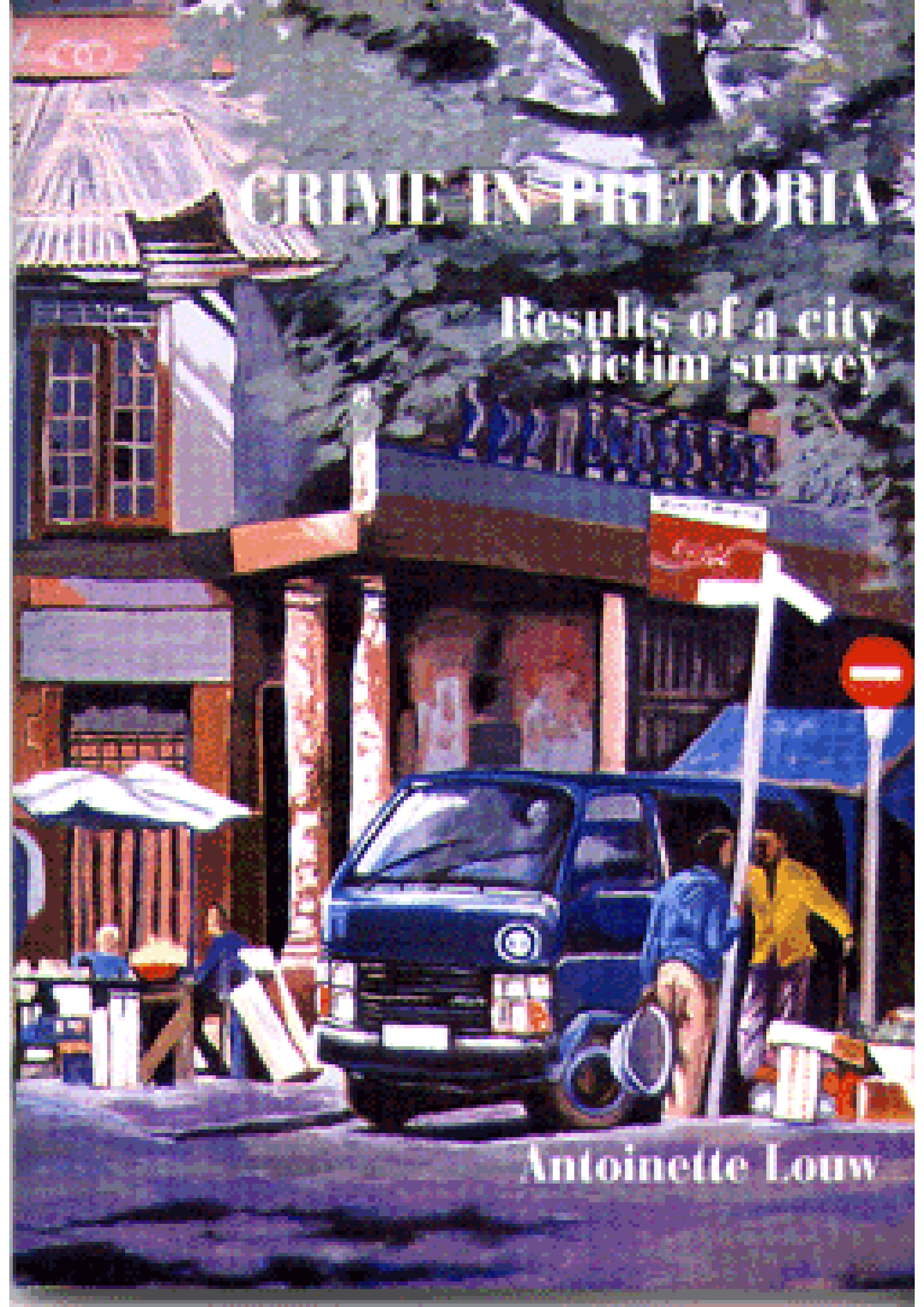


A photograph of a busy street in Pretoria, South Africa. In the foreground, a yellow taxi is parked on the left side of the road. A person in a blue shirt is standing next to the taxi. To the right, a person in a yellow shirt is walking. In the background, there is a building with a sign that says "CRIME IN PRETORIA". The title "CRIME IN PRETORIA" is written in large, bold, black letters across the top of the image. Below the title, the subtitle "Results of a city victim survey" is written in a smaller, black font. At the bottom right, the author's name "Antoinette Louw" is written in a black font.

CRIME IN PRETORIA

Results of a city
victim survey

Antoinette Louw

Crime in Pretoria

Results of a City Victim Survey

Antoinette Louw

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INTRODUCTION

Victim surveys have been conducted across the world for the past thirty years as a means of supplementing police statistics on crime. Information about crime, given a range of factors, is 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 mitigates against reporting. Some incidents are not regarded as significant enough to warrant the effort; others are too sensitive to disclose details to strangers behind a desk in a police charge office.

Since reducing crime requires an understanding of the extent and nature of the problem, accurate information is critical. Victim surveys are the most important source of information for filling the gaps left by official crime statistics. They present an independent source of information about crime based on questions asked of a representative sample of the population in a specific geographic area. As such, these surveys record the experience of crime from the unique perspective of the victim: not only are crimes which are not recorded by the police captured in the survey, but so too are opinions of victims themselves. Information of this sort – which is critical for crime prevention – is limited in official records since the criminal justice process requires the collation of the offender's rather than the victim's details.

The inadequacies of police crime information are a reality in most societies. In South Africa, particular problems – relating to poor police-community relations, as well as more technical issues of data integrity and accessibility – exacerbate the situation,¹ raising the importance of victim survey information. The Pretoria victim survey is the fourth city survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies. Comparable surveys have been carried out in metropolitan areas of Johannesburg (July 1997), Durban (December 1997) and Cape Town (February 1998). In the case of both the Johannesburg and Pretoria surveys, the results have been channelled directly into initiatives of the respective metropolitan councils to develop local crime prevention strategies.²

This report was prepared for the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council, as part of the research process which will culminate in the development of a crime prevention strategy for the metropolitan area. In order to assist the Institute for a Democratic South Africa's (Idasa) Community Safety Unit in Pretoria to develop the strategy, this report outlines the extent and nature of crime in Pretoria, who is most at risk of particular crimes, levels of anxiety about crime, and the perceptions of victims and of the public more generally, about the police and other initiatives to support crime victims. As such, the data provide a critical balance between the reality of victimisation and public perception, which is essential for formulating targeted and successful local crime prevention strategies.

STRENGTHS OF VICTIM SURVEYS

Victim surveys provide several types of information which are key to the understanding of crime and to developing localised responses to crime reduction:

- *Determining the extent of crime:* Survey data reflect those crimes that are not recorded by the police. Conducted at regular intervals over an extended period of time, this enables 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 from a representative sample of the population in any area, the data can be used to determine whether particular people are more at risk of victimisation than others. This information (which cannot be obtained from police statistics) is essential to enable the prioritisation of particular crime categories and vulnerable groups for attention.
- *Understanding the nature of particular crime types, especially those that are poorly recorded in official crime statistics:* Victim surveys provide useful details (which are difficult to glean from the South African Police Service (SAPS) databases) on where and when crimes are most likely to occur, and circumstances which characterise certain crimes. Examples include the relationship between victim and offender, weapons used and degree of violence and injury sustained, association with drugs and alcohol, and what the victim was doing when the crime occurred. This information is particularly relevant for crimes such as mugging and assault which are seldom reported to the police.
- *Measuring levels of anxiety about crime:* Feelings of insecurity have social, economic and political consequences for society. By recording the perceptions of both victims and non-victims, and asking specific questions about fear, the surveys illustrate the extent and nature of fear of crime.
- *Determining public perceptions of police effectiveness and service delivery:* Victim surveys provide useful mechanisms for recording the opinions of the public, and more importantly, those people that have had contact with the police, about their performance.
- *Establishing the opinions of victims and others 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 thus particularly relevant.

These strengths have been recognised for some time abroad, and the Pretoria survey is based on a questionnaire similar to that used by the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) in more than fifty countries. The city surveys conducted by the ISS, however, differ from this model in their application as street surveys rather than household surveys.

While the city surveys provide invaluable information about the crime situation in particular localities, certain limitations which relate to the street survey methodology, as well as to victim surveys in general, should be acknowledged.

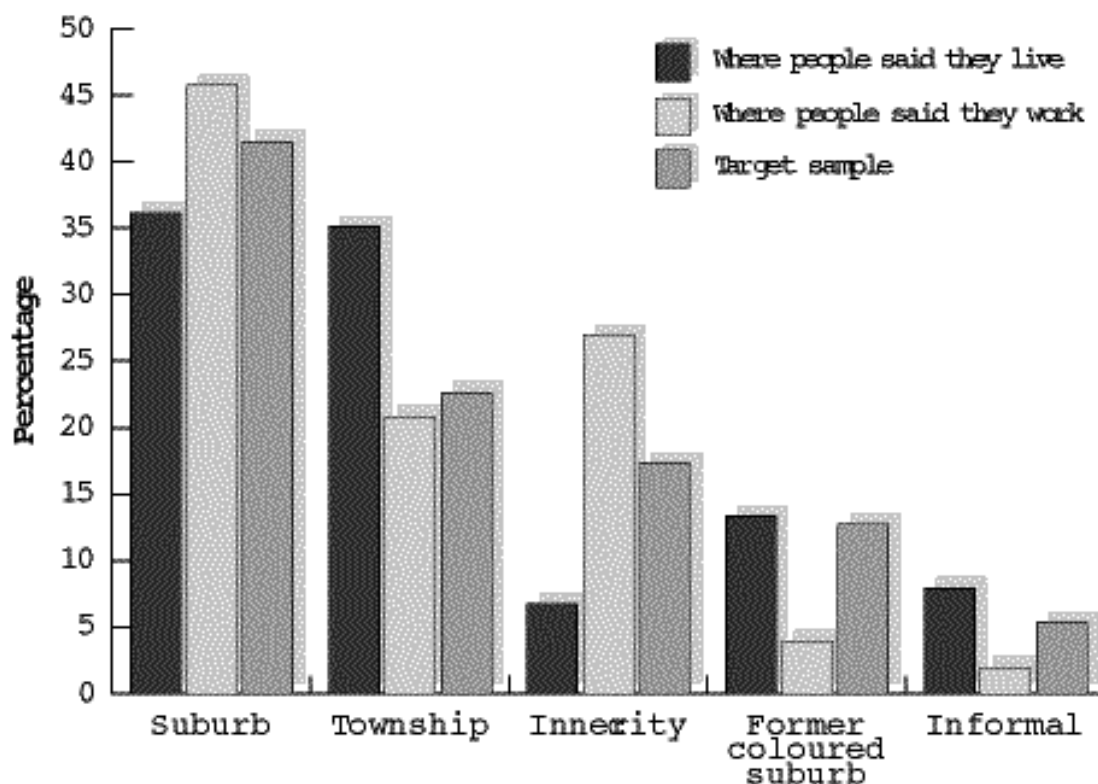
LIMITATIONS OF THE CITY VICTIM SURVEY

- Street surveys present more problems for comparability with other types of surveys than with the accuracy of the data *per se*. Interviewing

people on the street may result in higher crime counts, since those who are particularly active (and thus more likely to be the victims of certain crimes) are more likely to be interviewed.

- On the other hand, street surveys (and even household surveys) are also likely to undercount crimes such as sexual assault. This is a result of the sensitivity around discussing these incidents in public, as well as confusion over terminology and legal definitions of particular crimes. There is also a chance that stereotyping of particular incidents can occur during the course of the survey, which narrows the scope of responses.³ Incidents in which the victim and offender know one another 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.⁴ Thus, the extent of domestic or 'non-stranger' violence would be affected.
- Burglary is another crime type which has the potential to be misrepresented by street victim surveys. 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 selected 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 from the target sample (Figure 1). The implications 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, since mugging, assault and car theft, for example, depend largely on where and when people work, shop and engage in recreation and not only on where they live.

Figure 1: Target settlement sample and realised sample



- Other types of victimisation are also not well reflected in the city victim surveys. Because parental consent is required to survey children, crimes committed against people under eighteen years are not recorded. Specialised surveys have been conducted in recent years to cover the experiences of these and other groups such as women, tourists and businesses.
- Limitations arising from people's ability to recall experiences of crime have been noted in methodological studies of large scale victimisation surveys carried out in the United States and the United Kingdom. These have found that 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; and forget a relevant incident altogether.⁵

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).⁶ 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."⁷ This is relevant to the ISS city victim surveys, which sought information on a selection of serious crimes, and is probably one of the reasons for the high murder rates recorded by the city surveys. This is one example of why comparisons between victim surveys and police statistics should be approached with caution. Others are discussed next.

COMPARISONS WITH POLICE STATISTICS

The data on crime provided by victim surveys should be seen as complementary to those recorded by the police. While the two sets of information measure various aspects of crime which are not always directly comparable, both provide important perspectives on the nature of crime.

Comparing police and victim survey data is complicated by:

- *Different boundaries*: Local government boundaries generally do not coincide with police station boundaries in South Africa, which makes comparisons across specific geographical areas difficult.
- *Varying definitions of crime types*: While definitions of incidents vary, interviewers applied broad police classifications for the following crime types covered in the city victim survey: 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 issues are less of a problem than they may seem at the outset. In the UK, where a national victim survey has been carried out six times since 1982 (covering nearly 16 500 people in the 1996 survey), analyses have shown that "*for many offences police and public definitions coincide.*" Disagreement is most likely to occur in respect of less serious incidents, such as those whose definition depends on

moral judgements (such as some sexual incidents), and those for which there is most discretion for taking legal action.⁸ Victim surveys have generally been found to count a broader set of incidents than police statistics, although this is less likely in the Pretoria survey, which was limited to eight types of serious crime.

- *Unreported and unrecorded crime*: Not all crimes are reported by the public to the police. In Pretoria, for example, 27 per cent of all crimes recorded by the victim survey were not reported. This proportion, however, varies across crime types: the police are notified of almost all car hijackings, for example, but few muggings. Because victim surveys capture incidents which may not have been reported to the authorities, crime levels for some categories of crime are likely to be higher than in police statistics.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Bearing in mind the difficulties of victim surveys generally and the need for gathering information which complements police crime statistics, the methodology of the city surveys required careful consideration. The Pretoria victim survey was initiated to gain an understanding of the levels of crime and violence in different communities within the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (GPMC). 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 Pretoria metropolitan area;
- the development of broad profiles of the defined constituents, including some select demographic statistics such as age, gender, vocation and place of work and study;
- the identification of the ratio of victims to non-victims of crime by race and residential areas; and
- the development of the necessary sampling formulae to accommodate this.

The administration of interviews in an uncontrolled environment, such as on the street, at nodal interchanges and in other public spaces such as places of welfare, is unique to the street survey methodology. This is a significant departure from typical crime surveys that rely either on face-to-face interviews in a controlled environment, or on postal surveys. Such surveys have advantages, but are both expensive and time consuming to administer. Given the financial constraints of the project, it was decided to conduct a survey based on a street sample instead. This methodology had been applied in similar studies conducted by the ISS and DRA Development in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.⁹ This resulted in the calculated application of a more refined research methodology as the surveys proceeded in each metropolis. Careful planning was required to establish the sample mix and sample points. This was done in a number of stages.

Stage 1

From the outset, it was decided that the survey results should be analysed categorically by race, gender, age and residential settlement type. A departure from the Durban and Johannesburg surveys included the separation of the grid questionnaire (which provided a profile of both victims and non-victims in the metropolis by age, gender, race, residential area, crime type, victimisation level, as well as repeat victimisation and multiple victimisation) for determining victim ratios (no sexual crimes were included in the grid).

In this scan survey, 2 548 people were approached in forty different areas across the Pretoria metropolitan area. In each sampling node, approximately 64 respondents were approached in four age categories, half of which were male and half female. 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.

In the more detailed experience and perception of crime survey, 2 064 people were approached. In this survey, 45 sampling nodes were selected. Variables for analysis were applied similar to those in the grid survey, namely race, gender, age and type of residential settlement.

Stage 2

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

To target the correct types of sample areas, at least one sample point was selected to represent each residential generic typology. In order to ensure that the selected sample points covered the entire metropolis, and that all residential generic typologies were represented, a total of forty primary sample points were identified for the grid survey. Another 45 primary sample points were identified for the detailed survey. Primary sample points were suburbs, townships, the inner city, or informal settlements.

Within each primary sample point, a number of secondary points were selected where interviews would be conducted. At least five secondary points were identified in each primary sample point. Secondary points included:

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

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

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

Finally, in order to limit any selection bias, the number of interviews conducted at each secondary sample point was restricted by both time-delay and locality factors.

Stage 3

The questionnaire was refined through the experiences and results of the Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town city victim surveys. 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. During the pilot survey, forty questionnaires were administered. The length of the Pretoria survey was marginally longer at twenty minutes than those in the other cities, due to the addition of gang, alcohol and drug-related questions. Respondents clearly wanted to speak about their experiences, and the longer than standard questionnaire did not reduce the response rate. On the contrary, fieldworkers often had difficulty in terminating interviews.

As with previous findings, the Pretoria survey 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.

The successive city studies 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's of DRA Development, the survey company, and the Institute for Security Studies.

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.

Interviews were conducted at specific times throughout the day to ensure that the views of a broad cross-section of people, including those coming from (and going to) work, and students were captured. In some cases where the sample target of older people (over 60 years) was not realised on the street, interviews were conducted indoors.

Stage 4

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

Stage 5

In the scan survey, a total of 2 547 interviews were undertaken between 27 April and 17 May 1998 (Table 1).

Table 1: Survey sample

	Sample	Victims	Non-victims
Gender			
Male	1 431	801	630
Female	1 116	591	525
Race			
African	1 532	893	639
White	871	432	439
Asian	57	33	24
Coloured	87	34	53
Age			
15-24	460	251	209
25-39	1 032	594	438
40-59	758	411	347
60+	297	36	261
TOTAL	2 547	1 392	1 155

THE EXTENT OF CRIME

Part of South Africa's economic heartland, and the country's administrative capital, the city of Pretoria in the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council area is located approximately sixty kilometres from Johannesburg in Gauteng. It houses 21 per cent of the province's population and is responsible for 13 per cent of South Africa's gross geographical product.¹⁰

The population of Greater Pretoria was estimated in 1996 at 1,48 million. The annual population growth rate was 3,8 per cent between 1970-1996, with higher levels in some parts of the metropolitan area. Soshanguve township, for example, doubled its population in the last five years reaching approximately 400 000 in 1996. In total, 56 per cent of the dwelling units in the area are formal houses, 26 per cent are informal and 18 per cent consist of flats.

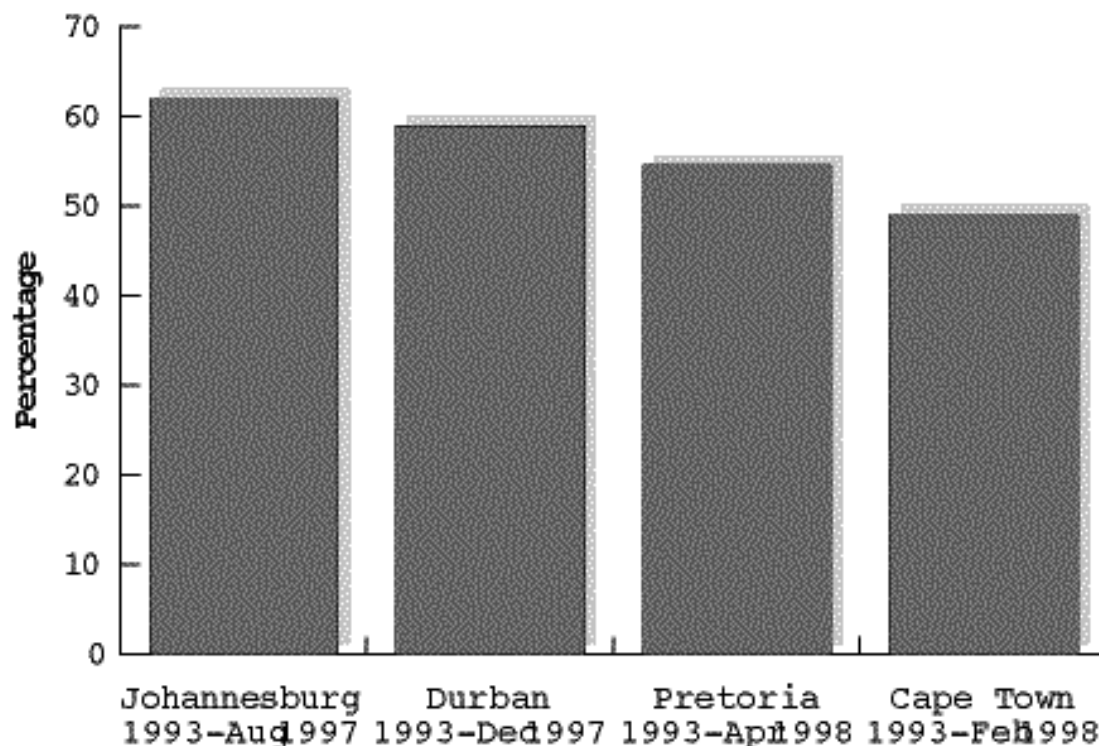
The city has been regarded for some time as the safest in the country, based on available police crime statistics. The results of the Pretoria city victim survey analysed below, more accurately describe the extent and nature of crime in the metropolitan area.

Respondents in Pretoria were asked whether they, or members of their household in the case of certain crimes such as murder and vehicle theft, had been victims of crime between 1993 and the time when the interview was conducted. The survey allowed for eight categories of serious crimes: burglary, car theft, car hijacking, mugging and robbery, assault, sexual assault (including rape and other violent physical incidents), sexual harassment, and murder. Respondents were also asked whether they had been victims of any other crime. Offences such as less serious personal thefts were captured in this category. Given the focus on serious crime in the city surveys, this category of crimes remained small and is not discussed here.

Crime levels: 1993 – April 1998

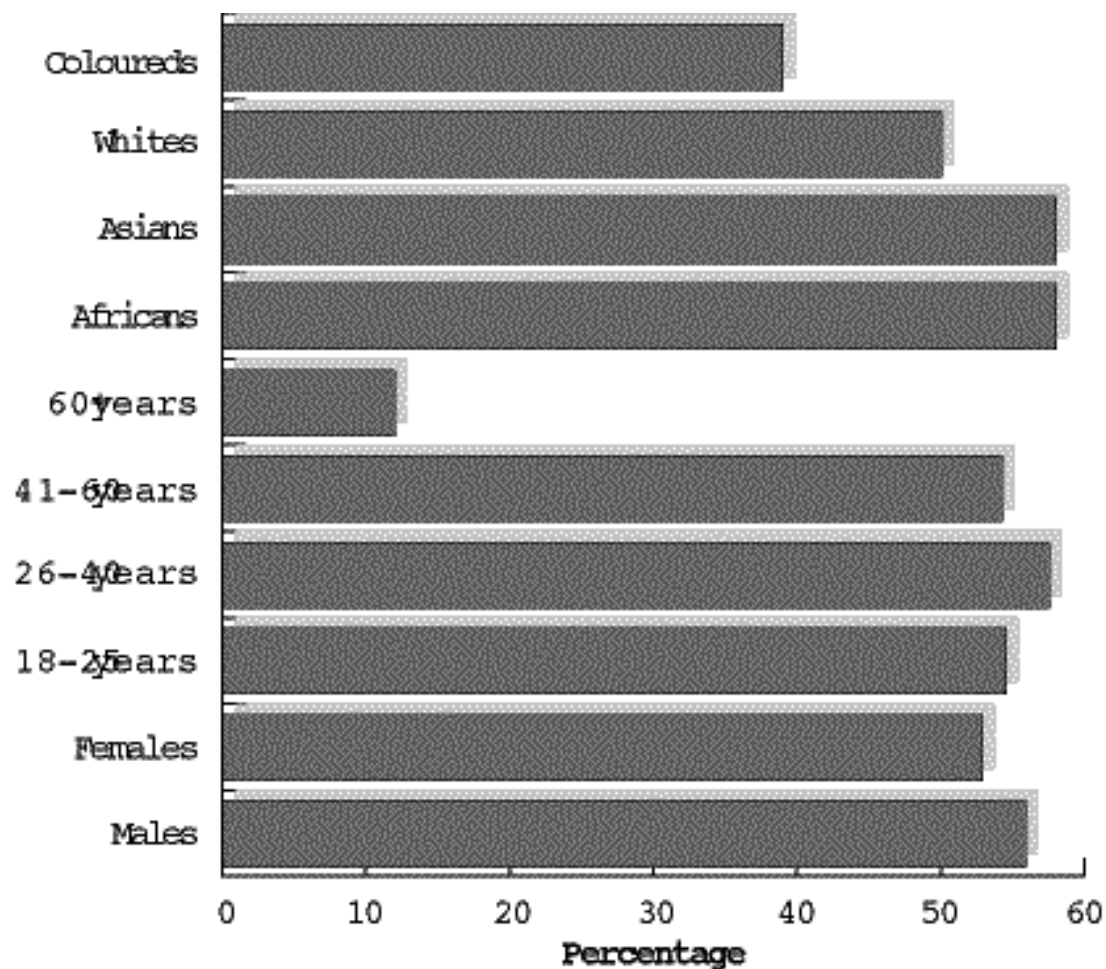
According to the victim survey, 54,6 per cent of people living in the Pretoria metropolitan area were the victims of at least one crime between 1993 and April 1998. This represents a higher overall victimisation rate than that recorded in the Cape Town city survey (49 per cent) but lower than rates in Durban (59 per cent) and Johannesburg (62 per cent) (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Overall victimisation levels in four cities
ISS victim surveys



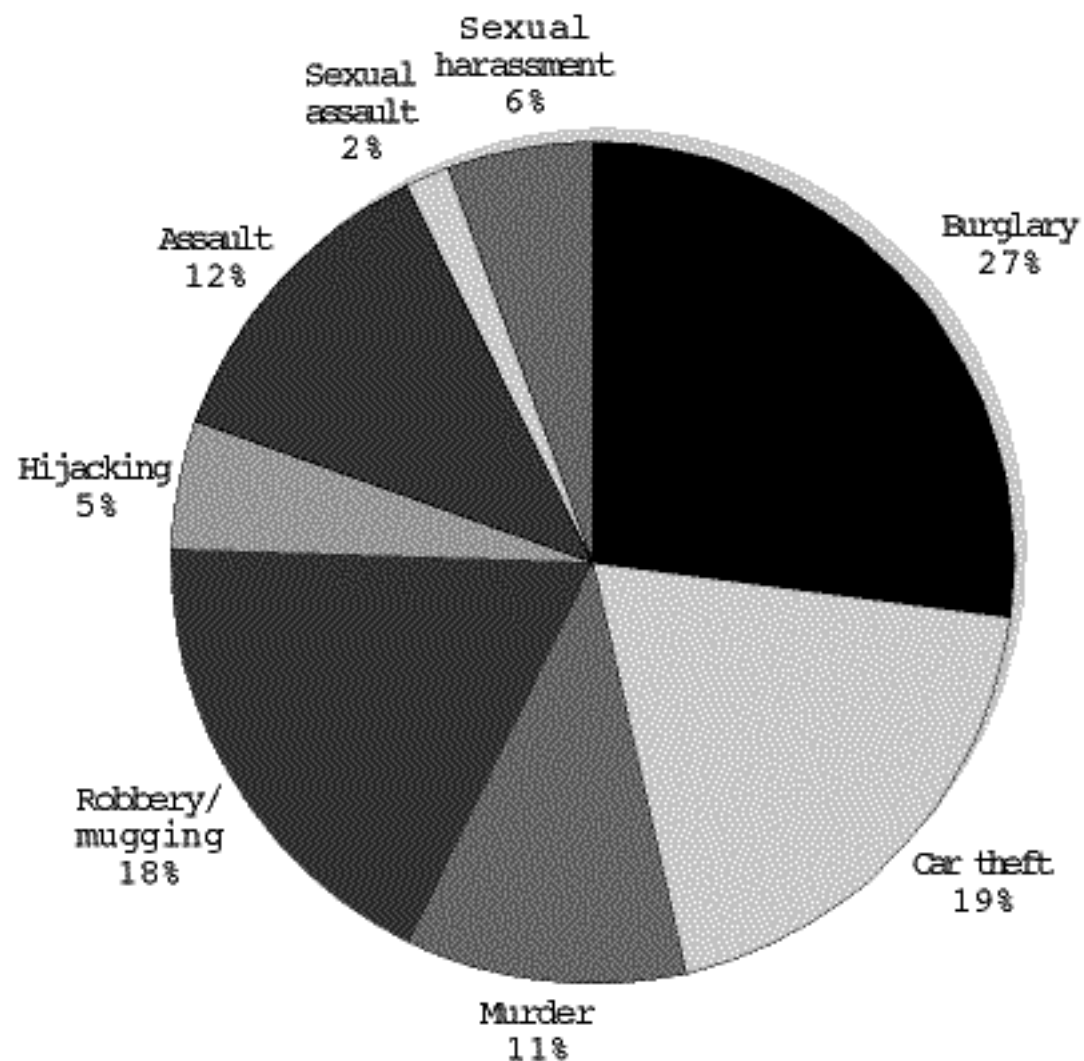
The overall victimisation rate – which counts all crime types together – provides a first perspective on who is most at risk in Pretoria according to their age, race and gender. Africans and Asians, each with overall victimisation ratios of 58 per cent – were more likely than whites (50 per cent) and coloureds (39 per cent) to have been victims of crime. Men, as well as people between the ages of 25 and 39 years were also more at risk. People over the age of 60 years – who often fear crime more than anyone else – were least likely to have been victims. Only 12 per cent of this age category experienced a crime over the survey period (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Proportion of people within each subsample who were victimised in Pretoria (all crime types)



The risk of becoming a victim varies not only according to the socio-demographics of the population, but also according to crime type. Results suggest that people have more chance of victimisation by violent than by property crimes in Pretoria. Of all the crimes which people said happened to them, just over half (54 per cent) involved violence (murder, robbery/mugging, assault, car hijacking, sexual harassment and sexual assault), and 46 per cent were non-violent property crimes (burglary and car theft) (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Proportion of crimes in different categories reported to the Pretoria survey, 1993



April 1998

A similar distribution between property and violent crimes was evident in the Johannesburg metropolitan area, according to the city victim survey conducted there in 1997.¹¹ In developed countries, however, victim surveys usually reveal far lower levels of violent crime than is the case in South African cities. The British Crime Survey estimated that, in 1995, only 21 per cent of crime in Britain was violent (this category includes common assaults, 'wounding' and robbery but excludes murder).¹²

Of all the crimes that were recorded in Pretoria, the single most common type was burglary (27 per cent of all crimes), followed by vehicle theft (19 per cent). The violent crime that people reported most often to the survey was robbery, followed by assault. This distribution of crime types is comparable with that in the other metropolitan areas of South Africa. In Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, burglary was the most common crime reported to the victim surveys. In Pretoria, a larger proportion of car theft was recorded than in the other cities. In other metropolitan areas, more assault and mugging were generally recorded than in Pretoria.

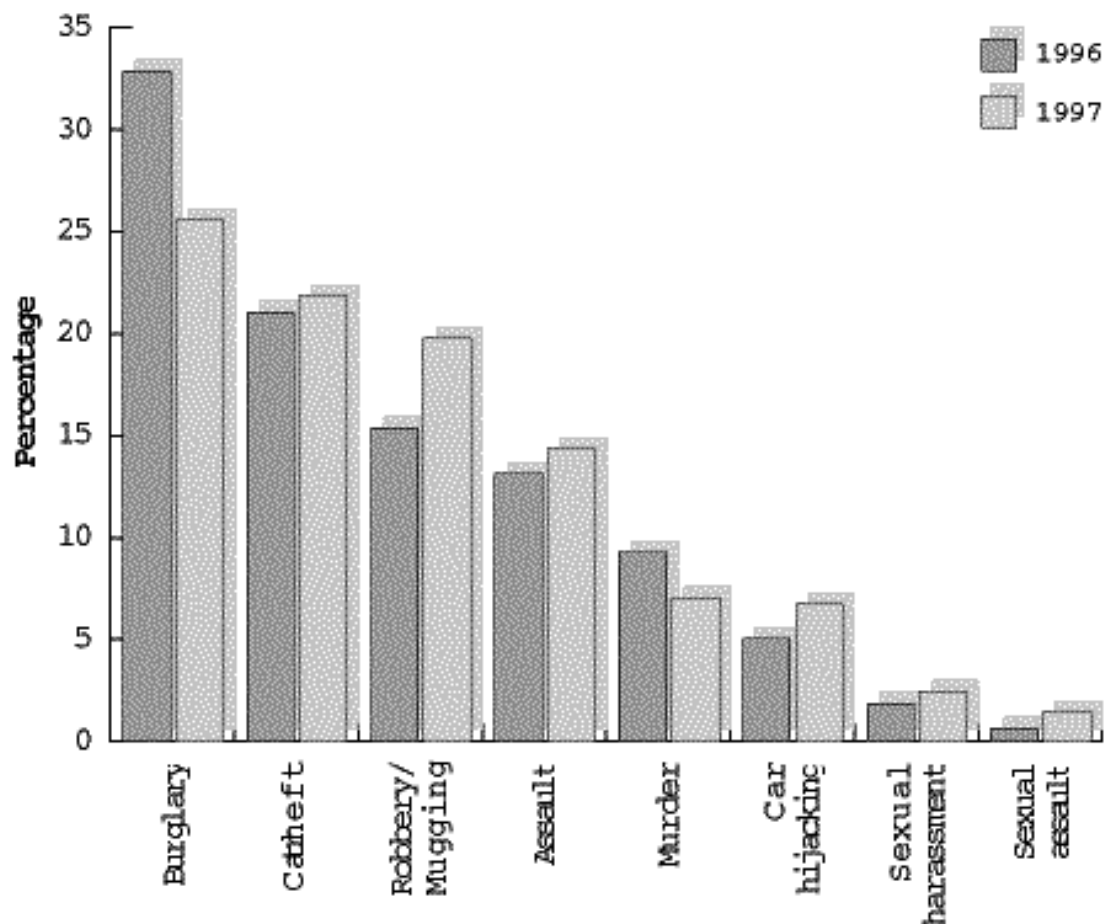
As in other city victim surveys, the number of murders reported to the survey was exceptionally high (11 per cent of all crime, which equals the proportion of assault). This is probably the result of overreporting. Respondents were asked whether a member of their household had been murdered since 1993. Given the seriousness of murder, the extended nature of many urban South African households, as well as migrancy which links urban and rural families, respondents in all likelihood, related murders that happened to people living beyond their immediate homes, and possibly even outside the survey period.

The extent of murder reported to the victim survey should not be regarded as an accurate reflection of the situation in Pretoria. Nevertheless, the attitudes of those reporting the incidents to the survey remain important. The needs of these people as 'victims' must be regarded in the same way as those who have survived other violent crimes, if the criminal justice system is to function effectively in prosecuting offenders and providing support to survivors.

