Youth Bystander Reporting of Peer Violence

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DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to Derrick and Madison, in hopes that the path I chose will light an even brighter way for their futures.

I owe a world of thanks that could fill a book by itself to all of my friends and family who contributed to the production of this thesis. Whether through mind, body or soul, you've enhanced my life in some way that made this process bearable, possible – and even fun at times! Special mention to: Anton Symkovich, Elizabeth Gurian, Jordi Vila, Kay Jerath, Lucy Markson-Lainé, and Natalia Vibla. An extra special shout-out to Jenza Inc. for the production of the video, Amy Nivette and Caroline Lanskey for their keen eyes with early drafts, and to Sebastian Gaigg for being an awesome Senior Tutor. Thank you all a million times over! And as for where I am today, my eternal gratitude goes out to five people. Mr C: your vivid verbs are still vivid even after 27 years! Mandeep: my journey started with you and for that I will always be grateful. Friedrich: thank you for your ongoing mentorship, support and encouragement. My supervisor, Peter: thank you for your patience with me through this process and getting me through the finish line. And last but not least, my partner in life and in crime, Corey, who, despite our many, many, many differences, is always there for me in my hour of need. Thank you all!

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Karen Antonia Souza

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigated why some youth bystanders are more willing than others to report their observations of peer violence to authorities. *Resilience theory* underpinned the research to enable an exploration of the strengths/resources in normative development that may support youths' reporting decisions. Using a mixed-methods approach (i.e. vignette experiment, survey, and standardised tool), both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered from 364 youth aged 11 to 18 years old. The analyses of this thesis tackled a specific subset of the data to answer three overarching questions: (1) Is there a discernible pattern to youths' willingness to report peer violence? (2) What factors predict youth bystanders' decisions to (not) report peer violence? And (3) How do 'reporters' differ from 'non-reporters'? The results indicated that most youth were *not* willing to report peer violence to authorities, and this was largely contingent on their perceptions of the incident's severity. Willingness to report did not differ significantly by gender, age and ethnicity. Of the six proxy measures of resilience examined, social competence predicted reporting: more prosocial attitudes were associated with higher levels of reporting. Moral cognitions and emotions did not differentiate reporters from non-reporters; therefore, non-reporters *do* have the capacity to recognise the gravity of a situation and feel sympathy toward victims of violence. A thematic analysis of the textual data suggests that social distance may account for this group's lack of reporting. Based on the findings of this study, a model of youth bystander reporting of peer violence is proposed which purports that when youth are exposed to the risk of peer violence, the outcome of reporting is moderated by individual and social protective factors. In practice, reinforcing positive social behaviour and decreasing social distance amongst youth, and also between students and authorities, may yield a change in youths' reporting potentials.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Without mobilization of the law, a legal control system lies out of touch with the human

problems it is designed to oversee" (Black, 1973, p. 126).

Thesis Overview

On November 14, 1997, a 14-year old girl named Reena Virk was killed in

Victoria, BC, Canada. Reena had initially attended a party under the Craigflower Bridge

(a popular teen hangout) where she was attacked by a group of other teenagers. She

managed to escape but was followed by two of the assailants who then continued to

assault her. The assault turned deadly when one of the perpetrators forcibly held her

head under water until she drowned. Reena's death attracted a lot of media attention

and became the subject of much study, in part, because many witnesses were present

at the time of the first assault, yet no one intervened. The incident took place on a

Friday night and by Monday morning, despite rumours about her death that had

proliferated throughout her school among the students, staff and faculty, still no one

reported the event. Reena's body was found eight days later by the police search-and-

rescue team when it washed ashore at the Gorge inlet, just a few miles from where she

had been killed. An autopsy revealed that she had been severely beaten and sustained

a traumatic head injury prior to drowning.

Three years later, on December 29, 2010, Sylvester Akapalara, age 17, was

found dying from a gunshot wound in the stairwell of a housing estate in Peckham in

south-east London, UK. An investigation revealed that Sylvester had been involved in

an alleged altercation with some other boys earlier that day. Shortly after his death, a

flyer (Figure 1) surfaced around the estate, warning people against cooperating with

the police. The flyer also provided a link to a website ("Stop Snitching") which offered

assistance to anyone seeking to evade authorities, and asked anyone who was

contemplating providing information to the police about Sylvester's death to contact

them first.
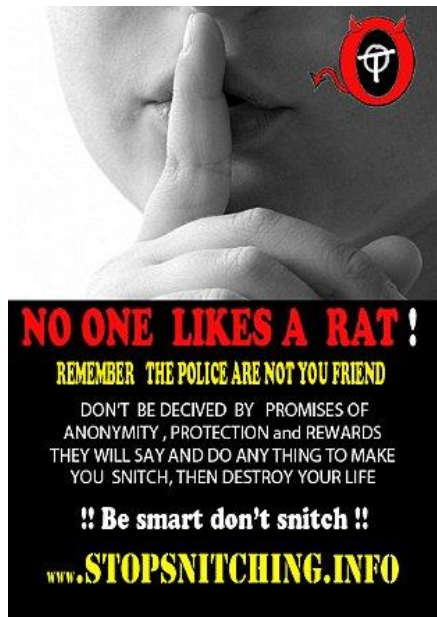
Figure 1. "Stop Snitching" flyer.

Although these two tragic events occurred years ago, unfortunately, since then, many similar stories of youth violence and victimisation have been reported by the media. What is particularly troublesome is that even when a death occurs, bystanders are reluctant to come forward. In Reena Virk's case, not only did witnesses fail to intervene while the assault was taking place, others who had heard about the incident after the fact also failed to report it to the police. Incidentally, Reena's story bears some resemblance to the death of 'Kitty Genovese' more than three decades prior, which was the source of bystander intervention research (Latané & Darley, 1968). In Sylvester Acapalara's case, the propaganda leaflet also draws attention to the issue of social influence, which is known to affect crime reporting decisions (Latané & Darley, 1970).

There is currently a lack of systematic scientific research on interpersonal violence reporting among youth bystanders. Yet third-party observers of violence can be a potentially vital source of information, intervention and prevention, especially in situations where the victim cannot (e.g. due to physical injury) or will not report on his or her own behalf. However, the steps that youth must take in order to be effective bystanders, and the types of supports that they require to achieve this are not well

defined. This thesis endeavours to shed some light on our understanding of the problem.

Research strategy. Data collection started on October 10, 2011 and was completed on July 16, 2012. A mixed methods approach was used to gather both quantitative and qualitative data from 364 youth aged 11 to 18 years old. First, a vignette experiment was carried out to examine the effects of two factors on youths' propensity to report peer violence: incident severity and social influence. Next, a self-completion questionnaire was employed to glean information about youths' personal characteristics, peer relationships, views about crime and justice, school and extracurricular activities, prior victimisation experiences, and prior contact with the police. Lastly, Goodman's (1997) *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ) was employed. The SDQ is a standardised instrument used for gathering information on youths' developmental strengths and difficulties in five areas: attention/hyperactivity, emotions, behavioural conduct, peer relationships, and prosocial attitudes. These five domains reflect important areas of youth development that relate to resilience. Each participant completed all three components of the research (i.e. experiment, survey and SDQ).

Thesis organisation. This thesis consists of six chapters. The remainder of Chapter 1 sets the stage for the research by providing the backdrop for studying youth bystander reporting. Some statistics are given on youth offending and the (in)frequency of crime reporting in general. Then, the relevance of crime reporting is discussed in terms of its impact on law enforcement and the effects on victims and witnesses. This leads to the rationale for studying youth bystander reporting of peer violence.

Chapter 2 begins with an abridged review of the literature on bystander intervention. Then, the focus is narrowed to the topic of indirect intervention via reporting. The definition of crime reporting for this thesis is given, along with the operationalisations of the construct. The conceptualisation of bystander reporting as a prosocial action is also discussed, focusing specifically on moral cognitions and emotions as determinants of reporting.

In Chapter 3, *resilience theory* is introduced as a framework for investigating youths' developmental assets and resources that may be associated with positive prosocial action. The assumption is that more strengths (and thus, fewer difficulties) lead to better outcomes for young people who face adversity. When applied to the specific context of violence exposure, the implication is that increased 'protective factors' can buffer youth against this risk and increase their chances of intervening via reporting to authorities.

Chapter 4 describes the full methodology that was implemented in the research. This includes a detailed description of the recruitment process (including ethical approval and access), sample, research design, methods of data collection (i.e. vignette experiment, survey and standardised instrument), and fieldwork procedure. The methodological limitations of the research are also discussed to set the parameters for interpreting the findings from the analyses.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the study in seven sections: i) descriptive data; ii) crime reporting and situational factors; iii) crime reporting and individual, social and community-level protective factors; iv) crime reporting and reasoning/moral decision making; v) crime reporting and attitudes toward and contact with the police; vi) crime reporting and victimisation status and risk behaviour; and lastly, vii) a multifactorial approach. For the first six sections, youths' willingness to report peer violence were examined on each of these dimensions separately. Then, the variables shown as important in each section were combined and assessed together for their predictive utility on youth bystander reporting via a binary logistic regression analysis.

The concluding Chapter 6 contains an in-depth discussion of the research findings, and then the theoretical and practical implications are discussed. The limitations of the research are also raised, along with some suggestions for future studies.

1.1   Research Background

Despite the fact that, overall, youth offending rates in England and Wales have declined in recent years (Office for National Statistics, 2016), youth crime is still a

serious problem for victims, peers, families and communities. It is estimated that young people aged 10 to 17 account for around 23 per cent (or 1.01 million) of all police recorded crime in England and Wales (Cooper & Roe, 2012). Considering that this group represents one-tenth of the offending age population (age 10 and over), their over-representation in the criminal justice system is problematic. Furthermore, statistics show that in the year prior to 2015, youth aged 10 to 15 were involved in 793,000 crimes, of which the highest proportions pertained to violent offenses[1] (399,000; 50%) and personal theft (259,000; 33%) (Office for National Statistics, 2016). Thus, the types of crimes associated with young people are not trivial.

What is even more problematic is that many offenses committed against children and young people are *never* reported to the police. For instance, Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman (1994) found that as many as one-third of all victimised children never disclose their experiences to anyone. Rates of reporting for violent crime (e.g. physical assault and robbery) are especially low in general (e.g. Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010; Finkelhor, Wolak, & Berliner, 2001; Laub, 1997; Rennison, 2001), and among children and young people in particular (e.g. Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001; Finkelhor & Wolak, 2003). Studies have found that even though youth are at significantly higher risk of violent victimisation than adults (Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999; Klaus & Rennison, 2002), with the exception of sexual offenses, violent crimes committed against children and young people are significantly less likely to become known to the police compared to their older counterparts (e.g. Finkelhor & Ormrod, 1999, 2001; Hart & Rennison, 2003; Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999; Watkins, 2005). In fact, Finkelhor and Ormrod (2000) found that violent crimes committed against adults are nearly twice as likely to become known to the police compared to adolescents. Even the most serious

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[1] Violence offense categories include violence with injury (298,000; 75%), assault with minor injury (192,000; 48%), wounding (106,000; 27%), and violence without injury (101,000; 25%). Robbery is classified separately and accounts for 5% (41,000) of total offenses.

victimisations that involve weapons and injury are significantly less likely to be reported when they happen to youth compared to adults (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 1999). The implication of these findings is that the known prevalence of violent youth crime and victimisation is likely underestimated. What we do not know for certain is to *what extent* exactly and *why* it is so underreported.

The issue of non-reporting is further complicated by the fact that young bystanders are present in most violent conflicts involving other youth. Past studies have found that up to 73 percent of middle and high school students have witnessed some form of violence (e.g. bullying and physical assault) in their lifetime (e.g. Molcho, Craig, Due, Pickett, Harel-Fisch, Overpeck et al., 2009; Oh & Hazler, 2009; Rivers, Poteat, Noret, & Ashurst, 2009; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996), yet very rarely do they intervene (e.g. Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000; O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999; Rogers & Tisak, 1996; Stevens, Van Oost, & de Bourdeaudhuij, 2000). Our understanding of this discrepancy between high violence and low reporting rates among youth bystanders is limited by a lack of empirical research on the topic.

1.2 Official Statistics on Crime Reporting

It is estimated that approximately 95 per cent of all crimes come to the attention of the police through citizen reports (e.g. Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Mayhew, 1993; Reiss, 1971). However, because there is currently no systematic method of gathering separate data on reports of crime by witnesses and bystanders, it is unclear as to what proportion of this figure they represent. In general, what we do know about crime and victimisation comes from three main sources: official statistics from law enforcement agencies and criminal courts, victimisation surveys, and self-report surveys on offending and arrest. Because this thesis focuses specifically on reporting of victimisation, only the latter two sources are discussed in detail here.

Police recorded crimes are offenses that are documented by the 43 territorial police forces of England and Wales. This data provides a wealth of information on the types, prevalence and distribution of crime and victimisation. However, official statistics

are problematic for at least three reasons. First, wide variations in recording practices across agencies hinders reliable comparison of the data. Second, with respect to adolescents, estimates are often based on the proportion of 'proven offenses' that have resulted in the disposal of a formal sanction such as a final warning by the police or a sentence at court (Ministry of Justice, 2011). However, research indicates that there is considerable variation among police officers and judges in their use of these sanctions (Black & Reiss, 1970). The third limitation is the general problem of the "dark figure" (Moynihan & Coleman, 1996, p. 3) which refers to undetected, unrecorded and unreported crime. Lastly, crime data mainly provide quantitative accounts of the prevalence and number of (un)reported incidents. As such, they offer little insight to the complex processes underlying people's decisions of whether or not to report crime.

Victimisation surveys supplement official statistics by painting a fuller picture of crime than could be obtained from a single source alone. The *Crime Survey for England and Wales* (CSEW)[2] is a national survey that is conducted face-to-face with household residents in England and Wales. In 2009, the CSEW was extended to include children above the age of 10. This was an important development as prior to that, the views and experiences of people under the age of 16 were entirely overlooked. The children's survey covers a range of topics including: schooling, perceptions and experiences of crime, victimisation experiences, attitudes of and contact with the police, antisocial behaviour, crime prevention and security. It also includes a self-completed component which asks questions related to risk behaviours such as school truancy, bullying, street gangs, drinking behaviour and cannabis use. Despite its comprehensiveness, however, one major drawback of the CSEW (and victimisation surveys in general) is that the statistics represent aggregate data and therefore, offer little information about individual responses to crime. In addition, data are often gathered retrospectively so the direction of causality is unclear. Survey

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[2] The CSEW was formerly called the *British Crime Survey* (BCS). It was renamed in 2012 to better reflect the geographical area that the survey covers.

findings also tend to be descriptive rather than analytic which does not allow us to draw any clear psychological conclusions from the data. In light of all of the abovementioned limitations, empirical research studies can offer a useful third perspective from which to understand bystander reporting behaviour.

1.3   The Relevance of (Non-)Reporting

The topic of youth bystander reporting of violence is worthy of investigation for several reasons. First, as Donald Black's quotation in the opening statement of this chapter suggests, people's decisions of whether or not to notify the police when an offense takes place directly impacts the functioning and utility of the criminal justice system. From a law enforcement perspective, reporting is a pertinent issue because it can facilitate or impede police activity and their effectiveness in responding to crime. For instance, delayed and non-reporting can hinder police operations in terms of arrest and case clearance rates (Van Kirk, 1978; Wong & Van de Schoot, 2012). This can subsequently result in misallocation of resources, which can have major practical and financial implications (Tarling & Morris, 2010). Non-reporting can also result in the police not taking any action, which inadvertently undermines the objective of the justice system in terms of its goals of incapacitating and deterring offenders (Bachman, 1993, 1998). This can lead the public to perceive law enforcement agents as lazy or ineffective, which can reduce their confidence and trust in the justice system, and thus, undermine its legitimacy (Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010; Kennedy, 2008). Last but not least, because the distribution of police resources and support services is often based on demand (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988), non-reporting can prevent victims and witnesses from receiving the appropriate level of support and assistance that they might need, and in a timely manner. This can, of course, have grave consequences in cases of violent crimes. The underutilisation of these key support agencies can also jeopardise their longevity.

In addition, being exposed to violence can have a tremendous impact on the health and well-being of both victims and witnesses. Here, past studies have found that violence exposure is associated with various psychological and mental health problems

for young people including anger, anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress (e.g. Coie, 2004; Cooley-Quille, Turner, & Beidel, 1995; Dodge, Coie, & Lynam, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 1993; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Scarpa, Fikretoglu, Bowser, Hurley, Pappert, Romero et al., 2002). For victims in particular, they are at increased risk of poor mental health associated with shame, self-hatred, low self-esteem and social exclusion (e.g. Ahmed, 2008; Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpelä, Rantanen, & Rimpelä, 2000; Kumpulainen & Rasanen, 2000; Schwartz, 2000). Furthermore, children who are exposed to violence often exhibit academic and behavioural problems: these individuals are more likely to have poor grades, drop out of school, get pregnant, and abuse substances (e.g. DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergast, Slavens, & Linder, 1994; Dyson, 1990; Kliewer, Cunningham, Diehl, Parish, Walker, Atiyeh et al., 2004; Osofsky, 2003; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Studies have also found that young witnesses of violence are especially at risk of either becoming victims or perpetrators of violence themselves (e.g. Hammack, Richards, Luo, Edlynn, & Roy, 2004; Shaffer & Ruback, 2002). According to general strain theories, children may 'act out' as a way of coping with adversity (Agnew, 1997), or as a strategy for preventing victimisation (Singer, 1986). Likewise, traumatic stress theory suggests that people who have undergone some sort of trauma may have a heightened sensitivity to threat and compensate via increased aggressive behaviour (Chemtob, Roitblat, Hamada, Carlson, & Twentyman, 1988; Hartman & Burgess, 1993). While this certainly explains some children's reactions to witnessing violence, such maladaptive coping responses are generally unfavourable as they are associated with negative outcomes.

Of course, not all youth who witness violence will experience difficulties. In fact, some may even show signs of *positive* functional outcomes, such as bystanders who choose to intervene. It is these individuals who are of particular interest in this thesis. Through their decisions and actions, bystanders have great potential power to influence how situations of peer conflict play out. Studies have found that children who intervene when their peers are being victimised are successful in stopping the perpetrator at least 50 per cent of the time (e.g. Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick,

2005; Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001). Therefore, an understanding of youth bystanders' motivations and willingness to help, and the resources that they draw on to support their decisions, can inform strategies for improving rates of bystander intervention, which supports the ultimate goal of violence and victimisation reduction among children and young people.

The originality of this thesis is its application of resilience theory in exploring youth bystanders' intentions to report peer violence. Resilience theory offers a unique perspective to bystander intervention because it highlights the potential strengths and resources of young people that can counteract risk of violence exposure and lead to the positive outcome of reporting to authorities. By contributing to the development of a theory of youth bystander intervention, it can inform ways to harness youth resilience as a source of strength so that we can embrace young people as a resource rather than a liability. It can also inform the development of programmes that centre on empowering youth such as peer mediation and peer-to-peer support systems which have proven successful in resolving peer conflict (Cowie, Naylor, Talamelli, Chauhan, & Smith, 2002). Incidentally, this ethos is in line with that of past UK government initiatives such as *Don't Suffer in Silence* (Department for Education and Employment, 2010) which emphasizes help seeking and reporting of bullying, as well as *Breaking the Cycle* which advocates for "the prevention of future crimes and future victims" (see Ministry of Justice, 2011, p. 2).

The next chapter delivers a literature review of bystander intervention. Theoretical contributions to the topic, along with substantive findings from past empirical studies, are presented. Also discussed are the gaps in the research and how the present study intends to address them.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW ON BYSTANDER INTERVENTION

Chapter Overview

Past research indicates that an exceedingly high proportion (between 26% and 70%) of school-aged children have been exposed to violence, either as victims or witnesses (e.g. Jenkins & Bell, 1997; Singer, Anglin, Song, & Lunghofer, 1995). The most frequently occurring forms of youth violence are bullying, pushing, shoving, physical threats and fights (Stueve, Dash, O'Donnell, Tehranifar, Wilson-Simmons, Slaby, et al. 2006). Despite the fact that many of these incidents result in physical injury, most of these transgressions are never reported to the police (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001; Raviv, Raviv, Vago-Gefen, & Fink, 2009) or other authorities (e.g. school administrators) (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001). In light of research evidence that exposure to violence may put youth at risk in terms of various physical (e.g. Hefez, Metz, & Lavie, 1987; Orr, Claiborn, Altman, Forgue, de Jong, Pitman, et al., 1990; Pitman & Orr, 1990), emotional (e.g. Moses, 1999), psychological (e.g. Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990), social (Sampson & Laub, 1993) and academic difficulties (Schwartz, Gorman, Nakamoto, & Tobin, 2005), the discrepancy between high violence and low reporting rates among youth warrants further consideration.

Bystanders of violence can greatly influence how a situation plays out. Among various behavioural options, one way that a bystander can intervene is by reporting what they see to authorities (Burn, 2009; Hart & Miethe, 2009). Unfortunately, however, this seems to happen rarely (Christy & Voigt, 1994). Since the 1960's, an impressive body of literature has amassed on bystander behaviour. The majority of these studies have tested Latané and Darley's (1968) classic 'bystander effect theory' and invariably confirm that larger groups of bystanders tend to inhibit helping due to 'diffusion of responsibility' (see Latané & Nida, 1981, for a review). Although these studies have offered much insight into why people *fail* to respond directly in emergency situations, they do little to explain why some people choose instead to intervene. This thesis seeks to fill this gap in the literature. Specifically, the present study focuses on the

indirect intervention strategy known as *bystander reporting*, which I define as *third-party notification of authorities about a perceived criminal event*.

Chapter 2 starts with a general introduction to bystander intervention. It briefly describes what bystander intervention is and the psychological processes that may underlie different types of bystander decisions. Then, the focus is narrowed to the topic of *bystander reporting.* A definition of bystander reporting is proposed for this thesis. This is followed by a review of the literature on crime reporting. Three prevailing explanatory models are presented, along with some past empirical findings, with the literature on victims and bystanders discussed separately. After this is a literature review on youth reporting of peer violence. The concept of bystander reporting as a prosocial action is introduced in which the constructs of empathy and moral reasoning are discussed as potential explanatory variables in youth bystander reporting.

2.1   What is Bystander Intervention?

The term 'bystander' refers to a person who plays some role in an offense but is neither the perpetrator nor the victim (Stueve et al., 2006). Bystanders are essentially third parties who observe an offense first-hand (such as a witness or passerby), or hear about it second-hand from someone else. 'Bystander intervention' is both a *philosophy* and a *strategy* for preventing various types of wrongdoing. As illustrated in Figure 2, when bystanders are exposed to crime, they essentially have two decision options: to intervene, or not intervene. The different psychological processes that may drive these decisions are discussed next.
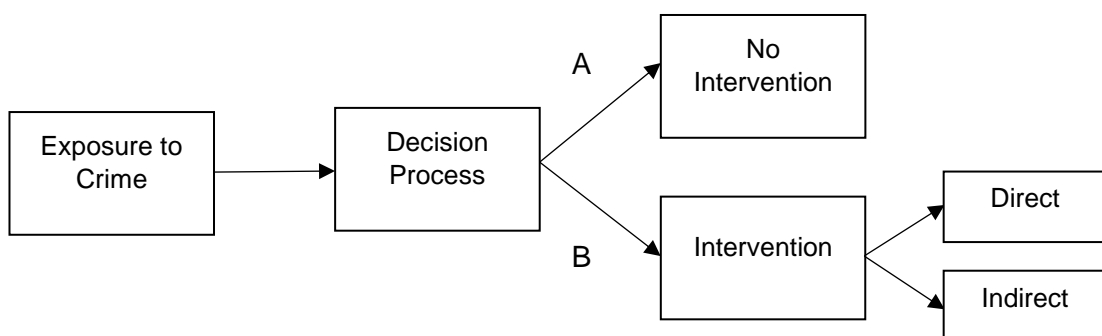
Figure 2. Bystanders' decision pathway.

2.1.1   *Classic studies of 'non-intervention'.* When a crime takes place, one potential outcome for bystanders is that they refrain from intervening (path 'A' in Figure 2). Research on non-intervention originated in the 1960s, following the highly publicised rape and murder of Kitty Genovese (see Rosenthal, 1964). On the night of March 13, 1964, Ms. Genovese was attacked in public, and many witnesses either saw or heard the assault taking place, yet no one intervened. Although the details of this event are somewhat controversial (see Manning, Levine, & Collins, 2007), to explain this inconsistency, Latané and Darley (1969) proposed the *situational model* of bystander behaviour. They theorised that bystanders' involvement in emergency situations is largely influenced by the number of other people present, a phenomenon that they coined the *bystander effect*. The theory essentially suggests a negative relationship between helping and bystander presence, such that the more people present, the less likely anyone will intervene. Latané and Darley found strong support for this theory across various experimental and field settings (for a review, see Latané & Nida, 1981), and their findings have been very well-replicated in social psychology (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2004; Fischer, Greitemeyer, Pollozek, & Frey, 2006; Levine, 1999).

Latané and Darley (1970) proposed three theories to explain the psychological processes that may interfere with bystander intervention. First, *diffusion of responsibility* asserts that a person is less likely to act when other people are around because they pass on (or 'diffuse') the responsibility to other bystanders. This results in a reduced sense of accountability which decreases one's likelihood of responding. Second, *evaluation apprehension* refers to the notion that people may be reluctant to intervene in public situations because they fear that their actions will be judged by others. Third, the concept of *pluralistic ignorance* suggests that people define crises based on the reactions of others. So, if other bystanders do not intervene, this is perceived as a sign that the situation is not serious, and therefore, does not require intervention.

Other researchers suggest that bystanders are less likely to intervene when the situation is perceived as ambiguous (Clark & Word, 1972; Latané & Darley, 1968; Latané & Rodin, 1969; Moriarity, 1975; Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1980; Shotland & Stebbins, 1983). According to social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), this delay in intervention occurs because bystanders are seeking help from others to clarify the situation and/or provide guidance or advice on what to do.

Despite the different underlying motivations, the abovementioned theories have a common thread: they underscore the impact that social influence can have on bystander behaviour. Indeed, bystanders' detection and classification of emergency situations, and their subsequent actions, are affected by the presence, advice and behaviours of others (e.g. Bickman & Green, 1977; Latané & Darley, 1970; Latané & Nida, 1981). Furthermore, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) posit that among youth, normative pressure based on their perceived expectations of people close to them (e.g. family and friends) may especially impact their reporting decisions. This is because adolescence is a time in which young people are particularly susceptible to the influence of those around them.

2.1.2 *Direct versus indirect intervention.* Most bystander research, to date, has focused on non-intervention. However, there are a few counter-examples of studies which have found that people *do* intervene in emergency situations, regardless of who is present (see Fischer et al., 2006). This implies that the inhibitory effect of bystanders on helping may be reduced in certain situations. However, it is unclear as to precisely *which* situations and *why*.

