

CRIME IN CAPE TOWN

Results of a City Victim Survey

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On 11 March 1998, a workshop was held at the Cape Town office of the Institute for Security Studies where key individuals dealing with crime and related issues in Cape Town, including representatives of the South African Police Service, were invited to a presentation of the initial findings of the data.* Their time and effort in assisting with the interpretation of the data are much appreciated.

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* See Appendix 1 for the list of invited participants.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: ANALYSING CRIME IN CAPE TOWN

Understanding the nature and extent of crime is critical in ensuring appropriate policy interventions for

its resolution. A victim survey is an important resource in helping to achieve this. Such surveys are independent means of supplementing police information through questioning a representative sample of the population in any defined geographic location. Victim surveys measure both citizens' actual experience of victimisation, as well as more general perceptions of safety. Therefore, victim surveys are crucial in providing information on crime, policing and options for crime prevention in any area.

More specifically, victim surveys aim at achieving four goals:

- *Determine the nature and extent of crime in any geographic area:* In particular, victim surveys - while not directly comparable to police statistics (see below) - provide useful information on the 'dark figure' of crime which have not been reported to the police, and are thus not reflected in official statistics. Victim surveys are useful in compiling victim profiles and determining those most at risk of being repeatedly victimised.
- *Measure levels of fear of crime among different sectors of the population:* It should be noted that the perceptual data generated by victim surveys also include the opinions of those who have not been victimised. By doing so, they provide an indication of how citizens respond to crime and their fear of it.
- *Determine public perceptions of police effectiveness and service delivery:* In this way, victim surveys provide a benchmark against which improvements in the public's perception of the police can be measured, as well as the basis of suggestions for possible interventions.
- *Provide useful information to inform policy-making:* Such data assist policy-makers in designing appropriate interventions with regard to a range of crime prevention and policing strategies.

METHODOLOGY

The Cape Town victim survey is the third city survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies. Surveys have also been conducted in Johannesburg (July 1997) and Durban (January 1998). These provide some interesting comparative data. The survey questionnaire was based on the international crime victim survey, conducted in almost 60 countries at city level. It was adapted with the assistance of international experts to meet South African needs. Almost 6 000 people were interviewed in Cape Town during the course of the survey. Questionnaires were administered to people on the street in a wide variety of places. Interviews took place in carefully selected areas across the Cape Town metropolitan area (see Appendix 3). The survey results were subsequently weighted by age, race, gender and area and are thus representative of crime trends and perceptions across the Cape Town metropolitan area.

The following points should be noted in relation to the survey:

- The Cape Town victim survey establishes important baseline data for strategic planning around crime and policing issues, with a particular focus on crime prevention interventions. The survey provides useful management information to inform the debate at city, provincial and national level.
- Future surveys can build on this data by analysing trends in relation to the extent of crime, public fears of crime and perceptions of the police, in order to measure improvements.
- The victim survey cannot easily be compared to police statistics as police areas do not necessarily match the metropolitan boundaries of Cape Town within which the survey was conducted. Nor do the definitions of specific crime types always match those used by the police.
- It should be noted that race is consistently the most significant variable in analysing the results of victim surveys both in South Africa and elsewhere. This is primarily as a result of the fact that race largely correspond to socio-economic patterns in society. The use of such race categories (African, coloured, white) is standard in victim surveys.

- It is widely recognised that victim surveys covering a wide spectrum of crimes do not adequately reflect the true extent of gender violence. This applies, in particular, to sexual assault and sexual harassment.
- The murder statistics captured by the survey reflect the responses of the victims' immediate family or household members. In cities like Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, characterised by historically high levels of urbanisation, many people retain close links with relatives and households in other parts of the country. Thus the murder figure reflected by the victim survey is not representative of the Cape Town metropolitan area. This, however, does not undermine the negative experience of such victimisation within these households.

The data captured by the victim survey is very detailed. For example, the survey captured the actual places which respondents felt were particularly unsafe in Cape Town, such as specific street names. However, this report is confined to the identification of broad patterns of victimisation, of which the main findings are outlined below.

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF CRIME IN CAPE TOWN

- Almost half of Cape Town's residents (49,6 per cent) were victims of crime over a five-year period (1993-1997). Cape Town thus has a lower level of victimisation across crime types compared to Johannesburg (63 per cent) and Durban (59 per cent).
- Reporting to the police varied according to crime type. Most property crimes are well reported, while only about half of some violent and interpersonal crimes (such as assault) ever come to the police's attention (see figure 8).
- The main reason cited by citizens for not reporting incidents to the police was that it was unnecessary to do so given the seriousness of the offence (38 per cent). This was followed by respondents' perceptions that the police were not around or were not to be trusted (32 per cent) (see figure 9). Of those victims who reported crimes to the police, the majority were not satisfied with the way in which the police dealt with their reports.
- Between 1993 and 1997, levels of victimisation in Cape Town were as follows: burglary (18,1 per cent); robbery or mugging (15,6 per cent); vehicle theft (13,5 per cent); murder (9 per cent); assault (7,8 per cent) and hijacking (2,3 per cent). Burglary is thus the most common crime affecting the city's residents. This is true across race groups.
- African and coloured residents of Cape Town are mostly affected by violent and property crime, while white residents are disproportionately affected by property crime (see figure 5, figure 6 and figure 7). The victim survey indicates that those residents most at risk of crime are coloured men between the ages of 21 and 35 (see figure 2).
- Crime levels as reported to the victim survey for the years 1996 and 1997, do not indicate dramatic increases in crime in Cape Town (see figure 4). According to the survey, assault and robbery showed small increases, while burglary and vehicle theft showed small decreases. While this provides some indication of overall crime trends, the only way in which changes in crime levels can be measured more accurately by victim surveys is through conducting similar surveys at regular intervals

SPECIFICS OF CRIMINAL VICTIMISATION

- The vast majority of criminal victimisation reported to the survey occurred over the weekend. This was particularly the case for violent crimes, such as murder, assault and robbery or mugging.
- Victims of violent crime were the most at risk when visiting places of, or engaging in entertainment (see figure 12 and figure 14). Although the survey did not test it, a close correlation

between some categories of violent crime, such as assault and alcohol consumption, has been suggested by the results. Also, most assault and murder victims were reported to have been in a group, rather than alone, when the incident occurred (see figure 16).

- In the case of violent crime, a large proportion of victims knew their offenders either by name or by sight (see figure 17). This was much higher than in Johannesburg.
- The survey attempted to capture the extent of domestic violence. In particular, the vast majority of sexual assault victims knew their offenders by name or sight and most incidents occurred in the home or homes of families and friends (see figure 13).
- Seventeen per cent of respondents reported being a victim of the same crime type more than once (see figure 19). Coloured respondents were the most likely to be repeat victims across crime types (see figure 20).
- For the first time, the survey captured people's perceptions of gangs in their area in Cape Town. Of those respondents living in former coloured areas in the north of Cape Town, 96,7 per cent believed there were gangs operating there (see figure 31). The high perceptions of gang activity in the Cape Flats and the former coloured suburbs in the south of Cape Town are consistent with general perceptions. Most surprising was the 81 per cent of people living in African areas who thought gangs were operating there. This provides the first concrete indication of the growth of gang activity in these areas and is confirmed by police information.
- The survey also attempted to measure the extent to which victims believed their crime was gang-related. Robbery or mugging and murder reflected high levels of gang-related activity (see figure 33).
- The survey findings suggest more generally that gang-related crimes instil high levels of fear across the city, and particularly in areas where gang activities are prominent.

FEAR OF CRIME

The vast majority of Cape Town residents (77 per cent) believe that, compared to previous years, crime has increased in their areas (see figure 27). This perception applies across race and residential area (see figure 29). However, it is likely that these opinions are based on a number of prominent criminal incidents, including gang-related violence, at the time the survey was conducted. Despite this, and while difficult to measure accurately, this finding suggests that fear of crime in the city is high and that such fears and perceptions are likely to continue in the run-up to the election.

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 may be unlikely. Perceptions can also be influenced by the media, although direct links between fear of crime and media reporting are difficult to substantiate.

The complexity of the issue of fear of crime is borne out by the fact that different people feel unsafe in different places in Cape Town. While Africans and coloured respondents were more likely to fear crime in their areas of residence, white respondents, while feeling safer at home, were more likely to fear victimisation in the city centre (see figure 23).

Fear of crime in the inner city probably relates for whites to the actual risk of victimisation - particularly robbery and mugging - in the central business district in comparison with the suburbs. Fear of crime is also influenced by perceptions of governance issues relating to the management of, among others, litter, overcrowding and street trading. This racial breakdown of fear in the city centre is also prevalent in Johannesburg and Durban.

There is little difference in the levels of fear of crime between victims and non-victims. This suggests a

high level of fear among all citizens, even among those who have not experienced crime. In particular, fear of crime was the highest at night when the majority of both victims and non-victims felt very unsafe (see figure 24).

The victim survey suggests, however, that fear of crime does not necessarily match the risk of victimisation and that issues related to fear of crime need to be confronted as a policy challenge in their own right. In particular, respondents were more likely to feel safer after having changed their behaviour by taking precautions or other protective measures. Of concern however, is that 85 per cent of people living in Cape Town have no form of protection for their dwellings. In particular, poorer communities were the least likely to have forms of protection, with more than 80 per cent of African and coloured respondents having no protection (see figure 22).

PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

Evaluating police effectiveness in controlling crime is based on general feelings of safety (see above), the types of crime which people have been victims of, as well as the actual police performance in the areas in which people reside.

The majority of respondents (52,7 per cent) in Cape Town felt that the police were not doing a good job in controlling crime in their areas (see figure 40). This is ten per cent less than the comparative figure of 62 per cent of Johannesburg citizens who do not believe the police to be effective. In contrast, 22,8 per cent of the survey respondents in Cape Town felt that the police were doing a good job - a higher proportion than in both Johannesburg and Durban.

The majority of citizens thought that the police were doing a poor job because they viewed police responses as slow and inadequate. The lack of visible patrolling (20 per cent) often important in reducing the fear of crime, was the next most cited reason for the police doing a poor job. Unprofessional attitudes (17 per cent), followed by corruption (12 per cent) were further reasons.

However, these perceptions varied along racial lines (see figure 41). While this is consistent with the findings of the Durban and Johannesburg surveys, the distinction is more pronounced in Cape Town. Coloured people (67,3 per cent) and Africans (50,9 per cent) are more likely than whites (38,6 per cent) to think that the police are doing a poor job in controlling crime in their areas. Among others, this may relate to continued distrust between the police and citizens in some areas, as well as the skewed distribution of resources.

A more detailed breakdown of citizen perceptions of policing again shows the importance of race in defining perceptions (see figure 44). Whites are the most likely to think the police's conduct is professional (50,8 percent). They are also more inclined to perceive the police as doing a good job despite being hampered by high crime rates (12,8 per cent). By contrast, coloured respondents are the least likely to believe the police are professional and able to control crime. Africans are more inclined than any other group to think that the police lack government support (25 per cent). This is substantially more than the ten per cent attributed to this reason among coloureds and whites in Cape Town.

MAKING CAPE TOWN SAFER

Despite the poor perceptions of police performance outlined above, most residents of Cape Town look to the police both to ensure a safer city, as well as to provide assistance immediately after victimisation has occurred. Indeed, the majority of residents (28,2 per cent) believed that more resources should be given to the police. This was followed by assertions that better policing and law enforcement would go some way in reducing crime (see figure 34). This suggests that citizens believe that the police remain primarily responsible for maintaining their safety.

While there was general agreement across race groups that more resources to the police and better policing were the solutions to crime, race was the key variable in determining other solutions proposed for making Cape Town a safer place. The majority of African respondents believed that development was the solution to high levels of crime while most white people believed that harsher penalties were the

solution (see figure 35). Those with no schooling were much more likely to believe that development were key to the reduction in crime (see figure 36).

The survey also questioned respondents on the role that they could play as individual citizens in making Cape Town a safer place. Eighteen per cent of people living in Cape Town believe there is nothing they can do individually. Although high, this figure is lower than in Johannesburg and Durban. The majority of people who felt they could do something saw participating in community activities as important. This applies across race (see figure 39) and is consistent with the history of community involvement which characterises much of the Western Cape. Co-operation with the police by individuals is also seen as important.

In the light of the growing initiatives to empower victims of crime, both on a national and provincial level, the type of support which victims would have preferred, was questioned. The majority of victims across crime types wanted emotional support or counselling (for which they turn to family and friends and the police, before specialised agencies of which there was little awareness) followed by effective policing and protection. This confirms international findings that victims do not necessarily want financial compensation, but rather want to be protected effectively by a professional police service which is sympathetic to their basic needs, such as information on the way in which their cases are progressing.

RESULTS OF THE CAPE TOWN VICTIM SURVEY

VICTIM SURVEYS¹

Over the past thirty years, countries across the world have begun conducting victim surveys to fill the gaps left by official crime statistics.² 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 that experiences of crime and violence are not limited by the legal definitions of these acts.³

The surveys also canvass the views of the public and crime victims about their experiences with the police and the 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 the 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 pre-occupation 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.⁴ 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, which measured crime levels and perceptions of safety.⁵

The National Crime Prevention Strategy, released in May 1996, calls for a more accurate picture of crime and more information on the impact of crime on the lives of ordinary citizens. Recently, the Department of Safety and Security has commissioned a countrywide survey to be conducted during March 1998 in all nine provinces. This national victimisation survey ever to be conducted in South Africa and run by Central Statistics (CSS) will be the first official attempt to probe unreported crime levels. During the survey, personal interviews will be conducted with randomly selected persons in 4 000 households. Respondents will be asked to provide information on their experiences as victims of crime during the past five years, with a specific focus on crimes that occurred during 1997. The survey will

provide baseline data for future surveys, which will initially be repeated annually, and at a later date, every two years. By repeating the survey, a more accurate assessment of increases or decreases in crime, than that possible using police crime statistics, will be achieved.⁶

During recent months, the Institute for Security Studies with its research partner DRA Development, have conducted city surveys in Johannesburg⁷ (July 1997), Durban (December 1997) and Cape Town (February 1998). While based on questionnaires similar to that used by the International (Crime) Victim Survey (ICVS), direct comparisons between the data sets of these surveys and the ISS studies 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 metropolitan areas. Despite this difference, as well as the expectation 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 their 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.⁸

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.

In the case of sexual incidents, the quality and quantity of information reported to victim surveys is generally likely to be limited. Estimating the level of gender-based violence, utilising both police reports and through victimisation surveys, can be intensely problematic. While gender-based crimes recorded by the police are widely accepted as reflecting a small percentage of the actual incidence of sexual victimisation (i.e. it is estimated that only one out of every 35 rapes is reported to the police), victimisation surveys can also yield underestimations and inaccurate results for a variety of reasons.

Firstly, women who are or have been victims of gender-based crimes, particularly sexual assault, are rarely in a position to discuss this violation in public. For the very reasons that survivors of sexual assault do not report incidents to the police (embarrassment, self-blame, fear of not being believed, trauma of official action, secondary victimisation by state officials or fear of retaliation), survivors of sexual assaults may also be extremely reluctant to confide in unknown interviewers about questions of a sexual nature. Rape is not only a traumatic experience for the victim, but also the only crime for which the victim is often socially stigmatised. More so than any other crime, there are strong pressures on the victim not to report the incident to a complete stranger.⁹ Research has also shown that many women are reluctant to report sexual victimisation when they feel that they should have predicted when a man would act violently toward them.¹⁰ Feeling responsible for the attack is unfortunately a very common reaction for women. Clearly, victimisation surveys need more anonymous and confidential modes of acquiring sensitive victim information.

Secondly, while criminal justice definitions of sexual offences are narrow, the respondent of the victimisation survey may also perceive the crime within this legal framework. For example, current rape law is gender, object and orifice specific (for rape to have occurred the woman's vagina must have been penetrated by the man's penis) and the victim, based on her knowledge or understanding of sexual assault, may likely disregard sexual violations that do not fit the prevailing legal or social definitions of sexual assault. In other words, the survey may not capture the broad range of violations experienced by women identified by researchers and service providers. Some women may be reluctant to admit a

violation even took place at all.

Further, like legal and social definitions of rape and sexual assault, victimisation surveys may impose predetermined definitions of sexual victimisation, also narrowing the scope of responses. A review of twenty studies of rape prevalence showed a wide variety of estimates, in large part due to the kinds of questions asked, the way they were asked and whether the respondents were probed for further information.¹¹

In principle, victimisation surveys offer an alternative approach to the measurement of sexual victimisation by taking into account women's experiences of sexual crimes, and whether they have reported the crime to the police or not. In practice, however, the reliability of survey measurements of victimisation is still highly questioned by feminist researchers who argue that victimisation surveys need to be radically reworked so that disclosure of sexual violations are facilitated with far more sensitive and informed methodologies.

It can safely be argued that there will be substantial attrition between assaults that are reported to the police, assaults that are revealed in victimisation surveys and the actual number of gender-based offences that occur. There is considerable doubt whether the number of affirmative answers about sexual victimisation represents a reliable account. Criticisms of conventional survey approaches in measuring sexual victimisation abound: *"Errors which apply generally to measuring victimisation also apply to sexual victimisation ... the principle ones being sampling error, memory problems, the tendency to pull forward relevant incidents in time and 'routine', non-response owing to concerns about the validity of the survey [and] lack of time."*¹²

The combination of these factors may indeed underplay the frequency and extent of sexual victimisation recorded by the survey in the Greater Cape Metropolitan area. If anything, this survey of victims on the issues of sexual assault and harassment, reveals the reluctance of women to disclose these violations. Recognising the limitations of general victimisation surveys in capturing information about sexual offences in an accurate and sensitive manner, the Institute for Security Studies will be conducting a focused Women's Survey in Johannesburg during 1998.

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.

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, is of more concern. 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 Cape Town survey, in the context of financial and time constraints, required careful consideration.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The Cape Town victim survey was initiated to gain an understanding of the levels of crime and violence in the different communities within the Cape Town Metropolitan Council. This entailed:

- the collection, collation and synthesising of all existing and available research and information on generic types of communities (including demographic statistics) and residential areas located within the Cape Town metropolis;

- 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;
- the identification of the ratio of victims to non-victims of crime by race and residential area; and
- the development of the necessary sampling formulae to accommodate this.

The administration of interviews in an uncontrolled environment, such as on the street, at nodal interchanges, and in other public spaces such as places of welfare, is unique to the street survey methodology. This is a significant departure from typical crime surveys that rely either on face-to-face interviews in a controlled environment, or on postal surveys. Such surveys have advantages, but are both expensive and time consuming to administer. Given the financial constraints of the project, it was decided to conduct a survey based on a street sample instead. This methodology had been applied in similar studies conducted by the ISS both in Durban and in Johannesburg.¹³ This resulted in the calculated application of a more refined research methodology in Cape Town. Careful planning was required to establish the sample size and sample points. This was done in a number of stages.

Stage 1

From the outset, it was decided that the survey results should be analysed categorically by race, gender, age and type of residential settlement. A departure from the Durban and Johannesburg surveys included the separation of the grid questionnaire (which provided a profile of both victims and non-victims in the metropolis by age, race, residential area, crime type, victimisation level, as well as repeat victimisation and multiple victimisation) for the determination of victimisation ratios (no sexual crimes were asked in the grid). In this scan survey, 3 839 people were approached in 54 areas across the metropolis, plotting the incidence of crime. In each sampling node, 72 respondents were approached in four age categories, half of which were male and half female. This provided a minimum subsample of eighteen respondents in each age and gender category. Prior to approaching the respondents, no distinction was made between victims and non-victims. The only screening criterion was age.

In the more detailed experience and perception survey, 2 000 people (1 000 victims and 1 000 non-victims) were approached. In this survey, sixty sampling nodes were selected. Variables for analysis were applied similar to those in the grid survey, namely race, gender, age and type of residential settlement, with a minimum subsample of eight in each age and gender category.

Stage 2

It was decided that, although the research could not be representative of individual substructures within the Cape Town Metropolitan Council, it should represent the various area types within the metropolis. It was also accepted that there are very few areas in Cape Town that lack a residential population, thus all geographic localities were included in the sample framework.

In order to target the correct types of sample areas, the selection had to be undertaken in such a manner that each different residential generic typology was represented by at least one sample point. In order to ensure that the selection of the sample points covered the entire metropolis, and that all residential generic typologies were represented, a total of 54 primary sample points were identified for the grid survey. Another sixty primary sample points were identified for the detailed survey. Primary sample points were suburbs, townships, inner city areas or informal settlements.

Within each primary sample point it was important to select a number of secondary sample points where the interviews were to be administered. It was decided that at least five different secondary sample points were to be identified within each primary sample point. Secondary sample points included:

- shopping and recreation centres (shopping malls, flea markets, corner cafés and stores, plazas, spazas, shebeens, sports grounds, public parks and major streets);

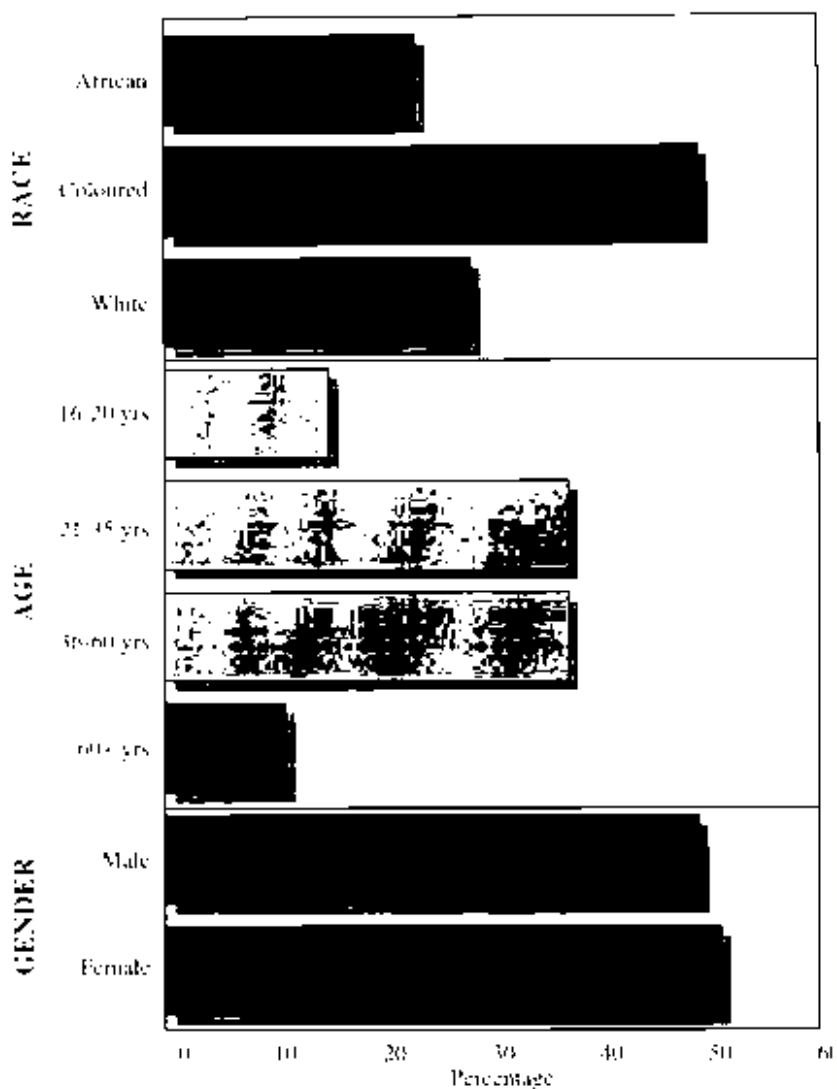
- transport nodes (taxi ranks, bus stops, railway stations and parking lots);
- education centres (schools, universities and technikons);
- health and welfare centres (pension pay-out points, civic buildings, hospitals); and
- residential areas (private homes, old-age centres, apartment blocks and informal 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, by both time-delay and locality factors.

Figure 1: Demographic profile of weighted sample in the Cape Town victim survey: race, age and gender February 1998



Stage 3

The questionnaire was refined through the experiences and results of the Durban and Johannesburg victim surveys. The pilot survey was thus restricted to being a training tool for refining interview techniques, measuring the length of the questionnaire and establishing a respondent sampling technique. During the pilot survey, 128 questionnaires were administered.¹⁴ The length of the Cape Town survey was marginally longer at 15 to 20 minutes than those in Johannesburg and Durban, due to the addition of gang-related questions. Clearly, respondents wanted to speak about their experiences and the longer than standard questionnaire did not reduce the response rate. On the contrary, fieldworkers often had difficulty in terminating interviews.

Coinciding with previous findings, it was confirmed that male enumerators could only interview men, while female enumerators could be utilised to interview both men and women. Of interest was the fact that cross-race interviews were undertaken with relative ease. This suggests that the issue of crime and violence transcends racial inhibitions. Despite this finding, and as a precaution, the race of the interviewer in the final survey matched that of the respondent.

Linked to the finding that enumerators dressed in an identifiable 'uniform', as opposed to ordinary casual attire, have a higher success rate both in terms of selecting respondents and the time taken to execute each subsample, it was decided to dress the field teams accordingly. Each fieldworker wore an identifiable T-shirt, cap and bag bearing the logo of DRA Development, the survey company, and the Institute for Security Studies.

An important component of the pilot study 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. During the actual fieldwork stage, dummy respondents 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, but were all residents of metropolitan Cape Town. The fieldworkers attended a half-day training course that was followed by a number of training interviews. These interviews were undertaken both in a controlled environment to check for knowledge and technique, and in the field to test interviewers' actual abilities. In addition to the training, the field teams were subjected to a half-day workshop on how to empathise with respondents who were victims and how to 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.

In addition to the sensitivity counselling, fieldworkers were carefully selected from community-based structures, specifically from previously disadvantaged communities. People involved at the grassroots level largely had a prior awareness of the type of circumstances that existed within certain communities, which promoted a greater level of empathy with respondents.

In total, fourteen enumerators and two supervisors were divided into three teams that were used for the fieldwork process.

Stage 5

In the scan survey, a total of 3 839 interviews were undertaken during a seven-day period in January 1998 (as shown in the table below).

	SAMPLE	VICTIMS	NON-VICTIMS
Gender			

Male	1 959	1 050	909
Female	1 880	854	1 026
Race			
African	594	329	265
White	1 686	779	907
Coloured/Asian	1 559	796	763
Age			
16-20	1 005	503	502
21-35	1 265	641	624
36-60	935	457	478
60+	634	303	331
TOTAL	3 839	1 904	1 935

LEVELS OF VICTIMISATION IN CAPE TOWN (1993 - 1997)

- Almost half of Cape Town's residents (49,6 per cent) were victims of crime over a five-year period (1993-1997).
- Burglary is the most common crime affecting the city's residents (18,1 per cent).
- Although this type of property crime is the most prevalent, violent crimes and, in particular, robbery or mugging (15,6 per cent) and assault (7,8 per cent) are also prevalent.
- African and coloured residents of Cape Town are disproportionately affected by violent crime, while whites are mainly affected by property crimes.
- Most of the crimes happened to men between the ages of 21 and 35 years.
- Based on crimes reported by victims over several years, crime levels, as reported in the victim survey, stabilised during 1996 and 1997.

PROFILE OF VICTIMS BY RACE, AGE AND GENDER

Almost half of Cape Town's residents (or in some cases, members of their households) were victims of crime over a five-year period between 1993 and 1997. While high, compared to Johannesburg and Durban, Cape Town has a lower victimisation rate. In Johannesburg and Durban, 63 per cent and 59 per cent of people respectively had experienced crime over a five-year period.

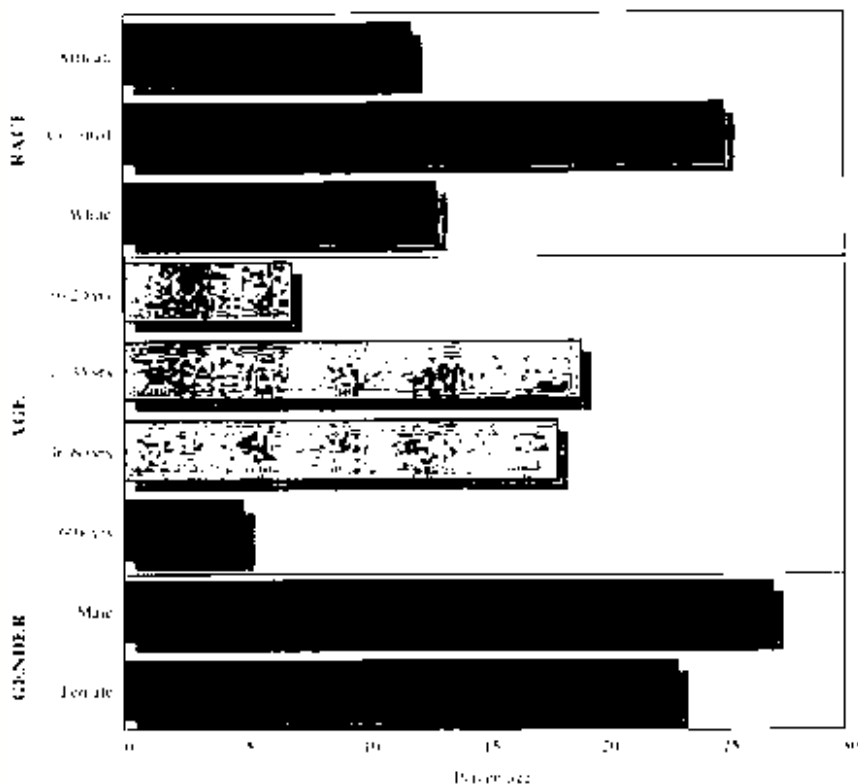
Criminal victimisation does not affect people equally and, for a variety of reasons, race, age and gender may all play a role in determining who is the most at risk of victimisation by crime, and particular crime types.