Crime levels: 1996 and 1997

In broad terms, the distribution of crime types described above has remained constant over time in Pretoria. A comparison between the crimes which victims said occurred in 1996 and 1997 shows a decrease in burglary over that period from 32 per cent of the total in 1996 to 25,6 per cent in 1997. Murder decreased from 9,3 per cent in 1996 to 7 per cent in 1997. Vehicle theft remained fairly constant over the two year period at 21 of all crimes. All other categories of crime increased as a proportion of the total between 1996 and 1997 (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Distribution of crime types reported in 1996 and 1997 to the survey



This suggests that there has been an increase in crime involving violence (as compared with property crime) between 1996 and 1997 in Pretoria. In addition, more actual crimes were reported as having occurred in 1997. In that year, 588 crimes were reported to the victim survey compared with 407 in 1996. Although changing crime levels are more accurately reflected by conducting separate victim surveys at regular time periods (i.e. one in 1996 and another in 1997), these figures indicate that more crime happened during 1997 than during 1996, to those people interviewed for the survey. Trends in police statistics for this period are not dissimilar. They indicate increases in almost all categories of serious crime; the only offences which declined between 1996 and 1997 in the Pretoria police area were burglary of business and residential premises.¹³

REPORTING TO THE POLICE

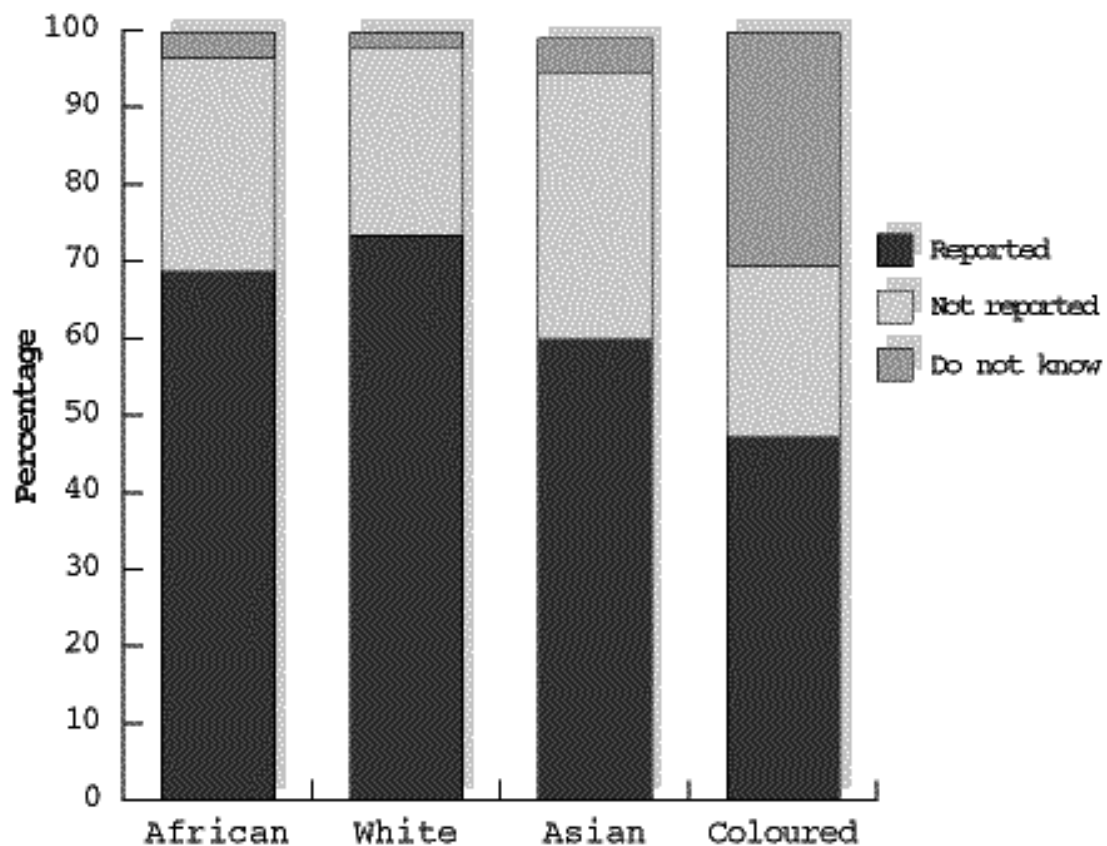
One of the key reasons for variations between the data presented by victim surveys and those of the police, is that the surveys capture crimes which the public do not report, as well as those which the police do not record. By measuring the extent of unreported crime, the reasons for not reporting, as well as victims' satisfaction with the police service during this process, victim surveys provide critical information about the functioning of the criminal justice system. This information is important not only for assessing the efficiency of police service delivery, but also to enable the police to plan operations in a way that reduces crime: "*[Crimes that are] reported will largely determine the nature and size of the police workload, since the vast majority of offences remain outside the scope of action by the police unless notified by victims.*"¹⁴

The majority of crimes (69 per cent) covered by the Pretoria victim survey were reported to the police. While this has been the trend across all cities surveyed by the ISS, overall reporting levels in Pretoria were higher than in the other metropolitan areas. In Johannesburg, for example, 61,5 per cent of people said they reported their most recent experiences of crime to the police.

Despite South Africa's history of poor relations between the police and the majority of the population, as well as dramatically uneven resource distribution between white and black communities, these reporting rates are remarkably consistent with those in other countries. The British Crime Survey recorded a reporting rate of 67 per cent for serious offences (of the kind that are covered in the Pretoria city survey). This rate is similar to that in the US national crime survey, and higher than in many other countries according to the International Crime Victim Survey.¹⁵

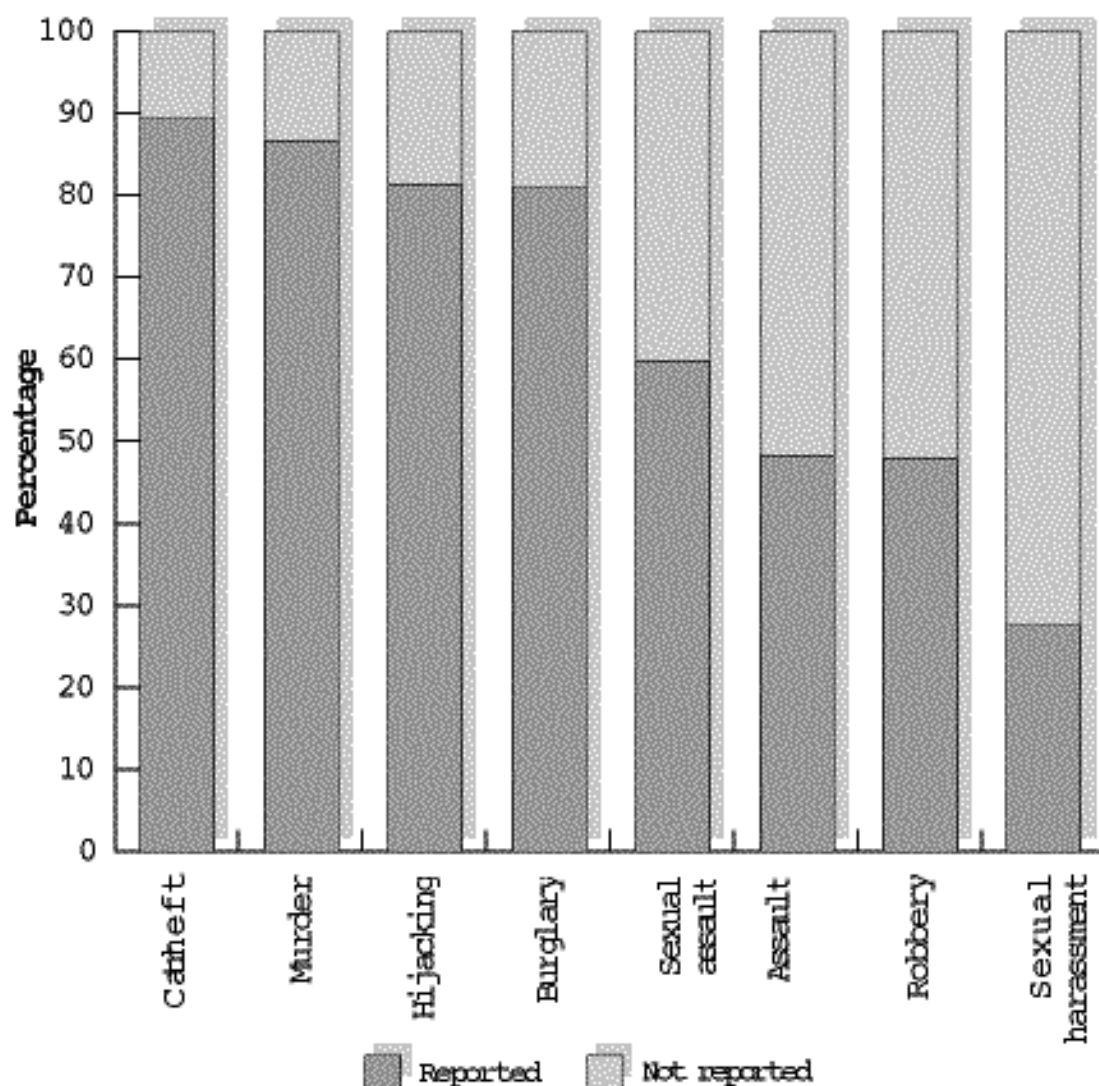
Whether or not people notify the police of offences depends on several factors, and reporting rates vary as a result among different sectors of society. In Pretoria, 73 per cent of white people reported incidents that happened to them – making them the group most likely to do so. Fewer Africans notified the police (69 per cent), with only 47 per cent of coloureds saying crimes that happened to them were reported (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Proportion of people who reported their most recent experience of crime (all categories) to the police



Reporting rates also vary substantially for different crime types. In Pretoria – as indeed elsewhere – certain crimes against property are frequently brought to the police’s attention. In the case of car theft and hijacking, 89 per cent and 81 per cent of these offences, respectively, were reported to the police (Figure 7). Less serious crimes aimed at property (such as mugging), as well as violent crime (such as assault), are seldom reported, however. Only 48 per cent of mugging and robbery incidents and an equal proportion of assaults were brought to the police’s attention. Sexual harassment was least likely to be reported, with only 28 per cent of people saying that they notified the police.

Figure 7: Proportion of particular crime victims who reported their most recent experience to the police

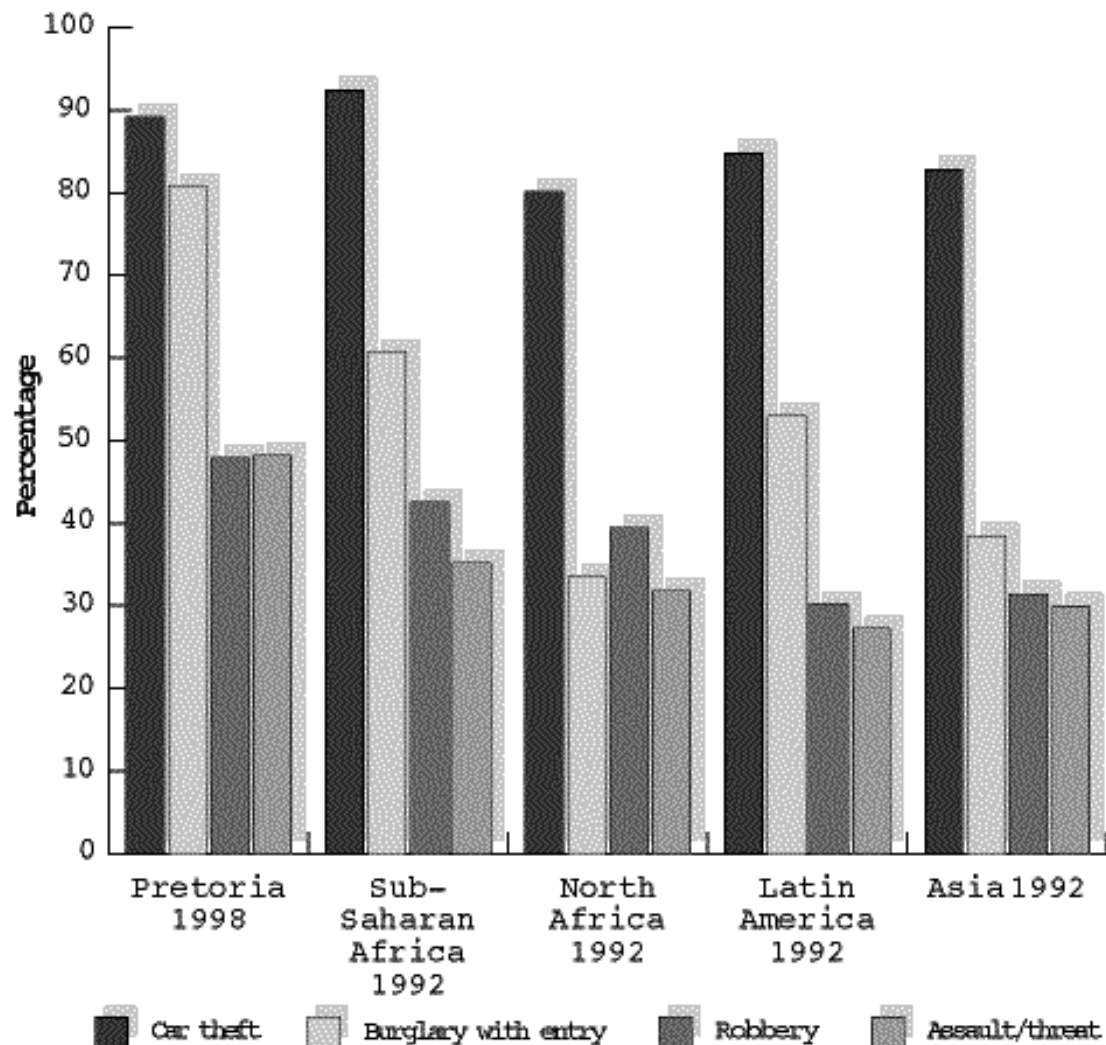


Again, reporting rates for particular crimes are consistent with those documented elsewhere – indeed, in some cases reporting levels are higher in Pretoria than in other places. In the UK, 97 per cent of vehicle thefts and 84 per cent of burglaries with loss, are reported. At 57 per cent, more robberies are reported in that country than in Pretoria,¹⁶ although reporting rates of ‘wounding’ and ‘common assault’ – which can be compared with ‘assault’ in the Pretoria survey were similar: 34 per cent of common assaults and 39 per cent of woundings were brought to the police’s attention in the UK, compared with 48 per cent of assault cases in Pretoria.¹⁷

Comparisons with other developing countries show consistently lower reporting ratios in particular cities than those recorded in Pretoria. Victim surveys in Latin American and Asian cities showed that 85 per cent and 83 per cent of car thefts, respectively, were reported (compared with 89 per cent in Pretoria).¹⁸ In the case of other crimes, reporting levels were much lower than in Pretoria: for burglary with entry, the comparable proportions in Latin American and Asian cities were 53 per cent and 39 per cent (81 per cent in Pretoria); 30 per cent and 31,5 per cent of robberies, respectively (48 per

cent in Pretoria) and 27 per cent and 30 per cent of assaults, respectively (48 per cent in Pretoria) (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Reporting rates in cities of the developing world, Pretoria victim survey & IC (V) S



Factors influencing reporting

Whether or not victims report crimes to the police generally depends on several factors:

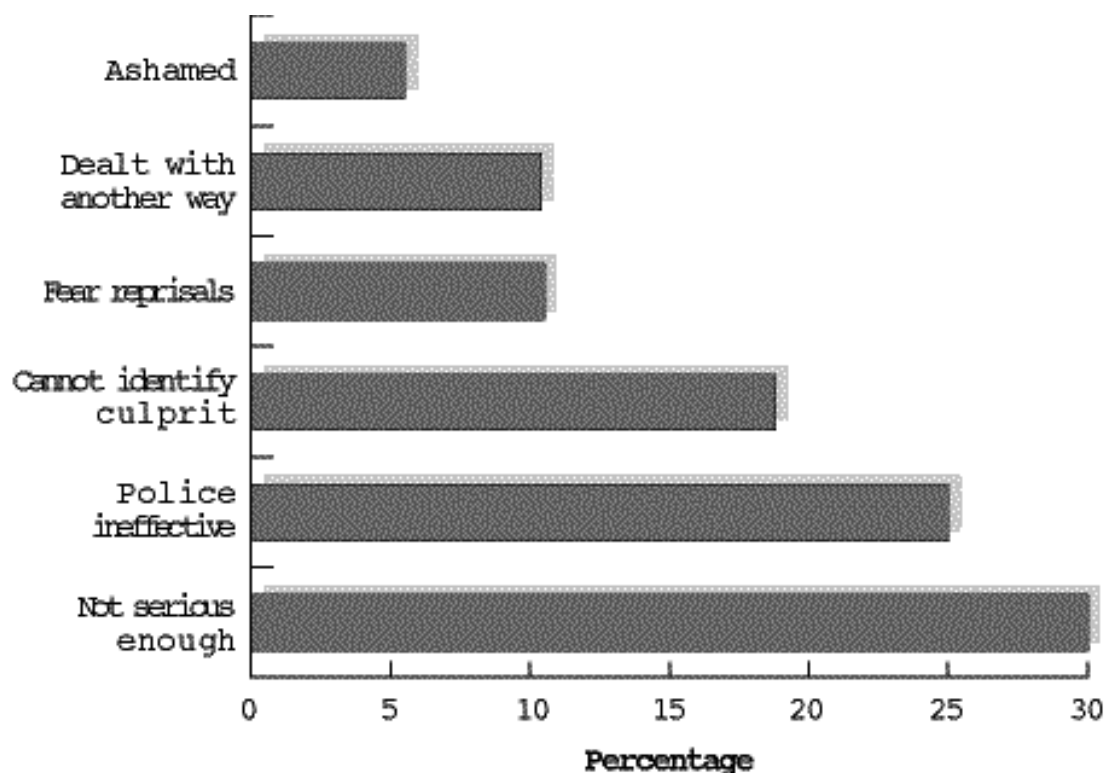
- *The nature of the offence:* In particular, victims' will decide whether to report based on the seriousness of the event. This decision will be affected by other factors such as the value of the stolen items and whether they are easily retrieved or replaced; how easily the nearest police station can be accessed in terms of distance, roads, telephones and transport; and a lack of evidence, which may influence a victim's assessment of whether the crime itself is serious enough to warrant reporting.

- *Perceptions of the police and criminal justice system:* A negative attitude towards the police, as well as the anticipated outcome once a crime has been reported, influence the victim's decision to notify the authorities. This includes the way police treat victims in the charge office; handle reports and consequently act (the perceptions of victims in Pretoria about such issues are considered in detail below), as well as the nature of procedures in court. This has been found to be significant for victims of violent crimes in particular.¹⁹
- *Access to solutions beyond law enforcement and criminal justice:* If victims believe they can resolve the incident in one way or another through the assistance of family, friends, victim support agencies, private security organisations (including services such as the Netstar vehicle tracking system), or self-help (including vigilante) activities, they will be less inclined to report incidents to the police.
- *Fear of reprisals:* Victims may be reluctant to report crimes, particularly if the offender is known to them, for fear that they will be intimidated or 'silenced'. This is particularly a problem when witness protection is poorly developed or ineffectual, as well as in close-knit communities.

Comparative victim surveys – in both developed and developing countries – conclude that the main reason given by victims for not reporting related to the event itself. Most often, the event was not serious enough, followed by negative views of the police's ability to do much about the offence.²⁰

In the Pretoria city victim survey, similar explanations were given by victims of crime for not reporting to the police. Of those who gave reasons, the most common responses were that the crime was not serious enough (30 per cent) and that the police were ineffective (25 per cent). Nineteen per cent of victims thought it was no use, since they could not identify the culprit. Few people said they feared the consequences, or that they had found other solutions (which included reporting the incident to the local community police forum (CPF), private security company, or taking the law into their own hands) (Figure 9). Of interest, particularly given the shortage of policing resources in African townships, was that no victims said they could not get easy access to the police or that reporting was inconvenient.

Figure 9: Reasons for not reporting crime (all types) to police



Why victims choose to report (or not report) crime is complex. An analysis of fifty nations surveyed by the International Crime Victim Survey has shown that income level is the most important factor related to the reporting of crime, followed by the perceived seriousness of the event. Other relevant factors include age, level of education and gender.²¹ The British Crime Survey tested reporting levels against victims' own assessment of the seriousness of particular crimes. The conclusion was that, while seriousness is the main issue, mediating factors include self-interest, (such as wanting to make insurance claims and recover property), expectations of the police, and whether the victim knows the offender.²²

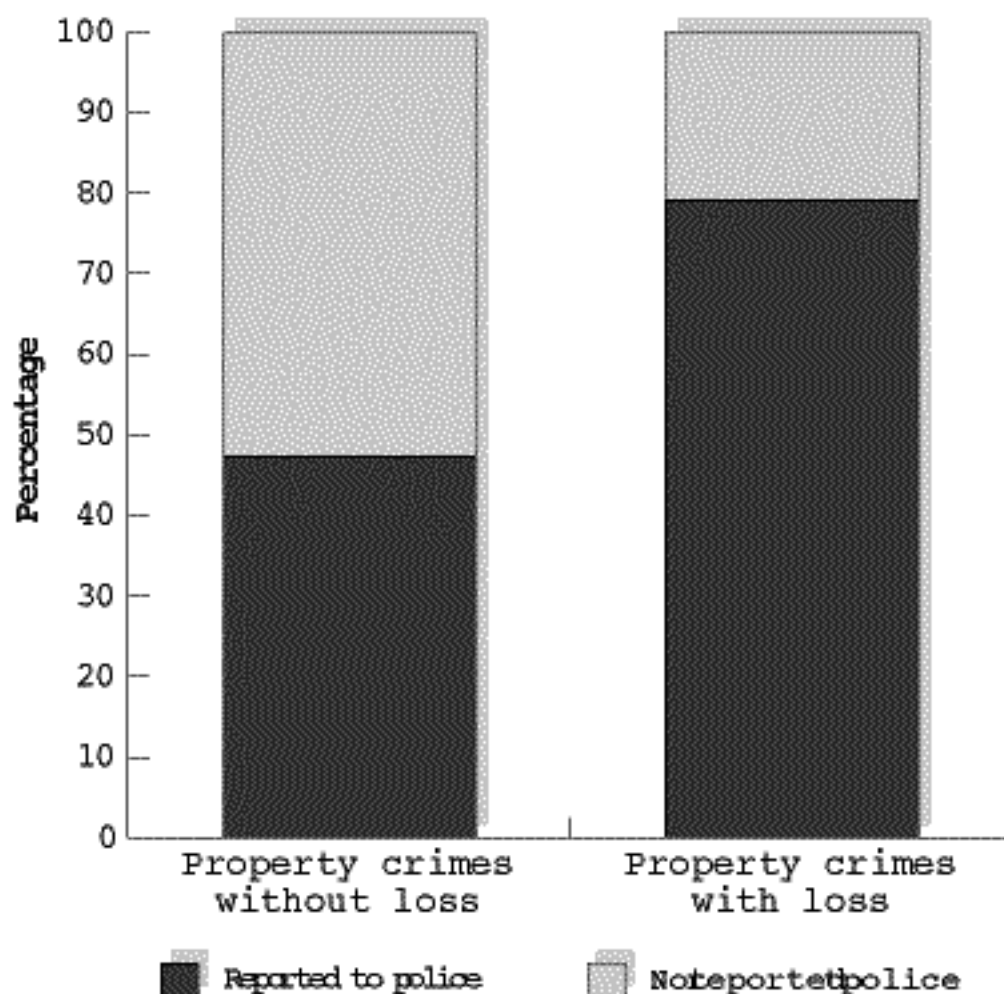
Insurance is regarded as a key factor influencing victims' decision to report a crime to the police. Trends in the insurance industry could therefore affect reporting. In the UK, patterns of insurance cover and claiming have changed over time: insurance coverage has fallen in those areas which experience high crime levels and among vulnerable groups who live there. Reasons include fears of premium increases, protecting a no-claims bonus, and avoiding paying a high 'excess' upon making a claim.²³

Since many people interviewed in Pretoria did not have insurance, changes in insurance trends in future could affect crime levels recorded by the police. The victim survey found that less than half (45 per cent) of the victims of crimes aimed at property (car theft, hijacking, burglary and robbery) said they had insurance. Access to insurance is limited to those who can afford it: of those people living in townships in Pretoria, only 15 per cent said their property was covered, compared with 63 per cent of people living in suburbs.

However, the influence of insurance on reporting should not be overstated. In Pretoria, of those victims of car theft, hijacking, burglary and robbery/mugging whose property was covered by insurance, 84 per cent reported the incident to the police. But a significant proportion of people who did not have insurance also reported, namely 68 per cent. Insurance does not therefore appear to be a key factor influencing the reporting of property crimes as a whole in Pretoria.

The prospect of the police recovering stolen goods appears to provide a much greater incentive in reporting than does insurance. A significant factor in who reports and who does not, is whether property was actually stolen in the course of a crime. Of those victims who said property was stolen, 77 per cent reported the crime to the police, compared with only 45 per cent of those who said nothing was taken (Figure 10). More sophisticated analyses elsewhere suggest similar findings: the British Crime Survey asked direct questions about the link between reporting to the police and having insurance, and concluded that few victims report simply for the benefit of making an insurance claim, although many who do not claim insurance might report if they did claim.

Figure 10: Reporting levels by victims of property crimes in which goods were stolen



PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

If crime is to be reduced, it must be reported to the police so that appropriate action can be taken. As discussed above, reporting depends on several factors. Of these, the police-victim relationship is central. The general attitudes of the public towards the police, and the perceived effectiveness of the police and the courts in processing criminal cases, recovering property and convicting offenders, shapes the police-victim relationship. As such, this attitudinal information is essential for effective policing. As the main 'client' of the police, public opinion indicates what people want from the police and thus how their service could be improved.

The victim survey asked people in Pretoria about their experience when they reported crime to the police, as well as whether they thought the police were successfully controlling crime in their areas of residence. In each instance, respondents were asked to explain their attitudes towards police performance.

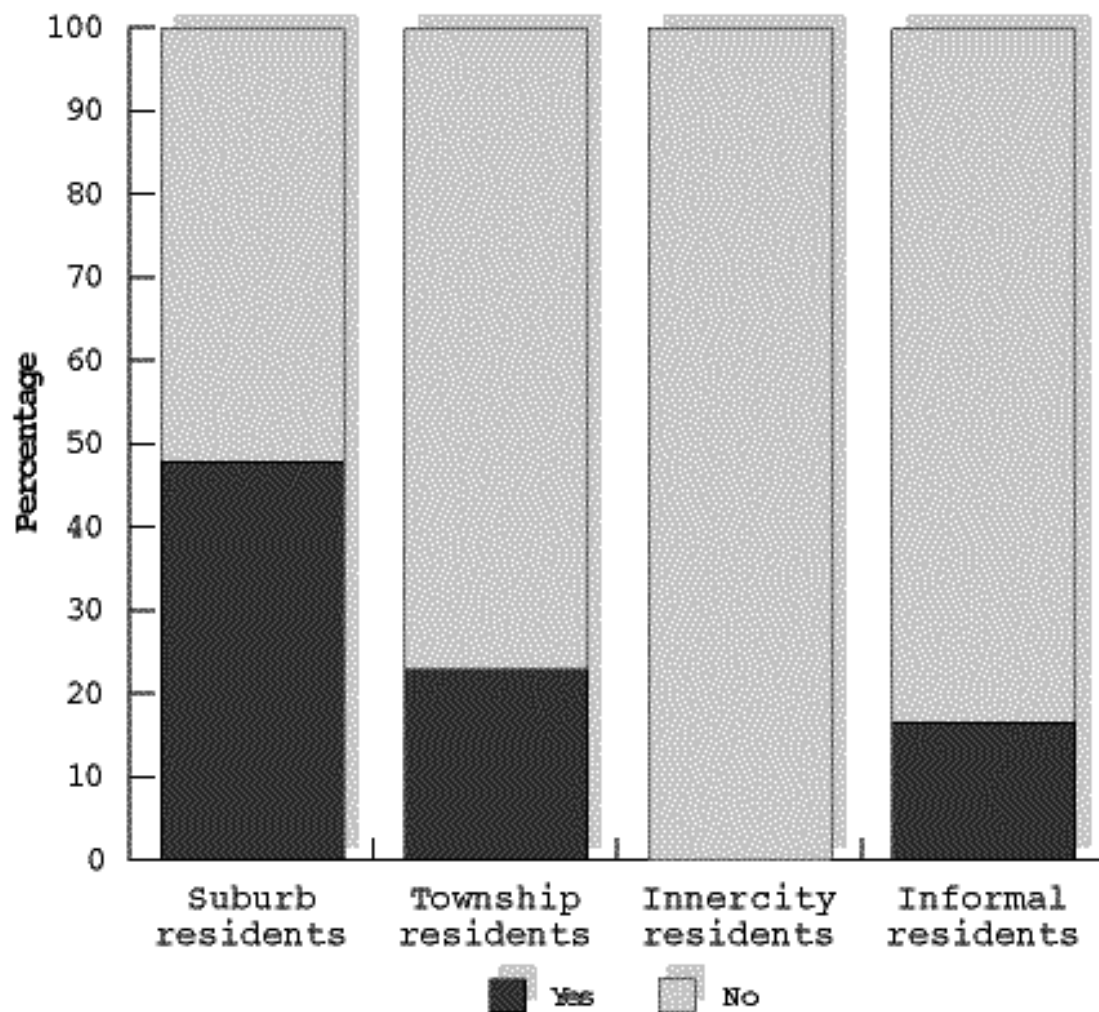
Satisfaction when reporting a crime

Victims were asked whether they were satisfied with the way the police dealt with their report. Few were: only 36 per cent of respondents had positive views of the police. Such high levels of dissatisfaction are not restricted to Pretoria, however. Similar views were recorded in the Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town city surveys. Even the International Crime Victim Survey found that globally, less than half of the victims who reported their cases to the police in 1996 were satisfied with the response, although satisfaction was much higher in Western countries than in developing countries.²⁴

While such generalisations suggest that the police are not regarded favourably around the world, the treatment of victims does vary according to who the victims are, where they live and the type of crime they report:

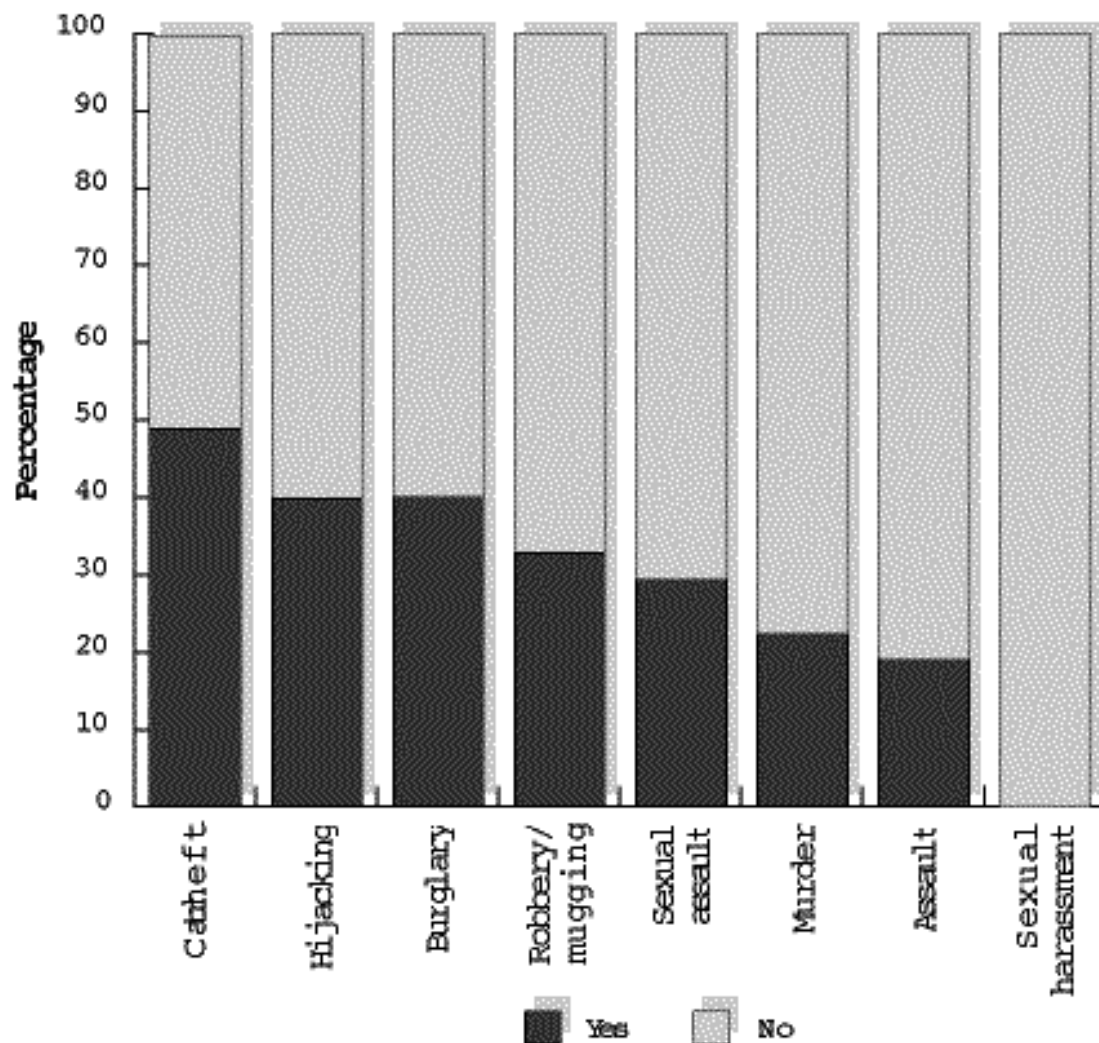
- In Pretoria, African victims were much more likely than white victims to be dissatisfied with the police. While 77 per cent of Africans were unhappy, less than half of white victims (45 per cent) shared this negative view of the police when reporting an offence. Opinions of the police also varied according to where victims live. Victims living in the suburbs (who are largely white) had more positive views of police performance after reporting a crime: 48 per cent were satisfied compared with only 23 per cent of those living in townships (who are largely African) (Figure 11). These trends, across categories of both race and residence, suggest that despite significant changes in the police since 1994, policing remains highly uneven in former white and black communities.

Figure 11: Satisfaction among city residents with police service when reporting a crime



- The police (and the public) do not treat reports of all crime types in the same way. Victims of property crimes in Pretoria who notified the police of the offences, were more satisfied with the service they received than victims of violent crimes (Figure 12). This suggests that the victims of serious crimes such as murder and rape, do not necessarily receive preferential treatment from the police. It is possible that the police concentrate on those crimes which will most likely be solved. Cases such as assault and rape are often more difficult for the police to pursue, since victims apparently frequently withdraw charges due to fear of reprisals, the sensitivity of such cases, and the fact that evidence is often harder to collect. Also, victims of violent crime are much more likely to be African, and also more likely to be dissatisfied with the service they received from the police when reporting crime.

