SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND IMPACTS OF VIOLENCE AND CRIME IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

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2006

DECLARATION

The Registrar Academic
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Dear Sir/Madam

I, Edwin C. Perry Jr., Registration Number 200001429, hereby declare that the thesis entitled:

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is the result of my own research and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or to any other University.
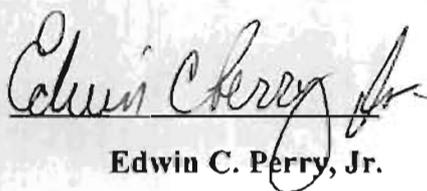
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Edwin C. Perry, Jr.   **Date**

DEDICATION

TO

THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER
MR. EDWIN CARL PERRY SR.

THE SURVIVORS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE AS WELL AS THE ADVOCATES
AGAINST CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN SOCIETY - YOUR STRENGTH AND
COURAGE IS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL

BOTH MY UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICAN FAMILIES FOR THEIR
ENCOURAGEMENT, EMPOWERMENT AND SUSTENANCE THOUGHOUT THE
PROCESS AND COMPLETION OF THIS THESIS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

Violence and crime are amongst the most difficult of the many challenges facing South Africa. There is widespread concern in all segments of society about persistent and widespread violence and crime. The central aim of the study is to critically examine the socio-economic and environmental perceptions and impacts of violence and crime in residential areas in Durban, South Africa, by utilizing specific case studies. This study contributes to understanding the socio-economic and environmental perceptions of crime and violence at the local level. The actual and perceived spatial distribution and understanding of violence and crime form a critical focus of this study. This study adopts a multi-conceptual framework (drawing from the psychological/ behavioural perspective, political economy approach and rational perspective of physical environment and crime) that coalesces several themes relating to crime and violence including historical contexts, policy frameworks, stakeholder analyses, environmental aspects, economic facets, distributional concerns as well as social and cultural dimensions.

The focus of the study in terms of primary data collection was Durban. Within this area the specific residential localities (from informal settlements to upper income areas) were chosen from the Innerwest sub-region. The four specific communities/localities chosen reflect the residential settlement type and socio-economic differentiation prevalent in the area as well as to some extent the historical residential classification on the basis of race. These localities are Westville (a historically White, upper income area), Reservoir Hills (a historically Indian, middle income area), Clermont (a historically African, working class township) and the Palmiet and New Germany Road informal settlements. The case studies reflect a cross-section of experiences contrasting institutional dynamics as well as socio-economic and spatial contexts and experiences. Both quantitative (questionnaire surveys) and qualitative (focus group discussions, key informant interviews and ranking exercises) methods were employed to collect primary data from the following stakeholders: residents, businesses, police, private security companies and community-based organizations/community forums.

The main findings of the research were that perceptions of safety and security varied greatly depending on personal, socio-economic, and environmental/spatial factors. Gender, class and race emerged as key socio-economic aspects. Furthermore, violence and the threat of violence severely constrain and influence the movements and options of people. Respondents considered several areas within the communities, especially public spaces, to be unsafe. Respondents, especially those who could afford to do so, used a range of security measures. This study shows that acts of violence and crime need to be understood in their environmental contexts inclusive of the locational/spatial, social, economic and political dimensions. An examination and greater understanding of the socio-economic and spatial manifestations of crime and violence is paramount to develop safe and secure environments.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APA: American Planning Association

CPTED: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

DMA: Durban Metropolitan Area

DMC: Durban Metropolitan Council

DSS: Department of Safety and Security

HIV/AIDS: Human Immuno-deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency
            Syndrome

ICVS: International Crime Victim Survey

ISS: Institute for Security Studies

NCES: National Center for Educational Statistics

NCPS: National Crime Prevention Strategy

NVCS: National Victims Crime Survey

SAPS: South African Police Services

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

U.K.:   United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

U.S.A.:   United States of America

WHO: World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In the new democratic order, South Africans demand and deserve accountable, effective and service oriented policing. The rights enshrined in the Constitution, enacted in 1996, aim to ensure safety by protecting citizens who come into contact with the law, and by obliging the state to provide adequate security from those who perpetrate crime.

> (White Paper on Safety and Security 1999-2004, In Service of Safety, Department of Safety and Security, 1998: 8)

McIlwaine (1999) describes South Africa as one of the countries experiencing democratization and transformation after periods of prolonged political violence where widespread and persistent violence has not abated. Gilbert (1996) states that the prevalence of political violence, violent crimes, violence against women and domestic violence in South Africa highlights the fact that South Africa is a particularly violent society. Demombynes and Özler (2005) argue that crime is among the most difficult of the many challenges facing South Africa. Furthermore, Kromberg (2003) asserts that one of the more emotive topics of conversation in South Africa has been the issue of crime. They have been at the centre stage of several debates and discussions. Crime and violence impact on the lives of South Africans and visitors in several ways. Landman and Liebermann (2005) assert that concerns about crime rank among the top three priorities of every Integrated Development Plan in South Africa. They further argue that despite this, the ability to incorporate crime prevention plans into the local development agenda is limited.

This chapter forwards the motivation for the study and briefly examines key issues pertaining to the socio-economic and environmental perceptions of crime and violence in society pertinent to the research. Furthermore, the aim and research objectives are

outlined. Additionally, an overview of the methodology adopted in the study as well as the chapter outline are presented.

1.2. MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

Societal inequalities and violence and the concomitant implications that this has on people's physical, psychological, social, economic and political well-being both in the home and public arenas are examined in numerous studies (Adams and Serpe, 2000; Borrero, 2001; Burnham *et al*, 2004; Cohn and Rotton, 2003; Collins *et al*, 2006; Cozens *et al*; 2001; 2002; 2004; Creveld, 2000; Dangor, 1996; Demombynes and Özler, 2005; Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Evans and Fletcher, 2000; Fisher and Gunnison, 2001; Francis, 1997; Gibbons, 2004; Goodey, 1994; Grabosky, 1995; Gutex *et al*, 1991; Jacobs, 1995; Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002; Lehman and Okcabol, 2005; Louw, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998; Markowitz, 2005; Moore and Shephard, 2006; Morrell, 2002; Moser, 2004; Motshekga and Delport, 1993; Nofziger and Williams, 2005; Pain, 1991; 1997; 2000; Perry, 2002; Rayburn *et al*, 2003; Reese *et al*, 2001; Roberts, 2006; Ross, 1993; Schmitt and Martin, 1999; Schwartz, 1997; Seager and Olson, 1997; Segal, 1990; Sexwale, 1995; Stanko, 1990; 1995; Stretesky and Hogan, 2005; Upson, 2004; Valentine, 1992; Warner and Fowler, 2003; White, 1999). In South Africa, increasing research has been undertaken on violence and crime. Furthermore, there is widespread concern in all segments of society about persistent and widespread violence and crime. These have generally taken the form of crime victim surveys. Additionally, Bob *et al* (2006) indicate the trepidation over crime and violence has become a key political issue in the public arena. They further assert that this is emerging as an overwhelming media obsession fuelled by a general public outcry pertaining to crime levels in South Africa. To address the problem of crime and violence in South Africa, a range of policies and legislation has been and continue to be put into place to reduce crime levels.

In the South African context, despite the acknowledgement of crime and violence as a central concern (especially by the Crime Information Analysis Centre, 1998), there has

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been a dearth in studies that focus specifically on people's perceptions about the environments in which they live, especially in relation to violence and crime. Additionally, there remains a weak empirical and conceptual basis to understand the nature and extent of violence and crime against people as well as the context and locality specific experiences. Of particular interest is the need to examine the ways in which violence and/or the fear of violence constrain people's abilities to participate meaningfully in, and benefit from, development and transformation processes. The perceptions of crime and violence are neglected in the research and yet, as will be illustrated in this research endeavor, perceptions towards crime and violence influence considerably people's behaviors, attitudes and actions. They have a direct impact on people's lives.

Artz (1998), Demombynes and Özler (2005), Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (2001), Landman and Liebermann (2005), Louw and Shaw (1997), Louw *et al* (1998), Mashaba (2005), Moser (2004), Olanrewaju (2001), Perry (2002), Simpson (1998), Vogelman and Eagle (1991) and Zondi (2000) have argued that issues concerning society and violence have been overlooked when broad-based social, economic and political planning has taken place in the new South Africa. Perry (2002) illustrates that the main sources of information about violence in South Africa are based primarily on police statistics, victim surveys and a series of estimates by organizations working with survivors of violence. In the former instance, there is consensus that in most cases violence and crime, especially sexual and domestic violence, are not reported to the police. A case in point is that only one out of 35 rapes is reported to the police (Crime Information and Analysis Center, 1998). It is also important to note that most studies or information gathering exercises are undertaken in urban areas. Nelson *et al* (2001) indicate that research on the micro-spatial geography and temporal characteristics of violence and crime has been neglected in favor of identifying broader patterns and trends. There have been numerous calls to provide more substantive information and rigorous research about the nature, scope and dimensions of the problem at the local level (Nelson *et al*, 2001; Perry, 2002).

This study contributes to understanding the socio-economic and environmental perceptions of crime and violence at the local level. Perceptions and fears of violence and crime are not aspatial or objective. Place and subjectivity (personal experiences and perceptions) play central roles in people's understanding of, and attitudes toward crime and violence in society. Research has demonstrated that individuals feel more at risk in certain places and at certain times (Artz et al, 1998; Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993; Cozens et al, 2001; 2002; 2004; Creveld, 2000; Fisher and Nasar, 1995; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001a; Moser, 2004; Pain, 1991; 1997; 2001; Perry, 2002; Schneider, 2000; 2001; Smiley and Roux, 2005; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006; Upson, 2004; Valentine, 1992). Perry (2002) states that in this regard, the private space of home and public spaces that individuals' frequent form important interrelated units of analyses. More specifically, Valentine (1992) shows that although there is sufficient evidence that indicates that violence against females take place more frequently at home and by men they know; females tend to perceive violence as taking place in public spaces and by strangers. Thus, as Perry (2002) illustrates, the actual and perceived spatial distribution and understanding of violence need therefore to be critically examined and form a critical focus of this study.

Violence and the fear of violence are widespread in South Africa. Wilson-Doenges (2000) states that society is increasingly characterized by a decline in a sense of community and an increase in fear of crime. The issue of safety and security in residential areas in South Africa, especially as it is linked to violence and safety, is often highly political and is at the core of much discontent among South African residents. Artz et al (1998) indicate that addressing concerns pertaining to violence and safety are preconditions for social and economic development as well as political stability in South Africa. This has become even more heightened as incidences of criminal acts and violence have become more visible and pronounced. Demombynes and Özler (2005) assert that in addition to the socio-economic costs at the individual and community level, crime and violence in South Africa are likely to discourage investment and stifle long-term growth in the country. A complex range of interlinked socio-economic, political and institutional factors influence safety and security concerns. Developing an enabling

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environment at various levels (local, city-wide, regional, national and global) to address issues pertaining to crime and violence is critical for developing safe and secure neighborhoods (Artz, 1998).

Recent years have witnessed an increased interest in violence and safety from researchers, policy-makers and government sectors. A plethora of studies, including several victim and crime surveys (see, inter alia, Artz *et al*, 1998; Crime Information Analysis Centre, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998) have concluded that real and perceived crime and violence impinge on the well-being of the vast majority of South Africa's populace. Shaw (1998) states that like so many other cities in the world, Durban is concerned with the growing threat of crime and violence and its impact on the safety and security of its citizens. Zondi (2000) aptly illustrates that current strategies and practices aimed at addressing safety and security concerns in residential areas have generally failed or have had a minimal impact. Moreover, he stated that in some instances current practices have tended to exacerbate problems and have led to political, economic and social insecurity.

This research project is intended to investigate the nature, efficiency and distributional consequences of current safety and security measures in residential areas by examining a cross section of communities. Furthermore, it is important to examine the ways in which changing and differentiated patterns of perceptions and strategies to address crime and violence at household and community levels affect the ways in which safety and security concerns are confronted.

Aitken and Noble (2001) state that violence and crime contribute significantly, both covertly and overtly, to reinforcing power and control in different spheres of our society including homes, communities, educational institutions, workplaces as well as social places. Masuku (2003) asserts that in particular the volume of interpersonal conflict and violation is a cause for concern and suggests that government intervention should expand its focus on crime prevention through social development. Central to the above discussion is poverty. Louw and Shaw (1997) demonstrate that poverty is central to crime and violence in South Africa and is particularly devastating for South Africa's poor.

Poverty, a key indicator of crime and justice in any society, has multidimensional aspects. The economic dimension of poverty is often linked to an individual person's or household's ability to generate income or produce sufficiently to take care of basic needs. The non-income aspect of poverty relates to quality of life indicators which include access to basic amenities and services, housing, crime, safety, isolation from political events and social integration (Louw and Shaw, 1997).

Research on crime and violence has grown in recent years. From its inception, this field has relied almost exclusively upon quantitative victimization studies and surveys as well as police statistics (see, for example, Artz *et al*, 1998 and Masuku, 2003). Although these studies have undoubtedly revealed that crime and violence are prevalent social problems that bes*et al*most all aspects of societal life, these studies result in the focus on one group and obfuscates the perspectives and concerns of other stakeholders. Furthermore, Kuo and Sullivan (2001a) raise doubts about the nature of the instruments used to investigate these phenomena, and in particular the exclusive use of quantitative approaches. They have raised the possibility that crime and violence have been significantly misrepresented. Simpson (1998) states that crime statistics are notoriously unreliable, so simple statistical analysis may hide as much as it reveals. Thus, this suggests that our understanding of the fear of crime is a product of the way it has been researched rather than the way it is and is perceived. It is, therefore, necessary to utilize triangulation (the adoption of multiple research methodologies) to disaggregate crime and its causes as well as ensure that multiple perspectives and experiences are unpacked.

This study adopts a multi-conceptual framework that coalesces several themes relating to crime and violence including historical contexts, policy frameworks, stakeholder analyses, environmental aspects, economic facets, distributional concerns as well as social and cultural dimensions. In particular, the spatial and perceptual dimensions related to the above are central. The patterns of crime and violence are demonstrated to be profoundly impacted by the above dynamics at the local level (Burns, 2000; Fyfe, 1991; 1995). The point of departure of the analysis conducted in this study is that the position of households and communities, in both the local and wider economies as well as the corresponding social and economic relationships, provide the basis for

understanding crime and violence in residential communities. This is also in keeping with The Durban Safer City Strategy 2000 (Durban Metropolitan Council, 2000) document which identifies three strategic and complementary components:

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

It is worth noting that although reference is made to "communities", these are often artificially constructed with diverse interests and needs that are often contradictory and competitive (Guijt and Shah, 1998). This research endeavor will give due consideration to social differentiation (such as differences in relation to gender, age, class and race) and dissimilarities within and among the communities under study.

