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WITHOUT CAMOUFLAGE: 'GENDERED FEAR OF VIOLENCE'

EXPOSED

Are Women more Fearful than Men?

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Aleksandra Bajac

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ABSTRACT

There have been various theoretical and practical research attempts to explain the most interesting yet puzzling finding in 'fear of crime' literature, known as the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' which refers to the observation that although men are more likely to be the victims of violent assaults, they are the least likely to report feeling 'afraid', whereas women, who are the least likely victims, report higher levels of 'fears' across all types of crimes. Sutton and Farrall (2005) found evidence that men discount their 'fears' in order to provide socially desirable responses. The present study continues this area of research by employing a new paradigm using Point Light Display Video (PLD) in which participants will not be aware of research's topic and therefore allowing for responses that are not influenced by gendered social roles, expectations and socially desirable responding. Participants in this study were 40 University students (20 males and 20 females) who were firstly exposed to the experimental task (PLD video as an implicit measure of 'fear of violence') and once finished, were administered with a traditional 'fear of crime' questionnaire (an explicit measure of 'fear of violent crime'). The results showed that there was no gender difference in 'fear of violence' when participants were implicitly measured (despite both genders being sensitive to the velocity of movement). However when asked to report their 'fears' through a questionnaire, parallel to previous research, there was an observed 'gender paradox'. The present study's findings lend empirical support to previous theoretical speculations that 'gendered fear of crime paradox' might be fictitious after all, due to the unstable methodologies employed to investigate this phenomenon. Implications of these findings are discussed with some recommendations for future research into the fear of crime.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The problem of crime is a global phenomenon that can be said to afflict every nation. Like any social problem, the problem of crime is multidimensional, and affects various aspects of a society. Likewise, 'fear of crime' represents only one of the many facets and aftermaths of crime that bear a direct impact on quality of life. In New Zealand, crime is generally viewed as a serious social problem. It is interesting that it is perceived to be on the increase, even when it is actually declining. Some of the responsibility for this can be attributed to the media, where crime becomes a 'good story' creating 'excellent headlines' and fuelling political competition. However, despite the often negative impact that the fear of crime has upon people's quality of life, there has been little independent research conducted on this topic in New Zealand, compared with the extensive literature found in many other countries.

The 'fear of crime' became a 'blue print' of a social problem in the mid 1960s due to the alarming findings from a first survey of 'Crime Victims' in the United States of America, in which it was revealed that forty to fifty percent of respondents were fearful and constrained in their activity (Clemente & Kleinman, 1976). In turn, these findings had stimulated parallel research internationally (New Zealand National Survey of Crime Victims, 1996 & 2001; For Australia see Borooah & Carcach, 1997; England and Wales see Kershaw, Chivite-Matthews, Thomas & Aust, 2001; Comparison between Slovenian, Scottish and Dutch Crime Surveys see Mesko & Farrall, 2000) in an attempt to explain the 'fear of crime' phenomenon.

One of the most common findings in research, including that of the New Zealand's National Survey of Crime Victims (NZNSCV, 2001), lies in the 'paradoxical' finding, that while males are more at risk of being assaulted than females, they tend to express less concern about victimization, whereas females report higher levels of fear while the risk of victimization is less (Block, 1993; Borooh & Carcach, 1997; Clemente & Kleinman, 1976; Hale, 1996; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Mesko & Farrall, 2000; Morris, Reilly, Berry & Ransom, 2003; Stanko, 1995).

The literature to date suggests that gender is the most salient factor influencing how ones perceives violence and aggression (Archer & Haigh, 1997; 1999; Bettancourt & Miller, 1996; Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Harris & Knight-Bohnhoff, 1996; Miller & Harris, 2000) and fear of crime (Box, Hale & Andrews, 1988; Braungart, Braungart & Hoyer, 1980; Ferraro, 1996; Hale, 1996; Harris & Miller, 2000; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Warr, 1984). While some scholarly explanations labelled this 'gendered fear of crime gap' as 'irrational' and 'unjustified' (Braungart et al. 1980; Moeller, 1989; Sparks, 1992; Warr, 1984), others sought alternative explanations.

Efforts to explore why women's fear might be different to that of men's are vast and usually contested. Proposals have been made that the 'central paradox' might be due to; the unknown 'true' figure of women's victimization rates (Hale, 1996; Junger, 1987; Pain, 1995; Painter, 1992); women's lesser physical strength (Hines & Fry, 1994; Smith & Tortensson, 1997; Stets & Straus, 1990; Thompson, Bankston & LaPierre, 1992); biological predispositions for women to be less likely to engage in an aggressive and violent manner (Campbell, 1999; Hines & Fry, 1994); women's vulnerability to physical, psychological and economic losses (Garofalo, 1981; Junger, 1987; Keane, 1995; Killias, 1990; Mooney, 2000; Parker & Ray,

1990; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981); and the possibility that any criminal act could escalate to rape (Ferraro, 1996; Hinderlang, Gottfredson & Garafalo, 1978; Painter, 1992; Warr, 1984).

From a different perspective, others have suggested that the 'paradox' (between the risk of victimization and gendered perceptions of fear of violent crime) might be the product of; women's position in the society (Madriz, 1997; Stanko, 1995); the influence of gender roles and schemas (Bettancourt & Miller, 1996; Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Goodey, 1994; Hollander, 2001; Lober, 1994; Risman, 1998; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Valentine, 1997); men discounting their reported risk and fear (Bem, 1981; Goodey, 1997; Smith & Tortensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005); and that they 'neutralize' their fear, since maleness is associated with the assumption that 'boys don't cry' (Agnew, 1985; Goodey, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Kaufman, 1997; Newburn & Stanko, 1995; Sparks, 1996; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993).

The past three decades have seen various theoretical and practical research attempts to determine the origins of fear of crime (see Hale, 1996 for an overview), questioning its conceptual basis and definitions (Baumer, 1978; Clark, 2003; Dolan & Peasgood, 2007; Garofalo, 1981; Gray, 1987; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Rachman, 1990; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Warr, 1984; Williams, McShane & Akers, 2000), and its methodologies (Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Davies, Francis & Juppi, 2003; Dubow, McCabe & Kaplan, 1979; Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Hartnagel, 1979; Sutton & Farrall, 2005), all with the intention to understand this 'problematic' concept. While little has been done to resolve the 'paradox', it is now becoming more accepted that the slow progress might be due to the manner in which this topic has been researched.

The almost exclusive methodology used in the 'fear of crime' research relies on 'self-reported questionnaires' that are open to the possibility that respondents will provide answers that they believe to be socially appropriate (Madriz, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Robson, 1993). It has been suggested by Goody (1997) that the denial of fear is part of the male masculine identity, and consequently males may feel the need to play down their fear levels when filling out questionnaires. Conversely, it is also possible that females exaggerate their feelings of fear, as it is socially acceptable to do so, and seen to be more feminine (Bem, 1981; Hale, 1996; Madriz, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005).

When using the self-reported questionnaires to measure gendered 'fear of crime', it quickly becomes apparent to participants that they are being asked questions to do with their levels of 'fear'. While generated 'fear of crime' literature has broadened our understanding, it fails to objectively capture the 'gendered fear of crime paradox'. With this in mind, it would be wise to employ a measure that does not involve questions that are obviously linked to the concept of 'fear'. The present research advocates the use of an implicit measurement of 'fear of crime', in order to produce data that is not so heavily influenced by gendered roles, stereotypes and socially desirable responding.

The study aims to further address the methodological 'gaps' found across academic literature, by employing a paradigm that has yet to be used in the study of people's 'fear of crime'. The implicit measurement in the present research utilizes the Point Light Display (PLD) video technology, as a methodology (Topalli, 2005). The construction of a PLD video involves the filming of two actors wearing dark, tight fitting clothing with reflective patches that are fixed to their body joints (Topalli & O'Neal, 1995). The final product of this construction shows a brief interaction between two 'featureless human figures' (see Appendix

A for a static image of these displays) in three velocities; slow, medium and fast (Topalli, 2005). It has been found that the PLD video methodology can provide both quantitative and qualitative data that serves to measure group differences on how they perceive and attribute meaning to the PLD videos (Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995). According to Topalli (2005), the PLD video measures the participant's level of vigilance towards violence. It would be reasonable to assume that those most afraid of becoming victims of violence, will be the most vigilant, and will therefore be more ready to attribute violent motivations across the three PLD video velocities.

Therefore, the present study proposes that the 'violence focused vigilance' may act as an implicit measure of 'fear of violent crimes', between two experimental groups in question, males and females. Since participants will not be aware of what the video measures, it will allow for responses that are not influenced by gendered social roles, stereotypes and socially desirable responding. For comparison purposes, the present study will also employ a traditional 'fear of crime' questionnaire, in order to obtain information on the participants' subjective emotional responses to violence.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE AND RESEARCH REVIEW

2.1 'Fear of Crime' As a Social Problem

Over the past three decades, 'fear of crime' has been the subject of many investigations and policy initiatives, and while it remains an evolving area, many academics agree that it is still only partially understood at best, and as a result continues to be as much of a research problem as it is a social problem (Davies et al., 2003; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Farrall, Bannister, Ditton & Gilchrist, 1997; Hale, 1996; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). Fear of crime emerged as a social problem in the United States, in the late 1960s due to the alarming findings that forty to fifty percent of respondents were fearful and constrained (Stanko, 2000). Although the initial intention was to determine the 'true figure' of crime rates, the end product of this exercise resulted in the emergence of a 'fear of crime' phenomenon. Faced with this social reality, it set a wave of regular national crime surveys and speculations that the 'fear of crime' might be more of a social crisis than the crime itself (Clemente & Kleinman, 1976).

While 'fear of crime' is a contested arena among researchers, there exists consensus about the impacts and consequences that 'fear of crime' has on both the individual and society, in general (Amerio & Roccato, 2005; Box, Hale & Andrews, 1988; Brooks, 1974; Chadee, Austen & Ditton, 2007; Clark, 2003; Dolan & Peasgood, 2007; Farrall & Gadd, 2004a, 2004b; Hale, 1996; Hollander, 2001). It has been outlined by Amerio and Roccato (2005) that the fear of crime can have negative consequences on the individuals 'psychological sphere' as it shapes their future behaviour in order to avoid possible dangers. This has been supported in previous

research where Box et al., (1988) found that people who are fearful of crime are more likely to change their behaviours and daily routines.

The effects of 'fear of crime' were further evidenced by Ross (1993), in which he found that the participants levels of 'fear of victimization' had a direct bearing on their subjective health rating. On a social level, Amerio and Roccato (2005) point out that 'fear' can function to 'decrease cohesion and solidarity' among communities or even create too much dependence, however both are extremities that could potentially have negative consequences. In short, the force and magnitude in which 'fear of crime' can operate is quite apparent, as it impinges upon people's quality of life.

2.2 The New Zealand Context

As in other countries, this social problem has been present in New Zealand too. While countries abroad tackled the fear of crime and its victims through many programs, policies and legislations (see Hughes & Edwards, 2005), it has been noted by Young and Bridge (1988) that New Zealand was one of the first countries to provide state funded compensation for victims of violent crimes, and it dates back to 1963. Since then, this country has seen many initiatives in order to further investigate and 'control' this phenomenon; through research conducted at both local and national levels with various groups (Casey & Crothers, 2005; Doeksen, 1997; Morris, 1998; Morris, Reilly, Berry & Ransom, 2003; MRL Research Group, 1995; Young, Morris, Cameron & Haslett, 1997); legislation (Criminal Injuries Compensation Act, 1963; Rape Law Reform Act, 1985; Victims of Offences Act, 1987); and established programs and services (Rape Crisis groups; Victim Support groups; Women's Refugee centres; and more recently established, The Victim Support Target Hardening Scheme, 2001) all with a shared interest to prevent and control this 'social problem'.

Hope and Sparks (2000) observe, that the fear of crime has become a 'social preoccupation' (p. 1). This is not surprising, as media reports eagerly keep the public 'well informed' of horrific crime stories, and by night, its further reinforced through a repertoire of action packed police chasing and 'crime solving' programs. Ferraro (1995) reflects on this, suggesting that 'scarcely a day passes that we are not hit anew with penetrating stories of criminal victimisation' (p. 1). In New Zealand too, public get a full buffet of 'best sellers', titled; 'MUGGER LEAVES ELDERLY IN FEAR' (Turner, 2006); 'Xmas Spells Danger for Many Women' (Boyes, 2005); SUBURBAN FEAR: An Ordinary Monday, an ordinary street, but man is dying' (Cleave, Johnston & Cumming, 2005). What follows, are 'clean up' jobs; the media continues with 'good selling stories' but this time offering token solutions, 'USEFUL TIPS: HOW TO STAY SAFE' (McAlley, 2006), and similarly, politicians in a need for publicity would suggest 'simplistic solutions' to sooth public concerns. Recently, our nation has been steered by two very obscure policies, namely; Air New Zealand prohibiting men sitting next to children on the plane' (Thomson, 2005), and also, The Land Transport Safety's new law, whereby bus and taxi drivers with a past criminal record will be stripped of their licences (O'Rourke, 2005), all created with an intention to protect the 'vulnerable' of this country; children and women.

It is rather worrisome to imagine what kind of social consequences are created through these headlines and new 'safety measures'. From the above 'public messages', it can be concluded that; no one is safe, that women, children and the elderly are the vulnerable citizens, and men as possible perpetrators. These very real observations can be seen as one of the avenues that shape how women and men are socialized to perceive crime and victimization, and possibly in part, play the contributing role in the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' (Goodey, 1997; Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Walklate, 2003). Thus, Ainsworth (2000)

concludes that 'if the media merely reported crime trends accurately and objectively, the public's assessment of their vulnerability might be more accurate' (p. 20).

2.3 Construction of 'Fear of Crime': National Survey of Crime Victims

Since the start of the Victim Crime Surveys (VCS) in the United States in 1972 and the often talked about 'alarming findings', replicas followed internationally, across many nations (see Morris et al., 2003). Twenty five years on, New Zealand had finally exercised their first National Survey of Crime Victims (NZNSCV) in 1996 (Young et al., 1997), while Hale (1996) in that same year, had reviewed the literature of almost 350 references on this topic. While one could argue that New Zealand had much to learn from what was found and done overseas, unique social and environmental characteristics of this country saw the need of those findings to be tested here. While police statistics leave much to be desired, it is generally acknowledged that VCS are more accurate in the estimation of victimization (Ainsworth, 2000; Morris et al, 2003). More specifically, while police statistics only account for the recorded crime, VCS ask questions related to the 'fear of crime'.

The findings from the 1996 and 2001 NZNSCV show little changes over the 5 year period in terms of victimization rates and concerns about victimization and safety (Morris et al., 2003). In these surveys, the 'fear of crime' is measured through participants perceptions of 'safety' and 'worry about' victimization, and the main findings that are of the interest to the present study, paint the picture as follows; most people do not experience victimization (70%), while 12% experienced more than two-fifths of all victimizations reported; higher prevalence rates of violent crimes were among men and young people, as opposed to women and older people; most likely victims of physical assaults were men and young people. On the other hand, women and the elderly were less likely to say that they walked alone in their

neighbourhood after dark and felt unsafe in doing so (45% women compared to 11% men); women reported being 'worried' more than men across all crimes and specifically in respect to violent crimes; women took more precautionary measures to protect themselves when compared to men (Morris et al., 2003).

These findings are broadly similar to those cited in British crime surveys, from both 1998 survey (Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998) and more recently, in 2001 (Kershaw, Chivite-Matthews, Thomas & Aust, 2001), in which their findings further show; that while majority of respondents thought that there was more violent crimes, the figures showed that violent and property crimes were of equal prevalence (20% each of all victimization reported); while crime statistics show that crime rates had decreased, over half of the respondents thought that it had increased, and 26% thought it had increased 'a lot'; men and young people were found to be more at risk of violent crimes and in danger of possible attacks; women reported worrying about all crimes more than men, and in particularly to violent crimes; women and older people were far more likely to feel unsafe when out alone in the neighbourhood after dark; nearly half of the respondents thought that the 'fear of crime' had an effect on their quality of life, while 8% said it had a 'great effect' (Kershaw et al., 2001).

2.4 The End Result: 'Gendered Fear of Crime' Paradox

The literature suggests that much of the population is affected in one way or another by crime and its 'fears', and in particular, the 'fear of crime' of a violent nature. However, paradoxically, reported patterns of victimization for both men and women do not correspond to these patterns of fear. To testify to these findings, studies have repeatedly shown this apparent 'gender difference' in 'fear of crime' (Block, 1993; Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Clemente & Kleinman, 1976; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Mesko & Farrall, 2000; Mooney, 2000; Morris et al.,

2003), but the causal mechanisms involved that lead women to report greater 'fear' is still open to debate. There are various theoretical explanations as to why males who are at most risk of violence report lower levels of fear than females who are the least likely victims, yet report higher fear levels.

The present study's theoretical position advocates that the answer to this questions lies within the conceptual misunderstandings and methodological flaws. The theoretical argument here is shared by a few eager researchers who through alternative theoretical and research efforts have tried to shed light into the observed 'gendered fear of crime paradox' (Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Gadd, 2004b; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Kaufman, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993). The conceptual and methodological concerns of the 'fear of crime' research require an extensive discussion, which will be outlined in the next chapter.

