



080377

182968982F



RGN-HSRC

**SENTRUM VIR BIBLIOTEEK- EN  
INLIGTINGSDIENSTE**

**CENTRE FOR LIBRARY AND  
INFORMATION SERVICES**

**VERVALDATUM/DATE DUE**

1994-10-13  
RUC  
2009-09-01

2547

0 0 0 2 2 0 5 0 6 0



001.3072068 HSRC RSS 9



Coping with crime:  
The South African public's  
perceptions of and reactions to crime

Coping with crime:  
The South African public's  
perceptions of and reactions to crime

Lorraine Glanz

Pretoria  
Human Sciences Research Council  
1989

RGN . . . . .	
1989 6. 09.	
HSRC LIBRARY	
STANDKODE	AANWINSNOMMER
061-3072068	080377
HSRC ASS 9	

This is a publication of the work committee for the Subprogramme:  
Affordable Personal Safety of the National Programme on Affordable Social  
Security.

The work committee does not necessarily agree with the views expressed and  
the conclusions drawn in this publication.

**Committee members for the Subprogramme: Affordable Personal Safety:** Mr  
W.F. Krugel, Department of Justice (Chairman); Ms L. Glanz, Human Sciences  
Research Council (HSRC) (Co-ordinator); Prof. R.R. Graser, University of  
Durban-Westville; Dr J.M. Lötter, HSRC; Dr G.L. Ndabandaba, HSRC; Prof.  
J.J. Nesor, University of South Africa (UNISA); Mr W.J. Schurink, HSRC; Mrs  
G. Sibeko, National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of  
Offenders; Prof. J.H. van Rooyen, UNISA; Prof. D. van Zyl Smit, University  
of Cape Town.

**Programme Secretary:** Mrs M. Doorewaard

Lorraine Glanz, M.A., Senior Researcher

ISBN 0 7969 0732 3

© Human Sciences Research Council, 1989

Printed and published by the HSRC, 134 Pretorius Street, Pretoria

## **FOREWORD**

This report of the first research project undertaken in the subprogramme concerned with affordable personal safety as part of the HSRC's National Research Programme on Affordable Social Security is an eye-opener. It introduces a leader project of what, it is hoped, will prove a practically useful series of studies about the threat which crime poses to personal safety, which certainly represents a grave problem facing all South Africans. Even the abstract of the report reveals some startling findings on public perceptions of and reactions to crime which plainly calls for greater efforts at solving some of the pressing problems in this regard. Notwithstanding the possibility (cf. Warr 1982) that crime-related beliefs may be inaccurate, obviously the security of any community can never be divorced from the individual perceptions and experiences regarding the personal freedom and safety of the people comprising it.

The initial aim of the subprogramme is to stimulate interest in and co-ordinate research on the nature, extent, impact and causes of crime. In later phases the subprogramme will concentrate on crime prevention and dealing with offenders. More researchers and initiatives for research in this interesting and important field are still required.

The present study was undertaken and the report compiled by the coordinator of the programme. A word of sincere appreciation and congratulations on behalf of the work committee is due to Mrs Glanz for the commendably thorough methodology and soundly based findings and recommendations which are evident from the report.

**W.F. KRUGEL**

**CHAIRMAN: WORK COMMITTEE  
REGIONAL COURT PRESIDENT  
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL**

## VOORWOORD

Hierdie verslag oor die eerste navorsingsprojek wat in die subprogram oor bekostigbare persoonlike veiligheid onderneem is as deel van die RGN se Nasionale Navorsingsprogram oor Bekostigbare Bestaansekerheid is 'n ontnugtering. Die verslag is 'n bekendstelling van wat hopelik die begin sal wees van 'n reeks prakties bruikbare studies oor die bedreiging wat misdaad vir persoonlike veiligheid inhou. Hierdie kwessie verteenwoordig ongetwyfeld een van die ernstige probleme waarvoor alle Suid-Afrikaners deesdae te staan kom. Die ekserp van die verslag bevat reeds sekere opsienbare bevindings oor die publiek se persepsies van en reaksies op misdaad en wys duidelik op die noodsaaklikheid van omvattender pogings om sommige van die knelpunte in hierdie verband op te los. Nieteenstaande die moontlikheid (sien Warr 1982) dat opvatting's oor misdaad onjuis kan wees, kan die veiligheid van geen gemeenskap ooit losgemaak word van die individuele persepsies en ondervindings ten opsigte van persoonlike vryheid en veiligheid van die mense waaruit so 'n gemeenskap bestaan nie.

Die aanvanklike doel van die subprogram is die stimulering van belangstelling in en die koördinerings van navorsing oor die aard, omvang, impak en oorsake van misdaad. Die later fases van die subprogram sal hoofsaaklik op misdaadvoorkoming en die hantering van oortreders konsentreer. Daar bestaan egter 'n behoefte aan meer navorsers in en navorsingsinisiatiewe oor hierdie interessante en belangrike onderwerp.

Die huidige studie is deur die koördineerder van die program onderneem en sy het ook die verslag opgestel. Die opregte waardering en gelukwense van die werkkomitee gaan aan mev. Glanz vir die prysenswaardig deeglike metodologie en gevolglik grondige bevindings en aanbevelings wat uit die verslag blyk.

W.F. KRUGEL  
VOORSITTER: WERKKOMITEE  
STREEKHOPPRESIDENT  
NOORD-TRANSVAAL

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b>EKSBRP</b>	xi
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	xii
<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
1.2 AIM OF THE INVESTIGATION	2
1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT	3
<b>2 RESEARCH METHOD</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1 THE SAMPLING DESIGN AND REALIZATION	3
2.2 THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	4
2.3 THE FIELDWORK	5
<b>3 PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND THE POLICE</b>	<b>5</b>
3.1 INTRODUCTION	5
3.2 BELIEFS ABOUT CRIME	6
3.2.1 Review of the literature	6
3.2.2 Presentation and discussion of the data	11
3.3 FEAR OF CRIME	22
3.3.1 Introduction	22
3.3.2 Theoretical perspective	23
3.3.3 The measurement of fear of crime	28
3.3.4 Presentation and discussion of the data	28
3.4 VIEWS ON THE QUALITY OF POLICE SERVICES	34
3.4.1 Review of the literature	34
3.4.2 Presentation and discussion of the data	36
<b>4 REACTIONS TO CRIME</b>	<b>40</b>
4.1 INTRODUCTION	40
4.2 PERSONAL AND PROPERTY PROTECTION BEHAVIOUR	42
4.2.1 Review of the literature	42
4.2.2 Presentation and discussion of the data	44
4.3 PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION	51
4.3.1 Review of the literature	51
4.3.2 Presentation and discussion of the data	53

	<b>PAGE</b>	
<b>5</b>	<b>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>5.2</b>	<b>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>5.2.1</b>	<b>Perceptions of the seriousness of crime</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>5.2.2</b>	<b>Views on the increase/decrease in crime</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>5.2.3</b>	<b>Fear of crime</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>5.2.4</b>	<b>Views on the quality of police services</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>5.2.5</b>	<b>Personal and property protection behaviour</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>5.2.6</b>	<b>Insurance behaviour</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>5.2.7</b>	<b>Need for information about protection against crime</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>5.2.8</b>	<b>Participation in community crime prevention</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>5.3</b>	<b>RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>5.3.1</b>	<b>Recommendations relating to police/community relations</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>5.3.2</b>	<b>Other recommendations</b>	<b>67</b>
	<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>70</b>
	<b>APPENDIX A</b>	<b>75</b>
	<b>APPENDIX B</b>	<b>77</b>



**TABLES**

		<b>PAGE</b>
2.1	SIZE OF ORIGINAL AND REALIZED SAMPLES	4
3.1	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM OF CRIME AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL	11
3.2	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF CRIME AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL	14
3.3	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN THE PROBLEM OF CRIME OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS	17
3.4	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN THE PROBLEM OF CRIME: COMPARISON OF DATA GATHERED DURING 1981 WITH DATA GATHERED DURING 1985/86	18
3.5	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN THE PROBLEM OF CRIME OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS	19
3.6	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED FEELINGS OF SAFETY BEING ALONE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT	29
3.7	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: FEELINGS OF SAFETY BEING ALONE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT	30
3.8	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE QUALITY OF THE PROTECTION BEING PROVIDED BY THE POLICE	36
3.9	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON THE QUALITY OF THE PROTECTION BEING PROVIDED BY THE POLICE	38
4.1	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSSESSION OF VARIOUS PERSONAL AND PROPERTY PROTECTION DEVICES	45
4.2	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PROTECTION MEASURES ADOPTED AGAINST CRIME	46
4.3	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSSESSION OF HOUSEHOLD INSURANCE	50

		<b>PAGE</b>
4.4	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEED FOR INFORMATION ON WAYS TO PROTECT HOMES AND PROPERTY AGAINST CRIME	50
4.5	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INVOLVEMENT IN, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION	54
4.6	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: INVOLVEMENT IN, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION	55

## **EKSERSP**

Misdaad raak die lewens van meeste Suid-Afrikaners op 'n direkte of indirekte wyse feitlik elke dag. Min is egter bekend oor die publiek se persepsies van of reaksies op misdaad. Die uitwerking van misdaad op die daaglikse lewens van lede van die publiek word in hierdie verslag bespreek. Die gegewens is verkry uit waarskynlikheidsteekproewe van die vier Suid-Afrikaanse bevolkingsgroepe. In die geval van die blankes, kleurlinge en Indiërs is die steekproef verteenwoordigend van persone wat in stedelike gebiede en dorpe woon. Ten opsigte van swartes het die steekproef slegs metropolitaanse bewoners verteenwoordig. Aspekte wat ondersoek is, is die volgende: persepsies van die ernstigheid van die misdaadprobleem; menings oor die toename in of afname van misdaad; die vrees vir misdaad; menings ten opsigte van die gehalte van die diens wat die polisie lewer; reaksies op misdaad in die vorm van die beskermingsmaatreëls wat toegepas is, en bereidheid om aktief deel te neem aan die pogings van die gemeenskap om misdaad te bekamp.

Die bevindings het getoon dat 'n aansienlike aantal swartes gemeen het dat misdaad 'n baie ernstige probleem in hul gemeenskap was. Boonop was 40 % van die swartes die mening toegedaan dat misdaad in hul omgewing toegeneem het terwyl dieselfde persentasie gemeen het dat misdaad verminder het. In die geval van die ander drie bevolkingsgroepe het heelwat minder respondente gedink dat misdaad afgeneem het. Vrees vir misdaad het baie onder die swartes voorgekom met 66 % wat aangedui het dat hulle onveilig voel wanneer hulle saans in hul woonbuurt rondbeweeg. Indiërs het die minste vrees vir misdaad getoon.

Die bevindings het verder getoon dat Suid-Afrikaners in die algemeen positief ingestel was teenoor die diens wat die polisie lewer. Ten spyte van die feit dat swartes misdaad as 'n ernstige probleem beskou en ook 'n hoë mate van vrees getoon het, het hulle 'n redelik positiewe houding teenoor die polisie ingeneem. Indiërs was in hierdie verband die minste positief.

Die ondersoek het getoon dat meeste huishoudings hulself redelik goed teen misdaad beskerm het. Meeste respondente het egter aangedui dat hulle graag meer inligting sou wou bekom oor hoe om hul

huise en eiendom teen misdaad te beskerm. Ten slotte het dit geblyk dat pogings van die gemeenskap om misdaad te voorkom in al die gevalle baie beperk was. 'n Groot aantal respondente het egter aangedui dat hulle bereid was om in die toekoms by misdaadvoorkoming betrokke te raak.

Aanbevelings ten opsigte van programme wat ontwikkel en ingestel kan word om die sosiale uitwerking van misdaad te bekamp, asook aanbevelings vir verdere navorsing, is gedoen.

## ABSTRACT

Crime touches the lives of most South Africans in a direct or indirect manner virtually every day. However little is known about the public's perceptions of and reactions to crime. The impact of crime on the daily lives of members of the public was the subject of this report. The data presented were obtained from probability samples drawn from the four South African population groups. In the case of the whites, coloureds and Indians, the samples were representative of persons living in urban areas and towns. In the case of the blacks the sample represented metropolitan dwellers only. Subjects covered during the survey included perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime; views on whether or not crime had increased; fear of crime; views on the quality of the work being undertaken by the police; reactions to crime in the form of protection measures adopted, and degree of willingness to become actively involved in community crime prevention.

The data revealed that considerable numbers of blacks were of the opinion that crime was a very serious problem in their community. In addition while nearly 40 % of the blacks held the view that crime had increased in their neighbourhood, the same percentage felt that crime had decreased. Substantially fewer respondents representing the other three population groups were of the opinion that crime had decreased. Fear of crime was found to be very high among blacks with 66 % indicating that they felt unsafe while walking in their neighbourhood at night. Indians proved to have the lowest level of fear.

The data also showed that generally speaking South Africans had positive views on the quality of the work being undertaken by the police. In spite of the fact that blacks perceived crime to be a serious problem and had a high level of fear, they had a fairly positive attitude toward the police. Indians tended to have the least positive attitudes in this regard.

The research revealed that the majority of households were fairly well protected against crime. This was particularly true in respect of the whites and Indians, while coloured households had the least protection against crime. The majority of respondents indicated that they would like more information on how to protect their homes and property against crime. Finally, active involvement in

community crime prevention was very limited in all cases. However a large proportion of respondents reported that they would be prepared to become involved in the future.

Recommendations concerning programmes that could be developed and initiated to reduce the social impact of crime, as well as recommendations for further research, were made.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

For many years criminologists approached the problem of crime from the perspective of the offender. Crime control centred on trying to change the offender and improving his/her environment. The numerous programmes initiated in the USA in the 1960s by the Ford Foundation were based on this approach. The subsequent failure of these programmes to reduce crime and the public call for action to be taken against increasing crime rates led to a shift in focus from the offender to the victim. Lewis and Salem (1986:3) note that the "... research community moved from a consideration of the causes of crime and the motivations of the perpetrator to an examination of the effects of crime on victims and potential victims and on their attitudinal and behavioral reaction to the threats that confronted them".

This shift in focus from the offender to the victim was accompanied by the development of a research method - the victimization survey - whereby the attitudes, opinions and perceptions of members of the general public towards all aspects of crime could be studied. This approach gave rise to the "victimization perspective" (Lewis 1981). This perspective sees crime as an event, rather than as an act, and studies the interaction between the victim, the offender and the environment. The impact of crime on all members of society, irrespective of whether they have been victims or not, is considered to be significant since each member of society is an indirect or vicarious victim of crime.

Crime touches the lives of most South Africans, directly or indirectly, virtually every day. Many become the victims of crimes covering the spectrum from the trivial to the extremely serious. The quality of life of "non-victims" and "not-yet victims" (Greene 1977) is negatively affected by the fear of becoming a victim. Many people change their behaviour and restrict their activities in order to reduce the risk of victimization. Furthermore every taxpayer is indirectly affected by the cost of crime as a result of the enormous sums of money that are spent on maintaining the criminal justice system.

Extensive mass media coverage tends to make crime salient in the

public's mind. The tendency of the media to concentrate on particularly gruesome crimes results in the "man in the street" being convinced that violent crime is on the increase. Perceptions of this nature, whether accurate or not, have consequences in terms of the social or indirect impact of crime that are quite apart from the direct cost of crime. Meier and Short (1985) contend that the study of the social cost of crime, or the impact of crime on society, is a neglected field in criminology.

The impact of crime on the daily lives of South African citizens is affected by individual perceptions of all aspects of crime. In addition, when faced with the threat of crime, people tend to react in a variety of ways. Little is known about the public's perceptions of and reactions to crime. Information in this regard would be extremely useful to social planners and policy makers. A description and analysis of the South African public's perceptions of and reactions to crime constitutes the focus of this research.

## **1.2 AIM OF THE INVESTIGATION**

The Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research (ISODEM) of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was awarded the task of co-ordinating a national research programme on affordable personal safety. During the operationalization of the programme various areas were identified as being important fields for research. One such theme is that of the impact of crime on all aspects of social life in South Africa. The research described in this report covers two aspects of the social impact of crime, namely the perceptions of and reactions to crime.

This investigation aimed at describing the following: the public's perceptions of various aspects of the crime problem (such as the seriousness of crime and whether or not crime was increasing), the social impact of crime (by assessing the level of fear present) and the public's perceptions of the police. In addition the research aimed at describing the public's reaction to crime in the form of the protection measures employed and willingness to become actively involved in community crime prevention. Finally it was also the aim of the investigation to examine these perceptions and reactions with the aid of a number of predictor variables, such as demographic characteristics, neighbourhood conditions and length of residence in the neighbourhood.



### **1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT**

The research methods employed during the investigation will be described in the following section. Data relating to the public's perceptions of some aspects of crime and of the police will be presented and discussed in Section 3. The presentation of the data will be preceded by a review of the literature and theoretical perspectives relating to each topic. Data on the public's reactions to crime will be presented and discussed in Section 4. Once again the literature and theoretical approaches to this area of study will first be briefly reviewed. Finally conclusions will be drawn and recommendations, based on the findings presented, will be made in Section 5.

## **2 RESEARCH METHOD**

Since the aim of the research indicated that the views of the general public should be examined, countrywide surveys covering the four South African population groups were undertaken.

### **2.1 THE SAMPLING DESIGN AND REALIZATION**

The four probability samples used for the survey were drawn by the HSRC's Institute for Statistical Research (ISR). The samples were based on enumerator subdistricts (ESDs) created by the Department of Statistics for census purposes. The ESDs included in the samples, as well as the addresses in each ESD, were selected randomly. In addition the actual respondent interviewed at each address was selected on a random basis with the aid of a random sampling grid.