By race, the survey found that coloured people, who constituted 49 per cent of the sample population, were victimised the most, followed by whites and Africans. Across crime types, it appears that both Africans and coloured people are disproportionately victimised in terms of the populations they represent, while whites are slightly less at risk of victimisation. When analysed by crime type, Africans and coloured people are disproportionately victimised by violent crimes, while whites are largely

victimised by property crime.

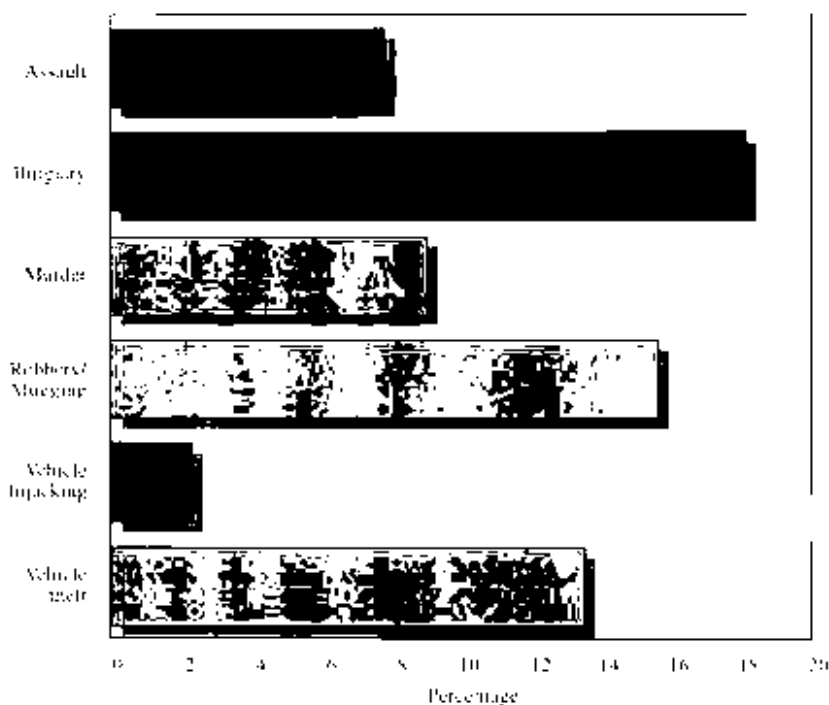
Of the victim sample, across crime types, people between the ages of 21 and 35 years were mostly victimised (39 per cent), followed by those between 36 and 60 years (36 per cent), between 16 and 20 years (15 per cent) and over 60 years (10 per cent). Internationally, it has been found that a younger age group (16-24) are the most at risk of victimisation. However, it has been argued that the higher age group who is at risk of victimisation in South Africa may be explained by the notion of the 'lost generation' who has grown up in and is pursuing a lifestyle which may offer opportunities for victimisation.

Figure 2: Demographic profile of victims in Cape Town: race, age and gender (1993 - 1997)



Fifty four per cent of all victims were men, who constitute 49 per cent of the population of Cape Town. For general victimisation rates across crime types, men are significantly more at risk of being victimised than women. However, men and women may be victimised disproportionately by individual crime types. According to the survey results, men are the most at risk of violent crime in Cape Town. 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 more developed countries where data are available, 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.¹⁵

Figure 3: Levels of victimisation in Cape Town by crime type (1993 - 1997)



VICTIMISATION RATES BY CRIME TYPE

When considered according to specific crime types, respondents in Cape Town reported having been victimised (both personally or household) by the following crimes:

- burglary (18,1 per cent);
- robbery or mugging (15,6 per cent);
- vehicle theft (13,5 per cent);
- murder (9 per cent);
- assault (7,8 per cent); and
- hijacking (2,3 per cent).

The most common crime experienced by the city's residents between 1993 and 1997 was burglary, with 18,1 per cent of people reporting this crime to the survey. The second most frequently reported incident was vehicle theft (13,5 per cent), followed by violent crimes: robbery or mugging (15,6 per cent), murder (9 per cent) and assault (7,8 per cent). As is the case in many developing countries, the majority of assaults were of a serious nature, with 57,8 per cent involving the use of a weapon.

The prevalence of burglary in Cape Town is not surprising: of 54 countries and cities surveyed by the ICVS, burglary was the crime type occurring the most often in Africa.¹⁶ Vehicle theft, which is the crime most likely to affect city residents according to other victim surveys, happened to just over 13,5 per cent of respondents between 1993 and 1997 according to the ISS survey. Comparative studies both locally and abroad show that the risk of having a vehicle stolen is twice as high for car owners as for the general population. In Cape Town, this also appears to be the case.

Of thirteen developing countries surveyed by the ICVS, property crimes, such as burglary and car theft, occurred the most frequently, followed by serious violent crimes, including robbery and assault. Despite the overall predominance of property crimes, levels of violent crime are nevertheless the highest in sub-Saharan African and Latin American countries.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ These trends are reflected in Cape Town.

VICTIM SURVEYS AND POLICE STATISTICS

A detailed comparison between police statistics and those of the Cape Town 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.

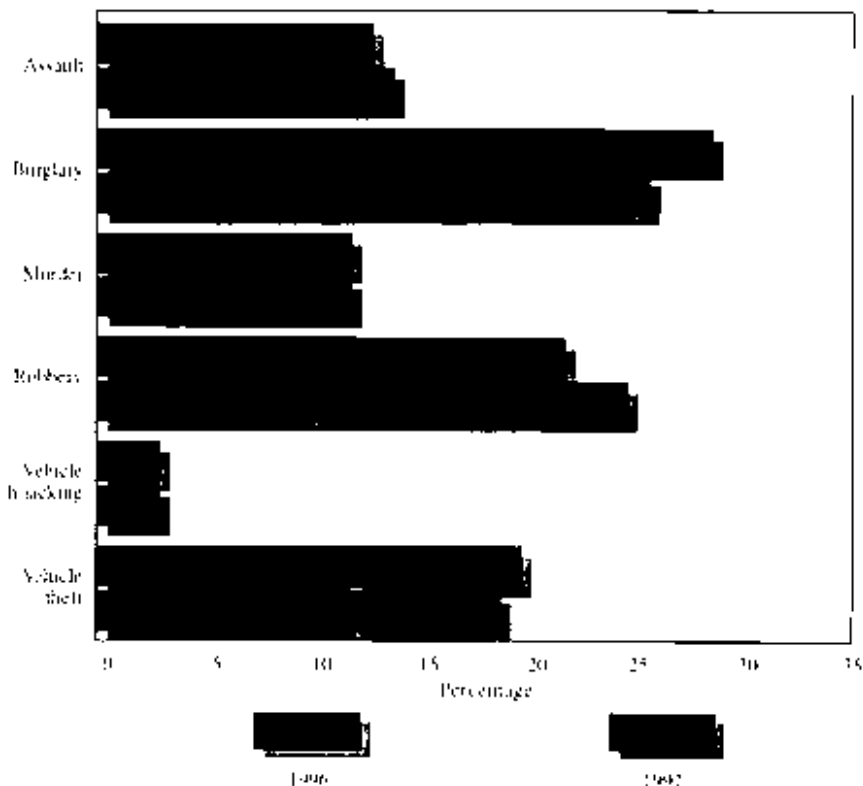
Police statistics (January-September 1997) indicate that crime ratios measured per 100 000 of the population in the police area of Cape Town (divided into East and West metropole) fall into the top ten across the country:¹⁹

Police areas in Cape Town falling within the top ten in the country*	
Police area	Crime type
East metropole	Murder, attempted murder, rape
East metropole	Housebreaking (business), common assault
East metropole	Housebreaking residential
West metropole	Housebreaking business, attempted murder
West metropole	Other robbery
West metropole	Housebreaking residential
East metropole	Robbery aggravating circumstances
East metropole	Assault - GBH
* Only comparable crime types reported to the victim survey are shown	

The most prevalent property crime type recorded by the victim survey, namely burglary, is among the highest in the country in the West metropole according to police statistics. Murder, attempted murder and rape in the Western Cape's East metropole are the highest in the country. Assault recorded in the East metropole is the ninth highest in the country. According to police statistics, Cape Town therefore has among the highest levels of violent crime and some property crimes, like burglary.

While crime levels recorded by police statistics and the survey differ, there are similarities in relation to the shift in crime rates over the past couple of years. In terms of the latest SAPS Crime Information Management Centre (CIMC) report which shows crime levels in the Western Cape between 1994-1997, it appears as if particular crime types in the East and West metropole - the police areas in which the survey was mainly conducted - demonstrate similar trends to the survey. For example, robberies increased in both areas from 1996 to 1997, as did assaults.

Figure 4: Levels of victimisation in Cape Town by crime type (1996 and 1997)

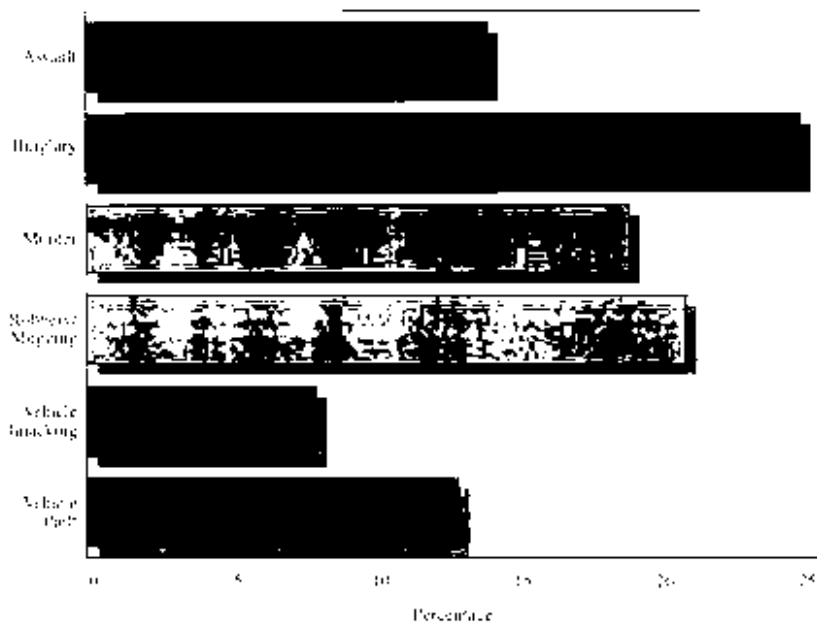


Victim surveys generally ask respondents to recall crimes which have happened to them over a period of five years. Using a five-year period reduces the risk of 'telescoping' where respondents are more likely to remember the most recent incidents. If respondents are not pressed to consider a longer period of time, they tend to report most victimisation over the past year or two, which inflates the actual victimisation rate.

Respondents were asked to indicate the year in which particular crimes happened to them. Changes recorded between 1996 and 1997 are thus based on when victims in the survey sample said crimes happened to them. When comparing levels of victimisation across crime types for 1996 and 1997, the general observation can be made that levels of criminal victimisation across crime types in Cape Town are stabilising, albeit at high levels.

According to the survey, crime types which happened more frequently in 1997 than in 1996 were assault and robbery. Burglary and vehicle theft decreased marginally in 1997, while hijacking and murder stabilised during 1997.

Figure 5: Levels of victimisation in Cape Town by crime type: African victims (1993 - 1997)



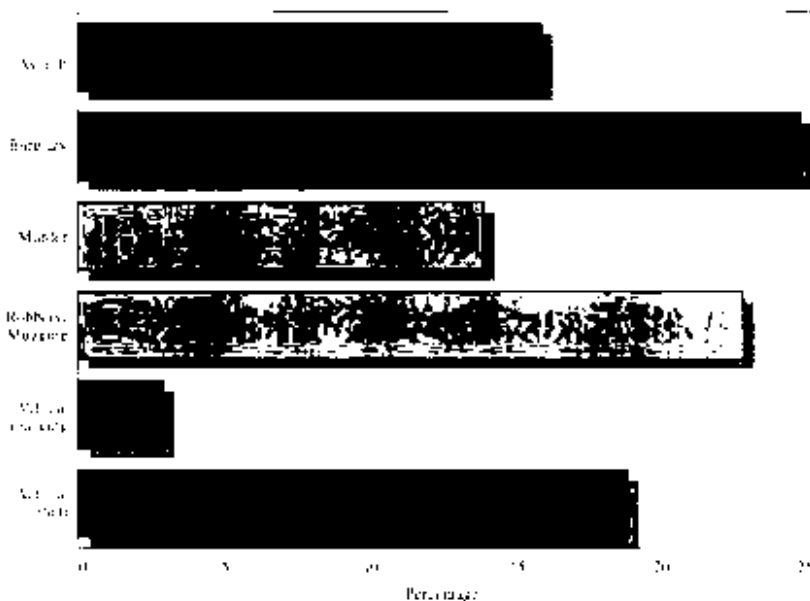
PEOPLE MOST AT RISK OF VICTIMISATION BY SPECIFIC CRIMES

Africans living in Cape Town reported being victims of burglary (25 per cent), robbery (21 per cent), murder (19 per cent), assault (14 per cent), vehicle theft (13 per cent), and hijacking (8 per cent).

Coloured people living in Cape Town reported being victims of burglary (25 per cent), robbery (23 per cent), vehicle theft (19 per cent), assault (16 per cent), murder (14 per cent), and hijacking (3 per cent).

Whites living in Cape Town reported being victims of burglary (40 per cent), robbery (23 per cent), vehicle theft (19 per cent), assault (16 per cent), murder (14 per cent), and hijacking (3 per cent).

Figure 6: Levels of victimisation in Cape Town by crime type: coloured victims (1993 - 1997)

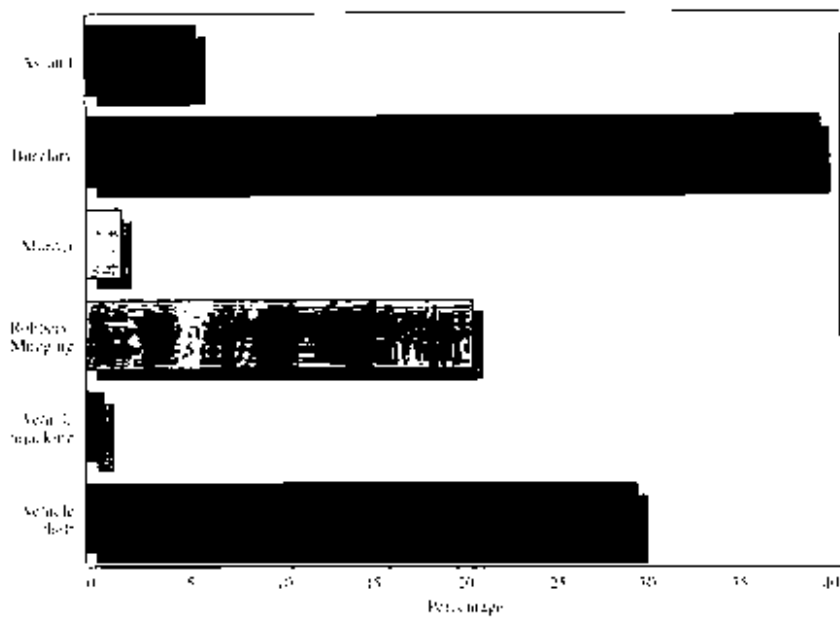


Considering victimisation across crime types by race points to the fact that whites are more likely to be victimised by property crimes (burglary (40 per cent) and vehicle theft (30 per cent)). This is not surprising as crimes which are aimed at property affect those people and situations that present the greatest opportunities for theft. For example, the survey shows that whites are more likely to own two or more vehicles than other races.

Whereas Africans and coloured people are also at risk of being victimised by property crimes, Africans are the most at risk of murder (19 per cent) and hijacking (8 per cent). Coloured people are the most likely of all the groups to be victimised by assault (16 per cent). Robbery, which is both a property and a violent crime, affects all people living in Cape Town to a similar extent, although coloured people (23 per cent) and whites (23 per cent) are slightly more at risk.

One of the reasons why coloured people and Africans are more at risk of violent crime in Cape Town may be their comparatively limited access to police and other criminal justice resources which have been skewed in the past in favour of white South Africans. Police resources remain unevenly spread, with estimates in 1996 showing well over half of the police stations still located in the former white areas.²⁰ Coloured people and Africans are also more likely to have gangs operating in their areas, with associated violence. In South Africa, uncontrolled and high levels of alcohol consumption in an environment of poverty have also been associated with crime, in particular, violent crime.²¹

Figure 7: Levels of victimisation in Cape Town by crime type: white victims (1993 - 1997)



SEXUAL ASSAULT

In terms of sexual assault - the question was asked of male and female respondents - of the 930 female respondents who participated in the survey, 32 (0,04 per cent) reported experiencing sexual assaults. Sexual assault had the lowest response rate of all the crime types in this survey. Underreporting to interviewers is more likely to account for the low response rate rather than actual low levels of sexual assault. More generally, the sample of sexual assault victims recorded by this survey is too small to draw detailed conclusions or to detect regional patterns of sexual violations. However, some tentative conclusions can be made.

The responses of people in Cape Town to the survey reveal more detailed information about the circumstances surrounding sexual assault than cases reported to the police. The results can also provide at least some initial understanding of why survivors of sexual assaults do not report these to the police. In this way, survey findings may serve to demystify unfounded myths about sexual assault, such as the belief that offenders tend to be strangers to their victims, that women are the most vulnerable in public places (open fields, parking lots, alleys) rather than at home, and that these crimes primarily occur late at night.

Comparative statistics on sexual assault (including rape and attempted rape) from other sources give a

more accurate picture of these crimes in the Western Cape. For example, the most recent South African Police Service CIMC quarterly report on rape and attempted rape states that, between January and September 1997, 36 137 rapes (including attempted rapes) were reported to the police nationally, a 19,4 per cent increase from the first three quarters of the previous year. In the Western Cape, 1 323 of these incidents occurred in the West metropole, 1 288 in the Boland region, 1 610 in the East metropole and 641 in the Southern Cape. The East metropole and the Southern Cape (along with seven other police areas in the country) have the top rape ratios, varying from 131 to 194 per 100 000 of the population, compared to national figures which range from 37 to 194. CIMC also reports that "*the incidence of rape is **again** on the increase after showing signs of stabilisation during the first 6 months of 1997.*"²² Comparing the South African crime ratios with 1994 Interpol ratios reported for 89 member states, the CIMC also reveals that South Africa remains in an "*undisputed first place*" as far as reported cases of rape are concerned. However, caution needs to be applied to police statistics on rape.

Of the 32 participants in the victim survey who disclosed incidents of sexual assault, 16 per cent were African women, 68 per cent were coloured women and 16 per cent were white women. Coloured women are disproportionately victimised. This is confirmed by the finding that women in historically coloured areas (in both the northern and southern suburbs, and in the Cape Flats), face a higher risk of being sexually victimised.

The survey found that women under the age of 25 are the most vulnerable to sexual assault. Figures from Rape Crisis confirm this. Statistics from 1994-1997 from one of their three Cape Town offices also show that, during this four-year period, they received 6 551 calls for counselling, advice and referrals and during these four years, provided counselling to more than 1 000 survivors of rape. During the same period, 31 per cent of Rape Crisis' clients were under the age of eighteen, and 75 per cent under the age of 25.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

To date, research into the extent of sexual harassment in South Africa is very limited. Vetten, however, reports that one survey²³ suggests that 67 per cent of working women have experienced harassment, while another²⁴ reports that 76 per cent of female respondents have been harassed. Only 55 people reported to the victim survey that they had been sexually harassed. Of the 55 respondents who disclosed experiences of sexual harassment, only three were male. The results of the sexual harassment category of this survey, like other surveys, are gender-skewed.²⁵ Some believe that sexual harassment is the inevitable result of women's historic and current economically and socially inferior position to men, rendering them much more vulnerable to harassment. This does not underplay the reality, however, that victims of sexual harassment may come from all age groups, occupations, educational levels and racial backgrounds.

It seems remarkable, however, that so few respondents, especially women, reported harassment to the survey. The reason for the low response rate to this particular category is probably due to the definition of harassment used in the interview schedule. It reads: "*people sometimes grab or touch others against their will, or persistently harass them for sexual reasons.*" This operational definition is narrow and could have included a far broader interpretation of sexual harassment. The definition employed in this survey more closely approximates the criminal law definition of *crimen injuria*. It is largely due to the narrowness of the definition used in the interviews, that most women, who had actually experienced sexual harassment, did not report having experienced sexual harassment. Undoubtedly, the response rate for this category would have been substantially higher. Also, in requiring the respondents to speak only about their most recent experiences of sexual harassment, the survey findings are inherently limited in that they diminish the notion of sexual harassment to a single event rather than an ongoing occurrence in many victims' lives. This requirement also interposes the link that ongoing harassment can have with other forms of violence (stalking, coercion, threats of physical violence and rape).

Of the 55 reported incidents of sexual harassment, 20 per cent of the respondents were African, 41 per cent were coloured and 39 per cent were white. The reason for the proportionally lower incidence of sexual harassment among African people, who constitute 23 per cent of the sample population, cannot be

drawn conclusively. Possibly, such statements as "*there is no sexual harassment in our culture ... sexual harassment is a Western idea*", drawn from participants in workshops conducted by the Sexual Harassment Educational Project (SHEP),²⁶ confines some African women to tolerance of this type of incident. The notion that there is no sexual harassment within some cultures or customs, not only condones the victimisation of women, but perpetuates women's feelings of self-blame and reluctance to report these incidents.

Having examined general levels of victimisation in Cape Town over a five-year period by crime types by age, race and gender, it is important to look at who reported crime to the police before analysing the particular circumstances surrounding crime in Cape Town.

REPORTING CRIME

Summary

- **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.**
- **The main reasons for not reporting crime to the police are that victims deemed it unnecessary (38 per cent) or were distrustful of the police (32 per cent).**
- **Of those victims who reported crimes, the vast majority were not satisfied with the way in which the police dealt with their reports.**

REPORTING CRIME TO THE POLICE

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 who are at the frontline of the criminal justice system and responsible for protecting citizens. On the other hand, victims may choose not to report the incident to the police for a variety of reasons. Reporting is far from consistent across crime types and depends on a range of factors, including perceptions of the police service.

Although the general distribution of crime types in 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. The extent to which official crime figures are accurate, or merely a reflection of reporting tendencies, can usefully be assessed by comparison to the victim survey data.

Victims were asked whether they, or someone else, had reported the most recent crimes they had experienced to the police.

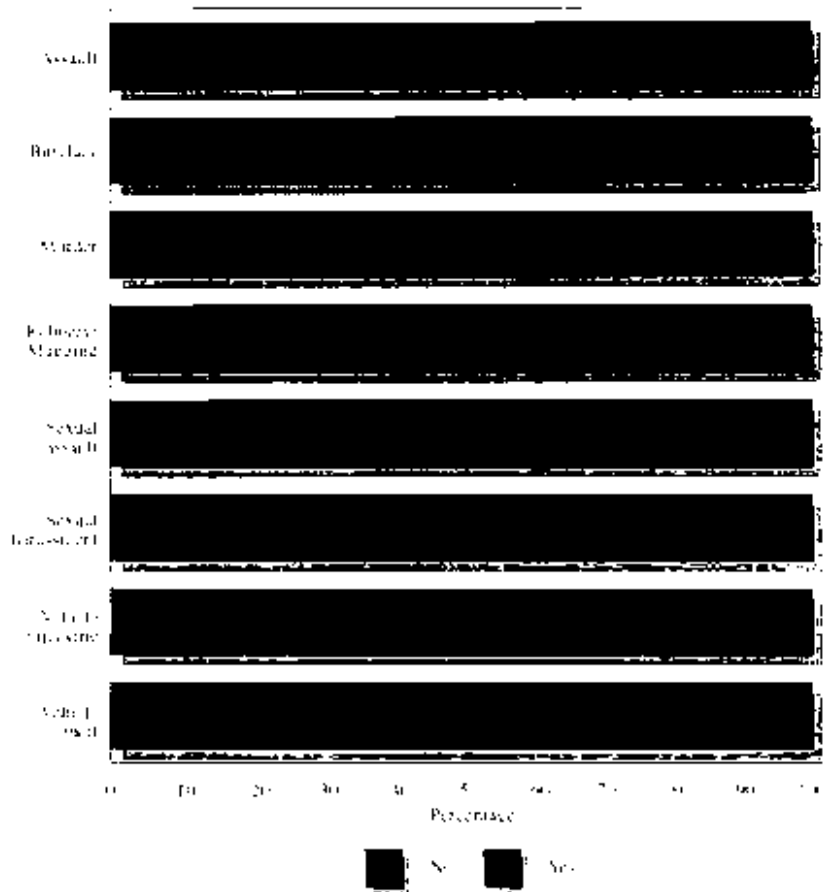
Across crime types, the majority of cases were reported to the police. While these trends indicate that reporting is perhaps generally higher than expected in Cape Town (given the scepticism with which police performance and official crime statistics are regarded), the tendencies for reporting specific crimes to the police vary substantially across property and violent crimes. The following percentages of crimes had been reported to the police:

- murder (93 per cent);
- vehicle theft (93 per cent);
- burglary (85 per cent);
- hijacking (77 per cent);

- robbery or mugging (47 per cent);
- assault (43 per cent);
- sexual assault (36 per cent); and
- sexual harassment (25 per cent).

Reporting differs not only for different crime types, but also according to the experiences of different people. When broken down by racial categories across crime types, whites were the most likely to report crime to the police and coloured people the least likely.

Figure 8: Reporting by crime type



Property crimes

Insurance-related property crimes, such as vehicle theft, hijacking and burglary, have high reporting rates. Across property crimes, whites and those living in the former white suburbs are more likely to report crimes to the police. They are also more likely to be insured, according to the survey. For instance, 82 per cent of white victims of vehicle theft had insured their cars, compared to only 47,2 per cent of coloured victims.

In Cape Town, more than 90 per cent of car thefts and 85 per cent of burglaries were reported to the police. Given that Cape Town has notoriously high levels of these particular crimes, it is likely that many people do insure their property. The majority of vehicle theft victims were insured (64 per cent), while only 45 per cent of burglary victims had insured their property. Since insurance claims require a case number, this may compel victims to report the crime. This explanation is more convincing than that which suggests that victims report these crimes in the hope of recovering their property or punishing the offender. The survey found that those who were insured for vehicle theft and burglary are more likely to report such crimes to the police. Of those who reported burglaries to the police, 93 per cent were insured, while 78 per cent were not. Only 47 per cent of robbery or mugging victims reported these crimes to the

police. In these cases, the police are often not notified, since the items stolen are unlikely to be insured (only 8 per cent had insured items), and the chances of the police recovering the property or arresting the perpetrator are slight.

Violent crimes

The reporting of violent interpersonal crimes is influenced by significantly different factors than for property crimes. The need for help often encourages people to report violent crimes, but a lack of confidence in the police, and fear or dislike by victims, can discourage reporting.²⁷

The high reporting figure for murder (93 per cent) relates to the seriousness of the crime and the necessity for police involvement, for instance, to issue an official death certificate before a body can be buried. However, lack of reporting of a murder to the police does not necessarily mean the incident will not be reported in official figures, since the police or others may independently come across a murder victim's body. Those living in informal areas had a slightly lower reporting rate. Reporting rates for other violent crimes such as assault, however, are lower than for property crimes with only 43 per cent of assault victims contacting the police. This is probably because these crimes are regarded as less serious and because criminal justice action after reporting is unlikely. Many assault victims, especially coloured people, are repeat victims (48 per cent) and assault charges are often later withdrawn by the victim (usually because they know the offender and fear the consequences). However, the fact that most of these incidents involve the use of a weapon (over 60 per cent), and thus may cause serious injury, may incline victims or friends and families to report the attack.

On the basis of these reporting patterns, the victim survey indicates that police crime statistics for serious property crimes in Cape Town (and serious violent crimes which involve the theft of valuable items) are largely accurate. The same cannot be said for violent interpersonal crimes nor for sexual crimes. Those living in less affluent parts of Cape Town, such as the former coloured areas in the north and the former African and informal areas, are the least likely to report their experiences. Since the survey shows that these people are especially at risk of violent crime, it is likely that violent crime rates are even higher in Cape Town than official statistics suggest.

Sexual crimes

Of those who did respond to this part of the survey, 32 per cent of sexual assault victims reported the crime to the police, with white women the most likely to report such incidents. This figure is clearly much higher than police estimates of the number of cases of sexual assault which are reported (1 out of 35 cases). These findings must be viewed with caution, given both the size of the sample and the possibility that victims, for fear of being blamed, or seen as responsible, may have answered affirmatively. The survey results probably indicate that women who are prepared to report their experiences to the police are also likely to relate them in a survey interview. Only one quarter of sexual harassment victims reported the incident to the police, with African respondents less likely to do so (58 per cent).

REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING

Victims of crime in Cape Town who did not report crimes to the police were asked to list the reasons for their decision. Of those victims who had not reported an incident to the police, an open-ended response captured their explanations. The responses were grouped into five categories.

