the police that is unexpected and counterintuitive given the history of policing in South Africa and the current state of community-police relations. Participants were much more reliant on the police than anticipated. The inability of Cape Flats residence to acquire other means of security other than calling the police or intervening on crime themselves can be attributed to participants' reliance on the police regardless of their views.

The data shows that contingent on the manner of intervention reported and the motivational nature of the intervention (e.g., prior victimisation, normative distress, empathy etc.) bystanders view their roles as being dutiful and upholders of social and personal norms/standards, empathic altruists seeking to increase of others; in this case the safety of others or simply as reflex-driven impartial interveners willing and capable of intervening when it is viewed as appropriate. There is enormous variation in the motivational nature of intervention, the plethora and complexity of the influences on the willingness to intervene, and the study did not attempt to

understand these. This is a critical area for future research. In addition, there is scope for further study into how bystanders view themselves, and their views of interventions more generally. It would be beneficial to understand the relationship between an individuals' motivations for helping. Finally, a further understanding of the effects of security options on bystander behaviour/intervention is warranted as there is much to be understood about how intervention is affected by the inaccessibility of private security options.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Section A: Demographics

Please tell me a little bit about yourself:

Age:

Gender:

- Female
- Male
- Other
- Prefer not to answer

Ethnicity (we are using South African Government classifications as per the census)

- Black African
- Coloured
- Indian
- Asian
- White
- Other (specify)

Suburb/Neighbourhood:

- Rylands
- Gatesville
- Surrey Estate
- Greenhaven
- Primrose Park
- Athlone

- Silvertown
- Heideveld
- Manenberg
- Sybrand Park
- Kewtown
- Welcome
- Bridgetown
- Hanover Park
- Lansdowne
- Bonteheuwel
- Langa
- Gugulethu
- Other (please specify)

Section B: Questionnaire

Please answer the following yes or no questions by marking an X in the spaces provided

1. Have you ever heard the term “bystander intervention”.

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

- 1a. If yes, do you understand what it means?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

2. Have you ever witnessed a crime taking place in your neighbourhood/suburb?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

2a. [If yes] Did someone offer help during the crime, for example stopping the mugger or calling the police.

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

3. Have you ever offered help when you have seen a crime taking place?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

3a. If yes, did it diffuse or help the situation at all?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

3b. [If yes] How did your actions help the situation? (Select all of the options that apply)

- It interrupted the offender's action and stopped the crime.
- I was able to detain the offender until law enforcement arrived.
- I called the police, armed response or other law enforcement to help.
- I was able to offer help or support for the victim.
- I was able to get the victim's possessions back.
- I was able to help the victim to get counselling or crisis support.
- I was able to stay with the victim until other help arrived.
- Other (please specify)

3c. [If no] why do you think your actions did not help the situation? (Select all of the options that apply).

- The offender wasn't deterred by my actions.
- Things happened too fast, and the crime was committed before I could stop it.
- The offender got away with the victim's property anyway
- The offender turned on me.
- No-one else intervened and my intervention wasn't enough to stop the crime.
- I started intervening, but got scared and stopped.
- I didn't know how to help the victim.
- We called the police armed response or other law enforcement, but they didn't come, or didn't arrive in time.
- The victim didn't seem to want my help.
- Other (please specify)

4. Have you ever been the victim of a crime in your area/suburb?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

4a. [If yes] Did you receive help during the incident?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

4b. [If yes] What did the person do to help? (Select all of the options that apply)

- They interrupted the offender's action and stopped the crime.
- They detained the offender until law enforcement arrived.
- They called the police, armed response or other law enforcement to help.
- They offered me help or support.
- They got my possessions back.
- They helped me to get counselling or crisis support.

- They stayed with the me until other help arrived.
- Other (please specify)

5. Please select an option for how much you agree or disagree with each sentence. When you answer, think about all the crimes that happen in your area, or have happened to you. Be honest when picking your answer. Remember that no-one else will know what you answered. It is completely anonymous.