The sizes of the samples drawn are reflected in Table 2.1. The samples for the whites, coloureds and Indians each contained 126 ESDs and 12 addresses for each ESD. The sample for the blacks contained 173 ESDs and 6 addresses for each ESD. Table 2.1 also gives an indication of the realization of the four samples. There were various reasons for the final samples being smaller than the original samples drawn, for example no reply at an address after three visits, refusal, no person at an address qualifying for inclusion and incomplete questionnaires.

**TABLE 2.1: SIZE OF ORIGINAL AND REALIZED SAMPLES**

<b>Population group</b>	<b>Original sample</b>	<b>Realized sample</b>	<b>Response rate %</b>
Blacks	1 038	1 034	99,8
Coloureds	1 512	1 299	85,9
Indians	1 512	1 439	95,2
Whites	1 512	1 230	81,3

ESDs were selected from all urban areas and towns in the case of the whites, coloureds and Indians. However farms were not included in the samples on account of the high cost of conducting fieldwork in rural areas. It can consequently be said that in the case of the whites, coloureds and Indians the data gathered during the research are broadly representative of the total populations from which the samples were drawn. However in respect of the blacks, certain metropolitan areas only were covered during the selection of ESDs for the sample, namely Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereniging, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage and Bloemfontein. The data are therefore representative only of blacks living in these metropolitan areas.

Upon examination of the demographic characteristics of the respondents included in the final samples, and the comparison of these characteristics with census data, it was evident that certain of the variables (namely sex, age and education) needed to be weighted. This was undertaken in order to bring the levels of these variables, as contained in the samples, in line with census data. It was not possible to weight the data with respect to the black sample as the categories of the characteristics in question, as measured during the survey, were not compatible with the categories reflected in census reports. Some demographic characteristics of the samples are reflected in Appendix A.

## **2.2 THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

The survey questions on which the data reflected in this report are based formed part of an omnibus questionnaire dealing with the broad field of "affordable social security". The questionnaire contained a variety of questions covering matters such as housing, homes for the aged and welfare services. The questions of relevance to this report were compiled after a review of the literature

reporting overseas research in this field. The questionnaire was subjected to the usual pretesting before being finalized. The questions are given in Appendix B.

### **2.3 THE FIELDWORK**

The fieldwork for all four surveys was conducted by the HSRC's Opinion Survey Centre (OSC). This division of the HSRC has the permanent infrastructure and expertise to undertake countrywide surveys of this nature. The surveys among the whites, coloureds and Indians took place during the latter half of 1986, while the survey among the blacks was carried out during 1987. Data were gathered by means of personal interviews with the respondents selected. Interviews were conducted by carefully trained interviewers of the same population group as the respondent.

## **3 PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND THE POLICE**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Perceptions of crime-related issues are one of the most significant factors influencing an individual's reaction to crime and have important implications for the personal well-being and security of members of society. According to Conklin (1975:17) "(p)eople react to their perception of social problems rather than to the problems themselves". Knowledge concerning the perceptions and consequently the impact of crime on the daily lives of citizens can be used by policy makers and social planners for the development of programmes for community crime prevention, victim compensation and fear reduction (Lewis 1981).

Public opinion surveys can be successfully used to measure public sentiment on all aspects of the crime problem, such as perceptions of the seriousness of crime, beliefs about the extent of crime and personal assessments of the risk of victimization. Such nationwide surveys have regularly been undertaken in the USA since the late 1960s. Limited survey information on the South African public's perceptions of crime and crime-related issues is also available (Esterhuysen 1985; Esterhuysen 1986; Lötter n.d.; Schurink 1977; Schurink & Strijdom 1976; Strijdom 1982).

Data relating to the South African public's perceptions of certain

crime-related issues will be presented in this section. Four specific topics will be discussed, namely perceptions of the seriousness of crime, views on whether crime has increased or decreased, fear of crime and views on the quality of the service being rendered by the police. The first two topics will be dealt with together as they are both generally considered to be "beliefs about crime" (Skogan 1981). The last two topics will be discussed separately in view of the fact that a considerable body of literature on fear of crime has emerged during the past two decades. In each case the presentation and discussion of the data will be preceded by a review of the literature on the topic under discussion as well as a review of the theoretical developments that have taken place in recent years.

### **3.2 BELIEFS ABOUT CRIME**

#### **3.2.1 Review of the literature**

The formation of beliefs, as well as their accuracy, are important aspects relating to beliefs about crime. These two topics will be briefly discussed. This discussion will be followed by some observations from the literature relating directly to the two crime-related beliefs for which data will be presented, namely views on the seriousness of crime and the belief that crime is increasing.

#### **\* The formation of beliefs about crime**

All beliefs play an important role in determining how an individual reacts to the world around him. The formation of beliefs about any subject is influenced by a person's attitudes and values and direct and indirect (vicarious) experience.

Research aimed at determining what factors influence the formation of beliefs about crime has revealed that beliefs of this nature tend not to be affected by past experience with crime (Skogan 1981). Hindelang and associates (1978) found that victims and non-victims' crime-related beliefs did not differ much.

Other studies have indicated that the mass media's depiction of crime and the events surrounding crime are important in shaping the public's beliefs about crime (Tyler 1980). Mass media reports on crime tend to be selective (for example white collar crime is sel-

dom reported) and distorted (in that the more sensational cases are afforded greater coverage) (Hagan 1982). For this reason mass media reports on crime can lead to misconceptions which are often regarded as fact.

**\* The accuracy of crime-related beliefs**

Criminologists' interest in the study of public beliefs about crime arose mainly from speculation concerning the accuracy of such beliefs. The little research that has been conducted to assess the accuracy of this type of belief has tended to produce conflicting results. The significance of the accuracy/inaccuracy of crime-related beliefs is referred to by Warr (1982:185). He notes that "... to the extent that public beliefs about crime diverge from objective conditions, the possible consequences of those beliefs (for example fear of victimization, avoidance and precautionary behaviors, outmigration, loss of confidence in the police, and decreased social solidarity) may be unwarranted".

In addition to the fact that crime-related beliefs may be inaccurate, research has indicated that attempts to alter beliefs about crime by way of crime reduction and prevention programmes are generally not successful (Warr 1982). In other words reducing crime will not necessarily alter the social consequences (such as fear, alienation and isolation) of crime. It can thus be said that the social consequences of crime are independent of crime itself.

Findings of this nature have important policy implications. Warr (1982) refers to the polarization of opinion among policy makers in that some consider that crime reduction should still be the prime policy goal while others argue that crime reduction efforts should be abandoned in favour of strategies that could alter public perceptions of crime and thereby reduce the social consequences of crime.

Most research aimed at directly testing the accuracy of public beliefs about crime has concentrated on assessing the impact of the mass media coverage of crime on crime-related beliefs. Research of this nature has generally concluded that public beliefs about crime are inaccurate because media reporting of crime is inaccurate (Warr 1982). However the assumptions on which such studies have been based (such as that the media distort crime information, that the public relies solely on the media for information on crime and that

the public accepts media information on crime uncritically) have been criticized.

Other studies have shown that public perceptions of crime are fairly accurate. Warr (1982) conducted an investigation to assess the accuracy of public beliefs about the proportion of the population that commit certain offences, and the accuracy of beliefs about the sex ratio of offenders. He found that the respondents' perceptions of these two aspects relating to crime were remarkably accurate. Warr (1982:199) concluded that "... evidence to date suggests that strategies designed to reduce the social consequences of crime by altering public perceptions of crime are unlikely to succeed unless they are accompanied by true reductions in crime. Put another way, it seems unlikely that the public can be 'fooled' about crime".

In view of the limited number of studies assessing the accuracy of crime-related perceptions that have been undertaken to date and the conflicting nature of the research findings that have emerged from these studies, Warr (1982) believes that it would be premature to draw any conclusions regarding the accuracy of public perceptions on this subject on the strength of the little research that has been undertaken.

#### \* Concern about crime

Increased concern about crime on the part of the public usually means that more people have become aware of crime than is the case when concern is minimal. Conklin (1971) ascribes this to indirect victimization, which is the loss suffered as a result of crime without being a direct victim of crime. Crime is perceived by citizens as being a threat to the moral order of society. Conklin (1971) hypothesized that indirect victimization may be more important in influencing concern about crime than direct victimization since it also leads to altered attitudes and behaviour and is more prevalent than direct victimization.

Reiss (1967) conducted research to investigate how the citizens of Boston and Chicago were affected by the problem of crime as defined and experienced by them. He found that there was no direct relation between objective conditions (such as those found in high crime areas) and perceptions. In other words a high crime rate does not necessarily lead to increased concern about crime. Reiss

(1967) suggests that one of the reasons for this is because perceptions are coloured by values. In addition people tend to adopt commonly held perceptions as their own without objectively assessing the environment or the object about which the perception is held.

Some of the areas from which Reiss' (1967) Boston and Chicago samples were drawn had considerably high crime rates. Even within the high rate areas, the black areas had crime rates that were twice those of the white areas. The results of the investigation indicated that there were no consistent differences between races regarding residents' concern about crime and whether or not they considered their neighbourhood a safe place in which to live. Despite the high crime rates in both the white and black high rate areas studied by Reiss (1967), residents tended not to think that crime was a problem in their neighbourhood. The majority of the respondents did not consider crime to be any worse in their area than in any other part of the city.

Reiss (1967) suggests that the disjunction between perceptions of the crime problem and actual crime rates can be explained by the fact that perceptions are altered in order to reduce cognitive dissonance. Dissonance may arise as a result of, firstly, the choice that has been made to live in the area (or the fact that there may be no alternative but to live there) and secondly, certain investments that have been made in the area (in terms of friendships and family ties).

In conclusion, a distinction should be made between concern about crime and fear of crime (which will be dealt with in a later section). These two concepts have been used interchangeably by researchers in the past. However concern about crime and fear of crime are not equivalent. Fear of crime should be measured by an individual's perception of the likelihood of becoming a victim or by feelings of safety in a neighbourhood, while concern about crime should be measured by an individual's perception of the seriousness of the problem of crime in an area or in the country as a whole. An individual may be concerned about crime, but not necessarily fear crime. Conversely a person may fear for his/her own safety without considering crime to be a particularly serious problem in the community or the country.

Furstenberg (1971) provides empirical evidence indicating that fear of crime and concern about crime are two distinct concepts. Basing his research on Baltimore, USA, survey data he concludes that "... the two reactions to crime turn out to be completely unrelated to each other. Those most concerned about the problem of crime are no more or less afraid of victimization than anyone else" (Furstenberg 1971:805).

\* **The belief that crime is increasing**

The view that crime is increasing is one that is widely held. American opinion polls have measured the public's views on this topic since the 1960s. For the past two decades Americans have consistently been of the opinion that crime is increasing in their country. The views of South Africans on this topic have been obtained during national surveys conducted by the HSRC since the late 1970s. Initial findings indicated that 34 % of the whites, 58 % of the coloureds and 44 % of the Indians were of the opinion that crime had increased in their community (Lötter n.d.). More recent research revealed that a greater proportion of whites believed that crime had increased in their neighbourhood, while the proportion of coloureds and Indians who held this view decreased considerably. The actual percentages were 57 % for the whites, 39 % for the coloureds and 34 % for the Indians (Glanz 1987a). The latter survey was also undertaken among black South Africans. The data indicated that 81 % of the blacks were of the opinion that crime had increased in their neighbourhood (Glanz 1987a).

Paradoxically, although the public is concerned about crime, people tend to believe that crime is a problem that occurs elsewhere and affects others. It would appear that there is a tendency for individuals to "distance" themselves from crime (Skogan 1981). When asked about crime trends in the country as a whole, people generally tend to believe that crime is rapidly increasing elsewhere in the country, and even elsewhere in their own city, but not in their immediate neighbourhood. American survey data have consistently shown that if, for example, approximately 50 % of the respondents consider that crime has increased in their neighbourhood, then around 80 % of the respondents usually report that crime has increased in the country as a whole. Referred to by Hindelang and associates (1978) as the "crime-is-rising-at-a-distance" effect, this tendency is considered to be one way in which people try to



neutralize the impact of crime on their daily lives. This same effect is reflected in the general belief that most crime is committed by persons living outside one's own neighbourhood (Brantingham, Brantingham & Butcher 1986).

Survey data relating to the South African public's views on the seriousness of the problem of crime and on whether crime is increasing or not will be presented and discussed in the following section.

### 3.2.2 Presentation and discussion of the data

#### \* **Data relating to views on the seriousness of crime**

During the survey interview respondents were asked "How serious is the crime problem in your neighbourhood?". Responses to this question are indicated in Table 3.1. From this table it is evident that the different population groups in South Africa have different perceptions of the seriousness of the crime problem. While a mere 6 % of the white sample were of the opinion that crime was a very serious problem in their community, the corresponding figure for the blacks was 42 %. Twenty per cent of the coloureds and 10 % of

TABLE 3.1: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM OF CRIME AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL\*

Views	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Very serious	6,4	20,4	10,3	41,7
Fairly serious	25,5	27,3	18,2	25,6
Not really serious	33,4	30,6	42,4	20,4
Not at all serious	27,7	17,8	27,8	8,5
Do not know/ uncertain	7,0	3,9	1,3	3,8
<b>TOTALS</b>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

\* The weighting of the coloured, white and Indian samples, as described in Section 2.1, has the effect of reducing or increasing the frequencies at each answer category, thereby making the frequencies meaningless. For this reason only percentages, and not frequencies, will be reflected in all tables throughout this report.

the Indians reported that crime was a very serious problem in their neighbourhood. It can therefore be said that there is considerable concern about crime among blacks in metropolitan areas.

Survey data concerning this topic was gathered by the HSRC one year prior to the present study. These earlier findings indicate that crime was perceived to be an even greater problem during 1985 than during 1986. The corresponding percentages were 13 % for the whites, 54 % for the blacks, 38 % for the coloureds and 32 % for the Indians (Glanz 1987a). The difference in perception is most marked in the case of the coloureds and Indians.

As already referred to in Section 3.2.1, criminologists have often speculated on the accuracy of public beliefs about crime. Reiss (1967), for example, found a disjunction between perceptions of the crime problem and actual crime rates. One could question whether the high level of concern on the part of metropolitan blacks is due to actual high crime rates or not. There is some evidence to suggest that perceptions of crime are affected more by mass media reporting on crime than by objective conditions. The media have often been criticized for their biased reporting on crime (DuBow, McCabe & Kaplan 1979). With the large-scale urbanization of blacks in South Africa that has taken place during the past few decades, blacks have become increasingly exposed to various media mediums. It could be conjectured that this may have had the effect of distorting the crime picture in black communities. On the other hand some studies have indicated that the public's perceptions of crime are fairly accurate (Warr 1982). The matter of whether the perceptions of blacks, or of any of the other population groups, are realistic will remain unanswered in view of the fact that South African official data on crime are not reported according to population group. Assessments of accuracy therefore cannot be made.

Whether perceptions are accurate or not, they have consequences in terms of the social impact of crime. People react to their perceptions of crime (Conklin 1975) and alter their attitudes and behaviour accordingly. Quality of life is negatively affected in communities where concern about crime is high as a result of members restricting their behaviour and adopting precautionary measures against crime. Regarding the social impact of crime, Biderman et al. (1967:164) note the following: "The special significance of crime is at the social level. The intensity of public reaction to

it is understandable in that it reveals weaknesses of the moral order on which not only everyone's safety depends but also almost everything else that is important and precious in life. Crimes therefore have significance in proportion to the extent to which they affront the moral sensibilities of persons."

Multiple linear regression analysis was performed on the data relating to this question in order to determine which factors were significant in explaining differences among respondents, and among population groups, in views on the seriousness of the problem of crime in the community. This analysis is presented in Table 3.2.

The dependent variable in the analysis has only four categories since the respondents who answered "Do not know/uncertain" are excluded. The categories are considered to be ordinal and are used as a scale on which 1 = "very serious" and 4 = "not at all serious". Various demographic characteristics of the respondents, together with views on certain crime-related topics, constitute the independent variables used in the analysis. A brief description of the independent variables follows.

Sex is a dummy variable according to which male = 1 and female = -1. Age is an ordinal variable based on a scale of five age categories of which 1 is "young", progressing to 5, being "old". Marital status is a categorical variable with the result that dummy variables representing the various marital status categories were created. Income is an ordinal variable based on a scale of five income categories. A low income level is reflected as 1, increasing to a high income level of 5. Educational level is also an ordinal variable based on a scale of five education categories of which 1 represents a low educational level and 5 represents a high educational level. The variable "length of residence in neighbourhood" is an ordinal variable consisting of four categories ranging from "less than three years" (being short residence) to "ten years or longer" (being long residence). "Conditions in neighbourhood" is a variable based on the survey question "In general, do you think that during the past five years this neighbourhood has improved, deteriorated or remained the same?". Three categories formed the ordinal scale for this variable, ranging from "deteriorated" (= 1) to "improved" (= 3). The variable "quality of police service" is an ordinal variable measuring views on the standard of the service being rendered by the police. This variable consists of

TABLE 3.2: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF CRIME AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL

Independent variables	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Sex	-0,002	-0,111***	0,012	0,003
Age	0,054	0,067	0,050	-0,001
Marital status				
- currently married	0,174**	0,073	-0,024	0,025
- living together	-0,462**	-0,176	0,205	0,042
- never married	0,072	0,105	-0,107	0,006
Income	-0,001	0,009	-0,005	0,006
Education	-0,019	0,095*	-0,035	0,009
Length of residence in neighbourhood	-0,068	0,062	0,019	-0,171***
Conditions in neighbourhood	0,011	0,173***	0,009	0,127
Quality of police service	-0,187***	-0,179***	-0,166***	-0,096***
Area of residence	-0,181***	-0,123***	-0,185***	-
Mean	2,84	2,44	2,72	1,94
R <sup>2</sup>	0,14	0,12	0,08	0,06

\* Significant at the 5 % level ( $p < 0,05$ ).