Intervention (path 'B') can be subdivided into *direct* or *indirect actions.* On one hand, direct intervention involves some sort of open, personal interjection, such as using physical force to stop a perpetrator, providing direct assistance to victims, and speaking out against social norms that support bad behaviour (Ahmed, 2005). On the other hand, indirect intervention involves actions such as help seeking and police notification. Both types of intervention are generally regarded as helpful because they are meant to aid the person in need. However, the two paths differ in terms of *how* a

person helps; that is, either by asserting one-self in the situation, or getting others involved. The paths also differ in terms of timing in that direct intervention tends to be more immediate because the bystander is a key player, whereas indirect intervention typically involves a delay (e.g. leaving the scene of a crime to get help).

To explain direct intervention, Shotland (1976) proposed the idea of *spontaneous vigilantism* which essentially refers to bystanders taking matters into their own hands. According to Shotland, this tends to occur only under certain conditions, such as when bystanders strongly identify with or feel affinity toward the victim(s), or when bystanders perceive that immediate action is necessary to uphold social order (for example, when a person lacks confidence in law enforcement agents to adequately address the situation).

In contrast, indirect intervention refers to help seeking in emergency situations, which encompasses reporting to authorities (Shotland & Goodstein, 1984). This type of intervention can be motivated by a number of reasons. First, one might choose to report a crime to the police because the perceived costs of direct involvement may be too high. This may happen, for example, in highly dangerous situations that could lead to physical injury or death (Gargan, 1982; Shotland & Goodstein, 1984). Second, bystanders may decide to report to authorities *after* a crime has been committed. The reasons for this are many: the crime may have been completed too quickly, they may have come across evidence after the fact, a friend or family member may have encouraged them to report the incident, and so on. Finally, bystanders may seek help from someone else to intervene because they perceive themselves to be incapable of direct involvement (Shotland & Stebbins, 1980). Here, Horowitz (1971) theorises that people's perceptions of their own competence can impact their decisions of whether or not they will intervene in an emergency situation. In other words, the more (or less) capable a person perceives him/herself to be, the higher (or lower) their chances of intervening.

Although past research has been enlightening, the literature is now somewhat dated. In addition, there are some issues that limit its usefulness to the present

research. For one, most studies of bystander intervention have taken a negative stance by focusing on why people fail to intervene. However, this is rather short-sighted as it neglects the fact that bystanders can be a potentially vital source of information, intervention and prevention of crime, as demonstrated by those who choose to report it. Another limitation of past research is that bystander intervention has primarily been studied at a single aggregate level, for example, by focusing only on situational factors such as type of emergency and number of witnesses present (e.g. Latané & Darley, 1969; Shotland & Straw, 1976). However, Goudriaan and Nieuwbeerta (2007) assert that bystander decision making does not take place in a vacuum, and that various individual, social, and environmental factors can also contribute to bystanders' decisions. Lastly, bystander research has mainly been conducted with adult samples. In turn, we know little about the reactions and experiences of youth bystanders who witness crime, hence, why they are the sole focus of this thesis.

2.2   Definition of Crime Reporting

This thesis focuses on a specific type of bystander intervention: indirect intervention via reporting (Figure 3). Whereas crime reporting is traditionally defined as 'notifying the police of a criminal offense' (e.g. Baumer, 2002; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Block, 1974; Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002; Goudriaan, 2006; Skogan, 1984), a modified version of this definition is used in the present research. Crime reporting is defined more broadly as *notifying authorities about a perceived criminal event.* This revised definition is more appropriate for youth reporting for several reasons. First, replacing 'police' with 'authorities' is intended to be more inclusive than just police reporting. This is based on much evidence which indicates that youth tend to report misconduct to other authorities (e.g. teachers and school administrators) far more frequently than the police (e.g. Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001; Finkelhor & Wolak, 2003; Garofalo, Siegel, & Laub, 1987; Hart & Rennison, 2003). Therefore, focusing only on police overlooks many crimes that are reported to school personnel. The second reason is because the original definition seems to imply that reporting is only appropriate when one is certain that a crime has

occurred. However, people's perceptions of what constitutes crime, especially when it comes to violence, can be rather complex (Finkelhor, Wolak, & Berliner, 2001). In addition, encouraging youth to wait until they are certain that a crime has taken place to report it is less than ideal from a prevention and harm-reduction standpoint, given their vulnerability as minors.

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┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
│ Exposure to  │ ──▶ │   Decision   │ ──▶ │   Indirect   │ ──▶ │    Report    │
│    Crime     │     │   Process    │     │ Intervention │     │              │
└──────────────┘     └──────────────┘     └──────────────┘     └──────────────┘
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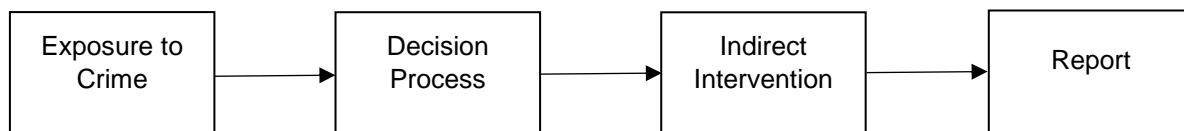
Figure 3. Pathway to bystander reporting.

It is useful to clarify that, in the bystander intervention literature, the terms 'reporting' and 'disclosure' are differentiated: the former typically denotes police notification, whereas the latter is often used when referring to informal sources such as family and friends. The major difference between the two sources is that police legally have the power to regulate behaviour and enforce order. In keeping with the literature, the status quo will be maintained herein by using the terms 'reporting' and 'disclosure' in the same way. However, the primary outcome of interest in this thesis is youths' propensity to report violence to formal authorities – specifically, school officials and the police. The goal is to gain insight into the mechanisms that support this behaviour because ultimately, when it comes to violence, we want youth to seek help from appropriate arbiters who have the authority to take remedial action and deliver justice. In this vein, Amorso and Ware (1983) identified school administrator as "secondary social agents" (p. 193) who serve as representatives of institutions and enforcers of rules.

Another important clarification is that there are many colloquial terms that are used to refer to one who reports illicit activities to authorities. Some of these terms are *whistle-blower*, *informant*, and *snitch*. These concepts are similar in that they all refer to disclosing information about potential crime; however, they differ from the notion of

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reporting described in this thesis in fundamental respects. First, "whistle-blowers" refer to "organizational members… who disclose illegal, immoral or illegitimate practices under the control of their employer to persons or organizations who may be able to effect action" (Near & Miceli, 1985, p. 6). According to this definition, reporting is governed by formal policies and procedures of an organisation (Dozier & Miceli, 1985). However, such restrictions are generally not imposed on ordinary citizens in their decisions to report crime to the police. Second, the label "informant" is typically applied to criminal populations and providing information to law enforcement officials is often associated with some sort of preferential treatment or incentive, such as immunity from punishment or early release from prison (Pershing, 2003). In ordinary citizen reporting, promises of rewards are generally not part of the 'deal'. Finally, the term "snitching" refers to the act of reporting peer misconduct (Morris, 2010) and generally espouses the idea that "respect, security, and status come only to those with the proven ability to take care of their own business" (Rosenfeld, Jacobs, & Wright, 2003, p. 298). This interpretation has a negative undercurrent attached to the idea of cooperating with authorities but as will be explained in greater detail later in this chapter, youth bystander reporting can be regarded in a positive light – specifically, as a positive, prosocial action.

2.3   Theoretical Explanations of Crime Reporting

There are generally three theoretical models that are used to explain reporting behaviour: economic, psychological, and sociological. These theories are applicable to both victims and bystanders. The models are characterised by the level of aggregation embedded in the theories: the first two involve micro-level factors at the individual and social levels, while the third focuses on wider macro-level (or contextual) factors.

2.3.1   *Economic theories.* Economic theories are arguably the most widely used in explanations of crime reporting (e.g. Fishman, 1979; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Skogan, 1984; Sparks, Genn, & Dodd, 1977). According to this perspective, decisions to (not) report crime are based on simple cost-benefit calculations in which the predicted costs of action (e.g. time and effort) and anticipated outcomes (e.g.

likelihood that the offender will be pursued, apprehended and/or punished) are the main factors in the equation. Here, the *lower* the costs of reporting a crime and the *higher* the anticipated outcome, the *higher* the probability that the offence will be reported (Skogan, 1984; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Felson et al., 2002). Conversely, higher expected costs and lower expected outcomes are associated with lower probabilities of an offence being reported. This is because the costs of action would exceed the benefits of reporting, which violates the principle. In the context of interpersonal violence, this implies that incidents that result in little or no physical injury and/or loss are expected to yield lower reporting rates relative to those that involve serious injury or loss (e.g. Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Felson et al., 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979).

The basic tenet behind economic models is that decision making is predicted by factors that are directly related to objective crime seriousness (Skogan, 1984). This is backed by rational choice theory (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988) which suggests that reporting decisions are based on rational assumptions about the offense (Kaukinen, 2002). However, this micro-level interpretation has been criticised as rather narrow, as it is based on the assumption that people are able to make rational decisions under duress (Goudriaan, 2006). In addition, while incident severity has been found to be a strong and reliable predictor of reporting (e.g. Kury, Teske, & Wurger, 1999; Pino & Meier, 1999; Skogan, 1976, 1984; Sparks et al., 1977), research suggests that individual and social factors may also play a significant role in people's reporting decisions (Ruback, Greenberg, & Westcott, 1984).

2.3.2 *Psychological theories.* Psychological theories are an extension of economic models in that while they, too, anticipate that more (rather than less) serious crimes will be reported, they also take in to account individual and social effects. For example, studies have found that the effects of incident severity are mediated by individual characteristics such as affective reactions (e.g. fear or stress), prior reporting experiences, and victim-offender relationships (Goudriaan, 2006). In addition, Greenberg and Ruback (1992) found that advice from other people can greatly impact

one's reporting decisions. In fact, Greenberg and Beach (2004) found that social processes are stronger predictors of reporting than cognitive (e.g. cost-benefit) judgments. This finding has yet to be empirically validated among youth.

2.3.3   *Sociological theories.* Sociological models employ macro-level analyses to examine how social structures within societies might impact reporting behaviour. The incorporation of macro-level predictors is based on the assumption that individual attitudes and behaviour are shaped by ecological contexts (Baumer, 2002; Goudriaan, Wittebrood, & Nieuwbeerta, 2006). In Black's (1976) classic study, he explored the conditions under which people call on the agencies of the law to exert control. He referred to this as "the behaviour of law" and identified five social structural variables that predict police notification: social stratification, which refers to the uneven distribution of wealth and access to resources; morphology (or social class); cultural diversity; organisation, which refers to individual versus collective action; and finally, social control. The impact of these variables on reporting will largely be determined by the social structure of policing in a given country (e.g. orientation of police services, organisation and deployment of police resources, and police accessibility). This model of decision making diverges from the two mentioned above in that individual characteristics are not at all considered. Rather, the focus is on the effects of wider contextual factors on reporting rates (Lessan & Sheley, 1992). Of the three theories discussed herein, sociological models have received the least empirical support (e.g. Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Warner, 1992).

2.4   The Empirical Evidence

In order to understand how people respond as bystanders of crime, it is important to identify the factors that influence their behaviour. In this section, past empirical research on the correlates of crime reporting is reviewed, with the literature on victims and bystanders presented separately. This separation allows for clearer comparisons to be drawn, as victim reporting may have a different etiology than reporting by witnesses.

Victim Reporting

2.4.1 *Victims' motivations.* The reality is that most victims of crime tend not to notify the police (for reviews, see Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010, Hart & Rennison, 2003, and Laub, 1997). Their reasons for not reporting are many and diverse. On one hand, some victims may not report crime to the police because they simply do not want to expend the time or effort to contact the police and/or go through the legal process (Greenberg & Ruback, 1985). In line with economic theories, this may be linked to factors related to the situation such as offense type and severity of harm incurred. To illustrate, Baumer and Lauritsen (2010) found that simple assault was less likely to be reported than robbery and aggravated assault because victims perceived the former to be a less serious offense in the eyes of the law. Furthermore, studies have found that the single most frequent reason that victims give for not reporting crime is that they felt the offense was not serious enough to warrant police attention (e.g. Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1980; Tarling & Morris, 2010). Other studies have found that crimes are more likely to be reported to the police when they involve significant financial loss or injury to the victim (e.g. Laub, 1997; Skogan, 1984). Otherwise, victims may doubt that 'something will be done' which diminishes their likelihood of notifying the police (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1980; Hagan & Albonetti, 1982; Baumer, 2002).

Psychosocial factors have also been found to be related to victims' reporting decisions. For example, some victims hesitate to report their victimisation because of feelings of vulnerability (e.g. Barkas, 1978) or to avoid further pain (e.g. Greenberg & Ruback, 1982). This tends to be amplified for victims of violence (see Kilpatrick, Resick, & Veronen, 1981, and Veronen, Kilpatrick, & Resick, 1979). Others may not report their victimisation due to fear of reprisals or retaliation by the offender (Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002; Latané & Elman, 1970). Still others may fear social repercussions such as shame and embarrassment (Bowles, Reyes, Garoupa, 2009; Flynn, 1974), criticism about having shown poor judgment or personal weakness in the situation (Watkins & Maume, 2011), social stigma (Wong & Van de Schoot, 2012), or being ostracised by their community (Young, 2006).

On the other hand, though infrequent, there are some people who opt to report their victimisation to the police, and these people do so for various reasons. They may have personal motives such as wanting to stop the offender, or seek justice, protection and/or medical treatment (Bowles, Reyes, & Garoupa, 2009; Tarling & Morris, 2010). They may be driven by pragmatic reasons such as wanting to recover stolen property, make an insurance claim, and/or qualify for compensation (Bowles, Reyes, & Garoupa, 2009; Skogan, 1994; Watkins & Maume, 2011). Crime reporting may also serve a wider purpose. For instance, victims may see it as a public duty to protect others (Hart & Rennison, 2003) or they may want to improve community safety by assisting in the capture of offenders (Tarling & Morris, 2010). In some cases, victims may feel compelled to report crime to the police as an effort to encourage other victims to come forward as well. This 'solidarity effect' reflects collective social norms against crime (Banyard et al., 2004).

2.4.2   *Correlates of police reporting by victims.* Research on the correlates of victim crime reporting spans more than four decades. Past studies have consistently found that factors that are significantly associated with victims' reporting decisions (albeit to varying degrees) generally fall into one of three categories: 'person-specific', 'incident-specific', and 'environment-specific' (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994).

2.4.2.1   *Personal factors.* Past findings on individual characteristics and crime reporting have been mixed. On one hand, studies have found little variation in victim reporting by demographic variables (e.g. Bachman, 1998; Harlow, 1985; Skogan, 1984). On the other hand, several sociodemographic factors have been found to be associated with reporting. For instance, age has been found to be a relatively strong predictor of reporting, such that older individuals tend to report more frequently than their younger counterparts (e.g. Felson et al., 2002; Hart & Rennison, 2003; Hindelang & Gottfredson, 1976; Laub, 1997). To a lesser degree, gender, income and education have also been found to be associated with reporting, such that women tend to report at higher rates than men, as do individuals who are more affluent and educated (e.g. Avakame et al., 1999; Bickman, 1976; Skogan, 1984; Tarling & Morris, 2010).

Regarding violent offenses, Hart and Rennison (2003) found that incidents involving females, older victims, Black persons and those who are socio-economically disadvantaged are more likely to be reported to the police. Past research has also examined attitudinal and historical factors. In general, victims' attitudes toward the police have not been found to be reliable predictors of reporting (e.g. Fishman, 1979; Skogan, 1984), although police favourability ratings tend to be lower among members of ethnic minority communities (e.g. Browning, Cullen, Cao, Kopache, & Stevenson, 1994; Campbell & Schuman, 1972; Hadar & Snortum, 1975; Hahn, 1969; Jacob, 1971; McCord & Howard, 1968; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Scaglion & Condon, 1980; Skogan, 1978; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). In contrast, victims' willingness to report crime has been found to be positively associated with their past experiences with the police (Davis & Henderson, 2003). However, Black (1983) and Tarling and Morris (2010) found that victims who have a history of deviant or criminal behaviour (which presumably resulted in negative police contact) may be more reluctant to involve the police in personal matters than those who did not have such past experiences.

2.4.2.2 *Incident-specific factors.* Past research suggests that incident-related (or situational) factors are strong determinants of police reporting by victims (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Greenburg & Ruback, 1992). In particular, incident severity has been identified as one of the strongest and most consistent predictors of police reporting (Bachman, 1998; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1988; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Harlow, 1985; Laub, 1997). Some common measures of seriousness that have been employed are offence completion, presence of a weapon, financial loss, and harm or injury to the victim (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Skogan, 1984). The underlying assumption is that crimes that involve these elements are likely to be reported because victims can benefit greatly from police involvement (Felson et al., 2002).

The relationship between perpetrators and victims may also influence reporting decisions. In general, the three most highly cited reasons that victims give for not reporting crimes committed by people that they know are wanting privacy, to protect

the offender (e.g. domestic crimes), and fear of reprisals (Felson et al., 2002). According to the theory of *relational distance* (Black, 1973), the greater the relational distance between disputants, the more likely the law will be called upon to settle conflict. This is corroborated by studies which have found that violent crimes committed by strangers are significantly more likely to be reported than those carried out by someone familiar to victims (e.g. Gartner & Macmillan, 1995; Skogan, 1994). Felson et al. (2002) posit that this is because the likelihood of future encounters with a stranger is lower than the chances of facing someone familiar again, so reporting strangers poses less of a perceived risk.

2.4.2.3 *Environmental factors.* Community and other environmental factors have also been found to influence victims' reporting decisions (e.g. Avakame et al., 1999; Baumer, 2002; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Fishman, 1979; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Laub, 1981; Ruback & Ménard 2001; Warner 1992), although they tend to yield the smallest effects compared to individual and situational variables. Gottfredson and Hindelang (1979) found that when offense seriousness was controlled, neighbourhood size and density were mildly associated with victim reporting. Likewise, Goudriaan, Wittebrood, and Nieuwbeerta (2006) found that socioeconomic disadvantage and neighbourhood social cohesion affect victims' reporting behaviour, although this relationship was also relatively weak.

2.4.3 *Reporting to 'other' officials.* With a few exceptions (for example, see Schnebly, 2008 and Watkins, 2005), there is a dearth of research on non-police reporting and the factors that determine whether victims notify authorities other than the police. In a rare empirical study of crime reporting by juveniles, Finkelhor and Ormrod (1999) found that a major reason that youth did not report crime to the police was because they had reported it to other officials (e.g. school official or security officer). However, the authors found that youth reporting of violent crime to *any* authority was still fairly low overall (40%). Similarly, research on victim services programs have found that only two to 15 percent of victims utilise these services (Davis & Henley, 1990; Friedman, Bischoff, Davis, & Person, 1982; Skogan, Davis, & Lurigio,

1990). This means that notification of medical and healthcare officials likely also occurs infrequently.

Much of the literature on youth victims reporting to authorities other than police comprises studies of school bullying (e.g. Borg, 1998; Glover, Gough, Johnson, & Cartwright, 2000; Hunter & Boyle, 2004; Hunter, Boyle, & Warden, 2004; Sharp, 1995). These studies have all found that teacher reporting occurs at higher frequencies than police reporting, although teacher reporting happens less frequently than disclosing to family and friends. In terms of individual differences, Hunter and colleagues' findings indicate that girls tend to seek help more often than boys do when victimised, as do younger victims compared to their older counterparts. They also found that girls' inclination to report bullying was motivated by their perceptions that informing teachers would stop the aggression and also help them deal with their negative emotions related to the situation.

Bystander Reporting

The terms 'intervention' and 'reporting' are differentiated in the literature. The former is typically understood as more immediate and physical assistance in a confrontation between a victim and perpetrator (see Fischer et al. 2011), whereas the latter does not have to take place while the offense is ensuing and importantly, usually implies less personal risk to the bystander (see Shotland & Goodstein, 1984). Thus, bystander intervention is considered a *direct action* whereas bystander reporting is considered an *indirect action.*

2.4.4 *Motivations of 'interveners' and 'reporters'.* Although early studies of bystander intervention have effectively modelled *whether or not* people would help in a crisis or dangerous situation, they are less able to answer the question of *why*. On one hand, as discussed earlier in this chapter, research indicates that the presence of others can be a strong de-motivator for people to intervene in emergency situations because they assume other bystanders will act (Latané and Darley, 1968). Situational ambiguity has also been found to affect bystanders' decisions to intervene (Latané and Darley, 1969). For instance, uncertainty about the aggressor's intentions may prevent

bystanders from interfering because they fear being embarrassed if they misjudge the situation (Stueve et al., 2006). This phenomenon is known as *audience inhibition* (Bierhoff, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). However, studies have found that bystanders are more inclined to help in the presence of others if the victim is in obvious need of assistance (e.g. Clark & Word, 1972; Howard & Crano, 1974; Sheleff, 1978; Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1980; Shotland & Stebbins, 1983). Consistent with economic theories, this effect is only present when the effort or cost to the bystander is low.

On the other hand, there are additional factors that may especially impact bystanders' reporting decisions. For instance, they may have concerns about whether they will be taken seriously or how they will be treated by the police (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 1999; Kidd & Chayet, 1984). Young bystanders in particular may be reluctant to report crime because they fear disapproval from adults or being blamed (Staub, 1970; Yarrow & Waxler, 1976). Youth bystanders may also face additional barriers to reporting such as reliance on adults for assistance, as well as developmental factors associated with age and experience (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000). Other studies have found that bystanders' fear of retaliation by the offender (Hazler, 1996) as well as social concerns such as fear of negative evaluations by others and social stigmatization (e.g. Amar, Sutherland, & Kesler, 2012; Berkowitz, 2009; Karakashian, Walter, Christopher, & Lucas, 2006) inhibit reporting.

2.4.5 *Correlates of 'intervention' and 'reporting'.* In terms of individual factors, studies have found that interveners tend to have high empathy (Endresen & Olweus, 2001; Gini, Albiero, Benelli, & Altoè, 2008; Hoffman, 2001), high moral sensibility (Hoffman, 2001; Menesini, Codecasa, & Benelli, 2003) and social self-efficacy (Gini et al., 2008). Moreover, similar to victim reporting, situational factors are also strong determinants of bystander intervention (e.g. Darley & Batson, 1973; Fischer, Krueger, Greitemeyer, Vogrincic, Kastenmüller, Frey, et al., 2011). Group size has arguably been the best studied, but type of emergency and social factors arising from participant interaction have also been demonstrated to have an effect. For instance, Tapper and Boulton (2005) found that witnesses of overt verbal and physical aggression are more

likely to intervene than witnesses of covert aggression. The assumption is that openly observable offenses reduce perceived situational ambiguity which, in turn, increases the likelihood of bystander intervention (Fischer et al., 2006; Shotland & Stebbins, 1980). This effect is corroborated by Fischer et al.'s (2006) finding that the bystander effect disappears when the emergency is particularly perilous. If we apply these principles to the present study, the expectation is that youth will be more likely to report overt incidents of violence in which the victim sustains more (rather than less) severe injuries.

Furthermore, in Latané and Darley's famous "smoke study," they found that when bystanders were instructed to remain passive and ignore an (simulated) emergency situation, the probability of bystander intervention decreased significantly compared to when no such instructions were given. This finding lends support to the theory of social influence, which states that bystanders tend to look to others to provide cues on how to respond to crisis situations (Latané & Darley, 1968). The wider implication here is that the bystander effect is not a generic consequence of increasing group size, but rather, that bystander intervention involves a complex decision-making process. To my knowledge, no single study to date has investigated whether social influence has an impact on youth bystanders' intentions to report peer violence.

Social and situational variables also play a role in bystander reporting. For example, studies have found that input and advice from others is associated with bystanders' detection, labelling and reporting of crime (e.g. Bickman, 1976; Bickman & Rosenbaum, 1977; Moriarty, 1975). Likewise, in studies of violence, indicators of offense seriousness – especially severity of injury to the victim – are strongly associated with bystander reporting (Bachman, 1998; Harlow, 1985). Here, research shows that females and ethnic minorities tend to report at higher rates than males and ethnic majorities for violent crimes in particular (Kidd & Chayet, 1984), but this is also true in general (Bachman, 1998; Harlow, 1985). Laner, Benin and Ventrone (2001) assert that gender differences in helping are related to the nature of the situation. This is based on their finding that women are more likely to help others when helping is

more personal, planned (such as volunteering) and less likely to involve direct intervention, whereas men are more likely to intervene spontaneously and directly. To explain this, Felson (2002) speculates that men may feel more compelled to take direct action because they perceive themselves to be physically strong and thus, capable of intervening.

Overall, in comparing the literature on bystanders and victims, it appears that research on crime reporting is disproportionate in that it has been predominantly victim-focused thus far (e.g. Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Mayhew, 1993). Nevertheless, what past findings show is that non-reporting seems to be a common phenomenon for both groups. There is also much overlap in the motives that hinder (e.g. fear of reprisals and social concerns) and promote (e.g. personal and pragmatic reasons) reporting by victims and bystanders. Furthermore, evidence indicates that personal and situational factors influence reporting decisions for both groups, with incident severity and social influence being particularly strong determinants of reporting. What this review also revealed is that past studies on reporting have mostly been conducted on adult samples, or involved interviews with parents and/or primary caregivers rather than young people themselves. Thus, we have little first-hand knowledge about youth bystander decision making which this thesis attempts to resolve.

2.5   Literature on Youth Reporting of Peer Violence

Although the study of bystander behaviour is not new, its application to the topic of interpersonal violence has been relatively recent (e.g. Banyard et al., 2004; Berkowitz, 2002; Katz, 2007). However, much of the focus so far has been on child (Christy & Voigt,1994), domestic and sexual abuse (Banyard, 2008; Harari, Harari, & White, 1985). Given that bystander intervention can vary depending on the situation and circumstances (Carlo & Randall, 2002), a context-specific approach is both appropriate and necessary for studying its correlates. The present study, therefore, focuses on peer violence. Moreover, because young people typically spend a

significant amount of time at school (Gottfredson, 2001), the present study investigates youth reporting of peer violence in the school setting.

A literature search was conducted using the following psychological and criminological databases: Academic Search Complete, Criminal Justice Abstracts, JSTOR, PsycArticles, Psychological Experiments Online, PsycINFO, Sage Journals Online, and Web of Science. The search parameters were set to publications written in English between the years 1847 and 2016. The search words "bystander/intervention," "help seeking," "children/youth" and "violence/aggression" were used which yielded a total of 286 "hits" (see Table 2.1). Of the 286 publications, 161 were not relevant to the topic of this thesis or were sources that were duplicates across databases. Ninety-seven publications (for youth and adults combined) focused on types of violence that were outside the scope of this thesis (i.e. bullying/cyberbullying, sexual violence, partner/dating violence, child abuse/neglect, animal abuse). In the end, 28 articles were directly relevant to this thesis. The sheer sparseness of literature across numerous databases suggests that there is a general dearth of research on the topic.

