

# **CRIME IN JOHANNESBURG**

## **Results of a City Victim Survey**

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## INTRODUCTION

The control and prevention of crime have become national priorities in South Africa and particularly in the city of Johannesburg where some of the highest crime rates in the country are recorded. Much of the national crime debate has focused on the extent of crime in the city as reflected in recorded police statistics. By conducting a victimisation survey a measure of crime obtained through interviewing a representative sample of victims it is possible to formulate a clearer picture of the nature of victimisation in Johannesburg.

Johannesburg is popularly referred to as the country's 'crime capital' and 'the most violent city in the world'. Few cities and indeed urban areas, however, are without crime, and the risk of becoming a victim is high for the residents of most large cities. But risks are higher in poorer parts of the world and particularly in countries in transition from authoritarian rule to democracy which are characterised by pronounced economic inequality, such as states in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe.<sup>1</sup> Johannesburg's notoriously high levels of violent armed robberies and burglaries fit this pattern. These are also crime types which heighten the fear of crime and receive wide media coverage. What is often overlooked is that a large proportion of these and other crimes happen not to the middle classes, but to the urban poor. The impact of crime on this sector of society, however, is less visible.

Of more immediate concern in the case of Johannesburg, is the fact that high levels of crime are driving people out of the metropolitan area and threatening business and investor confidence in the economic heart of the country. Within the city itself, the central business district (CBD) perceived as the most dangerous part of Johannesburg is facing decline as formal businesses leave for the relative safety of the suburbs and satellite CBDs.

Equally serious are the effects of crime on Johannesburg's residents. Fear of crime is high as are feelings of insecurity. Combined with diminishing confidence in the government's ability to protect its citizens, the city already divided by the legacy of apartheid's boundaries is increasingly compartmentalised by high walls, fenced-off suburbs and private security guards, for those who can afford it. For those who cannot, options (where they exist) are limited to informal preventive measures and alternative forms of justice in the face of vulnerability to crime. The wedge driven by crime between the daily activities of the wealthy and the poor encourages alternative crime control strategies. These threaten to entrench already stark social and economic inequalities in South Africa.

Johannesburg's crime problem has resulted in pressure from several quarters. The city is increasingly seen by the government and the police as the country's test case for controlling and preventing urban crime: successes in South Africa's 'crime capital' will boost the confidence of both the public and the police in the attempt to reduce crime.

In the face of these pressures and with international support, the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan

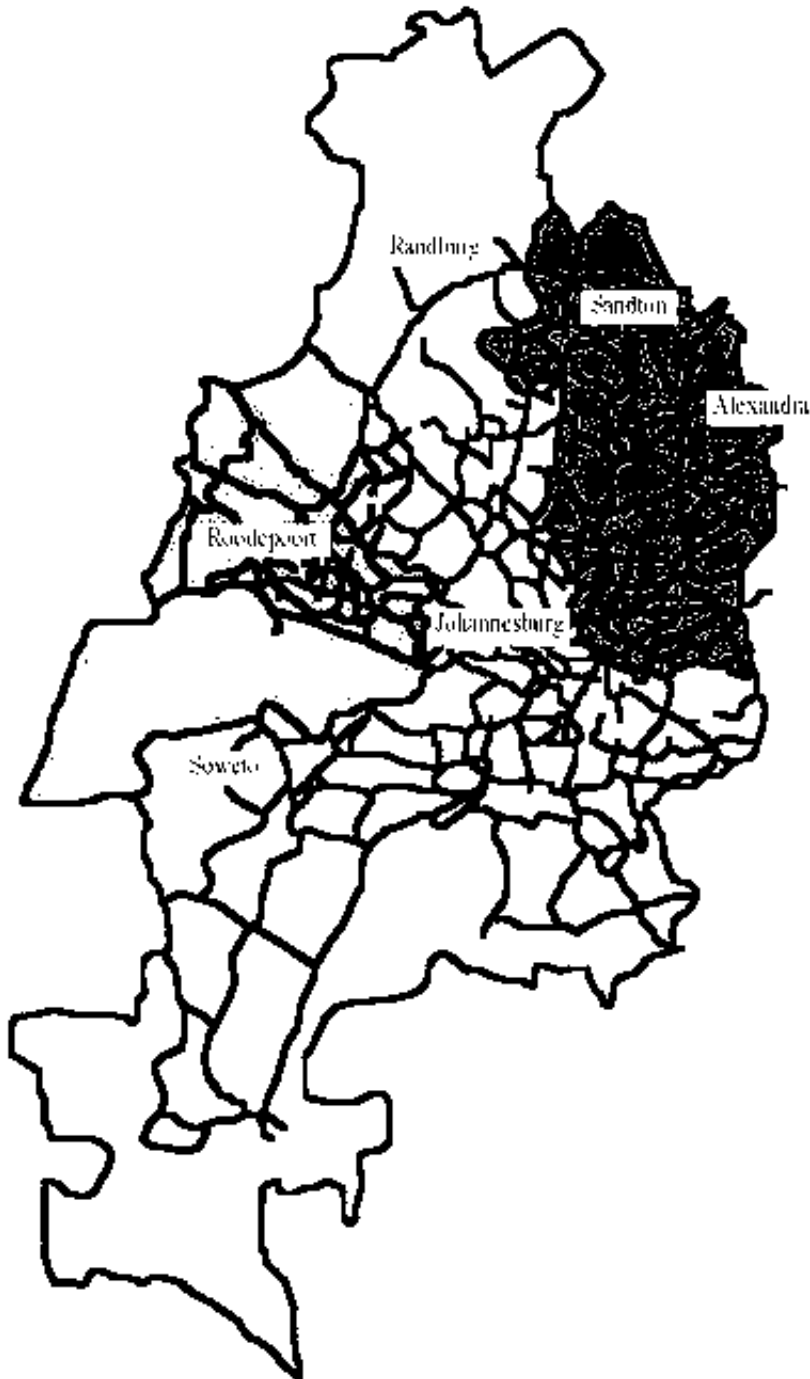
Council's Safer Cities programme was initiated in March 1997. Facilitated by the local authority, the strategy aims to lead a range of focused crime prevention programmes involving partnerships between local government, the police, non-government organisations and community groups. The South African Police Service (SAPS) for its part (in September 1997) launched the second phase of Operation Urban Strike aimed at reducing serious crime in 'hot spots' through proactive police operations in the Johannesburg area. At the outset, both projects have identified crime information as key to the success of their activities something which is in short supply despite the focus on crime in Johannesburg (and indeed the country as a whole).

## **INITIATING CRIME PREVENTION IN JOHANNESBURG**

Historically the centre of the South African mining industry, Johannesburg is now the core of the largest concentration of industrial activity in the country. Of a population of 3,5 million people as measured in 1995, about 82 per cent live in established suburbs and townships, with the remaining 18 per cent in informal settlements. Greater Johannesburg is divided into four metropolitan local councils (MLCs): Eastern, Northern, Southern and Western (map not reproduced in electronic form). Population densities are highest in the Eastern MLC, followed by the Southern MLC, the Western MLC and Northern MLC.2

Local government in Johannesburg is under increasing pressure to counter criminality in the city; hence, the launch of the Safer Cities programme. Indeed, town and city authorities (both in South Africa and elsewhere) are often the central point towards which grievances around increasing levels of crime are channelled by local constituencies. This, and the fact that safety at city level has important implications for local economic growth, has meant that developing strategies for preventing and policing crime effectively is increasingly a priority on the agendas of local government in South Africa.

# GREATER JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN COUNCIL BOUNDARY AND SURVEY AREA



Over the past decade, the growing trend internationally has been to concentrate crime prevention and its control not nationally, but locally at city or town level. Importantly, local government has the capacity to co-ordinate the activities of various departments which can contribute to crime prevention. Such multi-agency approaches have achieved success in several countries. For example, municipal crime prevention projects in France (where there is a national police service as in South Africa) led by local authorities reduced crime by 15 per cent in some areas through joint planning between housing, social services, schools and police departments.<sup>3</sup>

In the United Kingdom, a national Safer Cities Programme has been operating for some time. Initiatives

bringing police, social workers and city government together to analyse the causes of residential burglary on poverty stricken housing estates, reduced break-ins by 50 per cent in the first year and by 75 per cent over four years.<sup>4</sup> South African city and town authorities can learn from these developments. Specific crime problems characterise different towns and cities across the country: in Johannesburg for example, levels of rape (in public places) are high in particular parts of the city.<sup>5</sup> The solution lies not only in better visible policing in particular areas, but in the provision of lighting and the planning and use of open spaces, such as parks, as well as public toilets and public transport.

Thus, co-ordination between local government departments and the police is critical in achieving and sustaining urban safety. In many cases, local government constitutes the lowest level at which planning can consider the unique needs and specific crime problems of communities. Urban local government is well placed to co-ordinate, if not implement, initiatives to counter criminality.

But this is easier said than done. Crime prevention (both in South Africa and elsewhere) is often considered an add-on to line function local government activities. And, while often politically attractive, safer cities programmes run the danger of being nothing more than window dressing. In addition, South Africa's urgent development priorities mean that there are seldom additional resources for crime prevention. Indeed, Greater Johannesburg Safer Cities is largely funded by foreign donors, although the council is committed to finance the project in the long term. Under circumstances in which funds are limited, crime prevention initiatives are more likely to be seen as peripheral to other municipal programmes and will lack long term sustainability. Crime prevention initiatives, however, should not be seen as separate from ordinary development programmes; they are central in promoting a better quality of life.

Local government in South Africa, although on a limited scale, is becoming involved in crime prevention in three ways:

- *Establishing metropolitan and municipal police services:* Local government will shortly have the option of establishing its own police service charged with the function of crime prevention. It is envisaged that such services, while not empowered to investigate crime, will provide visible policing in high density urban areas.
- *Aligning resources and objectives within a crime prevention framework:* Crime and crime prevention is increasingly seen as central to the planning of all municipal department functions. This places crime prevention on the agendas, of among others, planning, transport and traffic departments at little extra cost to local government.
- *Initiating targeted crime prevention programmes:* Local government if appropriate resources are allocated is well placed to design and implement crime programmes targeted at specific crime problems. Such prevention programmes can either be financially supported by the local government itself or through business, donor or national government funding.

Implementing crime prevention strategies, in whichever of the three forms above, requires an accurate understanding of the nature and levels of crime in any area. Surprisingly little has been known about the levels and types of crime in Johannesburg. This has limited the debate on possible crime prevention strategies.

Information about the extent and nature of criminal activity and the profiles of victims and offenders, is the key to controlling and preventing crime. As the main source of crime information, the police can only provide details of part of the picture. Official crime statistics across the world are largely limited to those incidents which the public choose to report to the police, and which the police in turn record. The

unrecorded 'dark figure' of crime can be substantial in the case of certain categories of crime (such as sexual crimes and mugging) and less so for others (such as car theft).

Reporting is determined by factors relating to the crime itself, such as how serious the victim regards the offence to be, the links between the victim and the offender (domestic violence is usually under-reported, for among other reasons, fear of reprisals and the potential loss of a breadwinner), and in the case of property crime, whether the goods are insured. The relationship between the police and the public is another factor: if people have little faith in the ability of the criminal justice system to protect them, secure a conviction or recover stolen property, or are treated unprofessionally by the police, they are generally less likely to report. Finally, if access to the nearest police station is limited by distance, poor roads (or an absence of roads), lack of transport or access to telephones, reporting is less likely.

In South Africa, these factors are compounded by the historically uneven distribution of resources (both policing and infra-structural) between formerly 'white' and 'black' areas, and in particular, the former homeland regions. Procedures for recording crime information by the police in these regions also differed in the past from that of the former South African Police, affecting historical data, as well as current practices.

## **IMPROVING CRIME INFORMATION**

Over the past 30 years, countries across the world have begun conducting victim surveys to fill the gaps left by official crime statistics.<sup>6</sup> By asking representative samples of the public about the types of crimes they have experienced over a particular period, a more accurate picture of the levels and categories of crime can be compiled than that provided by the police. However, the value of victim surveys goes beyond simply compiling better statistics about incidents of crime. These surveys collect information from the perspective of the public rather than the police and courts, which means experiences of crime and violence are not limited by the legal definitions of these acts.<sup>7</sup>

The surveys also canvass the views of the public and crime victims about their experiences with the police and legal system, which enables better evaluation of these agencies. In addition, by determining which crime types are perceived to be the most serious and occur most frequently, survey material facilitates the prioritisation of preventive measures by the police and other agencies. Further, by shifting the focus of the inquiry from the offender (traditionally the preoccupation of the criminal justice system) to the victims of crime, these surveys can provide information which enables victims themselves to take preventive action against further victimisation.

In South Africa, several national public opinion surveys about crime have been conducted, primarily by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) over a period of more than two decades.<sup>8</sup> Some of these tended to focus on attitudes towards safety and the fear of crime rather than the actual extent of victimisation. Those surveys which did measure crime levels were conducted as part of broader public opinion assessments rather than as focused crime surveys. One exception is the national crime survey conducted by the Nedcor Project in 1995,<sup>9</sup> which measured crime levels and perceptions of safety.

Johannesburg, given its high crime levels, has been the focus of several studies. Three victimisation surveys have been carried out in the city. The primary aim of the first two surveys, conducted in 1993 and 1995 as part of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS), was to provide internationally comparative crime data.<sup>10</sup> This ongoing exercise involves more than 50 countries and is co-ordinated by an international working group composed of representatives of the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) and the British Home Office.



The third victimisation survey (on which this report is based) was administered in July 1997 by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) as the initial part of a process to design a Safer Cities strategy for the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. While based on similar questionnaires, direct comparisons between the data sets of the ICVS surveys and the ISS study in Johannesburg need to be conducted with caution given their methodological differences. The ICVS surveys were administered to people in their households, while the ISS carried out a street survey, sampling the views of people in various public places across the Johannesburg metropolitan area. Despite this difference, as well as expectations that a street survey would deliver abnormally high victimisation levels, results in terms of the incidence of crime do not differ dramatically.

While victim surveys provide rich information to complement that collected by official criminal justice agencies, there are limitations regarding the type of data collected and its application. Victims' responses to the surveys are affected by their ability to recall events and when they happened, their reluctance to discuss their experiences, particularly in the case of sexual crimes and domestic violence, and their failure to recognise that some incidents are relevant to the survey. These factors are likely to result in an undercount of crime and suggest that, to some extent, surveys measure public perceptions of crime as expressed to the interviewers, rather than actual experiences.<sup>11</sup>

Variations in how incidents are understood by respondents, particularly where the sample is not homogeneous, may also affect the consistency and comparability of data. If victims have had contact with the criminal justice system, their interpretation of incidents for the survey may be confused by the official definitions used. For example, the difference between burglary and robbery, particularly if the victim was present when the burglary occurred, may not be immediately apparent. Problems of definition and interpretation especially affect the documentation of sexual incidents.

These limitations apply particularly to cross-country comparisons and have been documented by the working group co-ordinating the International Crime Victim Survey. Variable response rates to the survey in different countries have been described, as have sensitivities to questions about firearm ownership and sexual crimes in certain cultural settings.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, according to ICVS findings, the definitions, perceptions and normative judgements about conventional crimes are fairly universal and do not prevent reliable comparison.<sup>13</sup>

In the case of sexual incidents, the quality and quantity of information reported to victim surveys is generally likely to be limited. Apart from problems of definition, victims are often reluctant to discuss these issues on a once-off basis with strangers. Similarly, crimes committed against children are poorly covered, largely because parental consent and supervision are required when surveying children. Specialised surveys have been conducted in recent years to cover the experiences of these and other less sensitive groups, such as tourists and business.

In developing countries like South Africa, the application of crime survey data faces difficulties: police crime statistics are often regarded with scepticism and lack detail, and thus, expectations of victim surveys are high. In attempting to meet these expectations, questionnaires may become too long, adding to the interview time and thus potentially reducing the accuracy of the data.

Of more concern though, is that the public, policy-makers and criminal justice officials given the paucity of useful crime information often expect victim surveys to provide answers on how crime can be controlled and prevented. This is not the case: apart from identifying crime trends, victim surveys indicate broad areas for further debate, investigation and intervention. Bearing these difficulties in mind, the methodology of the Johannesburg survey, in the context of financial and time constraints, required careful consideration.