You can only select one option per sentence.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| Crime is a problem in my neighbourhood. | | | | | |
| I expect people to help me if I am a victim of a crime. | | | | | |
| I am willing to intervene if I see a crime. | | | | | |
| I am capable of intervening if I see a crime taking place. | | | | | |
| I believe that my actions can help stop a crime. | | | | | |
| I know what to do if I see a crime being committed. | | | | | |
| I would call the police, armed response or other law enforcement if I saw a crime happening. | | | | | |
| Other people in my neighbourhood are willing to intervene when they see a crime occurring. | | | | | |
| Crime would decrease in this neighbourhood if community members would intervene when they see a crime happening. | | | | | |
| Community members, including myself, should be required to intervene if we see a crime taking place. | | | | | |

6. Now I am going to ask about some times when you had the opportunity to intervene in a crime, and if you did so. Again, please be honest when picking your answer.

Remember that no-one else will know what you answered. Your answer is completely anonymous.

First, please select yes or no to say whether you have had the opportunity to intervene in each kind of situation, and then circle yes or no to say whether you did so or not.

| | I had the opportunity to take this action | | I did take this action | | I have not encountered this situation |
|--|---|-----|------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| | No | Yes | No | Yes | |
| Interrupting a verbal public fight. | | | | | |
| Interrupting a physical public fight (assault). | | | | | |
| Interrupting a pickpocket (items stolen without you realising it). | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone from being mugged (having their items taken with violence). | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone while breaking into a car. | | | | | |
| Interrupting a house break in. | | | | | |
| Interrupting an illegal drugs trade. | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone who is using illegal drugs. | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone doing graffiti. | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone vandalising property (such as breaking windows, car mirrors or stealing hubcaps). | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone harassing someone else (giving them unwanted attention). | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone who is bullying someone else. | | | | | |
| Interrupting someone who appears to be hurting a child. | | | | | |
| Interrupting an incident of domestic violence. | | | | | |
| Interrupting a situation where someone seems to be forcing a woman to have sex with them. | | | | | |
| Interrupting a situation where someone seems to be forcing a woman who is intoxicated to have sex with them. | | | | | |
| Interrupting a conversation online where someone is being mean or hurting someone else's feelings. | | | | | |

7. What do you think bystanders should do if they witness a crime? Please select all that apply.

- Confront the offender.
- Say something to interrupt the crime (but not necessarily intervene).
- Intervene in the situation.
- Express concern and support for the victim of the crime.
- Support the victim to get help/assistance, for example from a counsellor.
- Call the police, private security or other law enforcement.
- Cooperate with the police or other law enforcement in the investigation of the crime

8. Is there anything else you would like to add about intervening in crime as a bystander?

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |
| |

End. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix B: Information Sheet

Appendix B: Information Sheet

My name is Riyaz Geyer, and I am completing a Masters' Degree in Criminology, Law and Society at the University of Cape Town. I am writing my master's dissertation on what people think about being a bystander to a crime and whether they are willing to intervene if they see a crime being committed. I am doing this survey in the Athlone area (along Klipfontein Road).

What am I asking you to do?

I am asking you to complete a questionnaire that asks you some questions about being a bystander when a crime happens. The questionnaire is made up of mainly "yes/no" questions, with a few places where you can write in your own response. The questions should not take you longer than 10 or 15 minutes to complete.

How do I take the survey?

You can choose to do the survey on paper or using a phone/iPad/computer. The surveys are exactly the same, so you are free to choose whichever option you prefer. All you have to do is let me know whether you want to do it on paper or electronically and I will help you from there.

What if I don't want to participate?

The choice to join the study is entirely yours to make. You can tell me if you would prefer not to participate. Even if you start the survey, you can stop participating at any time. You won't need to explain to me why you want to stop taking the survey, and there will be no repercussions if you do so.

Who can take the survey?

I am asking adults from the Athlone area to take part in the study. That means that I am not speaking to anyone under the age of 18.

Who will know what I answer, and what will happen to the data?