Perry (2002) indicates that violence and the danger of violence in society have severely constrained the movements and options of people in South African society. Violence or the threat of violence can have long term implications for life chances, livelihood options as well as physical and psychological well-being (Kuo and Sullivan, 2001a; 2001b; Scholten, 2001). An examination and greater understanding of the socio-economic and spatial manifestations of crime and violence is paramount to develop safe and secure environments.

An important aspect that is highlighted in this study is that perceptions and fear of violence, although they may not match actual risk, need to be responded to constructively. The focus on the spatial dimensions of violence becomes central to planning and service delivery initiatives. Furthermore, this study is also concerned with the coping strategies that people engage in when responding to real and perceived threats of violence and crime. The sources and meanings of these perceptions are also regarded as being critical to understand violence and crime (Perry, 2002). Furthermore, the relation between the environment and specific types of violence is important.

1.3. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

AIM

The central aim of the study is to critically examine the socio-economic and environmental perceptions and impacts of violence and crime in residential areas in Durban, South Africa, by utilizing specific case studies.

OBJECTIVES

- To critically appraise the roles of various stakeholders in dealing with safety and security concerns linked to crime and violence in residential areas in Durban.
- To examine the socio-economic, political and environmental impacts of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban within the broader framework of safety and security considerations.
- To investigate current safety and security strategies, policies and institutional arrangements adopted by various stakeholders in residential areas in Durban to deal with crime and violence.
- To examine the relationship between socio-economic characteristics, environmental contexts and perceptions as well as patterns of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban.
- To examine the opportunities and constraints for effectively dealing with safety and security concerns (addressing crime and violence) in residential areas in Durban.
- To examine environmental/spatial perceptions of crime and violence in residential areas (especially in relation to safe and unsafe areas) in Durban by various stakeholders.
- To forward policy recommendations and possible alternatives aimed at enhancing capacity to address safety and security concerns pertaining to crime and violence in residential areas in Durban.

The research uses a multi-conceptual approach through the incorporation of interdisciplinary and stakeholder analyses. It is believed that the issues involving safety and security as articulated in the objectives can best be understood by the combination of environmental/spatial, socio-economic, institutional and policy considerations. The research takes as its point of departure various landscapes in Durban as they have developed in relation to their natural resource endowments, social and political influences, as well as economic imperatives. Existing patterns of crime and violence form the focus of the study. In essence, the study adopts a multi-conceptual and interdisciplinary approach.

The focus of the study in terms of primary data collection is Durban. Within this area the specific residential localities (from informal settlements to upper income areas) were chosen from the Innerwest sub-region. The four specific communities/ localities chosen reflect the residential settlement type and socio-economic differentiation prevalent in the area as well as to some extent the historical residential classification on the basis of race. These localities are Westville (a historically White, upper income area), Reservoir Hills (a historically Indian, middle income area), Clermont (a historically African, working class township) and the Palmiet and New Germany Road informal settlements. It is believed that the case studies sufficiently reflects a cross-section of experiences contrasting institutional dynamics as well as socio-economic and spatial contexts and experiences. Both quantitative (questionnaire surveys) and qualitative (focus group discussions, key informant interviews and ranking exercises) methods were employed to collect primary data pertaining to the objectives raised above. A stakeholder approach was adopted and primary data were collected from the following stakeholders: residents, businesses, police, private security companies and community-based organizations/ community forums.

1.4. CHAPTER OUTLINE

After presenting definitional clarifications of the key concepts used in the study, chapter two attempts a comprehensive review of violence and crime. In particular environmental considerations as well as the impacts of violence are stressed in the literature review. Chapter three presents the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that provide clarity and signposts for the study. Chapter four focuses on violence and crime in South Africa and Durban more specifically. Chapter five presents the research methodologies and the case studies. Chapter six provides a detailed analysis and evaluation of the primary data collected. Finally, chapter seven summarizes the key findings of the research and proposes recommendations.

1.5. CONCLUSION

This study is aimed at providing a locality specific analysis of crime and violence aimed at contributing to a greater understanding of actual and perceived violence and crime, experiences and concerns as well as the environmental and spatial dimensions of violence and crime. As Landman and Liebermann (2005) state, crime (and violence more generally) is inextricably linked to the places where it is committed. They further state that an analysis of where criminal acts occur shows that many incidents are not spontaneous or opportunistic, but that certain places are selected by offenders because they lend themselves to criminal activity. The specific context is selected residential communities in Durban, South Africa. In this regard, examining differences and commonalities relating to violence and crime in society among selected stakeholders are centralized. A critical concern raised in this study is whether perceptions of and personal experiences in relation to violence and crime are adequately incorporated into debates and initiatives.

Understanding locally-based dynamics and strategies that are employed to deal with violence and crime provide a firm basis upon which to develop context specific and appropriate interventions and support structures to address issues pertaining to violence and crime in ways that consider local strategies, priorities and needs (Perry, 2002). Furthermore, responding effectively to experiences and fear of violence, crime and insecurity is an important aspect of improving the quality of life of households and communities in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into nine major sections. The first section provides the definitional/conceptual clarifications of violence and violation as well as crime. The second section examines perceptions and fear of violence and crime in society. The third section unpacks issues pertaining to race and violence. This is followed by an examination of gender and violence. The fifth section briefly examines violence and education. The next section looks at crime, violence and the media. The seventh section provides a detailed discussion on spatial and environmental patterns of violence. This is followed by an examination of the impacts of violence on people's lives. The ninth section discusses strategies to address violence and the fear of violence. Finally, some concluding comments are forwarded.

Wilson-Doenges (2000) states that society is increasingly characterized by a decline in a sense of community and an increase in fear of crime. Perry (2002) highlights that violence is undoubtedly one of the most disconcerting aspects of a society that promotes hierarchical power relationships on the basis of class, race, ethnicity and gender as well as other divisions. The literature review undertaken in this chapter clearly illustrates that violence and crime are complex phenomena. There are several interrelated factors and aspects that impact on crime and violence in society.

2.2. DEFINITIONAL/CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

This section critically examines the concepts of violence and violation as well as crime. These concepts are central to the study.

2.2.1. Violence and violation

Nadesan (2000) argues that the term violence is difficult to define. Walker (1995) states that violence still exists around the world today, and is often increasing, despite the many attempts to eradicate it from our lives. Most violence is characterized by the assertion of power and control over other people. Those who use violence may bully, intimidate, verbally insult, sexually coerce, and physically harm others into submission (Nadesan, 2000).

It is important to note, as Perry (2002) asserts, that violation can occur when no violence in the ordinary sense takes place. Furthermore, violence can occur without involving violation. For example, much professional sport involves considerable violence but, at least when the rules are obeyed, little violation occurs (Perry, 2002). Englander (1997) states that violence is aggressive behavior with the intent to cause harm (physical or psychological). Specifically, Nadesan (2000: 192) asserts: "Aggressive behavior with actual use of physical force may result in some form of physical and emotional trauma to an individual and this could be considered as violence against the person."

However, Nadesan (2000) cautions that it is also relevant to note that in some jurisdictions if members of law enforcement agencies with appropriate authority resort to certain acts of violence for lawful purposes, then such acts of violence may be excluded from this category. But, "if the law enforcement personnel exceed their limits of authority, or resort to various unacceptable and unauthorized methods of violence, then certainly such acts will become violence against the person" (Nadesan, 2000: 192).

The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women in a 1989 report, *Preventing wife battering: Toward a new understanding,* states: "Violation embraces feelings and experiences which acknowledge that the diminishment of a person also diminishes our shared moral base, our community, and our respect for life" (Canadian Advisory Council, 1989: 26).

Perry (2002) and Rude (1999) state that it is best to view violence in the context of a continuum where physical violence in the overt sense of physical assaults, shootings, mutilation and so on, is at one end. They indicate that closely related to this is threatened violence. There is an expression of intend to harm either verbally (I will break your leg) or specific actions denote the possibility and threat of violence (a gun is pointed at a person or anger is expressed, for example, hitting against a wall). No physical harm to a person actually results. However, it is important to note that this can be deemed to be abuse and harassment which in itself are forms of violence. There are several situations that imply that violence is possible, for example, Rude (1999) in relation to examining gender-based violence argues that there are various characteristics of gender portrayal - the fact that more men carry weapons, that men are given the technical capability to carry out acts of violence while women are not, that men have the power (money, position) to orchestrate violence while women generally do not, and so on. This analysis, Perry (2002) asserts, underscores the contention that although much of the debate on violence focuses on physical violence and sexual violence, it is imperative that there is also a need to understand the dynamics of dominance and hierarchy in its various forms in society from one end of the continuum to the other.

Reed (1998), adopting a gendered approach, asserts that even researchers who wish to name and define violence in a way that conveys that women are the targets and men the perpetrators have difficulty in formulating terms. Broadly and theoretically, violence can take multiple forms, exist at many levels and occur in a variety of social contexts ranging from the home, community and workplaces (Perry, 2002). Furthermore, Perry (2002) states that it is also important to note that there are numerous different types and forms of violence and violation that erupt in different places. Furthermore, Aitken and Noble, 2001) illustrate that combining physical dimensions of violence with emotional and psychological dimensions under one definitional umbrella encompasses physical, visual, verbal and sexual acts experienced as a threat, inversion or assault.

Volkov (2000: 717) indicates that the relationship between violence and coercion should be viewed as two different modes of the use of force:

Violence is the exertion of force that results in damage or destruction. Coercion is the use of force as a threat in order to make someone behave in a certain manner; it has degrees of subtlety. The difference and the connection between the two modes are equally important. Violence is an expenditure of force to an immediate, visible and destructive effect. Coercion, in contrast, relies on potential rather than actual violence, on threat of promise thereof, and is intended to affect someone's future behavior rather than physical integrity.

Noguera (2001) states that the most obvious and perhaps most threatening forms of violence occur at the level of interpersonal relationships, between friends and family, between lovers and strangers.

An important aspect to consider is the characteristics of the victims and perpetrators of violence and crime. Thomas and Bromley (2000 cited in Nelson *et al*, 2001) illustrate that women and the elderly consider themselves, and are perceived by society, as being at greatest risk from violent crime. This has a significant impact on the movement and behavior of women and the elderly in society.

Researchers have illustrated how socio-cultural, economic and political factors influence violence in society (Creveld, 2000; Fyfe, 1991; 1995; Ferraro, 1996a; Hester, 1996; Locke, 1999; Loveday, 1997; Perry, 2002; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Furthermore, geographers, such as Boys (1990), Davidson (2000), Dobash and Dobash (1992), Kuo and Sullivan (2001a; 2001b), Pain (1991; 1997; 2000), Seager and Olson (1997), Smith (1986) and Valentine (1990; 1992) have also demonstrated how environmental and locational factors influence, inform and impact on violence in different contexts in society. Zondi (2000: 22) specifically underscores the link between poverty and crime asserting that "to fight poverty is to fight crime". Zondi (2000) views poverty as the root cause of crime and argues that many people in South Africa lack economic opportunities as well as dignity and self-respect which give rise to the lack of rights and lives of others. Louw and Shaw (1997) state that the cost of crime for the have-nots is greater, given

fewer available mechanisms - such as insurance and alternative means of transport - to cushion the effects of being victimized. Power relations linked to socio-economic, environmental and political considerations influence the nature and extent of violence in society.

2.2.1.1. Socio-cultural factors

Burns (2000) states that culture includes the concepts, habits, skills, instruments, arts, words, laws, customs, institutions and any other capabilities acquired by human beings as members of society. Burns (2000) further states that gender has been a central organizing feature of human cultures and that culture plays a crucial role in ascribing roles, responsibilities and decision-making powers in society. Stavrou (1993) indicates that violence, like all forms of crime, is a social relationship and it is rarely random. Specifically, he states that violence inevitably involves particular social meanings and occurs in particular hierarchies of power. Of particular importance are the relationships between the victim, the offender, the state (especially policing) and informal social controls.

Dobash and Dobash (1992) illustrate how the concepts of masculinity and femininity which are socially and culturally constructed are particularly useful in illustrating how culturally and socially ascribed values and norms have become accepted as normal behavior. Social structures and institutions such as the family, peer groups (including friends and working colleagues), education, and religious institutions significantly influence power relations on the basis of gender, sexuality, race, class and lineage. Specifically, Mullender (1996) states that since the family plays a central role in education and socialization, the family can be regarded as contributing significantly in terms of transmitting and perpetuating the behaviors and cognitive processes that promote violence in society, especially against women.

2.2.1.2. Economic aspects of violence

The link between inequality, poverty and violence has been established in many studies (Demombynes and Özler, 2005; Moser, 2004; Stolzenberg *et al*, 2006; Vanderscheuren, 1996; Will and McGrath, 1995). Artz (1999) argues that violence tends to keep certain individuals (especially from vulnerable groups such as women) in conditions of poverty and that this has a direct, negative political and economic impact on their development opportunities. Demombynes and Özler (2005) state that inequality may be associated with a lack of social capital, lack of upward mobility or social organization, all of which may cause higher levels of crime. Dangor (1996) indicates that although poverty is not a direct cause of violence and violence cannot be cured exclusively by economic remedies, violence is often exacerbated by poverty. In addition to the strain that poverty places on households, it also impairs certain members of the household's (such as women, the elderly and children) ability to leave a violent household as a result of economic dependence and cultural ties.

Actual and perceived threats of violence and crime in society also impact on major economic sectors. Lehman and Okcabol (2005) show that white collar crime such as fraud in major corporations (they use the ENRON collapse as an example) can lead to the loss of investor and public confidence. The trepidation over tourism and crime has emerged as a global issue, heightened also by the focus on safety concerns relating to potential terrorist threats. Kathrada *et al* (1999) state that there is evidence that South Africa's reputation as a violent country is discouraging tourists from visiting the country, thus impacting on the revenue generated from international tourism. Kromberg (2003) indicates that while crime in tourist areas tends to vary according to the nature of the tourism market, numerous studies point out the strong relations between crime and tourism. deAlbuquerque and McElroy (1999) state that the emergence of tourism as a major global industry has resulted in concerns over tourist safety. Brunt *et al* (2000: 417) identify six broad areas of interest in the literature relating to tourism and crime:

- Tourist areas as areas of high crime;
- Tourists as victims;

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- Tourists as offenders;
- Tourism generating higher levels of deviant or illegal activity;
- Terrorism and tourism; and
- Policy responses to tourism and crime.