2.5 Fear of Crime: Individual and Environmental Factors

While gender has been researched as one of the most 'predictable' correlates in 'fear of crime' research, there exists vast literature that demonstrates the importance of other individual and environmental factors (Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Chadee & Ditton, 2003; Farrall et al., 1997; Hale, 1996; Ito, 1993; Kanan & Pruitt, 2002; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Rader, 2004; Ross, 1993; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko, 2000). Some of the literature indicates that older people are more fearful, even though younger people are more likely to be victimized (Braungart et al., 1980; Clemente & Kleinman, 1976; Kershaw et al., 2001; Morris et al., 2003), while other studies have found the opposite effect once the crimes were categorized (Chadee & Ditton, 2003; LaGrange, Ferraro & Supancic, 1992; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Pain, 1995; Rountree, 1998). In support to this, Ito (1993) notes that in Japan

fear of crime declines with age, and that it correlates highly with the actual risk of victimization.

In their well known research, Skogan and Maxfield (1981) have outlined that gender and age pertain to 'physical vulnerability', while race and income to 'social vulnerability', and are seen to both correlate highly with 'fear' and 'perceptions of risk'. In respect to this, many studies have further found the relationship between 'fear of crime' and race, with ethnic minorities expressing higher levels of 'fear' (Kershaw et al., 2001; Liska, Sanchirico & Reed, 1988; Morris et al., 2003; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

These findings are also similar to the ones evidenced here in New Zealand, in which it has been found that Maori and Pacific Islanders report greater levels of 'worry' about crimes than Pakeha (NZNSCV, 2001). These found differences have usually been attributed to experienced 'social disadvantages', as it has been argued that social and physical incivilities and neighbourhood disorders bare direct consequences to perceived vulnerability and in turn peoples 'fear' levels (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Stanko, 2000). Researchers that deal with environmental and social correlates of fear of crime, most often find that people who live in cities, in problem neighbourhoods, and who perceive their living area as dangerous, express higher fear levels than their comparison group (Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Dolan & Peasgood, 2007; Kanan & Pruitt, 2002; LaGrange et al., 1992; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

Researchers have further found 'perceived risk' and 'prior victimization' to be yet another of many important individual predictors of 'fear' (Chadee et al., 2007; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Dull & Wint, 1997; Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996; LaGrange et al., 1992; Reid &

Konrad, 2004; Stanko, 1995). As it has been widely accepted that 'fear of crime' can relate to both direct and indirect victimization (Clark, 2003; Conklin, 1971; Garofalo, 1981; Gomme 1998; Hollander, 2001; Marks & Tobena, 1990; Warr, 1984), it led some researchers to consider other mediating factors that may account for ones 'perceived risk' and 'fear levels'. Studies have suggested the influence of media (Ainsworth, 2000; Amerio & Roccato, 2005; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Lane & Meeker, 2003; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Stanko, 2000), individual differences, such as income, education, living situation (Amerio & Roccato, 2005; Farrall, Bannister, Ditton & Gilchrist, 2000; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Smith & Torstensson, 1997), and environment (Borooah & Carcach, 1997; LaGrange et al., 1992; Moeller, 1989; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Van der Wurff, Van Staalduin & Stringer, 1989), can all mitigate to shape 'perceived risk' and consequently their 'fears'. More recently, it has been further found that the relationship between 'perceived risk' and 'fear' further varies according to the type of crime and specific situation seen as threatening (Killias & Clerici, 2000; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Sutton & Farrall, 2005).

Prior victimization has also been a widely considered factor, and it has been generally found that victims fear crime more than non-victims, regardless of other mediating variables (Box et al., 1988; Hale, 1996; Liska et al., 1988; Morris et al., 2003; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Young et al., 1997). However, there appears to be conflicting findings, since some researchers have even found the opposite effect (victims less fearful than non-victims), while other studies have found no difference between the two (Dull & Wint, 1997; Smith & Hill, 1991).

Along with this, gender, seen as the most 'reliable' predictor of 'fear of crime', has similarly been found to be 'not so reliable'. With the help from some rather insightful

theoretical explanations and one ground-breaking study (Gilchrist, Bannister & Farrall, 1998; Goodey, 1997; Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Sutton & Farrall, 2005), the 'fear of crime' literature was graced with a finding that after all, the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' might not really exist. It was proposed that the observed 'paradox' might have been created through inappropriate use of measures, and flawed methodologies (Davies et al., 2003; Farrall et al., 1997, 2000; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Farrall & Gadd, 2004a, 2004b; Lober, 1994; Madriz, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). While this stands, others have further drawn upon other theoretical insights in order to explain this dubious 'paradoxical' finding.

2.6 'Gendered Fear of Crime' Paradox: Rational or Irrational?

Stanko (1995) observed that the 'mismatch between women's and men's reported fear levels of violent crimes have been accounted across literature' (p. 48). While initially some sceptics have argued that the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' was due to women's 'irrational' reporting of heightened 'perceived risk' and 'fear' (Braungart et al., 1980; Moeller, 1989; Sparks, 1992; Warr, 1984), literature that followed became more unified in their thinking, seeing the observed 'paradox' as rather 'rational'. In support to this, some researchers have outlined different causal mechanisms that have been found to contribute to the observed gender differences (Goodey, 1997; Hollander, 2001; Kaufman, 1997; Messerschmidt, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Smith & Torstenson, 1997; Walklate, 1997, 2003), while others have attributed the 'gender gap' to the 'unreasonable' measures used (Farrall et al., 1997, 2000; Hale, 1996; Lober, 1994; Madriz, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Sutton & Farrall, 2005).

The often noted explanation of the gender difference in the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' has been ascribed to women's vulnerabilities of all kinds (Campbell, 1999; Garofalo,

1981; Harris & Miller, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Walklate, 1997). Earlier on, Garofalo (1981) noted that women had more to lose from being a victim, as they are less able to escape and resist a physical confrontation if faced with a dangerous situation. In support to this view, other researchers have suggested that the gender difference in fear reflects women's lesser physical strength and smaller body size (Campbell, 1999; Harris & Miller, 2000; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Thus, Walklate (1997) points out that physical vulnerability relates to 'risk assessment', and based on this, it is only 'rational' that women perceive themselves to be vulnerable, and experience more 'fear' as a result.

There is also a long history of studies evidencing biological biases for women to be more cautious and less aggressive (Bettancourt & Miller, 1996; Berkowitz, 1993; Campbell, 1999), and males more aggressive (Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Some findings also indicate that males tend to engage more in high risk behaviours (Hockey & James, 2002; Mooney, 2000), and thus suggesting that through these exposures they tend to view aggression and violence as more instrumental and less threatening (Archer and Haigh, 1997, 1999; Berkowitz, 1993; Harris & Miller, 2000).

In support to this, Harris (1992) found that men were more likely to engage in both direct and indirect acts of aggression, and Berkowitz (1993) further notes that males were more likely to show aggressive reactions to perceived threats than females. Interestingly, Harris and Miller's (2000) research showed that respondents were more likely to use a gun against a male aggressor than a female one, and based on these findings they support the notion that males are seen to be more threatening and likely to be more aggressive. On the other hand, it could be also argued that these results merely reflect social roles and gender stereotyping that is inherited in the self-reported questionnaire that these studies employ.

Berkowitz (1993) maintains that there is evidence where socialization has not been able to come into play, to suggest that biological and physiological factors are the primary reasons for males being more aggressive. He further notes the importance of sex hormones, reminding readers to think of 'how tamed your male cat can be once it gets castrated' (Berkowitz, 1993, p. 396). On the other hand, Renzetti and Curran (1989) argue that research measuring activity levels of small babies to account for biological aggression, are not valid, as there is no proof that higher activity levels leads to later life aggression. They further reason that these researchers are heavily influenced by gender role stereotyping, as the researcher is aware of the child's gender while recording for 'aggression' (Renzetti & Curran, 1989).

Similarly, Hyde (1984) found that girls can be just as aggressive as boys if they are rewarded for such behaviours, or if they think that no one is watching. While acknowledging the importance of biological factors, Renzetti and Curran (1989) conclude that gender similarities and differences are a product of 'inescapable interaction between that potential and the social environment to which we are exposed to' (p. 38). There may be some rationality grounded in biological explanations to account for women's higher perception of 'risk' and 'fear', but it can only be a partial account, at best.

Some academics have argued that the observed 'gendered fear of crime paradox' may be due to the fact that 'true figure' of women's victimization rates remains largely unknown (Hale, 1996; Pain, 1995; Painter, 1992; Smith, 1988; Stanko, 2000; Warr, 1984). They speculate that due to the sensitive nature of the victim crime surveys, many women choose not to report intimate violence, and especially pertaining to physical and sexual assaults (Pain, 1995; Stanko, 2000). In an interesting study done by Harris and Miller (2000) it was revealed that participants from both genders perceived that the risk of violence from relatives or friends

is greater for an 'average women' than for an 'average man' (p. 854). Collectively, these findings suggest that there is a shared consensus that women are more likely to fall victims of crimes that are 'private' in nature (usually committed at home, by a known person), therefore it is rather concerning if those sorts of crimes go unreported.

The importance of hidden victimization was further evidenced by Smith (1988) where it was found that women who had experienced violence by significant others were more likely to be 'afraid' in comparison to women who were the victims of other types of crimes. With this in mind, many researchers have come to believe that women's hidden victimization inevitably contributes to their 'feelings of insecurity' (Hale, 1996; Pain, 1995; Stanko, 1995; Warr, 1984). That being the case, it could be argued that it is only normal for women to report higher fear levels to 'stranger danger' (Stanko, 1995, p.49). On the other hand, it is also possible that men like women, do not report all violent acts perpetrated against them (Walklate, 2003) and still further 'discount their fears' in order to protect their 'masculinity' and 'fearless persona' (Goodey, 1997; Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993).

Others have proposed that women's higher reporting of 'fears' relate to their 'fear of rape' and other forms of violence that are sexual in nature, as these are crimes that affect mostly women (Ferraro, 1995; Morris et al., 2003; Pain, 1995; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Warr, 1984). While most victim crime surveys indicate women's greater fear levels across many crimes (see Hale, 1996 for this extensive literature review), Ferraro (1995) found that once 'fear of rape' was removed from the model, women's fear levels were no higher than men's.

In support to this, Reid and Konrad (2004) have speculated that the observed 'gendered fear of crime paradox' lies in the faulty measures used that do not differentiate between types of crimes that disproportionately victimize women and men. They found that women report higher fear levels for 'sexual assault' than did men (which is in line with the actual risk), and that both women and men were equally afraid of property crimes (again in line with actual risk of victimization). On the other hand, the findings further showed that women also reported more fear of burglary, which is interesting since men are found to be at more risk for this type of crime (Reid & Konrad, 2004). Warr (1984) points out that crimes of sexual nature are serious, as it could possibly lead to homicide or other serious injuries, and therefore, it is of no surprise that women may generalize their 'fears' across other crimes as well.

In this line of thinking, it was further suggested that the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' might be due to the fact that women experience many derogatory and offensive behaviours (being intimidated, followed, stared at, verbally abused) that are persistent throughout their lives, which men are not exposed to (Goodey, 1994; Madriz, 1997; Pain, 1995; Painter, 1992; Stanko, 1987). In support to this, Painter (1992) found that women were three times more likely to report 'general harassment', and four times more likely to be exposed to other 'intimidating behaviours' (p. 175). It has been proposed that these sorts of encounters might be responsible for women experiencing greater sensitivity to 'fear' and 'perceptions of danger' (Goodey, 1994; Sparks, 1996; Walklate, 1997). On the other hand, Smith and Torstensson (1997) argue that if that was the case, older women should experience more fear since they would have had the 'most accumulated experiences' of these undesirable behaviours. However, they found that young women were the most afraid group, and as a result argue that these findings are more in line with theories pertaining to 'physical

vulnerabilities' and 'fear of rape', rather than the 'acquired experiences of oppression' (Smith & Torstensson, 1997, p. 618).

While there exists considerable research that 'rationally accounts' for women's higher 'fear' levels, some academic literature further demonstrate the importance of socialization and formation of gender roles and stereotypes, in order to better account for the observed paradox between 'gendered risk' and 'fear'. Inevitably, in these explanations lies the possibility that in part, 'irrational' methodologies used to investigate 'gendered fear of crime' (through self-reported questionnaires) are contaminated by socially desirable responses and expectations.

2.7 Socialization: A Pathway to 'Gendered Fear of Crime' Paradox

Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003) highlight the importance in distinguishing the difference between sex and gender, in that sex refers to 'biological determinism', whereas gender pertains to 'social construction of male and female identities' (p. 153). With this in mind, they argue that 'biological knowledge is in itself socially and historically constituted' (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003, p.153). The theoretical argument here is that both genders are conditioned into appropriate roles and expected behaviours that serves as a platform for their everyday social conducts (Goodey, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997), and similarly, the same processes operate to create shared 'fear of crime ideologies' of who is the victim, who the criminal, who should fear crime, and who should not fear crime (Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993).

Some academics have proposed that socialization is seen as a teaching tool that encourages both men and women to see females as a weaker and more vulnerable gender, and as a result women are seen to be at more 'risk', whereas men are considered to be 'safe'

(Goodey, 1997; Harris & Miller, 2000; Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997). Stanko (1990) points out that early socialization of women on safety and dangers (keep your skirt down, do not talk to strangers, they want little girls) becomes a modelled platform that is forever present in their lives. Some have further argued that these 'one sided' protective measures may contribute to women's heightened 'sensitivity to danger' and vulnerability (Goodey, 1994; Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997).

Hollander (2001) observes that through socialization and other 'ideological tools' many have come to see women as victims, men as either perpetrators or defenders, and that violence is committed by strangers in public places (Harris & Miller, 2000; Hollander, 2001; Smith & Torstensson, 1997), even though much of the literature shows otherwise. Inevitably, such unrealistic messages create shared conceptions of who should, and should not fear crime, however, the consequences of these misconceptions are very damaging. Stanko (1995) sees these shared ideas as very detrimental for women as it promotes their 'victim type role' while providing a 'deficit to fear crime'.

This 'victim role ideology' was nicely demonstrated in Harris and Miller's (2000) research in which they found that while both genders thought that 'an average women' is in a greater danger of an attack than the 'average man', more females believed this to be the case than males. They conclude by suggesting that women are used to occupying this 'victim type image' (Harris & Miller, 2000). Some academics went on to further explain that that this type of a stereotypical role is embedded within characteristics of being 'feminine', however ironically, see those same constructs (passivity and weakness) as potential target to victimization (Hale, 1996; Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004).

Smith and Torstensson (1997) point out that socialization is a vehicle that reinforces the belief of men's powers, strengths and physical abilities, to fight, escape and protect the vulnerable; women and the children. They further note that men are encouraged to see themselves as immune from harm or invulnerable, keeping with the 'male machismo' persona (p. 611). O'Toole and Schiffman (1997) outline these 'scripted gender differences', seeing it that masculinity requires power, aggression, and the one to be in control; and femininity entails the opposite characteristics; being 'vulnerable, dependent, emotional, nurturing, and malleable rather than controlling' (p. 8). Therefore, stereotypes of what it is to be a man (fearless, protector, aggressor) are dominant roles that represent power and strength, as opposed to stereotypes of women as weak and fearful.

Consistent with gender role stereotypes, some research studies demonstrate that when given the option, women choose to engage in more passive and defensive 'protective behaviours' when compared to men opting for more active and aggressive 'protective behaviours' (Harris & Miller, 2000; Williams, Singh & Singh, 1994). More specifically, Harris and Miller (2000) found that both genders were more likely to suggest to a 'female nurse' to 'carry mace, cell phone and get escorted' in order to protect herself, while 'male nurses' were recommended to 'take up bodybuilding and fight back' (p.856).

How social scripts function to assign gender roles stereotypes, was effectively demonstrated in another study which found that participants viewed a female victim 'more favourably' when she complied with the aggressor as opposed to retaliating, while participants were more likely to 'positively evaluate' a male victim when he engaged in fighting off the aggressor, as opposed to being submissive (Marsh & Greenberg, 1996). These findings support the role of gender roles and stereotypes, where men are viewed to occupy strength,

power and the ability to protect themselves, while women are seen to lack all of the above (Bettancourt & Miller, 1996; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). It further reiterates the role of socialization in 'gendered fear of crime' and how society prescribes certain rules of conduct for both genders.

In light of this, Madriz (1997) makes a serious observation that the ongoing portrayal of 'women as submissive and men as aggressive, helps preserve the 'gender-based hierarchical system', where 'women are seen as in need of protection and men as permanent protectors' (p. 79). On the other hand, Messerschmidt (1997) argued that these socially constructed expectations can be rather damaging to men, as it could possibly threaten their 'masculine identity' if they are to deviate from this 'ascribed role'. In line of this, it could be suggested that men discount their 'fears' in need to protect and preserve their assigned gender role.

In the same way that 'fear' has been socially constructed to keep women in their 'safe place', it has also played a role in keeping men 'fearless' in order to maintain their sense of 'masculinity' (Goodey, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Sparks, 1996). Sparks (1996) points out that maleness is associated with the assumption that 'boys don't cry', however, some research shows that 'boys do cry' and fear crime, but only to the point that society allows for it (Goodey, 1994, 1997). Goodey (1997) points out that males transition from 'fearful' to 'fearless' is associated with adult identities; more physical strength and separation from a 'childish state of being scared' (p. 408). The interesting finding in her research pertains to the observation that even though girls reported more 'fear' at the age of 12, boys did have the need to discount their fears at that stage, as they still saw themselves to lack strength and power within their own gender hierarchy (Goodey, 1997, p. 413).

