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**CRIME IN SOUTH AFRICA:**

**Perceptions, fear  
and victimization**

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and victimization**

**Lorraine Glanz**

1994

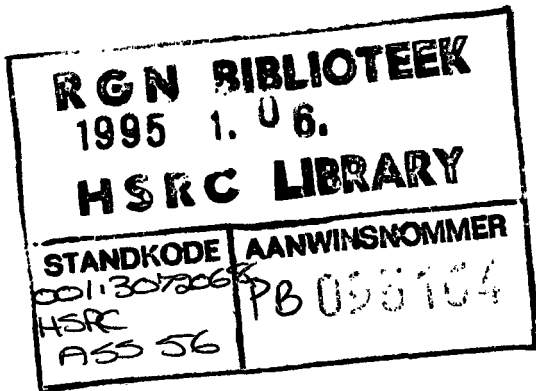
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**LORRAINE GLANZ**  
July 1994



# Contents

<b>Abstract</b>		xiii
<b>Ekserp</b>		xv
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Introduction and orientation</b>	<b>1</b>
	Introduction	1
	Aim of the study	2
	Research method	2
	Conclusion	3
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Perceptions of crime as a social problem</b>	<b>5</b>
	Introduction	5
	Perceptions of the seriousness of crime	7
	Views on the increase/decrease in crime	9
	Opinions about the causes of the increase in crime	12
	Conclusion	17
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>The impact of crime</b>	<b>21</b>
	Introduction	21
	Fear of crime	22
	Reactions to crime	31
	Conclusion	36
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>The extent of victimization</b>	<b>39</b>
	Introduction	39
	The victimization data	40
	Conclusion	50
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Attitudes towards the police</b>	<b>53</b>
	Introduction	53
	Perceptions of the work of the police	53
	Opinions about the effectiveness of various strategies aimed at crime reduction	59
	Conclusion	63

<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Views on community service as a sentencing option</b>	<b>65</b>
	Introduction	65
	Perceptions of community service	65
	Conclusion	68
<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>Recommendations</b>	<b>69</b>
	Introduction	69
	Recommendations	69
	Conclusion	74
	<b>References</b>	<b>75</b>
	<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>77</b>
	<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>81</b>
	<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>91</b>

## **Tables**

<b>Table 1</b>	<b>Sample drawn and sample realized</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table 2</b>	<b>Ranking of perceptions of social problems in the community</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Table 3</b>	<b>Perceptions of the seriousness of social problems given according to respondents' demographic characteristics</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Table 4</b>	<b>Perceptions of the increase/decrease in crime per population group</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Table 5</b>	<b>Ranking of views on the causes of the increase in crime</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Table 6</b>	<b>Perceptions of the causes of the increase in crime given according to respondents' demographic characteristics</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Table 7</b>	<b>Feelings of safety in the neighbourhood at night per population group</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Table 8</b>	<b>Opinions about the probability of victimization within the following 12 months per population group</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Table 9</b>	<b>Extent to which fear of crime affects enjoyment of life per population group</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Table 10</b>	<b>Avoidance behaviour of the respondent per population group</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Table 11</b>	<b>Avoidance behaviour of people in the neighbourhood per population group</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Table 12</b>	<b>Extent of victimization per population group</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Table 13</b>	<b>Extent of victimization through specific crimes per population group</b>	<b>45</b>

Table 14	Victim profiles	48
Table 15	Perceptions of the work of the police per population group	55
Table 16	Five-year comparison of perceptions of the work of the police	55
Table 17	Ranking of opinions about the effectiveness of various strategies	60
Table 18	Ranking of opinions about the effectiveness of various strategies—the blacks only	60
Table 19	Opinions about the effectiveness of various strategies given according to respondents' demographic characteristics	61
Table 20	Perceptions of community service per population group	67

### **Figures**

Figure 1	Distribution of feelings of safety in neighbourhood: Very safe and very unsafe, per population group	25
Figure 2	Proportion of property crimes as compared to violent crimes, per population group	44
Figure 3	Distribution of perceptions of the police: Very satisfied and very dissatisfied, per population group	56

## Abstract

Few people would deny that crime has reached critical proportions in South Africa. The fear of crime and the consequences of victimization are two of the gravest problems facing ordinary citizens as well as policy-makers. The impact of crime on the lives of South Africans is the subject of this report.

The research aimed to investigate the public's perceptions of various aspects of the problem of crime; to describe the impact of crime on the lives of members of society; and to determine the extent of victimization as reported by the research subjects.

The data were obtained from a probability sample drawn from the nine development regions of the Republic of South Africa, the six former self-governing territories and two of the former TBVC states (Venda and Ciskei). Metropolitan, urban and rural areas were included.

The survey indicated that South Africans are clearly concerned about social problems in their community: All categories of the samples rated unemployment as the most serious problem, followed by the housing shortage and crime. With the exception of the coloureds, the majority of the respondents reported that they felt that crime had increased during the 12 months prior to the survey. While the majority of the whites, coloureds and Asians considered the economic recession to be the main cause of the recent increase in crime, fewer blacks supported this view. The blacks who were dissatisfied with the work of the police tended to mention factors relating to the efficiency of the police as being the cause of the increase.

The impact of crime on the lives of South Africans is quite considerable. A high level of fear, measured by the feeling of being unsafe in one's neighbourhood and perceived likelihood of victimization, was reported by the subjects. Nearly one-third of the sample group reported that fear of crime affects their enjoyment of life to a greater extent.

Twenty-five percent of the sample reported that they, or a member of their household, had been criminally victimized during the 12-month period under review. One in ten households reported being the victim of a violent crime. Males, younger persons and those living in urban areas were shown to be at greater risk of victimization than other persons. Considerable underreporting of crime to the police was evident.

The survey indicated that the Asians and the blacks had the most negative attitude towards the quality of the service being rendered by the police. A comparison of the findings of this survey with those of five years ago revealed

that the perceptions of the members of these two groups had deteriorated during this period.

When asked for their opinion about community service as an alternative to imprisonment, the members of the sample showed a fairly positive attitude towards this type of sentence, with the whites having the most, and the blacks the least favourable attitude.

Recommendations relating to improvements in police-community relations, ways to deal with fear of crime and crime prevention were made.

## Ekserp

Min mense sal ontken dat misdaad in Suid-Afrika kritieke afmetings aangeneem het. Die vrees vir misdaad en die gevolge van viktimisasie is twee van die ernstigste probleme wat gewone burgers sowel as beleidmakers in die gesig staar. Die impak van misdaad op die lewens van Suid-Afrikanners is die onderwerp van hierdie verslag.

Die navorsing het ten doel gehad om die publiek se persepsies van verskillende aspekte van die probleem van misdaad te ondersoek; om die impak van misdaad op die lewens van Suid-Afrikanners te beskryf; en om die omvang van viktimisasie soos dit deur die subjekte gerapporteer is, vas te stel.

Die data is verkry van 'n waarskynlikheidssteekproef uit die nege ontwikkelingsstreke van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, die ses vorige selfregerende gebiede en twee van die vorige TBVC-staats (Venda en Ciskei). Metropolitaanse, stedelike en landelike gebiede is ingesluit.

Die opname het aangedui dat Suid-Afrikanners duidelik bekommerd is oor maatskaplike probleme in hul gemeenskap; alle kategorieë van die steekproef het werkloosheid as die ernstigste probleem geklassifiseer, gevolg deur die behuisingstekort en misdaad. Met die uitsondering van die kleurlinge het die meerderheid van die respondente gerapporteer dat hulle gevoel het dat misdaad gedurende die 12 maande voor die opname toegeneem het. Terwyl die meerderheid van die blankes, kleurlinge en Asiërs die ekonomiese resessie as die hooforsaak van die onlangse toename in misdaad beskou het, het minder swartes hierdie standpunt gesteun. Die swartes wat met die werk van die polisie ontevrede was, was geneig om faktore rakende die effektiwiteit van die polisie as die oorsaak van die toename te noem.

Die impak van misdaad op die lewens van Suid-Afrikanners is aansienlik. 'n Hoë mate van vrees, gemeet aan gevoelens van onveiligheid in 'n persoon se woonbuurt en waargenome waarskynlikheid van viktimisasie, is deur die subjekte gerapporteer. Bykans een derde van die ondersoekgroep het gerapporteer dat vrees vir misdaad hul lewensgenot in groot mate beïnvloed. Vyf en twintig persent van die groep het gerapporteer dat hulle, of 'n lid van hul huishouding, gedurende die 12 maande waarop die studie betrekking het krimineel geviktimizeer is. Een uit tien huishoudings het gerapporteer dat hulle die slagoffer van gewelddadigheid was. Mans, jong persone en diegene woonagtig in stedelike gebiede het geblyk aan 'n groter risiko van viktimisasie onderworpe te wees as ander mense. Aansienlike onderrapportering van misdaad aan die polisie was duidelik.

Die opname het aangetoon dat Asiate en swartes die negatiefste teenoor die gehalte van polisie diens was. 'n Vergelyking van die bevindings van hierdie opname met dié van vyf jaar gelede het dit duidelik gemaak dat die sienings van die lede van hierdie twee groepe gedurende hierdie periode versleg het.

Toe hulle na hul opinie oor gemeenskapsdiens as 'n alternatief vir gevangenisstraf gevra is, het die lede van die steekproef 'n taamlik positiewe houding teenoor hierdie straf geopenbaar, met die blankes die positiefste en die swartes die minste positief.

Aanbevelings is gemaak om die verhouding tussen die polisie en die gemeenskap te verbeter, die vrees vir misdaad te hanteer en misdaad te voorkom.



---

## INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION

### INTRODUCTION

Crime is at present a fairly emotive issue in South Africa. The countless reports in the media of innocent citizens becoming the victims of violent robbery, car hijacking, and murder and assault in their homes have led members of the public to feel the threat of crime as never before. Yet, if one were to calculate an individual's real risk of personal injury due to crime, one would find this to be lower than the risk of injury due to accident. People react to their perceptions, whether their perceptions are accurate or not.

Stinchcombe *et al.* (1980:2, 16) argue that the quality of life of the public in general is negatively affected by high levels of crime:

It is traditional in every major civilization that crime is treated as a problem that damages the well-being of the entire public. Crime is a pervasive social problem that reaches into and alters the lives of large numbers of people ... Even when people have not themselves had direct experience with crime, it frequently affects indirectly the ways in which they travel, the extent to which they go out at night, and the ways in which they perceive their neighborhoods.

Lewis (1981:12) suggests that crime is a problem for people because

... it threatens them. It happens to them and, given the particular context, has differential effects. While the study of criminal justice agencies is important, as is the study of criminals ... it is what happens between people which determines the nature of crime ...

The relation between crime and the social environment is a complex one. Research has shown, for example, that negative attitudes towards one's neighbourhood and one's past experience as a victim lead to the perception that crime rates are high and to the feeling that the neighbourhood is unsafe (Sparks, Genn & Dodd, 1977). Clearly, in the investigation of the complex

nature of the impact of crime on the lives of ordinary citizens, the scholar needs to ask questions such as: Do people see crime as a serious social problem and does this perception affect their behaviour and enjoyment of life? To what extent is an individual's level of fear of crime affected by crime-related beliefs and what is the effect of this fear? Does the victimization experience change people's perceptions of their neighbourhood and the amount of crime taking place?

It is important to monitor the public's perceptions of crime-related issues in order to determine the impact of crime on the lives of ordinary citizens. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) has conducted a number of crime surveys over a period of more than two decades. The research which is reported in this publication is a follow-up study to one which was conducted during 1986 and 1987 (Glanz, 1989). The HSRC's Co-operative Research Programme on Affordable Personal Safety funded both projects.

## **AIM OF THE STUDY**

The aims of this research project were to:

- investigate the public's perceptions of various aspects of the problem of crime;
- describe the impact of crime on the lives of members of society, and
- determine the extent of victimization as reported by the research subjects.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

In order to obtain the information required to meet the aims of the project a country-wide survey which included the four population groups was undertaken. Country-wide surveys are conducted on a regular basis by Markdata, the HSRC's market research division. The questions compiled for the study were included in an omnibus survey conducted by Markdata during April 1992.

The sample was drawn by the HSRC's Centre for Statistics and more than 200 fully-trained fieldworkers conducted face-to-face interviews with the randomly selected respondents. The fieldwork was supervised by Markdata and ten percent of the questionnaires were controlled for validity.

The sample, which was based on the 1985 census, covered the nine development regions of the Republic of South Africa, the six former self-governing territories and two of the former TBVC states (Venda and Ciskei). Metropolitan, urban and rural areas were included.

The sample which was drawn and the final realization of the sample are given in Table 1.

**TABLE 1: SAMPLE DRAWN AND SAMPLE REALIZED**

Population group	Sample drawn	Sample realized	
	N	N	Percent of sample drawn
Asians (drawn from urban and rural areas of the RSA)	200	200	100
Blacks (drawn from urban and rural areas of the RSA, the self-governing territories and two independent states)	1 100	1 112	101
Coloureds (drawn from urban and rural areas of the RSA)	300	300	100
Whites (drawn from urban and rural areas of the RSA)	400	370	93
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2 000</b>	<b>1 982</b>	<b>99</b>

**CONCLUSION**

The information which was obtained from the respondents will be presented and discussed in the chapters which follow.

Chapter 2 deals with the public's perceptions of crime as a social problem, and Chapter 3 with the impact of crime on the lives of members of society. Chapter 4 presents the findings relating to the extent of the victimization as reported by members of the sample and Chapter 5 is a discussion of the public's perceptions of the work of the police. Chapter 6 gives the findings relating to views on the system of community service as a sentencing option and recommendations are made in Chapter 7.

---

## PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

### INTRODUCTION

The increasing complexity of social organization and social life which has accompanied industrialization in the Western world has brought with it a host of social problems. Most countries are faced with numerous social problems of varying degrees of seriousness and South Africa is no exception. Our society is that much more complex due to the mix of first- and third-world characteristics and the variety of cultures.

In recent years in particular we have seen an escalation in the number and seriousness of social problems in South Africa. The world-wide economic recession, together with the prolonged drought in South Africa, has had a marked effect on the country's economy. The protracted negotiations in the political arena and the inability of leaders to reach a settlement have created a climate of instability and uncertainty. The tide of politically motivated violence has moved forward unabated and the rate of ordinary crime and violence has reached unprecedented levels.

Social problems affect people and communities differently, depending on personal characteristics and circumstances, community resources, and 'resilience'. It is important to take note of which type of problems are reported to be very serious by which sectors of society. In addition, one can ask to what extent the ordinary citizen indeed notices the increase in crime which has been reported in recent years. It is quite likely that some communities are more aware of escalating crime rates than others since some communities are victimized to a greater extent than others. It is also useful to determine what the public consider to be the causes of the increase in crime which has been evident.

Research findings relating to the public's opinions about the seriousness of the problem of crime, their perception of an increase or decrease in crime and their views on the causes of the increase in crime are given in the following sections.

## "Over-50s join matrices in the queue for jobs"

Unemployment in South Africa has become a time bomb, with only seven out of 100 job-seekers entering the labour market in the past five years finding full-time work.

Every day millions of unemployed South Africans attempt to enter the saturated job market.

For an estimated 6,3 million of the economically active workforce of 14 million, there is no work.

Thousands more informal sector workers, not registered with the Department of Manpower, face a similar fate.

Between 1960 and 1965, the formal economy could absorb 30,9 percent of new entrants into the labour market. By 1990 this figure had dropped to 8,4 percent.

Last year dire forecasts of a dramatic employment scramble among matriculants came with estimates that the whole formal business sector would have fewer than 40 000 jobs on offer as the recession cut the demand for labour.

More than 400 000 matriculants sought, or are still seeking, jobs this year (1992).

Only a fraction of the 39 percent of young black matriculants who passed will find work in the formal sector.

Employment has been stung more severely in this downswing than in any of the recessions in the past 20 years.

Unemployment compared relatively favourably with other recessions up to the third quarter of 1991, after which job levels plunged substantially below those of previous ones.

The formal sector's ability to create employment has been reduced from almost four percent in the 1960s to an annual average of only 0,6 percent from 1985 to 1990.

Economists also predict the informal sector is fast becoming saturated and its ability to absorb new and unemployed workers is shrinking.

The situation is grim. Experts agree that unemployment will increase this year and there will not be light at the end of the tunnel until the country comes out of the recession with other players in the world economy.

(Taken from *The Argus*, 24 March 1992, p. 10.)

## PERCEPTIONS OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF CRIME

The majority of the respondents rated unemployment as the most serious problem in their community (see Table 2). The housing shortage was ranked second and crime was placed third. It is evident that although the problem of crime in South Africa is a very grave one, it is not considered to be the most serious problem in communities.

**TABLE 2: RANKING OF PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY**

Type of problem	Frequency	Percent
Unemployment	1 029	51,9
Housing shortage	225	11,4
Crime	218	11,0
Debt and financial problems	154	7,8
Poverty	134	6,8
Poor educational facilities	83	4,2
Alcoholism	52	2,6
Other	35	1,8
Poor sport and recreational facilities	28	1,4
Pollution	23	1,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 981</b>	<b>100,0</b>

A distribution of the respondents' perceptions of the seriousness of social problems, according to certain demographic characteristics, is given in Table 3. All the subcategories of respondents ranked unemployment as the most serious problem in their community. Crime was rated the second most serious problem by the Asians and the whites, third by the blacks and sixth by the coloureds. The difference in the opinions of the sexes can be noted in that males reported crime and females reported the housing shortage to be the second most serious problem in their communities. In addition, the respondents in the youngest and in the two oldest age categories ranked the crime problem second, whereas those in the middle age categories ranked the housing shortage second.