Table 2.1

Literature Search Results of Publications on Youth Bystander Intervention and Violence

Database	Hits	Not relevant or duplicate sources	Relevant sources	Bullying/ Cyber-bullying	Sexual violence	Partner/ dating violence	Child abuse/neglect	Animal abuse
Academic Search Complete	51	12	4	19	7	5	3	1
Criminal Justice Abstracts	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
PsycArticles	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
PsycInfo	44	26	4	10	1	1	2	0
Sage Journals	147	97	17	13	13	6	0	1
Web of Science	27	12	1	12	1	1	0	0
Total	**286**	**161**	**28**	**55**	**22**	**13**	**5**	**2**

Of the few studies that have examined youth bystander intervention, it is worth mentioning that the majority pertain to school bullying (e.g. Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001; Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Bertz, & King, 1982; O'Connell et al., 1999). Behaviours that exemplify bullying can be categorised by the types of actions that are carried out which can be verbal (e.g. threats, name calling, gossiping), physical (e.g. hitting), and psychological (e.g. intimidation). The problem is that by its very nature, bullying entails *repetitive* acts of violence and aggression by perpetrators (Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 1996; Smith & Sharp, 1994). So, an important question that this raises is, *why do bystanders who witness violence repeatedly not report it?* According to Barhight, Hubbard and Hyde (2013), children who frequently witness violent events either become desensitized, or they reduce their emotional responses as a way to cope. However, if the ultimate goal is to stop youth violence *before* it escalates or becomes repetitive, then it is necessary to gain an understanding of how we can better support youth bystanders' so that they report peer violence the *first time* they see it happening. Therefore, the specific risk under investigation in this thesis is youths' responses to a *single, isolated incident* of peer violence, as opposed to the phenomenon of bullying, which has its own unique characteristics.

Although their research deals with victim reporting, Finkelhor, Wolak, and Berliner (2001) identified some special concerns for dealing with children and young people that could also be applied to bystanders. They described the underreporting of youth victimisation in terms of five elements: *definitional*, *jurisdictional*, *developmental*, *emotional/attitudinal*, and *material*. First, definitional factors refer to perceptions that misconduct among children and young people is a "normal" part of development. For instance, youth-on-youth violence is often viewed as mutual fighting as opposed to criminal assaults (Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001). Second, jurisdictional factors refer to the multiple levels of authority that typically preside over young people. This includes parents, adult relatives, and school officials who are often gatekeepers to police reporting. However, these 'grown-ups' may have their own impetuses for not reporting an offense to

authorities. For instance, parents may hesitate to report an offense on behalf of their children because they want to protect them from further harm, or because they are afraid that problems will be perceived as a reflection of their parenting (Finkelhor et al., 2001). Similarly, schools may refrain from involving the police to protect their reputation, and instead handle student misconduct via internal disciplinary policies and procedures (Hirschfield, 2008; Simon, 2007). To this end, findings from a nationally representative survey of public schools in the US revealed that 75 per cent of schools recorded at least one violent incident in the prior school year; however, only 38 per cent reported the incident to the police (Robers, Zhang, & Truman, 2010). Third, developmental factors refer to age-related factors that may impede youth reporting. For example, lack of autonomy could prevent youths' access to the police without an adult interceding. In their study of help seeking among school-aged children, Pavuluri, Luk and McGee (1996) found that not knowing where to go for help prevented kids from reporting peer misconduct. Forth, emotional and attitudinal factors relate to individual reactions that hinder or facilitate reporting. This can range from embarrassment to fear to anger. Lastly, material factors refer to concerns about tangible losses (e.g. time and money) that result from reporting. This fifth factor may be less of an issue for younger children because they are less likely to be employed and typically have more free time than their older counterparts (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 1999). Thus, this may be more of a consideration for adults who have to assist children with reporting.

2.6   Bystander Reporting as a Prosocial Action

Prosocial behaviour generally refers to voluntary acts that are primarily motivated by concern for others (Hardy & Carlo, 2005; Mussen & Eisenberg, 2001), and involve a net cost to the helper (Hoffman, 1994). According to this definition, bystander reporting can be considered a prosocial action in that disclosure requires effort and is intended to help others (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006). The utility of contextualising bystander reporting as a prosocial action is that prosociality is an indicator of emotional

and psychosocial competence (Belgrave, Nguyen, Johnson, & Hood, 2011), which are important components of youth resilience development (Benard, 1995). The fact that prosocial behaviour has been found to be associated with positive outcomes academically (Wentzel, Filisetti, & Looney, 2007), psychologically (Eisenberg, Fabes, Karbon, Murphy, Woninski, Polazzi, et al., 1996) and socially (Farver & Branstetter, 1994; Wentzel et al., 2007) makes it a worthwhile angle to explore further. The roles of emotion (Blum, 1980; Hume, 1966) and cognition (Kant, 1949) in moral action have been highlighted in the literature (Batson & Coke, 1981; Hoffman, 1984; Staub, 1978). Therefore, this thesis explores the assumption that empathic responding and moral reasoning are important sources of bystander reporting.

2.6.1 *Youths' affective responses to violence.* Moral violations can elicit emotions that are linked to prosocial action (see Malti & Krettenauer, 2009, for a review). This process is said to involve the constructs *empathy* (i.e. feeling the emotions of others) and *sympathy* (i.e. feeling concern for others), which studies have found to be important motivators of helping behaviour (Batson, 1991; Eisenberg, Fabes, Miller, Fultz, Shell, Mathy et al., 1989; Gini, Albiero, Benelli, & Altoè, 2008; Hoffman, 2000; Staub, 1979). Such affective responses facilitate one's ability to emotionally respond with feelings of concern for another and a desire to alleviate that person's distress (Davis, 1983; Nickerson, Mele, & Princiotta, 2008; Olweus & Endresen, 1998). In addition, attitudes about victimization can be a useful gauge of one's empathy and supportive feelings toward children who are victimized (Andreou, Vlachou, & Didaskalou, 2005; Stevens et al., 2000).

Research suggests that moral emotions reflecting some capacity for perspective taking emerges in early childhood (e.g. Campos, Barrett, Lamb, Goldsmith, & Sternberg, 1983; Izard, 1977; Kagan & Lamb, 1987) and increases around mid-adolescence (Davis & Franzoi, 1991). The notion that empathy/sympathy increases with age may be explained by the fact that developmental maturation enhances one's perspective-taking abilities (Moore, 1990). In terms of gender differences, there is a stereotyped belief that girls

express more other-oriented types of feelings than boys (Eisenberg, Miller, Shell, & McNalley, 1991; Eisenberg, 1995) such as sympathy (e.g. Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983) and caring (Jaffe & Hyde, 2000). Studies have also found that females tend to score higher than males on some measures of empathy (Eisenberg, 2006; Eisenberg et al., 1991; Eisenberg, Shell, Pasternack, Lennon, Beller, & Mathy, 1987) and prosocial attitudes (Boxer, Tisak, & Goldstein, 2004; Fabes, Carlo, Kupanoff, & Laible, 1999). These differences are said to be due to socialization processes that encourage gender-specific attitudes and beliefs.

Whereas *stress-reduction theories* (Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade, 1994) state that emotional arousal can result in *less* empathic engagement and helping, the theory of *emotion utilization* (Izard, Stark, Trentacosta, & Schultz, 2008) suggests that affective responses, either positive or negative, can lead to adaptive action. In keeping with this latter theory, to the extent that witnessing peer violence elicits an emotional response from youth bystanders, the greater their reporting potential. To illustrate, fear or worry may cause someone to seek safety or help. On one hand, moderate levels of negative affect are thought to be important for the development of cognitive and social competencies (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969; Sroufe, 1979; Thompson, 1994). The mechanism here is that negative emotions can heighten one's sympathetic activity and narrow one's attention to support specific action tendencies (Terwogt, 2002). On the other hand, high levels of emotional distress may have a negative effect (e.g. Bowlby, 1982; Rutter, 1981) and undermine other-oriented prosocial behaviour (Batson, 1991; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998). An understanding of how youths' affective functioning is impacted by peer violence is important to informing strategies to increase their willingness to intervene. Although the present study involves simulated distress, Malti and Krettenauer (2009) and Tangney, Stuewig and Mashek (2007) posit that anticipation of moral emotions can inform one's decision to act in moral dilemma situations. Hoffman (2001) also suggests that

adolescents do, in fact, have the ability to sympathize with the distress of others outside the immediate situation.

      2.6.2 *Moral reasoning and violence.* Prosocial development and behaviour are often explained in terms of sociocognitive skills such as perspective taking and moral reasoning (e.g. Carlo, Koller, Eisenberg, Da Silva, & Frohlich, 1996; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Wentzel & Erdley, 1993). Eisenberg and Shell (1986) define moral reasoning as judgments about helping others in the absence of any formal rules or guidelines. Related to this is the notion of *justice-oriented reasoning* (Blasi, 1980; Kohlberg & Candee, 1984) in which the concepts of blame, fairness, and punishment are relevant. These principles generally stem from the norms of social groups (e.g. peers and friends), as well as the broader social context in which individuals are embedded (e.g. schools) (Shaw, Amsel, & Schillo, 2011). According to Kohlberg (1984) and Selman (1975), moral reasoning becomes more advanced with age due to structural cognitive changes that promote the development of complex psychological systems of values, beliefs and attitudes, as well as problem-solving skills and interpersonal negotiation skills. School is expected to foster this growth because it provides young people with opportunities to develop and exercise these processes through interactions with their peers and teachers (Mason & Gibbs, 1993; Rest & Narvaez, 1991). These aspects of sociocognitive functioning, along with prosocial feelings (e.g. sympathy) are expected to contribute to bystander reporting in situations of peer violence.

      Social control is the normative aspect of social life that defines right and wrong (Hirschi, 1971). According to Bandura's (1969) social learning theory, the acquisition of moral standards results from observing and learning the values and attitudes of others, and for youth, friends and family typically have the biggest influence (Finkelhor & Wolak, 2003). Internalised social norms or moral principles can motivate people to act prosocially and help someone in distress (Horowitz, 1971). This idea is proposed to be governed by

the norm of *social responsibility* which states that we should provide aid to others who need it (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1997; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005).

While past studies have examined the effects of visual media (e.g. television) on children's moral orientations, few have explored the effects of 'narrated models' on children's intentions for moral action (for exceptions see Cowan, Langer, Heavenrich, & Nathanson, 1969 and Walker & Richards, 1976). This refers to any information in print or storytelling form that conveys a persuasive message. The idea is that internalisation occurs when a person accepts influence because the induced behaviour is congruent with his/her own values or beliefs. If the assumption that children will imitate narrative or literary heroes is correct (Walker & Richards, 1976), then youth should, in theory, strongly agree with social cues that support prosocial attitudes.

2.7   Toward an Integrative Theoretical Model of Youth Bystander Reporting

Whilst informative, individually, the three abovementioned explanatory models (economic, psychological and sociological) provide only partial explanations as to why people decide (not) to report crime. On one hand, economic models highlight offense characteristics but ignore the social context in which crimes are embedded. On the other hand, sociological models disregard individual decision making and instead focus on wider macro-level factors. In turn, each perspective reduces the complexities of reporting decisions to a relatively simplistic view by only focusing on one type of decision process and at a single level of aggregation. However, as with all decision making, bystanders' decisions to (not) report an offense does not take place in a vacuum (Goudriaan & Nieuwbeerta, 2007). It involves the dynamic interplay between individuals and various aspects of the world around them. Furthermore, because past studies were conducted mainly with adult samples, some of the individual-level predictors of reporting that are 'age-graded' (e.g. marital status, education and income) may be less relevant to youth (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001; Watkins, 2005). Likewise, with regard to environmental factors, these variables tend to only minimally explain reporting behaviour, and may be

even less pronounced for youth. This is because children and young people who spend most of their time at home or at school will have a narrower 'world view' than that of adults.

Although past findings invariably show that incident severity predicts crime reporting, when one considers the high prevalence of youth violence and victimisation (see section 1.1 in Chapter 1), it would be premature to conclude that a lack of reporting by youth is a reflection of less serious crimes being inflicted upon them. This leads us to question, what obstacles or barriers prevent young people who witness peer violence from reporting it?

To my knowledge, no single study, to date, has taken a multilevel approach to investigate youth bystander decision making. The novelty of thesis, then, is that it integrates previous theories to produce an ecological framework that is used to explore the potential influence of individual, social, contextual and community factors on youths' decisions to report peer violence. Table 2.2 presents a schematic overview of the ecological framework that guides the present research. The table shows the levels (individual, social, contextual and community) at which various factors can influence youth bystander reporting behaviour. Within these four levels, youth bystanders' decision making is assumed to be the result of either a cost-benefit calculation or a normative decision. As discussed earlier, cost-benefit decisions focus primarily on factors directly related to the seriousness of the incident, which can be objective or based on the bystanders' perceptions. Normative decisions result from existing norms that are influenced by the individual's social network (e.g. peers).

Although past studies have investigated children's reactions to peer victimisation (e.g. Boivin, Hymel, & Hodges, 2001; Smith, Shu, & Madsen, 2001), few have focused on help seeking. The notion of *adaptive help-seeking* is a useful strategy for coping with exposure to risk, as it focuses on the affective, motivational, cognitive and social competencies and resources that underlie help seeking behaviour. Incidentally, this is the heart of *resilience theory*. Like many psychosocial developmental difficulties, exposure to

violence can be viewed from a risk-resiliency perspective in that the focus is on its effects on the individual and how the social and environmental context can either strengthen or weaken a given outcome. To this end, resilience offers a good framework for theory-building for the study of youth bystander reporting. The general research question addressed in this thesis is: *why are some youth bystanders more willing than others to report their observations of peer violence?* In the next chapter, the theory of resilience is introduced to help answer this question. The goal is to explore normative developmental processes among youth to identify potential strengths and resources, known as 'protective factors', that may foster youth bystander reporting of peer violence.

Table 2.2

Ecological Model of Youth Bystander Reporting

Level	Process		
	Risk	Resilience	Outcome
Individual	Violence exposure	Conduct	Bystander reporting
		Attitudes	
		Emotions	
Social		Peer relationships	
Contextual		Severity	
		Social influence	
Community		School cohesion	

CHAPTER 3: RESILIENCE

"We are all born with an innate capacity for resilience, by which we are able to develop

social competence, problem-solving skills, a critical consciousness, autonomy, and a

sense of purpose" (Benard, 1995, p. 2).

Chapter Overview

Past research on youth violence and victimisation has focused especially on its

causes, deficits and negative behavioural trends. This problem-focused orientation has

often led to a cynical impression of youth as being *reckless*, *antisocial* and *delinquent*

(Barbarin, 1993). In fact, rarely have terms like *competent*, *caring* and *resourceful* been

used to describe young people (Barbarin). Yet, as the opening quotation of this chapter

suggests, we are all born with the potential to achieve such virtues.

Although exposure to violence puts youth at risk, not all youth will experience

difficulties, and those who do will be affected to varying degrees. Some may even show

signs of *positive* functional outcomes (or *competence*) despite facing such adversity. This

in seen in past studies which have found that a relatively high proportion (between 50 and

70 per cent) of young victims and witnesses of violence actually develop into healthy,

caring and confident adults (e.g. Benard, 2004; Rhodes & Brown, 1991; Vigil, 1990;

Werner & Smith, 2001). These individuals are generally regarded as 'resilient' (Rutter,

2006). However, our understanding of the precise factors that contribute to young people's

resilience when they are exposed to risk, and how they come into play to effect positive

outcomes, is limited by a dearth of empirical research on the subject. The present study

seeks to fill this gap in the literature. The outcome of interest in this thesis is youth

bystander reporting, which I define as *third-party notification of authorities about a*

perceived criminal event. This topic is relevant because even though youth bystanders

have great potential power to influence the outcome of violent events involving other youth

(e.g. Craig et al., 2000; O'Connell et al., 1999; Olweus, Limber, Flerx, Mullin, Reise, &

Snyder, 2007), they are a highly understudied group (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001).

In this chapter, *resilience theory* is introduced as a framework for exploring youth bystander intervention. Resilience theory offers a unique perspective to bystander reporting because it highlights the potential strengths and resources (collectively known as 'protective factors') of young people that support positive development, so that when they are faced with adversity (e.g. violence), it increases their chances of positive outcomes (e.g. reporting). The general assumption is that higher levels of protective factors buffer against risk to produce more favourable outcomes (Benson, Scales, Leffert, & Roehlkepartain, 1999; Sameroff, Seifer, & Bartko, 1997).

Chapter 3 starts with a brief overview of the history of resilience research. Rather than simply rehash five decades of literature, however, a selective review is undertaken to provide a more concise summary of the key developments that have led to our current understanding of the concept. Some scientific concerns and challenges are also discussed. Then, a definition of resilience is proposed for this thesis, along with the operationalisations of the construct. Following this is a review of existing youth resilience measures, highlighting especially the overlap among the scales and the differences between them. Because the data for the present study were not originally designed to focus explicitly on resilience (see section 3.7 below), the potential utility of Goodman's (1997) *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ) is explored as a proxy measure of resilience.

3.1   Seminal Works on Resilience

Although the term 'resilience' was not yet used at the time, its conceptualisation emerged in the 1970's through research in experimental psychopathology. Norman Garmezy and colleagues (Garmezy, 1970, 1974; Garmezy & Streitman, 1974) pioneered a series of studies in an effort to understand maladaptive behaviour associated with schizophrenia through investigations of its related cognitive deficits. They examined the

etiological features that made one vulnerable or prone to the disorder in order to identify

the individual characteristics of those who were most at risk. Although many of their

research subjects showed typical signs of maladaptation, they discovered that a subset of

individuals actually showed relatively "normal" trajectories. These, and other similar

studies, found that characteristics which were common among this atypical group included

premorbid histories of competence at work, social competence, and marital relationships

(e.g. Garmezy, 1970; Zigler & Glick, 1986).

In addition, through their work with children of schizophrenic mothers, Garmezy

and colleagues gathered further evidence of relatively healthy functioning individuals

despite their high risk status (Garmezy, 1974; Garmezy & Streitman, 1974). These studies

drew attention to aspects of development that were responsible for promoting resistance to

and recovery from psychopathology, and would pave the way for the expansion of

resilience research that followed. Researchers began to monitor adaptation across the

lifespan, focusing especially on the construct of competence and its relation to

psychopathology. This approach situated resilience within a developmental context.

Around the same time, Werner and Smith (1982) published their book, *Vulnerable

but Invincible: A Study of Resilient Children*, about their ground-breaking study of children

from the island of Kauai, Hawaii. These children had been deemed high risk because of

the genetic and environmental conditions in which they grew up, which included perinatal

stress, parental psychopathology and unstable family environments. In their assessments

of these children at ages 1, 2, 10, 18 and 32, Werner and Smith found that two-thirds had

experienced problems during their development with mental and physical health, familial

instability and delinquency, compared to children who had had less risk exposure. One of

their most important contributions, however, is their finding that the remaining one-third of

these children actually showed relatively adaptive patterns, despite their problematic

developmental histories. Until this time, such cases were considered rare and given little

attention. The fact that many of these children grew up to become relatively competent

and autonomous adults suggests that, contrary to past notions of predispositions to psychopathology, risk exposure does not invariably lead to negative outcomes. In fact, this and other studies (e.g. Anthony, 1974; Murphy & Moriarty, 1976; Rutter, 1979) found that not only was there significant variability in the adaption of high-risk children, but that some children actually *thrived* amidst adversity. This raised an important question: *Why do some individuals cope relatively well in comparison to others in similarly stressful and adverse situations and circumstances?* And so, a new line of enquiry began which sought to discover the protective/resilience factors that could counteract risk during a person's development to support better outcomes. From this point forward, resilience would be conceptualised as an adaptive process.

Over the next decade, researchers explored resilience across various situations and circumstances including socioeconomic disadvantage (e.g. Garmezy, 1991, 1995), maltreatment (e.g. Beeghly & Cicchetti, 1994; Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1997), chronic illness (e.g. Wells & Schwebel, 1987), urban poverty (e.g. Luthar, 1999) and community violence (e.g. Richters & Martinez, 1993). The overarching goal of these studies was to determine whether protective factors operated in the same way across different contexts. What these studies showed was that new vulnerabilities and strengths emerged with changing circumstances, thus revealing the dynamic nature of resilience (Masten & Garmezy, 1985). Researchers also discovered that in addition to individual factors, social and environmental variables played significant roles in determining one's resilience. This would widen the search from focusing primarily on internal characteristics of resilient children to include external factors that contribute to resiliency.

3.2   Current Conceptualisations of Resilience

Previously, terms such as 'invulnerable' and 'invincible' were used to refer to those who overcame disadvantage or adversity (Masten, 2001). Conversely, those who did not do well were called 'maladaptive' and 'vulnerable', amongst other things (Markstrom, Marshall, & Tyron, 2000). These types of labels have become less favourable over time,

not least because they insinuate that resilience involves some sort of superiority in functioning. Instead, Masten argues that resilience is merely "ordinary magic" (p. 227) that results from normative processes of adaptation. Likewise, Garmezy (1991) describes resilience as a process of returning to one's prior state after a period of difficulty. McFarlane and Yehuda (1996) called this process, *recovery*.

It is now widely understood that resilience involves two fundamental components: 1) onset of risk, and 2) achievement of positive adjustment outcomes (Garmezy, 1990; Luthar & Zigler, 1991; Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990; Rutter, 1990). Accordingly, resilience cannot occur without the presence of risk or adversity (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2001). It is the activation of protective mechanisms that moderates the relationship between risk and outcomes. To this end, resilience has been described in terms of both risk *and* protective factors (Rutter, 1987). In fact, Rutter argues that risk and protective factors are actually opposite ends of the *same* spectrum. Such a perspective of resilience suggests that it is not a complete paradigm shift as sometimes advocated in positive psychology, but a widening of perspective from a collection of deficits and needs to personal strengths and resources that promote competence in dealing with adversity (Lösel, Markson, Souza, Lanskey, & Pugh, 2012).

3.2.1   *Risk factors.* The term 'risk' originates from epidemiology and refers to "statistical correlates of poor or negative outcomes" (Masten et al., 1990, p. 426). It encompasses both internal and external threats that can increase a person's vulnerability to negative health and developmental problems (Kostelny & Garbarino, 1994). Some well-established examples of risk include low birth weight, parental psychopathology, family instability, and socioeconomic disadvantage, and these have been associated with lower academic achievement, greater emotional and behavioural problems, and trouble with the law (Farran & McKinney, 1986; Kopp & Krakow, 1983; Masten & Garmezy, 1985; Watt, Anthony, Wynne, & Rolf, 1984).

The problem with endorsing a risk approach to resilience is that risk factors are often identified retrospectively – in other words, *after* its effects have already manifested (Masten et al., 1990). To further exacerbate the problem, research suggests that risk factors tend to co-occur and produce an additive effect (Masten, Morison, Pellegrini, & Tellegen, 1990; O'Dougherty, Wright, Garmezy, Loewenson, & Torres, 1983; Rutter, 1979; Sameroff & Seifer, 1990). Masten and Osofsky (2010) posit that higher risk seems to have a 'dose effect' such that more frequent and severe trauma tends to yield greater problems. Yet even so, there is still much diversity in outcomes for those who are exposed to the same risk, and this may be due to the different individual protective forces at work.

      3.2.2 *Protective factors.* Protective factors essentially have two functions: to moderate the effects of individual vulnerabilities or environmental risks, and to increase the probability of positive outcomes (Masten et al., 1990). Thus, protective factors alter the effects of adversity and can potentially change the course of one's adaptational trajectory. Furthermore, a person's resilience is determined by an accumulation of protective factors that are nested across multiple levels. At the individual level, good health, positive emotionality, high IQ, active participation in life decisions (e.g. goal setting), self-efficacy, self-confidence, problem solving skills, and general optimism have been found to be associated with resilience (Feder, Nestler, & Charney, 2009; Garmezy, 1985; Luthar, 2006; Masten, 2001; Rutter, 1979; Sternberg, 1985; Werner & Smith, 1982). Likewise, social factors that have been linked to resilience include responsive parenting, close relationships with warm, competent and caring adults, and prosocial peers (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Werner & Smith, 1992). Finally, at a broader level, institutional structures such as schools and external support systems (e.g. religion/faith) that provide opportunities for stimulation and growth have also been linked to resilience (Garmezy, 1985; Werner, 1989). It is important to note, however, that by themselves, protective factors do not necessarily predict resilience. One's resilience also depends on how well

they can cope with stress, which can be affected by the severity of a particular risk (Masten et al., 1990).

3.3   Scientific Concerns and Challenges

Despite substantial progress over the years, resilience research has received mixed reviews within the scientific community. In Luthar et al.'s (2000) thorough and comprehensive review of the literature, they addressed four main areas of concern that have been raised regarding the rigor of the theory and related research: 1) varying definitions and use of terminology; 2) the multidimensional nature of resilience; 3) variability in manifestations of resilience; and 4) theoretical grounding of the construct. The authors' key points on each of these issues are summarised below.

3.3.1   *What does 'resilience' mean?* To date, a single, unified definition of resilience has not yet been established. Some define resilience as a set of traits or characteristics (e.g. Block & Block, 1980; Jacelon, 1997), while others define it as an outcome (e.g. Masten, 2001; Olsson, Bond, Burns, Vella-Brodrick, & Sawyer, 2003; Rutter, 1987; Vinson, 2002). Still, others define resilience as a process that involves positive adaptation to risk or adversity (e.g. Lösel & Bender, 2003; Luthar et al., 2000; Olsson et al., 2003). This third definition of resilience has become increasingly more favourable in contemporary resilience research. One reason for its popularity is because in seeking to identify specific individual characteristics that predict normative functioning, trait-based theories imply that some people may not 'have what it takes' (Luthar et al., 2000). This is not only counterproductive, but it encourages the use of unconstructive labels (e.g. 'succumbers') to refer to those who fall short of expectations (Markstrom et al., 2000). Importantly, however, while studies using a trait-based approach can help to identify *which* characteristics are associated with particular outcomes, they do little to shed light on the mechanisms that explain *how* and *why*, which process-oriented perspectives are able to do.

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Difficulties in defining resilience are partly due to wide variations on how the construct is operationalized, measured and applied across samples and contexts in empirical research. For instance, according to Rutter (2012), resilience is defined as a "relatively good outcome despite risk experiences" (p. 336). However, trying to establish precisely what constitutes a "good" outcome can be a rather arduous task. On one hand, a good outcome has been defined in terms of the presence of specific personal and social competencies such as positive self-esteem, courage, confidence, high intelligence, mastery and interpersonal problem solving (e.g. Haase, Heiney, Ruccione, & Stutzer, 1999; Luthar, 2006; Olsson et al., 2003). On the other hand, it has also been described as the absence of psychiatric symptoms and behavioural problems (e.g. Buckner, Mezzacappa, & Beardslee, 2003), which is arguably more difficult to measure as studies would have to find evidence of something that has not yet occurred. This lack of consistency has raised concerns as to whether scientists are in fact measuring the same construct (Luthar et al., 2000).