However, Goodey (1997) went on to explain that through 'hegemonic masculine biography' the role of a 'fearlessness man' comes into action once they enter their teenage years, equipped with more strength and 'self-assurance that is reinforced by the society' (p. 411). Kaufman (1997) further indicates that this is the point that boys are no longer able to express their feelings of vulnerabilities, a turning point that 'our culture makes a final socio-educational preparations as to what entails being a man' (p. 38). With somewhat emotive speculations, Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003) argue that as a consequence, boys will 'develop their own macho script of cynicism to hide their feelings, so you end up with another generation of emotionally disabled men' (p. 38).

While socialization and gender roles may craft 'gendered fear of crime', some researchers have argued that such constructions are rather fluid, as the individual differences come into play (Goodey, 1997; Kaufman, 1997; Messerschmidt, 1997). In an attempt to explain these differences, Messerschmidt (1997) observed that men 'accomplish their masculinity according to their position in a social structure' and therefore there exists many forms of 'hegemonic masculinity' (p. 108). More specifically, Messerschmidt (1997) explained that certain behaviours that represent what it is to be a 'male' can be recognized by others within that same class and social setting. In support to this, Kaufman (1997) outlines that some men expresses their power through vocational successes and monetary gains, while the ones from lower socio economic classes are more likely to express their 'maleness' through 'muscle power'.

In support to these theoretical explanations, Smith and Torstensson (1997) found that 'less perceived risk' and the 'lack of fear' was associated with both low and high educational attainment. They went on to explain that those lacking in 'vocational empowerment' and

'social competencies', compensate these inadequacies through the acts of aggression and 'exaggerated masculine bravado' (Smith & Torstensson, 1997, p. 626). After all, how else would they obtain their power and retain their sense of 'maleness'. On the other hand, it was found that females with high educational achievement perceive 'less risk' and are less likely to report feeling 'fearful' when compared to women in lower social positions (Smith & Torstensson, 1997). While these findings could represent that 'less fear' is associated with women's 'empowerment' and higher social standings (Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko, 1990), it is also important to acknowledge that money could possibly buy more safety and less crime to look at 'in your neighbourhood area' which is the question that every survey asks when measuring the 'fear of crime' phenomenon.

There has been a general consensus among researchers about the negative consequences that 'masculinity' carries for both the individual and society as a whole (Goodey, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Hollander, 2001; Kaufman, 1997; O'Toole & Schiffman, 1997; Reid & Konrad, 2004). More specifically, Kaufman (1997) highlights the hardships between 'maleness and masculinity' and notes 'that masculinity requires suppression of ones normal needs, created through ever changing and rather oppressive shared ideologies' (p. 39). In light of all this, the end result of a 'hegemonic masculinity' lesson, sounds something like this; in order for men to retain their sense of power and control, and defend themselves from being labelled a 'girl', 'women's blouse', 'puff' etc., requires suppression of feelings of vulnerabilities and with that discounting of fear (Goodey, 1997). It becomes rather possible then, that one of the consequences of this 'masculine bravado' has managed to manifest itself into the 'fear of crime research' and create a misconception that is known as a 'gendered fear of crime paradox'.

2.8 Gendered Social Expectations and Socially Desirable Responding

As previously discussed, many research findings point to the fact that while men are more likely to become victims of violence, women are the ones 'screaming fear' in their research, while men are 'silenced' in them. Also as previously discussed, female gender identities allow for these emotional displays, while being a man is not compatible with over displays of vulnerability and emotionality (Goodey, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). Newburn and Stanko (1995) attribute lack of research into 'male vulnerabilities' due to the obvious measuring difficulties that this field presents. So, who is irrational now? Is it the women who are encouraged to report their 'fears', or men who are socially discouraged to admit to their 'fears'? As Stanko (1995) points out, men should be seen as 'irrational' and 'unreasonable', as they are the ones reporting low levels of fear while at the greatest risk of violent victimization. Based on the present research's theoretical position, the only ones who should be wearing the 'irrational label' should be the researchers who employ flawed measures that fail to explain the 'gendered fear of crime paradox'.

Contrary to how men present themselves through traditional surveys, King (1992) found that through qualitative interviewing, men were more likely to express their feelings about victimization and the effects of it. In support to this, Stanko and Hobdell (1993) found that men do express their emotions about victimization, as long as they felt supported that their masculinity was not questioned. Maybe it is that through qualitative research that males may in fact rise to the occasion to report their 'hidden emotions' (King, 1992; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993). In light of this, Farrall et al., (1997) point out that surveys can only work with what they got, and that consists of rather subjective reporting. In respect to this, they further note

that the research is unable to tell if men are discounting their feelings of 'fear', as they are unlikely to turn around and say: 'I circled that one because men don't cry' (Farrall et al., 1997, p. 667).

In a rather innovative research methodology, and the only study that has controlled for the possibility of distorted responding for both men and women, Sutton and Farrall (2005) utilized a 'lie scale' in an effort to resolve the 'gendered fear of crime paradox'. They proposed that if 'macho concealment' is at work, there should be a correlation between 'fear of crime' responses and higher scores on the 'social desirability scale' (Sutton & Farrall, 2005, p.213). In their words, a 'smoking gun' was found, in that; while females reported higher fear levels across all crimes (burglary, assault, vandalism and crime overall) than did men, there was no correlation between their fear scores and socially desirable responding, while for men, there was a statistically significant negative correlation, in which lower fear was associated with more desirable responding (Sutton & Farrall, 2005). In other words, once the authors controlled for the socially desirable responding, it was found that men's levels of 'fear' were significantly higher than women's.

Similar to previous literature findings into the 'fear of crime', Sutton and Farrall (2005) showed a relatively stable picture; when using a same methodology (self-reported questionnaire) women reported significantly more 'fear' of all types of crime than men. However unlike previous studies, their findings show that this is not an accurate picture, as their data from a 'social desirability scale' indicated that males distort their responses. Moreover, contrary to previous studies, their findings suggest that males are actually more 'afraid' of crime than women, thus abolishing the 'gendered fear of crime paradox', and

concluding that 'denial of fear is so powerful that it accounts for all of the gender difference in fear and then some' (Sutton & Farrall, 2005, p. 221).

Since 'fear of crime' research almost always employ self-reported measures, the answers may not reflect ones actual feelings, and particularly if we have in mind that masculinity is not compatible with demonstrations of emotion and vulnerability (Goodey, 1997; Hale, 1996; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Madriz, 1997; Stapley & Haviland, 1989). On the other hand, it might also be possible that women by virtue of socialization are more likely to express greater vulnerabilities and 'fears' in order to preserve their 'feminine' (Bem, 1981; Hale, 1996; Madriz, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). Therefore, it should escape no-one that these gender roles and stereotypes might ultimately bare direct consequences for methodologies and consequently lead to 'fictitious' findings (Farrall et al., 1997; Goodey, 1997; Hale, 1996; Madriz, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005).

While Sutton and Farrall (2005) advocate that future research employ a 'lie scale' to control for socially desirable responding, they had also proposed other implicit measures; bogus pipeline (make respondents believe that the researcher knows their true answers), exposing participants to a fear provoking stimulus and measure their physiological responses (sweatiness, pupil dilation, reaction times), however these recommendations are rather expensive, pose ethical concerns and might not even capture ones emotion associated with fear in 'fear of crime'. On the other hand, Farrall et al., (1997) have proposed a methodological triangulation (incorporate qualitative techniques alongside quantitative research) to control for 'socially desirable responding. The present study incorporates a similar approach, however, before this is further explained, there is a need to position and provide an understanding into conceptual and methodological concerns of 'fear of crime research'.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.1 Understanding 'Fear of Crime': Definitions and Conceptual Concerns

As it will become somewhat apparent by the end of this chapter, the concept 'fear of crime' has been heavily researched for the last three decades, vigorously defined and re-defined, analysed and pulled apart. With this, it stands to bring scepticisms, criticism of its definitions, and measurement. As early as in 70s did these 'definitional problems' become evident, where Baumer (1978) pointed out that the 'fear of crime' is rarely defined, and it is only included implicitly through measuring the likelihood of becoming a victim. Others followed, and with decade on, Warr (1984) suggested that the 'phrase fear of crime has acquired so many divergent meanings in the literature, that it is in danger of losing any specificity whatsoever' (p. 691). More recently, in an attempt to express the controversies surrounding this concept, Williams et al., (2000) concluded that 'several approaches to measuring fear of crime were used without any real determination of exactly what was being measured' (p. 2).

The concept of 'fear' can be viewed both as a physiological response that can be expressed through the symptoms of accelerated heart rate, changes in galvanic skin reaction (sweat), endocrinal changes (release of adrenalin); and a psychological response, 'fear', as an emotion, an expressed attitude (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981), and it is this 'emotion' that is subject of the present study. Fear, like other emotions (love, hate, guilt, sadness), is a 'reaction to a reinforcing event' or a 'signal of impending reinforcing event(s)' (Gray, 1987, p.3). As

Gray (1987) outlined, the concept of 'fear' consists of both; conditions which give rise to fear (a specific and reinforcing event), and personal predispositions, which mediates whether and to what degree one will become frightened.

In an attempt to place a definition around fear, Garofalo (1981) expressed the existence of 'actual fear' characterized by a 'specific stimuli', and 'anticipated fear' which includes being fearful in 'particular situations' regardless of not having experienced the feared stimuli in the past (p.841). This was further narrowed down to 'an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety, due to the threat of physical harm' (Garofalo, 1981, p. 840). A more all encompassing definition comes from Rachman (1990), in which 'fear' was defined as a 'negative emotional response that carries feelings of apprehension about tangible and predominantly realistic dangers' (p. 3). Similarly, Marks and Tobena (1990) suggest that 'fear provides alertness to realistic dangers' whether previously experienced or not, and furthermore Stanko (1995) defines 'fear' to present 'individuals diffuse sense of danger' (p.48). Taken together, it seems that what characterizes 'fear' is the experienced emotion alerted by a perceived threat.

It is also important to acknowledge that fear is a normal emotional response that serves to promote survival (Clark, 2003), and as suggested by Marks (1994) that this emotional response functions to indicate a 'risk of loss'. In terms of 'fear of crime', 'risk' refers to the likelihood of victimization, and 'loss' as a consequence from victimization that can be both 'material and immaterial' (Clark, 2003). To pull it all together, Clark (2003) concludes that the relationship between 'risk' and 'loss' mediates 'existence and intensity of the subjective experience of apprehension, or the fear in fear of crime' (p. 271). It has also been pointed out, that indirect victims, in the same way as direct victims, can also experience 'fear' through risk

and loss (Chadee et al., 2007; Conklin, 1971; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Dolan & Peasgood, 2007; Gomme, 1998; Marks & Tobena, 1990; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Warr, 1984). An indirect victim, having heard about and/or seen crime may negatively influence ones world view, posing similar threats and challenges to ones 'theories of reality' (Clark, 2003, p. 272). Therefore, it seems to be a general consensus among academics that 'fear' can exist regardless if it is from direct and/or indirect experience of crime (Furstenberg, 1971; Garofalo & Laub, 1978; Marks & Tobena, 1990; Warr, 1984).

Bernard (1992) argues that 'fear' in 'fear of crime' does not involve only one feeling, but rather it is 'a polymorphic feeling that can be developed in different situations and which affects the relationship between individuals and the social world they live in' (p. 66). While many researchers acknowledge that 'fear' can involve a range of subjective feelings (Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Gabriel & Greve, 2003; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Liska et al., 1988; Rader, 2004; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997), they had also questioned the validity of research findings that use other emotive expressions to explain ones fear, such as worry, 'concern over safety', anxiety and stress (Clark, 2003; Dubow et al., 1979; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Rountree, 1998; Warr, 1984, 2000; Williams et al., 2000). Clark (2003) argues that anxiety is different to 'fear', as former refers more to past and future events, whereas 'fear' more to an immediate threat.

Others have suggested that 'fear' is yet again different to 'concern' and 'worry', as it is seen to encompass influences that are likely to be external and distanced from a person, whereas 'fear' carries immediate danger, that is closely related to by many (Furstenberg, 1971; Garofalo, 1981; Lotz, 1979; Warr, 2000). Therefore, it was argued that if a person believes to be a likely target of a property crime, it associates concern, worry or even anger, rather than

'fear' (Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Garofalo, 1981). Taken together, it appears that what separates 'fear' to that of other emotions described, is the immediacy and the nature of perceived stimuli, that both mediate in the formation of 'fear' and its potential intensity.

Much of the literature into the fear of crime highlights the importance of a link between 'fear' and 'crime', as persons potential level of 'fear' depend on the type of criminal offence involved (Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Mooney, 2000; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Rountree, 1998; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). This was further elaborated by Warr (2000) noting that higher 'fear levels' relate to crimes that are more dangerous and more likely to occur. In support to this, it was further suggested that people's assessment of 'risk' is based on 'an image that a specific crime carries, and that both contribute to the experienced fear intensity' (Clark, 2003, p. 274).

This relationship, between ones 'risk assessment' and their subsequent 'fear intensity' was thoroughly explained in Warr's (1987) 'sensitivity to risk' model, in which he proposed that even though a specific offence carries the same dangerous and risks, each individual might experience different levels of 'fear', or lack of, due to their 'differential sensitivity of risk' (p. 38). He went on to further note that ones 'sensitivity' interacts with ones 'perceived risk' to create 'fear' (Warr, 1987). In regards to the present study, it could be proposed that participant's level of 'fear' will be mediated by ones vigilance to the 'perceived threat' (which will be measured through the PLD video) and their 'sensitivity to risk' (inherited in individual's personal history).

As it can be seen from the above discussion into conceptualizations of 'fear' in 'fear of crime', there appears to be a heavy consideration into the type of offences that elicit and

contribute to different 'fear intensities'. Since the present study is concerned with the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' (in which women report being more afraid than men even though their reported risk of violence is lower) and being that this phenomenon pertains to violent offences, the present study explores 'gendered fear' in the context of violence and violent crimes only.

Stanko (2003) outlined that the 'meaning of violence' carries four major elements; 'the act itself, the relationship of participants to each other, the location of the act, and the outcome or the resultant damage' (p.11). The author further notes that the meaning of violence 'will always be fluid and not fixed' (Stanko, 2003, p.3). In support to this view, Burman, Brown and Batchelor (2003) went on to explain that the meaning of violence does not necessarily involve 'scripted rules', but rather 'becomes established as a consequence of the actions and interpretations of individuals or groups in particular social, situational and spatial contexts' (p.78). Stanko (2003) further points that violence is subjective since different people perceive different types of behaviours differently. While the intention was to give reader a flavour into the complexities surrounding the concept of violence, it is important for the purposes of the present study to draw up a working definition of terms 'violence' and 'violent crime'.

The word violence, as loosely described by Burman et al., (2003) is seen to associate a physical behaviour involving force, and 'intending to inflict harm in varying degrees' (p. 73). They further went on to explain that violence does not have to be constricted to 'physical behaviour', as it can take on an emotional and psychological form, that comes from 'being frightened' or 'threatened' (Burman et al., 2003, p. 73), which is similar to the definition found in the Oxford Dictionary (Soanes, 2002, p.941). While the present research accepts these definitions, it will limit to 'interpersonal violence' as opposed to other types of violence (such

as corporate violence) as it pertains to the 'gendered fear of crime' paradox. Beirne and Messerschmidt (1995) refer to 'interpersonal violence' as 'one-on-one violence' or 'person-to-person' violence, where one 'inflicts violence on another' (p.105). Therefore the present research necessitates that 'violence' involves at least two people and includes the perception of intending some form of harm (physical and/or emotional) as both involve a sense of danger and/or threat, and both can function to elicit 'fear', which is the focus of the present study.

Furthermore, in looking into the concept of 'crime', Siegel (2004) had integrated various elements from different schools of thought, and defined crime as a 'violation of societal rules of behaviour as interpreted and expressed by criminal legal code created by people holding social and political power' (p.18). This definition is in line with the present study's position as to what constitutes 'violent crimes', as it is both specific (explains the concept of crime) and broad (allows for behaviours that might not be criminalized, detected or reported to the legal system).

3.2 Methodological Concerns

Earlier research, conceptualized 'fear of crime' as a general construct, usually measuring one indicator, such as; worry, anxiety or safety (Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Garofalo, 1981; Hartnagel, 1979) to explain this phenomenon. Research that followed, criticized the use of a 'one measure' to capture people's fear of crime (Dubow et al., 1979; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Rountree, 1998; Warr & Stafford, 1983), arguing that 'concern over safety' measures 'perceived risk' rather than the concept of 'fear of crime' (Farrall et al., 1997; Gabriel & Greve, 2003; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Rountree, 1998; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Warr & Stafford, 1983). Noted concerns were tackled by some researchers and further re-defined, advocating in distinguishing between 'fear' as an emotive response, and 'perceived

risk' as a cognitive element, however, both are seen to contribute to an overall construct of 'fear of crime' (Chadee et al., 2007; Dubow et al., 1979; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Rader, 2004; Reid & Konrad, 2004).

It was further outlined, that early research never considered offence specific fears as part of their working definition (Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Garofalo, 1981), which brought about another consideration; that different crimes produce different 'fear' levels (Clark, 2003; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Mooney, 2000; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Rountree, 1998; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005; Warr, 1987; 2000), being an important element when looking into the gender differences in 'fear of crime'.