**TABLE 3: PERCEPTIONS OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS GIVEN ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

Demographic variables	Problem rated most serious (percent support)	Problem rated second most serious (percent support)	Ranking of the problem of crime
<b>Population group</b>			
Asians	Unemployment (60)	Crime (15)	2
Blacks	Unemployment (55)	Housing shortage (12)	3
Coloureds	Unemployment (46)	Housing shortage (18)	6
Whites	Unemployment (45)	Crime (18)	2
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	Unemployment (50)	Crime (12)	2
Female	Unemployment (53)	Housing shortage (11)	3
<b>Age</b>			
18 - 24 years	Unemployment (55)	Crime (10)	2
25 - 34 years	Unemployment (51)	Housing shortage (15)	3
35 - 44 years	Unemployment (50)	Housing shortage (13)	3
45 - 54 years	Unemployment (51)	Crime (13)	2
55 years and older	Unemployment (53)	Crime (11)	2
<b>Marital status</b>			
Married/living together	Unemployment (49)	Crime (13)	2
Unmarried	Unemployment (56)	Housing shortage (11)	3
<b>Educational level</b>			
Std 5 and lower	Unemployment (49)	Housing shortage (13)	5
Std 6 - 9	Unemployment (55)	Housing shortage (14)	3
Std 10 and higher	Unemployment (51)	Crime (14)	2
<b>Household monthly income</b>			
Less than R1 200	Unemployment (54)	Housing shortage (13)	3
R1 200 - R3 999	Unemployment (50)	Crime (15)	2
R4 000 and higher	Unemployment (45)	Crime (18)	2

The respondents who were married ranked crime second, whereas those who were unmarried ranked the housing shortage second. The influence of educational level on the perception of the seriousness of social problems is evident when one considers that the respondents with a high educational level ranked crime second whereas those from the two lower educational categories rated the housing shortage as the second most serious problem. This is confirmed by the association between household income and perceptions of the seriousness of social problems. Although the respondents from all the income groups rated unemployment as the most serious problem, the percentage supporting this view decreased as income increased. While the respondents from the lowest income level rated the housing shortage as the second most serious problem, those from both the middle and the upper income groups ranked crime as the second most serious problem. One should remember, however, that both educational level and household income as demographic variables are undoubtedly 'contaminated' by population group.

The respondents' perceptions of an increase or decrease in the level of crime are discussed in the following section.

## **VIEWS ON THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN CRIME**

The respondents were asked whether they were of the opinion that crime in their neighbourhood had increased, decreased or remained the same during the year prior to the survey (i.e. during 1991). According to the survey results, just less than 50 percent of all the members of the sample were of the opinion that crime had increased (see Table 4). The opinions about the increase in crime differed little among the population groups, except in the case of the coloureds: A considerably smaller proportion (i.e. 31 percent) of the coloureds than that of the Asians, the blacks and the whites (53 percent, 50 percent and 53 percent respectively) reported that they considered crime to have increased in their community.

With the exception of the coloureds, the perceptions among South Africans of the increase/decrease in crime have changed remarkably during recent years. This undoubtedly reflects the change in the actual amount of crime taking place. Surveys conducted by the HSRC during 1986 and 1987 indicated that 23 percent of the Asians, 39 percent of the blacks, 31 percent of the coloureds and 35 percent of the whites were of the opinion that crime



## THE EXTENT OF CRIME IN SOUTH AFRICA

We do not know precisely how much crime takes place in South Africa, or anywhere else for that matter. Many crimes are not reported to the police and the rate of reporting varies considerably according to the type of crime. For example, it is generally accepted that only approximately one in ten rapes is reported, compared to almost all motor car thefts. Therefore, the number of crimes known to and recorded by the South African Police is the best picture we have of the crime situation in this country.

What does the crime picture look like, as reflected in the police statistics? A total of 1 781 861 serious offences (excluding minor infringements of the law) were reported by the police in their annual report for 1992. This means that every day an average of 44 murders, 67 rapes, 374 aggravated assaults, 216 robberies and 699 burglaries are recorded by the police in South Africa. In addition, 196 vehicles are reported stolen and 423 thefts from a motor vehicle, 18 cases of arson and 263 incidents of malicious damage to property are reported on average each day. In fact, in this country a total of 4 882 offences are recorded every day.

When these raw figures are converted to a rate per 100 000 of the population, the overall annual rate for 1992 was 5 639 offences per 100 000. This means that nearly six out of every 100 persons of all ages could become part of the crime statistics each year, either as a victim (as with murder, rape, robbery and burglary) or as an offender (as with driving while under the influence of alcohol).

To what extent are persons living in different parts of the country at greater risk of becoming a victim of crime? Very little comprehensive information is available on the extent of crime in, for example, Johannesburg compared to Cape Town. Conviction statistics reported by the South African courts indicate that in the case of violent crime, the Cape Peninsula is by far the most dangerous area to live in, followed by Johannesburg and Pretoria. The Cape Peninsula also has the highest conviction rate for property crime, followed by Durban/Pinetown and Pretoria.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind that not all sectors of the South African population are affected by crime to the same extent. For example, although the national media, which presumably cater to mainly the white population, report extensively on the murder of white victims, the rate for murder among this group is ten per 100 000 of the white population, as compared to the rate of 52 for the so-called non-white group. However, the police do not record crime separately for the different population groups in South Africa. Disaggregated police crime statistics are therefore urgently needed to provide a better understanding of the crime picture in this country.

**TABLE 4: PERCEPTIONS OF THE INCREASE/DECREASE IN CRIME PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Increased	52,5	50,1	31,3	53,4	48,0
Decreased	16,7	20,2	18,4	4,2	16,5
Remained the same	24,2	9,7	28,1	34,3	18,8
Do not know/ uncertain	2,0	5,2	5,2	4,5	4,7
No crime problem in community	4,6	14,8	17,1	3,7	12,0
<b>TOTAL</b>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

had increased (Glanz, 1989).\* Except in the case of the coloureds, these percentages are considerably lower than those given in Table 4.

Further analysis of the data relating to the respondents' perceptions of an increase in crime by means of a CHAID analysis\*\* indicates that population group was the most significant predictor of differences in opinion about this topic, with the coloureds perceiving the least increase in crime, which confirms the above discussion. The results of the CHAID analysis are given in Diagram C.1 which is contained in Appendix C. A description of the

\* It must be pointed out that the HSRC surveys of 1986/87 were based on samples which are not absolutely comparable to the sample used for the research discussed in this publication. During the earlier study, separate surveys were conducted among the four population groups whereas during the present study, one sample was drawn which was representative of the population as a whole. This qualification notwithstanding, it is still very useful to compare the findings of the earlier surveys with the results of the present study. The above qualification applies to all references to the 1986/87 surveys which are made in this publication.

\*\* The respondents who indicated "Do not know" or who were uncertain of their answer were excluded from the CHAID analysis of the data relating to this question.

construction of the variables which were used in the analysis is given in Appendix A.

The next most important explanatory variable in the case of the blacks and the whites was attitude towards the work of the police. Those who were very satisfied with the police tended to report either that there was no crime in their area or that crime had decreased, whereas dissatisfaction with the police was associated with perceptions of an increase in crime.

The second most important explanatory variable in the case of the coloureds and the Asians was area of residence: The coloureds who lived in non-urban areas tended to report that there was no crime problem in their area and the Asians who lived in non-metropolitan areas tended to report a decrease in crime.

Other explanatory variables which proved to be significant predictors of differences in perceptions of an increase in crime are the following: (1) area of residence and the respondents' rating on the 'political' scale\* in the case of the blacks; (2) attitude towards the police and educational level in the case of the coloureds; and (3) type of occupation in the case of the Asians. The information relating to these variables is not given in Diagram C.1 due to lack of space.

The research findings relating to opinions about the cause of the increase in crime are given in the following section.

## **OPINIONS ABOUT THE CAUSES OF THE INCREASE IN CRIME**

The respondents' opinions about the most important reason for the observed increase in crime are given in Table 5. The economic recession was mentioned by nearly 60 percent of the respondents as being the most important cause of the increase, whereas nearly 20 percent were of the opinion that the police's neglect to give urgent attention to the problem was the most important cause. The other reasons were mentioned by less than 10 percent of the sample in each case, namely the poor educational system for the blacks (8 percent); the level of frustration which is experienced by the blacks (6 percent); a breakdown of moral standards in the community (4 percent); the

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\* Refer to the explanatory notes contained in Appendix A for a description of the variable termed 'political' scale.

police force being understaffed (3 percent), and an attempt to create fear among the whites (3 percent).

**TABLE 5: RANKING OF VIEWS ON THE CAUSES OF THE INCREASE IN CRIME**

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Economic recession and unemployment	1 134	57,4
Police neglect to give urgent attention to the problem	366	18,5
Poor educational system for the blacks	162	8,2
Frustrated blacks taking revenge against whites	122	6,2
Breakdown of moral standards	84	4,2
Understaffed police force	60	3,0
Attempts to create fear among whites	49	2,5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 977</b>	<b>100,0</b>

The distribution of the respondents' opinions about the causes of the increase in crime, given according to certain demographic variables, is shown in Table 6. Whereas just over 70 percent of the Asians, the coloureds and the whites reported that in their view the economic recession was the most important reason for the increase, only 46 percent of the blacks mentioned this reason. Compared to the coloureds and the Asians a greater proportion of the blacks ranked police neglect to attend to the problem of crime as the second most important cause of the increase, while the response "an attempt to create fear among whites" was rated by the whites to be the second most important cause. Whereas 50 percent of the respondents in the youngest age category ranked the economic recession as the most important cause for the increase, 62 percent of those in the two oldest age categories responded similarly. A greater proportion of the respondents who were married than those who were unmarried selected the economic recession as the most important reason for the increase in crime. There were considerable differences between the household income categories in terms of the proportion who rated the economic recession as the most important cause: The higher the income the greater the proportion who selected this reason. In addition, while the respondents with a low income mentioned police neglect as the second most important reason for the increase in crime, those from the middle income category selected the poor educational system for blacks, and those from the

## CRIME TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South Africa in which we are living today is characterized by unparalleled social and political change and apparently enormous differences of opinion. However, there is one aspect of our society that most of us would probably agree about, and that is the unprecedented increase in crime over the past few years and the intolerable level that crime has reached.

An examination of the changes in the rates for murder and rape which have taken place over the past 35 years indicates that murder has increased by 200 percent and rape by 132 percent. In addition, the rate for burglary has increased by 98 percent and the rate for robbery by 68 percent during the past 25 years. On the other hand the rate for aggravated assault has decreased by 7 percent.

If one examines the crime trends which have been evident over the past five years in particular, the considerable increase in crime rates (for which population growth has been taken into account) is evident from the following:

- the rate for property crime, which has increased by 22 percent, has shown twice the increase evident for violent crime;
- while the overall rate of increase for violent crime has been 10 percent, murder has increased by 39 percent and robbery by 35 percent;
- the increase in the rate for the various types of property crime varies from 1 percent for burglary to a staggering 393 percent for arson (motor vehicle theft, for example, has increased by 8 percent and theft from a motor vehicle by 28 percent) and
- fraud has increased by 55 percent and malicious damage to property by 20 percent.

The Commissioner of the South African Police stated the following in his *Annual Report* for 1991 (pp. 1, 2):

Although the South African Police has succeeded in the past year to curb the increase in certain serious offenses, crime, in general, has reached alarming proportions. Since the beginning of the eighties a progressive increase in crime has occurred. The crime victim rate increased from 4.451 per 100 000 inhabitants during 1981 to 5.187 during 1990, which represents an increase of 16,50%. The increase in crime is mainly as a result of socio-economic factors, especially large-scale unemployment, although riots, so-called political violence, the decline of society and a world-wide tendency towards crime has also played an important role. Without a doubt, there is no single facet which demands such a high toll from the community as does crime.

highest income category chose the possibility of frustrated blacks taking revenge against whites as the second most important cause.

**TABLE 6: PERCEPTIONS OF THE CAUSES OF THE INCREASE IN CRIME GIVEN ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

Demographic variables	Cause rated most important (percent support)	Cause rated second most important (percent support)
<b>Population group</b>		
Asians	Economic recession (72)	Police neglect (11)
Blacks	Economic recession (46)	Police neglect (26)
Coloureds	Economic recession (71)	Police neglect (14)
Whites	Economic recession (73)	Attempts to create fear among whites (7)
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	Economic recession (58)	Police neglect (17)
Female	Economic recession (57)	Police neglect (20)
<b>Age</b>		
18 - 24 years	Economic recession (50)	Police neglect (23)
25 - 34 years	Economic recession (57)	Police neglect (18)
35 - 44 years	Economic recession (59)	Police neglect (20)
45 - 54 years	Economic recession (62)	Police neglect (12)
55 years and older	Economic recession (62)	Police neglect (17)
<b>Marital status</b>		
Married/living together	Economic recession (61)	Police neglect (16)
Unmarried	Economic recession (53)	Police neglect (21)
<b>Educational level</b>		
Std 5 and lower	Economic recession (54)	Police neglect (21)
Std 6 - 9	Economic recession (55)	Police neglect (22)
Std 10 and higher	Economic recession (65)	Police neglect (12)
<b>Household monthly income</b>		
Less than R1 200	Economic recession (52)	Police neglect (24)
R1 200 - R3 999	Economic recession (60)	Poor educational system (9)
R4 000 and higher	Economic recession (77)	Frustrated blacks taking revenge against whites (6)

In order to analyze the data further, the responses were grouped in a logical manner to form three categories.\* A CHAID analysis of the data (see Diagram C.2 in Appendix C) indicates once again that population group is the best predictor of differences in opinion about the causes of the increase in crime. While 63 percent of the blacks ranked practical reasons (such as the economic recession) and moral reasons as the most important, this proportion increased to 74 percent among the coloureds and 79 percent among the Asians and the whites.

Attitude towards the police was also a significant explanatory variable in the analysis of the data relating to the blacks: Those who reported that they were dissatisfied with the work of the police tended to mention factors relating to the efficiency of the police as being the cause of the increase in crime. However, the CHAID analysis further indicated that the blacks who were satisfied with the police but who lived in urban areas tended to mention factors relating to the efficiency of the police as being the cause of the increase more often than those living in non-urban areas.

Area of residence, measured by metropolitan/non-metropolitan residence, significantly predicted the opinions of the whites and the Asians about the cause of the increase in crime: Those who lived in metropolitan areas tended to mention factors relating to the police **more often** than those who lived in non-metropolitan areas. However, the whites and the Asians who lived in metropolitan areas, but whose area of residence was at the same time classified as non-urban\*\*, reported factors relating to police efficiency as a cause of the increase more often than those living in urban areas.

There were no variables which significantly predicted the coloureds' opinions about the causes of the increase in crime.

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\* Refer to Appendix A for a description of the new variable which was created by grouping the responses into three categories.

\*\* Although this appears to be a contradiction in terms, persons residing in some non-urban areas can at the same time fall within the broad classification of 'metropolitan'. For example, a small number of Asians living in the 'rural' (non-urban) sector of Inanda (Inanda also has an urban sector) were included in the sample. Inanda is at the same time included in the broad metropolitan area of Durban.

## CONCLUSION

South Africans are clearly concerned about social problems in their community. All categories of the sample group rated unemployment as the most serious problem which their community is experiencing, followed by the housing shortage and crime.

It is important to note that some sectors of the population are experiencing numerous social problems and do not necessarily see crime as the most serious problem. The coloureds, for example, rated crime sixth. The problems which took precedence over crime among this group were unemployment, the housing shortage, debt and financial problems, poverty and alcoholism. On the other hand, it can be argued that these problems are present to the same extent, or even to a greater extent in the black community and yet the blacks rated crime third—ahead of, for example, poverty—which indicates the seriousness of the problem of crime in this community.

When confronted with a number of social problems, people tend to prioritize: The housing shortage, for example, will be more important than crime to persons with families. This is confirmed by the fact that those in the age category 25 to 44 years rated the housing shortage as more critical than crime. Similarly, the housing shortage will be more important than crime to persons in the lower socio-economic levels, a conclusion which was confirmed during this research.

With the exception of the coloureds, the majority of the respondents reported that they felt that crime had increased during the 12 months prior to the survey. Among the blacks and the whites, attitudes towards the police proved to be an important indicator of differences in perceptions of crime, as well as differences in reasons for the increase in crime. Satisfaction with the work of the police was associated with perceptions of little increase, or even a decrease in crime. Similar findings regarding the association between police/community relations and perceptions of crime were found during research conducted by the HSRC during 1986 and 1987 (Glanz, 1989). With regard to the coloureds and the Asians, residence in non-urban and non-metropolitan areas was associated with perceptions of either a decrease in crime or very little crime.

While the majority of the whites, the coloureds and the Asians considered the economic recession to be the main cause of the recent increase in crime, fewer of the blacks supported this view. The blacks who were dissatisfied with the work of the police tended to mention factors relating to the efficiency of the police as being the cause of the increase. Good police-community



## "Crime 'out of control and police can't cope'"

The police are likely to ask the government to appoint a commission to investigate criminal procedure and the penal system, which they say are not deterring serious crime.

At a briefing by Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and other generals in Pretoria yesterday, journalists were told crime was out of control and the police could not cope. About 8 500 detectives were handling about 145 000 serious cases a month.

Major-General Chris Serfontein said that among the biggest headaches for police were the early release of convicted prisoners and people who committed crime while on bail.

This caused great dissatisfac-

tion in communities badly affected by crime. Blacks especially could not understand this kind of justice and it led to their taking the law into their own hands and to so-called people's courts. Of 61 306 accused released on bail in a recent nine-month period, 10 353 had committed crime again before their trials.

Serious crimes in the first four months this year (1992) increased by more than six percent to 35 158 or 8 789 cases a month.

Referring to violence, General Van der Merwe said the police could not hope to stop it - only to contain it. It was up to politicians to remove the causes of violence.

