REDUCING CRIME IN DURBAN
A VICTIM SURVEY AND SAFER CITY STRATEGY

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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FOREWORD

The City of Durban commits itself to work in partnership with business, civil society and community-based structures to support the police and the criminal justice agencies to create the safest metropolitan city on the continent.

We present the Safer City Strategy as a plan and framework to guide our joint action in order to achieve this goal. The strategy is a product of many months of consultations with stakeholders in the areas of safety and security throughout the Durban metropolitan area. It is as much a plan of action as it is a statement of the status of current work and existing programmes with our partners. We must build on this and strive harder to create safer communities in all parts of our city. The Safer City Strategy is informed by the best national policy and international practice of cities around the world meeting in the challenges of urban safety. Development lies at the heart of the strategy. We have prioritised economic development and, with our partners in business, are working to develop a framework to attract investment and grow our economy. For this reason, the business vision for Durban was formulated. The Best City Practice Commission has recognised the need to improve safety as a prerequisite for investment and economic growth.

The Safer City Strategy recognises that crime is not a matter to be dealt with by the police alone. We must address the social and environmental factors that contribute to criminality. These aspects are addressed in the strategy and the city is engaged in a number of programmes focused on these factors. We call on our partners in the communities, business and public sector to co-operate with us in realising the vision of a safer city and in maintaining Durban's established tradition as a winning city.

Let us work together to create a safer city for all.

Mayor Obed Mlaba
Mayor: Durban Metropolitan Council

Councillor Shabalala
Chairperson: Safer City Steering Committee

Mayor N Dube

PREFACE

Accurate information about crime is essential for the planning, design and monitoring of a crime reduction strategy. Information is needed not only about crime levels, but also about the resources and capacity available in an area to assist in crime reduction projects, as well as the views of the public about crime and safety. Victim surveys are one way of gathering this information. They supplement police statistics by providing data on unreported crimes. Victim surveys also show who is most at risk of becoming a victim and what the public think the priority issues are in their area.

The Institute for Security Studies has conducted four city victim surveys in recent years to help city governments when planning their crime reduction strategies. Surveys were conducted in Johannesburg (July 1997), Durban (December 1997), Cape Town (February 1998) and Pretoria (April 1998). The ISS has more recently conducted victim surveys in two local council areas, Highveld Ridge in Mpumalanga (June 2000) and Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape (July 2000). These surveys are also being used to design crime reduction strategies for the councils.

This monograph is the first to include both the victim survey results and the crime reduction strategy which the survey findings helped to inform. It provides an example of the initial steps in the difficult task of reducing crime in South Africa's cities — gathering and analysing information and using this to design a strategy that is focused, clear and measurable.

The aim of the monograph is to assist those involved in crime reduction by broadening the understanding of crime in one particular city and by providing a practical example of a crime reduction strategy. This is complemented by some background details on its development and how it will be implemented. It is hoped that by documenting and sharing experience in this manner, the many promising initiatives under way in South Africa will be encouraged and improved.

Antoinette Louw
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July 2001

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Durban Safer City Project was established in October 1999 following discussions between the city and officials from the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) who were setting up similar initiatives in other parts of the world. The lack of safety and security was identified as the main threat to the city's ability to attract investment and implement its economic growth strategy.

After extensive consultation both inside and outside of the council, the strategy was compiled by the Safer City Project co-ordinators with the help of the Independent Projects Trust (IPT). The strategy was officially adopted by the Unicity Committee on 11 October 2000 and implementation could therefore begin. The Durban Safer City Strategy 2000 has three strategic components, each complementing the other:

- effective policing and crime prevention
- targeted social crime prevention
- environmental design.

The strategy development process was preceded by a victim survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies. The survey results supplemented the official police crime statistics and provided data on people's experiences of crime, perceptions of safety and policing, and suggestions on how to make the city safer. The Durban victim survey was the third in a series of six city victim surveys undertaken by the ISS between 1997 and 2000. The ISS aimed to assist metropolitan and local government practitioners to develop crime reduction strategies.

In total, 1 884 people were interviewed in December 1997 across the Durban metropolitan area. Of these, 59% said that they had been a victim of at least one crime between 1993 and 1997. The risk of victimisation

varied according to race, gender and age: women were more at risk than men; African and coloured residents were more likely to be victims than Asians and whites; and the youngest and oldest residents were more at risk than other age groups. Burglary followed by robbery were the two most prevalent crime types in the Durban metropolitan area.

A majority of victims said they reported the most recent incident of murder, car theft, hijacking, burglary and sexual offence to the police. Insurance coverage was not the main reason for reporting. The occurrence of violence and injuries, and whether or not a victim knew the offender also played a role. Levels of satisfaction with police service when reporting a crime were low: only 38% of victims said they were satisfied.

Victims tended to change their behaviour to reduce the chances of victimisation in future. With the exception of assault victims, most changed their behaviour after victimisation. Typically, African victims were less likely to adopt precautionary measures than white or Asian victims. This applied across all types of crime and could relate to the cost of improving security or changing lifestyle patterns. Those who rely on public transport cannot always change their routes or purchase a car to avoid victimisation. Although many victims did change their behaviour, on average, less than half of them said they felt safer as a result.

Victim support is a crucial part of helping people to deal with the impact of crime. The type of support that victims favoured the most was effective policing and emotional support. However, needs differed across race. African and white victims were most likely to request emotional support followed by better policing. More white victims wanted advice, information and counselling than other victims. Of concern was that less than a third of victims were familiar with any support services and less than a quarter had used such services. Victims of sexual offences were most likely to have heard of these services, to have used them, and to believe that they would be useful.

Based on perceptions of policing and other types of protection, the poor were disadvantaged in terms of their access to safety. The survey indicated that 21% of people had no protection for their homes at all. White (and wealthier) residents were much more likely to use physical security measures than African and coloured residents. For example, 63% of whites and 46% of Asians had high fences or walls compared to only 1% of Africans. Those most at risk of crime therefore had the least protection for their homes. Most whites (80%) and Asians (60%) said that they felt safer as a result of using these forms of protection. Coloured and African residents were less positive.

Perceptions of policing differed significantly across the metropolitan area. Just over half of all respondents thought the police were doing a poor job at controlling crime in Durban. White respondents and those living in the inner city were more likely to be satisfied than Asians, Africans and those living in informal settlements. The quality of policing appeared to be better in the wealthier parts of the city and those areas policed by the former Durban City Police such as the inner city area and surrounding (largely white) suburbs.

Despite the police's positive rating by inner city residents, 53% of all Durban residents thought that the inner city was the most unsafe part of the metropolitan area. Coloured, white and Asian respondents were much more likely to hold this view than were Africans. Fear of crime in the inner city is no doubt based on a range of concerns, not all of which relate to crime or policing, such as congestion, overcrowding and litter. The risk of crime may also be unjustifiably associated with particular groups of people such as street children and street traders.

Feelings of safety varied according to where people lived. During the day, only 49% of those living in the inner city and 51% in informal settlements felt safe, compared to 78% of those in the suburbs. After dark, only 13% in informal settlements felt safe compared to 35% in the suburbs. Higher levels of fear in informal settlements are probably caused by the general lack of services and infrastructure. This increases the risk of victimisation in an environment already lacking in basic policing and other systems of protection and support.

The concept of 'safety' was clearly associated with policing and justice. Although the importance of job creation and development was recognised, most respondents thought that better policing and criminal justice would improve safety in the city. The majority (80%) said that the government should improve the provision of criminal justice, in particular, the police. White respondents were three and a half times more likely to call for harsher punishment than Africans. When asked what they could do to improve their own safety, the most common response among Africans and whites was 'work with the police'. People's

willingness to work with the police and share responsibility for their own safety is encouraging.

PART 1 A SAFER CITY STRATEGY FOR DURBAN

Chapter 1
THE STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The establishment of the Durban Safer City Project was motivated by the Durban Metropolitan Council's commitment to make Durban the safest city in Africa. The Best City Practice Commission, set up by the council, identified safety and security as the number one threat to the city's ability to attract investment and implement its economic growth strategy. Making the city safer was thus singled out as a necessary condition for growing the city's economy and attracting investment and tourism. Tourism, in particular, is the major economic generator for the city.

The Safer City Project was established in October 1999 following discussions between the city and officials from the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) who visited Durban and proposed a partnership that would link the city with similar initiatives in other cities in the world. One of the first tasks of the project was to develop a safer city strategy that would provide the framework to guide the city's initiatives and partnerships for safety.

The strategy development process was preceded by a victim survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). Undertaking this survey meant that official crime statistics recorded by the South African Police Service (SAPS) could be supplemented with data reflecting citizens' experiences of crime — many of which were not reported to the police. The survey also recorded ordinary people's perceptions of crime and their feelings of safety.

Other research reports were collected and reviewed to complete the picture of the nature and extent of crime in the Durban area. Part of this assessment included an investigation of the causal factors of crime that would have to be addressed in the strategy. Existing programmes and service providers that could assist the Safer City Project were also identified.

Extensive consultation was subsequently undertaken with appropriate structures and organisations both inside and external to the council. Through this process, many issues were identified that had to be addressed in the strategy. The co-ordinators of the Safer City Project then had to prioritise the key issues for inclusion in the final strategy.

A framework consisting of the most important issues was developed and discussed with key roleplayers. The framework was subsequently accepted by the decisionmaking structures in council and served as the basis for developing a more detailed strategy. The strategy had to be a simple plan with clear roles and responsibilities identified for the various agencies and with realistic and achievable objectives. Although crime prevention is implemented at the local level, the strategy had to be broadly applicable to most places in the Durban metropolitan area.

The strategy was developed by the Safer City Project co-ordinators with the assistance of the Independent Projects Trust (IPT), which was contracted for this purpose. The co-ordinators presented the draft strategy to the various committees in council for consultation and input. The strategy was officially agreed to and adopted by the Unicity Committee on 11 October 2000 and implementation could begin.

While the strategy was being developed, various projects were implemented and piloted. These projects informed the strategy development process and are reflected in the strategy document. A major development was the establishment of the Metro Police on 1 July 2000, which made Durban the first city in the country with a metropolitan police service. The Metro Police, in partnership with the SAPS, will play an important role in the implementation of the strategy.

The strategy also recognised existing best practices in the Durban area and recommended that these should be extended to other areas where they will make a difference. New projects and new ways of approaching some issues were also recommended in the strategy. The strategy has three key components, each of which will be led by an official appointed on a full-time basis when implementation begins.

The strategy was publicly launched in Durban on 12 November 2000. Widespread support for the strategy has been evident among politicians, the SAPS, the business sector, community organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and practitioners from other cities in South Africa and abroad. The council has committed itself to its implementation and has called on its partners in business and civil society to play an active role in the process. Discussions are already under way between the SAPS and the Metro Police to establish ways of co-operating and co-ordinating activities to ensure that the strategy is implemented and that the vision for a safer Durban is achieved.

Chapter 2
THE DURBAN SAFER CITY STRATEGY: 2000

Introduction[1]

Durban is a thriving tourist and commercial centre in KwaZulu-Natal, with a large diverse population and rich cultural heritage. It is home to South Africa's busiest port and an important industrial hub. The city has won numerous awards including the 1999 Global Achievement Award as one of the world's ten best international cities — the only recipient on the African continent.

However, like so many other cities in the world, Durban is concerned with the growing threat of crime and violence and its impact on the safety and security of its citizens. Under current circumstances, the criminal justice institutions at national and provincial level are unable to stop or even control the escalation of urban violence.

Making Durban safe both now and in the future requires a city wide crime prevention strategy. Local government has both the capacity and mandate to initiate and implement this strategy. This mandate is supported by numerous national policy documents including the White Paper on Safety and Security 1999-2004, "In Service of Safety" (September 1998) which states that:

> "Local government has a key role to play in ensuring an environment less conducive to crime and is well placed, provided the required resources and capacity are available, to design and implement programmes targeted at specific crime problems and groups at risk."

This is supported by the mission statement of Durban Metro, which makes a commitment to undertake processes to make the Metro area a safe and secure place. Local government's lead role in crime prevention is further encouraged by local communities as demonstrated by Durban Metro Quality of Life Surveys, in which citizens were asked their opinions on crime in the Metro area. The respondents were critical of the Council's failure to achieve "safety" and "full employment" at both the central and neighbourhood levels. Four out of five respondents said that crime, corruption and mugging were the biggest problems facing the city. If the City Council is to deliver an appropriate and effective service, crime prevention initiatives must be a key component. Crime prevention means many things to different people, but essentially it is about stopping crime before it happens rather than reacting afterwards.

Best Practice Commission

The Durban Metro Council aims to improve the quality of life for all residents by making Durban a world class city where manufacturing, tourism, financial institutions and enterprises flourish. For this purpose, the Council established a Best Practice City Commission to identify and find ways to attract new investment to the region. This commission acknowledged that the unacceptable levels of crime were a key hindrance in achieving this and that a reduction in crime was a priority, otherwise the Best Practice Commission's recommendations will represent an exercise in futility.

This is a paradigm shift from the traditional view of crime prevention as a police activity which focuses on the perpetrator. This is supported by international research which shows that purely reactive strategies have an insufficient impact on crime levels. More recently best practice has shown that a holistic approach is needed to create a crime free society. For example, in Rochdale, England, close cooperation between probation services, police, and social services within a housing project led to a 75% reduction in burglaries.

Cost effectiveness

Preventing a young person from offending through school and recreational programmes is less costly than police investigations, court procedures, replacing damaged property or stolen goods, lost work time owing to injuries and trauma and overburdened health facilities.

Crime prevention is a more cost effective option than dealing with the aftermath of crime even though it is sometimes perceived that a tougher reaction by police and courts is the best response. Effective crime prevention would boost investor confidence in the city with a direct impact on prosperity and employment in Durban. Low crime levels are one of the global indicators for stability and social integration. This plays a role in attracting new investments and in maintaining current levels of investments, thereby ensuring the retention of a skilled workforce and contributing to improvements in the quality of life for citizens.

Economic and social injustices of the past must also be addressed. International research commonly suggests that the post-apartheid crime levels in South African cities can be partly attributed to a long history of social inequality and exclusion and a lack of institutional and social control. Basically, insufficient urban services and exclusion encourage crime and violence. The White Paper on Local Government (March 1998) supports a strategic response through social and economic justice:

"Local government should promote integrated spatial and socio-economic development that is socially just and equal for everyone in the community. This requires that crime prevention principles be integrated with other aspects of local development, including economic development."

Welfare
Department
By-laws

alcohol
drugs

Education
Department
Schools
Women's groups
NGOs

public
transport

physical
environment

Planners
Architects

vulnerability
of victim

crime

lack of
employment

SAPS
Justice
Department

Planners
Local
Authority

access to
weapons

———— Crime factors   - - - - Potential organisations
agents to join partnerships
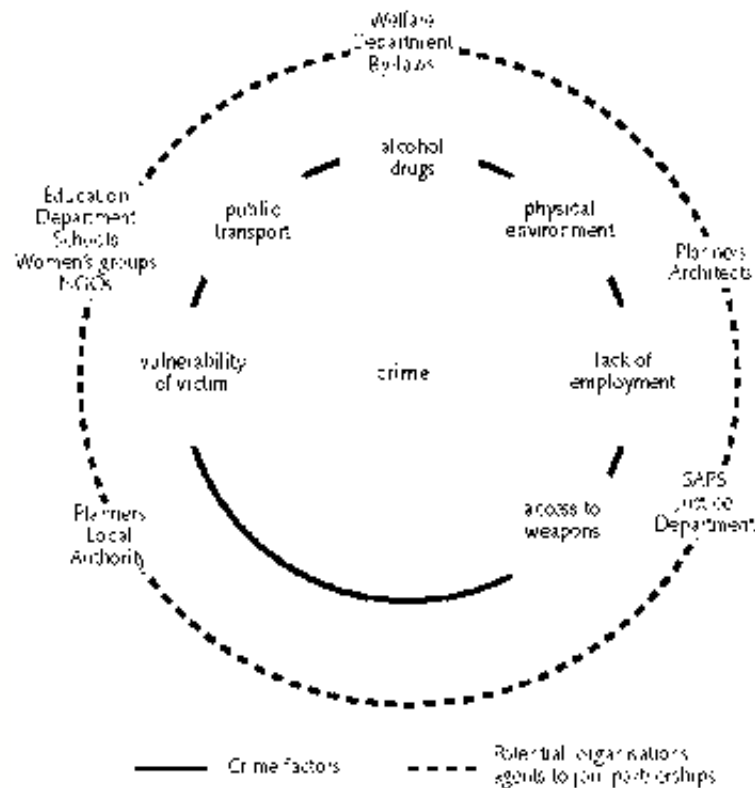
Turning the tide on crime also requires a critical mass of people who share the same strategy. So, the strategy must make crime prevention a core function of city departments, employees and the general population.

A good strategy should develop a critical mass of crime prevention tactics. Utilising a large range of tactics coordinated within a single strategy will naturally meet with more success than isolated small projects. The diagram below shows that crime is a product of many factors, each of which must be addressed through a holistic multi-agency approach.

Durban's crime prevention strategy takes into account existing information and research. As part of the development process, a safety audit was conducted through a review of current research documentation.

Through this process the ingredients for successful crime prevention have become evident and include preventative, inclusive and multifaceted approaches which address the inequalities which contribute to high crime rates.

This strategy was also guided by lessons drawn from local urban development and urban renewal projects including those at Cato Manor and Warwick Junction as well as the Pilot Project on Safety at Transport Nodes. Best practice identified included dealing with crime and security issues through an integrated approach, one which is holistic, geographically specific and requires local ownership.

A local model

One of the projects that serves as a model for crime fighting strategies is the 'Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street Urban Renewal Project' which led to a drop in crime in a troubled inner city area. The target area makes up a large portion of the central business district and includes the main bus station, train stations, and taxi ranks through which 300 000 commuters pass daily. Elements of its success were providing a venue in the area that included offices where multidisciplinary project teams from various city departments could work and meeting halls and rooms for ongoing interaction between community members and city representatives. From

The role of the City in this effort is to both design and oversee the implementation of a crime prevention strategy that employs a preventative, inclusive, multi-agency approach and addresses some of the inequalities that contribute to high crime rates. All of these factors are addressed within three strategic components, each of which is detailed in the next section of the strategy document. These are:

- effective policing and crime prevention

- targeted social crime prevention

- environmental design

These components should not be seen in isolation but should rather be seen as supporting and complementing each other. They are separated here for the clear identification of strategic objectives and desired outcomes.

Effective policing and crime prevention

According to numerous surveys, the majority of the South African population believes that better policing and criminal justice are essential to their safety. People often report that seeing police members in public doing their jobs is reassuring.

In South Africa the fear of crime is serious and reducing the fear of crime can be as important as reducing or preventing crime itself. Therefore effective policing is also effective crime prevention and must be an integrated part of the strategy. In this regard the City of Durban is in a unique position as the first city in South Africa to have a Metropolitan Police Service and the goodwill exists for the city to work closely and in conjunction with the South African Police Service (SAPS).

Effective policing

In a survey of women's perceptions of safety, it was found that women do not feel secure in their own neighbourhoods and many feel unsafe in their own homes. It was found that only 40% of women said they felt safe in public places and of these only a quarter said they always felt safe. In this same survey, 74% of respondents felt that the government's most important role in improving women's safety was to provide better law enforcement and justice.

The City also has the resources that can aid in improving the existing levels of service and in helping to coordinate the various roleplayers. In terms of the South African Police Service Amendment Act the Metropolitan Police are responsible for:

- policing road traffic and related laws
- policing of municipal by-laws
- visible policing and related crime prevention functions

These functions are complimentary to the much broader functions of the SAPS and together these two

agencies are well placed to contribute to a safer city.

As can be seen from existing research, law enforcement is considered of primary importance to most residents of the city. An important aspect of the strategy is to ensure an effective level of police service. The performance of the Metro Police, in partnership with SAPS, is vital to this strategic objective.

Objective 1

To contribute to an improved policing service within the Durban Metro area.

Outcomes:

- The Durban Metro Police and SAPS work closely together and actively participate in the legislated joint coordinating committee with other criminal justice departments in order to have:

    - Aligned the Metro Police Plan with the SAPS Area Plan and to have coordinated joint activities.

    - Developed a system of using and sharing technology for crime prevention and detection such as utilising and expanding the current Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) network and the city's geographic information system (GIS).

    - Defined areas of joint training, operations and strategic planning.

- The City supports and informs the SAPS strategy regarding community needs and expectations.

- A stronger role played by the City within the Community Police Fora (CPF).

- Strong partnerships between SAPS, Metro Police and business.

> ## Closed circuit television network
>
> For twenty years, the City of Durban has maintained a closed circuit television network (CCTV) initially set up to monitor traffic. During the mid-1990s, the City Police successfully adapted the system for monitoring high crime areas. Additional cameras were installed along the beach front and in the vicinity of the International Convention Centre (ICC). The crime-monitoring system now comprises 67 cameras that have contributed to arrests and the reduction of crime in those areas.

Objective 2

To ensure the provision of an effective service by Metro Police through the implementation of their business plan.

Outcomes:

- All three functions of the Metro Police are carried out effectively and efficiently.

- There is clarity around the supportive roles between Metro Police and SAPS.

- Metro Council plays an active and constructive role in the civilian oversight body of the Metro Police.

- **Support mechanisms are in place to ensure the delivery of service.**

- **A system of training and education for members of the service is in place.**

- **Active participation in the Provincial Asiphephe Road Safety Campaign.**

Objective 3

To improve the enforcement of by-laws and promote a sense of lawfulness and order.

Outcomes:

- **Consolidated and standardised by-laws throughout the Metro region.**
- **A priority enforcement list of by-laws that have the most impact.**
- **Set standards for enforcement levels and inform residents of the city.**
- **Support the criminal justice system and consider the establishment of 'municipal courts'.**
- **A monitoring process to measure effectiveness.**

Objective 4

To improve and expand community education regarding crime prevention.

Outcomes:

- **Effective school programmes delivered by Metro Police and SAPS.**

- **Increased public education programmes and partnerships, outreach programmes and sharing information.**

- **Distribution to communities of the crime prevention manual, 'Making South Africa Safe'.**

- **Crime prevention projects developed through the participation of councillors, local government representatives, CPF's and Neighbourhood Watch groups.**

Objective 5

To improve the quality of crime information and analysis.

Outcomes:

- **Improved gathering, sharing, integration and analysis of information between agencies and stakeholders such as community police fora, business, and schools.**

- **A process which ensures that analysis is fed back to constituencies and there is greater public knowledge and use of this information.**

- **Such information is used in crime prevention plans and initiatives.**

Objective 6

To ensure a corruption free local government.

