

**PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN CAPE**



**COMMUNITY SAFETY BAROMETER**

Commissioned by  
**THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY SAFETY**

**FINAL SUMMATIVE REPORT**

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# 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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The Community Safety Barometer is a flagship project of the Department of Community Safety (DoCS). This project aimed to measure perceived levels of safety and fear of crime in selected gang-infested and crime-ridden communities in the Western Cape Province, using specially developed sets of indicators. These indicators will enable the Department of Community Safety to judge safety levels and fear of civilians using community perceptions rather than measures such as police statistics – which are known for providing an inaccurate picture of the real extent of victimization and crime in communities. A more comprehensive picture of this social phenomenon will increase the government’s understanding of the impact of crime on communities. It will help to identify and support initiatives to improve safety in these communities, as well as empower the community by bringing their perceptions to the fore.

The first phase of this Community Safety Barometer Project was launched in early 2009. It involved extensive community consultation and informed the development of an initial set of indicators, which were piloted in the Atlantis and Steenberg police precincts. The second phase of this Barometer Study was rolled out in 2009/2010 in 13 communities within six police precincts (Atlantis, Bishop Lavis, Delft, Mitchell’s Plain, Nyanga and Paarl East). In late 2010, the DoCS embarked on the third phase of this Barometer Study and identified 11 police precincts and 20 police sectors to be involved in this phase of the research. This report summarizes the findings of all 11 Western Cape communities participating in the third sweep of this study.

## 1.1 Demographic profile

A total of 2020 participants were interviewed for the Community Safety Barometer Study. The original data was then weighted to allow for generalization of the findings to the broader populations represented by the study sample (the findings presented in all 12 Barometer reports are based on the weighted data). On the whole, Black (41.6%) and Coloured (44.7%) respondents accounted for two-fifths each of the sample. Females accounted for 58.4% of the overall sample while males comprised 41.6% of the sample. Two out of every five participants were aged 30 to 49 years, 30.2% were under the age of 30 years, and 24.9% were 50 years and older. Education levels were low across most of these areas – less than a third of the total sample had completed Grade 12 (32.5%). Since education levels are often correlated with income, it was not surprising to find low levels of employment for most of these areas. More than a quarter of the total sample were unemployed (21.5% were unemployed but seeking work; 4.4% were unemployed but not seeking work). More than a third (35.0%) of the sample were employed on a full-time basis, 8.7% were part-time employed, and 5.8% were self-employed at the time of being interviewed for the study.

## **1.2 Where and when do people feel unsafe?**

These 11 communities were generally perceived as unsafe for women, children, individuals with physical impairments and the elderly – with Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Harare and Kraaifontein being the four communities where these groups are viewed as most vulnerable.

With regard to residents' own personal feelings of safety, participants tended to identify open public spaces in their community, where people tend to congregate, as the areas where they themselves felt most unsafe. These were inclusive of public transportation places, public commercial or retail places as well as public recreational spaces in the communities. Homes and public places of worship were the areas in these communities where residents tended to feel most safe. Feelings of safety diminished drastically after dark for residents living in all of these 11 communities.

When comparing the eleven communities, higher levels of safety were observed among residents living in Kuilsriver, Bellville and Cape Town.

## **1.3 What do people fear most and how has this fear impacted on their lives?**

Fear of crime is influenced by a myriad of different factors that may vary from one individual to the next. On the whole, violent crimes such as robbery, rape, violence/fighting, and gangsterism were what residents feared most in their communities. In addition to violent crimes, property crimes such as housebreaking and car theft were also typically identified when respondents were asked what they feared most in their neighbourhoods.

When the 11 individual communities are compared the findings showed that fear of crime was highest amongst residents in Harare ( $M=14.3$ ), followed by residents in Gugulethu ( $M=12.9$ ) and Khayelitsha ( $M=11.7$ ). The lowest levels of fear were observed amongst residents living in Cape Town ( $M=5.3$ ).

Overall, the findings revealed that fear of crime have impacted on residents' lives in various ways. On an individual level, it restricts personal movement within the community (particularly at night time) and contributes to a poor quality of life in general. On a community level, fear of crime has negatively impacted on community cohesion and community ties (i.e. the ability to trust other community members).

## **1.4 What are people's personal experiences of crime?**

Crime was common in these communities. Overall, victimization was highest in Gugulethu with nine out of every ten households in the police sectors surveyed here having been directly

affected by crime in the last three years. In the last year alone, more than 80% of these households (in Gugulethu) had fallen victim to crime.

Following Gugulethu, Harare and Khayelitsha emerged as the areas with the second and third highest victimization rates during the last three years. Robbery was the most frequently experienced crime in Khayelitsha (30.5%), Harare (35.7%), Gugulethu (84.7%), Kleinvlei (7.0%), Kraaifontein (25.0%), Kuilsriver (8.7%), Bellville (19.3%), and Manenberg (23.3%) in the last three years. Contrary to this, residents in Mfuleni (25.7%) and Cape Town (13.9%) were more affected by housebreaking, while those living in Phillipi were more likely to fall victim to theft (14.2%) in their communities.

## **1.5 How does the community perceive their local police service?**

A great proportion of the sample expressed their satisfaction with the service delivery of their local police. When comparing the 11 sites, residents in Kleinvlei, Harare, Bellville and Kraaifontein were more likely to describe the service at their local police station as good or very good. On the contrary, those living in Gugulethu expressed the most dissatisfaction with the service at their local police station – with more than half of the sample describing the police service as poor or very poor.

When asked what they thought could be done to improve the service delivery at their local police stations, the respondents tended to highlight the need to improve police's response time to distress calls from community members, the need to follow up on cases, the need to strengthen the investigation units, and the need to improve the interactions between police officials and survivors of crime.

## **1.6 Social capital**

Social capital refers to "the attitude, spirit and willingness of people to engage in collective civic activities."<sup>1</sup> Hence, relationships between community members and levels of social cohesion contribute a great deal to fear of crime, since it may either offset these feelings or contribute to them.

Levels of community cohesion and bonding were highest in Cape Town, Kleinvlei and Kuilsriver. Respondents from these two areas were more likely to report that people in their community could be trusted, would help each other out if the need arose, would try and intervene if they saw a neighbour's property being broken into when compared to their counterparts from the other areas.

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<sup>1</sup> Definition found at <http://www.envision.ca/templates/profile.asp>

## **1.7 What could be done to improve community safety?**

When asked what they thought could be done to improve the levels of safety in their community, the respondents offered an array of different interventions. The proposed interventions seemed largely to centre on the scourge of substance abuse in these areas and the need to address the involvement of young males in criminal behaviour. Thus, respondents highlighted the need for the provision of recreational facilities and activities for youth, skills development and job creation, and increased visibility of police in their communities. In addition to this, improved co-operation and liaison between the police and community members were also mentioned when asked to share their views on how to improve safety in their community.

In short, the findings point to the need for a multi-pronged crime prevention strategy that draws on elements of law enforcement, situational crime prevention as well as social crime prevention. Such an approach necessitates the co-operation of various government departments, civil society organizations, and most importantly, the community members themselves.

## **2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

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### **2.1 The Community Safety Barometer**

The Community Safety Barometer is a flagship project by the Department of Community Safety. It is grounded within community consultation and engagement as a practical means to addressing crime and fear of crime within communities. This project aimed to measure perceived levels of safety and fear of crime in selected gang-infested and crime-ridden communities in the Western Cape Province. The Community Safety Barometer project is the first of its kind to be implemented by the Department to measure perceived safety levels using safety indicators. These indicators will allow the Department of Community Safety to judge safety levels and fear of civilians using community perceptions as opposed to measures such as police statistics – which are known for providing an inaccurate picture of the real extent of victimization and crime in communities. A more comprehensive picture of this social phenomenon will increase the government’s understanding of the impact of crime on communities. It will help to identify and support initiatives to improve the level of safety in these communities, as well as empower the community by bringing their perceptions to the fore.

The first phase of this Community Safety Barometer Project took place in early 2009. This phase involved extensive community consultation and the development of an initial set of indicators, which were piloted in the Atlantis and Steenberg police precincts. The Department of Community Safety intended to repeat this study to better identify and understand changes in these communities and other areas. Thus, the second phase of this Community Barometer Study was rolled out in 2009/2010 in 13 communities within six police precincts. These were Atlantis, Bishop Lavis, Delft, Mitchell’s Plain, Nyanga and Paarl East. The DoCS has now embarked on the third phase of this project, and has identified 11 police precincts and 20 police sectors for participation in this phase of the research.

The Community Safety Barometer intends to provide regular assessments of citizens’ confidence in the safety and security interventions of government and the South African Police Service (SAPS) through measuring safety and fear of crime. This would bring valuable input for policy makers and decision makers within the criminal justice system. It is envisaged that these results and those of the subsequent sweeps of this study would offer reliable insights into the level of fear of crime. Relevant interventions may then be devised, implemented, monitored and evaluated to improve the level of safety.

By and large, this Community Safety Barometer emphasizes “perception of safety” as an indicator of community disposition and takes into account the impact that fear and personal experience of crime has on the mood or character of a neighbourhood. It is intended to shed

light on community members' perceived levels of safety and fear of crime across a broad spectrum of time spans and physical settings in the 11 geographical areas selected for participation in the study in the Western Cape.

It was also envisaged that the findings of this report would assist in empowering community members in the affected areas. Empowerment of participants is of paramount importance in growing human and social capital in the affected areas. The latter plays an important role in reducing fear of crime.

Overall, the Community Safety Barometer project would generate baseline data for subsequent evaluation. In addition to this, it would also provide information that would inform the Department and the community of issues needing fast tracking in cognizance of the identified community fears and perceptions.

## **2.2 Research methods and agency**

### **2.2.1 Research objectives**

The primary objective of the Community Safety Barometer research was to assess the perceived level of safety and fear of crime in selected gang-infested and drug-ridden communities in the Western Cape. The secondary objectives of this research are as follows:

- To understand what people fear most in their neighbourhoods;
- To understand how crime and fear of crime affects people's lifestyles;
- To help identify and support initiatives to improve safety and reduce fear in these communities;
- To provide insight into the perceptions of crime and safety within these communities;
- To help empower the communities by bringing their perceptions into the open, and clarifying these perceptions;
- To shed some light onto the effectiveness and efficiency of the social crime prevention programmes within these communities;
- To contrast reports of crime with official statistics; and
- To set benchmarks for future comparisons, and to judge the effectiveness of community safety projects.

### **2.2.2 Conceptual design**

The Department of Community Safety has decided to develop and implement a Community Safety Barometer. The development of the key constructs, and main elements requiring measurement were designed through community consultation during early 2009. This process informed the conceptual framework of the Community Safety Barometer. The Department of Community Safety then set about translating the conceptual framework into a set of measurement instruments.

The two measurement instruments developed were orientated towards different research methodologies. The quantitative household questionnaire was used to benchmark the perceptions of safety and fear of crime, whereas the qualitative focus group discussion guide explored issues pertaining to safety and fear of crime. In addition to exploring perceptions and attitudes of safety in their community, a core component of the focus group discussions was the spatial mapping of the respondents' communities. The community mapping activity allowed for the identification of the spatial distribution of crime within these communities as seen by the ordinary community member. The household questionnaire contained a set of indicators which was used to assess perceptions of safety and fear of crime using different Lickert scales. A total of 2020 household interviews were conducted for the entire study. The original questionnaire was revised and piloted. It was then translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa and back-translated into English. The focus group discussion guide explored deeply held beliefs, feelings and emotions about the subject under investigation. A series of focus group discussions were conducted with Community leaders as well as ordinary residents recruited from all 20 police sectors within the 11 police precincts. Collectively, the quantitative and qualitative research findings provide a more comprehensive understanding of safety and fear of crime within the selected areas.

### **2.2.3 Sample design**

A representative sample per police precinct and per sector was required, to enable generalization to the broader population of each precinct.

#### **A. Identifying a representative sample**

The sample universe includes all households within the 11 identified police precincts, and corresponding 20 sectors. In order to draw a representative sample, a valid sample frame must be used. The most valid and reliable sample frame available is the South African census sample frame, which has been updated with the 2009 mid-year population estimates. The census sample frame is split into enumerator areas (EAs). The population of the EAs are known, and from these population characteristics a set of stratification criteria can be applied and a representative sample drawn.

The EAs are spatially designated and demarcated within a set of boundaries. In determining the appropriate sample, the spatial characteristics of the areas and sub-areas proposed for the study were analyzed, in order to match the sectors to enumerator areas.

## **B. Sample design and methodology**

The sample was designed as a multi-stage stratified sample and Equal Probability Selection Methods (EPSOM) was used to ensure randomness within the sample.

The sample was stratified by:

- a. Police precinct area;
- b. Corresponding sub-areas;
- c. Enumerator areas within sub-areas;

## **C. Equal Probability Selection Methods**

- Maps and aerial photographs of the EAs were provided to the fieldworkers. A starting point was indicated on the map in addition to the prescribed walk pattern to be followed.
- A predetermined interval or number of houses to be skipped between sampled houses was determined through the "day code". The "day code" was calculated from the date e.g. On 14 November the interval will be  $1+4=5$ , thus the fieldworker would count off every fifth dwelling in order to determine the prospective respondent household. Where there were a high number of houses within an EA, a skip interval of 10 or 20 dwellings between sampling prospective households were used.
- Once a household was selected, the fieldworker applied the respondent selection procedure. A household member was randomly selected through application of the Kish Grid. If the selected respondent was unavailable at the first visit to the household, three call backs were made before substituting the household.

The purpose of EPSOM is to ensure that systematic sample bias is not introduced; otherwise the realized sample could contain a disproportional number of unemployed people and housewives, thereby skewing the results. Using the specified procedures, each resident in a community has an equal probability of inclusion within the sample.

## **D. Sample weights**

In order to extrapolate the sample to the broader population it was reweighed. The final weights were calculated on the probabilities derived from the household data, the respondent data and the respondent selection data (Kish Grid). The analysis and findings are based on the weighted data that allows for generalizations of the findings to the broader populations represented by the study sample. Thus, these findings represent the views and experiences of most community members living in the 11 different police precinct areas rather than only the sample chosen for participation in the study.

### **2.2.4 Fieldworker training and quality assurance**

All interviewers received intensive training, monitoring and supervision to ensure the quality of data collection. Fieldwork was undertaken employing protocols which exceed those required by industry benchmarks. These protocols covered the following:

- The conduct and deportment of the interviewers;
- The rules for management of the questionnaire;
- The protocols for fieldwork supervisors, to ensure proper quality management of the entire fieldwork component.
- Prior to fieldwork, all interviewers were provided with a photo identification card so that respondents would have the opportunity of contacting Citizen Surveys to establish the interviewer's validity.

### **2.2.5 Quality control and data processing**

Skilled data capturers were responsible for inputting the data into a structured data template. The data template was developed using NIPO software's data capture system and verification rules within the data capturing software ensured that the data was captured accurately and efficiently.

## **E. Quality control and vetting of questionnaire data took the following into consideration:**

- At least 25% of the sample and of each interviewer's completed work were back checked, either telephonically or through house calls;
- Where an interviewer's work was found to be unacceptable or to be misrepresented in any way, all the interviewer's work were back-checked and replaced as required;
- Questionnaires were subjected to an editing process – anomalies were identified, flagged and rectified;

- Data capture was implemented against a set of data verification rules, which ensured that data was captured accurately;
- A random check of 20% of all data captured was verified. Should an error rate of more than 1% be detected, 50% verification was implemented.

### **2.3 Structure of the report**

The next section, Section 3, provides a synopsis of earlier research studies that have explored fear of crime in the South African as well as international context. Section 4 summarizes the three key research questions of the Safety Barometer, while Section 5 provides an overview of the demographic profile of the sample. Thereafter Section 6 introduces the 11 communities by describing the characteristic features of this community as per the opinions of ordinary community members. This is followed by Section 7 which depicts the perceptions of safety and fear of crime held by those living in these 11 sites and Section 8 which presents an overview of victimization rates. Community perceptions of the police are detailed in Section 9 while findings relating to community cohesion and bonding are described in Section 10 of this report. This is followed by a description of the recommendations of the study (Section 11).

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

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#### 3.1 Introduction

All South African citizens have the democratic right to safety and security which includes a lifestyle free of fear. Despite this fact, increasing levels of crime and violence in South Africa contribute towards the fear of victimization, leaving communities feeling exposed and vulnerable. According to the 2009 Global Peace Index, South Africa was the 123<sup>rd</sup> (out of 149) most violent country to live in.<sup>2</sup> This year, although improving two spots on the index to 121<sup>st</sup>, South Africa obtained unfavourable scores for violent crime, murders, access to weapons, organised internal conflict, perceptions of criminality, respect for human rights, and the likelihood of violent demonstrations. In light of the above, it is hardly surprising that the fear of crime is becoming a serious social problem and community issue within the country.

Many South Africans have either themselves been victims of crime or they know someone who has. Earlier South African studies have attempted to explore this phenomenon, but tended to place emphasis on drawing comparisons between different groups in South African society. More specifically, the experiences of crime as well as the levels of fear experienced by each social group were explored. Studies of this nature, however, are not sufficient to measure the fear of crime. What have been of particular value to the field are the findings emerging from the 1998 and 2003 victim surveys conducted by independent researchers in South Africa. In addition to these findings, the 2009 roll-out of the Department of Community Safety's Barometer Study have also made significant inroads into the study of fear of crime amongst ordinary South African residents. These results will be described in later sections of this chapter.