## **JOHANNESBURG SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

The Johannesburg victim survey was initiated to gain an understanding of the levels of crime and violence in different communities within the Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC). This entailed:

- the collection, collation and synthesis of all existing and available research and information on generic types of communities (including demographic statistics) and residential areas located within Greater Johannesburg;
- the development of broad profiles of the defined constituents, including some select demographic statistics such as age, gender, vocation and place of work and study; and
- the identification of a ratio of victims to non-victims of crime by race and residential areas, and the development of the necessary sampling formulae to accommodate this.

Previous work in this field generally took the form of either face-to-face interviews in a controlled environment or postal surveys. Such survey techniques have advantages, but are both expensive and time consuming to administer. Given the financial constraints, it was decided instead to conduct a survey based on a street sample. The questionnaire was based on an interview schedule that had been applied in other countries (as part of the ICVS study) to enable a degree of comparison. International experts were consulted when designing the survey questionnaire. A street survey, given that it had never before been used to determine levels of victimisation, needed both careful testing and planning. This was done in a number of stages.

### **Stage 1**

From the outset it was decided that the survey results should be analysed individually by race, gender, age and residential settlement type. In order to achieve this, a sub-sample size of not less than 30 people within each category was chosen. That meant that a total of 160 sample units were selected. Gender, race and age groups were identified for each sample and only people over the age of 16 years were included. It was agreed that 800 victims of crime would constitute a representative sample for the Johannesburg area.

To calculate the incidence of crime throughout Johannesburg, it was also necessary to identify and profile non-victims. This was done by administering a screening survey that captured the necessary demographic variables that would allow for comparative analysis.

### **Stage 2**

It was decided that although the research could not be representative of individual Metropolitan Local Councils (MLCs) within the Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC), it should represent the various area types within the metropolis. Since there are very few areas in Johannesburg that do not have a residential population, all geographic localities were included in the sample framework.

To target the correct types of sample areas, at least one sample point was selected to represent each residential generic typology (selected as suburb, township, inner city or informal settlement). In order to ensure that the selected sample points were dispersed across the entire metropolis and that all residential generic typologies were represented, a total of 20 primary sample points were identified.

Within each sample point, a number of secondary points were selected where interviews would be

conducted. At least five secondary points were identified in each primary sample point. Secondary points included:

- shopping and recreation centres (shopping malls, flea markets, corner cafes and stores, plazas, spazas, shebeens, sports grounds, public parks and major streets);
- transport nodes (taxi ranks, bus stops, railway stations and parking lots);
- education centres (schools, universities and technikons);
- health and welfare centres (pension pay-out points, civic buildings, hospitals); and
- residential areas (private homes, old-age centres, apartment blocks and informal settlements).

Within each secondary sample point, an interview referral point had to be identified. This achieved two objectives:

- to allow the identification and selection of respondents; and
- to provide an appropriate interview environment.

Finally, in order to limit any selection bias, the number of interviews conducted at each secondary sample point was restricted.

### **Stage 3**

Three pilot studies enabled a refinement of the questionnaire. These studies indicated that most respondents wanted to participate in the study and that the duration of the interview (12-17 minutes), while longer than standard, did not reduce the response rate.

The pilot study confirmed that male enumerators could only interview men, while women could be used to interview both men and women. Of interest was the fact that cross-race interviews were undertaken with relative ease. This suggested that the issue of crime and violence transcends racial inhibitions. Despite this finding, however, and as a precaution, the race of the interviewers in the final survey matched that of the respondents.

The final pilot sample was undertaken by two teams of enumerators, one dressed in an identifiable 'uniform', the other in ordinary casual attire. The success rate, both in terms of selecting respondents and the time taken to execute each sub-sample, was much higher among the former team. It was therefore decided that the field team would wear an identifiable 'T-shirt', cap and bag all bearing the logo of DRA Development, the survey company.

An important component of the pilot survey was the construction of a respondent selection technique that would allow the enumerators to obtain their necessary quotas, while ensuring that the selection process was both random and rigorously implemented. Both during the pilot and actual fieldwork stage, 'dummy' respondents, unknown to the enumerators, were used to ensure that these standards were being adhered to. As a further check, enumerators had to calculate the rate of flow of respondents (who roughly fell in the sample unit that was being targeted) at that specific referral point.

### **Stage 4**

Fieldworkers were selected from a variety of sources, although all were Johannesburg residents. A half-

day training course was followed by a number of training interviews in a controlled environment and in the field. In addition, the field teams participated in a one-day workshop on how to empathise with respondents who were victims, and cope with the potential stress of being involved in such a study. A similar exercise was undertaken during the debriefing session that followed the research process.

## Stage 5

A total of 1 372 interviews were undertaken over an 18 day period in July 1997. The final completed sample was weighted for analytical purposes and totalled 1 266 respondents (see table below).

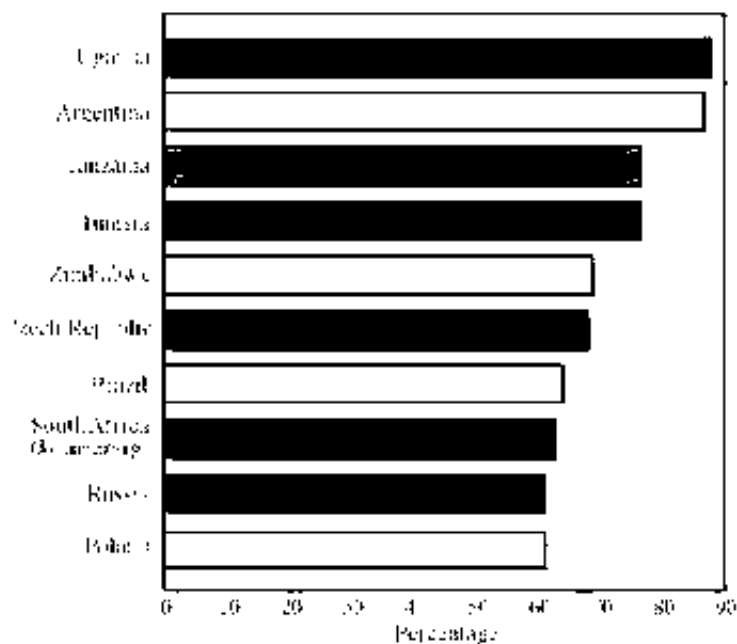
Respondents were asked whether they, or in the case of certain crimes, members of their household, had been a victim of crime over the five year period between 1993 and the time when the interview was conducted. The survey allowed for eight categories of serious crimes: burglary, car theft, car hijacking, mugging and robbery, assault, sexual incidents such as rape and sexual harassment, and murder. (Questions about murder were asked in relation to members of the respondent's household.) Respondents were also asked whether they had been victims of any other crime. Less serious personal thefts were largely captured in this category. Once identified, victims of crime were also asked about their perception of police performance, their feelings of safety, whether or not they made use of any type of assistance after being victimised, and what they thought the government could do to make Johannesburg safer. These results are presented in the discussions below.

	SAMPLE	VICTIMS	NON-VICTIMS
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	602	412	190
Female	664	395	269
<b>Race</b>			
African	662	392	270
White	286	198	88
Asian	165	118	47
Coloured	153	99	54
<b>Age</b>			
15-24	381	253	128
24-39	368	205	163
40-59	255	148	107
60+	262	201	61

## VICTIMS OF CRIME IN JOHANNESBURG

Two-thirds of Johannesburg's residents (62 per cent) (or in some cases members of their households) were victims of crime between 1993 and July 1997.<sup>14</sup> The survey results indicate that crime levels in Johannesburg are high, and comparative studies undertaken between 1988 and 1996 show that Johannesburg is not alone. Higher victimisation rates have been documented in the urban areas of most of the developing countries surveyed by the ICVS (Figure 1).<sup>15</sup> These general crime rates do not in themselves say anything about the nature of the crime problem in each region, however. It could well be the case that less serious crimes like petty theft constitute the bulk of general crime recorded by the surveys in some countries.

**Figure 1: Victimisation levels by all crime in urban areas of selected countries, IC (V)S, 1998 - 1996**



Based on victims' experiences, crime in Johannesburg is characterised by several features:

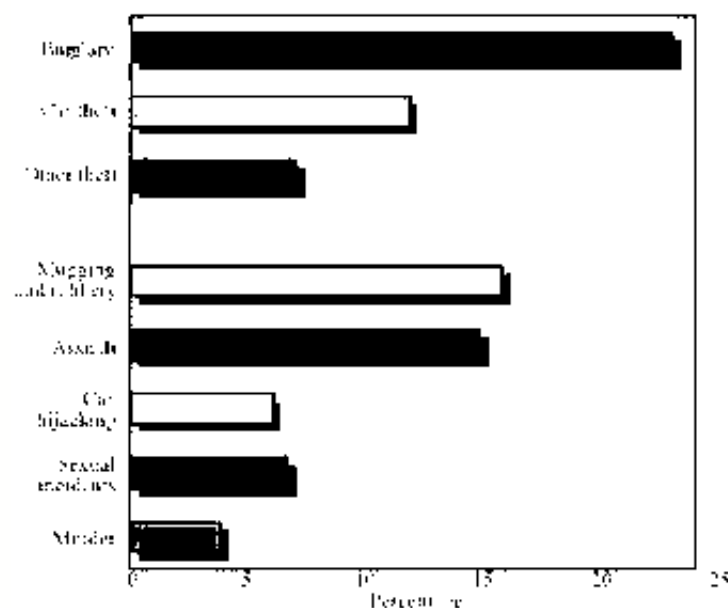
- Burglary is the most common crime affecting the city's residents.
- Although this type of property crime is most prevalent, violent crimes and in particular mugging and robbery, and assault, dominate the victimisation experience.
- African residents in Johannesburg are disproportionately affected by violent crime. White and Asian residents are similarly affected by some property crimes.
- Most victims of the range of serious crimes covered in the survey have been victims of the same types of crime more than once between 1993 and 1997.
- Slightly more than one quarter of all those surveyed have been victims of more than one crime type in the past five years.
- Most of these crimes happened to men between the ages of 25 and 60 years.

Contrary to what might be expected in a city such as Johannesburg with its reputation for violence, almost as many property crimes as violent crimes were reported. Of the crimes covered by the survey, 44 per cent were directed against property and 45,5 per cent against people. Since 20 per cent of burglary victims said that violence was used in the course of this crime, fractionally more crimes can be regarded as having been violent.

This trend corresponds with that in other developing countries. Of 13 such countries surveyed by the ICVS, property crimes, such as burglary and car theft, occurred most frequently, followed by serious violent crimes, including robbery and assault. Despite the overall predominance of property crimes, levels of violent crime are nevertheless highest in sub-Saharan African and Latin American countries.<sup>16</sup> Although the expectation is that property crimes will be higher in the developed world, studies suggest that in these countries, property crimes have decreased as a result of improved security measures and target hardening (physical measures taken to make committing a crime more difficult). Developing countries are not necessarily less prone to property crime, and instead suffer high levels of both property and violent crime.<sup>17</sup>

These trends are reflected in Johannesburg. The most common crime experienced by the city's residents between 1993 and 1997 was burglary, with nearly a quarter of the respondents (24 per cent) reporting this crime to the survey. The second most frequently reported incidents were violent crimes: mugging and robbery (16,5 per cent) and assault (15,5 per cent) (Figure 2). As is the case in many developing countries, the vast majority of assaults were of a serious nature, with 84 per cent involving the use of a weapon.

**Figure 2: Victimization levels by property and violent crimes  
Johannesburg Victim Survey, 1993 - July 1997**



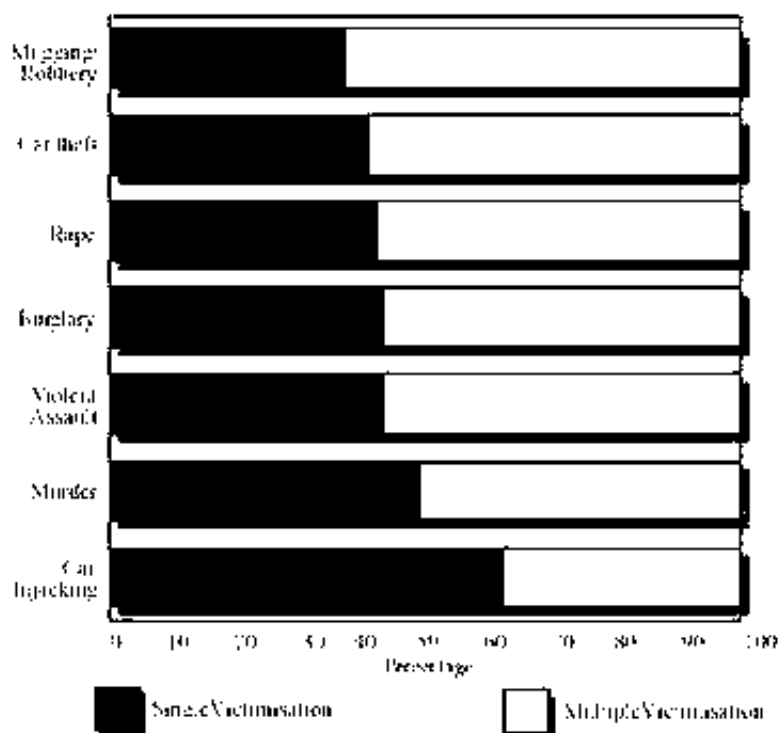
The prevalence of burglary in Johannesburg is not surprising: of 54 countries and cities surveyed by the ICVS, burglary was the crime type occurring most often in Africa.<sup>18</sup> After burglary, robbery and assault were the second most prevalent crimes occurring in Johannesburg according to the survey. This is significant, since Johannesburg does not currently feature among the 10 police districts with the highest levels of this crime in the country.<sup>19</sup> And since few of these crimes, and in particular mugging, are reported to the police, assault rates are likely to be much higher in Johannesburg than official statistics suggest.

Car theft, which according to other victim surveys in Johannesburg and abroad is the crime most likely to affect city residents, happened to just over 12 per cent of respondents between 1993 and 1997 according to the ISS survey. Although by no means Johannesburg's biggest crime problem, as many as six per cent of respondents experienced violent car theft in the form of car hijacking. The survey did not record details of car ownership, but comparative studies both locally and abroad show that the risk of having a vehicle stolen is twice as high for owners as for the general population. The chances of being a victim of both car theft and hijacking in Johannesburg are therefore probably much higher than the 12 per cent and six per cent respectively recorded by the victim survey. In the 1995 ICVS Johannesburg victim survey, for example, the incidence of car theft was 11,5 per cent for the general population and 24 per cent for vehicle owners.<sup>20</sup>

The incidence of burglary, robbery, assault and car theft in Johannesburg does not differ markedly from that of urban centres in other countries. Indeed, in some cases, rates of both property and violent crimes are lower here than in certain African, Latin American and Central and Eastern European countries. Of more importance for Johannesburg's residents and for policy-makers, is which people are affected by these crimes.

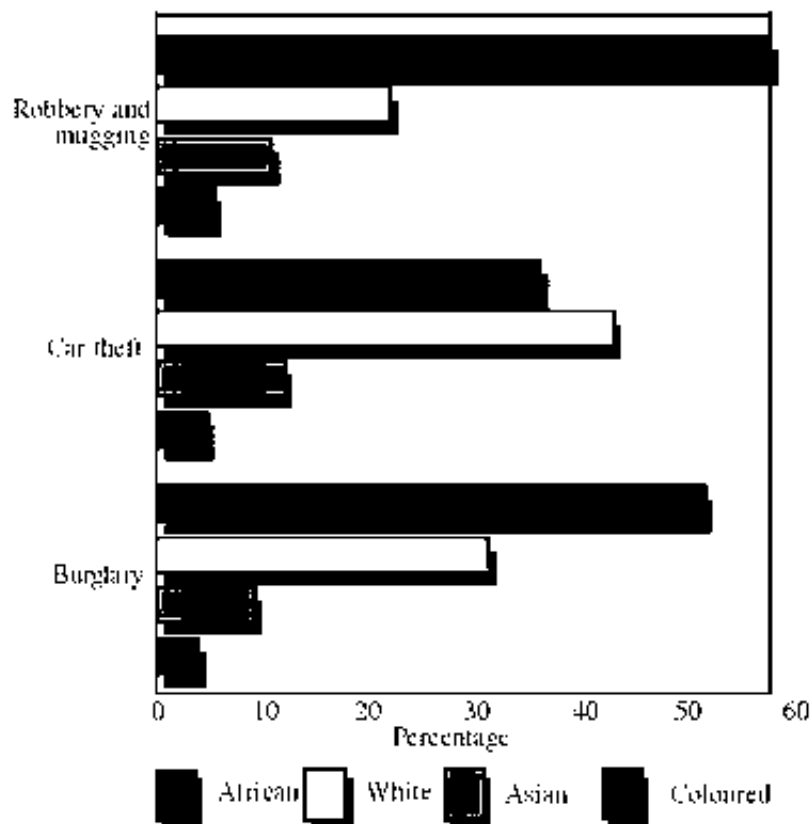
Probably of the greatest concern is the fact that most victims surveyed in Johannesburg have been the targets of the same type of criminal activity more than once. This was the trend for all major crimes covered in the survey, except car hijacking (Figure 3). It is cause for concern, since multiple victims are less inclined to report these repeat crimes. This tendency also heightens the fear of crime, as well as people's vulnerability to further attacks.<sup>21</sup> Equally unsettling is that 28 per cent of all those interviewed had experienced more than one type of crime in the past five years.