Outcomes:

- An action plan developed and initiated by a multi disciplinary team to attend to municipal malpractice and prosecution of offenders and recovery of losses.

- A process to oversee that tenders and contracts are justly awarded.

- Strong financial control mechanisms.

- Investigation of all allegations of malpractice involving city officials.

Targeted social crime prevention

While the criminal justice system looks at the effects of crime, social crime prevention focuses on its causes and the social and economic conditions which contribute to criminal and violent behaviour.

Social conditions which promote crime are varied and further complicated by resource imbalances that were created and entrenched by the apartheid system. Substance abuse, street children, inadequate access to education, high levels of victimisation and a depressed job market have been identified as some of the main causes of a social condition which promotes the occurrence of crime and violent behaviour. Nowhere is a multi-agency approach more critical than in dealing with these adverse social conditions.

One focus of the social crime prevention strategy is the victim, who is often the first or only link which police have to a perpetrator. International studies have shown that providing an improved victim service impacts positively on the relationship between police and victims which, in turn, supports successful police investigation of the crime.

Durban victim survey

The 1998 Durban victim survey examining the years 1993-1997 tells why many crimes, especially those of a sexual nature, are never reported to the police. This distorts crime statistics and allows perpetrators of crime to freely continue their cycle of violence. According to the survey, 59% of the residents had been victims of crime during that period. In cases of sexual abuse, 60% did not know about any victim support agencies. Sixty-eight percent of all victims described their experience with the police as negative. Only a few had heard, or were aware of victim support agencies located within Durban.

The social and economic inequalities that breed crime must be carefully addressed. Without development, growth and economic empowerment, the social conditions leading to crime are likely to persist. Perpetrators are usually male youths with very limited resources coming from deprived urban environments. They need centres which offer recreation opportunities, training, counselling and organised youth activities. Offering youth a secure environment where constructive activities take place could go a long way towards preventing crime.

There are more than a thousand street children in Durban. Owing to the HIV-AIDS epidemic, the numbers could swell and strain social services as has been the experience in other African cities. The management of street children is a strategic priority since they are children in need of care and are vulnerable to crime, exploitation and abuse. Most of these neglected youngsters lack social and practical skills which increase the likelihood that they will participate in criminal activity. Since they congregate in business and tourist districts they can intimidate residents and tourists to the detriment of the city's economic growth.

Research has found an association between substance abuse and domestic violence, youth violence and neglected children. It can also create run-down areas of the city that further attract crime. 'Sleazy' establishments have mushroomed in recent years to become centres of crime, drug and alcohol abuse and

anti-social behaviour.

Studies have also shown that many schools within the city are unsafe and often become places for criminal activity and recruitment. Drug dealing and gang violence represent only two concerns which challenge the safety of some schools. Given that schools represent the places where young members of society begin their training, it is imperative that they be made safe from criminal activity.

Objective 1

To foster relationships that enable greater support to victims of crime with an emphasis on women, children and the aged.

Outcomes:

- The creation of a local victim support network under the auspices of the Provincial Victim Empowerment Network that includes:

  - a data base and mapping of victim support services

  - informed staff and communities in regard to the existence of this data base

- Training in victim support skills and knowledge made available to relevant city role-players.

- Co-operation between the City and CPF structures to promote well managed crisis care centres.

- Tourist access to information regarding available victim support services.

Objective 2

To reduce the level of drug and alcohol related harm.

Outcomes:

- Support and foster partnerships with agencies dealing with drug and alcohol related problems.

- A pilot project with licensed premises and taverners associations to reduce alcohol related crime and antisocial behaviour in and around their premises.

- A joint operation by which the City can address the 'sleazy hotel syndrome'.

Objective 3

To create a sustainable infrastructure for the effective management of street children.

Outcomes:

- An expanded city role in co-ordinating projects which are aimed at sheltering street children.

- A strong coalition with organisations involved in street children programmes.

- Establishment of a local inter-departmental committee focusing on the needs and care of street children.

- The enforcement of laws and by-laws relating to street children.

- **Ongoing training for specialised units at the Metro Police and SAPS.**

- **An increase in the grant-in-aid provision to organisations providing shelter and reintegrating them with parents and community.**

Objective 4

To support local efforts to create safer school environments.

Outcomes:

- **Participation in the Community Alliance for Safe Schools (CASS), an alliance of departments and organisations that works towards safe schools.**

- **Stronger relations with Department of Education officials, specifically those assigned to the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service campaign (COLTS) and School Governing Bodies (SGB).**

- **To have initiated a process to inform other roleplayers such as NGO's, SGB's, and teachers about current City activities, including recreational opportunities.**

- **A programme of visits by Metro Police and other municipal departments to schools for education purposes.**

Objective 5

To increase opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

Outcomes:

- **The development of youth centres in disadvantaged areas providing training courses for youth at risk in order to develop skills, provide opportunities and improve self esteem.**

- **A partnership between the local Department of Parks and Recreation, the provincial Department of Education and local communities to improve and provide sports fields and recreational facilities.**

- **Holiday programmes for youth.**

Objective 6

To foster economic growth and increase job creation.

Outcomes:

- **Provide support for the growth of small businesses through:**

  - **services provided by the Tekweni Business Development Centre**

  - **affirmative procurement**

- **The building of community economic fabric by:**

  - **regenerating economic infrastructure in disadvantaged communities**

  - **creating appropriate support infrastructure (institutional and physical) for income generating**

> > activities in disadvantaged communities

> > ○ ensuring involvement of local communities in development projects (including the use of local labour)

- **Attract and facilitate new investment through:**

> ○ improved investor service (reduction of red tape)

> ○ ensuring critical investor areas are well maintained and well run

> ○ targeted support for growth and employment creating sectors.

Environmental design

It is commonly recognised that for every crime there is a victim and a perpetrator, however the environment in which the crime occurs is less often thought about. Interventions into the design of the environment can help to reduce the incidence of crime. Internationally, this strategic component is known as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design or CPTED (pronounced sep-ted) and is being successfully employed in many cities worldwide.

CPTED is based on certain principles of architecture, landscaping, visibility and lighting, aesthetics and the marking of spaces that create greater public security both in real terms, and in terms of people feeling safe in a location.

CPTED in Durban

At Warwick Junction, an underutilised bridge had been a site of high criminal activity. After consultation with local traders and residents, market stalls were alllowed to set up business along the length of the bridge, increasing both passive surveillance and legitimate uses. As a result, crime at this site has been substantially reduced.

Implementing CPTED often starts by training those city employees who deal with the environment. Key departments then work together to incorporate CPTED principles into local government crime prevention plans, building codes, and information campaigns to impact positively on the city.
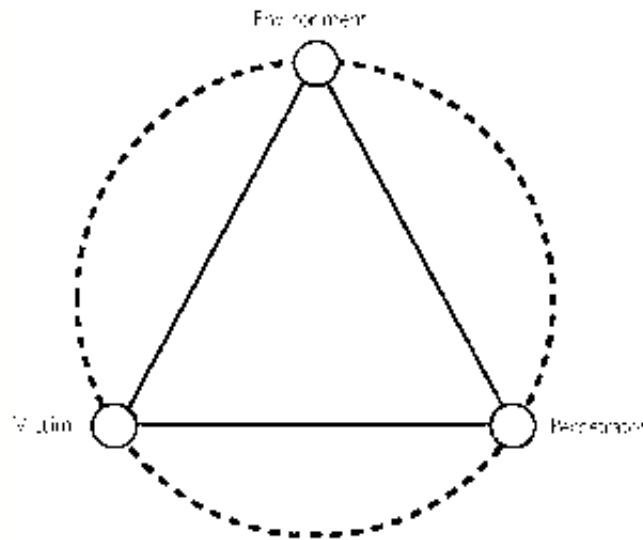
Crime Prevention through Environmental Design works best when integrated within a broader crime prevention strategy which includes law enforcement and social crime prevention. CPTED can range in scale from small to medium to large. Small and medium scale interventions can involve landscaping, building design and increased surveillance. Large scale urban renewal projects such as Warwick Junction and Cato Manor in the central Durban area are expensive and must be targeted. While the project at Warwick Junction made use of existing buildings and infrastructure, at Cato Manor both housing and infrastructure were required. Both projects involved large budgets, multi-disciplinary teams and focused attention.

In addition to looking at the fixed city environment, transport must also be considered within an urban design strategy. Crime at bus shelters, taxi ranks and along transit routes is considered to be high but under-reported. Based on victim surveys, this is a real concern to many commuters.

Objective 1

To promote the use of CPTED principles by developers and City departments.

Outcomes:

- All developers and City departments involved with the physical environment have access to and information about CPTED principles.

- CPTED workshops held for developers and key City departments concerned with the physical environment.

- Inclusion of CPTED principles in routine activities and geographic targets for intervention (e.g. the manner of landscaping parks).

- A promotion campaign explaining these principles in the design and maintenance of public space and infrastructure.

- Mapping of crime info to highlight hot-spots and encourage CPTED intervention.

Objective 2

To integrate and incorporate CPTED principles into the by-laws and building codes governing land use and new construction.

Outcomes:

- The establishment and revision of by-laws and building codes concerning land use and new construction which support CPTED.

- A mechanism for checking building plan submissions against the by-laws.

Objective 3

To access a broad range of information for accurately mapping crime problems.

Outcomes:

- A partnership between SAPS, Community Policing Fora, Neighbourhood Watches and the appropriate municipal departments in order to access this broad range of information.

- GIS mapping of the data.

- All roleplayers including communities, developers, SAPS, and the City know about and have access to this resource.

- Information to all relevant departments and developers regarding the existence and method of accessing such a resource.

Objective 4

To use CPTED interventions to improve safety along transport routes.

Outcomes:

- The appointment of a champion to support the existing Transport Node Safety Project and ensure its implementation.

- Replication of the pilot Transport Node Safety Project based on lessons learnt.

- An established and ongoing dialogue with a broad range of roleplayers in the transport industry to generate programmes and projects to reduce crime around facilities and along routes.

Objective 5

To improve levels of safety in Kwa Mashu through the Presidential Project.

Outcomes:

- Strategic support of the project which ensures safety benefits.

- A communication process between local, provincial and national actors within this presidential project.

- A project team that includes departments from all levels of government to ensure the integrated and holistic provision of services.

- The alignment of planning within the Presidential Project.

Objective 6

To promote safety through implementation of the Urban Improvement Precinct programmes (UIP).

Outcomes:

- **An evaluation of the Central Business District UIP program.**

- **A plan and guideline for replicating the programme throughout the city.**

- **A safety component is included in all UIP's.**

- **An information and media campaign that advertises the benefits of UIP's and encourages wider participation**

CBD revitalisation

Cleaning up the city helps to reclaim areas and foster pride. One example of this is the crime and grime campaign of the existing Urban Improvement Precinct Programme. This is managed by the ratepayers themselves who formed a Section 21 company. Wherever 51% or more of the ratepayers agree, the level of the rebate to taxpayers is reduced. They can decide to hire additional services like security or waste removal to address crime and grime.

Delivering the Safer City requires sound management to ensure success. This includes careful attention to partnerships, adequate budget allocations and developing action plans with timetables and performance indicators to measure outcomes and evaluate the impact of the strategy.

Partnerships

International research also shows that reducing crime must become everyone's responsibility and that this can only be achieved through the active participation of citizens, business, NGOs, the criminal justice system and local government in strong cooperative partnerships.

Different partnerships are required for different programmes and projects. It is essential to include the stakeholders and community members most affected by the project in the planning phase, otherwise plans may be obstructed by people who feel alienated from decision making.

While champions can motivate and support crime prevention initiatives, it is important that the projects are not seen as being the responsibility of just one person. Broad participation and accountability is best achieved by disseminating the City's strategy as widely as possible.

Budgetary considerations

The funding of crime prevention initiatives influences whether or not they will succeed. Apart from seeking additional funds, it is important that existing budgets are redirected towards crime prevention activities in order to avoid departments being told to take account of crime prevention without receiving the necessary support to do so.

Three levels of cost should be considered in implementing this strategy. Even with little money, the City can have an impact on crime in these areas. As one moves up each level, greater effort and resources are required. The three levels are:

- **No cost to low cost: Making crime prevention the core business of the city through training, information, and integrating crime prevention into all existing line functions.**

- **Low cost to medium cost: Creating crime prevention projects through cooperation among roleplayers and through creating partnerships that expand existing functions.**

- **Medium cost to high cost: Initiating new projects which go beyond current local government activities and require new infrastructure or personnel**
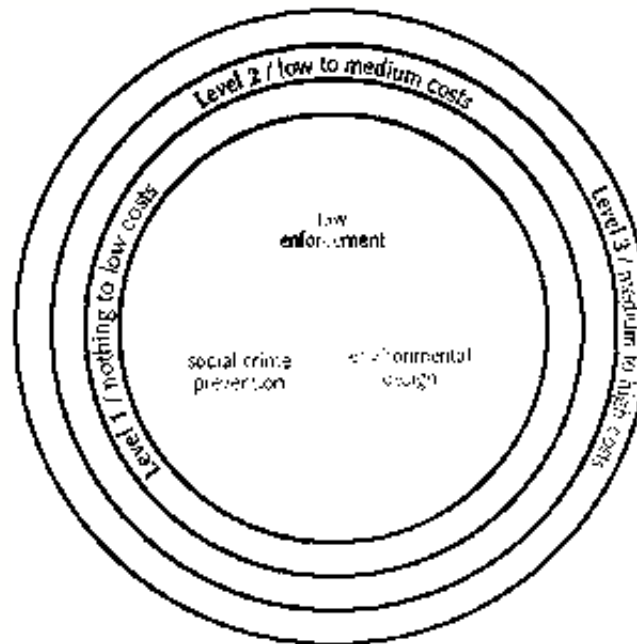
No cost, low cost and some medium cost activities can be funded by redirecting budgets and by prioritising current activities. Medium cost to high cost activities can be best achieved by seeking additional funding sources such as through stakeholder partnerships. This may include joint programmes between business, communities, and the City, rates rebates, provincial and national funding or foreign funding.

Networking with other departments at provincial and national levels is also needed to ensure that their budgets and programmes support local development projects.

Monitoring and evaluation

International experience has shown that crime prevention strategies seldom work perfectly the first time. Implementation is best achieved through an incremental process of experimentation or 'learning by doing', dissemination of the lessons learnt, ongoing measurement and publication of results. The circulation of information is crucial, since the participation of the stakeholders can only be assured if they are kept well informed of the activities and results of projects. To be sustainable, this requires a well planned process of monitoring and evaluation.

Monitoring is the regular observation and recording of project activities. This enables that progress is checked and information is gathered which can inform future decisions to improve project performance. The most effective way of monitoring is measurement against an action plan. This written plan details the tasks and resources (inputs) needed to reach the project's outcomes and strategic objective. Tasks are listed in the order in which they should be implemented and are assigned to relevant team members along with deadlines. The required resources are also identified.

Through regular monitoring the project 'champion' must ensure that these tasks are accomplished satisfactorily and within set time frames and check that resources are appropriately utilised.

Evaluation refers to the process of judging the completed project against anticipated outcomes and objectives. It is intended to provide a clear picture of the extent to which the project has been able to

achieve its intended objectives. By comparing the anticipated outcome with what actually happened, it is possible to identify practices that both worked and failed. Knowing that a project succeeded or failed is less important than knowing why it failed. It is critical that this information be shared with others through briefings, newsletters and appropriate forms of communication. This allows the City to approach the next project with increased information and skills.

Objectives and outcomes provide the basis for monitoring and evaluating a project. They are the yardsticks upon which the success or failure of a project is measured. Outcomes in this strategy are written in such a way that they are easy to monitor and evaluate. Specific and measurable indicators can be developed from these outcome statements.
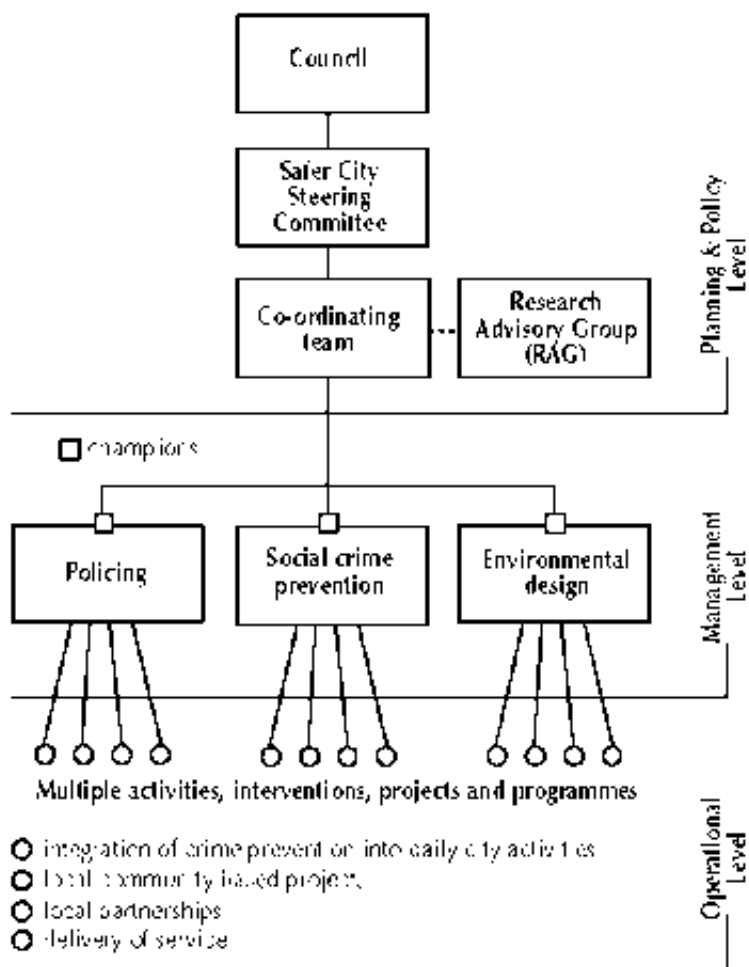
Some of the strategic objectives contained in this document are achievable in the short to medium term and are relatively easy to measure. Others are more complex and only achievable in the longer term. Nevertheless each objective requires its own method and scale of evaluation designed to measure the specific indicators which demonstrate the achievement of the outcomes.

Monitoring and evaluation of this strategy should occur at a multitude of levels:

- At project level to check that projects are relevant, effective and have impact.

- At management level to make sure that the co-ordinating and management structure is suitable and able to fulfil its role and meet the objective.

- Across the whole Metro area. The entire strategy and structure should be monitored and evaluated to ensure that the overall objective of a Safe City is achieved.

While monitoring and reporting is best done internally through roleplayers who are intimate with the strategy and its projects, final evaluation can often be better accomplished through an external evaluator.

To ensure that the City's programmes and projects in the area of social crime prevention are based on a sound scientific understanding, the Safer City Initiative established an external Research Advisory Group (RAG). This body includes social scientists and experienced researchers from NGO's, universities, business and other organisations who advise the Safer City Coordinators. RAG will assist in baseline data collection and in monitoring and evaluation. It will also advise on best practices and research requirements.

Already, the RAG has identified and recommended research priorities and provided a consultative forum for the selection of certain components and tactics in the social crime prevention section. The priority areas identified by the RAG on social crime prevention were based on the potential impact on crime reduction, the capacity of the city, cost factors and the need to adhere to national and provincial policy.

Conclusion

This strategy is an expression of a joint plan of action for local government and its partners which include provincial and national government, the criminal justice system, business, NGO sectors and community based structures.

It highlights the important areas of delivery and the outcomes which will make a positive impact on crime in the city. The strategy is firmly located within Durban's Integrated Development Plan and Long Term Development Strategy. This builds on a common vision with the intention of creating a critical mass of projects and people which will allow us to stem the tide of crime.

By making crime fighting the core business of the City, the Metro will be able to achieve a very possible dream: a thriving, world class industrial and commercial centre, employment opportunities for all citizens, a premier tourist destination and a city with a clean, safe environment, full effective employment and a high quality of life. This is the overarching objective of the Safer City Strategy.
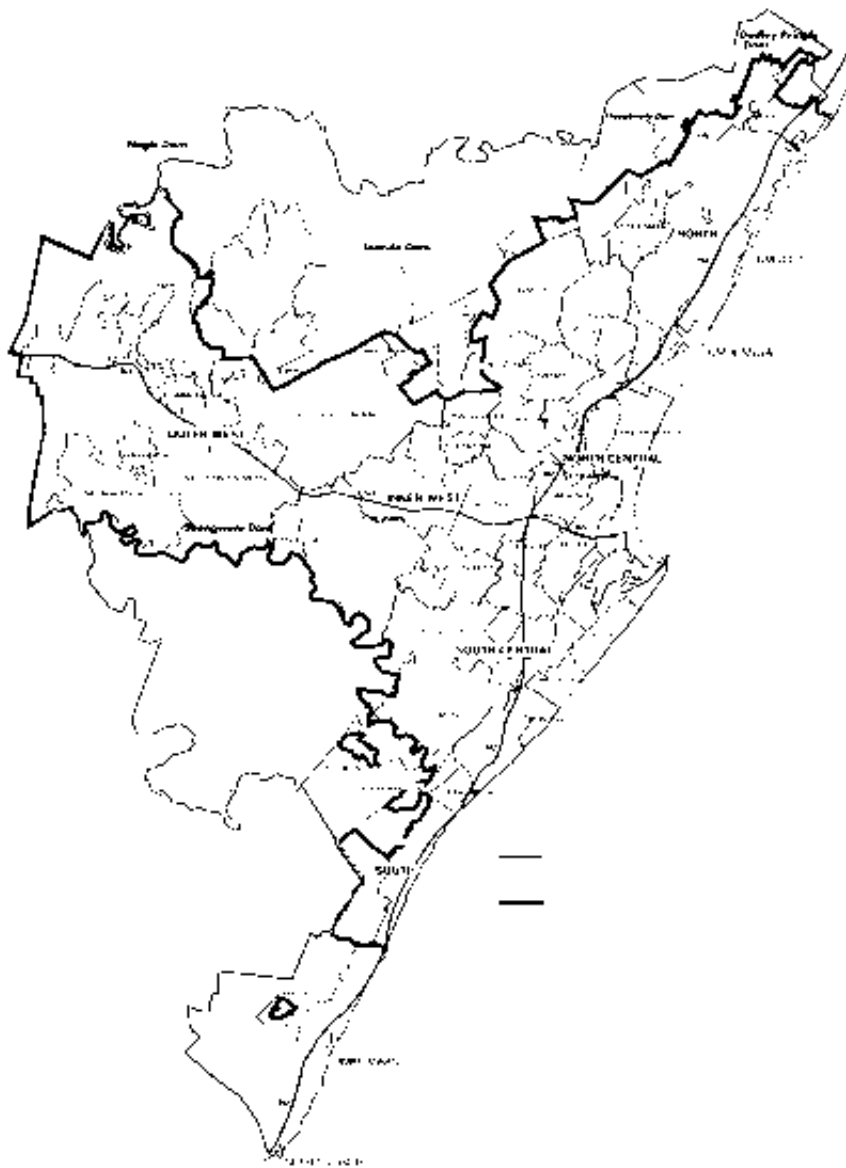
PART 2 RESULTS OF THE DURBAN VICTIM SURVEY

Chapter 3
INDTRODUCTION

Victim surveys have been conducted across the world for the past 30 years as a means of supplementing police crime statistics. Official statistics about crime, given a range of factors, are not always accessible or accurate. Compiling official statistics depends on both the public to report crime and the police to record the details once they do. But the nature of criminal events themselves often mitigate against reporting. Some incidents are not regarded as significant enough to warrant the effort. Others are sensitive and victims prefer not to disclose the details to a stranger behind a desk in a police charge office.