Bob *et al* (2006) state that previous studies have revealed clear distinctions in crime victimization for tourists and residents. In a study of Caribbean tourism destinations deAlbuquerque and McElroy (1999) found that residents were significantly more likely to be victimized by violent crime while visitors were significantly more likely to experience property crime and robbery.

Stavrou's (1993) study illustrates the need to further examine the conventional wisdom that unemployment leads to increased crime rates. He asserts that it is necessary to examine the way in which unemployment is related to crime, and to which crimes. Stavrou (1993) concludes that it would seem as if in South Africa, unemployment coupled with marginalization are related to violent crime as the unemployed and increasingly marginalized attempt to redefine their identity and attain empowerment through acts of violence.

Cohen (cited in Frank, 2005) indicates that the ability of the state to take care of its citizens can be maximized through reducing the costs of crime to society. Frank (2005) asserts that to measure the costs of particular crime categories, the actual rates of these crimes must first be established. However, she indicates that empirical data on crime rates are generally weak due to the difficulty of estimating actual crime levels. Frank (2005) further illustrates that that the actual costs of violence and crime are highly complex if one also has to consider the economic underinvestment as a result of crime; the reduced productivity of individuals, businesses and government; lowering of labor force participation; and costs associated with 'victimless' crimes such as gambling, drug crimes, and prostitution. Furthermore, 'hidden crimes' such as corruption, fraud and

sexual offences cannot be easily quantified as there are no methodologies that produce reliable estimates. Thus, costing crime and violence in society is difficult to achieve.

2.2.1.3. Politics and violence

Scarpaci and Frazier (1993) argue that politics in general influences power relations and contestations at different levels in society. Simpson (1993) specifically illustrates how in South Africa violence permeates the very fabric of society and is closely linked to historical colonial and apartheid legacies.

> More than anything else, apartheid bequeathed to South Africans of the 1990s a culture of violence and a deep rooted fear - based on a series of hostile, racially-based stereotypes within largely segregated, defensive, yet volatile communities. Decades of government ideology entrenched these hostile stereotypes through systematic and violent repression and by investing banned organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) with the status of an illegalized and criminalized 'external enemy'.
>
> (Simpson, 1993: 1)

Schönteich and Louw (2001) state that the 'culture of violence' theories argue that the effects of apartheid coupled with years of political violence and the continued exposure to violence in the home and in neighborhoods have produced a destructive culture in South Africa. They also state that South Africans quickly resort to violence as a means of solving conflicts, whether in the domestic, social or work environment. Stavrou (1993) states that an effect of the culture of violence is that the climate of sanctioning crime and violence has resulted in the deliberate adoption of corrupt and criminal behavior. Stavrou (1993) also highlights that the convergence of political and criminal agendas are an ever present factor underlying any analysis of crime in South Africa. This remains true today.

Perry (2002) highlights that the structural legacy of apartheid rooted in political repression, high levels of unemployment and widespread poverty, inadequate educational opportunities as well as racial and ethnic divisions have laid the foundation for a culture of violence in South Africa. Kynoch (1999) and Simpson (1993) indicate that the South African political culture was inextricably interwoven with the themes of violence and political intolerance. For most South Africans violence was part of everyday life. Simpson (1993) further states that while the apartheid state legitimized and used violence as a means for attaining political power, the anti-apartheid movements reinforced the legitimization of violence to effect change. Yarwood and Gardner (2000: 403) state that "the boundary between what is considered 'legitimate' and 'criminal' behavior in different spaces is often blurred, contested and open to redefinition." This was, and is, certainly the case in South Africa. Kynoch (1999) states that the political environment steeped in violence inadvertently impacted on the economic, social and domestic arenas which were also plagued with violent tendencies. Perry (2002: 13) states: "Institutions, the workplace, communities and the home became sites of struggle and the culture of violence became firmly rooted. Excessive violence throughout society was (and is) prevalent in South African society."

Lehman and Okcabol (2005) state that Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts (1978) in their landmark text, *Policing the Crises*, indicate that crime is managed. They assert that crime statistics are underreported in some decades to assure the public of safety and highlighted in others to shock the public. This, they assert, is part of a complicated political process aimed at reconstructing meaning. The state and the media are deemed to be particularly powerful forces in this process. Bob *et al* (2006) state that governments (including the South African government) have been accused of manipulating crime data and reports to minimize negative perceptions of safety that may adversely influence public opinion, tourism, and sport event bid decisions. Hart (2004), for example, showed how an audit of the Atlanta Police Department indicated that the Department consistently underreported crimes in a deliberate attempt to improve the city's image for the 1996 Summer Olympics. Bob *et al* (2006) state that as violent crime rates soared in 2001 the South African government stopped releasing its victimization

reports to the public, later reversing the policy due to public outcry. However, it is still extremely difficult to access official crime statistics in South Africa.

At a more general level, Bowen *et al* (2004) and Tuch and Weitzer (1997) state that several political forces outside the community give rise to violence. They argue that policies and values that promote and perpetuate racism, gender bias, poverty, maldevelopment, and underinvestment in certain communities (primarily poor and of color) play large roles in placing communities at risk for violence. The root causes of crime and violence in society are deemed to be inequality, poverty and unemployment. Additionally, Perry (2002) states that South African structures perpetuate and reinforce gender, racial and ethnic stereotypes through systematic repression at different levels in society: the home, communities, workplaces and government.

Jacob and Lineberry (1983) and Tuch and Weitzer (1997) argued that crime is one of the key issues in city politics. They assert that crime and politics are potentially linked in the following ways:

- Crime is an issue in many city elections
- Crime is perceived as a policy dilemma and costs the city dearly
- The police are viewed as a resource in power struggles
- Because municipal corruption has been common, city politics itself is sometimes viewed as part of the crime problem

This remains the case today.

2.2.1.4. Locational/environmental considerations

Massey (1994) illustrates that a location should be understood as a geographical setting with its geophysical resources as well as constructed by social relations which are embedded in a range of power relations. Place, according to Massey (1994), is given meaning by people's interactions, perceptions and assumptions about it. As Haymes (1995) indicates, place making is tied to the idea that places are significant because we assign meaning to them. Massey (1994: 18) further asserts:

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From the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit ... they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood. The limitations of women's mobility, in terms of both identity and space, have been in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination.

Additionally, as Perry (2002) indicates, livelihood options, mobility and strategies are restricted or enabled by environmental conditions in specific contexts. Furthermore, they evolve differently in different places (Scholten, 2001). The focus on the spatial dimensions of violence becomes central to planning and service delivery initiatives.

The urban environment includes public and private places, people that live and work in an area, the services and facilities available and the way the area is governed and managed. Changes to the urban environment can take the form of social and community developments as well as physical changes. Community safety is based on four broad principles (Stavrou, 1993):

- Local communities will be safer if crime is prevented or reduced;

- Some environmental factors in public places can make crimes easier to commit and get away with;

- Changing the factors that promote crime and violence can help to deter and reduce the incidence of crime; and

- Strategies to create safer communities work best if they also include community development programs which address specifically social and economic challenges.

Burnham *et al* (2004) explore the relationship between inner-city crime patterns and suburban income growth in the U.S.A. The findings reveal that violent crime does seem to have a negative impact on closed-in suburbs, with a less negative impact farther away from the central city (becoming positive at some point). They further assert that in

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response to increases in central city crime rates, more affluent residents can choose to either move out of the central city to suburbs or out of the metropolitan area.

Fisher and Gunnison (2003) indicate that the mass media, business, security and government publications routinely highlight the incidents of workplace violence. In examining gender aspects of workplace violence, they illustrate that specific types of jobs place females more at risk of experiencing a violent incident than males in the same types of jobs: more robberies were committed against females employed at teaching institutions and in law enforcement and retail.

Cohn and Rotton's (2003) study illustrates that both violent and property crimes were significantly linked to major holidays, whereas neither type of crime was more likely to occur on minor holidays. They further assert that crimes of excessive violence were significantly more prevalent on major holidays, whereas property crimes were less frequent on those days.

The concept of vulnerability is important in terms of both conceptualizing poverty and violence in society. It is imperative that poverty is viewed not only as being poor but is also linked to having higher levels of risk of becoming poor or poorer, especially in times of change and stress/shocks. The ability to withstand shocks and stressors are often linked to the assets available to a particular individual or household. Assets may take a variety of forms: stores of wealth; productive resources (such as land and housing); human assets such as labor, health and education; and social networks (Louw and Shaw, 1997). Napier *et al* (1998) illustrate that safety and security are often the first priority of the urban poor in both developed and developing countries.

Reese *et al* (2001) underscore the reciprocity between drugs and violence, familial quality of life issues, gender differences in the experience of violence and risk of violence, community safety concerns, and fears about managing peer relationships specific to violence. O'Donnell (2005) states specifically that violent crime trends are closely linked to the following factors: economic boom, changing migration and

settlement patterns, and shifts in alcohol and drug consumption. Collins (1981) and Markowitz (2005) specifically state that it is commonly believed that alcohol consumption leads to violence. Markowitz (2005) further asserts that this belief is fostered by research from many disciplines showing a positive, but not necessarily causal, association between alcohol use and violence, as well as showing high rates of alcohol use among violent criminal offenders. Pernanen (1991 cited in Markowitz, 2005) also shows that other research has revealed that it is not only the criminals who consume alcohol prior to committing crimes, but the victim's behavior may inadvertently put him or her at risk. Roberts (2006) shows that violent and disorderly behavior is often associated with alcohol consumption primarily because of cultural traditions, social expectations, environmental factors and individual predispositions. They assert that there is little support for the idea that the chemistry of alcohol (ethanol) alone has any single, specific type of effect on behavior.

Moser (2004) states that although different types and categories of violence are overlapping and cross-cutting, four distinctions identified in terms of the motivation for the physical act that consciously or unconsciously is used to gain or maintain power and resources can be made. These are illustrated in the Table below.

Table 2.1: Categories, types and manifestations of violence in urban areas

Category of violence	Types of violence	Manifestations
Political	State and non-state	Guerilla conflict Paramilitary conflict Political assassinations Armed conflict between political parties
Institutional	Violence of state and other "informal" institutions	Extra-judicial killings by police Physical or psychological abuse by health and education workers State or community vigilante directed social cleansing Lynching of suspected criminals by community members
Economic	Organized crime Business interests Delinquents Robbers	Intimidation and violence as a means of resolving economic disputes Street theft, robbery and crime Kidnapping Armed robbery Drug trafficking Car theft and other contrabrand activities Small-arms dealing Assaults including killing and rape in the course of economic crimes Trafficking in prostitutes Conflict over scarce resources
Economic/ social	Gangs Street children Ethnic violence	Territorial or identity-based "turf" violence, robbery and theft Petty robbery Communal riots
Social	Intimate partner violence inside the home Sexual violence (including rape) in the public arena Child abuse Inter-generational conflict between parent and children Gratuitous/ routine daily violence	Physical and/ or psychological male-female abuse Physical and sexual abuse Incivility in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights and street confrontations Arguments that get out of control

Source: Moser, C. O. N. (2004) "Urban Violence and Insecurity: An Introductory Roadmap," Environment and Urbanization 16 (2): 3-16.

For the purposes of this study, the World Health Organization's (WHO) definition of violence will be used. The WHO (2002: 5) defines violence as:

> The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.

This definition, Perry (2002) asserts, allows for the critical examination of what violence is (or is perceived to be), the nature and forms of violations, what impacts these violations have on people's lives, the context in which these violations take place (spatial dimensions) as well as the power dynamics associated with violence. Furthermore, Bowen et al (2004) state that this definition is particularly useful for understanding community violence, as it encompasses the varied ways that communities are affected by violence from within and without which causes undue harm not only to the individual residents but also to the community's social fabric. These aspects are deemed as being important given the socio-economic and political dynamics prevalent in society.

2.2.2. Crime

Warner and Fowler (2003) assert that in the last two decades there has been a significant renewed interest in explaining variations in crime rates among neighborhoods. Bera (1998: 1) defines crime as "any offence punishable by law (for example, theft, vandalism, sexual assault, other physical assaults, break and entry, robbery, violation of traffic law)." Vanderscheuren (1996) states that crime is an act (usually a grave offence) punishable by law and violent crime is any act that causes a physical or psychological wound or damage and which is against the law. This includes hate crimes. Hate crimes (defined as crimes that are motivated by hatred against a specific social group), Rayburn et al (2003) argue, tear at the moral fabric of our society and harm their victims more than comparable non-

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bias crimes. Stavrou (1993) states that the definitions of crime, criminals and of crime control are inextricably linked to the politics of power - whether they be the politics of gender, race, age, wealth or class. The criminal process, Bob *et al* (2006) state, is often a reflection of social arrangements, tensions and contradictions in society. They further indicate that this implies that violence and crime are inextricably political, economic and social in nature. Additionally, they argue that crime and especially the fear of crime has a profound impact on people's lives. Ackah (2000) and Evans and Fletcher (2000) argue that the fear of crime is a much bigger problem than crime itself since the fear of crime directly affects many more people.

Simpson (1998: 1) asserts that three fundamental facts underpin the analysis of crime:

- There are many different kinds of crime, requiring many different types of interventions.

- There is no single cause of crime, so it is necessary to understand the linked social, economic, political and psychological causes in order to prevent it.

- Crime statistics are notoriously unreliable, so simple statistical analysis may hide as much as it reveals. To develop effective solutions, crime and its causes must be disaggregated.

Furthermore, Simpson (1998) asserts that the growing crime rate has become a key political issue, but many politicians talk about crime in simplistic and misleading ways. This, Bob *et al* (2006) assert, often results in crime being viewed as having a single, overriding cause and therefore, a single solution. Additionally, Simpson (1998: 4) shows that giving simple labels to the complex causes of crime can also be dangerous:

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For example, where violent conflict has been described as 'ethnic', there have often been underlying conflicts over material resources or political allegiance. Political parties that mobilize support in ethnic terms feed off volatile interest groups which are difficult to control or demobilize. In the same way, conflicts over material resources may be labeled 'party political', resulting in an attempt to search for solutions through party-based dialogue, when the problems actually originate elsewhere.