Figure 12: Satisfaction among victims of particular crimes with police service when reporting an offence

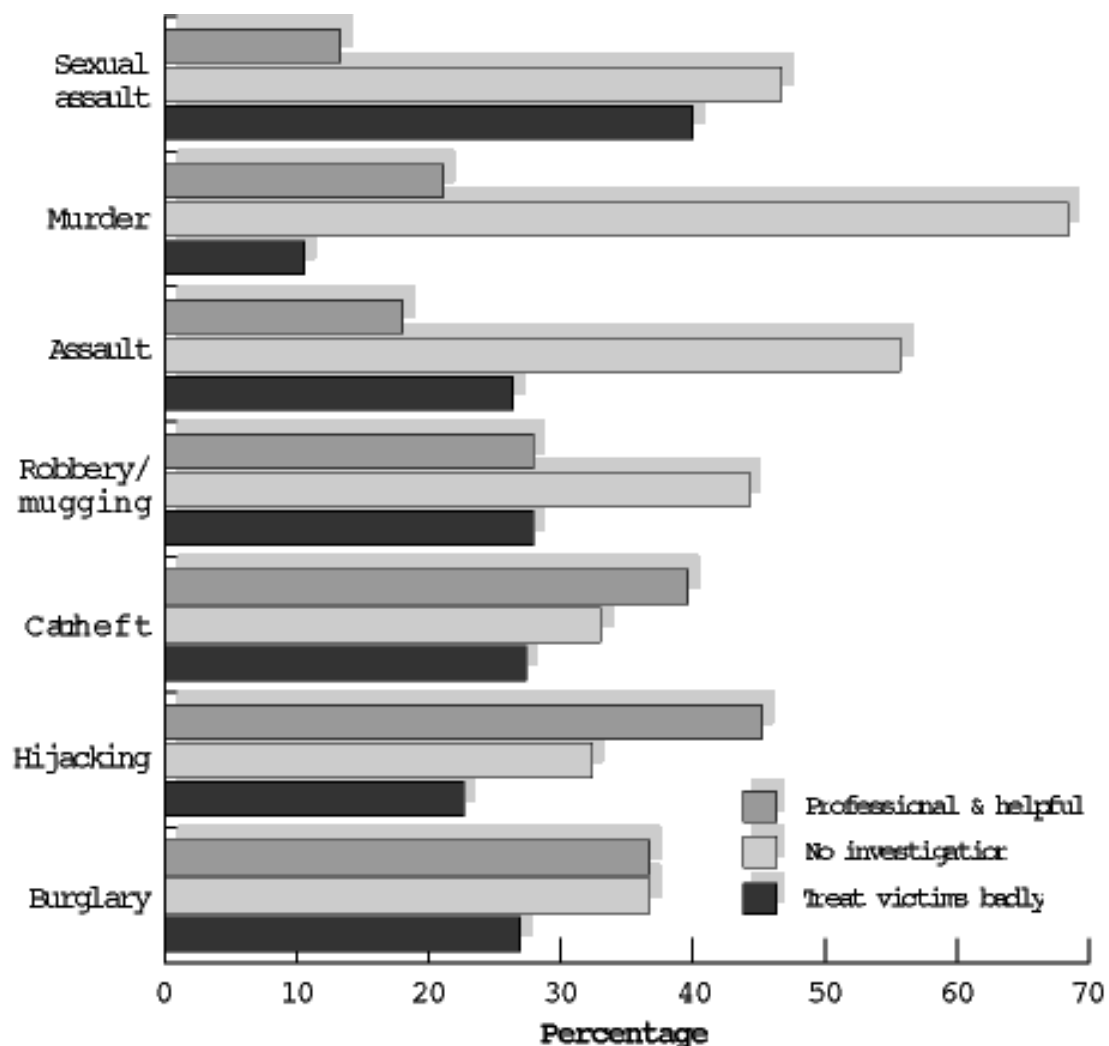


Victims' reasons for their dissatisfaction illustrate the main problems with the way the police respond to reports of crime. The most common complaint was that the police did not investigate the case (42 per cent). One-third of victims (accounting for those who were satisfied with the police response), said they received professional and helpful service. The remaining quarter said that the police were unprofessional in their treatment of victims, which includes point-of-contact behaviour, lack of follow-up and being unhelpful.

Views differed for victims living in different parts of Pretoria. Suburban residents were more likely to be positive about the police than people living elsewhere in the metropolitan area: 42 per cent of people in suburbs said the police were professional and helpful when they reported an offence. Only 20 per cent of township residents shared this view. Victims living in townships were generally less complimentary about the police. Most were concerned with the lack of investigation, which was mentioned by 54 per cent of victims in these areas. In comparison, only 35 per cent of people living in the suburbs raised this issue. A similar breakdown of negative and positive views of the police was recorded among white victims (who largely live in the suburbs) and African victims (who largely live in townships).

The varying responses of victims across crime types again suggest a link between satisfaction with the police and their ability to investigate a case. The victims of violent crimes, including murder, assault, and sexual assault, were much more likely to complain about the lack of investigation than victims of other crimes (Figure 13). Those who reported car theft and hijacking, by contrast, were most satisfied with the service they received from the police: 40 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively, responded positively. Not surprisingly, given the sensitivity of the crime and the generally poor state of police-victim relations in South Africa, 40 per cent of sexual assault victims said the police were unprofessional and treated victims badly. This problem is by far the most serious for these victims - far fewer complaints of this nature were made by the victims of other crime.

Figure 13: Perceptions of victims of particular crimes about police service when reporting an offence



Police performance in particular areas

The more accurate perceptions of the police are those based on actual experience, such as those gained by victims when reporting a crime (covered above). More general opinions are shaped by people's feelings of safety where

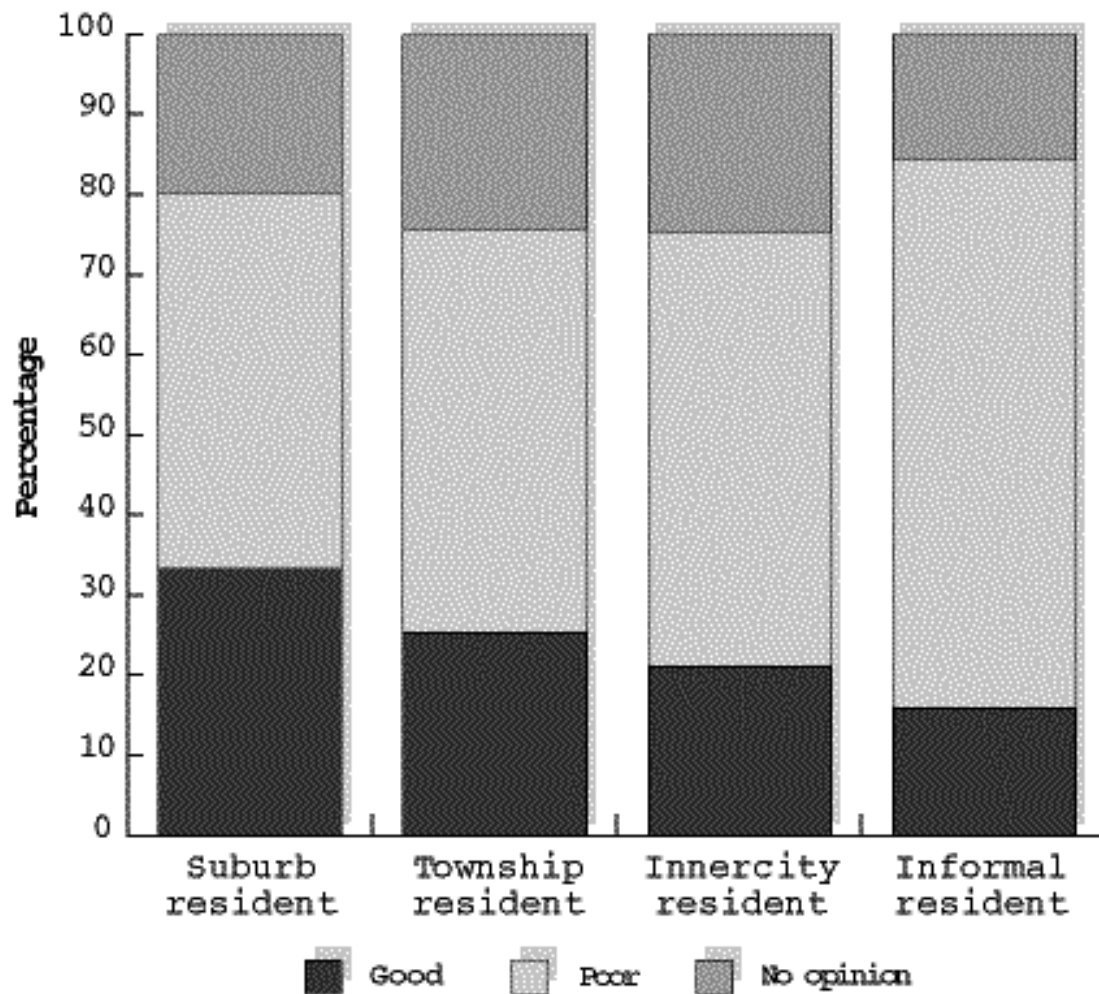
they live and work, as well as their assessment of the police's ability to provide safety and reduce crime. Not all these views are based on contact with the police - indeed questions were asked of both victims and non-victims. These perceptions are nevertheless important, since they indicate general levels of confidence in the police and the public's willingness to participate in and co-operate with the official channels of criminal justice.

When asked whether they thought the police were doing a good job at controlling crime in the area where they live, only 29 per cent of the people interviewed in Pretoria said 'yes'. Half of the respondents said the police were doing a poor job, and a significant proportion (21 per cent) had no opinion, which limits a definitive assessment of public opinion on the issue.

Although confidence in the police is low, more people in Pretoria think the police have crime under control (29 per cent) than do people in the other metropolitan areas of the country. In Cape Town, 23 per cent of people were of this opinion, while lower proportions were recorded in the Durban and Johannesburg victim surveys. In Pretoria, the opinions of victims (who are more likely to have had direct contact with the police), are less favourable than those of the general population: 25 per cent of victims said the police were doing a good job compared with 32 per cent of non-victims.

Confidence in the police's ability is generally low, but trends vary across the Pretoria metropolitan area. People living in the suburbs were more satisfied with police performance than those in other parts of the city: 33 per cent of people were positive about the police's ability to control crime in the suburbs. Less than a quarter of people living in the inner city, townships and informal settlements thought this applied to the areas where they live (Figure 14). This again suggests that the effectiveness of the police is uneven, largely as a result of uneven resource distribution between former white and black areas. Those living in parts of Pretoria formerly reserved for white people enjoy better service delivery from the police and a greater sense of safety than those in the former black townships and informal settlements. The ability of the police to make people feel safe in the inner city also appears limited.

Figure 14: Assessment of police performance in area of residence



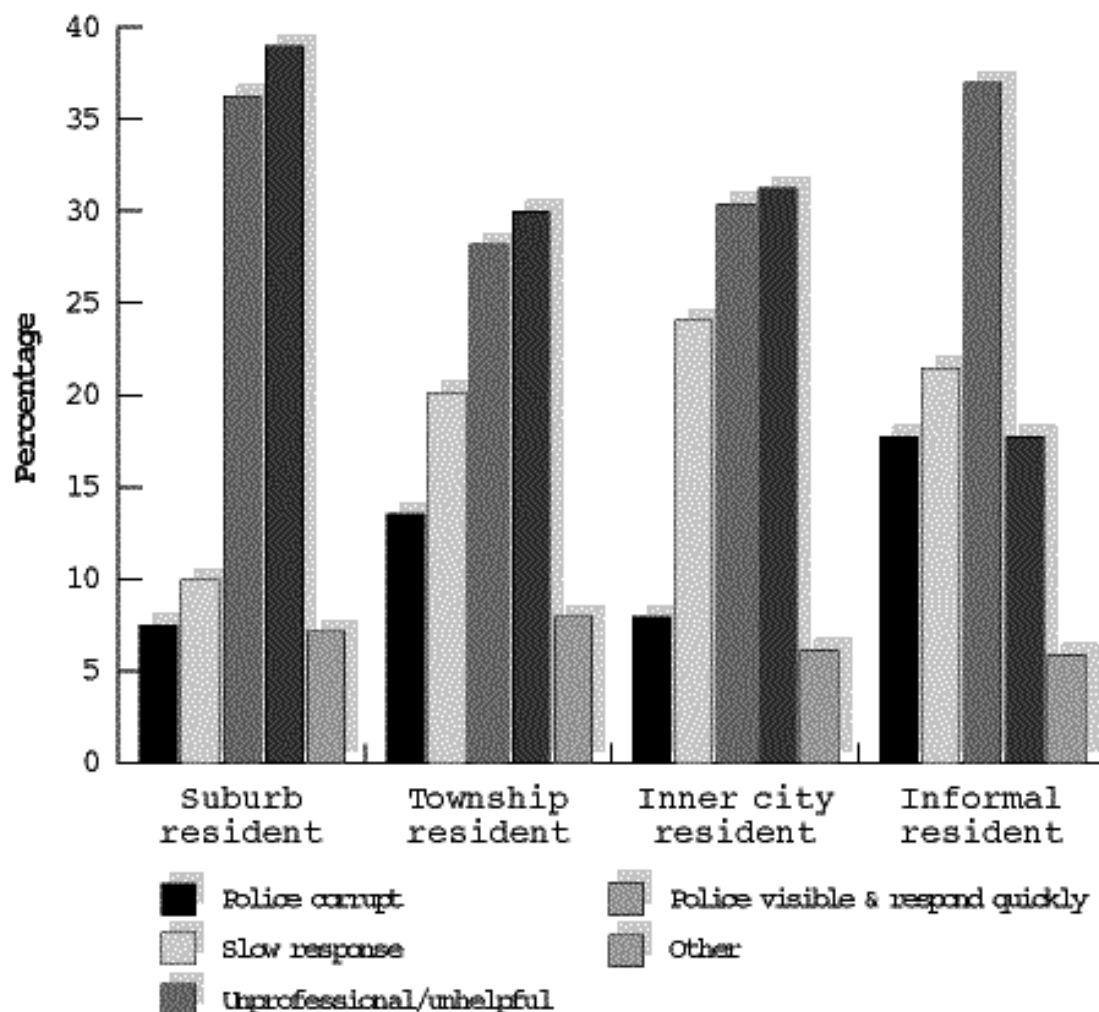
People were asked to explain their views on police performance. Negative attitudes were most commonly attributed to the police being unprofessional and having a poor attitude towards victims (34 per cent). Other reasons were that the police respond too slowly to calls and lack a visible presence (14 per cent). Few people - given police claims and media coverage around the issues - attributed the police's limited success to a lack of resources (4 per cent) or corruption (10 per cent).

Reasons for particular opinions about police performance are remarkably similar for victims and non-victims, with two exceptions. Victims of crime in Pretoria were more likely to think the police were unprofessional and treat victims badly (41 per cent) than were non-victims (29 per cent). They were also less inclined to say that the police were doing a good job by responding quickly to calls (27,5 per cent) than were non-victims (39 per cent). These variations may result from victims' actual experiences in dealing with the police.

People living in different parts of Pretoria also had different views on the nature of police performance in their areas. Those in informal settlements and townships were more inclined to think the police are corrupt than were residents of the inner city and suburbs. Eighteen per cent and 14 per cent of

people living in informal settlements and townships, respectively, gave this reason, compared with 7,5 per cent of people living in the suburbs (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Views of police performance in area of residence



Police response time and visibility are also likely to be poorer in townships, the inner city and informal settlements than in the suburbs. Between 20 per cent and 24 per cent of residents in these three areas said the police were slow to respond, compared with only 10 per cent of people living in the suburbs. Similarly, those in the suburbs were more likely to say the police were doing a good job because they were visible and responded quickly (39 per cent) than were informal settlement residents (18 per cent). Since few people thought the police are under-resourced, the data suggest that policing problems - according to the public - relate more to the management and allocation of resources, than with actual shortages.

CRIME PROFILE: VIOLENT CRIME

Definitions of violent crime, both in police statistics and victim surveys, generally refer to any crime in which the offender has some physical contact with the victim. These would include any robbery (including car hijacking), mugging, rape, assault and murder. For the purposes of this study, however, the crimes that will be considered in this 'violent crime' profile are assault, sexual assault and murder. The circumstances in which many of these crimes occur, are similar and the interventions to reduce their occurrence are likely to be related.

Car hijacking, which is traditionally considered to be 'violent', will be outlined in the 'vehicle crime' profile. Mugging/robbery, for similar reasons, will be profiled distinct from other crime types.

While sexual assault is included in this crime profile, detailed analyses of many of the circumstances around which these crimes occurred are prohibited by the small numbers of respondents in each category. As a result, levels of sexual assault will be discussed, but not the details of this crime category. (These are considered in more detail in the Addendum on sexual harassment and assault at the end of this report.) It has been recognised that crime surveys measure violent crimes less well than property crimes,²⁵ even though the violent crime estimates in the Pretoria city survey are far higher than those recorded by police statistics. Some violent crimes may not have been considered a crime, for example fights between young men in bars or shebeens. Domestic violence may either be overlooked as a crime, or may be too sensitive to disclose to interviewers in a survey. Indeed, violence in which the victim and offender are known to one another is least likely to be reported to a victim survey.

The following characteristics of violent crime will be considered:

- the levels of violent crime and a profile of who the victims are;
- when and where violent crime occurred;
- the circumstances in which the crimes were committed, including numbers of victims and offenders and their relationship; and
- the nature of the violence including weapons used and degree of injury.

The violent crimes were defined by the survey in the following way:

- *Assault* includes any incident in which the victim was personally attacked or hurt. This may have occurred in the home or elsewhere in public places, and may have been committed by someone known to the victim or by a stranger(s). Weapons may or may not have been used.
- *Murder* includes the deliberate killing of someone in the respondent's household or immediate family residing in the same house as the respondent.
- *Sexual* assault includes any action in which a woman is forced, either by threats or the use of force, to perform sexual acts against her will. These acts may include – but are not restricted to – sexual intercourse,

and can occur in the victim's home, someone else's home or a public place. The perpetrator may or may not be known to the victim.

Crime levels and victim profile

Between 1993 and April 1998, 499 violent incidents were reported to the Pretoria city survey. Of these, 246 were assaults (the majority of which happened in 1997), 219 were murders (most of which happened in 1995), and 34 were sexual assaults (Table 2).

Table 2: Number of violent crimes reported to the survey, 1993-April 1998

Year	Assault	Murder	Sexual assault
1993	6	19	5
1994	16	30	10
1995	23	58	1
1996	54	39	3
1997	86	42	9
Jan-April 1998	61	31	6
Total	246	219	34
% of total sample (n=2547)	9.6	8.5	% women sampled (n=904) 3.7

The comparatively high number of crimes that occurred, according to victims, in the first four months of 1998 probably reflects the reality to some extent, but also the phenomenon of 'telescoping' – a tendency in victim surveys for respondents to recall crimes as happening more recently than was actually the case.

Of the total of 2 547 people interviewed, one person in ten in the Pretoria metropolitan area was assaulted and 8,5 per cent said that a member of their household or immediate family was murdered. Of the 904 women who were surveyed, 3,7 per cent were sexually assaulted.

Table 2 suggests very high levels of murder in Pretoria. However, this figure (a trend consistent in other city surveys) is undoubtedly the result of overreporting. Respondents were asked whether a member of their household had been murdered over the past five years. Given the seriousness of murder (and thus people's willingness to discuss it), and the extended nature of many urban South African households, as well as migrancy which links urban and rural families, respondents in all likelihood related murders that happened to people living beyond their immediate homes, and possibly even outside of the five years survey period.

Of the people who reported violent crimes to the survey, the vast majority were African (86 per cent). Just under half (45 per cent) were between the ages of 26 and 40 years and 59 per cent were males. The figures reflected in Table 3 show the numbers of violent crime victims as a proportion of race, age and gender categories for the different types of violent crime.

Table 3: Profile of violent crime victims, 1993-April 1998

	Assault (n=246)	Murder (n=109)	Sexual assault	Total violent
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			(n=34)	crime
Race %				
African	87.9	88.0	67.6	86.3
White	9.7	10.0	32.3	11.8
Coloured	1.2	-	-	0.7
Asian	1.2	1.8	-	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age %				
18-25 yrs	20.2	32.6	23.5	23.3
26-40 yrs	44.1	49.5	44.1	44.7
41-60 yrs	32.4	15.8	29.4	27.2
60+ yrs	3.2	1.9	2.9	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Gender %				
Male	63.2	66.9	-	58.8
Female	36.8	31.1	100.0	40.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The murder figures used here reflect the demographics of actual murder victims as reported by members of their households to the survey.

Who is most at risk

The victim profile in Table 3 indicates some degree of risk associated with violent crime. Table 4 shows the risk for all adults in Pretoria of violent crime relative to other crime types. Of all those interviewed in Pretoria, Africans, people aged between 26 and 40 years and men were most at risk of violent crime.

An analysis of violent crime victimisation within the race, gender, age and settlement type subsamples provides more insight into the relative risk for various groups:

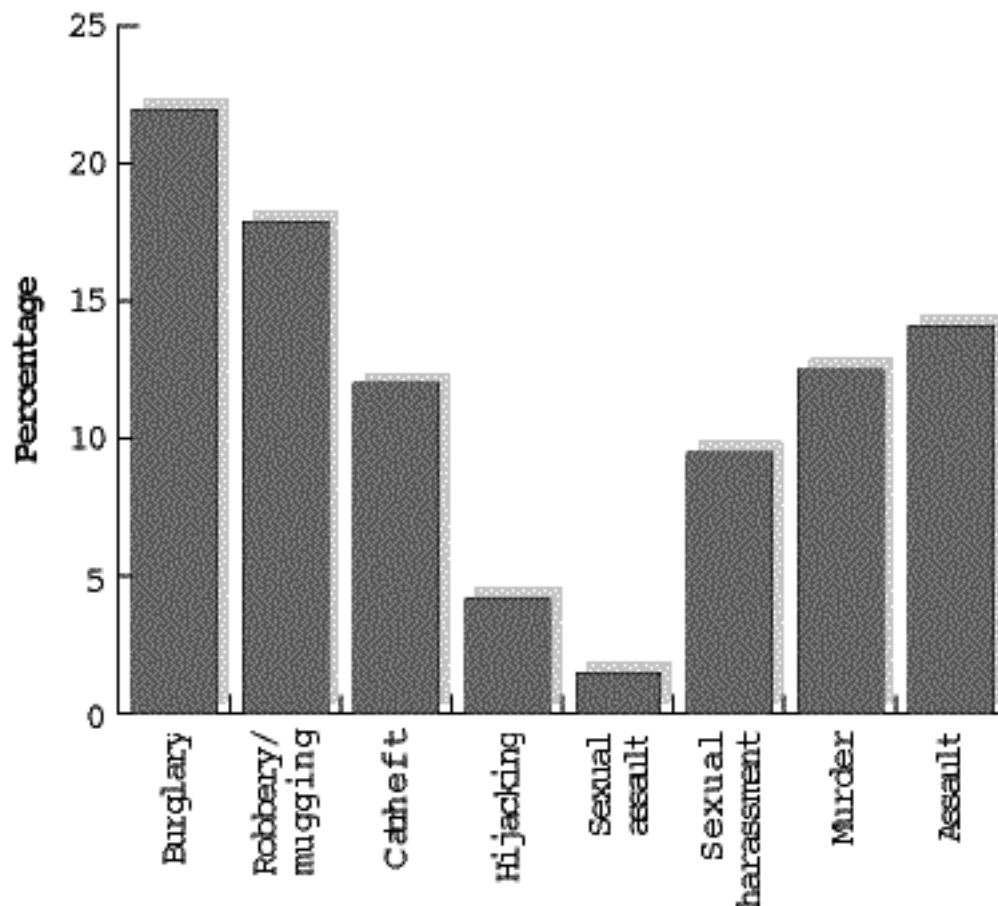
Table 4: Crime victims as a proportion of all respondents (n=2547), 1993-April 1998

	% people who were assaulted	% women who were sexually assaulted (of 904 women interviewed)	% people who were robbed	% people whose car was hijacked	% people whose car was stolen	% people whose homes were burgled
African	8.5	2.5	10.7	2.5	7.2	13.2
White	0.9	1.2	2.9	1.2	6.9	7.0
Coloured	0.1	-	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.6
Asian	0.1	-	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.6
18-25 yrs	1.9	0.8	1.6	0.3		
26-40 yrs	4.2	1.6	6.9	1.8		
41-60 yrs	3.1	1.1	4.4	1.4		
60+ yrs	0.3	0.1	1.4	0.2		
Female	3.5	100.0	5.0	1.0		
Male	6.1	-	9.3	2.9		
All adults	9.6	3.7	14.4	3.9	15.2	21.3

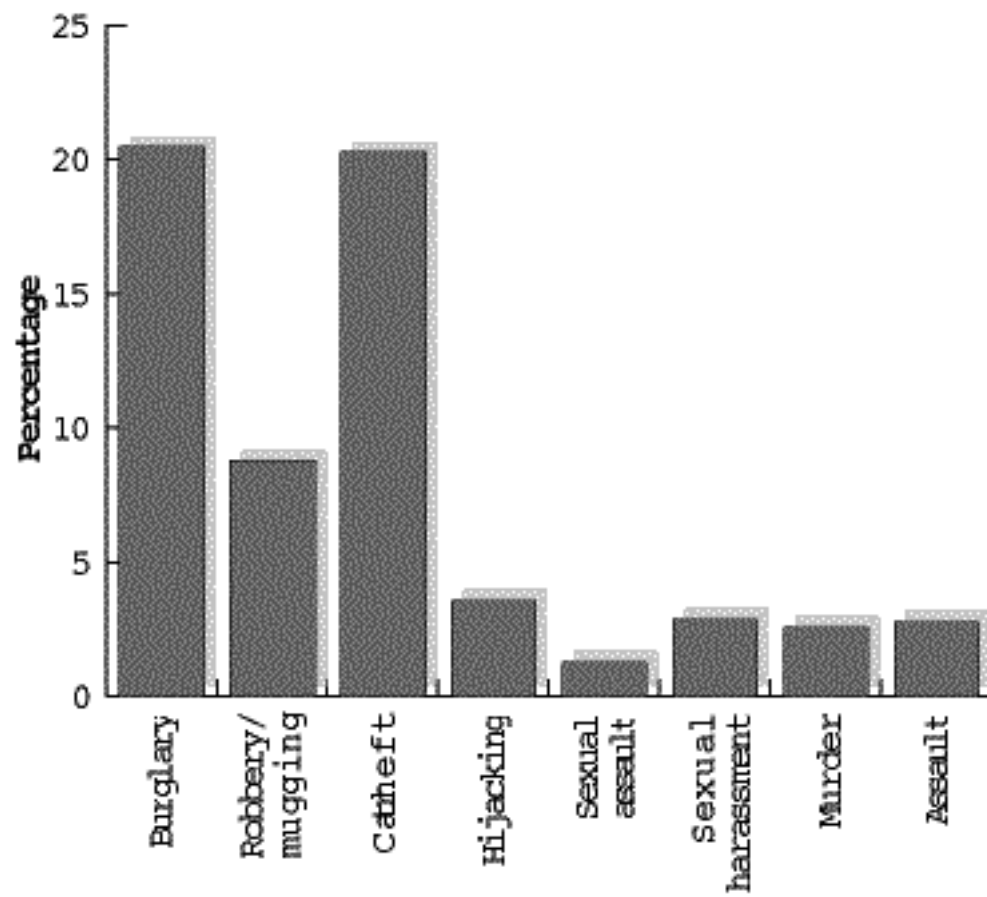
- *Risk of violent crime within each race group:* 22 per cent of all Africans in Pretoria were victims of violent crime between 1993 and April 1998. This can be compared with 9 per cent of Asians, 5 per cent of whites and 3 per cent of coloureds in the metropolis. This means that Africans' chances of becoming victims of violent crime are four times higher than those of whites. Figure 16 shows the risk for Africans, coloureds, Asians and whites for different types of violent crime.

Figure 16: Risk of crime for different race groups 1993-April 1998

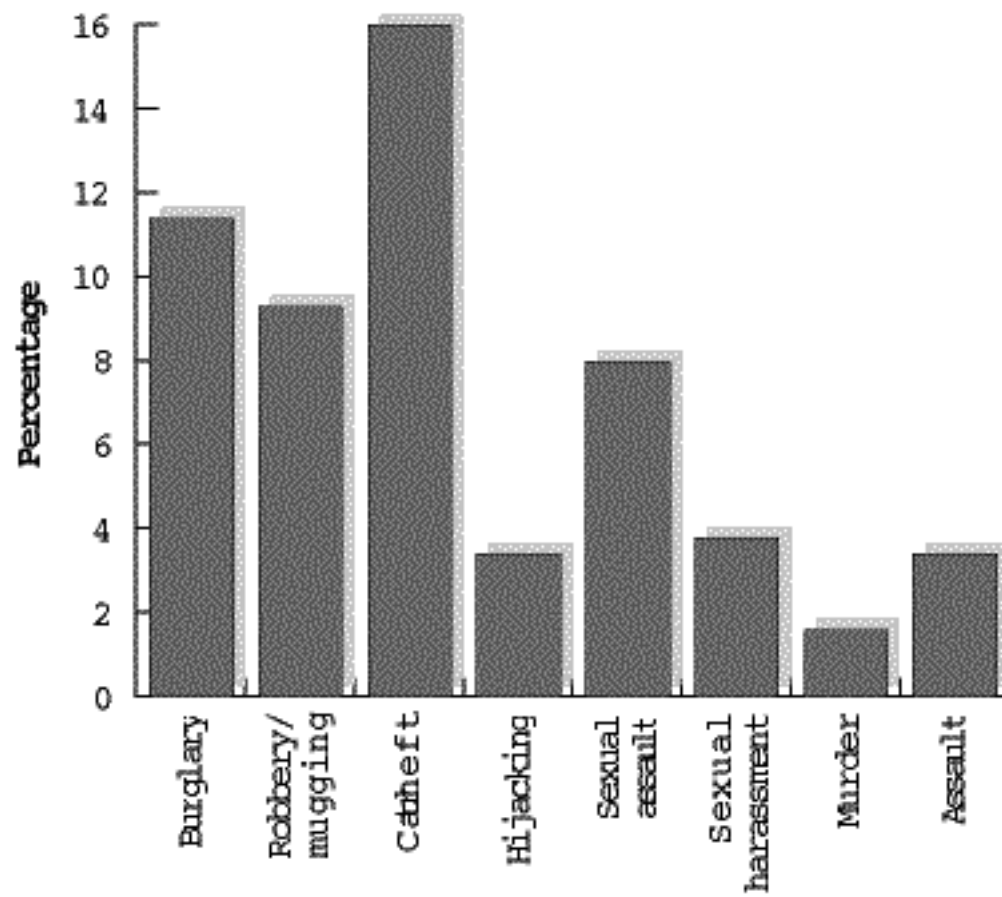
Proportion of all Africans who were victims



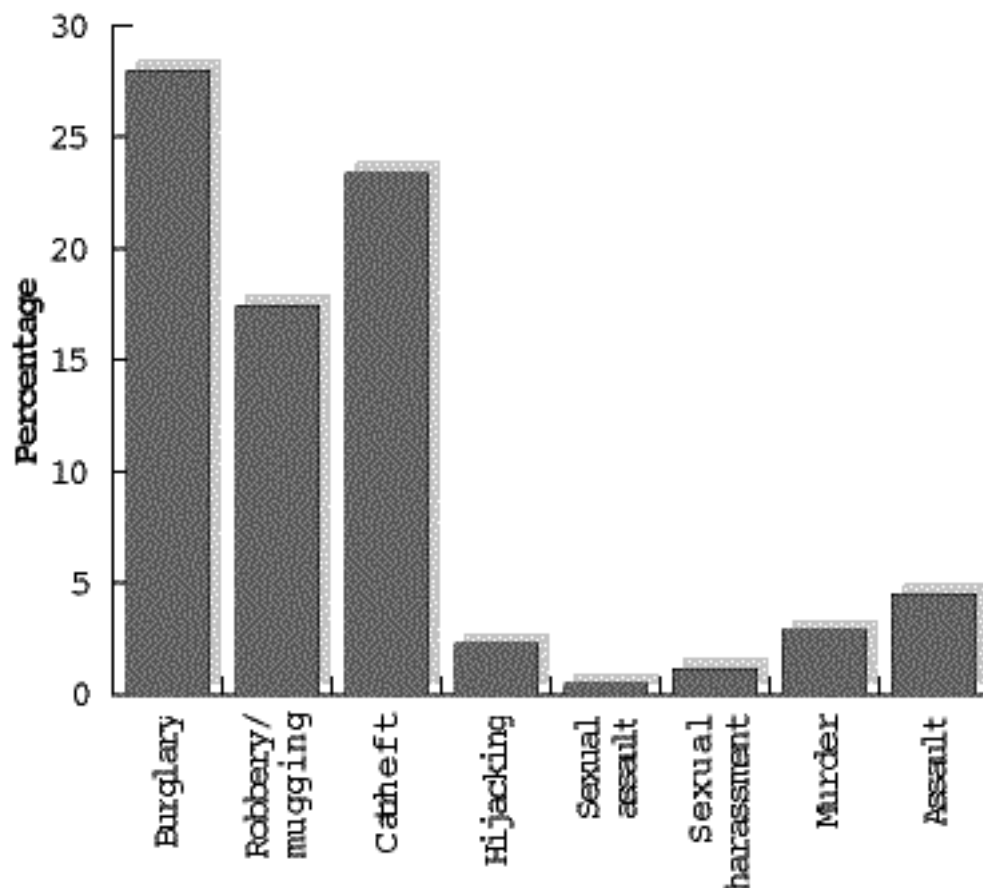
Proportion of all whites who were victims



Proportion of all coloureds who were victims



Proportion of all Asians who were victims



- *Risk of violent crime within each age group:* Young people are at greater risk of violent crime in Pretoria than older people. Twenty per cent of all people between the ages of 18 and 25 years were the victims of violent crime between 1993 and April 1998, compared with 17 per cent of those in the 26 to 40 age category, 14 per cent of those between 41 and 60 years and 4 per cent over 60 years of age. While the risk of assault is evenly spread across age groups, the risk of murder is higher for the youngest age category surveyed in Pretoria.
- *Risk of violent crime for men and women:* Men in Pretoria are only slightly more at risk of violent crime than women. Sixteen per cent of all males interviewed said they were victimised, compared with 14 per cent of women. These risks are consistent across different types of violent crime, namely assault and murder. Sexual assault is not included here since men were not interviewed on this crime.
- *Risk of violent crime for people living in different parts of the city:* 15 per cent of those who live in Pretoria's townships were victims of violent crime, compared with 7 per cent of people residing in informal areas, 5 per cent in the suburbs, and 1 per cent in the inner city.²⁶

When and where violence occurred

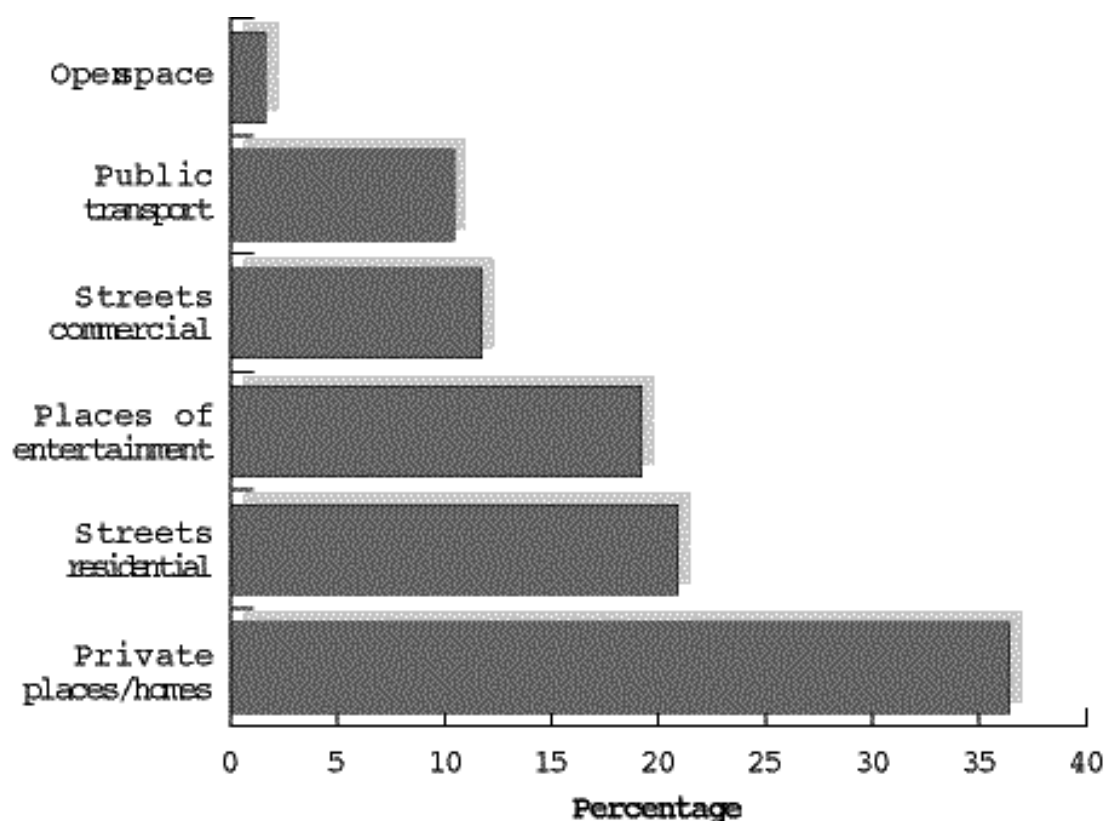
Most violent crimes (57 per cent) were committed during the week. Although less (43 per cent) were said to happen on the weekend, a large proportion of those offences (43 per cent) that occurred during the week, occurred on Fridays. Two-thirds of violent crimes were committed after dark: 64 per cent

happened between 18h00 and 6h00. Twenty three per cent occurred in the afternoon between 12h01-18h00, and violence was least likely to take place before midday (13 per cent).