Reducing crime requires that practitioners understand the extent and nature of the problem. Accurate information is therefore vital. Victim surveys are the one source of information that can fill the gaps left by official crime statistics. They present an independent source about crime based on questions asked of a representative sample of the population in a specific geographic area. As such, victim surveys record the experience of crime from the unique perspective of the victim. Crimes that are not recorded in official police records are captured in the survey, as are the details about each offence. Information of this sort is limited in official records since the criminal justice process requires the collation of the offender's rather than the victim's details.

The Durban victim survey is the third in a series of four city victim surveys conducted by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). Comparable surveys were carried out in the metropolitan areas of Johannesburg (July 1997), Cape Town (February 1998) and Pretoria (April 1998).2 The Durban survey was conducted in December 1997. The ISS has also conducted victim surveys in rural areas of the country, as well as in two local council areas: Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape and Highveld Ridge in Mpumalanga.3

As in the case of both the Johannesburg and Pretoria victim surveys, the results of the Durban survey have been channelled directly to the metropolitan government's crime control and reduction initiatives.4 For this reason, the data below is presented in a way that can assist practitioners and decision makers in local and provincial government, the police, the non-governmental community and other sectors that are working towards making the Durban metropolitan area safer.

The data presented in this monograph focuses on the extent and nature of crime in Durban, who is most at risk of particular crimes, public levels of anxiety about crime, and the perceptions of victims and of the public, in general, about the police. As such, the report provides a balance between the reality of victimisation, on the one hand, and public perception about crime, on the other. This information is essential for formulating local crime prevention strategies.

Strengths of victim surveys

Victim surveys provide several types of information necessary in understanding crime and developing localised responses to crime reduction and control. These include:

- *Determining the extent of crime*: Survey data measures those crimes that are not recorded by the police. If conducted at regular intervals over an extended period of time, victim surveys enable an assessment of the extent to which changes in crime levels — as recorded by the police — are real or a function of changing reporting tendencies.

- *Identifying who is most at risk of particular crimes*: Because victim surveys gather information from both victims and non-victims who are part of a representative sample of the population in any area, the data can show whether particular people are more at risk of victimisation than others. This information (which is more difficult to extract from police statistics) is essential for designing crime reduction strategies — a process that involves prioritising certain crime categories and vulnerable groups. Surveys also enable the measurement of who is at risk of becoming a repeat victim of a particular crime, as well as the levels of multiple victimisation across different crime types.

- *Understanding the nature of particular crime types, especially those that are rarely reported to the police*: Victim surveys provide useful information such as where and when crimes are most likely to occur, the relationship between victims and offenders, weapons used and the degree of violence and injury sustained. This information is particularly important in the case of crimes such as mugging and assault that are infrequently reported to the police.

- *Measuring levels of fear of crime*: Feelings of insecurity have social, economic and political consequences for society and, as such, anxiety about crime needs to be addressed as an issue in itself. High levels of fear can also affect the way the public respond to crime reduction initiatives. The information is therefore important for the marketing of strategies. By recording the perceptions of both victims and non-victims, the surveys illustrate the extent and nature of fear of crime.

- *Determining public perceptions of police effectiveness and service delivery*: Victim surveys provide a useful mechanism for recording the opinions of the general public and of victims about the performance of the police.

- *Establishing the opinions of victims and the general public about appropriate interventions*: Crime prevention and victim support are relatively new fields in South Africa. Accurate information about what victims would prefer in this regard is particularly relevant.

The strengths of victim surveys are well recognised. The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) has now been conducted in more than 50 countries. In the United States and the United Kingdom, national victim

surveys are conducted on a regular basis.[5] The Durban survey was based on a questionnaire similar to that used by the International Crime Victim Survey.[6] The ISS city surveys differ primarily from the ICVS model, however, in their application as street rather than household surveys.

Limitations of the city victim survey

While city victim surveys provide valuable information about the crime situation in particular localities, certain limitations relating to the street survey methodology, as well as to victim surveys more generally, should be acknowledged:

- *Higher crime levels*? Interviewing people on the street may result in higher crime counts as those who are particularly active (and thus more likely to be the victims of certain crimes) are more likely to be interviewed.

- *Undercounting or non-counting of some crime types*: Both street surveys and household victim surveys undercount crimes of a sensitive nature such as sexual assault.[7] Incidents in which the victim and offender know each other are also undercounted in victim surveys, since respondents may not perceive these as 'real crimes' and may also be reluctant to disclose details to interviewers.[8] Thus, the levels of domestic or 'non-stranger' violence may not be fully reflected in victim survey data.

Moreover, crimes such as child abuse, fraud, corruption, crimes against business and 'victimless crimes' such as drugtaking or soliciting are not usually covered in victim surveys. In the case of child abuse, parental consent is required to survey children. Specialised focused surveys that are accompanied by qualitative methods are more appropriate for measuring these types of crime.

The ISS city victim surveys focused on the more serious crime types due to budgetary constraints. This means that crimes such as theft out of motor vehicles and bicycle theft were not covered.

- *Is data on the risk of burglary affected by the street sample*? According to the sampling frame, representative categories of respondents are interviewed in public places across the city. However, since people are chosen on the street and not in their homes (as is the case in household surveys), it is impossible to control where respondents actually live. While the sample may target a representative number of people in the streets of the inner city, for example, the number who actually reside in the inner city may vary dramatically. The implications for establishing who is most at risk of a particular crime are most serious for burglary, since this is the one crime type that is directly associated with the victim's home. The problem is much less serious for other crimes such as mugging, assault and car theft. The risk of victimisation for these crimes depends largely on where and when people work, shop and engage in recreation. However, as shown in figure 1, this problem appears to have been limited in the Durban survey, since there was a close correlation between where people were interviewed and where they live.

- *Difficulties remembering details of a crime*: Limitations arising from the inability of victims to recall experiences of crime are a recognised problem. Respondents may make up an offence, not realise that an incident constitutes one of the offences covered in the survey, incorrectly remember when the event happened, or forget a relevant incident altogether.[9]

Figure 1: Target settlement sample and realised sample

Legend:
- ■ Where people said they lived
- □ Where people said they worked
- □ Where people were interviewed
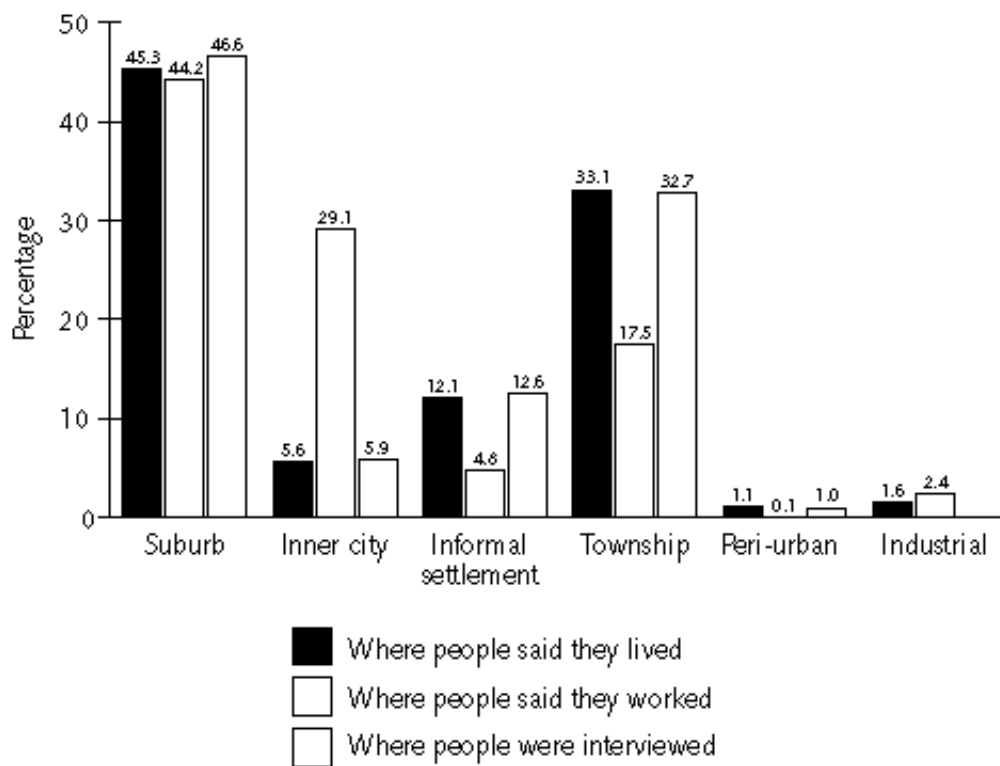
Studies of methodological limitations related to memory generally conclude that the biases in the data result in an undercount of crime (rather than an overcount as is often suspected).[10] Trivial crimes such as minor thefts and vandalism are most likely to be forgotten in an interview, while more serious crimes are usually well remembered and may even be overcounted, as more important events tend to be "pulled forward in time."[11] This is probably one of the reasons for the higher than expected murder rates recorded by the ISS city victim surveys (see page 58 below).

Comparing survey data with police statistics

The data on crime provided by victim surveys should be seen as complementary to that recorded by the police. Together, these data sets provide a better picture of crime than can be obtained by either form of data alone. While the two sets of information measure various aspects of crime that are not always directly comparable, both provide important perspectives on the nature of crime. When comparing police and victim survey data the following should be borne in mind:

- *Different boundaries*: Local government boundaries generally do not coincide with police station or police area boundaries in South Africa, which makes comparison across specific geographic areas difficult.

- *Varying definitions of crime*: While definitions of incidents vary, interviewers applied broad police classifications for the following crime types covered in the city victim surveys: burglary, robbery, vehicle theft, car-hijacking, assault and murder. In the case of sexual assault and sexual harassment, definitions varied considerably from those used by the police.

  Definitional problems are less of an issue than they may seem at the outset. In the UK, where a national victim survey has been carried out eight times since 1982,[12] analysis has shown that police and public definitions coincide for many offences. Disagreement is most likely to occur in respect of less serious incidents, such as those which are defined using moral judgement (such as some sexual incidents), and those for which there is discretion in taking legal action. Victim surveys have generally been found to count a broader set of incidents than police statistics, although this is less likely in the Durban survey, which is limited to eight types of serious crime.

- *Unreported and unrecorded crime*: Not all crimes are reported by the public to the police and, even when reported, not all offences are recorded. In Durban, for example, over a third of crimes recorded

by the victim survey were not reported to the police. However, this varies significantly across crime types. Virtually all car-hijackings were reported to the police, whereas few muggings were brought to their attention. Because victim surveys capture incidents that may not have been reported to the authorities, levels for some categories of crime are likely to be higher than those recorded in police statistics.

This is the major strength of victim surveys. By comparing police statistics with those obtained from victim surveys, for example, it is possible to establish whether crime is actually increasing or whether the increase reflected in police statistics is simply the result of more people reporting crime to the authorities.

Chapter 4
SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Given the difficulties encountered with surveys discussed in the introduction, as well as financial and time constraints, the methodology for the city victim surveys required careful consideration. The Durban victim survey was initiated to gain an understanding of the levels of crime and violence in different communities within the Durban Metropolitan Council. This entailed:

- the collection, collation and synthesis of all existing and available research and information on generic types of communities (including demographic statistics) and residential areas located within the Durban metropolitan area;

- the development of broad profiles of the defined constituents, including some select demographic statistics on 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 areas; and

- the development of the necessary sampling formulae to accommodate this ratio.

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. The methodology had been applied in similar studies conducted by the ISS and DRA Development in Johannesburg, Cape Town and in Pretoria.[13] This resulted in the calculated application of a more refined research methodology as the surveys proceeded in each metropolis. As the second survey within the ISS city victim survey series, the Durban survey methodology was improved from the original survey conducted in Johannesburg. The most significant improvement was made in relation to the questionnaire design, tailoring the survey to generate more useful forms of data.

Careful planning was required to establish the sample mix and sample points. This was done in a number of stages.

Stage 1

The Durban survey, similar to the Johannesburg survey, included the separation of the grid questionnaire that determines crime levels (providing a profile of both victims and non-victims in the metropolis by age, gender, race, residential area, crime type, victimisation level, as well as repeat victimisation and multiple victimisation) from the more detailed section of the survey. In the latter, respondents were required to provide specific information about the most recent incidents of victimisation for each of the crime categories covered.

In total, 1 884 people were approached in different areas across the Durban metropolitan area. In each

sampling node, a predetermined number of people were approached in four age categories, equally divided into male and female respondents. This provided the minimum required subsample 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.

Stage 2

It was decided that, although the research could not be representative of individual substructures with the Durban Metropolitan Council, it should represent the various area types within the metropolis. Since there are very few areas in Durban that do not have a residential population, all geographic localities were included in the sample framework with the exception of industrial areas.

To target the correct types of sample areas, at least one sample point was selected to represent each residential generic typology. In order to ensure that the selected sample points covered the entire metropolis, and that all residential generic typologies were represented, a series of primary sample points were identified for the grid survey. Another series of primary sample points were identified for the detailed survey. Primary sample points were suburbs, townships, the inner city and informal settlements.

Within each primary sample point, a number of secondary points were selected where interviews would be conducted. Examples of primary points included:

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

- transport nodes (taxi ranks, bus stops, railway stations and parking lots);

- education centres (schools, universities and technikons);

- health and welfare centres (pension pay-out points, civic buildings, hospitals); and

- residential areas (private homes, old-age centres, apartment blocks and informal settlements).

At least five secondary points were identified in each primary sample point. Secondary points were identified within the locality of each of the primary points, but in places of lower accessibility, such as civic buildings, gardens of residential complexes and public health facilities. A minimum of 15% of the quota of respondents for each primary sample point were selected at the secondary points.

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

- the identification and selection of respondents; and
- 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.

Stage 3

The questionnaire was refined through the experiences and results of the Johannesburg city victim survey. The pilot study thus functioned more as a training tool for refining interview techniques, measuring the length of the questionnaire and establishing a respondent sampling technique.

For respondents who had been victims of crimes that required detailing in the second section of the survey, the average interview time was 30 minutes — slightly longer than for the Johannesburg survey. For those respondents who were not crime victims and were required to provide only answers to grid questions, the interview was usually completed in less than five minutes. Generally, respondents wanted to speak about their experiences. In fact, fieldworkers often had difficulty to terminate interviews.

As with the Johannesburg survey, it was confirmed that male enumerators could only interview men, while women could be used to interview both men and women. Of interest was the fact that cross-race interviews were undertaken with relative ease. This suggested that the issue of crime and violence transcends racial inhibitions. Despite this finding, however, and as a precaution, the race of the interviewers in the final survey matched that of respondents. To this end, five field teams of four people were used as follows:

- Team 1 surveyed predominantly white and Asian areas and comprised four people (two men, two women).

- Team 2 surveyed coloured areas and comprised four people (two men, two women).

- Teams 3-5 surveyed African areas and comprised twelve people (mixed gender).

It was found that the success rate, both in terms of selecting respondents and the time taken to execute each subsample, was much higher among the enumerators dressed in an identifiable 'uniform'. The field team therefore wore a 'T-shirt' and cap and carried a bag — all bearing the logo of DRA Development and the ISS.

An important component of the pilot survey was the construction of a respondent selection technique that would allow the enumerators to obtain their necessary quotas, while ensuring that the selection process was both random and rigorously implemented. 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 underwent a full-day training course that included a number of practice interviews undertaken in a controlled environment, as well as in the field. In addition, the field teams participated in a one-day workshop on how to empathise with respondents. Fieldworkers were selected from a variety of sources, although all were Durban residents. A similar exercise was undertaken during the debriefing session that followed the research process.

The demographic profile of the realised sample closely resembles the general population trends in the Durban metropolitan area. Table 1 illustrates some of the key characteristics of the Durban victim survey sample.

Table 1: Demographic profile of the survey sample

	Percentage		Percentage
Age		Economic status	
16-25	28	Scholar/student	16
26-40	36	Homeworker	6
41-60	27	Retired/pensioner	9
61+	9	Unemployed	23
		Employed	46
Race		Schooling	
African	56	No schooling	7
White	16	Some primary	5
Asian	26	Primary	10
Coloured	2	Some secondary	27
		Artisan's certificate	2

		Matric	49
Dwelling type		**Residential typology**	
Suburb	45	House	60
Inner city	6	Flat	13
Informal	12	Traditional house	5
Township	33	Shack	17
Peri-urban	1	Khaya	2
Industrial	2	Temporary shelter	3
Outside DMA	1		
Gender			
Female	52		
Male	48		

Chapter 5
THE EXTENT OF CRIME

Key findings

- **59% of people in Durban were victims of at least one crime between 1993 and 1997.**

- **Women were more at risk of victimisation than men.**

- **African and coloured residents were more likely to be victims than Asians and whites in Durban.**

- **The youngest (16-25 years) and oldest (61+ years) city residents were more at risk of victimisation than the other age groups.**

- **Burglary followed by robbery/mugging were the two most prevalent crime types in the Durban metropolitan area.**

- **The risk of burglary was highest for Africans in 1997.**

- **White people in Durban were most at risk of car theft, followed by Asians and coloureds.**

- **Coloureds and Asians were most at risk of violent crimes aimed at property such as robbery and car-hijacking.**

Other crimes involving violence such as assault, murder and sexual offences were more likely to happen to African and coloured people than anyone else in Durban.

The risk of becoming a victim varied considerably between crime types and among different residents of the Durban metropolitan area. Strategies aimed at reducing specific crimes should not therefore be applied generally, but should be targeted at specific groups of people living in particular areas.

In the city survey, respondents were asked whether or not they had been victims of crime over the past five years — between 1993 to 1997. Table 2 shows that 59% of people in Durban said they had been victims.

Table 2: Sample and overall victimisation rates, 1993 - 1996

	Sample total	Number of victims	Victimisation rate (%)

Gender			
Female	988	614	62
Male	896	494	55
Total	1 884	1 108	59
Group			
African	1 043	679	65
Coloured	34	22	65
Asian	495	272	55
White	312	135	43
Total	**1 884**	**1 108**	**59**
Age			
16-25 years	534	351	66
61+ years	173	112	65
26 - 40 years	664	369	56
41 - 60 years	513	276	54
Total	**1 884**	**1 108**	**59**

When asked about their experience of victimisation over a slightly different five-year period, comparative overall crime levels in South Africa's other metropolitan areas were: 63% in Johannesburg, 54% in Pretoria and 49% in Cape Town.

Table 2 also provides a measurement of who was most at risk of victimisation:

- Females were more at risk of victimisation than males.

- Africans and coloureds faced an equal risk of becoming victims of crime. They were more at risk than whites and Asians and were more likely to be victimised than the general population. Whites were least likely to be victims of crime in Durban.

- Of all the age groups, the young and the elderly were most likely to be victimised. They were also more at risk than the general population.

The chances of becoming a victim varied not only according to demographics but also according to particular crime types. Some crimes were more prevalent than others (table 3 and figure 2).

Figure 2: Crime levels in 1997

Bar chart — Percentage of people who said they were victims:

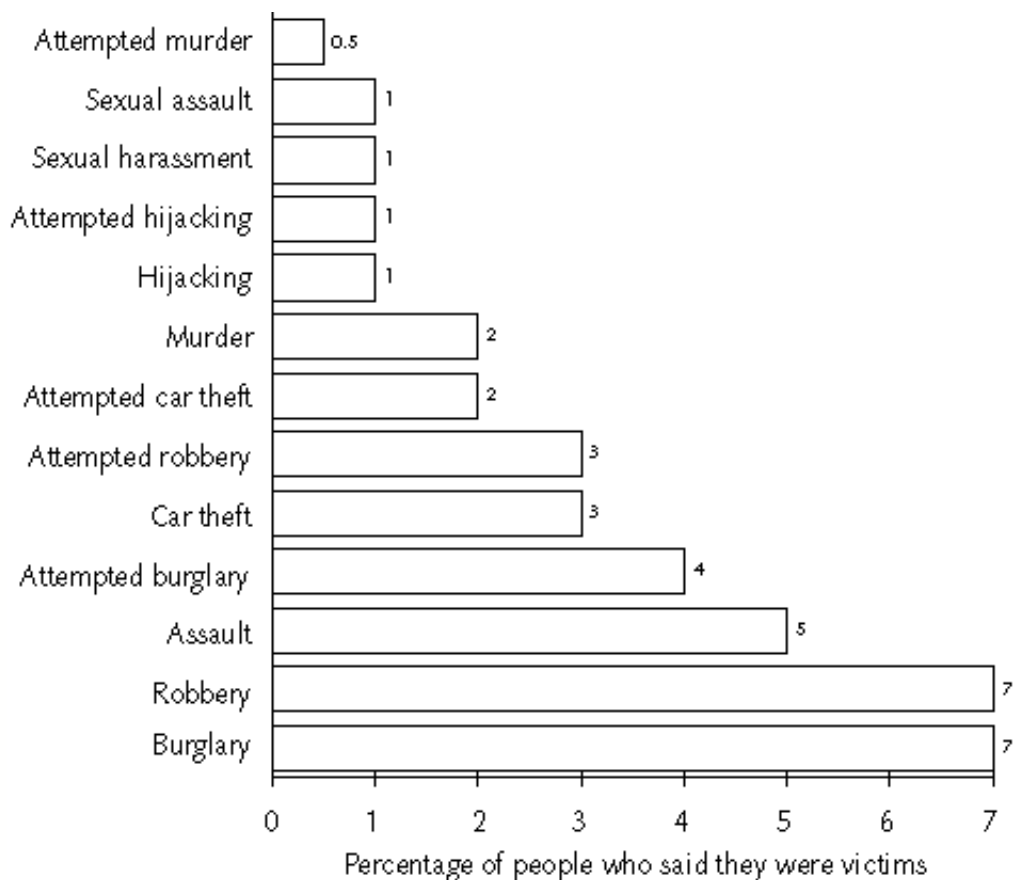| Crime type	Percentage
Attempted murder	0.5
Sexual assault	1
Sexual harassment	1
Attempted hijacking	1
Hijacking	1
Murder	2
Attempted car theft	2
Attempted robbery	3
Car theft	3
Attempted burglary	4
Assault	5
Robbery	7
Burglary	7

Figure 2 gives an indication of which crimes were most prevalent in Durban in 1997. Burglary and robbery were the most common crimes reported in the metropolitan areas. Similar trends were found in the other cities surveyed by the ISS. In Durban, levels of robbery/mugging, however, were comparatively high. The prevalence of robbery is cause for concern, particularly because this is the one crime type that has increased dramatically in the country according to police statistics: 'common robbery' increased by over 95% between 1994 and 1999 compared to 7% for all crime.[14] Robbery also causes heightened fear of crime because it is violent, difficult to prevent and fairly random.