Simpson (1998) also illustrates that in poor communities, violent political conflict quickly generates its own criminal sub-economy, with objectives such as trade in arms, and protection or assassination. In the context of South Africa, Simpson (1998) warns that any approach to tackling such violence would have to distinguish between politically motivated destabilization and vested criminal interests in a war-based sub-economy since just as social conflict can translate into politics, so may political conflict translate into acquisitive crime.

Louw and Shaw (1997) indicate that the reliability of official crime statistics is subject to two broad factors: the relationship between the public and the police, and the internal practices and procedures of the police. Demombynes and Özler (2005), Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), Moser (2004) and Short (1997) also illustrate that crime statistics (as proxy levels for violence) are notoriously unreliable due to under-reporting, difficulties in interpretation and lack of reliability of data. A significant percentage of crime goes unrecorded because they are not reported to the police. For Louw and Shaw (1997) the actual reporting of a criminal offence to the police usually depends on:

- the nature of the crime itself – petty crimes and crimes considered to be personal or humiliating, such as rape, domestic violence and even assault, may not be reported. And in the case of violent crimes in which the victim is known to the offender, fear of reprisals may also inhibit reporting. On the other hand, if stolen property is insured, the offence is likely to be reported even if considered to be petty, such as the theft of a car radio; and

- the reporting environment – the distance to the nearest police station, access to transport and to telephones, particularly for less serious crimes, and the expected reaction and effectiveness of the police and criminal justice system.

Stanton (1993 cited in Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002: 1232) indicates that "many women will only try to report to the police incidents which fall within popular notions of 'rape' because of fear of not being believed." Louw and Shaw (1997) further assert that police practices and the level of police staffing influence the recorded incidence of so-called 'victimless' crimes such as drug-related offences, gambling and prostitution. Furthermore, differences in police numbers across geographical areas also affect crime statistics, as do police management and control. For example, certain crimes which are hard to solve may be recorded less often than others in order to inflate the recorded rate at which crimes are solved by the police. The integrity and efficiency of the police force as well as the trust they command in the public arena are critical in terms of reporting crime (Swart *et al*, nd). In South Africa, for example, there is deep-seated animosity between the police and civil society as a result of historical processes (Louw and Shaw, 1997).

The Durban Metro Council (DMC) (2000) states that crime prevention is a more cost effective option than dealing with the aftermath of crime even though it is sometimes perceived that a tougher reaction by police and courts is the best response. Effective crime prevention can contribute significantly to economic growth by boosting investor confidence in a location which can have a positive impact on residents' quality of life and employment (Bob *et al*, 2006; DMC, 2000). The DMC also indicates that low crime levels are one of the global indicators of social stability and integration.

Stavrou (1993) states that violent crime refers to events which are deemed to have a criminal intent which results in an individual/s being physically attacked, threatened with physical attack or with violence of any kind. The definition, Stavrou (1993) asserts, allows for a broad interpretation of violent crime, including psychological, physical and structural forms of violence and does not differentiate between political and other forms of violent crime.

2.3. PERCEPTIONS AND FEAR OF VIOLENCE AND CRIME

Lawlink (nd) states that fear is a complicated emotion that is felt for many different reasons and in many different ways. Furthermore, it is not only an automatic response to danger but it is often the result of complicated interactions between us, our physical and social environment and our cultural background. Kruijt and Koonings (1999) define fear as the institutional, cultural and psychological repercussions of violence that are linked to destabilization, exclusion and uncertainly. Grabosky (1995) states that fear of crime is complex and it may include perceptions of risk, fear of being a victim of crime, concern about crime as a public policy issue and perhaps even anxiety about life in general. Grabosky (1995: 1) states, "While the fear of crime expressed by some citizens is well-founded, other individuals are at less personal risk than they might believe". Bob *et al* (2006) state that an important aspect of understanding fear of crime is that it is not the same as actual risk of becoming a victim of crime, however, fear is no less real. As Grabosky (1995: 1) underscores, "Fear of crime has become an important issue of public concern: a problem which detracts from the quality of life, and which adversely affects social and economic well-being." It is also important to consider "silent fear" (Moser, 2004: 3) which is often associated with domestic abuse and harassment which prevents the vulnerable/victims from addressing the problem either individually or collectively.

Several studies indicate that fear of crime can impact on people's lives as much as actual crime (Ackah, 2000; Adams and Serpe, 2000; Evans and Fletcher, 2000; Ferraro, 1996b; Gibbons, 2004; Grabosky, 1995; Moore and Shephard, 2006). Fear itself can be extremely incapacitating and restrictive which can limit people's mobility, involvement in activities and access to opportunities. The Brisbane City Council (1997), for example, states that perceptions of safety and the fear of crime have just as much effect on the cities livability as crime itself. Fear of crime can be a powerful motivator for economic behavior, for example, choice of residential location and school (Gibbons, 2004). Ferraro (1996b) states that as fear becomes manifest in the avoidance of strangers and areas deemed to be unsafe, sociability, mutual trust and the willingness to help others fades away. Moore and Shephard (2006: 283) argue:

It (fear of crime) also goes beyond the tangible economic and physical losses imposed by criminals. It extends to an alteration of daily living habits as well as to the negative psychological effects of living in a constant state of anxiety. It has a deleterious effect on the general social order.

Crime prevention strategies, discussed later in this chapter, play a major role in reducing fear of crime. Communities need to see tangible signs of protection. Government, especially at the local level and in relating to policing/law enforcement, can play a key role in lowering public perceptions of insecurity. Additionally, it is important to acknowledge that different groups experience different types and levels of fear in society. More vulnerable groups in society, such as women and the elder, tend to express higher levels of fear.

Fear of crime tends to be accentuated in public places and the greatest fear is crimes against their person and personal property – theft, physical assault, sexual harassment and sexual assault (Lawlink, nd). The issue of power is also important. It is important to highlight an apparent paradox in relation to fear of crime in society. Evans and Fletcher (2000) state that those most likely to be victimized are young, male, of lower socio-economic status and living in certain areas (namely low income areas). However, they indicate that the fear of crime levels of males, the young and those living in low income areas have been shown to be relatively low, whilst the fear levels of women and the elderly (as well as people living in middle and upper income areas), who are less likely to be victims, are relatively high. Whilst this may be true of western societies, when the threat of domestic and sexual violence in South Africa are considered, fear of crime among women and the elderly are understandable.

Lawlink (nd) states that it is also important to remember that while there may be similarities in women's fear of crime, there may also be some differences. Not all women are the same and they will not experience the same fear and they do not necessarily experience fear in the same way as one another. However, a general aspect is that women's fear of crime is different to men's. Additionally, their reasons for feeling fearful

tend to be different to that of women. Research suggests that men tend to be less fearful than women (Valentine, 1992). This has much to do with gendered socialization that is discussed later in this chapter.

A number of factors has been associated with fear of crime and can contribute to feeling unsafe in public places. These factors include (Ferraro, 1995; Lawlink, nd):

- The gendered nature of the crimes: The crimes which women fear - sexual harassment and sexual assault - are far more horrifying to contemplate than robbery or car theft. They can induce grave fear.

- Experience of harassment: Those who have been harassed often report higher levels of fear of crime, than those who have not experienced harassment. Harassment can be intimidating and cause feelings of powerlessness and fear.

- Past experience of physical violence: If a particular group of people experience high levels of crime, then they are more likely to feel vulnerable to violence, and are likely to experience higher levels of fear.

- Perceptions of violence and crime: Individuals and communities who hold strong perceptions about the prevalence of violence in society are likely to have higher levels of fear even if they have not personally experienced any violence.

- Lack of understanding about specific types of violence: Sometimes violence is not reported since the victim is not aware that a violation has been committed or they do not know what to do. For example, many women do not realize that harassment and domestic, especially emotional, abuse is a crime.

- Opportunities for crime: Places of high risk make people feel extremely unsafe.

- Poor responses to violence from police and the judiciary: Ineffective policing, especially in terms of reporting and investigating crimes, creates higher levels of fear and vulnerability. This also contributes to violence not being reported because the victim fears they will not be taken seriously or will receive a poor response from the police.

Swart *et al* (nd) state that the fear of crime and violence can also be embedded in political dynamics. Lawlink (nd) states that this is a complicated factor and as yet there is no

research which explores how the political climate impacts on fear of crime. Lawlink (nd) further illustrates that political campaigning around law and order can sometimes lead to sensational reporting about crime which can contribute to higher levels of fear.

Fear of crime and violence costs a community socially, culturally and financially. Soares (2006) states that the costs of violence goes beyond its material dimensions. It damages people's lives and restricts their activities as they try and avoid unsafe places (Moser, 2004). Moser (2004) underscores that the fear of violence isolates the poor in their homes and the rich in their segregated spaces. Participation in public life is also curtailed. Additionally, avoidance of places after dark results in the loss of income and job creation opportunities. Lawlink (nd) indicates that most importantly the community loses pride, hope and spirit. Additionally, in its most extreme, public places become wastelands, occupied by a few, feared by most.

Although the fear of crime and violence is an important aspect of safety and security, the specific nature and extent of fear of crime and violence in both public and private places has tended to be neglected in research and crime prevention efforts. Johnson (2005) states that concerns about crime are generally more widespread than recent direct experiences of victimization. She asserts that while awareness and concern about crime can be positive and lead to behaviors that reduce the risk of victimization, for some more vulnerable members of society, such as women and the elderly, fear of crime can result in serious curtailment of everyday activities, lost opportunity, and a reduction in the quality of life. Craig (2000) illustrates how fear of crime among the elderly severely restricts their lives and causes emotional distress. Additionally, when the fear of crime and violence becomes extreme, vulnerable residents in particular often retreat from public spaces. This usually results in a decline in the physical environment of communities, which in turn leads to increased disorder and crime. Thus, crime and the fear of crime are associated with a vicious cycle.

Several studies indicate that concerns about personal safety are associated with perceived vulnerability (Johnson, 2005; Ferraro, 1995). Johnson's (2005) results specifically suggest that areas where people feel very unsafe are relatively disadvantaged on socio-economic measures, economic resources of families, and the educational and occupational structure of the community compared with areas where people feel safer. Furthermore, the contribution of neighborhood to fear of crime, over and above personal and household characteristics, is deemed to be an important area for further study.

Stavrou (1993) asserts that little is known about the public's perceptions of and reactions to crime. Specifically, very few explanations are drawn from the attitudes and experiences of people living in some of the most crime-ridden communities in South Africa, especially the townships and informal settlements. Generally, respondents' assessments of the relationship between their immediate social environment and their beliefs about crime are critical to understanding the impact of crime on particular individuals, households and communities. Research indicates that people's belief about crime tends to bear a close relation to the material reality of the areas in which they live (Jones *et al*, 1986; Stavrou, 1993; Young, 1988).

The importance of understanding perceptions and subjectivity in relation to crime and violence is underscored by Stavrou (1993: 3):

> However inaccurate subjective beliefs about crime are, it is subjective world views that we are ultimately dealing with. For example, the glaring "gap" in almost all of the responses dealing with the nature and incidence of violent crime, was the low ranking, if at all mentioned, of the most common violent crimes - sexual crimes. An omission which unfortunately, very neatly illustrates that subjective explanations of social reality always reflect the often contradictory values, interests and experiences which influence individual perceptions and public accounts.

Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (2001) indicates that fear of crime differs and it is likely to be highest among those people who:

- think they are at risk of becoming a victim;

- are least likely to receive protection and support;

- feel helpless to prevent crime or respond to victimization; and

- worry about the consequences of crime - whether psychological, social, physical or economic.

Women, the aged and the poor typically fear crime the most.

Stavrou (1993) further states that perception of crime refers to individuals' personal estimation of the nature and incidence of crime in their environment and perceived risk of becoming a victim of crime. Hough and Mayhew (1985 cited in Stavrou, 1993) indicate that the fear of crime refers to an individual's subjective view of their personal risk of victimization, and their differential levels of vulnerability, depending on factors such as age, health, wealth and personality.

Acierno et al (2004) examine the factors that predict fear of crime in older adults. They found that having low incomes, being female, non-Caucasian, having depressive symptoms and reporting social isolation were predictive of general fear of crime ratings.

Nofziger and Williams (2005) examine how perceptions of police affect feelings of safety in the community. In particular, predictors of confidence in police and whether confidence decreases concerns with safety are investigated. Their findings suggest that confidence in police is influenced predominantly by impressions that crime has decreased in the community or by having a positive encounter with police. Furthermore, confidence in police significantly increases feeling safe. Thus, fear of crime can be reduced through positive interactions between police and community residents which entail efforts to develop good community relations (Borrero, 2001; Stoutland, 2001). Positive perceptions of the police and effective policing are central to minimizing fear in communities.

ISS (2001) states that dealing with perceptions of crime, particularly anxiety and fear of crime, is as important as reducing crime levels since the fear of crime affects quality of life and has negative economic and political consequences. Furthermore, it can also affect people's willingness to interact and co-operate with the government, particularly the police, but also with local government crime prevention practitioners.

Gomme (1988) emphasizes that fear of crime is as important and may be even more important in determining quality of life than the actual occurrence of crime. The main indicator of fear of crime is the degree to which residents of an area are unwilling to walk alone at night in areas near their homes. Other indicators include the presence of security mechanisms. As Phillips (2002: 1) states:

> Drive through the wealthy - predominantly White - northern suburbs (in Johannesburg), and you'll see high walls and electric fences, hiding houses which are in turn protected by alarm systems, metal grilles, and infra-red sensors. This is the architecture of fear, and it is hard to feel relaxed in such an environment.

Public perceptions of crime which are rarely based on statistical information about crime levels or the risk of crime are influenced by a range of factors that include (ISS, 2001):

- Actual victimization and first hand experiences of crime and violence

- Impressions and opinions of the city environment

- The media

- Interaction with colleagues, friends and family

- Perceptions about government's ability to provide safety

- The extent to which people feel helpless against crime

Robinson's (1999) study indicates respondents' perceived victimization risk levels. He found that the highest was for theft, followed by being overcharged for products or services, burglary, mugging, aggravated assault, carjacking, sexual assault, fraudulent credit card charges, consuming unsafe drink or food products, murder, being injured at work, and becoming ill due to toxins in the environment. Thus, among the respondents, perception of risk was generally lowest for excluded harms and highest for traditional street crimes. Robinson (1999) defines "excluded harms" as harmful behaviors that either do not fall within the purview of the criminal law, or do, but are not pursued vigorously by agencies of social control. Frank and Lynch (1992), Friedrichs (1995), Reiman (1996) and Simon (1999) indicate that there is growing evidence that excluded harms such as white-collar crimes, elite deviance and corporate violence are increasing and can cause more physical and property damage than some serious crimes.