**Figure 3: Multiple victimisation  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

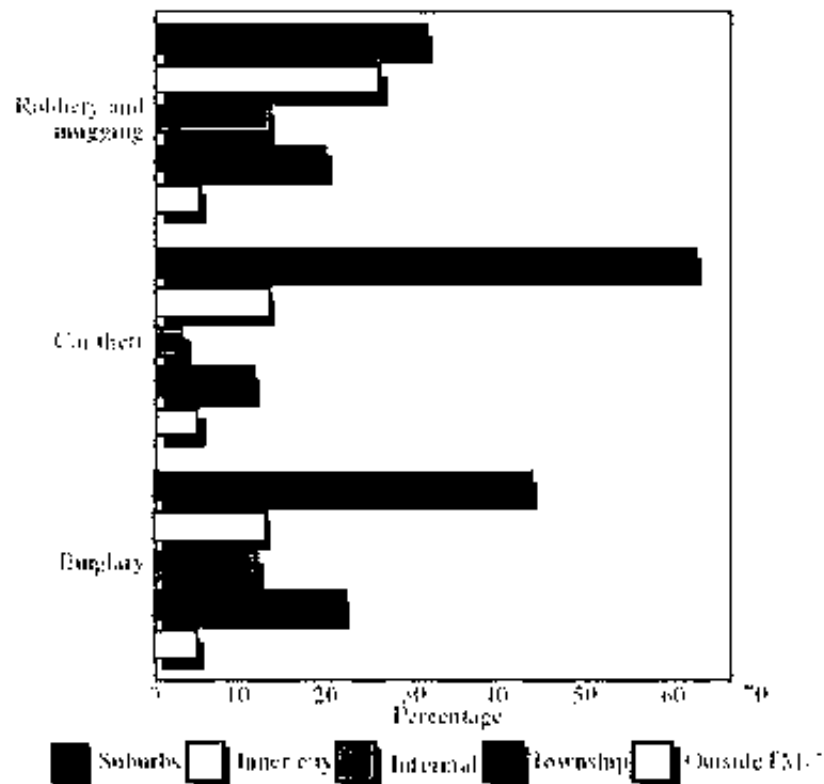


Crimes which are aimed at property affect those people and those parts of Johannesburg which present the greatest opportunities for theft: according to the victim survey, the white and Asian communities (which are generally wealthier than the African and coloured communities), as well as people living in the suburbs are most at risk (Figures 4 and 5). Most Johannesburg residents (over the age of 15 years) are equally at risk of robbery and mugging, although Asians, residents of the inner city and the elderly are slightly more vulnerable. In the case of burglary and car theft, white and Asian people are disproportionately victimised compared to the proportion of the population they represent (Figures 4 and 6). Just over half (52 per cent) of car theft victims reported that the crimes happened near their homes, the majority of which are in the suburbs. It is unlikely that police patrols can effectively prevent these crimes in the vast suburban areas of Johannesburg. More viable solutions are target hardening and other community-based preventive measures.

**Figure 4: The victims of crime  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

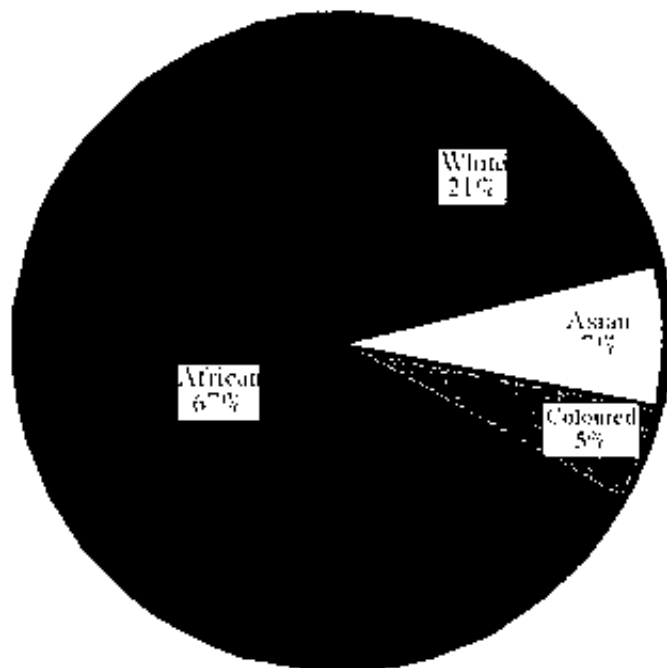


**Figure 5: Victims' places of residence**  
Johannesburg Victim Survey



**Figure 6: Racial composition of the survey sample**  
Johannesburg Victim Survey

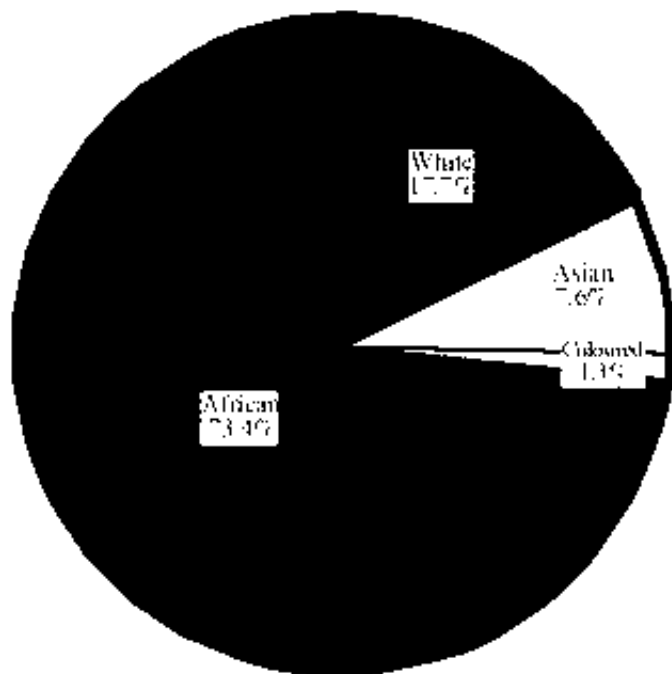




The use of violence in the course of these property crimes is more of a threat for African victims than for other groups. Violence was used in 20 per cent of all burglaries reported to the survey. One quarter of African victims experienced violence, compared with only nine per cent of white burglary victims. Similarly, between a quarter and one third of victims living in townships, informal settlements and, to a lesser extent the inner city, reported the use of violence, while this was the case for only 14 per cent of victims living in the suburbs.

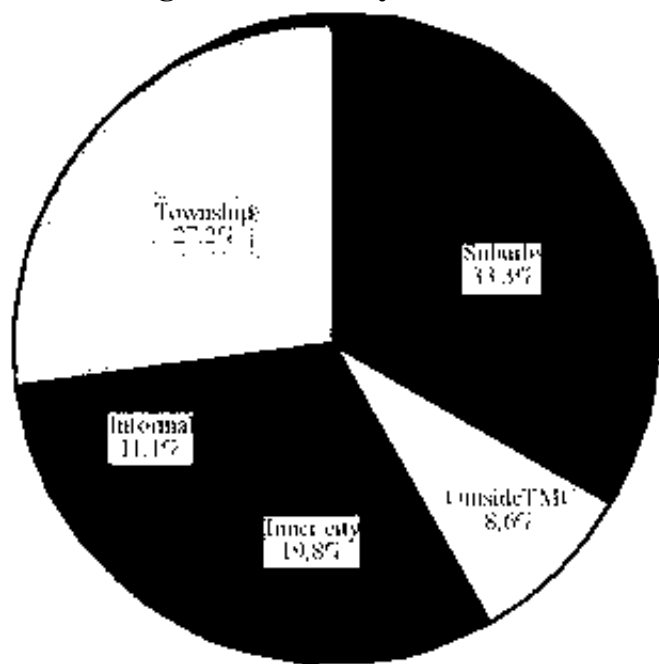
The greater risk of violence for Africans in the course of property-related crimes is also evidenced by car hijacking trends. As many as 73 per cent of hijacking victims were African (Figure 7). Contrary to popular media representations which depict the victims of car hijacking as wealthy and white, Africans in Johannesburg are most at risk. Since fewer Africans probably own cars than whites, if car ownership is taken into consideration, a relatively small group of Africans comprise the high risk group for hijacking. This trend may reflect lifestyle patterns, such as where and when people travel, as well as the nature of precautions taken.

**Figure 7: Car hijacking victims  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

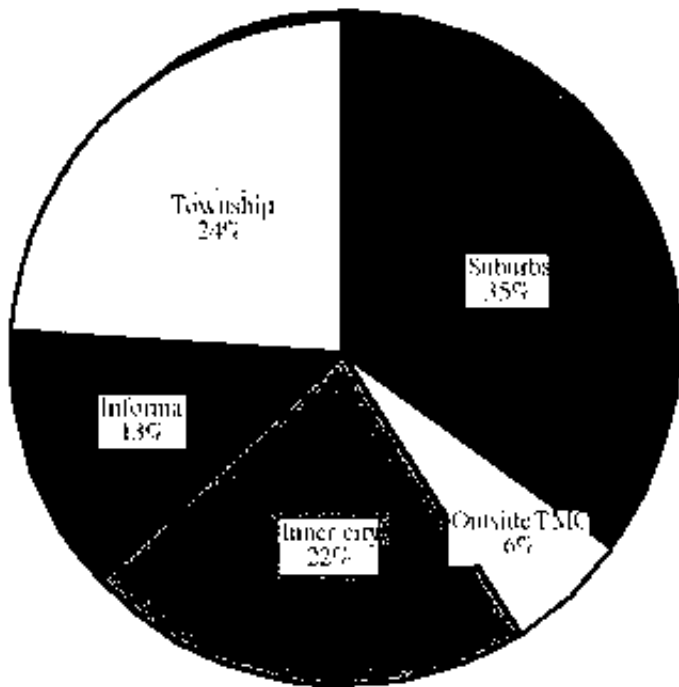


It is worth noting, however, that respondents were not asked whether they were driving the vehicle that was hijacked, or what the purpose of their journey was. In some cases, hijack victims may well have been commercial drivers of delivery vans or other vehicles. The fact that 70 per cent of these crimes did not occur in the victims' area of residence but elsewhere in Johannesburg, could support this argument. And although 33 per cent of victims live in the suburbs and 20 per cent in the inner city (Figure 8), these proportions are not far off the distribution of the areas of residence for all survey respondents (Figure 9).

**Figure 8: Car hijacking victims' places of residence  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

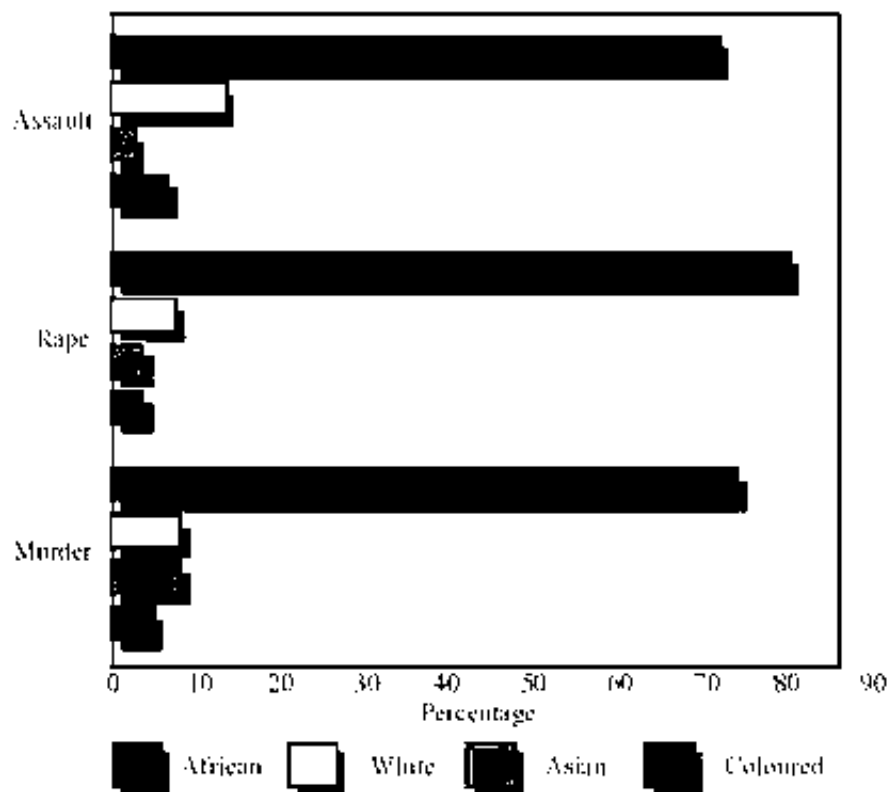


**Figure 9: All survey respondents' places of residence  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

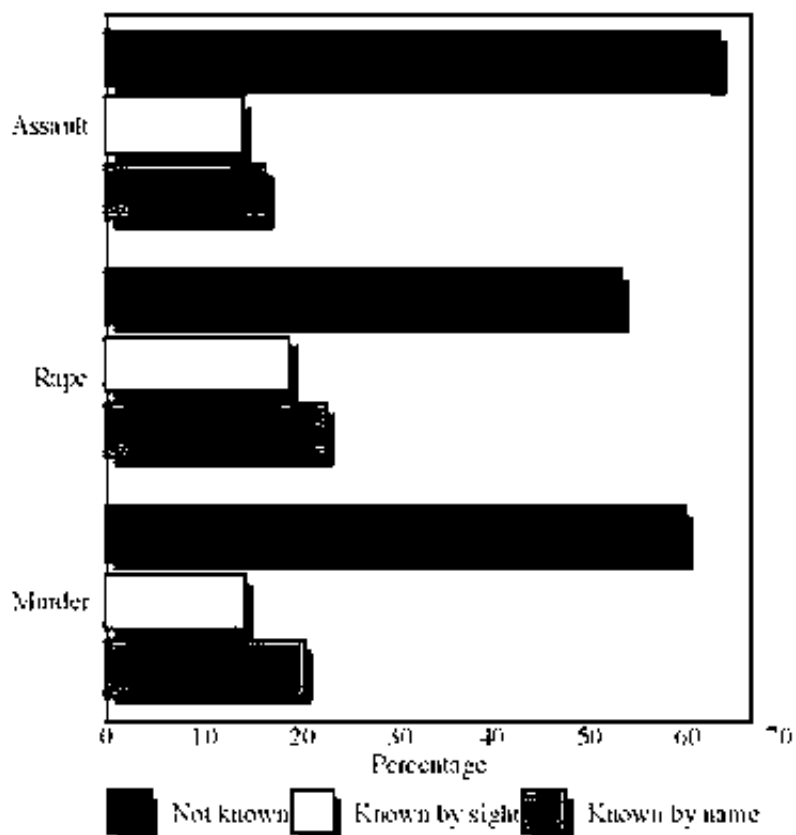


Africans living and working in Johannesburg are not only more exposed to violence in the course of property crimes, but also to violent interpersonal crimes such as assault, murder and rape. More than three quarters of the victims of assault, rape and murder in Johannesburg were African (Figure 10) and in the case of murder and rape, the majority of victims live(d) in townships. According to the police in Johannesburg, many of these violent crimes (including rape) are associated with alcohol consumption, and victims and offenders are often known to one another.<sup>22</sup> This is borne out to some extent by the survey results (Figure 11). Thirty per cent of assault and 44 per cent of rape victims said they knew the offender, at least by sight. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which these crimes refer to domestic violence. Incidents are unlikely to be reported as domestic violence to a general crime survey, and the fact that most violent crimes did not occur in the victim's home, is perhaps indicative of this (Figure 12).