(Taken from *The Argus*, 10 July 1992, p. 6.)

## "Tough new laws to quell violence"

Far-reaching legislation on private armies, weapons and intimidation due today heads the list of fresh initiatives here and abroad to quell the grim violence wracking South Africa.

As Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee prepared announcements on details of legislation to ban private armies, crack down on the possession of firearms and curb intimidation during the justice vote debate in parliament, an Organisation of African Unity summit meeting in

Arusha yesterday called for international intervention to end violence.

And in Johannesburg, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation has undertaken not to allow armed commuters entry to stations and trains, according to a joint statement by railways authorities, representatives of political and community groups and the Ministry of Law and Order last night.

(Taken from *The Argus*, 29 April 1992, p. 1.)

relations have been found to reduce the social impact of crime and lessen its negative effect on the quality of life of community members (Glanz, 1989).

Research findings relating to the impact of crime on the lives of members of the sample group are discussed in the following chapter.

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## THE IMPACT OF CRIME

### INTRODUCTION

Crime has an impact on all aspects of social life. Impact is generally measured in terms of the financial loss incurred as a result of crime, the physical harm caused to victims and the negative effect on the quality of life of the members of society. This research will focus on the latter.

Conklin (1975), in his work *The impact of crime*, is one of the first criminologists to state that a sense of personal security is a basic requirement for a satisfactory quality of life. Furthermore, Conklin is of the opinion—and many experts agree—that personal safety is affected more by crime and the threat of crime than by anything else.

The impact of crime is by far more negative than positive—very seldom does the threat of crime lead to positive action. Rather, people tend to withdraw, they become suspicious of strangers and even neighbours, they isolate themselves and turn their homes into fortresses. The phenomenal growth in the private security industry in recent years in South Africa is evidence of this trend.

Naturally, different sectors of society are affected by the threat of crime to a different extent. The impact of crime is related to the vulnerability of an individual or a group. The threat of crime will have a greater effect on the lives of women and the elderly, for example, than it will have on the lives of young males. The extent to which one is able to defend oneself and to recover from an attack will determine one's degree of vulnerability.

During the research discussed in this publication the impact of crime was measured, firstly by the extent of a respondent's fear of crime and the reaction to that fear, and secondly by reported changes in behaviour and life-style due to the threat of crime. The research results relating to these topics are given in the following sections.

## **FEAR OF CRIME**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Determining a community's level of fear and the consequences of that fear has been of interest to social scientists for a number of decades. This interest is not purely academic—fear is known to be associated with behaviour that is actually conducive to crime in what can be described as a vicious circle. Fear leads to avoidance behaviour, isolation and the erection of barriers. Natural surveillance and informal social control are then weakened, which facilitates crime. Offenders become more brazen in their deeds and the public's reluctance to become involved makes crime control extremely difficult.

In research on this subject, fear of crime is usually measured by determining the extent to which a respondent feels safe at night in his immediate neighbourhood and by measuring the perceived likelihood of becoming a victim of a serious crime in the near future. The findings of this study on these two issues are given below. Data relating to the impact of fear of crime on the respondents' quality of life are also given in the sections below.

### **FEELINGS OF SAFETY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT**

Just over 50 percent of the respondents reported feeling either fairly unsafe or very unsafe in their neighbourhood after 8:00 p.m. The percent distribution of responses to this survey question is given in Table 7 and presented graphically in Figure 1. The proportion who reported feeling unsafe differs quite considerably for the four population groups: The blacks are the most fearful (55 percent), followed by the whites (52 percent) and the Asians (47 percent), with the coloureds being the least fearful (37 percent). This concurs with the finding noted in the previous chapter that a relatively smaller proportion of the coloureds reported that they felt that crime had increased in their neighbourhood.

South Africans' fear of crime has changed somewhat in the past five years. HSRC research conducted during 1986 and 1987 indicated that a greater proportion of the blacks (66 percent) and the coloureds (51 percent) reported feeling unsafe in their neighbourhood at night, whereas a smaller proportion of the Asians (34 percent) and the whites (41 percent) reported similarly (Glanz, 1989). This means that the blacks and the coloureds have become

slightly less fearful, while the Asians and the whites have become more fearful than five years ago.

**TABLE 7: FEELINGS OF SAFETY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AT NIGHT  
PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Very safe	17,6	26,3	29,4	15,7	23,9
Fairly safe	35,7	18,5	33,6	32,2	25,2
Fairly unsafe	27,1	18,9	19,0	25,9	21,1
Very unsafe	19,6	36,3	18,1	26,2	29,8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

A multiple regression analysis was used to determine which sectors of the population experienced the greatest fear of crime and which crime-related variables (such as attitudes towards the police) were associated with high or low levels of fear. The results of this analysis are given in Table B.1 which is contained in Appendix B. A description of the construction of the variables used in the analysis is given in Appendix A.

The analysis proved to be quite successful in describing the variation in the respondents' level of fear: The percent variation in the responses explained by the variables included in the analysis is quite high for all four groups. If one examines the means it is evident, as noted above, that fear was highest among the blacks, followed by the whites, the Asians and then the coloureds. The following independent variables were significantly associated with the dependent variable 'level of fear':

Perceptions of an increase/decrease in crime predicted the level of fear amongst all the groups. The respondents who reported perceiving an increase in crime felt less safe in their community. The blacks and the coloureds who were of the opinion that there was no crime problem in their area as well as the Asians and the whites who noted a decrease in crime all felt more safe in their environment.

Attitude towards the work of the police was associated with fear in respect of the blacks and the coloureds: Those who were dissatisfied with the police tended to feel less safe in their neighbourhood. In addition, opinions about the

## FEAR OF CRIME AMONG THE ELDERLY

During HSRC research conducted among the elderly residents of the Cape Peninsula, the level of fear of crime was found to be very high. The majority of respondents with whom in-depth interviews were held mentioned that they felt unsafe in their neighbourhood at night. Most of them indicated that they did not go out at all at night unless they were fetched by a family member or friend. However, the effect of personality factors on an individual's reaction to the threat of crime should not be underestimated. This is illustrated by the case of Mrs G, a 75-year-old coloured widow who commented that she had "... never let fear put me off. I do not live in fear and I feel safe in my neighbourhood. I accept crime as part of life". This respondent reported that she travels to her daughter in Mitchell's Plain and comes home after dark.

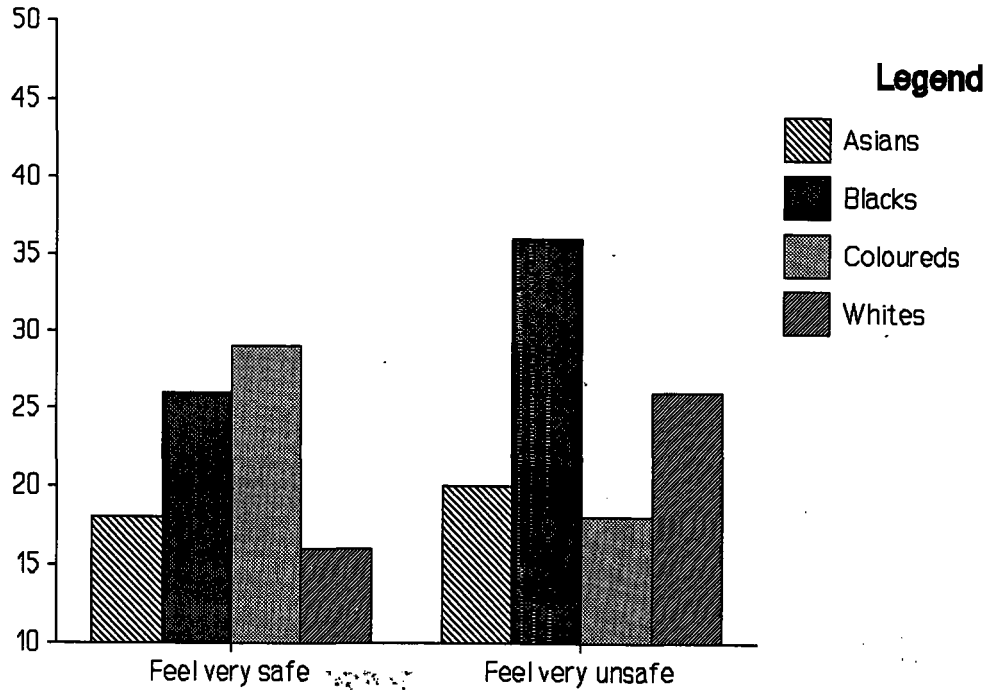
A number of the black elderly respondents mentioned that they felt reasonably safe in their own immediate neighbourhood but that they became very anxious and afraid as soon as they were forced to move out into another area. Mr O described his feelings as follows: "We hear of people killing each other, especially on week-ends. People are not happy and not safe." During focus group discussions it was mentioned that the aged cannot rely on, or expect other residents to come to their assistance. Respondent P, an elderly black victim of a robbery in which he sustained serious injuries, noted that he is not able to stay indoors all the time—there are times when he is forced to go out. He mentioned that when he was attacked and robbed it was not yet dark and there were many people in the street and yet no one came to his assistance.

The respondents were unanimous in their opinion that specific areas, not necessarily in their own neighbourhood, instilled considerable fear. Bus stops, bus terminuses, railway stations and subways were mentioned as being very dangerous areas in general, and for elderly people in particular. Youngsters ("skollies") are known to hang around these areas, especially on Fridays and on pension pay-out days. Mrs K, a white widow living in a high status area, mentioned that "... from the time the elderly leave the main post office [in the centre of Cape Town] until they reach the Golden Acre [a major shopping mall in the city centre] they are targets".

The impact of the threat of crime on the daily lives of the elderly was described by an elderly black respondent as follows: "It affects our daily life because we are not free anywhere—in our homes or on the streets. You always have to be with a group for the sake of safety. If other people are not available, you have to withdraw and not go anywhere."

(Taken from Glanz, 1991, *Crime and victimization of the elderly in the Cape Peninsula*.)

**FIGURE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF FEELINGS OF SAFETY IN NEIGHBOURHOOD:**  
Percent **VERY SAFE AND VERY UNSAFE, PER POPULATION GROUP**



degree of control which the government had over the violence in the country predicted the level of fear among the Asians, the blacks and the whites: Those who felt that the government had little control over the violence experienced greater fear of crime.

The blacks and the whites who had personally been a victim of crime, or who had a member of their household who had been victimized during the 12-month period prior to the survey, were more fearful than those who had not been victimized. The Asian and the white females were more fearful than the males in these groups, and the whites with a low educational level reported greater fear than other whites. The blacks who lived in metropolitan areas were more fearful than those who lived in non-metropolitan areas.

It is interesting to note that the whites who mentioned political or racial reasons as being the cause of the increase in crime reported **greater fear** than those who gave other reasons, while the blacks who scored in the 'left' or 'radical' range on the 'political' scale\* reported **less fear** than those who scored in the 'right' or 'middle of the road' ranges.

Data relating to the respondents' perceptions of the likelihood of victimization are discussed in the following section.

#### **PROBABILITY OF VICTIMIZATION WITHIN THE NEXT 12 MONTHS**

Fifty-two percent of the sample group were of the opinion that it was either probable or highly probable that they would be victimized within the next 12 months (see Table 8). This indicates that there is a general view among South Africans that it is quite likely that they will become a victim of crime in the near future. This attitude is most pronounced among the Asians—84 percent reported that they felt it was probable that they would be victimized. This concurs with the fact that 77 percent of the Asians indicated that they considered crime to have either increased or remained the same. It is also interesting to note that only 4 percent of this group indicated that they were unsure of their answer or did not know. On the other hand, only 39 percent of the coloureds felt that they would probably be victimized. Again, the coloureds' perception of an increase in crime was correspondingly lower.

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\* Refer to Appendix A for a detailed description of the construction of the 'political' scale. Briefly, the scale is an attempt to measure a respondent's position on the political spectrum.



**TABLE 8: OPINIONS ABOUT THE PROBABILITY OF VICTIMIZATION WITHIN THE FOLLOWING 12 MONTHS PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Very probable	33,2	19,4	13,2	20,7	20,1
Probable	50,8	26,2	25,5	43,7	31,9
Improbable	9,1	24,0	20,7	17,8	20,8
Very improbable	3,5	14,4	20,7	7,1	12,9
Do not know/ uncertain	3,5	16,0	20,0	10,7	14,4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

A further analysis of the data by means of multiple regression indicated that a number of variables were significantly associated with the respondents' views on the probability of victimization. The results of the analysis are given in Table B.2, Appendix B. The percent variation explained by the combination of the variables used in the analyses was again quite high, except among the blacks, for whom it was 10 percent. The means given in the table support the above discussion of the respondents' views on the probability of victimization, namely that, of the four groups, the Asians considered it the most likely that they would be victimized, followed by the whites, the blacks and the coloureds. The variables which significantly predicted opinions about the probability of victimization are the following:

Once again, the perception of an increase or decrease in crime was associated with views on the probability of victimization amongst all four groups. The Asians, the coloureds and the whites who reported an increase in crime tended to consider it more probable that they would be victimized. The Asians, the blacks and the whites who perceived a decrease in crime, as well as the whites who reported no crime problem in their area, were of the opinion that it was less probable that they would be victimized.

Victimization status, measured in terms of whether a respondent or a member of his/her household had been a victim, was found to be associated with the opinion about the likelihood of victimization. The blacks and the whites who had been victims in the past considered it more probable that they would be victimized again in the future. The coloureds and the whites who

## "Gangs force Hanover Park residents to live in terror"

*Terrified Hanover Park residents are being held hostage in their own homes by horrifying acts of gangsterism.*

*For six months muggings, armed robberies and murders have been the order of the day following nearly two years of peace after rival gangs promised to end violence.*

*But in December the vow made in March 1990 was broken with renewed outbreaks of crime.*

*"We are living in fear," said a woman resident.*

*"The Mongrels are the worst. They are cold-blooded killers. There have been four murders this year."*

*She said the gang, based in the Hanover Park flatland, had about 100 members in the suburb alone, with children as young as nine belonging to it.*

*Like other residents interviewed, she was afraid to reveal her identity.*

*"It's death for us - we must not be named," she said.*

*One matronly woman became irate when discussing the problem, blaming the police for not showing enough interest. Others nodded in agreement, recounting their experiences.*

*One, a 55-year-old mother of nine, has twice been forced to intervene when gangsters were on the brink of killing innocent young men.*

*The most recent incident was last week when she begged a Mongrel to put away the gun he was holding to her 19-year-old companion's head.*

*The young man - her daughter's boyfriend - was on his way to look for a job when he was accosted.*

*He tried to resist and the gangster pulled out a gun.*

*Although she wants an end to the reign of terror, the woman refused to let the young man lay a charge because she believed he would be killed.*

*One young woman was forced to give up her job after being repeatedly attacked by gangsters who allegedly killed her 18-year-old brother in May.*

*Another woman complained that in the 23 years she had lived in Hanover Park the situation had never been worse.*

*"It's not even safe to be in your own home. We hardly have money for food, but we have to get burglar bars."*

*(Taken from The Argus, 23 June 1992, p. 9.)*

were satisfied with the work of the police indicated that they felt that it was less likely that they would become victims.

The Asians who were of the opinion that South Africa's economy would improve in the near future held the view that it was less likely that they would be victimized, whereas those who felt that the economy would remain unchanged reported that it was more likely that they would be victimized. The Asians who lived in metropolitan areas were of the opinion that it was less probable that they would be victimized. This finding is inconsistent with existing research which indicates that perceptions of greater risk of crime are associated with residence in urban or metropolitan areas.

The blacks who scored to the 'right' or conservatively on the 'political' scale reported that they felt it more likely that they would be victimized, while those who scored in the 'middle of the road' on the scale thought it less likely that they would become victims. In addition, the blacks who gave political or racial reasons for the increase in crime reported that it was less likely that they would be victimized, whereas those who gave reasons for the increase which were associated with the efficiency of the police felt that it was more likely that they would become victims.

Marital status was a significant predictor of views on the probability of victimization among the whites: Those who were married or living together felt that it was more probable that they would be victimized. In addition, whites with a lower educational level felt that it was more probable that they would become victims, which concurs with the finding noted in the previous section that this subcategory of respondents had a higher level of fear.

An individual's level of fear of crime and his/her perceptions of the risk of victimization are known to have an effect on quality of life. The results of the research on this topic are given in the following section.

### **EFFECT OF FEAR OF CRIME ON QUALITY OF LIFE**

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which fear of crime affected their enjoyment of life. The distribution of responses to this question are given in Table 9. Only 12 percent of the sample indicated that they did not fear crime at all. A further 19 percent reported that fear of crime did not affect their enjoyment of life and 33 percent felt that it had an effect to some extent. Thirty-two percent of the sample indicated that fear of crime had a considerable effect on their enjoyment of life.

There were substantial differences between the population groups in this regard: 50 percent of the Asians and 45 percent of the whites, compared to 30 percent of the coloureds and 26 percent of the blacks, were of the opinion that crime had some effect on their enjoyment of life. This concurs with the fact that the Asians and the whites reported high levels of perceived likelihood of victimization.

A slightly different picture emerges if one considers the proportion of the different groups who reported that fear of crime affected their quality of life to a **great extent**. The greatest proportion choosing this response was among the blacks (41 percent), followed by the Asians (34 percent), the whites (20 percent) and the coloureds (14 percent). This agrees with the finding that the blacks were the most, and the coloureds the least fearful in their neighbourhood at night.