\*\*\* Significant at the 1 % level ( $p < 0,01$ ).

five categories: the figure 1 represents a rating of "very good" and the 5 a "very bad" rating. Finally, area of residence is a dummy variable according to which residence in an urban area = 1 and residence in a non-urban area = -1. This variable could not be used in any of the analyses relating to blacks as the sample for this population group covered metropolitan areas only.

An examination of Table 3.2 reveals that the mean scores for the whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks are 2,8, 2,4, 2,7 and 1,9 respectively. From these scores it is evident that the mean response of the black sample is in the direction of the serious "axis" of the serious/not serious scale. This is consistent with the discussion of Table 3.1.

The percentage variation explained ( $R^2$ ) by the variables included in the analysis varies considerably for the four population groups. The independent variables used would seem to be more relevant in the case of the whites and coloureds (these two groups having a percentage variation of 14 and 12 respectively explained by the predictors), and less relevant in the case of the Indians and blacks (the percentage variation explained being 8 and 6 respectively).

The most noteworthy aspect of this regression analysis is that the variable "Quality of police service" is significant at the 1 % level for all four population groups. In each case respondents who had negative views on the quality of the service being rendered by the police, tended to consider crime to be a serious problem in their community. This was most evident among the whites (with a regression coefficient of  $-0,187$ ), followed by the coloureds ( $-0,179$ ), Indians ( $-0,166$ ) and blacks ( $-0,098$ ). Although it is not possible to infer a causal relationship between these two variables, it would seem as if good police/community relations may lead to crime being perceived by the public as being less of a problem, thereby reducing the social impact of crime and its negative effect on the quality of life of community members.

The regression analysis also revealed that the area in which a respondent lives is an important predictor of differences in views on the seriousness of crime. Although this variable could not be used in the analysis relating to the black sample since the sample only covered metropolitan areas, in the case of the whites, coloureds and Indians, urban/non-urban residence is significant at the 1 % level. Urban dwellers tended to perceive crime to be a serious problem in their community to a greater extent than non-urban residents. This perception was most evident among the Indians, with a regression coefficient of  $-0,165$ , followed by the whites ( $-0,161$ ) and coloureds ( $-0,123$ ). This finding is consistent with the fact that the absolute levels of crime generally tend to be greater in cities than in towns and rural areas (Sampson 1986). The importance of this particular predictor variable seems to indicate that the public's concern about crime as a problem corresponds fairly well with reality.

No other predictor variables proved significant in the analysis with respect to the Indian sample. In the case of the whites those who were married were significantly ( $p < 0,05$ ) of the opinion that

crime was not a serious problem in their neighbourhood (regression coefficient = 0,174). On the other hand white respondents who were living together held the view that crime was a problem in the community (regression coefficient = -0,462; significant at the 5 % level). It could be surmised that because most married people live in the suburban areas of a city, which are reputedly less exposed to the problem of crime than for example high-density areas are, this could affect perceptions of the seriousness of crime. If this were the case one would also expect respondents who had never married, to consider crime to be a problem in their area. However the analysis did not indicate this to be the case. It was not possible to control for the effect of urban/suburban residence in the analyses performed.

In the case of the coloured sample, sex of respondent and educational level proved to be significant predictors of differences in perceptions. Males were significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) of the opinion that crime was a problem in the community (regression coefficient = -0,111). This could be explained by the fact that coloured males are exposed to the threat of crime or to evidence of crime (in terms of the use of public transport and being in public places) to a greater extent than females. In addition the coloured respondents with a higher educational level tended to be of the opinion that crime was a serious problem in their neighbourhood (regression coefficient = 0,095; significant at the 5 % level). This perception may be due to the fact that the coloured residential areas in South Africa are generally not segregated according to class, with the result that coloureds of high socio-economic status live in close proximity to those of low socio-economic status. This fact may influence the perceptions of the high status group. A similar effect has been observed with regard to blacks in the USA. Wilson (1975) suggests that the reason why American blacks are more concerned about crime than whites is because residential segregation (which is still a feature of American cities) means that there is little differentiation according to class level in the black residential areas. It is consequently very difficult for the different classes to maintain any sort of life-style peculiar to their class.

Finally the length of time that a respondent had been living in a neighbourhood is a significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) predictor of views on the seriousness of crime only in respect of the black sample (regression coefficient = -0,171). The respondents who had been living in

a neighbourhood for a relatively long time tended to hold the view that crime was a problem in their community. According to Table 3.1 a significantly large proportion of the black sample (67,3 %) was of the opinion that crime was a very serious or fairly serious problem in the community. It could be conjectured that black urban residents who have vested interests in a community in terms of friends, family and home improvements perceive crime as a threat to the stability of the community to a greater degree than those who do not have roots in a community.

The above discussion provides the reader with a number of tentative explanations for the findings relating to the public's perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime in South Africa. Data relating to views on whether crime had increased or decreased during the year prior to the investigation will be presented in the following section.

**\* Data relating to views on the increase/decrease in crime**

The data presented in this section are based on the survey question "Do you think that the problem of crime in your residential area has increased, decreased or remained about the same over the past twelve months?". Table 3.3 indicates the responses to this question.

Some interesting findings are evident from this table. While the proportion of respondents who felt crime had increased was greatest

**TABLE 3.3: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN THE PROBLEM OF CRIME OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS**

Views	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Increased	34,8	30,8	23,1	39,3
Decreased	3,9	18,1	18,4	39,4
Remained about the same	43,0	41,8	42,4	15,2
Do not know/uncertain	12,6	5,5	3,3	3,3
No crime problem	5,7	3,9	14,8	2,8
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

among the blacks (39,3 %), there was an equal proportion of respondents in this population group who were of the opinion that crime had decreased. The percentage of whites who felt that crime had increased, was also relatively high (34,8 %), but at the same time only 3,9 % of the whites were of the opinion that crime had decreased. The relatively greater number of white respondents who indicated that they were not in a position to answer this question is also of note (12,6 % compared with 5,5 % for the coloureds and 3,3 % for both the Indians and blacks). In addition it would seem as if crime is perceived by Indians to be less of a problem than it is by the other population groups, since only 23,1 % of the Indian respondents indicated that crime had increased and 14,8 % mentioned that there was no crime problem in their community.

Survey data on this topic that was gathered by the HSRC during the early 1980s (Lötter n.d.), as well as one year prior to the present investigation (Glanz 1987a), are presented in Table 3.4. Early

TABLE 3.4: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN THE PROBLEM OF CRIME: COMPARISON OF DATA GATHERED DURING 1981 WITH DATA GATHERED DURING 1985/86

Views	Whites		Coloureds		Indians		Blacks
	1981* %	1986* %	1981*** %	1985**** %	1981*** %	1985**** %	1986* %
Increased	33,6	56,5	57,6	38,9	43,7	33,5	60,7
Decreased	2,7	3,5	7,6	22,2	16,3	19,9	29,1
Remained about the same	37,1	24,8	21,0	33,0	24,1	43,9	8,0
Do not know/ uncertain	26,7	5,3	13,7	5,9	15,8	2,7	2,2
No crime problem	-	9,9	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

\* Data obtained from postal surveys based on representative samples of farms, towns and urban areas, conducted during 1981 and 1986 respectively.

\*\*\* Data obtained from interview surveys based on nationwide samples of farms, towns and urban areas, conducted among coloureds and Indians during 1981.

\*\*\*\* Data obtained from interview surveys based on nationwide samples of towns and urban areas, conducted among coloureds and Indians during 1985.

\* Data obtained from an interview survey based on a sample drawn from the PWV area only, conducted during 1986.



data in respect of the blacks are not available. It is evident that in the case of both the coloureds and the Indians, a greater number of respondents reported during both earlier surveys that they were of the opinion that crime had increased in their neighbourhood than the number who reported this during the present study. This may indicate that the public's perceptions of the extent of the crime problem are fairly accurate since South African official statistics on crime indicate that crimes of violence have decreased in recent years (Glanz 1987a). Although it can be mentioned that official data also indicate that certain property crimes have increased considerably in recent years (Glanz 1987a), American research has revealed that the public's perceptions of the "crime problem" generally tend to be shaped by crimes against the person and not property crime (Tyler 1980). This has been attributed to mass media coverage of crimes of violence.

TABLE 3.5: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN THE PROBLEM OF CRIME OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS

Independent variables	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	Estimated regression coefficient.			
Sex	0,018	0,044	-0,031	-0,080
Age	-0,007	-0,024	0,028	0,012
Marital status				
- currently married	-0,098	0,062	0,029	-0,006
- living together	0,258*	-0,228	-0,051	0,017
- never married	-0,152*	-0,039	0,005	-0,059
Income	-0,000	0,001	0,008	-0,007
Education	0,027	-0,019	0,008	0,019
Length of residence in neighbourhood	0,028	0,005	-0,087*	0,112***
Conditions in neighbourhood	-0,004	-0,120*	-0,004	-0,222***
Quality of police service	0,098***	0,111***	0,131***	0,113***
Area of residence	-0,047	0,112*	-0,085	-
Mean	2,38	2,25	2,13	2,01
R <sup>2</sup>	0,06	0,09	0,08	0,09

\* Significant at the 5 % level ( $p < 0,05$ ).

\*\*\* Significant at the 1 % level ( $p < 0,01$ ).

Once again multiple linear regression analysis was performed on the data relating to this question in order to determine which independent variables are significant in predicting differences in views on the increase/decrease in crime. The regression analysis is presented in Table 3.5.

The dependent variable used in this analysis is an ordinal scale containing three levels ranging from "Decreased" (being the lowest level) to "Increased" (being the highest level). Respondents who answered "Do not know/uncertain" and "No crime problem" were excluded from the analysis in order to make the ordinal scaling possible. For this reason the N levels are considerably reduced. The independent variables included in the analysis are the same as those used in the regression analysis reflected in Table 3.2. The reader is referred to the previous section for a discussion of the construction of these variables.

Table 3.5 indicates that the mean scores are 2,36, 2,25, 2,13 and 2,01 for the whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks respectively. These scores indicate that of the four population groups, the whites tend to view crime as increasing to the greatest extent, followed by the coloureds, Indians and lastly the blacks. This is consistent with the fact that although nearly 40 % of the black respondents felt that crime had increased, an equally large proportion were of the opinion that it had decreased.

The percentage variation ( $R^2$ ) explained is generally not as high in this regression analysis as it was in the one presented in the previous section. From Table 3.5 it can be noted that the percentage variation explained is highest in the case of the black and coloured samples (both being 9 %), slightly lower for the Indians (8 %) and a relatively low 6 % in the case of the white sample.

Once again the variable "Quality of police service" is consistently significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) in the case of all four groups. With regard to each sample respondents who were of the opinion that the service being rendered by the police was poor, tended to feel that crime had increased in their neighbourhood over the past twelve months. This perception was most notable among the Indians (regression coefficient = 0,131), followed by the blacks (0,113), coloureds (0,111) and lastly the whites (0,098).

Area of residence is only significant with regard to the coloureds, with those living in urban areas being of the opinion that crime had increased in their community (regression coefficient = 0,112; significant at the 5 % level). The coloured respondents who felt that conditions in their neighbourhood had deteriorated over the past five years were significantly ( $p < 0,05$ ) of the opinion that crime had increased in their neighbourhood (regression coefficient = -0,120). This finding is consistent with existing research. Environmental psychologists suggest that perceptions of the physical characteristics of a neighbourhood affect attitudes toward a great variety of issues (Taylor, Shumaker & Gottfredson 1985). American research has indicated that perceptions of community deterioration are associated with increased concern about crime and perceptions of increasing crime rates (Skogan & Maxfield 1981).

Length of residence in a neighbourhood is a significant predictor of differences in opinion regarding the increase/decrease in crime in the case of Indians and blacks. However the findings relating to these two groups differ considerably: the Indians who had been residing in an area for a relatively long period were of the opinion that crime had decreased in their neighbourhood (regression coefficient = -0,087; significant at the 5 % level), while the blacks who had also been residing in an area for a relatively long time felt that crime had increased in their community (regression coefficient = 0,112; significant at the 1 % level). This latter finding is consistent with the previous finding that blacks with a relatively long residence in a community tended to hold the view that crime was a serious problem in their neighbourhood. In addition, black respondents who expressed the view that conditions in their neighbourhood had deteriorated over the past five years were significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) of the opinion that crime had increased in their community (regression coefficient = -0,222). This indicates once again that perceptions of declining neighbourhood conditions appear to be linked to perceptions of increasing crime rates.

Finally marital status is significant only with regard to the white sample. Respondents who were living together were of the opinion that crime had increased in their neighbourhood (regression coefficient = 0,258; significant at the 5 % level). This is consistent with the previous finding that respondents living together tended to feel that crime was a serious problem. However those who had never married held the view that crime had decreased in their com-

munity (regression coefficient = -0,152; significant at the 5 % level). These findings would seem to be conflicting as one would expect single persons and those living together to have similar types of residential areas (i.e. high density as opposed to suburban) and similar general value systems. Such factors could not be controlled in the analysis.

The South African public's fear of crime is the subject of the following section. The presentation and discussion of the data will be preceded by a review of the literature. Reference to recent theoretical developments in this field will be made.

### **3.3 FEAR OF CRIME**

#### **3.3.1 Introduction**

Fear of crime, particularly in large urban areas, is a well-documented crime-related problem (Baumer 1985). In many parts of the Western world fear of crime has become a major social and policy issue (Lewis & Maxfield 1980). In the USA for example, in reaction to the considerable increase in crime experienced during the 1980s, the public began to demand greater relief for those threatened by crime. Consequently the attention of academics, researchers and policy makers shifted to the direct and indirect victim of crime. The impact of crime at the community and individual level subsequently became the focus of research endeavours (Lewis & Salem 1986).

It has become generally recognized that the financial cost of crime is far less than the toll taken by the social and psychological consequences of indirect victimization (Conklin 1975). Experts contend that fear of crime has a crippling effect on the quality of life of city dwellers. According to Clemente and Kleiman (1977:52) the cost of crime "... extends to the forced alteration of daily living habits as well as to the negative psychological effects of living in a state of constant anxiety".

The consequences of fear of crime are numerous and take on various forms. These can be psychological, for example feelings of anxiety and general mistrust and suspicion. In addition fear can lead to avoidance behaviour, for example when normal activities are curtailed and certain areas are avoided. Garofalo (1979) found a direct

relation between limiting one's social life and fear of crime. Another consequence of fear of crime is the often extensive protection measures, such as the installation of burglar alarms and the purchasing of firearms, adopted to reduce the risk of victimization. City dwellers in particular have changed their life-styles in order to protect themselves from crime (Brooks 1974). Lewis and Salem (1986:3) conclude that "... the fear of crime [has become] as much of a social problem as the crime itself". An exacerbating factor is the phenomenon that fear of crime tends to rise with an increase in crime but does not fall when crime rates fall - at least not at the same rate (Taylor & Hale 1986).

Theoretical developments relating to the study of fear of crime that have taken place over the past two decades will be discussed in the following section.

### **3.3.2 Theoretical perspective**

Since the mid-1980s the fear of crime has come to be recognized as a separate issue. This occurred after research had established that the level of fear in a community generally did not match the actual amount of crime in that community. Many more people fear crime than are actually victimized. Taylor and Hale (1986) suggest that there is a "multiplier" that spreads the impact of crime.

What do we know about those who fear crime the most? Schurink (1978) succinctly points out that most people fear crime, but not to the same extent. Personal characteristics such as age and sex have been shown to be related to increased levels of fear (Baumer 1985; Garofalo 1979; Silverman & Kennedy 1985). Such characteristics appear to be associated with feelings of vulnerability. Baumer (1985:251) notes that "... overall fear is a response to subjectively defined risk and personal vulnerability". Skogan and Maxfield (1981) found that in cities in the USA, females, the poor, blacks and the elderly have the greatest fear of crime. It has been suggested that fear at the individual level is largely determined by the individual's position in society (Taylor & Hale 1986).

During the past twenty years researchers have developed a number of theoretical models to explain fear of crime. The victimization perspective has given rise to two opposing theoretical approaches to the study of this topic, namely the irrational and the cognitive

(or rational) models. Both will be reviewed briefly. In addition the most recent theoretical development in this field, the control perspective, will be discussed.

**\* The irrational model**

One group of researchers considers fear of crime to be an irrational response to a perceived situation. Early research findings indicated that fear of crime is disproportional to the actual risk of victimization. In particular the sectors of the population that were least at risk (such as women and the elderly), were found to be most fearful of crime (Liska, Lawrence & Sanchirico 1982). This was taken as evidence of the contention that fear of crime is an irrational response (Clemente & Kleiman 1977). This model received further support from more recent overseas research which failed to produce more than a weak relation between fear of crime and self-reported victimization (Skogan 1987). It has been suggested that the high level of fear in certain sectors of the population may lead to avoidance behaviour and consequently reduced exposure to risk. This could be one reason for the weak relation between victimization and fear.