The use of pivotal terms has also been inconsistent. On one hand, in some studies, risk has been used to refer to calamitous events such as war and natural disaster (e.g. Werner, 2012; Norris & Kaniasty, 1996). On the other hand, other studies identify risk as an accrual of normal, everyday stressors (e.g. Ahern, 2006). Similarly, with protective factors, in some studies, children have been deemed resilient if they demonstrate excellence in a single area of development (e.g. Luthar, 1991; Luthar, Doernberger, & Zigler, 1993; Radke-Yarrow & Sherman, 1990), whereas in other studies, resilience requires an individual to excel in several domains (e.g. Tolan, 1996). This varied use of terminology is problematic because it can result in very different conclusions about risk/resilience processes and the prevalence of its existence in at-risk groups.

3.3.2 *The multidimensionality of resilience.* The second major concern that has been raised regarding resilience research is the fact that individuals who demonstrate competence in a given developmental domain can actually show considerable variations

across other areas of functioning (e.g. Kaufman, Cook, Amy, Jones, & Pittinsky,1994; O'Dougherty-Wright, Masten, Northwood, & Hubbard, 1997). For instance, studies have found that adolescents who adapt successfully to stress and trauma outwardly often show signs of maladaptive internal symptoms such as anxiety, depression and PTSD (e.g. Luthar, 1991; Luthar et al., 1993; O'Dougherty-Wright et al., 1997). In Kaufman et al.'s (1994) study of child maltreatment, they found that nearly two-thirds of children in their sample were academically resilient; however, less than one quarter showed signs of social competence. These various outcomes have led critics to question whether it is even possible to capture what it means to be resilient. However, Cicchetti, Rogosch, Lynch, and Holt (1993) and Cichetti and Toth (1998) argue that just as children who show signs of typical development can show unevenness in functioning, the same should be expected for those who are at risk. Moreover, Luthar (1996, 1998) asserts that while resilience can be expected when adjustment domains are theoretically similar, it is unreasonable to expect high levels of competency in areas that are conceptually different. He therefore cautions that researchers should carefully consider which facets of resilience they are seeking to measure and be mindful that success in a given domain does not necessarily imply resilience across all areas of development.

3.3.3   *Variations in resilience.* Concerns about the wide variability of resilience have been raised. These concerns generally relate to three main themes: 1) statistical versus actual risk (Richters & Weintraub, 1990); 2) subjective and objective risk (Bartlett, 1994; Gordon & Song, 1994); and 3) ontogenetic variability. Issues 1 and 2 pertain to the measurement of risk, and the third issue calls into question the robustness of the construct.

First, regarding statistical and actual risk, the concern is that even when significant statistical associations are found that link risk to outcomes, questions still remain about the unique circumstances, known as *proximal factors*, surrounding each individual. Luthar, Cushing, Merikangas and Rounsaville's (1998) study of children of drug addicted mothers

illustrates this point. While 65 per cent of the children in their sample developed psychiatric symptoms, the remaining one-third did not show signs of problems. In the past, these individuals would have been deemed resilient. However, the researchers found that other extenuating factors such as an unusually well-functioning mother, or strong familial support, may have buffered these children against risk. What this implies is that despite the fact that both groups of children were at high statistical risk for psychopathology, low proximal risks could be what set apart the relatively well-functioning children from those who fared less well.

Second, regarding objective and subjective risk, objective risk is statistically derived and thus, assumes that anyone who experiences adversity is equally vulnerable. However, this may not be an accurate measure of *true risk* as it does not account for subjectivity in risk experiences. This includes factors such as cognitive awareness, prior experience of trauma, and one's cultural beliefs (Masten & Osofsky, 2010). Incidentally, this may also explain why some people perceive an event as being benign while others perceive the same event as being a risk.

Lastly, *ontogenic variability* refers to the fact that individuals tend to show fluctuations in positive adjustment over time. Whereas past studies have found that some at-risk children who do well continue to thrive over time (e.g. Egeland, Carlson, & Sroufe, 2009; Masten et al., 1999; Werner, 1995), other studies have found evidence of a gradual decline in adaptational levels for children who were previously thought to be doing well (e.g. Coie, Watt, West, Hawkins, Asarnow, Markman, et al., 1993; Kaplan, 1999; Tarter & Vanyukov, 1999; Tolan, 1996). While critics say that this reflects the instability of the construct, if one considers that resilience is an interactive and dynamic process (Luthar et al., 2000), then it is less surprising to see that it can change over time (Gest, Neemann, Hubbard, Masten, & Tellegen, 1993; Rutter, 1990). To this end, some researchers suggest that studies of resilience should ideally employ a prospective longitudinal design (Luthar et al., 2000).

3.3.4 *Resilience frameworks.* The fourth and final issue that Luthar and colleagues address in their article is the perception that resilience research has mostly been empirically driven, which critics claim has resulted in a 'sundry list' of resilience predictors that lack theoretical relevance (Luthar & Zelano, 2003). Luthar et al. contend that even though it may not be explicitly stated, most studies generally adhere to one of three major frameworks that support multilevel processes. The first theory is that protective and vulnerability processes operate at three broad levels: the child, the family, and the community (e.g. Garmezy, 1985; Werner & Smith, 1982, 1992). This triarchic approach has underpinned much of past research (e.g. Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey, 1994; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Luthar, 1999; Masten, Garmezy, Tellegen, Pellegrini, Larkin, & Larsen, 1988; Seifer, Sameroff, Baldwin, & Baldwin, 1992; Wyman, Cowen, Work, & Parker, 1991). The second guiding principle focuses on the transactional exchange between the individual and his/her ecological context (e.g. Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Sameroff & Chandler, 1975; Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993). According to this model, one's contextual surroundings at various levels (e.g. family, neighbourhood, community and culture) interact with each other and shape the course of his/her development and adaptational trajectories. The third perspective is the *structural-organisational theory* (Cicchetti & Schneider-Rosen, 1986; Sroufe, 1979) which acknowledges that while historical factors and current influences are relevant to the process of development, active individual choice and self-organisation are important catalysts to this process (Cicchetti & Tucker, 1994). On the whole, each of these cogent theoretical frameworks provide a good foundation with which to study resilience under a given risk situation or circumstance.

3.3.5 *Moving forward with resilience research.* Despite all of the abovementioned challenges, Luthar and colleagues maintain that there is still merit in studying resilience. Having moved away from deficit models, attention on resilience has increased because of its potential to influence how people respond to various life challenges, and its impact on people's health, well-being and quality of life in general (Windle, Bennett, & Noyes, 2011).

There is now some consensus that resilience involves transactive exchanges between multiple domains of functioning that are interconnected and the resultant effects can be conceived of as a combination of factors that vary across personal, social and environmental conditions. In other words, resilience is: a) multidimensional; b) a transactive process; c) affected by mediating factors (e.g. competence); and d) dynamic and changes over time. Against this backdrop, the authors offer some useful practical advice for future research:

- Using different methodologies to study resilience can be beneficial in that if they yield similar findings, then it is an indication that they are likely tapping the same construct. However, constructs should be clearly defined and the selection of measures should be based on both conceptual and empirical evidence.

- To contribute to the breadth of its applicability across different at-risk samples, future studies should continue to test and build on previously identified risk and protective factors that are significantly associated with resilience.

- Future research should employ both person-oriented and variable-oriented statistical procedures, as the two approaches are likely to yield different, but equally important, insights and conclusions.

Taking into account these recommendations, I now turn to the heart of this thesis, which is, the potential role of resilience in youth bystander reporting of peer violence.

3.4   Working Definition of Resilience and Its Operationalisations

The definition of resilience endorsed in this thesis is based on that of Masten et al. (1999), which states that resilience is the process of positive adaptation to risk or adversity. In the present study, violence exposure is the risk and reporting is the positive outcome. Thus, resilience is defined herein as the positive outcome of bystander reporting when faced with peer violence. To assess this process, a primary goal of this thesis is to

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test the notion that youth bystanders' decisions are mediated by a set of protective factors that are found within the individual and their environment. These factors are outlined in Table 3.1. The model is based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological framework which states that people should be studied within the context of their environments. The table shows six areas of resilience nested in three broader levels (individual, social and community) that may mediate youths' risk experiences and their reporting decisions. These variables will be assessed together for their relationship to youths' reporting potentials. In accordance with Masten and Cicchetti's (2010) theory that cumulative protective factors reduce risk and increase the likelihood of positive outcomes, the general hypothesis for the present study is that youth who possess more (rather than less) protective factors will have a greater likelihood of reporting their observations of peer violence.

Table 3.1

Resilience Model of Youth Bystander Reporting

Level	Process		
	Risk	Protective Factors	Outcome
Individual	Violence exposure	Conduct	Bystander reporting
		Attitudes	
		Emotions	
Social		Peer relationships	
Community		School cohesion	

3.4.1 *Risk and resilience in youth violence*. Based on an illustrious history of research on the effects of youth exposure to violence, one can reasonably assume that the odds of maladjustment are high under this type of risk. According to competency-

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vulnerability models (Rutter, 1990), coping responses can be viewed as either positive (i.e.

protective) or negative (i.e. risk-laden): whereas positive coping responses increase the

likelihood of effective outcomes, negative coping has the opposite effect. While there is not

yet a consistent definition for protective factors, this generally refers to factors that

influence outcomes by affecting the quality and ecology of risk experiences: they can

either prevent risk, reduce its negative impact, or counteract the effects of risk by

increasing positive internal motivation and developmental competence (Sandler, 2001).

Only relatively recently have researchers begun to address protective factors

related to youth violence (see Lösel & Farrington, 2012 for a review). Even though most of

these studies concentrate on identifying factors that protect children against the onset of

violence and aggression, it is likely that some of these same factors may be relevant to

other positive outcomes within this context, such as that of bystander reporting.

The present study adopts an ecological-transactional framework (see Dawes &

Donald, 2000 for a review) to identify potential protective factors that promote youth

resilience at the individual, social and community levels. One advantage of this approach

is that it acknowledges that young people are active agents in their own development,

while also highlighting the importance of social and environmental structures and support

for resilience processes (Luthar, 2003). The variables examined here are obviously not an

exhaustive list, but because this study is exploratory in nature, it offers a starting point from

which to understand resilience in young people and its potential to influence youth

bystander reporting of peer violence.

3.4.2 *Individual-level protective factors.* Individual-level protective factors focus

on personal characteristics that affect risk. Here, temperament factors have been identified

as important to a young person's development (Lösel & Farrington, 2012). This

encompasses a range of dispositions such as emotionality, distractibility, sensory

threshold, and regularity, which all relate to the broad constructs of 'self-regulation' and

'self-control'. Evidence of their importance to resilience processes is found in research

which shows that failure to develop self-regulation and control in the early years of development may compromise later functioning. For example, studies have found that children who exhibit difficulties in these domains tend to display academic and behavioural problems, as well as antisocial behaviour (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Hinshaw, 1992; Hinshaw, Zupan, Simmel, Nigg, & Melnick, 1997; Lynam, 1996; Rothbart & Bates, 1998; Zahn-Waxler, Cole, Welsh, & Fox, 1995).

In contrast, Shaffer (1996) posits that having good self-control can have an adaptive purpose. For example, it can help to sustain and direct a person's attention so that they can recognise danger, problem solve and seek help when threatened (Masten et al., 1990). Research also suggests that easy temperaments (e.g. positive mood and sociability) are associated with rule-governed behaviour and being able to express concern for others (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Hartup & van Lieshout, 1995; Sroufe, 1996; Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, Wagner, & Chapman, 1992), which are both important precursors to bystander reporting (Batson, 1998).

Based on these and other similar findings, in this thesis, individual resilience refers to having a *good temperament*, operationalised as low hyperactivity, lack of emotional problems, and lack of conduct problems. These constructs were measured using the *Emotional Problems*, *Hyperactivity*, and *Conduct Problems* scales in the SDQ (see section 3.6 below). The assumption is that youth who show competence in these domains will be better able to exercise control over their attention, emotions and actions so that they can process their observations of violence and decide to seek help via reporting.

3.4.3 *Social protective factors.* According to Bowlby (1969), attachment relationships are important for normal human development. Most studies on social protective factors against violence exposure for youth tend to focus on parent-child relationships and other family related factors such as family structure and functioning, and parental availability (Logan-Greene, Nurius, Herting, Hooven, Walsh, & Thompson, 2011). However, O'Donnell, Schwab-Stone and Muyeed (2002) argue that families may be less

able to compensate for the effects of violence exposure during adolescence. This is partly because of youths' increased participation in activities outside of home as they get older. In this vein, Boykin (2000) posits that young people accrue "social capital" through extra-familial relationships, in which peers become an increasingly important influence in young people's lives. On one hand, having delinquent peers has been found to be a strong predictor of delinquent behaviour (Van Mastrigt & Farrington, 2009). On the other hand, peer groups that advocate prosocial attitudes have been found to protect youth against the effects of violence (Berger & Rodkin, 2012). Positive social relationships have also been found to be associated with higher levels of prosocial activity (Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder, & Sameroff, 1999).

Based on the empirical evidence, in the present study, social resilience is operationalised as having *good peer relationships* (and thus, few peer problems) and *prosocial attitudes*. These constructs will be measured using the *Peer Problems* and *Prosocial Attitudes* scales in the *SDQ.* It is hypothesised that individuals who show more, rather than less, social competence will be more likely to report peer violence.

3.4.4 *Community-level protective factors.* Resilience can also be observed at the community level, which encompasses both psychosocial and environmental factors (Ungar, 2011). Given that schools are where youth typically spend a significant amount of their time, it would be appropriate to examine factors related to this setting. Here, past studies have found that a positive school culture, in which teachers and students share similar values, norms and goals, can have a protective function against emotional and behavioural problems (Baker, 1998). It has also been found to promote prosocial behaviour by creating a sense of community (Battistich, Solomon, & Watson, 1997; Solomon, Watson, Battistich, 2001). To my knowledge, no study to date has investigated the relationship between youths' perceptions of school cohesion and their inclination to report peer violence. The assumption is that one's perceptions of social inclusion may

increase their propensity to intervene when their peers are in danger (Twenge,

Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Bartels, 2007).

For the present study, an index measure was created to assess youths'

perceptions of school cohesion. The hypothesis is that youth who have more positive

perceptions of school solidity will be more inclined to report peer violence.

3.5   Current Measures of Youth Resilience

The complexities of defining resilience so far has made it a challenge to develop an

operational definition of the construct. And although a number of instruments have been

developed to measure resilience, none are widely used and not one has been singled out

as being better than the others (Conner & Davidson, 2003). In addition, few resilience

measures have undergone rigorous validation. As a result, there is a lack of robust

evidence that researchers can draw on to inform their selection of resilience scales for

their own studies. However, the continued development of resilience measures is

important. For one, better assessment methods can lead to a more precise identification of

risk/protective variables that can hinder/foster adaptation to adversity. And by studying

resilience in the context of specific risk, it can help to inform the development of more

nuanced and targeted interventions under specific conditions.

To my knowledge, Windle et al. (2011) have carried out the most in-depth

methodological review of resilience measurement scales to date. They performed a

systematic review of resilience measures using published quality assessment criteria (e.g.

reliability, validity, internal consistency) to assess their psychometric rigour in order to

determine whether a 'gold standard' could be established. The authors identified 15

resilience scales matching their criteria and rank ordered them in terms of their overall

quality ratings. Of the 15 scales, ten were for adults and only five pertained to youth within

the age range of this thesis (between 11 and 18 years old). These are: Ego Resiliency

(Bromley, Johnson, & Cohen, 2006), Resilience Scale for Adolescents (READ; Hjemdal et

al., 2006), The Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM; Ungar, Liebenberg,

Boothroyd, Kwong, Lee, Leblanc, et al., 2008), The Resiliency Attitudes and Skills Profile (Hurtes & Allen, 2001), and the Youth Resiliency: Assessing Developmental Strengths (YR:ADS; Donnon & Hammond, 2003). Although the Resilience Scale (Wagnild & Young, 1993) was originally developed for adults, it has been used with individuals from the age of 16 so it will be included herein. The six measures are described in Table 3.2. The names of the tools are provided along with their references, sample characteristics, and a brief description of the scales, including their psychometric properties (if available).

Windle et al. discussed some strengths and weaknesses of the measures. In terms of strengths, three of the scales (CYRM, READ and YR:ADS) target assets and resources from a multilevel perspective by including variables at the individual, social and community levels. As such, they reflect the dynamic and transactive nature of resilience. Furthermore, the CYRM, RASP and READ received maximum scores on content validity. The authors credit this to the fact that the measures have strong theoretical foundations, and also that item selection was based on feedback from their target populations. Similarly, the READ, RS^b and Ego Resilience scales all received maximum scores on construct validity.

In terms of limitations, none of the adolescent resilience measures received a quality assessment score of more than 5 (out of 7). In addition, Windle et al. found that there is room for improvement on their ratings for internal consistency, as many scales were missing information on reliability and validity. The authors also point out that generalisability may be an issue. For example, the development of the Resilience Scale was based on a qualitative study of 24 older women and therefore, may not be appropriate for use with adolescents. Issues about cultural sensitivity may also be a factor. For example, the READ was developed with a Norwegian population for which the concept of resilience may be culturally and contextually dependent. The CYRM is the only measure that examines resilience across 11 cultures. However, no clinical applications had been reported for the CYRM at the time Windle et al.'s article was published.

Table 3.2

Summary Table of Youth Resilience Measures

Measure	Reference	Population / Location	Description
1. Adolescent Resilience Questionnaire (ARQ) – revised	Gartland, Bond, Olsson, Buzwell, & Sawyer (2011)	Students and adolescents with chronic illness, age 11 to 19 years (Australia)	Self-report measure of internal and external resources. Comprised of 74 items across 5 domains (with α coefficients): **self** (optimism (.80); confidence in self and future (.70); meaning/introspection (.70); empathy (.60); social skills (.70)); **family** (connectedness (.90); availability (.60)); **peers** (connectedness (.80); availability (.60)), **school** (engagement (.70); supportive environment (.80)); **community** (connectedness (.90)).
2. Adolescent Resilience Scale (ARS)	Oshio, Kaneko, Nagamine, & Nakaya (2003)[3]	Youth (Japan)	Comprised of 21 items across 3 domains: Novelty Seeking (.79); Emotional Regulation (.77); Positive Future Orientation (.81). Total scale α = .85.

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[3] The original article was written in Japanese but validation studies are available in English.

Measure	Reference	Population / Location	Description
3. Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA)	LeBuffe, Naglieri, & Shapiro	Children and youth, age 5 to 14 years (USA)	Standardised measure of social-emotional competence completed by adults. Comprised of 72 items across 8 domains: self-awareness, social awareness, self-management, goal-directed behaviour, relationship skills, personal responsibility, decision making, optimistic thinking. Total scale α = .98 for parents and .99 for teachers/staff. Test-retest reliability range: .79 to .94. Short form (DESSA-mini) also available. Not available in public domain.
4. Ego Resiliency	Bromley, Johnson, & Cohen (2006)	Adolescents and young adults, age 16 to 22 years (USA)	Self-report measure of ego resiliency traits. Comprised of 102 items across 4 dimensions: confidence; optimism; productive activity, insight and warmth; skilled expressiveness.

Measure	Reference	Population / Location	Description
5. Resilience and Youth Development Module (RYDM)[4]	Constantine & Benard (2001); Constantine, Benard, & Diaz (1999)	(USA)	Student self-report measure of **environmental** (prosocial bonding to community, school, family and peers) and **internal** (personal resilience traits, e.g. self-efficacy, problem-solving) assets.
6. Resiliency Scale (RS[a])	Jew, Green, & Kroger (1999)	Students in grades 7 to 9, and adolescents in psychiatric treatment	Comprised of 35 items across 3 factors: Future Orientation (.91); Active Skill Acquisition (.79); Independence/Risk Taking (.68). Subscales only (no total score).

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[4] The RYDM is one module within a wider survey (California Healthy Kids Survey) which is a comprehensive student self-report tool for monitoring the school environment and student health risks. The survey and RYDM module were "designed as an epidemiological surveillance tool to track aggregate levels of health risk and resilience" (Kordich, 2010, p. 5).

Measure	Reference	Population / Location	Description
7. Resilience Scale for Adolescents (READ)	Hjemdal, Friborg, Stiles, Martinussen, & Rosenvinge (2006)	Adolescents, age 13 to 15 years (Norway)	Self-report measure of resilience. Comprised of 39 items across 5 dimensions: personal competence, social competence, structured style, family cohesion, social resources. Reliability for the 5 factors ranges from α = .69 to .85.
8. Resiliency Scales for Children & Adolescents (RSCA)	Prince-Embury (2005, 2006)	Children and youth, age 9 to 18 years	Self-report measure of personal attributes. Comprised of 64 items across 3 global scales: **Sense of Mastery** (has 3 subscales - optimism, self-efficacy, adaptability - that contain 20 items); **Sense of Relatedness** (has 4 subscales - trust, support, social ease, tolerance - that contain 24 items); **Emotional Reactivity** (has 3 subscales - sensitivity, recovery, impairment - that contain 20 items). Test-retest reliability: .79 to .88. Not available in public domain.
9. The Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM)	Ungar & Leibenberg (2009)	At-risk youth, age 12 to 23 years (11 countries)	Self-report measure of individual, family and external resources. Comprised of 58 items across 4 domains: individual, relational, community, culture. CYRM-28 short version is available.

Measure	Reference	Population / Location	Description
10. The Resilience Scale (RS[b])	Wagnild & Young (1993)	Adolescents and young adults, age 16 to 23 years (Australia)	Self-report measure of individual resilience. Comprised of 25 items across 5 domains: equanimity, perseverance, self-reliance, meaningfulness, existential aloneness. Total scale α = .91. RS-14 short version is available.
11. The Resiliency Attitudes and Skills Profile	Hurtes & Allen (2001)	Youth, age 12 to 19 years (USA)	Self-report measure of resiliency attitudes. Comprised of 34 items across 7 dimensions: insight, independence, creativity, humour, initiative, relationships, values orientation.
12. Youth Resiliency: Assessing Developmental Strengths (YR:ADS)	Donnon & Hammond (2003, 2007)	Youth, age 12 to 17 years (Canada)	Self-report measure of intrinsic and extrinsic developmental strengths. Comprised of 94 items across 10 factors: self-concept (.82); empowerment (.75); self-control (.82); commitment to learning (.88); school culture (.86); social sensitivity (.87); cultural sensitivity (.80); peers (.85); family (.96); community (.92). Test-retest reliability range: .72 to .90. Not available in public domain.

In addition to Windle et al.'s review, a wider search was conducted and revealed six additional standardised tools that specifically measure youth/adolescent resilience. They are incorporated into Table 3.2. A comparison of the 12 youth resilience measures yielded some noteworthy observations:

- Resilience has been measured differently across studies and populations.

- Seven scales (ARS, DESSA, ER, RASP, RS[a], RS[b], RSCA) measure resilience at the individual level and five (ARQ, CYRM, READ, RYDM, YR:ADS) employ a multilevel approach.

- Across the 12 scales, at the individual level, eight dimensions overlap (see Table 3.3).

- The multilevel scales had overlapping domains (e.g. individual, family, peers, and community).

- All but one of the instruments listed in the table were developed with Western populations, and only one (CYRM) has been examined cross-culturally.

- Most of the instruments are proprietary and not available in the public domain.

One of the limitations of this thesis is that the data for the study were not originally designed to focus explicitly on resilience, hence why no standardised resilience measures were employed. However, as demonstrated in this section, very few validated measures of youth resilience currently exist, and no single standardised measure has achieved the 'gold standard' for measuring the construct yet. In light of this, the SDQ was used in this study as a proxy measure of youth resilience. The SDQ is described in further detail in the next section.

Table 3.3

Overlapping Dimensions of Youth Resilience Scales

Scale	Dimension
ARS, ARQ, RS[a]	Future Oriented
RASP, RS[a]	Independence
ARQ, DESSA, ER, RASP	Insight/Introspection/Self-Awareness
ARQ, DESSA, ER, RSCA	Optimism
DESSA, RYDM	Problem-Solving/Decision Making
ARQ, ER, READ, RSCA, RYDM	Self-Confidence/Self-Efficacy
ARS, ER	Skilled Expressiveness/Emotional Reactivity
ARQ, DESSA, YR:ADS	Social Awareness/Skills/Sensitivity

3.6 Goodman's Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)

The SDQ is a strengths-based measure that has been widely used to assess developmental competence. It is comprised of multiple dimensions that are relevant to resilience, and thus, was used in this thesis as a proxy measure of resilience. The SDQ was originally developed and validated in the UK by Robert Goodman (1997, 2001). It has since been translated into 66 different languages and become one of the most widely used measurement tools around the world for both research and clinical purposes. The advantages of the instrument are that it is publicly available, relatively short and easy to score without extensive specialised training, has a relatively simple factor structure with good face validity, and has different versions that are tailored for self-report by children, and parents and teachers to complete. In addition, importantly, it is a strengths-based tool that assesses the developmental competence of children aged 11 to 18 years. The SDQ is composed of five dimensions that tap psychological and behavioural attributes relevant to resilience: conduct, emotion, attentiveness, social relationships, and prosocial attitudes. In the same way that risk and protective factors can be considered opposite ends of the

same spectrum, the scales in the SDQ are polar opposites in that low scores represent strengths and high scores represent difficulties (apart from the prosocial scale for which the reverse is true).

A comparison of the SDQ and the resilience scales named in Table 3.2 was undertaken. The goal of this comparison was to determine whether there is any overlap between the scale items. The first column of Table 3.4 provides the 25 items of the SDQ grouped by the five dimensions (conduct, emotion, hyperactivity, peers, prosociality). Each item was cross-checked with the resilience tools from Table 3.2, and any items that matched according to theme are listed in the second column.

Table 3.4

Comparison of SDQ and Resilience Scales

SDQ Dimension and Scale Items	Resilience Scale and Matched Item
Conduct Problems Scale	
I get very angry and often lose my temper.	ARS: *I have difficulty controlling my anger*; RSCA: *It is easy for me to get upset*
I usually do as I am told.	DESSA: *Child follows the rules*; RASP: *I say no to things I don't want to do*
I fight a lot. I can make other people do what I want.	N/A
I am often accused of lying or cheating.	RASP: *Lying is unacceptable*
I take things that are not mine from home, school or elsewhere.	N/A
Emotional Problems Scale	
I get a lot of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness.	N/A

I worry a lot.	ARQ: *I dwell on the bad things that happen*;
	ARS: *I find it difficult not to dwell on a negative experience*
I am often unhappy, down-hearted or tearful.	ARS: *I think I can control my emotions*;
	RASP: *Laughter helps me deal with stress*
I am nervous in new situations. I easily lose confidence.	DESSA: *Child acts comfortable in a new situation*
I have many fears, I am easily scared.	ARS: *I make an effort to always stay calm*

Hyperactivity Scale

I am restless, I cannot stay still for long.	N/A
I am constantly fidgeting or squirming.	N/A
I am easily distracted, I find it difficult to concentrate.	ARS: *I lose interest quickly*
I think before I do things.	DESSA: *Child thinks before he/she acts*
I finish the work I am doing. My attention is good.	CYRM: *I aim to finish what I start*;
	DESSA: *Child pays attention*/*Child focuses on task despite a problem or distraction*

Peer Problems Scale

I am usually on my own. I generally play alone or keep to myself.	ARQ: *I wish I had more friends I felt close to*;
	RS[b]: *I am friends with myself*
I have one good friend or more.	CYRM: *I feel supported by my friends*;
	RASP: *I have friends that will back me up*
Other people my age generally like me.	RASP: *It's ok if some people do not like me*
Other children or young people pick on me or bully me.	N/A

I get on better with adults than with people my age.	DESSA: *Child attracts positive attention from adults*

Prosocial Scale

I try to be nice to other people. I care about their feelings.	YR:ADS: *Youth is compassionate with others and cares about other people's feelings*; DESSA: *Child expresses concern for another person/Child does something nice for somebody*
I usually share with others.	CYRM: *I cooperate with people around me*; DESSA: *Child shares with others*
I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill.	YR:ADS: *Youth is concerned about and believes it is important to help others*; DESSA: *Child responds to another person's feelings*
I am kind to younger children.	N/A
I often volunteer to help others.	DESSA: *Child offers to help somebody*; RASP: *I try to help others*

Overall, this comparison exercise revealed much overlap between the SDQ and existing youth resilience scales. Of the 25 SDQ items, 18 items were a 'match'. Of the seven items that were left 'unmatched', two pertained to conduct problems (fighting and stealing), three relate to physical symptoms (headaches, restlessness/fidgeting), and two pertain to social factors (being bullied and being kind to others). The implication is that the SDQ may tap constructs that are relevant to resilience, thus providing support for its use as a proxy measure of resilience. Because the present study is exploratory, all of the SDQ items will be retained in the analyses.