**TABLE 9: EXTENT TO WHICH FEAR OF CRIME AFFECTS ENJOYMENT OF LIFE PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
To a great extent	34,2	41,2	13,6	19,9	32,1
To some extent	49,8	25,7	29,7	45,3	32,5
To no extent	12,1	13,5	37,7	23,6	19,1
Do not know/ uncertain	1,0	5,8	9,7	0,5	4,9
Do not fear crime	3,0	13,8	9,4	10,7	11,5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

A CHAID analysis was used to analyze the data further in order to determine which variables are associated with the respondents' reported views about the effect of fear of crime on enjoyment of life.\* The results of the CHAID analysis are given in Diagram C.3 which is contained in Appendix C. The extent to which the respondents had limited or changed their behaviour and activities as a result of fear of crime was the most important predictor variable

\* The respondents who indicated "Do not know" or who were uncertain of their answer were excluded from the CHAID analysis of the data relating to this question.

in the analysis: Those who indicated that they had changed their behaviour tended to report that fear of crime had affected their quality of life. Conversely, those who indicated that they had not changed their behaviour tended to report that they either did not fear crime or crime had had little effect on their enjoyment of life.

Furthermore, of the respondents who indicated that they had changed their behaviour as a result of the threat of crime, those who felt that it was very probable that they would be victimized in future reported that crime had affected their enjoyment of life to a great extent. On the other hand, of the respondents who indicated that they had not changed their behaviour, those who noted that crime had decreased, remained the same and those who noted that there was no crime problem in their area, tended to indicate either that they did not fear crime or that crime had not affected their enjoyment of life.

Other explanatory variables which proved to significantly predict differences in the impact of fear are the following: (1) population group, type of occupation and area of residence among those who reported behaviour change due to fear; and (2) population group, perception of the probability of victimization, opinion about the causes of the increase in crime and type of occupation among those who reported little or no behaviour change as a result of fear of crime. The information relating to these variables is not given in Diagram C.3 due to lack of space.

## **REACTIONS TO CRIME**

### **INTRODUCTION**

A person's reaction to the threat of crime is generally aimed at reducing exposure to the risk of victimization. Curtailing normal activities and isolating oneself in order to reduce exposure to crime undoubtedly have a negative effect on one's quality of life. The impact of crime is said to be greatest for those individuals who have the most extreme reaction to the threat of crime. It is important, therefore, to determine which factors are associated with extreme reactions to crime in order to establish where the impact is greatest.

Existing research indicates that the following three factors are the most important in determining an individual's reaction to crime: (1) perceptions of crime-related phenomena in the environment (such as a high crime rate); (2) psychological factors (such as fear and anxiety); and (3) personal circumstances (such as age and gender). Variables measuring aspects relating

## THE COMMUNITY FIGHTS BACK!

### "Milkmen may join crime fight"

Durban is considering introducing an innovative neighbourhood crime prevention scheme involving 'people who regularly trudge the streets' - milkmen, postmen, street cleaners and newspaper vendors.

Management committee chairman Peter Mansfield said he recently watched a television programme on the role of milk delivery staff in a British city wide crime prevention programme.

'The staff had been briefed on what to watch out for and how to report crimes. This was apparently successful. The concept seems an excellent one which could be much expanded in this country ...'

'We could have hundreds if not thousands of extra eyes and ears especially in the early morning when most people are asleep or during the day when they are at work.'

'I do not intend that such people should become vigilantes or be asked to arrest or detain people. They would simply be asked to be on the look-out for crime and report it speedily,' he said.

(Taken from *Watchword*, February 1992, p. 3.)

### "Popular Annie leads fight against crime in Uitsig"

Uitsig, like many Cape Flats townships, is dirty, overcrowded and a mecca for criminals. But its people are fighting back.

Uitsig can be divided into two distinct parts, a middle-class section and a sub-economic section where people live under harsh conditions.

Annie Jacobs, who has lived in Uitsig for 17 years, says this is a recipe for disaster. Mrs Jacobs is a well-known, popular figure in the area ... Her popularity stems from her determination to rid the area of gangsters. She has single-handedly brought warring parties together and negotiated a truce among them.

'The problem is that there are no facilities in the area, so the youth turn to crime, drugs and alcohol', she said. Now she is working with the ANC branch in Uitsig to establish recreational facilities for youngsters to encourage them to turn from violence.

Last week the ANC handed a memorandum to the police asking for a mobile police station to be set up in Uitsig to help counter gangsterism.

(Taken from *The Argus*, 13 August 1992, p. 7.)

to all three factors were therefore included in the analysis of the data for this study.

Reactions to crime may comprise protection of the person, such as carrying some type of weapon or avoiding certain places or activities (known as 'avoidance behaviour'), or protection of property, such as installing protection devices and security systems. The measurement of the survey group's reactions to crime was limited to avoidance behaviour during the present research. The findings on this topic are given in the following sections.

### AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR OF THE RESPONDENT

The majority of the respondents indicated that they had changed their activities, habits or behaviour in the year prior to the survey because of fear of crime (see Table 10). The coloureds reported the least (34 percent) and the whites and the Asians the most (55 percent in each case) behaviour change.

A multiple regression analysis of the data was carried out in order to determine which variables are associated with the respondents' avoidance behaviour (see Table B.3 in Appendix B). The combination of variables included in the analysis produced a relatively high percent variation in each case. The following significant associations between the independent and dependent variables were obtained:

**TABLE 10: AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR OF THE RESPONDENT  
PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Behaviour change due to fear:					
Yes	55,3	52,8	34,0	54,7	50,5
No	44,7	47,2	66,0	45,3	49,5
<b>TOTAL</b>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The respondents from all the population groups who indicated that they felt unsafe in their neighbourhood at night reported greater avoidance behaviour due to fear of crime. In addition, the Asians, the blacks and the coloureds

who felt that there was a strong possibility that they would be victimized in the near future reported greater change in behaviour. In accordance with what one would expect to find, the analysis showed that perceptions of an increase in crime were associated with increased avoidance behaviour among the blacks, the coloureds and the whites. However, the blacks who perceived a decrease in crime **also** indicated that they had changed their behaviour due to fear of crime, whereas the blacks and the whites who reported that there was no crime problem in their neighbourhood reported less behaviour change due to fear.

The whites who were of the opinion that the government had little control over the level of violence in the country and those who felt that the cause of the increase in crime was related to the activities of the police reported greater avoidance behaviour. In addition, the whites with a lower educational level had changed their behaviour to a greater extent than those with a higher educational level.

It is interesting to note that the blacks who lived in metropolitan areas reported less change in behaviour due to fear of crime than those who lived in non-metropolitan areas. Finally, those coloureds who were classified as 'white-collar' workers indicated greater avoidance behaviour than the remainder of this group.

The research findings relating to the respondents' perceptions of behaviour change due to fear of crime on the part of other members of their community are given in the following section.

#### **AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR OF PEOPLE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD**

The percent distribution of the respondents' perceptions of the avoidance behaviour of community members is given in Table 11. Whereas nearly 50 percent of the respondents indicated that **they themselves** had not changed their behaviour due to fear of crime, only 34 percent felt that members of their community exhibited little behaviour change. However, quite a substantial proportion of the sample (20 percent) were uncertain about the effect of crime on the lives of members of their community.



**TABLE 11: AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR OF PEOPLE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Behaviour change of neighbours due to fear:					
Yes	57,3	44,2	28,4	60,7	46,3
No	29,2	37,3	39,7	24,1	34,3
Do not know	13,6	18,5	31,9	15,2	19,5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Quite considerable differences can be noted among the four population groups in this regard. Whereas 55 percent of the whites indicated personal behaviour change, a greater proportion (61 percent) felt that their neighbours had changed their behaviour. This finding supports the well-documented phenomenon that people—even those with a high level of fear of crime—tend to ‘distance’ themselves from crime in the sense that they usually feel that crime affects others in their neighbourhood more than it affects them (Skogan, 1981). The Asians also felt that crime affected their neighbours slightly more than it affected them, whereas both the blacks and the coloureds reported greater behaviour change themselves than for members of their community. A substantial proportion of the coloured group (32 percent) were uncertain about the effect of fear of crime on their neighbours’ behaviour.

A further analysis of the data relating to perceptions of the effect of fear of crime on the behaviour and activities of community members is given in Table B.4, which is contained in Appendix B.\* The relatively high percent variation for all four analyses indicates that the combination of variables used in the analyses was fairly successful in explaining the variation in the dependent variable. The independent variables which were significantly associated with the dependent variable are the following:

\* The respondents who indicated "Do not know" were excluded from the multiple regression analysis of the data relating to this question.

The respondents from all four groups who perceived an increase in crime in the community indicated that they felt that their neighbours had changed their behaviour due to fear of crime. On the other hand, the blacks and the coloureds who reported that there was no crime problem in their neighbourhood, and the whites who perceived a decrease in crime felt that their neighbours had not changed their behaviour due to crime. Again it can be noted that the blacks who reported a **decrease** in the amount of crime in their community also felt that their neighbours **had** changed their behaviour.

The Asians and the blacks who were of the opinion that the government had little or no control over the level of violence in the country reported greater avoidance behaviour on the part of their neighbours. In addition, the whites who held the view that life in the new South Africa would be worse than it is at present were of the opinion that their neighbours had changed their behaviour. Finally, the coloureds who lived in urban areas were of the opinion that members of their community had changed their behaviour to a greater extent than those living in non-urban areas.

## CONCLUSION

The impact of crime on the lives of South African citizens is quite considerable. A high level of fear, measured by feelings of unsafeness in a person's neighbourhood at night and perceived likelihood of victimization, was reported. More than 50 percent of the sample held the view that it is likely that they will become victims of crime in the near future. These perceptions are strongest among the Asians.

Fear of crime has a substantial effect on the quality of life of members of the public. Nearly one-third of the group reported that fear of crime affected their enjoyment of life to a **great** extent. One should note the different degree of the impact of fear of crime on the lives of the blacks as compared to that of the whites. Whereas the overall percentages for the combined category of those experiencing a negative effect "to some" and "to a great" extent are similar for the two groups, the percentages differ substantially if one considers only the proportion who indicated a negative effect "to a great extent". Twice the proportion of the blacks (41 percent) compared to that of the whites (20 percent) reported that fear of crime had a negative effect on the quality of their lives to a **great** extent. This is probably an indication of the whites' ability to reduce the impact of crime by using better means of transport and availing themselves of more personal and property protection.

Certain subgroups are more vulnerable to the impact of crime than others: Women, for example, reported greater fear of crime than men (Asians and whites); those who had been victimized recently indicated greater fear and considered it more likely that they would be victimized again (blacks and whites); and residents in metropolitan areas (blacks) and urban areas (coloureds) reported greater fear.

Variables which measure the perception of different aspects of South African society at present and in the future (such as factors in the economic and political spheres) were good indicators of the level of the impact of crime. However, the direction of the association between variables was, in some instances, different for the different groups. For example, the opinion that the increase in crime was due to political or racial reasons predicted high levels of fear (whites) and **decreased** vulnerability to victimization in the future (blacks). Other associations between variables of interest are the following: Perceptions of an improvement in the economy predicted opinions of a decreased likelihood of victimization (Asians), and the opinion that the government had little control over violence predicted high levels of fear of crime (Asians, blacks and whites) and increased avoidance behaviour (whites). In addition, the blacks who obtained a 'radical' score on the 'political' scale reported low levels of fear while those who obtained a 'conservative' score indicated greater vulnerability to victimization in the future.

Perceptions of the work of the police as well as perceptions of an increase/decrease in crime were consistently associated with the impact of crime. In general, negative attitudes towards the police and the perception of an increase in crime predicted heightened fear of crime, increased vulnerability to victimization and greater behaviour change.

The research findings relating to the respondents' reported victimization during a 12-month period are given in the following chapter.

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## THE EXTENT OF VICTIMIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The disadvantages of relying exclusively on official sources of information on crime (such as the number of crimes reported to the police) have been recognized for a number of decades. Official crime statistics are known to be an underrepresentation of the true extent of the problem of crime. Social scientists have attempted to address this shortcoming by asking members of the public directly about their victimization experiences. The most successful efforts to gather data on the 'true' extent of crime have been those which use the victimization survey.

Victimization surveys have been conducted in many countries in the Western world since the 1970s. Valuable information on, *inter alia*, the nature and extent of crime, the circumstances surrounding victimization incidents and the relationship between the victim and the offender, has been obtained during these surveys.

Victimization surveys are however very costly. The samples which are used have to be large enough to 'draw' a sufficient number of victims (particularly in the case of the more serious crimes which occur less frequently) so that meaningful analyses (such as the calculation of victimization rates) can be undertaken.

A limited number of victimization surveys have been undertaken in South Africa, mainly by the HSRC (Boshoff, 1979; Strijdom, 1982; Strijdom & Boshoff, 1980; Strijdom & Schurink, 1977). These have generally been restricted to specific communities or areas. No comprehensive, country-wide victimization survey has been conducted in South Africa to date.

It was not the primary aim of the research discussed in this report to establish the extent of victimization among South Africans. However, some information in this regard was obtained during the survey. The results relating to the victimization experiences of the respondents are given in the sections which follow.

## **THE VICTIMIZATION DATA \***

### **INTRODUCTION**

The respondents' victimization history covering the 12-month period prior to the survey was established during the investigation. The survey question was worded in such a manner that the victimization experiences of other family members living in the respondent's household were also included. Careful attention was paid to demarcating the period for the respondent so that the information collected would be as accurate as possible. The specific period included in the research was clearly identified (i.e. from January to December 1991).

Eight types of crimes were included in the survey: purse snatching; other theft of goods or money exceeding R50; theft of a motor vehicle or motorbike; robbery with violence; assault that caused pain and injury (i.e. aggravated assault); a violent attack on a train; molestation in public; and rape or attempted rape.

The findings of the research on the extent of property and violent crime are given in the following section.

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\* The victimization data obtained during this survey cannot be used to calculate victimization rates as such since the sample size was too small to allow for the identification of sufficient numbers of incidents in order to calculate statistically feasible rates. The data remain however a useful description of the general level of victimization among South Africans living in urban and non-urban areas, excluding farms.

**THE EXTENT OF PROPERTY\* AND VIOLENT\*\* CRIME**

The extent of the victimization of the sample is given in Table 12. A total of 489 respondents (25 percent) indicated that they, or a family member in their household, had been the victim of one of the crimes listed during 1991. This means that one in four households had a member who had been victimized during the 12-month period. It is important to note that although 489 respondents reported at least one incident, a total of 584 crimes were uncovered during the survey since some households reported more than one victimization. This constitutes 401 property crimes (20 percent) and 183 crimes of violence (9 percent). This means that one in five households had been the victim of a property crime and nearly one in ten had been the victim of a crime of violence during the 12-month period.

**TABLE 12: EXTENT OF VICTIMIZATION PER POPULATION GROUP**

Measure of victimization	Asians		Blacks		Coloureds		Whites		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Victim of any one of the crimes included	53	27	243	22	61	20	132	35	489	25
Victim of a property crime	49	25	188	17	42	14	122	32	401	20
Victim of a violent crime	9	5	117	11	27	9	30	8	183	9

\* The following are included in the classification 'property crime': purse snatching; other theft of goods or money exceeding R50; and theft of a motor vehicle or motorbike.

\*\* The following are included in the classification 'violent crime': robbery with violence; assault that caused pain and injury; a violent attack on a train; molestation in public; and rape or attempted rape.

## COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND CRIME RATES

Communities vary considerably in their demographic characteristics and their social structure. Differences in community crime rates are often attributed to these variations in social structure. However, a causal relationship does not necessarily exist between the two phenomena.

One hypothesis suggests that criminal behaviour results from both the weakening of social controls which inhibit misconduct and the generating of forces which inhibit conformity.

Families and peer groups are the primary sources of social control. Delinquent and criminal behaviour is said to occur when families cannot, or fail to, exercise sufficient control over behaviour. This failure of family-related social control is strengthened by peer support for misbehaviour.

Weak family control stems from two main sources. One is as a result of conflict between generations, particularly between the older generation which may have come from, for example, a rural area and settled in the city and the younger generation who were born in the city. The youth in such situations invariably come into conflict with parents on issues relating to cultural norms and values. The other source of weak family control arises from broken family structures. This is believed to be particularly relevant to male youths who need the discipline of a male adult role model. It is an established fact that high-delinquency communities have a disproportionate number of female-headed households.

With either of the sources of weak family control, the presence of a strong peer culture and support system undermines family controls even further and supports antisocial behaviour.

Community structure, in the manner described above, is thus associated with variations in crime rates—precisely to what extent, is not clear. What is clear is that the crime rate of a neighbourhood affects the chances of a young male becoming involved in delinquency, independently of his own family's status.

The neighbourhood effect on crime therefore operates in a number of related ways, particularly in low status communities. A community's structure and organization attracts individuals from high-risk groups as well as those already involved in crime. This means that a 'pool' of offenders and potential offenders is present. Since offenders generally select their targets relatively close to home, the density of offenders in a community affects the crime rate of the community. The concentration of both victims and offenders in specific areas is consequently associated with high crime rates.

(Taken from Reiss, *Why are communities important in understanding crime?* (1986:16-17).)

Considerable differences between the population groups can be noted. Whereas the whites were victimized overall to the greatest extent, 80 percent\* of the victimizations were for property crimes. The same trend is evident for the Asians: 27 percent of this group were victims, but 85 percent of the incidents related to property crime. A different picture emerges when one examines the data relating to the blacks and the coloureds. Whereas 22 percent of the blacks were victimized, only 62 percent of these (compared to the above percentages in the 1980s) were in respect of property crime. Similarly, while 20 percent of the coloureds reported a victimization, only 61 percent of these incidents were property crimes. This means that the blacks and the coloureds were victims of violence to a considerably greater extent than the whites and the Asians (the proportion of property crimes as compared to violent crimes is presented graphically in Figure 2). This was also found during a number of other studies conducted by the HSRC (Glanz, 1988; 1991; 1992a). During research undertaken in 1985 and 1986 it was found, for example, that 33 percent of the blacks\*\*, 18 percent of the coloureds, 10 percent of the Asians and 4 percent of the whites reported being the victim of a crime of violence.