Victims were asked to specify the exact location of the crime. Answers were then grouped into the categories of township, suburb, inner city and informal settlement. Of those assault and sexual assault victims²⁷ who could identify where the crime happened, 51 per cent said they were assaulted in a township, 30 per cent in a suburban area, 10,5 per cent in the inner city and 9 per cent in an informal settlement. This supports earlier analyses which show that Africans (who largely inhabit townships and informal settlements) bear the brunt of violent crime in Pretoria (and, indeed, in the country as a whole).

Respondents were also asked to specify other more generic locations. Most happened in public places (64 per cent). Thirty six per cent happened in private areas, including the victim's home and someone else's home (Figure 17). Many violent crimes occur in environments familiar to the victim, which in turn suggests that it is more likely to be acquaintance violence rather than stranger violence (discussed below).

Figure 17: Where violent crimes happened



This presents particular problems for those concerned with reducing violent crime levels in Pretoria. Offences committed in private places are both difficult to detect and respond to, and rely heavily on the victim's co-operation for successful prosecution. Given the challenges in reacting to many of these crimes, particularly those occurring in the home, interventions should aim to prevent these offences from occurring in the first place. Those violent crimes that are committed in public places such as streets and places of entertainment, on the other hand, can often be reduced through measures

aimed at controlling and regulating the issuing of liquor licenses, the carrying and availability of weapons in such places, operating hours, and restricting under age customers. Other factors which require more long term interventions have also been linked to violent crime, such as overcrowding, housing density and poverty.²⁸

Crime circumstances: victims and offenders

More than half of the violent incidents are a one-on-one event. People are most at risk of violence when they are alone: 59 per cent of all violent crimes were committed under these circumstances. This trend was more pronounced for sexual assault victims than for others, of whom 74 per cent were alone when attacked.

Most cases of violent crime (59 per cent) also involved only one offender. Equal proportions of attacks were committed by two people (20 per cent) and by more than two people (21 per cent). Incidents of assault were more likely to involve more than one offender than murder and sexual assault.

A significant proportion of violence can be regarded as 'stranger' violence, since in 46 per cent of cases the victim did not know the offender. However, most victims knew their attackers: 32 per cent by name and 21,5 per cent by sight only. Murder was more likely to involve acquaintances than assault: 60 per cent of the victims were said to have known their attackers either by sight or by name, compared with 47 per cent of assault victims.

Knowing the offender should assist the police in investigating and prosecuting these crimes. However, conviction levels for murder in South Africa are much lower than in other countries,²⁹ despite the fact that many victims know their attackers (a trend which is also evident from the other city victim surveys conducted by the ISS). According to the police, victims are more likely to withdraw charges when they know the offender (particularly in the case of domestic violence). They may also be more easily intimidated and thus less likely to proceed with the case, or to make a convincing witness.³⁰

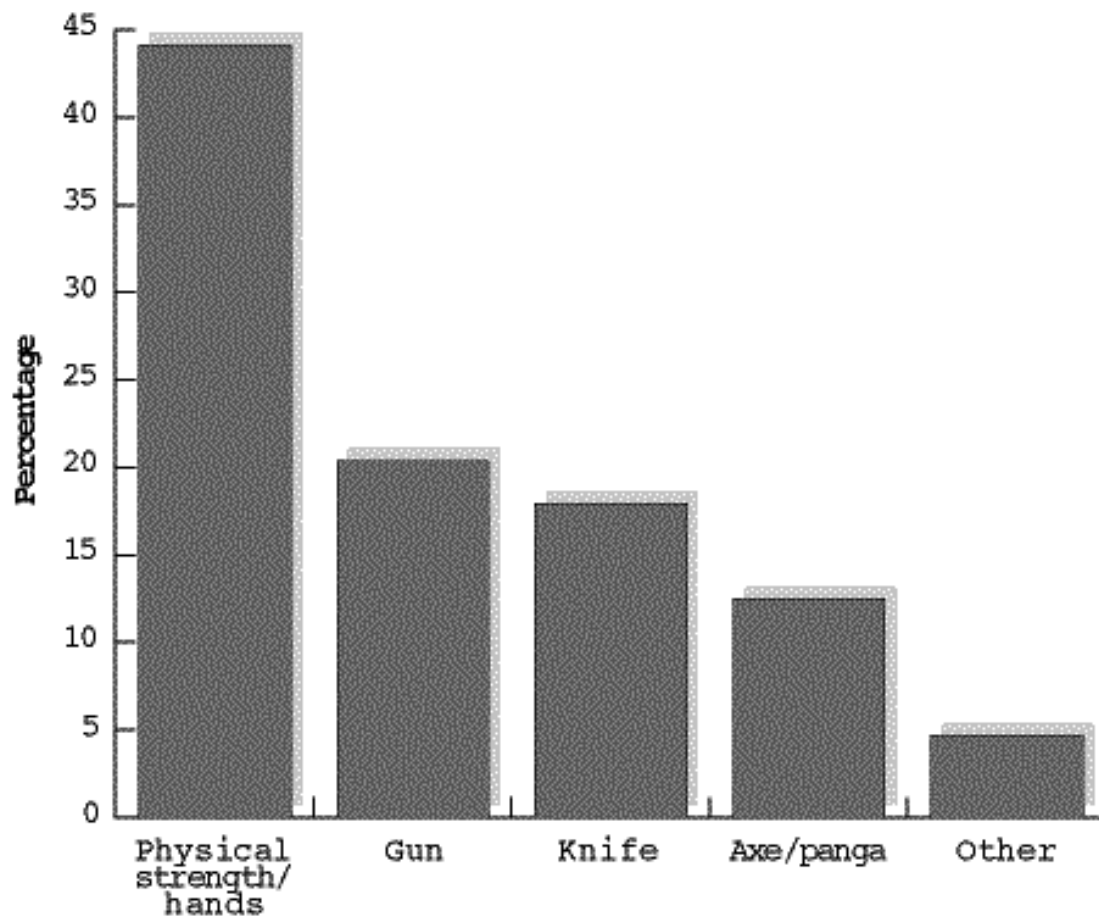
Victims were asked about several factors which could help to explain the violent crimes they had experienced:

- *Alcohol and violent crime:* People were largely unsure about the relationship between alcohol abuse and the offences they described. Equal proportions said the attacks were related to alcohol consumption (32 per cent) as did those who said they did not know (32 per cent). Assault victims were slightly more sure than victims of violence, in general: 37 per cent said the incident was related to alcohol abuse.
- *Drugs and violent crime:* The link between violence and drugs is even weaker than that with alcohol. Only 9 per cent of victims thought there was a relationship; the largest portion were undecided (47 per cent) and 44 per cent said there was no connection.
- *Gangs and violent crime:* Just over half (52 per cent) of all victims of violence thought there was no connection between gangs and the offences they reported to the survey. A large proportion, however, were unsure: 37 per cent said they did not know, and only one in ten said the attack was gang-related.

Nature of the violence

The largest proportion of violent crimes in Pretoria were committed without using a weapon: physical strength was used in 44 per cent of violent offences. A gun and a knife were used in 20 per cent and 18 per cent of attacks respectively (Figure 18). Although weapons were not used in nearly half of all violent incidents, this did not reduce the level of injuries sustained by victims of assault and sexual assault: the vast majority (83 per cent) said they were hurt in the attack.

Figure 18: Weapons used in violent crime



How victims responded

Those who reported violent crimes such as assault and murder were much less likely to say they changed their behaviour as a result of the crime than victims of burglary, car theft or mugging and robbery. Fifty nine per cent of assault victims and 54 per cent of people who reported a murder, said they changed their behaviour. In contrast, over 70 per cent of the victims of burglary and robbery responded similarly. It is likely that many people are unsure how to prevent violent crimes of this nature – particularly those that occur in the home and between acquaintances or family members.

The majority of violence victims said they responded by avoiding particular situations: 61 per cent changed their behaviour in this way. Few responded by improving home security (11 per cent). This could suggest that the majority of

these victims cannot afford such measures, but probably relates more to the nature of the violent crimes they are trying to avoid. Since much of the violence reported to the survey occurred in the home or surrounds, and between people who knew one another, precautions such as home security and being more careful and aware, are unlikely to have much effect. The avoidance behaviour, however, paid off: 61,5 per cent of those who took preventive measures felt safer as a result.

CRIME PROFILE: MUGGING AND ROBBERY

People were asked about robberies other than car hijackings (which is also a type of robbery). If a car was taken by force, the event was recorded separately as a distinct crime type. This follows the general categorisation of these crimes used by the police.

Since mugging and robbery can involve the use of force or violence, these crimes could also be considered as violent, in the category of those offences profiled above. However, since the motive of robbery is generally to steal property, and, in the interests of using this analysis for developing a local crime prevention strategy for Pretoria, mugging and robbery is considered separately from other violent crimes.

During interviews, mugging and robbery was defined as follows:

- *Robbery* and *mugging* include the theft of any item from the person, where force or the threat of force is used. Mugging can be considered as one form of robbery.

The following characteristics of mugging and robbery are considered:

- crime levels and a profile of who the victims are;
- who is most at risk;
- when and where the crimes occurred;
- the circumstances in which the crimes were committed; and
- the nature of the violence, including weapons used and degree of injury.

Crime levels and victim profile

Between 1993 and April 1998, 366 incidents of robbery were reported to the survey in Pretoria. Most of these happened in 1997 (Table 5).

Table 5: Number of muggings and robberies reported to the survey, 1993-April 1998

Year	Mugging & robbery
1993	30
1994	28
1995	40
1996	59
1997	115
Jan-April 1998	94
Total	366
% of total sample (n=2547)	14.3

The comparatively high number of crimes which victims said occurred in the first four months of 1998 probably reflect a combination of real crime levels,

as well as 'telescoping' - a tendency of victim survey respondents to recall crimes as happening more recently than was actually the case.

Of the total of 2 547 people interviewed, 14 per cent were victims of mugging and robbery between 1993 and April 1998. Of these victims, the vast majority were African (74 per cent). Just under half (48 per cent) were between the ages of 26 and 40 years and more than two-thirds (65 per cent) were males. The figures reflected in Table 6 below show the numbers of victims as a proportion of race, age and gender groups.

Table 6: Profile of robbery and mugging victims, 1993-April 1998

Race	%
African	74.4
White	20.6
Coloured	2.1
Asian	2.7
Total	100.0
Age	%
18-25 yrs	11.4
26-40 yrs	47.7
41-60 yrs	30.6
60+ yrs	10.3
Total	100.0
Gender	%
Male	64.9
Female	35.1
Total	100.0

Who is most at risk

The crime profile in Table 6 shows some degree of risk for robbery and mugging. Table 4 shows the risk for all adults in Pretoria of mugging and robbery relative to other crime types. Of all those interviewed in Pretoria, Africans (11 per cent), people aged between 26 and 40 years (7 per cent) and men (9 per cent) are at risk of mugging and robbery (Table 4). African people are most at risk of violent crime (13 per cent) and burglary (13 per cent), followed closely by robbery/mugging (11 per cent). Young people (between the ages of 18-25 years) and women are more likely to be the victims of violent crime than of robbery and mugging.

An analysis of robbery victimisation within each subsample provides more insight into the relative risk for various groups:

- *Risk of mugging and robbery within each race group:* 18 per cent of all Africans and 17,5 per cent of all Asians in Pretoria were victims of mugging and robbery. This crime presents less of a risk for whites and coloureds: 9 per cent of white people and similar proportion of coloured people reported being victims (see Figure 16).
- *Risk of mugging and robbery within each age group:* Those who are perceived as most likely to have property or money worth stealing, are most at risk of this crime. Seventeen per cent of people aged 26 to 40

years and 15 per cent of those between 41 and 60 reported being robbed or mugged. Vulnerability is also a key factor in who is victimised: 13 per cent of people over the age of 60 were robbed - by far the most common single crime type reported by people in this age group.

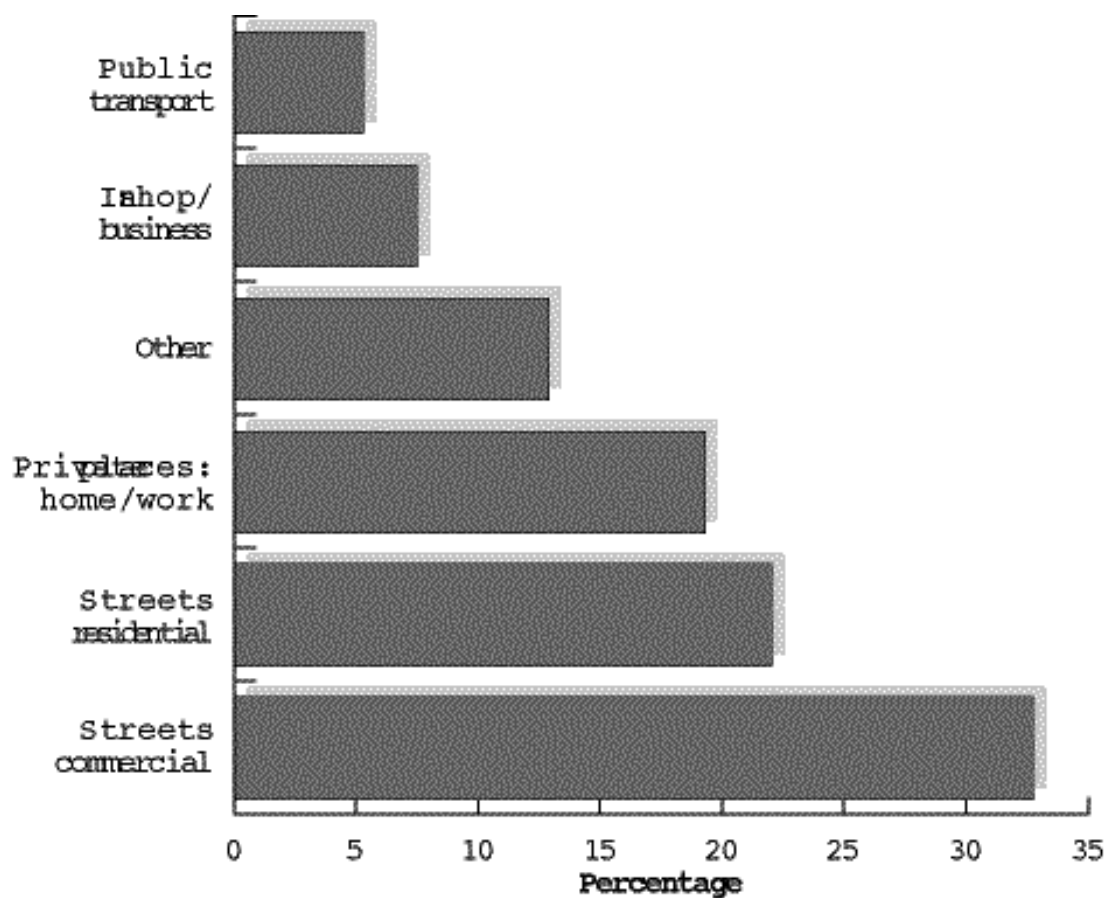
- *Risk of mugging and robbery for men and women:* Of all crimes committed against the individual, mugging and robbery are the ones in which the distinction between male and female victimisation is the greatest. Of all males interviewed in Pretoria, 17 per cent said they were robbed, compared with 11,5 per cent of all females surveyed. Although women are often perceived as more vulnerable targets than men, higher robbery rates for males probably relates to the greater levels of mobility and their economically active status relative to women.
- *Risk of mugging and robbery for people living in different parts of the city:* The risk of robbery is higher for those people who live in townships than elsewhere in Pretoria. Twelve per cent of all township inhabitants said they were robbed, compared with 8 per cent of people who live in suburbs, 3 per cent of those living in the inner city and 2 per cent in informal settlements. Mugging and robbery are usually committed in public rather than private places, and a better understanding of risk requires an analysis of where these crimes actually occurred.

Where and when robbery occurred

Mugging and robbery occurred fairly evenly across the Pretoria metropolitan area. Of those people who could identify where the offence took place, 34 per cent named places in the suburbs, and an equal proportion indicated the inner city. Thirty per cent of these crimes were committed in the townships, and only 1 per cent happened in informal settlements. Based on the analysis of risk above, it is likely that people who live in the townships (who are most at risk of robbery) are victimised both in their neighbourhoods, as well as in the inner city where they go to work.

The vast majority of muggings and robbery occur in public places and more specifically in streets: 33 per cent happened in streets outside shops or offices and 22 per cent in streets of a residential area. Only 19 per cent happened in private home or work environments. Very few offences were committed at or on public transport facilities (5 per cent) (Figure 19). Crimes that are committed in public places present more opportunities for outside intervention than those which occur in private (like violent crime). In this case, environmental design measures, as well as visible policing - either by the public police or by private security or even car guards - could make an impact on levels of mugging and robbery. This would probably be most effective in the places where these crimes occur most often, namely the streets in commercial areas. In residential areas, given that they are more dispersed and less populated, it is often harder to provide an effective visible presence. In private places such as homes or offices, however, certain target hardening measures could reduce robberies, such as installing protective devices like burglar guards and alarm systems.

Figure 19: Where robbery and mugging occurred



Most robberies were committed during the week (60,5 per cent), of which the largest proportion happen on Friday (40 per cent). People were also more likely to be victims in the latter part of the day, when they were returning home from work or school. An equal proportion (36 per cent) of robberies were reported between 12h00 and 18h00 as between 18h00 and 24h00. Not surprisingly, given that most of these crimes were committed in public places, people were least likely to be robbed in the early hours of the morning between 0h00 and 6h00 (9 per cent).

Crime circumstances

Most of the robberies reported to the survey were successful (81 per cent), which means that property was actually stolen from the victim. The most likely item to be stolen was money (42 per cent), followed by accessories (24 per cent), a hand bag (19 per cent) and electronic equipment (11 per cent). In only 17 per cent of cases, the stolen goods were covered by insurance.

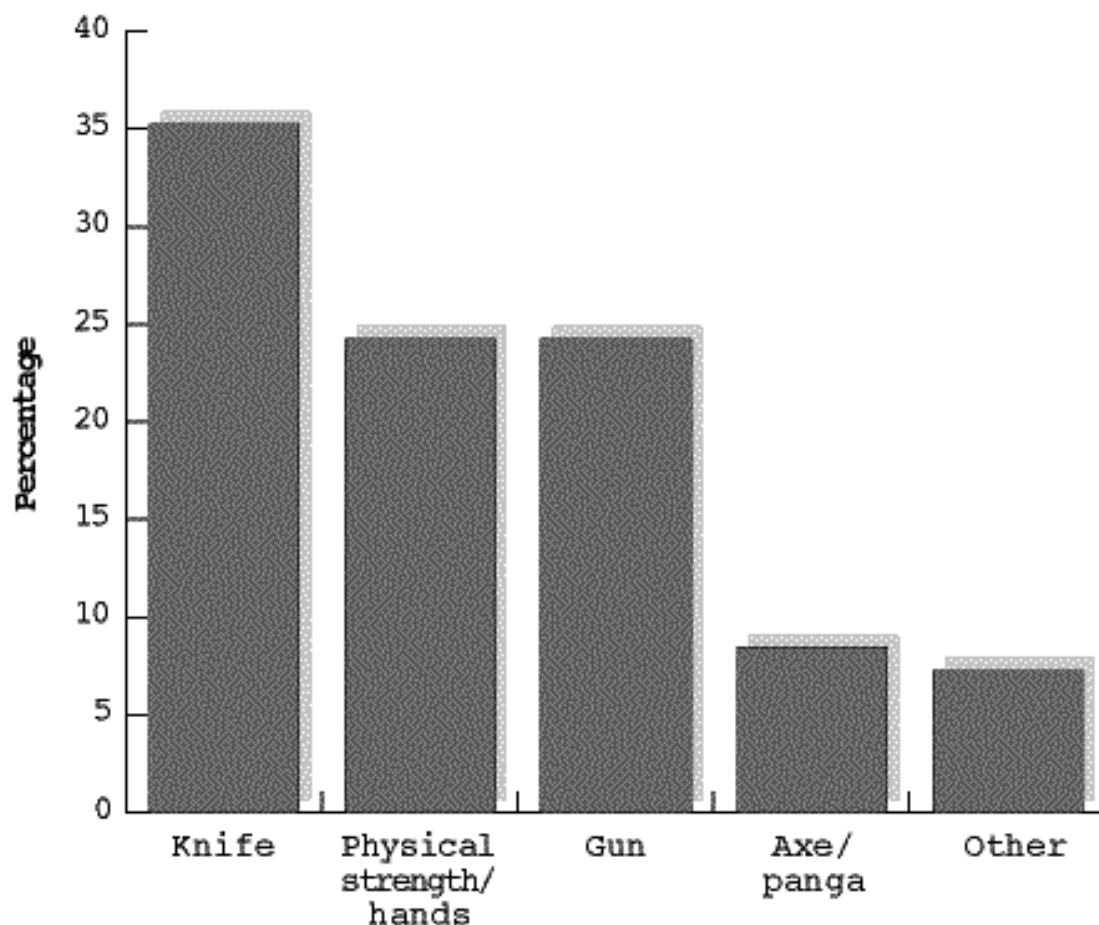
People are much more likely to be a victim of mugging and robbery when they are alone: 77 per cent of victims were alone when the offence was committed. When alone, people are more at risk of robbery than of violent crime: according to the violent crime profile above, 59 per cent of victims were alone when attacked.

Few people who were mugged in Pretoria believe the crime was related to gang activity (20 per cent). However, since nearly half of victims said they were unsure (49 per cent), the links remains unclear.

Nature of the violence

Although mugging and robbery are considered to be violent crimes (since property is taken from people by force), most cases reported to the survey involved threats only (56 per cent) and not violence, and did not result in the victim being injured (77 per cent). This is despite the fact that weapons were used in the majority of incidents (73 per cent) and probably relates to the fact that offenders rarely attempt to inflict injury deliberately during muggings. In 27 per cent of attacks, victims said no weapons were visible. More white robbery victims than African victims reported this, which suggests that weapons are more likely to be used on Africans in the course of robberies, than on whites. Of those weapons which were visible, knives were used in 35 per cent of incidents and guns and physical strength in a quarter of incidents, respectively (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Weapons used in mugging and robbery



How victims responded

Most people said they changed their behaviour after being victimised (72 per cent). As is the case for victims of most other crimes, this was a more common reaction among white people (78 per cent) than Africans (67,5 per

cent). Predictably, the most common response to mugging and robbery is to avoid certain places (56 per cent). Nearly a third of the victims of this crime said they were more careful and aware afterwards (30 per cent). Since few of these crimes happened in people's homes, improving home security (14 per cent) was not a popular response to victimisation.

These precautions make people feel safer: 68 per cent said this was the case, although this was more likely for white victims (71 per cent) than for Africans (62 per cent). This is important for the success of interventions to reduce the fear of crime, since it suggests that encouraging preventive behaviour is likely to make people feel safer. Specific attention will have to be paid to Africans victims and those living in townships and informal settlements, who are not only less likely to take precautions, but also to feel safer as a result.

CRIME PROFILE: BURGLARY

Burglary is commonly understood to involve the unlawful entry of someone into a house to steal property. Confusion often arises in the way people distinguish burglary from robbery. The clearest distinction is that burglaries cannot occur outside premises of some sort, while a robbery can occur anywhere. For the survey, burglary was defined for the interviewers and the respondents in the following way:

- *Burglary* applies only to theft of property from, or forced entry into the respondents' residential or domestic premises, and not their work premises.

Burglary is therefore a crime which is committed against a household and not an individual (unless the respondent lives alone). This means that demographic variables like age and gender cannot be analysed for burglary.

The following characteristics of burglary are considered:

- crime levels and a profile of who the victims are;
- who is most at risk;
- when and where the crimes occurred;
- the circumstances in which the crimes were committed; and
- the nature of the violence, including weapons used and degree of injury.

Crime levels and victim profile

Between 1993 and April 1998, 543 incidents of burglary were reported to the survey in Pretoria. Most of these happened in 1997 (Table 7).

Table 7: Number of burglaries reported to the survey, 1993-April 1998

Year	Burglary
1993	40
1994	61
1995	69
1996	135
1997	152
Jan-April 1998	86
Total	543
% of total sample (n=2547)	21.3

The comparatively high number of crimes which victims said occurred in the first four months of 1998 probably reflect a combination of real crime levels, as well as 'telescoping' – a tendency of victim survey respondents to recall crimes as happening more recently than was actually the case.

Of the total of 2 547 people interviewed, 21 per cent were victims of burglary between 1993 and April 1998. This is the single most common type of crime

which occurred in Pretoria. Burglary was also the crime type reported most often to the city victim surveys in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

Of those who reported being a victim of burglary in Pretoria, nearly two-thirds were African (62%) and one-third (33%) were white. Although most victims were African (as was the case for violent crime and robbery/mugging above), compared to other crimes, fewer victims of burglary were African, and a large proportion were white. This is not surprising, since the incidence of property crime is largely determined by opportunity for theft, and race distinctions largely mirror those of wealth and ownership.

Table 8: Profile of burglary victims, 1993-April 1998

Race	%
African	62.1
White	33.0
Coloured	1.9
Asian	2.9
Total	100.0

Who is most at risk

The victim profile in Table 8 indicates some degree of risk for burglary in Pretoria. Table 4 shows the risk for all adults in Pretoria of burglary relative to other crime types. Of all those interviewed in Pretoria, Africans were more likely to be burgled (13%) than any other people (Table 4). Although the proportion of African burglary victims was smaller than the comparable proportion of violent crime and robbery victims, Table 4 illustrates that the risk for Africans is equally high for burglary – a property crime – as it is for violent crime. The expectation might be that white people (many of whom are better off economically than Africans) bear the brunt of property crime; indeed, Table 4 shows that the risk of burglary is much higher for whites than the risk of violent crime and mugging. However, Africans are equally likely to be victimised by violent crime as they are by burglary in Pretoria.

An analysis of burglary victimisation within the race subsample provides more insight into the relative risk for various groups:

- *Risk of burglary within each race group:* Burglary affects Asians more often than any other race group in Pretoria. Of all the Asians interviewed in the survey, 28 per cent reported a housebreaking. In comparison, 22 per cent of all Africans, 20,5 per cent of whites and 11 per cent of coloureds reported being victims of burglary. Pretoria is the only city in South Africa where a smaller proportion of white people said they were burgled than did Africans. On the whole, property crimes such as burglary and car theft tend to affect white (and in most cases Asian) people more than Africans and coloureds, following patterns of wealth distribution. While this trend is evident in terms of Asian victimisation patterns in Pretoria, the same does not apply to white people (see Figure 16).
- *Risk of burglary for people living in different parts of the city:* Of those people who live in suburbs in Pretoria, 19 per cent reported a

housebreaking to the survey. People in suburbs are therefore more likely to be a victim of burglary than of any other crime covered in the survey. Of those respondents who said they live in townships, 15 per cent were burgled. Only 3 per cent and 2 per cent of people residing in the inner city and in informal settlements, respectively, reported a burglary. These low levels probably relate to the fact that there are few informal settlements in Pretoria, and because few inner city residents were actually interviewed in the survey.³¹ It is nevertheless also likely that burglaries are less common in inner city areas which are characterised by flats and apartments as opposed to houses. Police statistics show that 41 per cent of all burglaries in Pretoria occurred in four suburbs (Wierdabrug, Garsfontein, Brooklyn and Lyttelton), with only 2 per cent of burglaries reported at the Pretoria Central police station in the CBD.³²

When burglaries occurred

People who reported burglary to the survey were not asked where the crime happened, since it was assumed that the location of the offence would match where the victims said they live. Details of where burglaries took place are therefore covered in the section above on the risk of burglary for people living in different parts of the city.

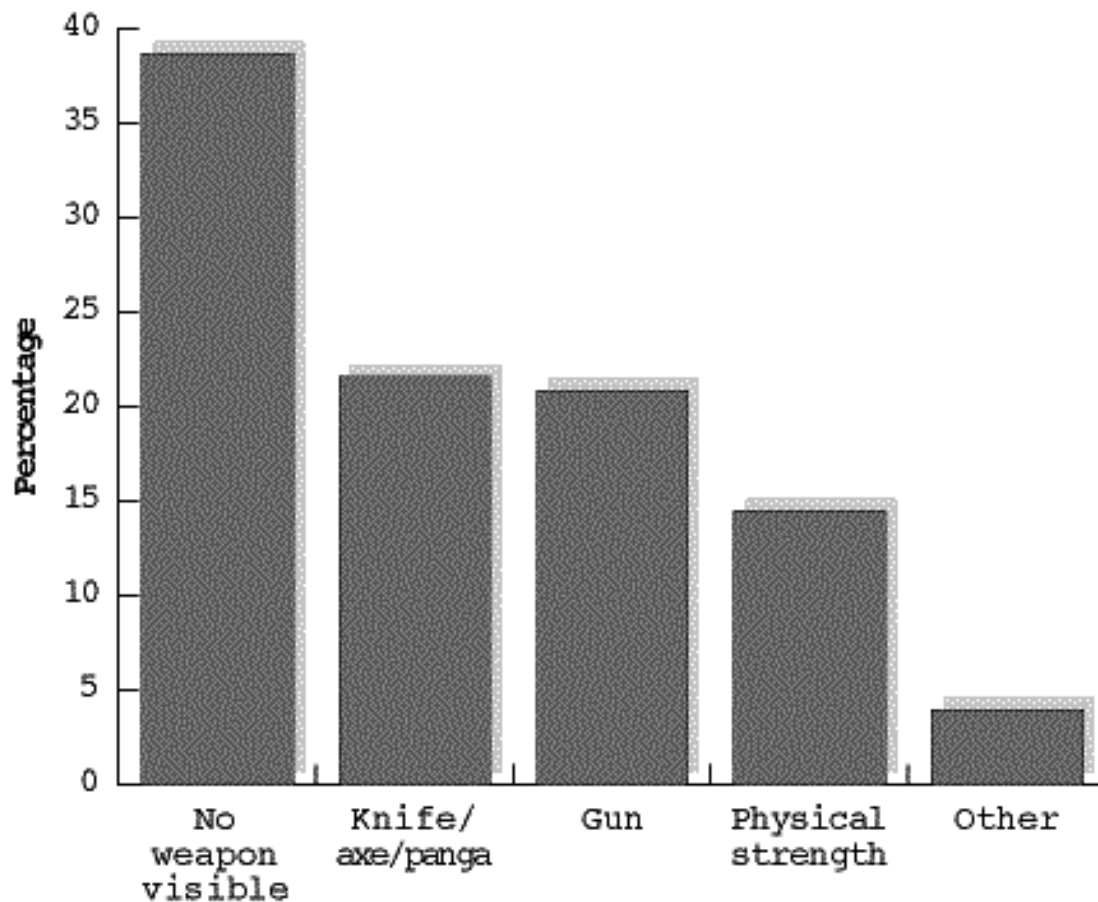
Most burglaries are committed during the week (67%). Although 34 per cent of those who said the offences occurred during the week could not recall the exact day, 22 per cent could – saying they were burgled on a Friday. Burglaries are probably more likely during the week when homes are left uninhabited (see below). However, this is not the main consideration since most occurred during the afternoon between 12h01-18h00 (34%) and at night between 18h01-24h00 (30,5%) – the times when people are more likely to be at home.

Nature of burglaries and violence used

Property was actually stolen in the vast majority of burglaries (84,5%) in Pretoria. Most victims (59%) said they did not have insurance to cover these losses. While the survey does not provide details on the type of security (if any) that victims had to protect their property at the time of the housebreaking, or how the offenders gained entry, this very high 'success' rate suggests that offenders gain easy entrance to people's homes. In the UK, for example, the British Crime Survey found that the majority of burglaries (56%) did not involve the loss of property.

The high rate of property loss cannot be attributed to the use of force in the course of burglaries. Victims said that, in 69 per cent of incidents, no one was at home when the crime was committed. Of those incidents in which someone was present, the majority were non-violent (59%). One third of burglaries when someone was present involved violence (33%), while in 8 per cent of cases, only threats were made. Nearly one quarter (23,5%) of victims who were present during the crime sustained injuries. A fairly even spread of weapons were reported by these victims: 22 per cent said a knife/axe/panga was used, 21 per cent reported the use of a gun and 18,5 per cent reported physical strength or other weapons. In 39 per cent of violent burglaries, no weapon was visible (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Weapons used in burglaries



How victims responded

When asked if they had changed their behaviour as a result of the crime, the vast majority of victims said they had (70%), although Africans were least likely to do this. Fifty six percent of Africans responded in this way compared with 83 per cent of whites. This probably relates both to the options available, as well as varying levels of fear of crime. The form that these behaviour changes took, illustrates this.