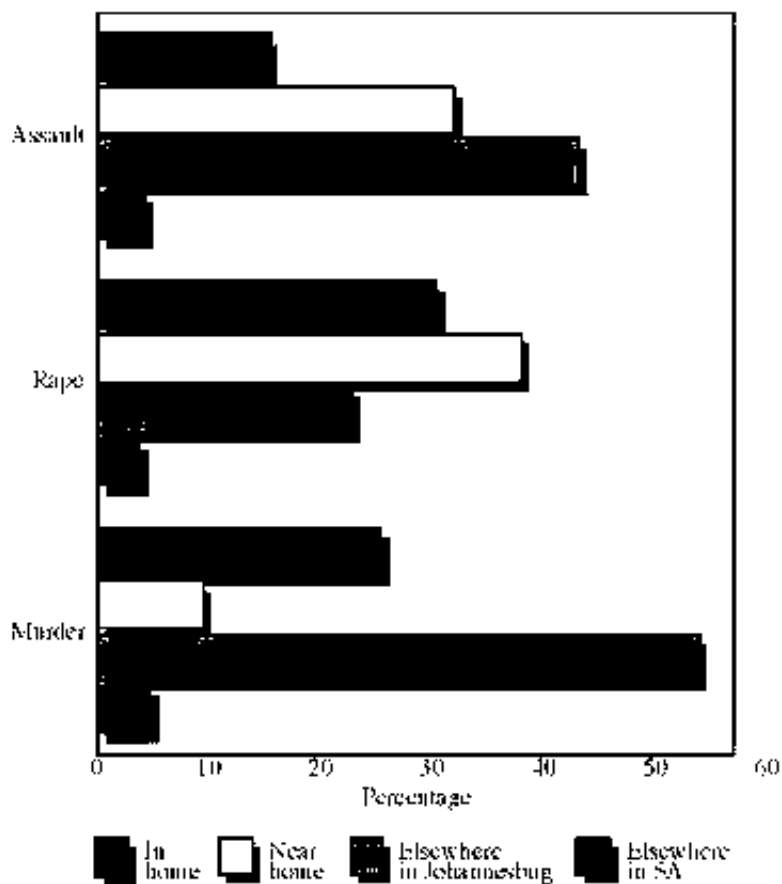
**Figure 10: The victims of violent crime  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**



**Figure 11: Whether victims knew offenders**  
**Johannesburg Victim Survey**



**Figure 12: Where violent crimes were committed  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**



According to the survey results, men are most at risk of violent crime in Johannesburg. This is not always the trend internationally, and probably relates to the fact that sexual incidents and domestic violence the kinds of violent crimes women are often vulnerable to are unlikely to be reported to a street victim survey. In western countries (such as in Europe and North America), studies show that men and women are equally at risk of assault. In the rest of the world, however, women are more likely to be assaulted than men, and indications are that in many developing countries, the problem of violence is largely one of sexual and/or non-sexual violence against women.<sup>23</sup>

Although the extent of sexual crimes against women was poorly captured by the victim survey, data from alternative sources in Johannesburg verify some of the tentative survey findings. During 1997, in a study conducted by the Johannesburg Sexual Offences Forum, the socio-economic profiles, as well as details about rape incidents, were recorded for 786 victims reporting to district surgeon's offices in hospitals and clinics in parts of Greater Johannesburg.<sup>24</sup> Well over 70 per cent of these victims were African (as reflected in the crime survey), with the majority aged between 13 and 30 years. Of the 42 per cent of victims who knew their attackers, most of these were known by sight only, although as many as 19 per cent of the known offenders were either relatives or partners.

Although rape is less likely to be reported to the authorities when the offender is known to the victim, the proportion of rapes committed by strangers is nevertheless large in Johannesburg. The circumstances in which these crimes occurred present opportunities for preventive action by local authorities, the police and potential victims. Almost one quarter of rapes occurred in open ground and most were probably related to commuting patterns and evening social activities, since rapes peaked between 18h00 and 22h00. Perhaps the most startling finding given that most victims did not know their offenders was that

the most common location at which reported rapes occurred was in the rapist's home (30 per cent)<sup>25</sup> and that 64 per cent of rapes involved abductions, most of which lasted for up to 12 hours. This suggests the extent to which offenders disregard the ability of the police to apprehend and convict them for these crimes.

The perception of impunity from prosecution among offenders is probably one of the reasons why Africans are more at risk of violent crime in Johannesburg. Access to police and other criminal justice resources have in the past been skewed in favour of white South Africans. Police resources remain unevenly spread, with well over half of police stations still located in formerly white areas. Other hypotheses have sought to link institutional violence by the apartheid government and the political violence which developed in the fight against apartheid in the 1980s, to high levels of domestic and interpersonal violence. This allegedly resulted in the economic, social and political emasculation of men, encouraging them to reassert their position through controlling and directing violence towards vulnerable groups such as women and children.<sup>26</sup> Also understood as the 'cradle of violence', violence at home is thought to encourage the use of violence in general.<sup>27</sup>

Socio-economic explanations point to links between urbanisation, economic strain, rapid population growth rates, lifestyle patterns and levels of education on the one hand, and high rates of violence on the other. These factors explained 57 per cent of the variance in victimisation rates in 49 countries (that participated in the ICVS study). Violent 'contact' crimes were closely related to economic deprivation, particularly when directed against women.<sup>28</sup>

Internationally, the second most important factor in explaining high levels of violence is gun ownership. In developing countries and countries in transition such as in Latin America and South Africa where many people own handguns, the risk of violent crime is particularly high. This is also the case in the United States. Gun ownership in these regions has been related to high levels of robbery, assault, and sexual crimes.<sup>29</sup> In South Africa, uncontrolled and high levels of alcohol consumption in an environment of poverty have also been associated with crime, and in particular violent crime.<sup>30</sup>

The fact that a range of factors are related to high levels of violent crime supports the argument that economic growth alone will not be enough to reduce crime, since this both alleviates economic strain and presents new opportunities for crime. In places where, for example, the possession and use of firearms have become rife and the sale and consumption of alcohol are uncontrolled, special policies need to be developed to address these problems.

In countries in transition from authoritarian to democratic rule, other factors are equally relevant. It is likely that the use of violence also relates to a breakdown in law enforcement, as well as to increased target hardening in the context of economic deprivation and a failing criminal justice system. (The installation of sophisticated electronic devices to prevent car theft and bank robberies, for example, have led to violent car hijackings and the use of other violent tactics in the course of crimes which often remain undetected).

## **RESPONSES TO VICTIMISATION**

When crime occurs, victims may respond in several ways. In the case of some crimes, the initial reaction may be to report the incident to the police. As noted earlier, however, reporting is far from consistent and depends on a range of factors. In many instances, victims seek practical assistance. This may be required, particularly when violence is involved, to stop ongoing assault or harassment. Alternatively, victims may also want practical or emotional assistance to, for instance recover stolen property, apply for available compensation, attend court procedures, or receive psychological counselling and medical treatment. Such services are provided by criminal justice agencies, government and voluntary

organisations. The factors decisive to victims' responses to victimisation are awareness, accessibility and perceptions of effectiveness associated with these services.

The police, at the front line of the criminal justice system and responsible for protecting citizens, is an important agency to which crime victims turn for assistance. In Johannesburg, and indeed in many parts of the world, however, people are largely dissatisfied with the service delivered by the police to crime victims and the general public. The main concern of victims in Johannesburg is the ineffectiveness and unprofessional performance of the police in dealing with their cases. This, along with general perceptions of safety (and the fear of crime), encourages victims to respond to crime by taking their own preventive measures.

In Johannesburg, crime victims' responses to their experiences are characterised by several features:

- Reporting to the police varies: serious property crimes are well reported, while only about half of violent interpersonal crimes ever come to the police's attention.
- Of those victims who did report crimes, the vast majority were not satisfied with the service provided. The reasons given vary across crime types, but generally indicate inadequate investigation, poor service delivery and the unprofessional treatment of victims.
- The majority of crime victims do not make use of specialised victim support agencies, although most believe such services would be useful. It would appear that awareness of the existence of such services is poor in Johannesburg.
- The suburbs are considered the safest parts of Johannesburg by all victims. Victims living in informal settlements, the inner city and townships perceived their areas of residence as the most unsafe. Feelings of vulnerability in all neighbourhoods are particularly high at night.
- Most victims secure their households with door locks, burglar bars and fences. More sophisticated devices are restricted to those who can afford them and a significant proportion of victims in Johannesburg have no household protection against crime.

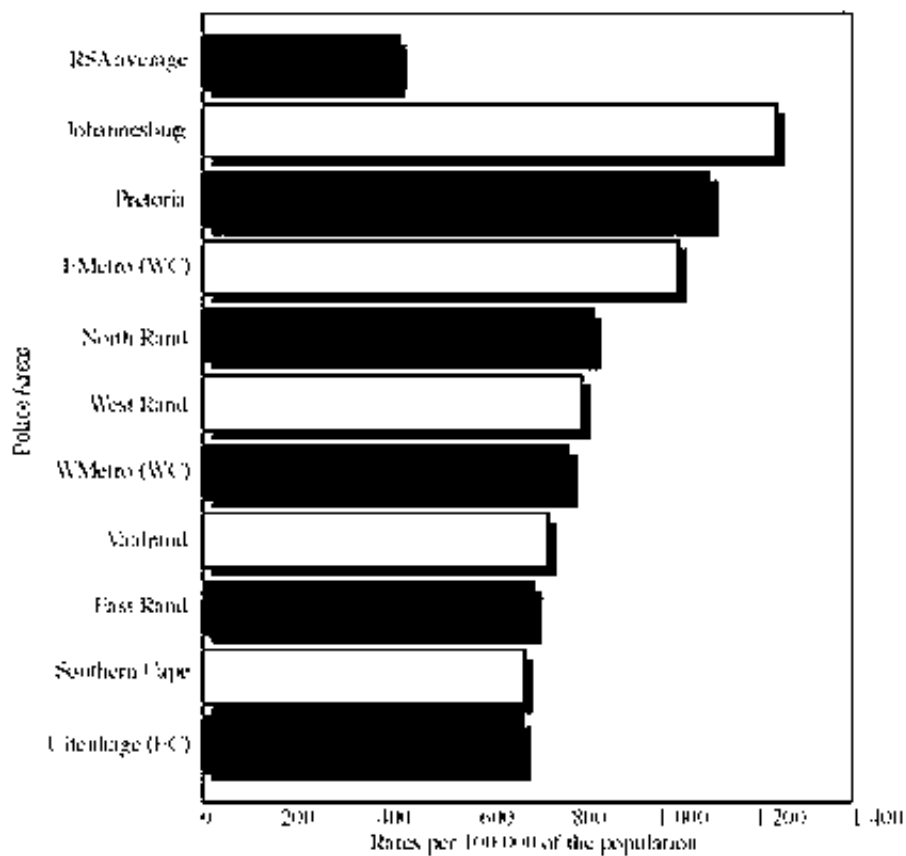
### **Recorded crime: The police perspective**

Reporting crime to the police is important not only because it is the first step towards securing arrest and conviction, but also because crime information informs police operations and other government and private sector planning processes. A detailed comparison between police statistics and those of the Johannesburg victim survey is not useful, since police and local authority boundaries do not always match, and because definitions of crimes used by the police and by the survey are not exactly the same. Police statistics are therefore used merely to indicate general trends and as a basis for assessing the significance of reporting rates to the police as related by victims in the survey.

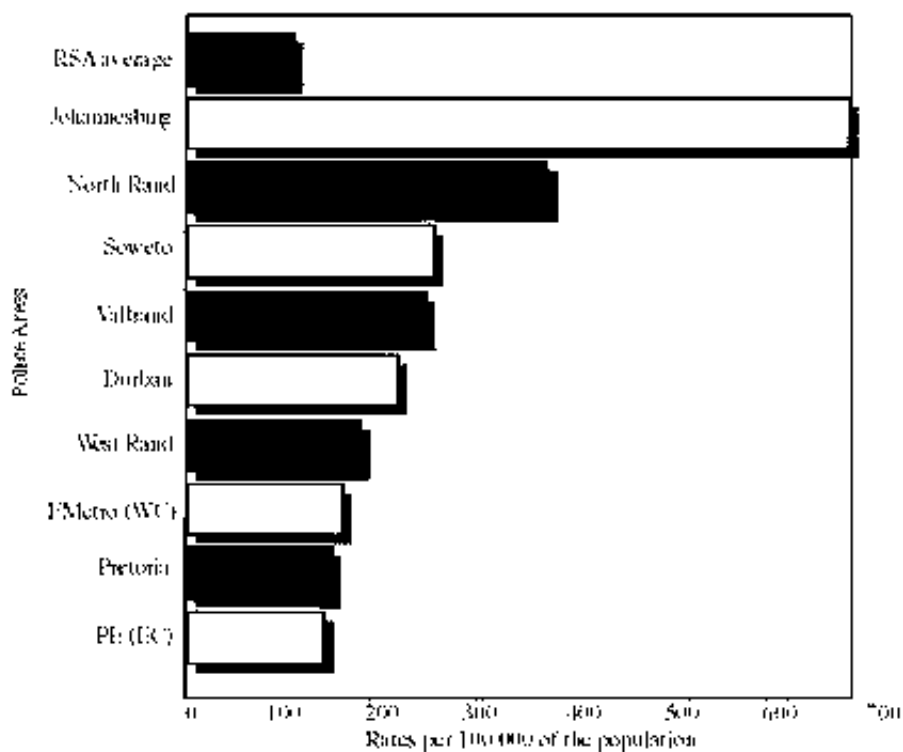
Police statistics<sup>31</sup> indicate that crime ratios measured per 100 000 of the population in the police area of Johannesburg (which represents most but not all of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council's area of jurisdiction, as covered by the victim survey),<sup>32</sup> are the highest in the country for most property crimes. These include residential and business housebreaking, robbery with aggravating circumstances and other robbery, shoplifting, theft of motor vehicles, theft out of motor vehicles, other thefts and fraud (Figures 13 and 14).