Research results relating to the extent of the specific types of crime which were included in the study are given in the section which follows.

#### **THE EXTENT OF THE SPECIFIC TYPES OF CRIME**

The type of crime reported most often was theft of goods or money exceeding R50 (see Table 13). Fourteen percent of the sample reported incidents of this

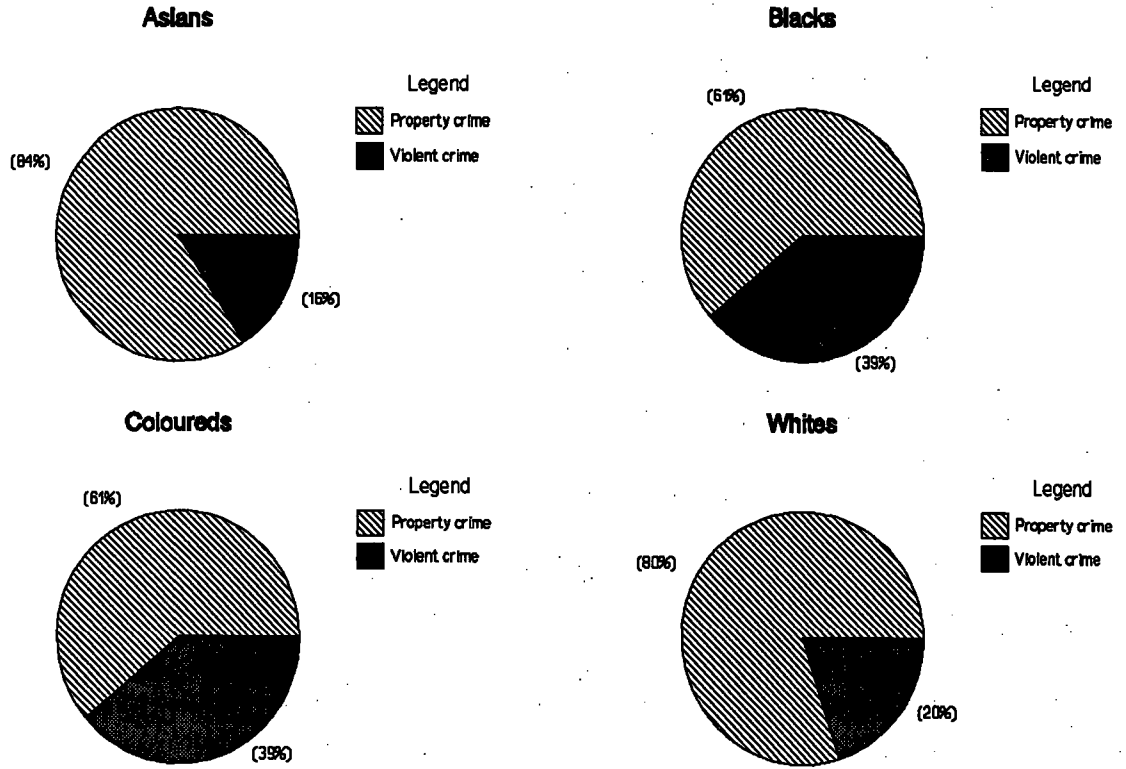
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\* This percentage is not given in the table. It reflects the proportion of property crimes as compared to that of violent crimes.

\*\* The sample used for the survey which was conducted among the blacks in 1986 was drawn from the PWV area only. It is therefore not strictly comparable to the samples used for the other groups during that period or to the sample used for the present study. These comments notwithstanding, it is still useful to compare the findings of the various studies, but such comparisons should be approached with caution.



**FIGURE 2: PROPORTION OF PROPERTY CRIMES AS COMPARED TO VIOLENT CRIMES, PER POPULATION GROUP**



nature and these accounted for 46 percent\* (N = 269) of all the victimizations. Purse snatching was reported the second most often and accounted for 27 percent (N = 158) of all the incidents. Naturally, the more serious crimes, such as robbery, aggravated assault and rape, occurred less frequently. Aggravated assault was the violent crime reported most often, with 6 percent (N = 119) of the sample reporting an incident of this nature. Ninety-two cases of motor vehicle or motorbike theft, 57 robberies, 20 attacks on a train, 27 incidents of public molestation, and 27 rapes or attempted rapes were uncovered during the survey.

**TABLE 13: EXTENT OF VICTIMIZATION THROUGH SPECIFIC CRIMES PER POPULATION GROUP**

Type of crime	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Purse snatching	12,1	8,7	2,3	8,5	8,0
Other theft of goods or money exceeding R50	10,6	11,5	9,4	24,5	13,5
Theft of a motor vehicle or motorbike	8,1	3,7	3,9	6,1	4,6
Robbery with violence	3,0	3,3	0,7	3,5	2,9
Assault that caused pain and injury	2,5	7,3	6,2	4,0	6,0
A violent attack on a train	-	1,6	0,7	0,3	1,0
Molestation in public	-	0,7	3,6	2,1	1,4
Rape or attempted rape	-	2,1	0,3	0,8	1,4

Once again, substantial differences between the groups can be noted. As mentioned above, the whites and the Asians were victims of property crime to a greater extent than the other groups, with, for example, theft of goods or money exceeding R50 accounting for 61 percent of all the victimizations reported by the whites. The incidence of aggravated assault, violent attacks on a train, and rape and attempted rape were highest among the blacks, while

\* This percentage is not shown in the table but is a proportion of the victims of theft as compared to the total number of victimization incidents.

## YOUNG PEOPLE SPEAK OUT AGAINST VIOLENCE

During a study conducted by the HSRC on the problem of juvenile delinquency in South Africa, young people shared their thoughts and feelings with the researchers on the violence which they saw around them.

*Will this violence ever come to an end? I always ask myself how long are we going to be scared to walk the roads late at night or to go to town with a lot of money. If only these two parties could become one and stop being ahead of one another. I for one am very concerned about this misconduct but there is nothing I can do but to just sit back and wait for the government to take action. If only this violence could come to an end then maybe South Africa would be a better place to live in.*

*I don't blame the policemen for handling this misconduct very poorly because I think that they are also afraid of getting burnt, stoned or even stabbed to death by these violent groups. I hope one day they come to their senses and realize what they have done and how many people they have killed.*

*I sometimes sit and wonder if these people ever stop and ask themselves these questions: 'Is it really me that killed another person?' or 'Did I really do this?'. But of course they don't stop to think of anything, just as long as they get what they want. I just hope one day that they really come to their senses.*

Indian male, 13 years of age

*I solidly stand with people who have courageous minds like mine, from which I learned the bittersweet part of life. My mind is once again preoccupied with my feelings and anger, with what my fellow black brothers are doing to their own property, how they are fighting one another and killing each other.*

*Truly speaking, I feel so bad when I see somebody like a youth committing crime. May the reality of these great crimes become known. To know the youth, to know their objectives and their aims, to know why they are fighting, against whom they are fighting would benefit them.*

*People with hard hearts like them. They are inspired by bad leaders. While they are busy saying 'crime first and education after', who do they think will have supreme power to rule the land. They as criminals will suffer the consequences. My friends, crimes has no good or better reward, the fruit thereof is death.*

Black female, 18 years of age

the incidence of public molestation was highest among the coloureds. Whereas approximately 3 percent of the Asians, the blacks and the whites reported being the victim of a robbery, less than 1 percent of the coloureds reported likewise. None of the following three crimes of violence were reported by the Asians: a violent attack on a train; molestation in public, and rape or attempted rape.

Data on the profiles of the victims who were identified during the research are given below.

### **VICTIM PROFILES**

A description of the 'profiles' of victims, in terms of population group and household income, is given in Table 14. In view of the fact that the respondents were reporting on the victimizations experienced by all their household members, it is irrelevant to examine the gender, age, educational level etc. of the actual respondent since the incidents do not necessarily apply to them. If one compares the expected percentages (i.e. those one would expect to find according to the distribution of any particular demographic characteristic in the sample) to the actual or the observed percentage, some interesting trends can be identified. The more noticeable differences in the expected and observed percentages are the following: The blacks were overrepresented among the victims of crimes of violence (as already noted in the previous section) and the whites were overrepresented among the victims of property crime. Coloureds were underrepresented as victims of property crime and Asians were underrepresented as victims of violent crime. Victims in the lowest income category were underrepresented and those in the higher income categories were overrepresented among the victims of property crime.

Although not shown in the table, specific types of crime are experienced considerably less often by persons in particular income category groups than others. For example, although respondents in the lower income group were victims of property crime less often than other respondents, they were the victims of purse snatching (which was classified as a property crime) to the same extent as other respondents. In addition, although respondents in the higher income groups were victims of crimes of violence less often than other respondents, they were the victims of molestation in public to a greater extent than those from the low income group. There were no victims of an attack on a train from the high income category while 80 percent of all attacks on trains were reported by respondents in the low income group. This is obviously a

function of the fact that persons of low income are forced by circumstance to use trains as their means of transport.

**TABLE 14: VICTIM PROFILES**

Victim profiles	Expected percentages (according to the distribution of the sample)	Victims of property crime	Victims of crimes of violence
		Actual percentages	
<b>Population group</b>			
Asians	10,0	11,8	4,4
Blacks	55,3	50,5	65,6
Coloureds	15,5	9,3	14,0
Whites	19,1	28,5	16,0
<b>Household monthly income</b>			
Less than R1 200	66,9	54,9	71,7
R1 200 — R3 999	20,4	24,7	18,0
R4 000 and higher	12,7	20,4	10,3

The results of the more detailed analysis of the data are given in the following section.

**FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE VICTIMIZATION DATA**

The above discussion of profiles of victims can be confirmed or negated by examining the multiple regression analyses which were carried out. As with the presentation of Table 14, three separate analyses were undertaken, using as the dependent variable in each case (1) victims of any one of the crimes included in the study; (2) victims of a property crime; and (3) victims of a crime of violence. The outcome of these analyses is given in Tables B.5, B.6 and B.7, which are contained in Appendix B.

The analyses were not very successful in terms of the percent variation explained by the combination of independent variables included, except in the case of the blacks. This means that whether or not a person becomes the victim of a crime relates to factors other than demographic variables.

Examples of these factors are the following: pure chance (being in a certain place at a certain time); the actual amount of crime in an area; and one's exposure to the risk of crime in terms of, for example, type of transportation and life-style. It was not possible to measure these types of variables during the present survey.

The above notwithstanding, a number of the variables which were included in the analyses significantly predicted whether or not a respondent or a member of his/her household would be victimized. These are as follows (the discussion relates firstly to victims of any one of the crimes included, secondly to victims of property crime, and thirdly to victims of violent crime):

Coloured males reported more victimizations than coloured females. Although one cannot be certain that coloured males were in fact victimized to a greater extent than females, this appears to be the case. Researchers often refer to the difference between the sexes in terms of roles, life-style and subsequent exposure to the risk of crime. In addition, the coloureds living in metropolitan areas reported more victimizations than those in non-metropolitan areas. This concurs with the well-documented finding that crime rates tend to be higher in cities than towns, although no association between area of residence and victimization status was found for the other groups.

The whites in the younger age categories reported more victimizations than those in the older age categories. If younger whites were in fact victimized to a greater extent than older whites, this again probably relates to life-style and exposure. It is interesting to note that although one could easily gain the impression from reports in the media that the elderly are victimized to a greater extent, this would appear not to be the case.

The blacks and the coloureds with a higher educational level reported more victimizations than those with a lower educational level. One could speculate that this is due to the fact that persons with a high educational level—educational level being an indicator of socio-economic status—are more attractive targets (in terms of property crime in particular) than others.

Finally, the blacks, the coloureds and the whites who indicated that they had changed their behaviour due to fear of crime reported more victimizations than those who had not changed their behaviour. If those who had changed their behaviour were in fact victimized to a greater extent than those who had not, the victimization experience probably brought about behaviour change in order to reduce exposure to crime in the future, although the nature of the multiple regression analysis does not make it possible to determine whether the behaviour change due to fear occurred before or after the victimization.

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With regard to victims of property crime, the whites in the younger age categories again reported more victimizations than those in the older age categories; the coloureds with a higher educational level reported more property victimizations than those in the lower educational levels; and the coloureds who were classified as blue-collar workers also reported more property victimizations than those from other occupational groups. Both the coloureds and the blacks who were living in metropolitan areas were victims of property crime to a greater extent than those in other areas. Once again the blacks, the coloureds and the whites who reported behaviour change as a result of fear of crime reported more property victimizations than those who did not indicate behaviour change.

Gender is a significant predictor of being the victim of a violent crime in the case of the coloureds: Males reported more violence-related victimizations than females. None of the other variables which were significant in the analyses of the data relating to property crime victimization were significant in the analyses relating to violent crime victimization, except in the case of behaviour change due to fear: Again the coloureds, the blacks and the whites who indicated that they had changed their behaviour, reported more violence-related victimizations than those who did not indicate behaviour change.

## **CONCLUSION**

Twenty-five percent of the sample reported that they, or a member of their household, had been criminally victimized during the 12-month period. If one takes the average size of a household for all population groups to be a 'generous' six, this converts to a rate of 4 167 per 100 000. The considerable amount of underreporting of crime to the police is evident if one considers that Glanz (1992b) established that the official crime rate (i.e. the rate which is based on the number of crimes reported to the police) for the same crimes as those included in the present study was 2 999 for 1991.

The extent of the problem of underreporting is confirmed by HSRC victimization surveys which have established that members of the public report between 18 percent and 65 percent of crimes to the police, depending on the type of crime involved (Strijdom, 1990).

Similar problems with underreporting are experienced in other countries. Davidson (1981) shows that American National Crime Surveys have found that the rate for serious crime reported by the population was slightly more than double the official rate.



The incidence of one in ten households being victimized by a **violent** crime, which was established during this survey, is cause for concern. This converts to a rate per 100 000 (using the same assumption of a household size of six persons) of 1 667. Police statistics for the same crimes produce a rate of 688 (Glanz, 1992b). It is evident that the problem of violent crime in South Africa is more serious than the official figures indicate.

This research confirmed a number of existing research findings relating to the association between social roles and life-styles and exposure to victimization. Males, younger persons and those living in urban areas were shown to be at greater risk.

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## **ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLICE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The police rely on the co-operation of the general public in their effort to control crime. Most of the information about crime that is received by the police in the form of reports and that is needed to make arrests and obtain convictions, comes from the public.

For historic reasons, the relationship between the public and the police is relatively poor in certain communities in South Africa. Over the past four decades, the police have been required to implement oppressive apartheid legislation, which led to mistrust and even hostility. The situation was compounded by allegations of police abuse of power and the absence of a suitable grievance procedure for investigating such allegations.

Research has consistently shown that the perceptions regarding the police in the black communities in particular are generally negative. This in turn leads to a low rate of reporting of crime (Strijdom & Schurink, 1977; Glanz, 1989; Strijdom, 1990; Glanz, 1991). The South African Police have recently taken a number of steps to improve police-community relations and it is therefore important to monitor the public's perceptions of the police on an ongoing basis.

The results of the survey on the public's attitude towards the police are given in the following sections.

### **PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORK OF THE POLICE**

The respondents' attitudes towards the quality of the work being carried out by the police are given in Table 15 and presented graphically in Figure 3. South Africans appear, on average, to be fairly satisfied with the police: Whereas 37 percent of the sample reported that they were either fairly or very dissatisfied with the police, nearly 50 percent indicated that they were either

## POLICE AND POLICING IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

During a three-day conference which was held at the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria during August 1993, the role of the police and policing practices in the new South Africa came under the spotlight. The police, as the "front-line" agents of law and order, play a crucial role in the management of crime. Prof. G.T. du Preez of the University of South Africa noted that the work of the police has never been easy, and this is even more so during times of rapid socio-political change. During periods of uncertainty the concept of law and order is constantly being questioned. However, if the new South Africa is to survive it must be able to provide its citizens with a certain degree of law and order. The police will continue to play an important role in the new dispensation but the traditional paramilitary structure and the reactive nature of police functioning will have to change.

The weakness of police-community relations in many parts of the country is today perhaps the greatest obstacle to effective policing. Mr E.D. Marais of the University of the Witwatersrand pointed out that the problems being experienced with police-community relations are primarily the result of the legacy of apartheid. A tradition of service needs to be reintroduced in a police force for the new South Africa. The police can no longer neglect the social problems that are so prevalent in our society. At the same time, the law recognizes the fact that the use of physical force is a real and essential part of police work. However, the police are bound by statute to the principle of minimum force. The question is: Who will guard us against these guardians in a new South Africa? Police accountability is essential and the police should not be solely responsible for policing themselves. Society has vested authority and power in the police and society must have the right to ensure that such power is not abused.

Dr C. Shearing of the University of the Western Cape felt that what is needed in South Africa are police reform initiatives which emphasize self-policing as the front line of peace keeping and which ensure that the state police play a limited albeit vital role in a problem-solving network. In this model, policing would be located within a wide variety of private and public institutions. "Community policing" should mean policing that is performed and controlled by communities. At the heart of this type of reform is a radical decentralization of policing, which has already come about through the rapid growth and development of private policing in South Africa. Up until now the advantages of private policing have been largely limited to corporate settings and to upper-class and middle-class communities. The substantive inequalities that have accorded certain communities considerable autonomy over their own policing must be made available to those who have been excluded from these advantages.

fairly or very satisfied. Considerable differences between the groups can however be noted. More than 30 percent of the Asians and the blacks reported being very dissatisfied with the police, while 15 percent of the coloureds and 6 percent of the whites felt the same.