Definitions of the fear of crime can become an arduous task as usually the topic does not differentiate between fear of victimization, perception of risk and a healthy anxiety about crime. Researchers continue to debate about the definition of this concept, even after decades of research. Some have suggested that the fear of crime can be defined as 'an anticipation of victimization, rather than fear of an actual victimization.' This type of fear relates to how vulnerable a person feels. It is an "emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of physical harm...elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime"<sup>3</sup> As mentioned above, Ferraro 1995; Roundtree and Land 1996 continue to seek clarity on the concepts of fear and the risk of fear. For the purpose of this paper, Ferraro's definition of fear will be employed. According to this

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<sup>2</sup> Global Peace Index Rankings 2009 and 2010, <http://www.visionofhumanity.org/gpi/results/rankings.php> (accessed 16 November 2009 and 27 September 2010)

<sup>3</sup> Fear of crime, John Howard Society of Alberta 1999.

definition, 'fear of crime is an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime.'<sup>4</sup>

The 'fear of crime' has, in the past three decades or so, developed as an important area of criminological research and inquiry.<sup>5</sup> Debates in the field include speculation as to why certain people fear certain crimes, while others don't; the role of socio-economic factors related to the fear of crime and psychological impacts of fear of crime on individuals as well as communities. The level of fear that a person holds depends on many factors and have a significant impact on fear levels, including age, gender, past experiences with crime that a person or a loved one may have, culture and ethnicity, as well as geographical location. These factors will be discussed in more detail below. This literature review is primarily concerned with aspects of the fear of crime including, who fears crime and why, the types of crime feared, where crime is feared, and the factors that contribute to fear of crime.

### **3.2 Measuring the Fear of Crime**

Measuring the fear of crime is a complex exercise and generalizations must be avoided in order to gain appropriate insight into this growing global phenomenon. Methods of measuring crime include gathering information from citizen reporting, police recording practices and crime surveys.<sup>6</sup> Crime surveys are particularly useful for revealing what is referred to as the 'dark' figure of crime; that which remains unreported to the police and is excluded from official crime statistics. Official crime statistics have always been considered as an underrepresentation of 'true' crime figures as they show only the 'iceberg' effect of crime where a larger 'dark figure' is hidden under the surface.<sup>7</sup>

Research on citizen reporting and national crime victimization surveys reveals that reporting differs by population group and that generally, lower income people, younger victims and men are less inclined to report victimization, while homeowners have higher reporting rates.<sup>8</sup> It has also been documented that incidents that happen away from home, those with smaller financial consequences or for which victims had no insurance, and crimes in which victims and offenders know one another are less frequently reported.<sup>9</sup> Researchers agree that black on white crimes are also more likely to be reported.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ferraro, K (1995) *Fear of Crime: Interpreting Victimization Risk*. Albany NY: SUNY pg 24 (1995)

<sup>5</sup> The Genesis of 'Fear of Crime' Murry Lee, *Theoretical Criminology* 2001;5;467 Sage Publications

<sup>6</sup> Measuring what matters: Crime, Disorder, Fear. Wesley G. Skogan pg 37-38

<sup>7</sup> E. Fattah, 'Victimology: Past, Present and Future' in *Criminologie*, 33 (1) (2000), and L. Zedner. 'Victims', in M. Maguire., R. Morgan & R. Reiner (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (2002).

<sup>8</sup> Measuring what matters: Crime, Disorder, Fear. Wesley G. Skogan pg38

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

Skogan<sup>11</sup> notes that in order to measure the fear of crime, one needs to clarify the meaning of the concept, which can only be refined once the researcher has ascertained the purpose of the research. He further notes that research on fear of crime conceptualizes it in one of four ways: concern about crime, their assessment of personal risk of victimization, the perceived threat of crime in their environment and the behavioural approach to fear.<sup>12</sup> Skogan goes a step further in labelling the first three as cognitive in nature, and the last one is inherently behavioural, and it is on the basis of this that he reasserts that different definitions of fear can lead to different substantive research conclusions.<sup>13</sup>

Police recording practices leave much to be desired in the way of accurate data on the subject. Often police officers may act to avoid unpleasant or seemingly unproductive work, forestall complaints about their behaviour, or respond to pressure from their supervisors to keep the crime count down (as recently experienced in a Western Province Police station).<sup>14</sup> Survey measures of crime have developed over the years; while previous research concentrated on the fear of crime, recent measures to strengthen the validity of the measure of the fear of crime have focused on including questions such as "How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark? Do you feel safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe, or very unsafe?"<sup>15</sup> This has been the approach of the International Crime (Victim) Survey researchers since 1992, in aiming to measure vulnerability to crime and not merely questions that measure perceptions of the risk of victimization and other emotional-based measures of fear.<sup>16</sup>

Although the figures in survey data tend to be more accurate than police reporting and victimization studies, survey measures of crime also face its own set of challenges. The first challenge is that of coverage. Skogan correctly asserts that not everybody can be included in surveys, and the fact that the mobility of society is increasing contributes to the difficulty of the accurate measurement of crime.<sup>17</sup> Skogan suggests that this problem is compounded when respondents need to be re-interviewed over time as young people, renters and short term members of the community are difficult to trace, while women, family members and home owners are easier to track down.<sup>18</sup> The second challenge is that of expense.<sup>19</sup> Surveys typically use a sample of the population and use these to represent the greater population. This could lead to an error in prediction if the sample population is too small. In order to avoid this error, a large sample size needs to be interviewed, which can only be accomplished on a more

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<sup>11</sup> Measuring what matters: Crime, Disorder, Fear. Wesley G. Skogan pg47

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> Measuring what matters: Crime, Disorder, Fear. Wesley G. Skogan pg38

<sup>15</sup> Van Dijk, J.J.M., van Kesteren, J.N. & Smit, P. (2008). Criminal Victimization in International Perspective, Key findings from the 2004-2005 ICVS and EU ICS. The Hague, Boom Legal Publishers .

<sup>16</sup> (van Kesteren, Mayhew, and Nieuwebeerta 2000).

<sup>17</sup> Measuring what matters: Crime, Disorder, Fear. Wesley G. Skogan pg 39

<sup>18</sup> Measuring what matters: Crime, Disorder, Fear. Wesley G. Skogan pg 40.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

generous budget. The final challenge is 'getting the counting straight'.<sup>20</sup> Skogan reports that research in the United Kingdom suggests that the key fact is not that more people are victimized in these areas; while that percentage is higher in high-crime areas; what distinguishes the worst areas is that some residents are repeatedly victimized and this contributes disproportionately to the overall crime count in high areas.<sup>21</sup>

### **3.3 Perception of Risk and Fear of Crime**

Perceptions are important in studies in the field as they influence behaviour. How people form perceptions of risk is not clearly understood, but perceptions can be fuelled by cues of personal experience of crime, media reporting of crime and word of mouth reports of victimization.<sup>22</sup> Other cues include darkness, the presence of strangers and abandoned buildings. Perception of risk is a complex topic, and is even more so as an individual's fears and perceptions of the risk of victimization differ from person to person. It is because of the latter fact that it is tricky to measure the perception of risk in a community. As Warr noted, the degree of risk that is sufficient to terrify an elderly woman, for example, might scarcely elicit a reaction from a nineteen-year-old male.<sup>23</sup> Research has also recorded that individuals also differ in terms of what constitutes a risk: some may regard an obscene phone call as a threat, while others may not give it a second thought. According to research conducted in 2003, public perceptions are based on both primary and secondary factors. Primary factors include first hand experiences of crime that an individual or their family or friends have had and secondary factors such as media reports, other documentary information about the crime situation and general word of mouth.<sup>24</sup>

The results of the 2003 South African National Victims of Crime Survey indicate that feelings of safety have declined markedly since 1998; public views about which crimes occur most often are accurate, and that many South Africans have personal experience of the most extreme

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Crimes of need – Results of the Malawi Crime Victimization Survey

<sup>23</sup> M. Warr. 'Fear of crime in the United States: Avenues for research and policy'. In D. Duffee (ed.), *Measurement and analysis of crime and justice: Criminal justice 2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice (2000), pg 482.

<sup>24</sup> ISS Monograph 101, chapter 4 Public perceptions about safety and crime, pg 41.

### Key findings of South African National Victims of Crime Survey 2007

#### *PERCEPTIONS ABOUT SAFETY*

- Feelings of safety have declined since 1998. 21 per cent of respondents report feeling safe walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark in the 2007 survey.
- The results of the 2007 NVCS survey suggest declining levels of perceived safety.
- Feelings of safety vary between race groups. Virtually all (97 per cent) Indian respondents reported feeling unsafe walking around their area at night, compared to African (80 per cent) and coloured (79 per cent) respondents and three quarters (73 per cent) of white respondents.
- Feelings of safety vary considerably between provinces. Those living in Gauteng were most likely to report feeling unsafe, followed by those living in Mpumalanga province and North West.
- Women were more likely to feel unsafe (83 per cent compared to 74 per cent of men).
- When asked which crimes they thought occurred most often in their neighbourhood, respondents ranked burglary as the most common, followed by robbery and assault.
- When respondents were asked what crimes they were most afraid of, burglary again ranked highest, followed by murder and sexual assault
- This indicates that while South Africans remain afraid of experiencing interpersonal violent crime, they are becoming increasingly worried about the loss of material possessions. This may be due to a perceived increase in burglars' use of violence, as well as the rising cost of replacing household items, particularly in the absence widespread access to private insurance.

form of violence.<sup>25</sup> In this survey a range of questions were asked about how people thought the crime level had changed, which crime types were believed to be the most prevalent, and which they feared the most.<sup>26</sup> It also asked questions about views of change in crime level; types of crime perceived to be the most common, most feared crime types and crime as a topic of conversation. It was found that the single most commonly discussed crime in the past two weeks was burglary, the type of crime thought occurred most in their neighbourhood was housebreaking; and the most feared crime type respondents were afraid of was murder.<sup>27</sup> Similar fears resonated in the initial results of the Barometer study in six police precincts in the Western Cape. Residents from Delft, Mitchell's Plain, Nyanga, Atlantis, Bishop Lavis and Paarl East commonly identified violent crimes such as murder, robbery, rape and sexual assault as well as burglary as the crimes they were most fearful of in their communities.<sup>28</sup>

Recent research has tried to incorporate a multivariate multilevel model for measuring perceptions of risk and fear of crime. Analysis by Tseloni and Zarafonitou investigated the fear of crime and victimization by means of a multivariate multilevel model of competing

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<sup>25</sup> ISS Monograph 101, chapter 4 Public perceptions about safety and crime, pg 40.

<sup>26</sup> ISS Monograph 101, chapter 4 Public perceptions about safety and crime, pg 42

<sup>27</sup> ISS Monograph 101, chapter 4 Public perceptions about safety and crime, pg 45-49

<sup>28</sup> See Department of Community Safety, Barometer Study Reports 2010.

measurements.<sup>29</sup> The findings of their research report suggests that worry about crime is created by a series of subjective parameters, such as general social attitudes, perceived vulnerability and everyday risk. In their study people who reported feeling insecure moving about at night in their own neighbourhood attributed it to the presence of many 'foreigners', inadequate police patrolling and deserted or badly lit areas.<sup>30</sup>

A perceived lack of social cohesion was implied in reports about the indifference of neighbours and passers-by in the event of a criminal attack. It was suggested that the beliefs about social disintegration are intrinsic to quality of life, which is another important parameter for crime anxieties and according to this study, more than three quarters of those reporting feeling unsafe walking alone after dark were also dissatisfied with the quality of life in their municipality.<sup>31</sup> Warr observes that under the wrong circumstances, fear can 'unnecessarily constrain behaviour, restrict freedom and personal opportunity, and threaten the foundation of communities'<sup>32</sup> which was clearly indicated in the results gathered from the survey in the six initial sites particularly amongst residents of Atlantis, Nyanga and Paarl East. The following extracts taken from focus groups conducted with community members from these areas clearly demonstrate the disempowering impact that fear of crime has had on these communities; *"If a gangster is standing in front of your house, you can't ask him to stand away from your house, because you don't have that right anymore."* and *"You can't even go to the shop for fear of being caught in a shooting or a robbery."*

Another study on the multilevel impacts of perceived incivilities and perceptions of crime risk, on fear of crime, has also indicated that individuals perceiving more incivilities than their neighbours report more fear after controlling for individual socio-demographic characteristics, perceptions of crime risk, and neighbourhood context.<sup>33</sup> This provides support for Wilson and Kelling's famous (1982) 'broken windows' theory which proves a causal relationship between disorder, fear and crime.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Fear of Crime and Victimization: A multivariate multilevel model of competing measurements. A Tseloni and C Zarafonitou. *European Journal of Criminology*, 2008;5; pg 392

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

<sup>32</sup> Ibid at 19

<sup>33</sup> Brian R. Wyant, Multilevel Impacts of Perceived Incivilities and Perceptions of Crime Risk on Fear of Crime: Isolating Endogenous Impacts, *Temple University, Sage Publications, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 2008:45; 42

<sup>34</sup> R. B. Taylor, and M. Hale. 'Testing alternative models of fear of crime', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 77 (1) (1986), and S. Roh and W. M. Oliver. 'Effects of community policing upon fear of crime: understanding the causal linkage', *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. (28) 4, (2005) at 671-672.

47 J.Q. Wilson, and G.L. Kelling. 'The police and neighbourhood safety: Broken windows'. *The Atlantic Monthly* (1982) at 29-38.

### 3.4 Factors that contribute to the Fear of Crime

Research has indicated that there are a number of factors which influence different groups within the general population. These factors include age, gender, income levels, education levels, previous victimization or experience of crime, media exposure, ethnicity and culture and environmental considerations. Factors that affect fear of crime can be divided into two categories, individual level and neighbourhood level factors. At the individual level, focus is placed on the vulnerability principle with regard to factors such as gender, age and/or race. This principle was based on the assumption that fear was greatest when individuals perceived

**According to the South African National Victims of Crime Survey 2007, South Africans feel that the perpetrators of crime:**

- South Africans felt that both property (23 per cent) and violent (22 per cent) crime were committed by people living in their area,
- Those living in the melting pot of Gauteng were most likely to feel that crime was committed by people born outside South Africa (18 per cent and 19 per cent for property and violent crime respectively)
- With the remainder primarily of the opinion that crime was committed by people from outside their area. This dropped to roughly two in five and one in five respectively in 2007, with less than one quarter of respondents reporting that crimes were carried out by people both from within and outside their neighbourhood.
- The fact that more people in the border provinces than the other provinces think that non-South Africans perpetrate most crime may simply be indicative of their proximity to Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique. But in light of the recent xenophobic attacks against foreigners, these views may also point to a general growing hostility towards non-South Africans.
- When asked about what they think motivates criminals in their neighbourhood, respondents most often believed that those committing violent and property crime were motivated by greed (both 39 per cent) and to a lesser extent non-financial reasons (28 per cent and 25 per cent for violent and property crime respectively).

that they were at a physical disadvantage against potential assaults and/or when individuals believed that they were particularly vulnerable to being victims of crime.<sup>35</sup> Factors affecting fear at a neighbourhood level include reactions to a set of circumstances such as community crime rates, differences in community resources or organization, demographics and resources.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Wyant, Brain R, Multilevel Impacts of Perceived Incivilities and Perceptions of Crime Risk on Fear of Crime: Isolating Endogenous Impacts, *Journal of research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2008:45; 42 SAGE Publications

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, pg45

### 3.4.1 Age

The assumption made that the aged are most afraid of being victimized, according to research are not unfounded. The elderly are generally a more vulnerable group due to the fact that they may have physical limitations in relation to the younger population, and thus unable to defend themselves. But studies have shown that the elderly are more prone to fear of certain crimes such as robbery and housebreaking as opposed to rape and sexual assault.<sup>37</sup> A study conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology yielded results which confirmed that older Australians tend to be significantly more fearful of crimes in their own home than younger people.<sup>38</sup> In the same study, the authors cite a more recent study that found that younger Australians are more fearful of violence in general than the elderly, because their lifestyle places them at relatively greater risk.<sup>39</sup> This highlights the fact that the elderly generally have less social interaction, and tend not to leave their homes after a certain time of night.

In addition to their physical vulnerability, a number of studies have revealed that the elderly fear crime primarily because of the constraints that exist for their recovery if they are physically harmed or injured as a result of the crime they have experienced.<sup>40</sup> It must be noted, however, that studies continue to raise doubts about the use of age as a predictor of fear of crime given the incongruent findings of different researchers.

### 3.4.2 Gender

Gender has been found to be the strongest predictor of fear. Despite the fact that men experience higher levels of victimization than women, research suggests that females continue to fear crime more than males. Men and women have different interpretations of crimes that contain the threat of physical harm, and the fact that women fear victimization more than men do, may also be as in the case of the elderly, due to physical vulnerability. Research indicates that the fear of rape, particularly with younger women, is recorded to be the most feared crime. According to Ferraro, rape is a "master offense" that lurks behind fear of other crimes (e.g., residential burglary, obscene phone calls), and that the fear of crime may in reality only take into the consideration fear of rape.<sup>41</sup>

Callanan and Teasdale investigated the differences in fear of crime between men and women in a study which illustrated not only the significant measurement variance between men and

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<sup>37</sup> Evans, D. J. (1995). *Crime and policing: Spatial approaches*. England: Avebury.

<sup>38</sup> No. 44 Fear of Crime and Fear Reduction Strategies P. N. Grabosky Australian Institute of Criminology

<sup>39</sup> Ibid

<sup>40</sup> T. Jefferson and W. Hollway. „The role of anxiety in fear of crime“, Chapter 2 in T. Hope and R. Sparks (eds) *Law and Order in Everyday Life and Political Discourse*. (2000) pg.33.