The survey is completely anonymous. It doesn't ask you to write down your name or any other identifying information. I won't watch you complete your answers. If you are taking the

paper version, I will ask you to fold the questionnaire when you are done and stick it closed using a sticker so that I won't be able to see your responses. When I have collected all the data, I will enter it into a computer file, and analyse the data from there. If you are taking an electronic version, the data is collected anonymously and compiled into a data set. Myself and my supervisor will be the only people who have access to the data. The results from the study will be written up in my master's dissertation and may also be used for a journal article.

What are the benefits of the study?

There is no direct or personal benefit (e.g., payment) for participating in my study. However, I believe that you may benefit by learning more about bystander intervention if you do not already know about it. You may benefit by learning more about your role as a bystander as well. You will also help us to understand more about how people in Cape Town view bystander intervention. Research like this study can influence policy and programmes that use bystander intervention in Cape Town communities.

What are the risks in taking part?

I think that the risks in taking part are minimal. I am not asking you any personal questions and I won't be asking you about specific incidents or things that happened to you. However, it is possible that thinking about something you have witnessed or experienced may be upsetting to you. If you feel distress and/or discomfort, there are some numbers of toll-free counselling hotlines listed at the end of this information sheet that you can contact for assistance. You are also welcome to contact me, or my supervisor if you are concerned about anything about this questionnaire. Our numbers are listed at the end of this sheet.

What about COVID-19?

We are taking the risks of COVID-19 very seriously. We have a strict hygiene protocol in place as required by the South African government, as well UCT. I will be wearing a mask at all times, and I will keep my physical distance to minimise the risk of the COVID-19 being spread to you. If you would like to see my COVID-19 protocol, please ask me for a copy.

If you are taking the pen-and-paper version of my questionnaire, I will be wiping down the clipboard and pen you use to complete the study before you take it from me using sanitizer. You will be able to watch me do this. Once you are finished with your survey, you will put the questionnaire into an envelope, which you will then drop into a bag.

If you are taking the online version, you can use your own phone or device. If you would like to use my device, I will wipe it down using sanitizer before I give it to you, and again when I take it back from you. You will be able to watch me do this.

Who can I contact about this study?

You may contact me via WhatsApp at 084 238 1424 or email at riyaazgeyer@gmail.com if there are any issues, questions, unexpected events related to the study.

If you would like to contact my supervisor, you can contact Dr Kelley Moulton at 082 625 6722 or by email at kelley.moulton@uct.ac.za.

If you have concerns about the research, its risks and benefits or about your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Law Faculty Research Ethics Committee Administrator, Ms Lamize Viljoen, at +27 (0)21 650 3080 or at lamize.viljoen@uct.ac.za. Alternatively, you may write to the Law Faculty Research Ethics Committee Administrator, Room 6.29 Kramer Law Building, Law Faculty, UCT, Private Bag, Rondebosch 7701.

IMPORTANT CONTACT NUMBERS

If you experience any discomfort or distress you may contact the following toll free hotlines:

Cape Mental Health: 27 (0)21 447 9040

South African Depression and Anxiety Group: [\(0800\) 12 13 14](tel:(0800)121314), SADAG Mental Health Line: 011 234 4837

Adcock Ingram Depression and Anxiety Helpline: [\(0800\) 70 80 90](tel:(0800)708090)

Lifeline South Africa: [\(0861\) 322 322](tel:(0861)322322), Counselling Line: 021 461 1111, WhatsApp Call: 063 709 2620

Appendix C: Informed Consent

Pen and Paper

Appendix C: Consent Form (Paper version)

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my study. I appreciate your contribution to my research.

Please indicate whether you agree to each of the statements below:

| | YES | NO |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| The research has been explained to me, and my questions have been answered. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand the risks, and agree to take part in the research study. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that taking part is voluntary. I am not being forced to take part. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that I can stop taking part at any time, and I can skip questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that my responses will be kept anonymous. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that the data will be written up as a thesis and a journal article. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Signature of the participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of the researcher: _____

Date: _____

If you have concerns about the research, its risks and benefits or about your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Law Faculty Research Ethics Committee Administrator, Ms Lamize Viljoen, at +27

(0) 21 650 3080 or at lamize.viljoen@uct.ac.za. Alternatively, you may write to the Law Faculty Research Ethics Committee Administrator, Room 6.29, Kramer Law Building, Law Faculty, UCT, Private Bag, Rondebosch 7701.