There have been changes in the public's perceptions of the police over the past five years (Glanz, 1989). If one compares the HSRC findings of 1986 and 1987 with those of the present study it is evident that the attitudes of the whites and the coloureds have improved during the intervening period while the attitudes of the Asians and the blacks have deteriorated. The most marked deterioration has been among the blacks. A comparison of the findings of the present study with those of the previous surveys is given in Table 16.

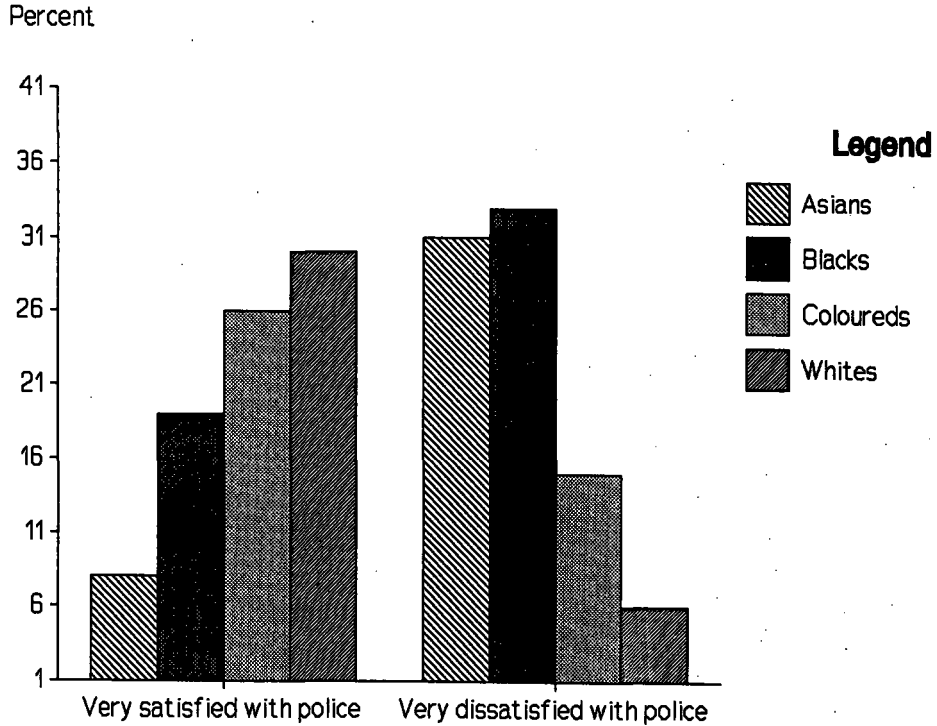
**TABLE 15: PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORK OF THE POLICE PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
Very satisfied	8,0	19,4	26,2	29,7	21,3
Fairly satisfied	25,1	20,0	32,0	40,0	26,2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	8,5	11,2	10,4	11,8	10,9
Fairly dissatisfied	25,6	10,1	12,0	9,0	11,7
Very dissatisfied	31,2	32,9	14,9	6,3	24,8
Do not know	1,5	6,4	4,5	3,2	5,0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**TABLE 16: FIVE-YEAR COMPARISON OF PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORK OF THE POLICE**

Year in which survey was conducted	Respondents who reported being either fairly or very satisfied with the work of the police			
	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Percent			
1986/87	36	55	47	63
1992	33	39	58	70

**FIGURE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE:  
VERY SATISFIED AND VERY DISSATISFIED, PER POPULATION GROUP**



A further analysis of the data was carried out in order to investigate the association between certain predictor variables and perceptions of the police. The results of the analysis are given in Table B.8 in Appendix B. The means which are given in the table confirm that the Asians have the most negative views of the police, followed by the blacks, the coloureds and the whites. The combination of the independent variables used in the multiple regression analysis of the data contained in Table 15 was fairly successful in predicting the respondents' perceptions of the police (see the percentage variation explained in each case). A number of the independent variables were significantly associated with perceptions of the police. These are as follows:

The respondents from all four groups who were of the opinion that the government had little or no control over violence tended to have negative perceptions of the police. Also in the case of all four groups, those who reported that fear of crime affected their enjoyment of life to a great extent had negative perceptions of the police. However, the coloureds and the whites who indicated that they experienced no fear of crime had more positive views of the police.

The Asians who were in the older age categories and those who were classified as blue-collar workers had a more negative attitude towards the police than the remainder of this group. The association between area of residence and perception which was noted in Chapter 2 in respect of opinions about the cause of the increase in crime, is also evident in this analysis. The Asians who lived in **metropolitan areas** tended to have **negative** perceptions of the police. At the same time, those who lived in **urban areas** tended to have more **positive** attitudes towards the police. Although this may seem to be a contradiction, as noted previously, there are certain areas which are classified as non-urban or 'rural' and which at the same time fall within the broad classification 'metropolitan'. The non-urban part of Inanda was given as an example. This means that the residents of the non-urban part of Inanda, for example, have different perceptions of the police than the residents of the urban part of Inanda.

From Table B.8 it can also be noted that the coloureds living in urban areas and the blacks living in metropolitan areas tended to have negative views of the police. The blacks who reported that crime had increased in their area had more negative perceptions while those who indicated that there was no crime problem in their area had more positive perceptions of the police.

Finally, the blacks who mentioned reasons for the increase in crime which can be classified as 'political' or 'racial' tended to have more positive

## "Police plan 'open days' in bid to improve relations with public"

South Africa's police stations and cells are to be made open to the public in a bold move by the police to change their image and to improve their operations.

The new buzz word in the police is community policing. Basically, it means the police want to move from a military style force - noted mostly for enforcing apartheid - to being accessible to all.

Some of the best brains in the police are working on making community policing a success, and the programme falls under the youngest lieutenant-general in the force, Andre Preiss, 39.

Within six months, community forums should be set up at a few pilot police stations, bringing the police together with the community in a way South Africa has never seen before.

In the words of Minister of Law and Order Mr. Hernus Kriel, community figures "will tell the police we don't like this, we don't like that. What are you doing? We think you should do this. We think you should do that".

The forums would give the police an opportunity to tell the community: "Your behaviour is not acceptable, change this."

Drawing from the results of the pilot schemes, community forums would then be established at every police station.

The police generals are convinced they need to move closer to the people, particularly black South Africans - although none are making this point specifically.

Members of the community will also be asked to help the police cut out deaths of people in police custody.

Last year (1992) the police arrested 1 815 380 people, of whom 114 died in cells and 96 died before they were put in the cells. Police prosecuted 17 policemen in connection with these deaths.

There is an investigation into doing something similar to a system used in England. This entails having members of the public visit people held in police cells.

They would be instructed by the police on the provisions relating to people held by the police, and would submit reports to the commissioner or the minister if they found anything amiss in the handling of people arrested.

(Taken from *The Argus*, 25 January 1993, p. 4.)

perceptions, while those who gave reasons which relate to the efficiency of the police tended to have more negative perceptions of the police.

The respondents were questioned about their views on the effectiveness of various strategies which could be adopted by the police to reduce crime. The distribution of responses to this question is discussed in the following section.

## **OPINIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS STRATEGIES AIMED AT CRIME REDUCTION**

A list of strategies which the police could adopt to reduce crime was read to the respondents and they were requested to indicate which strategy they felt would be the most effective. The distribution of the responses of the sample is given in Table 17. The most support was given to the suggestion that the police should react more quickly to residents' requests for help (30 percent). However, nearly as much support (27 percent) was given to the idea of introducing a 'Bobby on the beat' system. Seventeen percent of the sample supported having more police stations in the community and 16 percent thought that appointing more police reservists from the community would be the most effective.

The one option which read "The police should change their behaviour or be taken out of the area" was given to the black respondents only. In order to make comparisons between the groups possible, the responses to this option were excluded from the results given in Table 17. The responses of the blacks to all the options are given in Table 18. Reacting more quickly to residents' requests for help and introducing the 'Bobby on the beat' system were still mentioned the most often and the second most often respectively. However, the proportion of the blacks supporting these two options is smaller. More support was accorded to the other options, and the option which was given to the blacks only was mentioned by nearly 10 percent of the group as the strategy which they considered would be the most effective.



**TABLE 17: RANKING OF OPINIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS STRATEGIES\***

Type of strategy	Frequency	Percent
Reacting more quickly to residents' requests for help	553	30,1
Introducing the 'Bobby on the beat' system	500	27,2
Having more police stations in the community	317	17,2
Appointing more police reservists from the respondent's community	293	15,9
Fencing respondent's neighbourhood and controlling access	96	5,2
Co-operating with liberation movements and employing people from these movements	80	4,4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 839</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**TABLE 18: RANKING OF OPINIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS STRATEGIES—THE BLACKS ONLY**

Type of strategy	Frequency	Percent
Reacting more quickly to residents' requests for help	259	23,8
Introducing the 'Bobby on the beat' system	229	21,0
Having more police stations in the community	208	19,1
Appointing more police reservists from the respondent's community	176	16,2
The police should change their behaviour or be taken out of the area	103	9,5
Co-operating with liberation movements and employing people from these movements	68	6,2
Fencing respondent's neighbourhood and controlling access	47	4,3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 090</b>	<b>100,0</b>

\* The last strategy in the list which formed part of the question was given to the black respondents only. This strategy was therefore excluded from this table so that the responses of the blacks could be included with those of the other groups. The percentages were adjusted accordingly. The distribution of the findings for the blacks relating to this question is given in Table 18 so that the response to this additional strategy can also be reflected.

The distribution of the respondents' opinions about the effectiveness of various strategies, according to certain demographic characteristics, is given in Table 19. All the subcategories of the respondents rated a quicker response

**TABLE 19: OPINIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS STRATEGIES GIVEN ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

Demographic variables	Strategy rated most effective (percent support)	Strategy rated second most effective (percent support)
<b>Population group</b>		
Asians	'Bobby on the beat' (42)	Quicker response (31)
Blacks	Quicker response (26)	'Bobby on the beat' (23)
Coloureds	Quicker response (47)	'Bobby on the beat' (20)
Whites	'Bobby on the beat' (35)	Quicker response (27)
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	Quicker response (29)	'Bobby on the beat' (28)
Female	Quicker response (31)	'Bobby on the beat' (27)
<b>Age</b>		
18 - 24 years	Quicker response (33)	'Bobby on the beat' (23)
25 - 34 years	Quicker response (33)	'Bobby on the beat' (27)
35 - 44 years	'Bobby on the beat' (27)	Quicker response (27)
45 - 54 years	Quicker response (31)	'Bobby on the beat' (29)
55 years and older	'Bobby on the beat' (32)	Quicker response (26)
<b>Marital status</b>		
Married/living together	Quicker response (30)	'Bobby on the beat' (30)
Not married	Quicker response (30)	'Bobby on the beat' (24)
<b>Educational level</b>		
Std 5 and lower	Quicker response (29)	'Bobby on the beat' (23)
Std 6 - 9	Quicker response (29)	'Bobby on the beat' (29)
Std 10 and higher	Quicker response (32)	'Bobby on the beat' (29)
<b>Household monthly income</b>		
Less than R1 200	Quicker response (28)	'Bobby on the beat' (25)
R1 200 - R3 999	Quicker response (37)	'Bobby on the beat' (26)
R4 000 and higher	'Bobby on the beat' (34)	Quicker response (28)

## "A policeman who cares tells his side of the story"

SIR

Allow me to tell to you a secret.

Unlike you suggested in your editorial of March 23 (1993), entitled "Here's something FW can do about violence", I am not Mr De Klerk's policeman.

Neither am I Mr Mandela's policeman, nor Dr Buthelexi's for that matter.

I am your policeman - in fact, I am working my butt off trying to be your policeman - to be there when you call, to patrol your streets, to look after your children, to comfort you when you are hurt and to step in whenever you need help.

I am also trying my best to put the practices of the past behind me and to become a 'new' policeman for a 'new' future - a policeman you can be proud of.

This is not always easy, you know. But at least I am trying (... and that is more than you can say of some maniacs running around brandishing AK-47s).

Yes, I do sometimes make a mess. I do sometimes slip up and neglect my duty. If I do, I want you to complain - really hard.

But I also want you to support me and give me a chance to prove myself. I want you to realise that I cannot work miracles, that I am a mere mortal just like you, with the same fears,

aspirations and uncertainties.

I want you to realise that I too go mad with rage when my colleagues are gunned down in cold blood, just like you will do when this happens to someone you hold dear.

Above all, I want you to realise that I am also human - that I also feel confused, angry and powerless when it seems as if the country I love is being turned into a Lebanon of murder, manslaughter and mayhem.

In fact, just like you, I am extremely concerned about the future of our country and all its people and, just like you, I would like to make this country better for all its citizens.

I hope that, if you read this with the same sincerity with which it was written, you will see that I need your help in becoming the policeman you want me to be.

So perhaps next time we meet, we can take hands and start building a future together because, let's face it, you need me as much as I need you and both of us need a safe, prosperous and certain future.

YOUR POLICEMAN,  
Pretoria.

(Taken from *The Pretoria News*, 31 March 1993, p. 16.)

to requests for help and introducing the 'Bobby on the beat' system either as the most effective or the second most effective strategy. However, not all the subcategories of the respondents rated a quicker response to crime as the **most effective strategy**. Forty-two percent of the Asians and 35 percent of the whites felt that the 'Bobby on the beat' system would be the most effective, whereas 47 percent of the coloureds and 26 percent of the blacks indicated that a quicker response to requests for help would be the most effective. It is highly probable that because the police operating in the black townships and the coloured residential areas take a long time to respond to call-outs (possibly due to the greater number of calls), this strategy was considered the most effective.

Although the respondents who were in the age categories 35 to 44 years and 55 years and older mentioned the 'Bobby on the beat' as being the most effective strategy, there is a negligible difference between the percentage supporting this option and that supporting the other.

There was little difference between the sexes, between individuals of different marital status and between the various educational level categories in terms of choice of the most effective strategy. However, respondents in the high income category were of the opinion that the 'Bobby on the beat' system would be the most effective strategy against crime, whereas those in the two lower income categories mentioned that the police's quicker response to requests for help would be most effective. A substantial proportion (37 percent) of the respondents in the middle income group supported the latter strategy.

## CONCLUSION

The survey results indicated that the Asians and the blacks had the most negative attitude towards the quality of the service being rendered by the police. A comparison of the findings of this survey with those of five years ago revealed that the perceptions of members of these two groups had deteriorated during this period.

The perception that the government had little control over the level of violence being experienced in South Africa at that stage was found to be associated with negative perceptions of the police. Furthermore, those who indicated that their fear of crime affected their enjoyment of life had more negative attitudes towards the police.

## **Chapter 5/ Attitudes towards the police**

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Two strategies for controlling crime received nearly 60 percent of the respondents' support, namely that the police should react more quickly to requests for help and that the 'Bobby on the beat' system should be instituted.

## **VIEWS ON COMMUNITY SERVICE AS A SENTENCING OPTION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Legislation which made provision for the treatment of offenders in the community was introduced during 1991. This legislation was formulated mainly in response to the long-standing problem of overcrowding in South African prisons. One of the community treatment options is community service, a system whereby persons found guilty of less serious offences are punished in the community where they must do some kind of community work.

The success or failure of the treatment of offenders in the community depends to a large extent on the co-operation of members of the public. It is generally recognized that one of the gravest problems facing a released offender is his/her successful re-integration into the community. Community service programmes require the co-operation of employers, people with whom offenders come into contact in the work environment, family members and friends. It is therefore important to determine the public's perceptions of sentencing options which include treatment in the community. Community service was used as an example of a community sentence option for the purpose of the present study. The findings of the research on this topic are as follows:

### **PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE**

The respondents were asked their opinion of the system of community service. Close to 60 percent of the sample were in favour of community service, with 31 percent opposed to it and 10 percent indicating that they were uncertain of their answer (see Table 20). The whites had the most favourable attitude (74 percent in favour), followed by the coloureds (66 percent), the Asians (60

## "US and SA have world's highest number behind bars"

*The United States and South Africa have the world's highest number of prisoners relative to their populations.*

*According to a new study by the Sentencing Project, a private research and prison reform group based in Washington, an average of 165 Americans were incarcerated in 1990 for every 100 000 of the overall population - a 6.8 per cent rise over the previous year.*

*In the same period, the study said, South Africa ranked second internationally with 311 prisoners for every 100 000 of overall population, but this represented a 6.6 per cent decline over the previous year and the decline was continuing.*

*The difference between the US*

*and South Africa is most striking when it comes to black male prisoners. According to the Sentencing Project there were 3 370 black males imprisoned in the US for every 100 000 black males in the overall population in 1990.*

*This was nearly five times South Africa's rate of 681 black males imprisoned for every 100 000 black males in the overall population.*

*The Sentencing Project has urged the US Congress to take steps to encourage the use of alternative punishments to imprisonment, especially community service.*

*(Taken from The Argus, 11 February 1992, p. 2.)*

## "Ensuring crime does not pay"

*Detering criminals effectively to help bring down the disturbing crime rate is at the centre of a dilemma which is provoking an increasingly antagonistic response from the legal profession, politicians and the public.*

*The early release of prisoners, in particular, has generated deep concern that the criminal fraternity may conclude that crime does pay.*

*Prisons are bursting at the seams, with rates of overcrowding ranging from 20 to more than 100 per cent. The country's prisons seem to be reaching the point where they simply cannot cope.*

*A slim beam of hope emanates from the government's proposal to widen the implementation of correctional supervision - a form of monitored probation linked to community service.*

*The scale on which it is likely to be implemented to start with must necessarily be modest. Nevertheless, it would seem to be in society's best interests that all parties - the police, the courts, the prison service and the public itself - should do their utmost to help it succeed.*

*(Taken from The Argus, 22 February 1992, p. 18.)*

percent) and the blacks (52 percent). Very few of the whites were uncertain of their answer, probably due to the fact that, firstly, their level of exposure to the media is high and community service and correctional supervision have featured strongly in the media recently and, secondly, whites are more familiar with the system of community service since this type of punishment was first introduced among white offenders.