Dating back to 70s, Furstenberg (1971) took a head start among academics to suggest that 'fear of crime' relates to a personal 'risk perception', whereas 'concern about crime' relates to a more general view of crime problems in the society. With this on board, Garofalo and Laub (1978) proposed a wider framework in the conceptualization of 'fear of crime', which included to measure; fear of strangers, concerns for community and even the quality of life. While research that followed acknowledged that people might not fear personal victimization and that their reporting might include other possible 'fear evoking' circumstances (Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Warr, 1984) consequently, many academics had accepted that 'personal fears' needed to be separated from global 'concerns' and 'fears' (Ferraro, 1995; Fishman & Mesch, 1996; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Warr, 2000).

In an effort to improve the way 'fear of crime' has been measured, Ferraro and LaGrange (1987) introduced separate constructs that they believed captured the concept of

'fear of crime'. More specifically, they separated 'perceived risk' and 'emotive responses' and measured them across ten different types of crimes (Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987). In line with this methodology, Smith and Torstensson (1997) found that when controlling for 'fear', men and women perceived risk differently. Although this conceptualization (separating 'perceived risk' and 'fear') still remains to be a battlefield among researchers, much of the literature has embraced this type of operationalization in their subsequent research methodology, regardless of the research's specific topic of inquiry (Chadee et al., 2007; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Forde, 1993; Hale, 1996; Lupton, 2000; Mesch, 2000; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Rountree, 1998; Warr, 2000; Williams et al., 2000).

In an attempt to examine crimes that have been found to disproportionately victimize men from women, Reid and Konrad (2004) measured 'fear' and 'assessment of risk' separately, in order to analyse their interaction and the effects it might have on gender difference. Their findings suggest that women expressed higher 'fear' levels than men on crimes of sexual assault and robbery, however, what was interesting is that the effect of 'perceived risk of victimization' on 'fear of robbery' was greater for men than for women, and at high levels of 'perceived risk' men were found to be more 'fearful' than women (Reid & Konrad, 2004). While these results are rather appealing as they deviate from the 'mainstream literature findings', from a methodological point of view it could be argued otherwise.

Although their research examined gender differences based on two measures; 'risk' and 'fear', and across three types of crimes (sexual assault, burglary and robbery) their measures proved to be rather inconsistent. Namely, while they measured 'fear levels' across all three crimes by asking 'how often are you afraid of being the victim' of; sexual assault, burglary, and robbery (Reid & Konrad, 2004, p. 406), their measure of 'perceived risk' never took these

crimes into consideration, but rather asked; 'How safe do you think you are, or would be, if you are to walk alone in your neighbourhood' (p. 407). As it is somewhat obvious, their measure of 'perceived risk' is inconsistent to their reported findings, as it does not include a specific crime, nor does it include a specific context. It asks questions that people may or may not do, and thus falls short on all accounts that the previous 'fear of crime' literature has already been criticized for. Therefore, it is important to keep these shortcomings in mind, as these kinds of faulty methodologies are rather notorious in the 'fear of crime' literature and as a consequence poses a threat to the credibility of subsequent research findings.

Some academics have further proposed that due to the 'multidimensional' nature of the 'fear of crime' construct, research ought to measure the 'behavioural component' of this concept, along with 'perceived risk' (cognitive component) and 'fear' (emotive component) since all three have been found to be reciprocal and interrelated in measuring 'fear of crime' (Ferraro, 1995; Gabriel & Greve, 2003; Liska et al., 1988; Rountree, 1998; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Warr, 2000; Williams et al., 2000). Thus, Rader (2004) proposed a larger construct of 'fear of crime' through a model called 'the threat to victimization' which includes; 'fear of crime' (the emotive indicator), 'perceived risk' (the cognitive indicator) and 'constrained behaviours', which measures the behavioural component (p. 691). While Rader's (2004) re-conceptualisation seems rather powerful as it draws up on all components that could possibly account to measure the 'fear of crime' phenomenon, due to the nature of the present study's methodology (PLD video paradigm) it does not allow for the 'behavioural' component to be measured. Although 'behavioural constraints' could have been included in the study's questionnaire, the author wanted to keep consistency between the two measures (PLD video and questionnaire) whereby measuring only the 'emotive' and 'cognitive' components of 'fear of violence'

While literature into the 'fear of crime' has seen an ever increasing sophistication into conceptualization of this phenomenon and 'what it is to be measured', there still remain methodological concerns as to 'how' this construct is being measured (Farrall et al., 1997, 2000; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Farrall & Gadd, 2004b; Warr, 2000). It has been suggested that one of the main concerns rests around 'exaggerated' findings from survey questions (and in particular victim crime surveys), since they are the ones responsible for creating the 'fearful' phenomenon due to the unreasonable measures used (Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Gadd, 2004a, 2004b; Warr, 2000). Therefore it was argued that through such flawed measures, women are found to be more 'fearful' as they report more 'worry' and 'less safety' than men, which are all founded on questions such as; 'how safe do you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark', or 'how much do you worry about being a victim of a certain crime...' (Farrall et al., 1997; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Goodey, 1994; Risman, 1998; Robson, 1993; Sparks, 1996; Sutton & Farrall, 2005; Young et al., 1997).

Since 'fear of crime' is viewed to be a 'multi-faceted phenomenon', Farrall et al., (1997) recommended that research needs to be able to measure a 'range of variations in emotional reaction', namely, 'emotional, cognitive, and affective elements to specific crimes' (p.674). In an attempt to validate possible emotional responses that could be conceptualized under the concept of 'fear of crime', Farrall and Ditton (1999, p.57) found through qualitative interviews that 'fear of crime' does in fact involve a range of emotions (fear, anger, desire for revenge) and cognitive assessments (having an awareness and thinking about crime). From these findings, Farrall and Ditton (1999, p. 58) re-conceptualized 'fear of crime' to involve; thinking or being aware of crime (cognitive component), fearing and being afraid about crime (emotive component) and feeling anger or outrage about crime (affective component). The

present study employs the proposed measure by Farrall and Ditton (1999), as it has been previously used, and found to be reliable and valid in measuring 'fear of crime' (Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). However, as the present study deals with 'fear of violence', it is these offences that will only be considered in subsequent analysis.

Another area deserving commenting is the portrayal of 'mass fear across societies' through Victim Crime Surveys (Ainsworth, 2000; Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996; Hope & Sparks, 2000; Stanko, 2000). In an attempt to look into this 'wide spread fear', Farrall and Gadd (2004a) employed more sophistication in their research by measuring intensity and frequency of 'fear' reported by participants. The findings indicate that the incidence of experienced 'fear' was rather low (third of the sample) and of those who felt 'fearful' it was experienced only between one and four occasions (Farrall & Gadd, 2004a). When the intensity of 'fear' was taken into an account, it further showed that only 15% had experienced higher levels of 'fear', with only 8% experiencing this more frequently (Farrall & Gadd, 2004a, p.131). While these findings are rather refreshing, demonstrating that people are generally not that fearful (contrarily to most previous findings), it nevertheless falls short in examining specific crimes, and this is an important omission, since it has been found that certain crimes produce different 'fear' levels.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the 'fear of crime' has acquired both general and more specific meanings. In general sense, this area of study looks into peoples reactions to criminal victimization. In more specific terms, it is seen as a 'multi-dimensional construct', that includes a wide range of feelings, thoughts, attitudes, conditions, and behaviours in relation to crime and victimizations, whether experienced or not (Clark, 2003; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Gabriel & Greve, 2003; Gray, 1987; Rachman, 1990; Rader, 2004;

Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). It is somewhat obvious, that even with the identified 'specific constructs' of this phenomenon it remains diverse among academics and researchers to this present day. Consequently, research into the 'fear of crime' necessitate that this concept be compatible with the study's methodology, in order to produce valid findings and advance the collective knowledge in this area of inquiry.

3.3 A New Paradigm: An Implicit Measure of 'Fear of Violence'

Based on the discussed literature review into 'gendered fear of crime paradox', there is a growing acknowledgment that research needs to consider less direct measures of 'fear of crime'. The present study proposes a PLD video technology, as an implicit measurement of 'fear of violent crime'. It is expected that through this paradigm, the data produced will not be influenced by gender stereotyping and gendered social expectations that have for so long plagued the research into the area of 'fear of crime'. This paradigm will be used along with a questionnaire (which was introduced earlier on in this chapter) and both of these measures will serve to explore 'gendered fear of crime paradox' from 'both sides of the story', and that being both men and women, as it will control for gender roles, stereotypes, and gender biases in responding.

The Point Light Display (PLD) video is a visual stimulus, showing a social interaction, and it often employed by researchers who study human perception from the 'ecological perspective' (Topalli, 2005). The person viewing a PLD video is only able to see a dynamic array of correlated moving lights that are in these displays, however, the quality of these moving lights have been identified to represent a human figure (Johansson, 1973; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995), as it can be seen in a picture form in the Appendix A. It was further validated

that the movements of figures can serve as a platform for participants to be able to 'discern action and base subsequent inferences' (Topalli, 2005).

Previous research using the PLD videos have found that participants were able to differentiate between their friends by the way they walked (Cutting & Kozlowski, 1977), were able to discriminate between male and female walkers (Kozlowski & Cutting, 1977) and work out how much weight the figure was going to lift (Rumeson & Frykholm, 1983). Other researchers have further shown that participants viewing the PLD video can perceive 'complex social qualities' (Topalli, 2005, p. 272), such as vulnerability (Berry, 1990), hostility (Topalli & O'Neal, 1995), aggression, violence and criminal threat (Topalli, 2005).

Since the above studies have found support that the PLD video display contains information about vulnerability, hostility, violence and criminal threat, the present study will seek to determine to what extent females and males are vigilant to the potential threat of violence. According to Topalli (2005) the PLD video measures the participant's level of vigilance towards violence. Vigilance is defined as being alert, 'keeping a careful watch for possible danger' (Soanes, 2002, p. 940). Accordingly, the present study uses a PLD video as a perceptual platform of 'vigilance to violence' to measure participant's perceptions attributed to the PLD video. As Rachman (1990) suggested that person's intensity to 'fear' rests on both the 'sensitivity to risk' and the 'perception of danger', therefore, it is reasonable to assume that those most sensitive (vigilant) to the PLD video will perceive the most danger and subsequently attribute more violence across the three velocities, and in particular to lower speed. As the present study measures participant's attributions to the PLD video, this needs to be further clarified.

Jones and Nisbett (1971) have suggested that 'perceptions of social reality are as dependent upon the experiences, attitudes and expectations of the perceiver as they are upon the actual perceived interaction' (cited in Morrison, 1993, p.27). Some cognitive theorists have proposed that people engage in 'complex inferential processes' in order to make sense of what is being perceived, and that one of these processes involve attributions which functions to 'infer causality' (Fiske & Taylor, 1991, p. 60). On the other hand, Gibsonian or Ecological approach posits that attributions are formed from 'perceptual organization' and that 'causal inferences occur automatically during the perception of an event' (Fiske & Taylor, 1991, p. 291). The ecological approach, while emphasizing the importance of 'external stimulus' in formation of attributions, they tend to a lesser degree acknowledge the importance of the perceivers personal history and experience (Fiske & Taylor, 1991, p.287). Regardless of the theoretical approach, the main theme remains, in that 'social inferences' are based in perception, and forming an attribution rests on both the 'perceived stimulus' and 'persons characteristics'.

According to attribution theorists (Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelly, 1973; cited in Fiske & Taylor, 1991) attribution is a product of 'causal explanations', a persons belief about causes and consequences in order to make their environment more predictable and controllable (Munton, Silvester, Stratton & Hanks, 1999). Through a social information-processing model, Berkowitz (1993) outlined that forming an attribution 'requires that a person search for whatever relevant information is available, interpret the cues and consider the possible ways of responding' (p. 151). To apply this to the present study, the PLD video offers an ambiguous social interaction, whereby the participant will be motivated to make sense of that situation and attribute meaning to it. Accordingly, an indication of 'fear' might be

measured through participants attributed motivations to the PLD video, as those most 'vigilant' will attribute more 'threat of violence and 'perceived dangers' in such displays.

3.4 Research Aims and Hypotheses

The aim of the present study is to examine the authenticity of the often found 'gendered fear of crime paradox' in the 'fear of crime' literature. The study proposes that the found 'paradox' has been created due to the defective measures used in this area of inquiry. Since traditional measures solely rely on self-reported questionnaires, it produces unreliable findings that are contaminated by gender biases in responding. The broad assumption that guides this investigation is that participants will not be aware of what the PLD video measures, thus they will provide responses that are not influenced by socially desirable responding, gender roles and stereotypes. However, when they are asked to self report their 'emotional reactions' to violence (through a questionnaire), they will be influenced by assigned gender roles, stereotypes and socially desirable responding.

In regards to the PLD video, as an implicit measure of 'fear of violence', it is hypothesized that:

- a) Both women and men will be able to discern between the three levels of PLD video velocities (slow, medium and fast speed), and as the rapidity of the videos increase, both women and men will attribute more violence to such displays.
- b) That males and females will attribute the same levels of 'vigilance' across all three PLD video velocities. This will demonstrate that both genders are equally 'vigilant to violence'.

In regards to the questionnaire, which serves as an explicit measure of 'fear of violence', it is hypothesized that:

c) That females will report greater levels of fear of violence than males.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD

4.1 Research Design

The present research used a multi-methodological approach, which was carried out in two phases. In the first phase, each participant was firstly exposed to the experimental task (PLD video as an implicit measure of 'fear of violence'), followed by the administration of a questionnaire (an explicit measure) of 'fear of violent crime', in the second phase. The experimental task used a quasi-experimental design, because participants could not be randomly assigned, and as such, could not be classified as a true experimental design that requires random assignment (Gibbons & Herman, 1997).

Therefore the PLD video measure is a quasi-experimental between-within subject design, with gender (male vs. female) as a between-group factor, and with repeated measures on the PLD video velocities (slow , medium and fast) as a measure of 'vigilance to violence' as a within-group factor. Participants were also administered with a self-reported questionnaire (explicit measure of 'fear of violent crime') that measured to what extent males and females differently or similarly report 'thinking about', 'being afraid' and 'angry' in relation to four types of violent crimes. Both the PLD video stimuli and the questionnaire were used to investigate the 'gendered fear of crime paradox'.

4.2 Participants and Setting

4.2.1 *Setting of the Study*

Participants in this study were University students, recruited from the main grounds at the Albany Campus of Massey University. In comparison to other Universities, the Albany campus comprises of a marginally higher proportion of part-time and mature students (Sandbrook, P., National Student Relations, personal communication, January 20, 2006). Furthermore, when compared to the other non metropolitan Universities in New Zealand (Massey University in Palmerston North, Otago University in Dunedin, Lincoln University in Christchurch), the Albany campus is likely to have a more geographically dispersed students, as opposed to students from smaller towns who live relatively closer to their Universities (Wackrow, C., National Student Relation, personal communication, January 20, 2006). Nevertheless overall, it is seen that Albany's University characteristics are relatively similar to that of other Tertiary Institutions in New Zealand.

4.2.2 *Population Sample*

Given that the previous research in this area of inquiry had successfully used university students in their studies (Dull & Wint, 1997; Fisher, 1995; Levine, 2003; Miller & Harris, 2000; Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995), the present study views this population group to be empirically opportune and methodologically desirable. Levine (2003) recommends using university students in violence experimental research, since literature supports the findings that student population comprise a sample of young people 'most at risk from violent assaults' (Levine, 2003; Mooney, 2000; Reid & Konrad, 2004), who have also been found to express greatest 'fear' of some crimes (Chadee & Ditton, 2003; Lane & Meeker, 2003; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Rountree, 1998; Warr, 1990), and it is a population group who have had

'experience of, and exposure to, the kinds of phenomena which are of interest to violence researchers' (Levine, 2003, p. 130).

Owing to the fact that the present research did not involve probability sampling, it might be that the study's population characteristics are biased in some ways (Babbie, Halley & Zaino, 2003; May, 1999). Due to the complexities of this sophisticated sampling approach, it is rather common that in social research non-probability and opportune samples be used (May, 1999; Topalli, 2005). As such, random convenience sample of both female and male students were targeted. Although the response rate of people who declined to take part in the present study is unknown, overall, most students were more than willing to participate. Of those students who were approached but declined to take part, they usually expressed having other commitments at that time (scheduled lecture, other appointments), as opposed to not being interested.

4.2.3 Population sample Characteristics

Due to the present study's quasi-experimental between-subject design, it has been suggested by Topalli (2005) that a sample size of at least 36 subjects is needed in order to obtain a sufficient power and detect statistically significant effects. Therefore an overall sample of 40 participants was obtained (20 females and 20 males). The sample was considered representative of the university student population characteristics on ethnicity, age, work status and study status (Sandbrook, P., National Student Relations, personal communication, January 20, 2006).

Table 1 illustrates the demographic characteristics of the present sample. The majority of students (n=24) identified themselves as European/New Zealand European or Pakeha,

followed by Asian (n=5) and Other (n=5) equally, and this pattern was similar between both groups (men and women). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 50 years, where most fell in the 18 to 24 year old age group (n=27), followed by 25 to 30 year old category (n=8). While most women (n=17) were in the younger age group (18 to 24 year old), men were more dispersed, 18-24 (n=10), 25-30 (n=6) and 31-40 (n=4) respectively.