The examination of issues pertaining to the fear of crime and violence in our understanding of safety and security is central. More specifically, it is important to understand when and where it occurs and what causes it. This will permit the development of targeted strategies to reduce the fear of crime and violence in society. In particular, it is important to address the fortress mentality identified by Lawlink, (nd) that responding to persistent fear of crime creates. Lawlink (nd) argues that when authorities do nothing about crime and fear, people feel they have to protect themselves, which unfortunately encourages people to be suspicious of each other. This often results in the construction of restricted areas and security fortresses, both at the household and community levels. This is most noticeable in the dramatic increase in fences around homes and gated communities throughout South Africa. It is also important to underscore that while certain people, who can afford to do so, may be safer when inside their fortified homes, safety in the general community does not necessarily change. Additionally, it is worth underscoring Lawlink's (nd) assertion that fear levels may even increase as the presence of security guards and bars are constant reminders of the threat of crime.

Increasingly the threat of crime and violence (and associated fear) is being viewed as a social justice issue. This is particularly the case for feminists who assert that making public places safer for women recognizes that women have a right to feel safe (Lawlink, nd). They argue that the right to feel safe is critical in terms of promoting more equal access to resources, and providing a greater opportunity for women to participate in the community. This can also apply to other vulnerable and marginalized groups in society generally.

2.4. RACE AND VIOLENCE

Race and gender are important aspects for understanding crime and violence. While race issues are discussed in this section, gender issues are examined in the next section. It is, however, important to note that race and gender, as well as other social variables such as age, often intersect. Furthermore, the literature focuses significantly more on examining gender issues rather than directly addressing race. This can be seen in this review where it is clear that gender and violence research is well established and there is a dearth of studies that focus specifically on race and crime. What is also important to note that most of the studies conducted on race and crime tend to focus on the U.S.A.

A major aspect of understanding race and crime in society is the links with economic deprivation and inequalities. The intersection of class and race (and gender discussed in the next section) are crucial. This is particularly relevant in a world where Blacks and women tend to be disproportionately poor in comparison to other racial groups. Stolzenberg *et al* (2006) state that many sociological explanations of crime had proffered that economic deprivation acts as a motivational factor in the manifestation of crime. Blau and Blau (1982 cited Stolzenberg *et al*, 2006) in their seminal research establishing the relative deprivation thesis argued that economic inequality, or the unequal distribution of wealth, money and other economic resources between racial groups, had greater salience in explaining crime rates than the absolute level of socio-economic conditions

for a given racial group. They further assert that economic inequality (embedded in racial hierarchy) engenders resentment, hostility, frustration, and to be a precipitating factor in the impetus of criminal behavior. This, Jacobs and Wood (1999) argue, is evident in the relative disadvantage that Blacks face in competing with Whites for scarce jobs and other resources.

Trawick and Howsen (2006) state that various theories suggest that crime increases when a community's level of social control is weakened. They indicate that the two factors that affect the level of social control within a community are the degrees of racial and ethnic homogeneity. Furthermore, they assert that cooperative social relationships are the result of a feeling of being connected to others in a traditional community and that a community that is racially and ethnically homogenous and therefore similar in beliefs, norms, and culture, should experience less criminal activity.

Nofziger and Williams (2005) state that one of the most consistent findings in several research efforts is that race is a stronger predictor of attitudes towards violence and crime than most other demographic characteristics such as sex, age or socio-economic status. Several studies indicate that minorities in a society experience higher levels of perceived risk and fear of crime (Lee and Ulmer, 2000). In South Africa, this may account for the significantly higher levels of fear of crime and violence among the Indians, Coloreds and Whites. This is also heightened in developing contexts were poverty is widespread and resources as well as opportunities are limited. Furthermore, in South Africa, colonial and apartheid policies (discussed in chapter four) fueled racial tensions and conflicts.

Stretesky and Hogan (2005) assert that school segregation is strongly associated with levels of disorder and criminal activities in schools. They cite Massy (2001) who argues that residential segregation linked particularly to racial and economic composition is a fundamental factor behind crime. Logan and Messner (1987) state that residential segregation creates a disjunction between cultural values and social structural arrangements and produces high rates of criminal violence because community controls that prevent violence are weakened by lack of respect for social norms. Racial

segregation, especially as was the case in colonial and apartheid South Africa also tended to concentrate poverty (particularly among the Blacks) and social anomalies associated with it such as high levels of crime and violence, drug and alcohol abuse, welfare dependency and single parenting.

Morrell (2002) indicates that violence is a problem for specific groupings. He illustrates this point by showing that in 1998, 97% of the prison inmates in South Africa were male and 98% were Black. Morrell (2002) also states that this reveals that with respect to men, some are more as risk (of either being victims or perpetrators of violence) than others. Race and class, he argues, are key variables to understanding violence in South African society.

Krysan's (2002) study which examined residential preferences in the U.S.A. showed that Whites rate mixed race communities as undesirable, in part because of a desire to avoid Black neighbors, but also because of what may be an over-inflated perception of crime in those communities. Chiricos *et al* (2001) examined the relationship between perceived racial and ethnic composition of neighborhood and criminal threat, which is operationalized as the perceived risk of criminal victimization. The results support a core assumption of the social threat perspective, which presumes the mobilization of social control is influenced by the perception of criminal threat associated with the perceived proximity of racial others. Furthermore, the results suggest that crime threat may be ethnicity as well as race coded.

It is worth recounting Wilson's (1991) examination of Black (African-American) male violence in the inner-city. The racial undertones are clear in Wilson's (1991: 2) assertion that Black male adolescent criminality is the principal outcome of:
- White-on-Black violence which in its many varied forms, began with the enslavement of Africans and has continued unrelenting to this very moment;
- The fact that Black male criminality, whether alleged or actual, is a deliberate creation of a White American-dominated, race-based society and serves a

political, socio-psychological and economically necessary role in maintaining that society; and

- The unrelenting and the collective ego-defensive and politico-economic needs for White America, to criminalize, denigrate, and degrade Black America.

In South Africa, the perception that Black males commit crime is rife and is reinforced by the media. This is the case in other countries as well. For example, Barak (1994: 137) states that "today's prevailing criminal predator has become a euphemism for young Black male." Furthermore, Barlow (1998: 151) asserts that "it is unnecessary to speak directly of race because, talking about crime is talking about race." Georgakopoulos (2004) states that race profiling is high and that this often leads to disproportionate convictions. He also asserts that racially biased impressions of criminality polarize the allocation of enforcement or the intensity of policing in certain neighborhoods. Weitzer (2000) and Weitzer and Tuch (1999) indicate the prevalence of racialized policing. Chiricos and Eschholz (2002) indicate that the content of media representations of crime and race has been described in two different but related ways: the first assumes that crime is stereotypically portrayed as a Black phenomena and the second assumes that Blacks are disproportionately portrayed as criminals.

D'Alessio *et al* (2002) apply racial threat theory to explain interracial violence in the U.S.A. They indicate that racial threat has two central dimensions: political competition (power-threat) and economic competition. This results in different racial groups competing for economic and political resources. This is also prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa. In any event, violence and crime in South Africa clearly have racial undertones that are examined in this study.

2.5. GENDER AND VIOLENCE

An examination of gender violence is important not only because it is a key thematic concern relevant to the study, but, as Morrell (2002: 37) states, violence and violation in society "is best understood using a gender perspective" since "a gendered analysis allows

an examination of violence in terms beyond victim and perpetrator." Violence against females is undoubtedly one of the most disconcerting aspects of a society that promotes hierarchical power relationships on the basis of class, race, ethnicity and gender as well as other divisions. This section will show that females are more likely to be assaulted, injured, raped or murdered by a male.

Perry (2002) states that no female is excluded from the threat of gender-based violence and that acts or threats of violence against women instill fear and insecurity into the lives of females as well as hinders their development and their achievement of equality. Boys (1990) argues that gender violence is not random violence in which victims happen to be women and girls, rather the risk factor is being female. Threats and acts of gender-based violence in society reinforce the subordinate positions and status of women. Ferraro (1996a) shows that the fear of violence is a permanent constraint on the mobility of women and limits their access to resources and basic activities. The United Nations (1995) further indicates the high social, health and economic costs to the individual and society which are associated with violence against women.

2.5.1. Gender and sex

Ostergaard (1992) states that gender refers to the social construction of identities while sex refers to the biological differences between males and females. Gender constructs include an analysis of societal norms, values and expectations pertaining to the roles and responsibilities of males and females as well as the relationships between men and women, especially in the contexts of power and perceptions (Ostergaard, 1992; Perry, 2002).

Spears and Seydegart (1993) assert that it is more useful to utilize the concept of 'gender portrayal' rather than 'sex-role stereotyping'. They assert that the term 'stereotyping' is a value-laden expression that focuses on crystallized images such as the dumb blonde or the macho jock while the term 'portrayal', therefore, goes beyond stereotypes to encompass the entire range of gendered behaviors and attributes. The use of 'stereotype'

is, therefore, inadequate and simplistic, especially when an examination of the systemic factors associated with gender constructs and relationships are undertaken. Sex-role refers almost exclusively to functions that are determined by biology. Gender on the other hand is socially constructed and since, as Perry (2002) states, the behaviors examined in an analysis of gender and violence are wholly or partly learned, gender is a more appropriate term.

Campbell *et al* (2001) and Mooney (2000) indicate that females are more likely to be assaulted, injured, raped or murdered by a male. It is even more frightening to note that in many instances her attacker is her partner or someone she knows. These actions are often linked to patriarchal norms and values in society that are embedded in cultural, social, economic and political processes and practices which socialize males to be aggressive, powerful, unemotional and controlling, and that contribute to a social acceptance of men as dominant (Schechter, 1982). Similarly, Linn *et al* (1996) reveal that expectations of females as passive, nurturing, submissive and emotional also reinforce women's roles as weak, powerless and dependent upon men. These norms serve to create stereotyped gender-role definitions in which males are encouraged to exercise control and authority aggressively. As a result, violence against women and girls has become part of the social fabric, and violence against females and the fear of violence becomes a gender equity issue.

2.5.2. Gender-based violence

Perry (2002) and Schechter (1982) state that while unequal gender relations are the root cause of violence against females, certain socio-cultural, economic and political factors tend to reinforce gender relations and may exacerbate the threat and reality of violence against women. Morrell (2002: 38) asserts that "instances and patterns of violence are inevitably gendered – they bear the imprint of gender in every respect: who commits and who receives the violence; the type of violence; the weapon; the place of the violence; the reason for the violence." The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2001) states that gender-based violence is an umbrella term for any harm that is perpetrated on a

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person against her/his will, and that has a negative impact on the physical and/or psychological health, development, and identity of the person. The violence, UNFPA (2001) asserts, is the result of gendered power relationships which are determined by the social roles ascribed to males and females. Furthermore, given the pervasiveness of patriarchy across all cultures disparately, gender-based violence disproportionately impacts women and children. Violence may be physical, emotional, psychological, economic and/or sexual. Hester (1996) indicates that categories of perpetrators may include family members, community members, and/or those acting on behalf of cultural, religious or state institutions. Some of the major forms of violence recognized in the UN's 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (cited in Perry, 2002) include battering; sexual abuse; marital rape; female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women; non-spousal violence; violence related to exploitation, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere; trafficking in women; forced prostitution; and violence perpetrated or condoned by the state.

Bennett *et al* (2005) state that studies have consistently shown higher rates of offending for males than for females, and especially higher rates of violence. They further assert that gender differences in the development of social cognition may help to explain gender differences in crime and violence. UNFPA (2001) asserts that around the world, at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or abused in some other way - most often by someone she knows, including by her husband or another male family member; one woman in four has been abused during pregnancy. UNFPA (2001) further asserts that violence against women is undoubtedly the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1996 cited in Perry, 2002: 13), paragraph 112 states:

> In all societies, to a greater or lesser degree, women and girls are subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse that cuts across lines of income, class and culture ... Violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Kotze and van der Waal (1995) state that any definition of violence needs to include both the use of force and its threat to both compel or constrain women to behave or not to behave in given ways. Perry (2002) states that violence against women takes many forms including forced prostitution, rape, genital mutilation, verbal and emotional abuse and beatings.

Schechter (1982) states that to understand violence against women one must understand why men believe that they may use intimidation, coercion, threats and force. Many researchers illustrate that men who become abusers are the ones who witnessed abuse at an early stage in their families (Artz, 1999; Bart, 1994; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1994; Locke, 1999; Mullender, 1996; Perry, 2002; Segal, 1990; Stanko, 1990). However, Hester (1996) warns that not all men who are abused or exposed to violence as children later perpetuate violence and not all men who physically, emotionally or sexually abuse their partners come from homes in which they had experiences with interpersonal victimization. Thus, Perry (2002) states that the exact mechanism/s leading to later involvement with violence among men remain unclear.

Women across the social and economic spectrum are potentially victims of violence and are generally more likely than men to be victims of certain types of violence (Walker, 1995). Valentine (1992) states that violence is not confined to any one particular socio-economic class but is closely associated with male control of female sexuality and cultural definitions of women's place and roles within a particular cultural context. The United Nations (1995) further state that women all over the world are therefore subject to an implicit contract in which societies offer them economic and social security on the condition that they not breach certain socially constructed boundaries. Gordon and Crehan (2000) indicate that violence is as significant a cause of death and incapacity among women of reproductive age as cancer and a greater cause of death than traffic accidents and malaria combined.

Radford and Tsutsumi (2004) argue that globalization has created different and more opportunities for violence from men to women. The following data reflect the enormity of gender-based violence as a global phenomenon:

- In 48 population-based surveys conducted worldwide, 10-69% of women reported being physically assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point in their lives (Krug *et al*, 2002).

- Worldwide, 1 in 3 women have been beaten or coerced into sex. Most often the abuser is a member of her own family (Heise *et al*, 1999).

- Studies suggest that 40-70% of all women who are victims of physical abuse by an intimate partner are injured at some point in their lives (Krug *et al*, 2002).

- Studies show a strong relationship between domestic violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS (Krug *et al*, 2002).

- A history of abuse puts women at increased risk of long-term negative health consequences including depression, suicide, chronic pain syndrome, psychosomatic disorders and sexually transmitted disease (Klug *et al*, 2002).