The following reasons, in order of frequency, were listed as explanations for not reporting crime to the police:

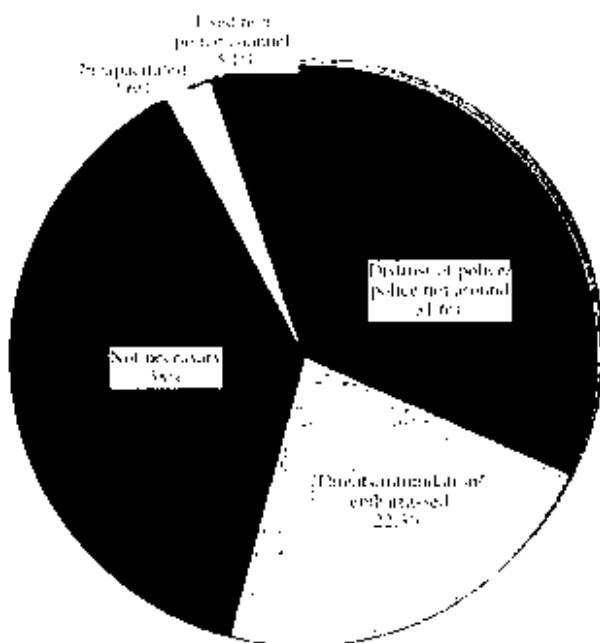
- not necessary (38 per cent);
- distrust of police or police not around (32 per cent);
- threats or intimidation or embarrassed (22 per cent);
- non-police channels used (5 per cent); and

- incapacitated (3 per cent), for example, due to alcohol or injury.

The most common explanation 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. This is also the trend in Cape Town. A lack of evidence, inappropriate police action and the existence of compensation benefits for victims of violent crime are also factors which influence reporting. Also in line with local trends, the perception internationally 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. Finally, victims sometimes prefer to deal with the incident themselves.²⁸

The high percentage of those who did not report crimes, thinking it was not necessary (38 per cent), raises a number of questions about the seriousness with which people regard particular criminal incidents. Details about the degree of seriousness, however, were not asked in the questionnaire. The fact that there is still distrust of the police and that respondents thought the police are not around in particular areas (32 per cent) is concerning. The large number of victims who either felt embarrassed, threatened or intimidated (22 per cent), could indicate that victims of particular crimes, such as assault or sexual violence, have to live with the consequences of reporting their cases to the police. When measured against the risks they might encounter in taking such an action, reporting may not be feasible. That people were scared of gangs was also grouped into this category. This may also relate to the fear that the police will inform the accused of who reported the crime, with potentially violent repercussions.

Figure 9: Reasons for not reporting crime to the police



Women who did not report sexual assault incidents to the police cited three major reasons: they were too afraid, they knew the offender, or they were too ashamed to tell anyone. The two most common reasons why victims did not report sexual assaults to the police were that they were too afraid (38 per cent) and that they felt it was unnecessary (21 per cent). Fear of reprisal and intimidation as a reason for non-reporting among sexual assault victims is significantly higher than the 22,3 per cent across all crime types. Perhaps the wide range of harassing behaviour and the threatening, intimidating and violent form it may take, contributes to the reluctance of women to inform the police about the harassment. Furthermore, sexual assault victims and victims of sexual harassment often feel they are to blame, humiliated or embarrassed, thus intensifying the resistance to report. Others may deny, ignore or redefine the experience as a means of reducing the stress of victimisation.²⁹

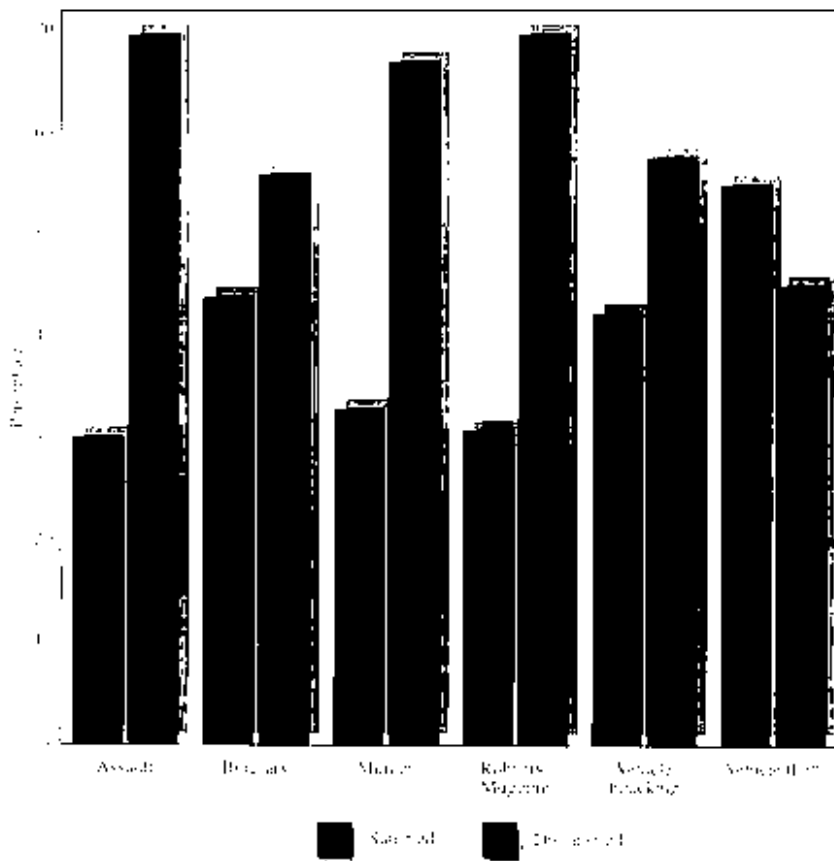
LEVELS OF SATISFACTION WITH THE POLICE

Those who had come into contact with the police were asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they had been with the way in which the police dealt with their report. The majority were dissatisfied with the police.

Levels of dissatisfaction according to different crime types were the following:

- assault (69,7 per cent);
- robbery or mugging (69,1 per cent);
- murder (67 per cent);
- hijacking (57,6 per cent);
- burglary (56,1 per cent); and
- vehicle theft (45 per cent).

Figure 10: Levels of satisfaction with the police by victims who had reported crime



Across crime types, except for vehicle theft, the majority of victims who reported crime to the police in Cape Town were almost equally dissatisfied with the way in which their report had been dealt with. Changing the perceptions that people have of the police is difficult. Even in developed countries where crime levels have stabilised and have begun decreasing in recent years, opinions of police effectiveness remain poor.³⁰ Internationally, less than half of all victims tend to be satisfied with police services, with higher levels of satisfaction reported in western countries.

Overall, white victims were generally more satisfied with the way the police dealt with their reports, while below average levels of satisfaction were recorded for those victims living in less affluent areas of the city. This suggests that the quality of the service delivered by the police to different people and parts of Cape Town fluctuates. Another consideration is that the more affluent victims (who suffer largely from property crime) are less likely to be concerned with the recovery of property, since they have access to insurance.

Violent crimes

Victims of violent crimes were less satisfied with the police response than those reporting property crimes. For instance, 67 per cent of those who reported a murder to the police were dissatisfied by the response they received, and 69,7 per cent of people who reported assaults to the police were dissatisfied. Reasons for dissatisfaction which assault victims cited were slow or incompetent policing (27,7 per cent) and poor investigation (21,5 per cent). Of the robbery or mugging victims, 38 per cent felt that the police were slow and incompetent and were ineffective at investigating the incident (23 per cent). African and coloured victims were more dissatisfied than whites.

Property crimes

Those who reported property crimes, such as burglary and vehicle theft, on the other hand, were the most likely to be satisfied with police services. However, victims of vehicle theft expressed dissatisfaction with the police because of poor investigation (20,8 per cent) and slow or incompetent service provision (17,5 per cent).

Sexual crimes

The level of satisfaction with the police response to incidents of sexual assault was generally comparable to international trends in police responses to gender-based violence. The survey results confirm that poor service delivery and inappropriate behaviour of the police in sexual assault cases are widespread in South Africa, in that almost 60 per cent of victims were dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with their reports. African women, in particular, reported relatively high levels of dissatisfaction with the police (67 per cent), followed closely by coloured women (60 per cent), of whom 20 per cent said that the police treated them as though they were the criminals.

The high levels of dissatisfaction with the service provided by the police to those victims of crime in Cape Town who report their crimes, are 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 Cape Town is high for coloured victims in particular, 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.³¹ Based on a previous bad experience with the police, victims are unlikely to report repeat crimes.

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. The police have a real interest in improving reporting levels and treating victims appropriately. 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.³²

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.³³

SPECIFICS OF VICTIMISATION

Summary

- Sixty one per cent of all crimes in Cape Town occur over the weekend.
- Violent crimes, such as murder, assault and robbery or mugging, occur more frequently over weekends.
- Victims of violent crimes are the most at risk when engaged in entertainment.
- Vehicle theft occurs evenly throughout the day and night.
- The largest proportion of murders happen at home (20,6 per cent), followed by in the streets of a residential area (18,7 per cent).
- Forty four per cent of sexual assaults happen in the home.
- Of murder victims, 61,7 per cent were in a group when the incident occurred, while most robberies or muggings happened when victims were alone.
- Most murder and sexual assault victims knew their offenders by name.
- Knives are the most common weapon type used to commit crime in Cape Town.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

There are a number of factors which contribute to victimisation. It needs to be determined whether some of these contribute to people's risk of victimisation and could prevent people from being victimised. Knowing when, where and how crimes are likely to occur, plays an important role in designing effective, targeted crime prevention strategies, with limited resources. The survey attempted to establish when most crimes occur in Cape Town: during the week or over the weekend, and at what time of day. It also considered where crimes mostly occur, and what the victims were doing at the time of a crime. Whether the victims were alone or in a group, was regarded as a factor in determining victimisation, as well as victims' familiarity with their offenders. The survey also raised questions about the kinds of weapons (if any) that were used in crimes.

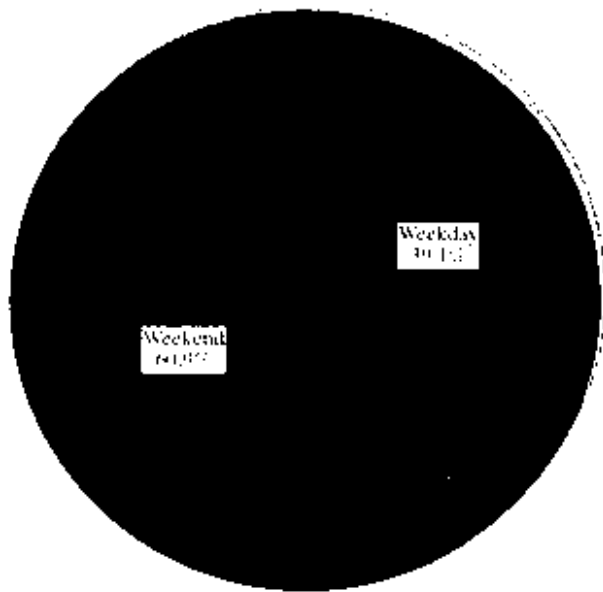
By asking these questions and attempting to establish who is the most at risk, proactive interventions to prevent repeat victimisation, as well as the provision of pointers for proactive crime prevention initiatives, may be determined.

TIMES WHEN CRIMES OCCURRED

Victims of particular crime types were asked when their most recent experience of a particular crime occurred, to determine their incidence during the week and over weekends. It should be noted that an inability to recall events accurately may play a key role in whether people remember the day and time when a crime happened to them.

According to victims, most crime in Cape Town occurs over the weekend (61 per cent) and is more likely to occur during the afternoon and after dark. These patterns, however, differ significantly across crime types.

Figure 11: Crime occurrence - weekday or weekend



Violent crimes, such as murder, assault and robbery, are far more likely to occur over the weekend which includes Friday, Saturday and Sunday. According to the survey, many of these crimes also occur while people are participating in entertainment, recreation or visiting friends and family, activities which people are more likely to do over a weekend. Property crimes, such as burglary and vehicle theft, happen more often during the week. Since most people are at work during the week and away from their homes during the day, they are more vulnerable to being burgled. The survey findings confirm this, with 60 per cent of those who are employed likely to be burgled during the week. This explanation applies less to car theft, however, since a large proportion of cars are stolen from the streets outside offices and shops during the week.

Violent crimes

Africans are the most likely to be robbed or mugged over the weekend, while coloured people and whites are equally at risk of being robbed or mugged over the weekend or during the week. Coloured people and Africans are far more likely than whites to be assaulted over the weekend than during the week, whereas those living in the former white suburbs have a greater chance of being assaulted on a weekday than assault victims in other areas. Across the metropolitan area, murders are more likely to be committed over the weekend. Since the majority of murders happen when people are at home, in the streets of residential areas or at places of entertainment, this is more likely to be the case over a weekend.

Property crimes

Most burglaries occur during the week. Africans and coloured people are more likely to be victims of burglary during the week, while whites and those living in the former white suburbs are victimised fairly evenly during the week and over weekends.

The chances of having one's vehicle stolen are marginally greater during the week than over the weekend. Whites and those living in the former white suburbs are more likely to have their cars stolen on a weekday, while Africans and those living in informal areas are more likely to have cars stolen over the weekend. Vehicle theft is the one crime type where cars are at risk of being stolen evenly throughout the day and night. This type of crime is more opportunistic than burglary, for instance, and therefore the pattern is more random. While most cars were stolen from people's driveways, garages or gardens (41,4 per cent), these crimes also occurred in public parking lots (21 per cent), in the streets of residential areas (16,7 per cent), and in built-up shopping areas (9,9 per cent) - places people frequent throughout the day and night.

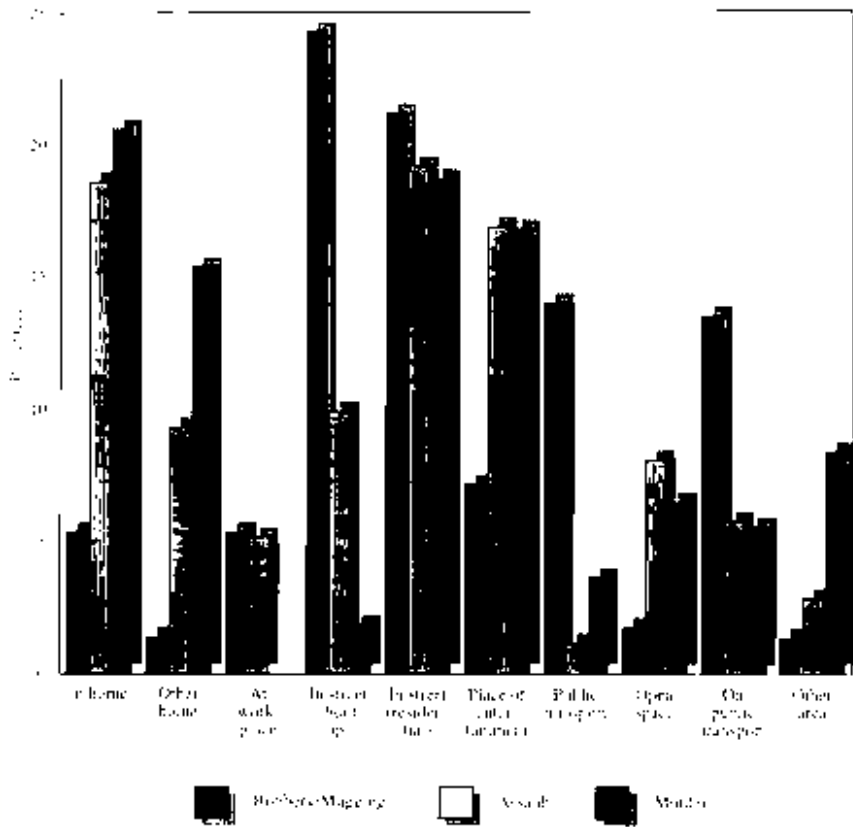
Sexual crimes

Almost half of the sexual assault incidents took place over weekends. Since most sexual assault victims are victimised in their own homes (44 per cent), and in all likelihood by people they know (in 43 per cent of cases, victims knew the name of the offenders), it makes sense that they are equally at risk during the week and over weekends. While the majority of these incidents occurred at night (83 per cent), a substantial proportion (38 per cent) occurred during daylight hours. That women are also significantly at risk of sexual assault during the day may necessitate public awareness programmes that highlight the fact that the risk of sexual assault is serious at any time of the day or night.

WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED

Respondents were asked across crime type where the incident occurred. Possible locations ranged from the public to the private realm: in the streets of residential areas, at public transport facilities, places of entertainment, in the workplace and in domestic environments.

Figure 12: Place of incident - violent crimes



Violent crimes

Most violent crimes, such as assault and murder, occur in the streets of residential areas.

Victims of assault, especially coloured men, are the most likely to be victimised in the streets of residential areas (19,2 per cent). The next most common place for assaults is in one's home (18,6 per cent), which is where women, in particular, are most at risk. This points towards domestic violence which the survey attempted to capture by asking victims what their relationship with the offender was. Of female assault victims, 61 per cent knew their offenders by name and were the most at risk of being assaulted when at home.

Victims of murder are apparently murdered mainly while at home (20,6 per cent), followed by residential streets (18,7 per cent), places of entertainment (16,8 per cent), and in other people's homes (15,4 per cent). While the numbers are small, whites are the most likely to be murdered at home, with Africans the

most at risk in a place of entertainment and coloured people in the streets of residential areas. Women are far more likely to be murdered at home (27,6 per cent), followed by a place of entertainment (19 per cent), while male victims of murder are the most likely to be murdered in the street of a residential area (24,5 per cent), followed by someone else's home (20,4 per cent).

Property crimes

Violent property crimes, such as robbery or mugging, occur mostly in the streets outside offices and shops (24,3 per cent), and in the streets of residential areas (21,2 per cent). People are also at risk of robbery or mugging at public transport facilities (14 per cent), and on public transport (13,5 per cent). Whites are the most likely to be robbed or mugged in the streets outside shops or offices (46,5 per cent), followed by public transport facilities (16,3 per cent). Coloured people (25,4 per cent) and Africans (24,4 per cent) are the most likely to be robbed or mugged in the streets of residential areas. Survey findings confirm that the former white suburbs are safer than African and coloured residential areas.

Travelling on public transport is the second most likely place for Africans to be victimised (15,6 per cent) and the third most likely place for coloured people (16,4 per cent), after the streets outside shops or offices (21,6 per cent). This suggests that there are concrete possibilities for intervention. Being at risk of robbery or mugging in particular places raises the fear of crime, as is seen by whites who are the most likely of all the groups to be fearful of crime in the central business district (CBD) and at public transport facilities. Since one is most at risk of robbery or mugging when going to or from shopping (20,7 per cent), followed by visiting friends or relatives (15,2 per cent), and going to work or school (11,5 per cent), it can be assumed that one of the factors that determines where crimes occur, is whether victims are alone or in a group. Victims of robbery or mugging were mostly alone when they were robbed. Men between the ages of 21 and 35 years are the most likely to be robbed or mugged in the streets of residential areas (26,8 per cent), or outside shops or offices (24,6 per cent). Women are the most likely to be victimised in the streets outside shops, but are far more at risk than men at both public transport facilities (20,5 per cent) and while travelling on public transport (21,7 per cent). In both cases, women, especially those alone, could possibly be seen as 'soft targets'.

While the numbers are small, vehicle hijackings mostly occurred at intersections (48,6 per cent) and in victims' driveways (22,9 per cent). Of the victims of hijacking (both attempted and successful), 77,8 per cent were drivers, either commercial (including drivers of public transport), or were drivers commuting in private transport, rather than being passengers, when they were attacked.

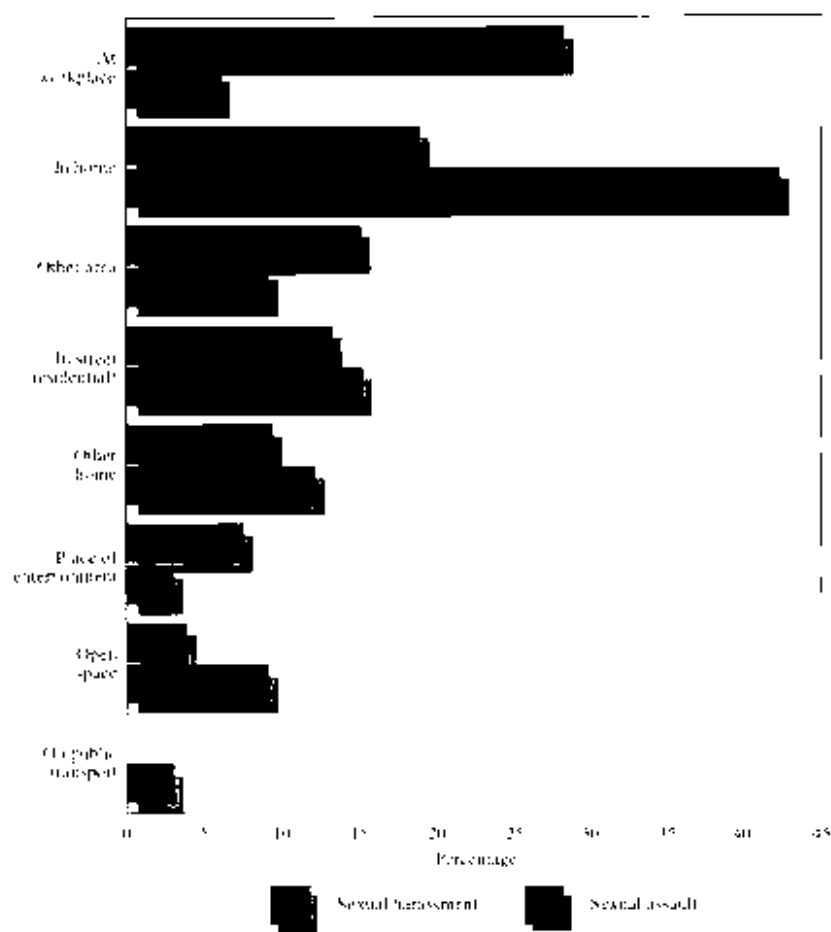
The largest proportion (41,4 per cent) of car theft victims reported that the crimes happened near or at their homes, and cars were mostly stolen from their driveways or garages. Cars were also stolen from public parking lots (21 per cent) and in the streets of residential areas (16,7 per cent). Women were more likely to have had cars stolen in their driveways (43,7 per cent), compared to men who were more likely to have their cars stolen in the streets outside shops.

Sexual assault is usually portrayed as a street crime, taking place in dark alleys, parking lots or parks. The survey, however, exposes the reality and extent of sexual assault within the private domain. Forty-four per cent of sexual assault incidents occurred in the victim's home, with the next most prevalent area of attacks being the streets of residential areas (16 per cent), followed by someone else's home, open spaces and other areas. More attacks thus occur in the private rather than in the public realm as is commonly perceived. That 43 per cent of sexual assault victims knew the offender by name probably points to domestic violence. African women were the most likely to be attacked going to or returning from shopping areas (50 per cent). This may suggest that different races are more vulnerable or exposed to certain types of crime due to lifestyle patterns. Over 60 per cent of coloured women were either at home or visiting friends, and 83 per cent of white women were either at home or engaged in a recreational activity. It is of great concern that half of the women across the city between the ages of 21 and 35 years were sexually assaulted in their homes.

The two most likely places for respondents to experience sexual harassment were the workplace (34 per cent) and the home (19 per cent). Of the white respondents interviewed, the majority of incidents (75 per

cent) took place at work, school, university or technikon, while African respondents were more likely to experience harassment in their homes (34 per cent). Coloured respondents were more likely to experience it while visiting friends or relatives (31 per cent). Respondents between the ages of 16 and 20 years were the most likely to be harassed when engaging in some sort of recreational activity, and respondents between the ages of 21 and 35 years were the most likely to be harassed at home or while visiting friends or relatives (as were respondents between the ages of 36 and 60 years). These findings challenge general public perceptions that sexual harassment primarily takes place at work. Victims of sexual harassment are vulnerable to intimidating behaviour on the street, among friends and even in their own homes.

Figure 13: Place of incident - sexual crimes

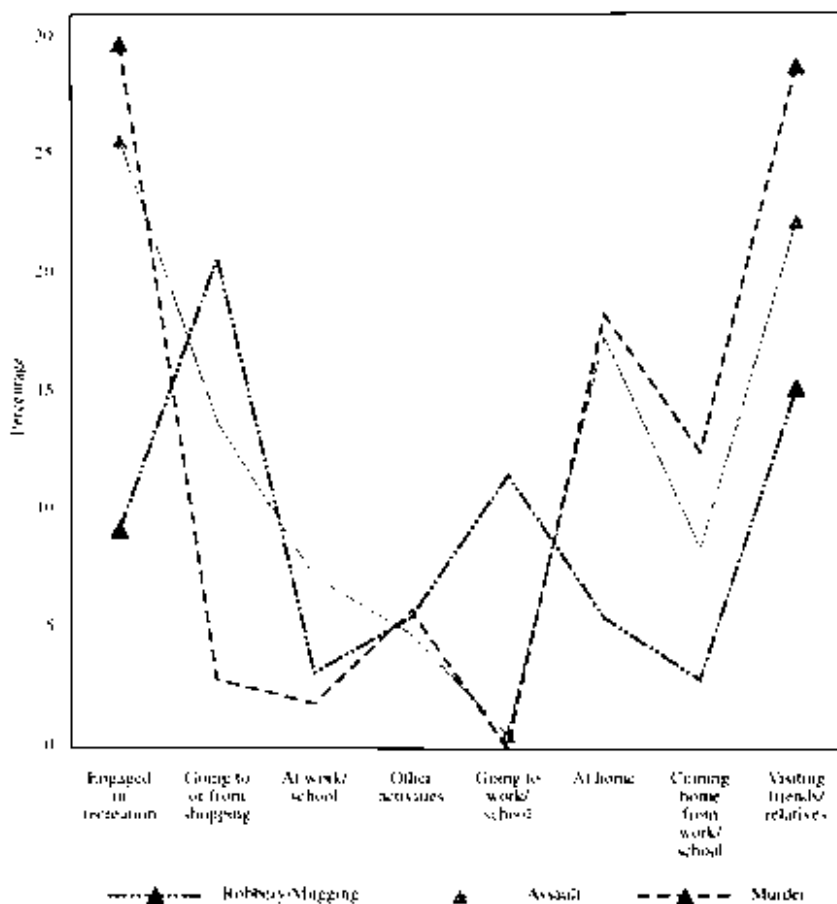


WHAT VICTIMS WERE DOING WHEN THE INCIDENT OCCURRED

Victims were asked what they were doing when the incidents occurred. The types of activities that people engage in may expose them to greater risk of becoming victims of particular crime types.

In general, victims of violent crimes such as assault and murder, are the most at risk when engaged in entertainment. As such, people may be the most at risk when they least expect to be.

Figure 14: What victims were doing - violent crimes



Of robbery or mugging victims, 20,7 per cent were attacked when going to or from shopping, with whites (41,5 per cent) particularly at risk when engaging in this activity, as well as when engaged in entertainment (19,5 per cent). Coloured people and Africans of all ages are the most likely to be robbed or mugged when coming home from work or school.

Victims of assault are the most at risk when engaged in recreation or entertainment (25,7 per cent), or while visiting friends and relatives (22,2 per cent). Whites and coloured people are the most likely to be assaulted when engaged in recreation, and Africans while visiting friends and relatives. Men, especially in the younger age groups, are the most at risk when engaged in recreation or entertainment (32,7 per cent) and while visiting friends and relatives (21,4 per cent).

Murder victims, especially Africans and women, were the most likely to be engaged in recreation or entertainment (29,8 per cent), or visiting friends or relatives (28,8 per cent) when the murder occurred. This correlates with the finding that as 61,7 per cent of murder victims were in a group at the time of the incident. Of the rest, 18,3 per cent of victims were at home and 12,5 per cent were coming home from work or school. Women were significantly more at risk than men of being murdered when coming home from work or school, and 69 per cent were alone when the murder was committed.

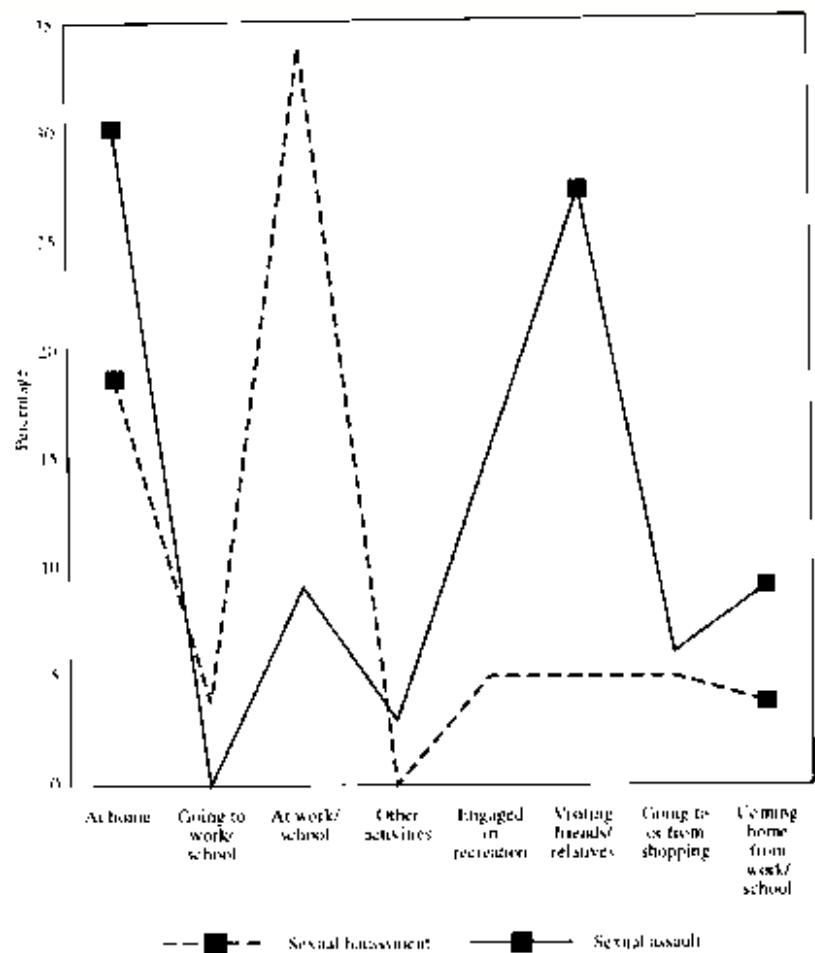
Property crimes

Vehicles are the most likely to be stolen while victims are at home (46,1 per cent) which corresponds with the finding that most cars are stolen from driveways, gardens or garages, followed by going to work or school (15,1 per cent), or going to or from a shopping area (13,2 per cent). All races are the most at risk of having their vehicles stolen while at home. After 'home', whites are also at risk while at work or school (21,7 per cent), and 21,8 per cent of coloured people had a vehicle stolen while going to or returning from a shopping area. This is explained by the fact that 30,4 per cent of coloured victims had cars stolen in public parking lots.