**TABLE 20: PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE  
PER POPULATION GROUP**

Response categories	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites	TOTAL
	Percent				
In favour	59,8	51,9	66,1	73,9	59,2
Opposed	31,7	36,5	19,0	22,7	30,6
Do not know/ uncertain	8,5	11,6	14,8	3,4	10,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

A multiple regression analysis of the data relating to this question was undertaken in order to determine which sectors of the population were the most favourably disposed towards community service. The results are given in Table B.9 in Appendix B. The combination of independent variables included in the analysis was not particularly successful in predicting the respondents' attitude towards community service, except in the case of the whites. The following predictor variables were significantly associated with the dependent variable:

White females, whites with a high educational level and whites living in metropolitan areas all had a more positive attitude towards community service.

The blacks with a high educational level also had a more positive view of community service, as well as the blacks who were classified as blue-collar workers. These two associations appear to be conflicting and the reason for this is not apparent.

It is interesting to note that the Asians, the coloureds and the whites who reported feeling safe in their neighbourhood at night, in other words those who had a low level of fear, had a more positive attitude towards the system of



community service. The association between these two variables in the case of the blacks was approaching the significance level.

The variables which one would expect to be associated with perceptions of community service, such as past victimization experience and perceptions of the probability of victimization, did not prove to be associated.

## **CONCLUSION**

The public's attitude towards community service was found to be fairly positive. The whites had the most and the blacks the least favourable attitude towards this treatment option. In addition, persons with a low level of fear had more favourable attitudes towards community service than those with a high level of fear. This is probably due to the fact that individuals with little fear experience the prospect of offenders being treated in the community as less of a threat to their safety than those with a high level of fear.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

### INTRODUCTION

Few people would deny that crime has reached critical proportions in South Africa. The fear of crime and the consequences of victimization are two of the gravest problems facing ordinary citizens as well as policy-makers.

The impact of crime on the lives of South African citizens has been discussed in this report. The findings of a survey on the public's opinion of the problem of crime and its effect on the daily lives of citizens have been given. In addition, the victimization experiences of the household members and perceptions of crime-related issues such as the quality of the work of the police have been reported. Recommendations for policy-makers and for other individuals and organizations involved in the management of crime will be made in this final chapter.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the research findings which have been discussed in the previous chapters, the following recommendations can be made:

#### IMPROVING POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The influence of the public's perceptions of the police on many crime-related issues was evident throughout this report. The research has shown that even though crime has increased, the negative impact of this increase on perceptions, fear and changes in behaviour is smaller when attitudes towards the police are positive. Conversely, the impact of escalating crime rates is that much greater when police-community relations are poor. The blacks and the whites who had negative attitudes towards the police, for example, tended to perceive a greater increase in crime than other individuals.

Good police-community relations are an absolute prerequisite for effective co-operation between the public and the police, and co-operation between the

two is essential in the management of crime. The police rely on the public for information about crime and the public rely on the police for protection against crime.

Urgent attention needs to be focused on improving police-community relations. The steps which have already been taken by the South African Police in this regard are noteworthy. Police-community forums are operating in some communities. These must be extended to all communities, and ordinary citizens must be seen to be represented on these forums if they are to be credible.

Acceptable procedures for grievances against members of the police must be instituted and publicized. Community members and leaders should be consulted in this regard. The measures which have been taken by the South African Police should be expanded. The internal investigation unit which was set up in Cape Town on 1 April 1993 should be extended to all areas. The manner in which the public can lodge complaints must be as simple and as 'friendly' as possible, and must be widely advertised.

Ongoing in-service training should be given at 'ground level' to those officers who deal directly with the public. The police must be seen to serve the community.

Overwhelming support was given for two strategies which could be adopted by the police to control crime, namely quicker reaction to requests for help and the introduction of the 'Bobby on the beat' system. It is evident, therefore, that if the South African Police were to extend their efforts at making policing more visible, be it with the 'Bobby on the beat' system or with something similar, this would receive wide support from the public. Innovative ways should be developed to improve reaction time. For example, the use of mobile police stations in communities, particularly on weekends, would facilitate quicker response to requests for help. It should be borne in mind that in the black communities in particular, very few residents have telephones. This means that a quick and direct link with the nearest police station is often non-existent when help is needed. If the nearest police station were to be much closer, such as in the form of a temporary, mobile unit, contact could be made much sooner.

## **CRIME PREVENTION**

Criminologists have traditionally considered crime control to be almost exclusively the task of the criminal justice system. Accordingly, the extent to which crime is successfully controlled will be a function of the efficiency of

the system (Roshier, 1989). Evidence suggests that the criminal justice system in fact plays a minor role in crime prevention. This has been borne out by the considerable differences in crime rates between different countries with similar systems and between different time periods within any one country. Roshier (1989:114) concludes that "[f]ew contemporary criminologists would now deny that the major determinants of crime rates lie outside of the realm of penal policy, in the wider social, political and economic context". This is not to say that the criminal justice system plays no part in crime control, but rather that at best it will achieve a limited impact on the level of crime in a country.

The research reported in this publication indicated a high rate of victimization amongst all South Africans. The study furthermore showed that the rate of victimization as reported by the respondents far exceeds the rate known to the police. Few would dispute that crime has reached unacceptable levels in South Africa. Accusations that the South African Police have failed in their efforts to control crime and violence abound. However, if the views of some contemporary criminologists were to be accepted, the failure of police action is not surprising since the efforts of the police, the courts and correctional services are said to have little impact on the level of crime. Expert opinion has it that crime prevention can only be achieved through community action. Only when communities reach the point where intolerable situations lead to spontaneous efforts to control crime, will actions produce positive results. Communities must be empowered to say "No" to crime. They should be assisted to address their crime problems. Community crime prevention initiatives should be supported and the details of successful efforts should be made available to other communities. The authorities should act as facilitators in the community crime prevention process.

The 'Crime Stop'\* campaign which has been initiated recently by the South African Police has been outstandingly successful. The police see this as evidence of the fact that communities and individuals have started to say "No" to crime—they have reached a point where they feel that the disruption of their daily life, the breakdown of law and order and the disregard for morals and values have gone far enough and must be stopped.

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\* Crime Stop is a national campaign whereby the general public can supply information anonymously by dialling a toll-free telephone number. A number of police officials man more than ten telephones 24 hours per day. A reward is given for positive information.

A cautionary note should be sounded in terms of crime prevention. The harm which is done to **individuals** as a result of criminal victimization is generally highly concentrated among certain groups and in certain areas. Yet the **collective** harm, such as fear of crime and changes in behaviour as a result of fear, are more evenly distributed (Stinchcombe *et al.*, 1980). Stinchcombe *et al.* (1980:138) note that "... fairly uniform pressure in public opinion is brought to bear on policy makers to solve what is actually an extremely localized problem". This may result in scarce resources for preventive action being 'spread' over a wide area rather than being applied in a more intense way in those areas which really need it. These authors conclude that "[u]nless some adjustment is made in matching remedial actions and remedial resources to areas of greatest objective need, a policy process that allocates resources according to the level of public demand will result in an unfair distribution of attention" (Stinchcombe *et al.*, 1980:138). Some groups have greater means at their disposal and more 'power' to exert pressure for police protection when they experience or perceive certain threats. Other groups who do not have the power or means to exert pressure may be subjected to greater threats to their personal safety and experience more negative effects on their quality of life.

To illustrate this point the example of the extensive and costly surveillance action which has been instituted on some national roads comes to mind. These measures were taken as a direct result of the considerable pressure which was brought to bear on the South African Police following numerous stone-throwing incidents. Naturally, one is not suggesting that these precautions should not be taken, but one cannot help but wonder about the extremely high levels of violence in the communities which border these roads. The chance of a motorist becoming the victim of a stone-throwing incident is a fraction of the chance of a local resident becoming the victim of a violent attack while making his/her way home from the taxi rank.

### LEARNING TO COPE WITH CRIME

There are many reasons for seeking a reduction in crime. However, in the final instance it is inconceivable that all crime will be prevented. Communities and individuals must learn to cope with crime and should be assisted to do so. Coping with crime should be tackled from two sides: coping with the consequences of victimization and coping with the fear of possible victimization. The social environment is extremely important in both instances. For victims it is not just injury, material loss and the trauma surrounding the event which must be dealt with, but the impact of contact with

the criminal justice system (i.e. the police and the courts). Surveys have indicated that reluctance to become involved in the system is one of the reasons for the low crime-reporting rate. Greater attention should be focused on providing support for victims of crime. These services are available in certain areas, but are little known to the public. They should be extended and promoted. The training of police officers should include instruction on how to deal with victims. The court process should be made less formidable and less alienating by instituting the Witness Friend programme. If the supportive functions of the community and the criminal justice system are strengthened and if specific services to victims are readily available and well known, victims will be better able to cope and the impact of crime will be reduced.

The fear of possible victimization is more difficult to address. Fear is part of an individual's general social reaction to crime. 'Crimeless victims' is the term used to refer to those individuals who, as a result of considerable fear, take extensive precautions and change their behaviour and life-style to such an extent that their quality of life is affected. Extensive crime prevention actions lower quality of life. It has been said that in some areas the street lights are so bright that the trees can no longer distinguish the seasons of the year. The perception of a slight increase in crime has an inflating effect—the action which is taken far exceeds that which is appropriate. The public become victimized even when the average individual is not victimized, since the actual victimization rate may be low but the impact is high.

The sensationalization of crime by the media tends to heighten the public's level of fear. This should be offset by regular factual media reports (such as in television features) relating to crime. Factual information relating to, for example, an individual's real chances of becoming the victim of different types of crime should be given. This should be supported by practical information on ways to increase one's personal safety and reduce one's risk of victimization.

The impact of crime in terms of level of fear and changes in behaviour is greatest when an individual feels vulnerable and that he/she has no control over the risk of victimization. While it is doubtlessly true that not all attacks can be prevented, the likelihood of victimization can be greatly reduced by applying a few basic principles of prevention. When this information is made known it is tantamount to empowering individuals to take control of their situation, at least to some extent, in terms of victimization. Particularly vulnerable and fearful groups such as children, women and the elderly can greatly benefit from receiving user-friendly basic crime prevention information.

## **CONCLUSION**

Many experts contend that socio-political change is usually accompanied by an increase in the level of crime. The escalation in the crime rate which followed the independence of Namibia is an example of this trend. It is extremely unfortunate that the social and political change which has been experienced in South Africa during the past few years has been accompanied by a severe economic recession. This means that the 'predicted' increase in crime has been 'fuelled' by the escalating rate of unemployment. It would appear that, on the one hand, numerous individuals are 'using' political unrest as a smokescreen to commit ordinary crimes of murder, robbery and burglary and, on the other hand, persons who would not normally become involved in crime are 'forced' to do so purely due to economic need.

Given the uncertain road ahead in South Africa in terms of both political outcome and economic climate, it is impossible to predict what path crime rates will follow in the near future. It would be unrealistic to assume that crime will decrease. At best, the present rate will stabilize; at worst, it will increase. Unless we mobilize communities to take action against crime and empower them to respond collectively to the threat of crime, we will allow crime to disrupt the essence of social life. Many communities have already suffered the onslaught of social disorganization due to a wide variety of factors. Every effort should be made by means of community crime prevention to ensure that crime and the threat of crime do not contribute further to the social disorganization of South African communities.

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## DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIABLES

The following variables were used in the analysis of the data:

### DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

#### Gender

Sex was a 'dummy' variable in the analyses and was coded 1 for males and -1 for females.

#### Age

Age was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing 'young' and a high score representing 'old'. Specific age categories were used for the two-dimensional tables, as indicated in the tables.

#### Marital status

Marital status was re-coded into two categories (a 'dummy' variable in the analyses): those who were married or living together (coded 1) and those who were not married (i.e. those who had never married or were widowed or divorced)(coded -1).

#### Educational level

Educational level was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing the lower educational levels and a high score representing the higher educational levels. Specific educational categories were used for the two-dimensional tables, as indicated in the tables.

#### Occupation

Occupation was a categorical variable in the analyses, with the original detailed categories re-coded to form the following three categories: white-collar workers, blue-collar workers and the unemployed.

## **Household monthly income\***

Household monthly income was a categorical variable in the analyses, with the original detailed categories re-coded to form the following three categories: combined monthly income of less than R1 200, between R1 200 and R3 999 and R4 000 and higher.

## **Area of residence**

Area of residence was measured in two ways, as follows:

- Metropolitan/non-metropolitan residence. This was a 'dummy' variable in the analyses, with those residing in metropolitan areas being coded 1 and those in non-metropolitan areas being coded -1.
- Urban/non-urban residence. This was also a 'dummy' variable in the analyses, with those residing in urban areas being coded 1 and those in non-urban areas being coded -1.

## **CRIME-RELATED VARIABLES**

### **Perceptions of an increase in crime**

Perceptions of an increase in crime was a categorical variable in the analyses, with the categories being indicated in the tables.

### **Feeling of safety at night**

Feeling of safety at night was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing feeling very safe and a high score representing very unsafe.

### **Probability of victimization**

Views on the probability of victimization was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing opinions that victimization was very probable and a high score representing opinions that victimization was very improbable.

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\* The demographic variable income was not used in the regression analyses in view of the fact that a response could not be obtained from 197 respondents. Obtaining a reliable measure of respondents' income is always a difficult and sensitive issue.

### **Respondent changed behaviour**

Reported behaviour change due to fear of crime was a 'dummy' variable in the analyses, with change in behaviour being coded 1 and no change being coded -1.

### **Extent to which fear affected enjoyment of life**

The extent to which fear of crime affected enjoyment of life was a categorical variable in the analyses, with the categories being indicated in the tables.

### **Victimization status**

Whether or not a respondent or a member of his/her household had been the victim of a crime (i.e. had victimization status) was a 'dummy' variable in the analyses, with a reported victimization being coded 1 and no victimization being coded -1.

### **Perceptions of the police**

Perceptions of the work of the police was an ordinal variable in the analyses with a low score representing satisfaction with the police and a high score representing dissatisfaction.

### **Direction of opinion about the causes of the increase in crime**

This variable was a categorical variable in the analyses. Three categories were created by combining the answer possibilities as follows: (1) those which related to political and racial aspects (i.e. "Frustrated blacks taking revenge against whites" and "Attempts to create fear among whites"); (2) those which referred to aspects of the work of the police; and (3) those which related to practical and moral aspects (i.e. "Economic recession and unemployment" and "Breakdown of moral standards"). The categories are indicated in the tables.

### **Control over violence**

The respondents' perceptions of the extent to which the government had control over violence was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing full control and a high score representing no control.

### **Life in the new South Africa**

The respondents' views on life in the new South Africa was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing the view that life will be much better and a high score the view that it will be much worse.

## **Economic prospects**

Opinions about the economic prospects in the country during the six months following the survey was a categorical variable in the analyses, with the categories being indicated in the tables.

## **'Political' scale**

The 'political' scale was compiled in an attempt to measure political persuasion. The scale was based on the respondents' indications of closeness to (or distance from) various political parties. The scale was an ordinal variable in the analyses, with a low score representing 'right' or conservative and a high score representing 'left' or radical.

## MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

A multiple regression analysis is particularly suited to investigating the unobscured relationship between any one predictor variable and a dependent variable since the influence of all other predictors which are included in the analysis is controlled. For example, if it was found during a bivariate analysis that a relationship existed between place of residence and fear of crime, the relationship might be spurious and not causal - i.e. the relationship might be due to other factors such as socio-economic status. It is therefore necessary to undertake a multivariate analysis (such as multiple regression) to control for the effect of other variables (such as socio-economic status in the example) so that if a relationship between a predictor variable and the dependent variable is found, it can be considered to be a direct relationship.

Multiple regression analyses yield regression coefficients which indicate the amount of increase in the dependent variable which is associated with an increase in each independent variable. The simultaneous relationship between the dependent variable and all the independent variables is indicated by the multiple correlation coefficient ( $R$ ), the square of which is known as the coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ). The coefficient of determination measures the proportion of variance in the dependent variable which is explained by all the independent variables taken together (Fisher, Laing & Stoeckel, 1983).