Three per cent of the city's residents reported having been victims of car theft in 1997. In order to estimate the risk of car theft more accurately, however, vehicle ownership patterns must be considered. The national Victims of Crime Survey illustrated this well. The rate of car theft increased about four times when access to or ownership of cars was considered.[15]

One per cent of respondents said they had experienced car hijacking in 1997. This figure is probably a little inflated because the victim survey allowed responses from passengers and drivers of vehicles. This may have led to some overreporting in comparison to police statistics.

The figure for murder needs to be treated with caution. Table 3 shows that as many as 10% of people said someone in their household or immediate family had been murdered between 1993 and 1997. This is in all likelihood an overestimation. Respondents probably reported murders to the survey that happened to people outside of their immediate households (among their extended family) and beyond the time period covered by the survey.

Table 3: People who reported actual and attempted victimisation in 1997 and between 1993-1997

	Actual 1997	Attempted 1997	Total 1997	Actuals only in 1997*	Actuals and attempts in 1997	Actuals between 1993 1997
	(n)	(n)	(n)	(%)	(%)	(%)

Burglary	137	74	211	7	11	26
Robbery	132	52	184	7	10	23
Assault	89	17	106	5	6	12
Car theft	48	41	89	3	5	14
Hijacking	17	16	33	1	2	5
Murder	33	10	43	2	2	10
Sexual harassment	21	1	22	1	1	3
Sexual assault	14	3	17	1	1	3
*Total sample used to calculate percentages is 1884.						

Levels of sexual assault and harassment were in all likelihood higher than those reflected in figure 2. Few women were willing to talk about these crimes to any of the interviewers involved in the victim surveys conducted by ISS. These crimes are among the 'hidden crimes' that are rarely reported to the police or to general victim surveys such as this one.

The risk of particular crimes in Durban also varied according to race. Tables 4 and 5 indicate which people were most at risk of each crime type over the five-year period (1993-1997) and over a one-year period (1997). The latter should be regarded as more accurate since victims' recollection of events is better over a shorter than a longer period.

Table 4: Percentage of people who were victims of actual and attempted crimes, 1993-1997

	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Total
Burglary	27	12	26	25	26
Robbery	23	27	31	12	23
Car theft	9	9	21	18	14
Assault	18	21	5	1	12
Murder	17	9	3	1	10
Car hijacking	5	0	9	4	5
Sexual harassment	4	0	2	1	3
Sexual assault	6	0	0	0	3

Table 5 shows that the risk of burglary was highest for Africans, followed closely by white people living in Durban. Both tables 4 and 5 show that coloured people were least likely to be burgled.

Table 5: Percentage of people who were victims of actual and attempted crimes, 1997

	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Total
Burglary	12	6	9	11	11
Robbery	10	18	13	4	10
Assault	8	12	2	1	6
Car theft	3	6	6	8	5
Car hijacking	1	0	3	2	2

Murder	3	0	1	0	2
Sexual assault	1	0	0	0	1
Sexual harassment	1	0	1	1	1

White people in Durban were most at risk of car theft — followed by Asians and coloureds (table 5). This trend probably reflects the relative wealth of these groups compared to Africans living in Durban. Coloureds and Asians were most at risk of violent crimes aimed at property such as robbery and car hijacking. Other crimes involving violence such as assault, murder and sexual offences were more likely to happen to African and coloured people than anyone else in Durban.

The city victim surveys have shown that people in poorer communities (in the case of Durban, mainly African residents) are generally more at risk of violent crime than those in wealthier communities. Property crimes tend to affect those who are better off economically. The very wealthy usually experience less crime, however, because they can afford private security measures and alarm systems that the middle income groups cannot afford. The middle income groups are therefore vulnerable because they have property worth stealing, but are less able to protect themselves and their property from crime. These trends are borne out by the survey data in tables 4 and 5.

The data shows that the risk of becoming a victim varied considerably between crime types and among different residents in the Durban metropolitan area. Strategies aimed at reducing specific crimes should not therefore be applied generally, but should be targeted at specific groups of people living in particular areas. This data provides a broad indication of risk only. In order to reduce crime effectively for those who are most vulnerable, more information will be needed on the causes of these trends, as well as the specific characteristics of each crime type in the affected community. The factors that influence one particular crime are not always the same across areas and for all residents of those areas.

Chapter 6
REPORTING CRIME AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

Key findings

- A majority of victims said they reported the most recent incident of murder, car theft, hijacking, burglary and sexual offences to the police.

- Although more victims with insurance cover reported property crimes to the police, insurance was not the main reason for reporting, since a majority of burglary victims and car theft victims who did not have insurance nevertheless reported the crime.

- The occurrence of violence and injuries is one factor that makes reporting of the offence more likely.

- In the case of assault and sexual harassment, victims who knew the offenders by name or by sight were slightly more likely to report the crime to the police than those who did not know the offender.

- Only 38% of victims were satisfied with the service they received from the police when reporting a crime.

- Just over half of all respondents thought the police were doing a poor job at controlling crime in Durban, while 28% believed the police were doing a good job and the remaining 20% were unsure.

- White respondents and those living in the inner city were more likely to be satisfied with police performance than were Asian and African respondents and those living in informal settlements.

- It would appear that the quality of policing is better in the wealthier parts of the city and those areas policed by the former Durban City Police — which are also the areas mostly inhabited by white residents

The survey determined the propensity of people to report crime to the police, their views on police service when reporting and reasons why those who did not report a crime failed to do so.

A wide range of factors influence whether or not a crime is reported to the police:

- perceived seriousness of the crime;
- perceptions about the effectiveness of the criminal justice system;
- accessibility of the police;
- the need to make an insurance claim;
- fear of the consequences of reporting;
- desire for goods to be recovered or offender to be arrested; and
- access to alternative systems of justice.

In Durban (as in other cities surveyed), levels of reporting varied according to crime type. Serious violent crimes (such as murder and hijacking) and property crimes (such as car theft and burglary) were more likely to be reported than crimes like robbery/mugging (figure 3). Of the crime types covered in the survey, the lowest reporting rate was recorded for assault.

Figure 3: Rates at which various crime types were reported to the police
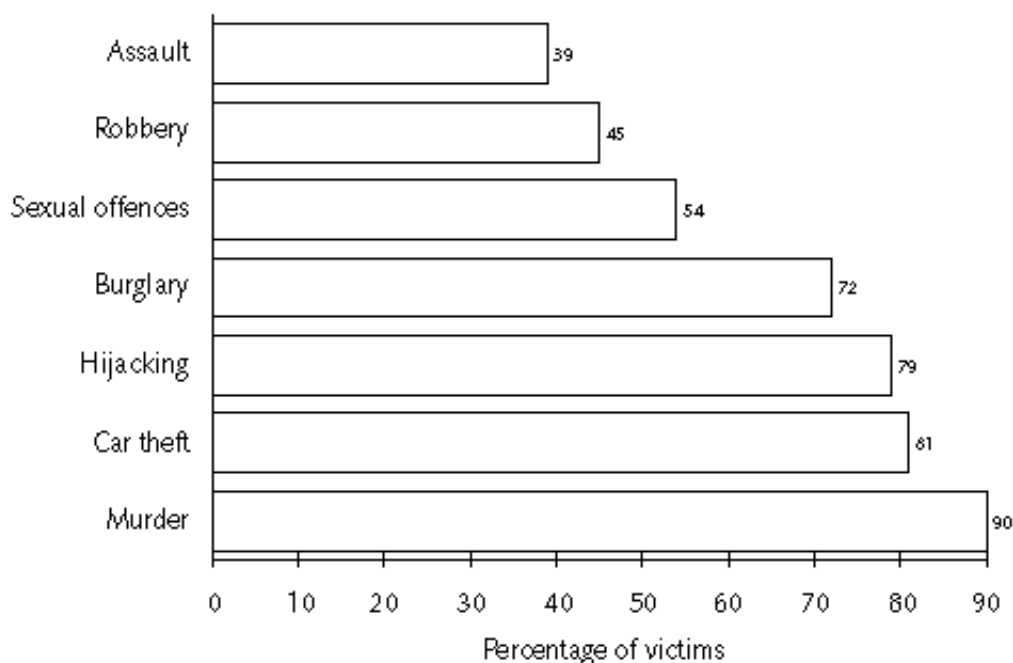
Insurance and reporting

The survey enables some assessment of whether the reporting of property crimes could be linked to insurance coverage. Figure 4 shows how many victims had insurance for the property that was stolen from them. The majority of victims of burglary and robbery did not have insurance, while most victims of car theft and hijacking were covered.

Figure 4: Victims who had insurance coverage for stolen goods

Robbery — 17
Burglary — 38
Vehicle theft — 75
Hijacking — 77

Percentage of victims
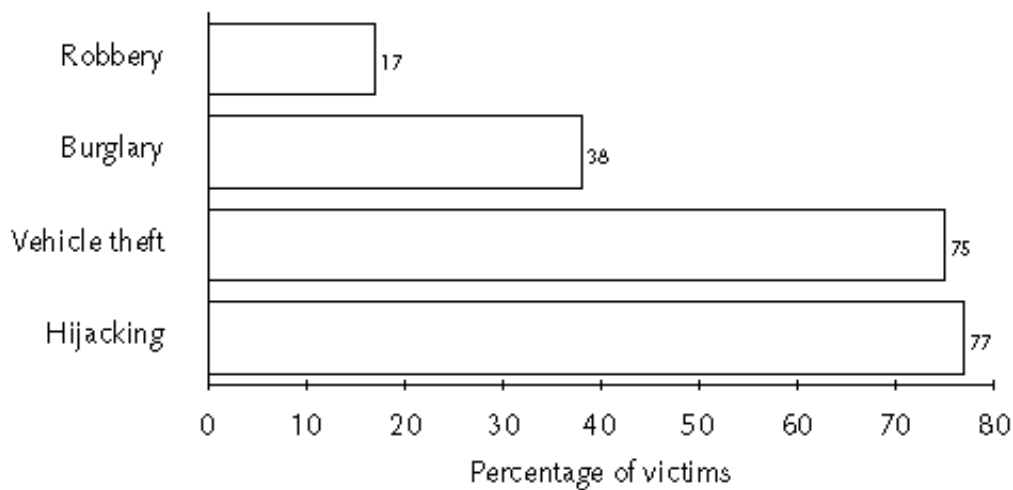
An analysis of the numbers of victims with and without insurance who reported the crime showed that for:

- burglary — 90% of victims with insurance and 63% without insurance reported the crime to the police;

- robbery — 70% of victims with insurance and 45% without insurance reported the crime to the police; and

- car theft — 80% of victims with insurance and 86% without insurance reported the crime to the police.

More victims with insurance cover reported burglary and robbery. However, insurance is clearly not the main reason for reporting these crimes to the police, since two-thirds of burglary victims and 86% of car theft victims who did not have insurance nevertheless reported the crime. Of the crime types covered above, insurance seemed to have the greatest impact on the reporting of robbery.

These findings provide some evidence that reporting is driven by a range of factors of which insurance coverage is merely one. Reporting may be driven more by the perceived seriousness of the crime than by the need to replace the lost property. Reasons why victims would consider a crime 'serious' should be examined in order to understand reporting patterns better. The degree of seriousness may be associated with the degree of violence used and injuries sustained during the commission of a crime. It may also be determined (in the case of violent crimes) by whether or not the victim and offender are known to each another.

Violence and reporting

The link between how serious victims believe an incident to be, and the degree of violence is evident (and most obvious) in the reporting rates of murder. More murders were reported to the police than any other crime type covered in the survey (figure 3). An analysis of the link between violence and injury, on the one hand, and reporting rates, on the other, for the other crime categories shows that the occurrence of violence and injuries is one factor that makes reporting more likely:

- *Burglary*: The majority (81%) of victims of burglaries that involved violence reported the crime compared to 69% of victims who experienced non-violent burglaries. Similar percentages applied regarding injuries sustained: 84% of victims who were injured in the burglary reported it compared to 71% who were not hurt.

- *Robbery*: Reporting rates were slightly higher among those victims who were subjected to violence (54%) than among those who reported threats only (41%). Similarly, 54% of victims who were injured reported the robbery to the police compared to 42% who were not injured.

- *Hijacking*: Slightly more victims who experienced violence reported the incident to the police (85%)

than did those who experienced threats only (71%). A more significant relationship was found between reporting and injuries: 96% of victims who were injured reported the case compared to 72% who were not hurt during the hijacking.

- *Assault*: More victims who experienced violence (43%) reported the crime to the police than those who did not (33%).[16] A stronger correlation was found with regard to injuries sustained during assaults: 58% of victims who were seriously injured (requiring hospitalisation) reported to the police compared to only 32% who sustained light injuries or no injuries at all.

Victim-offender relationship and reporting

An analysis of whether the victim's relationship to the offender influenced the likelihood of reporting showed the following:

- *Assault*: Slightly more victims who knew the offender by name reported the crime to the police (49%) than did those who knew the offender by sight only (36%) or who did not know the offender at all (37%). This trend applied to both male and female victims of assault.

- *Sexual harassment:* More victims who knew their offender by sight only reported the crime to the police (65%) than did those who did not know the offender at all (50%).

These results — which show a greater inclination to report incidents when the offender is known to the victim — do not follow the common expectation that survivors of domestic violence (which would be included under 'assault' as defined in this survey) and sexual offences are reluctant to report the incident to the police. The reason for this is that survivors are more inclined to regard crimes committed by strangers as a criminal matter than crimes perpetrated by family, intimate partners, friends and acquaintances.[17]

The survey results suggest that victims may be more inclined to report the crime if they know the offender because they believe the police will act, and that their case stands a greater chance of succeeding in court because the suspect can be identified.

Victim support and reporting

Apart from the perceived seriousness of the crime, another variable which was found to influence the reporting tendency was whether people sought help after victimisation or not:

- *Burglary*: The majority of victims who sought help (78%) reported the incident, whereas only 41% who had no form of assistance reported the crime to the police.

- *Assault*: More victims who received help (46%) reported the crime compared to only 13% of those who did not seek any assistance.

- *Robbery*: Nearly half of the victims who sought help reported the crime to the police (49%) compared to only 25% of those who did not receive any sort of assistance.

The data showed that those who had sought some kind of assistance after victimisation were more likely to have reported the offence to the police. It should be noted that many of those who sought help said they turned to the police for assistance. This might explain the strong correlation between help-seeking and reporting. Although the data cannot show whether victims reported the crime before or after seeking 'help', it is more likely that victims were referred to the police by family members or support agencies, than vice versa.[18]

These results suggest that victim support, whether formal or informal, may be an important vehicle for encouraging victims to report crime. This is the crucial first step in ensuring that the crime is ultimately resolved.

Perceptions of the police when reporting

When reporting the crime, most victims (62%) described their experience with the police as negative. Respondents explained that the level of investigation was poor, there was little follow-up to report on the progress of the case and the police were slow and incompetent. A few said they were told by the police not to report the offence, that bail had been set too low, or that the perpetrator had been released too soon (issues which are determined by the courts rather than the police).

Of the 38% who said they were satisfied with the way the police dealt with their report, the most common reason given was that the police were professional and competent. (It should be noted that no distinction was made in the survey between the SAPS and the former Durban City Police). Some victims also gave the police the benefit of the doubt, arguing that poor service was due to a lack of resources and the police being overburdened.

Levels of satisfaction varied somewhat depending on the type of offence being reported (figure 5). Survivors of sexual harassment, sexual assault and car theft were more likely to be satisfied with the police than victims of assault, robbery and burglary. This may give some indication of which crime types the police regard as more serious — and thus provide a better service to victims when these are reported. However, this would not explain why so few people reporting a murder in their immediate household were satisfied (only 38%).

Figure 5: Victims who were satisfied with the way police responded when a crime was reported
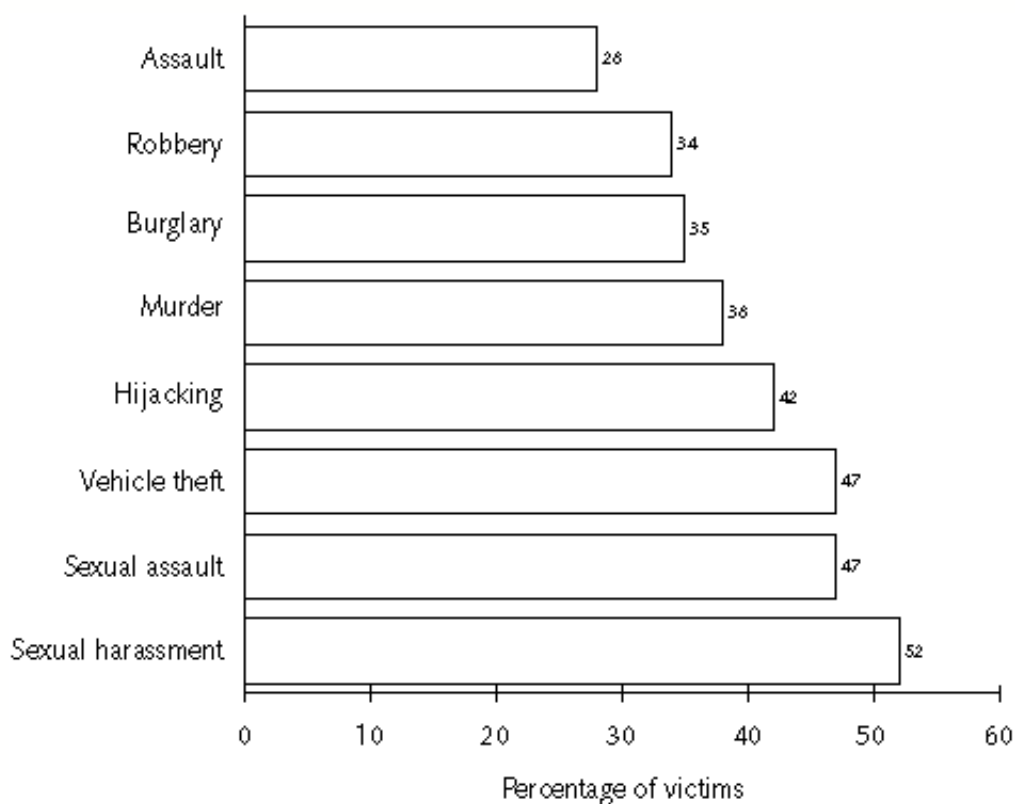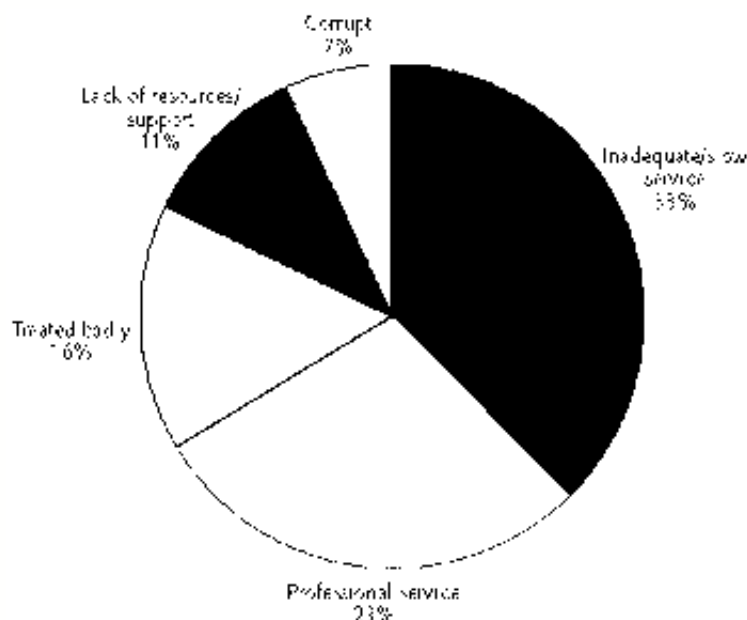

General perceptions of policing in Durban

All respondents (victims and non-victims) were asked whether they thought the police were doing a "good job at controlling crime" and why.

Just over half (54%) said the police were not successful in controlling crime, while 28% believed the police were doing a good job and the remaining 20% were unsure. Those who were dissatisfied with policing said the services were inadequate and slow, that the police treated them badly and that they were corrupt (figure

**6). Those who believed the police were doing a good job at controlling crime said the service was professional.**

Figure 6: General views of police performance

Corrupt
7%

Lack of resources/
support
11%

Inadequate/slow
service
33%

Treated badly
6%

Professional service
23%

Views of policing, however, were not uniform across the Durban metropolitan area. The survey revealed differences of opinion across race and residential area:

- **White respondents were more likely to be satisfied with police performance than respondents from other race groups. Asian respondents, followed by African respondents were least likely to be satisfied (figure 7).**

Figure 7: Perceptions of policing, by race

Good job   Poor job   No opinion
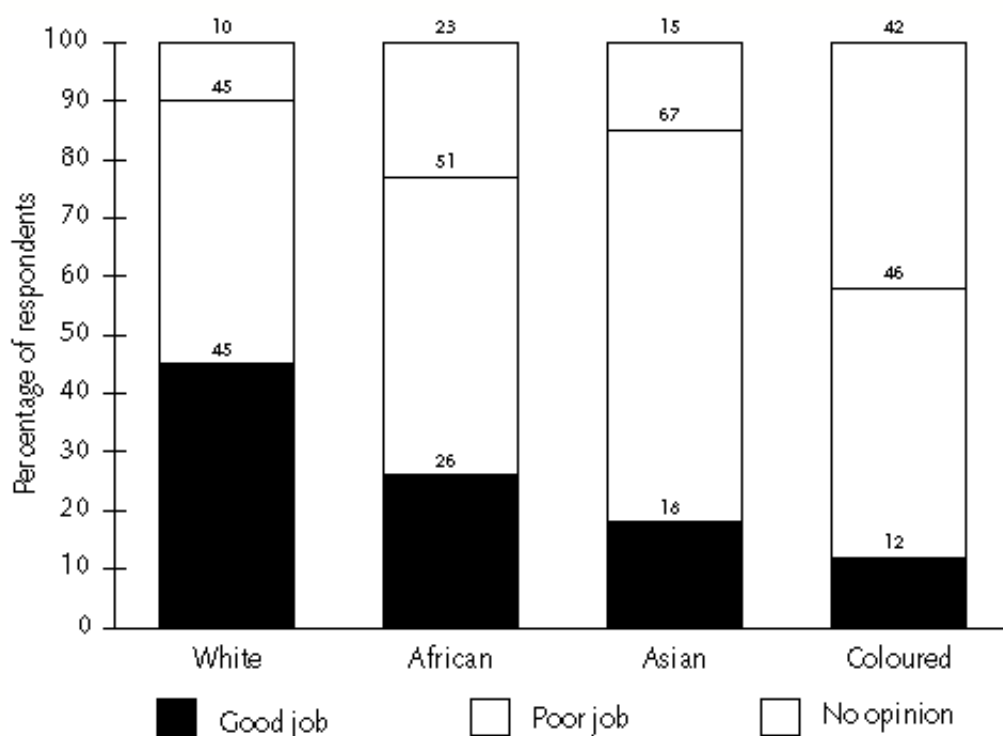
- Residents of the inner city were most likely to have thought the police were controlling crime. Those living in Durban's informal settlements were least satisfied (figure 8).