Forty-four per cent of sexual assault victims were at home and 27 per cent were visiting friends when the incidents happened. The majority of coloured women (60 per cent) were either at home or visiting friends, and 83 per cent of white women were either at home or engaged in a recreational activity. Over half of the female victims between the ages of 21 and 35 years were sexually assaulted in their homes.

Coloured respondents are more likely to experience sexual harassment when visiting friends or relatives (31 per cent). Victims between the ages of 16 and 20 years are the most likely to be harassed when engaged in some sort of recreational activity, and respondents between the ages of 21 and 35 years are the most likely to be harassed at home or while visiting friends or relatives (as are respondents between 36 and 60 years old). These findings challenge general public perceptions that sexual harassment primarily takes place at work. Victims of sexual harassment are vulnerable to intimidating behaviour on the street, among friends and even in their homes. In addition, like other forms of life threatening or violent behaviour, sexual harassment in the workplace raises concerns (particularly for women) about physical safety, as well as about employment or economic safety.

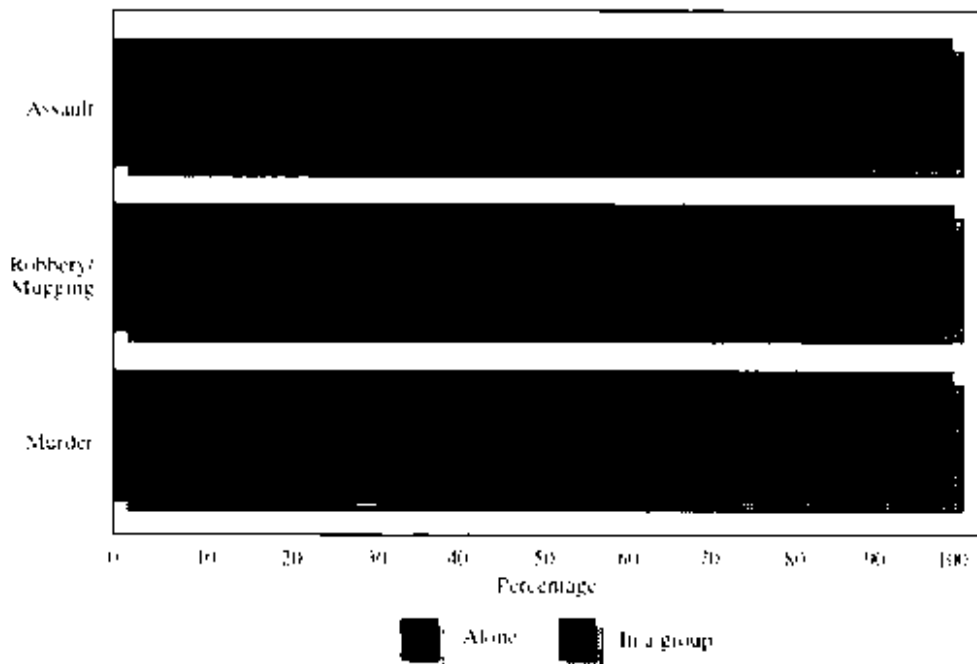
Figure 15: What victims were doing - sexual crimes



PART OF A GROUP OR ALONE WHEN VICTIMISED

Respondents were asked whether they were alone or in a group when the incident occurred.

Figure 16: Whether victims were alone or in a group when the crime occurred - violent crimes



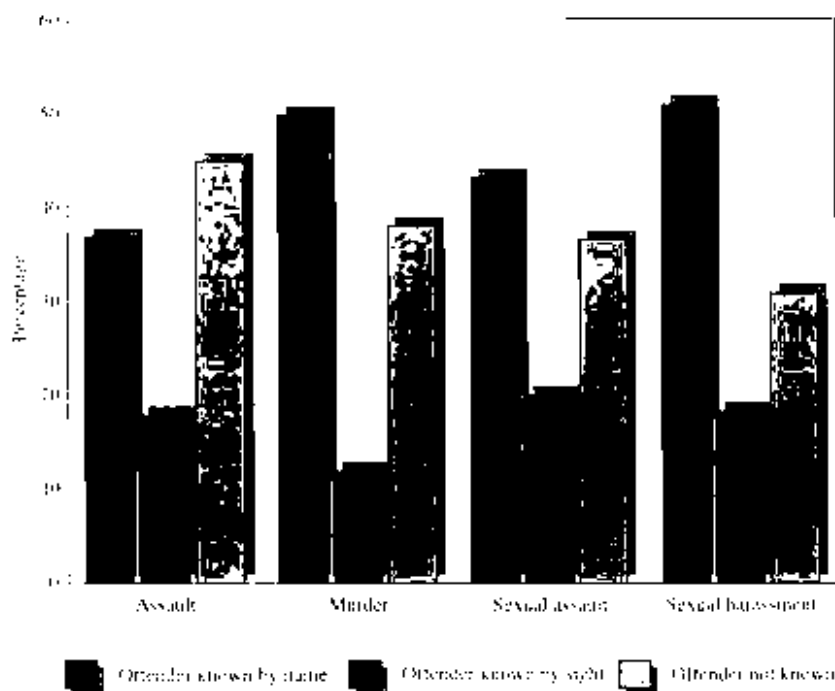
Except for murder, the majority of victims of violent crimes (57 per cent) and sexual offences were alone when the incidents happened. Of murder victims, 61,7 per cent were in a group at the time of the incident, which is confirmed by the data, that most murders occur while people are engaged in recreation or entertainment. Women are more likely to be alone when assaulted and to know their offenders. At the time of a robbery or mugging, a crime which occurs mostly in the streets of residential areas, 69,1 per cent of men were alone. People are more likely to be alone in the street when victimised by crime, while in a home, a place of entertainment or someone else's home, people are more likely to be part of a group.

Contrary to the generally held perception of 'safety in numbers', it was found that 60 per cent of African women who were sexually assaulted, were in a group when the incident occurred. Because only one third of the African sample were sexually assaulted by more than one offender, it is assumed that the remaining women were initially in a group, but taken alone when sexually assaulted. In 45 per cent of the cases of sexual assault, there was only one attacker. More than one attacker participated in 55 per cent of the incidents, and in 32 per cent of these incidents there were two offenders. This is not entirely consistent with the statistics compiled by Rape Crisis counsellors (over the period 1994-1997) which indicated that roughly 70 per cent of rape cases involved one perpetrator and 30 per cent involved more than one. Possibly, cases involving more than one attacker are more likely to be reported to the survey, while domestic cases (which are likely to be committed by only one person) may not. When asked whether the incident was gang-related, 60 per cent of the women did not believe this was the case, 20 per cent believed it was and 20 per cent did not know.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER

Victims of crime were asked to describe whether the offender was not known to them, known by sight only, or known by name.

Figure 17: Relationship between victim and offender



Violent crimes

Other than assault, the majority of victims of murder and sexual crimes knew their attackers by name. This indicates an intimate relationship and raises a number of questions regarding the successful investigations of such crimes. Across crime types, most white victims (79,2 per cent) did not know their attackers. By contrast, 50 per cent of Africans, 55 per cent of coloured victims, and half of all the murder victims knew their attackers by name.

Sexual crimes

Victims of sexual assault were asked whether they knew the offenders by name or sight. In 43 per cent of cases, victims knew them by name, in 20 per cent of cases the victims knew them by sight, and 37 per cent did not know them at all. Since the majority of sexual assaults take place in the home, this is not surprising. Of white female victims, 80 per cent did not know their offenders, while 50 per cent of coloured women did. There was an equal distribution across the three categories for African women. Research done at Rape Crisis in Khayelitsha also found that all the offenders lived within the same community as the participants in the study, and that, in one third of the cases, the offender was known to the participant.³⁴

In 67 per cent of the cases where the victims knew the offenders, regarded them as 'friends'. For African and white women who knew their offenders, every one of them reported them as being friends. The respondents, however, did not disclose rape or attempted rape committed by husbands, boyfriends or lovers, discounting the issue of multiple or ongoing victimisation. It is difficult, however, to draw definitive conclusions about victim-offender relationships. The fact that the results of this survey show that sexual assault occurs between people who know each other by name or sight, should not conceal the reality that many incidents of sexual assault are also committed by strangers.

Sexual harassment

In 31 per cent of the cases, the victims did not know the offenders, in 18 per cent of the cases the victims knew them by sight, and a sizeable proportion of women (51 per cent) knew them by name. In 65 per cent of the sexual harassment incidents committed against coloured respondents, the respondents knew the offenders by name, while 46 per cent of African respondents did not know their offenders at all. In 46 per cent of the cases where victims knew the offenders, the victims were friends with them. For African respondents who knew the offenders, 50 per cent stated that they were uncles, nephews or other male

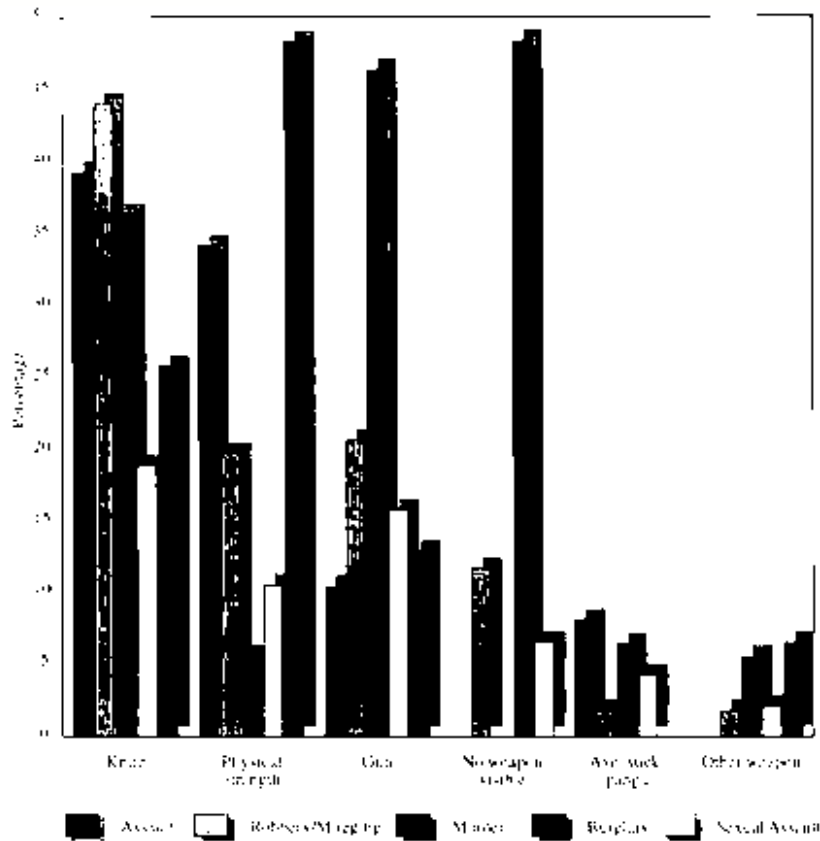
family members, while in 50 per cent of the cases of sexual harassment of white and coloured respondents, the offenders were friends of the victims.

WEAPONS USED IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

Respondents were asked what weapons were visible or were used during crime incidents.

Across crime types in Cape Town, a knife is the weapon which is the most likely to be used (30 per cent), followed by physical strength (21 per cent), a gun (21 per cent), an axe, stick or panga (5 per cent) and other weapons (5 per cent). In 18 per cent of the incidents, no weapons were used. Knives were the most frequently used in muggings or robberies (46,4 per cent), followed by assaults (39,3 per cent) and sexual assaults (25,8 per cent). Guns were used in murders (46,4 per cent), followed by robberies or muggings (44,1 per cent). Physical strength was mostly used in sexual assaults (48,4 per cent).

Figure 18: Weapons used by crime type



Violent crimes

Weapons were visible in all assaults reported by victims. Forty-five per cent of African and 40 per cent of coloured victims had knives used against them, while whites were mainly assaulted with physical strength. Knives were also the most frequently used to rob and mug victims in Cape Town (44 per cent), followed by guns (20,7 per cent) and physical strength (19,8 per cent). Following knives, coloured people were likely to be robbed or mugged with physical strength (23 per cent), while Africans were more likely to have guns used against them (28,9 per cent). In 46 per cent of murders, guns were used, followed by knives (36 per cent). White and coloured victims are the most likely to be murdered with guns, while Africans are slightly more likely to be murdered with knives.

Weapons were used in about 94 per cent of all the cases of sexual assault. After physical strength, knives were the next most prevalent weapon used against women (26 per cent), with the use of guns following at 13 per cent. While other statistics³⁵ show that the majority of women who have been sexually

assaulted, do not sustain physical injuries, the results of this survey - which show a high incidence of weapons used during sexual assaults - may explain this phenomenon. The presence of a weapon or the threat of the use of a weapon by the perpetrator to inflict injury or cause loss of life, may explain why women very often do not 'fight back' and thus do not sustain injuries. The experience of sexual assault for women is one of a life threatening event rather than that of a sexual nature. While the survey did not ask specifically what other types of assault occurred during the incident (physical, psychological), 73 per cent of the women did report that they sustained injuries during the assault. Roughly 50 per cent of the women sustained injuries during incidents of rape, 13 per cent during attempted rapes, 19 per cent during indecent assaults, 3 per cent as a result of offensive behaviour and 16 per cent did not know or could not remember whether they had reported the crime.

Property crimes

Because of the nature of burglary as a property crime, respondents who had been present when their homes were burgled, were the most likely not to have seen a weapon. However, in 18,9 per cent of the case, knives were visible, and guns in 15,8 per cent of cases.

RESPONSES TO VICTIMISATION

Summary

Seventeen per cent of respondents had been repeat victims of crime between 1993 -1997.

Coloured people are the most likely to be repeat victims across crime types.

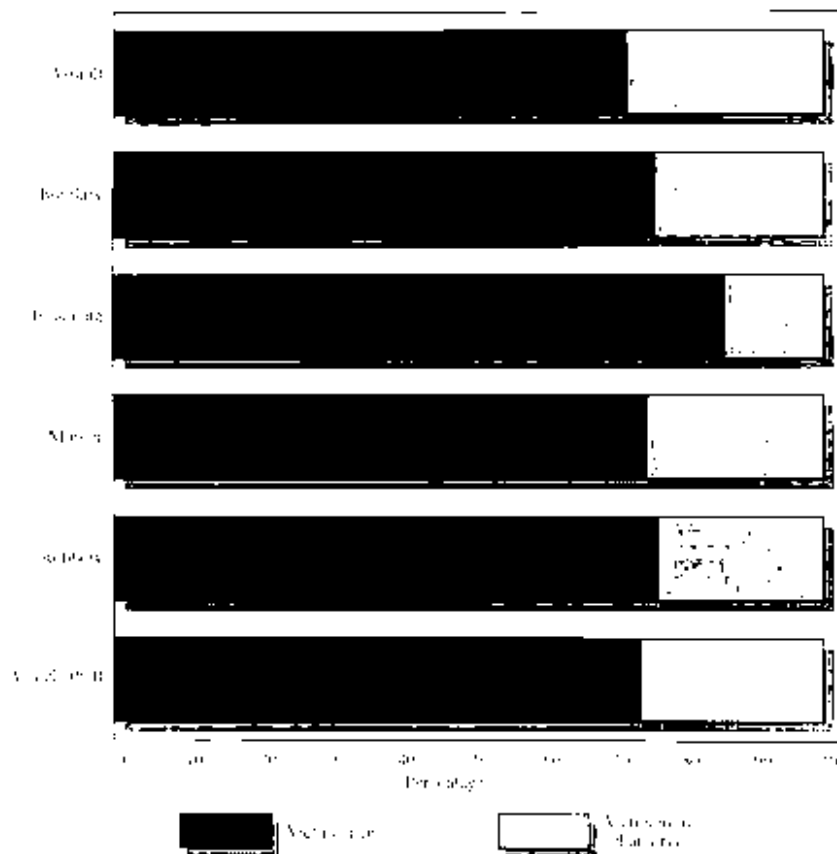
The majority of victims changed their behaviour following the crime by becoming more fearful and paranoid, and taking active precautions.

Eighty five per cent of people living in Cape Town have no form of protection for their dwelling.

REPEAT VICTIMISATION

The incidence of crime in Cape Town between 1993-1997 indicates that 17 per cent of victims had been victimised more than once, either by the same crime type (repeat) or another type of crime (multiple). Repeat victimisation is a phenomenon which is important to record as it raises a number of questions about crime prevention and how limited resources can be targeted most effectively.

Figure 19: Repeat victimisation by crime type (1993 - 1997)



There are certain factors which play a role in when and where criminal victimisation occurs. By isolating those most at risk, policy-makers are pointed towards priority areas in which to intervene. Being aware of these could possibly play a role in preventing repeat victimisation, although there are some circumstances which may be impossible to avoid. As victimisation patterns differ for different groups, so multiple victimisation has a varying impact with not all crime types having the same frequency of revictimisation, nor with all people being affected in the same way.

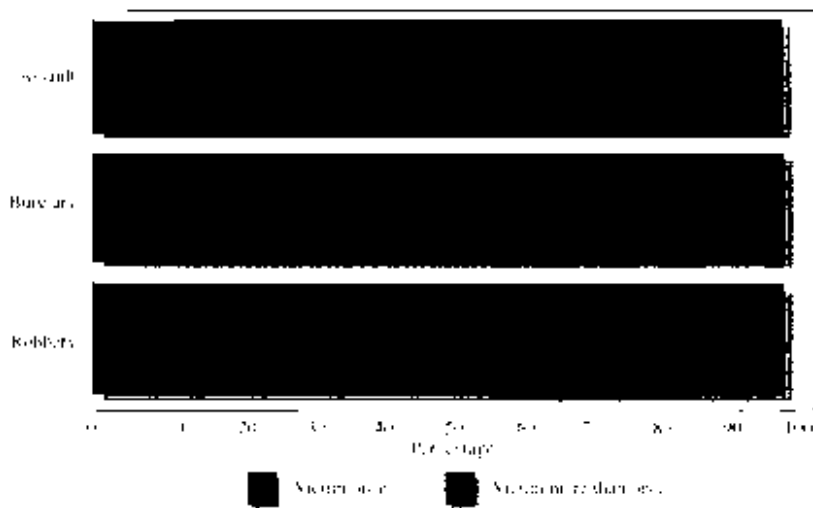
Twenty-eight per cent of assault, 26 per cent of vehicle theft, 24 per cent of burglary and 24 per cent of robbery or mugging victims were repeat victims. Respondents who recorded family members who had been murdered, had a 25 per cent chance of having another murder victim in their family. Victims of hijacking were the least likely to be victimised again.

Repeat victimisation and race

There are remarkable differences in repeat victimisation across different races, with coloured people far more likely to become repeat victims than Africans and whites, especially when it comes to assault. This raises a number of questions about protection and lifestyle and points to the fact stated earlier that, in 37 per cent of cases, victims of assault and their perpetrators were known to each other by name.

With regard to repeat victimisation, it appears that coloured people living in Cape Town are disproportionately at risk across crime types, compared to Africans and whites. Coloured victims have more than a 40 per cent chance of being revictimised by the same crime. The question must be asked why coloured people are at a much greater risk of revictimisation than other groups. When it comes to property crime, one reason may have to do with protection: 87 per cent of coloured people have no form of protection for their dwellings.

Figure 20: Repeat victimisation of coloured respondents by crime type (1993 - 1997)



Only a small proportion (5,2 per cent) of African respondents are at risk of being repeat victims of robbery or mugging, and 2,4 per cent of burglary and vehicle theft, while whites in Cape Town are likely to be once-off victims of hijacking and murder. However, 9,3 per cent of whites had been repeat victims of assault and burglary, followed by robbery (5,9 per cent) and vehicle theft (3,7 per cent).

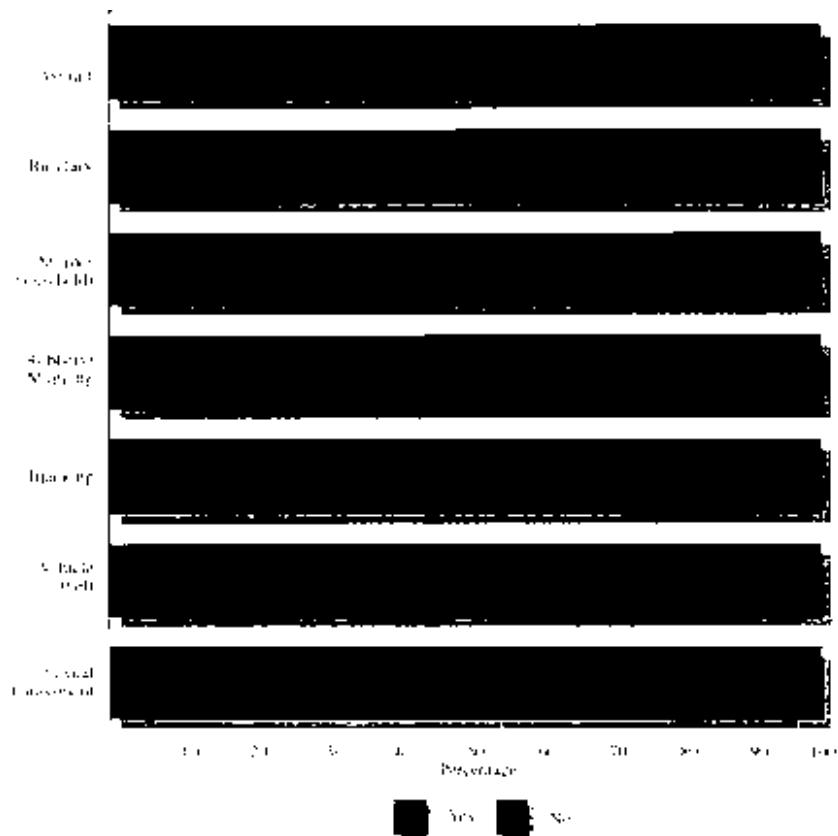
BEHAVIOUR CHANGES

Respondents were asked:

- whether they had changed their behaviour as a result of the crime;
- how these changes manifested themselves; and
- whether they felt safer as a result of making these changes.

Other than assault and murder, it appears that the majority of victims had changed their behaviour as a result of the crime, making them feel safer. However, 63 per cent of assault victims were unlikely to change their behaviour. To the extent that assaults happen in the home environment, these victims may be unable to change their behaviour because of domestic circumstances. Since the question dealing with murder was put to the families of murdered victims, this may explain the low rate of behavioural change in this regard.

Figure 21: Behaviour changes as a result of crime by crime type



Half of the victims of vehicle theft had not changed their behaviour as a result of the crime. Considering that vehicles are stolen in a number of places throughout the day and night and, as a non-violent crime, may be considered less serious, victims of vehicle theft who had changed their behaviour had installed protection and security. These measures made them feel positive and safer.

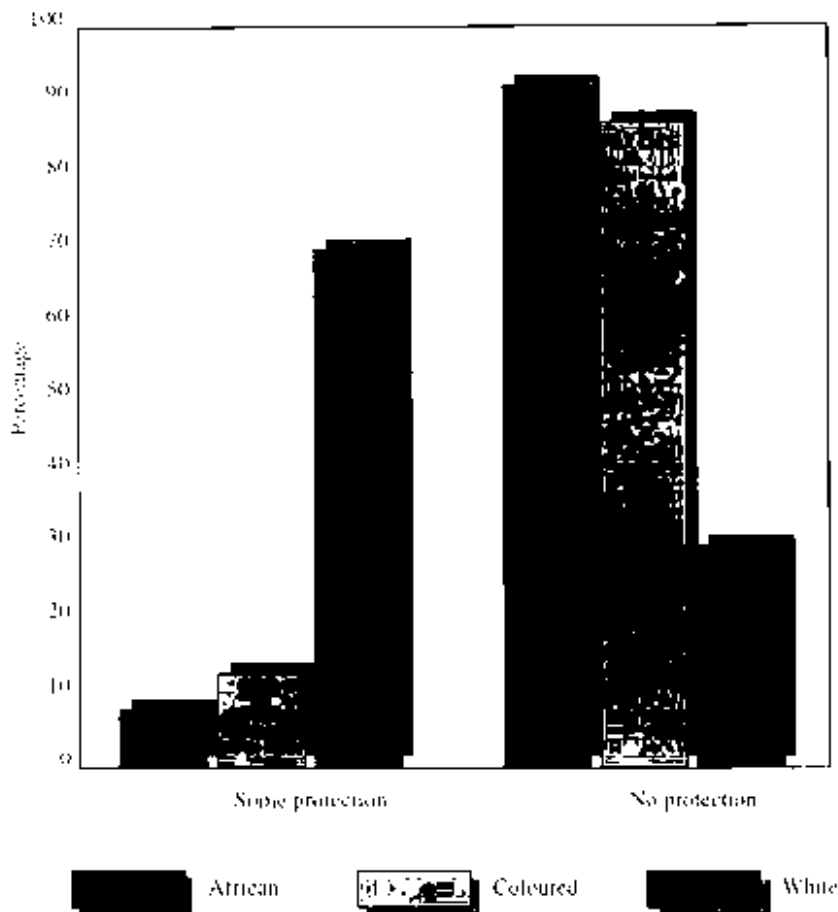
Crime can lead to high levels of fear. Across crime types, victims had become more fearful and paranoid following the incidents and had taken active precautions by changing their behaviour. The exception was victims of vehicle theft. Victims of vehicle hijacking and assault expressed the most fear: 71,9 per cent of hijacking victims had changed their behaviour, with 67,7 per cent feeling more fearful and 27 per cent taking active precautions to prevent revictimisation. As a result of taking these precautions, 70 per cent of them felt safer. Almost 50 per cent of those who felt the crime had affected their behaviour had become more fearful and paranoid than before, and 33 per cent were taking active precautions and changing their behaviour. As a result, the majority (65 per cent) of assault victims did feel safer. Africans and coloured people who had changed their behaviour did not feel as safe as whites who had. Of robbery or mugging victims, 60 per cent had changed their behaviour as a result of the crime, with 52,7 per cent feeling more fearful and paranoid. Of these, 38,2 per cent were taking active precautions, and 80 per cent of them felt safer. A significant proportion of sexual harassment victims (78 per cent) stated that they had changed their behaviour since the incident, and were more paranoid, scared, aware or did not walk alone anymore.

PROTECTION MEASURES

Although a wide variety of measures are employed by individuals to safeguard their households, protecting dwellings with physical means is not always 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 that their chances of becoming victims of burglaries in the next twelve months were very good.³⁶ In South Africa, people are more inclined to allocate responsibility for protection from crime to the government and the criminal justice system. This is often the case among those who cannot afford to safeguard their properties with sophisticated measures. Government 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 the significant improvement

of the ability of formal state structures to combat crime.

Figure 22: Whether households were protected in Cape Town by race



Respondents were asked what forms of protection they used to protect their own dwellings. A multiple response of fifteen different types of protection was provided. The types of protection measures used by victims in their homes vary according to affordability, the type of dwelling in which they live, as well as the types of crime which are the most prevalent. In Cape Town, 85 per cent of people had no protection whatsoever. This finding raises some questions in relation to the type of personal security measures people can afford and potential measures which could be taken to enhance personal safety. In Cape Town, those most at risk of criminal victimisation have the least or no protection.

Survey findings suggest that 92 per cent of Africans, 87 per cent of coloured people and 30 per cent of whites have no forms of protection. Of the 85 per cent of people living in Cape Town who have no protection for their homes, 56 per cent claim not to have been victimised by any type of crime over the last five years. Identifying these people may provide some indication of the most effective protection measures.

Forms of protection

Of those respondents who did have some form of protection for their dwellings, whites (70 per cent) were significantly more likely to be protected than coloured people (13 per cent) and Africans (8 per cent). The five main types of protection are dogs (43,8 per cent), window grills (39,9 per cent), burglar alarms (33,3 per cent), high fences or walls (19,9 per cent) and special security doors (15,9 per cent).

Although the least protected of all groups, Africans were the most likely to have dogs (70,2 per cent), followed by window grills (34 per cent), high fences or walls (25,6 per cent), axes (20,1 per cent) and special doors (14 per cent). These are relatively affordable types of physical protection. Coloured people

and whites are more likely to use more sophisticated (and expensive) protection. Traditional weapons (7,2 per cent) only appeared significantly as a form of protection for Africans. Although only 13 per cent have some form of protection, coloured people were the most likely to have window grills (44,4 per cent), followed by dogs (35 per cent), burglar alarms (28,5 per cent), a neighbourhood watch (12,6 per cent) and high fences or walls (9,9 per cent). Guns (9,9 per cent) were slightly more likely to be used as a form of protection by coloured people, compared with whites (7,9 per cent) and Africans (6,9 per cent). Although the proportion is very small, gangs as a form of protection only appeared significant for coloured people (3,7 per cent). Whites have the most protection and were the most likely to use the following measures: burglar alarms (54,1 per cent), dogs (39,7 per cent), window grills (36,5 per cent), high fences or walls and special doors (31 per cent), and a neighbourhood watch (20,9 per cent). Intercoms (18,9 per cent) and armed response services (14,5 per cent) are more sophisticated and expensive forms of protection which whites are mainly able to afford.