- The prevalence of women in developing countries who experience violence during pregnancy ranges from 4-20% (Nasir and Hyder, 2003).

- A study in India showed that intimate partner violence was the cause of 16% of maternal deaths during pregnancy (Heise *et al*, 1999).

- In the United States, the health care costs of intimate partner violence against women total $5.8 billion each year (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2003).

Where women are the violators, Campbell *et al* (2001) assert that generally resource scarcity drives both property and violent offending in women. Specifically, property offenses reflect women's attempts to provision themselves while violence reflects female-female competition for provisioning males.

2.5.3. Main forms of gender-based violence

According to Denious (1994), although men tend to narrowly define violence as isolated physical incidents, women view violence in terms of underlying control issues, as taking emotional, sexual and physical forms, and as both explicit and implicit. The United Nations (1995: 121) defines violence against women as:

> Any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

This definition, Perry (2002) asserts, is all encompassing and includes physical, sexual and psychological/ emotional violence such as beatings, sexual abuse including rape and incest by family members, female genital mutilation and emotional abuse which include verbal assaults. The United Nations (1995) also perceives the abduction of women and girls for prostitution and forced marriages to also be part of gender-based violence.

2.5.3.1. Sexual violence/assault

Gordon and Crehan (2000) assert that sexual violence is used to describe rape by acquaintances or strangers, by authority figures (including husbands and other family members), child sex abuse, pornography, stalking, sexual harassment and homicide. At its most fundamental level, Perry (2002) states that sexual violence describes the deliberate use of sex as a weapon to exercise power over as well as to inflict pain and humiliation upon another human being. It is important to note that sexual violence does not have to include direct physical contact between the perpetrator and the victim. Stanko (1990) shows that threats, humiliation and intimidation may all be considered as sexually violent when they are used for the purpose of exercising power or inflicting pain and humiliation on another person. The Human Rights Watch report on domestic violence and rape (1995) referred to South Africa as the rape capital of the world. Jewkes and

Abrahams (2002) state that the epidemiology of rape has become an issue of considerable political importance and sensitivity. They conclude that although it is difficult to establish actual rape statistics in South Africa, levels of non-consensual and coerced sex are indeed high. Furthermore, they caution that international comparison must be carefully examined since most developing countries lack the infrastructure for accurate crime reporting and do not have a substantial body of survey data.

Reed (1998) states that in relation to sexual violence women who are generally victimized are young, poor and an acquaintance of the perpetrator who is generally a much older male of the same race. Additionally, Reed (1998) asserts that the majority of sexual assault victims are young and that females in positions of abject dependence on male authorities are also particularly subject to unwanted sexual coercion. Thus, Perry (2002) states, females at home, in the workplace and in schools are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and sexual harassment.

Pain (1991) argues that sexual violence is unique in its nature as a crime and that rape in particular is one of the most traumatic of crimes and can have long lasting effects and this adds to women's fears. The imposition of fear on the majority of women through the threat of sexual violence is considered as one of the foundations of patriarchal control (Pain, 1991).

Perry (2002) states that it is important to underscore Gordon and Crehan's (2000) contention that some data exist in relation to sexual violence against men and boys.

> This (Gordon and Crehan's) data suggests the vulnerability of specific groups of men and boys, that is, those who occupy subordinate positions in relation to other men (such as in the military or prison), those who are vulnerable in conflict situations (such as during war) or those whose sexuality differs from the dominant culturally acceptable norm (such as in the case of gays).
>
> (Perry, 2002: 22)

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Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) indicate that it is imperative that sexual violence and coercion, especially rape, be viewed as a social problem rather than suggesting that it is a product of individual psycho-pathology which is so common in criminological discourse. While they acknowledge "that in a small proportion of cases there are individual factors of overwhelming importance in the perpetration of rape, individualistic explanations are inadequate for understanding a phenomenon which is experienced by a very high proportion of South African women and by implication perpetrated by a large proportion of men" (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002: 1241). They state that the underlying causes of the problem of rape are rooted in society, specifically they point to gender power inequalities and the low status of women.

2.5.3.2. Sexual harassment

Loveday (1997) states that sexual harassment is another form of gender-based violence which is about power and is one important method by which women are kept in subordinate positions to men as well as other women in positions of power. Several studies show that most sexual harassment is by men against women (Bennett et al, 2005; Loveday, 1997; Perry, 2002). Martin (1996) indicates that sexual harassment includes remarks or gestures, pinching, touching, kissing, sexual advances, grabbing at women's bodies, rape, staring (particularly at one's body), sexual comments or jokes, sexually explicit materials, promising advantages in return for sexual favors, abusive sexual language, exposing genitals and sexual assault. Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) argue that the discrepancy between imagined and actual reactions to harassment speaks volumes about why targets of harassment are frequently blamed for their inaction. They further suggest that the imagined responses place women at a predicament since it creates expectations to victims, such as those who do not respond in a particular way are viewed as welcoming and accepting the situation.

2.5.3.3. Domestic violence

Usdin *et al* (2005) state that domestic violence is described as endemic to South Africa. The home, once considered a safe haven, is undoubtedly conflict ridden and in many homes violence is fairly widespread (Perry, 2002). According to Moreno (1998), domestic violence against women and children is one of the most devastating social tragedies that beset societies since it occurs within the home, that private space where most people should feel protected. Perry (2002) further states that most domestic violence involves male anger directed against their women partners and female children. Simpson (1993) asserts that the absence of accessible targets for social aggression in South African society often results in it being displaced to arenas removed from its immediate source of origin. Most often, Simpson (1993) asserts, this displaced aggression can be traced to the home environment.

> The expression of frustration and aggression in the domestic arena is easily facilitated by the seclusion of this 'private' realm from the public eye and from public scrutiny. It is within the privacy and seclusion of the domestic environment that frustrated and emasculated men symbolically reassert their control within that one realm in which (in highly patriarchal society) they still traditionally hold sway - within heterosexual relationships and within the family. For the women and children who live in it, the homestead thus takes on a deceptive duality: sanctuary, haven and place of security on one hand; and potential prison and/or torture chamber on the other.
>
> (Simpson, 1993: 20)

Given pervasive patriarchy in South African society, the vulnerable tend to be children, women and the elderly.

An important component of domestic violence is intimate partner violence. This, the World Health Organization (2004: 1) states, includes:

- Physical violence (for example, slaps, kicks, assaults with a weapon, homicide);

- Sexual violence (for example, rape, coercion and abuse inclusive of physical force, verbal threats and harassment to have sex, unwanted touching or physical advances, forced participation in pornography or other degrading acts that often persist over time and are accompanied by threats on the part of the perpetrator); and

- Psychological violence (for example, belittling the woman, preventing her from seeing family and friends, intimidation, withholding resources, preventing her from working or confiscating her earnings).

The WHO (2004) also demonstrates the link between violence against women and HIV/AIDS. Specifically, they indicate that women and girls' risk and vulnerability to HIV infection is shaped by deep-rooted and pervasive gender inequalities.

Bart (1994) indicates that pregnant women are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence and provides examples that reveal that some husbands become more violent during the wife's pregnancy, even kicking or hitting their wives in the belly. Bart (1994) asserts that these women run twice the risk of miscarriage and four times the risk of having a low birth-weight baby.

Reed (1998) indicates that many researchers show that generally women are more frequently victimized and violated than men. Reed (1998) further states that domestic violence is the most frequent type of violence against women. More specifically, Reed (1998) argues that most of the violence against women takes place within the families and the perpetrators are almost exclusively men, usually partners, ex-partners or other men known to the women.

Rude (1999: 11) states:

> In Bangladesh, the assassination of women by their husbands accounts for 50% of all murders, while in Canada, 62% of women killed in 1987 died at the hands of an intimate partner. In America, an average of four women are killed a day by male partners. In Zimbabwe, domestic homicide accounts for more than 60% of murder cases tried by the High Court in Harare.

The above statistics reveal that simplistic explanations that link violence against women exclusively to culture and tradition are inadequate. Domestic violence cuts across ethnicities, class or geographic locations. Perry (2002) states that the statistics provided by Rude (1999) clearly illustrate the pervasiveness of domestic violence against women appear to transcend specific cultures and contexts. Also, Kwong *et al* (1999) illustrate that domestic violence can occur in families from all education and socio-economic levels. Additionally, Smyke (1991) states that where the status of women is low and a woman is considered the property of a man, a husband's right to 'discipline' his wife is accepted.

The number of women and children who are domestically abused (and this extends to the various forms of sexual and psychological abuse as well) is relatively unknown because of society's perception of domestic violence as a private matter and as such should not be interfered with in the public sector (Perry, 2002). Locke (1999) and Simpson (1993) indicate that this results in the failure of many victims to report abuse and the reality that many police officers and judges dismiss abuse as being inconsequential.

Ferraro (1996a) and Gordon and Crehan (2000) indicate that women are most likely to be assaulted within the confines of their own family and household, and are more likely to be injured or killed by a current or former intimate partner than by anyone else. Njovana and Watts (1996) state that if carried out by a loved one, domestic violence also poses substantial obstacles to victims seeking help. Artz (1999) states that economic abuse, which tends to take many forms and includes withholding money, stealing money and

other items as well as threatening to force the woman and children out of the home, is also a notable feature of domestic violence.

Moreno (1998) states that domestic violence is often a long-term, chronic condition that has a substantial cumulative effect on a women's (or any victim's) overall well-being. Furthermore, Perry (2002) argues that the prevalence of domestic violence in a given society is the result of tacit acceptance by that society of patriarchy and male supremacy. UNFPA (2001) states that the way men view themselves as men, and the way they view women, will determine whether they use violence or coercion against women.

Meth (2003) asserts that specifically in the context of South Africa, an examination of domestic violence and where it takes place provides significant insight into debates about the meaning of home. By examining the experiences of homeless and insecurely housed women in Durban, South Africa, she explores ideas of 'home' implicit in much research on domestic violence and asserts that these ideas should be critically re-examined. The concept of 'the home' is not sufficiently problematized, especially in contexts where it does not confirm to the traditional assumptions of the home as a material and private space.

2.5.3.4. Reproductive violence

Perry (2002) states that gender-based violence has long-lasting adverse consequences for women's reproductive health. According to UNFPA (2001), violence may have profound effects, direct and indirect, on a woman's reproductive health, including:

- Unwanted pregnancies and restricted access to family planning information and contraceptives
- Unsafe abortion or injuries sustained during a legal abortion after an unwanted pregnancy
- Complications from frequent, high-risk pregnancies and lack of follow-up care (including miscarriages)
- Maternal death

- Sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS
- Persistent gynecological problems
- Psychological problems, including fear of sex and loss of pleasure

2.5.3.5. Public harassment

Martin (1997) states that public harassment is a behavior in public places that is unsolicited, unwelcome and unreciprocated. Furthermore, it differs from sexual harassment in that it takes place in public places. Martin (1997) also states that most public harassment is by men against women, although women can be harassers too. Other prime targets are gays and lesbians, specific ethnic and racial groups as well as people with disabilities (Gordan and Crehan, 2000; Martin, 1997).

Martin (1997) distinguishes between three main types of public harassment: comments, touching and trailing. These types of public harassment, Martin (1997) argues, can be extremely upsetting and disconcerting for many who are forced to endure these forms of harassment. Martin (1997) further illustrates that sometimes pleasant comments are followed by hostile ones, as a result women may fear that minor harassment is the first step towards a more serious attack. Perry (2002) indicates that the fear of public harassment tends to constrain women's movement. Pain (1997) shows that many women avoid public spaces because of harassment.

The above discussion focuses primarily on women and violence. However, it is also important to examine men and violence within the context of gender issues. Brownlow (2005) illustrates that in the U.S.A. men are at significantly greater risk than women to violent crime victimization in the public sphere. Brownlow (2005) argues that despite this trend, men's fears and vulnerabilities have received considerably less attention in comparison to women. Dutton and Nicholls' (2005) critical review of feminist theory and violence concludes that it is imperative that a paradigm be developed among activists and researchers dealing with violence that precludes the notion of female violence, trivializes

injuries to males and maintains a monolithic view of a complex social problem. Brownlow's (2005) study illustrates that perceptions of safety and fear are not constant among or between men and women. Perceptions are influenced by a range of experiences and networks of information that are influenced and informed by structures, discourses, and institutions of race, gender, age and class (Pain, 2001).

Women may face different forms of violence at different stages of their lives (Heise, 1994):

- Prenatal: sex-selective abortions, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy (rape during war)

- Infancy: female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care

- Childhood: genital cutting; incest and sexual abuse; differential access to food, medical care, and education; child prostitution

- Adolescent: dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace, rape, sexual harassment, forced prostitution

- Reproductive: abuse of women by intimate partners, marital rape, dowry abuse and murders, partner homicide, psychological abuse, sexual abuse in the workplace, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of women with disabilities

- Old age: abuse of widows, elder abuse (which affects mostly women)

2.5.4. Violence and sexual orientation

Koonts (2000) states that sexual orientation is an important consideration, especially when dealing with issues of safety and sexual minorities. Hollander (1997 cited in Koonts, 2000) found that gay and lesbian respondents were more likely than heterosexuals to say that their risk of assault was increased by their sexual orientation and as potential targets of violent hate crimes, gays and lesbians often consider the safety of the environments they inhabit. Also, it was found that both anti-gay/ lesbian violence and criminal violence in general occurred most frequently in public areas, often in what are perceived to be queer spaces. Koonts (2000) states that spaces in which gays and lesbians are visible, gather, and live, often are the settings for anti-gay violence. According to

Myslik (1996: 168 cited in Koonts, 2000: 3), ironically "the congregation of people which provides emotional and psychological safety itself undermines physical safety by advertising the existence and location of a target group". Myslik's study of Dupont Circle in Washington D.C. asks the question, "Why do gay men continue to identify queer spaces as safe spaces?" (1996: 157 cited in Koons, 2000: 3). His study provides the following answer:

> As sites of resistance to the oppressions of a heterosexist and homophobic society ... queer spaces create the strong sense of empowerment that allows men to look past the dangers of being gay in the city and to feel safe and at home. Overwhelmingly, they consider the psychological and social benefits of open association worth the physical risk taken in queer spaces. For gay men, coping with the presence of violence is an act of negotiating power in society.

> (Myslik 1996: 169 cited in Koonts, 2000: 3)

2.6. VIOLENCE AND EDUCATION

Stitt (1998) asserts that adolescence is a time of potential crisis and the need to fit in and respond to peer pressure and social expectations can be particularly difficult for teenagers. As adolescents internalize the cultural norms that reinforce stereotyping, Stadler and Stadler (1982) state that they also increase their vulnerability to experiencing violence and abuse, as victims and/ or perpetrators.