### **Figure 13: Burglary of residential premises Crime recorded by the police, Jan - Sept 1997**





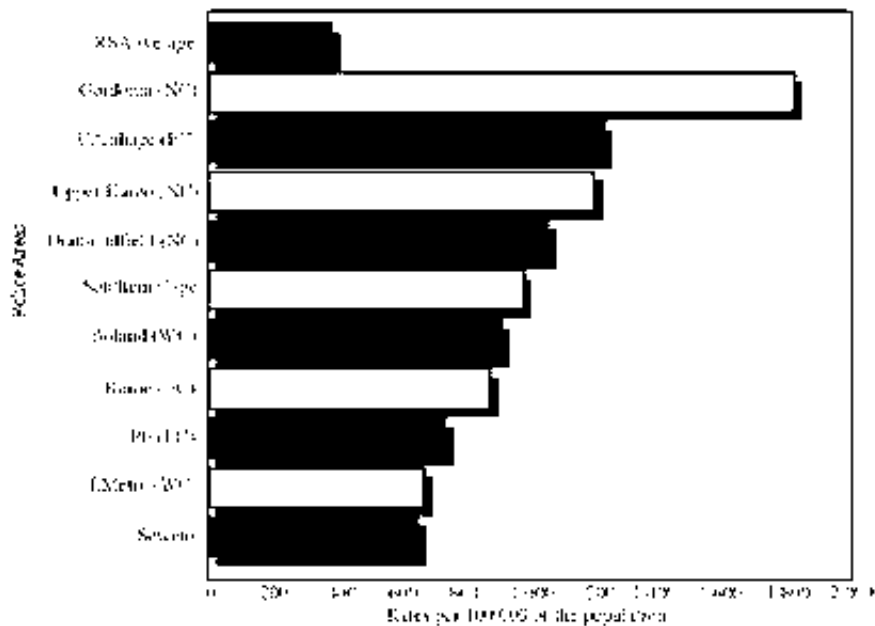
**Figure 14: Robbery with aggravating circumstances**  
**Crime recorded by the police, Jan - Sept 1997**



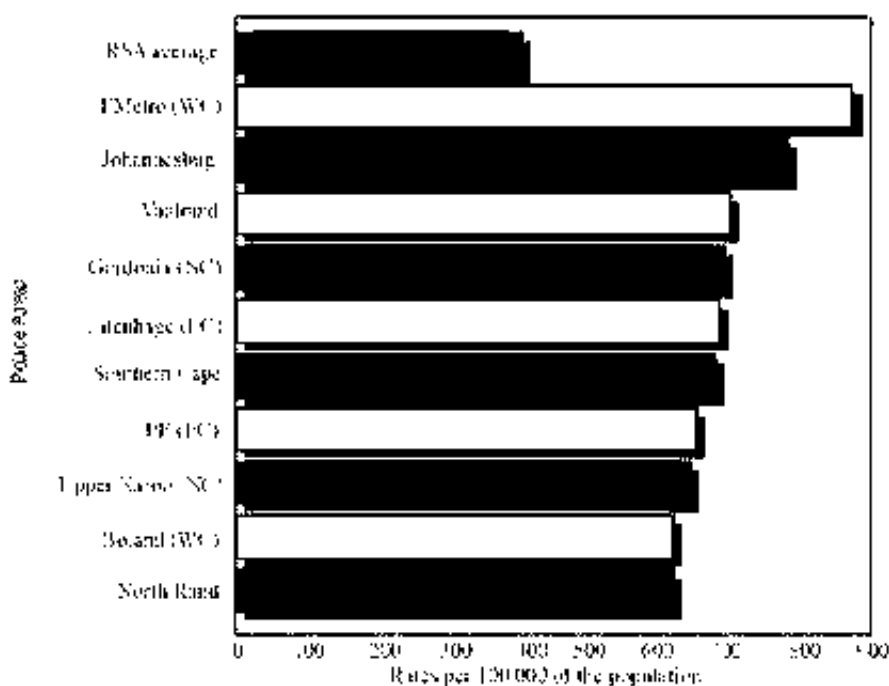
According to the official figures, the Johannesburg policing area fares better on comparative ratios of

violent crime. Rates of rape and assault are higher in many other (often rural) police areas in the country than in the Johannesburg or Soweto areas (Figures 15 and 16). Johannesburg's murder rate, however, is the second highest of all police areas in the country, as is the case for attempted murder ratios in Soweto. For attempted murder Johannesburg takes sixth place. Compared to other police areas in South Africa, therefore, crime levels in Johannesburg are high.

**Figure 15: Serious assault**  
Crime recorded by the police, Jan - Sept 1997



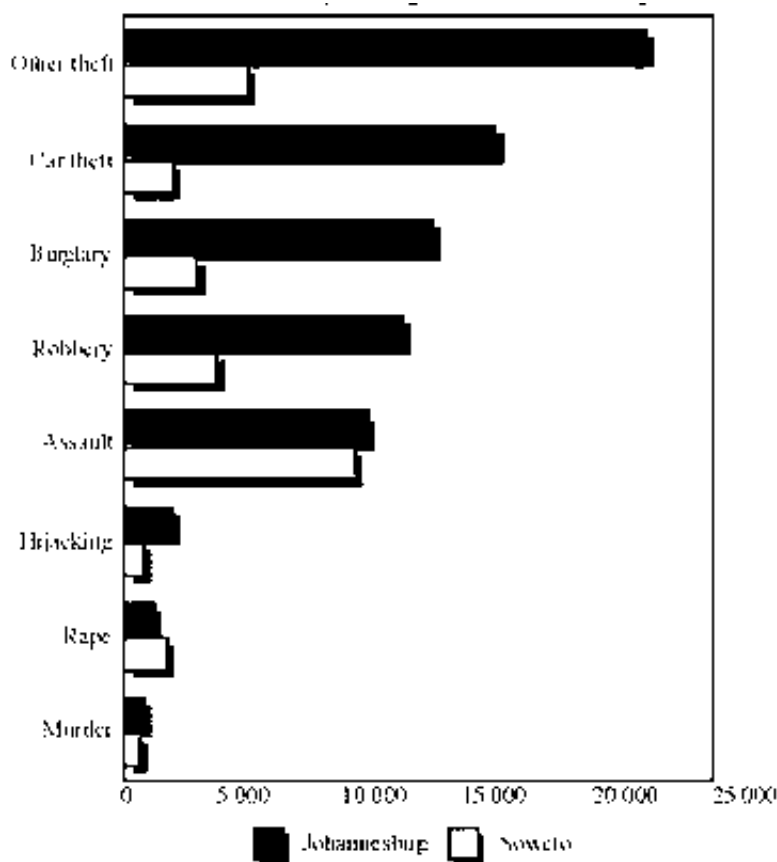
**Figure 16: Murder**  
Crime recorded by the police, Jan - Sept 1997



In terms of the distribution of crime types as reported to the police, the most commonly recorded crimes

in the Johannesburg police area are property crimes, such as (in descending order of prevalence) 'other thefts', theft out of motor vehicles, theft of motor vehicles, residential burglary and robbery. Where violent crimes are concerned, assault occupies only sixth place on the ranking of recorded crime in the Johannesburg police area, but is the most frequently reported crime in Soweto (Figure 17).

**Figure 17: Selected crimes in police areas**  
**Crime recorded by the police, Jan - Sept 1997**



The trends in the types of crime reported to the police resemble to some extent, the distribution of crime documented by the victim survey. Since the survey prioritised serious crimes over, for example personal theft and theft out of vehicles, it is unsurprising that these crimes were not well reported to the survey. What is significant, is that more vehicle thefts were reported in the Johannesburg police area than were burglaries. According to the survey, burglary is by far the most common crime affecting city residents. The predominance of burglary over car theft in Soweto may account for this, since many township residents probably do not insure their homes against break-ins, and as a result are less likely to report these crimes to the police.

It is also significant that robbery features prominently in recorded crimes in both the Johannesburg and Soweto police areas. Robbery was the second most common crime affecting Greater Johannesburg residents according to the victim survey, followed closely by assault. The high incidence of this violent crime is also reflected in reported trends in the Soweto police area, which supports the survey finding that Africans are much more at risk of such violent offences than other people in Greater Johannesburg. Robbery, according to police classifications, includes car hijacking. In all, 2 884 of these crimes were reported to the police between January and September 1997, over two-thirds of which were reported in the Johannesburg police area.

### **Reporting crime: The victim perspective**

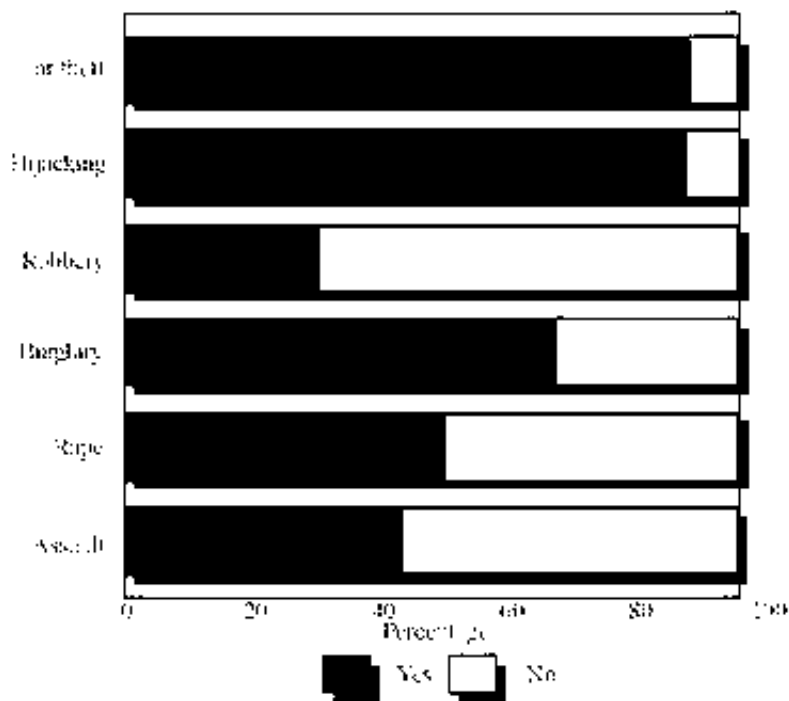
Although the general distribution of crime types in the official statistics resembles that of the victim survey, one can safely assume that actual crime levels may be higher than police figures suggest, since many incidents are not reported to the authorities. This finding is verified by ICVS results. The extent to which official crime figures are accurate, or merely a reflection of reporting tendencies, can usefully be assessed with victim survey data.

Victims were asked whether they, or someone else, reported the most recent crimes they experienced. If trends across the crime categories covered by the survey (namely car theft, robbery, hijacking, burglary, rape and assault) are considered together, the majority of cases (61,5 per cent) were reported to the police. Higher than average overall reporting was documented among white (76,5 per cent) and Asian (72 per cent) victims, while only 53 per cent of Africans said they notified the police. Among victims who said that they lived in the inner city, informal settlements and townships, less than average reporting was the trend. Fifty one per cent of victims living in the inner city, 50 per cent in townships and 47 per cent in informal settlements contacted the police when they were victimised. Reporting trends for the victims of personal crimes indicate above average reporting by older victims (over the age of 40 years) and women. Victims between the age of 15 and 24 years were least likely to report their experiences.

While these trends indicate that reporting is perhaps generally higher than expected in Johannesburg (given the scepticism with which police performance and official crime statistics are regarded), the tendencies for specific crimes vary.

Crimes in which property is stolen are well reported. Over 90 per cent of car thefts and hijacking incidents and 70 per cent of housebreaking were registered with the police (Figure 18). Given that Johannesburg has notoriously high levels of these particular crimes, it is likely that many people insure their property. Since insurance claims require a case number, this compels victims to report the crime. This explanation is more convincing than that which suggests victims report in the hope of recovering their property or punishing the offender. Recovery and conviction rates for crimes, such as burglary and car theft are low, and many car hijackings remain undetected.<sup>33</sup>

**Figure 18: Reporting of crime to the police**  
**Johannesburg Victim Survey**



It is worth noting that white victims and those living in the suburbs reported burglaries more often than the average (in over 80 per cent of cases). African victims by contrast, who constitute more than half of all burglary victims, and those victims living in informal settlements and townships registered lower than average reporting rates. It is likely that a large sector of Johannesburg's population do not insure their property against theft.

Reporting trends for robbery and mugging, although aimed at the theft of property, are quite different. Only 31 per cent of victims reported these crimes to the police. Significantly, only 18 per cent of African victims, who constitute 60 per cent of robbery victims, said they reported this crime. In the case of mugging, the police are often not notified, since the items stolen are less likely to be insured, and the chances of the police recovering the property or arresting the perpetrator are slight.

The reporting of violent interpersonal crimes is influenced by significantly different factors. Reporting rates for assault are lower than for property crimes, but higher than for mugging and robbery, with nearly half (45 per cent) of assault victims contacting the police. This higher rate could relate to the fact that most of these incidents involved the use of a weapon, and thus probably caused serious injury, which inclines victims or friends and families to report the attack. The number of women who said they were raped in the survey is too small to make generalisations about all victims in Johannesburg. Of those who did respond to the survey, just over half (52 per cent) reported the crime to the police. It is widely accepted that few rapes ever reach the official crime records, and the survey results probably indicate that women who are prepared to report their experiences to the police are also likely to relate them in an interview.

The victim survey indicates that police crime statistics for serious property crimes in Johannesburg (and violent crimes which involve the theft of valuable items) are largely accurate. The same cannot be said for violent interpersonal crimes, although reporting of assault is higher than expected. African victims and those living in less affluent parts of Johannesburg are least likely to report their experiences. Since the survey shows that these people are especially at risk for violent crime, it is likely that violent crime rates are much higher in Johannesburg than official statistics suggest.

Levels of reporting in Johannesburg are nevertheless comparable with those elsewhere. In urban areas of

Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, reporting is higher than in Africa and Central and Eastern Europe. The lowest levels occur in Latin America and Asia, although there are variations between countries. In all these regions, serious property crimes are well reported to the police while violent crimes have lower reporting rates.<sup>34</sup>

Car theft and burglary are most often brought to the police's attention in other countries: of 13 developing countries surveyed by the ICVS, nine of these had vehicle theft reporting rates of over 85 per cent. In some urban centres, police were notified of up to 70 per cent of burglaries. Evidence indicates that victims in these countries regard car theft as the most serious crime, probably due to the associated financial loss. This is followed, in order of seriousness, by burglary, sexual incidents, robbery and assault. These perceptions partly account for low reporting rates for violent crimes: comparative experience shows that, as is the case in Johannesburg, between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of robbery and assault are reported. The need for help often encourages people to report violent crime, but a lack of confidence in the police and fear or dislike by victims, discourage reporting.<sup>35</sup>

The most common explanation world-wide for not reporting crimes to the police relates to the event itself. The explanation (usually given in developed countries) is that the crime was not serious enough. A lack of evidence, inappropriate police action and the existence of compensation benefits for victims of violent crime are also factors. The perception of the attitude of the police and their effectiveness is the second most common reason given by victims, and is noted mostly in developing countries and countries in transition. Here, victims' comments that the police 'could do nothing' and particularly 'would do nothing' are indicative. Finally, victims sometimes prefer to deal with the incident themselves.<sup>36</sup> While the Johannesburg victim survey did not canvass victims' views on why they did not report crimes to the police, levels and reasons for dissatisfaction with the service they received when they did, indicate trends similar to those in other developing countries.

### **Perceptions of police effectiveness**

In Johannesburg, most victims (61 per cent) were dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with their crime reports. This trend is not specific to Johannesburg: even in developed countries where crime levels have stabilised and begun decreasing in recent years, opinions of police effectiveness remain poor.<sup>37</sup> Levels of satisfaction are lower in urban areas of some developing countries than the 39 per cent recorded in Johannesburg. World-wide, less than half of victims tend to be satisfied, with higher levels in western countries.

The trend in developing countries with regard to specific crime types is for victims of violent crimes to be more satisfied with the police response than those reporting property crimes.<sup>38</sup> While the victims of some violent crimes in Johannesburg were fairly satisfied, high levels of dissatisfaction were expressed in relation to property crimes. Above average levels of dissatisfaction were recorded for the victims of robbery and mugging (71 per cent) and car hijacking (67 per cent). Those who reported assault and murder, on the other hand, were the most satisfied with police service.

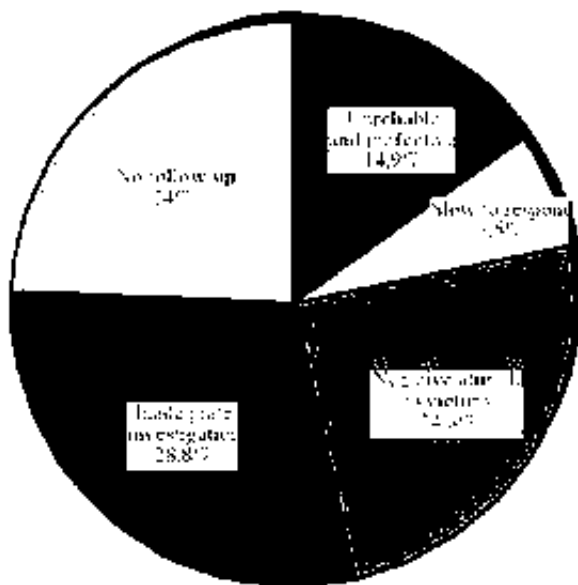
Overall, white victims tended to be most content, while below average levels of satisfaction were recorded for those victims living in informal settlements and, to a lesser extent, the inner city. This suggests that the service delivered by the police to different people and parts of Johannesburg is uneven. Another consideration is that more affluent victims (who largely suffer property crime) are less likely to be concerned with the recovery of property, since they have access to insurance. The main concern these victims have is for better treatment by a more professional police service.

The impact of property (and violent) crimes for poorer victims is more severe, and comparative evidence shows that the main concern in developing countries and countries in transition is for the return of stolen

property and the apprehension of offenders,<sup>39</sup> something which the police in these regions in particular, are hard pressed to deliver. In Johannesburg, however, survey evidence indicates less variation in the reasons for dissatisfaction between socio-economic groups. This suggests deeper problems with policing in Johannesburg (and probably in South Africa generally), which affect all aspects of police performance and service delivery.