Perceptions of policing, by residential area
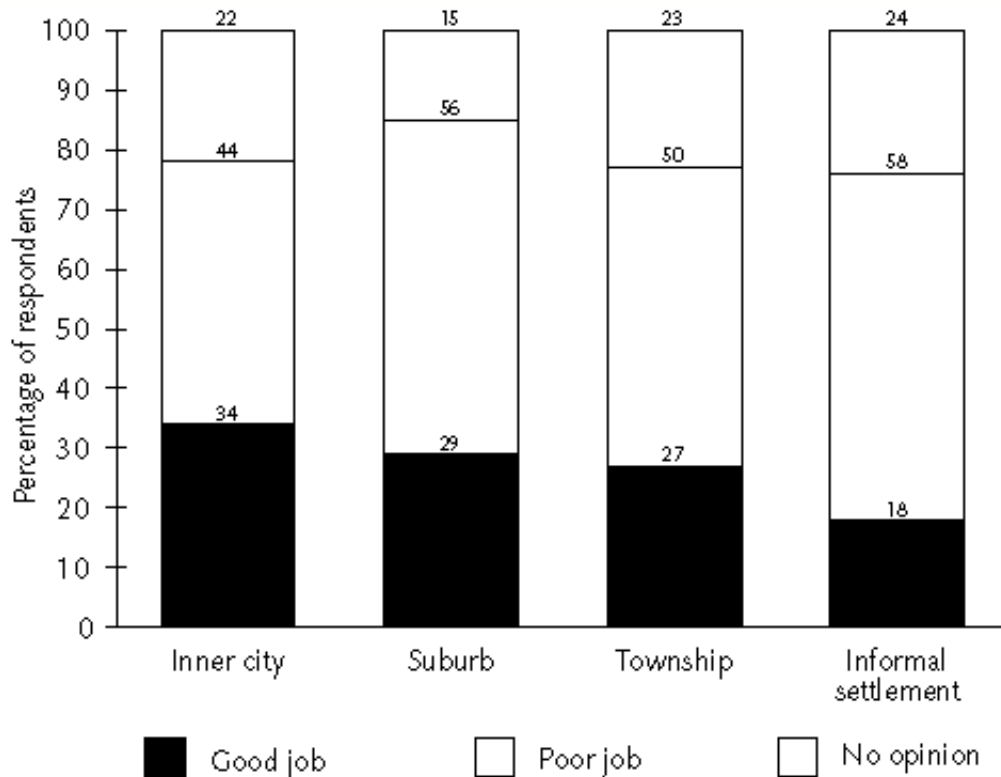
These views provide some indication that the quality of policing is better in the wealthier parts of the city, which are also those areas mainly inhabited by white residents. The more positive opinions recorded among inner city residents could be attributed to the presence of the former Durban City Police in these parts of the city. The large proportion of respondents from the suburbs who said the police were performing poorly (figure 8) is probably due to the fact that most Asians in Durban reside in areas classified as 'suburbs' in the survey. Figure 7 shows that a majority of Asians thought the police were doing a poor job at controlling crime.

Chapter 7
CRIME PROFILES

Key findings

- Burglars targeted homes at the times when people were most likely to be at home.

- White victims of burglary faced the least risk of violence while the burglary was in progress.

- Africans were more likely to experience violence and injury, probably because burglars were more likely to be armed, especially with guns, than was the case for whites and Asians.

- Car theft was concentrated in Durban's residential areas.

- Most victims of car theft (76%) said the vehicle that was stolen had been fitted with a security device.

- It is encouraging that nearly half (49%) of car theft victims said their vehicles were eventually recovered.

- **Hijackings were most likely to occur at intersections, followed by driveways or garages, or in the streets of a residential area.**

- **Most hijackings (56%) were perpetrated using threats only. Violence was reported by 44% of hijacking victims.**

- **Few cases of domestic violence were reported to the survey under the category of assault.**

- **A significant number of assaults occurred in public places, were carried out by more than one offender, and most victims did not know the offenders.**

- **Most assaults were committed without the use of a weapon. When a weapon was used, it was most likely a knife.**

A range of questions was put to victims about each of the crime types covered in the survey. Some factors were common across crime types (such as the day of the week when the crime occurred) but other circumstances (such as the type of weapon used and where the crime occurred) were often specific to particular crime types.

Burglary

Definition

Burglary applied only to the respondent's home premises, and not to work or employment premises. Respondents were asked to recall their most recent experience "of having your premises burgled or broken into without your consent."

Property stolen

In 80% of cases, burglaries were successful (ie property was actually stolen). In the remainder of cases (20%), premises were broken into but nothing was taken.
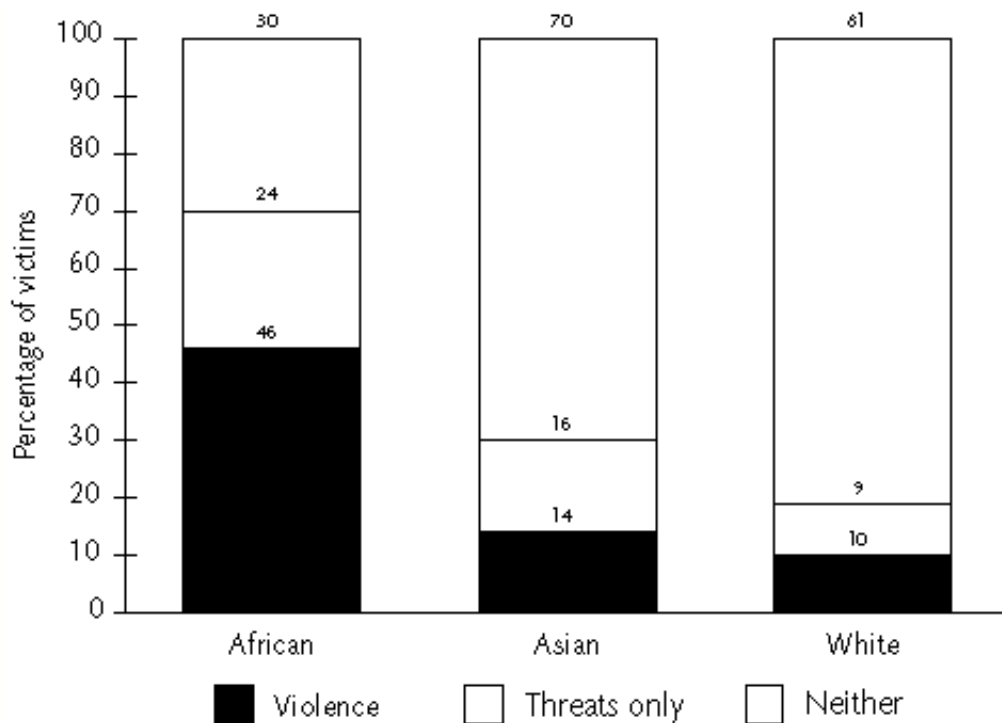
When burglaries occurred

Burglaries were evenly spread throughout the year, with slight increases reported in March and October. Burglaries were more likely on Fridays and Saturdays and least likely on Sunday and Monday. Nearly half of the victims said they were burgled between 18h00-24h00 (46%). The next most common time of day was 12h00-18h00 (22%), followed by 06h00-12h00 (17%). Burglaries were least likely in the early hours of the morning (15%). It is thus not surprising that, in 45% of cases, someone was at home when the burglary occurred. People living in townships were more likely to be at home during burglaries (53%) than those living in suburbs (42%).

Use of violence

In instances when people were at home, violence was used in 33% of incidents. A further 20% of victims who were at home said only threats were used, and the remaining 47% said neither threats nor violence was used. African victims were much more likely to have experienced violence during the course of the burglary than were victims of other races (figure 9).

Figure 9: Use of violence and threats during the course of a burglary

The data on when burglaries occurred and the use of violence, suggests that offenders targeted homes at times when people were most likely to be at home. This has implications for the kind of protective and preventive measures that may be suggested for burglary.

Weapons used and injuries sustained

In nearly half of the incidents (49%), victims said that no weapons were visible. When victims did see weapons carried by the perpetrators, guns were most common (used in 22% of cases) with knives used in 14% of burglaries. In the remainder of instances, a variety of weapons were used, ranging from axes, sticks, pangas and clubs to physical strength.

Although the number of actual cases were small, burglaries committed against white people were least likely to involve weapons (table 6). Guns were also least likely to be used in burglaries of white people's homes: 9% of whites reported that guns were used compared to 17% of Asian victims and 27% of African victims. Africans were also more likely to be injured (32%) than whites (6%).

Table 6: Type of weapons used during burglary, by race

	African		White		Asian	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No weapon visible	100	44	24	71	30	47
Gun	62	27	3	9	11	17
Knife	49	21	4	12	14	22
Other weapon	17	7	3	9	9	14
Total	228	100	34	100	64	100

The data on when burglaries occurred and the type of weapons used suggests that white people were least at risk of violence during the course of a burglary. Africans faced a much greater chance of being exposed to violence, and perpetrators were more likely to be armed, especially with guns, than was the case for whites and Asians.

Robbery

Definition

Robbery or mugging included "the theft of any item from the person, where force or the threat of force is used."

Nature of the incident

Victims were most likely to have lost money in the robbery (33%), followed by a handbag or briefcase (27%) and accessories such as jewellery (21%). Men were more likely to report that they had lost money, while women were much more likely to report that they had lost a handbag or briefcase. The vast majority of victims (83%) said the property taken was not insured.

When robbery occurred

Levels of robbery were comparatively low between January and May. There was an upswing during June and July, followed by a slight downturn during August and September (which was still higher than the January to May data). Levels of the crime again increased as the end of the year approached.

As in the case of most of the crimes covered in the survey, robbery was most likely to happen on Friday and Saturday, and between 12h00-18h00 (41% of cases). Equal numbers of victims said they were robbed between 06h00-12h00 (26%) and between 18h00-24h00 (28%).

Where robbery occurred

Robbery was most likely to happen in the street outside shops or offices, followed by a place of work, a shop or an office (figure 10). Around one in ten victims said they were robbed either at public transport ranks or while travelling in public transport. Few robberies occurred at places of entertainment or in open spaces such as parks.

Figure 10: Where robberies occurred
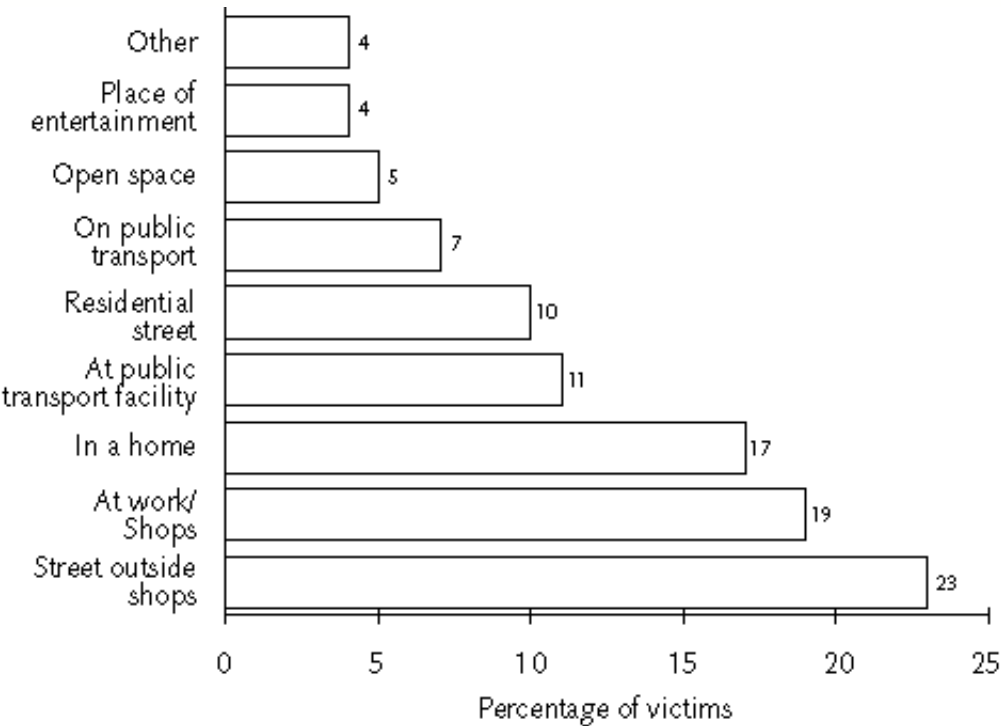
Violence used and injuries sustained

Most robberies involved threats (57%) only, with the remaining 43% of victims saying that violence was used. Women were more likely to experience violence than men. The elderly were less likely to be subjected to violence than younger people, possibly because they are less likely to resist.

The most common weapon used was a knife (30%) followed by a gun (21%) (table 7). Most victims (70%) did not sustain injuries as a result of the crime. As in the case of burglary, African victims were more likely to be injured than any others. Of those who were injured, most reported light wounds (53%). Less than a third (30%) received hospital treatment and were discharged soon, while 16% were admitted to hospital for a period of time as a result of their injuries.

Table 7: Type of weapons used during robbery, by race

	African		White		Asian		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No weapon visible	138	49	16	52	64	41	218	46
Knife	71	25	6	19	63	40	140	30
Gun	65	23	8	26	25	16	98	21
Other weapon	9	3	1	3	4	3	14	3
Total	283	100	31	100	156	100	470	100

Car theft

Definition

Respondents were told that "theft of a car, van or bakkie implies that no force (either implied or actual) was used against you to steal the car." If force was used, the questions dealing with car hijacking were put to respondents.

When car theft occurred

Incidents of car theft increased gradually throughout the week from Monday peaking on Friday and Saturday. The most common time of the day for vehicle theft was between 18h00-24h00 (40%), followed by 12h00-18h00 (31%), 06h00-12h00 (18%) and 00h00-06h00 (11%).

Where car theft occurred

Car theft appeared to be concentrated in the residential areas of Durban. The majority of thefts took place in driveways, garages or the gardens of peoples' homes (figure 11). A significant proportion also took place in residential streets. Car theft appeared to be less likely — although still significant — in public parking lots or in the streets outside offices or shops. A comparatively small number of thefts took place at places of education or in open spaces.

Figure 11: Where vehicle thefts took place
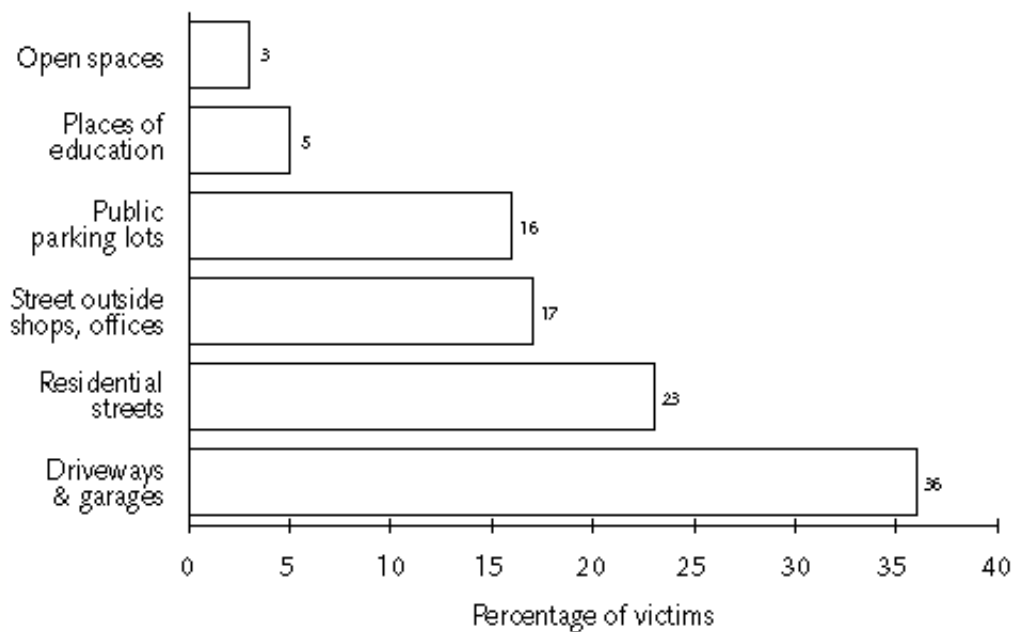
Security devices to prevent car theft

The survey sought to determine whether victims had taken measures to prevent car theft. Most victims (76%) said that vehicles stolen from them had been fitted with security devices. The most common form of security was an immobiliser, followed by an electronic alarm, and gear or brake locks (figure 12). Only two victims reported the use of air surveillance tracking systems. The survey did not determine whether these were activated at the time of the theft.

Figure 12: Type of protection used against vehicle theft
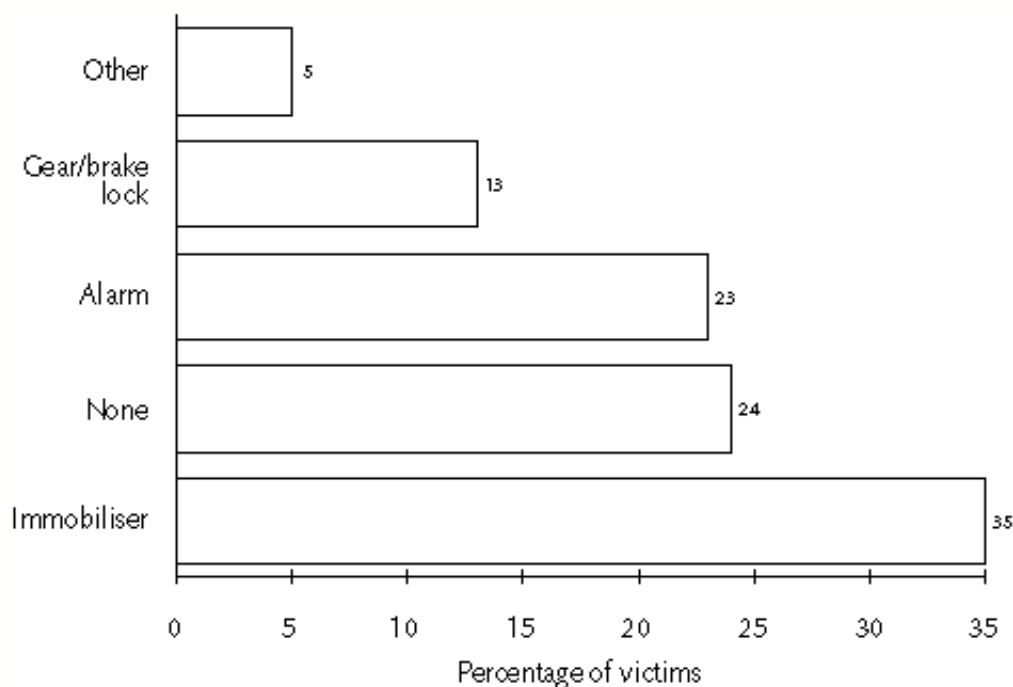
It is encouraging that, when asked whether their vehicles were eventually recovered, nearly half (49%) said that they were.

Car hijacking

Definition

Survey respondents were told that "car hijacking implies that your car was taken from you using force or threats of force." The vehicle could have been a car, van or bakkie and respondents were asked about their most recent experience of hijacking.

Victims reported that just over half of the hijackings (51%) were successful. In the remaining 49% of cases, offenders did not succeed in stealing the vehicle.

When car hijackings occurred

As in the case of burglary and car theft, the number of hijackings increased throughout the week, peaking between Thursday and Saturday. Hijackings occurred at fairly constant levels throughout the day with 37% reported between 06h00-12h00, 29% between 12h00-18h00, 30% between 18h00-24h00 and 4% in the early hours of the morning from 00h00-06h00.

Where hijackings occurred

Hijackings were most likely to occur at intersections, followed by driveways or garages, or in the streets of a residential area (figure 13). As in the case of car theft, fewer hijackings occurred in streets outside shops and offices or in public parking lots.

Fiugre 13: Where hijackings took place
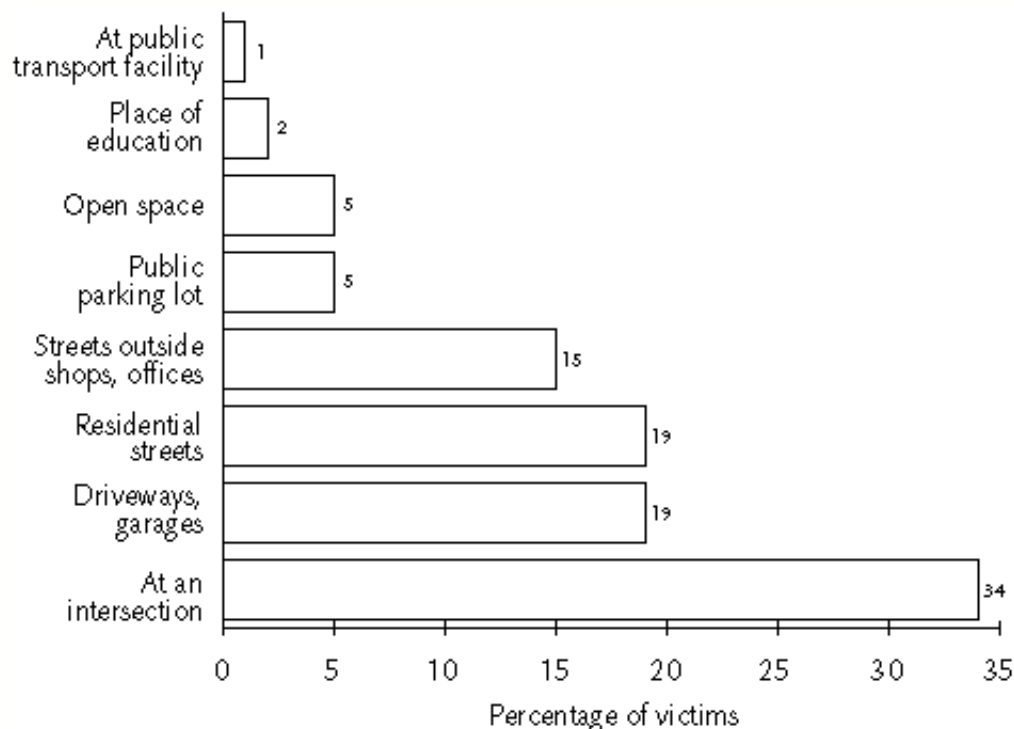
Victim details

Most victims (65%) were driving the vehicles when they were hijacked and most (61%) owned the car. Half (51%) were commuting for private reasons, with 42% saying they were going to work. A few (5%) were travelling on public transport such as minibus taxis when hijackings occurred.