Most people chose to improve security in their homes (54%). A significant proportion also took other active precautions (39%), while being more alert (7%) was, rightly, not regarded as likely to reduce risk of burglary. Some of these measures, however, are restricted to those who can afford them. White victims were much more likely to improve home security (64%) than were Africans (37,5%), the majority of whom chose to change their behaviour (59%) instead. Only 27 per cent of whites in comparison changed their behaviour as a result of victimisation.

Taking these types of precautions is likely to make victims feel safer: 72 per cent of all people said this was the case. Only half of the African victims (51%) shared this view, however, compared with 86 per cent of whites, which

suggests that home security probably provides greater levels of perceived safety than simply taking active precautions and other measures of this kind.

CRIME PROFILE: VEHICLE CRIMES

This section profiles thefts of motor vehicles, including car hijackings. The survey asked people whether they or a member of their household had been a victim of car theft. A separate category also recorded details of those people who reported a vehicle hijacking. This analysis therefore includes a crime considered (both by the police and other victim surveys) as a property crime (vehicle theft) and one considered 'violent' (vehicle hijacking).

Questions about car theft applied to the respondent's household while questions regarding hijacking were asked of the respondents themselves. Car theft is thus analysed as a household crime and hijacking as a personal crime. The crimes were defined in the following way:

- *Car theft* includes the theft of a car, van or bakkie in which no force was used. If people said force was used, they were referred to the section of the questionnaire dealing with hijacking.
- *Car hijacking* refers to an incident in which someone's car, van or bakkie was taken by force while they were present.

The following characteristics of vehicle crimes are considered:

- crime levels and a profile of who the victims are;
- who is most at risk (age and gender are not covered for car theft since this is a household crime);
- when and where the crimes occurred; and
- the nature of the crimes, including violence and injury in the course of hijackings.

Crime levels and victim profile

Between 1993 and April 1998, 489 vehicle crimes were reported to the survey in Pretoria. Of these, the majority (388) were vehicle thefts and 101 were hijackings. Most thefts and hijackings in a single year were reported in 1997 (Table 9).

Table 9: Number of vehicle crimes reported to the survey, 1993-April 1998

Year	Car theft	Car hijacking	Total crimes
1993	45	8	53
1994	66	12	78
1995	35	11	46
1996	80	20	100
1997	119	39	158
Jan-April 1998	43	11	54
Total	388	101	489
% of total sample	15.2	3.9	19.1

(n=2547)			
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Of the total of 2 547 people interviewed, 15 per cent were victims of car theft and 4 per cent had their vehicles hijacked between 1993 and April 1998. Car theft is the second most common crime affecting people in Pretoria; only burglary was reported more often (by 21 per cent of respondents).

Of all crimes occurring in Pretoria, levels of robbery and mugging come a close third to car theft levels: 14 per cent of people mentioned this crime, compared to 15 per cent for vehicle theft. Car hijacking is much less common, although levels of this violent crime are lower in Pretoria than those recorded in the Johannesburg and Durban city victim surveys.

Of those who said a car was stolen from them or their household, almost the same proportion were African (47 per cent) as were white (45,6 per cent) (see Table 10). Of all the crimes covered by the survey, this is the largest proportion of white victims, and as in the case of burglary, reflects patterns of ownership and thus opportunity – key factors in who is victimised by property crime.

According to the crime profiles above, violence is much more likely to affect African people than white people. This trend is illustrated by examining who the victims of car hijacking – a violent crime – were in Pretoria. More than two-thirds of the victims of this crime were African (65 per cent) and the vast majority were men (73,5%). Nearly half of the victims of hijacking were between the ages of 26 and 40 years (46,5 per cent) (Table 10).

Table 10: Profile of vehicle crime victims, 1993-April 1998

	Vehicle hijacking	Vehicle theft
Race %		
African	65.0	47.4
White	31.0	45.6
Coloured	3.0	3.6
Asian	1.0	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Age %		
18-25 yrs	9.9	n/a
26-40 yrs	46.5	n/a
41-60 yrs	37.6	n/a
60+ yrs	5.9	n/a
Total	100.0	
Gender %		
Male	73.5	n/a
Female	26.5	n/a
Total	100.0	

Note: the age and gender breakdown of the victims of car theft are not included here because these were asked of households and not individuals.

Who is most at risk

The profile above indicates the degree of risk for vehicle crimes. Table 4 shows the risk for all adults in Pretoria of vehicle crime relative to other crime types. Of all those interviewed in Pretoria, Africans were the most likely to be victims of car theft (7 per cent) and car hijacking (2,5 per cent) (Table 4).

The risk for white and African people, however, is almost equal for car theft, and represents the narrowest margin of difference in risk between these two groups of all crime types covered by the survey. People aged between 26 and 40 years and all males are more likely to be hijacked than anyone else, although there is little difference in risk between men and women or between people of different age groups.

An analysis of vehicle crime victimisation within each subsample provides more insight into the relative risk for various groups:

- *Risk of vehicle crime within each race group:* The risk of vehicle theft is greatest for Asians and whites in Pretoria. Of all Asians surveyed, 23 per cent said a car was stolen from them or someone in their household; 20 per cent of white people said the same. Of the coloureds and Africans interviewed, 16 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively, reported car theft. The risk for car hijacking follows a different pattern: Africans and whites are equally at risk. In the case of each race group, 4 per cent said they had been hijacked (see Figure 16).

Of all the crimes covered in the survey, Asians, whites and coloureds are therefore most at risk of burglary and car theft – in other words, the property crimes in which no violence was used. Africans, in comparison, stand a good chance of becoming victims of both violent crime and property crime.

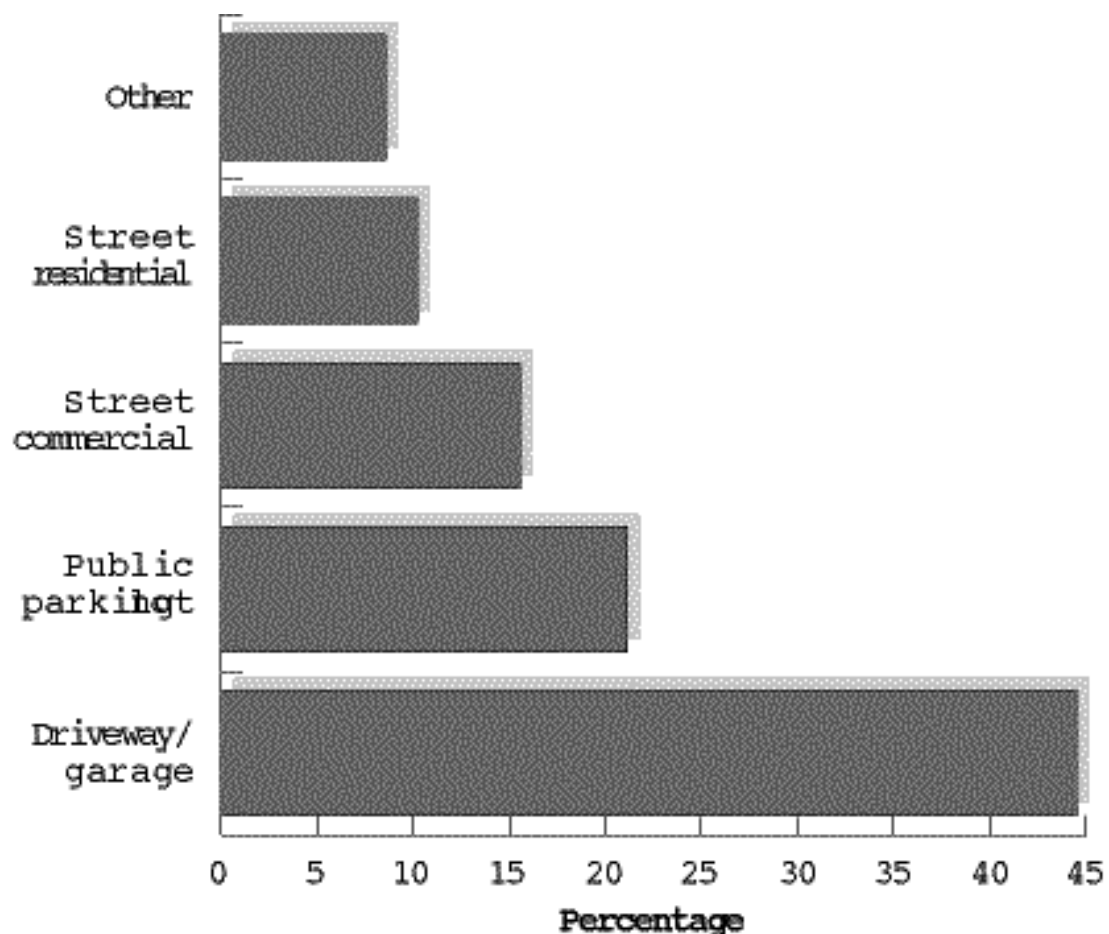
- *Risk of car hijacking for different age groups:* The risk of car hijacking is equal for people between the ages of 26 and 60 years. Of those people aged 41 to 60 who were interviewed, 5 per cent reported this crime, compared with 4,5 per cent of those between 26 and 40 years. Only 2 per cent, respectively, of people in the youngest and oldest age categories said they were hijacked. This is not surprising, since people in the middle age category are the most likely – given that they are more economically active – to drive cars.
- *Risk of car hijacking for different gender groups:* 5 per cent of all men surveyed said they had been the victims of a car hijacking, compared with 2 per cent of all women interviewed. This follows other victimisation patterns in which men are generally more likely to be victimised than women.
- *Risk of vehicle crimes for people living in different parts of the city:* People living in the suburbs are more likely to be victims of vehicle crimes than those living elsewhere in Pretoria. Of all those suburban residents interviewed, 9 per cent said a car had been stolen and 2 per cent reported vehicle hijacking. For people who live in the townships,

comparable vehicle crime rates were 3 per cent for car theft and 2 per cent for hijacking. Again, the higher risk of vehicle crime for people living in the suburbs reflects wealth and ownership and thus the opportunity for such crimes. People's destinations and where they park their vehicles, also determine their risk of car theft and hijacking, however. The location of these crimes is considered in more detail below. Since these analyses suggest that most cars are stolen from people's homes, risk is probably most closely associated with where victims live than with where they travel. The same does not necessarily apply to car hijacking, however.

Where and when car theft occurred

The vast majority of vehicles are stolen in suburbs (70 per cent) around Pretoria. Twenty two per cent were taken in townships, 4 per cent from places in the inner city and 3 per cent from informal settlements. Since the risk of vehicle theft is the highest for people living in the suburbs, this suggests that most of these crimes occurred where people live. Nearly half (44,5 per cent) of cars were stolen from people's driveways or garages and 10 per cent were taken from streets in residential areas – many of which could also be streets outside the victim's home. Only 21 per cent of cars were stolen from public parking lots and 16 per cent from streets in commercial parts of the city (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Where vehicle thefts happened



This presents particular challenges for the reduction of this crime. Preventive measures such as car guards and visible police patrols are likely to have the greatest effect in smaller, busier parts of the city like designated city blocks or car parks. It is notoriously difficult to maintain a visible police presence in vast residential areas such as suburbs. In many of these areas, however, environmental design measures such as street lighting and increased surveillance of streets and driveways, could prove effective. Obviously, increasing the availability of off-street parking would be the most desirable.

Car thefts are more likely during the week (60 per cent) than on the weekend (40,3 per cent), and occur mostly when it is dark. Equal proportions of these crimes were committed at night as during the day: 49 per cent occurred between 18h00 and 6h00 and 51 per cent between 6h00-18h00. Darkness provides cover for offenders, and it is likely that the most common location of night-time incidents is people's homes, while more cars are stolen from public places during the day – largely because more are parked in these areas during the day.

Thus, in order to properly estimate the risk of car theft in different locations, the number of cars parked in different places at particular times should be considered. Since cars are parked the longest outside people's homes, it is not surprising that most thefts occur there. On the basis of such estimates, the British Crime Survey found that cars parked in public car parks were four times more at risk of theft than those parked in the street outside the owner's home or work.³³

The nature of vehicle theft

People were asked about attempted and actual car thefts. The vast majority of car thefts (85 per cent) resulted in the loss of the vehicle, which indicates a high success rate for offenders. Security devices and precautions – to the extent that they might be used – do not seem particularly effective in deterring car theft.

Under these circumstances, insurance is particularly important. Unlike burglary victims, most (65 per cent) car theft victims said the stolen car was insured. White victims of car theft were much more likely (83 per cent) to have had insurance than African victims (33%). Insurance would clearly reduce the impact of car theft significantly for the victims and their households, since only 28 per cent of victims said their car was actually recovered after being stolen. This is a particularly low recovery rate, and since people were not asked who recovered their cars, it is unclear how many of these recoveries can be attributed to the police.

Comparative survey data show that, in the UK, 64 per cent of stolen cars were recovered in 1995, half of which were found within 24 hours, a further third within a week. Crime surveys in cities of developing countries recorded lower recovery rates than in the UK, but higher than in Pretoria: 55,2 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa, 47 per cent in Latin America and 44 per cent in Asia.³⁴

Where and when car hijacking occurred

The numbers of hijacking victims are too small to present a representative picture of this crime in Pretoria. The details discussed here therefore refer only to those victims who were interviewed, and should not be extrapolated to all hijack victims in the metropolitan area.

An almost equal proportion of hijackings happened in suburbs (45 per cent) as in townships (40 per cent). Half of vehicles were robbed at an intersection (51 per cent), and a quarter (25,5 per cent) were taken from people's driveways and garages. Fifteen per cent occurred in the streets of residential areas. Most of the hijackings reported to the survey occurred during the week (64 per cent) and during daylight hours, between 6h00-18h00 (54%). Forty six per cent of hijackings happened between 18h00-24h00. Since these crimes involve the taking of vehicles from people by force, it is not surprising that the majority happen when people are most likely to be using their cars.

The nature of car hijacking

Unlike the other crimes aimed at property covered in the survey, such as robbery, burglary and car theft, offenders had less success in taking people's cars from them by force. In 59 per cent of hijackings, cars were actually stolen; comparative 'success' rates for the other crimes listed above were over 80%.

It is unclear from the survey why a larger proportion of hijackings than other crimes did not result in property loss. It is possible that people were able to get away more easily, since violence was used against them in only half of the hijackings (49%), with only 22 per cent of victims saying they sustained injuries as a result of the crime. This was the case despite the fact that a gun was used in 68 per cent of hijackings. A knife was used in 13 per cent of the attacks.

Most of those people who reported a hijacking to the survey were driving the car when the incident occurred (76 per cent), while a quarter (24 per cent) were passengers. This confirms warnings put out by the police that offenders tend to target drivers who are alone in their vehicles. Hijack victims were also probably fairly well off: 66 per cent said they owned the car that was taken and 77 per cent said the vehicle was insured.

How victims responded

Only the victims of car hijacking were asked whether they changed their behaviour in response to the crime. Of all victims interviewed in the survey, those who had experienced a hijacking were the least likely to change their behaviour after the crime. In all, 57 per cent of hijack victims said they took some sort of action, compared with around 70 per cent among burglary and mugging victims. The likely explanation is that hijacking victims feel there is not much they can do to avoid this crime. Victims of violent crimes, such as assault and murder, reported similar low levels of behaviour change.

Of those hijacking victims that did take preventive action, the majority avoided certain places (61 per cent). Increased vigilance was not a common response (14 per cent). These victims are the only ones of all those covered by the survey to say they did not feel safer as a result of taking these precautions.

Sixty eight per cent said the avoidance behaviour had no effect, while only 32 per cent said they felt safer. Hijacking is the one crime type which probably causes the greatest fear of crime. Responding to this anxiety is likely to be difficult, since encouraging preventive action in the case of these victims – unlike those of other crimes – does not appear to make people feel safer.

FEAR OF CRIME

Crime levels and victimisation patterns such as those outlined above, provide essential information for policy-makers on how to reduce actual crime levels. However, crime affects people in ways which are more insidious than actual victimisation. Fear of crime – or more accurately, anxiety and worry about crime – has become a familiar part of South African life. Reducing these feelings of anxiety, however, has received little attention from government. Local crime prevention strategies, while limited in their capacity to improve the criminal justice system, can make a contribution in this regard.

People's concern about crime has received increased attention in countries such as the UK over recent years. Fear of crime has become an important issue, largely because of its perceived effects on people's social behaviour. Anxiety about becoming a victim of crime, as well as the impact that crime may have, no matter how small the chances of victimisation, encourage feelings of insecurity, erode people's well-being, restrict freedom of movement and encourage defensive and wary behaviour.³⁵

In South Africa, such social effects have largely gone unnoticed amidst other economic and political effects of the fear of crime. The withdrawal of many businesses and shoppers from city centres, disinvestment from the country by large corporations, and the activities of vigilante groups such as People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), are some examples. Others include a hardening of attitudes towards criminal justice and calls for the death penalty to be reinstated. In the context of the forthcoming national elections in 1999, these issues are of critical importance to policy-makers.

Victim surveys provide one of only a few tools for designing interventions to reduce the fear of crime. They are key in measuring the extent and nature of anxiety. Importantly, fear of crime does not affect all sectors of society and parts of the city in the same way. It is necessary to establish what people fear, and where they worry most about crime and its consequences.

This section considers:

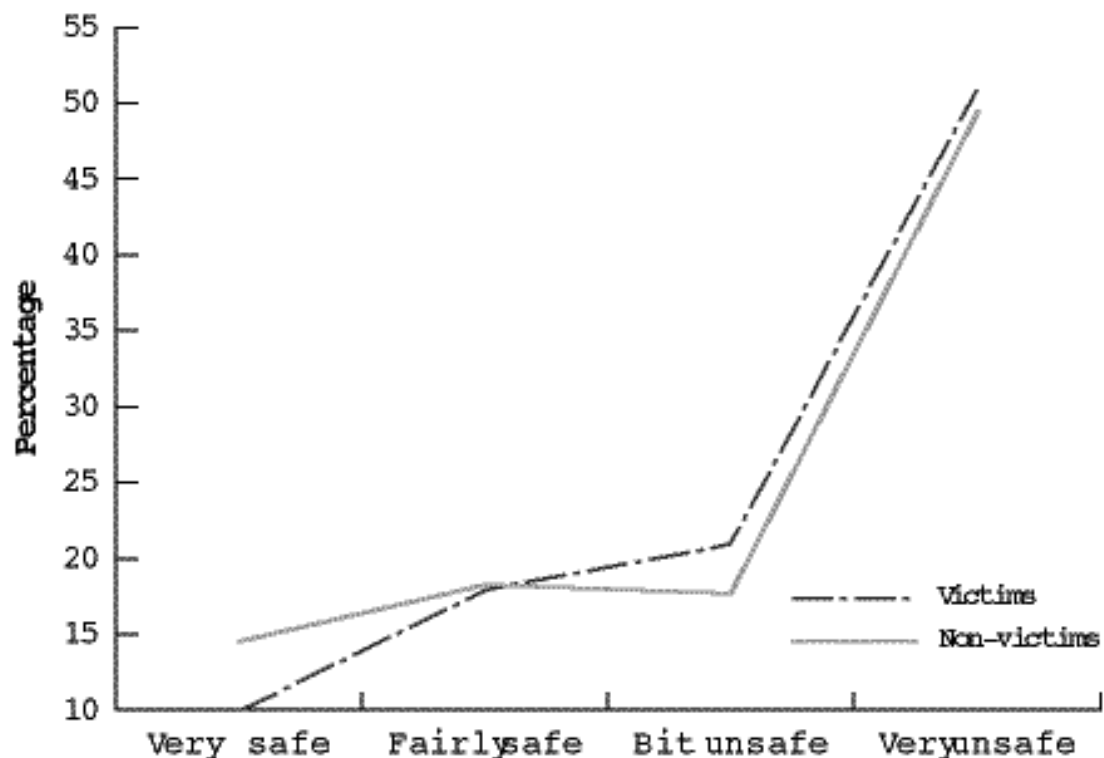
- the extent of fear;
- who is most likely to be anxious;
- which parts of the city are regarded as most unsafe; and
- what people fear.

Extent of anxiety

Fear of crime in Pretoria, as is the case in the other cities, is high. Most people feel very safe (43 per cent) and fairly safe (38 per cent) walking in the areas where they live during the day. But at night, levels of anxiety are much higher: half of Pretoria's population feel very unsafe (50 per cent) and a further 19 per cent feel a bit unsafe.

The views of victims and non-victims on this issue would be expected to diverge: victims should fear crime more than non-victims. However, non-victims feel almost as unsafe as victims at night, which indicates the extent to which fear of crime has permeated society in general (Figure 23).

Figure 23: How safe people feel walking in their area at night



Comparative indicators of insecurity also illustrate how the high fear of crime is in Pretoria. Of the major cities in several developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Latin America and Asia surveyed by the International Crime Victim Survey in 1994, nowhere were feelings of insecurity at night as high as in Pretoria. Around 30 per cent of those surveyed in cities of sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America said they felt very unsafe in their areas at night – the highest response in this category of all the countries surveyed.³⁶ In the UK in 1996, only 18 per cent of women – who are generally more fearful than men – said they felt very unsafe on the streets where they lived at night.³⁷ In Pretoria, in comparison, 56 per cent of women shared this view.

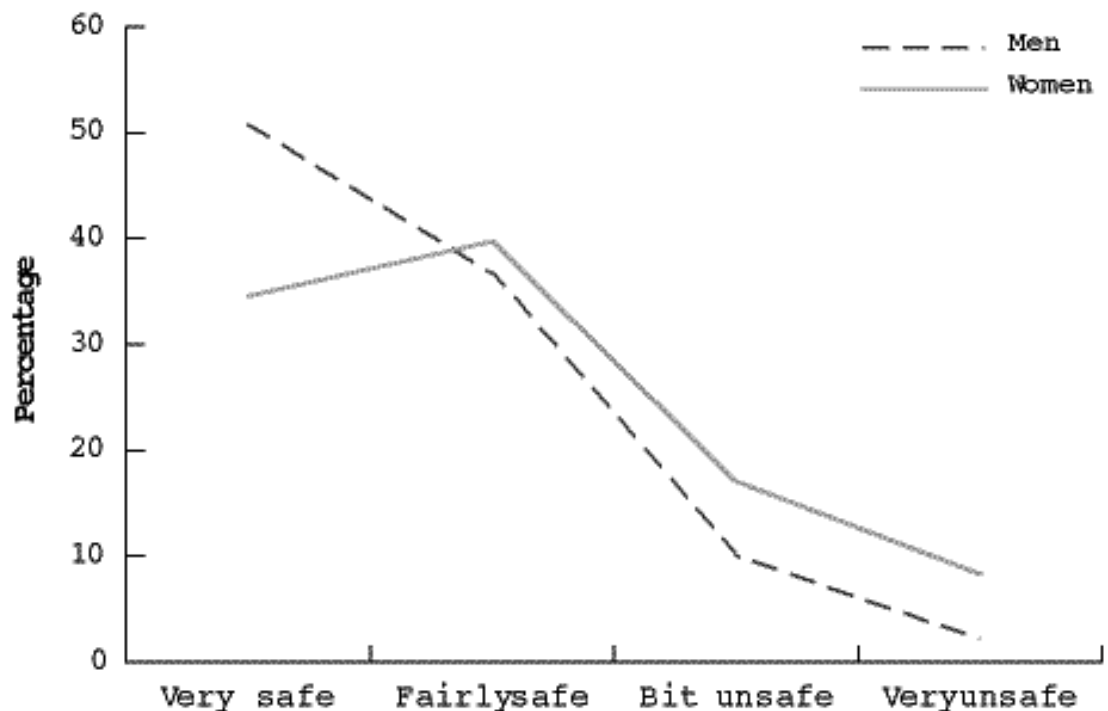
Who fears crime

Fear of crime is likely to be the highest not only among those people who think they have the greatest chance of victimisation, but also those who worry most about the consequences of crime, whether social, physical or economic. These trends have been illustrated by victim surveys both in South Africa and abroad. In Pretoria, those most likely to be anxious about crime were women, the aged, and people living in poorer parts of the city such as townships and informal areas. Each group is considered in turn:

- *Anxiety among women:* In Pretoria, women fear crime more than men, both at night and during the day. Women were less inclined to feel very safe during the day than men, and were more likely to feel very unsafe (Figure 24). At night, women's feelings of insecurity are magnified, and are more distinct from those of men than during the day: 56 per cent of

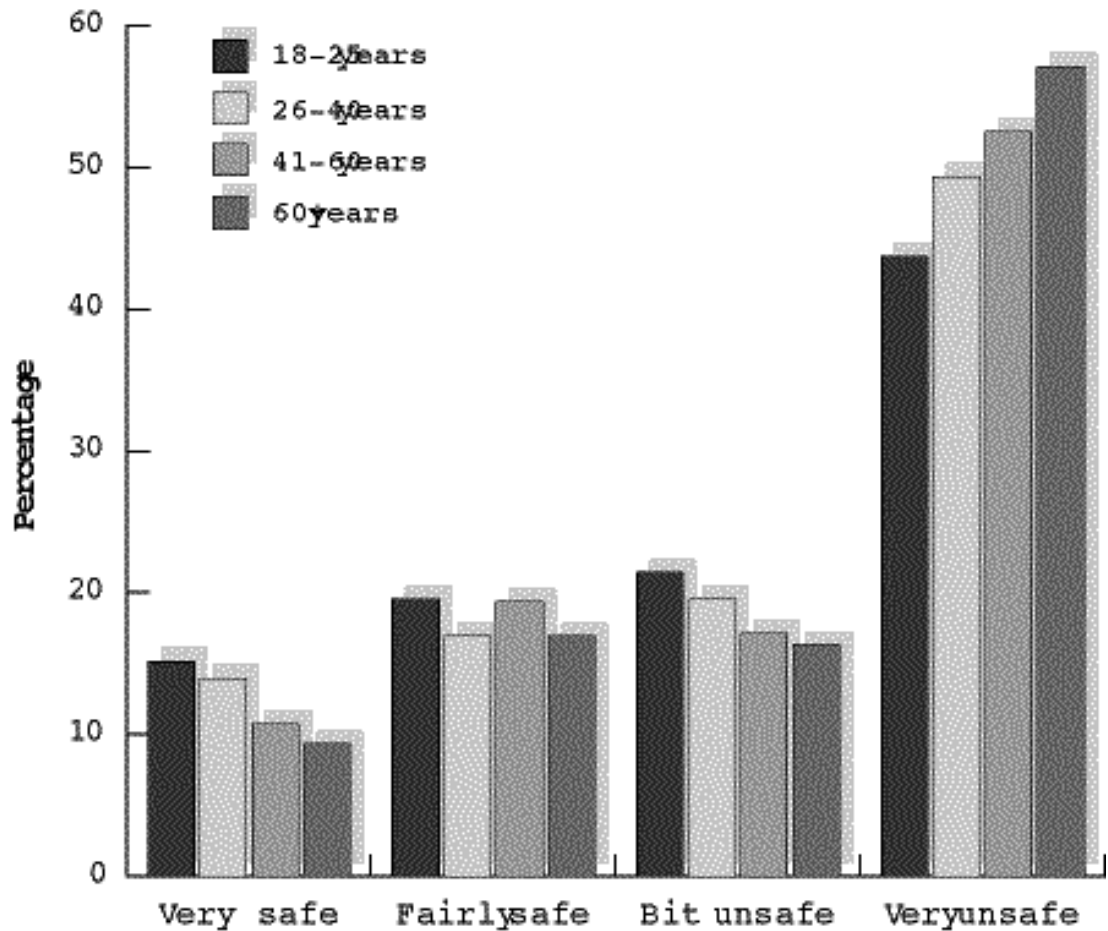
women said they felt very unsafe walking in their areas compared with 45 per cent of men.

Figure 24: How safe people feel walking in their area during the day



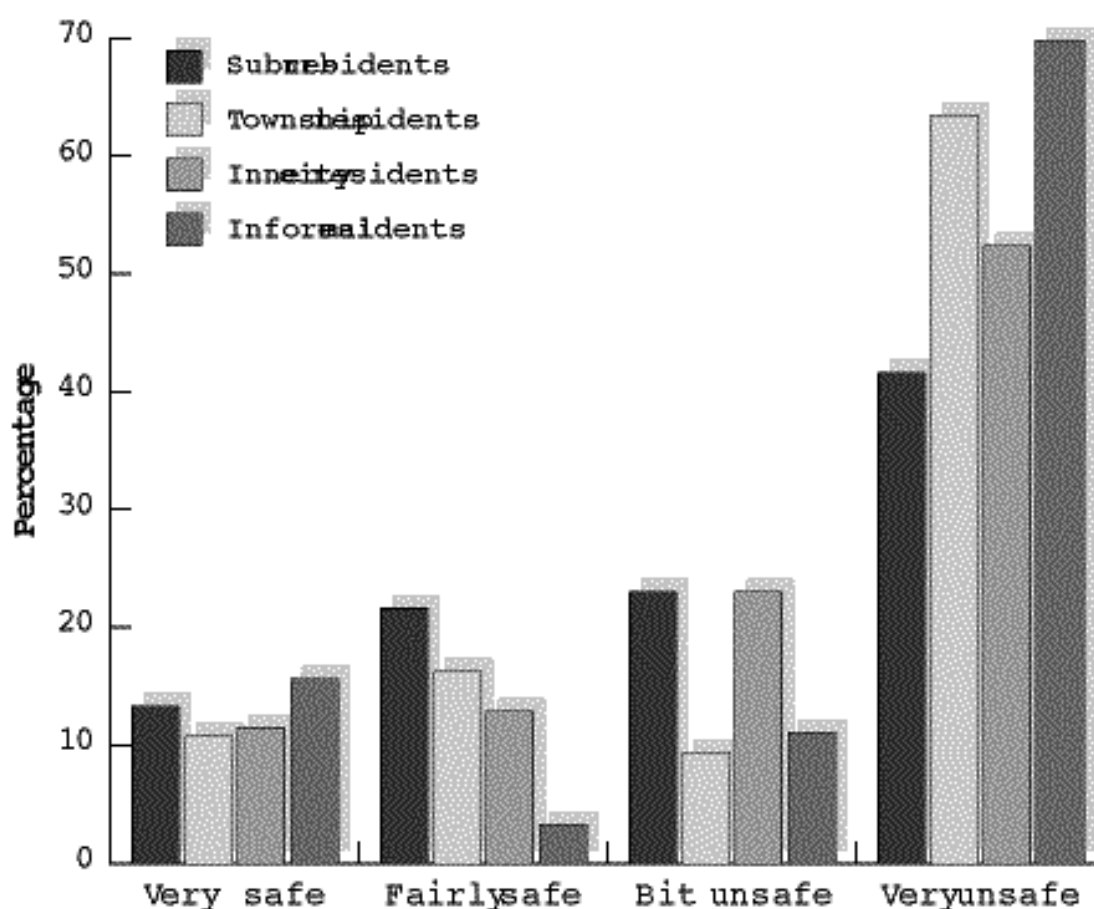
- *Anxiety among the aged:* People over the age of 60 years were more likely to feel very unsafe walking in the areas where they live at night (57 per cent) than those younger than them. In fact, levels of fear decrease with age (Figure 25). Fewer people over 60 years said they felt very safe during the day (31 per cent) than anyone else. Half of those aged 18 to 25 years, in comparison, were very safe during the day in Pretoria.

Figure 25: How safe people feel walking in their area at night



- Anxiety among people living in townships and informal areas:* Fear of crime does not affect all parts of Pretoria in the same way. People living in townships and informal areas were far more worried about their safety at night than those in suburbs and the inner city: 70 per cent of the residents of informal settlements and 63,5 per cent of township inhabitants said they felt very unsafe at night. Only 42 per cent of those living in the suburbs had similar fears (Figure 26). These levels of fear are higher than those recorded in the Durban and Cape Town city victim surveys, but lower than in the Johannesburg survey. In Durban, for example, 34 per cent of people living in suburbs, 48 per cent of those in townships, 53 per cent of inner city residents and 57 per cent of people in informal settlements felt very unsafe at night.³⁸

Figure 26: How safe people feel walking in their area during the day



The picture improves during the day, however. People felt much safer in Pretoria's townships and informal settlements than they did at night. More people in these parts felt very safe (56 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively, for those in townships and informal settlements) during the day than did those in suburbs (38 per cent) and the inner city (39 per cent) of Pretoria. People tended to feel more anxious about particular parts of the city and particular crime types, which may explain this divergence.

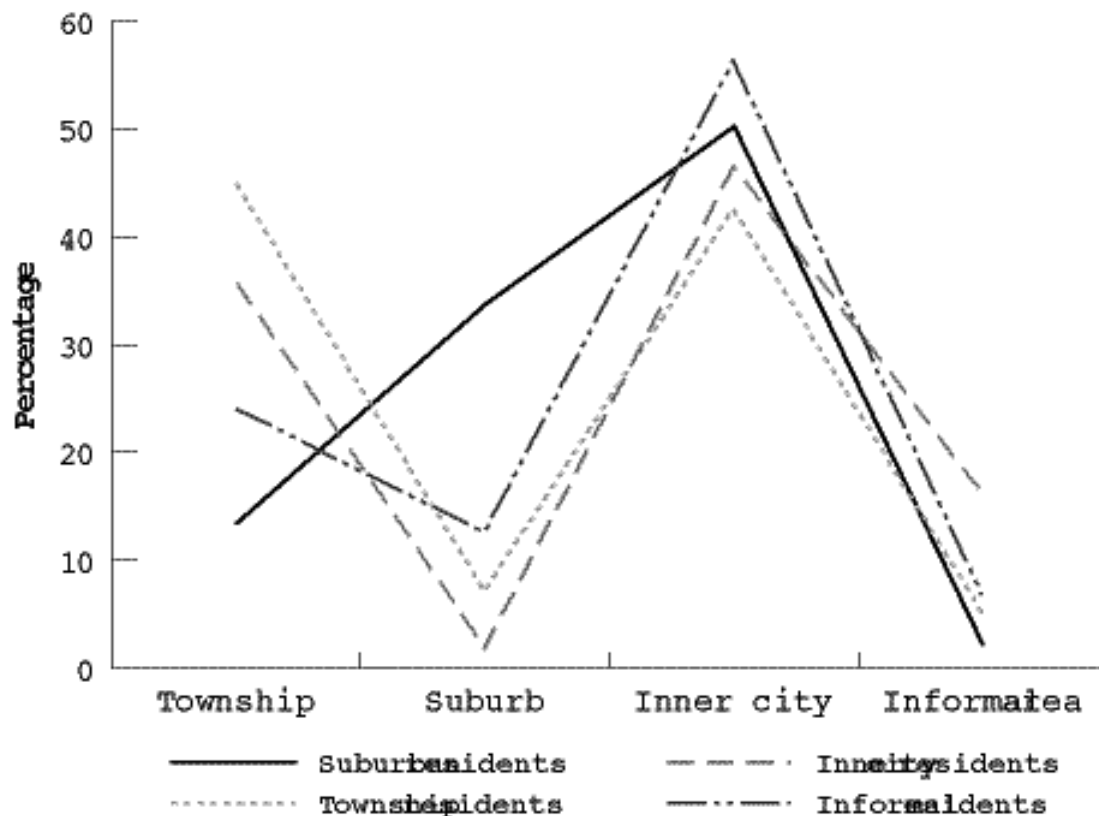
Parts of the city regarded as unsafe

People in Pretoria were asked to name places in the metropolitan area which they regarded as the most unsafe. These places – listed in Appendix 1 – were then grouped and reclassified into suburb, township, inner city and informal settlement categories. These views suggest not only which parts of the city induce the greatest fear of crime, but also what it is that people fear.