[Online](#)

Appendix C: Consent Form (Online version)

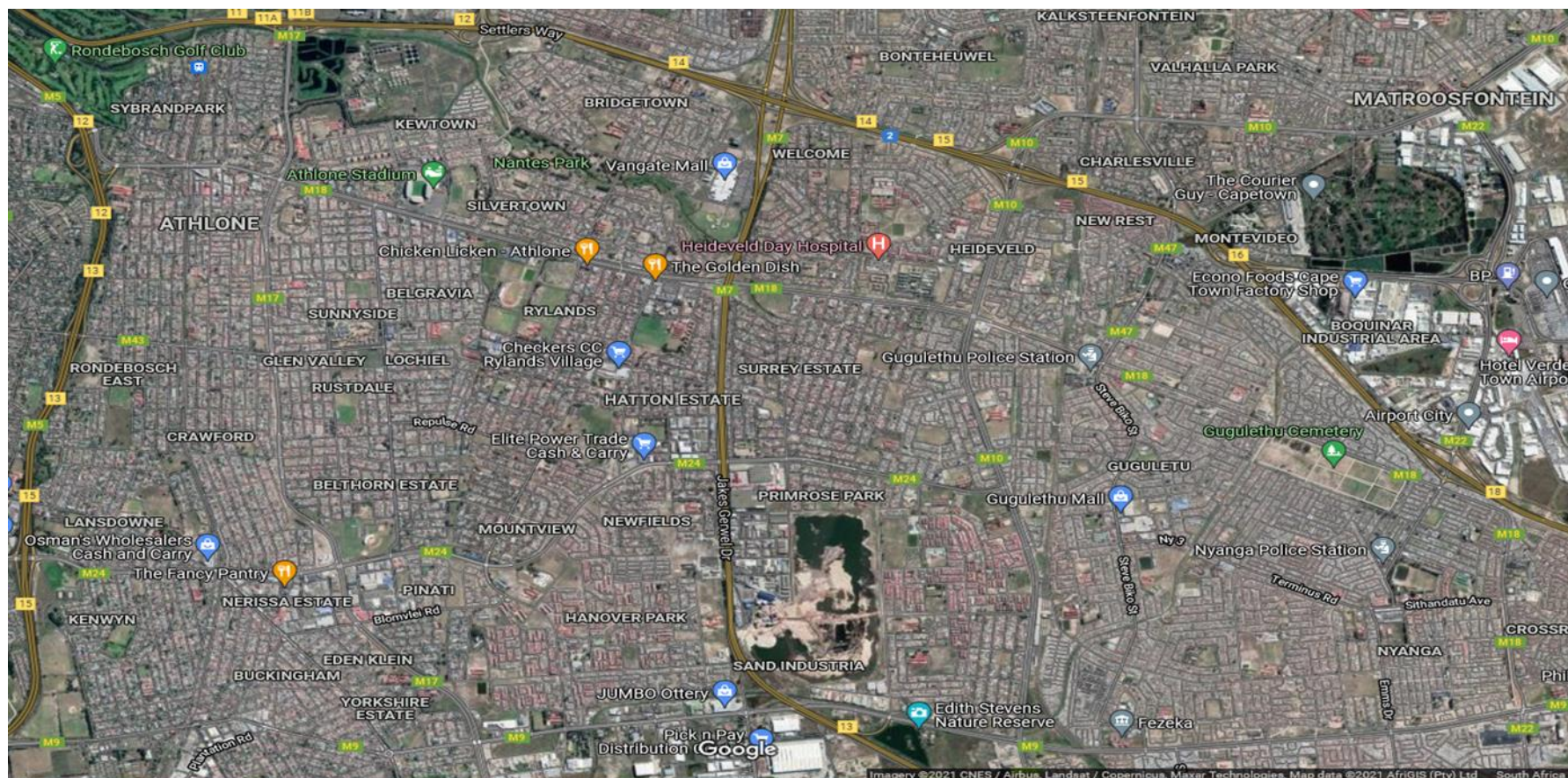
Thank you for agreeing to take part in my study. I appreciate your contribution to my research.