<sup>41</sup> Ferraro, K. F. (1996). Women's fear of victimization: Shadow of sexual assault? *Social Forces*, 75(2), 667-690.

women on fear of crime items but also pinpoints where these differences are.<sup>42</sup> Their study found that women are more fearful of crimes which involve the potential for physical harm, threat of rape and sexual violence. In terms of the measurement difference in reporting between the genders, their analysis revealed that men tend to underreport their fear of crime, women may be more aware of their physical environment and of strangers to avoid potential victimization which in turn may drive up their level of fear and finally sensitivity to risk may heighten women's fear of crime relative to men's.<sup>43</sup> The Australian Institute of Criminology's study on the fear of crime has highlighted the fact that Australian women are much more fearful of being alone in their own homes, and of walking in their neighbourhood at night, than men.<sup>44</sup> It was also noted that regardless of how fear is measured, women continue to report significantly greater perceived risk and fear of crime than men.<sup>45</sup> Controversial research has suggested that woman may tend to be more fearful due to irrationality; fewer coping skills in relation to being a victim; a great concern for their children which fuels their fear; and less control over public and private spaces than men.<sup>46</sup> It is apparent from the literature on gender and fear of crime that there are many and varying reasons as to why women are more fearful than men, and that these factors need to be investigated. It is necessary to point out that another group of potentially vulnerable people include the physically disabled. In many cases they are as, if not more, vulnerable to crime as they are physically restricted in terms of mobility.

### 3.4.3 Previous Victimization

It is important to distinguish direct victimization from indirect victimization. Direct victimization refers to instances where the person has been a victim of crime, while indirect victimization refers to exposure to crime via word of mouth or the attack of a family member. Investigations into the relationship between previous victimization and the fear of crime have had varying results. Some studies (Skogan 1987<sup>47</sup> and Killias 2001: 309<sup>48</sup>) reported that previous experience with crime is related to fear. In Skogan's study, he examined the victimization event history of 1738 individuals in two US cities over the course of 12 months and gauged the

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<sup>42</sup> Valerie J. Callanan and Brent Teasdale An Exploration of Gender Differences in Measurement of Fear of Crime An Exploration of Gender Differences in Measurement of Fear of Crime *Feminist Criminology* 2009; 4; 359 originally published online Sep 16, 2009;

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

<sup>44</sup> No. 44 Fear of Crime and Fear Reduction Strategies P. N. Grabosky Australian Institute of Criminology

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Gilchrist, Jon Bannister, Jason Ditton and Stephen Farrall *Women and the 'fear of crime' Challenging the Accepted Stereotype The British Journal of Criminology* 38:283-298 (1998)

<sup>47</sup> Skogan, W. G. (1987). The impact of victimisation on fear. *Crime and Delinquency* 33, 135-54.

<sup>48</sup> Killias, M. and Clerici, C. (2000). Different measures of vulnerability and their relation to different dimensions of fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology* 40, 437-50.

intensity of feeling insecure after each event. He found that fear of crime increased after each repetition, especially in the case of multiple victimizations.<sup>49</sup>

In another empirical study, it was found that past victimization, especially when no police action was taken or the crime was not reported, perpetuated and increased the fear of crime.<sup>50</sup> Wyant notes that 'previous victimization might lead some to believe that they are at greater risk for future victimization. Furthermore, those who have fallen victim to crime previously may also avoid certain areas or people they deem dangerous, thereby reducing their perceived vulnerability and fear.<sup>51</sup> Other research, however, has indicated a weak association between fear of crime and previous victimization.<sup>52</sup> There is no consensus in the literature on this topic, but it might be worthwhile mentioning that the relationship between past experience with crime and fear may depend on the type of victimization.<sup>53</sup> According to Skogan and Klecka, robbery generates a high level of fear because it usually involves someone who is unknown to you, the use of weapons and physical assault, amongst other things.<sup>54</sup>

#### **3.4.4 Environmental Considerations**

When considering the fear of crime in neighbourhoods, it is also important to note the location. Studies have indicated that people who live in cities tend to have higher levels of fear because cities tend to have higher crime rates. With this in mind, certain environmental conditions (physical and social) lead to a heightened sense of fear in communities. These stem from the association between symbols of fear with the perceived risk of fear. Neighbourhood incivilities are indicators of social and physical disorder, and these include the presence of litter, graffiti, and vandalism to the frequent presence of drunks, vagrants, or loud parties.<sup>55</sup> Studies conducted on neighbourhood incivilities agree that the presence of these incivilities impact on levels of fear in communities, and that residents are likely to perceive themselves as vulnerable and therefore more fearful of crime when their neighbourhoods have high-risk social and physical conditions such as those mentioned above.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Fear of Crime and Victimization A Multivariate Multilevel Analysis of Competing Measurements, Andromachi Tseloni & Christina Zarafonitou, *European Journal of Criminology* 2008; 5; 387

<sup>50</sup> Anne-Marie Mohammed, George Saridakis, Sandra Sookram Do Victims of Crime Fear Crime More? Empirical Evidence from the Survey of Living Conditions (2005) of Trinidad and Tobago *SALISES Publications • Working Papers Paper 2009:19* (Second version) <http://sta.uwi.edu/salises/pubs/workingpapers/19.pdf> (accessed 18 November 2009)

<sup>51</sup> Wyant, Brain R, Multilevel Impacts of Perceived Incivilities and Perceptions of Crime Risk on Fear of Crime: Isolating Endogenous Impacts, *Journal of research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2008:45; 42 SAGE Publications

<sup>52</sup> Quann, N. and Hung, K. (2002). Victimization experience and the fear of crime. A cross-national study. In P. Nieuwebeerta (ed.) *Crime victimization in comparative perspective. Results from the International Crime Victims Survey, 1989–2000*, 301–16. The Hague: NSCR, BJU.

<sup>53</sup> Ferraro 1995

<sup>54</sup> Skogan, W. G., & Klecka, W. R. (1997). *Fear of crime*. Washington: American Political Science Association.

<sup>55</sup> LaGrange, R.L, Ferraro, K.F, & Supancic, M (1002) Perceived risk and fear of crime – role of social and physical incivilities. *Journal of research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29 (3), 311-334

<sup>56</sup> Skogan W., & Maxfield, M (1981) *Coping with crime*. Beverly Hills. SAGE

Skogan has noted that according to his studies, the design of the built environment and public places can contribute to feelings of fear.<sup>57</sup> According to the CSIR's Crime Prevention through Environmental Design research, they note that 'the environment can play a significant role in influencing perceptions of safety'. Certain environments can impart a feeling of safety, while others can induce fear, even in areas where levels of crime are not high. In this regard, planning and design measures can be utilised very successfully to enhance feelings of safety in areas where people feel vulnerable.<sup>58</sup> Broken windows, abandoned buildings, and poorly lit streets have been reported to heighten fear of crime in communities. In a study investigating the effect of better street lighting on crime and fear, it was found that when respondents were asked directly what the effect of the re-lighting had been, as many as 56 per cent of those who benefited from it said that they felt either 'more safe' or 'much more safe'. Good street lighting is, after all, widely acknowledged to be reassuring.<sup>59</sup> Some research has suggested that planting more trees in neighbourhoods can contribute to the overall sense of safety, but what needs to be considered is that vegetation may negatively impact visibility in these areas.<sup>60</sup>

### 3.4.5 Gangs

An important factor that is scarcely addressed in the literature is the effect of gangs on the fear of crime. Gang and gang-related activity is inherently violent in nature and is thus logical that their presence leads to a dramatic increase in fear of crime in gang-ridden communities. According to Lane and Meeker, young people are more fearful of gang and gang related violence than the elderly.<sup>61</sup> This was contrary to previous research in the field, which indicated that the elderly were more fearful. This phenomenon is not surprising, as more young people are likely to come into contact with gangs on their way to class and school etc, than the elderly. Gangs may also be more likely to invoke fear in residents as they are often more visible, hanging out on street corners in groups, wearing distinctive dress and hair styles, leaving identifying graffiti on walls and buildings, and making an effort to intimidate others within and outside their neighbourhoods.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Skogan, W. (1990). *Disorder and decline: Crime and the spiral of decay in American cities*. New York: Free Press

<sup>58</sup> CSIR *Building and Construction Technology*, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design [http://www.cpted.co.za/cpted\\_summary.pdf](http://www.cpted.co.za/cpted_summary.pdf) (accessed 18 November 2009)

<sup>59</sup> Malcolm Ramsay, 1991, *The Effect Of Better Street Lighting On Crime And Fear: A Review*, Crime Prevention Unit Paper No. 29, London: Home Office

<sup>60</sup> Burcu Kaya & Ayşe Sema Kubat, *Space And Fear Of Crime Relation In Urban Green AREAS CASE STUDY: Maçka Demokrasi Park, Faculty of Architecture, İTÜ 2007*, <http://www.spacesyntaxistanbul.itu.edu.tr/papers%5Cshortpapers%5C118%20-%20Kaya%20Kubat.pdf> (accessed 18 November 2009)

<sup>61</sup> Meeker & Lane, *Fear of Gang Crime: A Look at Three Theoretical Models*, EBSCO, 2003

<sup>62</sup> Meeker & Lane, *Subcultural Diversity and the Fear of Crime and Gangs*, *Crime & Delinquency Journal*, Sage Publications 2000: 46

### 3.4.6 Other Factors

There are many other factors which have been studied in order to ascertain their impact on fear of crime which include ethnicity and culture, income level, educational level, and media exposure. Research in Australia have confirmed that generally, people with higher levels of education and income tend to be less fearful than poor people, as wealthier persons are able to afford better security, and are less likely to associate with individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, who tend to be at greater risk of offending.<sup>63</sup> The same study has indicated that people with lower education as well as renters, tend to have higher levels of fear of crime. Studies on the effect of the fear of crime have also yielded varying results. Some have found that "Black" respondents report the highest fear of crime, while others found that "Asian" respondents reported the highest figures.<sup>64</sup> What has been agreed upon by most of the research is that the "White" population group has the least amount of fear in relation to crime. It has been noted that low income levels and low educational levels tend to increase fear of crime.<sup>65</sup> Research into the effects of media exposure on fear of crime, have not been conclusive, but this will be discussed in detail further in this paper.

### 3.5 The Effects of the Fear of Crime

Fear incapacitates. Being a victim of crime and fearing crime can have a significant impact on an individual's quality of life. Fear of crime can lead to many debilitating mental illnesses including depression and anxiety. Roberts (2008) has noted that in the United States and Europe the fear of crime is actually viewed as a more pressing issue than crime itself. For this reason, the fears of individuals are receiving far more attention than actual crimes which have occurred.<sup>67</sup>

Increases in levels of anxiety due to perceptions and fear of crime or victimization may manifest in several behaviours which may negatively affect the quality of life of South African citizens. Some of these behaviours may include avoiding certain areas at certain times of the day, erecting higher walls and installing state of the art security systems. While for some this may lead to and enhance feelings of safety and security, it leaves those who do not have the financial resources to employ these safety measures vulnerable to the real and perceived threat of crime and victimization.

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<sup>63</sup> No. 44 Fear of Crime and Fear Reduction Strategies. N. Grabosky Australian Institute of Criminology

<sup>64</sup> Walker, M. A. (1994). Measuring concern about crime: Some inter-racial comparisons. British Journal of Criminology, 34(3), 366-378.

<sup>65</sup> Evans, D. J. (1995). Crime and policing: Spatial approaches. England: Avebury.

<sup>66</sup> (Borooh and Carcach 1997; Carcach et al. 1995)

<sup>67</sup> B. Roberts. *Age of hope or anxiety? Dynamics of the fear of crime in South Africa*. HSRC Policy Brief. March 2008 pg.

Results from the initial stages of the current study reveal that in the six sites fear impacted on residents' lives in ways that ranged from restricting their personal movements within the community to not reporting crimes to the police for fear of reprisals from perpetrators. An increased lack of trust among neighbours was also reported to have emanated from fears and a large number of respondents across all the six sites said that fear bred a sense of normalizing crime in the community and this led to a reduction in the communities' morals, particularly among the youth.

In the course of its inquiry, the Australian Parliamentary Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs found that common effects of fear of crime include: withdrawal from participating within the community, altered lifestyle and implications for health and well-being, socio-economic consequences, and effects on small business, particularly tourism, when a community is perceived to be unsafe.<sup>68</sup> The report also found that not all victims will be affected by crime in the same way, and for some victims the effects of crime will be long lasting, and that victims may experience a number of consequences of crime including financial loss; property damage; psychological and emotional effects; behavioural changes; physical injury or death; and changes to personal relationships.<sup>69</sup>

As mentioned briefly above, fear of crime can have negative psychological implications, but recent studies have focused on the relationship between mental health, physical functioning and fear of crime have been conducted that have suggested that the fear of crime is associated with poorer mental health and greater limitations in physical functioning. A particular study found that 'participants that report high levels of fear were 50% more likely to exhibit symptoms of common mental disorder and more than 90% more likely to exhibit symptoms of depression than were those with the lowest levels.<sup>70</sup> The effects of fear of crime on an individual are documented in the majority of research as resulting in negative consequences. While it may be true that there is disparity between what is actually feared, and the likelihood of that incident occurring, the fear of crime continues to contribute to people feeling insecure in their own homes as well as in their communities.

As a result of their fears, there were a number of recommendations made by participants in the initial roll-out of the Community Safety Barometer on how the government could alleviate levels of fear in their respective communities. There was a shared feeling among participants that fostering partnerships and co-operation between the police and community members would yield greater feelings of safety. Developing neighbourhood watch schemes and community members taking responsibility for crime prevention as well as stricter laws and

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<sup>68</sup> Australian Parliamentary Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs <http://www.aph.gov.au/House/committee/laca/crimeinthecommunity/report.htm> (accessed 16 November 2009)

<sup>69</sup> Ibid

<sup>70</sup> M Stafford, T Chandola & M Marmot, Association between Fear of Crime and Mental Health and Physical Functioning. <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/cgi/reprint/97/11/2076.pdf> (accessed on 16 November 2009)

fewer leniencies for criminals were other recommendations given by participants. Furthermore, participants from all sites cited that it was essential to have recreational facilities and activities for the youth as this would keep them busy and prevent them from engaging in criminal activities.

### **3.6 The Media and Fear of Crime**

The main source of information about crime is provided by the media and in most cases newspapers operate on the dictum that "bad news sells more papers". In some cases the media extensively and disproportionately reports on particularly sensationalist crime, this distorts the public's perception of crime as it may lead them to think that more crime is occurring than what is the reality on the ground. Reports of crime in the media influence public feelings of safety and the practice of media spotlight honing in on community socio-economic challenges and serious incidents have exacerbated the perception that communities are crime-ridden and unsafe. According to research undertaken in this field, most of the evidence has focused on newspaper reports of crime, and not on television or radio-reported crime.<sup>71</sup> It has been shown that crime reported in newspapers concentrates heavily on infrequently occurring crimes, usually involving sex and/or violence.<sup>72</sup> And that fear of crime is often out of proportion to the reality of its threat to the average person.

The majority of research concludes that the effects of media coverage of crime is complex, and while some studies indicate that certain types of coverage increases fear, while other forms decrease fear.<sup>73</sup> Studies in the United Kingdom have shown that readers of tabloid newspapers which have more sensational crime coverage reported higher levels of fear than readers of broadsheet newspapers, whose crime coverage is less predominant and less dramatic.<sup>74</sup> Recent criminological trends have moved away from the old argument that mass media exert direct causal effects upon perceptions of crime, and this is evident in a study conducted by Chadee and Ditton.<sup>75</sup> Their study, the first of its kind in Trinidad, was conducted in 2005, with a sample size of 705 and data collection involved face-to-face interviews with the head of the household or the next responsible adult, with the dependent variable being fear of crime and the independent variables being various forms of media such as the radio, newspapers, TV

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<sup>71</sup> Fear of crime and the media: assessing the lack of relationship, D, Chadee and Jason Ditton, *Crime, Media, Culture Journal*, 2005:1:322, pg 322.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<sup>73</sup> No. 44 Fear of Crime and Fear Reduction Strategies P. N. Grabosky Australia Institute of Criminology <http://www.aic.gov.au/documents/7/1/F/%7B71F8B743-15AF-459F-B4F8-58BC330796DB%7Dt44.pdf> (accessed 17 November 2009)

<sup>74</sup> Ibid

<sup>75</sup> Fear of crime and the media: assessing the lack of relationship, D, Chadee and Jason Ditton, *Crime, Media, Culture Journal*, 2005:1:322, pg 322. SAGE PUBLICATIONS

hours and TV News.<sup>76</sup> The regression analysis with age, ethnicity, sex and crime residence together with radio, newspaper, TV hours and TV news shows that the demographic factors influence fear of crime. However, the media variables have no impact on fear and that there is only a weak correlation ( $R=0.084$ ,  $p<0.01$ ) between TV News and fear for the entire sample.<sup>77</sup> The results of this study indicate that there is no relationship between fear of crime and the media (operationalized as reading newspapers, watching prime-time television news, and listening to the radio).<sup>78</sup>

It might hold true that the media of late tend to report on the more gruesome and violent crimes instead of commonly occurring crimes. This has been evidenced in a number of studies in Britain and Canada. A study conducted in Scotland found that 6.5% of the news reported in the newspapers involved crime, and 46% of this was violent and sexual crime, even though only 2.4% of reported crimes were actually violent or sexual.<sup>79</sup> The mass media remains a powerful vehicle for disseminating information within a small space of time, to a large number of people, but whether or not this means of communication, particularly in the field of crime, has a negative or positive effect still remains ambiguous.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

The incidence and prevalence of fear of crime and perception has increased and heightened over the last decade. It is obvious from the above that this is increasing and continues to have negative physical, psychological and behavioural effects on people and their environments. It is clear from the literature and from the initial roll-out of the current study that fear of crime is influenced by several factors including race, gender, age, previous experience with crime and several other factors. A consistent theme appears throughout the literature review, that is: fear of crime is on the increase and that fear reduction policies need to be clearly defined, well-thought out and effectively implemented if we are to successfully reduce the fear of crime in South Africa. It is acknowledged that the nature of crime is complex and that many role-players throughout the community at large need to be involved in this challenge of fear reduction in communities. The literature points out that the government needs to provide a basic sense of security for the safety of its citizens. If this is not achieved, for whatever reason, private security companies and other community security initiatives should take over from where the state police have failed in their duties. Conklin notes that a basic sense of personal security is a fundamental element for an individual's well-being<sup>80</sup> and a lack of a feeling of security may hamper one's ability to exist well in society as modifying movements

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 326

<sup>77</sup> Ibid 329

<sup>78</sup> Ibid

<sup>79</sup> Williams. P & Dickinson, J (1993) Fear of Crime? Read all about it? The relationship between newspaper crime reporting and fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*. 33(1), 52

<sup>80</sup> J.E. Conklin. *The impact of crime*. 1975.

and activities can lead to discontent.<sup>81</sup> This being said, the government should always be the first port of call for the protection and safety of its citizens.