While the reasons given by victims for their dissatisfaction differed across crime types, the most common overall problem in Johannesburg was that investigations were inadequate (29 per cent), police treated victims badly (25 per cent) and follow-up information about the status of the case was poor or absent (24 per cent). Fifteen per cent of victims said that the police were generally unreliable and unprofessional (Figure 19). These views indicate that poor service delivery is the main complaint for those who have come into contact with the police as a result of crime in Johannesburg. Few victims specified that they would have liked to see their property returned or the offenders arrested and convicted (although these are probably the outcomes expected by those calling for better investigation by the police). Indeed, since the majority of victims in Johannesburg have experienced particular crimes more than once, this may explain why most believe that the level of police investigations is inadequate.

**Figure 19: Reasons for dissatisfaction with the police when reporting crime  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**



Victims of car theft and vehicle hijacking expressed above average dissatisfaction with police follow-up after having reported the crimes. An equal proportion of hijacking victims complained that the police are unprofessional. For those who experienced robbery and assault, the negative attitude of police towards victims was particularly problematic. It is possible that the police pay less attention to the victims of these latter crimes, since the chances of resolving these cases are small.

According to the police in Johannesburg, many assault victims are repeat victims (which the survey confirms) and assault charges are often later withdrawn by the victim (usually because they know the offender and fear the consequences). Also, both victims and perpetrators are often intoxicated when they report these crimes.<sup>40</sup> While in no way justification for the poor treatment of victims, these factors may influence the attitude of the police towards assault victims and the service they provide at station level. The negative treatment of victims by the police in the case of assaults which may be the result of domestic violence and other crimes in which victim and offender are known to one another is borne out by the survey evidence. Lower than average levels of satisfaction with the police were recorded when the



offender was known to the victim by name. The same applied when crimes which occurred in the home were reported.

Sixteen per cent of assault victims said the police were slow to respond to their calls for assistance well above the average of 6,5 per cent of all crime victims who gave this reason for their dissatisfaction. This confirms the notion that violent crime victims often report crimes because they require immediate assistance. Victims also report these crimes to the police in an attempt to prevent them from happening again: 71 per cent of rape victims were unhappy with the police investigation of their case, while the remaining 29 per cent wanted more follow-up information. This is significant given that unprofessionalism and the poor treatment of victims are often regarded as the main factors that dissuade rape victims from reporting to the police.

The high levels of dissatisfaction with the service provided by the police to those victims of crime in Johannesburg who report their crimes, is of grave concern. Not only are cases less likely to proceed successfully without support from the victim and commitment from the police, but victims have one more reason not to report a crime the next time they are faced with the choice. Since the risk of repeat victimisation in Johannesburg is high, the chances of these victims being in a position to make this choice again are good. In this regard, the odds are already stacked against reporting: the likelihood of reporting to the police diminishes every time another crime is committed against the same victim.<sup>41</sup>

The police have a real interest in improving reporting levels and treating victims well. Low levels of reporting, given that the true extent and nature of the crime will not be brought to their attention, affect the police's ability to control and prevent crime. Victims are likely to become alienated if the perception exists that there is nowhere for them to turn when faced with victimisation. As such, the proper treatment of victims will enhance the likelihood of reporting further crimes, improve respect for the law and is the easiest and most effective way for the police to improve their public image.<sup>42</sup>

Many of the problems mentioned by the victims of crime could be addressed through basic improvements at station level. But while the police in South Africa have some way to go in providing the service their name suggests, public opinion is unlikely to improve dramatically. Expectations of what the police should achieve seem to rise faster than what they can achieve, and the police in most countries do not satisfy victims' demands.<sup>43</sup> In Johannesburg, for example, even those victims who think the police are successfully controlling crime, believe improved policing will best contribute to improved levels of safety.

Victims of violent crime, in particular, have more specialised needs than purely receiving professional treatment by the police. Their responses to victimisation are driven by the need to receive assistance and prevent the violence from happening again. The police are not always best placed to meet these specialised needs, and indeed should not be expected to do so. It is in this context that various types of agencies have begun offering practical and emotional support to crime victims. These services are more common in developed countries, but even in these regions, the proportion of victims who actually receive such assistance remains small.

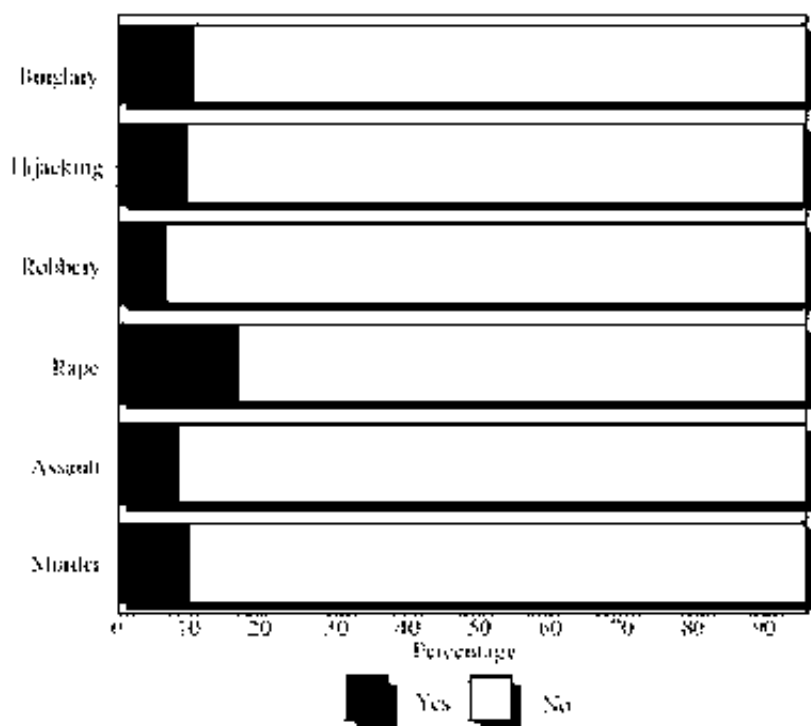
### **Alternative assistance**

In recent years there has been a shift in the thinking of criminal justice agencies away from purely focusing on arresting and convicting criminals, to include the provision of better treatment and services for the victims of crime. In line with this, both the government and non-governmental organisations have sought to meet these needs. International standards for assistance were formulated in the **United Nations Declaration on the Basic Principles of Justice, Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power** in 1985.<sup>44</sup> Addressing the needs of victims, both practically and emotionally, enables them to cope better with their

victimisation and to regain faith in the criminal justice system's ability to protect them.

In Johannesburg, comparatively few victims of crime appear to have made use of the services of specialised agencies to address their needs. Indeed, the knowledge among victims of the existence of such organisations appears poor.<sup>45</sup> The data suggest that, where they exist, access to such services is an excluding factor for the majority of victims. Only one in every 10 crime victims had used victim support and of this proportion, white victims and victims living in the suburbs used agencies more than the average of 11 per cent. Only three per cent of victims living in the inner city of Johannesburg (ironically where some of these agencies are actually situated) had made use of specialised agencies. There was little evidence from the survey that victims of violent crime made more use of agencies than victims of property crimes, except in the case of rape victims, of whom 17 per cent had received help (Figure 20). This significantly higher proportion of victims receiving specialised assistance suggests that prioritised interventions to address the needs of victims of sexual offences have made some in-roads.

**Figure 20: Victims' usage of special agency support  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

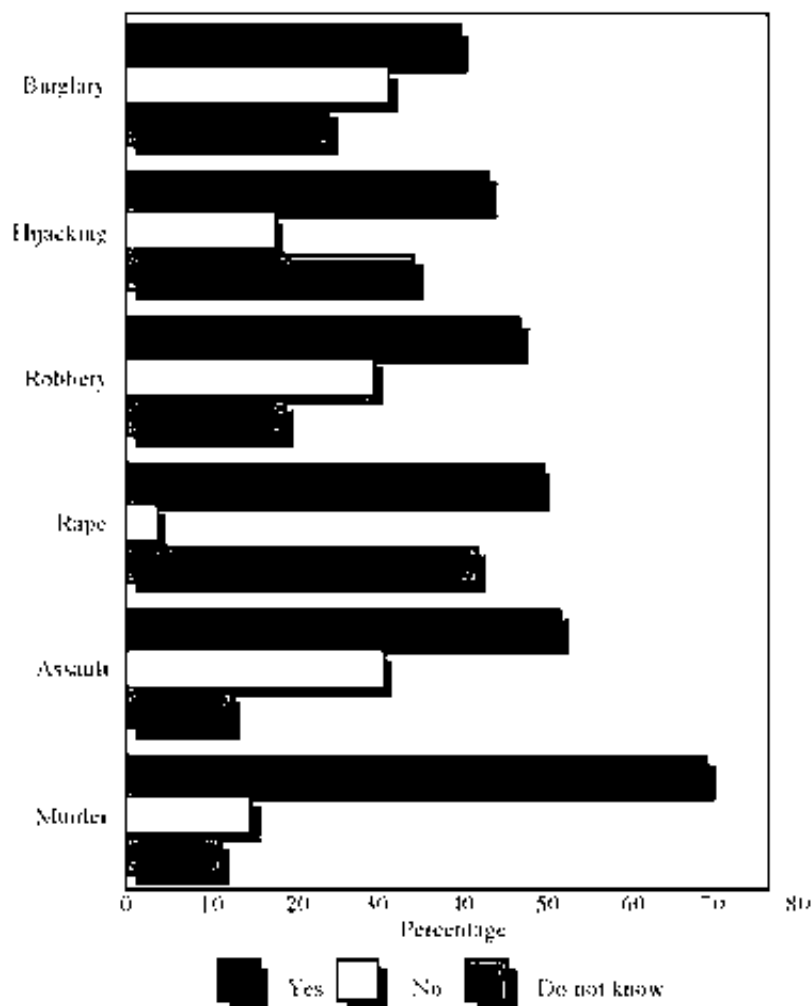


Comparative surveys conclude that few victims actually sought help of any kind. Although the highest actual levels of usage are in Western Europe, victims in developing countries, in particular, have indicated that they would have liked help. And while assistance may be interpreted as financial support in these regions, the highest proportion of victims requesting help are female victims of violence, whose first priority is to stop the incidents from occurring again.<sup>46</sup>

In line with the trend in other developing countries, the need for these services is clear in Johannesburg. More than half of all victims thought this kind of support would have been useful. Interestingly, white victims and those living in the suburbs (who make the most use of this assistance) were least likely to regard these agencies as useful. One could assume they have other support networks and resources to draw on, such as private psychological help which others may not be able to afford. African victims and those living in the townships, on the other hand, were the most positive about such services. This may relate to the fact that Africans are more at risk of the violent crimes on which these agencies primarily

focus their services. In those cases where a household member had been murdered, as many as 72,5 per cent of victims thought support would have been useful (Figure 21). In the UK, Victim Support, which provides assistance to all victims of crime, has recognised this need and offers specially tailored programmes for families of murder victims.

**Figure 21: Perceptions of the usefulness of special agencies  
Johannesburg victim Survey**



According to the victim survey, men and women made equal use of victim services. Generally, women, as well as those who are victims of more serious and violent crimes, seek such assistance. In Johannesburg, the equal use by men and women of such services may be attributed to the finding that a greater proportion of men were victims of violent crime. The survey also found that men were more likely to think that such services would have been useful. However, the large proportion of victims who were unsure of the usefulness of these agencies (nearly 20 per cent) suggests a low awareness of their existence and of the potential benefits to stem the cycle of violence. It also points to the need for much greater publicity of available services. This is something which is recognised by the Department of Welfare, as the National Crime Prevention Strategy's lead agency on victim empowerment issues.

### Alternative protection

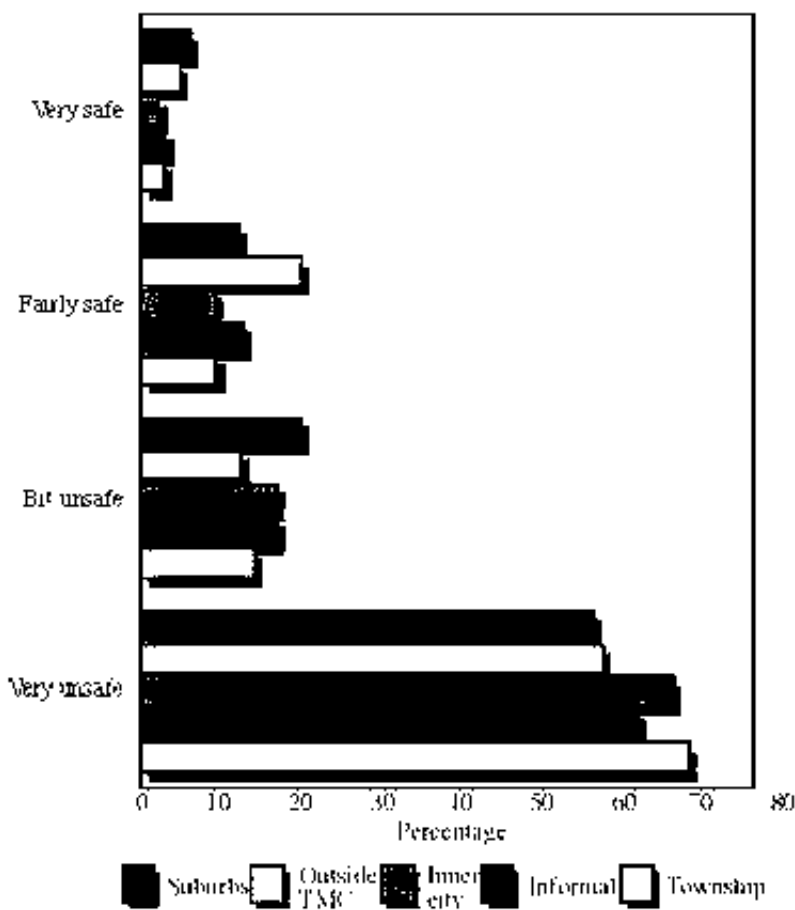
Feelings of insecurity and high levels of fear of crime have several sources, not least of which is the experience of actual victimisation and the perception that effective assistance will be unlikely. Preventing

crime through personal and community initiatives becomes a priority in environments such as Johannesburg, where crime rates (and especially violent robbery and burglary rates) are high, the effectiveness and support of the police are limited, and there are few other sources of assistance for victims.

According to the survey, Johannesburg's crime victims generally believe the areas in which they live are the most unsafe in the city. Given this, it is unsurprising that they feel particularly vulnerable at night in their neighbourhoods and only fairly safe during the day. Just over half of the victims (52 per cent) identified the inner city as the most unsafe part of Johannesburg, followed by township areas (28 per cent). Suburbs are perceived as the safest areas in Greater Johannesburg: apart from those victims living in these areas (most of whom identified the inner city as being particularly unsafe), all other victims said they were most vulnerable to crime in the places where they live. While people may simply be more familiar with their home environments and those that they visit, it is more likely that few parts of Johannesburg (outside the suburbs) can in fact be considered safe.

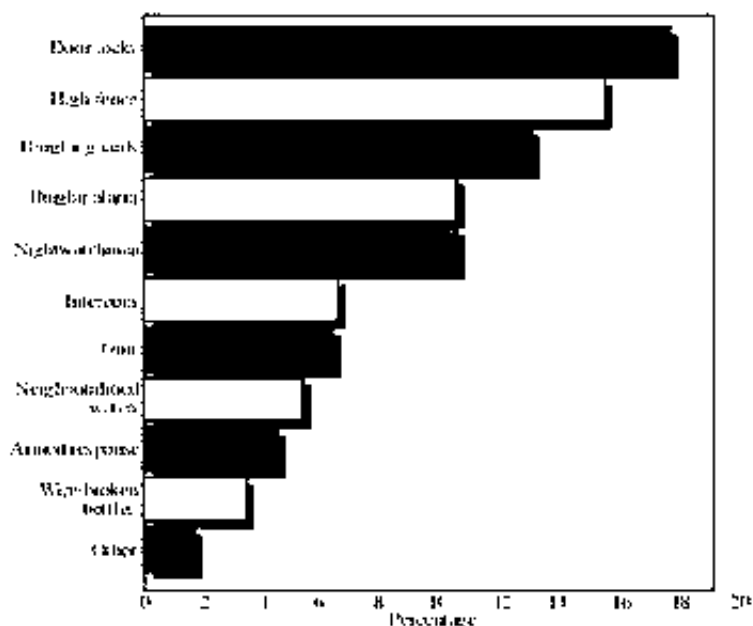
In line with this finding, the proportion of white victims and those living in the suburbs who felt very unsafe at night in their neighbourhoods, was below the average of 65 per cent. By contrast, 70 per cent of victims residing in the inner city and 72 per cent of those in the townships felt particularly vulnerable at night (Figure 22). Women and victims over the age of 60 years expressed similar views. Although the situation improves somewhat during the day, 40 per cent of all victims feel only fairly safe where they live, and 27 per cent feel slightly unsafe.