Brooks (1974) considers fear of crime to be closely related to xenophobia or fear of strangers. He points out that urban dwellers are daily subjected to the threat of personal injury from accidental sources to a far greater extent than the threat of injury from crime. Yet people often fear crime but seldom fear accidents. Brooks (1974:242) argues that "(t)he man in the street is most afraid of being victimized by a criminal stranger ... Since this attitude is not completely rational, it cannot be neutralized completely by rational rebuttals. It remains a force to contend with". According to the irrational perspective, therefore, reducing the actual amount of crime present in a society will not automatically be followed by a reduction in the levels of fear. Proponents of this view contend that because of its irrational nature, reducing fear may be more difficult to achieve than reducing crime itself (Brooks 1974).

**\* The cognitive model**

In contrast with the irrational model the cognitive model proposes that fear of crime is a "... rational response to a perceived

threat of harm" (Baumer 1985:241). According to followers of this perspective, crime is perceived as a greater threat by those who are physically or socially vulnerable than by the rest of society. The concept of vulnerability is thus used to explain research findings that women, the elderly and the poor are more fearful. Research has indicated that perceived vulnerability to victimization, rather than perceived risk of victimization is the most important factor determining level of fear (Baker et al. 1983).

Although women and the elderly consider themselves to be physically vulnerable, Maxfield (1984) found that being elderly or a woman is not the most important determinant of physical vulnerability - perceptions of crime as a serious social problem emerge as a more significant measure of physical vulnerability in explaining fear of crime.

Supporters of the cognitive model challenge the apparent paradox that those who are least at risk often exhibit the greatest amount of fear. It has been suggested that the elderly in particular have reason to be fearful if differential exposure to crime is taken into account. Stafford and Galle (1984) are of the opinion that the way in which the likelihood of victimization has been measured in the case of the elderly can account for much of the discrepancy between risk and fear.

The usual way that victimization rates for different sectors of the population are calculated is by taking the number of victimizations according to population size for a particular period. This assumes that all persons are equally exposed to crime. However Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) contend that this is incorrect. They have shown that personal victimizations (such as rape, robbery and assault) occur disproportionately away from home. Therefore if some members of the population, such as the elderly, spend greater portions of their time at home than other sectors of the population, their exposure will be reduced. Hindelang and associates (1978) suggest that the amount of time spent away from home is related to an individual's life-style. The pursuit of leisure and an occupation means that more time is spent in public places. Stafford and Galle (1984:174) note that "(t)hese arguments suggest that there is considerable variation among persons in exposure to the risk of personal victimization and that exposure varies as a function of lifestyle/routine activities".

During research on fear of crime conducted by Stafford and Galle (1984) victimization rates that take differential exposure to crime into account were used. Their findings cast doubt on existing research indicating that fear is inversely related to objective risk of victimization. Their data indicated that "... some groups with relatively low conventional rates can have high victimization rates when adjusted for exposure to risk" (Stafford & Galle 1984:181). They found that fear of crime was strongly positively related to adjusted victimization rates, thus lending support to the rational model.

In addition to physical vulnerability due to personal characteristics such as age, research has indicated that social vulnerability is also related to fear of crime. Social vulnerability refers to circumstances, such as being poor, that make it difficult to prevent victimization. The poor are often forced to live in areas with a high crime rate and generally do not have the resources to protect themselves from crime. They also have a reduced capacity to recover from victimization (Jaycox 1978).

The cognitive model also sees past victimization experiences as contributing directly to fear of crime. Early research failed to identify such a relation. More recent research endeavours, however, found victims to be more fearful than non-victims (Baumer 1985; Skogan 1987). This fear tends to spread to friends - research subjects with friends who have been victimized are more fearful than those who do not have such friends. From a panel study, during which subjects were interviewed on two different occasions, it was shown that those who had been victimized were more worried about being a victim again, perceived more crime in the community, and took greater protective measures against crime than those who had not been victimized (Skogan 1987). Giles-Sims (1984) found that recent victimization significantly predicted level of fear of crime.

In conclusion Garofalo (1981) suggests that the current argument concerning whether fear of crime is a rational or irrational response is wasted effort. He feels that researchers should rather be looking at explanations for discrepancies between levels of fear and the apparent risk of victimization. The above suggestion by Stafford and Galle (1984) that in relation to their exposure to



risk the elderly do not necessarily have an irrational fear of crime is an example of such an explanation. Furthermore a certain degree of fear of crime is functional to the extent that it makes people take precautions against crime. Given that crime is a fact of life in most societies in the world today, precautions have become essential. It is only when fear becomes dysfunctional that it warrants the attention of researchers and policy makers.

\* **The social control perspective**

The social control perspective, proposed by Lewis and Salem (1981), is one of the most recent theoretical developments in the field of fear of crime. This new approach has its roots in the social control theory formulated by the Chicago sociologists in the 1920s. Supporters of this approach contend that the victimization perspective, which gave rise to the rational and irrational models, fails to address all the anomalies that have arisen from research on the public's reaction to crime. Lewis and Salem (1986:xiii) argue that the victimization perspective "... fails to take account of the political and social structures within which such fears are shaped and nourished". They suggest that fear of crime is a consequence of the perceived erosion of social control that is evident in many urban centres. This effect is similar to the "sense of failure of community" suggested by Wilson in the mid-1970s (Wilson 1975). Lewis and Salem (1986) consider incivility in neighbourhoods to be the feature that reflects the weakening of social controls on which the fabric of social life is based. They suggest that residents are fearful as a result of perceptions of the decline of moral order in their community. They contend that fear of crime is present in communities that do not have the ability to "regulate" themselves, for example by asserting their values.

Lewis (1981) is of the opinion that fear of crime affects those sectors of the population with the fewest personal and political resources that can be used to counteract crime. This author notes that "(i)n a very real sense communities, not criminals, produce fear and behavioral responses. They produce them by the way they are organized and by the opportunities they afford their residents for security" (Lewis 1981:13).

It is evident from the above review of the theoretical developments relating to fear of crime that have taken place during the past two

decades that criminologists are not in agreement about the origins of fear and factors that contribute to the development and maintenance of fear. Research that has been undertaken on this topic to date has generally produced conflicting results. It would therefore appear that the subject of fear of crime as an area of criminological study warrants greater attention - particularly in view of the negative effect such fear has on the lives of those experiencing it.

A brief discussion of some of the problems surrounding the measurement of fear of crime follows. This will be followed by the presentation and discussion of survey data relating to fear of crime on the part of the South African public.

### **3.3.3 The measurement of fear of crime**

Research on fear of crime has been beset with problems relating to the measurement of the dependent variable (Ferraro & LaGrange 1987). Fear of crime has been measured in a number of different ways by various researchers over the past two decades. According to DuBow, McCabe and Kaplan (1979) contradictory research findings can often be explained in terms of the different ways in which fear of crime has been measured. During early research work it was assumed that fear was conceptualized by an individual's assessment or perception of the probability of being victimized. Over the years the measurement of fear of crime has been refined (Lewis & Salem 1986) in that fear has been distinguished from (1) concern about crime as a social problem; (2) worry about becoming the victim of crime, and (3) assessment of personal risk of victimization (Furstenberg 1971; Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofalo 1978; Skogan 1987). In the most recent studies the emotional reaction to crime was identified as being representative of fear. Naturally opinion poll questions cannot measure fear as and when it actually occurs, but they are restricted to asking respondents to recall times when they may have been afraid, or to anticipating how they would feel under certain circumstances.

### **3.3.4 Presentation and discussion of the data**

Past research conducted in South Africa revealed that various sectors of the population are considerably fearful of crime. Lötter (n.d.) found that during the early 1980s 7 % of the whites, 40 % of

the coloureds and 22 % of the Indians reported that they felt their neighbourhoods were "Very unsafe" at night. A further 25 % of the whites, 23 % of the coloureds and 26 % of the Indians considered their neighbourhoods to be "Somewhat unsafe". Data on this topic obtained from the surveys undertaken for the present study are reflected in Table 3.6. These data relate to the question "How safe do you feel, or would you feel to be out alone at night in your residential area?" Sixteen per cent of the whites, 21,8 % of the coloureds, 11,6 % of the Indians and 46,6 % of the blacks were of the opinion that their residential areas were very unsafe at night. While the proportion of whites, who reported feeling very unsafe, more than doubled since the early 1980s, the proportion of coloureds was considerably smaller. The recent data also revealed that substantially fewer Indians indicated that their residential areas are very unsafe as compared with the earlier data. However, in the case of black respondents, nearly half of the sample reported that they felt that their neighbourhoods were very unsafe at night. Early data in respect of blacks are unfortunately not available for comparison purposes. One can conclude that black South Africans have a very high level of fear of crime. In addition the fear of crime on the part of whites has increased considerably in recent years, while the level of fear among coloureds and Indians has decreased. Indians appear to have the lowest level of fear of the four South African population groups.

Further analysis of the data is essential in order to determine .

TABLE 3.6: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED FEELINGS OF SAFETY BRING ALONE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT

Responses	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Very safe	17,0	13,3	20,8	11,4
Fairly safe	42,5	35,8	45,6	22,9
Fairly unsafe	24,5	29,1	22,0	19,1
Very unsafe	16,0	21,8	11,6	46,6
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

which factors are associated with, or predict fear of crime on the part of the South African public. The multiple linear regression analysis that was performed on the data was aimed at investigating the relation between certain demographic and other characteristics of the sample members and fear of crime. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3.7.

The dependent variable in the analysis, representing fear of crime, is an ordinal scale containing four levels with the lowest level being "Very safe" and the highest level being "Very unsafe". The predictor variables that were used are the same as those used for the analysis reflected in Table 3.2, with the exception of "Length of residence in neighbourhood" and "Conditions in neighbourhood", and the addition of the variables "Seriousness of crime" and "Increase/decrease in crime".

TABLE 3.7: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: FEELINGS OF SAFETY BEING ALONE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT

Independent variables	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Sex	-0,324***	-0,138***	-0,086***	-0,104***
Age	0,033	-0,013	-0,052*	0,035
Marital status				
- currently married	0,001	-0,028	0,050	0,038
- living together	-0,093	0,155	0,031	-0,044
- never married	-0,012	-0,132**	-0,117	-0,022
Income	0,002	-0,008	0,003	-0,008
Education	-0,082***	-0,055	-0,009	0,008
Quality of police service	0,097***	0,073***	0,059***	0,055***
Area of residence	-0,038	-0,005	-0,077	-
Seriousness of crime	-0,155***	-0,331***	-0,321***	-0,312***
Increase/decrease in crime	0,241***	0,233***	0,189***	0,322***
Mean	2,41	2,63	2,34	3,04
R <sup>2</sup>	0,22	0,28	0,22	0,29

\* Significant at the 5 % level ( $p < 0,05$ ).

\*\*\* Significant at the 1 % level ( $p < 0,01$ ).

An examination of Table 3.7 reveals that the mean scores in respect of all four population groups lie above two, thereby indicating that the mean response tends towards the "Unsafe" axis of the scale. The black sample produced the highest mean (3,04), followed by the coloureds (2,63), whites (2,41) and Indians (2,34). This is consistent with the above discussion of the frequency and percentage distribution of responses to this question.

The percentage variation explained ( $R^2$ ) is relatively high in the case of all the samples which suggests that the combined effect of the different predictor variables in explaining variation in the levels of the dependent variable is very successful. The black sample has the highest percentage variation explained (29 %), followed by the coloureds (26 %) and the whites and Indians (22 % in both cases).

Upon examination of Table 3.7 one is immediately impressed by the number of variables that proved to be significant at the 1 % level. This naturally ties up with the relatively high percentage variance explained by the predictors. No fewer than four variables are significant at the 1 % level in the case of all four samples, namely sex of respondent, perceptions of the quality of the service being rendered by the police, perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime and views on the increase/decrease in crime in the community.

The negative regression coefficients in the case of the sex of the respondent indicate that males tended to feel safer in their neighbourhoods at night than females. This trend was most pronounced in the case of the whites (regression coefficient = -0,324), followed by the coloureds (-0,138), blacks (-0,104) and Indians (-0,088). It is interesting to note that while the blacks indicated the highest level of fear of crime among the four population groups, the whites revealed the greatest difference in level of fear between males and females.

The above finding relating to sex differences regarding the South African public's fear of crime is consistent with overseas research. A number of studies have indicated that gender is significant in predicting fear of crime (Baumer 1978; Riger, Gordon & LeBailly 1982). This finding has been used extensively by proponents of the irrational model since it is an established fact that

women are less frequently victimized than men. Their fear would therefore appear to be an irrational response. However supporters of the cognitive model contend that sex differences in physical strength could lead to women feeling more vulnerable and consequently exhibiting greater fear than men. Women have the additional crime of rape to fear which does not affect the level of fear on the part of men. Hindelang and associates (1978) report that the extent of injury accompanying the crime of rape is greater than any other type of crime.

In addition to physical vulnerability the generally lower status of women in society has been offered as an explanation for their greater level of fear. Riger, Gordon and LeBailly (1982:371) conclude that "... although fewer women are actually victimized, the threat of victimization has far-reaching consequences for women's lives, and for the vitality of the communities in which they live".

As in the case of the previous two regression analyses, perceptions of the quality of the service being rendered by the police proved to be a highly significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) predictor of differences in levels of fear. The positive regression coefficients for all four samples indicate that the respondents who had the most positive attitude toward the police had the lowest level of fear. This perception was most prominent among the white sample (regression coefficient = 0,097), followed by the coloureds (0,073), Indians (0,059) and lastly the blacks (0,055). It would appear therefore that satisfaction with the service rendered by the police is positively associated with feelings of safety in one's neighbourhood. This is consistent with evidence provided by Baker et al. (1983) in respect of residents in Phoenix, USA. They found that whites had significantly more confidence in the police and consequently less fear of crime. However Baker et al. (1983) found that this trend did not hold true in respect of minority group members. They conclude that "... perceptions of the crime rate and confidence in the police are important in the causal modeling of fear" (Baker et al. 1983:332).

Perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime also emerged as a highly significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) predictor of variance in levels of the dependent variable in the case of all four samples. There was a consistent tendency for the respondents who perceived crime to be a serious problem in their community to have high levels of fear. This trend was most evident in the case of the coloureds (regres-

sion coefficient = -0,331), followed by the Indians (-0,321), blacks (-0,312) and the whites (-0,155).

This finding supports the results of research conducted in Chicago, USA. Taylor and Hale (1986) found that fear of crime does not result directly from victimization experience but is related rather to the perceived seriousness of the problem of crime in the neighbourhood. They found that fear stems from the judgement on the part of community residents that the authorities are powerless to do anything about crime. According to this argument fear of crime is linked to the belief that there are insufficient community resources to fight crime.

Respondents' views on whether crime had increased or decreased in their neighbourhood during the year prior to the survey is the final predictor variable that proved to be highly significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) for all four samples. In all cases the respondents who were of the opinion that crime had increased, tended to show the highest level of fear of crime. This was most pronounced in respect of the blacks (regression coefficient = 0,322), followed by the whites (0,241), coloureds (0,233) and lastly the Indians (0,169).

American research has consistently shown that fear of crime, as measured by feeling unsafe when walking alone at night in the neighbourhood, correlates strongly with perceptions of rising crime rates. Skogan and Maxfield (1981) have suggested that this can be explained by residents' perceptions of a breakdown of the moral order in a community. Members of a community take negative social and physical cues (such as public drunkenness, graffiti, signs of vandalism and other direct evidence of crime) as an indication that their neighbourhood is deteriorating. The next step is increased levels of fear for one's own safety.

Educational level proved to be a highly significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) predictor of different levels of fear only in the case of the white sample. The negative regression coefficient (-0,092) indicates that the respondents with a high educational level had a low level of fear of crime. This finding could be explained by the fact that upper-class white residential areas are usually fairly well separated from the areas (such as inner-city, high-density areas) where crimes of violence (which usually arouse the most fear) tend to be

more common.

It is surprising to note that age proved to be significant only in the case of the Indian respondents. Overseas research has consistently shown that older persons are more fearful than younger persons (Stafford & Galle 1984; Ortega & Myles 1987). With regard to the present study the opposite held true for the Indians: those who were older tended to fear crime the least (regression coefficient = -0,052, significant at the 5 % level). There may be a cultural explanation for this trend in that among the Indian population in South Africa the elderly are usually part of an extended family system, often living with one of their married children. This may mean that they are, and also feel, protected from the threat of crime.

Finally marital status is significant only in respect of the coloureds, with those who had never been married reporting lower levels of fear than the rest of the sample (regression coefficient = -0,132, significant at the 5 % level). It could be conjectured that the tendency for young, unmarried persons to go out at night in groups may foster a sense of bravado resulting in feelings of safety from crime. However if this were the case one would expect to find lower levels of fear among young unmarried persons of other population groups, which was not evident.

The above discussion of the regression analyses performed on the data relating to fear of crime provides the reader with some indication of which characteristics of respondents and other factors are associated with fear of crime. Conclusions in this regard will be made in the final section of this report. Respondents' views on the quality of the service rendered by the police are the subject of the following section.

### **3.4 VIEWS ON THE QUALITY OF POLICE SERVICES**

#### **3.4.1 Review of the literature**

Although a number of studies on attitudes toward law enforcement were conducted in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s, very little literature dealing specifically with attitudes toward the police is available. This is particularly true with regard to the South African situation since police-community relations have seldom formed



the subject of research in South Africa (Du Preez 1978).

It is generally recognized that the attitudes of the public on matters relating to the law and law enforcement are extremely relevant to the work of the police (Sullivan, Dunham & Alpert 1987). The importance of good police-community relations is evident when one considers that the police rely to a great extent on the general public in the fight against crime. Most of the reports on crime that are received by the police come from the public. The co-operation of the public is also needed for the provision of information that could lead to arrest and conviction. A positive attitude toward the police on the part of the public is essential for successful staff recruitment and job satisfaction (Strijdom 1978).