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<sup>81</sup> J. Prinsloo. "The Impact of Victimization on the Fear of Crime" *Acta Criminologica*. 19(2) (2006) at 1.

## 4. SUMMARY OF KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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The Community Safety Barometer reports on the findings of eleven police precincts namely:

- Khayelitsha (Thembani, Bongweni & Khwezi and Site C);
- Harare (Mandela Park & SST and Kuyasa & Enkanini);
- Mfuleni (Bardale Squatter Camp and Wesbank);
- Gugulethu (Khikhi, NY1 & Lotus River Informal Settlement and Barcelona & Kanana);
- Cape Town (CBD area, Vredehoek and Oranjezicht);
- Kleinvlei (Melton Rose, Malibu Village & Tuscany Glen);
- Kraaifontein (Wallacedene and Bloekom Bos);
- Kuilsriver (Highbury and Kalkfontein & Sarepta);
- Bellville (Boston & CBD area);
- Manenberg (Heideveld); and
- Phillipi (Hanover Park and Pinati Estate)

On the whole, the study attempted to answer the following three questions:

### 4.1 What do people fear most?

On the whole, violent crimes such as robbery, rape, violence/fighting, and gangsterism were what residents feared most in their communities. In addition to violent crimes, property crimes such as housebreaking and car theft were also typically identified when respondents were asked what they feared most in their neighbourhoods.

This is not surprising though as Skogan and Klecka purports that robbery generates a high level of fear amongst people because it usually involves someone who is unknown to them, the use of weapons and physical assault, amongst other things.<sup>82</sup> See Table 1.

### 4.2 How has fear impacted on the lives of ordinary community members?

Overall, the findings revealed that fear of crime have impacted on residents' lives in various ways. On an individual level, it restricts personal movement within the community (particularly at night time) and contributes to a poor quality of life in general. These include no longer going out especially after dark, preventing their children from playing outside, and having friends and family members be reluctant to visit them for fear of their safety. On a community

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<sup>82</sup> Skogan, W. G., & Klecka, W. R. (1997). Fear of crime. Washington: American Political Science Association.

level, fear of crime has negatively impacted on community cohesion and community ties (i.e. the ability to trust other community members). In addition to this, the need to employ household security measures as a way of safeguarding one's family and possessions, and the need to keep a constant eye on one's possessions particularly cars were also common means employed to ensure their safety. See Table 1.

### **4.3 What can government do to address these levels of fear in the community?**

The suggestions offered by the residents when asked what they thought should be done by government to address these levels of fear in their community were largely governed by the social ills plaguing these communities. Interestingly, much of the recommendations focussed on ensuring that the recreational needs of young people in these communities are being met. This does not come as a surprise since young males were typically identified as the most common perpetrators of crimes occurring in these areas. More specifically, the need for skills development, job creation, and the provision of recreational facilities, programmes and activities were consistently highlighted across these eleven communities. In addition to this, increased police and government involvement in the community, increased police visibility and the need to mobilize community members to work together to ensuring a safer community was viewed as essential to alleviating high levels of fear in these communities. See Table 1.

**Table 1: Summary of key research questions (%)**

POLICE PRECINCT	WHAT DO PEOPLE FEAR MOST?	HOW HAS FEAR IMPACTED ON THEIR LIVES?	WHAT CAN GOVERNMENT DO TO ADDRESS THESE LEVELS OF FEAR IN THE COMMUNITY
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robbery (28.5%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (26.1%)</li> <li>• Gangs/people who can rob you (11.9%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (8.9%)</li> <li>• Loitering on corners (6.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Always lock doors, windows and gates (40.2%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (10.1%)</li> <li>• Seldom goes out/stay indoors (8.6%)</li> <li>• Have become security conscious (6.1%)</li> <li>• Never get any visitors (4.4%)</li> <li>• Feel like moving to another country/area (4.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (12.7%)</li> <li>• Increase foot patrols (9.9%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (9.0%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (8.8%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (8.4%)</li> <li>• Alleviate poverty (8.2%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational services (8.1%)</li> <li>• Close all shebeens (7.2%)</li> <li>• Increase police involvement in the community (6.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housebreaking (38.6%)</li> <li>• Robbery (35.9%)</li> <li>• Rape (10.9%)</li> <li>• Violence (5.0%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (4.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seldom goes out/stay indoors (22.0%)</li> <li>• Can't wear/buy expensive things (21.5%)</li> <li>• Always lock doors, windows and gates (17.3%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (8.5%)</li> <li>• Cannot leave their homes unattended (8.5%)</li> <li>• Never get any visitors (7.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased foot patrols (20.9%)</li> <li>• Close all shebeens (11.8%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (10.9%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (9.8%)</li> <li>• Government to play a role in the community (8.8%)</li> <li>• Address unemployment (6.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robbery (14.3%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (13.8%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (12.3%)</li> <li>• Gangs/people who rob you (11.8%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (11.6%)</li> <li>• Drug addicts (tik users) (10.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seldom goes out/stay indoors (19.7%)</li> <li>• Always lock doors, windows and gates (18.6%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (14.7%)</li> <li>• No impact on their lives (13.7%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (9.8%)</li> <li>• Cannot leave their homes unattended (6.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (13.7%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (11.6%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (10.9%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for children (10.9%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (8.3%)</li> <li>• Close all shebeens (5.6%)</li> <li>• Government to play a role in the community (5.5%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gangs/people who can rob you (31.6%)</li> <li>• Robbery (23.4%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (9.8%)</li> <li>• Drug addicts (tik abusers) (9.4%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (7.6%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (5.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (35.5%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (10.3%)</li> <li>• Can't wear or buy expensive things (9.0%)</li> <li>• Seldom goes out/stay indoors (9.0%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (7.8%)</li> <li>• Feel like moving to another country/area (5.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (19.4%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (17.4%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (12.3%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for children (8.7%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (7.0%)</li> <li>• Government to play a role in the community (5.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robbery (27.4%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (18.2%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (13.4%)</li> <li>• Drug addicts (tik users) (9.5%)</li> <li>• Car theft (8.3%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (6.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (19.3%)</li> <li>• No impact on them (17.9%)</li> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (14.3%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (12.9%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (7.1%)</li> <li>• Have become security conscious (6.3%)</li> <li>• Must keep a constant eye on your car (4.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (17.4%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (12.3%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (11.0%)</li> <li>• Government to play a role in the community (10.9%)</li> <li>• Address unemployment (9.7%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (8.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinvei</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robbery (30.3%)</li> <li>• Nothing/there is not much crime (21.9%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (9.6%)</li> <li>• Violence (8.8%)</li> <li>• Car theft (8.3%)</li> <li>• Rape (7.5%)</li> <li>• Drug addicts (tik users) (7.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No impact on them (44.8%)</li> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (22.4%)</li> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (9.8%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (6.9%)</li> <li>• Cannot leave your house unattended (6.3%)</li> <li>• Have become security conscious (4.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (19.0%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for children (11.0%)</li> <li>• Close all shebeens (8.7%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (8.3%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (6.7%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational services for the youth (6.5%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (6.5%)</li> </ul>

<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robbery (19.4%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (15.4%)</li> <li>• Nothing (11.1%)</li> <li>• Violence (11.0%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (9.5%)</li> <li>• Rape (8.2%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (6.7%)</li> <li>• Gangs/people who rob you (6.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No impact on them (21.7%)</li> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (20.4%)</li> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (10.4%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (6.1%)</li> <li>• Feel like moving to another country/area (5.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (18.2%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational activities for the youth (12.5%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (8.3%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (8.0%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (6.7%)</li> <li>• Close all shebeens (6.4%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for the children (6.2%)</li> <li>• Government to play a role in the community (6.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housebreaking (24.0%)</li> <li>• Drug addicts (tik users) (18.2%)</li> <li>• Robbery (12.5%)</li> <li>• Nothing (10.8%)</li> <li>• Gangs/people who rob you (8.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (17.1%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (13.9%)</li> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (12.9%)</li> <li>• No impact on them (11.1%)</li> <li>• Have become security conscious (9.5%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (8.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of recreational activities for the youth (14.8%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for the children (10.6%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational services in the community (10.0%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (9.6%)</li> <li>• Address unemployment (9.5%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (8.7%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (6.8%)</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loitering on corners/strollers walking around (25.2%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (17.5%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (15.4%)</li> <li>• Robbery (15.4%)</li> <li>• Crime is very high (11.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (23.0%)</li> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (13.7%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (10.8%)</li> <li>• Have become security conscious (9.4%)</li> <li>• Must keep a constant eye on our cars (9.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased foot patrols (17.3%)</li> <li>• Address unemployment (12.9%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (11.6%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational programmes for the youth (11.4%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for the children (5.7%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational services in the community (5.7%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational activities for the youth (5.4%)</li> <li>• Increase police involvement in the community (5.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drug addicts (tik users) (24.5%)</li> <li>• Gangs/people who rob you (15.4%)</li> <li>• Robbery (12.4%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism/gang activity (12.0%)</li> <li>• Nothing (10.8%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (7.5%)</li> <li>• Violence (5.4%)</li> <li>• Shooting/guns (5.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (46.7%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (18.6%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (16.1%)</li> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (9.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (13.7%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (13.5%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for children (13.3%)</li> <li>• Provision of recreational programmes for the youth (10.5%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational activities for the youth (6.0%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (5.8%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational services in the community (4.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gangs/people who rob you (24.0%)</li> <li>• Shooting/guns (16.6%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism/gang activity (15.2%)</li> <li>• Housebreaking (14.0%)</li> <li>• Drug addicts (tik users) (10.5%)</li> <li>• Violence (8.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seldom goes out/stays indoors (36.5%)</li> <li>• Always lock our doors, windows and gates (14.8%)</li> <li>• Kids can't play outside/keep them indoors (12.1%)</li> <li>• No impact on them (8.9%)</li> <li>• Cannot leave their homes unattended (8.7%)</li> <li>• Can't go out at night (6.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address unemployment (15.2%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational activities for the youth (13.4%)</li> <li>• Increased foot patrols (12.2%)</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to work together (11.2%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational services in the community (8.3%)</li> <li>• Provide parks and playgrounds for the children (7.9%)</li> <li>• Provide recreational programmes for the youth (5.9%)</li> <li>• Close all shebeens (5.6%)</li> </ul>

## 5. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL PROFILES

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A great proportion of existing literature focuses on individual attributes as a means of predicting fear of crime. These studies purport that demographic indicators such as age, sex, race, income, education and marital status predict fear of crime via perceptions of vulnerability.<sup>83</sup> The vulnerability hypothesis maintains that individuals may demonstrate vulnerability largely as a result of their social standing. More simply put, residents who feel that they have the capacity for self-protection as a result of their access to physical, social and economic resources, may report lower levels of fear.<sup>84</sup> The converse would also be true; individuals who feel that they lack the capacity for self-protection due to their inability to access various social and economic resources required to ensure their safety would perceive themselves as more vulnerable, and thus, report higher levels of fear of crime. Given this, the demographic profile of a community is important when trying to understand the levels of fear experienced by those residing in the area.

With reference to demography, these 11 areas were somewhat similar in that all sites, with the exception of Cape Town and Bellville, are predominantly Black and Coloured communities. Black residents comprised the entire (100%) Khayelitsha and Gugulethu samples, while nine out of every ten residents in Harare (99.0%) were Black. Nine tenths of those living in Mfuleni (91.9%), Kuilsriver (95.0%), Manenberg (97.0%) and Phillipi (98.0%) were Coloured. On the contrary, Cape Town and Bellville had a greater proportion of white residents (72.0% and 53.0% respectively).

Females comprised more than half of the Khayelitsha (60.5%), Harare (72.5%), Mfuleni (60.55), Gugulethu (78.5%), Kraaifontein (53.0%), Kuilsriver (55.0%), Manenberg (59.0%) and Phillipi (54.5%) samples. Conversely, the Cape Town (51.3%), Kleinvelei (54.0%), and Bellville (53.0%) samples had a greater proportion of male respondents.

Levels of education were highest amongst residents living in Cape Town – with more than 30% having completed some form of tertiary education (10.7% had completed a college/technikon,

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<sup>83</sup> Schafer, J., Heubner, B., & Bynum, T. (2006). Fear of crime and criminal victimization: Gender-based contrasts. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 34, pp.285-301.

Taylor, R., & Hale, M. (1986). Testing alternative models of fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 77, pp.151-189.

McCrea, R., Shyy, T., Western, J., & Stimson, R.J. (2005). Fear of crime in Brisbane: Individual, social and neighbourhood factors in perspective. *Journal of Sociology*, 41(1), pp.7-27.

<sup>84</sup> Goodey, J. (1997). Boys don't cry: Masculinities, fear of crime, and fearlessness. *British Journal of Criminology*, 37, pp.401-419.

Skogan, W., & Maxfield, M. (1981). *Coping with crime*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Killias, M., & Clerici, C. (2000). Different measures of vulnerability in their relation to different dimensions of fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, pp.437-450.

or trade certificate, and 20.7% had completed a University degree). Levels of education were lowest in Kraaifontein – with nearly four out of every five residents not having completed their secondary education, followed by Khayelitsha, Mfuleni and Phillipi – with more than two thirds of the respondents living there having left school prior to completing their Matric. See Table 2.

Half of the residents living in Khayelitsha (51.0%), Harare (52.0%), and Gugulethu (55.0%) were single (never married or lived with a partner) at the time of the study, while two out of every five residents living in Mfuleni (48.1%), Cape Town (43.7%), Kleinvlei (45.0%), Kuilsriver (45.0%), Bellville (49.0%), Manenberg (49.0%), and Phillipi (48.0%) were married or living with a partner. More than a third of residents in Kraaifontein were at the time of the study, married or living with a partner. See Table 2 for the comparative percentages.

Education is often correlated with income.<sup>85</sup> In other words, higher levels of education are correlated with higher levels of income. The inverse is also true; lower levels of education are correlated with lower levels of income. Unemployment was highest in Harare, Kraaifontein, Phillipi and Manenberg – some of the communities with the lowest levels of education as depicted in Table 2. Conversely, the highest levels of employment were observed amongst residents in Kleinvlei (53.0% were working full-time; 11.0% were working part-time; 9.0% were self-employed), Bellville (46.0% were working full-time; 23.0% were working part-time; 3.0% were working part-time), Cape Town (45.0% were working full-time; 10.7% were self-employed; 4.0% were working part-time), and Kuilsriver (34.5% were working full-time; 5.0% were working part-time). See Table 2 for the comparative percentages.