3.7   The Present Study

        Resilience theory offers a unique perspective to bystander intervention because it

highlights the potential strengths and resources of young people that can counteract risk of

violence exposure and lead to the positive outcome of reporting to authorities. Yet

surprisingly, the possible impact of resilience on crime reporting has not been much

studied. In other words, the link between resilience and crime reporting was hypothesised

because risk factors (by their inherently negative nature) are potential barriers to reporting;

however, resilience factors can mitigate this risk and lead to positive outcomes. Because

there is currently no single standardised tool that simultaneously assesses multiple

developmental domains of youth resilience in the context of interpersonal violence, for the

present study, Goodman's (1997) *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ) will be

used to capture youths' strengths and weaknesses at the individual and social level. In

addition, an index measure of perceived school cohesion was created and will be used to

explore effects at the community level. The study includes the following three aims: 1)

identify the strengths and difficulties of typically developing youth at the individual, social

and community levels of functioning; 2) compare the characteristics of 'reporters' and 'non-

reporters'; and 3) determine whether youths' identified strengths, difficulties and

perceptions of school cohesion are predictive of their propensity to report peer violence to

authorities. The hypothesis is that more strengths (and fewer difficulties) will predict a

higher likelihood of reporting.

3.8   Resilience Models

        In general, resilience research strives to explain the variation in outcomes among

children who are at risk (Masten, 2001). To achieve this goal, one of two data analytic

approaches are usually taken (for a full review, see Luthar & Cushing, 1999). On one

hand, *person-focused* models seek to identify resilient individuals for comparison to non-

resilient individuals to determine the factors that differentiate the two groups. On the other

hand, *variable-focused* models study associations among variables to identify resilient

patterns of functioning by examining main effects models and interactions. Deciding which of these approaches to take will depend on the researchers' goal, as the two methods can capture conceptually different aspects of resilience phenomena that lead to different insights and conclusions. Whereas the individual approach is best suited to researchers who are interested in understanding important factors and configurations for resilience in people (Bergman & Magnusson, 1997; Masten, 2001), the variable-oriented approach is appropriate for investigating relationships between predictors and outcomes that have implications for intervention (Masten, 2001). Given that the present study is exploratory, both analytic approaches will be carried out. But before undertaking the analyses, the full methodology for the research is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: METHOD

Chapter Overview

The ultimate question that this thesis seeks to answer is, 'why are some youth bystanders more willing than others to report their observations of peer violence?' To answer this question, analyses were conducted to test a set of hypotheses. The following assumptions were based on a thorough review of the literature on bystander intervention:

1) Youth are more likely to report peer violence to authorities when the incident is more (rather than less) serious;

2) Youth who are encouraged to report peer violence to authorities will be more likely to do so than those who are not; and

3) Youth who possess more (rather than less) 'protective factors' will be more inclined to report peer violence to authorities.

In Chapter 4, a full description of the method used for the research is given. The topics covered in this chapter include: ethical approval and access; recruitment and consent; data collection methods (i.e. vignette experiment, survey and standardised instrument); and data collection procedure. Only the questionnaire items that were used in the analyses will be presented herein (see Appendix B for the full survey). The items will be laid out in six sections in accordance with the analyses carried out in Chapter 5: i) descriptive data; ii) situational factors; iii) individual, social and community-level protective factors; vi) reasoning and moral decision making; v) attitudes toward and contact with the police; and vi) victimisation status and risk behaviour. But first, the methodological limitations of the research are discussed at the outset to set the parameters for interpreting the findings in the next chapter.

4.1   Methodological Limitations of the Research

The study's methodological issues mainly pertain to sampling, design and measurement. First, the study was based on a convenience sample of youth in a single

British school. One advantage of this sampling method is that it facilitated easier access to a population that is often difficult to reach. The downside, however, is that the sample may not be representative of the population of youth in the UK as a whole, or cross-culturally. Second, the research relied on self-report measures and therefore, may have been subject to social desirability bias. However, anonymous self-report questionnaires have been widely used in past studies of youth victimisation (e.g. Charach, Pepler, & Ziegler, 1995; Donnon & Hammond, 2007), and are generally considered a valid and reliable method of data collection (Smith & Sharp, 1994). Third, young people's *intentions* were measured rather than their *actual* behaviour. This is not a unique problem to simulation studies, although research suggests that intentions are generally good predictors of people's motivation to act (Feld & Robinson, 1998; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Fourth, although longitudinal designs are preferred for studying resilience (see Luthar et al., 2000), the objective of this thesis is not to identify the factors that determine resilience over time. Rather, the goal is to explore whether youth resilience can predict a single outcome (i.e. bystander reporting) at a given point in time, which can be achieved with the current cross-sectional design. Fifth, although biological factors are important to resilient functioning (see Hanson & Gottesman, 2012), due to complicated ethical barriers and financial constraints, this aspect of resilience was not examined in this study. And finally, the data were not originally designed to focus explicitly on resilience, hence why no standardised resilience measures were used. Instead, as explained in the previous chapter (Section 3.7), the *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ) was used as a proxy measure of youth resilience. Bearing all of these issues in mind, the present study may still offer some insight into the role of resilience factors in youth bystander reporting of peer violence.

4.2   Ethical Approval and Access

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the School Research and Ethics Committee at City, University of London. The researcher also had clearance from the UK Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) to conduct research with minors. Data collection took

place at a state school located in London. The school serves an inner and an outer catchment area (between SE16 and the Rotherhithe Peninsular) for approximately 25 and 75 per cent of its students, respectively. Access to the school and its students was authorised by the school principal. The school's head counsellor served as the point of contact and assisted with access to the students for weekly data collection (see section 4.5 on 'Data Collection Procedure').

4.3   Participant Recruitment and Consent

A total of 486 students from 26 tutor groups in the school were randomly selected and invited to take part in the research. The number of tutor groups were roughly evenly distributed across Years 7 to 13 (i.e. three to four tutor groups per year) to achieve a relatively balanced sample of youth between the ages of 11 and 18. Tutors were instructed to give their students information letters to take home to their parents (Appendix A). Parents who did not want their child to take part in the research were asked to complete the 'opt-out' section of the form and return it to their child's tutor. In addition to obtaining parental consent, participants also assented to participate in the study. A record of recruitment was kept to document the total number of students in each tutor group, number of 'opt-out' forms returned by parents (1st consent), and number of students who declined to take part (2nd consent). The number of students who were absent on the day of data collection was also recorded. The retention statistics are presented in Table 4.1. Of the 486 students who were invited to participate in the study, 12 parents opted out, 15 students declined to take part, and 95 students were absent from school on the day of data collection. This resulted in a final sample of 364 youth.

Table 4.1

Recruitment Retention Statistics

	N
Number of students recruited	486
'Opt-out' forms returned (1st consent)	12
Participant declined (2nd consent)	15
Number of absentees	95
Total *N*	364

4.4   Data Collection Methods

4.4.1   *Focus groups.* Prior to the main data collection, two focus groups were conducted with 24 students in the school (divided into two group sessions of 12 people). The students were randomly selected from the total student population and invited to participate. Consent to take part was obtained from both the parent and the student. Fourteen males and 10 females agreed to take part. Their mean age was 16.39 (*SD* = .50). Sixty-five per cent described their ethnicity as White, and the remainder self-identified as Asian (17.4%), mixed race (13.0%), Black (4.3%), and 'other' (4.3%).

The participants were first presented with a one-minute video simulated scenario. The video was recorded by a professional filmmaker (Jenza Inc.) and depicted an encounter between two male actors in which one boy (Anthony) approached the other (Cameron) and questioned him about his iPod that was missing. Cameron denied taking the iPod and as he turned to walk away, Anthony grabbed Cameron's arm. The exchange escalated into a physical altercation when the two boys got into a scuffle. The scenario had three different endings: Cameron was either completely uninured, received minor injuries of cuts and bruises, or suffered a fatal injury.

After watching the video, the students were given a questionnaire to complete individually. Once the questionnaire was completed, a discussion ensued that was

facilitated by the researcher to gather students' feedback on the video, questionnaire, and data collection procedure. The participants all agreed that the scenario was believable, insofar as the characters were relatable, presented a plausible real-life situation, and demonstrated feasible potential outcomes to peer conflict (for example, one student commented, "This sorta stuff happens all the time."). The participants were asked to comment on the questionnaire's clarity (e.g. wording, range of response options), and length. None of the participants expressed difficulties with understanding the questions, and all but one person were able to complete the questionnaire within an hour. Overall, the feedback gleaned from this pilot exercise supported the feasibility of a larger-scale study. The participants' comments and feedback from the focus group discussion contributed to the development of the materials for the main study.

     4.4.2   *Vignette experiment.* Simulation studies are often used to investigate psychological experiences, particularly when controlled studies are difficult to achieve because of the nature of the phenomena (Weiten & Diamond, 1979). Given the sensitive topic of this thesis (peer violence), an experiment was designed to capture youths' reporting potentials using the video simulated scenario described above.

Table 4.2

Sample Size (N) across Experimental Conditions

Year in school	Group n	Incident Severity			Social Influence		
		No injury	Minor injury	Fatal injury	No cue	Positive cue	Negative cue
7-9	161	46	74	41	53	55	53
10-11	113	32	34	47	37	39	37
12-13	90	37	28	25	32	30	28
Totals	364	115	136	113	122	124	118

The experiment was a 3 x 3 factorial design which resulted in nine experimental conditions, with all other factors held constant. The participants were randomly assigned to one of these conditions (i.e. each person was given one scenario to judge). Table 4.2 provides the distribution of participants across the experimental conditions. The conditions had a sample size of between 32 and 43 participants.

Whereas reporting is typically measured dichotomously (yes/no), in this study, it was measured using a 4-point scale (1 = 'definitely not', 2 = 'probably not', 3 = 'probably', 4 = 'definitely'). This wider scale was used to reflect the fact that bystander decisions are not simply 'black or white' (Finkelhor et al., 2001). Two factors were systematically manipulated to examine participants' reporting expectancies: incident severity and social influence. These two variables were selected because, historically, they have been found to be the two strongest and most consistent predictors of crime reporting (see section 2.1.1 in Chapter 2). To create the experimental levels for incident severity, the scenario had three different endings: the victim either sustained no injury, a minor injury of cuts and bruises, or a fatal injury. A manipulation check was used which asked participants to indicate the level of injury sustained by the actor in the scenario. Of 364 students in the initial sample, Cohen's kappa indicated that 90.6 per cent correctly identified the injury level associated with the condition that they were assigned to. Data for the other 35 participants were excluded from further analyses which resulted in a final sample of 329 people. The second independent variable, social influence, also had three levels: 'positive cue', 'negative cue', and 'no cue' given. In the positive cue condition, participants were given a prompt to read before providing their reporting decision which stated, "In situations of physical violence, some teenagers would strongly approve of reporting it to the police and would advise you to do it. Everyone likes a hero," whereas in the negative cue condition, the prompt stated, "In situations of physical violence some teenagers would strongly disapprove of reporting it to the police and would advise you not to do it. No one likes a rat." Finally, in the 'no cue' condition, no prompt was given to provide a control

group. Participants were told that they were the only witness to the event to minimise any bystander effects.

It should be noted that this design does have some limitations. For one, the core stimulus was a single scenario rather than a collection of different crime events filmed separately. This was due to resource and time constraints.[5] One could argue that the three levels of severity extended the scenario somewhat by creating three different events to be judged. The downside, however, is that by assigning participants to only one scenario, the findings of any effects of injury severity cannot be generalised across injury conditions. This is not so problematic for the social influence variable as the written prompts are not part of the depicted crime. The second point is that the severity conditions go from 'minor' to 'fatal' (as opposed to 'serious'). This was intended to eliminate any situational ambiguity effects so that variations in participants' responses might reveal other forces at play. Ultimately, if findings from the exploratory analyses can be demonstrated across more than one version of the scenario, it could suggest that the independent variables may be relevant in producing the intended effects, and thus, warrant future follow-up studies using an enhanced design.

4.4.3   *Survey.* A paper-pencil questionnaire was developed and used to record both quantitative and qualitative data. Part A ('Questions About the Video') contained 14 questions that focused specifically on the scenario. Part B ('Survey of Young People') contained 57 questions that comprised six sections: (I) Questions about You; (II) You and Your Friends; (III) Your Views about Crime and Justice; (IV) Your School and Activities; (V) Contact with the Police; and (VI) Your Views and Experiences of Victimisation. The

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[5] Filming and post-production editing for the single video stimulus that was used for the study took some time; thus, producing multiple videos would have impacted the timeline for data collection within the school year. This would have resulted in a trade-off of a reduced sample size which would have affected the statistical power of hypothesis testing.

questionnaire items that were used in the analyses are presented in six sections below: i) descriptive data; ii) situational factors; iii) individual, social and community-level protective factors; iv) reasoning and moral decision making; v) attitudes toward and contact with police; and vi) victimisation status and risk behaviour. In each section, a table is provided which indicates the survey question numbers, variables and value labels for the items that were included in the analyses.

4.4.3.1 *Descriptive data.* Table 4.3 contains a list of the variables from Part B, Section I of the questionnaire that were used to describe the basic characteristics of the sample (i.e. gender, age, and ethnicity).

Table 4.3

Descriptive Data

Question #	Variable	Levels
Q1	Gender	1 = Male, 2 = Female
Q2	Age	Numeric value
Q3	Ethnicity	1 = White, 2 = Black, 3 = Asian, 4 = Mixed

4.4.3.2 *Situational factors.* The impact of two situational factors on crime reporting were explored: incident severity and social influence. These variables come from Part A of the questionnaire. As shown in Table 4.4, the independent variable, *incident severity*, has three levels. This variable represents an 'objective' measure of seriousness in that the levels are fixed. A subjective seriousness measure was also employed in which participants were asked to use a 5-point Likert scale to rate how serious they thought the incident was. This was followed by an open-ended question which invited participants to explain why they thought the incident was or was not serious. The second independent variable, *social influence*, also had three levels. To measure youths' reporting potentials, participants were asked to indicate, on a 4-point scale, the likelihood that they would report

the incident to authorities. Participants were then asked to explain qualitatively why they would or would not report the incident.

Table 4.4

Situational Factors and Reporting Variables

Question #	Variable	Levels
IV	Incident severity	1 = No injury, 2 = Minor injury, 3 = Fatal injury
IV	Social influence	1 = No cue, 2 = Positive cue, 3 = Negative cue
Q5	Subjective seriousness	1 = Not at all serious, 2 = Not very serious,
		3 = Somewhat serious, 4 = Very serious,
		5 = Extremely serious
Q6	Why serious/not serious	Qualitative
Q9	Why tell/not tell anyone	Qualitative
Q10	Likelihood of reporting	1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not
		3 = Probably, 4 = Definitely

4.4.3.3 *Individual, social and community-level protective factors.*
Goodman's (1997) *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ) was used as a proxy measure of resilience. The SDQ contains 25 items that are divided evenly into five scales: Conduct Problems (e.g. *I get very angry and often lose my temper*), Hyperactivity (e.g. *I am restless, I cannot stay still for long*), Emotional Symptoms (e.g. *I worry a lot*), Peer Problems (e.g. *Other children or young people pick on me or bully me*), and Prosocial Attitudes (e.g. *I usually share with others*). Each item is rated on a 3-point scale from 0 = 'not true', to 1 = 'somewhat true' and 2 = 'certainly true'. Scale scores range from 0 to 10, with high scores indicating problems, except for the prosocial scale where high scores are positive. The total difficulties score is computed by summing the scores from all of the scales, excluding the prosocial scale. Total scores range from 0 to 40 and high scores are

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negative. Using Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient as an index of reliability, based on the standard cut-off value of .70, the total score showed moderate internal consistency with an α of .67.

The psychometric properties of the SDQ have been studied extensively with samples from all over the world, including America (e.g. Bourdon, Goodman, Rae, Simpson, & Koretz, 2005; Dickey & Blumberg, 2001), Australia (e.g. Hawes & Dadds, 2004; Mathai, Anderson, & Bourne, 2004), Asia (e.g. Yasong, Kou, & Coghill, 2008), the Middle East (e.g. Almaqrami & Shuwail, 2004; Alyahri & Goodman, 2006; Thabet, Stretch, & Vostanis, 2000), and Europe (e.g. Widenfelt, Goedhart, Treffers, & Goodman, 2003; Woerner, Becker, & Rothenberger, 2004). On the whole, these studies have generally found support for the reliability and validity of the tool. For the UK specifically, normative data are based on a large national survey carried out by the Office for National Statistics in 1999 and published by Goodman in 2001.

Table 4.5

Normative SDQ Data from a British Sample

	Females	Males	Total Sample	Cronbach's
	(n = 2093)	(n = 2135)	(n = 4228)	α
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	
Emotional	3.0 (2.1)	2.6 (1.9)	2.8 (2.1)	.66
Conduct	2.0 (1.6)	2.4 (1.7)	2.2 (1.7)	.60
Hyperactivity	3.6 (2.2)	3.9 (2.2)	3.8 (2.2)	.67
Peer	1.4 (1.4)	1.6 (1.4)	1.5 (1.4)	.41
Prosocial	8.5 (1.4)	7.5 (1.7)	8.0 (1.7)	.66
Total Score	10.0 (5.3)	10.5 (5.1)	10.3 (5.2)	.80

Of the 3983 individuals who were randomly selected to complete the questionnaire, their mean scores for each scale as well as the total scale are presented in Table 4.5. Overall, reliability was mostly satisfactory with Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient ranging from .41 to .80. The mean retest stability was .62 after four to six months ($N = 781$).

Individual resilience factors. Individual strengths and difficulties were measured using three SDQ scales: Emotional Symptoms, Hyperactivity and Conduct Problems. The scales showed moderate reliability with αs ranging from .60 to .65.

Social resilience factors. Two scales from the SDQ were used to measure youths' social competence: Peer Problems and Prosocial Attitudes. The internal consistencies for the two scales were α = .56 and .61, respectively.

Community-level resilience factors. An index variable was created to assess community level resilience. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement on six items. Four items started with the stem, "*Students at my school…*" and ended with the statements: "are willing to help their schoolmates," "respect and get along well with each other," "can be trusted," and "think alike about important things." The fifth and sixth items asked participants to indicate the extent of their agreement with two statements: "Teachers and students at my school respect and get along well with each other" and "My school is a safe place to be." Scores on the six items were aggregated to form a total index score of perceived school cohesion. The items showed relatively good internal consistency with an α of .76. In addition, an exploratory factor analysis was carried out using principal component analysis with no rotation to compute a composite score for the factors underlying the school cohesion index. Based on an eigenvalue greater than 1, one component was extracted (eigenvalue = 2.76) which cumulatively explained 46% of the variance. The factor loadings for each of the components are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Exploratory Factor Analysis Factor Loadings

	Component 1
Help others	.697
Respect each other	.772
Trust each other	.744
Think alike	.502
Get along	.687
Safe place	.634

4.4.3.4   *Reasoning and moral decision making.* The variables on reasoning and moral decision making are from Part A of the survey. As shown in Table 4.7, using Likert scales, participants were asked to indicate: (a) how much the victim was to blame for what happened; (b) how much the perpetrator was to blame for what happened; (c) how bad they felt for what happened to the victim; (d) how much they thought the perpetrator should be punished; and (e) how likely they thought the perpetrator would actually be punished if the incident happened in real life. Participants were also invited to explain qualitatively why they thought the perpetrator should or should not be punished.

4.4.3.5   *Attitudes toward and contact with police.* The variables in Table 4.8 are from Sections III and V in Part B of the survey. Using a 5-point Likert scale, participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with seven items that measured their attitudes toward the police. Each item started with the stem, "*The police…*" and ended with one of seven characteristics: "are honest," "are hardworking," "are friendly," "are fair," "treat people with respect," "are good at their jobs," and "can help people who need it." These items were aggregated to produce a composite score of attitudes toward police (α = .89). Next, participants were asked if they had ever had any

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contact with the police. If they indicated 'yes', they were asked to specify the number of times and the reason for contact. Participants were asked to rate their overall satisfaction with their contact with the police using a 5-point Likert scale.

Table 4.7

Reasoning and Moral Decision Making Variables

Question #	Variable	Levels
Q2	Blame victim	1 = Not at all to blame, 9 = Completely to blame
Q3	Blame perpetrator	1 = Not at all to blame, 9 = Completely to blame
Q4	Sympathy for victim	1 = Not at all bad, 2 = Not very bad,
		3 = Somewhat bad, 4 = Very bad,
		5 = Extremely bad
Q5	Subjective seriousness	1 = Not at all serious, 2 = Not very serious,
		3= Somewhat serious, 4 = Very serious,
		5 = Extremely serious
Q11	Perpetrator deserves punishment	1 = Should definitely not be punished, 9 = Should definitely be punished
Q13	Reason for punishment	Qualitative
Q14	Likelihood of actual punishment	1 = Not at all likely, 2 = Not very likely, 3 = Somewhat likely, 4 = Very likely, 5 = Extremely likely

Table 4.8

Attitudes toward and Contact with Police Variables

Question #	Variable	Levels
Q13	Attitudes toward police	-2 = Completely disagree, -1 = Disagree, 0 = Neither agree nor disagree, 1 = Agree, 2 = Completely agree
Q28	Prior contact with police	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q29	Amount of contact with police	Numeric value
Q30	Reason for police contact	Qualitative
Q42	Quality of police contact	1 = Not at all good, 2 = Not very good, 3 = Somewhat good, 4 = Very good, 5 = Extremely good

4.4.3.6   *Victimisation status and risk behaviour.* As shown in Table 4.9, to assess risk behaviour, participants were asked four questions about their lifestyle and leisure activities (i.e. alcohol consumption, illicit drug use, truancy, and school exclusion) in Part B, Section IV of the survey. Participants were also asked whether they had ever been arrested. Participants were invited to disclose any previous victimisation experiences. They were asked if they had ever been a victim of anything. If they had been a victim before, they were asked to specify how many times and what happened. Participants were also asked to indicate whether they told anyone about their victimisation experience. If they did tell someone, they were asked to specify who they told, why they told someone, how useful telling someone was in resolving the situation, and the likelihood that they would tell anyone if they were ever a victim again in the future.

Table 4.9

Victimisation Status and Risk Behaviour Variables

Question #	Variable	Levels
Q21	Alcohol consumption	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q22	Illicit drug use	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q23	Truancy	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q24	Excluded from school	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q36	Prior arrest	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q45	Past victimisation	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q46	Number of victimisations	Numeric value
Q48	Type of victimisation	Qualitative
Q49	Victim disclosure	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Q50	Victim confidante	1 = Friend, 2 = Sibling, 3 = Parent, 4 = Other family member, 5 = School staff, 6 = Other adult, 7 = Police
Q51	Reason for disclosure	Qualitative
Q54	Usefulness of disclosing	1 = Not at all useful, 2 = Not very useful, 3 = Somewhat useful, 4 = Very useful, 5 = Extremely useful
Q56	Likelihood of future disclosure	1 = Not at all likely, 2 = Not very likely, 3 = Somewhat likely, 4 = Very likely, 5 = Extremely likely

4.5   Data Collection Procedure

Data collection started on October 10, 2011 and was completed on July 16, 2012.[6] During this period, each week, one tutor group was held back from assembly to participate in the study. Data collection took place in one of the school's classrooms, in the absence of school staff. The researcher first reviewed the 'Fieldwork Introduction Sheet' with participants which outlined the purpose of the research, what participation involved, confidentiality, and benefits and risks involved in taking part in the research. The participants were informed that their participation was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw their participation at any time, without consequences. To protect their confidentiality and anonymity, the participants were instructed not to write any identifying information on the questionnaires. They were informed that if they disclosed any information regarding harm to themselves or someone else that the researcher would have to notify school officials.

After watching the video, participants were given a survey to complete individually. This took approximately 20-45 minutes, depending on the year group. For participants who had difficulty reading or writing, the researcher read the questions to them and assisted with recording their responses. At the end of their participation, the students were referred to the school's Head of Counselling and Emotional Health if the research had raised any discomfort or concerns for them. The students did not receive any compensation for participating in the research, but were told that the benefits to their participation are to raise awareness of youth violence and potentially reduce incidences of future victimisation in schools.

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[6] Some dates in December, January, February and June were excluded during this period because it was out of term time, during the school's exam period, or due to inclement weather.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

The findings from the analyses are reported in seven sections in this chapter: i) descriptive data; ii) situational factors; iii) individual, social and community-level protective factors; iv) reasoning and moral decision making; v) attitudes toward and contact with the police; vi) victimisation status and risk behaviour; and vii) a multifactorial approach. For the first six sections, youths' willingness to report peer violence were examined on each of these dimensions separately. Then, the variables shown as important in each section were combined and assessed together for their predictive utility on youth bystander reporting via a multifactorial analysis.

5.1   Crime Reporting: Descriptive Data

The analyses were based on data collected from 329 youth. Fifty-six per cent were male and 44% were female. The participants' ages ranged from 11 to 18 (M = 14.33, SD = 1.93). Forty-two per cent described their ethnicity as White, and the remainder self-identified as Black (34.0%), Asian (12.7%), mixed race (11.1%) and 'other' (.3%).

Forty-three per cent of participants disclosed having been a victim at least once before. The number of times they had been a victim ranged from 1 to 10 (M = 2.10, SD = 1.71). Table 5.1 shows the types of offenses that had been committed against them. Eight per cent of the offenses involved a weapon of some sort (e.g. knife or other sharp object). Of those who had been a past victim, 87.4% had told someone about it. The people who youth disclosed to are listed in Table 5.2 and their reasons for disclosing are provided in Table 5.3. Overall, on average, participants felt that telling someone was "somewhat helpful" (M = 3.46, SD = .99) and they were "somewhat likely" to disclose future victimisation (M = 3.58, SD = .95).