Table 1 Participant Characteristics of the Study Sample (N=40)

Demographics	Sample Size (N=40)		Men (N=20)		Women (N=20)	
	Frequency (n)	%	Frequency (n)	%	Frequency (n)	%
Ethnicity						
European	10	25	6	30	4	20
NZ European or Pakeha	14	35	7	35	7	35
New Zealand Maori	4	10	2	10	2	10
Pacific Islander	2	5	-	-	2	10
Asian	5	12	1	5	4	20
Other	5	12	4	20	1	5
Age Group						
18 - 24 years old	27	67.5	10	50	17	85
25 - 30 years old	8	20	6	30	2	10
31 - 40 years old	4	10	4	20	-	-
41 - 50 years old	1	2.5	-	-	1	5

In a literature review, Hale (1996) notes that a large amount of research have found prior victimization experiences to be highly correlated with increased fear levels, irrespective of other possible personal and social confounding correlates. Although the present study's small sample size does not allow control for prior victimization experiences, information was gathered to establish whether the present sample holds similar victimization characteristics to that of previous research and specifically in reference to the NZNVCS (2001). Participants

victimization rates for both property and violent crimes reported for 'last 12 months' and 'over a 5 year period' are presented in Appendix C.

In summary, figures show that there were 10 participants (25%) who had been a victim of violent crime in the 'last 12 months', and within this group there was a high incidence of repeat victimization. In regards to the 5 year period, 20 participants (50%) reported falling victim to violent crime with high incident rate of repeat victimization. The figures also seem to reveal that males had a higher incidence and prevalence rates across all types of violent crimes then when compared to females.

The present study's victimization rates appear to be similar to previous literature findings (for NZNVCS, 1996 see Young et al., 1997; Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Kershaw et al., 2001), and furthermore, when compared to the NZNVCS (2003). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the present sample's victimization rates are not biased, as it does not appear to be an over-victimized group, or with lower rates than would be otherwise expected.

4.3 Measures

4.3.1 Implicit Measure: Point Light Display Video (PLD)

The present study employed a PLD video, as an implicit measure of 'fear of violence'. The participant were not aware of what the video was trying to measure, therefore allowing for responses that were not influenced by gender role biases, and at the same time eliminating the possibility of men 'discounting fear', and women 'over-reporting'. While the present research could have had used another 'implicit' method to measure 'gendered fear of crime paradox', such as through crime-related material (newspaper clipping, imagined scenarios, photographs,

vignettes), the PLD video can achieve both; the static reality' (structural depictions of an event) and 'real time transformational movements that preserves ecological validity and reality' (Topalli, 2005, p.278). Hence, the present study's paradigm could be viewed as a more sophisticated tool to that of other static displays that have been used in previous research.

The Point Light Display Video (PLD) in the present study was obtained from Topalli, who constructed and tested this paradigm in his previous work (Topalli, 1997 cited in Topalli, 2005; Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995) and with a student population (Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995). The construction of the Point Light Display video (PLD) is important, as previous research found that the perception of aggression, hostility and violence rests on both the quality of movement (the interaction of point light figures) as well as the velocity of that interaction (Topalli, 2005; Topalli and O'Neal, 1995). Topalli and O'Neal (1995) further found that the intensity of point light figure movements can influence perception, and as such, leading to more attributions of aggression and hostility as the speed of the 'figure interaction' increases (from slow to medium to fast). To apply this specifically to the present study, the PLD measures participants 'vigilance to violence' across all three levels of velocities (slow, medium and fast), and it is assumed that those most sensitive (vigilant) to the PLD video will perceive the most danger and subsequently attribute more violence across the three velocities, and in particular to lower speed.

The process of Point Light Display (PLD) video construction, as described by Topalli (2005), involved video filming of two male actors who were physically alike, and wore 'tight-fitting dark clothing' with affixed reflective patches on their joints in a brightly lit room (p. 277). This was necessary, so that the edited product of this video only displayed 'reflective patches as points of light' that are seen to be two featureless figures interacting (Topalli, 2005).

The scenario involved one actor standing still with slightly moving arms (Figure B), while the other actor walks towards the standing actor and taps him on the shoulder (Figure A). The speed of this interaction was governed by an 'electronic metronome count' (Topalli, 2005, p.278) in order to produce three speeds of movement; slow (actor taking a step at every .9 second), medium (at every .7 second) and fast (at every .5 second). Therefore, the resulting format of the videotape produced three segments of the PLD video; slow velocity, medium velocity and fast velocity of interaction. Appendix A shows only a static image of the two figures.

In an attempt to look into how offenders, non-offenders and students differently perceive 'aggression' and 'threat' through a PLD video, participants interview responses were rated across six different statements; 'person A was intimidating or threatening; person A was friendly toward person B; person A and person B are acquaintances; Person A is in a positive or good mood; this was a lawful interaction; and this was an affectionate interaction' (Topalli, 2005, p. 279). Each of the statements were rated on a 27- point Likert-scale in which higher scores indicated an agreement with the statement, so that higher scores presented greater levels of aggressiveness or conflict (Topalli, 2005). However, it appears that this type of a 'coding approach' might be rather defective. Namely, what seems to be peculiar is that participant's each response to the PLD video segment is coded across all of the mentioned six 'statements' therefore it is highly unlikely that an 'aggressive response' would be coded 'highly' on the other four 'more friendlier' statements. It therefore raises concerns as to the objectivity of this data and its ability to reliably account for participants 'perceived aggression'. Due to these identified shortcomings, the present study used a simple coding method, a Linkert-scale ranging from 1 to 20. This type of a scale measure has been widely used in 'fear of crime'

research and recommended by literature for this type of methodology (Coleman & Moynihan, 1999; Pallant, 2001).

The present study employed two 'blind' content coders who rated each paragraph (participants' transcribed responses from the interview) according to the given Likert-scale, ranging from 1 – 20. The purpose of the scale was to measure participants 'level of vigilance' which was based as to how they perceived the intention of a figure (A) that was walking towards the stationary figure (B). The lowest score of 1 represented that the interaction was seen as very affectionate and friendly; a rating of 5 characterized the interaction as relatively friendly and that person A knew the person B; the rating of 10 described an interaction as unfriendly, and that the person A was somewhat intimidating; a rating of 15 described an interaction as threatening in which person A was perceived to possess some violent and aggressive motives towards person B; and 20 was coded for a very threatening situation, in which person A was seen to be very violent and aggressive towards person B. The present study found that the raters had a high agreement on coding the qualitative content $r = .898$, $p < .0001$, and the observed significant correlation was similar to that reported in Topalli (2005) $r = .817$, $p < .0001$. The study used an average score of the two raters for its subsequent analysis.

4.3.2 Explicit Measure of 'Fear of Violent Crime': Questionnaire

The present study's 'fear of crime' questionnaire was taken from previous research recommendations and demonstrated suitability for the use in this area of inquiry (Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Gabriel & Greve, 2003). The questionnaire covered five areas which included; demographic information (gender, work status, living situation, yearly income, ethnicity), perceptions of ones neighbourhood area (traditional survey questions), perceptions of ones risk of the likelihood of falling a victim in

the next 12 months in respect to seven different types of crimes (which included property crimes, violent crimes and a traffic offence). The fourth part of the questionnaire asked respondents' three separate questions; to what extent they 'think' 'feel afraid' and 'how angry' does it make them feel when considering the above mentioned crimes. The last section covered reported victimization rates on all of the above specified crimes. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix B.

It is rather obvious from the above questionnaire, that questions include a variety of crimes (e.g., property crimes), situations and perceptions of ones safety (e.g., walking alone in neighbourhood after dark), and while these questions have been employed in previous 'fear of crime' literature (Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Kershaw et al., 2001; Morris et al., 2003; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997) these questions will not be addressed in the present research, as it only deals with 'fear' in 'fear of violence'. However, these questions still served a purpose, and that was to normalize the 'fear of violent crime' content which was embedded in a larger context (all other questions that were covered). It was believed that in doing so, participants were able to consider violent crimes without any biased connotations that might have had been brought about if violence was considered exclusively on its own. The following discussion will only focus on the extracted 'fear of violence' measure (the fourth part of the questionnaire).

As discussed in Chapter three, based on a major methodological research recommendations of Farrall et al., (1997), the present study's questionnaire measured both emotive and cognitive elements of 'fear' through asking respondents to report 'to what extent they were thinking about' violent crimes, 'how afraid' and 'how angry' would it make them feel. These three questions were measured across four types of violent crimes; threats of force

of violence, assaults or attacks by a known person, assaults or attacks by a stranger and deliberate use of a weapon. For subsequent analyses, all crimes were collapsed together to form an Index of 'violent crimes'. Table 2 presents Index measures, their definitions and reliability analyses.

Table 2 Composed Measures, Definitions and Cronbach's alphas

Variable Measure	Variable Definition	alpha
<i>Thinking about</i> violent crimes	Additive scale reporting to what extent one thinks about the four mentioned types of violent crimes (ranges from 4 – 20)	.79
<i>Feeling afraid</i> about violent crimes	Additive scale reporting levels of fear across all four types of violent crimes (ranges from 4 – 20)	.91
<i>Feeling angry</i> about violent crimes	Additive scale reporting anger across all four types of violent crimes (ranges from 4 – 20)	.93

While some researchers have measured the cognitive component of 'fear of crime' through 'perceived risk' (Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Gabriel & Greve, 2003; Rader, 2004; Reid & Konrad, 2004) other studies have measured this construct by asking questions such as, 'to what extent do you think about' across certain types of crimes (Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). The present study takes the latter approach, and asks respondents to evaluate this in respect to four types of violent crimes (as mentioned above) 'in the last 12 months'. For each of the violent crime, there was a five-point Likert-scale (1 never, 2 rarely, 3 sometimes, 4 often, and 5 all the time 'think about') and from this information all the data was incorporated to form an Index scale to what extent participants were 'Thinking about Violence', with a minimum value of 4 and a maximum value of 20.

The validity and reliability checks for 'thinking about' (cognitive measure of 'fear') was carried out by Farrall and Ditton (1999) and found reasonably reliable .76. While the point of difference lies in the type of offences that were questioned, Sutton and Farrall (2005) reported internal reliability for 'thinking about' measure to be .80. The present study's Cronbach alpha was .79, and it has been suggested that as a general rule, a value above .7 is taken to indicate a reliable measure (Pallant, 2001).

The importance of evaluating other possible emotions, such as 'anger' alongside 'fear', was initially emphasized by Farrall et al., (1997) reasoning that the multi-dimensional nature of 'fear of crime' might also include other possible expressions of emotions, such as 'anger', and not just 'fear' alone (further supported by Farrall & Ditton, 1999). Farrall and Ditton (1999) carried out validity assessments on these constructs ('fear', 'anger' and 'thinking about' crimes) through qualitative interviews and questionnaires. They found that 'fear' and 'thinking about' questions held more consistent interpretations across different forms of measures (interviews and questionnaires) when compared to the 'anger' question. However, they found that when comparing questionnaires alone, internal reliability for 'being afraid' was reported at alpha .90 and 'anger' at .88 (Farrall & Ditton, 1999, p. 64).

The present study measured both 'fear' and 'anger' separately and across all four types of violent offences. The concept of 'fear' was measured through asking participants 'How afraid of these crimes are you', using a five-point scale with 1 being not at all, 2 somewhat, 3 fairly afraid, 4 very afraid and 5 being horrified (See Appendix B). Again, all violent offences were combined together to form a 'Fear of Violent Crime' Index, with a minimum value of 4 and a maximum of 20. In previous research the reported Cronbach alpha for 'fear' scale

ranged from .90 (Farrall & Ditton, 1999), .80 (Sutton & Farrall, 2005), and .90 (Ferraro, 1996). In the current study the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .91.

As mentioned above, the questionnaire also measured participants feelings of 'anger' through questioning; 'How angry does it make you feel if you think it might happen to you' (in reference to the four types of violent crimes). This was rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 being not at all, 2 somewhat, 3 fairly angry, 4 very angry and 5 outraged. Similarly to how the other two measures were treated, all four violent offences were grouped together to form an Index measure to what extent participants felt 'Angry about Violent Crime', with a minimum value of 4 and a maximum of 20. According to Farrall and Ditton (1999) this measure was reported to have a low reliability when measured across different types of methodologies (interviews, open questions vs. closed questions) with a Cronbach alpha of .37, however, when measured through a questionnaire alone, it was reported with a good internal consistency with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .88. The present study found a Cronbach alpha value of .93 for this measure.

4.4 Procedure

4.4.1 Ethics Approval

An application was presented to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee at Albany Campus, in which approval was granted under protocol MUAHEC 05/029.

4.4.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study involved a sample of people known to the researcher, which included three female and three male adults, age range 25 – 60 years (average age 36.8). It is important to

note that due to the sample characteristics of the pilot study and ethical reasons, this data was not included in the main research. The purpose of the pilot study was to obtain feedback about the information gathering process, whilst also improving the clarity of the questionnaires, so that any minor mistakes could be corrected before research commenced. This activity allowed the design of the study to be tested and practiced, and also served to establish the approximate time required of participants (taking between 10 to 20 min to complete). Obtained feedback indicated that the instructions pertaining to the interview and questionnaire were clear and straightforward, where it was further reported that the overall process was engaging, interesting and able to be completed without any difficulty. The pilot test was also very beneficial in acquirement of better confidence and consistency in using neutral questioning techniques, as it was seen as an important element in the generated data.

4.4.3 Research Procedure

Participants were recruited from the main grounds at the Albany Campus of Massey University. Students who were outside of the lecture buildings were approached and provided with the information sheet whilst being strongly encouraged to participate (promoting the Point Light Display video as an exciting experiment). At no point of this process was the nature and the intention of the research disclosed. Prospective participants were merely told about the study's procedure, and any further explanation given was consistent with the content outlined in the information sheet (See Appendix E). Those who gave their consent to take part were escorted to the School of Psychology building and directed to one of the laboratory rooms where the research was conducted. The Psychology laboratory provided a quiet environment and enabled the lighting of the room to be manually adjusted for the viewing of the PLD video, which allowed for a consistent level of lighting for all participants.

Participants were seated in front of the lap top computer, in which the overview of the research process was explained in more detail. They were given the opportunity to ask any further questions, and were presented with two consent forms to complete (See Appendix F - Participant consent form and Appendix G - Authority for release of tape transcripts form). While the researcher tried to answer questions appropriately, the aims and the nature of the research was not disclosed at this time. Followed by signing of the consent forms, participants were asked to draw a piece of paper out of a box that contained one of the six possible combinations of order of viewing the PLD video (created through Latin square permutations). This was done to avoid biases that could have potentially occurred if the order of the PLD velocities was not kept randomized.

Before the first display was presented, the researcher dimmed the lights so that participants could get a clear view of the computer screen. The audio recorder was also activated at this point and was switched off at the end of the interview process. Participants viewed each of the three displays (slow, medium and fast conditions), and were asked to comment on what they thought was going on in that display. Topalli (2005) suggests that verbal procedure allows participants to respond in a 'real time' manner and thus more efficiently, whereby allowing the experimenter to probe for more content accordingly, as opposed to the rather constrained nature of written formats of responding. The importance of verbal responding was further highlighted by Munton et al., (1999) who suggested that the 'social nature of attributions' requires the spontaneous expression of causal beliefs (p.32).

The procedure of the present study's interview process was in accordance to Topalli's (2005) guidelines, whereby after each display was presented, the experimenter only asked questions such as, 'What is happening in this video?' or 'What do you see on the computer

screen?', without 'leading' the participant to any answers (p. 278). Participants were only probed if they did not give enough information initially, and at no point were participants led to any biased suggestions, as questioning was kept 'neutral' and the same across all participants. If further elaboration was needed, the experimenter only probed with questions like, 'Why do you say that is what is happening?' or 'What leads you to say that?' or 'Why do you think that is what is occurring?' (Topalli, 2005, p. 278). The author of the present study conducted all the interviews, which insured consistency of questioning and thus the reliability of the interview process. Completing the interview process took on average between 10 to 15 minutes.

At the end of the interview process, participants were debriefed into the true nature of the present study in accordance to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (protocol MUAHEC 05/029). Due to the sensitive nature of the use of initial deception in the present study, participants were reminded that they still had the right to withdraw themselves from the research if they wished to do so. However, the present research did not encounter any of the possible problems that could have arisen from this, and all of the participants were more than happy to proceed. Following this, participants were administered with the questionnaire (See Appendix B) which further took 5 to 10 minutes to complete. All participants were reminded of the research's responsibility to confidentiality and were thanked for their participation. In return for their involvement in the study, each participant was given the opportunity to request a copy of the research findings once it was completed.

Participant responses from the tape recorder were transcribed onto a computer, with an assigned code for each participant (the code number was comprised of a participant's order of participation, gender and the order of the viewed PLD video displays). A total of 120 paragraphs were created, with three paragraphs (slow velocity, medium and fast velocity

condition) for each of 40 participants. The 120 paragraphs were re-arranged in a random order, with copies made and given to two 'blind' raters for coding the qualitative material into quantitative data (Linkert-scale score). Both raters were not informed of any details of the study, and were only told that each of the paragraph comes from a different person and it relates to a conversation about an observed social interaction (this was in accordance with Topalli's, 2005 research).

4.5 Data Analysis

The generated data from both the interview and the questionnaire were entered into a Statistical Package for Social Sciences Software, Version 12 (SPSS-12, 2003) which was used to screen and analyse the data. Data entry was checked against the hard copies of the questionnaire and scores generated from the two raters. There where no inaccuracies found, and no missing values were obtained from the questionnaire. Descriptive statistics were used to screen the data for out-of-range values, normality of the distribution of scores and outliers (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Pallant, 2001). Furthermore, the data was analysed for descriptive information, assumption testing and scale reliability. Parametric tests were used to analyse the data as these are considered to exhibit more statistical power than non parametric tests (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Pallant, 2001).