Nearly half of people in Pretoria named the inner city as the most unsafe place in Pretoria (49 per cent). After the inner city, more people (27 per cent) identified places in the suburbs as most unsafe than in the townships (20 per cent). Those people living in the inner city were more likely than any others to feel insecure in the city centre: 56 per cent said the inner city was the most unsafe, compared to 50 per cent of suburban residents and 46 per cent of people from informal settlements in Pretoria. Those living in townships were the only ones who did not regard the inner city as the most dangerous. For

these people, the townships in Pretoria where they reside, were regarded as slightly more unsafe (45 per cent) than the inner city (43 per cent) (Figure 27).

Figure 27: Parts of Pretoria considered most unsafe by residents from different areas



Although fear of crime is high in Pretoria's inner city, higher levels of anxiety were recorded in Durban among white and Asian people, more than 70 per cent of whom regarded the inner city as most unsafe.³⁹ Cape Town's city centre is believed to be the safest, if the views of residents of the Cape metropolitan area are considered. Here, only 27 per cent of white people – who generally fear crime in the inner city more than any other group – said they felt most vulnerable in the city centre.⁴⁰

Fear of crime in the inner city is probably the result of victimisation experience, as well as other fears. The Pretoria survey data show that people are more at risk of most types of crime in townships and suburbs than they are in the inner city, suggesting that these high levels of fear could be misplaced. More violent crimes such as murder, car hijacking and assault – which people are most afraid of – occurred outside the inner city.

Mugging and robbery are the crime types in Pretoria that occurred with equal frequency in the inner city and in the suburbs, and could thus be the source of some of this anxiety. However, comparative studies have concluded that fear about mugging was not related to having been a victim of this crime, although knowing a victim made people more anxious. What is more likely is that other characteristics of the inner city cause people to feel unsafe, such as overcrowding, the presence of large numbers of street hawkers, and litter. The British Crime Survey led analysts to conclude that local disorder, such as

noisy neighbourhoods, poor street lighting and teenagers hanging around, was predictive of nearly all measures of fear.⁴¹

Similar disjunctures between anxiety and the likelihood of victimisation have been noted with regard to what people fear most about crime in Pretoria.

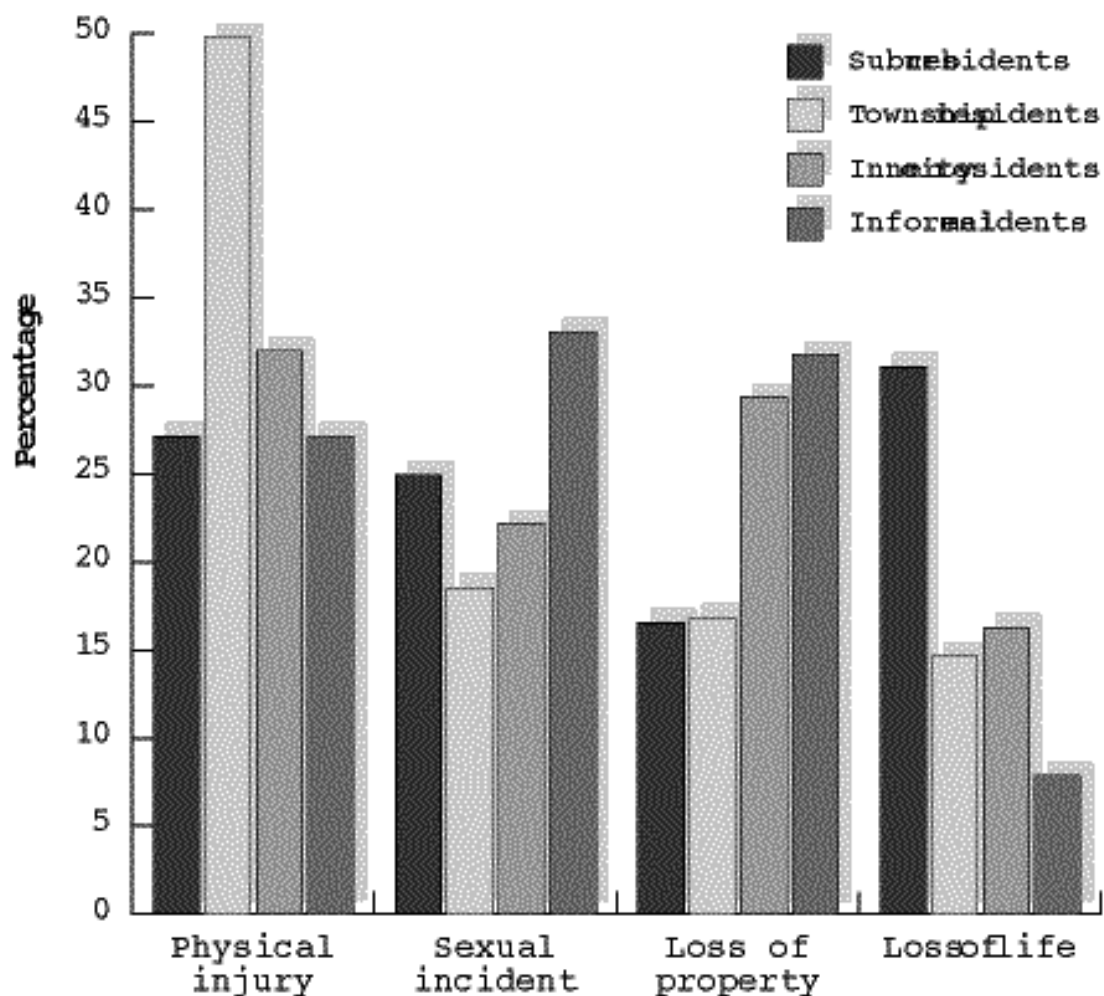
What people fear

The influence of the anticipated risk of victimisation, as opposed to the impact of crime – even when the chances of becoming a victim are remote – is well illustrated by survey questions which asked people what they fear most about crime, and what specific crime type they are most afraid of.

On the whole, people in Pretoria fear physical consequences of crime more than economic ones. One-third said they fear physical injury, a quarter were afraid of losing their life and 20,5 per cent feared sexual violence. Only 19 per cent reported fearing loss of property. These fears, however, do not apply equally to all people in Pretoria.

People living in suburbs were more likely to fear loss of life (31 per cent) than those living in any other parts of the city. Indeed, while the survey shows that people living in townships are far more likely to experience violence than those in the suburbs, only 15 per cent of township residents said they fear loss of life. A lower proportion of those living in townships also fear sexual incidents than do those in the suburbs. Physical injury, which is most likely to affect township residents, was identified by half of these people as the greatest source of concern. For the residents of informal settlements, in contrast, loss of property was regarded as the most serious (Figure 28).

Figure 28: What people fear most about crime

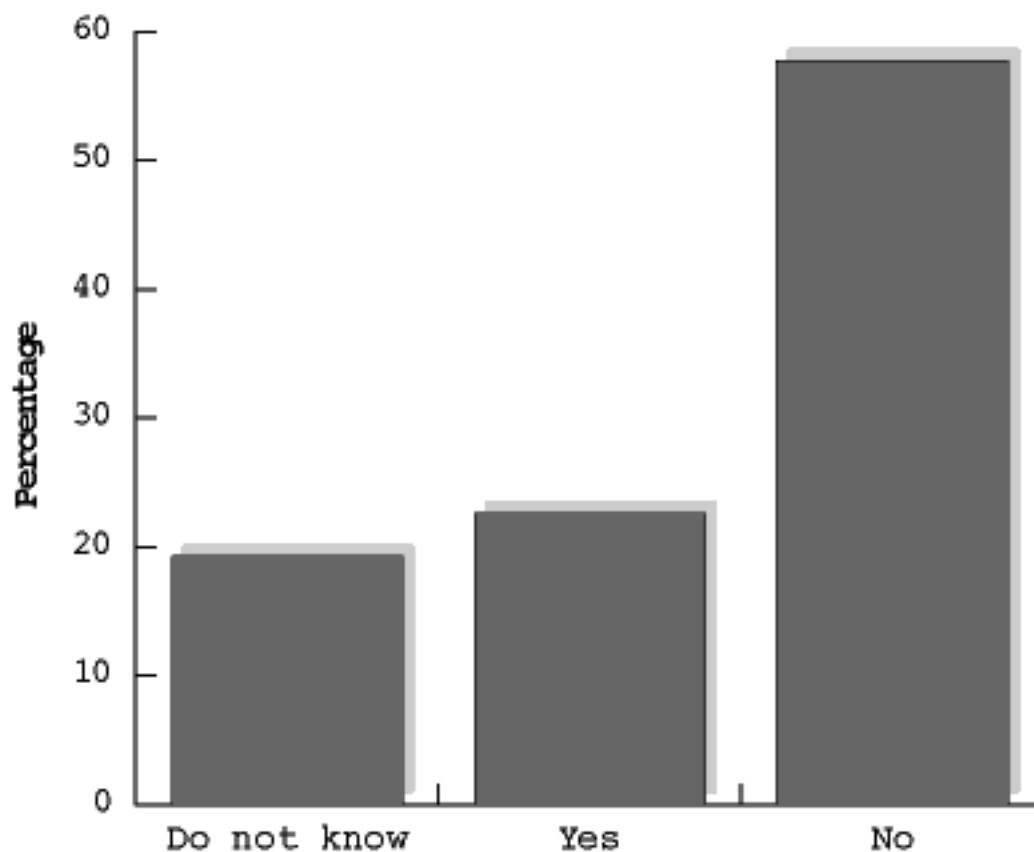


The particular crimes that people fear most are housebreaking (24,5 per cent) and murder (23 per cent). Unlike the responses above, people living in townships were more likely to fear murder (30,5 per cent) than those in the suburbs (20,5 per cent). For the latter respondents, burglary was feared more (28 per cent) than was the case for township residents (17,5 per cent), even though people in townships were more likely to be affected by this crime. These fears reflect concerns about crimes which have the most serious impact on people's lives (such as murder), as well as those perceived as the most likely to happen (such as burglary). In the case of women for example, their fears centred around housebreaking (28 per cent) and rape (26 per cent), while men were most worried about murder (30 per cent).

Although anxiety about crime does not always match actual risk, fears should not be regarded as irrational. In the UK, where crime levels (and particularly violent crime levels) are far lower than in South Africa, the Home Office has concluded that fears are usually the highest in areas where the chances of victimisation are the greatest, and among those with the most direct and indirect experience of crime. Rather than accusing people of 'worrying too much', fears should be addressed where they occur.

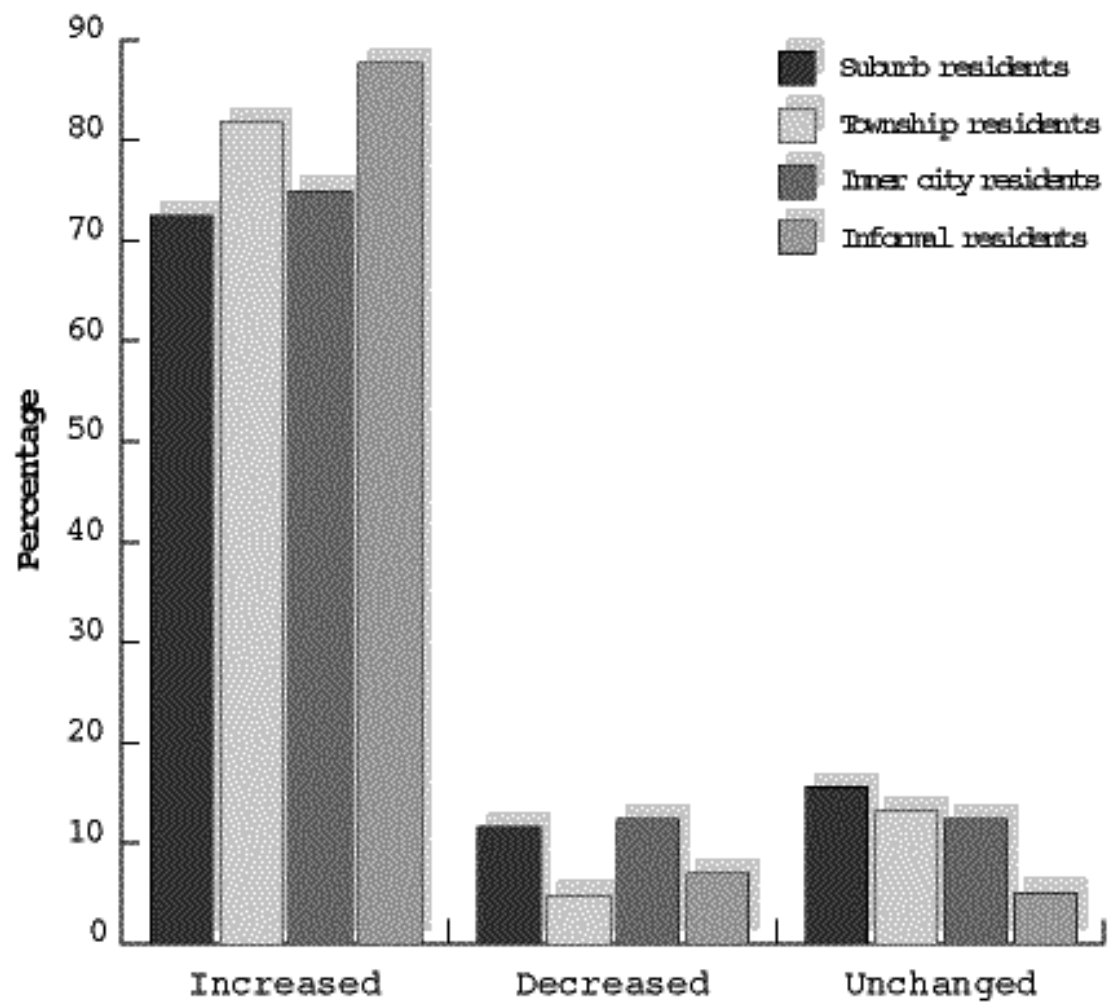
Interventions to reduce fear of crime, however, are not straightforward. Certainly, the victim survey has shown that government cannot hope to make people feel safer through publicising reductions in crime levels. When asked whether they believed what government or police statistics say about changing crime levels, most people (58 per cent) in Pretoria said they did not, and a significant proportion were undecided (Figure 29). Those most sceptical of official statistics were white people, women and the youth. Not surprisingly, people who had not been victims of crime were more likely to believe the figures than victims, which illustrates the kind of impact that victimisation can have on perceptions of crime.

Figure 29: Whether people believe government statistics about crime levels



Perceptions of crime clearly depend on more than information about the situation: 76 per cent of people in Pretoria thought that crime had increased compared to previous years, despite the fact that the government has recently made several announcements to the contrary. Those most likely to think this were women, and people living in townships and informal settlements (Figure 30). While more crimes have indeed happened to many of the victims surveyed during 1997 than during 1996, these views are more likely to be based on a subjective judgement than on publicised facts about changing crime levels. In any event, the difference between victims and non-victims on the issue was not dramatic: 74 per cent of non-victims thought crime had increased compared with 79,5 per cent of victims. Comparative studies of anxiety about crime over several years have also recorded majority perceptions that crime has increased, despite declines in statistics.⁴²

Figure 30: Views on changing crime levels in area of residence compared to previous years



VICTIM SUPPORT AND OTHER INTERVENTIONS

As with the need to address the fear of crime, there has been a shift in recent years in the thinking of criminal justice agencies away from focusing on arresting and convicting criminals, to the provision of better treatment and services for the victims of crime. In line with this, both the government and non-governmental organisations have sought to meet these needs. Addressing the needs of victims, both practically and emotionally, enables them to cope better with their victimisation and to regain faith in the criminal justice system's ability to protect them.

These developments and the benefits of victim support have been recognised in South Africa. However, the city victim surveys conducted by the ISS have indicated that awareness levels and the use of victim support agencies are very low. As a result, the more recent surveys asked people who they turned to for help after victimisation, what kind of support they would have liked, whether they used the services offered by support agencies, as well as perceptions of their usefulness.

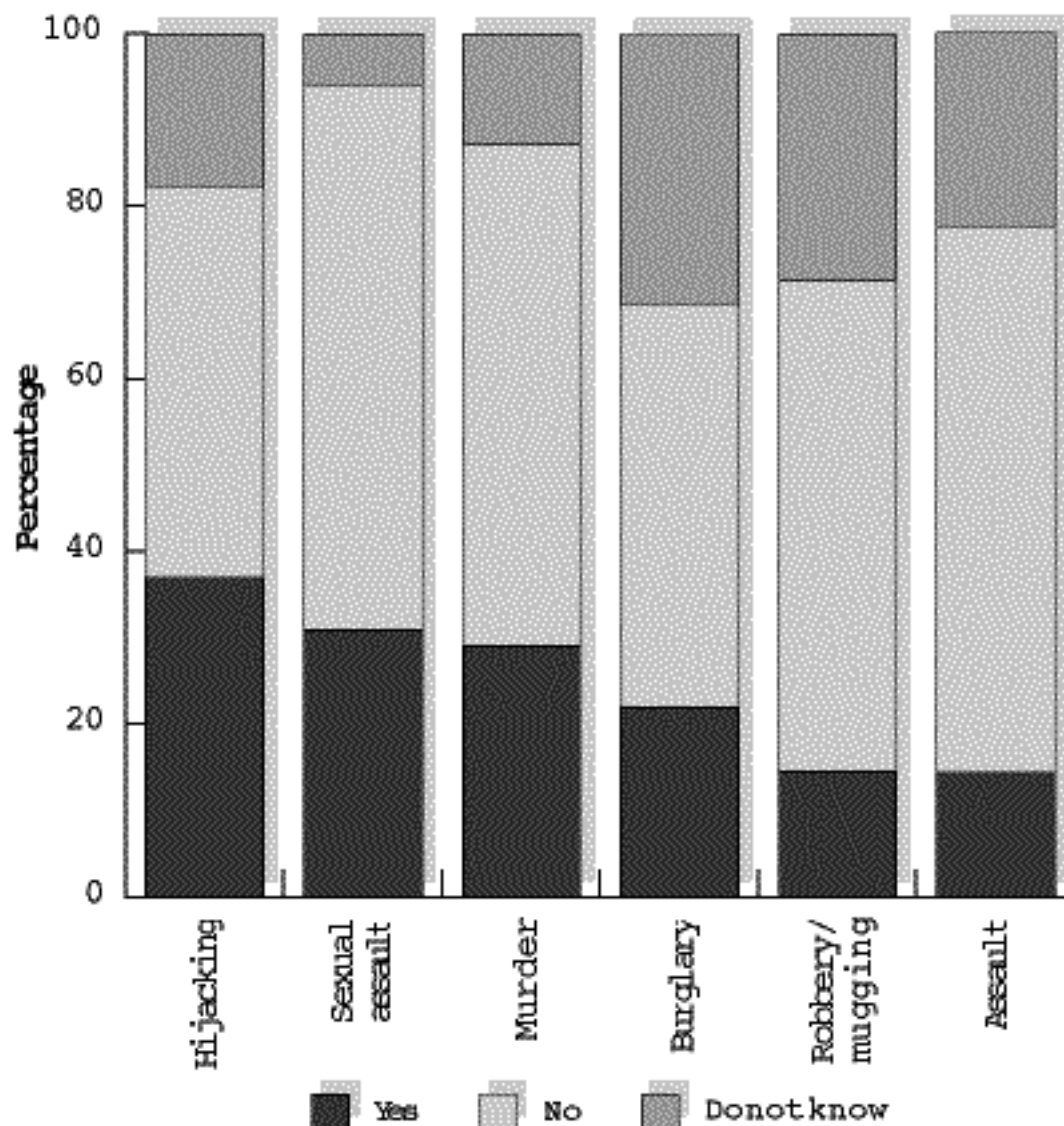
The results largely confirm that few victims in Pretoria know about such agencies or make use of their services. In addition, many victims turn to the police for help. In the light of these findings, which need to be interpreted with caution, this section also considers what strategies people think would best reduce crime in Pretoria.

Assistance to victims

Respondents could select from a range of options in identifying who they sought assistance from after being victimised. While trends differed depending on the crime they had experienced, most victims sought help in the most intimate places – such as from family and friends – and in the most public and official places – such as the police. Nearly half of the victims across all crime types said they turned to family and friends for assistance. One-third of those who reported car hijacking, burglary and murder said they sought the help of the police. Around 20 per cent of the victims of the remaining crime types said the same.

These findings suggest little inclination among victims to seek assistance from those groups most often tasked with responding to victims' needs, such as community police forums, street committees, counsellors and religious bodies. This may be related, however, to perceptions of the availability of such agencies, and the degree of access people have to them. The need for assistance is nevertheless great, and is confirmed by the extensive use of family and friends after victimisation. What form this assistance should take, however, is less certain. When asked whether they thought the services of victim support agencies would be useful, the majority of victims were unsure and nearly a quarter said they would not be of use (Figure 31). This suggests both a lack of awareness of the existence of such services and of their potential benefits, as well as scepticism about the desirability of traditional forms of victim assistance such as counselling.

Figure 31: Whether victim support agencies were considered useful by victims



Given this, victims were asked what type of help they would have liked. Again, trends varied among victims of different crimes. Victims of crimes directed at property, such as burglary, mugging and hijacking, mostly asked for effective law enforcement and preventive information (Figure 32). Victims of violent crimes, such as assault, murder and sexual assault, also sought effective law enforcement, followed by moral support and counselling in the case of sexual assault victims (Figure 33). Thus, apart from those who reported sexual crimes, few victims sought the assistance of counsellors or community support. Practical financial support to compensate for the impact of crime was also not a popular requirement.

Figure 32: Kind of support that victims of crimes aimed at property would have liked

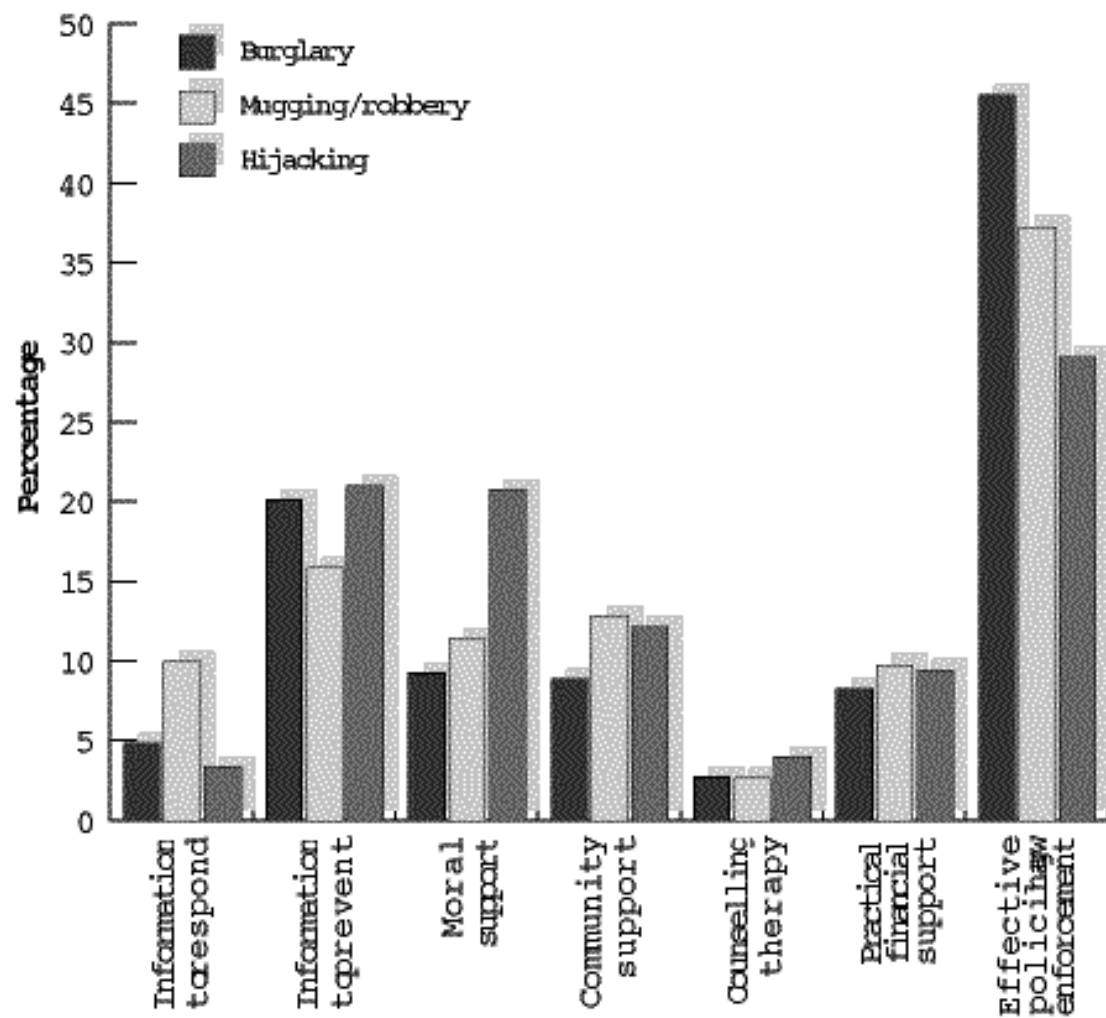
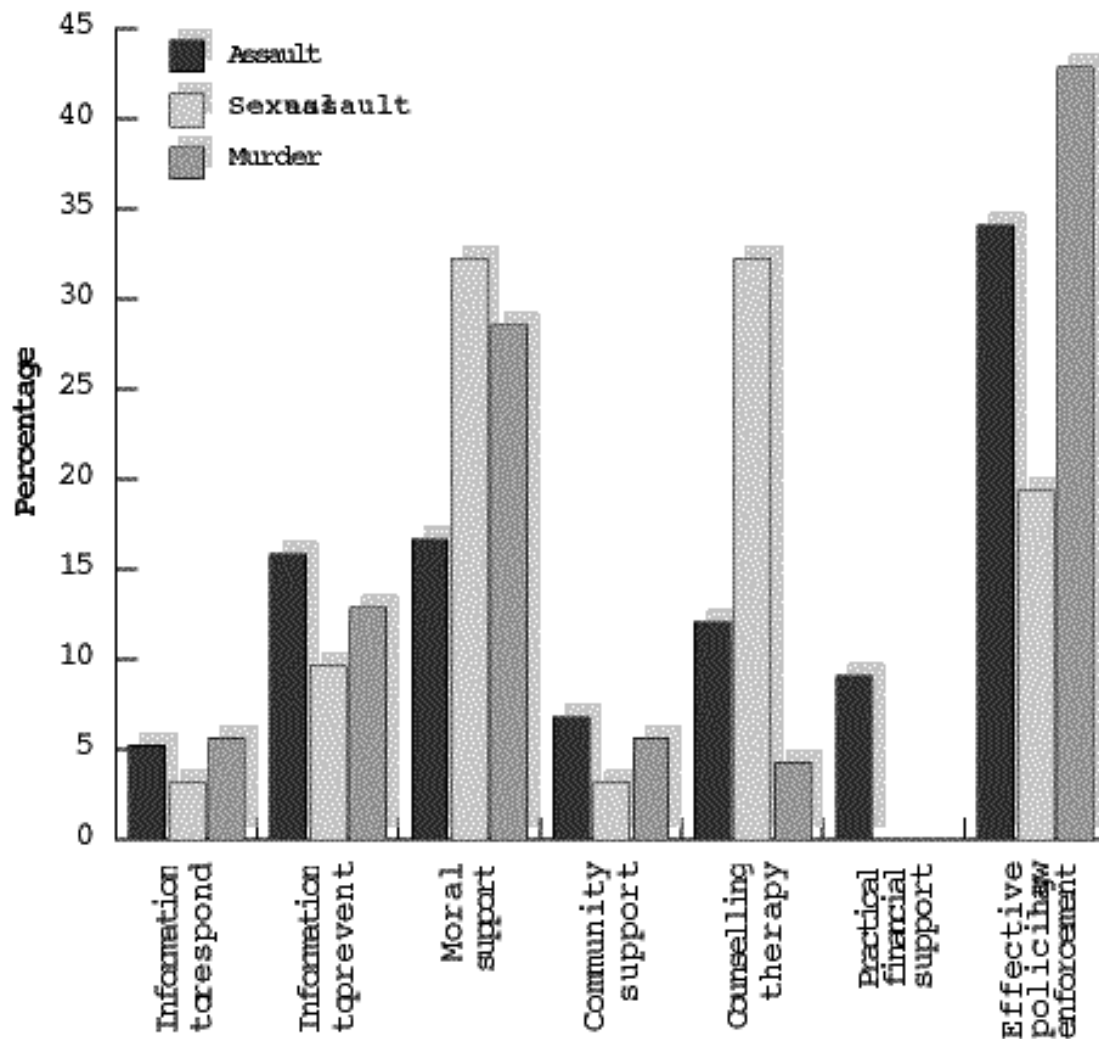


Figure 33: Kind of support that victims of violent crime would have liked



A surprising number of victims wanted better policing; and indeed this is where many victims turned to for help. Both are encouraging, since it suggests that, despite a lack of confidence in their ability to reduce crime, all faith has not been lost in the police. However, it is equally likely that, in search of some response to their plight, victims simply have nowhere else to turn. It may also be the case that soon after victimisation by serious crimes, victims think more of justice and retribution than of the trauma they have suffered. This may become a concern only some time after the experience.

The lack of alternatives to the police is illustrated by the fact that, when asked whether they had ever heard of victim support agencies, the vast majority of victims said they had not. Hijacking victims were more likely than any others to know about such agencies, probably because of the high profile of the crime and the substantial preventive and other information supplied by the media and the police (Figure 34). An even smaller proportion of victims said they had never actually used the services of such agencies. For the victims of most crime types, 5 per cent or less had experience of support agencies. Murder victims were the only exception: 7 per cent said they had used these services (Figure 35).

Figure 34: Whether victims of particular crimes had heard of victim support agencies

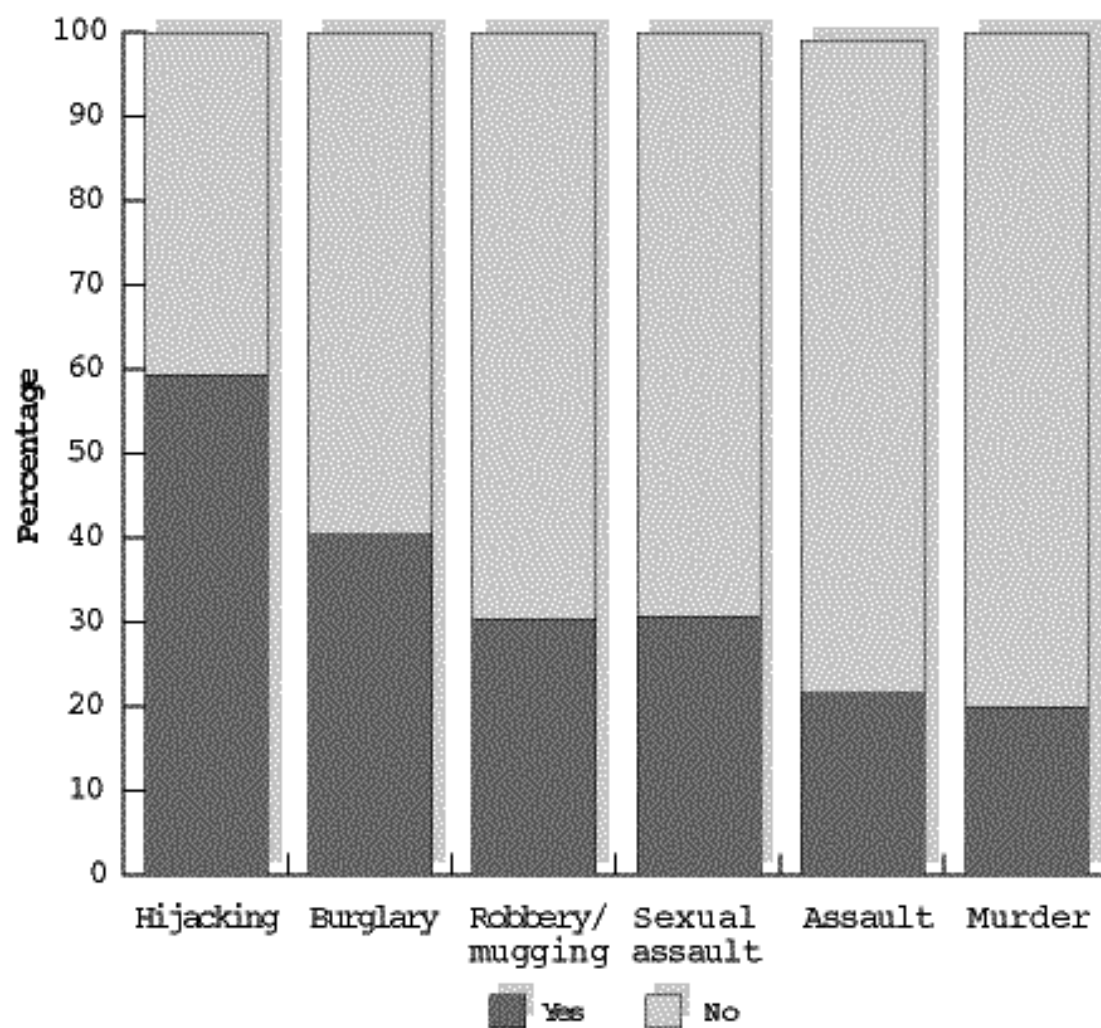
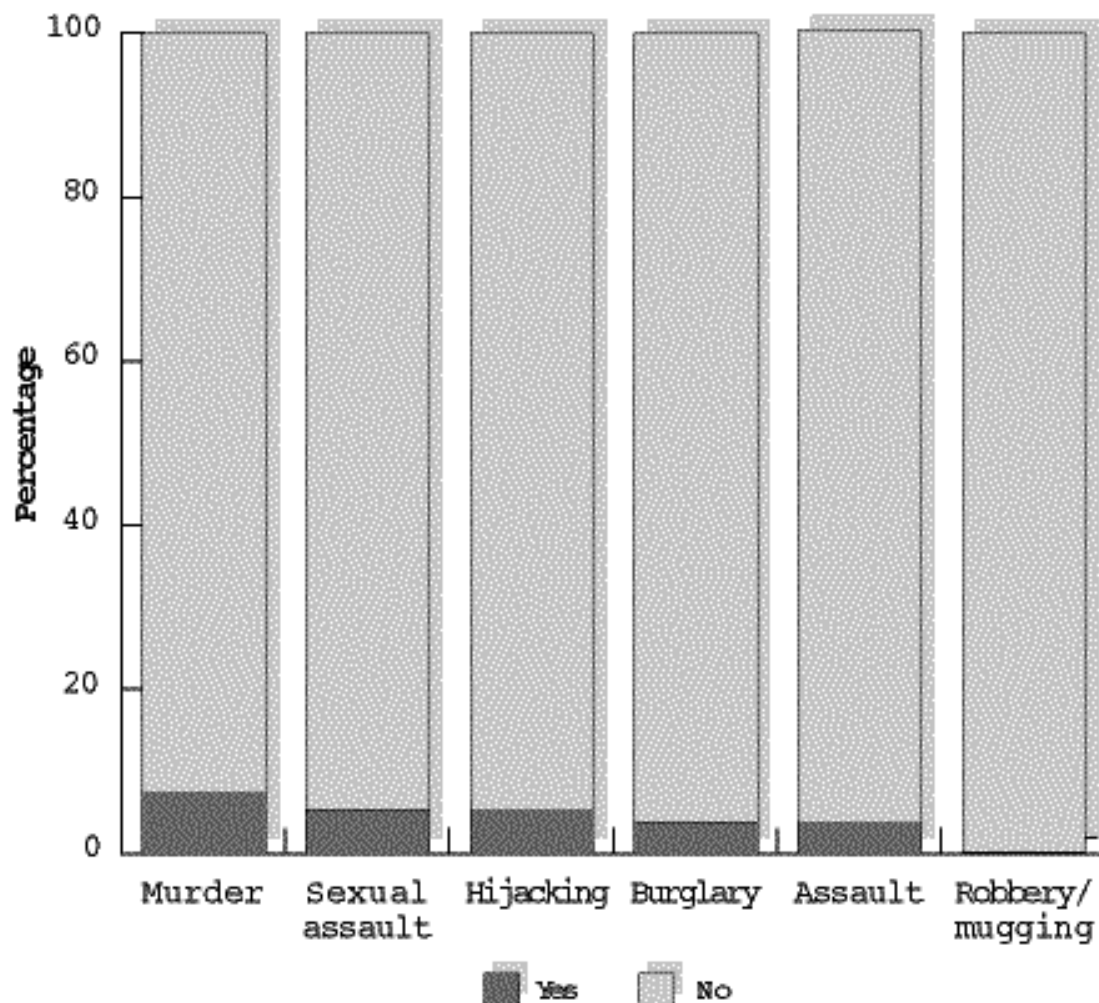


Figure 35: Whether victims of particular crimes had used the services of victim support agencies



In the absence of victim support services which meet the needs of the majority of people, and an awareness of their existence and benefits (and no doubt given the very high levels of crime), law enforcement is regarded as key by the victims of crime. This is a view shared by the population of Pretoria more generally as well.