Certain researchers have proposed that Americans have ambivalent attitudes toward the police. Reiss (1987) suggests that this is partly due to the fact that Americans have not completely accepted the fact that an organized police force is absolutely necessary for the protection of the public, and partly due to past experience as a victim of crime. At the same time as not wanting to grant the police too much power, Americans believe that it is the responsibility of the police to keep the problem of crime under control.

Opinion polls generally show that the American public rate the work of the police as "good" or "excellent". British research indicates that the police have a good reputation among the public (Evans 1975). However in complex societies it is the image of the police held by different sectors of society that is of significance to those studying police-community relations (Radelet 1980). In this regard it can be noted that the attitudes of white and non-white Americans toward the police differ considerably. Blacks have a much less favourable image of the police than the rest of the American population. Some studies have indicated that race is a more important predictor of variation in attitude than age, sex or socio-economic status (Sullivan, Dunham & Alpert 1987).

It is against this background of the importance of police-community relations and of obtaining information regarding the attitudes of the various sectors of society that the data on the South African public's attitudes toward the quality of the service rendered by the police are presented and discussed.

### 3.4.2 Presentation and discussion of the data

The data presented in this section are based on the survey question "How do you feel about the quality of the service provided by the police in protecting your residential area against crime?" The frequency and percentage distribution of responses to this question are given in Table 3.8. While 24 % of the whites were of the opinion that the protection provided by the police was very good, a mere 12 % of the coloureds and 8 % of the Indians held similar views. An important feature of the distribution of views is that 34 % of the blacks reported that they considered that the police were providing very good protection against crime. This is extremely interesting in view of the fact that in previous sections it was shown that 42 % of the blacks were of the opinion that crime was a very serious problem in their community and 39 % thought that crime had increased in their neighbourhoods. The level of fear of crime on the part of the blacks was also comparatively high (see Table 3.6). These findings do not support American research which indicates that whites are more than twice as likely to have positive feelings toward the police than blacks (Whitaker 1979).

A higher percentage of coloured and Indian respondents were of the opinion that the protection provided by the police was very bad (i.e. 17,9 % and 21,5 % respectively), than the percentage of

**TABLE 3.8: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON THE QUALITY OF THE PROTECTION BEING PROVIDED BY THE POLICE**

Views	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Very good	23,8	12,0	8,1	34,4
Fairly good	36,9	34,7	28,1	21,3
Neither good nor bad	13,0	18,9	24,3	15,3
Fairly bad	6,6	12,2	14,6	6,7
Very bad	5,7	17,9	21,5	19,7
Do not know	10,0	4,3	3,4	2,6
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

coloured and Indian respondents who considered it to be very good (i.e. 12,0 and 8,1 % respectively). The attitudes of coloureds and Indians toward the police would appear to have become more negative over the past ten years. From surveys conducted in 1977 Strijdom (1978; 1979) established that only 5 % of the coloureds and 6 % of the Indians considered the work carried out by the police to be very ineffective, while 17 % of the coloureds and 21 % of the Indians were of the opinion that the police were very effective in their task.

If one considers the response categories "Very good" and "Fairly good" together, the whites had the most positive attitude toward the police (62,7 %), followed by the blacks (55,7 %), coloureds (46,7 %) and lastly the Indians (36,2 %). The generally negative attitude of the Indian respondents is surprising in view of the fact that the majority of these respondents indicated that crime was "Not really serious" or "Not at all serious" in their community (see Table 3.1). In addition, of the four samples, the Indian sample group had the smallest number of respondents indicating that they felt crime had increased in their neighbourhood (see Table 3.4) and the lowest level of fear of crime (see Table 3.6). It would appear that factors other than perceptions of the crime problem and matters relating to crime affect the attitudes of Indians toward the police.

The generally positive attitude toward the police of members of the white sample is consistent with the fact that very few white respondents indicated that crime was a very serious problem in their community (see Table 3.1), although a sizeable proportion felt that crime had increased in their neighbourhood (see Table 3.3). It would seem that although whites recognize that crime is an increasing problem, they are satisfied with the work being done by the police to control crime.

Multiple linear regression analysis was carried out on the data relating to this question in order to provide information on the importance of certain predictor variables in explaining variance in attitude. The outcome of the regression analysis is presented in Table 3.9. The dependent variable - views on the quality of the protection provided by the police - is an ordinal scale containing five levels, with the lowest level indicating "Very good" and the highest level "Very bad".

The independent variables included in the analysis are identical to those used in the regression analysis relating to the seriousness of the problem of crime (see Table 3.2).

The mean score is highest, and nearly identical, in respect of the coloureds (3,14) and the Indians (3,13), followed by the blacks (2,56) and lastly the whites (2,46). This is consistent with the above discussion of Table 3.8 in which it was noted that the coloureds and Indians have the most negative attitudes toward the police and the whites the most positive.

The percentage variation explained ( $R^2$ ) by the predictor variables included in the analysis is rather low in the case of the whites (6 %), coloureds (5 %) and blacks (6 %) and very low in respect of the Indians (1 %). It is apparent, therefore, that the

TABLE 3.9: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON THE QUALITY OF THE PROTECTION BEING PROVIDED BY THE POLICE

Independent variables	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Sex	-0,010	0,123	0,019	0,080
Age	-0,108	-0,152*	-0,002	-0,038
Marital status				
- currently married	0,071	0,157	0,020	0,172**
- living together	-0,371	-0,083	-0,075	-0,065
- never married	0,263	-0,184	0,047	0,102
Income	0,006	0,004	-0,008	0,008
Education	0,065	0,145	0,065	0,093**
Length of residence in neighbourhood	0,079	-0,069	0,050	-0,005
Conditions in neighbourhood	0,226*	-0,041	0,087	-0,432***
Area of residence	0,118	0,165**	0,163**	-
Mean	2,46	3,14	3,13	2,56
$R^2$	0,06	0,05	0,01	0,06

\* Significant at the 5 % level ( $p < 0,05$ ).

\*\* Significant at the 1 % level ( $p < 0,01$ ).

variables included in the analysis were not very successful in explaining variation in attitude. This is particularly disappointing in view of the fact that this variable proved to be so important in the analysis of the data on perceptions of the seriousness of crime and views on the increase/decrease in crime.

The only variable that is significant in the regression analysis relating to the Indian sample is area of residence ( $p < 0,05$ ). The Indian respondents living in urban areas had more negative attitudes toward the police than those living in non-urban areas (regression coefficient = 0,163).

Area of residence also proved to be significant in respect of the coloured sample (regression coefficient = 0,165, significant at the 5 % level). This finding is the same as the one in the case of the Indians, namely that those living in urban areas had more negative views regarding the work of the police than those living in non-urban areas.

Also with regard to the coloured sample the background variable age is an important predictor of variation in attitude (regression coefficient = -0,152, significant at the 5 % level). The effect of age is negative, meaning that the older respondents tended to have more positive attitudes toward the police than younger respondents. This finding is consistent with both American research (Whitaker 1979) and existing South African research (Strijdom 1979). Smith and Gray (1985) contend that certain sectors of any population conduct a life-style that brings them into relatively frequent contact with the police (as victims, suspects or offenders), often in a negative context. These individuals belong to a culture in which hostile attitudes towards the police are accepted as the norm. Smith and Gray (1985) found considerable lack of confidence in the police among young white and West Indian Londoners.

Members of the black sample who were married had a significantly (at the 5 % level) less positive attitude toward the police than the black respondents of other marital status (regression coefficient = 0,172). The regression analysis also indicated that educational level is a significant predictor of variation in attitude in respect of the black sample. This finding was significant at the 5 % level. The higher the educational level of the respondent the more negative the attitude toward the police (regression coef-

ficient = 0,093). This is not in agreement with American research which indicates that those of higher socio-economic status tend to have more positive views of the police (Biderman et al. 1967; Whitaker 1979). However this finding in respect of educational status is consistent with previous South African survey research conducted among the coloureds and Indians in 1977 (Strijdom 1978, 1979).

Finally the independent variable based on perceptions of conditions in the neighbourhood proved to be a significant predictor in the analysis of the white and black samples. However the findings relating to these two groups differ considerably: the whites who were of the opinion that conditions in their neighbourhood had improved tended to have negative attitudes toward the police (regression coefficient = 0,226, significant at the 5 % level). On the other hand the blacks who held the view that conditions in their neighbourhood had improved tended to have positive attitudes toward the police (regression coefficient = -0,432, significant at the 1 % level).

In this section the reader has been introduced to data relating to the South African public's views on the adequacy of the protection against crime provided by the police. The public's reaction to crime, in the form of protection measures adopted and involvement in community crime prevention efforts, will be the subject of the following section.

## **4 REACTIONS TO CRIME**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Reactions to crime refer to what people actually do about crime. In extreme cases people may be paralysed by fear, turning their homes into fortresses, seldom going out for fear of attack. People have been known to move house because of fear of victimization. A drastic step of this nature usually involves moving from high-crime city-centre areas to the suburbs - hence the term "suburban flight". On the other hand reaction to crime may take the form of positive action such as active involvement in some type of community crime prevention programme.

What factors determine what an individual's reaction to crime will

be? Riger, Gordon and LeBailly (1982:370) report that "(r)elatively little is known about the factors that lead some people to take extensive precautions while others do little to protect themselves from the depredations of criminals". Existing research indicates that three factors affect an individual's reaction to the threat of victimization (Riger, Gordon & LeBailly 1982). Firstly, neighbourhood conditions, such as perceived deterioration and high crime rates, may lead to precautionary behaviour. Secondly, psychological factors, such as a high level of fear, may result in avoidance behaviour and the adoption of preventive measures. Thirdly, the life circumstances or status position of the individual, as indicated by various sociodemographic variables such as age, sex and race, influence the type and degree of precautionary behaviour adopted. Life circumstances also determine an individual's actual ability to implement precautionary measures. For example members of the middle and upper social classes are in a better position to install sophisticated target-hardening devices than persons from the lower socio-economic class. Research has indicated that the reactions to crime adopted by the poor are generally those that do not cost money, such as staying at home and restricting activities to avoid victimization. It has been suggested that these very actions are the most costly in terms of their impact on quality of life and individual and neighbourhood morale (Skogan 1981).

One of the facets of the study of the impact of crime is the link between perceptions of, and reactions to crime. Skogan (1981) notes that research has shown that there is not a simple, direct, one-to-one relationship between perception and action. It is often the case, for example, that residents in poor areas characterized by high crime rates who report high levels of fear are not willing to become actively involved in crime prevention. A number of theories have emerged to explain the link between these two components. It is generally recognized that perception alone is not sufficient to trigger a definite response to crime. In addition there are factors beyond the individual's control that limit the type of action against crime that can be taken (such as limited financial resources, as already mentioned). There is often a discrepancy between the beliefs held about crime and the action (or non-action) taken. Discrepancies between intended and actual behaviour have also been noted.

Lavrakas and Herz (cited in Krahn & Kennedy 1985) make a distinc-

tion between three types of reactions to the threat of crime. Firstly, personal protective measures, such as restricting behaviour and carrying a weapon, may be adopted. Secondly, reaction to crime may take the form of protection of property by creating physical barriers (such as the installation of locks) and psychological barriers (such as leaving lights on when out). Thirdly, an individual may react to crime by working together with other citizens to prevent and restrict crime (such as participation in block watch and patrol groups).

In the case of the present research all three types of reactions to crime will be discussed. Personal protection behaviour and measures adopted to protect property will be dealt with together, following which participation in community crime prevention will be discussed.

## 4.2 PERSONAL AND PROPERTY PROTECTION BEHAVIOUR

### 4.2.1 Review of the literature

As mentioned above, perceptions of, and beliefs about crime are not necessarily related to behavioural reactions to crime. Reporting that you are afraid to walk alone on the streets at night does not mean that you will not do it - circumstances may force you to do so. However assessment of risk is the one belief that appears to be related to behaviour (Skogan 1981). Assessments of the risk of victimization are made by an individual and behaviour choices (such as whether or not to use the streets at night or to install additional locks) are made accordingly. Research has indicated that individual assessments of risk are generally fairly accurate estimates of actual risk (as measured by official crime statistics).

Furstenberg (1971) developed one of the first conceptualizations of individual behavioural responses to crime with his coining of the terms "avoidance behaviour" and "mobilization techniques". Du Bow, McCabe and Kaplan (1979:31) define avoidance as "... actions taken to decrease exposure to crime by removing oneself from or increasing the distance from situations in which the risk of criminal victimization is believed to be high". Examples of avoidance are staying off the streets at night, taking a taxi instead of using public transport and ignoring strangers. If individuals have to limit their behaviour in order to reduce exposure to crime natural-



ly many normal activities are curtailed or limited, such as visiting friends, shopping in certain areas at certain times of the day and using public transport at night. Skogan (1981: 30) notes that "(t)he quality of people's lives declines in return for safety from crime". American research has indicated that women, the elderly, blacks and the poor are more likely to have restricted their activities in order to reduce the risk of victimization than the rest of the population (Skogan 1981).

Furstenberg (1971) describes mobilization techniques as all behaviours that seek to reduce the risk of victimization by making crime more difficult to commit or creating the impression that it would be more difficult. These techniques refer to what people actively do in response to perceived risk, other than avoidance or in addition to avoidance. Firstly, they can increase the appearance of resistance, said to be symbolic resistance. Examples are displaying alarm system stickers and "Beware of the dog" notices on property. Secondly, individuals can purchase and carry some type of weapon. Thirdly, property owners can install what are termed "target-hardening" devices, namely any device that makes entry to private property more difficult (such as burglar-proofing and alarms).

Crime survey instruments often include questions on the type of protection that has been adopted by household members to protect property from burglary. Such surveys indicate that simple measures, such as leaving lights on when out at night and installing extra locks are often employed by households. Not surprisingly more expensive measures, such as the installation of burglar alarms and burglar proofing, are taken less often.

In addition to target hardening, "surveillance" on the part of neighbours is a relatively cheap and widely used household protection tactic. Neighbours co-operate by watching each others' homes when occupants are away and even switching on lights at night to give the impression of occupancy.

A further protective measure, termed by Skogan (1981) "loss reduction", refers to household insurance against loss. Although insurance is taken out to cover loss from any source or for any reason, loss due to crime is generally the main reason why property owners purchase household insurance. The impact of crime can be reduced in this way. However insurance tends to be expensive,

particularly in high crime areas, and not all households are able to afford this measure. Having insurance tends to be a function of home ownership and household income.

It is extremely difficult to gauge how successful the adoption of protective measures are in reducing the likelihood of victimization. Research has revealed that much of the variation in victimization rates for all subgroups of a population can be explained by differing life-styles which are accompanied by various degrees of exposure to risk. A further consideration is that all the measures described above may simply force potential offenders to shift their attention to other areas or other targets. Adopting protective measures is a doubtful crime prevention tactic in the broader sense.

Data based on survey questions dealing with personal and property protection measures adopted by respondents will now be presented.

#### **4.2.2 Presentation and discussion of the data**

##### **\* Data relating to personal and property protection behaviour**

The data presented in this section are based on the survey question "Do you have any of the following, which were specifically obtained to protect you and your home against crime?" The question was followed by a list of personal and property protection items. The percentage distribution of affirmative responses to these items is presented in Table 4.1.

It is evident from Table 4.1 that South Africans take fairly extensive precautions against crime. This is particularly true of the whites and also the Indians. In fact the only obvious difference in the amount of protection adopted by members of these two groups is in the possession of firearms.

Coloureds would seem to be the least protected against crime, since only 29 % of the sample members indicated that their homes were burglarproofed, compared with 74 % of the whites, 65 % of the Indians and 74 % of the blacks. The number of black respondents that reported that their homes were burglarproofed is surprisingly high. It should be borne in mind that, in the case of the blacks, the

TABLE 4.1: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSSESSION OF VARIOUS PERSONAL AND PROPERTY PROTECTION DEVICES

Items	"Yes" responses			
	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Burglarproofing	74,4	29,0	64,8	73,7
Safety door/gate	44,7	10,7	50,9	21,0
Alarm	9,7	3,9	7,9	3,9
Dog(s)	54,4	45,9	35,6	35,8
Outside lighting	88,1	48,8	81,5	47,0
Rifle/shotgun	26,8	1,2	3,8	2,2
Gas-pistol/"mace"	9,1	2,6	1,7	1,3
Revolver/pistol	47,3	1,7	3,6	1,2
Knife/thing to stab with	34,0	30,4	25,9	32,9
Knobkerrie/club/thing to hit with	39,4	33,8	27,9	67,4

sample covers metropolitan areas only whereas in respect of the coloureds (and the whites and Indians) the sample was drawn from urban areas and towns. This may partly account for the relatively low level of protection adopted by the coloureds as compared with the blacks.

As referred to above, the literature indicates that certain demographic characteristics of respondents, such as sex and area of residence, are determinants of differences in the protective behaviour adoption. Multiple regression analysis was performed on the data outlined above in order to investigate which variables are significant in the present study. The results of these analyses are reflected in Table 4.2.