Existing research studies have shown that individuals with lower levels of income, often perceive themselves as NOT having the capacity for self-protection due to limited access to economic (and other social and physical) resources, and thus tend to demonstrate higher levels of fear when compared to those who have greater access to fiscal and material resources required to secure their homes.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Franklin, C.A., & Franklin T.W. (2009). Predicting Fear of Crime: Considering Differences Across Gender. *Feminist Criminology*, 4(1), pp. 83-106.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

**Table 2: Demographic profiles of the 11 police precincts (%)**

POLICE PRECINCT	RACE	GENDER	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MARITAL STATUS	EMPLOYMENT STATUS
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Black (100%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (60.5%)</li> <li>Male (39.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (2.4%)</li> <li>Some primary school (4.3%)</li> <li>Completed primary school (17.1%)</li> <li>Some high school (44.8%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (27.1%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (2.9%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (1.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (20.5%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (51%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (15.7%)</li> <li>Single, but have lived with a partner (12.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (31.4%)</li> <li>Working full-time (31.4%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (9.5%)</li> <li>Working part-time (9.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, not looking for work (4.3%)</li> <li>Housewife (3.8%)</li> <li>Self-employed (3.8%)</li> <li>Scholar at school (3.3%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Black (99.0%)</li> <li>Coloured (1.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (72.5%)</li> <li>Male (27.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (1.5%)</li> <li>Some primary school (4.5%)</li> <li>Completed primary school (7.0%)</li> <li>Some high school (48.0%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (35.0%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (3.5%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (0.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (52.0%)</li> <li>Married/living with a partner (30.5%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (10.5%)</li> <li>Single, but had lived with a partner (7.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (44.0%)</li> <li>Working full-time (19.5%)</li> <li>Working part-time (15.5%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (5.5%)</li> <li>Scholar (4.5%)</li> <li>Unemployed, not looking for work (4.0%)</li> <li>Self-employed (2.5%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coloured (91.9%)</li> <li>Black (8.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (60.5%)</li> <li>Male (39.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (0%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (9.5%)</li> <li>Completed primary school (11.4%)</li> <li>Some high school (46.7%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (28.6%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (1.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (48.1%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (25.2%)</li> <li>Single, but had lived with a partner (17.1%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (9.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (30.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (21.4%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (13.3%)</li> <li>Working part-time (10.5%)</li> <li>Housewife (9.5%)</li> <li>Disabled/recipient of government grants (6.2%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Black (100.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (78.5%)</li> <li>Male (21.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (2.0%)</li> <li>Some primary school (0%)</li> <li>Completed primary school (10.0%)</li> <li>Some high school (51.0%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (21.5%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (8.5%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (7.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (55.0%)</li> <li>Married/living with a partner (25.0%)</li> <li>Single, but had lived with a partner (11.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (9.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (39.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (26.5%)</li> <li>Unemployed, not looking for work (9.0%)</li> <li>Working part-time (6.0%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (5.5%)</li> <li>Self-employed (4.0%)</li> <li>Housewife (4.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>White (72.0%)</li> <li>Coloured (23.0%)</li> <li>Black (5.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Male (51.3%)</li> <li>Female (48.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some primary schooling (0.7%)</li> <li>Completed primary schooling (0.7%)</li> <li>Some high school (12.7%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (46.7%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (8.0%)</li> <li>Completed college, technikon, or trade certificate (10.7%)</li> <li>Completed University degree (20.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (43.7%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (26.3%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (19.7%)</li> <li>Single (have lived with a partner) (10.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (45.0%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (19.7%)</li> <li>Self-employed (10.7%)</li> <li>Student at college/university (7.7%)</li> <li>Housewife (7.3%)</li> <li>Working part-time (4.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (2.7%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinlei</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coloured (87.0%)</li> <li>Black (13.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Male (54.0%)</li> <li>Female (46.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (0%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (5.0%)</li> <li>Completed primary schooling (2.0%)</li> <li>Some high school (38.0%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (42.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (45.0%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (39.0%)</li> <li>Single, but have lived</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (53.0%)</li> <li>Working part-time (11.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (11.0%)</li> <li>Self-employed (9.0%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (6.0%)</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some tertiary education (6.0%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>with a partner before (9.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (7.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Housewife (5.0%)</li> <li>Scholar (2.0%)</li> <li>Student (college) (2.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Black (74.5%)</li> <li>Coloured (25.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (53.0%)</li> <li>Male (47.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (0%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (9.5%)</li> <li>Completed primary schooling (4.5%)</li> <li>Some high school (65.5%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (18.0%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (1.0%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (38.5%)</li> <li>Married/living with a partner (35.5%)</li> <li>Single, but have lived with a partner before (18.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (8.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (42.0%)</li> <li>Working full-time (19.5%)</li> <li>Working part-time (15.5%)</li> <li>Housewife (7.0%)</li> <li>Self-employed (5.0%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (3.5%)</li> <li>Unemployed, not looking for work (2.5%)</li> <li>Disabled/receive disability grant (2.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coloured (95.0%)</li> <li>Black (5.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (55.0%)</li> <li>Male (45.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (1.0%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (5.5%)</li> <li>Completed primary schooling (4.5%)</li> <li>Some high school (53.5%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (30.5%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (2.0%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (3.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (45.0%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (24.0%)</li> <li>Single, but have lived with a partner before (12.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (19.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (46.5%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (10.5%)</li> <li>Unemployed, not looking for work (9.5%)</li> <li>Housewife (9.5%)</li> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (9.0%)</li> <li>Working part-time (5.0%)</li> <li>Scholar (3.0%)</li> <li>Disabled or receive disability grant (3.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>White (53.0%)</li> <li>Black (23.0%)</li> <li>Coloured (17.0%)</li> <li>Indian (7.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Male (53.0%)</li> <li>Female (47.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (1.0%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (0%)</li> <li>Completed primary schooling (0%)</li> <li>Some high school (12.0%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (44.0%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (12.0%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (31.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (49.0%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (30.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (11.0%)</li> <li>Single, but have lived with a partner (10.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (46.0%)</li> <li>Self-employed (23.0%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (11.0%)</li> <li>Housewife (7.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (4.0%)</li> <li>Student (college etc.) (4.0%)</li> <li>Working part-time (3.0%)</li> <li>Scholar (2.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coloured (97.0%)</li> <li>Black (3.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (59.0%)</li> <li>Male (41.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (1.0%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (3.0%)</li> <li>Completed primary school (10.0%)</li> <li>Some high school (44.0%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (42.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (49.0%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (27.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (14.0%)</li> <li>Single, but had lived with a partner before (10.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unemployed, looking for work (32.0%)</li> <li>Working full-time (25.0%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (15.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, but not seeking employment (12.0%)</li> <li>Working part-time (5.0%)</li> <li>Housewife (4.0%)</li> <li>Self-employed (4.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coloured (98.0%)</li> <li>Black (1.0%)</li> <li>White (1.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female (54.5%)</li> <li>Male (45.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No schooling (0.5%)</li> <li>Some primary schooling (2.5%)</li> <li>Completed primary school (5.0%)</li> <li>Some high school (59.0%)</li> <li>Completed Grade 12 (31.0%)</li> <li>Some tertiary education (0.5%)</li> <li>Completed tertiary education (1.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married/living with a partner (48.0%)</li> <li>Single (never married/lived with a partner) (27.0%)</li> <li>Divorced, separated or widowed (19.0%)</li> <li>Single, but had lived with a partner before (6.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Working full-time (34.5%)</li> <li>Retired/pensioner (18.0%)</li> <li>Unemployed, but seeking employment (12.5%)</li> <li>Housewife (12.5%)</li> <li>Working part-time (10.0%)</li> <li>Self-employed (4.5%)</li> <li>Disabled/receive a disability grant (3.5%)</li> </ul>

Further to this, education and income are also known to influence residential patterns (the areas in which individuals opt to live) and the routine activities engaged in within their communities.<sup>87</sup> For this reason, individuals with lower levels of income are often compelled to reside in economically-stressed communities that more often than not tend to be characterized by high levels of crime – placing these individuals in close proximity to criminal offenders. This then in turn generally elevates perceived levels of vulnerability or risk, and hence, contributes to higher levels of fear of crime amongst residents.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

## 6. SOCIAL ILLS PLAGUING THE COMMUNITY

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The Barometer focuses on empowering the community to identify their safety concerns in their residential areas, and in so doing, bringing their perceptions to the fore. To obtain a sense of the social ills characterizing these communities, residents were asked to state what they thought were the most important problems facing their communities.

The scourge of alcohol and drug abuse in these communities became apparent in the study – with ten out of the eleven precincts surveyed identifying alcohol or drug abuse or related factors such as the prevalence of shebeens amongst the three priority problems affecting their communities. See Table 3 for these percentages. Residents in Cape Town, however, were more inclined to draw attention to the prevalence of unemployment, crime and homelessness affecting the area in which they live.

To delve deeper into the social ills characterizing these communities, participants asked whether they thought substance abuse, crime and gang activity had increased, decreased or stayed the same in their community, different views emerged from the findings. On the whole, the majority of residents living in Khayelitsha (64.5%), Harare (71.7%), Mfuleni (64.4%), Gugulethu (94.1%), Kleinvlei (63.0%), Manenberg (83.8%) and Phillipi (78.0%) were of the opinion that substance abuse in their communities had become more of an issue over the last three years. Contrary to this, more residents in Cape Town (67.7%), Kraaifontein (41.8%), Kuilsriver (40.6%) and Bellville (40.9%) were inclined to indicate that the incidence of substance abuse had decreased in their areas over the last three years.

With regard to crime, those living in Gugulethu (92.8%), Khayelitsha (86.2%), Harare (78.3%), Mfuleni (53.6%), Kuilsriver (48.7%), Manenberg (61.1%) and Phillipi (73.4%) reported increases over the last three years, while those living in Cape Town (67.4%), Kleinvlei (44.0%), and Bellville (39.4%) were of the perception that crime in their community had decreased over the last three years.

Gang activity was believed to have decreased in most of these communities – with residents in Harare (72.2%), Mfuleni (45.8%), Cape Town (89.9%), Kleinvlei (73.2%), Kraaifontein (47.4%), Kuilsriver (64.1%), Bellville (47.5%), and Manenberg (52.5%) indicating that gang activity had decreased over the last three years. Those living in Phillipi (52.0%), Gugulethu (87.9%) and Khayelitsha (34.9%), however, tended to perceive that gang activity had increased in their communities during this period of time. See Table 3 for comparative percentages.

**Table 3: Social ills plaguing these 11 communities (%)**

POLICE PRECINCT	MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY	SUBSTANCE ABUSE IN THE COMMUNITY HAS...	CRIME IN THE COMMUNITY HAS...	GANG ACTIVITY IN THE COMMUNITY HAS...
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime (16.0%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (14.6%)</li> <li>• Abuse of alcohol (10.5%)</li> <li>• Drug abuse (10.3)</li> <li>• Homelessness (8.1%)</li> <li>• Poverty (8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (64.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (18.3%)</li> <li>• Decreased (17.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (86.2%)</li> <li>• Decreased (6.3%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (7.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (34.9%)</li> <li>• Decreased (29.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (35.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment (11.6%)</li> <li>• Shebeens (10.6%)</li> <li>• Poverty (7.0%)</li> <li>• Crime (6.5%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (4.9%)</li> <li>• Domestic violence (2.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (71.7%)</li> <li>• Decreased (23.0%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (5.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (78.3%)</li> <li>• Decreased (17.6%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (4.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (16.5%)</li> <li>• Decreased (72.2%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (11.3%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alcohol abuse (22.6%)</li> <li>• Drug abuse (17.7%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism 14.5%</li> <li>• Unemployment (9.7%)</li> <li>• Violence/fighting (7.8%)</li> <li>• Domestic violence (5.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (64.4%)</li> <li>• Decreased (17.6%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (17.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (53.6%)</li> <li>• Decreased (24.0%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (22.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (39.6%)</li> <li>• Decreased (45.8%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (14.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alcohol abuse (29.2%)</li> <li>• Drug abuse (26.2%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (15.3%)</li> <li>• Violence/fighting (7.1%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (5.4%)</li> <li>• Domestic violence (4.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (94.1%)</li> <li>• Decreased (0.1%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (5.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (92.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (0.4%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (6.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (87.9%)</li> <li>• Decreased (3.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (8.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment (18.1%)</li> <li>• Crime (16.0%)</li> <li>• Homelessness (15.8%)</li> <li>• Vandalism (14.9%)</li> <li>• Drug abuse (10.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (23.7%)</li> <li>• Decreased (67.7%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (8.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (23.7%)</li> <li>• Decreased (67.4%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (8.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (2.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (89.9%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (7.3%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinvele</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drug abuse (24.7%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (23.5%)</li> <li>• Alcohol abuse (21.9%)</li> <li>• Crime (6.2%)</li> <li>• Poverty (5.1%)</li> <li>• Domestic violence (4.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (63.0%)</li> <li>• Decreased (13.6%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (23.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (41.0%)</li> <li>• Decreased (44.0%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (15.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (8.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (73.2%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (27.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment (21.4%)</li> <li>• Crime (12.7%)</li> <li>• Alcohol abuse (12.5%)</li> <li>• Drug abuse (9.4%)</li> <li>• Violence/fighting (9.2%)</li> <li>• Poverty (9.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (35.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (41.8%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (22.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (60.5%)</li> <li>• Decreased (22.6%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (17.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (25.9%)</li> <li>• Decreased (47.4%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (26.7%)</li> </ul>

<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drug abuse (19.5%)</li> <li>• Alcohol abuse (17.2%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (15.9%)</li> <li>• Lack of recreational facilities for youth (13.3%)</li> <li>• Crime (6.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (5.0%)</li> <li>• Decreased (40.6%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (7.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (48.7%)</li> <li>• Decreased (41.8%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (9.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (5.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (64.1%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (2.0%)</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime (14.8%)</li> <li>• Homelessness (14.4%)</li> <li>• Drug abuse (12.4%)</li> <li>• Alcohol abuse (11.8%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (8.6%)</li> <li>• Violence/fighting (7.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (32.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (40.9%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (26.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (32.2%)</li> <li>• Decreased (39.4%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (28.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (21.9%)</li> <li>• Decreased (47.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (30.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drug abuse (23.4%)</li> <li>• Alcohol abuse (19.1%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (14.5%)</li> <li>• Violence/fighting (11.1%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (7.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (83.8%)</li> <li>• Decreased (7.2%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (9.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (61.1%)</li> <li>• Decreased (18.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (20.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (36.3%)</li> <li>• Decreased (52.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (11.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drug abuse (26.6%)</li> <li>• Gangsterism (17.7%)</li> <li>• Unemployment (13.8%)</li> <li>• Alcohol abuse (9.5%)</li> <li>• Crime (9.0%)</li> <li>• Violence/fighting (7.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (78.0%)</li> <li>• Decreased (15.8%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (6.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (73.4%)</li> <li>• Decreased (22.5%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (4.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased (52.0%)</li> <li>• Decreased (39.9%)</li> <li>• Stayed the same (8.1%)</li> </ul>

The incivilities thesis is one of the more commonly used theories to explain the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and perceived levels of fear of crime.<sup>88</sup> This theory, first developed as a result of the need to explain why communities experienced high levels of crime despite a low risk of victimization, differentiates between social as well as physical disorder. While the former refers to gang activities, homelessness, the presence of drunkards and drug addicts, and loitering – issues that emerged as a serious cause for concern in this sample – the latter refers to vandalism, empty and abandoned buildings and unkempt open spaces.<sup>89</sup>

This theory purports that people can experience fear of crime merely by witnessing these incivilities in the communities in which they live and by perceiving that these characteristics would increase their chance of falling prey to crime.<sup>90</sup> According to Franklin and Franklin, the physical and moral deterioration of a community often leads to elevated levels of fear amongst community members since it seems to signify a lack of formal and informal social controls (e.g. community cohesiveness and willingness to act for the greater good of the community).

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<sup>88</sup> McCrea, R., Shyy, T., Western, J., and R.J. Stimson (2005), Fear of crime in Brisbane: Individual, social and neighbourhood factors in perspective, *Journal of Sociology*, 41(1), pp. 7-27.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

Lagrange, R.L., Ferraro, K.F., and M. Supancic (1992), Perceived risk and fear of crime – the role of social and physical incivilities, *Journal of Research in crime and delinquency*, 29(3), pp. 311-334.

## 7. PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY AND FEAR OF CRIME

Since the Community Safety Barometer intended to measure perceptions of safety across a broad spectrum of time spans and physical settings, two scales were used to assess the participants' perceptions of safety. Since one's demographic and physical characteristics such as age, gender, and whether one has a physical disability or not, are considered to be important determinants of their susceptibility to victimization, participants were asked how safe they thought vulnerable groups such as women, children, physically challenged individuals, and the elderly were in their community.

When considering the findings pertaining to the respondents perceptions of safety and fear of crime it becomes evident that Khayelitsha, Harare, Gugulethu and Kraaifontein were the communities in which women, children, the elderly and the physically-challenged were most vulnerable – as evident in the percentages of respondents who felt that these groups were not safe or not safe at all in their neighbourhoods. Conversely, Cape Town and Kleinvlei were the safer communities where these vulnerable groups are concerned. See Table 4 for these percentages.