Table 5.1

Past Victimisation Type and Percent Disclosed

	%	Disclosed
		(% yes)
Bullying	38.1	76.6
[a]Robbery/mugging	32.5	95.1
[b]Theft	14.3	100.0
Assault	12.7	87.5
Other	6.3	87.5

Note. [a]Includes completed and attempted robbery/mugging. [b]Refers to theft of mobile phone, bike and cash

Table 5.2

Type of Victim Disclosure

	%
Parent	74.6
Friend(s)	49.2
Sibling	39.6
School staff	30.5
Police	24.6
Other family member	19.5
Other adult	4.2

Table 5.3

Reasons for Disclosing Past Victimisation (N = 118)

	%
Wanted help or property back	19.5
Felt angry/upset/scared at the time	11.9
Wanted the person caught/punished	9.3
Stand up for myself/stop what's happening	9.3
Natural to tell family/they can help me	8.5
Speak up/get it off my chest	8.5
Was advised to seek help	4.2
It was serious	4.2
Best/right thing to do	2.5

In terms of risk behaviour, 33.1% of youth stated that they consumed alcohol, 5.2% disclosed illicit drug use, 10.0% admitted skipping school, and 17.9% had been excluded from school in the past. Fifty-three per cent of participants indicated that they have had contact with the police in the past. The type of police contact is listed in Table 5.4. Four percent of youth had been arrested. The types of offenses they had been arrested for were: assault ($n = 5$), disorderly ($n = 3$), shoplifting ($n = 2$), joyriding ($n = 2$), theft ($n = 2$) and weapons possession ($n = 1$). (Note: because of the small number of youth who disclosed past offending behaviour, the findings from the analyses using this variable should be interpreted with caution.) Of the participants who had prior contact with the police, on the whole, their experience was "somewhat good," on average ($M = 2.93$, $SD = .94$). Overall, youths' mean attitudes toward the police was "neutral" ($M = .26$, $SD = .94$).

Table 5.4

Type of Police Contact and Satisfaction with Police Contact

	%	Satisfaction
		M (*SD*)
There was an emergency	22.2	3.07 (.96)
(e.g. domestic violence)		
Something happened to you	43.8	3.02 (.98)
(e.g. some people attacked us)		
Something happened to someone else	21.6	2.88 (.81)
(e.g. my brother got mugged)		
You had done something bad	18.6	2.66 (1.08)
(e.g. received a warning for stealing)		
Someone else had done something bad	13.1	3.06 (.83)
(e.g. kids were throwing bricks at buses)		
You had information about something	4.6	3.00 (.82)
(e.g. to give statements about something I saw)		

5.2 Crime Reporting and Situational Factors: Incident Severity and Encouragement to Report

Individual Differences in Youth Reporting

Table 5.5 presents the proportions of yes/no responses for (not) reporting by injury level. Overall, aggregating the 'probably yes' and 'definitely yes' responses indicated that between 24% to 72% of youth would report the incident to authorities. Independent samples *t*-tests were performed to assess whether reporting to authorities differed by gender, age and ethnicity (Table 5.6). Results indicated that likelihood of reporting did not differ significantly by ethnicity across all injury conditions. There was a significant difference between sexes in the fatal injury condition, such that boys were more likely than

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girls to report, although the boys' mean reporting score was only around the "probably"

range, $M = 3.19$, $SD = .78$. A median split was computed to create a dichotomised variable

for age (i.e. 0 = age 11 to 14 and 1 = 15 to 18) to allow for a comparison between younger

and older youth. There was a statistically significant difference between younger and older

youth in the minor injury condition: younger youth were more likely than older youth to

report ($M = 2.27$, $SD = .94$ and $M = 1.86$, $SD = .63$, respectively), although the mean

ratings for both groups were only around the "probably not" range.

Table 5.5

Proportion of Yes/No Responses for (Not) Reporting by Injury Level

	No injury	Minor injury	Fatal injury
	$n = 102$	$n = 119$	$n = 100$
Definitely not	25.5	16.8	5.1
Probably not	50.0	44.5	23.2
Cumulative no responses	**75.5**	**61.3**	**28.3**
Probably yes	18.6	29.4	41.4
Definitely yes	5.9	9.3	30.3
Cumulative yes responses	**24.5**	**38.7**	**71.7**

Table 5.6

Means and Standard Deviations of Reporting by Gender, Age and Ethnicity

	No injury		Minor injury		Fatal injury	
	M (SD)	t value	M (SD)	t value	M (SD)	t value
Gender						
Male	2.12 (.90)	1.04	2.33 (.94)	.23	3.19 (.78)	2.70**
Female	1.95 (.70)		2.29 (.76)		2.73 (.90)	
Age						
Younger (11-14)	2.27 (.94)	2.52*	2.38 (1.00)	1.26	2.94 (.85)	-.13
Older (15-18)	1.86 (.63)		2.18 (.64)		2.97 (.89)	
Ethnicity						
White	2.00 (.84)	.58	2.45 (.75)	-1.26	2.89 (.81)	.86
BME	2.09 (.81)		2.24 (.91)		3.04 (.90)	

Note. Scale ranged from 1 = 'definitely not', 2 = 'probably not', 3 = 'probably' and 4 =

'definitely'. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Why Do Youth (Not) Report Crime?

A thematic analysis of participants' responses to the open-ended question, "Why would you tell (or not tell) anyone about this incident?" was carried out to identify recurring themes within the textual data. Seven themes were identified based on participants' reasons for disclosing. These are presented in Table 5.7 according to injury level. For the 'no' and 'minor injury' categories, the most highly cited reasons for telling someone was 'to stop the situation from escalating' (e.g. "to make sure the situation doesn't get worse") and 'to help resolve the conflict' (e.g. "because we would want to find out who really stole the iPod so an apology could be given"). For the fatal injury condition, the highest percentage of participants stated that they would disclose the incident because 'someone is (or might be) hurt'.

Table 5.7

Percentages of Youths' Reasons for Reporting by Injury Level (N = 142)

	No injury (n = 25)	Minor injury (n = 46)	Fatal injury (n = 71)
Stop situation from escalating	32.0	28.3	14.1
To get help	16.0	10.9	21.1
To stop the bullying	8.0	4.3	5.6
It was serious	8.0	13.0	16.9
Someone needs to know/it's the right thing to do	8.0	13.0	28.2
Someone is/might be hurt	4.0	--	40.8
To help resolve the situation	4.0	15.2	--

Table 5.8

Percentages of Youths' Reasons for Not Reporting by Injury Level (N =178)

	No injury (n = 77)	Minor injury (n = 73)	Fatal injury (n = 28)
Was not/didn't look serious	26.0	21.9	28.6
Not my problem/doesn't involve me or my friends	16.9	16.4	28.6
No one got hurt	6.5	2.7	--
Don't want to be a grass/snitch	2.6	6.8	--
Fear of retaliation	--	5.5	3.6

Table 5.8 presents participants' reasons for potentially not disclosing the incident which comprised five themes. Across all levels of injury, the highest percentage of youth stated that they would not tell anyone about the incident because it 'was not (or did not look) serious' (e.g. "it was no big deal," "it didn't seem that serious as they were only pushing each other"). The second most highly cited response for all injury conditions was that it was 'not my problem' or 'didn't involve me or my friends'.

Who Do Youth Disclose To?

As shown in Table 5.9, the highest percentage of youth indicated that they would disclose to friends. In contrast, the lowest percentage indicated that they would report the incident to the police. However, there was a 40.3 percent change (increase) in reporting to the police as injury level increased. This also represented the highest percentage difference across all confidants. In fact, apart from friends and siblings, for which there was a slight decrease, reporting to all confidants increased in frequency when the injury was fatal compared to the no injury condition (percentage increases ranged from 13.2 to 40.3).

Table 5.9

Percentages of Who Youth Disclose to by Injury Level

	No injury $n = 104$	Minor injury $n = 119$	Fatal injury $n = 99$
Friend	88.5	89.1	87.9
Sibling	44.2	42.0	61.9
Parent	38.2	49.6	73.5
Other family	18.8	20.7	32.0
School staff	31.7	42.6	58.0
Other adult	22.5	35.7	45.5
Police	15.7	21.4	56.0

Effects of Victim's Injury and Social Cue on Likelihood of Reporting

A bivariate correlational analysis was conducted to assess the relationship between the injury severity IV and participants' subjective seriousness ratings. A moderate positive correlation was found between the two variables ($r = .67$, $p = .00$) such that as 'objective' severity increased so, too, did participants' subjective appraisals of the situation.

Further bivariate correlational analyses revealed that social influence was not statistically associated with reporting, but there was a moderate positive association between injury level and reporting ($r = .40$, $p = 00$). A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then conducted to examine the effects of injury level and social influence on likelihood of reporting to authorities. An inspection of boxplots indicated that there were two outliers in the data. Both of these outliers were removed from the analysis. Levene's Test of Homogeneity of Variance indicated that there was homogeneity of variances between groups ($p = .75$). There was a statistically significant interaction between injury level and social influence in reporting expectancies, $F(4, 311) = 3.42$, $p = .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. No significant main effect was found for social cue, but there was a statistically significant difference in propensity to report to authorities between injury levels, $F(2, 311) = 31.18$, $p = .00$, partial $\eta^2 = .17$. Tukey's post hoc tests showed that likelihood of reporting was similar when the victim sustained no injury and a minor injury; however, it was significantly higher for the fatal injury condition compared to the no injury (*Mdiff* = -.92, 95% CI [-1.20, -.64], $p = .00$) and minor injury conditions (*Mdiff* = -.66, 95% CI [.39, .93], $p = .00$).

A multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine whether five factors (gender, age, ethnicity, injury level, social cue) predicted youths' propensity to report peer violence to authorities. The predictors were entered simultaneously into the equation. The overall model was statistically significant, $F(5, 302) = 13.09$, $p = .00$, and accounted for 42% of the variance in likelihood of reporting. Two variables uniquely

contributed to predicting youth reporting: age (β = -.13, p = .02) and injury level (β = .38, p = .00).

5.3   Crime Reporting and Individual, Social and Community-Level Protective Factors

Descriptive analyses and independent samples *t*-tests were carried out to examine gender, age, and ethnic differences for the SDQ and school cohesion measures, and also differences between reporters and non-reporters on these dimensions. Then, a variable oriented approach was taken to analyse the data. Correlation analyses were performed to investigate which variables indicated potential predictors of intentions to report. Each predictor can be understood as a continuum of positive to negative values: at the positive end of the continuum, the predictors are hypothesized to have a protective function whereas at the negative end, they represent risk for the undesired outcome (i.e. not reporting). Next, a multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to enhance the information provided by the correlation analyses by informing on the overall relation between the set of predictors (gender, age, ethnicity, five SDQ scales, and school cohesion index) and the outcome (reporting expectancy). All of the predictors were entered into the regression analysis together as a model to examine how well they predicted the outcome. Tests for multi-collinearity between the predictors were conducted and this was not shown to be problematic in the analyses.

Youths' Strengths and Difficulties

Table 5.10 presents the means and standard deviations for the SDQ scales and school cohesion index for the sample. Compared to the normative data presented in Table 4.5 in Chapter 4, the youth in this sample presented with slightly more difficulties overall compared to the national sample. Results from independent samples *t*-tests indicated that boys and girls differed significantly on three SDQ scales. The girls' mean scores were significantly higher than the boys' on emotions and prosociality, $t(312)$ = -4.53, p = .00 and $t(312)$ = -3.20, p = .00, respectively, whereas the boys' mean score for conduct problems was significantly higher than that of the girls, $t(307)$ = 2.49, p = .01. Younger youths' mean

Table 5.10

Means and Standard Deviations for SDQ and School Cohesion by Gender, Age and Ethnicity

	Boys	Girls	*t* value	Younger	Older	*t* value	White	BME	*t* value	Total Sample (*N* = 327)
Conduct Problems	2.48	1.97	2.49*	2.63	1.91	3.48**	2.17	2.31	.64	2.25
	(1.92)	(1.68)		(1.96)	(1.64)		(1.89)	(1.79)		(1.83)
Emotional Symptoms	2.66	3.78	-4.53***	3.18	3.04	.54	3.35	2.99	-1.39	3.13
	(2.05)	(2.32)		(2.08)	(2.32)		(2.26)	(2.23)		(2.25)
Hyperactivity Scale	4.03	4.06	-.10	4.31	3.82	1.97	4.52	3.73	-3.15**	4.05
	(2.07)	(2.37)		(2.24)	(2.13)		(2.15)	(2.19)		(2.20)
Peer Problems	2.02	1.99	.20	2.16	1.77	2.07*	2.07	1.96	-.56	2.01
	(1.82)	(1.46)		(1.82)	(1.37)		(1.65)	(1.69)		(1.67)
Prosocial Scale	6.76	7.42	-3.20**	6.75	7.29	-2.57*	7.01	7.06	.27	7.04
	(1.78)	(1.86)		(1.94)	(1.71)		(1.84)	(1.84)		(1.84)
Total Difficulties Score	11.19	11.79	-1.02	12.28	10.54	2.98**	12.11	10.99	-1.88	11.44
	(5.25)	(5.15)		(5.34)	(4.84)		(4.95)	(5.32)		(5.20)
School Cohesion	3.26	3.22	.41	3.11	3.34	-2.83**	3.33	3.18	-1.70	3.24
	(.78)	(.73)		(.78)	(.72)		(.78)	(.74)		(.76)

Note. SDQ scales ranged from 0 – 10. Total difficulties score ranged from 0 – 40. School cohesion index ranged from 1 – 5. *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

ratings were significantly higher on all SDQ scales (*p* < .05), apart from the emotional symptoms and hyperactivity scales where there was no statistical difference, and the prosocial scale and school cohesion scale where older youths' mean ratings were significantly higher. Lastly, White youths' mean ratings for hyperactivity was significantly higher than that of non-White youth, *t*(313) = -3.15, *p* = .00.

SDQ Predictors of Youth Reporting

Table 5.11 presents the results from bivariate correlational analyses that were carried out to assess relationships between the SDQ, school cohesion index and reporting.

Table 5.11

Bivariate Correlations between SDQ, School Cohesion and Reporting by Injury Level

	No injury	Minor injury	Fatal injury	Total sample
	(*n* = 102)	(*n* = 119)	(*n* = 99)	(*N* = 307)
Conduct Problems	-.33**	-.13	.02	-.14*
Emotional Symptoms	.06	-.03	-.22*	-.06
Hyperactivity Scale	-.16	-.11	-.12	-.12*
Peer Problems	-.09	.08	.05	.04
Prosocial Scale	.14	.24**	.26**	.22***
Total Difficulties Score	-.22*	-.08	-.12	-.12*
School Cohesion	.25*	.11	.13	.16**

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Conduct problems, total difficulties and school cohesion were significantly associated with reporting in the no injury condition. In the minor injury condition, only the prosocial scale showed a statistically significant (positive) correlation. In the fatal injury condition, the emotional symptoms and prosocial scales were associated with likelihood of reporting. Overall, no single scale consistently predicted reporting across all three injury

levels. In addition, peer problems was not statistically correlated with reporting at any level of injury, $p > .05$.

Results from a multiple linear regression analysis indicated that the set of six predictors (five SDQ scales and school cohesion index) were statistically significant and accounted for 30% of the variance in likelihood of reporting, $F(6, 299) = 4.74$, $p = .00$. The prosocial attitudes and school connectedness scales made unique contributions to explaining reporting behaviour ($\beta = .20$, $p = .00$ and $\beta = .12$, $p = .04$, respectively).

Reporters versus Non-Reporters

Overall, 24.5% (i.e. 25 out of 102) of youth stated that they would report the incident to authorities in the no injury condition, 38.7% (i.e. 46 out of 119) in the minor injury condition, and 71.7% (i.e. 71 out of 99) in the fatal injury condition. Bivariate correlational analyses revealed that propensity to report was not associated with gender or ethnicity, but was significantly negatively associated with age ($r = -.13$, $p = .02$). Independent samples t-tests were conducted to determine whether reporters and non-reporters differed from each other on the five SDQ dimensions and also perceived school cohesion. The results are presented in Table 5.12. The only significant difference that was found was for the prosocial scale: youth who would report the incident to authorities had significantly higher mean prosocial scores than those who would not report it, $t(305) = -2.59$, $p = .01$.

Table 5.12

Means and Standard Deviations for SDQ and School Cohesion for Reporters and

Non-Reporters

Scale	Reporters (*n* = 142)	Non-Reporters (*n* = 178)	*t* value
Conduct Problems	2.15 (1.89)	2.34 (1.82)	.90
Emotional Symptoms	3.04 (2.29)	3.20 (2.23)	.62
Hyperactivity Scale	3.85 (2.17)	4.24 (2.23)	1.54
Peer Problems	2.16 (1.77)	1.89 (1.58)	-1.42
Prosocial Scale	7.30 (1.81)	6.76 (1.83)	-2.59*
Total Difficulties Score	11.21 (5.64)	11.68 (4.81)	.78
School Cohesion	3.34 (.75)	3.18 (.76)	-1.85

*$p < .05$

5.4   Crime Reporting and Reasoning and Moral Decision Making

Descriptive statistics were computed for the set of moral cognitions and sympathy measures, and these are presented in Table 5.13. Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to determine whether the measures differed by gender, age and ethnicity. The results indicated that, overall, boys and girls were relatively similar in their mean ratings of blame, severity and punishment, apart from in the minor injury condition in which girls had higher mean ratings of sympathy for the victim than did boys, *Ms* = 5.43 (*SD* = 1.25) and 4.88 (*SD* = 1.54), respectively, *t*(121) = -2.19, *p* = .03, 95% CI [-1.05, -.05]. Likewise for age, apart from perceived seriousness in the 'no injury' condition, for which younger youths' ratings were significantly higher than that of their older counterparts, *Ms* = 4.57 (*SD* = 1.47) and 3.74 (*SD* = 1.31), respectively, *t*(100) = 3.04, *p* = .00, 95% CI [.29, 1.38], both groups' mean ratings on all other dimensions were relatively similar overall. There

were no statistically significant differences between Whites and BMEs in their mean ratings across all three injury levels, *p* > .05.

Table 5.13

Means and Standard Deviations for Moral Cognitions and Sympathy Measures by Injury Level (n = 329)

	No injury	Minor injury	Fatal injury
	n = 105	*n* = 123	*n* = 101
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Blame victim	2.62 (2.32)	2.33 (1.72)	2.35 (2.06)
Blame perpetrator	6.25 (2.17)	6.68 (1.84)	7.03 (1.84)
Sympathy for victim	4.48 (1.70)	5.14 (1.43)	6.79 (1.65)
Perceived incident severity	4.11 (1.44)	4.61 (1.27)	7.75 (1.43)
Deserves punishment	4.39 (2.13)	5.29 (2.17)	7.01 (2.02)

Note. Scale scores range from 1 to 9

Predictive Utility of Moral Reasoning and Emotions

Table 5.14 presents the results of bivariate correlation analyses between the five measures and the dependent variable, likelihood of reporting to authorities. Results indicated that while neither blaming the victim nor blaming the perpetrator were significantly associated with reporting, there were moderate positive correlations between reporting and mean ratings of sympathy, perceived seriousness, and perceptions of punishment.

A linear multiple regression analysis was performed to determine whether the five variables (blame victim, blame perpetrator, sympathy for victim, seriousness of incident, and perceived punishment) predicted youths' propensity to report the violent event. The variables were entered simultaneously into the equation. The overall model was

Table 5.14

Bivariate Correlations for Moral Cognitions, Sympathy, and Reporting Expectancies

	Blame victim	Blame perpetrator	Sympathy for victim	Perceived severity	Deserves punishment
Blame victim	--	-.38***	-.18**	-.16**	-.08
Blame perpetrator	--	--	.21***	.18**	.35***
Sympathy for victim	--	--	--	.60***	.46***
Perceived severity	--	--	--	--	.47***
Deserves punishment	--	--	--	--	--
Reporting potential	.02	.07	.35***	.39***	.37***

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

statistically significant, $F(5, 309)$ = 16.90, p = .00, and accounted for 46% of the variance in likelihood of reporting. Three variables uniquely contributed to predicting youths' reporting expectancies: sympathy for victim (β = .14, p = .03), 95% CI [.01, .14]), perceived severity (β = .23, p = .00, 95% CI [.04, .16]) and perceived punishment (β = .19, p = .00), 95% CI [.03, .12]).

Reporters vs. Non-Reporters

Overall, reporters' mean ratings were higher than that of non-reporters on most of the dimensions, although not all of the comparisons were statistically significant (see Table 5.15). Significant differences were found between the two groups in the no injury condition: the mean ratings for sympathy and perceived seriousness were higher for reporters than non-reporters, $t(59)$ = -4.14, p = .00, 95% CI [-1.93, -.67] and $t(100)$ = -2.98, p = .00, 95% CI [-1.59, -.32], respectively. Likewise, in the minor injury condition, reporters and non-reporters differed significantly on their mean ratings of perceived punishment, $t(116)$ = -2.90, p = .00, 95% CI [-1.93, -.36].

Table 5.15

Means and Standard Deviations of Reporters' and Non-Reporters' Ratings of Moral Cognitions and Sympathy by Injury Level

	No injury			Minor Injury			Fatal injury		
	Reporters	Non-reporters	*t*-value	Reporters	Non-reporters	*t*-value	Reporters	Non-reporters	*t*-value
Blame victim	2.94	2.53	-.74	2.38	2.26	-.35	2.24	2.54	.64
	(2.26)	(2.35)		(1.82)	(1.70)		(1.93)	(2.44)	
Blame perpetrator	5.96	6.29	.66	6.76	6.58	-.53	7.03	7.11	.19
	(2.18)	(2.19)		(1.71)	(1.95)		(1.79)	(2.01)	
Sympathy for victim	5.47	4.17	-4.14***	5.40	4.91	-1.88	6.87	6.62	-.67
	(1.22)	(1.74)		(1.42)	(1.38)		(1.73)	(1.47)	
Perceived seriousness	4.86	3.90	-2.98**	4.85	4.41	-1.87	7.81	7.59	-.69
	(1.22)	(1.44)		(1.13)	(1.31)		(1.32)	(1.72)	
Perceptions of punishment	5.06	4.14	-1.88	5.93	4.79	-2.90**	7.29	6.26	-1.85
	(1.96)	(2.17)		(1.84)	(2.23)		(1.64)	(2.71)	

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

5.5   Crime Reporting and Attitudes toward and Contact with the Police

Chi-square tests of independence and independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to assess whether there were any significant associations or differences between boys and girls, younger and older youth, and White and BAME youth in terms of their attitudes toward the police, prior contact with the police, prior arrest, and quality of police contact (Table 5.16). Prior contact with police and prior arrest differed by gender such that a significantly higher proportion of boys had had prior contact with the police than did girls, X^2(1, N = 327) = 8.75, p = .00, and also prior arrests, X^2(1, N = 320) = 5.58, p = .02. A significant association was also found with police contact and ethnicity such that a higher proportion of BME youth had had prior contact with the police than did White youth, X^2(1, N = 327) = 4.52, p = .03. Attitudes toward the police differed significantly by gender and ethnicity, t(324) = 2.45, p = 02 and t(325) = -2.74, p = 01, respectively, but no significant differences were found for quality of police contact.

Results from bivariate correlational analyses showed that while prior contact with the police was not associated with reporting, attitudes toward the police, prior arrest, and quality of police contact were all statistically significant, *ps* < .05. A multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to enhance the information provided by the correlation analyses. All of the predictors were entered into the regression analysis together. The overall model was statistically significant, F(4, 145) = 8.55, p = .00, and accounted for 44% of the variance in likelihood of reporting. Two variables uniquely contributed to predicting youths' reporting expectancies: prior arrest and attitudes toward police, $β$ = -.23, p = .00, 95% CI [-1.30, -.26] and $β$ = .24, p = .01, 95% CI [.07, .41], respectively.

Comparative analyses indicated that prior arrest did not differentiate reporters from non-reporters, although this finding should be interpreted with caution based on the low numbers of people who disclosed past arrest information (n = 14). In contrast, while frequency of police contact did not differ between reporters and non-reporters, there was a

Table 5.16

Means and Standard Deviations of Reporters' and Non-Reporters' Attitudes toward and Contact with Police

	Boys	Girls	t/X^2	Younger	Older	t/X^2	White	BAME	t/X^2
Attitudes toward police	.36	.11	2.45*	.28	.22	.56	.42	.14	-2.74**
	(.91)	(.95)		(.99)	(.88)		(.90)	(.95)	
Frequency of police contact	6.60	5.95	.28	3.21	8.83	-2.54*	6.93	6.35	-.24
	(20.59)	(20.95)		(14.11)	(24.41)		(21.54)	(21.20)	
Prior arrest	6.8%	1.4%	5.58*	5.5%	3.0%	1.16	5.2%	3.8%	.40
Quality of police contact	2.88	3.05	-1.10	2.90	2.97	-.45	2.96	2.92	-.28
	(1.00)	(.86)		(1.05)	(.85)		(.99)	(.92)	

statistically significant difference in quality of contact and attitudes toward the police between the two groups, with those who would report violence to authorities having more favourable attitudes toward the police and a "somewhat good" experience with the contact they have had with the police in the past compared to non-reporters who had more negative attitudes toward the police and "not very good" past experiences with the police.

5.6   Crime Reporting, Victimisation Status and Risk Behaviour

The percentage of youth who have been past victims and would report the incident to authorities is shown in Table 5.17. Results from chi-square tests of independence indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in bystander reporting potential between past victims and non-victims.

Table 5.17

Percentage of Youth Who Would Report the Incident by Victimisation Status

	No injury	Minor injury	Fatal injury
Total sample (*N* = 320)	24.5	38.7	71.7
Past victims (*N* = 137)	34.1	37.5	81.0
Past victimisation and disclosed (*N* = 118)	37.5	42.1	81.1

Results from bivariate correlational analyses also revealed that reporting to authorities was not statistically significantly associated with past experience of victimisation, $p > .05$. However, past disclosure was positively associated with reporting ($r = .19$, $p = .03$) such that those who previously disclosed their own victimisation were more likely to report their observations of peer violence to authorities. Table 5.18

presents a contingency table which shows the consistency of reporting behaviours for prior victims. A change in reporting decisions was seen in 58 past victims (i.e. 4 youth who did not report their own victimisation were willing to report as bystanders, whereas 54 youth who reported their own victimisation indicated that they were not willing to report as bystanders).

Table 5.18

Contingency Table of Changes in Reporting

	Positive	Negative	
Consistent	61	13	74
	(YY)	(NN)	
Change	4	54	58
	(NY)	(YN)	
Total	65	67	132

A chi-square test of independence revealed that reporters and non-reporters did not differ in terms of past victimisation. However, the two groups did differ in terms of whether they told anyone at the time about their victimisation, such that a significantly higher proportion of reporters than non-reporters had told someone, X^2(1, N = 132) = 5.16, p = .02. However, results from independent samples t-tests indicated that reporters and non-reporters did not differ significantly on whether they perceived telling someone about their victimisation was helpful, nor if they would tell anyone if they were a victim again in the future, p > .05.