When the analysis was being undertaken, it was considered that it would be more useful to add each respondent's "Yes" response to each of the ten protective measures reflected in Table 4.1, divide by ten, thereby giving a measure on a "scale" of protection devices adopted. In other words each respondent was placed in a position

TABLE 4.2: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PROTECTION MEASURES ADOPTED AGAINST CRIME

Independent variables	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Sex	0,028	0,174***	-0,111*	0,030
Age	0,068	-0,010	-0,008	0,208***
Marital status				
- currently married	0,543***	0,024	0,192*	-0,143
- living together	-0,145	-0,070	0,119	0,582***
- never married	-0,154	-0,030	-0,156	0,008
Income	0,003	0,037***	0,037***	0,017
Education	0,194***	0,059	0,208*	0,215***
Quality of police service	0,110**	0,049	0,009	-0,042
Area of residence	-0,295***	0,276***	0,292***	-
Seriousness of crime	-0,082	0,046	-0,127**	-0,006
Increase/decrease in crime	0,018	-0,039	0,073	-0,081
Mean	4,45	2,44	3,34	2,98
R <sup>2</sup>	0,08	0,11	0,06	0,09

\* Significant at the 5 % level ( $p < 0,05$ ).

\*\*\* Significant at the 1 % level ( $p < 0,01$ ).

on a "scale" comprising ten possible protection devices according to the maximum number of devices adopted by the respondent. Although this could be construed to be "crude" in the sense that each device was given equal weight in the scale, it would be impractical and clumsy to perform separate regression analyses on each of the ten devices. After following the procedure outlined above, a general idea of the extent of protection adopted by each individual was obtained. However the above comments and reservations should be borne in mind.

The dependent variable in the regression analysis is the respondent's "rating" on the protective devices "scale" described above and is an ordinal scale having ten categories representing the number of devices adopted. The independent variables are the same as

those used in the analysis of the data relating to fear of crime.

The mean scores, as indicated in Table 4.2, confirm the above discussion of the frequency and percentage distribution of responses to the list of protection items, namely that the whites and the Indians took fairly extensive protection measures against crime (means = 4,45 and 3,34 respectively). In addition black households had adopted on average nearly three out of ten of the items listed (mean = 2,98). As indicated above, the coloured persons and households were the least protected against crime (mean = 2,44).

The percentage variation in the adoption of protection measures explained ( $R^2$ ) by the predictor variables included in the analyses is moderate, being highest in the case of the coloured sample (11 %), followed by the blacks (9 %), whites (8 %) and lastly the Indians (6 %).

As one would be inclined to expect, area of residence proved to be highly significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) in all cases. However, what is surprising is the direction of the regression coefficient with respect to the white sample group: white respondents who lived in urban areas tended to adopt fewer protection measures than those living in non-urban areas. In the case of the coloured and Indian samples, those living in urban areas tended to have greater protection against crime than those living in non-urban areas.

The two demographic variables "educational level" and "income", both being measures of socio-economic status, are significant predictors of protection behaviour. With regard to the white sample, respondents with a high educational level employed a greater number of protective devices than those with a low educational level (regression coefficient = 0,194, significant at the 1 % level). The same trend was evident in respect of the black (regression coefficient = 0,215, significant at the 1 % level) and the Indian respondents (regression coefficient = 0,208, significant at the 5 % level). In addition to educational level, level of income was also a significant predictor in the analysis of the Indian sample, with respondents in the upper income bracket adopting a greater number of protection measures than those with a lower income (regression coefficient = 0,037, significant at the 1 % level). The same finding in respect of income was evident in the case of the coloured sample (regression coefficient = 0,037, signi-

ficant at the 1 % level). In sum it can be said that educational level and/or level of income is a significant predictor of the amount of protection employed by South African households, with those with higher education and higher income being in a position to, and choosing to adopt greater protection. This is consistent with American research findings (Biderman et al. 1967; Furstenberg 1971). American research also indicated that the reactions to crime adopted by the poor tend to be those that do not take financial resources to implement, such as avoidance behaviour (Skogan 1981). It has been suggested that this type of reaction is costly in terms of its negative effect on community and personal life.

Of interest is the fact that perceptions of the quality of the service rendered by the police does not have the influence on protection behaviour that it has on perceptions of the crime-related matters already discussed. This variable was only significant in the case of the whites ( $p < 0,05$ ), with those who had negative attitudes toward the police employing a greater number of protection measures.

Also in respect of the white sample group the respondents who were married tended to have more protection against crime than the rest of the sample (regression coefficient = 0,543, significant at the 1 % level). It could be conjectured that married persons accumulate a greater number of, and more valuable, material possessions than unmarried persons, for which they feel protection is necessary. However if this is the case one would expect the same to apply to married persons of other population groups. This in fact is only the case for the Indian group, for which the same trend was evident (regression coefficient = 0,192, significant at the 5 % level). On the other hand in respect of the black respondents those who were living together had significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) more protection against crime than the rest of the black sample (regression coefficient = 0,582).

Sex of respondent is a significant predictor of variation in protection behaviour with regard to coloureds and Indians. However it must be borne in mind that personal and household protection measures were combined during the construction of the scale used for the analysis under discussion. In addition male and female respondents reported on behalf of their households concerning the protection measures employed. This suggests that if a distinction be-

tween male and female were to be made in the interpretation of this particular finding the conclusions would tend to be misleading.

American research has indicated that neither reported crime rates (i.e. official crime statistics) nor perceived crime rates are significantly related to the adoption of precautionary measures (Riger, Gordon & LeBailly 1982). The results of this analysis would appear to support this to a great extent: the predictor variable based on perceptions of an increase or decrease in crime in the community was not significant in any of the analyses. In addition the variable based on perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime in the neighbourhood was only significant in the case of the Indian sample, with respondents who perceived crime to be a serious problem adopting a greater number of protection measures (regression coefficient = -0,127, significant at the 5 % level).

Finally the analysis relating to the black sample reveals that the respondent's age significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) predicted protection behaviour (regression coefficient = 0,208). The positive correlation coefficient indicates that older respondents tended to adopt the greatest number of protection measures.

Data in respect of insurance behaviour will be presented in the following section.

#### \* Data relating to insurance behaviour

During the survey interview respondents were asked whether they had household insurance or not. Data relating to this question are presented in Table 4.3. While the percentage of white households covered by insurance was nearly 80 only 22 % of the coloured households had insurance. A virtually equal percentage of Indian and black households were covered by insurance, namely 32 and 31 respectively.

Although further analysis of the data was undertaken, the results will not be presented on account of limited space. It can be mentioned that as with the previous analysis relating to protection behaviour, income and educational level, and to a lesser extent marital status, were the most important predictors of differences among persons in possession of household insurance. The respond-

**TABLE 4.3: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POSSESSION OF HOUSEHOLD INSURANCE**

Response	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Yes	79,2	22,1	31,7	31,2
No, but would like to have it	13,2	59,1	52,7	54,6
No, and would not like to have it	7,6	18,8	15,6	14,2
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

ents of high socio-economic status and those who were married tended to possess household insurance to a greater extent than other respondents.

**\* Data relating to the need for information on protection against crime**

During the present study respondents were also asked whether they would like to obtain more information about ways and means to safeguard their homes and property against crime. Data relating to this question are presented in Table 4.4.

**TABLE 4.4: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEED FOR INFORMATION ON WAYS TO PROTECT HOMES AND PROPERTY AGAINST CRIME**

Responses	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Yes, would like to obtain more information	65,0	88,7	88,9	86,3
No, would not like to obtain more information	35,0	11,3	11,1	13,7
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>



It is evident from Table 4.4 that there is a great need for information of this nature. Eighty-nine per cent of the coloureds and Indians and 86 % of the blacks indicated that they would like information on protection against crime. The corresponding figure for the whites was somewhat lower at 85 %.

In the final section dealing with the South African public's reaction to crime, participation in collective or community crime prevention efforts will be discussed.

### 4.3 PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION

#### 4.3.1 Review of the literature

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in the USA has, on a number of occasions, expressed the view that crime control cannot be achieved alone by any government agency or other institution (Pennell 1978). Crime control will only become possible through the active involvement of concerned citizens. Many anticrime programmes advocate that collective rather than individual approaches to crime prevention will be most effective. It is not a question of these organizations being opposed to private crime prevention measures. They suggest that private measures (such as the installation of extra locks) be taken together with collective efforts to control crime. Protagonists of the community crime prevention approach contend that if collective responses to crime are not made, private measures alone may result in increased social isolation and heightened levels of fear.

Collective responses to crime date back many centuries. During ancient Roman times citizens simply threw offenders off the Tarpeian Rock. The history of vigilante movements in the USA spans more than two centuries, originating in the complete absence of official law enforcement during the frontier days. Today more than five million Americans belong to community crime prevention groups such as the Neighbourhood Watch. In England and Wales more than 16 000 schemes of this nature are in operation.

Community crime prevention seeks to reduce crime in a neighbourhood by increasing the community's ability to respond collectively to crime. The occurrence of victimization in the community is the key factor. "As individuals experience victimizations, they assess

their risk as increased and their concerns rise" (Lewis & Salem 1981:412). Residents then react either individually or collectively. Community crime prevention programmes aim at increasing the likelihood of community members reacting collectively to the threat of crime.

Community involvement in crime prevention can take many forms - from surveillance of one another's homes to active street patrolling. Many organized groups work in close co-operation with local police, thereby multiplying the effectiveness of police efforts. Some organizations encourage property marking and give advice on how to reduce the likelihood of victimization. Other groups approach the problem from the angle of providing more recreational facilities and productive work opportunities for youths.

Naturally, a community is limited in its efforts to control crime by factors that are beyond its control, such as those relating to the economy. Communities are furthermore constrained by the ideological foundations of the dominant social system. The community crime prevention approach, therefore, is limited by the agencies and institutions over which communities have little control. The failure of the "war on poverty" programmes initiated by President Johnson in the USA can largely be ascribed to some of these factors (Iadicola 1986).

One may well ask "What motivates a person to become involved in a community crime prevention programme?" It was initially assumed that personal victimization experience, fear of crime and the perception of crime as a problem in the neighbourhood were factors that determined individual involvement in community crime prevention. However research has shown that fear of crime in itself is not sufficient motivation for active involvement. It has been found that the majority of members are already involved in voluntary community work of some kind. For these people crime prevention is seen as part of a broader effort to improve community life (Lewis & Salem 1981; Krahn & Kennedy 1985).

With regard to the South African situation many would agree that the threat of crime is more real to them at present than ever before. The question is: Are ordinary people prepared to take positive steps to do something about crime? American research has indicated that although the public becomes indignant about increas-

ing crime, few individuals are prepared to become personally involved in crime prevention. Lavrakas and Herz (1982), from a telephone survey of 1 803 households in Chicago, USA, and its surrounding suburbs, established that only 10 % of the adults had participated in any form of community crime prevention action. However it would seem as if a small minority of South Africans are willing to become actively involved in crime prevention. Neighbourhood Watch groups, and similar organizations, have been initiated in a number of white suburbs throughout South Africa. In some coloured residential areas, such as Hersterust near Pretoria, community members are rallying together to take action against the activities of street gangs in their neighbourhood. In many black townships one of the expressed aims of the street committees is to restore order in the townships by taking steps to prevent crime.

South African data relating to participation in community crime prevention efforts will be presented and discussed in the following section.

#### **4.3.2 Presentation and discussion of the data**

The data presented in this section are based on the survey question "Have you already joined or would you be prepared to join a group of people who take turns to patrol your neighbourhood at night in order to restrict crime?" Responses to this question are reflected in Table 4.5.

It is not altogether surprising that the number of respondents from all four sample groups that indicated they had already joined a community crime control group is very small in view of the fact that few communities have actually initiated the specific type of action described in the question. Of interest is the fact that the percentage of the whites and Indians (3,3 % and 2,3 % respectively) reporting that they had joined a group of this nature is somewhat higher than the percentage of the blacks (1,0 %) and particularly the coloureds (0,3 %). The reader is reminded of the fact that 42 % of the blacks and 20 % of the coloureds indicated that they considered crime to be a very serious problem in their community, compared with 10 % of the Indians and 6 % of the whites (see Table 3.1). In addition the data indicated that blacks have the highest fear-of-crime level, followed by coloureds (see Table 3.6). Lavrakas and Herz (1982) found that fear of crime is not a strong predic-

**TABLE 4.5: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INVOLVEMENT IN, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION**

Responses	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	%	%	%	%
Have already joined	3,3	0,3	2,3	1,0
Yes, definitely prepared to join	22,3	17,5	13,0	13,3
Yes, probably join	26,6	18,7	20,8	8,8
No, probably not join	18,4	19,1	22,6	25,3
No, definitely not prepared to join	26,6	40,5	35,4	46,9
Do not know	2,8	5,9	5,9	4,7
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

tor of participation in community crime prevention. They found that fear of crime actually has a debilitating effect and not an activating effect on participation.

Table 4.5 also reveals that a considerably greater proportion of the coloured, Indian and black respondents (40,5 %, 35,4 % and 46,9 % respectively) than the white respondents (26,6 %) reported that they would definitely **not** be prepared to participate in the type of community crime prevention mentioned in the question. This may indicate that there is a greater awareness among white South Africans of social problems present in their communities and more willingness to become actively involved in doing something about such problems. In the literature review it was mentioned that American research has indicated that participation in community crime prevention tends to be a function of general community-mindedness and those who engage in such behaviour do so as part of their involvement in other community upliftment projects (Krahn & Kennedy 1985).

The participation figures reflected in Table 4.5 would seem to be somewhat lower than those reported for the USA. Two surveys conducted in Chicago for example revealed in both instances that 17 % of the adult residents were involved in some sort of community

crime prevention. Similar figures for Philadelphia and San Francisco were 12 % and 11 % respectively (Skogan & Maxfield 1981). However Du Bow and associates (1979) report that only 3 % of Maryland residents indicated that they had joined a citizen's group working toward the control of crime. They note that the differences in level of participation found throughout the country may be a function of differences in the wording of the questions used in surveys.

Multiple linear regression analysis was performed on the data discussed above in order to determine which variables are predictive of willingness to become actively involved in community crime prevention. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 4.8.

The dependent variable - involvement in community crime prevention - is an ordinal scale consisting of five levels of which the lowest

TABLE 4.8: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: INVOLVEMENT IN, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION

Independent variables	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Blacks
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Sex	-0,304***	-0,370***	-0,321***	-0,085
Age	0,191***	0,014	0,103***	0,015
Marital status				
- currently married	-0,323***	-0,127	-0,033	0,020
- living together	0,011	0,108	-0,317**	-0,148
- never married	0,320***	-0,118	0,150	0,021
Income	0,003	0,004	-0,008	0,013
Education	-0,010	0,084	-0,177**	-0,027
Quality of police service	0,035	-0,018	-0,010	0,087***
Area of residence	0,044	0,089	0,012	-
Seriousness of crime	0,026	0,100**	0,070	0,041
Increase/decrease in crime	-0,036	0,116**	0,037	0,001
Mean	3,36	3,85	3,64	4,08
R <sup>2</sup>	0,14	0,13	0,14	0,02

\* Significant at the 5 % level ( $p < 0,05$ ).

\*\*\* Significant at the 1 % level ( $p < 0,01$ ).

level represents active involvement and the highest level indicates unwillingness to become involved. The independent variables used are the same as those used in the analysis relating to fear of crime.

An examination of Table 4.6 reveals that the mean is highest in respect of the black sample (4,08), followed by the coloureds (3,85), Indians (3,64) and whites (3,36). These figures support the above discussion of the distribution of responses to the question, namely that respondents are generally not in favour of becoming involved in the type of community programme described in the question. This is most evident in the case of the blacks. This is not in agreement with American research findings which indicate that blacks participate to a greater extent than whites (DuBow, McCabe & Kaplan 1979).

The percentage variation explained ( $R^2$ ) by the variables included in the analyses is moderately high in respect of the white, coloured and Indian sample groups (14 %, 13 % and 14 % respectively), and very low in the case of the blacks (2 %). This is borne out by the fact that only one variable - quality of police service - is significant in the analysis of the data relating to the black sample.

Black respondents who had a positive opinion of the quality of the work being done by the police were significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) more willing to become personally involved in the type of community crime prevention described in the survey question (regression coefficient = 0,087).

As one would expect, sex of respondent is a highly significant ( $p < 0,01$ ) predictor of variation in willingness to participate in respect of the white, coloured and Indian groups. The negative regression coefficient indicates that males were more willing to become actively involved in preventing crime by way of neighbourhood patrols than females (regression coefficients being -0,304 for the whites, -0,370 for the coloureds and -0,321 for the Indians).

The analyses also revealed age to be a significant predictor in the case of the whites and Indians (regression coefficients = 0,191 and 0,103 respectively, significant at the 1 % level). In both analyses younger respondents indicated a greater willingness to participate than older respondents.

Marital status proved to be an important predictor in respect of the white sample group, with respondents who were married being significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) more willing to participate (regression coefficient =  $-0,323$ ) while those who had never married being significantly ( $p < 0,01$ ) less willing to participate (regression coefficient =  $0,320$ ). This finding is consistent with American research which has revealed that married persons tend to participate in community crime prevention endeavours to a greater extent than those who are unmarried (DuBow, McCabe & Kaplan 1979). It has been suggested that this is due to married persons having a greater "stake" in a community in that they tend to have more "investments" in terms of family ties and improvements to property. In the present research marital status is also significant in the analysis relating to the Indian sample, with respondents who were living together being significantly ( $p < 0,05$ ) more willing to participate (regression coefficient =  $-0,317$ ) than the rest of the sample.

Overseas research has failed to show any clear pattern in the relation between education and participation in community crime prevention. In the present study educational level is a significant predictor only with regard to the Indian sample, with respondents with a higher level of education being more willing to become involved in the type of programme described in the question than the rest of the sample (regression coefficient =  $-0,177$ , significant at the 5 % level).