**Figure 22: Feelings of safety in neighbourhoods at night**  
**Johannesburg Victim Survey**



Given these high levels of insecurity, the types of protection measures used by victims in their homes vary according to affordability, the type of dwelling in which people live, as well as the types of crime which are the most prevalent. Victims could provide the survey with more than one option, and of the responses given, door locks (18,5 per cent), high fences (16 per cent) and burglar guards (14 per cent) were most commonly reported for all victims as a group (Figure 23). One in 10 victims reported making use of burglar alarms and a guard or night-watchman for protection. The popularity of these measures is undoubtedly related to the high levels of burglary in Johannesburg and the fact that insurance requirements make them a necessity. In the case of burglar alarms, comparative evidence suggests that victims believe these devices also serve as a deterrent, since many are installed only after properties are broken into.<sup>47</sup>

**Figure 23: Protection measures used  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**



Among inner city residents, who largely live in apartments, the services of a night-watchman or guard was most often reported. Door locks, burglar guards, and intercom systems also provide some protection. Although the cost of protection devices, such as intercoms, is generally higher for flats than for houses, 12 per cent of responses for those living in the inner city accounted for intercom systems.

Sophisticated (and expensive) measures, such as burglar alarms, armed response services and intercoms, are nevertheless more popular among victims living in the suburbs than in the townships. This also applies to the use of guns and the participation in neighbourhood watch schemes. (However, it is likely that more people actually possess firearms, but may have been reluctant to report this to the survey, should these weapons not be licensed.) By far the most common measure for victims living in townships is a fence: 37 per cent reported using this for protection.

The inaccessibility of adequate protection for their households against crime for many of Johannesburg's residents, is evidenced by the sizeable portion of African victims (22 per cent) and victims in informal settlements (70 per cent) who said they have no protection. This, as well as the proportion of Africans who do not protect their properties with the kinds of measures discussed here, is in fact lower than the corresponding 36,5 per cent of victims in other developing countries.<sup>48</sup>

Although a wide variety of measures are employed by individuals to safeguard their households, this type of protection is not a priority for victims of crime or for the general public, according to survey data. In developing countries, 40 per cent of victims felt that physical protection measures were of limited value, even though they believed their chances of becoming a victim of burglary in the next 12 months was very likely.<sup>49</sup> In Johannesburg (and South Africa in general) people are more inclined to allocate responsibility for protection from crime to the government and the criminal justice system. These agencies cannot reasonably be expected to carry the full burden of ensuring public safety. But the breakdown in effective law enforcement is such that attempts at community and personal crime prevention will have limited success without also significantly improving the ability of formal state structures to combat crime.

### **Holding government responsible**

The ability of the police to control and prevent crime in Johannesburg is limited, according to the victim survey. According to most victims (61 per cent), the police are doing a poor job at controlling crime in their areas. Despite this view, victims overwhelmingly believe that the police (and to a lesser extent the criminal justice system) are fundamental in making Johannesburg a safer place. This suggests that, for those who have experienced crime in particular, the responsibility for providing safety in the short term rests squarely with the authorities. In this regard, the survey reflects a number of issues:

- Victims in Johannesburg do not believe the police are successfully controlling crime. This is particularly the view of victims who live in townships.
- The main reason provided for this is that the police cannot be relied upon to effectively perform their normal, professional duties. Other problems are police corruption and that the police have simply 'given up'.
- More police and better policing are regarded as the most effective strategies to enhance safety in Johannesburg.
- Along with improvements in policing, tougher legislation is favoured.
- These views suggest a hardening of attitudes towards crime and appropriate government responses. It is likely that high impact shorter term solutions will be required to shift these perceptions. The views of Johannesburg's crime victims suggest that waiting for long term economic and development-oriented solutions is not an option.

Evaluating police effectiveness at controlling crime tends to be based on general feelings of safety, the types of crime which people have been victims of, as well as actual police performance in the areas in which people live.

Those victims in Johannesburg who experienced particularly violent crimes, such as murder, rape and hijacking are most inclined to have lost confidence in the police, according to the survey. The same applies to victims of some of the most prevalent crimes, such as burglary and car theft. The youngest victims of crime, between the ages of 15 and 24 years, and women also had little faith in the police's abilities.

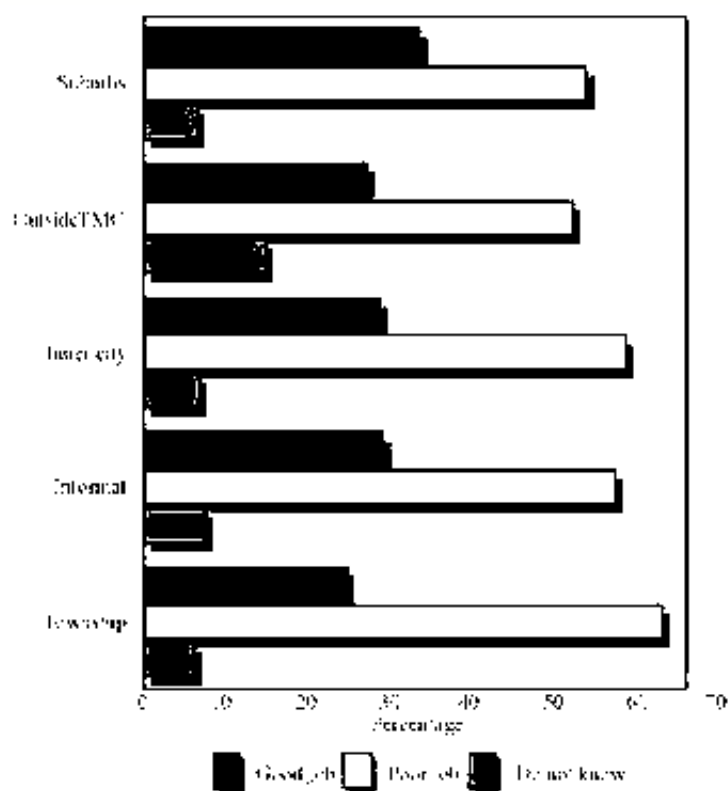
Feelings of safety are also a factor influencing perceptions of police effectiveness: victims who feel very unsafe in their neighbourhoods at night were least likely to think the police are doing a good job, and were particularly critical of police performance. These were also the group of victims most likely to identify the death penalty as a suitable option for making Johannesburg safer. As feelings of safety

improve, victims increasingly identify policing, development and community-related measures as solutions to the crime problem.

The impact of policing is more evident in suburban Johannesburg than elsewhere in the city. Victims living in these areas were most inclined to described the police's ability to control crime as 'good', compared with those in the inner city, informal settlements and townships. The main complaints about the police among these victims was that the police had 'given up' and were 'corrupt'. Nevertheless, victims living in the suburbs were most likely to give the police some credit, saying they were trying hard against all odds.

The police seem to offer the least protection to township residents. Here, more victims said the police were doing a bad job at controlling crime in their area (67 per cent), than did victims living in any other part of Johannesburg (Figure 24). (Interestingly, those staying in informal settlements were no less dissatisfied with the police than the average for this response.) The most common reason given for this view among victims living in the townships was that the police service was unreliable and ineffective in controlling crime. This is also the issue most likely to confront residents of the inner city, where 31 per cent of victims have noted this problem.

**Figure 24: Police control of crime in area of residence  
Johannesburg Victim Survey**

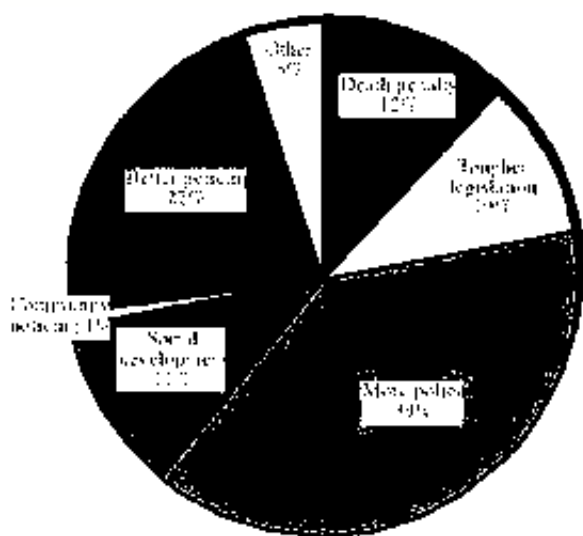


In the face of inadequate policing, high crime levels and the limited available options for alternative household protection and assistance to victims particularly for those who are less affluent and live in townships and informal settlements effective law enforcement and criminal justice are believed to be the answers. Asked to nominate any strategies which the government could adopt to make Johannesburg safer, the most popular choice was for more police (39 per cent which included more visible policing, personnel and resources), followed by better policing (19,5 per cent). One in 10 victims thought harsher penalties would help and 12 per cent suggested the death penalty. Since these latter measures constitute a package of responses related to justice issues, this option was favoured by 21 per cent of crime victims in



Johannesburg (Figure 25). Only 11 per cent thought social development would make a difference and as little as one per cent identified community policing as an effective solution. It is possible that only a few respondents identified community policing as a solution, because this was included by implication in the 'better policing' option. Furthermore, victims were asked what the government should do to improve safety, and the perception may exist that community policing is a largely non-state initiative.

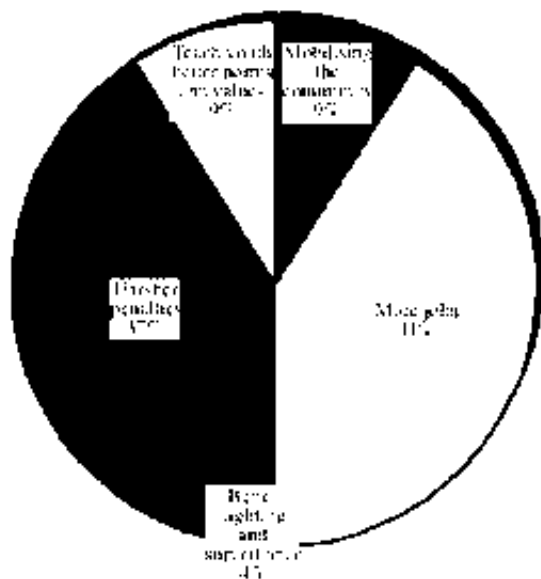
**Figure 25: Safety strategies (unprompted)**  
Johannesburg Victim Survey



Apart from the death penalty, which was identified as a solution more often by white crime victims and those living in the suburbs, law enforcement options were most likely to be selected by victims living in poorer areas such as informal settlements (49 per cent requested more police) and townships (43 per cent). Similarly, 24 per cent of victims in the inner city called for better policing, as did 28 per cent in informal areas. The nature of the crime problem in the inner city may well require a different prioritisation of crime prevention measures: 16 per cent of victims here (a higher proportion than elsewhere in Johannesburg) said social development was a necessary strategy.

Policing is clearly the favoured solution for victims in Johannesburg. Previous opinion surveys in South Africa have recorded far higher support for socio-economic improvements, such as development, job creation and education, as solutions to crime. According to the victim survey, this no longer applies. This trend, however, does suggest a shift in prioritisation between options (as the urgency of the crime problem increases), rather than a change in the way that crime is understood. When asked which government-led measures other than policing could best deliver safety, 42,5 per cent of victims selected more jobs for the unemployed from a range of five prompted options (Figure 26). But the introduction of harsher penalties was a close second choice (37 per cent).

**Figure 26: Safety strategies (prompted)**  
Johannesburg Victim Survey



These findings reinforce the argument that attitudes to crime and its solutions are hardening: when policing is excluded from the available options for improving safety in Johannesburg, many victims select other interventions which they believe will make a difference in the short term. In this climate, measures such as teaching the youth better norms and values and mobilising the community, are not regarded as a priority, with respectively only nine and eight per cent of victims selecting these options. These are not viewed as unimportant, however. African victims prioritised employment and harsher penalties, but a larger proportion selected better lighting and surveillance (especially those living in informal settlements), teaching the youth better norms and values (which was also a popular choice for victims living in the inner city), and mobilising the community, than did other victims.

## TOWARDS A CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY FOR JOHANNESBURG

Information on the nature of victimisation, the environment in which it occurs and profiles of both victims and perpetrators are critical to the provision of a complete picture for developing policy responses to curb crime. The Johannesburg victim survey provides a relatively accurate crime picture of the extent and, to a lesser degree, the nature of crime in the city. But the victim survey has clear limitations. Primarily, it tells analysts little about the causes of crime, where it occurs (although this could be eliminated through questionnaire development) and the circumstances of individual crimes. Furthermore, victim surveys by definition, provide only clues of the nature of offenders. Moreover, the shortcomings are more serious where accurate police data to supplement survey findings are limited (as occurs in many developing countries).

Despite some of the drawbacks outlined above, victim surveys can usefully determine appropriate crime prevention strategies. The most important policy impact of the victim survey in this regard, is its ability to allow prioritisation of particular categories of crime for policy interventions. With limited resources and capacity among local government and police agencies, prioritisation is critical.

The Greater Johannesburg: Safer Cities strategy has prioritised certain crime categories for intervention as a result of the survey. These include: burglary, mugging, theft of motor vehicles and violence against women. In addition, and by way of conclusion, the survey suggests that interventions are required in relation to four broader issues which cross-cut crime types. These are as follows:

### 1 Targeting the real victims of crime

The Johannesburg victim survey, as well as other studies,<sup>50</sup> indicates that more affluent citizens are at greater risk of property crimes. The poorer sectors of society (in Johannesburg represented by African victims and those living largely in townships and informal settlements), however, are not only at risk of these crimes, but are also especially vulnerable to violent crime. These risks are likely to be more extreme when considering that, according to victims, police protection, service delivery and crime control capacity is lower and of poorer quality in township, informal settlement and inner city areas. Although they have a greater need to protect themselves as a result, people living in these parts of Johannesburg can rarely afford security measures other than fences, locks and burglar guards. Many have no physical protection measures to speak of. Against this profile of vulnerability to victimisation, unequal protection by the police, as well as widespread poverty, it is unlikely that those who are most at risk of being victimised by crime are able to protect themselves. Programmes therefore need to be initiated to address the vulnerability of these potential victims.

## **2 Improving the police service**

Of those victims who reported their crimes to the police, the vast majority were dissatisfied with the police's response. These perceptions need to be addressed: not only do they mitigate against crime being reported, but they reduce the likelihood of victims and witnesses participating in investigations and thus any chance of securing a conviction. The survey results suggest that most victims' perceptions of the police could be dramatically improved by relatively small changes in the levels of local police services to the victims of crime. While these measures could relatively easily improve public perceptions of the police, confidence will ultimately depend on the ability of the police to solve serious (and particularly) violent crimes.

## **3 Confronting the fear of crime**

Formulating an appropriate crime prevention strategy for the city requires an understanding of public perceptions around crime (and the fear of it). This is important given that perceptions (and fears) of crime often differ from the chances of being victimised. For example, Africans in Johannesburg are much more likely to be victims of car hijacking, yet public perception is that white middle class suburban residents are the primary target of this crime. Policies to reduce hijacking need not only to reduce the risk for Africans, but to address the fears of those living in the suburbs. Generally, certain crimes which involve violence or some form of violation of the person or the space (s)he occupies, cause heightened fears of crime, thus seriously affecting the quality of life. The key to successful crime prevention is therefore not only to bring down levels of crime *per se*, but also to address public perceptions.