**Table 4: Perceptions of safety and fear of crime (%)**

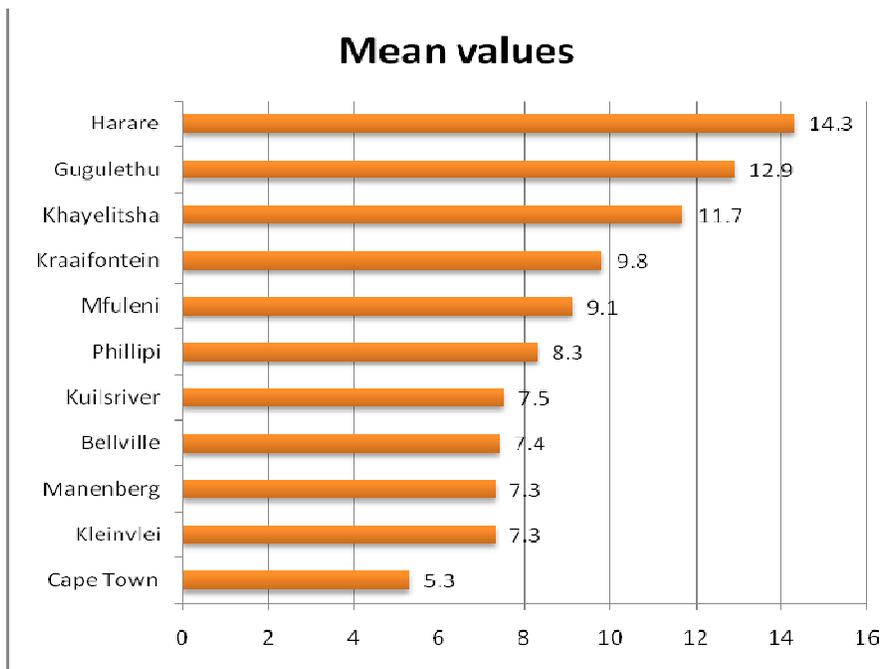
POLICE PRECINCT	PERCEIVED SAFETY OF VULNERABLE GROUPS – not safe/not safe at all	FEAR OF CRIME – one or more times in the last year
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (96.4%)</li> <li>• Children (97.8%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (93.9%)</li> <li>• Elderly (93.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (74.0%)</li> <li>• In their community (76.1%)</li> <li>• While travelling (73.0%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (71.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (89.2%)</li> <li>• Children (92.6%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (91.9%)</li> <li>• Elderly (92.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (90.0%)</li> <li>• In their community (91.9%)</li> <li>• While travelling (90.5%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (91.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (61.1%)</li> <li>• Children (62.8%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (58.2%)</li> <li>• Elderly (58.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (46.5%)</li> <li>• In their community (58.3%)</li> <li>• While travelling (56.5%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (59.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (98.1%)</li> <li>• Children (98.8%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (96.6%)</li> <li>• Elderly (95.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (97.6%)</li> <li>• In their community (99.1%)</li> <li>• While travelling (96.6%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (97.8%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (16.4%)</li> <li>• Children (17.5%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (16.0%)</li> <li>• Elderly (16.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (17.3%)</li> <li>• In their community (28.7%)</li> <li>• While travelling (18.1%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (19.2%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinvlei</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (19.0%)</li> <li>• Children (28.2%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (26.4%)</li> <li>• Elderly (29.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (57.8%)</li> <li>• In their community (61.6%)</li> <li>• While travelling (59.7%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (60.4%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (72.6%)</li> <li>• Children (81.0%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (79.9%)</li> <li>• Elderly (82.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (73.4%)</li> <li>• In their community (78.3%)</li> <li>• While travelling (77.4%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (78.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (33.2%)</li> <li>• Children (36.1%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (34.4%)</li> <li>• Elderly (33.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (37.9%)</li> <li>• In their community (46.8%)</li> <li>• While travelling (42.4%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (43.8%)</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (35.0%)</li> <li>• Children (35.0%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (36.0%)</li> <li>• Elderly (35.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (28.0%)</li> <li>• In their community (41.7%)</li> <li>• While travelling (33.0%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (32.0%)</li> </ul>

<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (37.3%)</li> <li>• Children (39.6%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (39.6%)</li> <li>• Elderly (37.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (33.1%)</li> <li>• In their community (44.2%)</li> <li>• While travelling (45.7%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (44.2%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women (60.3%)</li> <li>• Children (61.2%)</li> <li>• Physically challenged (59.8%)</li> <li>• Elderly (60.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In their homes (35.3%)</li> <li>• In their community (56.9%)</li> <li>• While travelling (46.3%)</li> <li>• Feared for their children's safety (43.3%)</li> </ul>

On the whole, children were perceived to be most vulnerable in Khayelitsha, Harare, Mfuleni, Gugulethu, Cape Town, Kuilsriver and Phillipi, while Kleinvele, Kraaifontein, and Manenberg residents felt that the elderly were the most susceptible to victimization in their communities. Still, residents in Bellville tended to perceive individuals with physical disabilities as most at risk in their community. See Table 4.

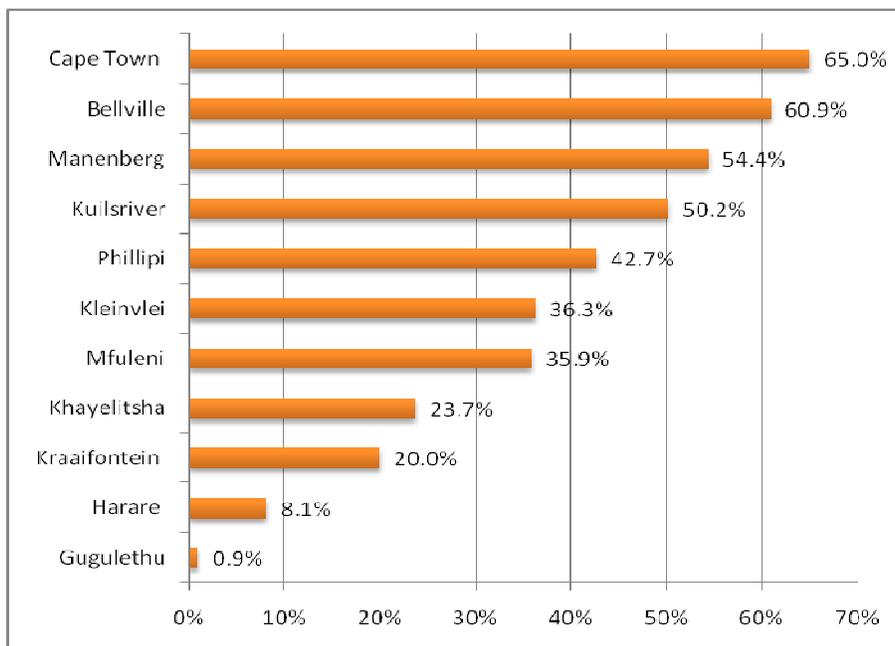
The Barometer Study attempted to gauge feelings of fear amongst ordinary community members. The findings in table 4 clearly show higher levels of fear amongst those living in Gugulethu, and Harare – with more than 90% of residents in these communities having feared crime one or more times in their homes, their neighbourhoods, while travelling on public transport and for their children's safety in the last year prior to the study. See Table 4 for these percentages. Fear of crime was also high in Khayelitsha with seven out of every ten residents having feared crime in their homes (74.0%), neighbourhood (76.1%), while travelling in their community (73.0%), and for their children's safety (71.6%) one or more times in the last year.

A composite score for fear of crime was compiled. Possible responses to this variable ranged from four to 20; with a score of four indicating that the individual had NEVER feared crime in their community in the last year and a score of 20 indicating that the individual had feared crime ALL THE TIME in their community in the last year. Thus, the higher the score, the higher the level of fear experienced. When the 11 individual communities are compared the findings showed that fear of crime was highest amongst residents in Harare ( $M=14.3$ ), followed by residents in Gugulethu ( $M=12.9$ ) and Khayelitsha ( $M=11.7$ ). The lowest levels of fear were observed amongst residents living in Cape Town ( $M=5.3$ ). See Figure 1.



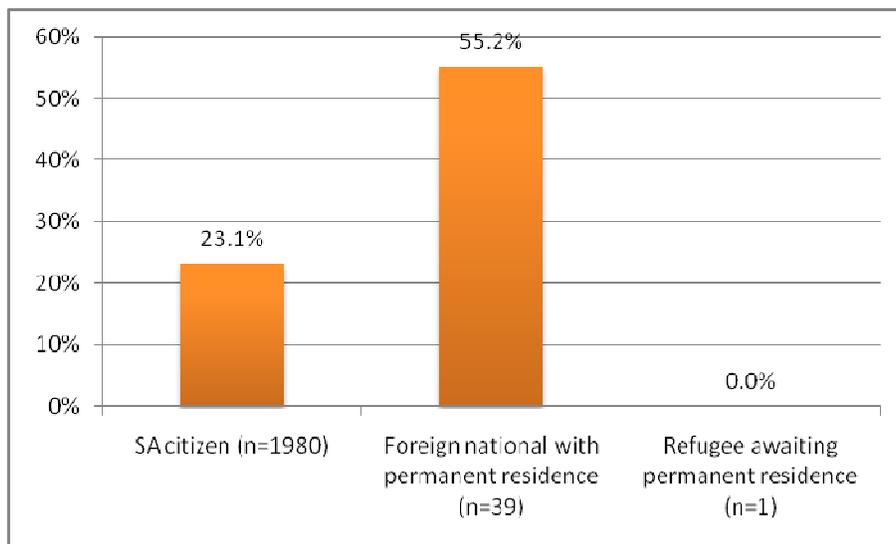
**Figure 1: Fear of crime in the 11 police precincts**

Given the lower levels of fear of crime in the Cape Town community, it was not surprising to find that 65% of residents living in this area had NEVER feared crime in their community in the last year. This percentage was significantly higher than those observed in some of the other communities, namely Harare (8.1%), Kraaifontein (20.0%), Khayelitsha (23.7%), Mfuleni (35.9%), Kleinvele (36.3%), Phillipi (42.7%) and Kuilsriver (50.2%). Important to note, is that less than 1% of residents in Gugulethu had never feared crime in the last 12 months indicating that for many living in this community, fear was an every-day experience. Figure 2 for these percentages.



**Figure 2: NEVER feared crime in the last 12 months (%)**

Fear of crime is determined by a range of different situations and factors including demographic characteristics. Foreign nationals have, in recent years, in South Africa been subjected to extreme forms of xenophobia that are believed to have contributed to rising levels of fear amongst these individuals. Thus, this necessitated the exploration of fear amongst non-South Africans resident in the 11 communities surveyed. Of the 2020 community members surveyed for this study, 1980 were South African citizens, 39 were foreign nationals with permanent residence and one was a refugee still awaiting permanent residence. On the whole, the findings showed that South Africans were more fearful of crime in their communities when compared to non-South African residents of their communities as evident in the lower percentage of South Africans who had NEVER feared crime in their homes, communities, while travelling on public transport, and for their children’s safety in the last year prior to the study. See Figure 3.



**Figure 3: Having NEVER feared crime, by nationality (%)**

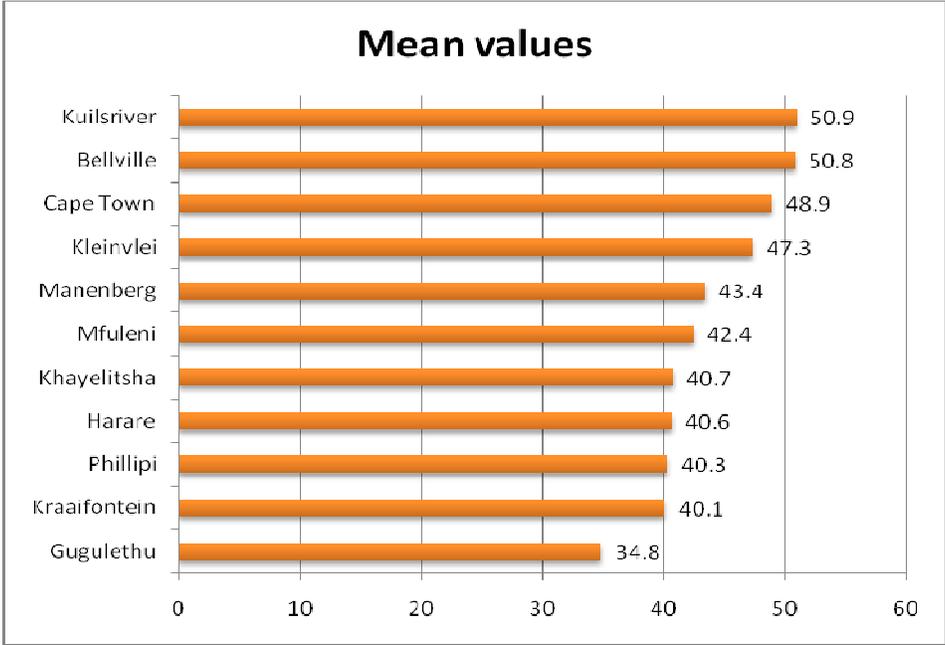
Comparatively, foreign nationals with permanent residence were more inclined to report having NEVER experienced fear in their homes (50.7%), in their communities (48.7%), while travelling on public transportation in their communities (50.0%), and for their children’s safety (50.5%) in the past 12 months when compared to their South African counterparts. See Table 5 for these comparative percentages.

**Table 5: Fear of crime, by nationality (%)**

	<b>Never</b>	<b>Once or twice</b>	<b>Several times</b>	<b>Many times</b>	<b>All the time</b>
<b>Feared crime in the home</b>					
SA citizen	29.7%	25.4%	19.3%	19.1%	6.5%
Foreign national	50.7%	24.1%	11.7%	4.1%	9.3%
Refugee	100.0%	0	0	0	0
<b>Feared crime in the community</b>					
SA citizen	24.4%	14.7%	26.5%	26.5%	8.2%
Foreign national	48.7%	25.1%	7.8%	10.9%	7.4%
Refugee	100.0%	0	0	0	0
<b>Feared crime while travelling on public transport</b>					
SA citizen	27.5%	17.2%	23.8%	23.7%	7.9%
Foreign national	50.0%	12.2%	20.6%	14.2%	3.0%
Refugee	0	100.0%	0	0	0
<b>Feared for children's safety</b>					
SA citizen	27.0%	10.5%	17.5%	28.0%	17.0%
Foreign national	50.5%	16.3%	16.1%	4.9%	12.1%
Refugee	100.0%	0	0	0	0

The Barometer assessed participants' own feelings of safety at different times and in different places within their community compared to three years ago. A composite score for perceptions of safety was compiled with possible responses ranging from 14 to 70. A score of 14 was indicative of feeling very unsafe in the community, while a score of 70 was indicative of feeling very safe in the community. Hence, the higher the score, the higher the levels of safety experienced.

On the whole, higher levels of safety were evident amongst community members living in Kuilsriver ( $M=50.9$ ), Bellville ( $M=50.8$ ) and Cape Town ( $M=48.9$ ). Contrary to this, lower levels of safety were experienced by residents living in Gugulethu ( $M=34.8$ ), Kraaifontein ( $M=40.1$ ), Phillipi ( $M=40.4$ ), and Harare ( $M=40.6$ ). See figure 4.



**Figure 4: Personal levels of safety in the 11 Police precincts**

## 8. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF CRIME

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Personal experiences of crime were common across these 11 police precincts. When comparing the 11 sites with regard to their victimization rates, the study found significant differences between these communities. More specifically, residents in Gugulethu were significantly more likely to have fallen victim to crime – with nine out of every ten households in this area (92.5%) having been directly affected by some form of crime in the three years prior to the study. In the last year alone, four out of every five (82.3%) households had been criminally victimized. These figures were significantly higher than those experienced in the other communities. See Table 6. Following Gugulethu, Harare (52.2%) and Khayelitsha (45.2%) emerged as the precincts with the second and third highest rates of victimization (in the last three years).

Robbery was the most frequently experienced crime in Khayelitsha (30.5%), Harare (35.7%), Gugulethu (84.7%), Kleinvele (7.0%), Kraaifontein (25.0%), Kuilsriver (8.7%), Bellville (19.3%), and Manenberg (23.3%) in the last three years. Contrary to this, residents in Mfuleni (25.7%) and Cape Town (13.9%) were more affected by housebreaking, while those living in Phillipi were more likely to have fallen victim to theft (14.2%) in their communities. See Table 6 for these percentages.

Table 6 also shows the crime rates per sector and clearly shows that certain sectors within a police precinct are disproportionately affected by crime.

Investigations into the relationship between previous victimization and the fear of crime have had varying results. Some studies (Skogan 1987<sup>91</sup> and Killias 2001: 309<sup>92</sup>) reported that previous experience with crime is related to fear. In Skogan's study, he examined the victimization event history of 1738 individuals in two US cities over the course of 12 months and gauged the intensity of feeling insecure after each event. He found that fear of crime increased after each repetition, especially in the case of multiple victimizations.<sup>93</sup>

In another empirical study, it was found that past victimization, especially when no police action was taken or the crime was not reported, perpetuated and increased the fear of crime.<sup>94</sup> Wyant notes that 'previous victimization might lead some to believe that they are at greater

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<sup>91</sup> Skogan, W. G. (1987). The impact of victimization on fear. *Crime and Delinquency* 33, 135–54.

<sup>92</sup> Killias, M. and Clerici, C. (2000). Different measures of vulnerability and their relation to different dimensions of fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology* 40, 437–50.

<sup>93</sup> Fear of Crime and Victimization A Multivariate Multilevel Analysis of Competing Measurements, Andromachi Tseloni & Christina Zarafonitou, *European Journal of Criminology* 2008; 5; 387

<sup>94</sup> Anne-Marie Mohammed, George Saridakis, Sandra Sookram Do Victims of Crime Fear Crime More? Empirical Evidence from the Survey of Living Conditions (2005) of Trinidad and Tobago *SALISES Publications • Working Papers Paper 2009:19* (Second version) <http://sta.uwi.edu/salises/pubs/workingpapers/19.pdf> (accessed 18 November 2009)

risk for future victimization. Furthermore, those who have fallen victim to crime previously may also avoid certain areas or people they deem dangerous, thereby reducing their perceived vulnerability and fear.<sup>95</sup> Other research, however, has indicated a weak association between fear of crime and previous victimization.<sup>96</sup> There is no consensus in the literature on this topic.

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<sup>95</sup> Wyant, Brian R, Multilevel Impacts of Perceived Incivilities and Perceptions of Crime Risk on Fear of Crime: Isolating Endogenous Impacts, *Journal of research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2008:45; 42 SAGE Publications

<sup>96</sup> Quann, N. and Hung, K. (2002). Victimization experience and the fear of crime. A cross-national study. In P. Nieuwebeerta (ed.) *Crime victimization in comparative perspective. Results from the International Crime Victims Survey, 1989–2000*, 301–16. The Hague: NSCR, BJU.