Sophisticated (and expensive) measures, such as burglar alarms, armed response services and intercoms, are more popular among victims living in the suburbs (former coloured and white) than in townships or informal areas. 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 protection measure for victims living in townships is a dog: 67 per cent reported having them for protection.

Those who had some form of protection were asked whether they felt safer as a result of taking these precautions, and 80 per cent reported that they did feel safer with some measure of protection. However, levels of safety vary across Cape Town. Whites are more likely to feel safer as a result of having some form of protection, while coloured people and Africans are more likely not to feel safer having taken precautions. This may relate to the fact that these people experience different crimes, some of which are unlikely to be prevented through physical security measures. Whites, for example, largely suffer property crimes which 'target hardening' can impact on. Africans and coloured people, however, are the most at risk of violent crimes. Since many of these occur in the home or between people who know one another, physical security measures will do little to make victims of these crimes feel safer. This is supported by the finding that 18 per cent thought they could do nothing to enhance their personal safety.

All respondents were asked what else they felt they could do to enhance their personal safety. More than half (52,6 per cent) felt that they could do nothing else to enhance their personal safety. On the one hand, this can be interpreted positively: people feel they have taken sufficient forms of protection. For instance, the majority of whites (68,7 per cent) are likely to feel there is nothing more they can do and of those who do feel they can do something more, further hard security measures (23,4 per cent) are suggested. In particular, coloured people (42,7 per cent) and Africans (33,5 per cent) feel these measures would enhance their personal safety. Whether this is purely a wish list or whether respondents would have such protection already if they could afford it, is unclear. However, since the vast majority of Africans and coloured people are known not to have any form of protection, it is concerning that just less than half feel there is nothing further they can do to enhance their personal safety. This may relate to affordability or to the perception that only improved policing and criminal justice solutions will enhance safety. Across race groups, hard security measures (35,3 per cent) are seen as likely to enhance personal safety.

PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY IN CAPE TOWN

Summary

Africans and coloured people consider the areas where they live to be the most unsafe places in Cape Town.

Whites living in Cape Town feel particularly unsafe in the city centre.

Forty one per cent of people feel very unsafe in their area of residence after dark.

Seventy seven per cent of respondents believe crime in Cape Town has increased compared to previous years.

Burglary is considered to be the most frequent crime type occurring in people's areas (48 per cent), followed by gang-related crimes (19,2 per cent).

Of male assault victims, 42,6 per cent believe their assaults were gang-related.

Loss of life is the most feared aspect of crime in Cape Town.

FEAR OF CRIME

In designing strategies to address the fear of crime, it is important to know whether there are particular areas in Cape Town in which residents feel unsafe. It is also valuable to establish what causes fear of crime, in order to design policies to address it. 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 (findings which the survey confirms with regard to perceptions of police effectiveness).

The varying risk of victimisation is one of the factors which affects how safe people feel in their living and working environments. But the public's predictions of who is more at risk of victimisation are seldom based on statistical evidence. Instead, these perceptions are influenced by the media (although direct links between fear of crime and media reports are hard to prove), general impressions of the city environment which may have little relation to crime, discussions with friends or family, perceptions of the government's ability to govern, its willingness to address the crime situation and, most importantly, people's actual experience of crime.

It appears that different people feel unsafe in different places in Cape Town. Feelings of 'unsafety' may have a range of implications such as causing people and, by implication, businesses to avoid certain areas. When this happens, there are a host of economic considerations which follow. Crime prevention strategies need to target particular areas and address fears of crime in certain areas which impact on people's daily activities.

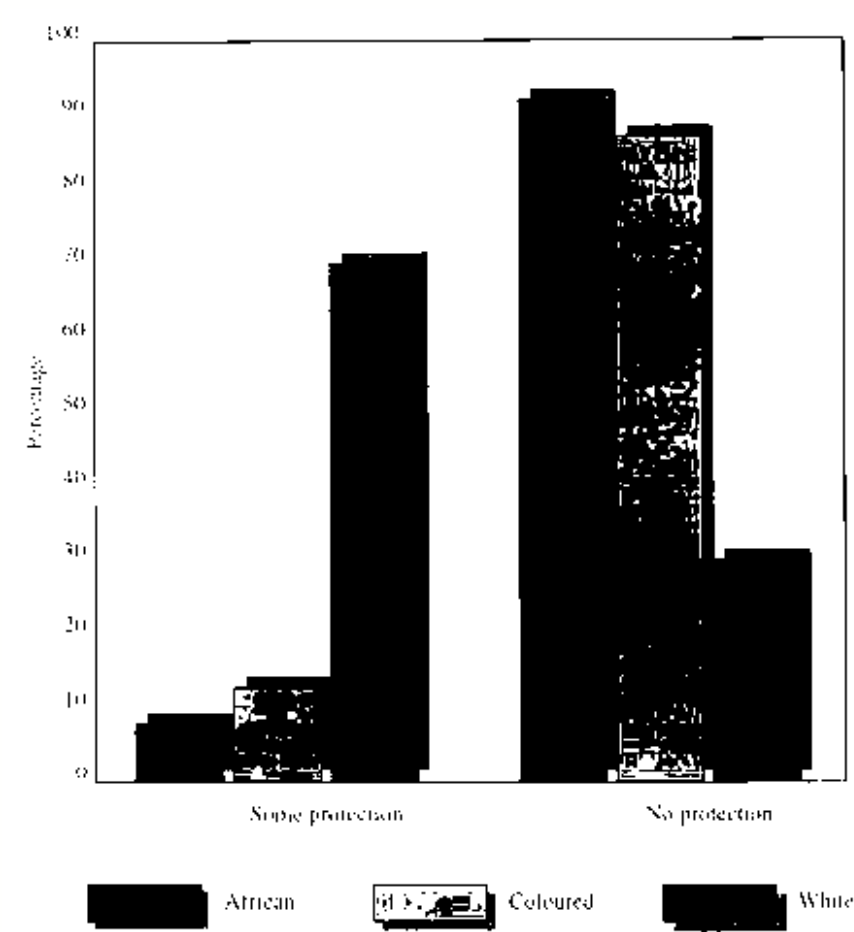
People's fear of crime is clearly evidenced in survey findings which reflect those parts of the city that people believe are most unsafe. While some white people (18 per cent) said that the suburbs they live in are the most unsafe, more (27 per cent) perceived themselves as particularly vulnerable in the city centre. Fear of crime in the inner city for these people probably relates to several factors, including actual crime levels: suburbs are comparatively safer than other parts of the city where serious crimes are concerned. Impressions of the inner city formed through the media and general perceptions (often misplaced) of 'disorder' as a result of overcrowding and street hawking, however, also play an important role. Fear of crime in the city centre, based on this package of issues, is nevertheless far less of a problem in Cape Town than in Durban and Johannesburg.

For people living in other parts of Cape Town, fear of crime is much more likely to be based on the reality of actual victimisation. Significantly, the vast majority of Africans and coloured people believe the areas in which they live are the most unsafe. Ninety two per cent of coloured people identified the former coloured suburbs as presenting the greatest risk, and 71 per cent of Africans had similar views of informal settlements.

Perceptions that the neighbourhoods in which respondents live are the most dangerous, are supported by other survey findings. In Cape Town, as in other cities, people said they feel the most vulnerable to crime

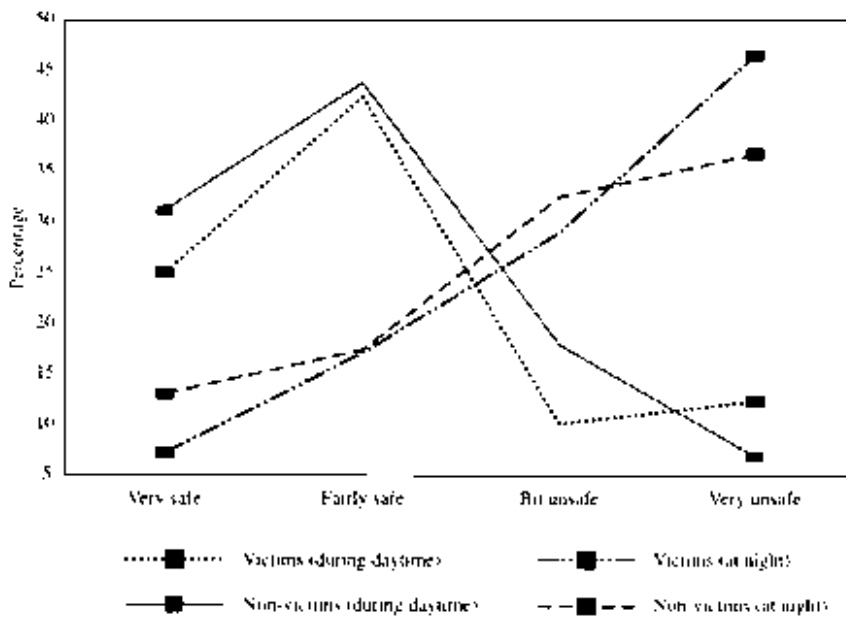
in their areas after dark, with 41 per cent of people reporting to the survey that they felt 'very unsafe'. During the day, safety levels increase, but many citizens (43 per cent) are likely to feel only 'fairly safe' as opposed to 'very safe'.

Figure 23: Parts of Cape Town regarded as most unsafe by race



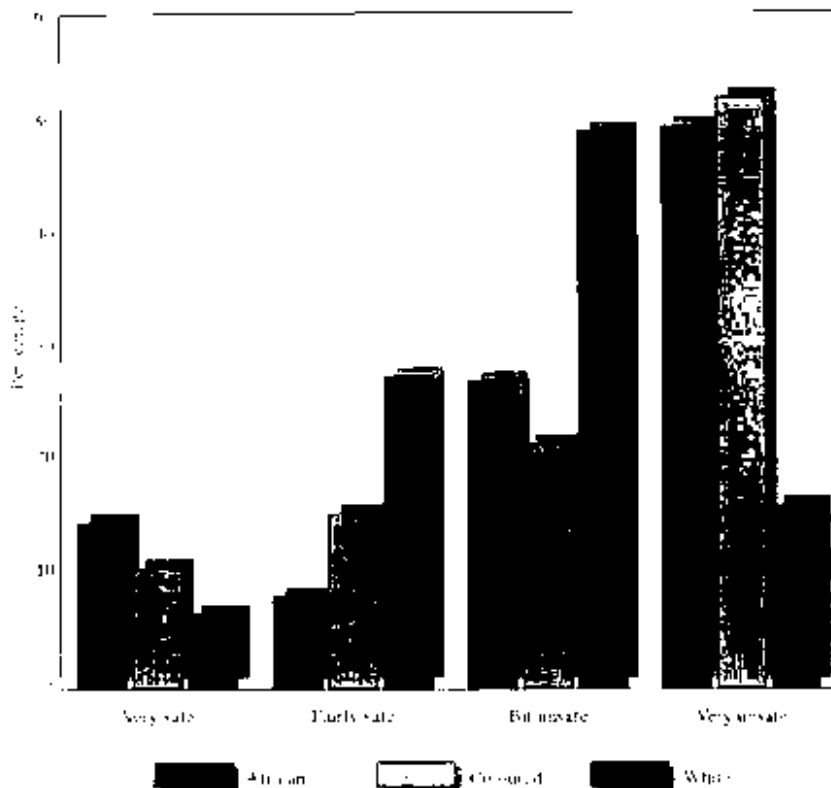
When the responses of those who had been victimised by crime were compared to those who had not by the time of day crimes occurred, there was very little difference, although victims were slightly more fearful both during the day and after dark. Victims were more likely to demonstrate more extreme rather than moderate fears, i.e. after dark they were more inclined to feel very unsafe compared to non-victims who felt a bit unsafe after dark. It is perhaps surprising that victims' and non-victims' fear of crime is not more differentiated, however, this probably relates to general levels of fear of crime across Cape Town.

Figure 24: Feelings of safety in Cape Town of victims and non-victims by time of day



Once again, another significant variable, with regard to the fear of crime and feelings of safety after dark is race. Fifty per cent of Africans and 32,6 per cent of victims living in the former African areas feel very unsafe at night. The most fearful group in Cape Town are coloured people, with 53 per cent of people living in the former coloured suburbs feeling very unsafe after dark. Whites are more likely to feel a bit unsafe after dark (49,5 per cent), compared to Africans and coloured people of which the majority felt very unsafe in their areas after dark. This finding correlates with the perceptions of the most unsafe places in Cape Town, indicated by Africans and coloured people as the places where they lived. Only 16,1 per cent of whites felt very unsafe after dark, and 54,2 per cent of victims living in the former white areas felt a bit unsafe after dark. A much higher percentage of whites (27,7 per cent) felt fairly safe during the day.

Figure 25: Feelings of safety in Cape Town after dark by race



Age is a significant variable when explaining fear of crime and perceptions of safety. Arguments have been that older people may demonstrate a fear of crime which is disproportionate to their actual risk of victimisation. The survey provided some interesting results in the case of Cape Town. The age group between 21 and 35 years, who constituted 37 per cent of the weighted sample, was victimised the most in Cape Town over a five-year period (38,8 per cent). This age group, however, does not feel the most unsafe. Across crime types, those between 16 and 20 years (15 per cent of the weighted sample) were victimised by 14,5 per cent of crime over five years. This age group, which is not disproportionately victimised across crime type, is the most likely to feel 'very unsafe' after dark (46,5 per cent) and the least likely to feel 'very safe' (7,4 per cent). Since this group is the most likely to be involved in or aware of gang-related activities, this may be an explanatory factor for their high levels of fear. Gang-related crimes are the third most feared crime type among this age group (17,6 per cent). Those who are older than 60 years are the least likely to feel 'very safe' (8,1 per cent) after dark, and slightly more likely to feel a 'bit unsafe' (38,4 per cent) rather than 'very unsafe' (37 per cent). The levels of fear of crime are generally high across all age groups. However, the youngest (16 to 20 years - 78,4 per cent) and the oldest groups (60+ years - 75,4 per cent) are likely to feel the most unsafe, with those between 21 to 35 years (73,7 per cent), and between 36 and 60 years feeling the least unsafe (67 per cent).

These high levels of fear may be related to perceptions that the problem of crime is getting worse in Cape Town. When asked whether crime levels had increased, decreased or stayed the same, compared to previous years, most respondents (77 per cent) said that crime had increased, while 7 per cent believed it had decreased and 16 per cent believed it had remained unchanged.

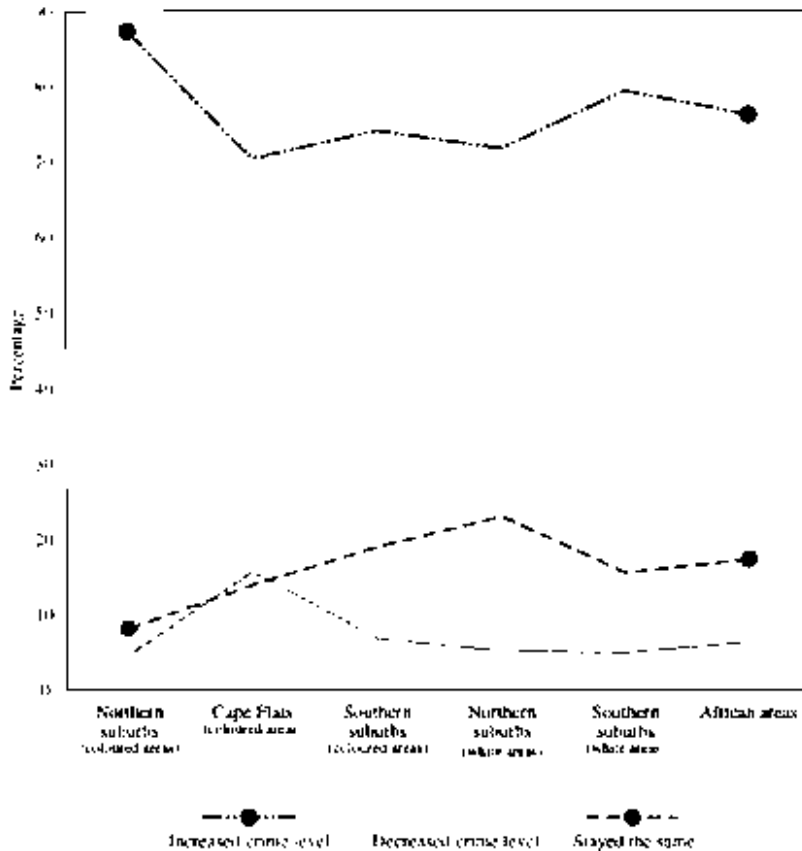
Figure 26: Perceptions of crime levels in Cape Town compared to previous years



Views on the issue differed, however. Different race groups had similar views, although coloured people (14,5 per cent) were more inclined to think crime levels had stayed the same, compared to previous years. Seventeen per cent of Africans and whites said that crime levels had stayed the same, compared to previous years. Generally, perceptions of crime levels were similar across races. It is not surprising that those who have been victimised, are slightly more inclined to believe that crime has increased. Respondents who have been victimised by crime are more inclined (79,2 per cent) to believe that crime had increased in their area. Men, who constitute 49 per cent of the sample population are disproportionately victimised which may incline them to think that crime had increased (79,5 per cent). There were no significant variations across age groups or education levels, although those with no schooling (20,3 per cent) and those with matric (18 per cent) were the most likely to think that crime had stayed the same.

The perceptions of changing crime levels by residents of different areas in Cape Town were also considered.

Figure 27: Perceptions of crime levels in Cape Town compared to previous years by area



Residents of the former coloured areas in the northern suburbs were the most likely to think that crime levels had increased (87,4 per cent). One explanation may be that, during the week of the survey, several gang-related incidents of violence occurred in the greater Cape Town area, particularly in northern areas such as Manenberg. In the surrounding Cape Flats area, residents mainly thought that crime levels had decreased (15,7 per cent), while most people in the former white northern suburbs of Cape Town believed the problem had remained the same (23 per cent).

An analysis of actual changes in crime levels reveals that, while some of these perceptions are accurate, generalisations are difficult. Victim surveys can only measure changing crime rates accurately when conducted at regular intervals. However, victims themselves reported the number of crimes that happened to them in 1996 and 1997 (see figure 4).

On this basis, crime levels experienced by those victims that were interviewed, were compared. Levels of property crime reported by victims have declined marginally between 1996 and 1997. However, views that the problem is getting worse may be based on increases in the levels of certain violent crimes, such as assault and robbery, and unchanged rates of hijacking and murder. Indeed, these are the crime types most likely to receive wide media coverage and increase the fear of crime. This, along with the widely publicised resurgence in gang violence and several other violent robberies during January 1998 in Cape Town, explain perceptions that crime generally is increasing.³⁷

Respondents (both victims and non-victims) were asked whether one specific type of crime occur the most in their areas, and what type of crime they are the most scared of.

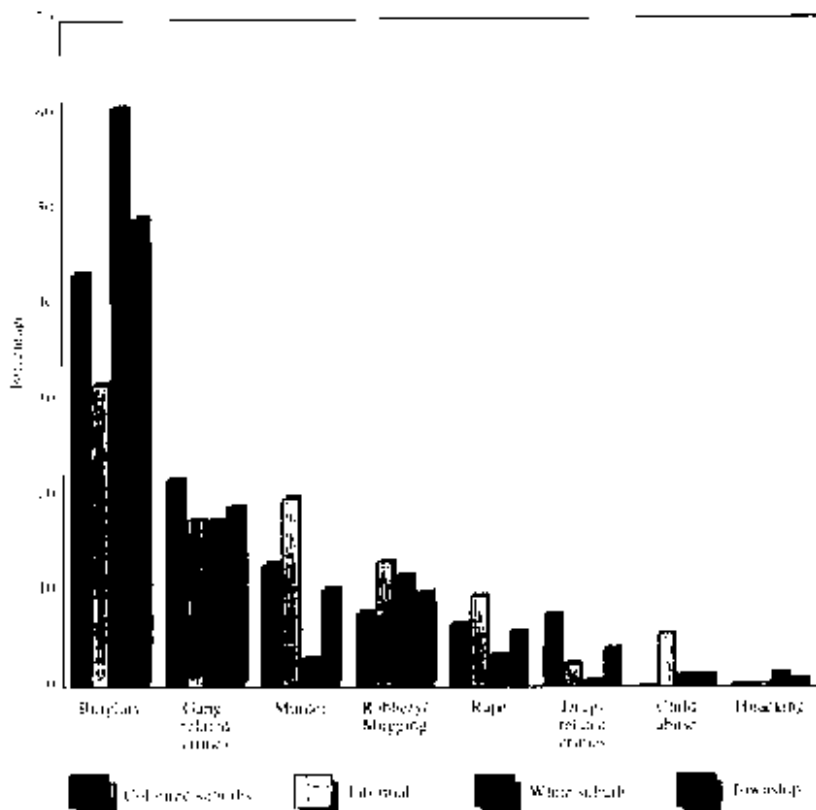
Across areas, burglary (47,9 per cent) is considered to be the most frequent crime type occurring in people's areas, followed by gang-related crimes (19,2 per cent), murders (10,2 per cent), robberies (9,9 per cent), rapes (5,6 per cent) drug-related crimes (4,6 per cent), child abuse (1,3 per cent) and hijackings (1,1 per cent). When considering that burglary is the most frequent crime type occurring in Cape Town and that hijacking is the lowest crime type reported to the survey, it appears as if people's perceptions of crime occurring in their area is not that far removed from reality. This suggests that citizens of Cape Town across the city are in touch with the reality of crime in their areas, while more general perceptions about increases or decreases in crime are less accurate.

There appears to be agreement across races that burglary is the most frequent crime type to occur in Cape Town, particularly in the former white suburbs (60,9 per cent). However, the next most frequent crime type, namely gang-related crimes (19,2 per cent) sees substantial variations across race, where coloured people are the most likely to think crimes occurring in their areas are gang-related (24 per cent), followed by Africans (18,6 per cent) and whites (11,5 per cent). Because of the prevalence of gangs known to be operating in particular parts of Cape Town, the victimisation survey sought to elicit answers from respondents on whether gangs operated in the area in which they lived, and whether victims perceived their incidents to be gang-related. It is probably characteristic of crime in the Western Cape that 54 per cent of respondents said that there were gangs operating in their areas. The manner in which this question was phrased, however, left the answer vague. It is unclear whether respondents were referring to gangs living in their areas or simply operating there. Significantly, 32,3 per cent of respondents did not think there were gangs in their areas, while 13,9 per cent did not know.

Respondents living in the former coloured northern suburbs were the most likely to think that there were gangs operating in their areas (96,7 per cent), while those living in the former white southern suburbs were the least likely to think so (14,6 per cent). Gang-related crimes are believed to be the most frequent in the former coloured suburbs (21,8 per cent), while residents of informal areas and the former white suburbs appear to think that such crimes occur at a similar frequency in these areas. While the common perception is that gangs are more prevalent in coloured areas than in African areas, it is surprising that 81 per cent of respondents living in African areas state that there are gangs in their areas. Township residents see gang-related crimes as less of a frequent crime type on a par with rape (7 per cent) and, after burglary, are the most likely to believe that murder (16,3 per cent) affects their areas the most. The survey did not ask how serious respondents perceived the gangs to be in their particular areas. While there may be gangs in African areas, it is commonly thought that they are more expressive rather than acquisitive - they are not yet involved in serious organised crime. Their focus seems to be more on music and fun, with criminal activities limited to petty crime and the occasional fight with opposing gangs. Since mid-1997, youth gangs in the African townships have become a more frequent phenomenon.

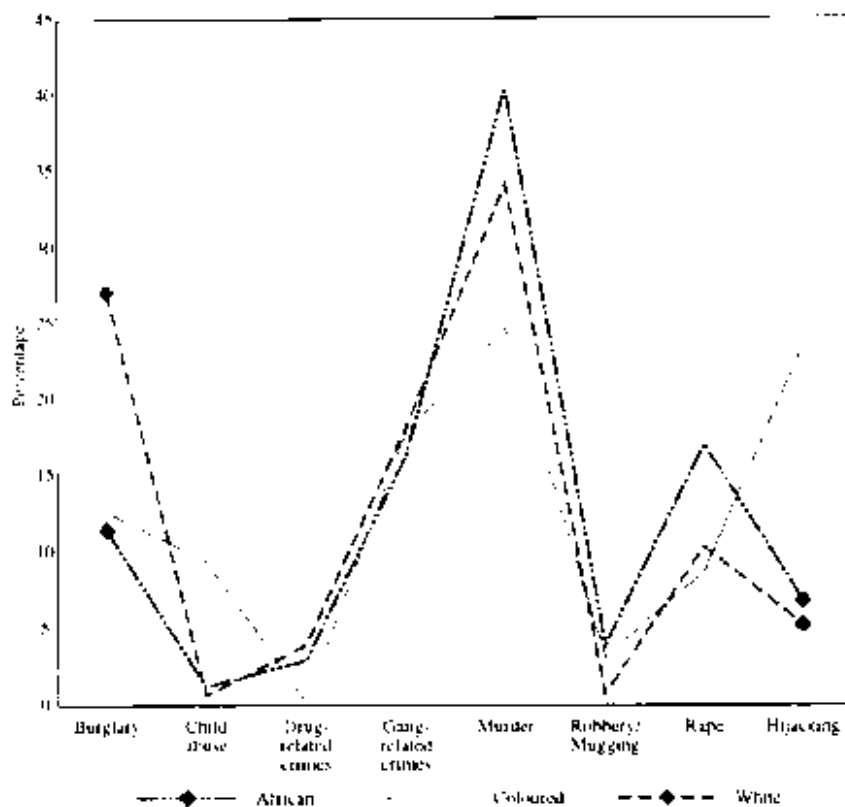
Whites (1,6 per cent) do not believe murder to be the most frequent crime occurring in their areas, while Africans and coloured people do. This perception is accurate as murders are far more likely to occur in the former coloured and African areas. It is confirmed by the fact that residents of informal areas, after burglaries, are the most likely to feel victimised by murder (19,8 per cent), whereas residents in the former white suburbs do not perceive this crime to occur much in their areas (2 per cent). Robbery or mugging is believed to occur most frequently in informal areas (13 per cent) and former white suburbs (11,7 per cent). That rape and child abuse are seen as a frequent crime type affecting Africans in their areas is noteworthy. Coloured people (8,1 per cent) are far more likely to see drug-related crimes as an issue in the areas in which they live compared to other races, and these crimes are perceived to affect mainly those living in the former coloured suburbs (7,6 per cent).

Figure 28: Perceptions of the most frequent crime type occurring in area by settlement type



Respondents were asked what they feared the most about crime, ranging from loss of life, physical injury, loss of property, sexual violence, and sexual intimidation.

Figure 29: Most feared crime type occurring in area by race



While burglary may be the most frequent crime type occurring in all areas, unsurprisingly, loss of life is

the most feared by people living in Cape Town (42,3 per cent), especially those living in informal settlements. This is followed by physical injury (31,6 per cent), sexual violence (14,1 per cent), loss of property (9 per cent) and sexual intimidation (3,1 per cent).

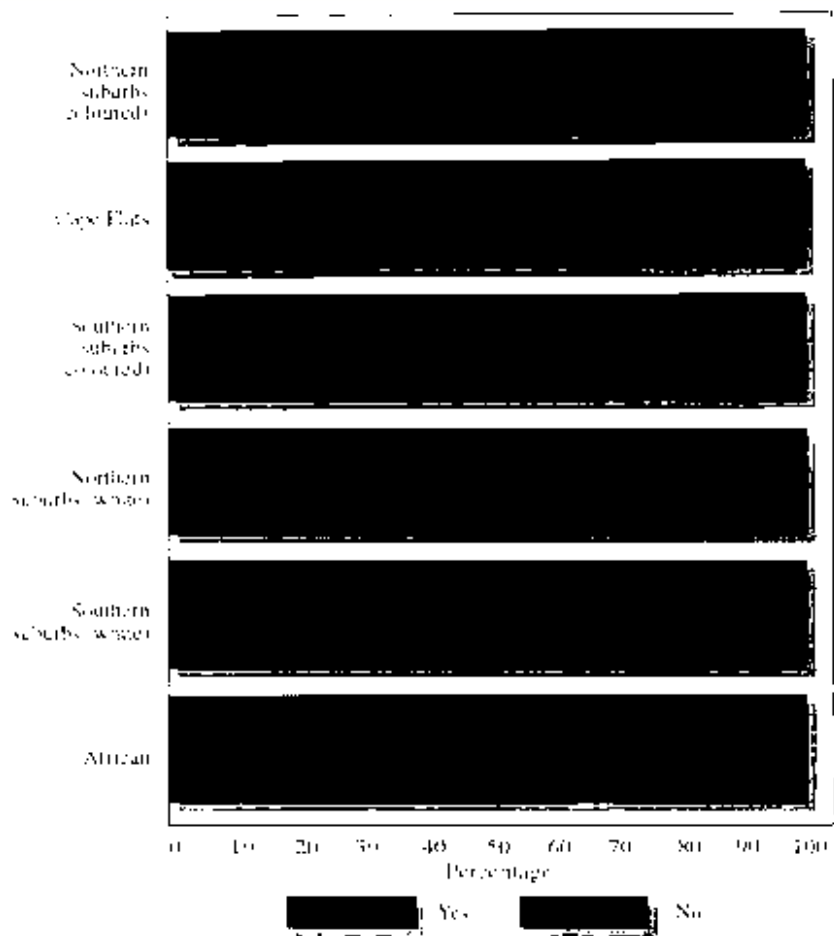
There are very few differences in what people fear about crime when tested by victimisation. Non-victims are slightly more likely to fear loss of property and loss of life than victims. This is a surprising finding and possibly indicates high levels of fear of crime across the board, for both violent and property crimes. Victims are significantly more fearful of sexual intimidation than non-victims.