Correlational analyses were carried out to assess the relationship between four risk factors (alcohol use, drug use, truancy, school exclusion) and reporting. Only alcohol use was mildly statistically significant, r = -.14, p = .01, such that increased alcohol use was associated with a reduced likelihood of reporting. Results from a multiple linear regression analysis with all four of the predictors entered together into

the equation showed that the overall model was not statistically significant, $F(4, 310) = 2.19$, $p = .07$.

Results from chi-square tests of independence indicate that while drug use, truancy, and school exclusion did not differentiate reporters form non-reporters, in comparison to reporters, a significantly higher proportion of non-reporters consumed alcohol, $X^2(1, N = 320) = 7.50$, $p = .00$.

5.7   A Multifactorial Approach

Correlational analyses were conducted to assess the relationship between reporting and the variables found to important in the previous sections of this chapter. These are: injury severity (IV), sympathy for victim, perceived seriousness, perceptions of deserved punishment, alcohol use, prior arrest, attitudes toward police, victim disclosure, prosocial attitudes, and school connectedness. The results from the analyses are presented in Table 5.19. Only the correlations that were statistically significant were used in the next analysis.

A binomial logistic regression was performed to ascertain the effects of eight variables (injury IV, sympathy, perceived seriousness, perceived punishment, alcohol use, attitudes toward police, victim disclosure, prosocial attitudes) on likelihood of reporting peer violence. Linearity of the continuous variables with respect to the logit of the dependent variable was assessed via the Box-Tidwell (1962) procedure. A Bonferroni correction was applied using all the terms in the model resulting in statistical significance being accepted when $p < .003$ (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). Based on this assessment, all continuous independent variables were found to be linearly related to the logit of the dependent variable. Tests for multi-collinearity between the predictors were conducted and this was not shown to be problematic in the analysis. There was one studentized residual with a value of -2.89 standard deviations which was retained in the analysis. The logistic regression model was statistically significant, $X^2 (9) = 60.74$, $p = .00$. The model explained 50% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in reporting and correctly classified 80.5% of cases.

Table 5.19

Correlations between 10 Key Factors and Reporting

	r
Severity of injury (IV)	.38***
Sympathy for victim	.34***
Perceived seriousness	.39***
Perceptions of punishment	.36***
Alcohol use	-.15**
Prior arrest	-.10
Attitudes toward police	.32***
Victim disclosure	.20*
Prosoical attitudes	.15**
School connectedness	.09

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Of the eight predictors, only two were statistically significant: alcohol use and attitudes toward police (see Table 5.20). Youth who consumed alcohol were around four times less likely to report the incident than those who did not consume alcohol. Conversely, the odds of reporting for youth who had more positive attitudes toward the police was 2.10 times more likely than those who had less positive attitudes.

Table 5.20

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Reporting Based on Eight Key Factors

		95% CI for Odds Ratio		
	B (SE)	Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Alcohol use	-1.52** (.51)	1.69	4.59	12.47
Attitudes toward police	.74* (.31)	1.14	2.10	3.88
Injury IV	-.84 (.90)	.07	.43	2.49
Sympathy for victim	.52 (.31)	.91	1.68	3.10
Perceived punishment	.19 (.12)	.96	1.21	1.53
Perceived seriousness	.47 (.35)	.81	1.60	3.16
Prosocial attitudes	.04 (.13)	.82	1.04	1.33
Victimisation disclosure	1.51 (.86)	.04	.22	1.19

*p < .05. **p < .01.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Overview

This thesis set out to answer the question, *why are some youth bystanders more willing than others to report their observations of peer violence to authorities?* Bystander reporting was defined as *third-party notification of authorities about a perceived criminal event.* This study focused specifically on youth reporting of a single, isolated incident (rather than repeated acts of aggression such as bullying) because the intent was to improve our understanding of youth bystander intervention at the earliest stage of peer conflict. The theoretical framework underpinning this thesis was the notion of *resilience.* Resilience theory offered a unique perspective with which to study youth bystander reporting because it promotes a strengths-based approach to explore the strengths and resources that contribute to one's competence. It, therefore, highlighted the fact that youth can show signs of positive functional outcomes despite being exposed to adversity. By conceptualising bystander reporting as a prosocial action (which is a reflection of personal and social competence), it enabled the exploration of a 'profile' of youth bystanders as well as predictors of their behaviour. In this final chapter, the results of this thesis are synthesized and elaborated on to provide answers to the research question. Some theoretical and practical implications are also discussed, followed by some limitations of the research and suggestions for future directions.

6.1   Synthesis of Empirical Findings

The previous chapter was divided into seven sections (descriptive statistics, situational variables, individual, social and community level protective factors, reasoning and moral decision making, attitudes toward and contact with police, victimisation status and risk behaviour, and multifactorial analysis). Within each section, a specific subset of all the data that were collected was analysed. The discussion below of the findings will be organised according to three questions that are pertinent to the research:

1. Is there a discernible pattern to youths' willingness to report peer violence?

2. What factors predict youth bystanders' decisions to (not) report peer violence?

3. How do 'reporters' differ from 'non-reporters'?

6.1.1   *Patterns of youth reporting.* There is currently no systematic method of gathering official data on reports of crime by witnesses, and empirical research studies on this topic with youth are rare. In turn, there is a lack of clarity about whether and what reporting patterns exist among youth bystanders of crime. The vignette experiment that was carried out in this study examined youths' likelihood of reporting peer violence, their potential reasons for reporting/not reporting, and who (if anyone) they are most likely to tell. One of the strengths of this research is that it gathered both quantitative and qualitative data to gain a fuller picture of youth bystander reporting than could be achieved from a single data source alone.

Overall, the majority (63.7%) of youth in this study indicated that they *would* tell someone about their observations of peer conflict, and their mean disclosure scores increased as incident severity increased, which is encouraging. But while the same upward trend was seen in mean scores for reporting to authorities, the proportion of youth who said that they would report the incident to school staff and/or the police was significantly lower overall (44.4%). Few statistically significant differences were found in propensity to report to authorities between boys and girls, younger and older youth, and White and BAME youth, which is in line with past studies that have found little variation in reporting rates based on demographic characteristics (e.g. Bachman, 1998; Harlow, 1985; Skogan, 1984). This suggests that factors other than gender, age and ethnicity underlie youth bystander reporting decisions.

Youths' Reasons for Reporting Peer Violence

The qualitative findings revealed that of those who were inclined to report the incident to authorities, when the victim sustained no injuries, youth cited reasons related to stopping the situation from escalating (e.g. "in case it turned into something serious") and getting help (e.g. "if you tell then it will make things better without there being any fights"). These explanations can be viewed as prosocial in that they reflect a

desire to protect the welfare of others and resolve conflict (Ahmed, 2008; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). The fact that these two response categories were consistently highly mentioned across all three injury conditions is, therefore, a positive sign. In the most serious situation that resulted in a fatal injury, the highest proportion of youth stated that their potential reporting decisions were based on concerns that "someone is injured." This lends support to the idea that degree of harm affects people's decisions to notify authorities (see Tarling & Morris, 2010).

Who Youth Disclose Peer Violence To

Across all three levels of injury, the youth in this study indicated that they were most likely to confide in their friends, followed by their parents and siblings. This is consistent with past research which has found that children and adolescents tend to disclose misconduct to informal sources over formal authorities (Raviv et al., 2009). This has both positive and negative implications. On one hand, telling anyone raises awareness of the offense, which increases the chances that someone might intervene. On the other hand, disclosing to non-authorities creates at least two problems. First, it requires confidants to believe that notifying authorities will help the individual achieve their goals (e.g. justice). However, based on Finkelhor and Wolak's (2003) supposition that adolescents place a strong emphasis on personal autonomy, youth who seek guidance and advice from their friends will likely be deterred from seeking adult involvement. Likewise, Finkelhor and Ormrod (1999) found that parents are less likely to encourage police reporting if they have concerns about how this would impact their children so youth seeking assistance from their parents may also be deterred from reporting. The second problem of disclosing to informal sources is that while it is certainly favourable for young people to disclose violence at all, one risk of not reporting to formal authorities is that it may prevent victims (and bystanders) from receiving the appropriate type and level of assistance that they may need, and in a timely manner.

Youth Non-Reporting of Peer Violence

While past studies have done well to examine reporting behaviour in depth, information on non-reporting is less available but can also be of great value. In general, the desired outcome for bystanders of conflicts at school is for them to report it to school staff, and in more serious cases of assault, to report it to the police. However, the fact that, overall, the majority (55.6%) of youth in this study would *not* report the incident to either school staff or the police means that we need to better understand how they are defining the problem. The youth in this study were told that they were the only witness to the incident, so it is assumed that bystander effects were not a problem (see Latané & Darley, 1969).

In delving deeper by injury level, the results showed that three-quarters of youth were unlikely to report the incident when the victim was uninjured. As one would hope to find, an upwards shift in reporting potentials was seen as injury level increased (reflected by the higher proportions of 'yes' responses in the 'minor' and 'fatal' conditions). However, this percentage increase was not as large as expected. In fact, in the minor injury condition, the majority (61.3%) indicated that they would *not* report the incident. The reasons that they gave for not reporting were because they thought the incident was 'not serious', or they felt that it 'wasn't their problem' because it 'didn't involve them or their friends'. In fact, these were among the most highly cited reasons for not reporting across all three injury conditions. What these findings suggest is that when the victim is someone who youth do not have a personal relationship with (and therefore, may care less about), they are less likely to intervene, which relates to Black's (1976) theory of social distance. Thus, decreasing the distance between youth by improving social bonds may help to improve reporting rates.

One issue that needs further probing is the fact that a substantial number of the 'yes' responses fell into the 'probably' category in the minor and fatal injury conditions (29.4% and 41.4%, respectively) because this reflects some hesitation in youths' reporting expectancies. The problem is that we do not know if these individuals were on the cusp of "definitely" reporting (which is good) or whether they were on the verge

of teetering into the non-reporting group (which is bad). Thus, the challenge is to figure

out how to move the 'probably yes' responders into the 'definitely yes' group to solidify

their 'yes' responses. Likewise, for the 28.3% of youth in the fatal injury condition who

comprised the non-reporters, are these individuals on the tipping point of being

'definitely not' or 'probably yes' responses? The qualitative findings suggest that this

group of non-reporters may be reluctant to notify authorities because they are uncertain

about the facts of the situation (e.g. "It didn't look serious"). This is in line with studies

which have found that a common barrier to bystander action is failure to identify the

situation as high risk (e.g. Burn, 2009; Latané & Darley, 1970). Therefore, an important

question we need to ask is, 'how do young people define crime?' On one hand, if youth

do not perceive that a crime has taken place, they are less likely to intervene. On the

other hand, even if youth recognise that a crime has occurred, they may undervalue

the resultant harm and therefore, also be unlikely to intervene. By exploring youths'

perceptions of what constitutes crime, and how these perceptions impact their

willingness to report peer violence, we can gain a better understanding to the reporting

patterns found herein.

Overall, the findings suggest that while youth may be more decisive in clear-cut

situations (i.e. the extreme ends of the spectrum of 'no injury' and 'fatal injury'),

offenses that fall within the 'grey area' may cast doubt on youths' decisions to

intervene. This raises an important question: *should youth be encouraged to report

peer conflict as soon as they see it happening, in order to avoid them having to make

judgments about the gravity of the situation, which could lead to non-reporting?* On one

hand, the ideal outcome of early reporting is that all conflicts among youth are stopped

before they escalate into harmful situations. In reality, however, this is not practical as

trivial conflicts (e.g. schoolyard quarrels) occur quite frequently among adolescents and

the feasibility of addressing each and every occurrence is unlikely given the staff to

student ratio in schools. On the other hand, it may create a situation in which a young

person's credibility becomes tarnished the more he or she 'cries wolf', which may

subsequently have negative social implications. In addition, conflict can be a healthy

part of development as it enables youth to develop negotiation and problem-solving skills. Thus, strategies of increasing bystander reporting of violence require deeper consideration as to precisely what types of incidents students should be encouraged to report and the signs to look out for as it occurs.

      6.1.2 *Correlates of youth bystander reporting.* A variable-oriented approach was employed to examine the relationship between various predictors and the outcome of reporting. This approach can be useful for identifying which factors to target in the development of strategies to improve youth bystander reporting rates.

Injury Severity and Social Influence

      Whereas most bystander studies have focused on single predictors at a time, the present study explored simultaneously the relationship between individual (sex, age, race), social (social influence) and contextual (victim's injury level) factors on youths' propensity to report peer violence. These variables were selected based on the plethora of research evidence that social influence (e.g. Bickman & Green, 1977; Latané & Darley, 1970; Latané & Nida, 1981) and indexes of severity (e.g. Bachman, 1998; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1988; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Harlow, 1985; Laub, 1997) are robust predictors of crime reporting. Incident severity is supported by economic theories to have a strong influence on reporting decisions because serious offenses would benefit most from the involvement of authorities (Skogan, 1984; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Felson et al., 2002). Similarly, the theory social influence generally states that a person's emotions, thoughts and behaviours can be influenced by other people (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980). The main and interaction effects of these two variables on youths' reporting potentials were examined. The hypothesis was that youth would be more likely to report to authorities when a) the victim sustains more (rather than less) severe injuries, and b) they are encouraged to report the event.

      The findings from the experiment provided only partial support for the hypothesis: while injury level explained youths' reporting potentials, being encouraged or discouraged to report to authorities seemed to have no effect. This contradicts past

research which emphasises the importance of social influence in reporting decisions (e.g. Bickman & Rosenbaum, 1977; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). So why, then, did social influence not predict reporting by youth in this study? One possible explanation is that because the youth were placed in a hypothetical situation, the social cue stimuli may not have been strong enough to sway their reporting decisions. Also, an aspect that was not explored was the relevance of the person giving the advice. In this study, the participants were told that the source was a 'teenager', but future studies could be more specific and compare, for example, whether advice from a best friend versus an acquaintance would make a difference to their reporting intentions. One could also look at whether other groups of people (e.g. parents, teachers, police) may be more influential in youths' decision making.

Nevertheless, it is also conceivable that the seriousness of the incident itself was enough to elicit potential action by youth, regardless of other people's opinions. In other words, when someone is hurt, young people may rely solely on this cue in their reporting decisions and ignore normative pressures altogether. This is reflected in the significant main effect that was found for severity of injury. The wider implication here is that internal (e.g. perceptions) rather than external (e.g. social influence) processes may be driving young people's intentions to (not) report peer violence.

Youths' Strengths and Difficulties

One of the goals of this study was to identify areas of strengths that are related to resilience in a group of typically developing youth, and determine whether these factors are predictive of youths' willingness to report peer violence. To this end, the *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* was used as a proxy measure of resilience. While correlation certainly does not imply causation, the intent was to determine which developmental domains (if any) contribute to youths' reporting potentials. Of the six resilience domains studied (conduct, emotions, hyperactivity, peer relations, prosocial attitudes, school connectedness), prosocial attitudes and school connectedness were identified as key explanatory variables for reporting. The results from subgroup analyses indicated that girls had significantly higher mean prosocial scores than boys

did, whereas boys had significantly higher mean scores for school connectedness. This corresponds with past studies which have found that girls tend to exhibit more prosocial attitudes than boys do (Boxer et al., 2004; Fabes et al., 1999). The implication here is that strategies aimed at elevating prosocial values among boys while strengthening school ties among girls may help to improve youths' reporting potentials overall.

Moral Empathy and Reasoning

This thesis examined the relationship between moral empathy and reasoning and youth bystander reporting. Of the five variables assessed, empathy, perceived seriousness and perceptions of deserved punishment were all positively associated with likelihood of reporting, while perceptions of blame (victim and perpetrator) were not statistically significant. This implies that youths' likelihood of intervening in situations of peer conflict may be less contingent on whose fault they think it is, but instead, depend on their interpretation on how serious the event is, how bad they feel for the victim, and how much they think the perpetrator deserves to be punished. In examining the intercorrelations among the variables, the strongest correlation was found between youths' ratings of empathy and seriousness. Thus, according to Perrez and Reicherts (1992), improving youths' levels of empathy may increase their perceptions of seriousness and subsequently lead to increased reporting.

Attitudes toward and Prior Contact with the Police

Prior arrest, satisfaction with prior police contact, and attitudes toward the police were found to be significantly associated with youths' willingness to report peer violence to authorities. The correlations were also in the expected directions (i.e. more arrests and low satisfaction with prior contact were associated with lower reporting expectancies, and positive attitudes toward police were associated with higher reporting expectancies). The results from a regression analysis indicated that prior arrest and attitudes toward the police were particularly salient in explaining youths' bystander reporting decisions. In light of past research which suggests that attitudes toward law enforcement are shaped by direct contact with police (Rosenbaum et al. 2005; Skogan, 2006, 2009; Jackson & Sunshine, 2007, Bradford, Jackson, & Stanko,

2009), assuming that the prior arrests were a negative experience for youth, this means that delinquent youth will have more negative attitudes toward authorities than non-delinquent youth. This is corroborated by the inverse relationship found herein between prior arrest and attitudes toward police (i.e. more arrests were significantly associated with less positive attitudes toward police).

Risk Behaviour and Victimisation Status

Of the four risk behaviours examined (alcohol consumption, illicit drug use, truancy, and school exclusion) alcohol use was the only variable that was significantly associated with bystander reporting, such that youth who drank alcohol were less likely to report peer violence to authorities. A plausible explanation for this finding is that since underage drinking is illegal, youth may not want to draw attention to their own offending behaviour. It is also possible that youth who engage in risk behaviours are less likely to report peer misconduct because they perceive it as normative behaviour (Gendron, Williams, & Guerra, 2011). Although one would expect illicit drug use to have the same effect on reporting as alcohol did (given that it is also an illegal risk behaviour), the non-significant finding may be due to the low number of youth in this study who divulged drug use.

Contrary to past studies (e.g. Austin, Dardis, Wilson, Gidycz, & Berkowitz, 2016), the results indicated that whether or not youth have previously been a victim themselves may not be important to their propensity to respond to violence as bystanders. Instead, what was more indicative of bystander reporting was whether youth previously disclosed their own victimisation to anyone, and this was regardless of the type of offense that was committed against them. Of the youth who disclosed past victimisation, 56.1% (74 out of 132) behaved consistently (i.e. if they reported their past victimisation, they also chose to report as bystanders, and if they did not report their past victimisation, they also chose not to report as bystanders). For the remaining 43.9% of past victims, their reporting decisions did not match: 93.1% (54 out of 58) of youth who indicated that they reported their own victimisation chose *not* to report as bystanders. In breaking this down by injury level, these non-reporters largely comprised

the no and minor injury conditions, which mirror the behaviour of the sample as a whole. What this implies is that despite having prior experience of personal victimisation, it may not mobilise youth to report violent offenses unless the injury is severe/fatal and also (as the qualitative data suggest) the current offense is happening to them or their friends. Additional data is needed to explore this issue further, such as whether youth sustained an injury when they were previously victimised, how serious the injury was, and how the situation was resolved. This would enable a more meaningful comparison to their bystander decisions found herein.

6.1.3   *Resiliency profile of reporters.* A comparison was made between 'reporters' and 'non-reporters' to explore any similarities and differences between the two groups. This comparison is useful for identifying areas of youths' strengths and resources that could be enhanced/improved to promote their propensity to report peer violence. It can also help to bolster the findings from the predictive analyses, as factors that predict reporting should, in theory, also differentiate reporters from non-reporters.

Youths' Strengths and Difficulties

Of the six proxy measures of resilience employed in this study, only the prosocial scale differentiated reporters and non-reporters. Given that bystander reporting is a helping behaviour (Dovidio et al., 2006), it is not surprising that reporters scored significantly higher than non-reporters did on this dimension. The fact that prosocial values were also found to be predictive of reporting, over and above the other domains, suggests that interventions that specifically target improving prosocial attitudes among youth may be beneficial to improving reporting rates. Although the other comparisons were not statistically significant, it is worth mentioning that, on average, non-reporters expressed greater difficulties (i.e. conduct problems, emotional symptoms, and hyperactivity) than their counterparts. Therefore, strategies aimed at addressing these other developmental domains may help to convert non-reporters into reporters.

Another point worth mentioning is that on the whole, the youth in this study reported relatively few difficulties across all domains of functioning (Table 5.9).

However, some individual differences were observed. On average, boys had significantly more conduct problems than girls did, whereas girls had more emotional problems than boys did. Although these ratings were relatively low (potentially because they are based on self-reports), they resemble a pattern that is in line with evidence which suggests that boys are more prone to 'acting out' than girls, and that girls tend to internalise negative emotions (e.g. sadness, fear, anxiety) more than boys do (see Chaplin & Aldao, 2013 for a recent meta-analytic review). Another interesting finding is that, on average, younger youth reported greater difficulties than older youth in all domains. To explain this, past research suggests that younger adolescents tend to be less cognitively and emotionally developed than their older counterparts due to typical maturation processes (Jain & Cohen, 2013). Here, past studies have found that perspective-taking and emotional concern increases with age (e.g. Eisenberg, 2006; Eisenberg et al., 1991; Moore, 1990). The implication is that supporting youths' cognitive and emotional development at an early age may be advantageous to their decision making as bystanders.

Moral Reasoning and Empathy

Part of this research explored the dual processing of cognitive (blame, seriousness, punishment) and emotive (empathy/sympathy) factors that may influence youths' reporting decisions. The fact that reporters and non-reporters were found to be relatively similar overall (see Table 5.13), though surprising, can be interpreted with *optimism* in that it suggests that non-reporters *can* in fact recognise the gravity of a situation *and* feel sympathetic toward the person being harmed. The fact that the five variables did not discriminate the two groups suggests that while moral values and sympathy may be gateway conditions to reporting, their presence alone is not sufficient to elicit reporting. In other words, while perceptions about blame, sympathy, severity and justice may be conducive to reporting, they are not causal factors in youths' reporting decisions. What distinguishes reporters and non-reporters may not be their ability to reason and/or feel compassion about the situation but rather, some other variable (e.g. prosocial attitudes) that makes them more (or less) inclined to report

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violence to authorities. In practice, what these findings suggest is that strategies aimed at improving bystander response rates via increasing empathy may not be entirely fruitful.

In examining their mean ratings on each of the scales, while youth indicated that the victim was "not very much" to blame across all injury conditions, they thought that the perpetrator was "very much" to blame. Yet even so, their sympathy and seriousness mean ratings were only around the mid-point when no or minor injuries were present. One explanation for youths' underwhelming response in the relatively less serious conditions is that they may be somehow rationalising the perpetrator's behaviour. So, even though youth correctly assigned blame to the perpetrator for the outcome, they may have viewed the perpetrator's actions as reasonable or 'normal' in trying to recover his stolen property. However, when the gravity of the situation was elevated, it may have exceeded the threshold for what youth considered "acceptable" behaviour, hence the significantly higher mean ratings for sympathy, severity and deserved punishment in the fatal condition compared to the other two conditions.

What is particularly worrisome is that at the most serious end of the spectrum (i.e. when the victim dies), even though reporters' mean ratings of incident severity were higher than that of non-reporters, both groups judged the event as being only "very serious." Further studies are needed to understand why a fatality (despite being fictitious) was not perceived by youth as an "extremely serious" event. Stueve and colleagues (2006) suggest that classifications of severity are likely to vary from one community to another, depending on the type and level of violence that is considered normative. Thus, differences in individual opinions, as well as variations in policies across schools, may translate into mixed messages about how student bystanders should respond to the wide range of aggressive behaviours (e.g. teasing, physical threats, bullying, fights) that are common among children. This means that in order to improve youths' reporting rates, a cultural shift may be needed.

Attitudes toward and Prior Contact with the Police

The 'attitudes toward police' variable in this study was designed to assess youths' perceptions about the fairness of police as a group, their ability to perform their jobs well, and the integrity with which police conduct themselves. This is relevant because people's attitudes toward law enforcement may affect their willingness to act as proponents of public safety (Goldstein, 1987; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Stipak, 1979; Winfree & Griffiths, 1977). The findings of this study indicate that, on average, reporters had slightly more favourable attitudes toward the police than did non-reporters, although overall, youth did not express widespread support for the police. This is consistent with studies which have found that youth are not necessarily oppositional, but rather, indifferent toward the police (Nihart, Lersch, Sellers, & Mieczkowski, 2005; Taylor, Turner, Esbensen, & Winfree, 2001). To explore this further, youths' attitudes toward the police were assessed as a function of their prior contact with police. It was found that reporters rated their prior interactions with the police as "somewhat good" on average, compared to non-reporters whose interactions were "not very good." What these finding suggests is that improving youth-police relations in general may help foster better experiences between youth and the police when they come into contact with each other. Subsequently, by improving their experience, this could lead to more favourable attitudes toward the police which is conducive to youth reporting violent crimes to authorities.

Risk Behaviour and Victimisation Status

The findings indicated that of the youth who had been prior victims themselves, those who told someone about their victimisation were more likely to report peer violence as bystanders than those who had not told anyone about their prior victimisation. This is not surprising, given that past reporters are likely more inclined to report wrongdoing, based on the fact that they had already previously reported misconduct.

Of the risk behaviours studied, only alcohol use differed between the two groups, such that significantly more non-reporters than reporters consumed alcohol. When coupled with the finding that alcohol use was also found to be a significant

predictor of reporting behaviour, this suggests that strategies aimed at targeting this specific risk factor may be beneficial.

6.2   Implications for Theory

An integrative multilevel model of youth bystander intervention was proposed in this thesis. Initially, a model was proposed in which 28 variables were assessed for their relationship to youths' reporting potentials. Together, these variables comprised an ecological framework that represented factors at the *individual*, *social*, *contextual* and *community* levels. Youths' willingness to report peer violence were examined on each of the 28 dimensions separately. Then, the variables shown to be important from the analyses were combined and assessed together for their predictive utility on youth bystander reporting. Based on the findings, the model was reduced to three levels (individual, situational and community) comprising 8 of the original 28 variables which are highlighted in Figure 4. This revised model supports some prior conceptions about the correlates of crime reporting (e.g. severity of injury), while disconfirming others (e.g. social influence). New domains were also identified for future exploration (e.g. prosocial attitudes).

As previously mentioned, this study was limited in its use of a between-subjects design in which youth were randomly assigned to only one injury condition. As a result, the findings do not provide a complete picture of reporting thresholds for each person to know whether and why they might (or might not) intervene under the different injury conditions. Nevertheless, knowing how youth might respond in a given situation is still useful because any patterns identified within each of the separate injury conditions may be an indication of how youth might respond in general in that particular situation.