Please click in the box next to each statement to indicate that you have read the statement and agree:

| | AGREE | NOT AGREE |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| The research has been explained to me, and my questions have been answered. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand the risks, and agree to take part in the research study. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that taking part is voluntary. I am not being forced to take part. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that I can stop taking part at any time, and I can skip questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that my responses will be kept anonymous. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that the data will be written up as a thesis and a journal article. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

BEGIN THE SURVEY

*If "Do Not Agree" is selected, the survey takes the respondent to the disqualification page.



Appendix D: Map of Athlone

The map above details the areas include in the research site retrieved from <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Athlone,+Cape+Town,+7760/@-33.9671755,18.4981343,16z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x1dcc449f313450dd:0x459cb4fa2f12472b!8m2!3d-33.9644851!4d18.5031981>

Appendix E: English flyer

DO YOU LIVE IN ATHLONE?

TAKE A SHORT SURVEY ON

**BYSTANDER
INTERVENTION
AND CRIME**

COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS | MASTERS' DEGREE RESEARCH
FOR MORE INFORMATION ON THE SURVEY, AND TO TAKE PART

 [CLICK HERE](#)

QUESTIONS? EMAIL RIYAAZGEYER@GMAIL.COM / WHATSAPP 084 238 1424

Appendix F: Afrikaans flyer

WOON JY IN ATHLONE?

NEEM 'N KORT OPNAME OOR

**OMSTANDER
INGRYPING EN
MISDAAD**

HEELTEMAAL ANONIEM | MEESTERSGRAAD NAVORSING
VIR MEER INLIGTING OOR DIE OPNAME EN OM DEEL TE NEEM:

 **KLIEK HIER**

VRAE? E-POS RIYAAZGEYER@GMAIL.COM / WHATSAPP 084 238 1424

Appendix G: Ethics clearance

**Faculty of Law: Research Ethics Committee**

Private Bag X3 ▪ Rondebosch ▪ 7701 ▪ South Africa
 Room 6.29 ▪ Kramer Building ▪ Middle Campus
 Tel: +27 021 650 3080 Fax: +27 021 650 5660
 E-mail: lamize.viljoen@uct.ac.za Internet: www.law.uct.ac.za

Certificate of Approval for Ethical Clearance

| | |
|--|--|
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR/SUPERVISOR: KELLEY MOULT STUDENT: RIYAAZ GEYER – [GYRRIY001] FACULTY: LAW DEPARTMENT: PUBLIC LAW | ETHICS REFERENCE NUMBER: L0163-2020 ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE: 05-FEBRUARY-2021 APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE: 04-FEBRUARY-2022 |
| <p>[NEW PROJECT TITLE] Bad things happen [be]cause good people do nothing". A study on how residents of Athlone and it's suburbs view their roles as bystanders. <i>PROJECT TITLE: Intervention or Inconvenience? A Study on how members of the Athlone Community, Cape Town view their roles as bystanders.</i></p> <p>PURPOSE OF RESEARCH: Completion of a degree (Mphil). The purpose of the proposed research is to discover how people in Cape Town communities view their roles as bystanders to crime in their communities.</p> | |
| CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL | |
| <p>This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.</p> <p>Modifications To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a formal "Request for a Modification" to the REC Administrative Office. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.</p> <p>Renewals Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You are responsible for submitting this by at least 2 months prior to the expiry date of clearance date issued.</p> <p>Project Closures When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please formally notify the REC: Law as well as your supervisor where applicable.</p> | |
| <p style="text-align: center;">Certification</p> | |

This certifies that the University of Cape Town Law Faculty's Research Ethics Committee has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Cape Town Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.

pp

Mr Thiyane Duda

LAW REC: LEAD REVIEWER

Certificate Issued On:

23/12/2021 Title

amended:

23/12/2021

No change in application content / STATUS VALID