Our education system is one of the primary purveyors of societal norms and values. The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) in the United States of America (2004) states that for youth to fulfill their potential in school, schools should be safe and secure places for all students, teachers, and staff members. Morrell (2002) asserts that the media coverage of schooling around the world (including the U.S., U.K. and South Africa) convey images of violence. This results in the perception that schools are sites of violence and Morrell (2002) states that some views express the opinion that schools

actually produce violence. He further indicates that violence in schools exist and it comes in different forms and impacts on educators, parents and the schools themselves.

Many studies have revealed the gendered and racial hierarchy of power within school systems in terms of learner achievement, teacher-learner interaction, learners' interactions with each other, curriculum materials, learning styles, classroom behaviors, and so on (Dreyer *et al*, 2002; Goodey, 1994; Harber, 2001; Leach *et al*, 2001; NCES, 2004; Perry, 2002; Sadker and Sadker, 1982; Stein, 1991; Stitt, 1998; Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1992). Such biases reinforce racial and sex-role stereotyping and tend to define what is appropriate and acceptable behavior for specific social groups.

Several studies indicate that schools are sites of high levels of violence (Burnett, 1998; Dahlberg and Potter, 2001; Morrell, 2002; Schneider, 2001; Walker and Epstein, 2000). Perry (2002) states that education is one of the central vehicles via which society reproduces prevailing ideologies, values and norms. Braam and Webster (2000) indicate that the education system is a critical means by which violence against females is institutionalized, albeit most often through the hidden curriculum. They show that education:

- Plays a fundamental role in reproducing values and norms in society, which includes sexist values that females are inferior relative to men;

- Represents the funnel through which people's choices are enlarged/narrowed in relation to future careers/jobs – class and gender are critical variables within this process;

- Serves potentially as one of the most critical points of intervention in relation to reshaping social values that abhor violence against females; and

- Despite positive shifts, the curriculum continues to largely ignore the critical role that it can play in shifting discourse and contributing towards transforming the gendered power relations in society. Areas such as teaching relationship building skills, women's empowerment and parenting skills which are fundamental to addressing violence against females are largely ignored.

Scully's (1990) study shows that stereotypes and misinformation about women provoking violence are already pervasive among young people. Specifically, Scully's (1990) study of men who had committed gang rape and had been convicted when they were of school age showed that most of the men interviewed did not consider raping female hitchhikers as rape because the men believed that these women were signaling their sexual availability. This study also found that most gang rape is seen as a form of recreation by the perpetrators. Men's (mis)understanding of rape clearly underscores the importance to heed Stein's (1991) call that while we need to show young women how to protect themselves, it is also imperative that we need to help young men reject a culture that tells them relationships are based on showing power over others and that, as males, they need to prove their masculinity by exercising this type of power.

Perry (2002) states that it is possible to think of schools as a microcosm of society at large where the school and surrounding environments may encourage and reinforce perceptions, norms and values that contribute to crime and violence in society.

> These include modes of teaching that demonstrate that males are more important than females, avoidance of issues such as date rape and sexual harassment in schools (by fellow scholars as well as teachers), the lack of clear policies and procedures to deal with violence and/or the threat of violence, curriculum/ material taught in class that reinforce racist and sexist messages, and the existence of unsafe places within and outside the school premises.
>
> (Perry, 2002: 38)

Wellesley College Centre for Research on Women (1992) indicates that there is already sufficient evidence to suggest that violence is a serious problem in schools and for female students in schools, the problem is compounded.

Linn *et al* (1996) state that sexual harassment in the United States is pervasive in many schools and that it often takes on racial overtones. Stein (1991) has also documented that

students are harassed more often by their peers than their teachers. Stein (1991) further indicates that while the main form of peer harassment is verbal abuse in the form of demeaning remarks and verbal interrogation it also takes on forms of physical and sexual abuse as well. Perry (2002) states that when schools fail to address issues pertaining to violence in schools, during school activities and on routes to and from schools; they inadvertently send a message of tolerance of it.

Morrell (2002: 39) aptly states after undertaking a thorough examination of the complexity of violence in schools in South Africa:

> Violence in schools therefore is only part of broader social patterns and needs to be considered in conjunction with literature that attempt to make sense of this reality (in its totality) and in terms of debates about the school as a site of violence, as producer of violence and as a starting point for ending violence.

2.7. CRIME, VIOLENCE AND THE MEDIA

Bob *et al* (2006) state that there is an overwhelming media obsession fuelled by a general public outcry pertaining to crime levels in South Africa. Collins *et al* (2006) indicate that the media influences on their audiences are complex and take the following effects:

- informing audiences (major sources of information);
- agenda setting (media's ability to raise the salience of novel or existing issues, and the corresponding level of importance the public assigns to these issues);
- framing (the subtle selection of certain aspects of an issue by the media to emphasize a particular aspect); and
- persuading (ability of the media to persuade the public regarding the issues they represent).

Swart *et al* (nd) state that crime has been an important subject matter in the media worldwide. They furthermore indicate that attitudes and perceptions relating to crime and violence are influenced by the form and content of media coverage of crime.

Altheide (2003: 38) asserts that "news formats or the way of selecting, organizing and presenting information, shape audience assumptions and preferences for certain kinds of information." He adds that the mass media are important in shaping public agendas by influencing what people think about, and how events and issues are packaged and presented. Chermak (2003) argues that part of the media's importance is due to the simple fact that it has become the primary filter for information sharing and policy debate. The media are one among many influences that contribute to perceptions and attitudes about violence and crime (Altheide, 2002; 2003; Barak, 1995; Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005; Heath and Gilbert, 1996; Innes, 2004; Reiner, 1997; Savage, 2004; Slovic, 2000; Williams and Dickinson, 1993). Innes (2004) and Reiner (1997) specifically indicate that research on media content have repeatedly documented that a significant proportion of all stories featured, both factual and fictional, are based on themes of crime, deviance and control. They also argue that there is a tendency to focus upon serious violent crime and in particular murder. Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2005: 702) state:

> The notion of violence in the media contributes to the development of aggressive behavior has been supported by meta-analyses of relevant research. However, there is continuing debate about (1) methodological approaches used in the research and their generalizability, and (2) the extent to which media violence affects children and young people.

They argue that the debate reflects the typical divide between the media pessimists who believe that media violence can be very harmful to children and adolescents, and the media skeptics who state that there is no reliable evidence to support this view.

Savage (2004) states that the body of published, empirical evidence on whether violent media causes criminal violence does not establish that viewing violent portrayals causes crime. However, she argues:

Basic principles of learning would suggest that small children will imitate behavior (Bandura, 1977). If the scenes viewed are exciting, this may also provide physical stimulation (excitation) that might have an immense effect on behavior and, perhaps, a rewarding sensation that would then be associated with violence (classical conditioning). There is also the likelihood that vicarious reinforcement would affect the viewer – watching the perpetrator of violence receiving rewards for violent behavior might provide important information to the viewer about the consequences of behaving violently.

(Savage, 2004: 101)

Valentine (1992) points out that the difficulty in demonstrating the media's influence on attitudes about gender is that the media is only one of many sources that people are exposed to. She asserts that the family, school, the workplace, and so on also exert their influence.

Innes (2004) assesses how media coverage of violent offences functions to articulate and animate social reactions to crime and social control in contemporary social life. Specifically, Innes (2004) illustrates how the ways in which media reports certain offenses contribute to their functioning as signal crimes. A signal crime is defined as "an incident that, because of how it is interpreted, functions as a warning signal to people about the distribution of risk throughout social space" (Innes, 2004: 15). Thus, the coverage of a crime in the media plays the role of mediating the experience to the public. It is not simply a case of disseminating information. The interpretation or construction of criminal events by the media (the making of signal crime and collective memory), according to Innes (2004), are useful in thinking about the ways in which stories about crime are represented by the media, and thus frame how such issues are understood and experienced by the public or how crime and disorder are rendered meaningful in contemporary social life. Innes (2004) concludes that it is imperative that the longer-term consequences of mediated crime narratives by the media and how they shape culture are carefully considered.

Lawlink (nd) states that sensational newspaper and television reporting of crimes such as sexual assault and murder made people, especially women, feel more unsafe. Grabosky (1995) indicates that a British study found 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.

Valentine (1992) shows that women's perceptions of space are influenced by how the media interprets where violent assaults are committed and that there is still a widely held belief that women provoke violence or are somehow deserving of abuse. Wilson-Brewer *et al* (1991) indicate that popular culture such as television, movies and music often reinforces the notion that women enjoy being abused, that it is a positive masculine trait to control women, and that these stereotyped notions of what it means to be male and female are natural. Perry (2002: 30) stated, "One has only to watch a few minutes of a popular music video, a movie aimed at teenagers or a standard Soap Opera such as 'The Bold and the Beautiful' to see many instances of women falling in love with and obsessing over males who control them."

Noguera's (1999; 2001) analysis of school violence such as the shootings at Columbine High School in the United States leads him to conclude that the responses of especially the politicians and the media reveal several contradictory things about society's attitudes and perceptions toward violence and towards children generally:

- While violence of this kind may be repulsive and frightening it is also on another level intriguing, and perhaps even in some morbid sense, entertaining.

- The media consistently defends its sensationalized coverage of such events by arguing that they merely provide what the public wants, and the public's appetite for graphic depictions of violence is at times insatiable.

- Though violence is prohibited in school, its use in other contexts can be rationalized as legitimate if the perpetrator is the State such as the war in Iraq.

- There is the failure throughout much of American society to recognize the connection between the deplorable social conditions under which large numbers of children live and the increased likelihood that these same children will become victims or perpetrators of violence.

Many of the issues raised in Noguera's (1999) analysis are also relevant in the South African society context.

Often crime is sensationalized and highlighted by the media which plays a key role in informing popular perceptions about crime. This is not only the case in South Africa but is a worldwide phenomenon. Abramsky (1999: 30) states:

> Popular perceptions about crime have blurred the boundaries between fact and politically expedient myth. The myth is that the United States is besieged, on a scale never before encountered, by a pathologically criminal underclass. The fact is we are not.

Abramsky (1999) presents a number of statistics like falling murder rates and non-violent property crimes to support his assertion. Post 9/11, the situation has worsened considerably with the threat of terrorism becoming a pervasive aspect of American life specifically and globally as well.

Altheide (2003: 38) examines the relationships between the mass media and the politics of fear, indicating that the politics of fear is a dominant motif for news and popular culture:

The politics of fear is buffered by news and popular culture, stressing fear and threat as features of entertainment that, increasingly, are shaping public and private life as mass-mediated experience and has become a standard frame of reference for audiences, claims-makes, and individual actors. Similar to propaganda, messages about fear are repetitious, stereotypical of outside 'threats' and especially suspect of 'evil others'. These messages also resonate moral panics, with the implication that action must be taken to not only defeat a specific enemy, but to also save civilization.

He uses the threat of terrorism (war on terrorism) post 9/11 as an illustrative example to show specifically how politicians and state control agencies in the U.S.A. working with news media have capitalized on post 9/11 fear to promote a sense of insecurity.

The media certainly plays an important role in influencing perceptions and informing the public about violence and crime. However, it is important to underscore Spears and Seydegart's (1993) assertion that it is important to note that when the media echoes and reflects stereotypes that occur throughout society, it is difficult to separate out the specific effects of media messages.

2.8. SPATIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE

Massey (1994) states that place is understood as a geographical setting with its geophysical resources and place is constructed by social relations which are embedded in power relations. Tabrizi and Madanipour (2006) state that environmental criminologists have correlated crime patterns with the environmental and physical layout of places where crimes occur. Similarly, Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) assert that the incidents of crime and fear of crime tend to concentrate in specific locations at particular time periods. They referred to these crime clusters and fear generators as nodes, paths and edges. Fisher and Nasar (1995) indicate that perceptions of blocked prospects (reduced visibility), areas of concealment for potential offenders and bounded spaces which reduced the possibility of escape were deemed to be important environmental fear

generators. Nelson *et al* (2001) indicate that potential threat of violence and crime shapes people's perceptions of risk and subsequent behavior. These perceptions are strongly attached to specific localities.

Moser (2004: 10) asserts that spatial manifestations of violence are particularly important:

> Cities - and their peripheries, where many of the urban poor reside – often contain unsafe spaces that reflect poor infrastructure or design, and where rape, robbery and violent crime exist. Unsafe spaces also include public transport, and isolated or unlit areas such as dark paths and lanes, isolated bus stops or public latrines. The need to commute long distances, and to work early in the morning or late at night – needs largely relating to the urban poor – exacerbate these spatial dangers.

Scholten (2001) further asserts that place is constructed through everyday actions of people living there, through industries and services, traditions, institutions and organizations. Smiley and Roux (2005) illustrate that while individual people experience stress due to personal events (deaths, marriages, job changes), communities of people also experience daily stress due to features in their neighborhoods (such as traffic, crime, and abandonment of properties near their homes). They assert that these environmental stressors have the potential to impact entire communities, and yet are difficult to define and measure. Several studies also illustrate that environmental damage can have particular significance for the poor (Dasgupta *et al*, 2005). Brocklesby and Hinshelwood (2001) in particular demonstrate that a common perception of the poor is that environmental quality is an important determinant of their health, earning capacity, security, energy supplies, and housing quality.

Cozens *et al* (2001; 2002) indicate that crime and violence are potent indictors of an unsustainable community which is characterized by images of poverty, homelessness as well as high levels of crime and fear of crime. They assert that a sustainable community

is one where inhabitants do not have cause to fear for their safety, the safety of their possessions and the safety of other community members. Grimm *et al* (2000) assert that a city is an ecosystem and crime is interwoven within this ecosystem. The three pillars of sustainability (social, economic and environmental) have failed to adequately integrate issues of crime and fear of crime (Cozens *et al*, 2002; du Plessis, 1999; Knights et al, 2002). In fact, Knights et al (2002) have asserted that crime is a major factor that undermines sustainability. Additionally, Cozens et al (2002) and Du Plessis (1999) assert that a prerequisite for a sustainable urban environment is that it should not pose a threat to current or future users. They argue that the reduction of threats to personal well-being and possessions as well as the natural environment is the key to sustainability.