Finally perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime in the community and views on the increase/decrease in the amount of crime present are both significant in the analysis relating to the coloured sample. However the findings in respect of these two variables differ considerably: firstly, the respondents who perceived crime to be a serious problem in the neighbourhood were more willing to participate in community crime prevention (regression coefficient =  $0,100$ , significant at the 5 % level) and secondly, those who were of the opinion that crime had increased were less willing to become involved in community crime prevention (regression coefficient =  $0,116$ , significant at the 5 % level). It would appear that perceptions of rising crime rates have the effect of making coloured residents more hesitant to become directly involved in the problem perhaps out of fear for their own safety.

## 5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The development of the victimization survey procedure in the 1960s was accompanied by a change in the approach to the study of crime. What was previously seen as an act committed by an offender was now seen as an event in which offender and victim participated (Lewis & Salem 1981). As such, victimization events have important consequences for the individual victim, those surrounding him and society in general. These consequences have come to be known as the impact of crime.

The impact of crime in the South African context has been the subject of this report. Data relating to the public's perceptions of and reactions to crime have been presented and discussed. The most important findings in respect of the various topics covered in this report will be summarized in the following sections. In addition, certain recommendations will be made.

### 5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

#### 5.2.1 Perceptions of the seriousness of crime

The data presented in Table 3.1 revealed that the different population groups in South Africa have considerably different perceptions of the seriousness of the problem of crime in their neighbourhood. While only 6 % of the whites held the view that crime was a very serious problem, 42 % of the blacks held similar views. The corresponding figures for the coloureds and Indians were 20 % and 10 % respectively. It is evident, therefore, that there is considerable concern about crime among metropolitan blacks.

Further analysis of the data revealed that the variable "attitudes toward the police" was important in predicting variation in perceptions of the seriousness of crime. In all cases respondents who had negative views on the quality of the service being rendered by the police considered crime to be a more serious problem than other respondents. This would seem to point to the potential the police have for "softening" the social impact of crime in a community. Good police/community relations appear to alleviate resident's



fears regarding the threat of crime to community stability. This is not to say that the threat of crime should be "played down". However when a large proportion of residents perceive crime to be a very serious problem in their neighbourhood, as has been shown in the case of the metropolitan blacks, community members may lose faith in the ability of the authorities to control crime and may interpret the situation as being indicative of a breakdown of moral and social order. The findings relating to this topic would seem to indicate that the police can play an important role in strengthening a community's ability to cope with crime.

Finally the analysis of the data also revealed that urban residents perceive crime to be a more serious problem than non-urban residents. The literature suggests that the absolute levels of crime tend to be greater in cities than towns or rural areas. This would seem to indicate that perceptions in this case are close to reality. However the accuracy of South Africans' perceptions of the seriousness of crime cannot be assessed in view of the fact that the calculation of urban/non-urban crime rates (i.e. crime statistics presented as a function of population size on an urban/non-urban basis) has not been undertaken in South Africa. This can undoubtedly be considered to be a shortcoming in the field of criminal statistics in South Africa.

### 5.2.2 Views on the increase/decrease in crime

Considerable numbers of South Africans of all races are of the opinion that crime has increased in their community over the year prior to the survey interview. The data reflected in Table 3.3 reveals that 39 % of the blacks, 35 % of the whites, 31 % of the coloureds and 23 % of the Indians held this view. Substantially fewer respondents indicated that crime had decreased, except in the case of the blacks, of whom 39 % reported that crime had decreased in their community.

Whether the perceptions of crime rates reported here correspond with reality is extremely difficult to determine, particularly in view of the fact that South African official crime statistics are not reported according to population group. One aspect that has emerged from the present study is that during future research a distinction should be made between crimes against the person and property crimes when asking members of the public their views on

whether crime has increased or decreased in their community. The literature indicates that people tend to base their assessment on crimes of violence. However it could be conjectured that the views of whites in particular have been influenced by the substantial increase in property crime that has been evident in South Africa over the past five years (Glanz 1987a).

The accuracy of perceptions of increasing crime rates notwithstanding, the consequences of such perceptions are real in terms of their effect on the lives of community members. Perceptions of increasing crime rates have been linked to heightened levels of fear, the adoption of avoidance behaviour and increasing suspicion and mistrust among community residents.

Further analysis of the data revealed that once again the variable based on attitudes toward the police was the best predictor of variation in perceptions of an increase/decrease in crime. In respect of all population groups, members who were not satisfied with the quality of the work being carried out by the police perceived crime to be increasing in their neighbourhood. This finding supports the above argument concerning the vital role of the police in influencing residents' perceptions of many aspects relating to the problem of crime.

Of note is the finding that blacks with relatively long residence in a community and those who perceive conditions in their neighbourhood to be deteriorating, are of the opinion that crime had increased over the year prior to the survey. It would appear that in the case of metropolitan blacks, perceptions of crime are affected by neighbourhood conditions and a "stake" in the community in terms of length of residence.

### 5.2.3 Fear of crime

During the present study fear of crime was measured by reported feelings of safety when alone in the neighbourhood at night. This is a generally accepted measure of fear of crime. According to this measure metropolitan blacks are very fearful. Forty-seven per cent reported that they felt very unsafe in their neighbourhoods and a further 19 % said that they felt fairly unsafe. This is consistent with the finding that a large proportion of blacks indicated that they considered crime to be a very serious problem and

were of the opinion that crime had increased. Fear of crime is also relatively high among the coloureds, with 22 % reporting that they felt very unsafe in their neighbourhood at night. The corresponding figures for the whites and Indians were 16 % and 12 % respectively (see Table 3.6).

In view of the fact that possible fear-arousing situations and survey questions concerning such situations are so far removed from each other, the validity of research on this subject has been questioned (Skogan 1981). However recent research has stood up well to criticism since it has been shown that fear of crime is related to the actual threat of crime and of becoming a victim. Researchers in the USA have noted that the upward and downward trend in the level of fear, as measured since the mid-1960s, has tended to parallel actual measures of crime (as measured by both official statistics and victimization data). Skogan (1981:27) concludes that "(a)ll of this suggests that the concern about crime registered in public opinion polls can be taken at some degree of face value. When people say that they are fearful, it reflects their experiences, vulnerability, conditions around them, and information which comes to them about crimes and victims".

The high level of fear of crime evident among metropolitan blacks should be seen in the context of the well-documented negative effects of fear of this nature (Brooks 1974; Garofalo 1979; Lewis & Salem 1986; Taylor & Hale 1986). The consequences of fear may be in the form of increased anxiety, suspicion and general mistrust of strangers. In addition fearful members of the community may alter their behaviour in order to reduce the risk of victimization to the extent that it interferes with their normal daily living (such as using ill-afforded private rather than public transport and avoiding certain areas at certain times).

A complicating factor often referred to is that a decrease in the crime rate does not necessarily lead to a comparable decrease in level of fear - fear levels tend to drop at a much slower rate. The data relating to metropolitan blacks in the present study may provide support for this contention. Although 40 % perceived crime to have increased in their community, a comparable 40 % reported that they felt crime had decreased. Yet in spite of the considerable proportion reporting a perceived decrease in crime, 66 % indicated that they felt very unsafe or fairly unsafe in their neigh-

bourhood at night.

Further analysis of the data revealed that as many as four predictor variables were highly significant in explaining variation in levels of fear in the case of all four data sets. Consequently the percentage variation explained by all the predictors was relatively high in all cases. As with the previous two crime-related issues, perceptions of the quality of the service being rendered by the police play an important role in influencing the level of fear of crime, with those who have negative attitudes toward the police exhibiting greater fear.

The analysis provided support for the finding relating to sex that is often cited in overseas literature, namely that women have higher levels of fear than men. It was not possible to determine whether the higher level of fear on the part of women is an irrational or rational response since South African statistics relating to victims of crime and the sex of victims are not available. However it can be reasonably assumed that the greater physical and social vulnerability of women accounts for their higher level of fear.

The outcome of the analysis in respect of the variables dealing with perceptions of crime confirms the well-documented contention that levels of fear are influenced to a great extent by perceptions of crime-related matters. The present study revealed that those who considered crime to be a serious problem in their community and those who were of the opinion that crime had increased in their neighbourhood, had considerably higher levels of fear of crime. It is evident that perceptions of the crime situation, irrespective of whether such perceptions are accurate or not, play a significant part in determining levels of fear. This endorses Conklin's (1975) argument that people react to their perceptions of a social problem rather than to the problem itself.

#### **5.2.4 Views on the quality of police services**

The most notable finding in respect of the South African public's attitudes toward the police that emerged from the present study is that, in spite of the fact that metropolitan blacks (1) are the most concerned about crime, (2) perceive the greatest increase in crime and (3) have the highest level of fear of all the South Afri-

can population groups, as a group they have a fairly favourable opinion of the quality of the work being carried out by the police. While whites have the most positive attitude toward the police in that 63 % indicated that they felt the quality of the work being undertaken by the police was "Very good" or "Fairly good", 58 % of the blacks responded in a similar way. The comparable figures for the coloureds and Indians were 47 % and 38 % respectively. The rather negative views of the police held by the majority of Indians is surprising in view of the particularly low level of fear of crime present in this group and the small proportion of the population perceiving an increase in crime. It would seem that contrary to the above discussion of fear of crime, factors other than perceptions of crime and crime-related issues influence community member's attitudes toward the police.

Few predictor variables proved to be significant in the regression analysis of the data relating to attitudes toward the police, borne out by the particularly low percentage variation explained by the predictors. It would appear that demographic characteristics such as sex, age, and educational level are not important determinants of variation in attitudes toward the police.

### 5.2.5 Personal and property protection behaviour

South Africans take fairly extensive precautions against crime (see Table 4.1). This is particularly true in respect of whites and Indians, while coloureds are the least protected against crime. For example whereas 74 % of the white and 65 % of the Indian homes throughout the country, and 74 % of the black homes in metropolitan areas had burglarproofing, only 29 % of the coloured homes were protected in this manner. There is a marked difference between the whites and the other population groups regarding the possession of firearms: 47 % of the white households reported possession of a revolver or pistol, compared with 2 % of the coloured, 4 % of the Indian and 1 % of the black households.

Socio-economic status of respondent, as measured by income and/or educational level, proved to be an important predictor of variation in total number of protection measures adopted. South Africans of higher socio-economic status utilize a greater number of protection measures than the rest of society. It would seem that they are in a better position financially to do so.

The findings relating to area of residence deserve mention in view of the fact that, as one would be inclined to expect, coloureds and Indians living in urban areas have greater protection against crime than those living in non-urban areas. However in respect of whites the opposite proved to be the case: those living in non-urban areas adopt greater protection than their urban counterparts. This is surprising considering that urban whites perceive crime to be a more serious problem than non-urban whites. The reason for this trend is not apparent.

#### **5.2.6 Insurance behaviour**

Taking out insurance against property loss due to crime is one way in which an individual or a household can reduce the economic impact of crime. The survey data revealed that white households are well-protected against crime in this manner. Nearly 80 % of the white respondents reported being in possession of household insurance. However coloured households are poorly protected against loss - only 22 % had insurance. The percentages of Indian and black households reporting possession of insurance were somewhat higher, namely 32 and 31 respectively (see Table 4.3).

#### **5.2.7 Need for information about protection against crime**

The research revealed that most South Africans would like to obtain information on ways to protect their homes and property against crime. Considerably high percentages of the coloureds and Indians (both 89 %), blacks (86 %) and whites (85 %) indicated that they would like to receive information of this nature.

#### **5.2.8 Participation in community crime prevention**

The data from the present study indicate that active involvement in street patrols to control crime by members of the public is very limited. The extent of the actual existence of such programmes in communities in South Africa is unknown. It is therefore not possible to determine whether the poor involvement is indicative of unwillingness to become involved in this type of community crime prevention or whether there is little opportunity to do so.

A considerably greater proportion of respondents indicated their

general willingness to become involved in this type of crime control activity in the future. Forty-nine per cent of the whites, 34 % of the coloureds and Indians and 22 % of the blacks indicated that they definitely or probably would be prepared to join a group who took turns to patrol the streets at night in order to control crime. Of note is the general unwillingness to participate that was evident among the black respondents - 47 % indicated that they definitely would not be prepared to take part in this type of programme. One is initially surprised at this finding in view of the large proportion of blacks who perceive crime as a very serious problem and are of the opinion that crime has increased. However fear of crime was found to be highest among blacks and this would seem to support the contention of certain American researchers that high levels of fear have a debilitating effect on an individual, i.e. a great deal of fear has the effect of holding a person back from taking some sort of positive action.

Further analysis of the data revealed that in the case of whites, coloureds and Indians, males are more willing to become involved in community crime prevention of this nature than females. In addition, younger persons are more willing to participate than older persons. Of note is the fact that the percentage variation explained by the predictor variables in the regression analysis carried out on data from the black sample is particularly low, indicating that explanations for the relative unwillingness to participate on the part of blacks should be sought elsewhere.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The results of the research that has been the subject of this report suggest that a number of recommendations can be made. The single most important feature of the recommendations that will be made is that they will concentrate on ways to reduce the social impact of crime, i.e. ways to help South Africans cope with crime. These recommendations are of two broad types: firstly, those that relate to programmes that could be initiated and action that could be taken by various bodies, and secondly, recommendations for further research.

#### **5.3.1 Recommendations relating to police/community relations**

One of the most significant findings of this study is the impor-

tance of the effect of attitudes toward the police on perceptions of many crime-related matters. In view of the fact that it has been shown that negative attitudes toward the police are associated with heightened concern about crime, perceptions of increasing crime rates and a high level of fear of crime it is recommended that existing programmes\* aimed at improving police/community relations be expanded and new programmes be developed. Communications experts could be used to great advantage in this regard. The following are some approaches that could be considered:

- \* Promoting the image of the police using various means of communication. Certain steps in this direction have already been taken by the South African Police. For example, single-sheet information pamphlets have been issued on occasion at road-blocks to inform the public about the purpose of this type of operation and the co-operation of the South African Police during the presentation of the "Police File" programme on national television. It is recommended that this type of image-building be continued and expanded.
- \* Greater involvement of local police at school level (talks, videos and discussions on crime prevention at a practical level that is of direct concern to primary and high school children). Once again, the public relations divisions of the South African Police have made some progress in this direction - talks at schools (particularly white schools) are given on request. It is recommended that efforts in this regard be proactive rather than reactive and that coloured, Indian and black schools receive greater attention.
- \* The initiation of a programme in which a police officer is assigned to a specific community and direct door-to-door contact with residents is made. The goal would be to encourage residents to co-operate with the police by supplying crime-related information. British research has indicated that the old system of foot patrolling (i.e. the "bobby on the beat" system)

---

\* Information on public relations actions that have already been taken by the South African Police was supplied by Major J.J.S. Calitz, Public Relations Officer for the Western Province Division.



is highly effective in promoting good police/community relations. While it is highly unlikely (due to practical considerations) that foot patrolling could be introduced in South African communities, some sort of compromise could be developed. The initiation of a pilot project in one particularly high-crime area could be considered. It can be mentioned that certain branches of the Neighbourhood Watch organization, as well as some police reservists, do engage in patrolling in certain areas. This could be done on a more organized, widespread basis, particularly in high-crime areas.

It is recommended that the initiation of the above programmes in black communities receive priority in view of the fact that this sector of society has the greatest concern about crime and the highest level of fear of crime.

It is furthermore recommended that research be undertaken to establish which factors influence an individual's perceptions of and attitudes toward the police. The present research indicated that demographic characteristics such as age, sex and educational level are not particularly important in this regard. It is recommended that research of this nature be concentrated initially on the Indian population group as the present study indicated that this sector of society has the most negative attitudes toward the police.

### **5.3.2 Other recommendations**

- \* One of the weaknesses of official statistics on crime in South Africa is that such statistics are not reported according to population group (Glanz 1987b; Lötter & Botha 1988). The present research has highlighted this problem. Official crime statistics for each population group are needed in order to determine whether perceptions correspond with reality. For example it is important to be able to establish whether the high level of concern about crime, perceptions of an increase in crime and the great amount of fear found among black respondents parallels reality. If perceptions were found to be inaccurate and thus irrational, the problem would be dealt with in a different manner than if perceptions were found to correspond with reality. It is therefore recommended that South African official statistics on crime be reported according to population group.

\* One of the most important findings that emerged from this research relates to the high level of fear of crime reported by South Africans and the importance of perceptions of crime-related matters in influencing levels of fear. In view of the above it is recommended that research aimed at investigating ways to reduce the actual amount of fear and the effect of high levels of fear should be undertaken. Priority should be given to initiating research of this nature among the blacks. For example it could be established precisely which areas or activities arouse the most fear: the immediate neighbourhood, areas that are used for shopping, or the mode of transport that is used to commute to and from work. Programmes aimed at enhancing the safety of such areas or activities could then be introduced, for example improving street lighting, devising ways to make the use of public transport safer and introducing the concept of "safe houses" on each street in residential areas. This latter concept has been successfully used in the USA and involves the clear demarcation of one house in a street, particularly in high crime areas, where anyone who feels threatened whilst walking in the neighbourhood can seek shelter.

\* It is recommended that programmes be developed to promote and encourage community involvement in crime prevention. In view of the research finding that the majority of South Africans would like more information on crime prevention, the introduction of community crime prevention programmes should be coupled with an information campaign during which the public could be informed about ways to protect their person, homes and property against crime. The work of the South African Police in this regard can be mentioned. Brochures and pamphlets containing practical hints and guidelines on crime prevention and the protection of property have been compiled and distributed on a limited basis. Particular groups, such as the elderly, have at times been the target. It is recommended that this type of programme be expanded, particularly to include all population groups in South Africa.