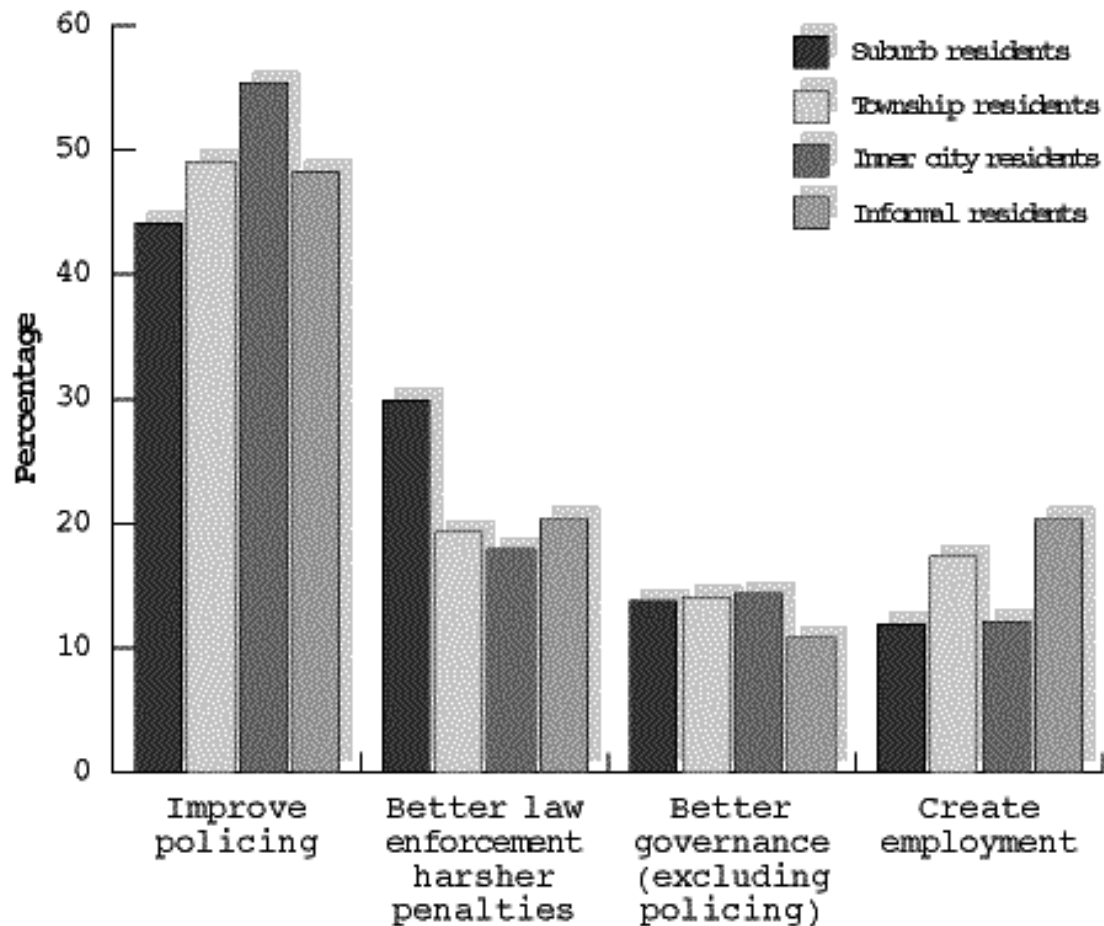
Strategies to make Pretoria safer

People were asked both what the government could do to make the city safer, as well as what they themselves could do. In both cases, the majority of people identified policing and criminal justice solutions as the most important. Nearly half of all respondents (47 per cent) said the government should improve policing, and a further 26 per cent called for better law enforcement. Equal proportions thought better governance in general (excluding criminal justice issues) and creating jobs (14 per cent, respectively) would improve safety in the city.

Not everyone in Pretoria shared these views, however, reflecting varying levels of crime, fear of crime and service delivery by the police for people living in different parts of the city. People living in the townships, inner city and

informal areas were more likely to identify better policing as a critical intervention for government than were those in the suburbs (Figure 36).

Figure 36: Views of people living in different parts of the city on what government can do to make Pretoria safe



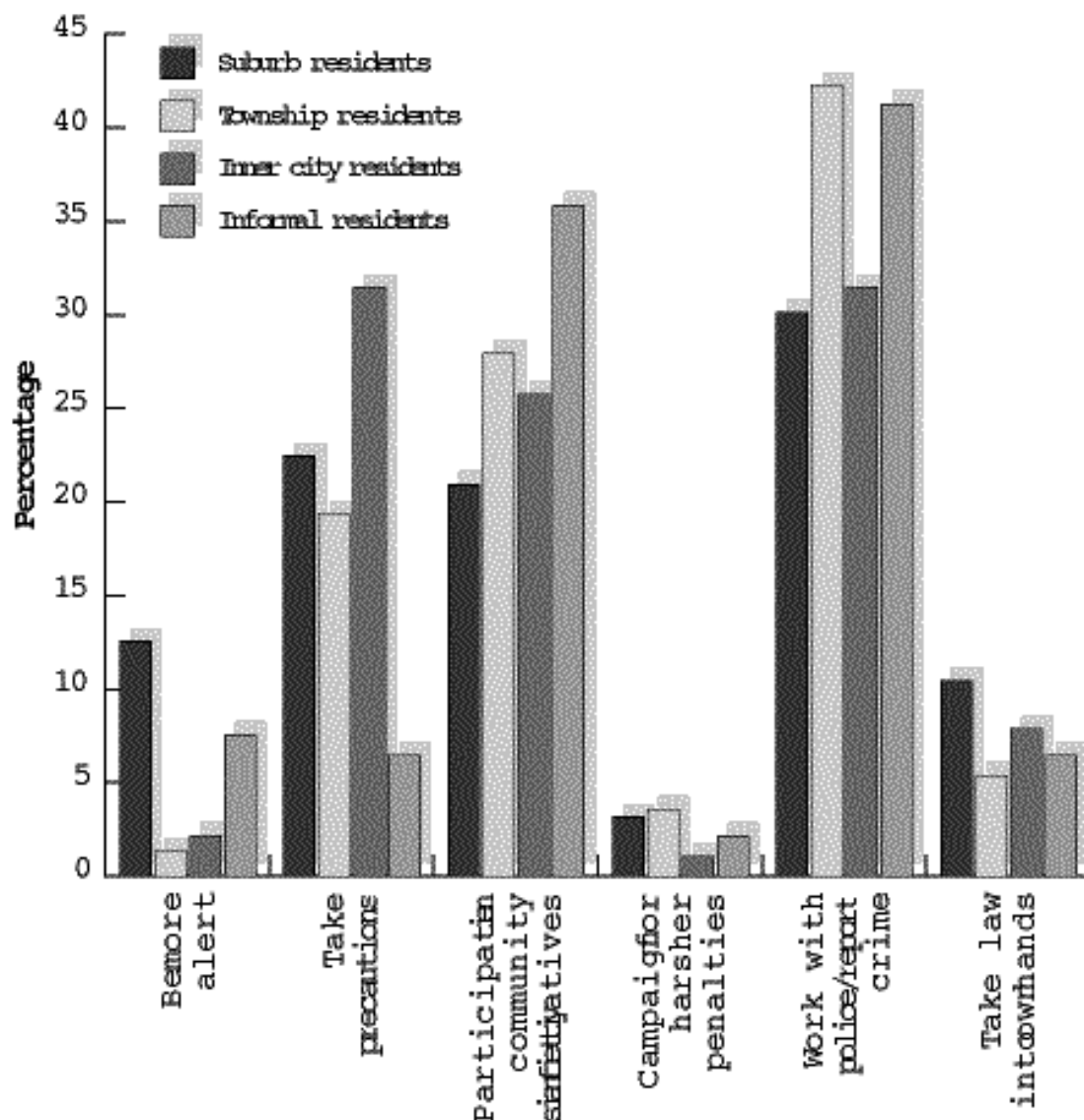
Similar trends applied to those people who identified employment creation as an issue. In a reversal of this trend, harsher penalties and better law enforcement was a more popular solution for people in the suburbs than for any others. The views of men and women also diverged on the issue. Thirty two per cent of women thought harsher penalties and law enforcement was needed, compared with 21 per cent of men, who, in turn, were more likely to favour improving the police (54 per cent) than were women (38 per cent). It is likely that women's fear of sexual crimes influenced this selection: effective justice is often regarded as the most important short term solution to sexual violence, while the effectiveness of the police in securing women's safety is often questioned.

Government cannot be expected to provide effective safety to the city's residents alone. People were therefore asked what they could do to make Pretoria a safer place. Again, many people saw the solution in terms of more effective policing and criminal justice. Thirty four per cent said they would support the efforts of the police and report crimes. A significant proportion, however, also identified community-based initiatives, private security and preventive behaviour as important. A quarter of people said they would

participate in community safety initiatives, and 30 per cent opted for taking precautions and being more alert.

Significantly, these are all constructive responses which do not threaten the state – one potential consequence of high levels of fear of crime and low levels of confidence in the government's ability to respond. In fact, only 9 per cent of people in Pretoria said that taking the law into their own hands could enhance safety in the city. This solution was more popular among people living in the suburbs (10,5 per cent) than those in townships (5 per cent) and in informal settlements (6,5 per cent). People living in the less wealthy parts of the city were more inclined to choose co-operative safety strategies than individual interventions (Figure 37). More township and informal settlement residents said they would work with the police and participate in community safety initiatives than did people living in the suburbs. In the latter parts of the city in turn, preventive behaviour such as taking precautions and being more alert was more popular than in the townships and informal areas

Figure 37: Views of people living in different parts of the city on what they can do to make Pretoria safer



Implications for interventions

The attitudes of people in Pretoria with regard to victim support and other state and non-state interventions, considered against the backdrop of levels of crime and fear of crime, suggest several conclusions for the development of a local crime prevention strategy in the city:

- People see the police as key to the enhancing of safety in the city. Given that levels of anxiety about crime are particularly high, and that actual crime levels and the risk of victimisation often bear little relation to fear, interventions should include the police wherever possible. Visible police patrols, for example, while they are less likely to reduce actual crime levels, can have an important impact on lessening the fear of crime. Similarly, enhancing surveillance in areas which induce fear of crime is important, and need not necessarily involve the police. Car guards, private security and the public can also fulfil this role.
- Related to this, interventions to reduce fear of crime in Pretoria's inner city areas are important. Many crimes are less likely to happen here than in other parts of the city, yet most people feel unsafe in the city centre. A visible police presence, environmental design interventions, such as better lighting and surveillance, regulation of informal traders and the enforcement of other bylaws, could reduce levels of anxiety.
- Many people in Pretoria are prepared to take preventive action and participate in community initiatives to enhance their safety. Furthermore, many people identified information to prevent crime as one type of support they would have liked after victimisation. A local crime prevention strategy can make a key intervention by providing people with this type of information. This is also likely to reduce feelings of insecurity, since many victims said they felt safer after taking such precautions. Preventive action, however, seems to be favoured by certain sectors of the population more than by others, and may relate to issues of affordability: those people who have options and can make choices are often more able to afford behaviour changes.
- Meeting the needs of the victims of violent crime is likely to present the greatest challenges. These crimes often result in the greatest levels of fear, and their victims are least likely to take preventive measures in the wake of victimisation. For those that do, feelings of safety are not likely to improve dramatically. Since many violent crimes occur in the home environment and between people who know one another, outside interventions both to prevent and respond to these offences, are also more difficult. However, victims of violence clearly require moral support, counselling and protection. Since many turn to the police for assistance (and not to counsellors and other community-based structures), improving their perceptions of the police through better service delivery in the charge office would provide an important point of contact through which to reach these victims. These are also good places to supply victims with information about victim support services, their location and potential benefits. Victims of violent crime are also

most likely to use the services of support agencies – where these exist – and the activities of these agencies should therefore be supported.

- The survey indicates clearly that crime levels, the extent of anxiety about crime, as well as the responses of people towards crime and the police, differ for those living in townships and suburbs. Many of these trends are also distinct for white and black people in Pretoria. These disparities need to be applied to whatever strategies and programmes are developed for the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council.

ADDENDUM: NOTES ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND SEXUAL ASSAULT

BACKGROUND

The limitations of victim surveys and street surveys, in particular, to record the extent and details of violence against women, were discussed in the main report (see page 4). These noted that street surveys undercount sexual offences because of the sensitivity around discussing these incidents in public with a stranger. In addition, there is the danger that respondents and interviewers may not interpret incidents in the same way. Given the limited time available to administer street surveys, even well communicated definitions may not reduce or eliminate confusion around definitions of particular offences. The problem relates largely to the generalist nature of victim surveys. Only studies which are dedicated to record information about sexual offences (rather than about all serious crimes, as is the case here) will overcome these limitations.

Underreporting of sexual harassment and sexual assault in the Pretoria victim survey is thus more likely to account for the low response rate to the survey, than actual low levels of these offences. Questions about sexual offences were asked only of women in Pretoria. Of the 904 women who were interviewed in the detailed survey,¹ 23 (2,5 per cent) said they had been sexually harassed and 34 (4 per cent) were victims of sexual assault between 1993 and April 1998.

The sample of sexual harassment and sexual assault victims is thus too small to draw detailed or accurate conclusions. Trends cannot therefore be extrapolated to all women in the Pretoria metropolitan area in terms of risk, or to all victims of sexual offences, in terms of the circumstances in which the crimes occur. Nevertheless, since information on sexual offences in the Pretoria area is limited, the experiences and opinions of those few women who did respond to the survey are outlined below. It should be emphasised that these trends apply only to the victims who were interviewed, and not to victims of sexual offences more generally in Pretoria.

The experiences of sexual harassment and sexual assault victims are discussed separately in this addendum, which follows a similar format to that of the crime profiles in the main report. Victims' views of the police, and about the type of support they would have liked and the support they actually received, are also discussed.

Each section describes:

- the extent of victimisation and who the victims are;
- when and where the offences occurred;
- the circumstances in which the crimes occurred;
- whether offences were reported to the police and victims' perceptions of service; and
- responses to victimisation and perceptions of assistance to victims.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment was defined to respondents in the following way:

People sometimes touch others against their will, or say offensive things or persistently harass them for sexual reasons. This can happen at work (for example, to get or keep a job). It can also happen at home or elsewhere in a bar/shebeen, in a street, at school, on public transport or at a shopping centre. The person doing this could be someone you do not know, or it could be a relative, friend, or a family member.

Interviewers were reminded that incidents such as stalking, obscene phone calls and flashing constituted sexual harassment. If any violent sexual assault or physical force was used, the incident would be recorded as sexual assault and not as harassment.²

Extent and victim profile

In South Africa, research into the extent of sexual harassment is limited. One survey, however, has suggested that 67 per cent of working women have experienced sexual harassment, while according to another, 76 per cent of female respondents had been harassed.³ These levels are far higher than the 2,5 per cent of women who reported sexual harassment to the Pretoria city victim survey between 1993 and April 1998 (Table 1), indicating the extent to which these offences were undercounted.

Table 1: Number of women who said they were sexually harassed, 1993-April 1998

Year	Number
1995	2
1996	2
1997	9
1998	3
Ongoing	7
Total	23
% of women in detailed survey sample (n=904)	2.5

Of the sexual harassment victims, thirteen (56,5 per cent) were white women and ten (43 per cent) were African women. The majority of these victims said they live in suburbs (68 per cent), while 27 per cent live in townships and 4,5 per cent in informal settlements around Pretoria.

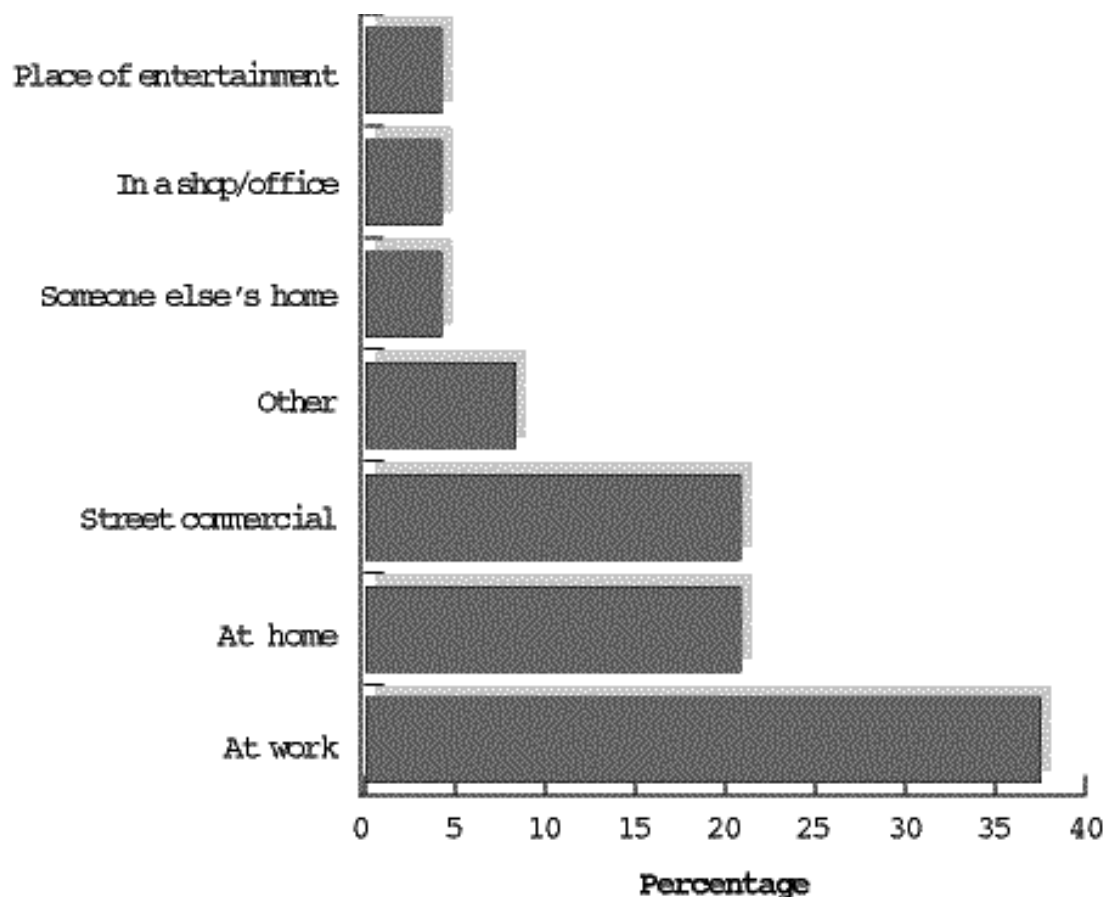
When and where offences were committed

Not all respondents could remember when they were sexually harassed: of the fifteen women who could recall the day, most (53 per cent) said the offence happened on the weekend and 47 per cent said during the week. The most common time was the latter part of the day. Forty six per cent said the

incident occurred between 12h01 and 18h00, and 23 per cent between 18h01 and 24h00.

Although most sexual harassment took place over the weekend, more than two-thirds of these incidents (66,5 per cent) happened in public places. These included: at work (37,5 per cent); in the street outside shops or offices (21 per cent); in a shop or office (4 per cent); and at a place of entertainment (4 per cent) (Figure 1). A quarter of the women interviewed said the offence happened in private places, such as their home (21 per cent) and someone else's home (4 per cent).

Figure 1: Where sexual harassment occurred (n=24)



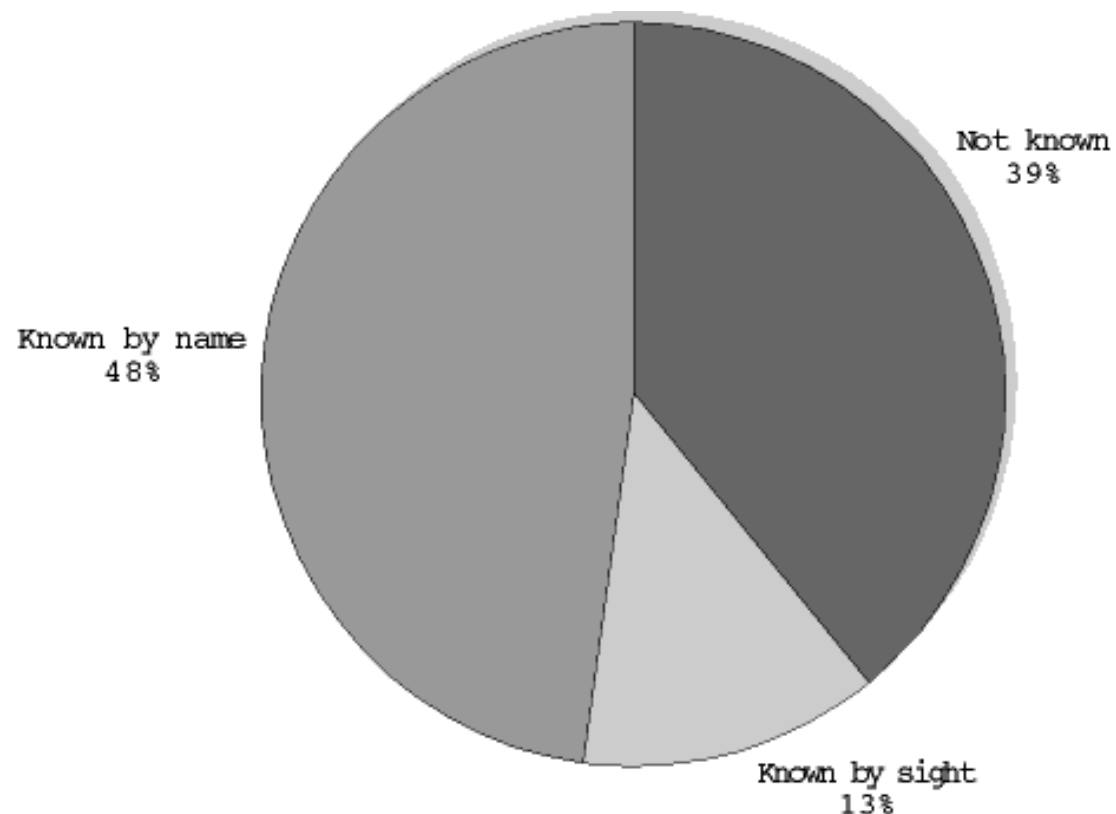
Victims and offenders

Most incidents of sexual harassment happened to the respondents when they were alone. Seventy eight per cent were alone and 22 per cent were in a group when the offence occurred. The majority of sexual harassments reported to the survey were one-on-one incidents. In most cases (68 per cent), there was also only one offender. Twenty one per cent of victims said there were two offenders, and 12,5 per cent said three people harassed them. More of the victims who live in townships reported two or more offenders (67 per cent) than did those living in the suburbs (27 per cent).

Of those women interviewed, most (61 per cent) said they knew the offenders. The largest proportion of them knew the person by name (48 per cent) and 13

per cent knew the offender by sight only. Thirty nine per cent did not know the offender at all (Figure 2). Many of these incidents of sexual harassment were committed by people whom the victims knew intimately. Of the ten women who said they knew the offenders, 30 per cent said the harassment was committed by family members or partners. Ten per cent described the offender as an acquaintance, and a further 10 per cent said a colleague was responsible. The remaining 50 per cent of victims were reluctant to reveal the details, describing the offender merely as 'other'.

Figure 2: Whether victims of sexual harassment know their offenders (n=23)



Circumstances

The victims were asked whether they thought alcohol, drugs or gang activity could have been related to the offences. As with most of the other crimes covered in the city survey, few respondents thought this was the case. A quarter of the women who said they were sexually harassed thought alcohol was linked to the offence. Most (59 per cent) denied any connection though, and 17 per cent were unsure. Fewer thought drugs played a role: 13 per cent said drugs could have been related to sexual harassment, 78 per cent said there was no link and 9 per cent were unsure.

Gang activity was even less likely than alcohol and drugs to have been a factor in the cases of sexual harassment reported to the survey: 83 per cent of the victims said there was no link.

Many of the issues discussed above (such as who the victims are and the circumstances in which the offences occur) influence whether or not sexual harassment cases are reported to the police. These trends are outlined next.

Reporting to the police and perceptions of service

The majority of the women (65 per cent) who said they were sexually harassed, did not report the offence to the police. More of the African victims (50 per cent) said they reported than white victims, of whom only 15 per cent notified the authorities. A similar trend was evident in the reporting rates among women who live in townships and suburbs; more living in townships went to the police than those living in the suburbs.

A lower reporting rate was recorded among the victims of sexual harassment than sexual assault: 57 per cent of the latter reported the attack to the police. This could be influenced by the comparative seriousness of sexual assault over harassment. However, unlike the victims of most other crimes recorded by the survey – who mostly said the reason for not reporting was that the crime was not serious enough – the most common reason given by sexual harassment victims was that they were ashamed (36 per cent). Another explanation (which was also common with other crime victims) was that the police “*never do anything about the reported crime*” (27 per cent). Fear of reprisals and lack of seriousness were mentioned by 18 per cent of the women, respectively, who were sexually harassed.

Victims were asked whether they were satisfied with the service they received from the police when reporting a crime. Of those few women who did report the incident, all were dissatisfied with the way the police treated them. Explaining their views, half of the respondents said the police did not investigate their cases. The remainder complained about the unprofessional and unhelpful approach of the police towards crime victims.

How women responded to victimisation

When asked if they changed their behaviour after the harassment, most of the women interviewed said they did not (62,5 per cent). Not all of the victims responded in the same way, however. More victims who live in the suburbs said they changed their behaviour (40 per cent) than did those living in townships (17 per cent). This is probably related to the type of change made, since some behaviour changes are more affordable than others. Of the 37,5 per cent of women who did change their behaviour, more than half (56 per cent) said they improved home security – something which requires resources. The remainder were more careful and aware (22 per cent) or actively changed their behaviour (22 per cent) through, for example, avoiding particular places where they thought they might be vulnerable.

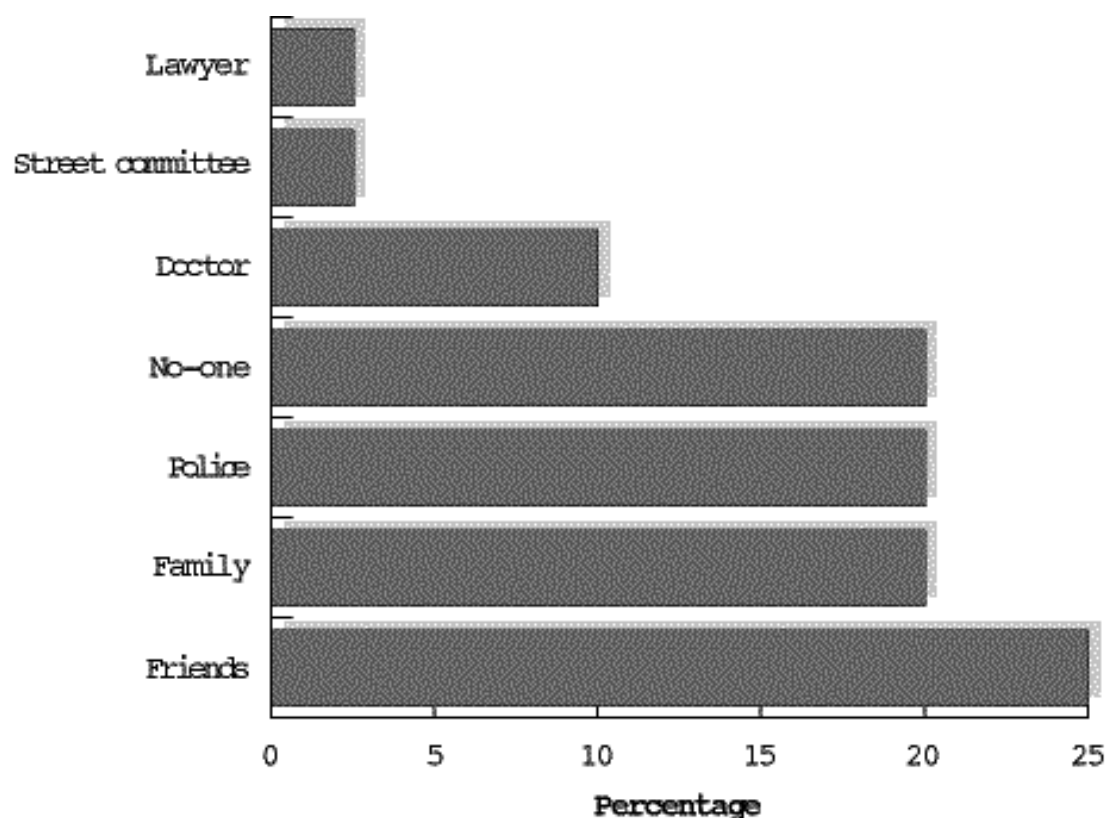
As is the case among victims of other violent crimes such as assault, most of the women who were sexually harassed (68 per cent) did not feel safer as a result of taking the precautions described above – particularly those living in townships. This is not surprising, since the majority of sexual harassment incidents reported to the survey occurred in public places and were committed by people known to the victim (see above). Improving home security is therefore unlikely to protect women from sexual harassment in certain circumstances.

Although these results are not representative, they suggest the need for further investigation into the issue. It is possible that victims are not well-informed about how best to avoid sexual harassment and how to respond when incidents do occur. Data on the type of assistance which victims received and what they would have liked, shed more light on the issue.

Assistance to victims

After the incident, 25 per cent of the women who said they were sexually harassed sought help from friends and 20 per cent looked to their family. Family and friends constitute intimate sources of support, and more victims sought help from these quarters than from public sources of assistance, such as the police (20 per cent of the victims went to the police). Other more public sources of assistance included the doctor (10 per cent), street committees (2,5 per cent) and lawyers (2,5 per cent) (Figure 3). The help of the police, street committees and lawyers potentially offers justice or retribution to victims after the event, while family and friends provide moral support. It is of concern, however, that 20 per cent of women did not seek any help at all.

Figure 3: Who victims of sexual harassment turned to for help (multiple response, n=40)

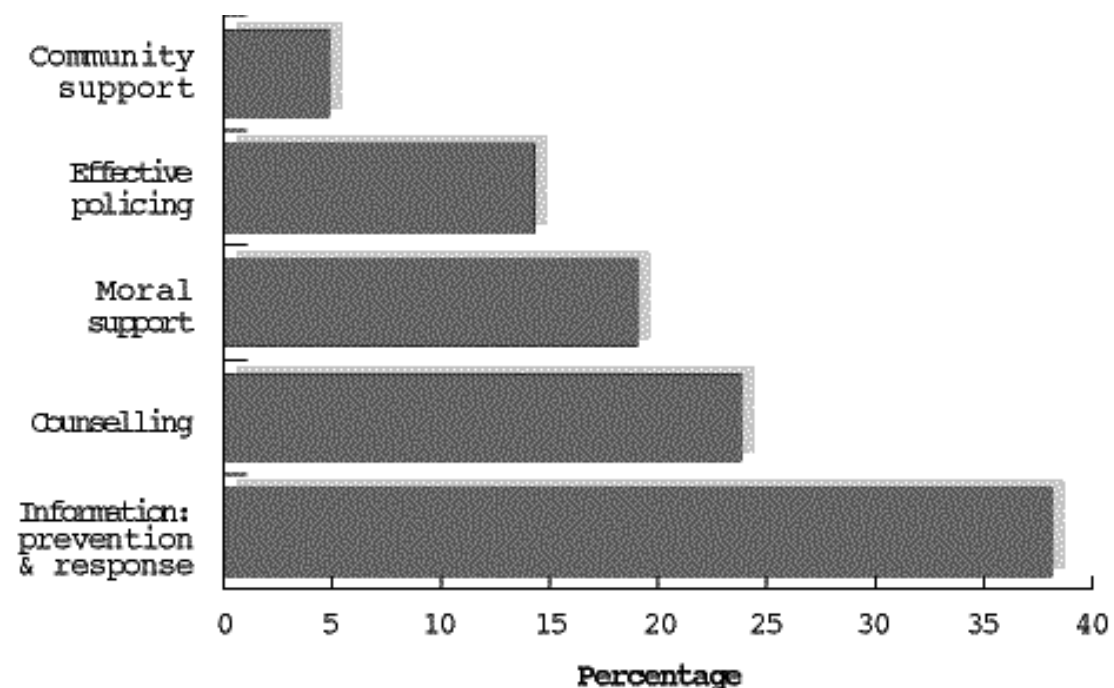


Many victims of crime seek particular types of assistance because there are few alternatives. (This, for example, has been proposed as the reason for so many women turning to the police after experiencing sexual offences.) Victims were asked what support they would have liked, as well as their opinion about established forms of victim assistance, such as victim support agencies. This information – especially when a significant portion of women interviewed,

received no help at all – is important for victim support policy and for shaping interventions aimed at preventing the offences from recurring.

More than one-third of the victims of sexual harassment interviewed in Pretoria said the support they would have liked was information: 33 per cent wanted information about how to prevent the incident from happening again and 5 per cent wanted details about how to respond once they had been harassed. Nearly a quarter (24 per cent) would have liked counselling and 19 per cent asked for moral support (Figure 4). Although information, counselling and moral support are among the services offered by victim support agencies, knowledge and the subsequent use of such services were limited among the women who responded to the survey.