Use of violence

Only threats were used in most hijackings (56%), with violence used in the remainder (44%). Guns were used in most hijackings (59%). Surprisingly, the use of other weapons such as knives, axes or pangas was reported by 20% of victims. The remaining 21% of victims said that no weapon was used or that they did not see a weapon. Although violence was used in nearly half of all incidents, only 28% of victims said injuries were sustained. Most of these injuries were relatively light — after receiving medical treatment, victims were discharged immediately. Hospitalisation occurred in only a small number of cases (5%).

Assault

Definition

Respondents were asked: "have you in the past five years been personally attacked or 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 a shopping centre, or at your workplace? The person doing this could be someone you do not know, or it could be a relative, friend or family member." Weapons may or may not have been used in the incident, but no items should have been stolen during the assault. If this was the case, the questions on robbery would have applied.
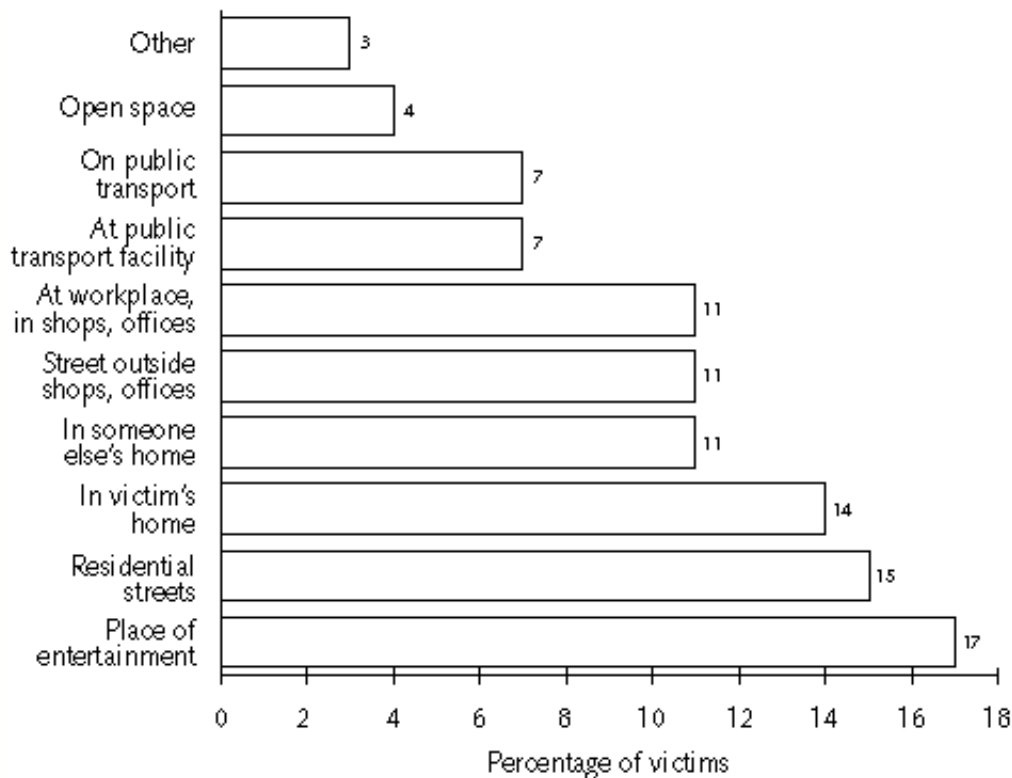
When assaults occurred

Levels of assault were comparatively low during the first few months of the year with small increases reported during June and July and again in October and November. Compared to the crimes covered above, assaults were much more likely to occur on Friday and Saturday than on any other day of the week. Nearly half (49%) of assaults occurred between 12h00-18h00 with 37% reported during the night from 18h00-24h00. A further 11% occurred between 06h00-12h00 and only 2% in the early hours of the morning between 00h00-06h00.

Where assaults occurred

A quarter of all assaults were committed in the home — either that of the victim (14%) or someone else (11%) (figure 14). Places of entertainment were also common locations followed by streets in residential areas. A significant minority of victims said they were assaulted while travelling in public transport or while waiting at these facilities.

Figure 14: Where assaults occurred

| Category	Percentage
Other	3
Open space	4
On public transport	7
At public transport facility	7
At workplace, in shops, offices	11
Street outside shops, offices	11
In someone else's home	11
In victim's home	14
Residential streets	15
Place of entertainment	17

Percentage of victims

The extent to which the assaults reported to the survey were random acts of violence, domestic violence or associated with youth gang violence, for example, is hard to ascertain from the data. It is nevertheless clear that a significant number of acts of violence occurred in public places throughout the city. Compared with offences that are committed in private, assault committed in public presents practitioners and the police with various intervention opportunities to prevent these crimes.

Weapons used and degree of injury

Assaults were most likely to be carried out without the use of weapons, or using physical strength only — a combination of hitting, punching, kicking or being wrestled to the ground (figure 15). When a weapon was used, it was most likely to be a knife, followed by a gun or a variety of other weapons such as sticks or pangas, for example.

Figure 15: Weapon used during assaults

Percentage of victims
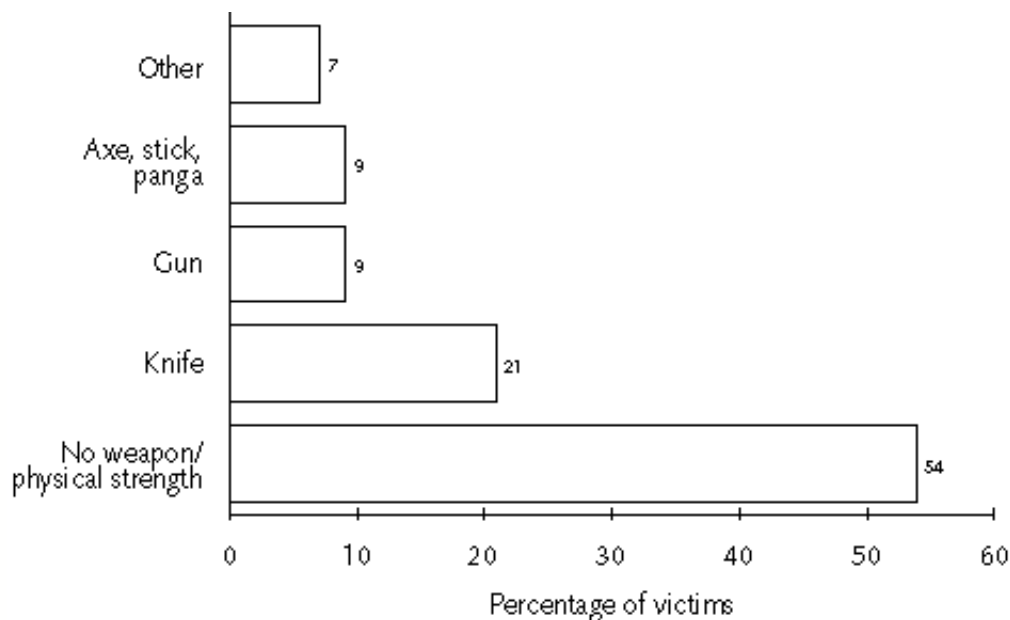
Injuries were sustained in most cases (73%), although most of the injuries (54%) were light. Some 27% of victims required hospitalisation but were released immediately after treatment, and only 14% remained in hospital for a period of time.

Relationship between victim and offender

The survey sought to determine whether or not the victim was known in some way to the offender. Understanding the relationship between victim and offender has important consequences for crime prevention. Given that many assaults in Durban occurred in the home or at places of entertainment, it was likely that many victims would have known the offender. However, most victims (56%) said they did not know the offender. A quarter (25%) knew the perpetrator by sight and 19% knew the perpetrator by name.

Number of offenders

Most assaults (57%) were perpetrated by more than one offender. Four or more offenders were reported in 22% of incidents, two offenders in 18% of cases and three in 17% of incidents. The involvement of one offender was reported in 43% of assault cases. The high number of assaults committed by more than one person correlates with the large number of assaults that occurred in places of entertainment and in the streets in residential areas. It also correlates with the data that showed that most victims did not know the offenders. These results suggest that most assaults reported to the survey were not incidents of 'domestic violence'.

Chapter 8
CHANGES IN BEHAVIOUR AFTER VICTIMISATION

Key findings

- Most respondents said they changed their behaviour after victimisation. Victims of assault were the exception — only 44% changed their behaviour. To the extent that these crimes were committed in a home environment, it may be difficult for victims to change their behaviour in order to avoid victimisation.

- Typically, African victims were less likely to change their behaviour than white or Asian victims. This applied across all types of crime and could relate to the cost of improving security or changing lifestyle patterns. For example, those who rely on public transport cannot always change their routes or purchase a car to avoid victimisation.
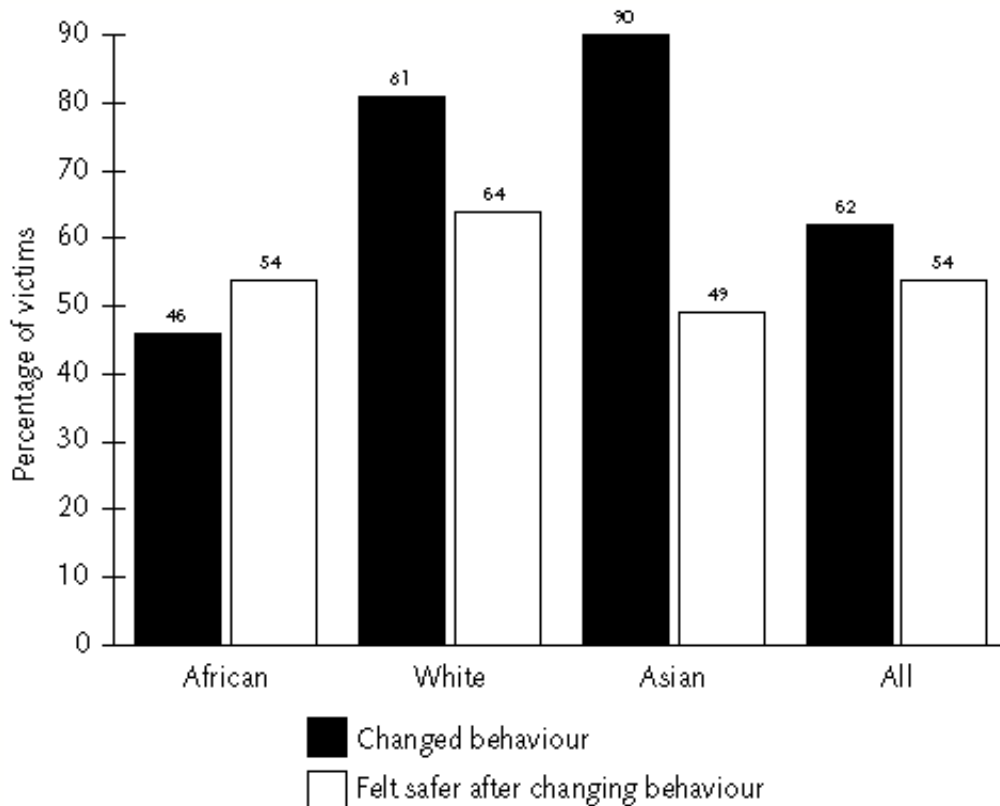
- Although many victims did change their behaviour, less than a half on average said they felt safer as a result. This could indicate that the measures taken were not sufficient to enhance safety. However, it is also likely that perceptions of safety and the fear of crime are determined by factors other than the perceived risk of victimisation.

Respondents were asked whether they changed their behaviour as a result of the crime that they had experienced. They were also asked what form these changes took and whether they felt safer as a result.

Burglary

Most victims of burglary (62%) changed their behaviour after the crime had occurred. Asians and whites, however, were much more likely to change their behaviour than Africans (figure 16). Whites were also more likely to use costly measures with 35% employing security guards and 16% installing home alarms. African victims also employed security guards (27%) and supplemented this with ensuring that someone was always at home (10%). Significantly, 16% of African victims chose to relocate to avoid further victimisation.

Figure 16: Behaviour changes after burglary and whether these improved feelings of safety, by race
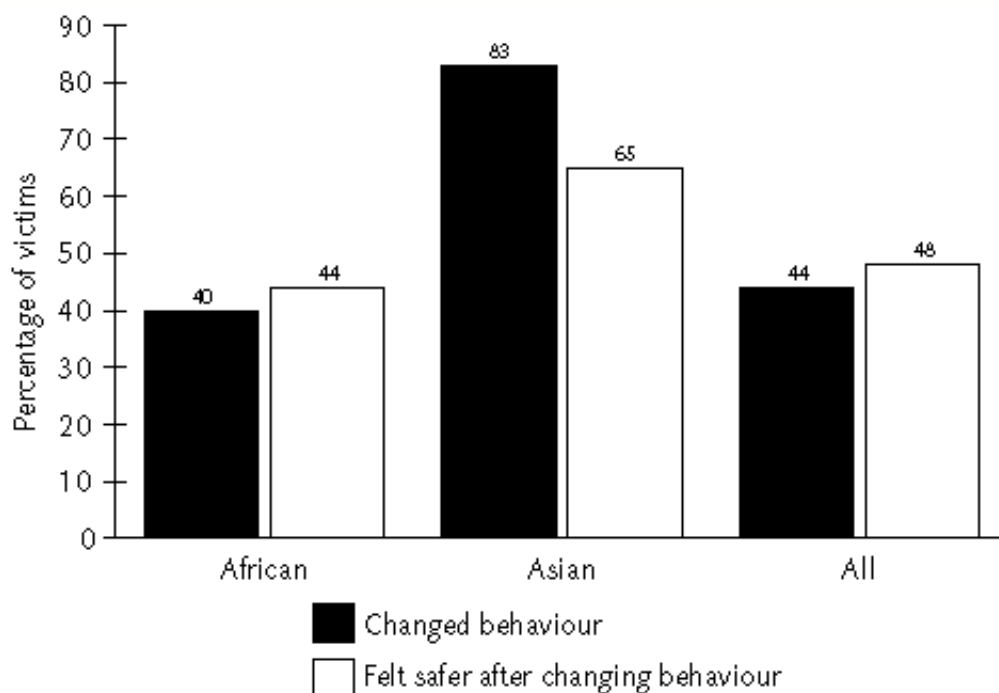

Just over half of the victims who had changed their behaviour after victimisation reported feeling safer as a result. Given the more sophisticated nature of the measures taken, it is not surprising that white victims were more likely to feel safe than African and Asian victims (figure 16).

Assault

Most victims of assault did not change their behaviour after the incident. Although the number of Asian victims was small, it is noteworthy that comparatively few African victims changed their behaviour (figure 17). The most common forms of behaviour change were avoiding those places where assault is likely to occur (21%) and avoiding alcohol and gambling (13%). These findings provide some evidence of the links

between assault and alcohol consumption — supported by earlier results that showed a large proportion of assaults occurring at places of entertainment.

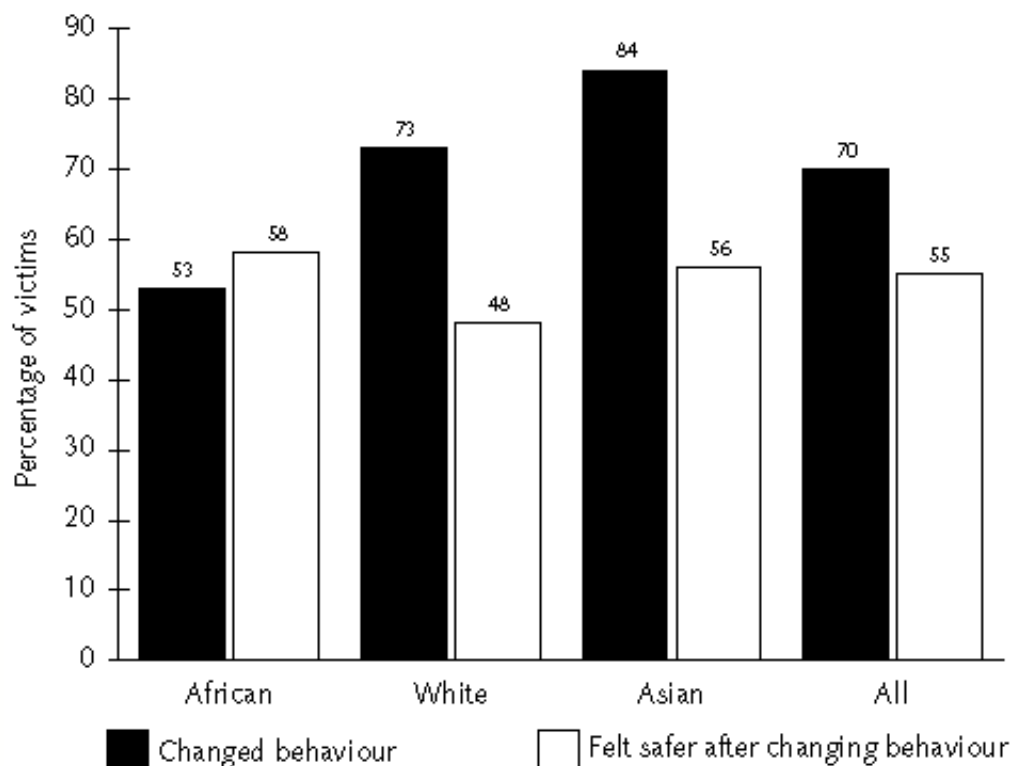**Figure 17 Behaviour changes after assault and whether these improved feelings of safey, by race**

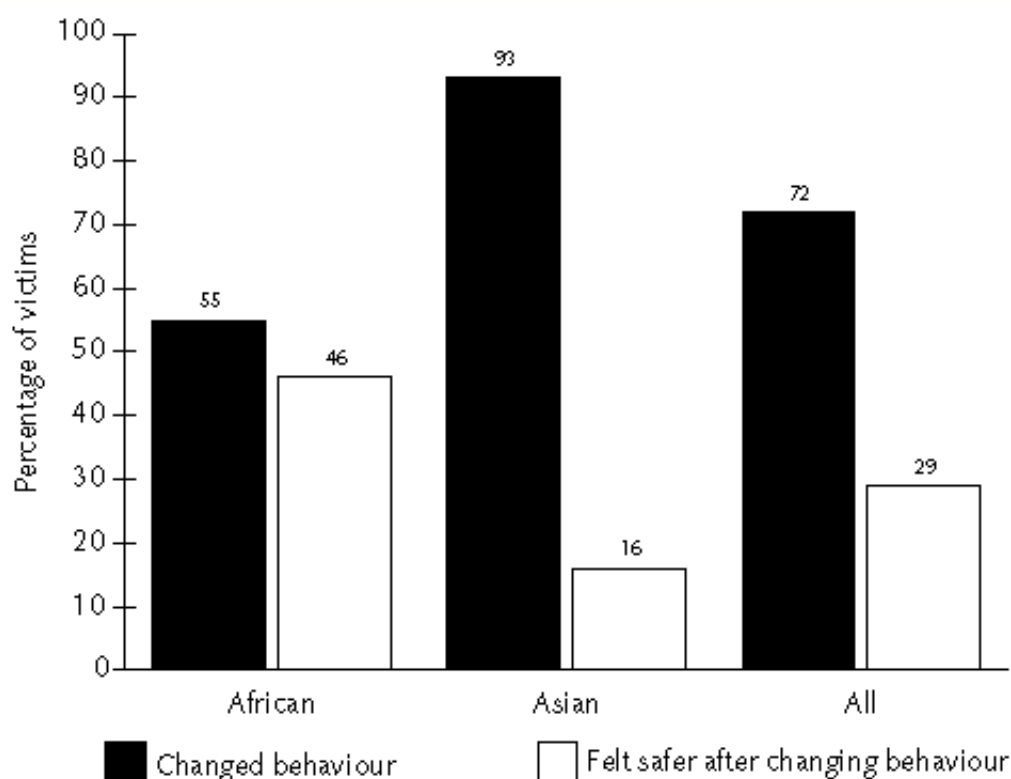Of those who took precautions against assault, only 48% said they felt safer.

Vehicle theft and hijacking

The greatest impact of victimisation leading to behaviour change was recorded for these crimes: 70% of victims of car theft and 75% of hijacking said they changed their behaviour (figures 18 and 19). These high rates of change in relation to vehicle crimes could relate to the value of a vehicle for a household, as well as the wide range of possibilities for protecting a vehicle from theft. In the case of hijacking, the violent nature of the crime combined with the factors above may encourage people to change their behaviour.