The group older than 60 years is the most fearful of loss of life (46,9 per cent) and physical injury (35,4 per cent), while those between 16 and 20 years are the most fearful of sexual violence (16,8 per cent) among all the age groups - they are the most vulnerable - and are the least fearful of physical injury (27,4 per cent). Those most fearful of loss of property among all age groups, are between 35 and 60 years old, possibly having the most to lose (10,5 per cent), while those over 60 years are the least fearful of loss of property among all age groups (5,3 per cent).

The fear of loss of life for women (30,7 per cent) is almost matched by their fear of physical injury (28,6 per cent) and sexual violence (25,1 per cent). Not surprisingly, women are far more fearful of rape occurring in their areas (30,9 per cent), compared to men (4,5 per cent). Women are also more likely to fear the loss of property (11,5 per cent) than men (6,5 per cent) who are the most fearful of loss of life (53,7 per cent) and physical injury (34,7 per cent).

The survey also attempted to gather information on public perceptions of gang involvement in crimes that respondents had been victims of or had witnessed.

Figure 30: Perceptions of gangs in neighbourhood by geographic area

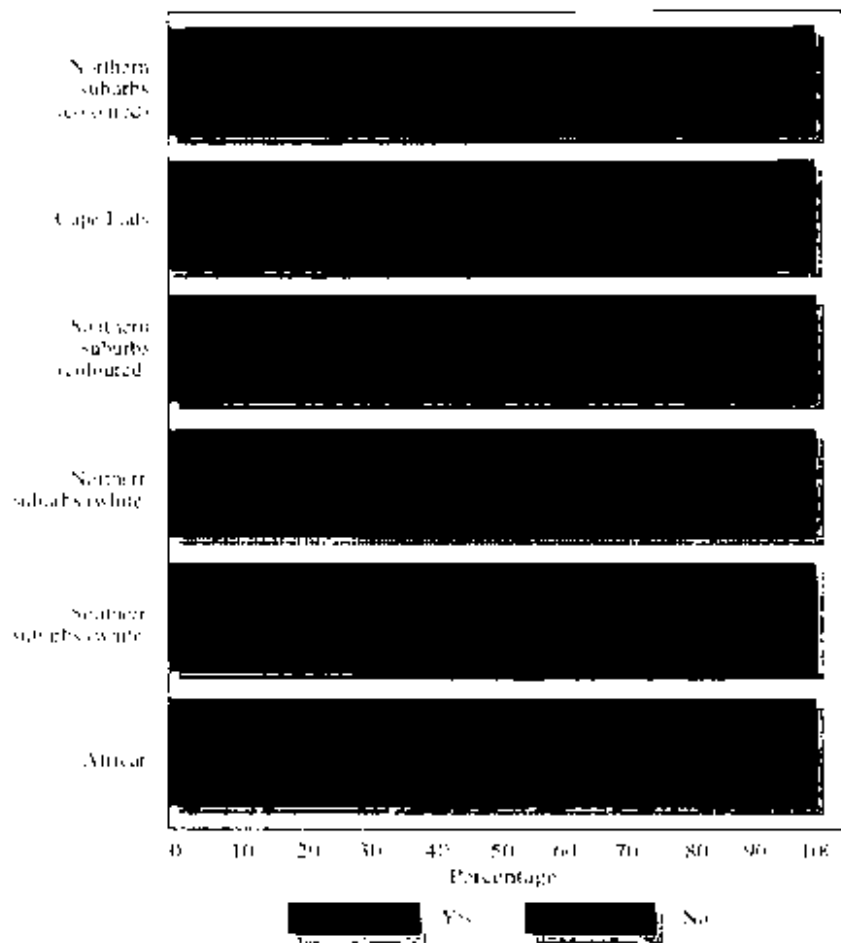


Forty per cent of murders, 41 per cent of robberies, 28 per cent of assaults and 20 per cent of sexual

assaults were believed to be gang-related. Of those men who were victims of assault, 42,6 per cent believed that the crime was gang-related, while this was the perception of only 7 per cent of women.

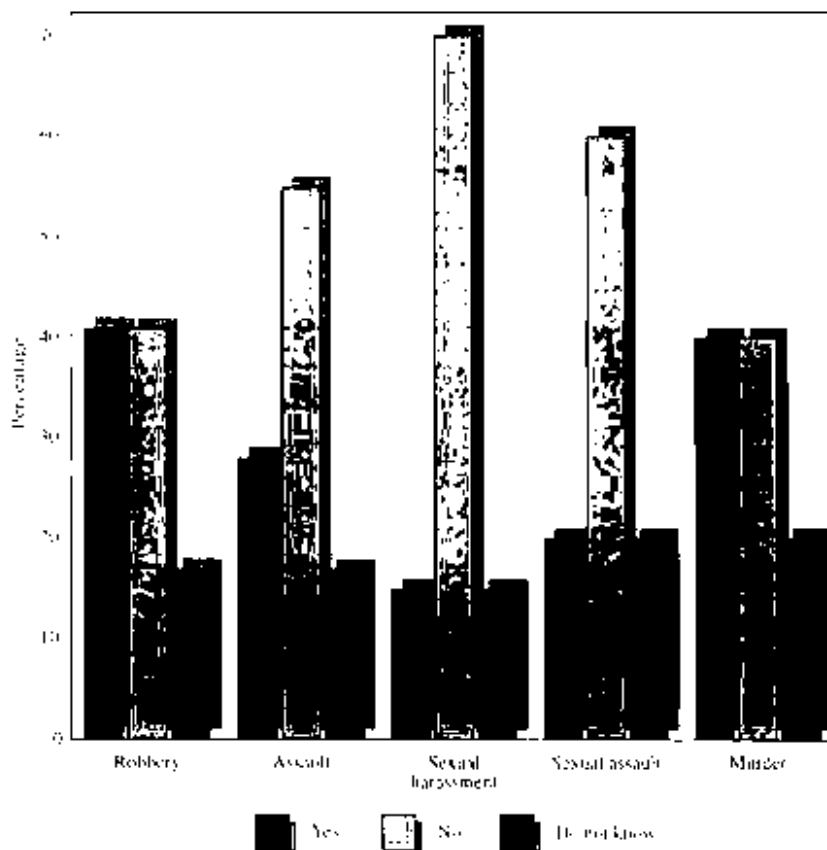
Perceptions of gang-related crimes are important as they call attention to the need to regard gang-related crimes as a priority, especially in addressing the fear of crime. When asked about the most feared crime type in a particular area, gang-related crimes featured in the four most feared crimes, with male respondents slightly more fearful of such crimes (15,5 per cent) than women (13 per cent). It is to be expected that people will have dissimilar fears about different crimes, depending on their vulnerability to such crimes.

Figure 31: Most fearful aspect of crime by area of residence



The questions arises whether victims who perceive the crime to be gang-related are less likely to report it to the police. In considering assault, the following picture emerges: 38,7 per cent of assault victims reported such incidents to the police. In cases where victims perceived the crimes to be gang-related, 43,8 per cent reported the incidents, compared to only 38,3 per cent who reported them when they did not regard them as gang-related. As such, the fear of intimidation by gangs does not necessarily appear to affect reporting when it comes to assault. In fact, gang-related crimes may be perceived as more serious, a factor which would encourage reporting. In all, 92,7 per cent of murders were reported to the police. In cases where the murder was perceived to be gang-related, 88,6 per cent reported the incident compared to 95 per cent who reported it when it was not thought to be gang-related. Overall, 47 per cent of robberies or muggings were reported to the police. In cases where the robbery or mugging was perceived to be gang-related, 36 per cent reported such incidents compared to 45,9 per cent who reported them when they did not regard them as gang-related. It appears that reporting rates may be influenced by the fear of intimidation by gangs when it comes to murder and robbery or mugging.

Figure 32: Perceptions of whether crimes were gang-related



MAKING CAPE TOWN SAFER

Summary

More resources to the police (28,2 per cent), followed by harsher penalties (24,3 per cent) and infrastructure and socio-economic development (21,8 per cent) are the measures that people think the government should take to make Cape Town a safer place.

Besides policing, creating more jobs for the unemployed (59,2 per cent) is the preferred policy option.

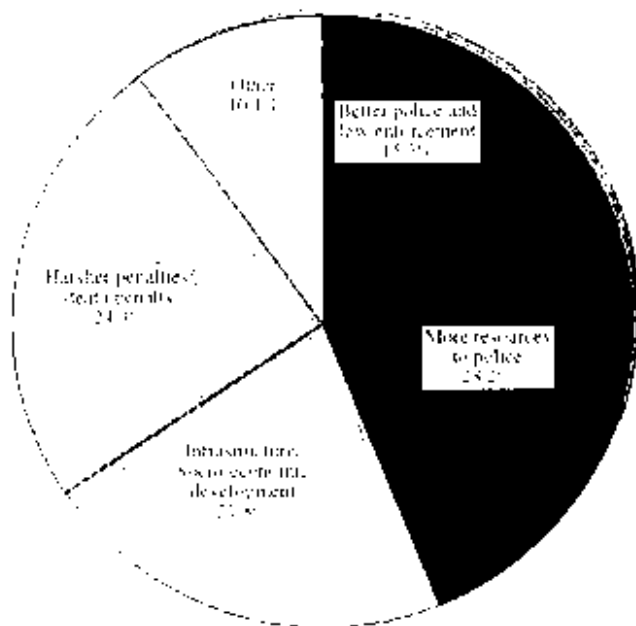
Eighteen per cent of respondents felt there was nothing they could do to make Cape Town a safer place.

Participation in community activities (49,2 per cent) is seen as the most important action to be taken by individuals to make Cape Town a safer place.

GOVERNMENT SAFETY STRATEGIES

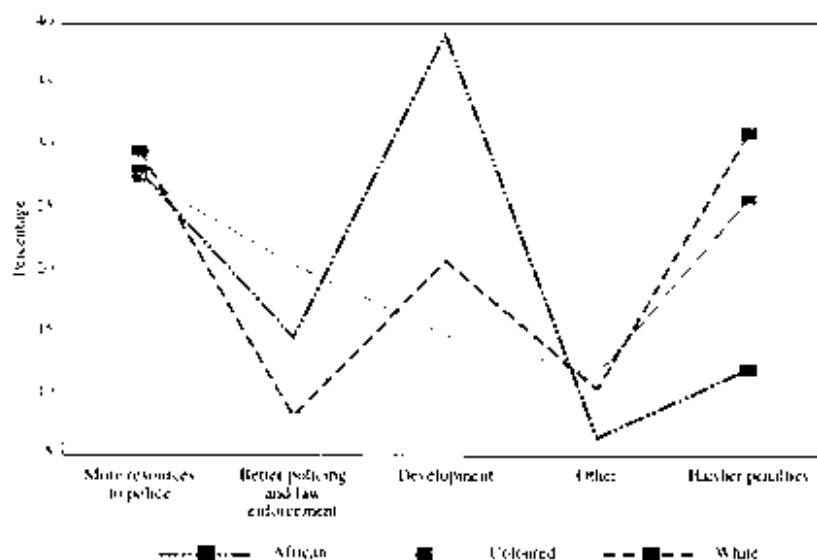
Effective law enforcement and criminal justice options are believed to be the solutions in making Cape Town safer. In an open-ended response, respondents were asked to suggest what they thought the government should do to make Cape Town a safer place.

Figure 33: What the government should do to make Cape Town a safer place



The most popular response (28,2 per cent, which included more visible policing, personnel and resources) was that more resources should be made available to the police, as an action that the government should be taking to make Cape Town safer. This was followed by harsher penalties (24,3 per cent), infrastructure and socio-economic development (21,8 per cent), better law enforcement (15,7 per cent) and 'other' (10,1 per cent). The 'other' category included issues such as getting rid of gangsters or drug merchants (54 per cent), and the stepping down and replacement of the government (20 per cent).

Figure 34: What the government should do to make Cape Town a safer place by race



Policing, as in Johannesburg and Durban, is clearly the favoured solution for people living in Cape Town to improve safety, although support for socio-economic improvements, such as development, job creation and education, as additional solutions to crime, is also high. While all communities favour policing as an option, calls for socio-economic development and harsher penalties are being made from very diverse groups, if the steps that the government should take to make Cape Town safer are considered by race.

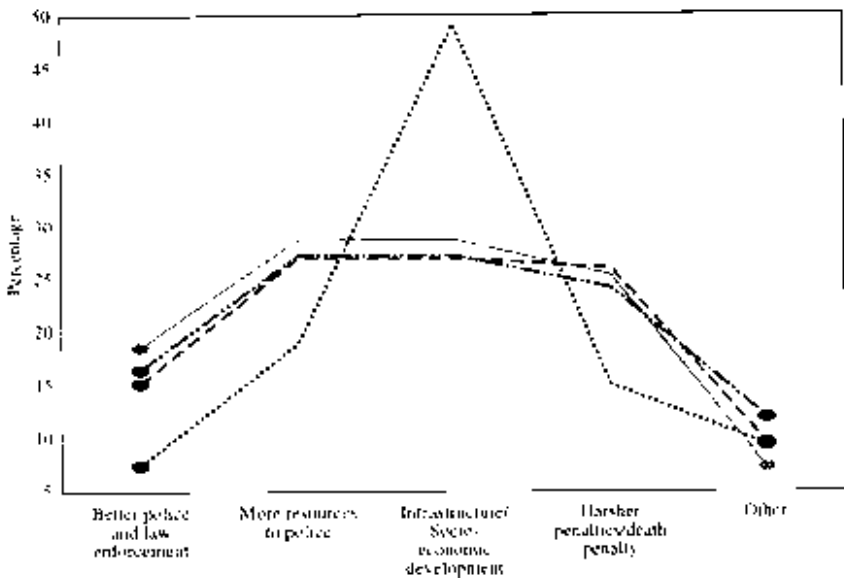
Calls for infrastructural and socio-economic development are predominantly made by Africans (39,1 per cent) and those living in the former African townships and informal settlements. The most vociferous calls for harsher penalties and the death penalty are made by whites (31 per cent), in keeping with the trend in other urban centres in South Africa, followed by coloured people (25,7 per cent). Coloured people are the most in favour of better law enforcement (20,5 per cent). The provision of more resources to the police by the government is recognised by all groups as a key intervention that can make Cape Town a safer place.

Levels of education, as well as geographic areas in which people live in Cape Town, are also significant determinants of opinions on what the government can do to make Cape Town safer.

Infrastructural development is regarded as by far the most important intervention which the government can make across education levels, with those with no schooling calling for it particularly vigorously (49,1 per cent). Apart from this, what citizens on the other educational levels think the government can do to make Cape Town safer, follows a similar trend, with policing and law enforcement options featuring once again.

The geographic area in which respondents live was considered in terms of whether it affects the type of interventions they think the government should make. Those living in the former coloured suburbs in the south of Cape Town regard better policing and law enforcement as a priority (25,6 per cent). More resources to the police is regarded as the most important by those living on the Cape Flats (34 per cent), and in the former white areas in the south (33,1 per cent). Infrastructural development is cited as the most important government intervention by those living in the former African areas (39,1 per cent), as well as those in the former white southern suburbs (23,4 per cent). Harsher penalties as a government solution to crime were mainly expressed by residents of the former white (44,3 per cent) and coloured northern suburbs (31,1 per cent), with those living in the former African areas the least likely to support such measures (12 per cent).

Figure 35: What the government should do to make Cape Town a safer place by education

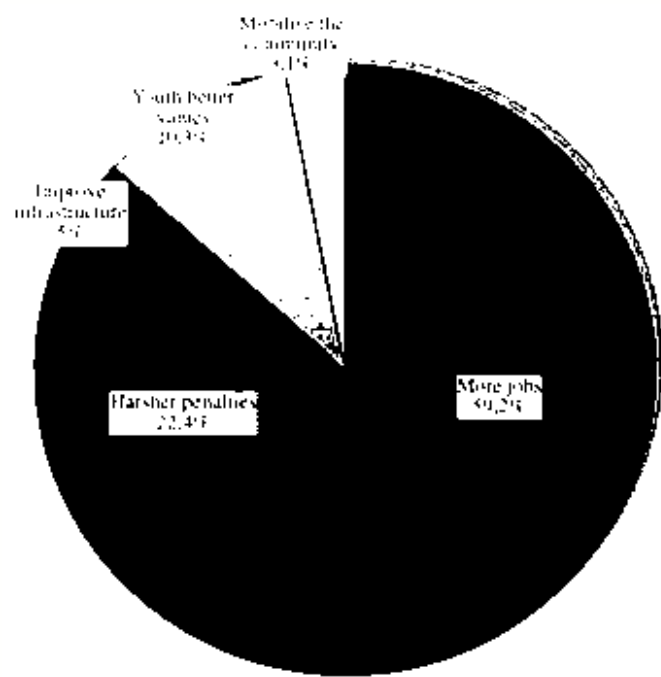


Further cross tabulations by gender found that male and female responses were almost similar. The youngest and oldest age groups of people surveyed in Cape Town were the most likely to support harsher penalties. Victims and non-victims had similar responses, although victims were slightly more likely to support better policing and more resources to the police, probably because they had come into direct contact with the police and identified with the shortages.

SAFETY STRATEGIES OTHER THAN POLICING

Respondents were asked to identify one of five options, other than policing, that the government could employ to make Cape Town safer.

Figure 36: Government strategies besides policing to make Cape Town a safer place

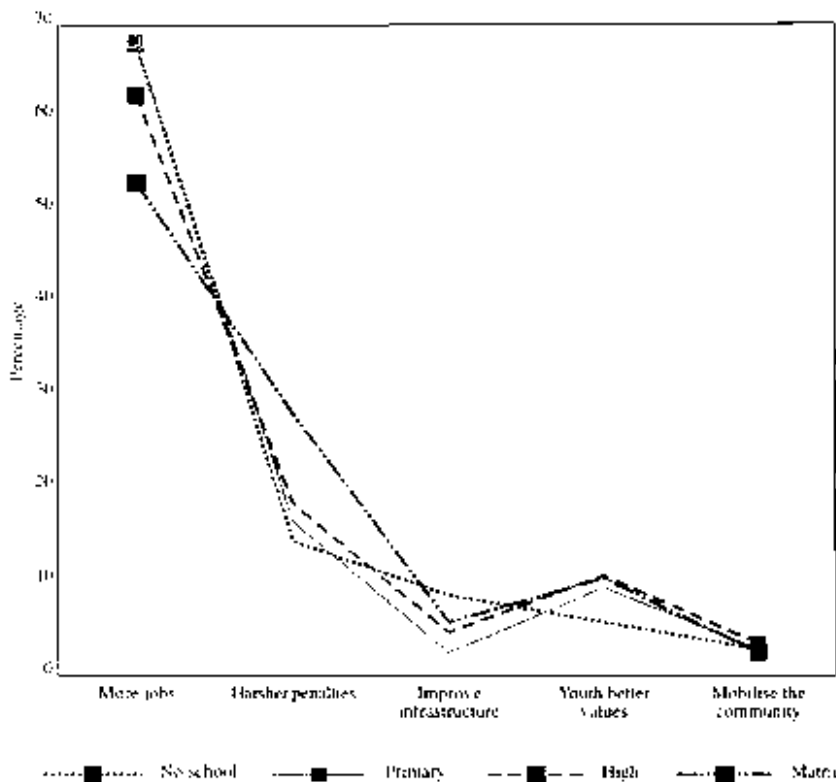


When asked which government measures other than policing could best deliver safety, the majority of respondents selected more jobs for the unemployed from a range of five prompted options. The introduction of harsher penalties was the second choice (22,4 per cent).

There is a stark differentiation when these options are considered by race. While creating more jobs for the unemployed remains the most important government intervention across the board, significant variations occur with harsher penalties. Whites (33,4 per cent) and coloured people (22,1 per cent) consider this as crucial, compared to only 8,5 per cent of Africans who see the improvement of the local infrastructure as an equally significant action by the government (8,2 per cent).

The analysis of the survey results also included a consideration of education as a possible factor which influences people's opinions of the strategies, other than policing, that the government should employ to make Cape Town a safer place.

Figure 37: Government strategies besides policing to make Cape Town safer by education



Besides the more educated favouring harsher penalties (28,1 per cent), there is a similar trend in the type of interventions which people in Cape Town believe the government can employ to make the city a safer place. Once again, a cross-tabulation by age confirms that those older than 60 years (36,5 per cent) and those between 16 and 20 years (22,9 per cent) are the most in favour of harsher penalties. Residents of African areas are the most likely to call for more jobs for the unemployed (72,6 per cent) and are far less likely to call for harsher penalties (8,5 per cent). Interestingly enough, victims are less likely (20,4 per cent) to call for harsher penalties than non-victims (24,3 per cent), rather choosing more resources to the police (28,5 per cent) as the most favoured option.

INDIVIDUAL'S ROLES IN MAKING CAPE TOWN A SAFER PLACE

Given the high levels of crime and the limited resources, the government cannot be expected to carry full responsibility for safety. Citizens themselves - as is increasingly the trend elsewhere in the world and in South Africa - need to take active precautions to prevent crime. Thus, respondents were asked what they felt they could do to make Cape Town safer.

An open-ended question, asked individuals what they thought they could do to make Cape Town a safer place. This question forced the respondents to consider their contributions, if any, towards making Cape Town safer and, by implication, to consider crime prevention as not exclusively the responsibility of the government.

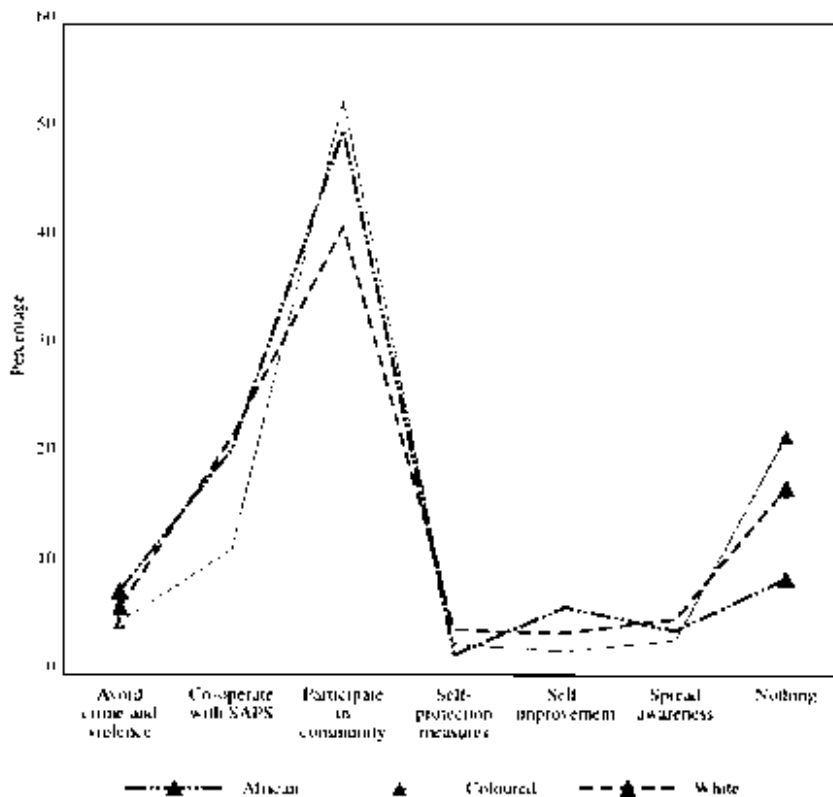
A significant percentage of respondents felt there was nothing (18 per cent) they could do as individuals to make Cape Town a safer place. Importantly, victims are less likely to feel there is nothing they can do to improve the safety in Cape Town. Of these, 15,2 per cent compared to 20,7 per cent of non-victims feel there is nothing they can do. Those who are the most likely to think there is nothing they can do individually, live in the former coloured areas in the south (28,9 per cent). Women are far more likely to believe there is nothing they can do to make Cape Town a safer place (23 per cent), compared to men (13,9 per cent).

Participation in community activities (49,2 per cent) was seen as the most important action to be taken by individuals, followed by co-operation with the SAPS. That citizens of Cape Town are willing to participate in community activities (far more so than residents of other urban centres), is positive. Those

who had been victimised by crime saw community participation as something they could do to make Cape Town a safer place (51,1 per cent) and were more likely than non-victims to want to participate (47,5 per cent). Those who are the most likely to participate in community activity live in the formerly coloured Cape Flats area (60,7 per cent). Respondents between 21 and 35 years of age (53,5 per cent) are also more prepared to join community initiatives, while those who are the least likely to participate in community activities and believe they can do nothing personally to make Cape Town a safer place are older than 60 years (40,9 per cent). Women are slightly more likely than men to participate in community activities (52,1 per cent), but less likely to co-operate with the SAPS (11,7 per cent). Those with no schooling are the least likely to participate in community activities (36,4 per cent) and more likely to believe that there is nothing they can do to make Cape Town a safer place (33,3 per cent).

Co-operating with the SAPS is seen as the next most important individual action by people living in Cape Town. Importantly, despite a long history of antagonism with certain communities, the police are still seen as a key agency with which individuals can co-operate to prevent crime. Those living in the Cape Flats are the least likely to co-operate with the police (8,5 per cent), yet the most likely to participate in community activities (60,7 per cent). This raises a number of questions about the nature of community participation and whether these are vigilante activities, rather than co-operation with official structures. It is disconcerting that victims, who are likely to have come into contact with the police, are marginally less likely than non-victims to see co-operation with the SAPS as important. This may possibly be influenced by their negative perceptions of the way in which the police handled their reporting of a crime. Those who are better educated, are more likely to co-operate with the SAPS (20,4 per cent). Not surprisingly, victims are more likely to avoid crime and violence and use self-protection measures than non-victims.

Figure 38: What individuals can do to make Cape Town a safer place by race



Coloured people (53 per cent), followed by Africans (50,2 per cent) and whites (41,3), see community initiatives as important contributions to safety. In terms of co-operating with the police to ensure a safer environment, whites and Africans show a similar trend (21 per cent), while coloured people are less likely to see co-operation with the police as important (11,6 per cent). This may confirm the legacy of the police co-operating with gangs in the former coloured areas, thus alienating law-abiding citizens.

Avoiding crime and violence by changing one's behaviour or location is highlighted by Africans (7,8 per cent) as an important action which they can undertake as individuals to make Cape Town a safer place. Often, it is the poorest group who see moving as an option to enhance safety, even though this may not be financially feasible.

More and better policing options are seen by people living in Cape Town as the way in which the government can make the city safer, and co-operating with the police is seen as a key role which individuals can play in assisting crime prevention initiatives. While citizens are still looking to the police to intervene in Cape Town's crime problem - which is positive in itself - the question needs to be raised how effective the police service in Cape Town really is, or is at least perceived to be, in controlling crime. According to the survey, it appears that the ability of the police to control and prevent crime in Cape Town is limited, which raises important challenges.

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS

Summary

Of people in Cape Town, 52,7 per cent think the police are not doing a good job at controlling crime in their areas.

Coloured people (67,3 per cent) and Africans (50,9 per cent) are more likely than whites (38,6 per cent) to think that the police are doing a poor job in controlling crime in their areas.

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

The majority of respondents (52,7 per cent) in Cape Town felt that the police in their areas were not doing a good job at controlling crime, while 22,8 per cent felt that they were, and a significant percentage of people (24,5 per cent) had no opinion on the subject. This raises a number of questions on whether or not those with no opinion had personally had any contact with crime or the police.

Despite this view, respondents believe overwhelmingly that the police (and, to a lesser extent, the criminal justice system) are fundamental in making Cape Town 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. This suggests that citizens are less likely to take the law into their own hands.

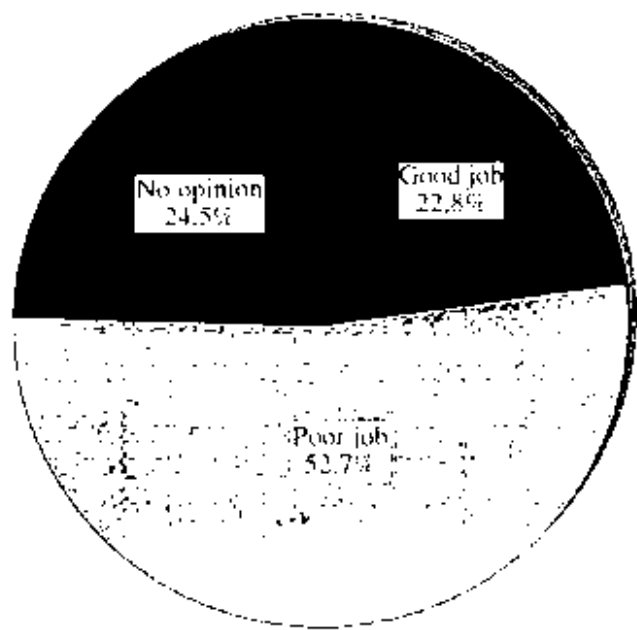
One can assume that people who have been victims of crime are more likely to have come in contact with the police (although one would need to look at reporting rates for particular crimes). Disconcertingly is the fact that victims are more likely to think the police are doing a poor job (56,7 per cent) in controlling crime in their areas and are less likely, although this is marginal, to have no opinion (20 per cent), compared to non-victims who are slightly less likely (49 per cent) to think the police are doing a poor job, with 28 per cent of non-victims having no opinion on police effectiveness. However, differences between victims- and non-victims- perceptions of police effectiveness in controlling crime in their areas are not that marked.