**Table 6: Victimization rates (%)**

POLICE PRECINCT	EXPERIENCED CRIME IN THE LAST 3 YEARS	FOUR MOST COMMON CRIMES EXPERIENCED IN THE LAST 3 YEARS	EXPERIENCED CRIME IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS	FOUR MOST COMMON CRIMES EXPERIENCED IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS	VICTIMIZATION RATES PER SECTOR (LAST 3 YEARS)
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>45.2%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (30.5%)</li> <li>Burglary (16.0%)</li> <li>Assault (14.3%)</li> <li>Murder (11.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>25.1%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (16.4%)</li> <li>Burglary (7.4%)</li> <li>Assault (6.6%)</li> <li>Murder (4.6%)</li> <li>Rape/sexual assault (4.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thembani, Bongweni &amp; Khwezi (60.1% )</li> <li>Site C (44.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>52.2%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (35.7%)</li> <li>Burglary (24.3%)</li> <li>Theft (9.6%)</li> <li>Assault (7.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>32.1%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Burglary (14.0%)</li> <li>Theft (5.9%)</li> <li>Assault (4.2%)</li> <li>Murder (2.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mandela Park &amp; SST (58.3%)</li> <li>Kuyasa &amp; Enkanini (42.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>44.4%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Burglary (25.7%)</li> <li>Robbery (23.8%)</li> <li>Theft (15.2%)</li> <li>Assault (10.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>32.4%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (16.6%)</li> <li>Burglary (15.2%)</li> <li>Theft (6.7%)</li> <li>Assault (4.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bardale Squatter Camp (23.3%)</li> <li>Wesbank (47.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>92.5%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (84.7%)</li> <li>Burglary (50.7%)</li> <li>Assault (47.0%)</li> <li>Theft (23.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>82.3%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (66.7%)</li> <li>Burglary (41.8%)</li> <li>Assault (39.5%)</li> <li>Theft (15.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Barcelona &amp; Kanana (91.8%)</li> <li>Khikhi, NY1, &amp; Lotus River Informal Settlement (96.7%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>22.6%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Housebreaking (13.9%)</li> <li>Robbery (11.0%)</li> <li>Theft (6.9%)</li> <li>Car theft (6.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15.6%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Burglary (8.6%)</li> <li>Car theft (5.5%)</li> <li>Robbery (5.5%)</li> <li>Theft (3.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CBD area (8.3%)</li> <li>Vredehoek (48.9%)</li> <li>Oranjezicht (11.4%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinvei</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>22.0%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (7.0%)</li> <li>Burglary (7.0%)</li> <li>Theft (7.0%)</li> <li>Car theft (3.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14.0%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Burglary (4.0%)</li> <li>Robbery (4.0%)</li> <li>Theft (3.0%)</li> <li>Assault (2.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Melton Rose, Malibu Village &amp; Tuscany Glen (22.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>37.5%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (25.0%)</li> <li>Burglary (15.5%)</li> <li>Theft (8.5%)</li> <li>Assault (8.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>31.5%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (18.0%)</li> <li>Burglary (10.5%)</li> <li>Theft (7.0%)</li> <li>Assault (4.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wallacedene (33.4%)</li> <li>Bloekom Bos (50.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>19.8%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (8.7%)</li> <li>Burglary (6.9%)</li> <li>Theft (6.4%)</li> <li>Assault (3.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14.7%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (4.8%)</li> <li>Theft (3.8%)</li> <li>Burglary (2.7%)</li> <li>Assault (1.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Highbury (3.3%)</li> <li>Kalkfontein &amp; Sarepta (32.5%)</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>35.7%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (19.3%)</li> <li>Burglary (15.0%)</li> <li>Theft (14.3%)</li> <li>Assault (5.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>27.1%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (16.4%)</li> <li>Burglary (11.4%)</li> <li>Theft (8.6%)</li> <li>Hijacking (1.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Boston &amp; CBD area (35.7%)</li> </ul>
<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>37.6%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (23.3%)</li> <li>Burglary (19.4%)</li> <li>Theft (15.6%)</li> <li>Theft out of a vehicle (7.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>24.9%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robbery (15.0%)</li> <li>Burglary (11.1%)</li> <li>Theft (8.9%)</li> <li>Theft out of a vehicle (4.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heideveld (37.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>26.7%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Theft (14.2%)</li> <li>Burglary (13.5%)</li> <li>Robbery (13.3%)</li> <li>Theft out of a vehicle (4.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21.4%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Theft (10.7%)</li> <li>Burglary (7.3%)</li> <li>Robbery (6.0%)</li> <li>Theft out of a vehicle (2.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hanover Park (25.0%)</li> <li>Pinati Estate (3.3%)</li> </ul>

## 9. PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

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The social control perspective asserts that fear of crime is not merely a response to a personal experience of victimization. Instead, "it is a consequence of the erosion of social control as it is perceived by urban residents".<sup>97</sup> Further to this, fear results when residents become concerned "that the mechanisms for exercising social control are no longer effective, and the values and standards that in the past characterized the behaviour of local residents are no longer in force."<sup>98</sup>

To explore the residents' perceptions of the police, respondents were asked several questions aimed at eliciting their views on reporting crimes to the police (and factors that would inhibit reporting), the accessibility of the police to civilians, the visibility of the police in the community, and also participants' thoughts on what they think should be changed in order for their police to provide adequate services to the survivors of crime.

Community access to the local police was found to be more difficult in Khayelitsha, Harare, Phillipi and Gugulethu when compared to their counterparts from the other seven areas. Contrary to this, residents in Kleinvlei, Cape Town and Kuilsriver had the least difficulty accessing the police in their area, with less than a fifth reporting that it would be difficult or very difficult to access assistance from their local police.

A great proportion of the sample expressed their satisfaction with the service delivery of their local police. When comparing the 11 sites, residents in Kleinvlei, Harare, Bellville and Kraaifontein were more likely to describe the service at their local police station as good or very good. On the contrary, those living in Gugulethu expressed the most dissatisfaction with the service at their local police station – with more than half of the sample describing the police service as poor or very poor. See Table 7 for these percentages. Following this, Manenberg and Mfuleni were also more inclined to be displeased with the current services of their local police.

Given the overall positive perception of the police, it was not surprising to find that community members were of the opinion that survivors of crime would often report their experiences to the local police. More than two-thirds of residents living in Mfuleni, Cape Town, Kleinvlei, Kuilsriver, Bellville, Manenberg and Phillipi mentioned that survivors of crime in their areas would report crimes to the police most of the time or all of the time. See Table 7 for these exact percentages.

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<sup>97</sup> Lewis, D.A., & Salem, G. (1986). *Fear of crime: Incivility and the production of a social problem*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, page 13.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, page 10.

Residents in Gugulethu and Kraaifontein were least likely to feel that survivors of crime report their crimes to the local police. The main reasons for non-reporting of crimes were largely consistent across the different sites and included a fear of being victimized by the perpetrators, the perception that the police are corrupt and ineffective, a lack of trust in the local police and the tendency of cases to be thrown out of court. See Table 7 for the comparative percentages.

When asked what they thought could be done to improve the service delivery at their local police stations, the respondents tended to highlight the need to improve police's response time to distress calls from community members, the need to follow up on cases, the need to strengthen the investigation units, and the need to improve the interactions between police officials and survivors of crime. See Table 7 for the comparative percentages.

According to the social control perspective, fear results when residents are of the opinion that societal mechanisms for exercising social control are no longer successful. These societal mechanisms generally include residents' perceptions of informal social control capacities (e.g. community cohesion, and willingness to act for the betterment of the community) and also public social control mechanisms (e.g. formal government institutions such as the police and their relationships with the community).<sup>99</sup> Fear of crime is generally lower when community members perceive their local police and other government institutions as responsive to their needs. Conversely, higher levels of fear of crime are expected when community members are distrustful of the police and perceive the police and other government institutions as being non-responsive to their needs.

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<sup>99</sup> Lewis, D.A., & Salem, G. (1986). *Fear of crime: Incivility and the production of a social problem*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Taylor, R.B. (1997). Social order and disorder of street blocks and neighbourhoods: Ecology, microecology, and the systemic model of social disorganization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 34(1), pp.113-155.

**Table 7: Perceptions of the police (%)**

POLICE PRECINCT	ACCESSIBILITY OF THE POLICE TO THE COMMUNITY	PERCEPTIONS OF THE SERVICE OF THE LOCAL POLICE STATION	WOULD SURVIVORS OF CRIME REPORT INCIDENTS TO THE POLICE	REASONS FOR NON-REPORTING	CHANGES NEEDED TO IMPROVE POLICE SERVICE DELIVERY
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Difficult (42.8%)</li> <li>Very difficult (26.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very poor (7.4%)</li> <li>Poor (9.5%)</li> <li>Neither (39.2%)</li> <li>Good (22.7%)</li> <li>Very good (8.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All of the time (13.1%)</li> <li>Most of the time (32.4%)</li> <li>Some of the time (18.4%)</li> <li>Only a few times (2.5%)</li> <li>Rarely/hardly ever (10.4%)</li> <li>Never (0.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Afraid of reprisals (37.6%)</li> <li>Cases are thrown out of court (17.3%)</li> <li>Police are ineffective (16.4%)</li> <li>Do not trust the police (14.3%)</li> <li>Police are corrupt (12.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve response time to distress calls (32.8%)</li> <li>Follow up on cases (27.8%)</li> <li>Strengthen the investigation unit (18.7%)</li> <li>Show no favouritism amongst victims (5.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Difficult (57.0%)</li> <li>Very difficult (9.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very poor (5.8%)</li> <li>Poor (5.4%)</li> <li>Neither (17.1%)</li> <li>Good (40.3%)</li> <li>Very good (30.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All of the time (9.7%)</li> <li>Most of the time (44.8%)</li> <li>Some of the time (13.3%)</li> <li>Only a few times (15.6%)</li> <li>Rarely/hardly ever (9.0%)</li> <li>Never (7.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do not trust the police (33.6%)</li> <li>Fear of reprisals (33.3%)</li> <li>Cases are thrown out of court (13.0%)</li> <li>Police are ineffective (11.4%)</li> <li>Police are corrupt (8.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve response time to distress calls (26.6%)</li> <li>Follow up on cases (21.5%)</li> <li>Be open and listen to all victims without judging (18.1%)</li> <li>Strengthen the investigation unit (13.8%)</li> <li>Better victim reception (10.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Difficult (37.0%)</li> <li>Very difficult (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very poor (10.1%)</li> <li>Poor (16.4%)</li> <li>Neither (35.9%)</li> <li>Good (21.7%)</li> <li>Very good (5.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All of the time (25.8%)</li> <li>Most of the time (43.4%)</li> <li>Some of the time (12.5%)</li> <li>Only a few times (12.9%)</li> <li>Rarely/hardly ever (2.1%)</li> <li>Never (3.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Afraid of reprisals (26.1%)</li> <li>Police are inefficient (18.2%)</li> <li>Police are corrupt (12.1%)</li> <li>Do not trust the police (9.7%)</li> <li>Cases are thrown out of court (8.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve response time to distress calls (34.0%)</li> <li>Follow up on cases (21.6%)</li> <li>Strengthen the investigation unit (18.5%)</li> <li>Be open and listen to victims without judging (9.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Difficult (36.5%)</li> <li>Very difficult (17.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very poor (25.8%)</li> <li>Poor (33.8%)</li> <li>Neither (28.4%)</li> <li>Good (6.7%)</li> <li>Very good (3.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All of the time (5.9%)</li> <li>Most of the time (25.1%)</li> <li>Some of the time (58.8%)</li> <li>Only a few times (8.1%)</li> <li>Rarely/hardly ever (2.1%)</li> <li>Never (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Afraid of reprisals (45.3%)</li> <li>Do not trust the police (27.4%)</li> <li>Police are ineffective (13.4%)</li> <li>Police are corrupt (7.2%)</li> <li>Cases are thrown out of court (4.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Follow up on cases (36.7%)</li> <li>Improve response time to distress calls (26.5%)</li> <li>Be open and listen to victims without judging (12.2%)</li> <li>Show no favouritism among victims (9.3%)</li> <li>More sympathy towards victims (6.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Difficult (19.0%)</li> <li>Very difficult (0.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very poor (1.1%)</li> <li>Poor (4.0%)</li> <li>Neither (49.6%)</li> <li>Good (30.1%)</li> <li>Very good (12.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All of the time (45.2%)</li> <li>Most of the time (38.5%)</li> <li>Some of the time (4.5%)</li> <li>Only a few times (4.9%)</li> <li>Rarely/hardly ever (2.6%)</li> <li>Never (4.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Afraid of reprisals (58.0%)</li> <li>Police are inefficient (14.4%)</li> <li>Cases are thrown out of court (5.7%)</li> <li>Do not trust the police (5.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthen the investigation unit (29.1%)</li> <li>Follow up on cases (27.6%)</li> <li>Improve response time to distress calls (19.2%)</li> <li>Better victim reception (7.7%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinlei</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Difficult (13.9%)</li> <li>Very difficult (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very poor (1.8%)</li> <li>Poor (2.6%)</li> <li>Neither (24.2%)</li> <li>Good (70.0%)</li> <li>Very good (1.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All of the time (10.6%)</li> <li>Most of the time (56.0%)</li> <li>Some of the time (25.3%)</li> <li>Only a few times (0.7%)</li> <li>Rarely/hardly ever (0.7%)</li> <li>Never (6.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Police are inefficient (23.8%)</li> <li>Afraid of reprisals (20.5%)</li> <li>Police are corrupt (19.7%)</li> <li>Do not trust the police (17.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Follow up on cases (44.9%)</li> <li>Strengthen the investigation unit (23.1%)</li> <li>Improve response time to distress calls (15.2%)</li> <li>Be open and listen to all victims without judging (6.3%)</li> </ul>

<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult (47.0%)</li> <li>• Very difficult (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very poor (3.6%)</li> <li>• Poor (3.2%)</li> <li>• Neither (32.9%)</li> <li>• Good (43.1%)</li> <li>• Very good (13.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All of the time (9.3%)</li> <li>• Most of the time (28.9%)</li> <li>• Some of the time (23.7%)</li> <li>• Only a few times (12.6%)</li> <li>• Rarely/hardly ever (21.9%)</li> <li>• Never (3.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fear of reprisals (38.3%)</li> <li>• Cases are gang-related (19.5%)</li> <li>• Cases are thrown out of court (17.1%)</li> <li>• Police are ineffective (12.0%)</li> <li>• Police are corrupt (6.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve response time to distress calls (27.9%)</li> <li>• Follow up on cases (27.7%)</li> <li>• Strengthen the investigation unit (17.2%)</li> <li>• Be open and listen to all victims (9.1%)</li> <li>• Better victim reception (6.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult (13.1%)</li> <li>• Very difficult (5.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very poor (9.0%)</li> <li>• Poor (4.8%)</li> <li>• Neither (51.0%)</li> <li>• Good (13.1%)</li> <li>• Very good (20.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All of the time (60.2%)</li> <li>• Most of the time (25.1%)</li> <li>• Some of the time (10.4%)</li> <li>• Only a few times (4.3%)</li> <li>• Rarely/hardly ever (0%)</li> <li>• Never (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cases are thrown out of court (30.3%)</li> <li>• Police are ineffective (24.2%)</li> <li>• Police are corrupt (22.0%)</li> <li>• Fear of reprisals (15.2%)</li> <li>• Cases are gang-related (5.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen the investigation unit (31.3%)</li> <li>• Follow up on cases (22.5%)</li> <li>• Improve response time to distress calls (22.2%)</li> <li>• Be open and listen to victims without judging (9.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult (18.8%)</li> <li>• Very difficult (15.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very poor (5.6%)</li> <li>• Poor (5.6%)</li> <li>• Neither (17.8%)</li> <li>• Good (19.7%)</li> <li>• Very good (44.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All of the time (45.3%)</li> <li>• Most of the time (41.6%)</li> <li>• Some of the time (7.2%)</li> <li>• Only a few times (2.8%)</li> <li>• Rarely/hardly ever (1.9%)</li> <li>• Never (1.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fear of reprisals (42.9%)</li> <li>• Cases are thrown out of court (20.0%)</li> <li>• Police are corrupt (15.7%)</li> <li>• Police are ineffective (11.4%)</li> <li>• Do not trust the police (8.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve response time to distress calls (30.8%)</li> <li>• Follow up on cases (22.1%)</li> <li>• Strengthen the investigation unit (19.3%)</li> <li>• Better victim reception (8.4%)</li> <li>• Show no favouritism among victims (7.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult (34.7%)</li> <li>• Very difficult (1.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very poor (8.8%)</li> <li>• Poor (21.8%)</li> <li>• Neither (52.5%)</li> <li>• Good (14.6%)</li> <li>• Very good (0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All of the time (19.7%)</li> <li>• Most of the time (54.4%)</li> <li>• Some of the time (4.9%)</li> <li>• Only a few times (14.6%)</li> <li>• Rarely/hardly ever (4.2%)</li> <li>• Never (2.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cases are thrown out of court (32.1%)</li> <li>• Police are ineffective (24.8%)</li> <li>• Fear of reprisals (17.5%)</li> <li>• Police are corrupt (16.1%)</li> <li>• Do not trust the police (6.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve response time to distress calls (38.6%)</li> <li>• Follow up on cases (21.5%)</li> <li>• Strengthen the investigation unit (17.5%)</li> <li>• Be open and listen to all victims (9.9%)</li> <li>• Better victim reception (8.4%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficult (49.4%)</li> <li>• Very difficult (8.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very poor (7.3%)</li> <li>• Poor (10.5%)</li> <li>• Neither (46.7%)</li> <li>• Good (24.7%)</li> <li>• Very good (6.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All of the time (20.3%)</li> <li>• Most of the time (53.7%)</li> <li>• Some of the time (10.5%)</li> <li>• Only a few times (10.0%)</li> <li>• Rarely/hardly ever (2.9%)</li> <li>• Never (2.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fear of reprisals (40.2%)</li> <li>• Police are corrupt (17.6%)</li> <li>• Cases are thrown out of court (16.1%)</li> <li>• Do not trust the police (13.6%)</li> <li>• Cases are gang-related (9.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve response time to distress calls (32.3%)</li> <li>• Follow up on cases (22.8%)</li> <li>• Strengthen the investigation unit (19.4%)</li> <li>• Better victim reception (9.3%)</li> <li>• Be open and listen to all victims without judging (7.8%)</li> </ul>

## 10. SOCIAL CAPITAL

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Social capital refers to “the attitude, spirit and willingness of people to engage in collective civic activities.”<sup>100</sup> This notion is crucial to social research studies since positive community networks and connections are believed to result in collective action that is mutually beneficial to the community members. In this case, positive social networks are believed to encourage community involvement in crime prevention initiatives. Further to this, individuals who are more socially integrated within their communities are expected to exhibit lower levels of fear of crime.<sup>101</sup>

Earlier studies have described social integration as an attachment or a sense of belonging to a community. Researchers have operationalized social integration in various ways including the ability to identify strangers in the area, the degree to which neighbours feel they are a part of the community, possessing a personal investment in the neighbourhood, having social ties to fellow community members, participating in formal community organizations, engaging in information sharing, perceiving similarities among residents, and having friends or relatives who live in the community. In short, residents who experience a sense of belonging to their community and who have strong social ties with their neighbours are likely to experience lower levels of fear when compared to those who do not have these attachments.<sup>102</sup>

Levels of community cohesion and bonding were highest in Cape Town, Kleinvei and Kuilsriver. Respondents from these two areas were more likely to report that people in their community could be trusted, would help each other out if the need arose, and would try and intervene if they saw a neighbour’s property being broken into when compared to their counterparts from the other areas.