Figure 18: Bahaviour changes after car theft and whether these improved feelings of safety, by race

Figure 19: Behaviour changes after hijacking and whether these improved feelings of safety, by race

The types of behaviour change adopted by car theft victims compared with hijacking victims were quite different. In the case of car theft, most people (59%) fitted devices or parked their cars in more secure locations (17%). Several victims — probably those who could not afford the above options — chose to use public transport instead or join a lift club (9%). Hijacking victims were most likely to be more alert or cautious, particularly at intersections (31%). A further 14% of victims said they avoided places they

regarded as dangerous and 13% said they had resorted to carrying a gun. Comparing the interventions, and given that hijacking involves violence, it is not surprising that more car theft victims felt safer as a result of their actions than hijacking victims.
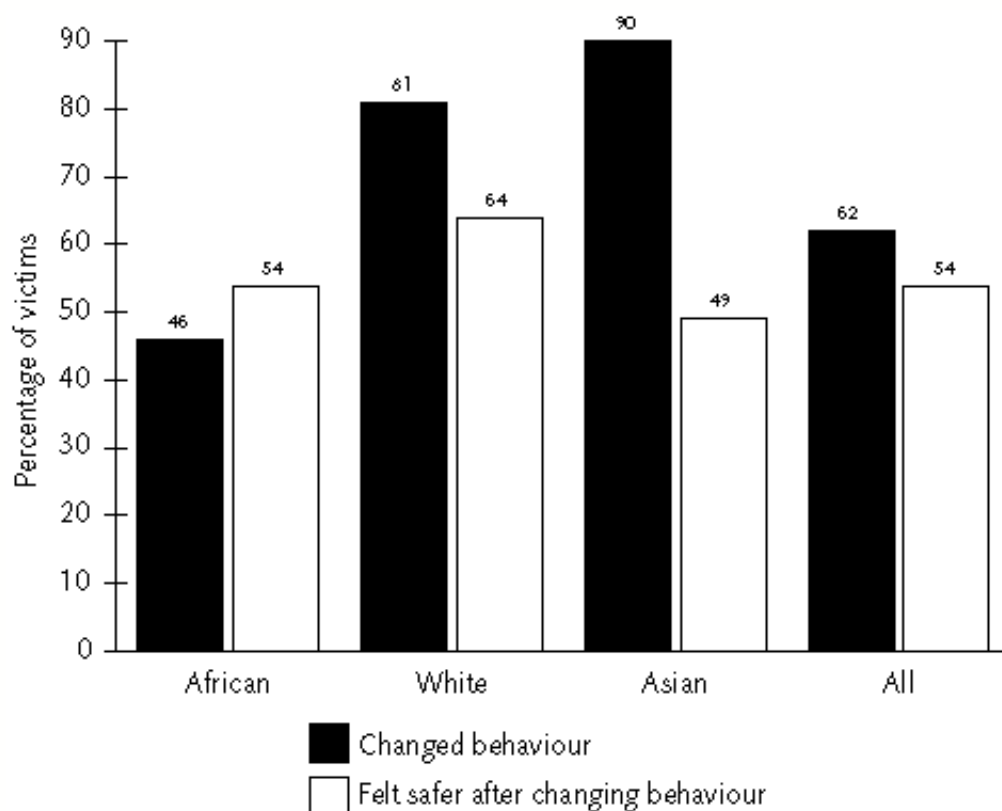
Chapter 9
TYPES OF PROTECTION USED FOR THE HOME

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Burglary

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Figure 16: Behaviour changes after burglary and whether these improved feelings of safety, by race

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Figure 17 Behaviour changes after assault and whether these improved feelings of safey, by race

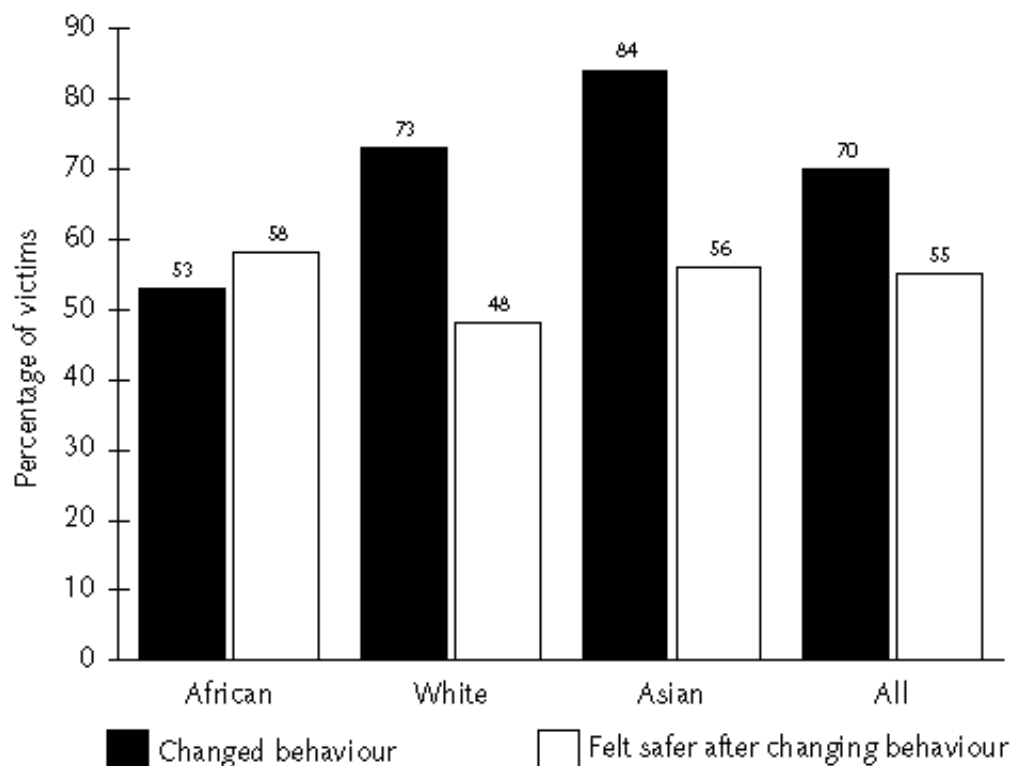Of those who took precautions against assault, only 48% said they felt safer.

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Chapter 10
PERCEPTIONS OF VICTIM SUPPORT

Key findings

- Overall, victims were most likely to say that the support they needed was effective policing and emotional support.

- There were significant differences in the type of support needed by victims across race.

- African and white victims were most likely to request emotional support followed by better policing.

- White victims were more likely than any other group to want advice, information and counselling.

- Asian victims were more likely than others to express a need for effective policing and the least likely to ask for emotional support.

- For most crimes, less than a third of victims actually knew of any support services. Less than a quarter had actually made use of support agencies.

- Victims of sexual offences were most likely to have heard of such services, to have made use of these services, and to believe that they would be useful.

Specialised services provided by criminal justice agencies, the government and non-governmental organisations to assist victims of crime, although limited, have been established in South Africa. They seek to assist victims in various ways: by providing psychological counselling, medical treatment, recovering stolen property, assistance with applying for compensation, or assistance with court proceedings.

Whether or not victims in Durban used these services appeared to be related to perceptions about whether the services would meet their needs, views about the effectiveness of the services, awareness of the services, and the accessibility of services.

In the survey, victims were asked who they turned to for help, what support they would have liked and whether they had heard of and used victim support agencies.

Type of support that victims would have liked

On the whole, victims wanted effective policing and emotional support (table 9). Fewer victims said they wanted counselling, financial and practical assistance and community support. Not surprisingly, victims of violent crime were more likely to want emotional support and counselling, whereas victims of property crime were more keen on effective policing.

There were significant differences in the type of support needed by victims across race. The type of support mostly sought by African victims was emotional support (perhaps because of the high levels of violent crime experienced by this group) followed by better policing (table 9). While these were also the most popular choices for whites, these victims were more likely than any other group to want advice, information and counselling. Asian victims were more likely than others to express a need for effective policing. They were least likely to ask for emotional, financial and practical support.

### Table 9: Type of support that victims would have liked, by race

	African	White	Asian	All

	%	%	%	%
Effective policing	20	25	46	28
Emotional support	24	29	8	20
Counselling	15	20	13	15
Financial, practical	18	10	5	14
Community support	14	2	4	10
Justice to be done	6	2	7	6
Advice and information	2	12	9	5
Anything	2	0	8	3

Knowledge and use of support services

Victims' knowledge and use of victim support agencies were low. For most crimes, less than a third of victims had heard of any support services (figure 20). Victims of sexual offences were most likely to have heard of such services — probably because agencies have been active in this sector for some time.

Figure 20: Victims who had heard of support services, by crime type
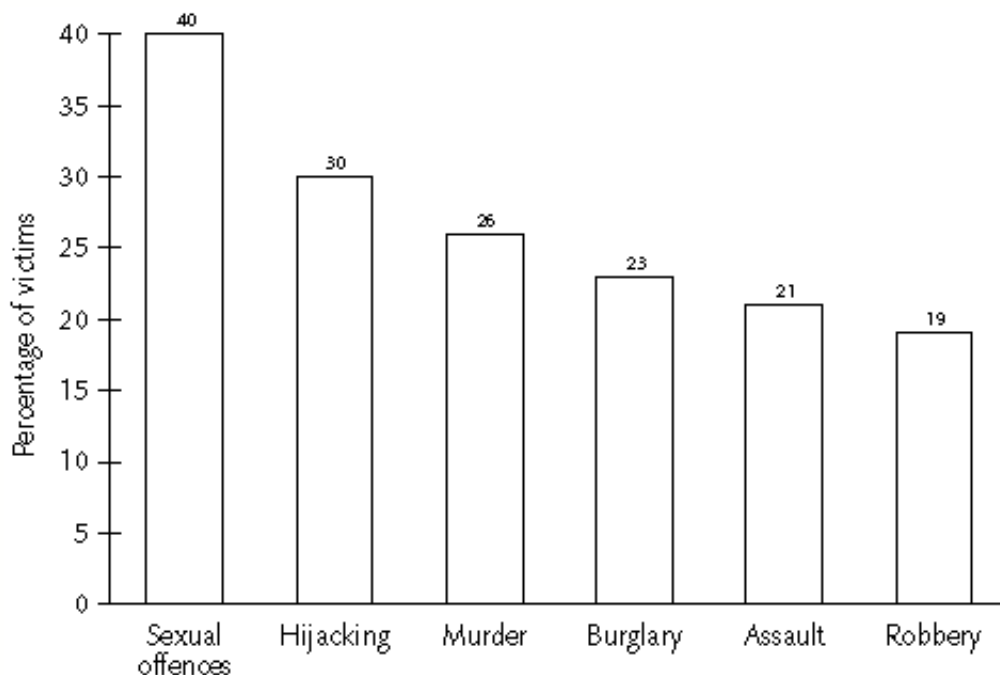
The limited knowledge of these services shows the need to improve the information available to victims. However, before raising awareness about victim support services, the availability of existing services, as well as the capacity of the police and other agencies to refer victims have to be considered.

The fact that few victims had heard about these services does not in itself mean that all victims require this sort of assistance. The data here has to be considered in conjunction with that above on what victims want, as well as whether they think victim support will be useful (see below).

Figure 21: Victims who had used support services, by crime type
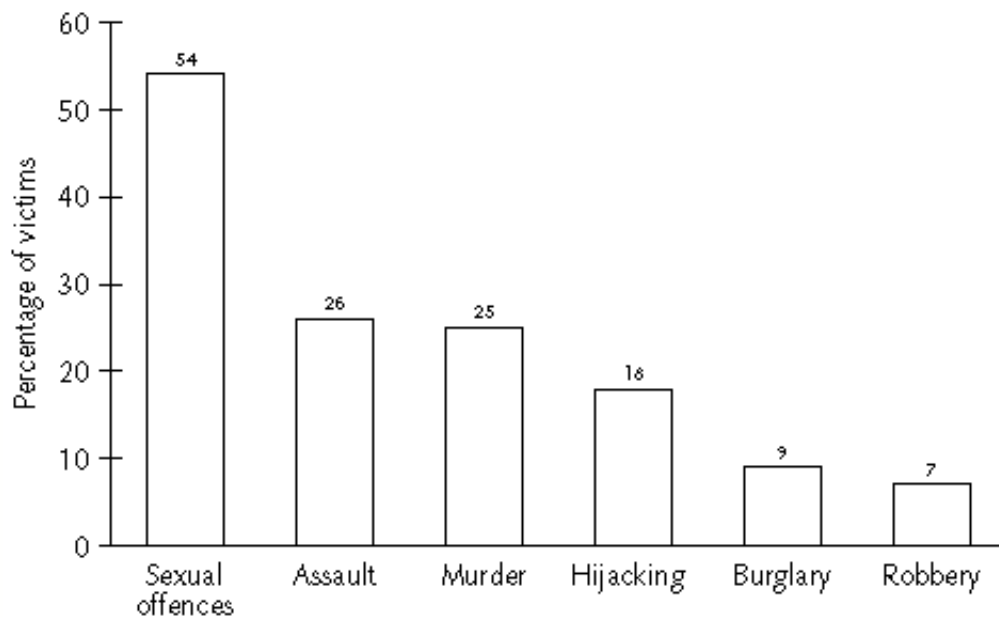
Since few victims had heard of such services, it is not surprising that few had actually made use of this type of assistance. In most crime categories, with the exception of sexual offences, a quarter or less of victims had received help (figure 21). This probably relates as much to awareness about these services as to the availability or lack of such services in many areas. It is encouraging, however, that over half of the victims reporting sexual offences did receive assistance. This high rate may not reflect the experiences of sexual assault survivors generally, since those visiting support agencies were probably also those most likely to report this crime to the survey.

Given that victims had so little experience and knowledge of support services, it is not surprising that few thought these services would be useful (figure 22). Whether or not victims judge these services to be useful probably depends on several factors, such as awareness about victim support and its benefits, and how much time has passed between the occurrence of the crime and the interview. The latter is one factor that is likely to affect the type of assistance that victims think is important.

Figure 22: Victims who thought support services would have been useful, by crime type

Chapter 11
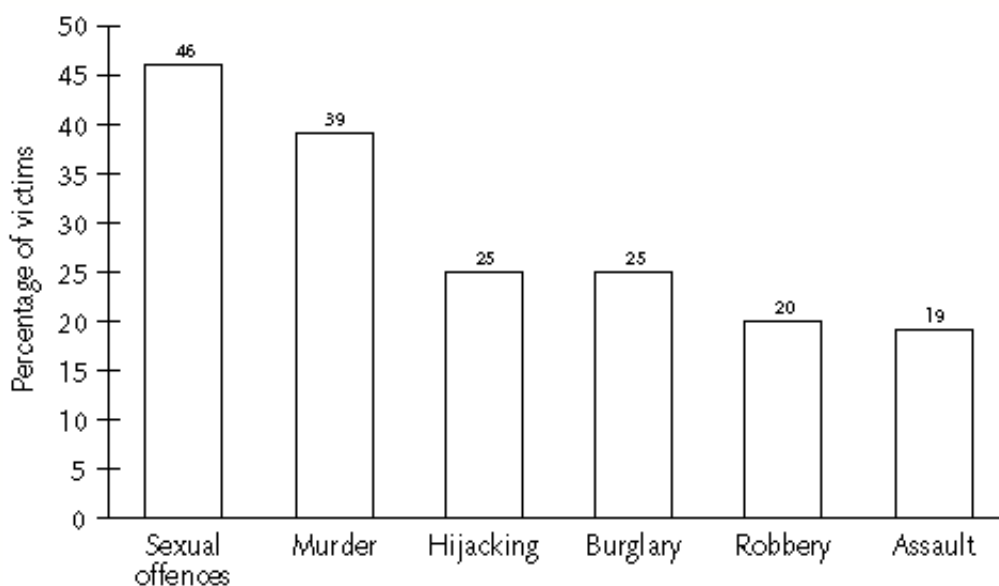
PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY

Key findings

- Coloured, white and Asian respondents were much more likely to think the inner city was unsafe than African respondents.

- Fear of crime in the inner city is probably caused by a range of concerns not all of which relate to crime or policing, such as congestion, overcrowding and litter. The risk of crime may also be quite unjustifiably associated with particular groups of people such as street children and street traders.

- Feelings of safety varied most according to where people lived. During the day, only 49% of those living in the inner city and 51% in informal settlements felt safe, compared to 78% of those in the suburbs. After dark, only 13% in informal settlements felt safe compared to 35% in the suburbs.

- Higher levels of fear in informal settlements are probably caused by the general lack of services and infrastructure which increases the risk of victimisation in an environment lacking in basic policing and other systems of protection and support.

- The most common fear associated with crime was the loss of life, followed by other forms of violence, including sexual violence and physical injury. Only one in ten people said they feared the loss of property. However, there were significant differences according to race and to a lesser extent, gender.

Dealing with perceptions of crime, particularly anxiety and fear of crime, is as important as reducing crime levels. Fear of crime affects quality of life and has negative economic and political consequences. It can also affect people's willingness to interact and co-operate with the government, particularly the police, but also with local government crime prevention practitioners.

Public perceptions of crime are rarely based on statistical information about crime levels or the risk of crime. Instead, factors like actual victimisation, general impressions of the city environment, the media, interaction with colleagues, friends and family, perceptions about government's ability to provide safety and the extent to which people feel helpless against crime, determine public perception.

Most unsafe parts of the city

The survey showed that just over half of all Durban residents thought the inner city area was the most unsafe place in the metropolitan area. More than a quarter said the townships were most unsafe (table 10). Relatively few people thought the suburbs and informal settlements were most unsafe.

Table 10: Parts of the city believed to be most unsafe, by race

	African	White	Asian	Coloured	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Inner city	22	89	76	96	53
Township	54	3	9	4	29
Suburbs	13	8	13	0	12
Informal settlement	11	0	2	0	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Surveys in South Africa's other metropolitan areas produced similar results.[20] It is common for people to believe that they are most vulnerable in inner city areas. Fear of crime in the inner city is probably the result of a range of concerns about crime levels, but also about general governance issues such as congestion, overcrowding, uncontrolled street-hawking and litter. In some cases, the risk of crime may be

quite unjustifiably associated with particular groups of people such as street children and street traders.

Perceptions about Durban's inner city, however, did vary based on where people lived and worked. Coloured, white and Asian respondents were much more likely to think the inner city was the most unsafe place in Durban than African respondents. Africans were much more likely to believe that township areas — where most Africans in Durban live — were the most unsafe places in the metropolitan area (table 10). The public's assessment of their own safety is thus not always based on the same set of factors. For some, fear of crime may be based on actual victimisation — for others, it might be about the anticipated risk and consequences of crime, as well as the belief that the government is unsuccessful in managing certain parts of the city and controlling some of its inhabitants.

Fear of crime

Fear of crime does not affect everyone to the same extent. It is likely to be highest among those people who:

- think they are at risk of becoming a victim;
- are least likely to receive protection and support;
- feel helpless to prevent crime or respond to victimisation; and
- worry about the consequences of crime — whether psychological, social, physical or economic.

Women, the aged and the poor typically fear crime the most. These trends have been supported by victim surveys in South Africa and abroad.[21] Similar patterns were found in Durban, with the exception of age. The survey showed that fear of crime varied little from one age category to the next.

The Durban victim survey asked people how safe they felt walking in their residential areas during the day and after dark. The question was posed in this particular way to ensure that respondents considered their personal safety in their own neighbourhood, rather than formulating answers on the basis of broad political and social factors that may influence perceptions of safety. Respondents were presented with a spectrum of options ranging from 'very safe' to 'very unsafe'. These have been combined into the two variables used in the analysis below.

Most respondents (68%) felt safe in their areas during the day, and unsafe (73%) after dark. During both periods, Africans were least likely of all the race groups to feel safe, and coloureds and Asians were most likely to feel safe (figures 23 and 24).

Figure 23: How safe people felt walking in their areas during the day, by race
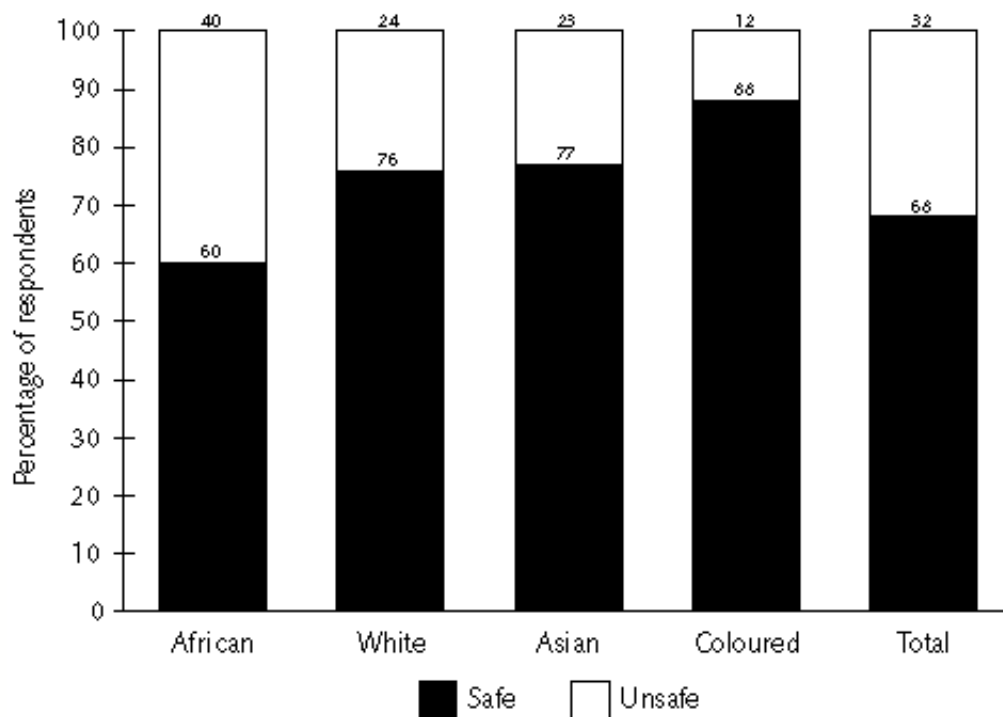
Figure 24: How safe people felt walking in their areas after dark, by race
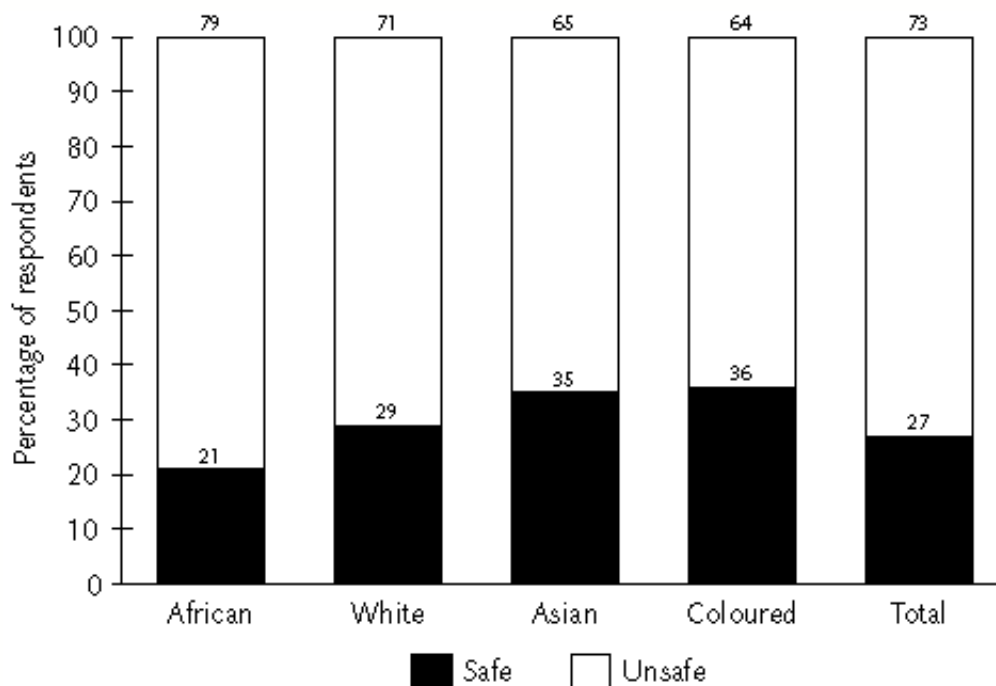
Similarly, women felt much less safe than men in Durban. During the day, just over half of the women (56%) said they felt safe walking in their areas, compared to 80% of men. At night, only 19% of women felt safe, compared to 35% of men.