The experience of people living in particular areas of the effectiveness of the police was also considered.

Perceptions of police effectiveness appear to vary considerably across race groups. Whites (38,6 per cent) are the most likely to think that the police are doing a good job in controlling crime in their areas,

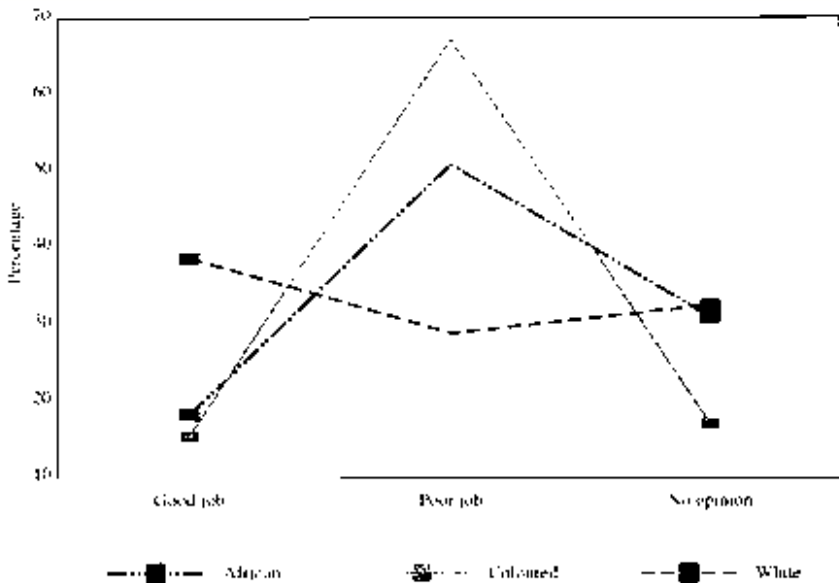
while coloured people (15,5 per cent) are the least likely to think so. Coloured people (67,3 per cent) and Africans (50,9 per cent) are more likely to think that the police are doing a poor job. A large percentage of whites (32,5 per cent) and Africans (30,9 per cent) expressed no opinion.

Figure 39: Perceptions of police effectiveness in Cape Town in controlling crime in areas



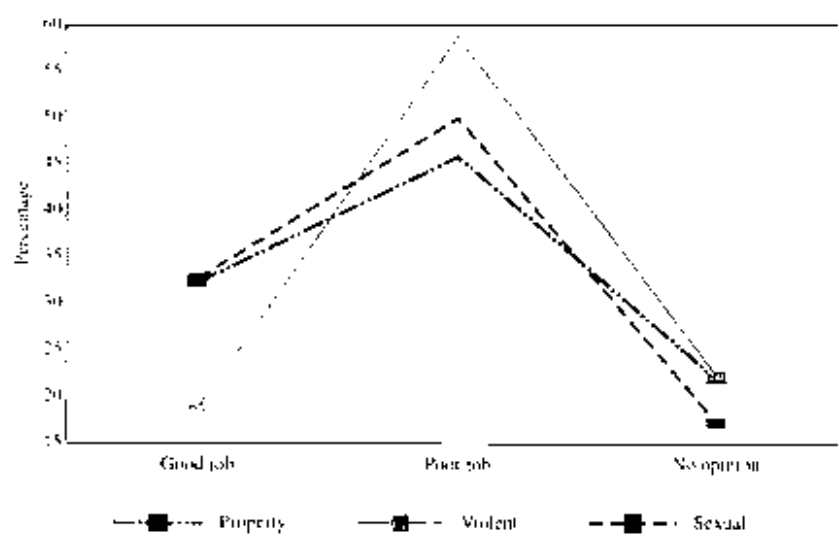
Of the victims of property, violent and sexual crimes who reported these crimes to the police, the following perceptions of police effectiveness in terms of controlling crime in their areas became evident in the survey.

Figure 40: Perception of police effectiveness in Cape Town in controlling crime by race



The majority of victims who reported crimes to the police thought they were doing a poor job in controlling crime in their areas. Half of the victims of sexual crimes who reported these incidents to the police believed they were doing a poor job, while 45,8 per cent of the victims of property crimes thought they were doing a poor job in controlling crime in their areas.

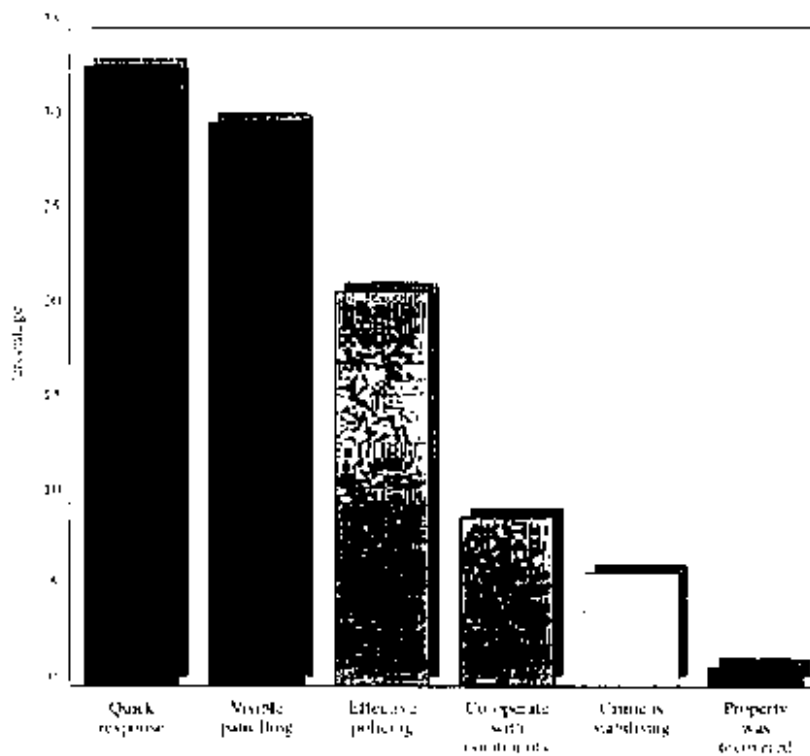
Figure 41: Perceptions of police effectiveness in Cape Town in controlling crime by victims of particulare crimes



Of those respondents who thought the police were doing a good job in controlling crime in their areas, the following reasons were given for their responses. The police were quick to respond (33 per cent), provided visible patrolling (30 per cent), were effective (21 per cent), co-operated with the community (9 per cent), and crime was felt to be stabilising in their areas (6 per cent).

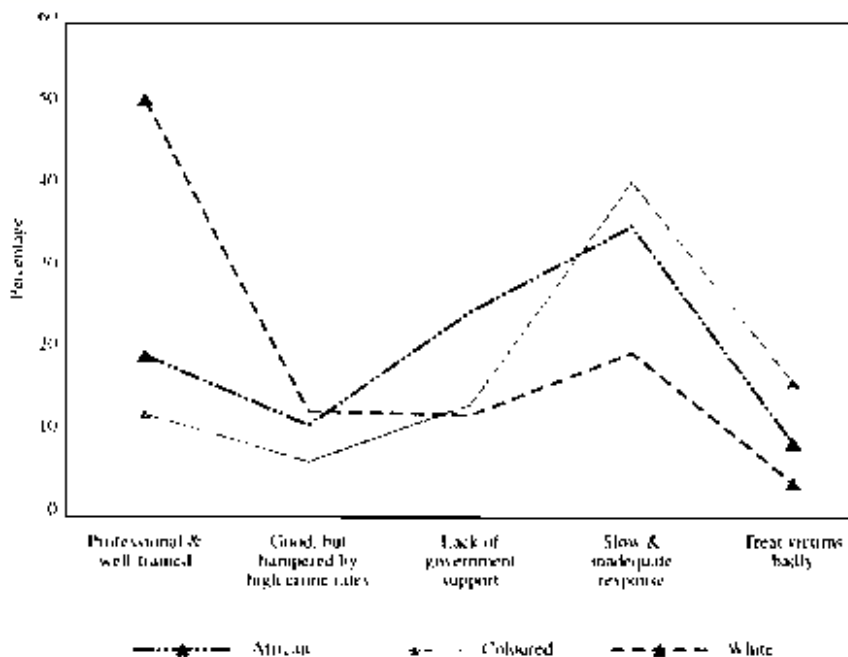
Equal percentages of respondents thought the police were quick to respond (33 per cent), and perceived them not to be doing a good job in controlling crime in their areas as they were slow to respond (33 per cent). It appears that policing is not of a uniform quality across areas in Cape Town and that there is no guarantee of a professional police service. Rather, it is the luck of the draw that determines the treatment one will get, which ranges from very helpful to unreliable. The lack of visible patrolling (20 per cent), often important in reducing the fear of crime, was the next most cited reason for the police doing a poor job. Unprofessional attitude (17 per cent), followed by corruption (12 per cent) were further reasons. Perceived corruption among the police appears to be more of a problem in Cape Town than, for instance, in Johannesburg and Durban. Interestingly, a lack of resources (2 per cent) was last on the list of reasons why respondents felt the police were doing a poor job in controlling crime.

Figure 42: Reasons why the police are seen to be doing a good job in controlling crime



Whites are the most likely to think that the police's conduct is professional (50,8 per cent), and that they are doing a good job in controlling crime in their areas. They are the most likely to perceive the police as doing a good job, despite being hampered by a high crime rate (12,8 per cent). Substantiating other data above, coloured people across the board are the least inclined to think that the police are professional and doing a good job in controlling crime, perceiving them to offer a slow and inadequate response (40,8 per cent), and treating victims poorly (16,3 per cent). Africans also experience the police as being slow and inadequate in their response (35,4 per cent), but are slightly more sympathetic, believing them to be good, but hampered by crime (11,1 per cent). They are the most inclined to believe that the police lack government support (25 per cent) in trying to do their jobs effectively.

Figure 43: Reasons for police effectiveness in Cape Town in controlling crime by race



VICTIM ASSISTANCE

Summary

Victims first turn to family and friends after a crime, and then to the police.

Victims of violent crimes, such as murder and sexual assault, are the most likely to think specialised services for victims of crime might be useful.

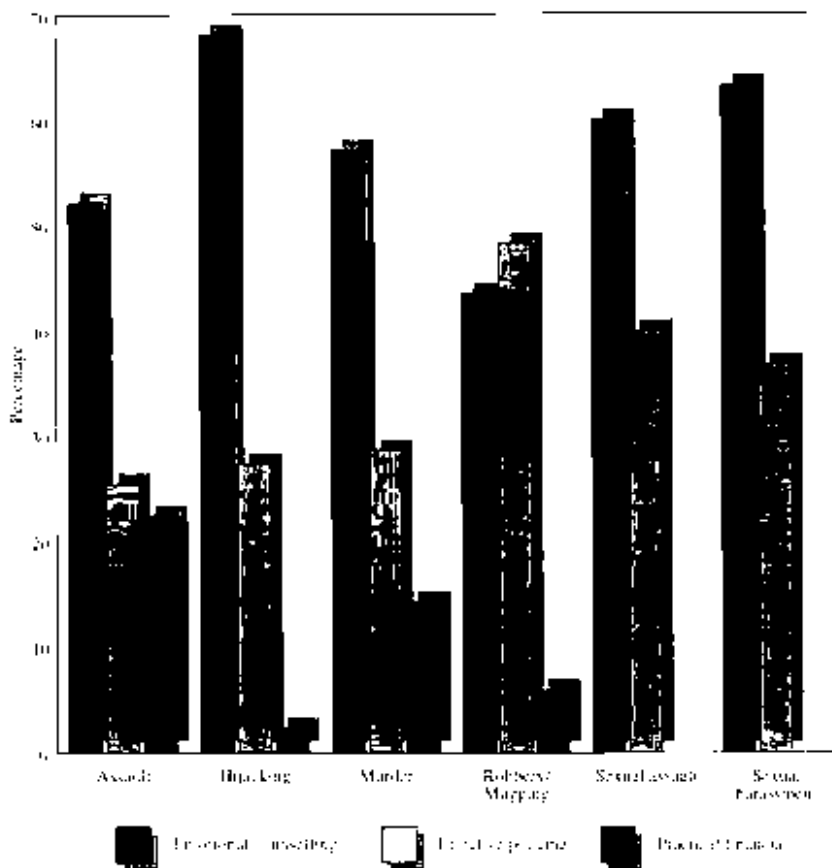
Victims want effective policing and protection, as well as emotional support and counselling.

Respondents were questioned about the following:

- the support they received after victimisation and what they would have liked;
- who they turned to for help following the crime;
- whether they thought the services of a special agency for crime victims would have been useful;
- whether they had heard of such agencies;
- whether they received help from them after an incident;
- which agencies helped them; and
- what kind of support they would have preferred.

Specialised services provided by criminal justice agencies, the government and voluntary organisations to assist victims of crime, although limited, have been established in South Africa. They seek to assist victims in the following ways: psychological counselling and medical treatment, recovery of stolen property, applications for available compensation, or attendance at court procedures. The factors decisive to victims' utilisation of the services of these specialised agencies appear to be whether their needs are likely to be addressed by such agencies, their perceptions of the effectiveness associated with these services, their awareness of their existence, and accessibility.

Figure 44: What kind of support would victims have liked by crime type



WHAT VICTIMS WANT

In most instances, victims are likely to want emotional support and counselling. This would explain why most indicated that they turned to families and friends first for assistance. Surprisingly, and of encouragement for the police, this was the second most popular source of assistance for victims.

Effective policing and protection, as well as emotional support and counselling, are mainly what the victims of crime want, rather than practical or financial support. The vast majority of victims rely on family and friends as a first port of call for assistance, followed by the police.

The nature of the crime (violent versus property, or the degree of violence) and the associated fear may determine the type of assistance victims would like. Of burglary victims, 57,5 per cent and 48,2 per cent of robbery or mugging victims favour effective policing, followed closely by emotional counselling. While effective policing is high on their agendas, victims of hijackings and assaults were more likely first to want emotional counselling from such agencies. These findings did not vary significantly across race or gender, although more African victims were more in favour of effective policing than emotional counselling. Both male and female respondents were equally in favour of emotional support and counselling as a priority need following victimisation.

USEFULNESS OF SPECIALISED AGENCIES

A large percentage of victims who responded to this question did not know whether such services would be useful. However, victims of sexual assault, vehicle hijacking and murder were the most likely to think that they might be. Since these are the most violent crimes, this makes sense. Sixty-three per cent of sexual assault victims felt that the assistance of victim service agencies would have been useful. The fact that so many women identified the need for support from such agencies, indicates the necessity to publicise the existence of these agencies and to make them accessible to women, in general. Agencies of this nature often do not advertise their services widely as they feel they would be unable to deal with the subsequent demand due to a lack of resources (many are dependent on non-government funding).

In the Western Cape, services available for victims of sexual assault are limited, with Rape Crisis being the only service provider that specialises in sexual assault. The organisation has three offices (Observatory, Manenberg and Khayelitsha), but none of these offices provide shelter for the victims of rape. In addition to the provision of much needed counselling and court preparation services, Rape Crisis has focused the public's attention on rape, provided training to the police, district surgeons and magistrates, and has played a major role in shifting and monitoring policies and legislation in relation to sexual offences.

Research done by Rape Crisis in Khayelitsha reports that the women in their study, who were all clients of Rape Crisis, contacted the centre because they wanted to talk to someone without fear of being judged.³⁸ Other reasons for contacting Rape Crisis included wanting to obtain strength and courage, advice on what to do, assistance in the conviction of the rapist and to reduce the fear of being attacked again. Of all the women who were interviewed in this survey, women feared rape the most (31 per cent), followed by murder (24 per cent). Rape victims desperately require the kinds of support and counselling services that these organisations provide and the need for state authorities to recognise, promote and (financially) support this kind of organisation to develop and provide these essential services to South Africa's increasing population of rape victims, should be addressed.

Of the victims of vehicle hijackings, 34,3 per cent believed that the services of a specialised agency would have been useful, with whites living in the southern suburbs of Cape Town particularly thinking so. In those cases where a household member had been murdered, as many as 30 per cent of the victims thought support would have been useful. In the United Kingdom, Victim Support, an organisation which provides assistance to all victims of crime, has recognised this need and offers specially tailored programmes for families of murder victims. Most burglary, assault, and robbery or mugging victims - less violent crime types - either did not know or were unlikely to think that such services would be useful. Across crime types, whites were the most likely to think that such services would be useful, while coloured and African respondents were less inclined to think so, a finding similar to that of the Johannesburg victim survey. This may be the result of two things: more services in white areas or suburbs, or that Africans use their own means of getting support, i.e. informal support offered by family and friends rather than professional counselling.

The large proportion of victims who were unsure of the usefulness of these agencies suggests a low awareness of their existence and of the potential benefits of specialised assistance to stem the cycle of violence. Indeed, the majority of respondents across crime types had not heard of such agencies, although 40,4 per cent of families of murder victims had. Only 8,3 per cent of hijacking victims had heard of such agencies. Africans living in townships and informal areas were the least likely to be aware of their existence. This low awareness may point to the need for much greater publicity of available services, but more likely indicates the lack of services in these areas. This is something which is recognised by the Department of Welfare, as the National Crime Prevention Strategy's lead agency on victim empowerment issues.

In terms of actually receiving help from agencies, of the respondents who answered this question, only 35 victims in Cape Town had received help from these agencies and 25 gave the names of the specific organisations.

Names of Specific Organisations

- Rape Crisis
- Life Line
- Community structures
- NICRO
- Neighbourhood Watch
- Student Representative Council
- Trauma Centre
- Groote Schuur Hospital

The diversity of these sources of assistance suggests that people understand support differently, for example Life Line and Neighbourhood Watch offer widely diverse services.

Victims of assault, murder and robbery or mugging from the former coloured and African areas had made use of NICRO, the Trauma Centre, Groote Schuur Hospital, as well as community options and the local Student Representative Council. Those living in the former white suburbs had gone to Neighbourhood Watch for support. Those that sought assistance for sexual assault went to Life Line, to their communities or to Rape Crisis.

ENDNOTES

1. This section draws on A Louw, M Shaw, L Camerer & R Robertshaw, **Crime in Johannesburg: Results of a City Victim Survey**, ISS monograph Series, 18, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, February 1998.
2. J J M van Dijk, *Criminal Victimisation and Victim Empowerment in an International Perspective*, keynote address, opening session, **Ninth International Symposium on Victimology**, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 25-29 August 1997. The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) is an ongoing exercise which involves more than fifty 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.
3. Ibid.
4. L Glanz, **Crime in South Africa: Perceptions, Fear and Victimisation**, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1994.
5. Nedcor, **The Nedcor Project on Crime, Violence and Investment**, main report, Nedcor, Johannesburg, June 1996.
6. L Glanz, *Government to Probe Unreported Crime Levels*, **The Star**, 16 February 1998.
7. See Louw (et. al.), op. cit.
8. U Zvekic & A Alvazzi del Frate (eds), **Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World**, Publication 55, UNICRI, Rome, 1995; P Mayhew, *Some Methodological Issues in Victimisation Surveys*, in **Crime Victims Surveys in Australia**, conference proceedings, Criminal Justice Commission, Brisbane, 1995.
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10. E Stanko, **Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experience of Male Violence**, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1985.
11. M P Koss, *Detecting the Scope of Rape: A Review of Prevalence Research Methods*, **Crime and Delinquency**, 31, 1993, pp. 169-190.
12. A Percy & P Mayhew, *Estimating Sexual Victimisation in a National Crime Survey: A New Approach*, **Studies on Crime Prevention**, 6(2), 1997, p 128.
13. See Louw et. al., op. cit.; M Shaw & A Louw, **Crime in Durban: Results of a City Victim**

14. See questionnaire (Appendix 2).
15. Van Dijk, op. cit.
16. Ibid.
17. Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op. cit.; Mayhew, op. cit.
18. Van Dijk, op. cit.
19. CIMC, **Quarterly Report 3/97**, Crime Information Management Centre, SAPS. Pretoria, 1997.
20. Louw (et. al.), op. cit.
21. L Rocha-Silva & I Stahmer, *Research Relating to the Nature, Extent and Development of Alcohol or Drug-related Crime*, unpublished paper, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1996; A Louw & M Shaw, **Stolen Opportunities: The Impact of Crime on South Africa's Poor**, ISS Monograph Series, 14, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, July 1997.
22. CIMC, op. cit. (original emphasis).
23. Mowatt (1986), cited in C Sutherland, *Prevention is Better than Cure*, in S Jagwanth, P J Schwikkard & B Grant (eds), **Women and the Law**, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1994.
24. Institute of Directors, **Sexual Harassment in the Workplace**, Institute of Directors, Institute of Personnel Management, UNISA Centre for Women's Studies, Women's Bureau of South Africa and ANC Women's League, Pretoria, 1992.
25. As in the case of sexual assault, the sample of sexual harassment victims is too small for drawing firm and generalised conclusions, or for detecting any concrete patterns.
26. L Vetten, **Violence Against Women in South Africa: A Literature Review Prepared for Soul City, Soul City**, Gauteng, 1997.; Goodman (1978) in E H R Russell, **Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse and Workplace Harassment**, Sage, California, 1984.
27. Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op. cit.
28. Ibid.
29. L Vetten, **Violence Against Women in South Africa: A Literature Review Prepared for Soul City**, Soul City, Gauteng, 1997.
30. P Mayhew & J J M van Dijk, **Criminal Victimisation in Eleven Industrialised Countries**, Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum, Amsterdam, 1997.
31. C Bridgeman & L Hobbs, **Preventing Repeat Victimisation: The Police Officers' Guide**, Home Office Police Research Group, London, 1997.
32. Van Dijk, op. cit.
33. Ibid.

34. C de la Rey & C Potgieter, *Perceptions of Services Offered by Rape Crisis*, Khayelitsha, unpublished paper, 1996.
35. Rape Crisis (1995-1998); see *ibid*.
36. A Alvazzi del Frate, **Preventing Crime: Citizens' Experience Across the World**, UNICRI, Rome, 1997.
37. L Camerer & A Louw, *Perception and Reality: Surveying Crime in Cape Town*, **Nedcor/ISS Crime Index**, 2(2), April 1998.
38. De la Rey & Potgieter, *op. cit*.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participants invited to the 11 March 1998 workshop ISS, Cape Town

Participants invited to the 11 March 1998 workshop at ISS in Cape Town

SURNAME	NAME	ORGANISATION
Artz	Lillian	University of Cape Town Institute of Criminology
Bekker	Simon	Stellenbosch University (Sociology)
Camerer	Lala	ISS (Midrand)
Cloete	John	Western Cape Safety and Security
De Kock	Chris	SAPS
Galloway	Neil	SAPS Strategic Crime desk
Gastrow	Peter	ISS (Midrand)
Hansmann	Clare	DRA Development
Louw	Antoinette	ISS (Midrand)
Madden	Lindsay	Business Against Crime
Mattes	Bob	IDASA
Meek	Sarah	ISS (Midrand)
Muntingh	Lucas	NICRO
Nina	Daniel	University of the Western Cape
Oosthuizen	Capt Martin	SAPS CIMC
Pandy	Yasmeena	DRA Development
Penberthy	John	Business Against Crime
Scharf	Wilfried	University of Cape Town Institute of Criminology
Shaw	Mark	ISS (Midrand)
Shearing	Clifford	University of the Western Cape
Sonti	Yoliswa	ISS (Midrand)
Stavrou	Aki	DRA Development
Thompson	Mike	Cape of Good Hope Bank
Van der Spuy	Elrena	University of Cape Town Institute of Criminology
Wasser	Gaynor	Western Cape Anti-Crime Forum
Winslow	Tom	Trauma Centre
Parry	Charles	Medical Research Council
Ramaneshi	Phillip	Cape Town Metropolitan Council

APPENDIX 2: Street interview survey on safety: Cape Town - February 1998

We are undertaking a survey of crime and violence (for an independent research organisation) in some of the metropolitan areas in South Africa. May I ask you a few questions on your experiences of crime in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area? This interview won't take much of your time. Your answers will, of course, be treated confidentially and anonymously. Everyone would like to see Cape Town a safer place in which to work and live. For this, information is required on the public perception of crime, as well as the nature of crime. From this, policies and practical strategies can be developed to combat crime. Please would you respond as candidly as possible to the following questions about crime in your residential area and your experience thereof.

1 DEMOGRAPHICS

Firstly, may I ask some questions that provide a descriptive profile of yourself.

1.1	Date of Interview (use listing dd/m, i.e. 30th June =306)	1.2	Name of Interviewer (use allocated code number)	
1.3	Place of Interview (use code list)	1.4	Gender of Respondent 1=male 2=female	
1.5	Race of Respondent 1=black 2=white 3=Asian 4=coloured	1.6	Age of Respondent (enter actual age)	
1.7 What type of house do you live in?				
1=formal brick & mortar house 3=traditional house 5=khaya 7=other (specify)		2=apartment/flat 4=imondolo/shack 6=temporary shelter/plastic bags		
1.8 Name of Area that the respondent resides in: (enter known/common name)				
1.9 Name of Area that the respondent either works or studies in (enter known name)				
1.10 What do you do for a living?				
1=f-t scholar / student 3=retired / pensioner 5=unemployed not seeking employment 7=employed part-time (less than 20hrs/wk) 9=formal sector employed full-time		2=f-t home worker (own home) 4=disabled, thus do no work 6=unemployed actively seeking employment 8=informal sector employed full-time 10=other (specify)		
1.11 What is the highest level of education you personally have achieved?				
1=No schooling 2=Some primary school 3=Primary school completed		4=Some high school 5=Artisan's Certificate 6=Matric		
1.12 And the highest post matric				
1=Technikon diploma / degree obtained 3=Professional 5=Secretarial		2=University degree 4=Technical 6=Other (specify)		
1.13 How many people, excluding domestic workers, are there living in your household?				
1.14 Do you own a car? 1=yes 2=no				
1.15 How many other cars are owned by your household?				

2 EXPERIENCE OF CRIME

In order to assist in combating crime, we would like to ask some specific questions about your experiences. Please specify whether it was an actual or attempted incident.

[illegible]

(only respondent's home)									
2.2 Robbery/mugging (self)									
2.3 Assault (self)									
2.4 Murder (household member)									
2.5 Sexual harassment (self)									
2.6 Sexual assault (self)									
2.7 Hijacking of Vehicle (self)									
2.8 Theft of Vehicle (self/household)									
2.9 Other crime (specify (self)									

3 GENERAL PERCEPTIONS ON CRIME

Now I would like to ask some questions about your perception of crime in the area where you live.

3.1 How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live during the day? <<Circle around correct response>>							
1	very safe	2	fairly safe	3	bit unsafe	4	very unsafe
3.2 How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live after dark? <<Circle around correct response>>							
1	very safe	2	fairly safe	3	bit unsafe	4	very unsafe
3.3 What forms of protection do you use to protect your own dwelling: << Read out list below - place a circle around correct response(s) - multiple response allowed>>							
Refuses to answer 1		Special security door locks 2					
Special window/door grilles 3		Security guard 4					
High fence / wall 5		Razor wire/broken bottles 6					
Dog 7		Burglar alarm 8					
Intercom 9		Armed response 10					
Neighbourhood watch scheme 11		Member of a gang 12					
Axe/stick/club 13		Traditional Methods 14					
Gun 15		None of the above 16					
Other (specify) 17		Other (specify) 18					
3.4 Do you feel safer as a result of taking the precautions identified in ques 3.3 above? <<Circle correct response>>							
1	Yes, very much safer	2	Yes, fairly safe	3	I feel no change		
4	No, unsafe	5	No, very unsafe				
3.5 What else do you feel you could do to enhance your personal safety? 1=Nothing							
3.6 Do you think that the police in your area are doing a good job at controlling crime? <<Circle correct response>>							
1	Yes, a good job, go to ques 3.6.1						
2	No, a poor good job, go to ques 3.6.1						
3	No opinion, go to ques 3.7						
WHY DO YOU SAY SO?							
3.6.1 Reason 1							
3.7 Are there any places in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area in which you feel particularly unsafe?							
3.7.1	Unsafe area No. 1	3.7.2	Unsafe area No. 2				
3.8 What should the government do to make the Cape Town Metropolitan Area a safer place?							
3.8.1	Suggestion 1						
3.8.2	Suggestion 2						
3.9 We spoke about what the government can do to make the Cape Town Metropolitan Area a safer place. What do you think you can do?							