## **4 Targeting repeat victims**

Certain people (and places which they may frequent) suffer repeated incidents of crime. Fear of crime is especially high among such victims. Understanding repeat victimisation "*directs attention to the victim, the time and possible perpetrator of a likely future crime, and helps target scarce resources cost effectively.*"<sup>51</sup> Thus, planning for crime prevention often relies on the identification of a category of people who have repeatedly been the victims of certain crimes. In most cities, this category is comparatively small and so lends itself to targeted crime prevention. In Johannesburg, levels of repeat victimisation were high across all crime categories. This suggests that crime prevention based on repeat victimisation data may be less successful, given that the numbers and diversity of people involved are too large. However, this does not mean that repeat victimisation analyses cannot be used. Instead, it suggests that the data needs to be disaggregated and locally specific definitions formulated based on an understanding of crime patterns. For example, while there is a high level of repeat victimisation for mugging in the centre of Johannesburg, analysis of the data suggests that a large proportion takes place

within specific precincts and that people over the age of 60 who live within the inner city are disproportionately victimised.

Strategies in response to repeat victimisation should adopt this kind of approach in Johannesburg. This, in turn, requires that the police monitor and record levels of repeat victimisation and, where possible, the details about those victims who are affected.

## ENDNOTES

\*Louw, Shaw and Camerer are researchers at the Institute for Security Studies' Safety and Governance Programme. Robertshaw is the co-ordinator of Greater Johannesburg Safer Cities.

Data for figures 13 to 17 is derived from South African Police Service, **Crime Information Management Centre Quarterly Report 4/97**, Pretoria, 1997.

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6. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
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11. Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, *ibid.*; P Mayhew, *Some Methodological Issues in Victimisation Surveys*, in **Crime Victims Surveys in Australia**, conference proceedings, Criminal Justice Commission, Brisbane, 1995.
12. *Ibid.*
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14. To the extent that the results of a street survey can be compared with those of a household survey, this represents a slight decline in the five year victimisation level from the 68 per cent recorded in 1995 by the IC(V)S survey in Johannesburg; see C M B Naude, *et. al.*, **The Second International Crime (Victim) Survey in Johannesburg**, UNISA, Pretoria, June 1996.
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16. Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, *op. cit.*
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19. CMIC, **The Incidence of Serious Crime: January to September 1997, South African Police Service Crime Information Management Centre Quarterly Report 4/97**, SAPS, Pretoria, 1997.
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23. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
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28. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*; Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, *op. cit.*
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31. These and other police statistics used below are drawn from CIMC, *op. cit.*
32. SAPS police areas do not match local authority boundaries. The Johannesburg police area is therefore not synonymous with the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC), which is the area covered by the crime victim survey. Soweto, for example, is part of the GJMC, but is a

distinct police area, separate from the Johannesburg police area. Also, up to eight police stations which fall outside both the Johannesburg and Soweto police areas are part of the GJMC's jurisdiction.

33. S Oppler & A Louw, *Declining Convictions: An Emerging Crisis*, **Nedcor/ISS Crime Index**, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, October 1997.
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38. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Workshop with Johannesburg SAPS, *op. cit.*
41. Bridgeman & Hobbs, *op. cit.*
42. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
43. Mayhew & Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
44. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
45. This finding may relate to the questionnaire design. It was not always clear whether respondents were aware of such services or whether they had actually made use of them. In addition, respondents were not always clear on the types of service which these agencies provide. These shortcomings in the questionnaire are being addressed in future surveys.
46. Van Dijk, *op. cit.*
47. A Alvazzi del Frate, **Preventing Crime: Citizens' Experience Across the World**, UNICRI, Rome, 1997.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. Louw & Shaw, *op. cit.*
51. Bridgeman & Hobbs, *op. cit.*

## JOHANNESBURG SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

## INTERVIEWER INTRODUCTION

We are undertaking a survey of crime and violence in some of the metropolitan areas in South Africa. May I ask you a few questions on the problem of crime in Johannesburg? This interview won't take much of your time. Your answer will, of course, be treated confidentially and anonymously.

(0.1) Date of Interview (Use listing dd in i.e. 30th June = 306)		(0.2) Name of interviewer (Use allocated code number)
(1) Place of Interview (use code list Q1)		(2) Gender of Respondent 1= male 2= female
(3) Race of Respondent 1=Black 2=White 3=Asian 4=Coloured		(4) Age of Respondent (enter actual age)
(5) Name of area that the respondent resides in: (enter known name)		
(6) What type of house do you live in? 1=brick & mortar house 2=apartment flat 3=traditional house 4=innenjondolo-shack 5=other (specify)		
(7) Name of Area that the respondent either works or studies in: (enter known name)		
(8) Could you kindly tell me what you do for a living:		
1=full-time scholar student 2=full-time home worker (own home) 3=retired, pensioner 4=disabled, do not work 5=unemployed not seeking employment 6=unemployed actively seeking employment 7=employed part-time (less than 20 hrs-wk) 8=employed full-time informal sector 9=employed full-time formal sector 10=other		



INT: DO STATE FIRST I WANT TO ASK YOU ABOUT CRIME PERSONALLY MAY HAVE EXPERIENCED DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS. IF YES TO ANY, INTERVIEWER TO READ OUT YEARS

## 10 THEFT OF CARS

Over the past five years have you or other members of you household had any of their cars/trucks stolen? If yes please tell me how many times and in which years. <<INT: DO NOT INCLUDE HIJACKING HERE>>

Yes in...	1.1 1997	1.2 1996	1.3 1995-1993	2 no	3
No times/year				GO TO Q 11	Don't know

*(Yes of Q10) INT: IF VICTIM MORE THAN ONCE, ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME*

10.1 (The last time) did this car theft happen near your own home, elsewhere in Johannesburg, elsewhere in South Africa, or abroad?

*INT: INCLUDE UNDER 1 THEFT FROM GARAGE*

1 near own home	2 elsewhere in Jo'burg	3 elsewhere in RSA	4 abroad	5 don't know
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10.2 (The last time) did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?

1 yes	2 no	3 don't know
GO TO Q 10.3	GO TO Q 11	GO TO Q 11

10.3 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way police dealt with your report?

1 yes (satisfied)	2 No (dissatisfied)	3 don't know
-------------------	---------------------	--------------

10.4 If you were not satisfied please say why"

--

## 11 BURGLARY/BREAK AND ENTER

Over the past five years, did anyone actually enter your house or flat without permission and steal or try to steal something? If yes, please tell me how many times and in which years.

Yes in...	1.1 1997	1.2 1996	1.3 1995-1993	2 no	3
No times/year				GO TO Q 12	Don't Know

*(yes of Q11) INT: IF VICTIM MORE THAN ONCE, ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME*



11.1 (The last time) was any violence used against you or any other residents?

1	yes	2	no	3	don't know
---	-----	---	----	---	------------

11.2 (The last time) did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?

1	yes	2	no	3	don't know
GO TO Q 11.3		GO TO Q 11.5		GO TO Q 11.5	

11.3 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report?

1	yes (satisfied)	2	No (dissatisfied)	3	don't know
---	-----------------	---	-------------------	---	------------

11.4 If you were not satisfied, please say why?

--

11.5 Recently agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information, or practical or emotional support. Did you get help from such a specialised agency?

1	Yes	2	no	3	don't know
---	-----	---	----	---	------------

11.6 Do you feel the services of a specialised agency to help victims of crime would have been useful for you?

1	Yes, useful	2	no, not useful	3	don't know
---	-------------	---	----------------	---	------------

## 12 ROBBERY/MUGGING

Over the past five years anyone taken something from you, by using force, or threatening you - INCLUDING HIJACKING? Or did anyone try to do so? If yes, please tell me how many times and in which years.

Yes (n.....)	1.1 1997	1.2 1996	1.3 1995-1993	2 no	3
No times/year				GO TO Q 13	Don't know

*(yes at Q12) INT: IF VICTIM MORE THAN ONCE, ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME*

12.1 Was it a robbery a car-hijacking or mugging?

1	car-hijacking	2	mugging
---	---------------	---	---------

12.2 (The last time) did this happen in your home, near you own home, elsewhere in Johannesburg, elsewhere in South Africa, or abroad?

1 in own home	2 near own home	3 elsewhere in Jo'burg
4 elsewhere in RSA	5 abroad	6 don't know

12.3 (The last time) did you or anyone else report the incident to the police

1 yes	2 no	3 don't know
GO TO Q 12.4	GO TO Q 12.6	GO TO Q 12.6

12.4 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report?

1 yes (satisfied)	2 No (dissatisfied)	3 don't know
-------------------	---------------------	--------------

12.5 If you were not satisfied, please say why?

--

12.6 Recently agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information, or practical or emotional support. Did you get help from such a specialised agency?

1 yes	2 no
-------	------

12.7 Do you feel the service of a specialised agency to help victims of crime would have been useful for you?

1 yes, useful	2 no, not useful	3 don't know
---------------	------------------	--------------

<<INT: WOMEN ONLY>>

### 13 HARASSMENT/SEXUAL ABUSE

There is much talk these days of sexual harassment and sexual abuse of women. This can happen at home. But it can also happen elsewhere, for instance in a bar/shebeen, in the street, at school, on public transport, in the cinema, at the shopping centre or at one's workplace. Over the past five years has anyone done this to you? If yes, please tell me how many times and in which years.

Yes in . . .	1 1 [1997]	1 2 [1996]	1 3 [1995-1993]	2 no	3
No times year				GO TO Q 14	Don't know

*(yes at Q10 INT: VICTIM MORE THAN ONCE ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME)*

13.1 You mentioned that you had been a victim of a sexual offense in the past five years. Could I ask you (the last time) did this happen in your own home, near your own home, elsewhere in Johannesburg, elsewhere in South Africa, or abroad?

1	in own home	2	near own home	3	elsewhere in Jo'burg
4	elsewhere in RSA	5	abroad	6	don't know

13.2 (About the last incident) Did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight?  
*INT: IF MORE THAN ONE OFFENDER COUNT AS KNOWN IF AT LEAST ONE KNOWN*

1	did not know offender	2	known by sight only	3	known by name
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13.3 Would you describe the incident as a rape (forced intercourse), an attempted rape, an indecent assault, or as just behavior which you found offensive?

1	a rape	2	an attempted rape	3	indecent assault	4	offensive behavior	5	don't know
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13.4 (The last time) did you or anyone else report that incident to the police?

1	yes	2	no	3	don't know
GO TO Q 13.5		GO TO Q 13.7		GO TO Q 13.7	

13.5 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with the your report?

1	yes, useful	2	no, not useful	3	don't know
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13.6 If you were not satisfied, please say why?

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13.7 Recently, agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information, or practical or emotional support. Did you get help from such a specialised agency?

1	yes	2	no
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13.8 Do you feel the service of a specialised agency to help victims of crime would have been useful for you?

1	yes, useful	2	no, not useful	3	don't know
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**14 ASSAULT/THREATS**

Apart from the incidents just covered, have you over the past five years been personally attacked or threatened by someone in a way that really frightened you either at home or elsewhere, such as in a bar/shedden, in the street, at school, on public transport, at the shopping centre, or at your workplace? If yes, please tell me how many times and in which years.

Yes in...	1.1 1997	1.2 1996	1.3 1995-1993	2 no	3
No times/year				GO TO Q 15	Don't know

*over at Q11; INT. IF VICTIM MORE THAN ONCE ASK ABOUT THE LAST TIME*

14.1 (The last time) did (any of) the offender(s) have a knife, a gun, another weapon or something else used as a weapon?

1	Yes	2	no	3	don't know
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14.2 (The last time) did this happen in your home, near your own home, elsewhere in Johannesburg, elsewhere in South Africa, or abroad?

1	in own home	2	near own home	3	elsewhere in Jo'burg
4	elsewhere in RSA	5	abroad	6	don't know

14.3 (About the last incident) did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight?

*INT. IF MORE THAN ONE OFFENDER, COUNT AS KNOWN, IF AT LEAST ONE KNOWN*

1	did not know offender	2	known by sight only	3	known by name	4	did not see offender
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14.4 (The last time) did you or anyone else report that last incident to the police?

1	yes	2	no	3	don't know
GO TO Q 14.5		GO TO Q 14.7		GO TO Q 14.7	

14.5 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report?

1	yes (satisfied)	2	No (dissatisfied)	3	don't know
---	-----------------	---	-------------------	---	------------

14.6 If you were not satisfied, please say why?

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14.7 Recently, agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information, or practical or emotional support. Did you get help from such a specialised agency?

1	Yes	2	no
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14.8 Do you feel the services of a specialised agency to help victims of crime would have been useful for you?

1	yes, useful	2	no, not useful	3	don't know
---	-------------	---	----------------	---	------------

## 15 HOMICIDE OR RAPE VICTIM IN FAMILY

Apart from what happened to you personally, has any member of your family been shot, stabbed, raped or otherwise seriously attacked over the past five years. If yes, please tell me how many times and in which years.

Yes in...	1.1 1992	1.2 1993	1.3 1995-1993	2	no	3
No times/year					GO TO Q 16	Don't know

*over to Q15 INT: IF VICTIM MORE THAN ONCE ASK ABOUT THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS*

15.1 What was your relationship to the member of your family that was shot, stabbed, raped or otherwise seriously attacked?

1	father	2	mother	3	spouse/lover/partner	4	son
5	daughter	6	brother	7	sister	8	grandfather
9	grandmother	10	grandson	11	granddaughter	12	aunt/niece/other female
13	uncle/nephew/other male	14	Other (specify)				

15.2 Did your family member die as the result of their injuries?

1	Yes	2	no
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15.3 Did this happen in his/her home, near his/her own home, elsewhere in Johannesburg, elsewhere in South Africa or abroad?

1	in own home	2	near own home	3	elsewhere in Jo'burg
4	elsewhere in RSA	5	abroad	6	don't know

15.4 Did he/she know the offender(s) by name or by sight?

*INT: IF MORE THAN ONE OFFENDER COUNT AS KNOWN IF AT LEAST ONE KNOWN*

1	did not know offender(s)	2	known by sight only	3	Known by name
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15.5 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with the case?

1	yes (satisfied)	2	No (dissatisfied)	3	don't know
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15.6 If you were not satisfied please say why?

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15.7 Recently, agencies have been set up to help victims of crime or family members by giving information, or practical or emotional support. Did you get help from such a specialised agency?

1	Yes	2	no
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15.8 Do you feel the services of a specialised agency to help victims of crime would have been useful for you?

1	yes useful	2	no, not useful	3	don't know
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## 16 ANY OTHER CRIME

Apart from the incidents you mentioned before, have you been the victim of any other type of crime over the past five years? (i.e. pickpocket, Car-radio theft)

1	yes	2	no	3	don't know	16.1 If so, what type of crime?
GO TO Q 16.1		GO TO Q 17.1		GO TO Q 17.1		

**ALL RESPONDENTS: NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE AREA WHERE YOU LIVE AND ABOUT YOUR OPINION OF CRIME IN YOUR AREA.**

17.1 How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark? Do you feel very safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe, or very unsafe?

*INT: IF RESPONDENT SAYS NEVER GOES OUT STREET "HOW SAFE WOULD YOU FEEL?"*

1	very safe	2	fairly safe	3	bit unsafe	4	very unsafe
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17.2 And during the day?

1	very safe	2	fairly safe	3	bit unsafe	4	very unsafe
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18 As protection against burglary, is your own dwelling protected by any of the following:

INT: READ OUT MULTIPLE RESPONSE

18.1	respondent refuses to answer	18.2	a gun
18.3	a burglar alarm	18.4	special security door locks
18.5	special window door grilles	18.6	a high fence
18.7	a caretaker or security guard	18.8	a neighbourhood watch scheme
18.9	armed response	18.10	razor wire or broken bottles
18.11	intercom	18.12	not protected by any of these
18A	other		

19.1 Taking everything into account, how good do you think the police in your area are in controlling crime? Do you think they do a good job or not?

1 good job 2 not good job 3 don't know

19.2 Would you like to please comment on your reply?

20 Finally I would like to ask you whether there is any street, square or other place in Johannesburg in which you feel particularly unsafe at any time? If so, could you please point out the place on the map?

20.1 Unsafe area No 1 20.2 Unsafe area No 2

21.1 What do you think the government can do to make Johannesburg a safer place. Please tell me the most important action you think they could undertake?

22 I'll now read you some things that other people say that the government can do—other than better policing—to make Johannesburg a safer place. Please tell me which one you identify with most?

22.1	More jobs for the unemployed	22.2	Harsher penalties
22.3	Better lighting, more surveillance	22.4	Teach the youth better norms and values
22.5	Mobilising community		

*Thank you very much for your co-operation in this survey. We realize that we have been asking you some difficult questions. If you want to check on if you want to get information on the results, you can contact Mr. Rory Robertshaw of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council at (011) 407 6557-8.*

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