A 3 X 2 analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the mean scores produced by participants' descriptions of the PLD video across three velocity conditions (slow, medium and fast) and between the two groups (males and females). Furthermore, t-tests were used to investigate the main effects for the velocity of the PLD videos as a way of establishing the participants' ability to distinguish between each speed. A 3 X 2 ANOVA was then conducted on the questionnaire items relating to the 'fear of violent crime' questions across three

components ('thinking about', 'being afraid' and 'feeling angry') and between males and females.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 Data Entry and Screening

Data obtained from the PLD videos and questionnaires were entered using the SPSS-12. In order to insure the accuracy of the data entry, it was re-checked against the filed hard copies, and by exploring the descriptive statistics across all measures. Furthermore, univariate descriptive statistics were obtained to assess normality of the data, out-of-range values, outliers, missing data, plausible means and standard deviations. There were no identified outliers or missing values across all measures. While no potential problems were expected, the distribution of scores from the questionnaire were negatively skewed. However, it has been suggested that parametric tests tend to be sufficiently robust to allow for this and that level of significance hold rather unaffected by skewness minor deviations (Howell, 1992; Kinnear & Gray, 2004; Pallant, 2001; Stevens, 1996). It was further noted by Howell (1992) that the loss of power is of a bigger concern if unnecessarily using the equivalent nonparametric tests.

5.2 Underlying Assumptions of Statistical Tests

Parametric analyses used in the present study require certain generic assumptions and further specific assumptions relevant to the performed test design. This is important, since the accuracy of the test interpretation rests on the underlying assumptions and its possible violations (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Howell, 1992). The generic assumptions that were considered:

1. The level of measurement assumption has been met because data are measured at the interval level
2. Due to the practical constraints and a design of the present study, the data was obtained from a convenience sample of University students, and therefore fails to meet the assumption of 'random sampling'. However it is widely acknowledged that non-random sampling to be common in research due to the obvious complexities that the real life research presents, therefore this violation is often accepted (Pallant, 2001; Wilkinson & Task Force on Statistical Inference, 1999). To compensate for this, and as suggested by Wilkinson et al., (1999) the present study's sample characteristics were evaluated against a comparison sample and across different variables, and was found to be representative of the population in question (This was discussed in Chapter Four, under 4.2 'Participants and Setting').
3. Independence of observation has been met as scores on the test variable are independent of each other
4. Assumption of univariate normality was explored using skew and kurtosis index and graphical normal probability plots (as previously discussed).
5. Homogeneity of variance assumption was tested using the Leven's test. If the test produces an F-ratio that is not significant at the .05 level, then it is accepted that there is a non significant difference between samples' variances (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Pallant, 2001).
6. Lastly, in addition to the above assumptions, a further specific assumption is required for the mixed between-within subjects ANOVA analysis, and that the homogeneity of intercorrelations be met (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Pallant, 2001). This assumption was tested as part of the analysis, provided in the SPSS output using the Box's test of Equality of Covariance Matrices. It is assumed that the homogeneity of

intercorrelations variance is met if the significance level is larger than the recommended alpha level of .001 (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Pallant, 2001).

5.3 Internal Consistency Reliability Analysis

Internal reliability was investigated for the three questionnaire measures in order to assess if the items effectively measure the same underlying construct (Morgan, Leech, Gloeckner & Barrett, 2004; Pallant, 2001). It has been suggested that in considering scales internal reliability, the Cronbach's alpha should be above .70 to be regarded as having good internal consistency (Morgan et al. 2004; Pallant, 2001). Coefficients of internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alphas) indicated high levels of reliability on each of the three scales; 'Thinking about' violent crimes ($\alpha = .79$), 'Feeling afraid' about violent crimes ($\alpha = .91$), and 'Feeling angry' about violent crimes ($\alpha = .93$). These results were comparable to previous findings (Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Ferraro, 1996; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). Table 3 displays Cronbach's alphas values for the present study in comparison to other research.

Table 3 Cronbach's alpha coefficient and score range for questionnaire measures

	Cronbach's Alpha α		Scale Range
	Present study	Other studies	
<i>Thinking about</i> violent crimes	.79	.76 - .80	4 - 20
<i>Feeling Afraid</i> about violent crimes	.91	.80 - .90	4 - 20
<i>Feeling angry</i> about violent crimes	.93	.88	4 - 20

5.4 Power Calculations and Effect Sizes

The importance of statistical results and its subsequent interpretations rests in consulting the power and the effect size calculations (Cohen, 1992; Lipsey, 1990; Pallant,

2001). Being that the present study's quasi-experimental design is similar to that conducted by Topalli (2005) it was suggested that a sample size of at least 36 subjects is needed in order to obtain a sufficient power and detect statistically significant effects. Furthermore, a standardized table designed to predict how large a sample was needed to achieve adequate power for experimental designs was consulted (Cohen, 1992). In his 'Power Primer' article, it was suggested that if a large effect size is expected, then a sample of 38 participants with 2df will be adequate at .01. It must be noted that 'gendered fear of crime paradox' is a large effect, and therefore if the PLD videos were to elicit a gender difference than that would in itself indicate a large effect. Therefore, the present study obtained an overall sample of 40 participants, 20 females and 20 males. The Effect size was carried out for each statistical test, calculated as part of the SPSS statistical output (eta squared). Cohen's (1988) guidelines for the strength of eta squared values were consulted.

5.5 PLD Video – Implicit Measure of 'Fear of Violence'

A mixed between-within subjects ANOVA was conducted in order to explore the following; Firstly, whether participants were able to discriminate between the three PLD velocities (slow, medium and fast) and secondly, to explore participants vigilance to violence scores across the three PLD videos and between the two groups (males and females). Table 4 presents the means and standard deviations for participants mean scores on 'vigilance to violence' across the three PLD velocity conditions.

Table 4 Comparisons of Means and SD's for males and females on 'vigilance to violence' scores across the three PLD velocities

PLD video velocities	Males	Females
Slow velocity	9.45 (6.03)	9.47 (4.67)
Medium velocity	10.27 (5.59)	9.82 (5.44)
Fast velocity	11.95 (6.73)	12.13 (5.75)

Although Figure 1 presents a trend in which participants vigilance to violence scores increased as the speed of the video interaction increased; slow velocity ($M = 9.46$, $SE = 0.853$), medium velocity ($M = 10.05$, $SE = 0.872$) and fast ($M = 12.13$, $SE = 0.991$) the main effect for velocity of the PLD videos did not reach statistical significance ($F(2,38) = 2.47$, $p = .098$). However, on the basis of Topalli's (2005) findings of a statistically significant difference between the three PLD velocities, this was further explored.

Furthermore, on a closer inspection of the error bars in Figure 1, it portrays the possibility of a significant difference between the slow and fast velocity. Therefore, a paired-sample t-test was conducted which indicated a statistically significant difference between slow velocity ($M = 9.462$, $SD = 5.327$) and fast ($M = 12.138$, $SD = 6.187$), $t(39) = -2.278$, $p < .05$, with participants reporting significantly higher levels of 'vigilance to violence' on the fast velocity video in comparison to slow. The calculated eta squared statistic (.11) indicates moderate to large effect size between these two velocities (Cohen, 1988). The results suggest that while the main effect for the PLD velocities are not significant at every level, it does appear that participants are able to discriminate with more certainty between the slow and fast velocities.

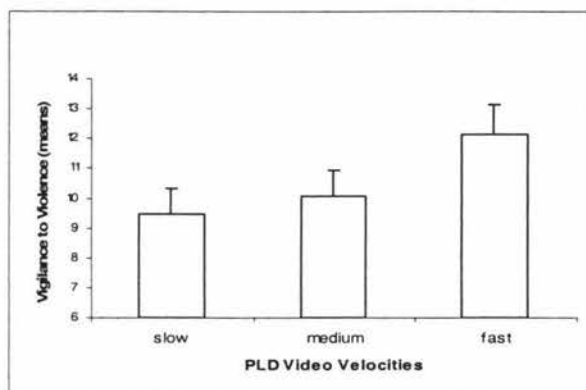


Figure 1. Error Bar Graph for main effects across PLD video velocities

Secondly, the present study looked into whether males and females attributed the same levels of 'vigilance' in the PLD videos. Figure 2 presents 'vigilance to violence' mean scores between males and females and across the three PLD velocities. Based on the observation of the Figure 2, and as hypothesized, the results did not reach a statistical significance between males and females on the three PLD video conditions ($F(2, 38) = .045, p=.956$). Not surprisingly, the effect size calculated using eta squared was (.002), being extremely low. The results suggest that while participants attribute more violent motivations as the interaction of the speed of the PLDs increases (specifically between the slow and fast speeds) both females and males are found to be equally 'vigilant' to such threats.

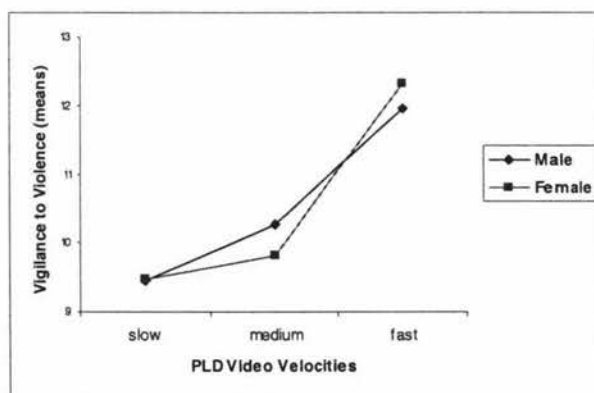


Figure 2. Vigilance to Violence Mean scores for Males and Females across three PLD Video Velocities

5.6 Questionnaire – Explicit Measure of ‘Fear of Violent Crime’

While results from the PLD video experiment suggest that both genders were equally ‘vigilant’ when exposed to a potentially threatening situation, there appears to be a ‘gender difference’ when ‘fear of violent crimes’ is measured explicitly through a questionnaire (See Figure 3; See Appendix D for Means and SD). A mixed between (males and females) - within subjects (three measures of ‘fear of violence’) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out showing a highly significant interaction effect between gender and ‘fear of violence’ questionnaire ($F(1, 38)=12.47, p<.01$, with a large effect size ($\eta^2=.24$).

While the result suggests that there was an overall main effect for gender and ‘fear of violent crimes’ an independent-samples t-test was conducted to investigate if these results held across all three measures; ‘thinking about violent crime’, ‘being afraid’ and ‘feeling angry’ about violent crime. There was no significant difference found between females ($M=5.05, SD=1.27$) and males ($M=4.70, SD=1.45; t(38)=.809, p=.424$) when asked to what extent do they ‘think about’ violent crimes, however, there was a significant difference found between females ($M=7.85, SD=3.15$) and males ($M=5.15, SD=1.81; t(38)=3.321, p<0.01$) when asked to report their feeling of ‘fear’, with a large effect size ($\eta^2=.22$). The results also showed a significant gender difference $t(38)=3.168, p<0.01, \eta^2(.20)$ when asked to what extent they felt ‘angry’ in regards to violent crimes, with females yet again scoring higher ($M=10.75, SD=2.33$), then males ($M=7.90, SD=3.27$).

As predicted, the above results suggest that there exists a ‘gendered gap’ in ‘fear of violent crimes’ when explicitly measured through a questionnaire. So while both genders reported spending a similar amount of time ‘thinking about’ violence, it was females who expressed their emotions, and reported higher levels of ‘fear’ and ‘anger’ than males.

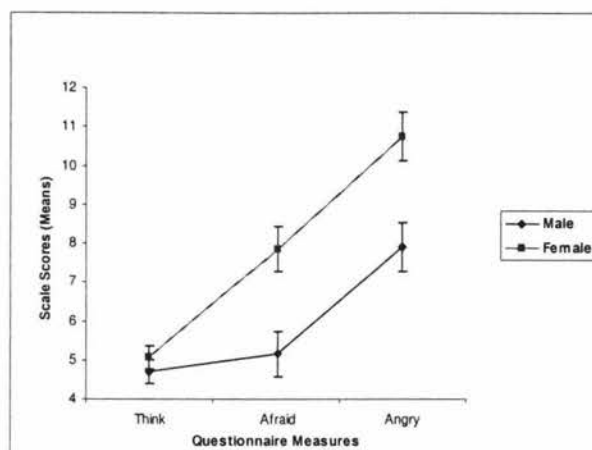


Figure 3. Standard Error Graph showing mean scores for Males and Females across the three Questionnaire Measures; 'Thinking about violence', 'Feeling Afraid' and 'Feeling Angry'

5.7 Qualitative Content of the PLD Video

Based on the above results, two findings emerge; firstly, that the velocity of a social interaction plays an important role to what extent participants attribute violent and threatening meanings to the PLD videos, and secondly, most importantly, that both males and females are similarly 'vigilant to violence' when faced with a same, potentially threatening situation. These effects of velocity become even more prominent when one looks into qualitative content of data generated from the interviews. The following section presents typical responses from both males and females for each of the three PLD video displays (slow, medium and fast velocities).

In a slow velocity PLD video, both males (M) and females (F) similarly attributed forms of 'affectionate' and 'friendly' statements to the observed interaction. This can be seen in following passages:

(M): There was a guy swinging maybe his arms or a bag (Figure B) and the other guy slowly walked up to him (Figure A), and didn't look so much like to grab, but more

to touch him on the shoulders or something. I see this one as two friends meeting; one waiting for the other friend and then put an arm around them, or something.

(F): One person (Figure A) was going towards another person (Figure B) and then that person on the left side (Figure B) was waving her keys or a bag and the other person is walking towards her (Figure A). It is probably two friends, going to have a conversation.

(M): The first thing I saw was the guy on the left swinging his arms (Figure B) that's what got my attention, but then the guy who was walking across the screen on the right (Figure A) looked like the person was going to reach out and hug the person. It was almost slow, like placing the arm around.

(F): In that one it looked like someone was walking up (Figure A) to someone to give them a slap on the face, like 'good day mate', because the guy that was standing there (Figure B) looked relaxed and had their arms swinging and the guy walking up was just strolling (Figure A). It's like a sort of a friendly interaction.

While both males and females were equally vigilant to the medium velocity display, both groups were more likely to attribute hostile and threatening motivations in this velocity display when compared to the slow video. The following statements typically capture these observations:

(M): Just like punched them on the face. By the way he sort of came up (Figure A) maybe to punch him (Figure B), or maybe to grab them by the ear. Maybe dad (Figure A) gave him a clip behind the ear. It would be seen as a bit aggressive either way.

(F): It looked like someone was walking up to someone and getting into their face, because the person that was getting walked up to leaned back (Figure B) and the one that was walking towards him sort of got into his face (Figure A). Just on top of my head, it might be a guy that was getting a bit agro towards another guy who was talking to his girlfriend or something like that.

(M): The person on the right did not look too steady (Figure B) and looked like they put their hands up as the person was coming towards them (Figure A) like to hit him, but maybe not to hit him. I would like to believe that the person was coming to put their hands on his shoulder. You can't tell if the guy is angry, and the other guy did not look steady on his feet, so it must be that the guy coming towards him pushed him on the shoulders.

(F): It is very weird. It looked like two guys having an argument or something, and one of them standing there kind of scared (Figure B) and the other guy comes up to them and pushes them or something (Figure A).

Yet again, while both males and females shared similar perceptions of the interaction displayed in the fast velocity video, most often participants evidenced descriptions of aggression, violence and danger in the fast display when compared to medium velocity and in particular to slow PLD video. For example:

(M): I thought it looked like he (Figure A) was going to grab the person (Figure B) perhaps to hit him. It looks like the person's left hand was trying to grab him by the shoulder and then it just move up a little bit around his head and then you can see the other person leaning back. It looks like someone is approaching someone on the street to commit a robbery.

(F): The movement of the other person on the right (Figure A) is much quicker compared to the movement of the other person in the previous display, which makes him look a bit aggressive, like trying to bash him. In this display you can observe that the movement is much quicker, which makes him look like he is going to rob him or attack him (Figure B).

(M): This is very aggressive. The person (Figure A) was walking way faster and looked more intense. It was just about scary watching it. The person looked like they had intent to really hurt the person standing there (Figure B). It was like a stabbing motion, really fast and hard.

(F): This is very violent. Like, he (Figure A) is going to grab her (Figure B). I don't get the swinging of her arms, but it is definitely a male coming towards her to grab her, definitely to hurt her violently.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6.1 Overview

The 'paradoxical' finding in the 'fear of crime' literature (that women report being afraid more than men even though their reported risk of violence is lower) has been an area of contested investigation over the past two decades (Block, 1993; Borooh & Carcach, 1997; Box et al., 1988; Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Farrall et al., 1997; Ferraro, 1996; Hale, 1996; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Mesko & Farrall, 2000; Morris et al., 2003; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko, 1995; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). While fear of crime research has substantially grown during this time, it nevertheless has failed to resolve the 'paradox', as its methodologies solely rely on self-reported questionnaires. Although these traditional 'fear of crime' measures are useful in certain lines of investigations, they fall short if we are to objectively look into the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' as they invite socially desirable responding and the inevitable gendered role biases and stereotypes.

The aim of the present study was to attempt to initiate change in the way the observed 'paradox' has been measured and researched, by employing a new paradigm in this field, the Point Light Display (PLD) video technology as a methodology. This served as an implicit measure of 'fear of violence', as both genders were not aware of what was being measured. As a result, the obtained results allow for better understanding into the 'gendered fear of crime paradox', something that was always missing in the previous literature.

The following chapter provides a summary of the results and gives consideration to the present study's findings in relation to previous literature. Implications, limitations and future research opportunities are explored. This is followed by some concluding comments.