The programmes that should be developed and introduced could vary in scope from encouraging the reporting of any suspicious behaviour in the community, surveillance of each other's property, marking of property for easy identification, to active participation in street patrols. Research has indicated that

programmes of this nature are most successful if they are combined with broader programmes that encourage involvement in the general upliftment and improvement of the community. The development of community crime prevention programmes should be preceded by the systematic study and research of the status of similar programmes that have been developed and implemented overseas. It can be mentioned that the responsibility for the development and introduction of community crime prevention programmes should not be seen as the sole responsibility of the state - the private sector such as the insurance industry could be approached for funding in this regard.

In conclusion it can be stated that crime is one of the most serious problems facing South Africa at present. This is borne out by the fact that this country has pro rata one of the largest prison populations in the world (Krugel 1987). The importance, therefore, of the data on the impact of crime that have been presented and discussed in this report should be emphasized. The public will be better able to cope with crime and the authorities will be in a better position to assist them to do so once there is greater understanding of the impact of crime on people's daily lives.

## REFERENCES

- AGNEW, R.S. 1985. Neutralizing the impact of crime. Criminal Justice and Behavior, 12(2):221-239.
- BAKER, M.H. et al. 1983. The impact of a crime wave: perceptions, fear, and confidence in the police.. Law and Society Review, 17(2): 319-335.
- BAUMER, T.L. 1978. Research on fear of crime in the United States. Victimology, 3(3-4):254-264.
- 1985. Testing a general model of fear of crime: data from a national sample. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 22(3):239-255.
- BIDERMAN, A.D. et al. 1967. Report on a pilot study in the district of Columbia on victimization and attitudes toward law enforcement. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- BLACK, D.J. & REISS, A.J. (jr.) 1967. Studies in crime and law enforcement in major metropolitan areas. Vol. 2. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- BRANTINGHAM, P.J., BRANTINGHAM, P.L. & BUTCHER, D. 1986. Perceived and actual crime risks. In: FIGLIO, R.M., HAKIM, S. & RENGERT, G.F. (eds.) Metropolitan crime patterns. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.
- BROOKS, J. 1974. The fear of crime in the United States. Crime and Delinquency, 20(3):241-244.
- CLEMENTE, F. & KLEIMAN, M.B. 1977. Fear of crime in the United States: a multi-variate analysis. Social Forces, 56(2):519-531.
- CONKLIN, J.E. 1971. Dimensions of community response to the crime problem. Social Problems, 18(3):373-385.
- 1975. The impact of crime. New York: MacMillan.
- DuBOW, F., McCABE, E. & KAPLAN, G. 1979. Reactions to crime: a critical review of the literature. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- DU PREEZ, G.T. 1978. Die beeld van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie by plattelandse gemeenskappe. 'n Vergelykende studie. Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika. (M.A.-verhandeling)
- ESTERHUYSEN, H.M. 1985. Persepsies van en houdings ieens misdaad, wette en komponente van die strafregstelsel: 'n tussengroepvergeliking. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Ongepubliseerde verslag)
- ESTERHUYSEN, H.M. 1986. Menings van blanke Suid-Afrikaners oor enkele aspekte rakende die Suid-Afrikaanse Gevangenisdiens: 'n verkenningsstudie. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Navorsingsbevinding S-N-249)

EVANS, P. 1975. The police and the public. In: BROWN, J. & HOWES, G. (eds.) The police and the community. Westmead, Farnborough: D.C. Heath.

FERRARO, K.F. & LaGRANGE, R. 1987. The measurement of fear of crime. Sociological Inquiry, 57(1):70-101.

FURSTENBERG, F.F. (jr.) 1971. Public reaction to crime in the streets. American Scholar, 40(4):601-610.

GAROFALO, J. 1977. Public opinion about crime: the attitudes of victims and non-victims in selected cities. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

---- 1979. Victimization and fear of crime. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 18(1):80-97.

---- 1981. The fear of crime: causes and consequences. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 72(2):839-857.

GILES-SIMS, J. 1984. A multivariate analysis of perceived likelihood of victimization and degree of worry about crime among older people. Victimology, 9(2):222-233.

GLANZ, L. 1987a. The impact of crime on South African society: present and future trends. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. (Paper read at a think tank held on 23 November)

---- 1987b. Some comments on the nature, extent, causes and impact of crime. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. (Memorandum to the work committee for the national research programme on affordable personal safety)

GREENE, M.A. 1977. The incapacitative effect of imprisonment policies on crime. Carnegie-Mellon University. (Ph.D. dissertation)

HAGAN, F.E. 1982. Research methods in criminal justice and criminology. New York: MacMillan.

HARTNAGEL, T.F. 1979. The perception and fear of crime: implications for neighborhood cohesion, social activity, and community affect. Social Forces, 58(1):177-193.

HINDELANG, M.J. 1974. Public opinion regarding crime, criminal justice, and related topics. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 11(2):101-116.

HINDELANG, M.J., GOTTFREDSON, M. & GAROFALO, J. 1978. Victims of personal crime. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

IADICOLA, P. 1986. Community crime control strategies. Crime and Social Justice, Volume 25:140-165.

JAYCOX, V.H. 1978. The elderly's fear of crime: rational or irrational? Victimology, 3(3, 4):329-334.

KIDDER, L.H. & COHN, E.S. 1979. Public views of crime and crime prevention. In: FRIEZE, I.H., BAR-TAL, D. & CARROLL, J.S. (eds.) New approaches to social problems. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

KRAHN, H. & KENNEDY, L.W. 1985. Producing personal safety: the effects of crime rates, police force size, and fear of crime. Criminology, 23(4):697-710.

KRUGEL, W.F. 1987. Bydraes: werkgroep oorbevolking van gevangenis-se. Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Strafreë en Kriminologie, 11(1): 57-59.

LAVRAKAS, P.J. & HERZ, E.J. 1982. Citizen participation in neighborhood crime prevention. Criminology, 20(3, 4):479-498.

LAVRAKAS, P.J. & LEWIS, D.A. 1980. The conceptualization and measurement of citizens' crime prevention behaviours. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 17(2):254-272.

LEVI, M. & JONES, S. 1985. Public and police perceptions of crime seriousness in England and Wales. British Journal of Criminology, 25(3):234-250.

LEWIS, D.A. (ed.) 1981. Reactions to crime. Beverly Hills: Sage.

LEWIS, D.A. & MAXFIELD, M.G. 1980. Fear in the neighborhoods: an investigation of the impact of crime. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 17(2):160-189.

LEWIS, D.A. & SALEM, G. 1981. Community crime prevention: an analysis of a developing strategy. Crime and Delinquency, 27(3):405-21.

---- 1986. Fear of crime: incivility and the production of a social problem. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

LISKA, A.E., LAWRENCE, J.J. & SANCHIRICO, A. 1982. Fear of crime as a social fact. Social Forces, 80(3):760-770.

LÖTTER, J.M. n.d. Crime and the community. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. (HSRC Newsletter Number 141)

LÖTTER, J.M. & BOTHA, C.L. 1986. Die gebruik van amptelike statistiek in kriminologiese navorsing. In: SCHURINK, W.J. & LÖTTER, J.M. (samestellers) Navorsingsmetodologie in die kriminologie. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY. 1977. The Michigan public speaks out on crime. Detroit.

MAXFIELD, M.G. 1984. The limits of vulnerability in explaining fear of crime: a comparative neighborhood analysis. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 21(3):233-250.

MEIER, R.F. & SHORT, J.F. (jr.) 1985. Crime as hazard: perceptions of risk and seriousness. Criminology, 23(3):389-399.

NEW SOCIETY. 1983. The hunt for self-protection. New Society, 65(1083):252.

ORTEGA, S.T. & MYLES, J.L. 1987. Race and gender effects on fear of crime: an interactive model with age. Criminology, 25(1):133-152.

PENNELL, F.E. 1978. Collective vs. private strategies for coping with crime: the consequences for citizen perceptions of crime, attitudes toward the police and neighboring activity. Journal of Voluntary Action Research, 7(1,2):59-74.

RADELET, L.A. 1980. The police and the community. 3rd ed. Encino, CA: Glencoe.

REISS, A.J. (jr.) 1967. Studies in crime and law enforcement in major metropolitan areas. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

RIGER, S., GORDON, M.T. & LeBAILLY, R.K. 1982. Coping with urban crime: women's use of precautionary behaviors. American Journal of Community Psychology, 10(4):389-386.

SAMPSON, R.J. 1986. The effects of urbanization and neighborhood characteristics on criminal victimization. In: FIGLIO, R.M., HAKIM, S. & RENGERT, G.F. (eds.) Metropolitan crime patterns. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

SCHURINK, W.J. 1977. Die vrees vir misdaad by die kleurlingpubliek van die Kaapse Skiereiland. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Navorsingsbevinding S-N-87)

---- 1978. The fear of crime among the blacks of Soweto and the coloureds of the Cape Peninsula. Humanitas, 4(3):291-296.

SCHURINK, W.J. & STRIJDOM, H.G. 1976. Die vrees vir misdaad by die publiek van Soweto. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Navorsingsbevinding S-N-86)

SHOEMAKER, D.J. & BRYANT, C.D. 1987. Perceived seriousness of crime. Psychological Reports, 61(1):267-272.

SILVERMAN, R.A. & KENNEDY, L.W. 1985. Loneliness, satisfaction and fear of crime: a test for non-recursive effects. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 27(1):1-13.

SKOGAN, W.G. 1981. On attitudes and behaviors. In: LEWIS, D.A. (ed.) Reactions to crime. Beverly Hills: Sage.

---- 1987. The impact of victimization on fear. Crime and Delinquency, 33(1):135-154.

SKOGAN, W.G. & MAXFIELD, M.G. 1981. Coping with crime. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

SMITH, D.J. & GRAY, J. 1985. Police and people in London: the PSI Report. Criminal Justice Abstracts, 17(3):332-334.

STAFFORD, M.C. & GALLE, O.R. 1984. Victimization rates, exposure to risk, and fear of crime. Criminology, 22(2):173-185.

STRIJDOM, H.G. 1978. Die houding van Indiër-Suid-Afrikaners teenoor die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Navorsingsbevinding S-N-119)

---- 1979. Meerdoelige opname onder kleurlinge - 1977: houding teenoor die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Navorsingsbevinding S-N-172)

---- 1982. A victimological study among coloureds in the Cape Peninsula. Grahamstown: Rhodes University. (D.Phil dissertation)

STRIJDOM, H.G. & SCHURINK, W.J. 1977. Primêre viktimisasie in Soweto. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing. (Verslag S-49)

SULLIVAN, P.S., DUNHAM, R.G. & ALPERT, G.P. 1987. Attitude structures of different ethnic and age groups concerning police. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 78(1):177-196.

SURVEY OF CURRENT AFFAIRS. 1987. Criminal justice. Survey of Current Affairs, 17(1):5-8.

TAYLOR, D.G., TAUB, R.P. & PETERSON, B.L. 1986. Crime, community organization, and causes of neighborhood decline. In: FIGLIO, R.M., HAKIM, S. & RENGERT, G.F. (eds.) Metropolitan crime patterns. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

TAYLOR, L. & COLES, B. 1982. Crime and the fear of crime. New Society, 63(1059):336-338.

TAYLOR, R.B. & HALE, M. 1986. Testing alternative models of fear of crime. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 77(1):151-189.

TAYLOR, R.B., SHUMAKER, S.A. & GOTTFREDSON, S.D. 1985. Neighborhood-level links between physical features and local sentiments: deterioration, fear of crime, and confidence. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 2(4):261-275.

TYLER, T.R. 1980. Impact of directly and indirectly experienced events: the origin of crime-related judgements and behaviors. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39(1):13-28.

WARR, M. 1982. The accuracy of public beliefs about crime. Further evidence. Criminology, 20(2):185-204.

WHITAKER, B. 1979. The police in society. London: Eyre Methuen.

WILSON, J.Q. 1975. Thinking about crime. New York: Basic Books.



## APPENDIX A

### SOME DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNWEIGHTED SAMPLES

Characteristics	Whites		Coloureds		Indians		Blacks	
	Fre- quency	%	Fre- quency	%	Fre- quency	%	Fre- quency	%
<b>Sex</b>								
Male	498	40,5	539	41,5	653	45,4	332	32,1
Female	732	59,5	760	58,5	786	54,6	702	67,9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 230</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 299</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 439</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 034</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>Age</b>								
18 - 24 years	121	9,9	224	17,2	268	18,8	278	26,8
25 - 34 years	322	26,2	393	30,3	447	31,1	276	26,8
35 - 44 years	304	24,7	313	24,1	379	26,3	182	18,7
45 - 54 years	182	14,8	190	14,6	207	14,4	118	11,5
55 - 64 years	152	12,4	108	8,3	90	6,3	94	9,1
65 years and older	148	12,0	71	5,5	48	3,3	73	7,1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 229</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 299</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 439</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 029</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>Marital status</b>								
Married	862	70,0	745	57,4	1 005	70,2	463	44,8
Living together	27	2,2	41	3,2	42	2,9	55	5,3
Widowed	129	10,5	121	9,3	92	6,4	82	7,9
Divorced	72	5,9	47	3,6	24	1,7	23	2,2
Separated	8	0,7	20	1,5	13	0,9	29	2,8
Never married	131	10,7	319	24,6	255	17,8	379	36,7
Deserted	-	-	5	0,4	1	0,1	3	0,3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 229</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 298</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 432</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 034</b>	<b>100,0</b>

(Table continues)

(Table continued)

Characteristics	Whites		Coloureds		Indians		Blacks	
	Fre- quency	%	Fre- quency	%	Fre- quency	%	Fre- quency	%
<u>Years of schooling</u>								
None to Std. 5	19	1,6	531	40,9	299	20,8	348	33,7
Stds. 6 - 7	130	10,8	381	29,4	390	27,1	245	23,7
Std. 8	298	24,2	183	14,1	238	16,5	152	14,7
Std. 9	76	6,2	55	4,2	127	8,8	93	9,0
Std. 10	708	57,4	148	11,4	385	26,8	195	18,8
TOTAL	1 229	100,0	1 298	100,0	1 439	100,0	1 033	100,0
<u>Years post- matriculation education</u>								
None	883	55,7	1 120	86,2	1 219	84,7	927	89,7
1 - 2 years	181	13,1	80	6,2	86	6,0	36	3,5
3 years	138	11,1	54	4,2	68	4,7	49	4,7
4 years	119	9,7	24	1,8	28	2,0	18	1,7
5 years and longer	128	10,4	21	1,6	38	2,6	4	0,4
TOTAL	1 227	100,0	1 299	100,0	1 439	100,0	1 034	100,0
<u>Occupation</u>								
Professional and managerial	308	25,1	101	7,8	211	14,7	126	12,2
Middle white-collar workers	351	28,6	194	14,9	324	22,5	97	9,4
Skilled and semi- skilled artisans	103	8,4	188	14,5	172	11,9	55	5,3
Unskilled labour	4	0,3	217	16,7	47	3,3	126	12,2
Unemployed (housewives, pensioners etc.)	482	37,6	599	46,1	685	47,6	630	60,8
TOTAL	1 228	100,0	1 299	100,0	1 439	100,0	1 034	100,0

## APPENDIX B

### EXTRACT FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE

#### SECTION G: CRIME AND RELATED ISSUES

In this section a few questions about crime and related issues are asked. We would like to establish your experience of or attitude toward these matters.

31 How serious is the crime problem in your neighbourhood?  
Is it -

very serious?	1
fairly serious?	2
not really serious?	3
not at all serious?	4
Do not know/Uncertain	5

32 Do you think that the problem of crime in your residential area has increased, decreased or remained about the same over the past 12 months?

N.A. - no crime problem here	0
It has increased	1
It has decreased	2
It has remained about the same	3
Do not know/Uncertain	4

33 How safe do you feel, or would you feel to be out alone at night in your residential area?

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

34 Do you have any of the following, which were specifically obtained to protect you and your home against crime? If not, would you like to have it/them?

	Yes	No, but would like to have it	No, and would not like to have it
Burglarproofing	1	2	3
Safety door/gate	1	2	3
Alarm	1	2	3
Dog(s)	1	2	3
Outside lighting	1	2	3

(question continues)

(question continued)

	Yes	No, but would like to have it	No, and would not like to have it
Rifle/Shotgun	1	2	3
Gas-pistol/"Mace"	1	2	3
Revolver/Pistol	1	2	3
Knife/Thing to stab with (e.g. hunting knife)	1	2	3
Knobkerrie/Club/Thing to hit with	1	2	3
35 Do you have household insurance? If not, would you like to have it?			
Yes			1
No, but would like to have it			2
No, and would not like to have it			3
36 How do you feel about the quality of the service provided by the police in protecting your residential area <u>against crime</u> ? Is the protection -			
very good?			1
fairly good?			2
neither good nor bad?			3
fairly bad?			4
very bad?			5
Do not know/Uncertain			6
37 Have you already joined or would you be prepared to join a group of people who take turns to patrol your neighbourhood at night in order to restrict <u>crime</u> ?			
Have already joined			1
Yes, definitely			2
Yes, probably			3
No, probably not			4
No, definitely not			5
Do not know			6
38 Would you like to obtain more information about ways and means by which you can safeguard your home/property against <u>crime</u> ?			
Yes			1
No			2

Doc no 220352  
Copy no 220506

RGN BIBLIOTEK	HSRC LIBRARY
------------------	-----------------

R12,49