Informal social control refers to the “willingness of neighbourhood residents to actively engage in behaviours aimed at preventing criminal and deviant behaviour in the local area”.<sup>103</sup> This perspective maintains that when neighbours share common values and will assume responsibility for one another and the community a sense of social cohesion is fostered.<sup>104</sup> A strong sense of community cohesion is believed to inhibit fear of crime. Conversely, a poor sense of community cohesion, tends to contribute to higher levels of fear of crime.

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<sup>100</sup> Definition found at <http://www.envision.ca/templates/profile.asp>

<sup>101</sup> Lewis & Salem, op cit.

<sup>102</sup> Franklin & Franklin, op cit.

<sup>103</sup> Silver, E., & Miller, L.L. (2004). Sources of informal social control in Chicago neighbourhoods. *Criminology*, 42, pp.551-583. (Page 553)

<sup>104</sup> Renauer, B.C. (2007). Reducing Fear of Crime: Citizen, Police or Government responsibility. *Police Quarterly*, 10(1), pp.41-62

**Table 8: Social cohesion and bonding (%)**

POLICE PRECINCT	PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA CAN BE TRUSTED	PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA WOULD TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OTHERS	PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA WOULD HELP EACH OTHER OUT IF THE NEED AROSE	IF PEOPLE SAW SOMEONE BREAKING INTO A NEIGHBOUR'S HOME, THEY WOULD TRY AND STOP IT	PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA WOULD KEEP AN EYE OUT ON THEIR NEIGHBOUR'S HOMES WHEN AWAY
<b>Khayelitsha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (15.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (33.9%)</li> <li>Agree (35.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (10.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (6.8%)</li> <li>Disagree (29.5%)</li> <li>Agree (42.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (19.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (14.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (19.0%)</li> <li>Agree (47.0%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (18.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (13.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (19.8%)</li> <li>Agree (42.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (21.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (18.0%)</li> <li>Disagree (20.1%)</li> <li>Agree (41.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (20.3%)</li> </ul>
<b>Harare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (3.0%)</li> <li>Disagree (21.6%)</li> <li>Agree (55.1%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (20.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (4.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (36.0%)</li> <li>Agree (54.7%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (3.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0.4%)</li> <li>Disagree (15.2%)</li> <li>Agree (76.6%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (7.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (3.0%)</li> <li>Disagree (11.0%)</li> <li>Agree (61.1%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (24.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (3.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (19.0%)</li> <li>Agree (52.1%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (24.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Mfuleni</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (11.4%)</li> <li>Disagree (18.1%)</li> <li>Agree (63.5%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (5.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (16.5%)</li> <li>Disagree (30.3%)</li> <li>Agree (44.3%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (9.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (3.4%)</li> <li>Disagree (13.5%)</li> <li>Agree (72.3%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (10.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (4.9%)</li> <li>Disagree (12.2%)</li> <li>Agree (63.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (17.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (13.5%)</li> <li>Agree (70.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (14.2%)</li> </ul>
<b>Gugulethu</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (15.0%)</li> <li>Disagree (16.7%)</li> <li>Agree (57.3%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (9.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (8.9%)</li> <li>Disagree (60.0%)</li> <li>Agree (24.0%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (7.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (14.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (17.4%)</li> <li>Agree (59.7%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (5.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (19.4%)</li> <li>Disagree (9.5%)</li> <li>Agree (62.0%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (7.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (18.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (14.7%)</li> <li>Agree (61.0%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (4.1%)</li> </ul>
<b>Cape Town</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (7.9%)</li> <li>Agree (62.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (28.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (25.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (36.2%)</li> <li>Agree (36.5%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (1.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (7.6%)</li> <li>Agree (65.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (25.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (1.6%)</li> <li>Agree (70.0%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (27.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (1.5%)</li> <li>Disagree (0.5%)</li> <li>Agree (68.5%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (28.5%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kleinlei</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0%)</li> <li>Disagree (9.5%)</li> <li>Agree (70.3%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (15.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (2.9%)</li> <li>Disagree (40.7%)</li> <li>Agree (49.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (4.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0%)</li> <li>Disagree (1.8%)</li> <li>Agree (86.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (8.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0%)</li> <li>Disagree (2.9%)</li> <li>Agree (88.3%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (8.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0%)</li> <li>Disagree (5.9%)</li> <li>Agree (80.6%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (10.6%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kraaifontein</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (11.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (22.2%)</li> <li>Agree (53.6%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (8.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (16.5%)</li> <li>Disagree (38.9%)</li> <li>Agree (32.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (9.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (4.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (25.9%)</li> <li>Agree (61.2%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (6.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (3.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (22.0%)</li> <li>Agree (56.3%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (10.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (4.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (22.0%)</li> <li>Agree (62.5%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (7.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Kuilsriver</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (8.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (17.0%)</li> <li>Agree (63.1%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (11.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (14.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (31.8%)</li> <li>Agree (40.0%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (14.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (2.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (2.8%)</li> <li>Agree (76.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (17.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (2.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (4.8%)</li> <li>Agree (63.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (29.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (1.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (6.5%)</li> <li>Agree (64.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (26.9%)</li> </ul>
<b>Bellville</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (15.9%)</li> <li>Disagree (13.1%)</li> <li>Agree (60.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (9.4%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (8.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (48.4%)</li> <li>Agree (23.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (15.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (11.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (16.9%)</li> <li>Agree (59.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (10.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (11.3%)</li> <li>Disagree (10.0%)</li> <li>Agree (53.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (21.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (12.2%)</li> <li>Disagree (8.1%)</li> <li>Agree (50.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (25.0%)</li> </ul>
<b>Manenberg</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (4.4%)</li> <li>Disagree (27.1%)</li> <li>Agree (65.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (11.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (36.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (3.0%)</li> <li>Disagree (14.8%)</li> <li>Agree (78.7%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (4.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (17.8%)</li> <li>Agree (68.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (2.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (17.6%)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly agree (3.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Agree (49.1%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (3.0%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly agree (3.5%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly agree (6.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Agree (71.8%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (6.2%)</li> </ul>
<b>Phillipi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (7.5%)</li> <li>Disagree (28.9%)</li> <li>Agree (49.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (13.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (12.6%)</li> <li>Disagree (27.4%)</li> <li>Agree (51.9%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (6.1%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (0.7%)</li> <li>Disagree (9.7%)</li> <li>Agree (71.4%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (16.6%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (2.9%)</li> <li>Disagree (9.0%)</li> <li>Agree (66.7%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (18.2%)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strongly Disagree (1.1%)</li> <li>Disagree (9.0%)</li> <li>Agree (71.7%)</li> <li>Strongly agree (15.9%)</li> </ul>

## 11. INTERVENTIONS THAT WOULD ADDRESS SAFETY AND CRIME

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Based on the aforementioned findings, a number of recommendations are made to the Department:

Scholars have long attempted to understand fear of crime and the factors contributing towards it. These efforts have produced a body of knowledge that postulates three dominant models to explain fear of crime amongst ordinary citizens – the vulnerability, disorder and social integration models.<sup>105</sup> What becomes evident from these models is that feelings of fear are not fixed but are constantly in a state of flux since this construct is influenced by a myriad of different factors that may vary from one individual and one context to the next.

The first two models (the vulnerability and disorder models) draw on theories that emphasize facilitators of fear.<sup>106</sup> Facilitators of fear are generally individual attributes or disorderly community environments that would lead to a perceived increase in vulnerability and, hence, increased levels of fear amongst citizens. A great proportion of existing literature focuses on individual attributes as a means of predicting fear of crime. These studies purport that demographic indicators such as age, sex, race, income, education and marital status predict fear of crime via perceptions of vulnerability.<sup>107</sup> The vulnerability hypothesis maintains that individuals may demonstrate vulnerability largely as a result of their social standing. The samples represented in this study, were largely inhabited by Black or Coloured females, the majority of who are poorly educated. According to mainstream research, communities with such demographic profiles would be extremely susceptible to victimization and is expected to exhibit higher levels of fear as a result of their diminished (economic and social) capacity for self-protection. **Further to this, the findings have consistently shown that vulnerable groups such as women, children, the physically challenged and the elderly are at risk of victimization in their communities. Thus, the safety of these groups needs to be prioritized particularly within the communities in which they are most susceptible. This is crucial especially given that international and local literature has shown the influence of prior victimization on the likelihood of later anti-social and criminal behaviour. This suggests the need for targeted safety programmes that are designed to mitigate the dangers associated with the lifestyle and routine activities of each of these groups.**

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<sup>105</sup> Franklin & Franklin, op cit.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Shafer, Heubner, & Bynum, op cit.

The community disorder model posits that...

*...disorderly behaviour unregulated and unchecked signals to citizens that the area is unsafe. Responding prudently, and fearful, citizens will stay off the streets, avoid certain areas, and curtail their normal activities and associations. As citizens withdraw physically, they also withdraw from roles of mutual support with fellow citizens on the streets, thereby relinquishing the social controls they formerly helped to maintain within the community, as social atomization sets in. Ultimately, the result for such a neighbourhood...is increasing vulnerability to an influx of more disorderly behaviour and serious crime.<sup>108</sup> (Kelling and Cole, 1996, p.20)*

The incivilities thesis is one of the more commonly used theories to explain the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics (or disorder) and perceived levels of fear of crime.<sup>109</sup> This theory, first developed as a result of the need to explain why communities experienced high levels of crime despite a low risk of victimization, differentiates between social as well as physical disorder. While the former refers to gang activities, homelessness, the presence of drunkards and drug addicts, and loitering – issues that emerged as a serious cause for concern in this sample – the latter refers to vandalism, empty and abandoned buildings and unkempt open spaces.<sup>110</sup> **This highlights the need for elements of situational crime prevention to be incorporated into any plan aimed at increased levels of safety in these communities. Situational crime prevention addresses the factors stemming from the environment that may create an environment that is conducive to crime. Thus, Environmental design and liaison with relevant City authorities regarding maintenance of public spaces, the provision of street lights, etc. should also be prioritized in this regard.**

This theory purports that people can experience fear of crime merely by witnessing these incivilities in the communities in which they live and by perceiving that these characteristics would increase their chance of falling prey to crime.<sup>111</sup> Residents in these communities highlighted a range of neighbourhood characteristics that they felt needed to be addressed in order to improve overall levels of safety in their community, and in so doing, reduce the levels of fear amongst community members. **The scourge of drug abuse, crime, unemployment, and gangsterism in these communities were consistently highlighted throughout the data collection process and these issues seemed to dominate the focus group discussions as well.** The narratives presented throughout the study reports clearly reveal the

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<sup>108</sup> Kelling and Cole 1996, page 20, in

<sup>109</sup> McCreary, R., Shyy, T., Western, J., and R.J. Stimson (2005), Fear of crime in Brisbane: Individual, social and neighbourhood factors in perspective, *Journal of Sociology*, 41(1), pp. 7-27.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

Lagrange, R.L., Ferraro, K.F., and M. Supancic (1992), Perceived risk and fear of crime – the role of social and physical incivilities, *Journal of Research in crime and delinquency*, 29(3), pp. 311-334.

extent to which this problem has contributed (in the community's opinion) to crimes occurring in the area (and in so doing, elevating levels of fear in the community).

While the various government structures have developed strategies aimed at addressing the scourge of drug abuse in Western Cape communities, **it needs to be borne in mind that for any drugs strategy to be successful, it requires a co-ordinated and coherent intervention that cuts across different Departments and facilitates the participation of key role-players in the fight against substance abuse.** These include not only Community Safety, but Social Development, Education, Health, as well as SAPS. **This multi-faceted and inter-departmental strategy should address the supply, demand, prevention as well as the treatment of those suffering from this social ill.** Such an intervention will not only alleviate fear of crime experienced by residents by addressing one of the key factors perceived to be facilitating fear of crime in this community, but also by showing that government institutions are responsive to the needs of the communities it serves. This in itself has been shown to alleviate levels of fear amongst residents.<sup>112</sup>

The social control perspective asserts that fear of crime is not merely a response to a personal experience of victimization. Instead, "it is a consequence of the erosion of social control as it is perceived by urban residents."<sup>113</sup> According to this perspective, fear results when residents are of the opinion that societal mechanisms for exercising social control are no longer successful. These societal mechanisms generally include residents' perceptions of informal social control capacities (e.g. community cohesion and willingness to act for the betterment of the community) and also public social control mechanisms (e.g. formal government institutions such as the police and their relationship with the community).

The police are identified as key role-players in exercising social control. According to the literature one can expect to find higher levels of fear in a community when the residents are distrustful of the police and perceive the police and other government institutions responsible for social control as non-responsive to their needs. This report drew attention to the communities' perception of the local police operating in their area.

The negative perception of the police was largely fuelled by the poor interactions that community members have had with their local police. Sherman & Eck, found that "...the police themselves create a risk factor for crime simply by using bad manners".<sup>114</sup> Their analyses of the success of policing crime prevention initiatives provided modest scientific evidence to support the deduction that the less respectful police are towards residents generally, the less inclined residents will be to comply with the law. Their finding **motivates for a change in**

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<sup>112</sup> Lewis & Salem, op cit

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Sherman, L.W. & Eck, J.E. Policing for crime prevention, pg 295. In L.W. Sherman, D.P. Farrington, B.C. Welsh, & D.L. MacKenzie (2006) Evidence-based Crime Prevention, revised edition. Routledge: New York.

**police “style” as a worthy endeavour to foster co-operation between police and the communities they serve.**<sup>115</sup> This was believed to contribute towards improving overall performance of service delivery at the local police station, as well as improving relationships between ordinary community members and police officials at the local police station.

The study clearly demonstrated that residents’ reporting of crimes, their willingness to co-operate with the police during investigations, and their eagerness to collectively act for the betterment of the community in which they live may be frustrated if they perceive the police negatively, that is, if they are distrustful of their local police or perceive their behaviour as capricious.<sup>116</sup> Thus, the findings suggest that the Police in these areas, as well as in general in South African communities, need to embark on a concerted effort to improve their image within the communities they serve. Throughout the data collection process, residents spoke fervently about the role that their perceptions of the police play on their own as well as other survivors of crime’s tendency to report their victimizations. The perception that the police was corrupt, inefficient and a lack of trust in these authorities were found to be the main contributing factors to the non-reporting of crimes. Hence, improved communication strategies between the police and the communities that they serve will go a long way not only in fostering levels of trust but also improving the reporting rates for crimes.

**Increasing police visibility** was also commonly identified as a change believed to alleviate levels of fear amongst community members. According to Sherman and Eck, the success of increased police visibility as a crime prevention initiative is dependent on how well it is focused on explicit objectives, tasks, places, times and people. The Barometer study gave rise to a plethora of findings that are crucial to consider when thinking about increasing the numbers of police patrolling these communities. The findings reveal the places in the community where residents feel least safe, the hotspots for criminal activities, the times when crimes are most likely to occur, the times when residents feel most unsafe, as well as the activities engaged in (e.g. travelling on public transportation) when their safety is most threatened. Thus, **this approach will work best if police patrol areas where crime is most concentrated, at the times and days it is most likely to occur.**<sup>117</sup> **This will go a long way not only in addressing crime in these communities, but will also have a ricochet effect on police legitimacy in the community and fear of crime experienced by citizens.**

The third model dominant in the fear of crime literature – the social integration model – places a greater emphasis on factors that may inhibit fear of crime.<sup>118</sup> Social integration is often described as an attachment or a sense of belonging to a community. This model posits that residents who experience a sense of belonging to their community and who have strong social

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Renauer, op cit.

<sup>117</sup> Sherman & Eck, op cit.

<sup>118</sup> Franklin & Franklin, op cit.

ties with their neighbours are likely to experience lower levels of fear when compared to those who do not have these attachments.<sup>119</sup> Mainstream literature suggests that such **informal social control mechanisms inhibit fear of crime amongst communities since neighbours share common values and will assume some responsibility for one another – adding to their feeling of safety.**<sup>120</sup> **Given this, government should work to mobilize community members to collaborate with the police and other government institutions in alleviating crime.**

**The need to disseminate information on crime prevention initiatives also emerged during this study.** Government should use community spaces (such as clinics, libraries, halls, places of public transportation etc.) to disseminate information, using posters or other printed forms of media, on self-protection measures, but also on crime reporting numbers, emergency numbers, and police corruption “whistle-blower” numbers. The combination of direct intervention (through visible policing) and information dissemination might go some way in increasing feelings of safety within these public spaces. This will also contribute to the perception that government is responsive to the needs of these communities.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Renauer, op cit.