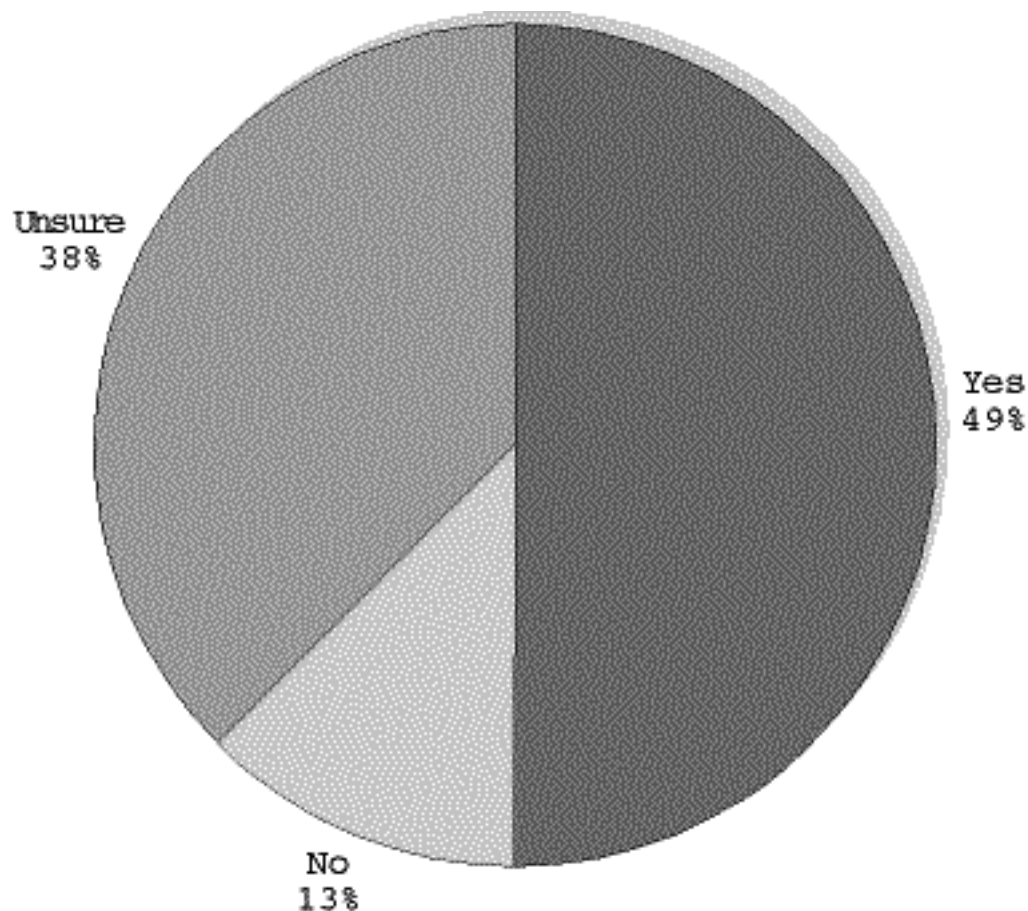
Figure 4: What kind of support victims of sexual harassment would have liked (n=21)



More than two-thirds (65 per cent) of the women who were harassed, had not heard of victim support agencies – and African women were less likely to be aware (20 per cent) than white women (46 per cent). Similarly, fewer of those women who live in townships had heard of agencies (17 per cent) than those in the suburbs (36 per cent).

Although none of the women who said they were sexually harassed had ever used the services of such agencies, half thought their services would have been useful. A significant proportion (37,5 per cent), however, were unsure of their usefulness (Figure 5). Given that so few victims have ever used their services, this response suggests a lack of information and knowledge, rather than a negative perception of the agencies themselves.

Figure 5: Whether victims of sexual harassment thought services of specialised support agencies would have been useful (n=24)



The victims of sexual harassment (and indeed of other crimes) interviewed in this survey thus expressed a need for information, counselling and moral support. These could be provided by established victim support agencies, but the poor knowledge of such services points to the need for better advertising and support. This could initially be focused around the public agencies that people actually turned to after victimisation, such as the police and doctors or clinics.

SEXUAL ASSAULT

Interviewers defined sexual assault to respondents using the following explanation:

People sometimes force others to perform sexual acts against their will. These might include forced sexual intercourse, as well as other sexual acts. This can happen to anyone and can occur either at home or elsewhere, such as at work, in a bar/shebeen, in a street, at school, on public transport or at a shopping centre. The person doing this could be someone you do not know, or it could be a relative, friend or family member.⁴

Extent and victim profile

Of the 34 women who said they were sexually assaulted (Table 2), more than two-thirds were African (68 per cent) and 32 per cent were white. Most were in the middle age category, between 26 and 60 years (73 per cent). Of these, many were in the 26 to 40 year age group (44 per cent), with 29 per cent between 41 and 60 years. Unlike figures from other victim surveys (such as that carried out in the Cape Town metropolitan area in February 1998) and studies by Rape Crisis,⁵ women under the age of 25 years were not the most vulnerable group in the Pretoria sample. Only 23,5 per cent of the sexual assault victims interviewed in Pretoria were aged between 18 and 25 years. Few of the women who said they were sexually assaulted, were over the age of 60 years (3 per cent).

Table 2: Number of women who said they were sexually assaulted, 1993-April 1998

Year	Number
1993	5
1994	10
1995	1
1996	3
1997	9
1998	6
Total	34
Per cent of women in detailed survey sample (n=904)	

Over half of the victims of sexual assault said they live in townships in Pretoria (55,5 per cent) and 44 per cent live in suburbs. Although the numbers of respondents are too small to apply this victim profile to all sexual assault victims in Pretoria, some comparisons with police statistics on rape are instructive. In 1997, rapes recorded by the police in Pretoria were concentrated in the metropolitan area's townships. Nearly 60 per cent of these happened in Mamelodi, Soshanguve/Rietgat and Atteridgeville. The highest proportion of rapes were recorded in the police station at Mamelodi township (26 per cent).⁶

In terms of age, the categories used in the presentation of police statistics are not comparable with those of the city victim survey, since people under the age of 18 were not interviewed in the survey. Nevertheless, the analysis of police rape data shows that 67 per cent of the recorded offences happened to women over 17 years of age. One-third of the victims in the Pretoria area were younger than 17. Given the sensitivity of sexual assault cases, particularly when young women and children are the victims, it is likely that many incidents are not reported to the police. The police statistics should also therefore be interpreted as indicators of rape trends, rather than accurate representations of the problem.

When and where offences were committed

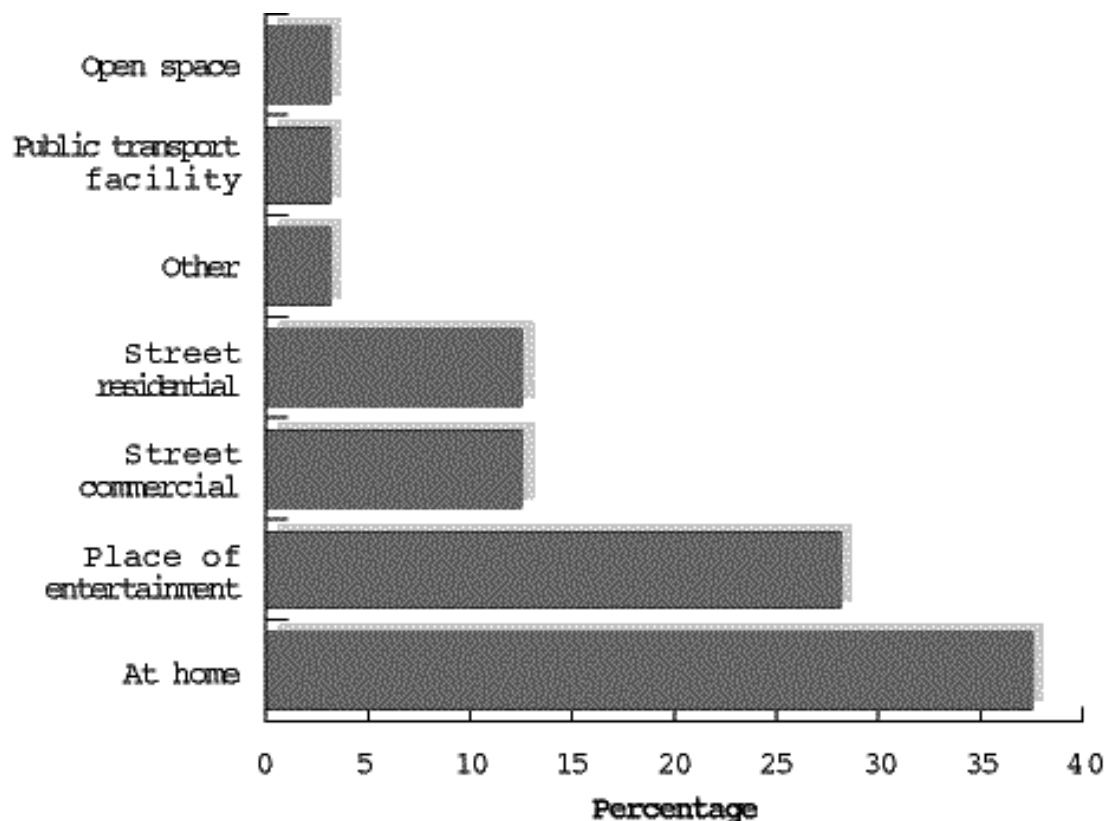
Two-thirds of the victims could recall the day that the crime happened. Of these, more than half (54 per cent) said the offence was committed on the weekend and 45 per cent said during the week. This is in contrast with other violent crimes like assault and murder, the majority of which happened during the week.

Like other violent crimes, there was less variation in the time of sexual assaults: 76 per cent of those victims who could remember the time, said it happened at night, between 18h01 and 24h00. The survey showed that violent crimes generally occur in the evening and night.

When asked exactly where they were sexually assaulted, the vast majority of those who could recall where the attack happened, named places in townships (76 per cent). Only 14 per cent and 9,5 per cent said the crime occurred in suburbs and the inner city, respectively. The survey indicated – in keeping with police statistics on the issue – that violent crime generally is most likely to occur in the townships. In the case of sexual assault, however, this trend is more pronounced. For example, while most assaults were committed in townships (56 per cent), more sexual assaults happened in these parts of Pretoria (76 per cent).

Victims were also asked about more generic locations. Like other violent crime, most were committed in public places (59 per cent). These consisted of places of entertainment (28 per cent), streets in commercial areas (12,5 per cent), streets in residential areas (12,5 per cent), at public transport facilities (3 per cent) and open spaces (3 per cent). By comparison with public places, 37,5 per cent of sexual assaults occurred in the home (Figure 6). Sexual assault was more likely to occur in the home than non-sexual assault, 24 per cent of which occurred in the victim's home.

Figure 6: Where sexual assaults occurred (n=32)

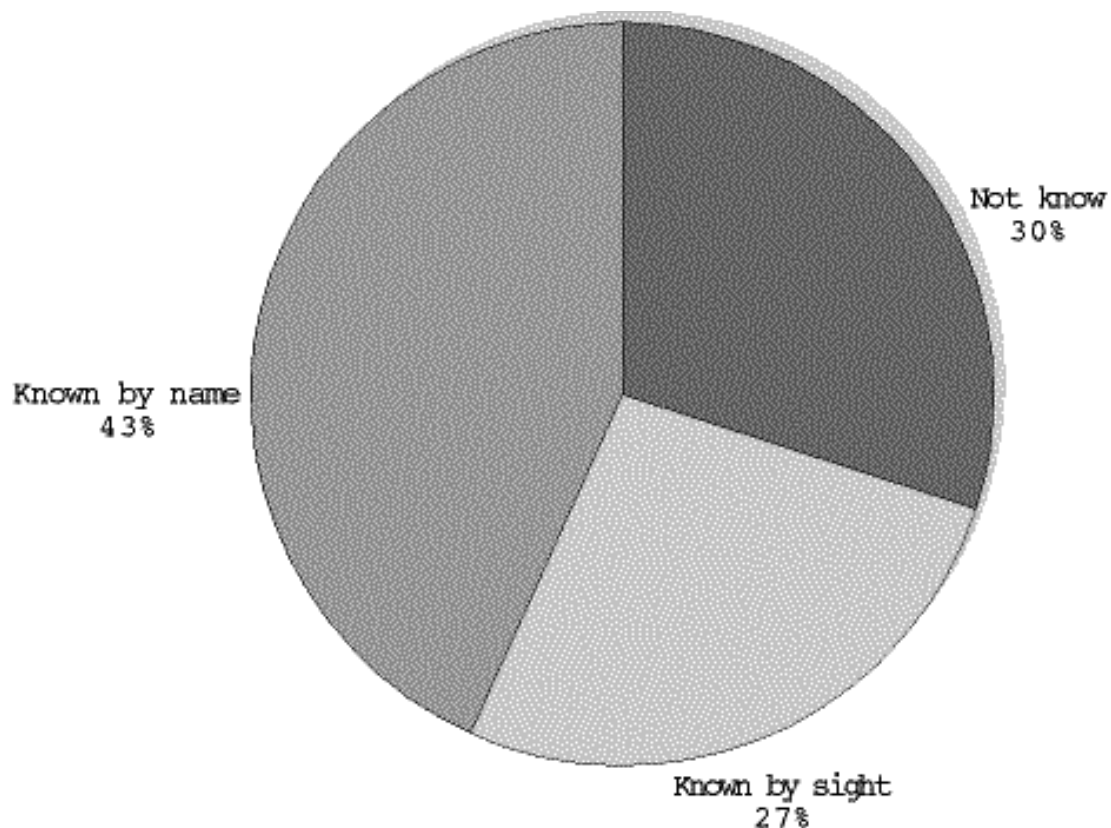


Victims and offenders

Victims of sexual assault were asked to describe how they experienced the incident. Most said they were raped (57 per cent); 30 per cent said the incident was an attempted rape and 13 per cent described it as offensive behaviour. Most of these assaults were committed by a single offender (64,5 per cent) and happened when the woman was alone (74 per cent). A quarter of women said they were in a group when they were attacked. Similar trends also apply to other violent crimes such as assault and murder.

Most sexual assaults were committed by people known to the victim: 43 per cent knew the offender by name and 27 per cent by sight only. Thirty per cent of women who had been sexually assaulted did not know their attackers at all (Figure 7). Of those who knew their assailants, nearly half knew them intimately: 23,5 per cent identified them as their father and as their spouse/lover/partner respectively. Eighteen per cent described the offender as an 'acquaintance', while other specific offenders identified included uncle/nephew (6 per cent) and a personal close friend (6 per cent).

Figure 7: Whether sexual assault victims knew their offenders (n=30)



Circumstances

Although most victims of sexual assault were injured in the attack (58 per cent), they were less likely than victims of non-sexual assault to sustain injuries (89 per cent of whom were hurt). The type of weapons used, is likely to influence the degree of injury: 57 per cent of assailants used only their physical strength or their hands. Actual weapons were used in 30 per cent of cases: 16 per cent of these were knives, 11 per cent guns and 3 per cent

were described as 'other' weapons. Thirteen per cent of victims said no weapons were visible.

Factors which may have precipitated the sexual assault, such as alcohol, drugs and gang activity were not thought to have played a major role. Only 16 per cent linked the attacks with gang activity. Alcohol was associated with sexual assault to a greater extent than drugs: 45 per cent of victims mentioned alcohol and 13 per cent associated the incident with drug use.

Reporting to the police and perceptions of service

Most women who said they were sexually assaulted, reported the offence to the police (57 per cent). Although the number of respondents is too small to draw conclusive findings, in contrast with the reporting trends for other crimes, African women were far more likely to report to the authorities (73 per cent) than white women (12,5 per cent). This high reporting rate for offences of this nature is in contrast with police estimates that reported cases make up only 2,8 per cent of all rapes.⁷ While the survey recorded the experiences of too few sexual assault victims to accurately reflect the true picture, it is likely that those women who are prepared to share their experiences with a stranger administering a survey, would probably also be prepared to report the attack to the police.

One of the key factors which determine whether crime is reported to the police is the perceived seriousness of the offence. Not surprisingly, this does not apply to sexual assault victims. The vast majority of incidents were described by the respondents as rape or attempted rape, and when asked for their reasons for not reporting, no women said the crime was not serious enough. Instead, reporting to the police is affected by the victim's fear of reprisals (33 per cent mentioned this) and feeling ashamed (33 per cent). An equal number of women (33 per cent) said they did not report because the police never did anything about the crime.

Perceptions of police ineffectiveness and poor treatment of victims (particular victims of sexual offences) by police in the charge office are key deterrents in reporting these crimes. These factors also shape the public's perceptions of the police more generally. The majority of women who were sexually assaulted (71 per cent), were not satisfied with the way the police dealt with their report. As is the case with violent crimes, in general, many victims attributed their dissatisfaction to the fact that their case was inadequately investigated (47 per cent) and that the police never contacted them or followed-up on the case (27 per cent). Other reasons were that the police were unprofessional and treated victims badly (13 per cent). A few women (13 per cent) were positive about police performance, saying they were treated professionally and efficiently.

Many victims of violent crime describe their frustration with the police when reporting in terms of lack of investigation and follow-up, rather than treating victims badly. The latter is often perceived as the area in which police service to crime victims is most lacking. It is unlikely that these perceptions mean the police actually treat victims of violent crime better than other victims, however, or that police service does not need improvement. Instead, it is probable that, soon after the incident, the most immediate (and often the only) resolution for

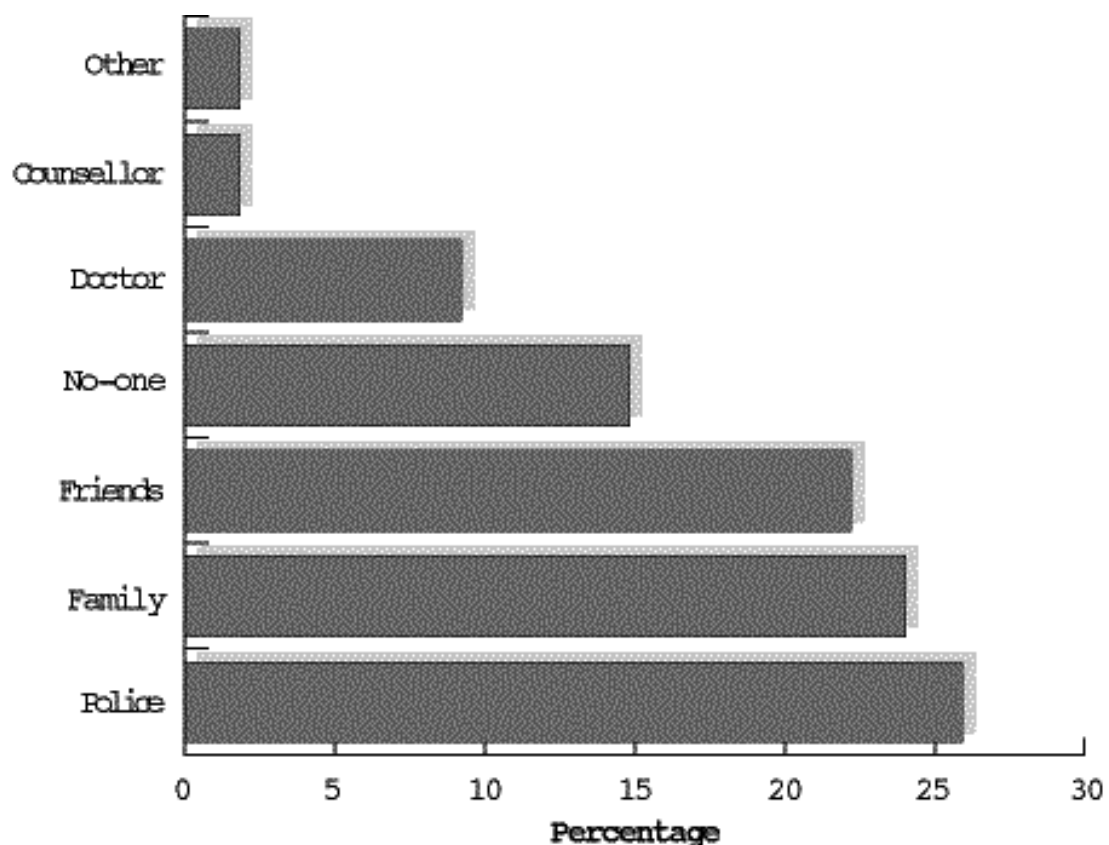
victims of violent crime is the arrest and conviction of the perpetrator. Victims of less serious and less personal crimes, such as car theft and burglary, have other interests, such as insurance claims and the return of their property. It is thus very often these victims who complain the most about the lack of police professionalism and poor treatment of victims in the charge office.

The way in which women responded to sexual assault and whom they turned to for help after the incident occurred, shed more light on the issue of what people expect from the various agencies which provide a service to crime victims.

Assistance to victims

Victims were asked whom they turned to for help after they were sexually assaulted, and each woman could give several options. As in the case of other crime victims, many respondents said they sought assistance from the police (26 per cent), followed by family (24 per cent) and friends (22 per cent). Several did not seek help at all (15 per cent). Doctors and councillors were mentioned by 9 per cent and 2 per cent of victims, respectively (Figure 8).

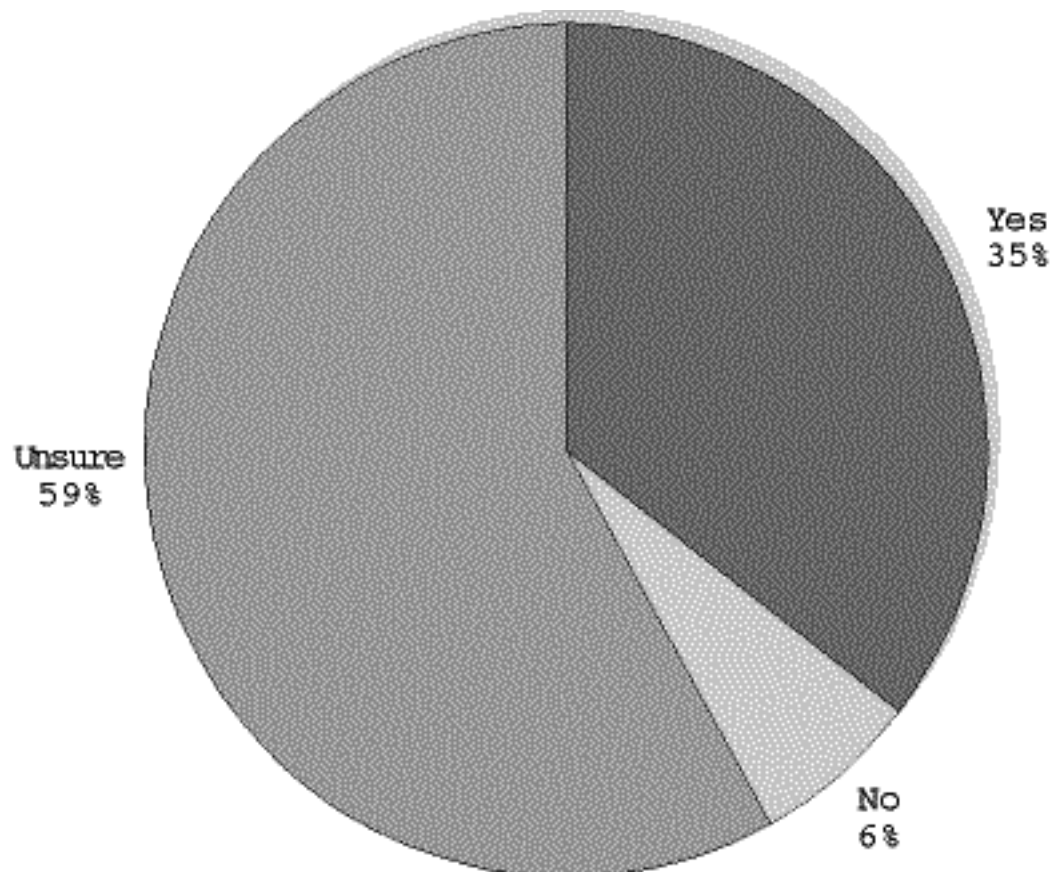
Figure 8: Who victims of sexual assault turned to for help (multiple response, n=54)



The fact that many of the women identified the police as a source of assistance, may relate to their desire for some sort of resolution immediately after the crime was committed. Similar reasons could explain sexual assault victims' desire for the police to investigate their case over their need for professional and helpful assistance when reporting the crime. The type of help

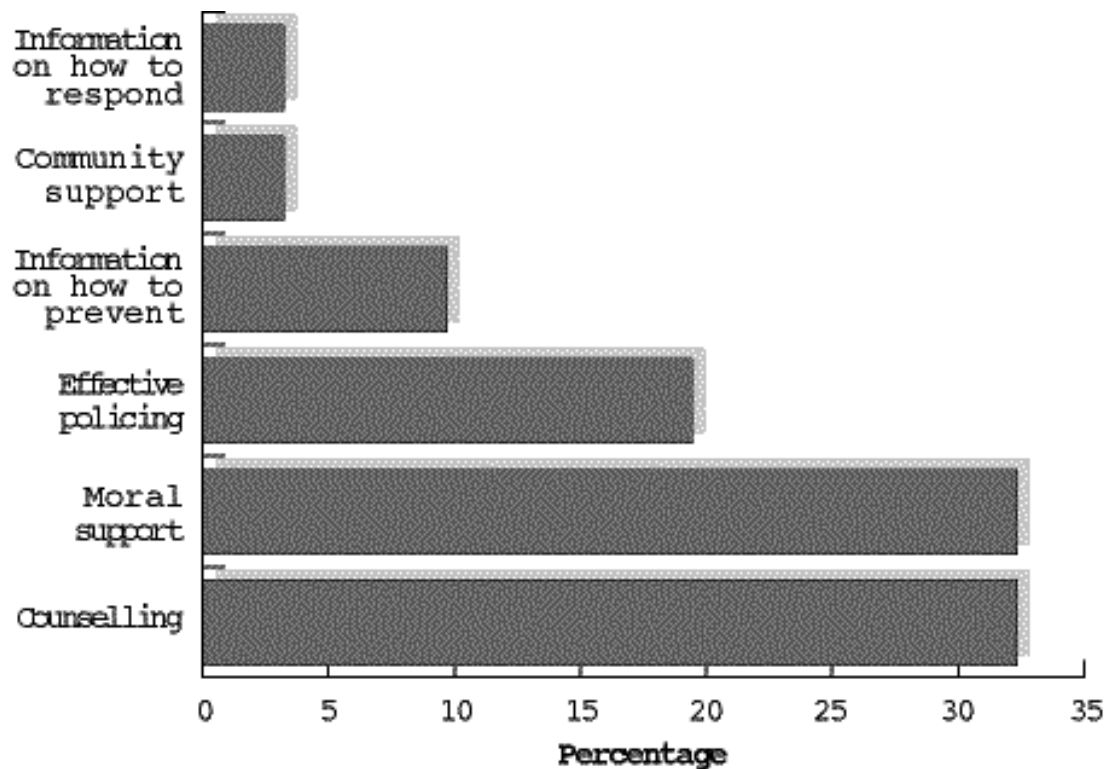
sought from friends and family is of a quite different nature, and probably includes moral support and comfort. This is illustrated by survey data on what kind of support victims of sexual assault would have liked after the attack. Thirty two per cent of the victims said moral support and counselling, respectively. Only 19 per cent said effective policing and 13 per cent mentioned the need for information on how to proceed after the incident had occurred, as well as how to prevent it from happening again (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Whether victims of sexual assault thought the services of victim support agencies would have been useful (n=31)



Since much of the assistance wanted by victims of sexual assault is provided by special victim support agencies, the respondents were asked whether they knew of these agencies, and if they had made use of their services. The vast majority (71 per cent) were not familiar with these organisations. It is not surprising then, that 95,5 per cent of victims said they had never received help from these agencies. Despite this lack of awareness, only 6,5 per cent of the women interviewed, said they thought the services of such agencies would not be useful. More than a third (35,5 per cent) said it would have been useful and the majority (58 per cent) were unsure (Figure 10).

Figure 10: What kind of support victims of sexual assault would have liked (n=31)



A similar trend was evident among the victims of other violent crimes. This presents a key area for increasing the awareness of existing support services in Pretoria. This depends of course on which services are currently available, and where they are situated. It is likely that a crime prevention strategy would need to support and enhance the capacity of these agencies before advertising their services, especially in townships and informal settlements where violent crime is most serious.

Endnotes

- 1 Given the sensitivity of the issue, questions about sexual offences were not asked in the initial scan of 2 547 people, which aimed to measure only the extent of crime in Pretoria. These incidents were covered in the detailed survey of 2 064 people during which interviewers had more time and could probe for information about the circumstances in which crimes happened, how victims responded and their opinions about the police and about solutions to crime. For more details on methodology, see p. ??7 of the main report.
- 2 See Appendix 2: The Pretoria Crime Survey, questionnaire for more details.
- 3 Mowatt (1986), cited in C Sutherland, *Prevention is Better than Cure*, in S Jagwanth, P J Schwikkard & B Grant (eds.), **Women and the Law**, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1994; Institute of Directors, **Sexual Harassment in the Workplace**, Institute of Personnel Management, UNISA Centre for Women's Studies, Women's Bureau of South Africa and ANC Women's League, Pretoria, 1992. Both sources cited in L Camerer et. al,

Crime in Cape Town: Results of a city victim survey, ISS Monograph Series, 23, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway Studies, April 1998, p 34.

- 4 See Appendix 2: The Pretoria Crime Survey questionnaire for more details.
- 5 See Camerer et. al., op. cit., p. 34 for both references.
- 6 A Altbeker, Crime in Pretoria: a quantitative report. IDASA Community Safety Unit, April 1998.
- 7 Human Rights Watch/Africa, **Violence Against Women in South Africa: The State Response to Domestic Violence and Rape**, Human Rights Watch, New York, 1995, p. 51.

Appendix 1:
PLACES IN PRETORIA REGARDED AS MOST UNSAFE

	Number	% of responses
Akasia	3	0.2
Arcadia	15	1.4
Atteridgeville	31	2.9
Brooklyn	3	0.2
Hatfield	15	1.4
Mamelodi	82	7.8
Soshanguve	38	3.6
Saulsville	3	0.2
Sunnyside	122	11.6
Teresa Park	1	0.0
Centurion	13	1.2
Danville	15	1.4
Dorandia	1	0.0
East Lynne	5	0.4
Faerie Glen	1	0.0
Garsfontein	1	0.0
Voortrekker Hoogte	1	0.0
Wonderboom	4	0.3
Central Pretoria	427	40.7
Downtown Pretoria	22	2.0
Eersterust	26	2.4
Laudium	14	1.3
Erasmia	2	0.1
Pretoria North	8	0.7
Marabastad	113	10.7
Townships	1	0.0
City centre	16	1.5
Irene	1	0.0
Wingate Park	1	0.0
Mandela Village	10	0.9
Denneboom	14	1.3
Monument Park	1	0.0
Informal/Shack Area	30	2.8
Moreleta Park	1	0.0
Willows	2	0.1
Menlo Park	1	0.0
Makhatho	1	0.0
Klip 'n Kuil Fontein	2	0.1
Rooihuiskraal	1	0.0
Total	1 048	100.0

ENDNOTES

- 1 See A Louw, *The problem with police crime statistics*, **Nedcor/ISS Crime Index**, 2(3), June 1998.
- 2 The Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg Crime Prevention Strategy was accepted and approved by the council on 20 April 1998.
- 3 See L Camerer, A Louw, M Shaw, L Artz & W Scharf, **Crime in Cape Town: Results of a City Victim Survey**, ISS monograph series, 23, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, April 1988, pp. 15 for more details on this issue.
- 4 C Mirrlees-Black, P Mayhew & A Percy, *The 1996 British Crime Survey: England and Wales*, **Home Office Statistical Bulletin**, 19/96, Research and Statistics Directorate, London, 24 September 1996.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid. See also U Zvekic & A Alvazzi del Frate (eds.), **Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World**, Publication 55, UNICRI, Rome, 1995; P Mayhew, *Some Methodological Issues in Victimisation Surveys*, in **Crime Victims Surveys in Australia**, conference proceedings, Criminal Justice Commission, Brisbane, 1995.
- 7 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit.
- 8 Ibid., p. 11.
- 9 See A Louw, M Shaw, L Camerer & R Robertshaw, **Crime in Johannesburg: Results of a City Victim Survey**, ISS monograph series, 18, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, February 1988; Camerer et. al., op. cit.
- 10 **Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council Integrated Development Plan: Volume 1**, February 1998.
- 11 Louw et. al., op. cit.
- 12 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 13.
- 13 *The Incidence of Serious Crime: Jan-Dec 1997*, **SAPS Crime Information Management Centre Quarterly Crime Report 1/98**.
- 14 Ibid., p. 23.
- 15 Zawits et al, **Highlights from Twenty Years of Surveying Crime Victims**, US Department of Justice, Washington DC, 1993; J J van Dijk & P Mayhew, **Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World: key findings of the 1989 and 1992 International Crime Survey**,

Directorate of Crime Prevention, Ministry of Justice, The Hague, 1993. Quoted in Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 15.

- 16 It is accepted that is not entirely accurate to compare country and city crime reporting rates. The UK reporting rates are used here simply to indicate comparative rates with a developed country.
- 17 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 23.
- 18 Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op. cit., p. 43.
- 19 J J M van Dijk, *Criminal victimisation and victim empowerment in an international perspective: Key results on fifty nations of the International Crime Victims Surveys 1989-1996*, keynote address at the **Ninth International Symposium on Victimology**, Amsterdam, August 1997, p. 12.
- 20 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 23; Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op. cit., p. 44.
- 21 Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 10.
- 22 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 25.
- 23 Ibid., p. 26.
- 24 Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 12.
- 25 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 27.
- 26 Low proportions were recorded in informal areas and the inner city because there are few informal settlements in Pretoria, and because only 7 per cent of the people interviewed actually lived in the inner city, despite the fact that the sample ensured that 17 per cent of the interviews were carried out in the inner city.
- 27 Respondents who said that a member of their household was murdered were not asked the exact location.
- 28 A Louw & M Shaw, **Stolen Opportunities: The impact of crime on South Africa's poor**, ISS Monograph Series, 14, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, July 1997.
- 29 S Oppler & A Louw, *Declining Convictions: An Emerging Crisis, Nedcor/ISS Crime Index*, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, October 1997.
- 30 See workshop with Johannesburg SAPS station commissioners referred to in Louw et. al., op. cit.
- 31 See the more detailed explanation for this methodological constraint on page ??.

- 32 A Altbeker, **Crime in Pretoria: a quantitative report**, IDASA Community Safety Unit, Pretoria, April 1997.
- 33 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 46.
- 34 Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op. cit., p. 25.
- 35 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 55.
- 36 Zvekic & Alvazzi del Frate, op. cit., p. 25.
- 37 Mirrlees-Black, op. cit., p. 53.
- 38 M Shaw, **Crime in Durban, Results of a city victim survey**, ISS Monograph Series, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House (1998 forthcoming).
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Camerer et. al., op. cit.
- 41 Ibid., p. 54.
- 42 Ibid., p. 49.