The findings of the present study provide further evidence that assaults among youth are underreported. The value of this thesis is that it was able to provide some empirically based explanations as to why. Ultimately, the fact that reporters and non-reporters in this study did not differ in terms of their capacity for moral reasoning and empathy suggests that even though youth may have the skills necessary to assign blame appropriately, feel bad for victims, and perceive that the perpetrator deserves to

be punished, something led them to believe that the situation was benign and thus, did not require their involvement. The severity index (victim's injury), coupled with the youths' explanatory statements, suggest that there are two conditions to reporting: 1) someone's life being in danger; and 2) direct involvement of the individual or someone they know. In other words, youth are less likely to get involved in conflicts between individuals whom they have no relationship with, and even if they do know the persons involved, they still might not intervene unless someone is seriously hurt.

On a positive note, what the results suggest is that because prosocial attitudes were predictive of reporting, and also differentiated reporters from non-reporters, teaching youth altruistic values may be the key to improving youth bystander reporting of violence. In particular, if non-reporters can 'switch on' empathy when the victim is someone they know, teaching them to care about others more broadly may help to improve the reporting potentials of this group.

Although social influence is, historically, a strong determinant of crime reporting, it did not seem to have an impact on youth in this study. This is surprising given that this age group is particularly susceptible to social influence. However, as discussed earlier, greater specificity on who the source is might produce a different effect. In future studies, the related constructs of trust and respect should also be explored, on the basis that youth may be more influenced by people who they confidence in.

Surprisingly, one's victimisation status (i.e. whether they have been a victim before or not) did not predict whether they would report their observations of violence as bystanders. In theory, being a past victim should increase one's bystander reporting potential because they have first-hand experience of victimisation so they 'know what it feels like'. However, for this sample of youth, victimisation status did not seem to differentiate reporters from non-reporters. Yet if the findings of this study are correct (that is, that incident severity and social distance explain reporting), then it is not surprising that past victimisation is less important as this does not change the severity of an incident, or the witness's relationship to the observed victim. An interesting finding is that past victims had significantly more conduct problems, emotional

symptoms and peer problems then non-victims. Therefore, an important question to be addressed is, did these problems arise as a result of victimisation, or were these pre-existing problems that created a situation which made them vulnerable to victimisation? Either way, it warrants paying special attention to needs of youth who have been victimised, particularly if we want them to be allies and help others in distress.
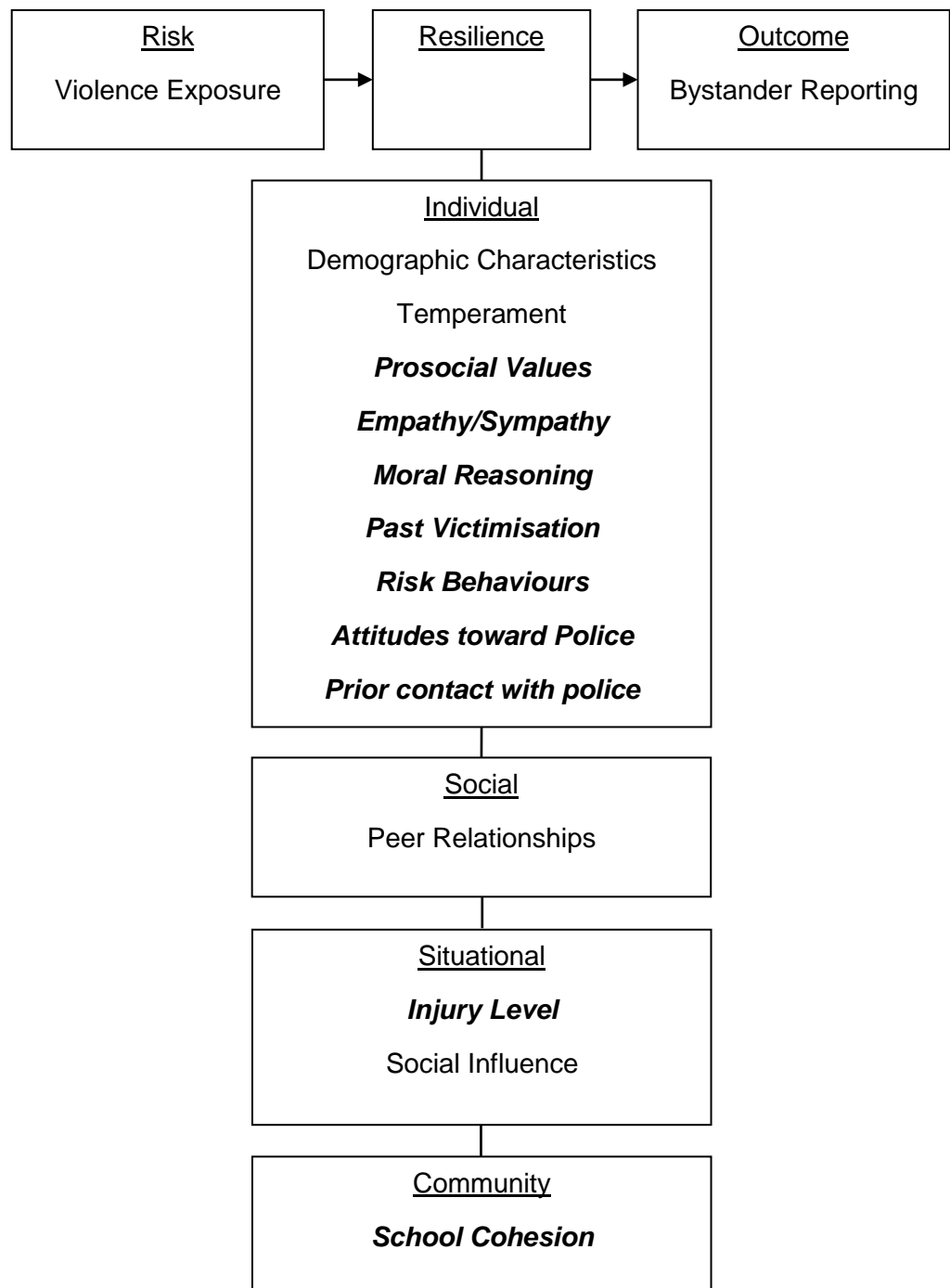
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┌─────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐
│      Risk       │   │   Resilience    │   │     Outcome     │
│Violence Exposure│ → │                 │ → │Bystander        │
│                 │   │                 │   │Reporting        │
└─────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘
                              │
                  ┌───────────────────────────┐
                  │        Individual         │
                  │Demographic Characteristics│
                  │        Temperament        │
                  │    *Prosocial Values*     │
                  │    *Empathy/Sympathy*     │
                  │     *Moral Reasoning*     │
                  │    *Past Victimisation*   │
                  │     *Risk Behaviours*     │
                  │  *Attitudes toward Police*│
                  │ *Prior contact with police*│
                  └───────────────────────────┘
                              │
                  ┌───────────────────────────┐
                  │          Social           │
                  │     Peer Relationships    │
                  └───────────────────────────┘
                              │
                  ┌───────────────────────────┐
                  │        Situational        │
                  │       *Injury Level*      │
                  │       Social Influence    │
                  └───────────────────────────┘
                              │
                  ┌───────────────────────────┐
                  │         Community         │
                  │      *School Cohesion*    │
                  └───────────────────────────┘
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Figure 4. Model of Youth Bystander Reporting of Peer Violence

6.3   Implications for Practice

One area in which the application of the bystander intervention paradigm has gained momentum is sexual harassment and assault. Based on Anderson and Whiston's (2005) meta-analysis, it became known that traditional awareness programming (e.g. educational seminars) is not an effective means to reduce violence. This has led to alternative types of interventions being sought. One initiative to tackle power-based personal violence (e.g. dating violence, bullying, child abuse) that has become popular in America is the 'Green Dot' strategy. Since its inception in 2006, Green Dot has expanded nationally and is currently implemented in hundreds of schools and colleges across the country, as well as various workplace settings, including the military. Green Dot takes a lifespan approach and targets the unique strengths that are typical of each developmental stage from early childhood through adulthood. But in recognising that the onus is not just on one person to 'step up', it draws on social diffusion theory (Rogers, 1983) to affect change in the community by carefully selecting change agents (known as 'endorses') to create a shift in cultural norms. The role of these endorsers is to implement stage-appropriate curriculums and programs. For example, storytelling, group activities and games are used to help elementary school-aged children develop positive social norms such as cooperation, helping and respect. For middle and high school students, the focus is on self-esteem, personal values and identity. Youth are taught to identify obstacles that might challenge their ability to intervene and how to safely overcome them.

There are a number of parallels that can be drawn between Green Dot and this thesis. To start with, the present study also took a developmental approach to identify age-salient protective factors that promote youth bystander reporting of violence. And just as Green Dot endorses an ecological perspective, the present study examined correlates of reporting at the individual, social, contextual and community levels as well. Regarding the findings of this thesis, given that reporters and non-reporters seemed to have similar capabilities (e.g. moral awareness and empathy), this provides further evidence that investing resources into bystander education programs may not

be overly beneficial. Instead, prosocial attitudes were singled out in this study as a key predictor of bystander reporting. What this implies is that in order to transform non-reporters into reporters, efforts spent on teaching positive social norms may be fruitful if these ideals become internalised and integrated into the child's identity. Incidentally, this is one of the core components of Green Dot programming. Moreover, the fact that social influence had no effect in this study could be due to the source being perceived as an out-group member (i.e. a stranger giving advice). This lends credence to Green Dot's strategy of using endorsers to promulgate social norms as these agents are usually influential people who are part of the 'in-group'. Thus, Green Dot seems to work because it expands in-group networks by adapting social and behavioural norms from the inside (as opposed to traditional bystander education which is typically delivered by someone in the 'out-group'). Overall, the findings of this thesis generally support the bystander intervention model being implemented by Green Dot.

6.4   Research Limitations and Ideas for Future Studies

The research had a number of limitations. First, due to the nature of the study (violence reporting), youths' *intentions* were measured based on a simulated video scenario and therefore, may not necessarily reflect what they would actually do in a real-life situation. To remedy this in future studies, researchers could design a study in which a live event is acted out in person and then youth are surveyed for their "real-time" response. Second, this study was based on youths' self-reports and therefore, may have been subject to response bias. This would account for their generally positive outlook, as indicated by their lack of difficulties and relatively high prosocial scores. Future research which triangulates information from multiple sources (e.g. parents and teachers) may provide a more realistic perspective of youths' strengths and difficulties. Third, due to time and financial constraints, the sample of youth were drawn from a single school in South East London. Therefore, the homogeneous findings (e.g. similar cognitive and emotional responses) in this study may be explained by the fact that all of the students are a product of the same environment and therefore, may be using group-based criteria to evaluate peer conflict (Atkin & Gummerum,

2012). Future research should, thus, recruit samples of youth from multiple schools in different regions for comparison, as different social milieus may levy different moral conceptions. Likewise, a cross-cultural comparison could reveal some important similarities/differences in young people's normative values, attitudes and behaviour regarding peer violence. Fourth, this study was limited in its use of a single core stimulus/scenario. In future research, different scenarios should be used to study youth bystander reporting. If, on one hand, the same patterns of youth reporting potentials are found with different scenarios, then this would lend further support to the findings herein. If, on the other hand, different reactions are elicited, this can be useful for broadening our understanding of adolescents' responses to peer violence. Fifth, whereas the present research was a cross-sectional design, resilience processes are best studied longitudinally to determine whether factors associated with developmental competence are robust over time. This could be accomplished with a follow-up study with this sample of youth, using the present study as the baseline. Finally, although beyond the scope of this thesis, given the advances in digital and social media and its popularity amongst teenagers today, it would be interesting to examine whether this would have an impact on youth bystander reporting of violence. One could speculate that the accessibility of mobile phones, for instance, would reduce the effort required to report an incident which should, according to cost-benefit theories, increase reporting. Similarly, the ability to report anonymously online may also encourage reporting because the potential repercussions of social censure and offender retaliation are minimised.

6.5   Conclusion

In sum, bystanders of interpersonal violence have great potential power to influence the outcome of the situation. In reality, however, we know little about what youth actually do in these situations and why they decide (not) to intervene. The present study was one step toward identifying potential patterns of reporting among youth and the barriers that exist which prevent them from reporting their observations of violence among their peers. Violence intervention and prevention efforts hinge on

identifying risk and protective factors for youth and determining at what stage of development they emerge. This study offered some insight as to the domains of functioning that could be targeted and enhanced among young people in order to promote bystander reporting of peer violence. Although this thesis disconfirmed some prior conceptions about the correlates of reporting behaviour, new ground was gained in which a resilience-based model of youth bystander reporting was developed. While much work still needs to be done to validate the findings herein, this thesis provides a foundation with which to advance theory and practice in the field.

Recalling back to the story of Reena Virk from the start of this thesis, the present study suggests that had the bystanders been clearer at the time that a crime was taking place, and they felt a stronger affinity towards Reena, perhaps her death could have been avoided.

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Information Letter to Parents

Your son/daughter is being invited to take part in a research study on "The effects of contextual factors on young people's propensity to report crime." The research is being conducted by Karen Souza as part of her PhD thesis, under the supervision of Professor Peter Ayton, at City University London.

Your son/daughter is being asked to participate in this study because he/she is a young person between the ages of 11 and 18. His/her participation will involve watching a short simulated video and completing a questionnaire which will take approximately 35 minutes. The questionnaire pertains to topics such as school and activities, peer relationships, and crime and justice. The findings from this research can have important practical and policy implications for crime prevention and responses to youth victimisation.

There are no known or anticipated risks to your son/daughter in participating in this research. Your son/daughter's participation in this research must be completely voluntary. He/she may withdraw their participation at any time without any consequences or explanation. If he/she does withdraw from the study, his/her data will be destroyed and will not be included in the study. To protect your son/daughter's anonymity, no identifying information will be contained in the data. Your son/daughter's confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by being stored in a locked filing cabinet, and will be used solely for research purposes and handled only by trained research staff. The data will be retained for 10 years, and after this time, it will be destroyed.

The findings from the research will be reported in Karen's PhD thesis. It is anticipated that the findings will also be presented at psychology and criminology conferences, and published in peer reviewed journals. Participants from the research will be invited to a special presentation of the findings after the research is completed.

Please review this information letter with your son/daughter. Should either of you have any queries about the research, ███████████████████████
███████████████████████████████████

**If you <u>do not</u> want your son/daughter to take part in this research, please sign the section below and ask your son/daughter to return this form to his/her tutor.

I do <u>NOT</u> want my son/daughter to participate in this research study.

Son/daughter's name (please print): _____

Parent's signature: _____ **Date:** _____

City University has a complaints procedure via the Secretary to the Research Ethics Committee. If any aspect of this study concerns you, please contact Anna Ramberg (Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee) by post at CRIDO, City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB, ████████████████████████
███████████████████

Questions about the Video

In the video clip that you just watched, Anthony thinks that Cameron took his iPod. Anthony goes up to Cameron and asks where his iPod is. Cameron tells Anthony that he does not have the iPod and turns to walk away. Anthony grabs Cameron's arm to stop him. Anthony pushes Cameron and Cameron pushes back. Cameron ends up on the ground. **Cameron suffered <u>no</u> injuries at all.**

Please answer each question below carefully. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions.

Q1 How seriously injured was Cameron in this incident? (tick one box)

❑ Cameron was not injured at all
❑ Cameron had minor injuries
❑ Cameron had fatal injuries

Q2 How much do you think <u>Cameron</u> is to blame for what happened? (circle a point on the scale)

|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
Not at all   Completely
to blame   to blame
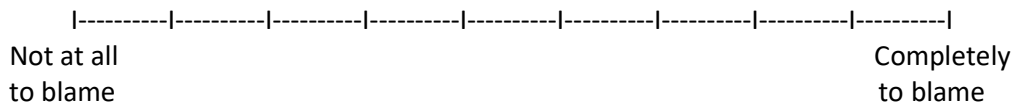
Q3 How much do you think <u>Anthony</u> is to blame for what happened? (circle a point on the scale)

|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
Not at all   Completely
to blame   to blame
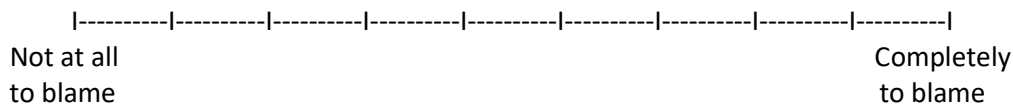
Q4 How much do you <u>feel bad</u> for what happened to Cameron?

Not at all bad	❑
Not very bad	❑
Somewhat bad	❑
Very bad	❑
Extremely bad	❑

Q6 Why do you think this incident is (or isn't) serious?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Q5 How <u>serious</u> do you think this incident is?

Not at all serious	❑
Not very serious	❑
Somewhat serious	❑
Very serious	❑
Extremely serious	❑

Q7 If you saw this incident in real life, would you tell anyone about it?

Yes, definitely	❑
Yes, probably	❑
No, probably not	❑
No, definitely not	❑

Q8 If you saw this incident in real life, <u>when</u> would you most likely tell someone? (tick one box)

While it was happening	❏
Right after it happened	❏
The **next day**	❏
Within **one week**	❏
Within **one month**	❏
Sometime **after a month**	❏
I would **never** tell anyone	❏

Q9 Why would you tell (or not tell) anyone?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Q10 If you saw this incident in real life, how likely would you be to tell each of the following people:

	Yes, *definitely*	Yes, *probably*	No, *probably not*	No, *definitely not*
a) A friend	❏	❏	❏	❏
b) Your brother or sister	❏	❏	❏	❏
c) Your mum or dad	❏	❏	❏	❏
d) Another family member (e.g., aunt/uncle)	❏	❏	❏	❏
e) A teacher / principal / school counselor	❏	❏	❏	❏
f) Another adult (e.g., coach, mentor)	❏	❏	❏	❏
g) The police	❏	❏	❏	❏

Q11 How much do you think Anthony should be <u>punished</u> for what happened?

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

Should **definitely** <u>**not**</u> be punished   Should **definitely** be punished

Q12 What do you think Anthony's punishment should be?

No punishment	❏
Detention at school	❏
Suspension from school	❏
Expulsion from school	❏
A warning from the police	❏
Community service	❏
Prison	❏

Other punishment:

_____
_____

Q13 Why do you think Anthony should (or should not) be punished?

_____
_____

Q14 How likely do you think it is that Anthony would <u>actually</u> be punished, if this incident happened in real life?

Not at all likely	❏
Not very likely	❏
omewhat likely	❏
Very likely	❏
Extremely likely	❏

Survey of Young People

I. Questions about You

Q1 **What is your gender?**

Male ❑
Female ❑

Q2 **How old are you?** _____

Q3 **Would you describe yourself as:**
❑ White
❑ Black
❑ Asian
❑ Mixed

Other: _____

Q4 **What year are you in at school?**
_____

Q5 **What area do you currently live in?**

_____

II. You and Your Friends

Q6 **Who do you usually hang out with? (tick one box)**

❑ By myself
❑ One or two friends
❑ A group of girls
❑ A group of boys
❑ A mixed group of girls and boys

Q7 **How often do you spend time with friends in each of the following places:**

	Almost everyday	1-2 times a week	2-3 times a month	Once a month	Once every 2-3 months	Never / Rarely
a) **Your home**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
b) Your **friends' homes**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
c) **Outdoors** (for example, in streets, parks or playgrounds)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
d) **Public places** (for example, shopping centres, restaurants, cinema)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q8 When you have a problem, or feel sad or upset, do you usually talk to anyone about it?

❑ Yes, always
❑ Yes, most times
❑ Yes, sometimes
❑ No, never

Q9 If you do talk to someone, who do you talk to? (tick as many boxes as you like)

❑ Friend(s)
❑ Your brother or sister
❑ Your mum or dad
❑ Another family member (e.g., aunt / uncle)
❑ A teacher / principal / school counsellor
❑ Another adult (e.g., coach, mentor)

Other person(s):
_____

III. Your Views about Crime and Justice

Q10 **What makes something a "crime?"   [There is no right or wrong answer here.]**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Q11 If you were in <u>serious</u> trouble, how likely would you be to go to each of these people for help or advice:

	Not at all likely	Not very likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Extremely likely	Not applicable
a) Friend(s)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
b) Your brother or sister	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
c) Your mum or dad	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
d) Another family member (e.g., aunt/uncle)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
e) A teacher / principal / counsellor	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
f) Another adult (e.g., coach, mentor)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
g) The police	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q12 How serious do you think each of the following scenarios are:

	Not at all serious	Not very serious	Somewhat serious	Very serious	Extremely serious
a) A person trespasses into a private property.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
b) A person steals £50 from a stranger.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
c) A person threatens to seriously hurt someone.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
d) A person smashes a street light for fun.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
e) A person breaks into a private property and steals a CD player.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
f) A person cheats during an exam.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
g) A person is armed with a weapon and threatens to seriously hurt someone.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
h) A person steals £50 from their parents.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q13 How much do you agree with each of the following statements:

	Completely <u>disagree</u>	Mostly disagree	Mostly agree	Completely <u>agree</u>
a) The police are **honest**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
b) The police are **hardworking**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
c) The police are **friendly**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
d) The police are **fair**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
e) The police treat people with **respect**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
f) The police are **good** at their jobs.	❑	❑	❑	❑
g) The police can **help** people who need it.	❑	❑	❑	❑

IV. Your School and Activities

Q14 How much do you agree with each of the following statements:

	Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree
a) Students at my school are willing to **help** their schoolmates.	❑	❑	❑	❑
b) Students at my school **respect** and get along well with each other.	❑	❑	❑	❑
c) Students at my school can be **trusted**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
d) Students at my school **think alike** about important things.	❑	❑	❑	❑
e) Teachers and students at my school **respect** and get along well with each other.	❑	❑	❑	❑
f) My school is a **safe** place to be.	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q15 Is there anything that you have been doing well lately?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Q16 Is there anything that you have been having difficulty with lately?

_____
_____
_____

Q17 How have you been getting along with your teachers lately?

Not at all well	❑
Not very well	❑
Somewhat well	❑
Very well	❑
Extremely well	❑

Q18 Are you part of any team or club (e.g., football, photography, dancing), in or outside of school?

Yes	❑
No	❑

Q19 If you are part of a team or club, which ones?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Q20 How many hours do you spend on the internet everyday (e.g., Facebook, MSN, YouTube)?

_____

Q21 How often do you drink any type of alcohol?

Never / Rarely	❑
Once every 3-4 months	❑
Once a month	❑
2-3 times a month	❑
Once a week	❑
More than once a week	❑

Q22 How often do you take any illegal drugs?

Never / Rarely	❑
Once every 3-4 months	❑
Once a month	❑
2-3 times a month	❑
Once a week	❑
More than once a week	❑

Q23 How often do you skip school without a valid reason?

Never / Rarely	❑
Once every 3-4 months	❑
Once a month	❑
2-3 times a month	❑
Once a week	❑
More than once a week	❑

Q24 Have you ever been excluded from school?

Yes (go to **next question**)	❑
No (go to **question 28**)	❑

Q25 If you have been excluded from school, how many times?

_____

Q26 If you have been excluded from school, why?

_____

_____

_____

Q27 When was the last time you were excluded from school? In the past:

Week	❏
Month	❏
6 months	❏
Year	❏
Over a year ago	❏
Never	❏

V. Contact with the Police

Q28 Have you ever had any contact with the police for any reason?

Yes	❏
No	❏

Q29 If you have had contact with the police before, how many times?

_____

Q30 If you have had contact with the police before, can you tell me what happened?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q31 If you have had contact with the police before, did anyone tell you to go to the police?

Yes	❏
No	❏

Q32 If someone has told you to go to the police before, who? (tick as many boxes as you need to)

Friend(s)	❏
Your brother or sister	❏
Your mum or dad	❏
Another family member (e.g., aunt / uncle)	❏
A teacher / principal / school counsellor	❏
Another adult (e.g., coach, mentor)	❏

Other person:

_____

Q33 Why did this person(s) tell you to go to the police?

_____

_____

_____

Q34 Did you end up going to the police because someone told you to?

Yes	❏
No	❏

Q35 Why did (or didn't) you end up going to the police?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q36 Have you ever been arrested by the police?

Yes	❏
No	❏

Q37 If you have been arrested before, what for? (tick as many boxes as you need to)

Shoplifting	❏
Joyriding	❏
Drunk and disorderly	❏
Theft	❏
Mugging	❏
Assault	❏

Other reason:

_____

Q38 Have the police ever given you a caution or warning?

Yes	❏
No	❏

Q39 If you have received a caution or warning before, what for? (tick as many boxes as you need to)

Shoplifting	❑
Joyriding	❑
Drunk and disorderly	❑
Theft	❑
Mugging	❑
Assault	❑

Other reason:
_____

Q40 Have you ever been convicted of any crimes?

Yes	❑
No	❑

Q41 If you have been convicted of any crimes, what for? (tick as many boxes as you need to)

Shoplifting	❑
Joyriding	❑
Drunk and disorderly	❑
Theft	❑
Mugging	❑
Assault	❑

Other:
_____

Q42 Overall, how has the contact that you have had with the police been?

Not at all good	❑
Not very good	❑
Somewhat good	❑
Very good	❑
Extremely good	❑

Q43 Why has your contact with the police been good or bad?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

VI. Your Views and Experiences

Q44 How much do you agree with each of the following statements:

	Completely disagree	Mostly disagree	Mostly agree	Completely agree
a) Most adults are **honest**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
b) Most adults are **hardworking**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
c) Most adults are **friendly**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
d) Most adults are **fair**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
e) Most adults treat people with **respect**.	❑	❑	❑	❑
f) Most adults are **good** at their jobs.	❑	❑	❑	❑
g) Most adults can **help** people who need it.	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q45 Have you ever been a victim of anything (e.g., bullying, theft, mugging, assault)?

Yes	❑
No	❑

Q46 If you have been a victim before, how many times?

_____

Q47 **If you <u>have</u> been a victim before, when was the last time? In the past:**

Week ❑

Month ❑

6 months ❑

Year ❑

Over a year ago ❑

Q48 **If you <u>have</u> been a victim before, can you tell me what happened?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q49 **Did you tell anyone at any time that you were a victim?**

Yes ❑

No ❑

Q50 **If you <u>did</u> tell someone that you were a victim, who did you tell? (tick as many boxes as you need to)**

Friend(s) ❑

Your brother or sister ❑

Your mum or dad ❑

Another family member (e.g, aunt/uncle) ❑

A teacher / principal / counsellor ❑

Another adult (e.g., coach, mentor) ❑

The police ❑

Other person:

_____

Q51 **<u>Why</u> did you tell (or not tell) anyone that you were a victim?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q52 **Did the person(s) you tell offer to help you or give you any advice?**

Yes ❑

No ❑

Q53 **If the person(s) you told <u>did</u> offer to help you or gave you advice, what did they do or say?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q54 **How useful was this person's help or advice in solving the problem?**

Not at all useful ❑

Not very useful ❑

Somewhat useful ❑

Very useful ❑

Extremely useful ❑

Q55 **<u>Why</u> was this person's help or advice useful (or not)?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q56 **How likely would you be to tell anyone if you were ever a victim again in the future?**

Not at all likely ❑

Not very likely ❑

Somewhat likely ❑

Very likely ❑

Extremely likely ❑

Q57 **<u>Why</u> would you tell (or not tell) anyone if you were ever a victim again in the future?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____