3.9.1	Suggestion 1				
3.9.2	Suggestion 2				
3.10 Besides policing, I'll now read you some things that other people say that the government can do to make the Cape Town Metropolitan Area a safer place. Please tell me which one you identify with most?					
1=More jobs for the unemployed 2=Harsher penalties e.g. tougher bail conditions 3=Improve local infrastructure to make places safer e.g better street lighting 4=Teach the youth better norms and values 5=Mobilise the community					
3.10.1 First Choice		3.10.2 Second Choice			
3.11 Compared to previous years, do you think the level of crime in your area increased, decreased or stayed the same?					
1	Increased crime level	2	Decreased crime level	3	Stayed the same
3.12 What one type of crime occurs most in your area? << Circle only one answer >>					
House-breaking & theft 1		Rape 2			
Murder 3		Child Abuse 4			
Mugging / stabbing 5		Car-jacking 6			
Drug-related crime 7		Gang-related crime 8			
Do not know 8		Other (specify) 9			
3.13 What one type of crime are you most scared of in your area? << Circle only one answer >>					
House-breaking & theft 1		Rape 2			
Murder 3		Child Abuse 4			
Mugging / stabbing 5		Car-jacking 6			
Drug-related crime 7		Gang-related crime 8			
Do not know 8		Other (specify) 9			
3.14 Are there gangs in your area? <<Place a circle around correct response>>					
1	Yes	2	No	3	Do not know
3.15 What do you fear most about crime? << 2 OPTIONS ONLY>>					
1=Physical injury (violence) 2=Sexual Violence 3=Sexual intimidation			4=Loss of Property 5=Loss of Life		
3.15.1 First Choice		3.15.2 Second Choice			
I am now going to ask you detailed questions on your experiences of crime, as identified in section 2 above. This information is important as it will give a better understanding of where crime is taking place and who is being affected by which sorts of crime so that action can be taken.					

4 THEFT OF VEHICLE, SUCH AS A CAR, VAN OR BAKKIE

<< *THEFT OF CAR, VAN OR BAKKIE IMPLIES THAT NO FORCE (EITHER IMPLIED OR ACTUAL) WAS USED AGAINST THE RESPONDENT TO STEAL THE CAR. IF FORCE WAS USED, GO TO QUESTION 5 ON CAR-HIJACKING*>>

Please take a moment to think about **your or someone in your household's** most recent experience of car theft. Thinking only of this specific incident, answer the following questions.

4.1 Was the car, van or bakkie theft attempted or successful? 1=attempted car-theft 2=successful car-theft							
When did the incident occur?							
4.1.1		4.1.2		4.1.3		4.1.4	
In what year did the incident occur?		In which month did the incident occur?		On which day of the week did the incident occur?		At approx. what time did this incident occur?	
(fill in year)		1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov12=Dec		1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend		1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00	
4.2 Where did the incident occur?							

1=driveway/garage/garden 2=in a public parking lot 3=in the street outside shops/offices 4=in the street in a residential area 5=open space eg. park, beach 6=at a place of education eg university/school/technikon 7=other area (specify)	
4.3 Where specifically ...? (<i>Enter the best known name and a description of the area</i>)	
4.4 What were you doing when the crime occurred?	
1=at home 2=going to work/school/university/tech 3=at work/school/university/tech. 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech. 5=going to / returning from a shopping area 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment 7=visiting friends/relatives 8=other activity (specify)	
4.5 Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime?	
1=yes 2=no, if no go to ques. 4.6	
4.5.1 Explain in which manner.	
4.5.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions?	
1=yes 2=no	
4.6 Was your car recovered?	
1=yes the car was recovered 2=no the car was never found	
4.7 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?	
1=yes, go to ques. 4.9 2=no, go to ques. 4.8 3=do not know, go to ques. 4.11	
4.8 If no, i.e you did not report the crime, why not?	
Go to ques. 4.11	
4.9 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report?	
1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)	
4.10 Explain your answer above.	
4.11 Was the car insured?	
1=yes 2=no	

5 CAR-HIJACKING

<<CAR-HIJACKING IMPLIES THAT THE CAR WAS TAKEN FROM THE PERSON USING FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE >>

Take a moment to think about your most recent experience of car-hijacking when someone took the car/van/bakkie that you were in by force. Thinking only of this specific incident, answer the following questions.

5.1 Was it an attempted or a successful car-hijacking?							
1=attempted car-hijacking 2=successful car-hijacking							
When did the incident occur?							
5.1.1		5.1.2		5.1.3		5.1.4	
In what year did the incident occur?		In which month did the incident occur?		On which day of the week did occur?		At approx. what time did this incident occur?	
(fill in year)		1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec		1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend		1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00	
5.2 Where did the incident occur?							
1=driveway/garage/garden (stop street, traffic light) 2=in a public parking lot 3=in the street outside shops/offices 4=in the street in a residential area 5=open space eg. park, beach 6=at a place of education eg univ./school/tech. 7=at an intersection 8=other area (specify)							
5.3 Where specifically ...? (<i>Enter the best known name and a description of the area</i>)							
5.4 What were you doing when the crime occurred?							
1=at home 3=at work/school/university/tech. 5=going to / returning from a shopping area				2=going to work/school/university/tech 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech. 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment			

7=visiting friends/relatives		8=Other activity (specify)	
5.5 Were you a passenger or the driver? 1=passenger 2=driver			
5.6 Did you own the car? 1=yes 2=no			
5.7 Was the car insured? 1=yes 2=no			
5.8 For what purpose were you in the car?			
1=for commercial (work) purposes e.g. as a driver, doing deliveries, salesperson, electrician, rep etc 2=commuting on public transport e.g. on a taxi 3=commuting in private transport 4=other (specify)			
5.9 Was violence used or threats made during the car-hijacking 1=Threats only 2=Violence only 3=Both			
5.10 Could you identify the weapon(s) used during the incident? <<Read-out list - allow for multiple response>>			
5.10.1		5.10.2	
1=No weapon was visible 3=Knife 5=physical strength/hands		2=Gun 4=axe/stick/panga/club 6=Other weapon (specify)	
5.11 Did you or any one else sustain any injuries as a result of the incident? 1=yes 2=no -2=n/a			
5.11.1 You	5.11.2 Other Person 1	5.11.3 Other Person 2	5.11.4 Other Person 3
5.12 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?			
1=yes, go to ques. 5.14 2=no, go to ques. 5.13 3=do not know, go to ques. 5.16			
5.13 If no i.e you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 5.16			
5.14 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)			
5.15 Explain your answer above.			
5.16 Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime? 1=yes 2=no, if no go to ques.5.17			
5.16.1 Explain in which manner.			
5.16.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions? 1=yes 2=no			
5.17 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>			
5.17.1 5.17.2 5.17.3			
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 11=no one		2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 10=neighbour 12=other (specify)	
5.18 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/ practical/emotional assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful?			
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
5.19 Have you heard of such agencies? 1=yes 2=no if no skip to question 5.22			
5.20 Did you get help from such specialised agencies? 1=yes, go to ques. 5.21 2=no, go to ques 5.22			
5.21 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:			
5.22 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?			

6 HOME BURGLARY

<<HOME BURGLARY ONLY APPLIES TO THE RESPONDENT'S RESIDENTIAL/ DOMESTIC PREMISES, NOT WORK/EMPLOYMENT PREMISES>>

Please take a moment to think about **your** most recent experience of having your premises burgled or broken into. Thinking only of this specific incident, answer the following questions.

When did the incident occur?			
6.1.1		6.1.2	
In what year did the incident occur?	In which month did the incident occur?	On which day of the week did the incident occur?	At approx. what time did this incident occur?
(fill in year)	1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec	1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend	1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00
6.2 Was someone at home when the burglary occurred? 1=yes someone at home 2=no, not at home			
6.3 Were the premises only broken into or were items stolen? 1=only broken into 2=items stolen (i.e. both)			
6.4 Were there any threats made or violence used during the incident? 1=threats only 2=violence only 3=both 4=none			
6.5 Did you or any one else sustain any injuries as a result of the incident? 1=yes 2=no -2=n/a			
6.5.1 You	6.5.2 Other Person1	6.5.3 Other Person 2	6.5.4 Other Person 3
6.6 Could you identify the weapon(s) used during the incident? <<Read-out list - allow for multiple response>>			
6.6.1		6.6.2	
1=no weapon was visible 3=knife 5=physical strength/hands	2=gun 4=axe/stick/panga/club 6=other weapon (specify)	6.6.3	
6.7 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police? 1=yes, go to ques. 6.9 2=no, go to ques. 6.8 3=do not know, go to ques. 6.11			
6.8 If no i.e. you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 6.11			
6.9 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)			
6.10 Explain your answer above.			
6.11 Were the household contents insured against burglary? 1=yes 2=no			
6.12 Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime? 1=yes 2=no, if no go to ques. 6.13			
6.12.1 Explain in which manner.			
6.12.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions? 1=yes 2=no			
6.13 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>			
6.13.1		6.13.2	
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 10=neighbour	2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 11=no one 12=other (specify)	6.13.3	
6.14 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/practical/emotional assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful? 1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
6.15 Have you heard of such agencies? 1=yes 2=no (if no skip to ques. 6.18)			
6.16 Did you get help from such specialised agencies? 1=yes, go to ques. 6.17 2=no, go to ques 6.18			
6.17 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:			
6.18 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?			

7 ROBBERY OR MUGGING

<< NOTE THAT ROBBERY OR MUGGING INCLUDES THE THEFT OF ANY ITEM FROM THE

PERSON, WHERE FORCE OR THE THREAT OF FORCE IS USED. MUGGING IS ONE FORM OF ROBBERY>>

Please take a moment to think about **your** most recent experience of robbery. Thinking only of this specific incident, answer the following questions.

7.1 Was it an attempted or a successful robbery or mugging? 1=attempted 2=successful					
When did the incident occur?					
7.1.1		7.1.2		7.1.3	
In what year did the incident occur?		In which month did the incident occur?		On which day of the week did the incident occur?	
(fill in year)		1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov12=Dec		1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend	
				At approx. what time did this incident occur?	
				1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00	
7.2 Where did the incident occur?					
1=in your home premises 3=at your workplace 5=in the street in a residential area 7=at a place of entertainment eg pub/shebeen/restaurant/cinema 9=open space eg beach/park 11=other area (specify)			2=in someone else's home 4=in the street outside shops/offices 6=in a shop/offices/place of business 8=at public transport facility eg train/bus/taxi station 10=travelling on public transport eg on a bus/train/taxi		
7.3 Where specifically ...? (Enter the best known name and a description of the area)					
7.4 What were you doing when the crime occurred?					
1=at home 3=at work/school/university/tech. 5=going to/returning from a shopping area 7=visiting friends/relatives			2=going to work/school/university/tech 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment 8=Other activity (specify)		
7.5 When the incident occurred, were you alone or in a group?					
1=alone 2=group					
7.6 What was taken from you in the robbery/mugging? <<MORE THAN ONE OPTION ALLOWED>>					
7.6.1		7.6.2		7.6.3	
1=hand-bag/bag/briefcase 2=accessories (jewellery/sunglasses/clothing) 3=electronic equipment (video camera/walkman/cell phone) 4=money		5=firearm 6=other (specify) 7=nothing stolen			
7.7 Were the stolen items insured?					
1=yes 2=no					
7.8 Was violence used or threats made during the incident?					
1=Threats only 2=violence used 3=Both					
7.9 Did you or any one else sustain any injuries as a as as a result of the incident?					
1=yes 2=no -2=n/a					
7.9.1 You		7.9.2 Other Person 1		7.9.3 Other Person 2	
				7.9.4 Other Person 3	
7.10 Could you identify the weapon(s) used during the incident? <<Read-out list - allow for multiple response>>					
7.10.1		7.10.2		7.10.3	
1=no weapon was visible 3=knife 5=physical strength/hands		2=gun 4=axe/stick/panga/club 6=other weapon (specify)			
7.11 Did you believe this incident was gang-related?					
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know					
7.12 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?					
1=yes, go to ques. 7.14 2=no, go to ques. 7.13 3=do not know, go to ques. 7.16					
7.13 If no i.e you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 7.16					
7.14 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)					
7.15 Explain your answer above.					
7.16 Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime?					
1=yes 2=no, if no go to ques. 7.17					
7.16.1 Explain in which manner.					
7.16.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions?					
1=yes 2=no					
7.17 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>					

7.17.1	7.17.2	7.17.3
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 11=no one		2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 10=neighbour 12=other (specify)
7.18 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/ practical/ emotions assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful?		
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know		
7.19 Have you heard of such agencies?		
1=yes 2=no, if no skip to question 7.22		
7.20 Did you get help from such specialised agencies?		
1=yes, go to ques. 7.21 2=no, go to ques 7.22		
7.21 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:		
7.22 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?		

8 ASSAULT

<< ASSAULT IMPLIES THAT THE RESPONDENT WAS PERSONALLY ATTACKED OR HURT. WEAPONS MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE BEEN USED BUT NO ITEMS WERE STOLEN >>

Have you in the past five years been personally attacked/hurt by someone in a way that really frightened you either at home or elsewhere, such as in a bar/shebeen, in the street, at school, on public transport, at the shopping centre, or at your workplace? The person doing this could be someone you do not know, or it could be a relative, friend of family member. If yes, please tell me about the most recent incident.

When did the incident occur?			
8.1.1	8.1.2	8.1.3	8.1.4
In what year did the incident occur?	In which month did the incident occur?	On which day of the week did the incident occur?	At approx. what time did this incident occur?
(fill in year)	1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec	1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend	1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00
8.2 Where did the incident occur?			
1=in your home premises 3=at your workplace 5=in the street in a residential area 7=at a place of entertainment eg pub/shebeen/restaurant/cinema 9=open space eg beach/park 11=other area (specify)		2=in someone else's home 4=in the street outside shops/offices 6=in a shop/offices/place of business 8=at public transport facility eg train/bus/taxi station 10=travelling on public transport eg on a bus/train/taxi	
8.3 Where specifically ...? (Enter the best known name and a description of the area)			
8.4 What were you doing when the crime occurred?			
1=at home 3=at work/school/university/tech. 5=going to/returning from a shopping area 7=visiting friends/relatives		2=going to work/school/university/tech 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment 8=Other activity (specify)	
8.5 When the incident occurred, were you alone or in a group? 1=alone 2=group			
8.6 Was violence used or threats made during the incident? 1=Threats only 2=violence used 3=Both			
8.7 Did you or any one else sustain any injuries as a result result of the incident? 1=yes 2=no -2=n/a			
8.7.1 You	8.7.2 Other Person 1	8.7.3 Other Person 2	8.7.4 Other Person 3
8.8 Could you identify the weapon(s) used during the incident? <<Read-out list - allow for multiple response>>			
8.8.1	8.8.2	8.8.3	
1=no weapon was visible		2=gun	

3=knife 5=physical strength/hands		4=axe/stick/panga/club 6=other weapon (specify)	
8.9 How many offenders were there?<<specify the number>>			
8.10 Did you know the offender (s) by name or by sight?			
1=do not know 2=known by sight only		1=did not know the offender 3=known by name	
8.11 If the offender was known to you, what was your relationship:			
1 father 4 son 7 Sister 10 grandson 13 uncle/nephew/other male		2 mother 5 daughter 8 grandfather 11 granddaughter 14 friend 3 Spouse/lover/partner 6 brother 9 grandmother 12 aunt/niece/other female 15 colleague 16 Other (specify)	
8.12 Did you believe this incident was gang-related? 1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
8.13 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?			
1=yes, go to ques. 78.15 2=no, go to ques. 8.14 3=do not know, go to ques. 8.17			
8.14 If no i.e you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 8.17			
8.15 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)			
8.16 Explain your answer above.			
8.17Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime? 1=yes 2=no, if no go to ques. 8.20			
8.18 Explain in which manner.			
8.19.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions? 1=yes 2=no			
8.20 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>			
8.20.1		8.20.2	
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 11=no one		2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 10=neighbour 12=other (specify)	
8.21 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/ practical/ emotions assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful?			
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
8.22 Have you heard of such agencies? 1=yes 2=no, if no skip to question 8.25			
8.23 Did you get help from such specialised agencies? 1=yes, go to ques. 8.24 2=no, go to ques 8.25			
8.24 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:			
8.25 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?			

9 MURDER

<<ONLY ASK ABOUT MURDER THAT HAPPENED IN THE RESPONDENT'S HOUSEHOLD OR IMMEDIATE FAMILY>>

I realise that it may be difficult to talk about an incident such as murder. Apart from the incidents covered, which happened to you personally, has a member of your immediate family or household been murdered. Please take a moment to think about the most recent experience. Thinking only of this specific incident, answer the following questions. If you wish to stop, please do so at any time.

When did the incident occur?							
9.1.1		9.1.2		9.1.3		9.1.4	
In what year did the incident occur?		In which month did the incident occur?		On which day of the week did the incident occur?		At approx. what time did this incident occur?	
(fill in year)		1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec		1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend		1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00	
9.2 How many victims were there? <<Specify the number>>							
Please supply me with a description of the deceased.							
				Victim 1 A	Victim 2 B	Victim 3 C	Victim 4 D
9.3 Race of Victim 1=black 2=white 3=Asian 4=coloured							
9.4 Gender of Victim 1=male 2=female							
9.5 Age of Victim (enter actual age)							
9.6 Where did the incident occur?							
1=in your home premises 3=at your workplace 5=in the street in a residential area 7=at a place of entertainment eg pub/shebeen/restaurant/cinema 9=open space eg beach/park 11=other area (specify)				2=in someone else's home 4=in the street outside shops/offices 6=in a shop/offices/place of business 8=at public transport facility eg train/bus/taxi station 10=travelling on public transport eg on a bus/train/taxi			
9.7 What was the victim(s) doing when the crime occurred?							
1=at home 3=at work/school/university/tech. 5=going to/returning from a shopping area 7=visiting friends/relatives				2=going to work/school/university/tech 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment 8=Other activity (specify)			
9.8 When the incident occurred, were you alone or in a group? 1=alone 2=group							
9.9 Could you identify the weapon(s) used during the incident? <<Read-out list - allow for multiple response>>							
9.9.1		9.9.2		9.9.3			
1=no weapon was visible 3=knife 5=physical strength/hands				2=gun 4=axe/stick/panga/club 6=other weapon (specify)			
9.10 How many offenders were there?<<specify the number>>							
9.11 Did you know the offender (s) by name or by sight?							
1=do not know 2=known by sight only				1=did not know the offender 3=known by name			
9.12 If the offender was known to you, what was your relationship:							
1 father 4 son 7 Sister 10 grandson 13 uncle/nephew/other male		2 mother 5 daughter 8 grandfather 11 granddaughter 14 friend		3 Spouse/lover/partner 6 brother 9 grandmother 12 aunt/niece/other female 15 colleague 16 Other (specify)			
9.13 Did you believe this incident was gang-related? 1=yes 2=no 3=do not know							
9.14 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?							
1=yes, go to ques. 79.16 2=no, go to ques. 89.15 3=do not know, go to ques. 9.18							
9.15 If no i.e you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 9.18							
9.16 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)							

9.17 Explain your answer above.			
9.18 Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime? 1=yes 2=no, <i>if no go to ques. 8.20</i>			
9.18.1 Explain in which manner.			
9.18.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions? 1=yes 2=no			
9.19 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>			
9.19.1		9.19.2	
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 11=no one		2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 10=neighbour 12=other (specify)	
9.20 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/ practical/ emotions assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful?			
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
9.21 Have you heard of such agencies? 1=yes 2=no, <i>if no skip to question 9.24</i>			
9.22 Did you get help from such specialised agencies? 1=yes, <i>go to ques. 9.23</i> 2=no, <i>go to ques 9.24</i>			
9.23 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:			
9.24 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?			

10 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

<<PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS EXCLUDES ANY VIOLENT SEXUAL ASSAULTS (LIKE RAPE). THIS REFERS TO A SITUATION WHERE THE VICTIM HAS BEEN TOUCHED IN SPECIFIC PLACES OR PERSISTENTLY HARASSED (INCLUDING STALKING, OBSCENE PHONE CALLS, FLASHING) FOR SEXUAL REASONS, BUT NO PHYSICAL FORCE WAS USED>>

People sometimes grab or touch others against their will, or persistently harass them for sexual reasons. This can happen to anyone and can occur either at home or elsewhere, such as at work, in a bar/shebeen, in a street, at school, on public transport or at a shopping centre. The person doing this could be someone you do not know, or it could be a relative, friend or family member.

I realise that it may be difficult to talk about incidents such as these, specifically when it is about your own experience. Information about these incidents is needed to develop appropriate programs to prevent these crimes from happening. If you wish to stop at any time, please feel free to do so. If you are comfortable discussing this issue, please think only of your most recent experience and answer the following questions.

When did the incident occur?							
10.1.1		10.1.2		10.1.3		10.1.4	
In what year did the incident occur?		In which month did the incident occur?		On which day of the week did the incident occur?		At approx. what time did this incident occur?	
(fill in year)		1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec		1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend		1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00	
10.2 Where did the incident occur?							
1=in your home premises				2=in someone else's home			

3=at your workplace 5=in the street in a residential area 7=at a place of entertainment eg pub/shebeen/restaurant/cinema 9=open space eg beach/park 11=other area (specify)		4=in the street outside shops/offices 6=in a shop/offices/place of business 8=at public transport facility eg train/bus/taxi station 10=travelling on public transport eg on a bus/train/taxi	
10.3 What were you doing when the crime occurred?			
1=at home 3=at work/school/university/tech. 5=going to/returning from a shopping area 7=visiting friends/relatives		2=going to work/school/university/tech 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment 8=Other activity (specify)	
10.4 When the incident occurred, were you alone or in a group?			
1=alone 2=group			
10.5 Was violence used or threats made during the incident?			
1=Threats only 2=violence used 3=Both			
10.6 How many offenders were there?<<specify the number>>			
10.7 Did you know the offender (s) by name or by sight?			
1=do not know 2=known by sight only		1=did not know the offender 3=known by name	
10.8 If the offender was known to you, what was your relationship:			
1 father 4 son 7 Sister 10 grandson 13 uncle/nephew/other male	2 mother 5 daughter 8 grandfather 11 granddaughter 14 friend	3 Spouse/lover/partner 6 brother 9 grandmother 12 aunt/niece/other female 15 colleague 16 Other (specify)	
10.9 Did you believe this incident was gang-related?			
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
10.10 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?			
1=yes, go to ques. 10.12 2=no, go to ques. 10.11 3=do not know, go to ques. 10.14			
10.11 If no i.e you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 10.14			
10.12 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)			
10.13 Explain your answer above.			
10.14 Have you changed your behaviour patterns as a result of the crime?			
1=yes 2=no, if no go to ques. 10.15			
10.14.1 Explain in which manner.			
10.14.2 Do you feel safer as a result of taking these precautions?			
1=yes 2=no			
10.15 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>			
10.15.1		10.15.2	
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 11=no one		2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 10=neighbour 12=other (specify)	
10.16 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/ practical/ emotions assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful?			
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			

10.17 Have you heard of such agencies? 1=yes 2=no, if no skip to question 10.20	
10.18 Did you get help from such specialised agencies? 1=yes, go to ques. 10.19 2=no, go to ques 10.20	
10.19 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:	
10.20 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?	

11 SEXUAL ASSAULT

<<*THIS REFERS TO A SITUATION WHERE A PERSON IS FORCED, EITHER BY THREATS OR THE USE OF FORCE, TO PERFORM SEXUAL ACTS SUCH AS, BUT NOT RESTRICTED TO, SEXUAL INTERCOURSE. [FORCED ORAL SEX, FORCED ANAL SEX, FORCED MASTURBATION, FORCING PERSON TO TOUCH ANOTHER'S PRIVATE PARTS.] SEXUAL ASSAULT MAY BE VIOLENT*>>

People sometimes force others to perform sexual acts against their will. These might include forced sexual intercourse, as well as other sexual acts. This can happen to anyone and can occur either at home or elsewhere, such as at work, in a bar/shebeen, in a street, at school, on public transport or at a shopping centre. The person doing this could be someone you do not know, or it could be a relative, friend of family member.

I realise that it may be difficult to talk about incidents such as these, specifically when it is about your own experience. Information about these incidents is needed to develop appropriate programs to prevent these crimes from happening. If you wish to stop at any time, please feel free to do so. If you are comfortable discussing this issue, please think only of your most recent experience and answer the following questions.

When did the incident occur?			
11.1.1		11.1.2	
In what year did the incident occur?	In which month did the incident occur?	On which day of the week did the incident occur?	At approx. what time did this incident occur?
(fill in year)	1=Jan 2=Feb 3=Mar 4=April 5=May 6=June 7=July 8=Aug 9=Sept 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec	1=Mon. 5=Fri. 2=Tues. 6=Sat. 3=Wed. 7=Sun 4=Thus. 8=Weekday 9=Weekend	1=00h00-06h00 2=06h01-12h00 3=12h01-18h00 4=18h01-24h00
11.2 Where did the incident occur?			
1=in your home premises 3=at your workplace 5=in the street in a residential area 7=at a place of entertainment eg pub/shebeen/restaurant/cinema 9=open space eg beach/park 11=other area (specify)		2=in someone else's home 4=in the street outside shops/offices 6=in a shop/offices/place of business 8=at public transport facility eg train/bus/taxi station 10=travelling on public transport eg on a bus/train/taxi	
11.3 Where specifically ...? (Enter the best known name and a description of the area)			
11.4 What were you doing when the crime occurred?			
1=at home 3=at work/school/university/tech. 5=going to/returning from a shopping area 7=visiting friends/relatives		2=going to work/school/university/tech 4=coming home from work/school/univ/tech 6=engaged in recreation/entertainment 8=Other activity (specify)	
11.5 When the incident occurred, were you alone or in a group? 1=alone 2=group			
11.6 How did you experience this incident? As a:			
1=rape 4=offensive behaviour		2=attempted rape 5=other (specify)	
		3=indecent assault 6=do not know	
11.7 Did you or any one else sustain any injuries as a result result of the incident?			

1=yes 2=no -2=n/a			
11.7.1 You	11.7.2 Other Person 1	11.7.3 Other Person 2	11.7.4 Other Person 3
11.8 Could you identify the weapon(s) used during the incident? <<Read-out list - allow for multiple response>>			
11.8.1	11.8.2	11.8.3	
1=no weapon was visible 3=knife 5=physical strength/hands		2=gun 4=axe/stick/panga/club 6=other weapon (specify)	
11.9 How many offenders were there? <<specify the number>>			
11.10 Did you know the offender (s) by name or by sight?			
1=do not know 2=known by sight only		1=did not know the offender 3=known by name	
11.11 If the offender was known to you, what was your relationship:			
1 father 4 son 7 Sister 10 grandson 13 uncle/nephew/other male	2 mother 5 daughter 8 grandfather 11 granddaughter 14 friend	3 Spouse/lover/partner 6 brother 9 grandmother 12 aunt/niece/other female 15 colleague 16 Other (specify)	
11.12 Did you believe this incident was gang-related? 1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
11.13 Did you or anyone else report the incident to the police?			
1=yes, go to ques. 11.15 2=no, go to ques. 11.14 3=do not know, go to ques. 11.18			
11.14 If no i.e you did not report the crime, why not? go to ques. 11.18			
11.15 What kind of a crime did the police record the incident as?			
1=rape 4=offensive behaviour	2=attempted rape 5=other (specify)	3=indecent assault 6=police did not record the incident	
11.16 On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your report? 1=yes (satisfied) 2=no (dissatisfied)			
11.17 Explain your answer above.			
11.18 After the crime happened, who did you turn to for help? <<Allow for multiple response>>			
11.18.1	11.18.2	11.18.3	
1=family 3=religious body 5=street committee 7=police 9=community police forum 11=no one		2=friends 4=counsellor 6=doctor 8=lawyer 10=neighbour 12=other (specify)	
11.19 In some places, special agencies have been set up to help victims of crime by giving information/ practical/ emotions assistance. Do you think the services of such agencies would have been useful?			
1=yes 2=no 3=do not know			
11.20 Have you heard of such agencies? 1=yes 2=no, if no skip to question 11.23			
11.21 Did you get help from such specialised agencies? 1=yes, go to ques. 8.24 2=no, go to ques 8.25			
11.22 If yes, state the name of the organisation /agency/state department:			
11.23 What kind of support would you have liked (specify)?			

APPENDIX 3: Place of interview

	Former coloured areas - northern suburbs	Former coloured areas - Cape Flat	Former coloured areas - southern suburbs	Former white areas - northern suburbs	Former white areas - southern suburbs	African areas	Total
KUILSRIVER	39						39
ATHLONE		35					35
CRAWFORD		39					39
WYNBERG					38		38
OTTERY			39				39
LOTUS PARK			42				42
PELICAN PARK			37				37
MITCHELLS PLAIN		39					39
STEENBERG			38				38
LAVENDER HILL			39				39
VRYGROND			40				40
GRASSY PARK			39				39
BO-KAAP			39				39
BELLVILLE SOUTH	33			28			61
BELHAR	39						39
HOUT BAY			39		26		65
DELFT	39						39
BISHOP LAVIS	40						40
ELSIES RIVER	39						39
BONTEHEUWEL		41					41
HEIDEVELD		38					38
MANENBERG		39					39

SURREY ESTATE		39					39
RYLANDS		39					39
KENSINGTON	40						40
MANDALAY						34	34
MFULENI						25	25
KHAYELITSHA						55	55
NYANGA						28	28
GUGULETHU						30	30
PHILIPPI						30	30
NEW CROSSROADS						28	28
BLOEKOMBOS						28	28
CUKU TOWN						12	12
BLUE DOWNS						30	30
OLD CROSSROADS						29	29
LANGA						25	25
MANDELA PARK						29	29
NOORDHOEK						27	27
WESTLAKE						31	31
ACACIA PARK						26	26
BLOUBERG				24			24
BRACKENFELL				26			26
BROOKLYN				24			24
CLAREMONT					25		25
NEWLANDS					26		26

DURBANVILLE				26			26
FISHHOEK					26		26
GOODWOOD				26			26
KENILWORTH					26		26
LAKESIDE					26		26
MOWBRAY					31		31
PAROW				26			26
PINELANDS				27			27
PLUMSTEAD					25		25
RONDEBOSCH					29		29
SEA POINT					24		24
SIMON'S TOWN					26		26
TOKAI					25		25
CONSTANTIA					41		41
TOTAL	269	309	352	207	394	467	1998