Feelings of safety varied the most based on where people lived in the city. During the day, only half of those people living in the inner city and in informal settlements felt safe, compared to 78% of those in the suburbs (figure 25). After dark, only 13% of those in informal settlements felt safe compared to more than one-third in the suburbs (figure 26).

Figure 25: How safe people felt walking in areas during the day, by residential area
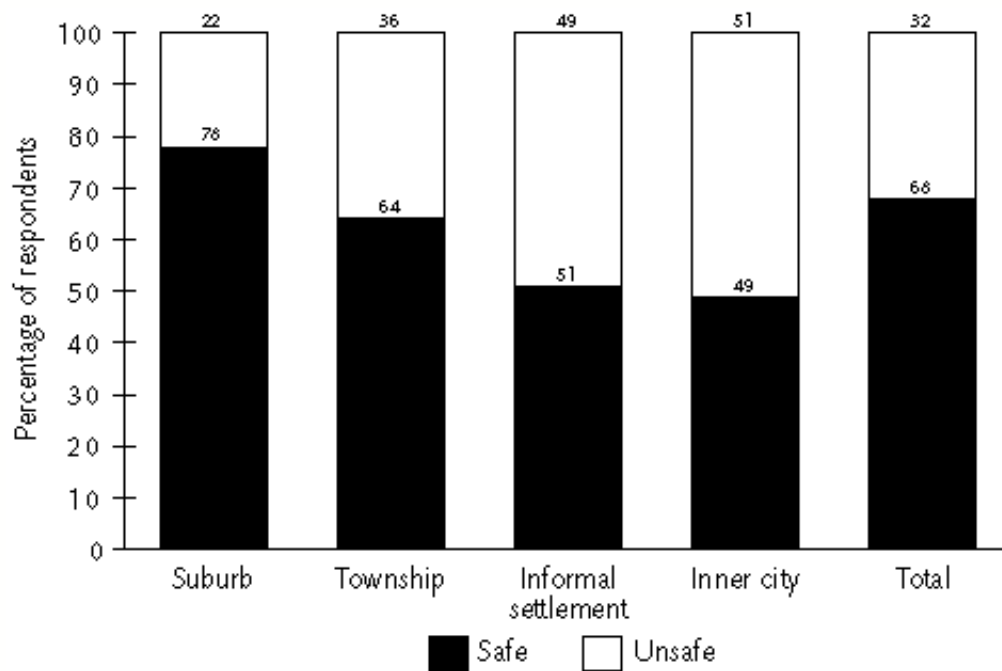
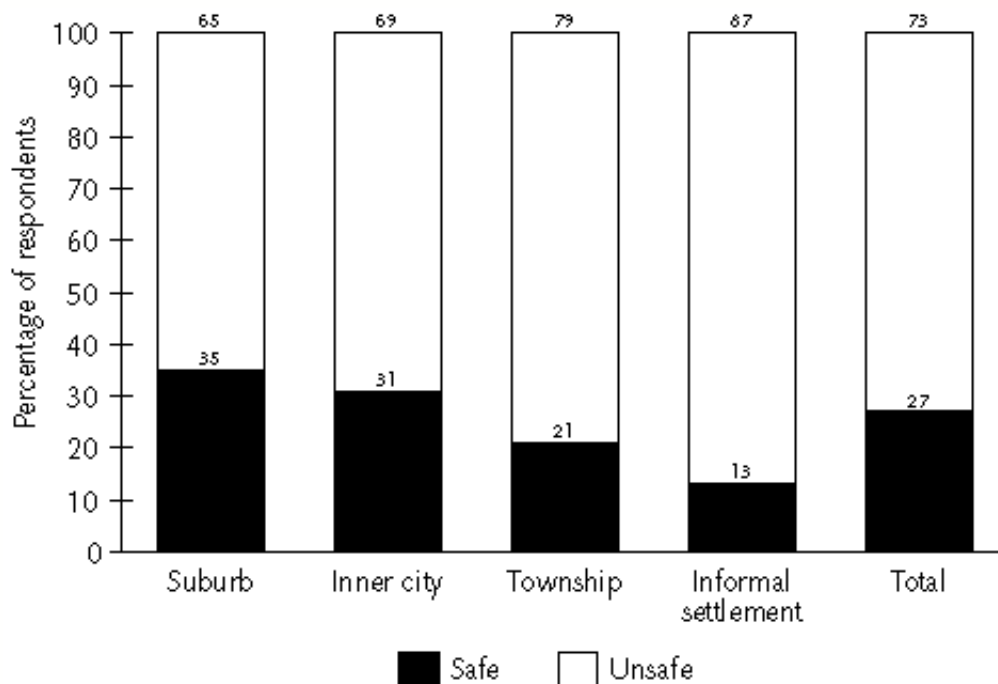**Figure 26: How safe people felt walking in their areas after dark, by residential area**

The patterns relating to fear of crime among the various race groups in Durban correlate with the findings related to residential areas. Thus, Africans felt less safe than other people in the city — and people living in informal settlements and townships (who are mostly African) also felt least safe.

The general lack of services and infrastructure in informal settlements also plays a role in increasing the risk of victimisation in an environment lacking in basic policing and other systems of protection and support. Residents of informal settlements are thus least able to protect themselves from crime, either through physical measures to safeguard their property or the ability to choose safer transport routes, places to live, or places of recreation. In addition, these areas are poorly policed. The survey showed (chapter 6) that residents of informal settlements were least likely to say the police were doing a good job at controlling crime: 18% were of this opinion, compared to 27% in the townships, 29% in the suburbs and

34% in the inner city.

These findings also support the analysis above that views of safety in the inner city are based on a range of factors — not all of which are directly related to crime and policing. Thus, inner city residents felt most unsafe during the day (when the inner city is alive with people and crowds) — but felt safer than most other residents did at night (when the inner city is quiet). Given that inner city residents were most likely to say the police were doing a good job, these findings illustrate that fear of crime in these parts is based on factors quite different from those applying to informal settlements and townships.

What people fear the most about crime

Respondents were asked what they feared the most about crime. Their answers were grouped into the four categories listed in table 11 below. The question aimed to understand more about the nature of the fear of crime and the impact of crime.

Table 11: What people feared the most about crime

	African	White	Asian	Coloured	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Loss of life	40	55	68	70	50
Sexual violence	19	26	17	15	20
Physical injury	23	16	13	9	19
Loss of property	18	3	2	6	11
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

The most common fear expressed by people in Durban was loss of life. This was followed by other forms of violence, including sexual violence and physical injury. Only one in ten people said they feared the loss of property. There were, however, significant differences in what people feared about crime based on race and, to a lesser extent, gender.

Africans were least likely to fear loss of life, but most likely to fear physical injury and loss of property. Coloureds were much more likely to fear loss of life, but least likely to worry about physical injury (table 11). In the case of gender, men were more likely to say they feared physical injury the most (24%) than were women (14%). Men also worried more about the loss of life (57%) than women (44%). Not surprisingly, more women feared sexual violence (32%) than men (5%).

The fact that half of all Durbanites said their primary fear about crime was physical violence of some sort indicates the extent to which the problem of violence pervades society. This is probably a reflection both of reality and of perception. Among Africans, for example, fearing loss of life, sexual violence and physical injury correlates with their risk of becoming victims of these crimes. The survey showed that Africans were most at risk of murder and sexual assault and that their risk of assault was higher than the total for Durban. For whites and Asians, however, a similar prioritisation of fears does not match the actual risks faced by these groups.

Fear about crime is thus based on more than the actual risk of victimisation. The perceived consequences are one possible factor. This may explain why Africans in Durban were six times more likely than whites (and nine times more likely than Asians) to say their main fear was loss of property. For those who cannot afford insurance and are less able to replace stolen goods — particularly if it is the car used to get to work — the impact of such a property crime is much higher than for the wealthy.[22]

It may also be true that those who have been exposed to particular types of crime (or any other event for that matter) for some time, are more accustomed to dealing with it, and are more confident that they will be able to 'handle' the incident. This may explain why Africans (who were most at risk of murder) were least likely to fear loss of life. Similarly, it may explain why coloureds (who were most at risk of assault) were least likely to fear physical injury.

Ultimately, the survey results show that feelings of safety and fear of crime are complex phenomena. Rarely do all people in a particular area express the same views. Understanding the basis for these views is also not simple. If practitioners and policy makers wish to intervene to reduce the fear of crime, these issues should be better understood.

Chapter 12
PERCEPTIONS ABOUT HOW TO SOLVE CRIME IN DURBAN

Key points

- Most people (80%) said that the government should improve the provision of criminal justice, in particular, policing.

- 9% thought that creating employment opportunities, providing infrastructure and housing, and building schools were the most important activities that the government could undertake to make Durban safer.

- White respondents were three and a half times more likely to call for harsher punishment than Africans. Whites were least likely to think the government should focus on employment and development.

- When asked what they could do themselves to improve safety, the most common response was 'work with the police'.

- African and white respondents were much more inclined towards working with the police than Asians. Community action and youth programmes were also more popular among Africans.

- Only 4% of Africans suggested taking precautions as a safety measure, compared to 38% of whites and 51% of Asians.

- It is encouraging that people indicated a clear willingness to work with the police and to share responsibility for their own safety.

- Overall, people thought that better policing and criminal justice would improve safety in the city. While they recognised the importance of job creation and development, the concept of 'safety' was clearly associated with policing and justice.

All respondents, victims and non-victims, were asked a range of questions about possible measures to improve their personal safety, as well as that of the city, in general. People were asked two open-ended questions about what they thought the government should do to make Durban safer and about what they could do to enhance their own personal safety. Given that in previous surveys most respondents had spoken about policing in response to the first question, people were also asked to choose between several measures that the government could take that excluded policing. These perceptions are important for a crime prevention strategy not only because they indicate what the public want the most, but also because they assist in the management of public relations around the strategy.

What government should do

As found by other victim surveys in South African cities, the vast majority of people believed that the government should intervene by improving the criminal justice sector. Most emphasis lay with the police rather than with the courts and justice system. A quarter of respondents called for harsher punishment (13% of these wanted the death penalty). In comparison, over half (54%) mentioned interventions relating to policing: one quarter wanted more effective police (saying police needed to be 'more responsible', better trained, and should arrest more offenders), 19% thought police numbers should be increased, and one in ten suggested increasing police visibility and patrols (table 12).

Table 12: What people thought the government should do to make Durban safer, by race

	African	White	Asian	Total
	%	%	%	%
Harsher punishment, justice	14	50	31	24
More effective police	25	17	26	24
More police	24	12	11	19
More visible police/patrols	11	11	10	11
Create employment opportunities	13	3	5	9
Infrastructure, housing, develop informal areas	9	4	14	9
End corruption	2	1	0	1
Build more schools	2	0	1	1
Involve community	1	1	1	1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Few people (less than one in ten) believed that creating employment opportunities, providing infrastructure, housing and development and building more schools were the most important activities that the government could undertake to make Durban safer.

However, attitudes did vary significantly based on race. White respondents were three and a half times more likely to call for harsher punishment than Africans (table 12). Not surprisingly (due to their better economic status), whites were the least likely of all race groups to think that the government should focus on employment and development. It is significant that African respondents were more inclined to say that the government should improve police effectiveness and increase their numbers than white people. This probably reflects the better standards of policing in white areas. However, the fact that half of all white respondents called for harsher punishment also indicates a substantial lack of confidence in the government's ability to provide safety in general.

When asked what the government should to do, other than policing, to make the Durban metropolitan area safer, nearly half of the respondents indicated the provision of employment opportunities (table 13). Although people were discouraged from thinking about policing interventions, a significant proportion (30%) nevertheless said that harsher punishment was needed. Few thought that changing norms and values, encouraging community action or providing infrastructure, was important. As with the previous question, views differed according to race. Africans were much more likely to believe that employment and infrastructure were important. Whites, Asians and coloureds were more likely than Africans to identify the need for harsher punishment and justice.

Table 13: What the government should do, other than policing, to make Durban safer, by race

	African	White	Asian	Coloured	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Provide employment	58	31	31	35	46
Harsher punishment, justice	13	49	52	53	30
Change norms and values	15	14	5	3	12
Mobilise the community	6	4	8	3	6
Improve local infrastructure	8	2	4	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

What individuals could do

Effective crime reduction depends on building partnerships and engaging in joint efforts between government actors and members of those communities that are affected by crime. Respondents in the survey were therefore asked an open-ended question, not only about what they thought the government should do to make the city safer, but also what they could do.

The most common response was that people could work with the police (table 14). Activities such as volunteer work, participating in community police forums, reporting crime to the police, assisting the police and providing them with information about crime, were mentioned by respondents. A quarter said that taking precautions would improve their safety. These measures included activities such as keeping doors locked, being more aware and avoiding high crime areas. 'Community action' was also mentioned by a significant number of respondents. Included in this category were activities such as community patrols, assisting neighbours and friends, and becoming involved in community projects.

Table 14: What individuals said they could do to make Durban safer, by race

	African	White	Asian	Total
	%	%	%	%
Work with the police	46	46	25	40
Take precautions	4	38	51	24
Community action	24	7	12	18
Youth programmes	9	0	3	6
Create employment	9	0	2	5
Awareness about crime	8	6	1	5
Self-defence, weapons	0	3	7	3
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Views on what individuals could do to improve safety differed according to race. African and white respondents were much more likely to want to work with the police than Asians. Similarly, community action and youth programmes were more popular among Africans than other respondents.

The greatest difference in opinion was in the proportion of people who said they could take precautions as a safety measure. Only 4% of Africans suggested this, compared to 38% of whites and 51% of Asians. This correlates to some extent with the findings in chapter 8 on whether victims changed their behaviour after experiencing a crime. These results showed that African victims — of all types of crime covered in the study — were less likely to change their behaviour than white or Asian victims. The types of behaviour change described by respondents were similar to those described here as 'taking precautions'. The most obvious explanation for this trend relates to the cost of improving security or changing lifestyle patterns. The perception may also be that crime levels are so high in African areas that taking precautions, being more aware and avoiding high crime areas are either pointless or impossible. However, the results suggest that there is scope for increasing awareness of ways to minimise the risk of victimisation among African people in Durban.

The results are nevertheless encouraging. They indicate that, despite decades of feeling distrustful and fearful of the police, many people were prepared to work with the police to enhance their safety. Efforts by members of the South African Police Service to improve their relationship with citizens must therefore be succeeding.

It is also a positive sign that people were prepared to share responsibility for their own safety in constructive ways. Community or individual initiatives to prevent crime should not be taken for granted. In a recent victim survey conducted in Dar es Salaam, for example, between 14% and a quarter of respondents said there was nothing they could do to improve safety. None mentioned taking precautions or being more alert.[23]

Overall, the findings indicate that people in Durban believed that better policing and criminal justice would improve levels of safety in the city. This is clear both with regard to government-led interventions and individual or community-based action. While people recognised the importance of job creation and development in reducing crime, the concept of 'safety' was clearly associated with policing and justice.

Chapter 13
CONCLUSION

The Durban Metropolitan Council has demonstrated a rare commitment at local government level to tackle the problem of crime. This commitment should not be taken for granted, considering that policing and criminal justice are not local government competencies in South Africa. Although safety is now recognised as being about far more than law enforcement, the expectation that cash-strapped, overstretched local governments around the country will easily take up the challenge of crime prevention, is shortsighted.

Despite the clear mandate given to local governments in the White Paper on Safety and Security 1999-2004, the capacity, skills and resources to make this a reality are limited. In the case of Durban, the crime prevention drive was fuelled by the recognition that the city's growth and development revolved around its ability to attract investment and tourism. As long as crime impedes this goal, the council must intervene.

The decision by the council in late 1999 to establish a Safer City Project with dedicated staff indicated that the project was being taken seriously. Without this crucial step, research results — like those of the victim survey — were unlikely to have become more than paper-based statistics. The importance of information to guide strategy development was clear from the start of the Project's work. The victim survey results were only one part of the lengthy process of consultations that culminated in the writing of the Durban Safer City Strategy 2000. The process of deciding which crime problems to prioritise, and what form the strategy should take, involved balancing many research findings with political imperatives, budgetary constraints and public expectations.

The victim survey showed that, above all, the people of Durban expected the government to provide more effective policing and law enforcement. Even non-state interventions were described by the respondents in terms of policing. This raised important challenges for a crime prevention strategy that was led by local government (as opposed to the police or justice system).

The Durban Safer City Strategy 2000 took up the challenge, with 'effective policing and crime prevention' being the first of three components of the strategy. The key to this component is the Metro Police, established in Durban on 1 July 2000, the first such service in the country. Apart from its functions of enforcing traffic laws and municipal by-laws, visible policing and related crime prevention functions, the Metro Police will take the lead in establishing a 'policing partnership' between the Durban Metropolitan Council and the South African Police Service. This has been a crucial step in enabling the council to turn its commitment to prevent crime into action. As such, it raises a question about local government's role in crime prevention: how will local governments that are unable to establish and afford municipal or metropolitan police respond to the demands of their constituencies for better law enforcement?

The links between the victim survey results and the Durban Safer City Strategy 2000 are also evident in the second component of the strategy, 'targeted social crime prevention'. This component is largely motivated by a concern with the causes of crime, the stark resource

imbalances bred by apartheid and their implications, especially for education and young people, as well as the stigmatisation of vulnerable groups such as street children who are associated with crime and disorder, especially in the inner city. 'Targeted social crime prevention' also hopes to respond to the needs of crime victims who are identified as the most important link between the police and the perpetrator. The victim survey covered many of these areas. It illustrated how the risk of crime varied between rich and poor, how the poor were particularly exposed to violence and how policing resources were skewed in favour of the wealthier (and often white) communities in the city. Public fear of crime in the inner city suggested concerns not so much about crime and policing, but about other factors associated with overcrowding, street-traders, street children and congestion.

The victim survey, by its very nature, highlighted the position of victims in the fight against crime. The evidence was clear that people received very little support after victimisation, either practically or emotionally. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that many South Africans feel helpless and trapped by their fear of crime. At the same time, it was encouraging that such a large number of people told the survey that they were prepared to work with the police and share the responsibility for ensuring their own safety.

NOTES

1. **The Durban Safer City strategy is reprinted with the permission of the Durban Metropolitan council. It was first published as *2000 Durban Metro Safer City Durban*.**

2. **See L Camerer, A Louw, M Shaw, L Artz & W Scharf, *Crime in Cape Town: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS Monograph 23, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, April 1998; A Louw, M Shaw, L Camerer & R Robertshaw, *Crime in Johannesburg: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS Monograph 18, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, February 1998; A Louw, *Crime in Pretoria: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS and Idasa, Halfway House/ Pretoria, August 1998.**

3. **The rural survey results appear in E Pelser, A Louw & S Ntuli, *Poor safety: Crime and policing in South Africa's rural areas*, ISS Monograph 47, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, May 2000.**

4. **The Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg Crime Prevention Strategy was accepted and approved by the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council on 20 April 1998.**

5. **See U Zvekic & A Alvazzi del Frate (eds), *Criminal victimisation in the developing world*, UNICRI, Rome, 1995; C Mirrlees-Black, P Mayhew & A Percy, T*he 1996 British crime survey: England and Wales*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 19/96, Research and Statistics Directorate, London, 24 September 1996.**

6. **A similar questionnaire to that used in the Durban survey can be found in Louw et al, op cit.**

7. **See Camerer et al, op cit, p 15 for more details on this issue.**

8. **Mirrlees-Black et al, op cit.**

9. **Ibid.**

10. **Ibid. See also Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op cit; P Mayhew, Some methodological issues in victimisation surveys, in *Crime victims surveys in Australia*, conference proceedings, Criminal Justice Commission, Brisbane, 1995.**

11. **Mirrlees-Black et al, op cit.**

12. **Ibid; C Kershaw, TBudd, GKinshott, J Matlinson, P Mayhew & AMyhill, *The 2000 British crime survey:England and Wales*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 18/00, London, 2000.**

13. **See Louw et al, op cit; Camerer et al, op cit.**

14. **See *Nedbank ISS Crime Index 4(3)*, 2000 or the SAPS website <www.saps.org.za>.**

15. **R Hirschowitz et al, *Victims of crime survey*, Statistics SA and the Department of Safety and Security, Pretoria, 1988. See also A Louw, Who suffer most? The national victims of crime survey, *Crime and Conflict 16*, Winter 1999.**

16. **Assault was defined in very broad terms in the survey: respondents were asked whether they had been "attacked or threatened by someone in a way that really frightened [them] either at home or elsewhere, such as in a bar/shebeen, in the street, on public transport, at a shopping centre, or at [their] workplace." It is thus possible to distinguish between assaults in which the victim was attacked, and those in which only threats were used.**

17. **This has been shown particularly in respect of violence against women, where survivors are more likely to regard abuse as a criminal act and to report it to the police if it is committed by strangers. This is probably as much the result of perceptions among the police about what constitutes a 'serious' crime as it is about the survivor's views. See S Rasool, Violence against women survey, *Nedbank ISS Crime Index 4(4),* July-August 2000.**

18. **A recent study of police service delivery showed that very few complainants surveyed in an exit poll outside police stations across the country, were provided with information by the police about where they could receive victim support or alterative forms of assistance. E Pelser and A Louw, Community policing and police service improvement study, project report for the SAPS, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 1 February 2001.**

19. **See Camerer et al, op cit.**

20. **See references cited in note 2 above.**

21. **See Louw, 1998, op cit.**

22. **For more on the impact of crime on the poor, see M Shaw & A Louw, *Stolen opportunities: The impact of crime on South Africa's poor*, <u>ISS Monograph 14</u>, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, July 1997.**

23. **See R Robertshaw, A Louw & A Mtani, <u>*Crime in Dar es Salaam: Results of a city victim survey*</u>, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, May 2001.**