6.2 Summary of the Findings

Overall, the results of the present study provide preliminary empirical support that; the new paradigm (PLD video) is able to serve as an implicit measure of 'fear of violence' among males and females, and secondly, more importantly, the findings indicate that there exists no 'gender gap' in 'fear of violence' when participants were not aware of what the research was trying to measure (using PLD video) as opposed to being measured through the questionnaire (traditional measure).

The PLD video technology was employed in the present study to act as an implicit measure of 'gendered fear of violence'. It was hypothesized that the participants would be able to discriminate between the three PLD video velocity conditions (slow, medium and fast) as it has been found in the previous research using this paradigm (Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995). While the present study's results showed that participants were able to discriminate between the slow and fast velocities, this was not the case for the medium velocity condition. In other words, while participants 'vigilance to violence' scores increased as the video's speed increased, it appears that the more 'ambiguous' nature of the medium velocity condition did not evoke more or less 'vigilance' when compared to the other two velocities. Two possible explanations could account for these findings.

It has been previously found that the medium velocity condition has the highest response variance when compared to the other two PLD video conditions (slow and medium

velocities) (Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neal, 1995), which was also encountered in the present study. It was noted by Topalli (2005) that the observed variance is most likely due to the 'ambiguity' of the medium velocity display as opposed to the slow and fast velocities, as it is believed that the medium condition allows individual's 'environmental experiences' to mitigate how one perceives 'threat' and 'violence' in such displays (Topalli, 2005, p.287). Therefore, it could be proposed that the study's sample of University students may have been a contributing factor for having lower 'vigilance' scores in the medium velocity condition, as it is a group that most often comes from better social sectors and environments, and these factors have been found to highly correlate with ones 'fear' levels.

Secondly, it could also be proposed that the lack of discrimination found for the medium velocity condition might be due to the fact that the present study used a different qualitative coding system to the Topalli's (2005) research (see Chapter Four for this justification). It may be that the present study's scores in the medium velocity condition present genuine pattern of responses rather than a constructed artefact that may have been a product of Topalli's (2005) creation of a 'wide ranging scale' which resulted in 'statistical significance'.

More importantly, the present study's aim was to examine the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' through the PLD video experiment, and it was hypothesized that both genders will be equally 'vigilant to violence' when measured implicitly (without them being aware of what the research is measuring). As envisioned, the results showed that both males and females equally attributed 'vigilance to violence' across the three PLD video displays, therefore it questions the credibility of the long standing 'gendered paradox' within the 'fear of crime' literature. The present study's finding deviates from the mainstream literature in this field, and consequently

poses implications for future research into 'fear of crime'. Nevertheless, these findings support the recently emerging research that through innovative methodological approaches (Reid & Konrad, 2004; Sutton & Farrall, 2005) and theoretical explanations (Goodey, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Newburn & Stanko, 1995; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sparks, 1996; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993) give alternative accounts for this 'unjustified' paradoxical finding.

The findings tentatively suggest the following; firstly, that the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' only exists due to the nature in which it has been measured (Baumer, 1978; Clark, 2003; Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Farrall et al., 1997; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1987; Garofalo, 1981; Gray, 1987; Madriz, 1997; Rachman, 1990; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005; Warr, 1984; Williams et al., 2000). The present study was able to demonstrate that when females and males were not aware of what the object of inquiry is (fear of violence), they were equally 'vigilant to violence', as it allowed for responses that were not influenced by socially desirable responding, gender biases and stereotyping. Secondly, these findings further supports the often theorized role of 'socialization' and since traditional 'fear of crime' measures only employ questionnaires, it inevitably creates a false illusion of a 'gendered fear of crime paradox', since men have been socialized to discount their 'fears' and women to 'generously' report theirs (Bem, 1981; Goodey, 1997; Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Stanko, 1995; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Sutton & Farrall, 2005).

As previously discussed, while many academics were eager to explain the observed 'gendered fear of crime paradox' as owing to the experiential experiences and physiological gender differences (Campbell, 1999; Garofalo, 1981; Hale, 1996; Hines & Fry, 1994; Keane,

1995; Pain, 1995; Painter, 1992; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Thompson et al., 1992), other more insightful researchers questioned the way this area of inquiry had been 'researched'. One of the few studies that has managed to show major flaws with traditional measures in capturing the 'gendered fear of crime paradox', was carried out by Sutton and Farrall (2005) and by employing a 'lie scale' to control for socially desirable responding found 'no gender differences in fear' to exist. It is rather apparent, that if they did not control for gender biases in questionnaire responding, the responses of females would have still been more fearful than males, and yet again the 'fear of crime' literature would have been greeted with another 'illusory' account of the 'gendered fear of crime paradox'. However, Sutton and Farrall found that males were just as much fearful as females, and once corrected for, it was further discovered that men even were more 'afraid' than women.

While the present study shares both theoretical and methodological positions of Sutton and Farrall's (2005) research, it is believed that the present study's methodology is even more sophisticated, as it directly measures 'fear of violence' while controlling for gendered roles and stereotypes and socially desirable responding. The unique component of the present study's design, lies in its methodology, a PLD video paradigm that is able to implicitly measure (without participants knowing) respondents 'vigilance to violence'. Consequently, the data produced is completely free of intentional gendered distortions, and unlike previous research that has tackled this issue through a 'control measure' (lie scale) in order to adjust males and females 'fear' scores (Sutton & Farrall, 2005), the present study's innovative methodology appears more reliable, as it directly captures participants 'fear of violence' without the need to 'correct for' or 'adjust' the true data.

In regards to the present study's questionnaire, acting as an explicit measure of 'fear of violence', it was hypothesized that when participants are asked to report their 'fears' overtly (self-report through a questionnaire), the results would be consistent to those of previous findings; women are more 'fearful' than men (Block, 1993; Borooah & Carcach, 1997; Clemente & Kleinman, 1976; Hale, 1996; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Mesko & Farrall, 2000; Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998; Morris et al., 2003). Without any surprises, the results indicate that there appears to be a gender difference in 'fear of violent crime' when measured through a questionnaire. More specifically, while females reported significantly higher levels of 'fear' on the two 'fear of violence' questions; 'feeling afraid' and 'being angry', however, there was no gender difference found for the extent participants were 'thinking about' violent crimes. To account for this finding, there is a difficulty in making exact comparisons to that of previous research, as there appears to be many different variations of the original questionnaire recommendations made by Farrall and Ditton (1999).

For example, Sutton and Farrall (2005) had investigated 'gendered fear of crime' through two measures; 'thinking about' and 'feeling afraid' which were grouped together for subsequent analysis to form a 'fear of crime' index score. While they had also found women to be more afraid than men (that was before they adjusted these scores with a 'lie scale'), it is impossible to tell if this observed gender difference would be the same for 'thinking about' and 'being afraid' questions. With this in mind, it becomes a grey area if we are to make certain conclusions as to why the present study had found no gender difference in regards to 'thinking about violent crimes', whereas on the other two constructs; 'being afraid' and 'feeling angry' females had higher 'fear' levels as opposed to males.

Nevertheless, it could be suggested that it is more socially acceptable for males to admit to 'thinking about' violent crimes rather than being 'afraid' or 'angry', as the other two are more emotive responses and go against the 'macho image' and a 'fearless man' persona (Gabriel & Greve, 2003; Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Smith and Torstensson, 1997; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993). Furthermore, as Gabriel and Greve (2003) point out to the fact that due to the males living a more 'risky lifestyle' or believing that they do (stereotypical male role) this might permit them in reporting more 'cognition' ('thinking about' in this case) in 'fear of crime' research, and of course less 'emotions' ('fear' and 'anger').

So far, the main study's findings were outlined and examined separately; firstly, the PLD video experiment, and secondly, the questionnaire. However, the rest of the discussion will draw upon both of these two measures findings, in order to fully appreciate its meanings and implications. In overview, the present study has found no gender difference in 'fear of violence' when participants were measured implicitly, through a PLD video technology, while on the other hand, there was a gender difference present (women reporting more fear) when asked to report their 'fear of violent crimes' through the questionnaire. What could possibly account for this finding since *both* methodologies measure participants 'fear' and they *both* refer to a specific offence, being violence? Nothing, other than in the fact that participants were not aware of what the PLD video was trying to measure, whereas the questionnaire allowed for gender biased and favourable responding. The significance of these findings is now considered.

Taken together, the present study's findings suggest the following; firstly, it lends support to the often theorized notion that men do not report their true fears, that its either suppressed or denied (Agnew, 1985; Goodey, 1997; Haywood and Mac an Ghail, 2003;

Kaufman, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sparks, 1996; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993; Sutton & Farrall, 2005) as it is embedded in a role of socialization and expressed through gender roles and stereotypes (Bettancourt & Miller, 1996; Goodey, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Hollander, 2001; Kaufman, 1997; Lober, 1994; Madriz, 1997; Risman, 1998; Valentine, 1997) in which masculinity is associated with the notion that 'boys don't cry' (Goodey, 1997). Secondly, the study's findings further support previous research initiatives that specifically investigate the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' through 'controlling for' gender biases in responding (Bem, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). The present research advocates an 'implicit measure' in this line of investigation, as it is necessary if we are to preserve objectivity in subsequent findings, and begin to demystify the long standing misconceptions of the 'fear of crime paradox'.

The present study's findings call into question the way the 'gendered fear of crime' is perceived. Previous research with flawed findings not only hinders our understanding of this phenomenon, but it may drive inappropriate and defective policies and government initiatives so that the reduction in the 'fear of crime' is concentrated on females when males are just as 'fearful'. Misleading findings may also have effects upon people's quality of life, as the erroneous information about who should and should not 'fear' crime potentially creates a false sense of security for men (Goodey, 1997; Kaufman, 1997; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Hollander, 2001; Messerschmidt, 1997), and it propagates unnecessary confinement and restrictions for women (Hollander, 2001; Madriz, 1997; Morris et al., 2003; Sparks, 1996; Stanko, 1995). Supplementary to these realities, it further fuels gender roles and stereotypes, keeping women as 'vulnerable', and 'in need of protection', and men as 'superman' protectors (Harris & Miller, 2000; Hollander, 2001; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Madriz, 1997; Pain, 1995; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Stanko & Hobdell, 1993).

The findings of the present research indicate that males 'fear violence' at the same level as females. From this it can be concluded that there is more 'fear of crime' present in society than males are willing to admit. However, this does not necessarily mean that the levels of 'fear' are higher. Farrall and Gadd (2004a, 2004b) show that when controlling for 'fear intensity' and 'frequency' (something that is not usually measured in research) they found that people were not very 'fearful' at all, which suggests that 'fear' is over-reported and exaggerated in the press (Chadee et al., 2007; Ditton & Chadee, 2006; Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Gadd, 2004a, 2004b; Hope & Sparks, 2000; Walklate, 2003). Similarly, the present study had also found this to be the case (participants 'vigilance scores' were nowhere near the high end spectrum), which may also suggest that women do not have 'irrationally' high 'fears', a notion that is widely accepted in both public and literature spheres. Both future research and the media need to acknowledge the implications of such misconceptions, so their prospective work can be guided with more consideration and accuracy.

How people perceive risk and what they do in order to protect themselves, is yet another area that is founded on misconceptions from both research (as they fail to measure 'gendered fear of crime' paradox objectively) and the media, which inevitably has an affect upon their quality of life. If people are bombarded with the 'information' that women are 'fearful' and 'vulnerable' whereas men are not, the applications of such attributions can be rather maladaptive, as it challenges ones 'theory of reality' (Clark, 2003). There is a need for both men and women to recognize the link between the role of socialization, gender roles and stereotypes to their perceptions of crime, evaluation of risk and how it effects their 'precautionary behaviours' aimed at protecting themselves from victimization. It is particularly important for men to realize that they 'don't have to hide their fears', and that

women may also be inaccurate in estimating their relative risks, as it can have serious consequences for type and extent of precautions people take to assure their safety.

It might be that in need to protect their 'macho image' men are submerged into a false consciousness about their risks and safety (Goodey, 1997) which could be very detrimental to their own security, and further still, this 'machismo' might attract the kind of violent attention that they are trying to avoid (Chadee et al., 2007; Hollander, 2001). On the other hand, women's socially constructed role of 'passivity' and promotion of 'victim type role behaviours' promotes restrictive type behaviours in need to protect themselves, however ultimately impinging upon their quality of life. Inevitably these realities can be seen in the NZVCS (2001) in which findings show that women were more likely to follow 'crime prevention advice' in order to avoid the possibility of falling a victim through avoidance and restrain strategies. Morris et al., (2003, p.252) conclude that those sorts of behaviours can inevitably restrict possible opportunities and in the same breath their quality of life. This supports the idea that male denial of their 'fears' may lead to maladaptive behaviour for both genders.

There is a desperate need for myths to be shattered, and likewise starting from the 'gendered fear of crime paradox', as one of them. Based on the previous literature theorizing into this phenomenon, and the findings from the present study, it necessitates changes to be made in the way gender and 'fear of crime' is being measured. Research that fails to acknowledge the significance of this should be held responsible as the obstructers to advancements in 'fear of crime' research and its collective knowledge. While there are initiatives in treating criminality, maybe there should be policies directed in treating research misconceptions and further, media misinformation.

The public have the right to know about actual 'risks', 'fears' and victimization rates, so that they are able to apply 'healthier' precautions and heal extremities of 'fears' (Warr, 2000). Media should turn to broadcast real findings of 'fear of crime', showing that when objectively measured, both genders are equally 'afraid', and that 'fear' intensities and frequencies are in reality rather low (as it has been found in the present study and demonstrated in previous research by Farrall & Gadd, 2004a, 2004b; Ditton & Chadee, 2006). If media fails to deliver factual reporting of 'fear of crime' research, it might rest on government policies and police initiatives to dispel 'gendered fear myths' and provide reliable information as a function to promote peoples quality of life. As Garofalo (1981) concludes that 'policy should be directed to defining the optimal or ideal level of positive fear and practice orientated to achieving it' (p. 856).

6.3 Limitations of the Present Study

Although some promising findings were obtained in the present research, several limitations should be acknowledged. These include concerns about the size and characteristics of the sample, methodological issues as well as the conceptual shortcomings.

First, the sample size, although adequate for the study's design and statistical analysis (twenty females and twenty males), it is nevertheless a small number to generalize from and explore participants characteristics. The university students, while seen to be a desirable sample for this type of research (Levine, 2003; Topalli, 2005; Topalli & O'Neil, 1995) can not possibly represent the general population, therefore the present findings need to be viewed in light of this. To overcome these limitations, future research would benefit from a larger sample, with different population, while controlling for certain individual and environmental factors that have been found to correlate with 'fear' (Amerio & Roccato, 2005; Borooah &

Carcach, 1997; Chadee & Ditton, 2003; Dull & Wint, 1997; Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996; Killias & Clerici, 2000; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Pain, 1995; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997).

Another limitation relates to conceptual and methodological difficulties encountered in the present research. Although these concerns are rather well known in 'fear of crime' literature, posing great complexities for researchers (as pointed out by Farrall et al., 1997; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Gabriele & Greve, 2003; Goodey, 1995; Lober, 1994; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005) it nevertheless requires a discussion. While conceptually, the present study is in line to that of previous literature research and recommendations (Clark, 2003; Farrall et al, 1997; Farrall & Ditton, 1999; Gabriele & Greve, 2003; Marks & Tobena, 1990) the problems are encountered at the methodological level due to the nature of the study's investigation. More specifically, although the present study conceptualized 'fear of violence' to be a multi-dimensional construct, it did not measure the behavioural component of 'fear'. Although a limitation to the present research, this omission was purposeful, as the experimental condition (PLD video) was unable to measure this factor (behavioural component of 'fear'). While this construct could have been measured through the questionnaire, it was seen to be more methodologically important that the two research measures (PLD video experiment and the questionnaire) held conceptual consistencies between them, so that subsequent findings would maintain reliability and credibility when drawing upon these two methodologies.

Furthermore, given that the present study employed a new paradigm (PLD video) in this area of research as to 'objectively' explore 'gendered fear of violence' paradox, it is of a no surprise that it comes with some limitations. While the PLD video methodology appears to

correspond with its conceptualization and operationalisation, it is not certainly clear to what extent it measures the whole experience of 'fear' as a 'multi-faceted phenomenon'. Namely, it might be possible that the PLD video measures more of a cognitive component of 'fear' rather than the emotive, as it requires participants to attribute meaning to the perceived interaction. On the other hand, it could further be argued that even if both emotive and cognitive components are at work to create ones experience of 'fear', this certainly could not be separated and identified as such. Although the questionnaire covers the cognitive ('thinking about' violence), emotive (being 'afraid') and affective (feeling 'angry') components of the 'fear of violence' construct, the PLD video measure is unable to make such clear cut distinctions, even though all of the above components would be naturally at play (See Chapter Four for this discussion).

To overcome these limitations, future research would benefit to further validate this paradigm (PLD video), across different populations, and possibly employ open-ended questions that will gauge the 'multi-dimensional' experience of 'fear' across all three components; cognitive, emotive and behavioural. Nevertheless, while this paradigm has the potential to accommodate these limitations and allow for future innovations, the research still needs to maintain the 'implicit forte' of this paradigm, in order to produce sound data, that is not gender biased and contaminated with socially desirable responding.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Given that the previous research has found considerable differences in levels of 'fear' among different groups (Braungart et al., 1980; Casey & Crothers, 2005; Doeksen, 1997; Hale, 1996; Liska et al., 1988; Mooney, 2000; Morris, 1998; Ross, 1993), environmental factors

(Amerio & Roccato, 2005; Borooah and Carcach, 1997; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997), individual characteristics (Chadee & Ditton, 2003; Dull & Wint, 1997; Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996; LaGrange et al., 1992; Pain, 1995; Painter, 1992; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Smith & Torstensson, 1997), and for different types of crimes (Killias & Clerici, 2000; LaGrange et al., 1992; Moore & Shepherd, 2007; Reid & Konrad, 2004; Rountree, 1998), it would be beneficial that future research establish whether the lack of gender difference in 'fear' still holds across all these variables when using a PLD video methodology.