**TABLE B.1: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF  
VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE:  
FEELINGS OF SAFETY AT NIGHT IN NEIGHBOURHOOD**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	-0,216**	-0,062	-0,066	-0,151**
Age	0,008	0,003	0,002	0,001
Marital status	0,002	-0,002	0,075	0,048
Educational level	0,025	-0,000	-0,044	-0,097**
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	-0,090	-0,007	-0,062	-0,104
- blue-collar worker	0,024	0,034	-0,127	-0,052
- unemployed	0,066	-0,027	0,189	0,156
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	-0,050	0,071*	0,028	-0,039
Urban/non-urban	-0,455	-0,063	0,120	-0,062
Perceptions of increase/decrease in crime				
- no crime problem	0,532***	-0,606***	-0,625***	-0,175
- increased	-0,441***	0,761***	0,410**	0,422***
- decreased	-	-0,135	-0,164	-0,446*
- remained the same	-	0,212*	0,143	-0,009
- do not know/uncertain	-0,091	-0,232	0,236	0,208
Victimization status	0,055	0,085*	0,052	0,191***
Perceptions of the police	0,096	0,171***	0,224***	0,068
Direction of opinion about causes of increase				
- political/racial	-0,012	-0,079	0,201	0,227*
- police efficiency	-0,018	-0,059	-0,110	-0,193
- practical/moral	0,030	0,138	-0,091	-0,034
Control over violence 'Political' scale	0,204*	0,123***	0,074	0,207***
- 'right'/conservative	0,053	0,230	0,093	-0,104
- 'middle of the road'	-0,135	0,003	-0,154	-0,154
- 'left'/radical	-	-0,168*	-	-
- no score	0,082	-0,065	0,061	0,258
Mean	2,5	2,7	2,3	2,6
R <sup>2</sup>	41 %	38 %	42 %	30 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.2: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: OPINIONS ABOUT THE PROBABILITY OF VICTIMIZATION WITHIN FOLLOWING 12 MONTHS**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	-0,112	-0,031	-0,027	-0,024
Age	-0,003	0,001	-0,000	0,006
Marital status	-0,057	0,012	0,031	-0,138*
Educational level	-0,044	0,014	-0,001	0,059*
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	0,026	-0,006	-0,140	-0,034
- blue-collar worker	0,009	0,103	0,419**	0,031
- unemployed	-0,035	-0,097	-0,279	0,003
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	0,377***	-0,040	-0,114	0,026
Urban/non-urban	0,409	0,059	-0,068	0,019
Perceptions of increase/decrease in crime				
- no crime problem	-0,292***	0,110	0,354	0,479*
- increased	0,227*	-0,040	-0,533**	-0,447***
- decreased	-	0,235*	0,055	0,394*
- remained the same	-	0,075	-0,075	-0,158
- do not know/uncertain	0,065	-0,380	0,199	-0,268
Victimization status	-0,090	-0,155***	-0,054	-0,138**
Perceptions of the police	-0,038	-0,015	-0,142*	-0,126**
Direction of opinion about causes of increase				
- political/racial	-0,048	0,277**	0,129	-0,054
- police efficiency	0,135	-0,137*	-0,008	-0,001
- practical/moral	-0,087	-0,140	-0,120	0,055
Control over violence	-0,102	0,035	0,065	-0,103
'Political' scale				
- 'right'/conservative	0,066	-0,491*	0,097	-0,020
- 'middle of the road'	-0,047	0,210*	0,031	0,116
- 'left'/radical	-	-0,070	-	-
- no score	-0,019	0,351	-0,128	-0,096
Economic prospects				
- grow	0,374***	-0,009	-0,045	-0,000
- remain unchanged	-0,200*	0,040	0,116	0,044
- decline	-0,174	-0,031	0,161	-0,044
Mean	1,8	2,4	2,6	2,1
R <sup>2</sup>	37 %	10 %	40 %	31 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).



**TABLE B.3: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF  
VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE:  
REPORTED CHANGE IN BEHAVIOUR DUE TO FEAR OF CRIME**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	0,029	-0,003	-0,004	0,004
Age	-0,003	0,000	-0,003	-0,001
Marital status	0,012	0,020	0,022	0,004
Educational level	-0,021	0,000	-0,021	-0,034*
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	0,045	0,038	0,117*	0,010
- blue-collar worker	-0,085	-0,029	-0,005	-0,006
- unemployed	0,040	-0,009	-0,112	-0,004
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	0,111	-0,036*	-0,034	-0,007
Urban/non-urban	0,318	-0,029	0,021	0,010
Perceptions of increase/decrease in crime				
- no crime problem	0,076	-0,141***	-0,053	-0,241*
- increased	-0,040	0,120***	0,146*	0,264***
- decreased	-	0,157***	0,035	-0,072
- remained the same	-	0,079	-0,028	-0,051
- do not know/uncertain	-0,036	-0,215	-0,100	0,100
Victimization status	-0,004	0,026	0,072	0,001
Direction of opinion about causes of increase				
- political/racial	-0,084	0,047	0,151	-0,097
- police efficiency	0,095	0,019	-0,098	0,132*
- practical/moral	-0,011	-0,066	-0,053	-0,035
Control over violence	-0,009	0,006	-0,026	0,116***
Feeling of safety at night	0,113*	0,163***	0,185***	0,109***
Probability of victimization	-0,153**	-0,045**	-0,088*	-0,029
Mean	0,6	0,6	0,4	0,5
R <sup>2</sup>	28 %	30 %	43 %	34 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.4: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VIEWS ON COMMUNITY MEMBERS' CHANGE IN BEHAVIOUR DUE TO FEAR OF CRIME**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	-0,032	0,007	0,004	-0,028
Age	-0,002	-0,001	-0,003	-0,001
Marital status	0,005	0,017	0,048	-0,018
Educational level	-0,025	0,007	-0,019	-0,012
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	0,007	0,006	0,112	-0,026
- blue-collar worker	-0,050	0,002	-0,072	0,055
- unemployed	0,043	-0,008	-0,040	-0,029
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	0,083	-0,017	-0,056	0,013
Urban/non-urban	0,282	-0,027	0,125*	0,021
Perceptions of increase/decrease in crime				
- no crime problem	0,177**	-0,261***	-0,279*	0,138
- increased	-0,040	0,299***	0,314***	0,246***
- decreased	-	0,113**	0,005	-0,332**
- remained the same	-	0,101	0,015	-0,094
- do not know/uncertain	-0,104	-0,252	-0,055	0,042
Control over violence	0,102*	0,035*	-0,031	0,027
Life in the new South Africa	0,039	0,009	0,060	0,076**
Mean	0,7	0,5	0,4	0,7
R <sup>2</sup>	27 %	20 %	30 %	23 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.5: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS  
OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE  
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VICTIMIZATION STATUS - ALL CRIMES**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	-0,014	0,004	0,055*	0,003
Age	-0,000	0,001	0,001	-0,005**
Marital status	0,019	-0,003	0,028	0,011
Educational level	0,001	0,010*	0,017*	0,013
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	0,027	0,008	-0,068	-0,060
- blue-collar worker	-0,089	-0,016	0,033	0,055
- unemployed	0,062	0,008	0,035	0,005
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	-0,026	0,025	0,105***	-0,006
Urban/non-urban	0,119	-0,037	-0,013	0,007
Change in behaviour due to fear of crime	0,033	0,060***	0,074**	0,067**
Mean	0,3	0,2	0,2	0,4
R <sup>2</sup>	4 %	4 %	16 %	6 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.6: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF  
VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE:  
VICTIMIZATION STATUS - PROPERTY CRIME**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	-0,022	-0,003	0,005	0,009
Age	0,001	0,001	0,001	-0,006***
Marital status	0,015	0,009	0,036	0,011
Educational level	-0,000	0,007	0,016*	0,006
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	0,048	0,030	-0,059	-0,064
- blue-collar worker	-0,095	-0,039	0,067*	0,071
- unemployed	0,047	0,009	-0,008	-0,007
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	-0,028	0,030*	0,087***	-0,008
Urban/non-urban	0,055	-0,031	0,014	0,011
Change in behaviour due to fear of crime	0,016	0,050***	0,044*	0,052*
Mean	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,3
R <sup>2</sup>	3 %	4 %	16 %	6 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.7: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS  
OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE  
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: VICTIMIZATION STATUS - VIOLENT CRIME**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	0,025	0,008	0,059**	0,009
Age	-0,001	0,001	-0,001	-0,001
Marital status	-0,006	-0,017	-0,001	0,024
Educational level	0,001	0,006	-0,000	-0,001
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	-0,028	-0,009	-0,027	-0,017
- blue-collar worker	-0,019	-0,007	-0,010	-0,029
- unemployed	0,047	0,016	0,037	0,046
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	0,012	0,009	0,034	0,016
Urban/non-urban	0,128	-0,014	-0,015	0,024
Change in behaviour due to fear of crime	0,024	0,035***	0,053**	0,037**
Mean	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1
R <sup>2</sup>	7 %	3 %	8 %	4 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.8: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WORK OF THE POLICE**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	-0,091	0,063	0,125	-0,035
Age	0,017*	-0,002	-0,010	-0,005
Marital status	-0,188	-0,048	0,017	0,020
Educational level	0,052	0,014	0,043	0,078
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	-0,223	-0,091	0,068	0,115
- blue-collar worker	0,391*	0,011	-0,042	-0,050
- unemployed	-0,168	0,080	-0,026	-0,065
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	0,510**	0,180***	0,022	0,047
Urban/non-urban	-1,093**	0,011	0,406**	-0,094
Perceptions of increase/decrease in crime				
- no crime problem	0,208	-0,390**	-0,175	0,162
- increased	-0,249	0,272**	0,113	0,249
- decreased	-	0,031	0,122	-0,346
- remained the same	-	0,044	-0,027	0,090
- do not know/uncertain	0,041	0,043	-0,033	0,025
Extent to which fear affects enjoyment of life				
- no fear of crime	0,432**	-0,119	-0,500*	-0,373*
- to a great extent	-0,332*	0,283**	0,789***	0,383**
- to some extent	-	0,005	0,218	0,141
- to no extent	-	-0,152	-0,151	-0,151
- do not know/uncertain	-0,100	-0,017	-0,356	-
Victimization status	0,008	0,085	0,124	0,017
Direction of opinion about causes of increase				
- political/racial	-0,182	-0,418***	0,099	-0,015
- police efficiency	0,276	0,269***	0,137	-0,033
- practical/moral	-0,094	0,149	-0,236	0,048
Control over violence	0,481***	0,574***	0,312***	0,192**
'Political' scale				
- 'right'/conservative	-0,002	-0,179	0,061	0,130
- 'middle of the road'	-0,158	0,001	0,004	0,078
- 'left'/radical	-	0,118	-	-
- no score	0,160	0,060	-0,065	-0,208
Mean	3,5	3,2	2,6	2,1
R <sup>2</sup>	38 %	29 %	41 %	16 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

**TABLE B.9: MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF  
VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE:  
ATTITUDE TOWARDS COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS**

Independent variables	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
	Estimated regression coefficient			
Gender	0,006	0,026	-0,014	-0,054*
Age	0,007	-0,000	0,003	0,000
Marital status	-0,049	0,014	0,050	0,029
Educational level	0,006	0,018**	0,003	0,033*
Occupation				
- white-collar worker	-0,014	-0,024	0,009	0,004
- blue-collar worker	-0,020	0,070*	-0,021	0,011
- unemployed	0,034	-0,046	0,012	-0,015
Metropolitan/non-metropolitan	-0,035	0,002	-0,046	0,069**
Urban/non-urban	-0,192	0,029	-0,001	0,005
Perceptions of increase/decrease in crime				
- no crime problem	0,026	0,069	-0,036	-0,010
- increased	0,021	0,037	0,061	-0,061
- decreased	-	-0,026	-0,036	0,005
- remained the same	-	0,040	0,023	-0,053
- do not know/uncertain	-0,047	-0,120	-0,012	0,119
Feeling of safety at night	-0,102*	-0,029	-0,077*	-0,113***
Probability of victimization	0,007	-0,007	-0,021	0,018
Victimization status	-0,029	-0,008	-0,047	-0,020
Mean	0,7	0,6	0,8	0,8
R <sup>2</sup>	8 %	4 %	8 %	19 %

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

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

\*\*\* Significant at the 0,1 % level ( $p < 0,001$ ).

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## CHAID ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The term 'CHAID' represents 'Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detection'. This technique is best suited to the analysis of large data sets where the dependent variable is a categorical one. One of the uses of the CHAID technique is that of 'variable selection'. By this is meant the indication of the importance of the independent variables as predictors of the dependent variable (Shaw & Stumpf, 1985). CHAID identifies the predictor which has the highest association with the dependent variable and the data is then split into subgroups according to the categories of the predictor variable which has been identified. When responses do not differ for particular categories, these are grouped together. Each of the subgroups are then analyzed in the same manner in order to determine which is the most important predictor for each. Further subgroups are thus formed and these are in turn analyzed in the same manner. Because of the subgroups which are formed, a CHAID analysis is best depicted by means of a branch-like diagram termed a 'dendrogram'.



**DIAGRAM C.1: CHAID ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PERCEPTIONS OF AN INCREASE IN CRIME**

N = 1 634	11,0	1 = no crime problem
	51,7	2 = increased
	18,1	3 = decreased
	19,2	4 = remained the same

92

**Population group**

Blacks		Coloureds		Asians		Whites					
N = 898	14,6	1	N = 216	13,4	1	N = 187	4,8	1	N = 333	3,0	1
	53,2	2		36,1	2		53,5	2		56,8	2
	22,3	3		21,8	3		17,6	3		4,8	3
	9,9	4		28,7	4		24,1	4		35,4	4

**Attitude towards the police**

1		2,3,4		5	
N=181		N=389		N=328	
28,7	1	15,9	1	5,2	1
33,7	2	51,2	2	66,5	2
27,6	3	22,4	3	19,2	3
9,9	4	10,5	4	9,1	4

**Area of residence (1)**

Urban		Non-urban	
N=173		N=43	
4,6	1	48,8	1
42,8	2	9,3	2
24,9	3	9,3	3
27,7	4	32,6	4

**Area of residence (2)**

Metro		Non-metro	
N=169		N=18	
4,7	1	5,6	1
57,4	2	16,7	2
13,6	3	55,6	3
24,3	4	22,2	4

**Attitude towards the police**

1		2		3,4,5	
N=105		N=140		N=88	
6,7	1	0,0	1	3,4	1
42,9	2	57,9	2	71,6	2
9,5	3	3,6	3	1,1	3
41,0	4	38,6	4	23,9	4

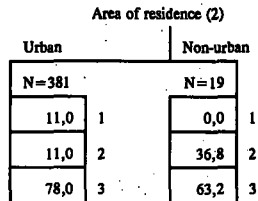
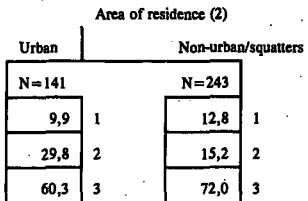
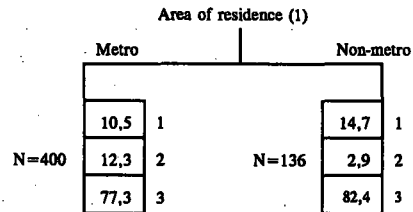
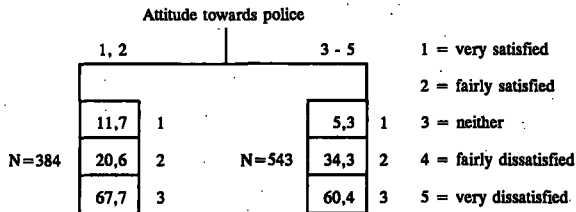
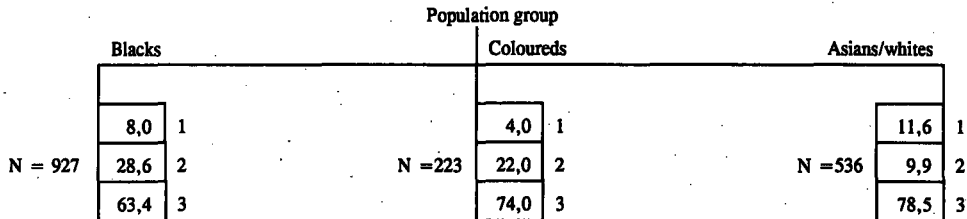
- 1 = very satisfied
- 2 = fairly satisfied
- 3 = neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 4 = fairly dissatisfied
- 5 = very dissatisfied

- 1 = very satisfied
- 2 = fairly satisfied
- 3 = neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 4 = fairly dissatisfied
- 5 = very dissatisfied

**DIAGRAM C.2: CHAID ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: DIRECTION OF OPINION ABOUT THE CAUSES OF INCREASE IN CRIME**

N = 1 686

8,6	1 = political/racial
21,8	2 = police efficiency
69,6	3 = practical/moral

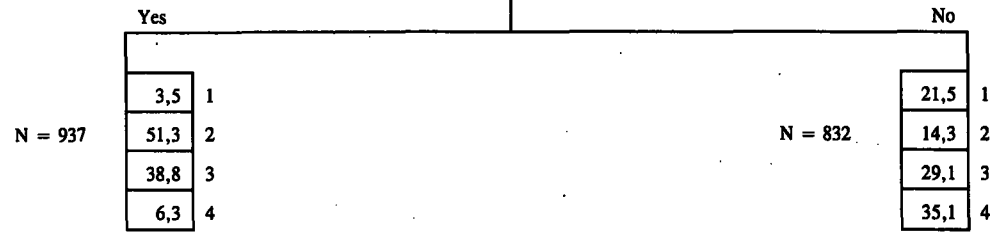


**DIAGRAM C.3: CHAID ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: EXTENT TO WHICH FEAR AFFECTS ENJOYMENT OF LIFE**

N = 1 769

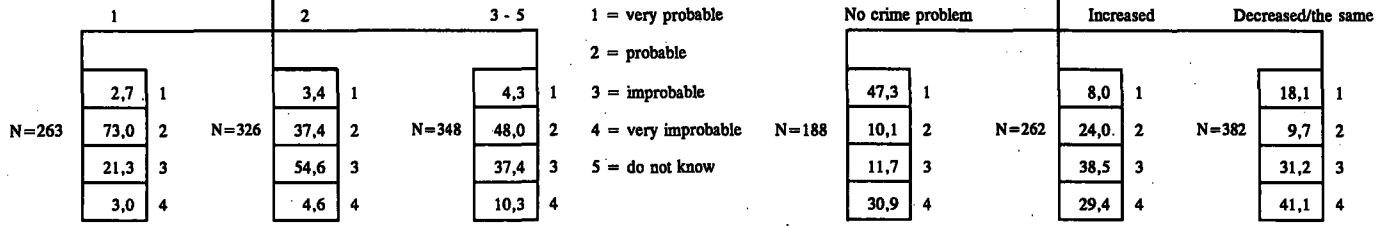
12,0	1 = do not fear crime
33,9	2 = to a great extent
34,3	3 = to some extent
19,8	4 = to no extent

Respondent limited behaviour



Probability of victimization

Perceptions of an increase in crime



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