Another recommendation is that future research should explore the correlates and predictors of 'fear', using the PLD video as a methodology. While this study has shown no gender difference in 'fear of violence', the extension of this should include investigation of participants backgrounds and individual characteristics to be controlled for, so that mitigating factors, that may come into play, may be identified for both genders.

Future research ought to address the conceptual and methodological shortcomings identified in the present study, and concentrate to refine and further develop the PLD video in order to fit within the 'fear of crime' research. As discussed in Chapter Three, the conceptualization of 'fear of crime' should be treated as a multifaceted phenomenon, and it is recommended that future research measure all three elements of 'fear' construct (cognitive, emotive and behavioural components), in both implicit (PLD video) and explicit (questionnaire) methodologies. This will ensure consistency and objectivity in findings and its subsequent interpretations.

While the above recommendations (measuring 'fear of crime' as a multifaceted phenomenon) can be easily integrated into a questionnaire, there exists quite a challenge to measure all of the elements within a PLD video methodology. Although future research could possibly employ a different kind of a 'implicit measure' to account for this while controlling for gender biases and socially desirable responding (as discussed in Chapter Three), it appears that the PLD video is more of a sophisticated tool. While it enables the 'concealment' of the topic in its entirety to the observer, it also has the potential for further developments, as it measures both static reality (structural depictions of an event) and 'real time transformational movements' that preserves reality (Topalli, 2005, p. 278).

For these reasons, the present research believes that the PLD video paradigm has the potential to be a rather robust measure in 'fear of crime' research, particularly when investigating gender and 'fear'. It is recommended that future research explore this paradigm further; firstly, to clearly identify to what degree it is able to measure and distinguish between participants cognitive and emotional components of 'fear of violence', and secondly, explore the capacity of a PLD video to also measure the behavioural component of the 'fear of violence' construct. This could possibly be measured by asking the respondents to put themselves in place of a stationary figure (the figure that is being approached by the other figure) and through open-ended questioning (e.g. What would you do if that was the case? – probing for behavioural element of 'fear') measure the three elements of an overall construct of 'fear' (cognitive, emotive and behavioural).

6.5 Conclusion

Despite the limitations mentioned above, the present study was successful on two accounts; firstly, it evidenced that men are just as fearful as women, and secondly it provided preliminary empirical support that the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' does not really exist, but rather has been obscured by research exclusively concentrating on self-reported questionnaires that are recognized to endorse gender roles and stereotypes, and socially desirable responding. It is these results that suggest that 'maleness' is not compatible with admitting 'fear', however when measured without them knowing, underneath all that 'bravado', they are just as 'fearful' as women. It can be tentatively argued that the mainstream scholarly finding of the 'gendered fear of crime paradox' is in fact misleading, as it has been constructed through unwarranted 'one track' methodologies, and academics neglecting to acknowledge the significance that socialization plays if we are to reliably measure gender and 'fear of crime'. In fashion of some astute scholarly insights, Gabriel and Greve (2003) conclude that the empirical data in this line of research are often seen 'through the wrong spectacles' (p. 600).

As the present study's findings could have potentially significant implications on future theoretical and methodological research endeavours, it is of an importance that the study's limitations be addressed and these findings further replicated. Since Sutton and Farrall (2005) had first successfully delivered a new theoretical and methodological trend in this line of inquiry, and with the present study's findings to further support this, it signifies the importance that future research keeps in this direction, in order to produce reliable findings and useful conclusions. Only then would there be a more unified understanding of the 'fear of crime'

phenomenon with a stronger standing to assert its findings through government policies and initiatives, and in turn nurture people's quality of life.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: PLD Video Display Interaction

Appendix B: 'Fear of Crime' Questionnaire

Appendix C: Participant Victimization rates for 12 months and 5 years

Appendix D: Means and Standard Deviations for Males and Females on
the three Questionnaire Measures

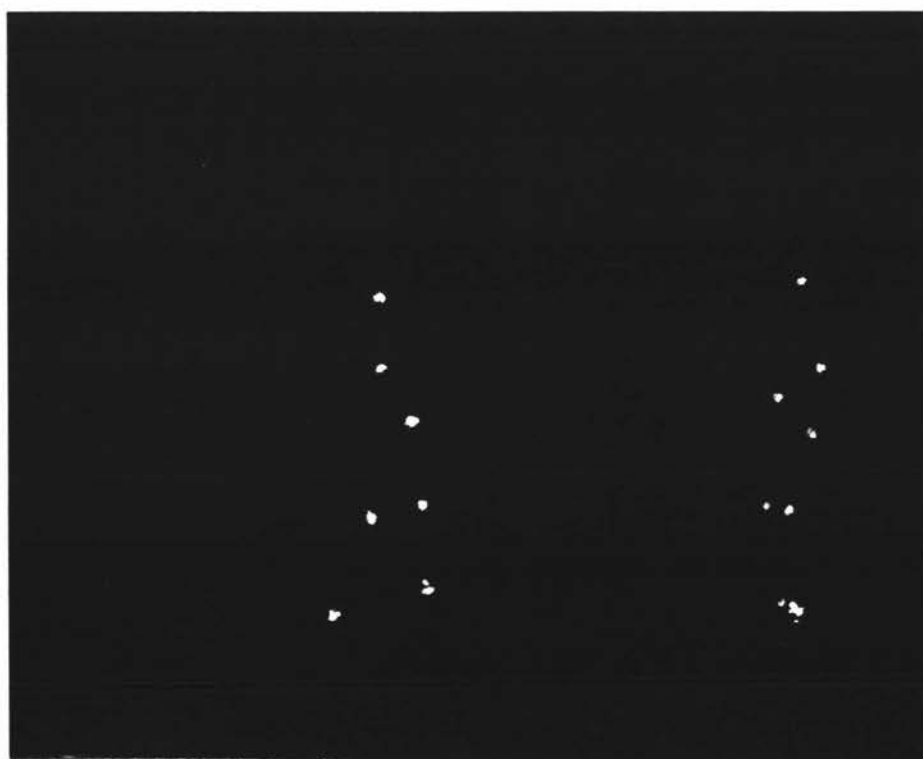
Appendix E: Information Sheet

Appendix F: Participant Consent Form

Appendix G: Authority for Release of Tape Transcripts Form

APPENDIX A

PLD Video Display Interaction



APPENDIX B

'Fear of Crime' Questionnaire

A Study of how people perceive an approaching individual

QUESTIONNAIRE

The researcher acknowledges that the act of completing a questionnaire around the issues of 'fear of crime' could bring to your awareness and raise sensitive issues from your own personal experiences, which may cause you some distress. If this is the case with you, please feel free to withdraw from the study, at any point throughout this questionnaire. Furthermore, if there is a question that you find upsetting, you have the right to decline to answer, or may terminate your participation all together.

Completion and return of the questionnaire implies consent.

Demographic Information

(1) What is your gender? (Please circle)

- 1 Male 2 Female

(2) What is your age group? (Please circle)

- 1 18-24 2 25-30 3 31-40
4 41-50 5 51-60 6 60+

(3) What is your work status? (Please circle the number(s) that best applies to you)

- 1 Full-time employment 3 Full-time study
2 Part-time employment 4 Part-time study

(4) What is your living situation? (Please circle the number that applies to you)

- 1 Renting 3 Living with immediate family
2 Boarding 4 Home-owner

(5) What is the estimated amount of the yearly income in your *household*? (this would include student allowance, student loan and any benefits from WINZ)

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Less than \$25,000 | 4 \$75,000 – 100,000 |
| 2 \$25,000 - \$49,999 | 5 Over \$100,000 |
| 3 \$50,000 - \$74,999 | 6 Don't know |

(6) Which one of these ethnic group(s) do you primarily identify with?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 European_____ | 4 Pacific Islander_____ |
| 2 New Zealand Maori | 5 Asian_____ |
| 3 New Zealand European or Pakeha | 6 Other_____ |

Perceptions of your neighbourhood area

(1) Do neighbours in your neighbourhood, generally know each other well?

- 1 Yes 2 Somewhat 3 No 4 Don't Know

(2) Are you concerned about the levels of crime in your neighbourhood?

- 1 Not at all concerned 2 A little concerned 3 Somewhat 4 Very concerned

(3) Using the line below, explain what sort of crime problems exist in your neighbourhood?

(4) Do you walk alone in your neighborhood area after dark?

- 1 Yes 2 No 3 Only when necessary

(5) How safe do you feel (or would you feel) if walking in your neighborhood area after dark?

1 Very safe 2 Fairly safe 3 A bit unsafe 4 Very unsafe

(6) In response to the above question, please explain the reasons behind the given rating?

(7) How safe do you feel being *alone* at home, *during the day*?

1 Very safe 2 Fairly safe 3 A bit unsafe 4 Very unsafe

(8) How safe do you feel being *alone* at home *during the night*?

1 Very safe 2 Fairly safe 3 A bit unsafe 4 Very unsafe

(9) How safe do you (or would you) feel walking alone after dark in the central city of Auckland with an active night life?

1 Very safe 2 Fairly safe 3 A bit unsafe 4 Very unsafe

Perceptions of own safety and crime

(1) On a scale of 1 to 4 (suggested below) please circle the number that best applies to you in regards to the following question;

How likely do you think that you will be the victim of the crimes below (a-g), in the next 12 months?

(a) Deliberate damage to your property?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(b) Theft and/or attempted theft?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(c) Threats of force or violence?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(d) Being assaulted or attacked by people you know?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(e) Being assaulted or attacked by stranger(s)?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(f) Deliberate use of a weapon?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(g) Being in a traffic accident caused by a drunk driver?

1 Not likely 2 Somewhat likely 3 Very likely 4 Almost certain

(2) On a scale of 1 to 5 (scale provided in each of the columns below) please indicate with a rating that best describes you, to each of the questions provided in each column

Type of Crime	<i>To what extent do you think about these crimes?</i>	<i>How afraid of these crimes are you?</i>	<i>How angry does it make you feel if you think it might happen to you?</i>
	1never 2rarely 3sometimes 4often 5 all the time	1not at all 2somewhat 3 fairly afraid 4 very 5 horrified	1not at all 2somewhat 3 fairly angry 4 very 5 outraged
Deliberate damage to your property			
Theft and/or attempted theft			
Threats of force or violence			
Being assaulted or attacked by people you know			
Being assaulted or attacked by stranger(s)			
Deliberate use of a weapon			
Being in a traffic accident caused by a drunk driver			

(3) Have you been a victim of any of the below crimes in the last 12 months and/or last 5 years? In the columns below, please answer with a YES if you have been a victim, or NO if you haven't?

Type of Crime	Have you been a victim in the last 12 months?	Have you been a victim in the last 5 years?
Deliberate damage to your property		
Theft and/or attempted theft		
Threats of force or violence		
Being assaulted or attacked by people you know		
Being assaulted or attacked by stranger(s)		
Deliberate use of a weapon		
Being in a car accident caused by a drunk driver		

Thank You for taking the time to participate in this study. It is greatly appreciated

APPENDIX C

Participant victimization rates for 12 months and 5 years

Victimization rates for property and violent crimes experienced in the previous 12 months

Types of Crimes	Sample Size (N=40)		Men (N=20)		Women (N=20)	
	Frequency (n)	%	Frequency (n)	%	Frequency (n)	%
Property Crimes						
Damage to property	7	17.5	2	10	5	25
Theft/attempted theft	10	25	4	20	6	30
Total for any property crime (prevalence)	11	27.5	4	20	7	35
Violent Crimes						
Threats of force or violence	8	20	4	20	4	20
Assaulted/Attacked by known person	3	7.5	1	5	2	10
Assaulted/Attacked by a stranger	6	15	3	15	3	15
Deliberate use of a weapon	3	7.5	2	10	1	5
Total for any violent crime (prevalence)	10	25	4	20	6	30

Victimization rates for property and violent crimes experienced in the last 5 years

Types of Crimes	Sample Size (N=40)		Men (N=20)		Women (N=20)	
	Frequency (n)	%	Frequency (n)	%	Frequency (n)	%
Property Crimes						
Damage to property	17	42.5	9	45	8	40
Theft/attempted theft	17	42.5	10	50	7	35
Total for any property crime (prevalence)	21	52.5	11	55	10	50
Violent Crimes						
Threats of force or violence	16	40	10	50	6	30
Assaulted/Attacked by known person	11	27.5	5	25	6	30
Assaulted/Attacked by a stranger	10	25	7	35	3	15
Deliberate use of a weapon	5	12.5	4	20	1	5
Total for any violent crime (prevalence)	20	50	11	55	9	45

APPENDIX D

Means and Standard Deviations for Males and Females on the three
Questionnaire Measures

Means and SD for males and females on the three questionnaire measures; 'Thinking about' violent crimes, 'Feeling afraid' of violent crimes and 'Feeling angry' about violent crimes

Questionnaire measures	Males	Females
<i>Thinking about</i> violent crimes	4.70 (1.45)	5.05 (1.27)
<i>Feeling Afraid</i> about violent crimes	5.15 (1.81)	7.85 (3.15)
<i>Feeling angry</i> about violent crimes	7.90 (3.27)	10.75 (2.33)

APPENDIX E

Information Sheet

A Study of how people perceive an approaching individual

INFORMATION SHEET

You are invited to participate in a study looking at how YOU would perceive and judge an interaction between two figures through viewing a Point Light Display Video

This information sheet is for you to keep. Please read it carefully before deciding to participate.

This thesis research project is being conducted by Massey University Masters graduate student, **Aleksandra Bajac**, under the supervision of Massey University Psychology Department lecturers **Dr. John Buttle** and **Mei Williams**, in order to examine perceptions and judgments of an interaction through the use of Point Light Display Video among University students.

Participating in this research project

This Information Sheet provides an overview of the project, so that you can make an informed decision about whether or not you would like to participate. To be eligible to participate, you must be over 16 years of age and be fluent in English so that you are able to communicate in an interview process and be able to understand the questionnaire.

If you decide to take part in this project, you will be asked to come with the researcher (Aleksandra Bajac) to the School of Psychology building, on the ground floor in Psychology Lab room, where you will view the video onto a computer screen in three parts. The video shows a brief interaction (5-7 seconds) of two figures, which have been constructed through the use of reflective patches affixed to their ankles, knees, hips, elbows and shoulders in a brightly lit room. The end result of the video is based only on reflective patches as points of light that serve to portray these figures. You will be asked to make judgments as to what is going on in each of the three short segments of the video. It is intended that the interview will take approximately 15 minutes of your time. Following this, you will be asked to fill out a short questionnaire, by either circling appropriate numbers or writing responses on the questionnaire itself. This will take approximately 5 - 10 minutes to complete.

Information collected in this research project

The information collected will be used to look into and investigate perceptions and judgments of an ambiguous social interaction using this type of video display. The obtained information from the interview and the questionnaire will be analyzed in order to examine and interpret the findings.

All responses from the interview and the questionnaire are completely confidential and will not be shown to anybody who is not involved in this research project. No personal details are required other than basic general demographic questions. It will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are developed from the study. Once the study is completed, you can receive a summary of the research findings through contacting the researcher or supervisor via e-mail or ph (contact details below).

Once the research is completed, the data gathered (questionnaires and audiotapes) will be stored in a safe and secure place at Massey University for 5 years after which will be safely destroyed.

Your Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- ✓ Decline to answer any particular question;
- ✓ Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- ✓ Withdraw from the study at any point during your participation;
- ✓ Provide information on the understanding that no personal information will be used;
- ✓ Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is complete (you can request the summary of the project through either contacting the researcher via e-mail or the supervisors below)
- ✓ I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Further Information

If you have any additional questions about any aspects of the study, please feel free to contact Aleksandra Bajac (researcher) or her supervisor Dr John Buttle via the following:

Aleksandra Bajac (Researcher)

E-mail: bajacaleksandra@hotmail.com

Dr John Buttle (Supervisor)

E-mail: J.W.Buttle@massey.ac.nz

Phone: (09) 414 0800 ext.9846

Mei Williams (Co-Supervisor)

E-mail: M.W.Williams@massey.ac.nz

Phone: (09) 414 0800 ext. 9886

Or contact by mail: **School of Psychology**
Private Bag 102 904
North Shore MSC
AUCKLAND

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, ALB Application 05/029. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Associate Professor Kerry Chamberlain, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Albany, telephone 09 414 0800 x9078, email humanethicsalb@massey.ac.nz.

APPENDIX F

Participant Consent Form

A Study of how people perceive an approaching individual

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that my answers will be kept strictly confidential, and that I have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that I don't want to answer.

- ♦ I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped (circle one).
- ♦ I wish/do not wish to have my tapes returned to me (circle one).
- ♦ I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

APPENDIX G

Authority for Release of Tape Transcripts Form

A Study of how people perceive an approaching individual

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TAPE TRANSCRIPTS

This form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I agree that the transcript and extracts from the interview conducted with me may be used by the researcher, Aleksandra Bajac in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature:

Date:

.....

Full Name - printed

.....