Kuo and Sullivan (2001a) state that the power of the physical environment to influence human aggression is well established. More specifically, they argue that crowding, high temperatures and noise levels have all been linked to aggression and violence. Moser (2004) indicates that within cities, disparities in the level of violence are generally based on neighborhood income levels. For example, Gaviria and Pagés (1999) and Briceno-León and Zubillaga (2002) illustrate that in Lain America more prosperous areas suffer from violent crime which are property related (such as vehicle theft), while severe violence is generally concentrated in lower income areas. This trend applies to most developing contexts, including South Africa. In relation to women in particular, Hirdman (1990: 79) illustrates that:

> Women's position within society compared to men's is characterized by a lack of space, restricted moves and controlled actions. The oppression of women is characterized by control of women's mobility, in physical as well as psychological space.

The need to feel safe in our local environment and a right to be comfortable as individuals within society are deemed to be important to physical and psychological well-being. The professions of landscape architecture, urban design, planning and architecture consider the physical environment in an attempt to provide safe spaces for inhabitants of

cities, towns, and houses. Koonts (2000) asserts that much of the historical reorganization of spaces within cities was a response to the perceived threat of crime and diminished levels of personal safety. Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) state that fortified city walls, fences, zoning of land uses and urban renewal or slum clearance were all actions implemented to improve the safety of urban inhabitants, though these measures benefited some residents more than others.

According to Koonts (2000), seminal books that examined the relationships between crime and the physical environment were: <u>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</u> by Jane Jacobs (1961), <u>Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design</u> by C. Ray Jeffery (1971), and <u>Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Planning</u> by Oscar Newman (1972). The focus of the books was on making a case for designing neighborhoods that empower the residents, giving them the ability to control their environment thereby improving the security of their homes and communities. Local social control was centralized to involve monitoring public space. They also popularized the concept of environmental and behavioral interactions and the impact of this relationship on criminal activities. The field of environmental criminology emerged which looked at the relationship between crime and the physical environment. Numerous studies revealed that the physical features of neighborhoods as well as perceptions of the physical environment influenced crime rates and the fear of crime in society (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993; Cozens et al, 2001; 2002; 2004; Koonts, 2000; Taylor and Harrell, 1996). Crime was viewed to be inextricably linked to the physical environment in which it occurred.

In recent years, growing awareness about how the physical environment affects human behavior has been integrated into a knowledge-base known as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) (Crowe, 2000; DMC, 2000; Jeffery, 1999; Schneider, 2001). CPTED is defined by Crowe (2000: 1) as:

The proper design and effective use of the built environment (which) can lead to a reduction in the fear of crime and the incidence of crime, and to an improvement in the quality of life.

Tabrizi and Madanipour (2006) indicate that CPTED emphasizes that criminal opportunity can be reduced through architectural and planning techniques that make criminal activity more difficult to take place and can reduce the incidence of fear of crime. Rather than focusing on behavior that is prohibited (which tends to be fear-based), CPTED focuses on behavior that is desired. Taylor and Harrell (1996) state that CPTED focuses on the settings in which crimes occur and on techniques for reducing vulnerability in these settings. The core elements of CPTED include the following (Schneider, 2001):

- Natural surveillance: keeping an eye on the whole environment without taking extraordinary measures to do so. Typical obstacles to natural surveillance include solid walls and lack of windows that provide visibility to areas that have experienced a high incidence of problem behaviors.

- Natural access control: determining who can or cannot enter a specific area or facility. Obstacles to access control include unsupervised areas and unlocked entrances to buildings.

- Territoriality: establishing recognized authority and control over the environment, along with cultivating a sense of belonging. Poor border definition can impede territoriality such as open spaces within the city. In schools, for example, uniforms offer one approach to both establishing a sense of belonging and making it easy to distinguish between students and non-students.

A CPTED analysis may also include crime mapping and statistical reports from local police, juvenile justice facilities, and medical centers to help identify patterns related to problem behavior, such as types of problems that are prevalent and time and location of occurrence (Schneider, 2001). Additionally, Nasar and Fisher (1993) show 'hotspots' of crime can be identified. Craglia et al (2000) state that the increased availability of digital

data (including Geographical Information Systems) have developed opportunities for detailed spatial analysis of urban crime patterns. Crime mapping, they argue, have three areas of application: crime analysis and resource planning, community policing and dispatching.

The design of space is viewed as being central to giving a message that someone owns, uses and cares for it (Cozens et al, 2004). Territoriality (or ownership), control of access, surveillance and the productive use of space, are important to crime prevention and community safety. It is unlikely that a criminal act will be committed in a place that is being viewed as safe and secure. Cozens et al (2002) indicate that a key component of CPTED is the continuous maintenance and management of urban space that is actively being used and discouraging the under-use of such space.

Martin (1997: 35) states:

> Streets, parks, alleys, railway stations and other public places should be for everyone to enjoy. Yet for many women they are the scenes of unpleasant harassment.

This indicates that females feel more at risk in certain places and at certain times, usually places that are public and unknown. Research has also demonstrated that women perceive themselves to be in danger from strange men and in public spaces (Artz, 1999; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001a; Pain, 1997; 2000; Perry, 2002; Valentine, 1992).

Pain (1997) developed a social geography of women's fear. The main aspects of Pain's (1997) analysis are:
- The imposition of constraints on the use of space;
- The distinction between private and public space in perceptions of danger;
- The social construction of space into safe and dangerous places;
- The social control of women's spaces; and

- Social experiences on the basis of class, age, disability and motherhood influence experiences of, and reactions to fear of, violent crime.

Valentine (1992) asserts that the attachment of fear to public spaces, and the precautions which women take as a result, constitute a spatial expression of patriarchy. This, Perry (2002) asserts, tends to reproduce traditional notions about women's roles and the places that are considered appropriate for them to use.

Perry (2002) states that the social construction of space into perceived safe and unsafe places is important to understand. Perceptions of safe and unsafe spaces are shaped by information (even if inaccurate) they receive from the media, their family, their peers and other social contacts. Notions of safe and unsafe places are also informed by personal experiences.

Risk taking, according to Campbell et al (2001), can be considered to be an inverse measure of fear. Louw and Shaw (1997) show that areas inhabited by the poor are less likely to have the kinds of infrastructure development – such as street lighting and urban planning – which facilitate personal crime prevention. A lack of infrastructure development also places the poor at greater risk: the layout of overcrowded squatter camps where access roads are absent have been linked to violence between households as well as more random attacks.

The literature identifies several factors in the environment that the influence the perception of unsafe or vulnerable public places (Lawlink, nd; Nelson et al, 2001). The main factors were isolated and poorly lit areas, locations with places to hide in, dilapidated or uncared for areas, and places where there is excessive amounts of alcohol consumption, drug-taking, prostitution and gansterism. Lawlink (nd) indicates that when these factors are not removed, improved or addressed, people continue to feel unsafe regardless of how safe an actual crime profile reveals the area to be.

Several studies indicate that there is evidence that green spaces can lower crime and illegal activity when well planned, maintained and monitored (American Planning

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Association [APA], 2003; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001b; Kuo et al, 1998; Taylor et al, 1998). The latter (maintenance and monitoring) in terms of planning and management of open spaces should be emphasized since open spaces which are unkept can have the opposite effect. In the United States, for example, these studies illustrate that green spaces have been shown to create neighborhoods with fewer violence and property crimes and where neighbors tend to support and protect one another. APA (2003: 1) in advocating for green spaces, specifically parks, in cities highlights the following:

- Time spent in nature immediately adjacent to home helps people to relieve mental fatigue, reducing aggression.

- Green residential spaces are gathering spaces where neighbors form social ties that produce stronger, safer neighborhoods.

- Barren spaces are more frightening to people and are more crime prone than parks landscaped with greenery and open vistas.

- In order to make the best use of greenery and open space, it must be positively incorporated into a community's design.

APA (2003) also notes that these social spaces leads to the conspicuous presence of people outdoors which contribute further to safety and increasing surveillance, which discourages criminals.

A rational perspective of physical environment and crime, as discussed by Taylor and Harrell (1996), examines how physical features might influence behavior. They assert that researchers have made several assumptions about how physical features affect both potential offenders and residents or users in a setting. This perspective is discussed in greater detail in chapter four that provides the conceptual framework for this thesis.

Making public places safer, especially for those who are vulnerable such as women and children, implies changing the urban and social environment to reduce fear of crime and actual levels of crime. Nelson et al (2001) specifically emphasize the importance of a combination of different types of micro-spatial information in identifying patterns of violence. They also suggest that police geographical information systems should

incorporate precise spatial and temporal variables to enhance our understanding of violent crime, to facilitate targeting policing and to assist in creating safer cities.

However, it is important to note that the planning environment, especially in urban contexts, is highly contested and complex as there is a constant need to balance differing interests and concerns. An illustrative example in this regard is Roberts (2006) study of British town and city centers. Roberts (2006: 331) discusses the often contradictory and challenging tri-partite policy responses of the British government to reconcile the following agendas:

- Planning policies that promote "cleaner, safer and greener" town centers;
- Free market inspired licensing policies; and
- Tough policies towards crime and anti-social behavior.

2.9. IMPACTS OF VIOLENCE ON PEOPLE'S LIVES

Ferraro (1996a) and Nofziger and Williams (2005) indicate that crime is considered to be a serious social problem. Moser (2004: 3), in describing the lives of people living in low income settlements in Ecuador, states:

> Violent robbery on buses was so ubiquitous that, over a six-month period, one in five women had been attacked by young men armed with knives, machetes or hand guns. The streets were no longer safe after dark, so girls and young women were dropping out of night school, exacerbating their social isolation. The cost of upgrading housing had expanded to include security grilles on windows, and doors designed to detect burglars.

There has been a growing awareness by academics, architects, geographers and planners of the impact of the designed environment on the lives of specific groups and individuals (Boys, 1990; Klodawsky and Lundy, 1994; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006). Furthermore, Perry (2002) states that the design of public and private spaces contributes to perceptions and fear of violence and they are reflective of social relations in society. As Valentine

(1990: 301) argues, "the social relations within a space and the group(s) who control that space socially are more important influences on how safe people feel than the design."

Bowen et al (2004: 357) argue that violence (and crime) affects communities in numerous ways:

- It causes physical harm to individual residents;
- Its presence in homes and on the streets results in isolation and alienation among a community's inhabitants; and
- It stigmatizes and alienates certain communities from mainstream society.

Klodawsky and Lundy (1994) assert that the fear of violence itself may be construed as a survival mechanism and that women learn to negotiate their safety with men whether the men are colleagues at work, acquaintances in social situations, strangers on the street or intimate companions. The defensive positions in which women are placed, according to Stanko (1990: 85), means that:

> Wherever women are, their peripheral vision monitors the landscape and those around them for potential danger. On the street, we listen for footsteps approaching and avoid looking men in the eyes.

Thus, Perry (2002) states, women's perceptions and fears about their safety have a profound effect on their use of space – where they go, what they do, when they do it and with whom they go. This applies to other vulnerable social groups as well.

People's safety and their very survival depend on them scanning their environment for indications of potential danger. Klodawsky and Lundy (1994) indicate that abandoned buildings, construction sites, and certain streets and alleys are areas most often recognized by women specifically as being dangerous. Additionally, they assert that isolation, poor lighting, the lack of possible hiding places and the absence of an escape route are also cues that women often use to determine potentially unsafe areas.

Motshekga and Delport (1993) state that victims of violence are also more likely to suffer long-lasting psychological and health problems, including persistent fear, low self-esteem, sexual dysfunction, chronic pain, disability, substance abuse, depression and suicide. Violence and crime in society also have significant economic consequences, reducing family income and increasing health care costs, job absenteeism, and costs related to law enforcement (Perry, 2002).

Perry (2002) further states that in addition to the psychological and emotional consequences of violence, those violated may experience physical injuries, unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. In terms of the latter, the possibility of HIV transmission is also greatly increased in cases of rape. Gordon and Crehan (2000) report that in a study in Mumbai, 20% of all pregnancies among adolescents seeking abortion had occurred as a result of forced sex, and in a study in Thailand, one in ten rape victims had been infected with a sexually transmitted disease. Moreno (1998) identifies other health consequences of gender-based violence which include short-term health effects that have non-fatal outcomes such as minor cuts, headaches, pains and bruises.

Moreno (1998) asserts that most survivors suffer from post-traumatic stress disorders (psychological, emotional and spiritual damage) as a result of violence and the fear of violence. Furthermore, for the majority of women the persistent insults, abuse, confinement, harassment and deprivation of financial and physical resources may prove more harmful than physical attacks and result in women living in a permanent state of fear and sub-standard mental and physical health (Moreno, 1998). Linn et al (1996) indicate that the consequences of disclosure of being violated, especially in relation to sexual victimization, may be disastrous and can include rejection, blame, 'social death' and even further violence.

The above discussion clearly illustrates the impacts of violence and crime (as well as the threat of violence and crime) on women's lives. The findings are also applicable to any group or individual who feels constantly unsafe and insecure in society.

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The link between ability to work and earn an income is important, especially for the poor. Louw and Shaw (1997) show that in countries such as South Africa, violent crime levels mean that the odds are heavily stacked against the majority of the country's people: trauma has been identified as the major cause of potential and actual loss of productive work time in the country. Violent crime has a negative impact on the health and lives of the poor in particular who often do not have recourse to resources and opportunities to recover. In the most extreme cases, the death of income-generating family members appears to be one of the most severe shocks which cause vulnerable households to rapidly become poverty-stricken (Louw and Shaw, 1997).

Louw and Shaw (1997) further illustrate that crime affects people's ability to work in less direct ways. For example, restrictions on movement in high crime areas, intimidation associated with gang activity, intimidation associated with political conflict (and work stayaways), transport problems associated with taxi or train violence, and the loss of employment opportunities when business premises are destroyed. Research in South Africa and other developing countries has shown that the loss of the ability to seek employment is the shock which has the greatest impact on many poor people (Louw and Shaw, 1997). Crime affects access to education when schools are closed as a result of violence and gang-related activity, or if pupils and teachers fear attending due to the threat of victimization (Louw and Shaw, 1997). Louw and Shaw (1997) further state that research has also found that sexual harassment contributes to girls' failure to continue education, since it often leads to pregnancy. Crime, or the threat of crime, in turn reduces the ability of the poor to improve their chances of gaining employment. While this is an obvious point, it remains important, since education has consistently been listed as a priority area for improved access to income generation by the poor themselves. Thus, crime as well as the fear of crime affects the people's quality of lives and what they can achieve.

Lawlink (nd) indicates that dealing effectively with violence, especially the fear of violence, leads to more communal interaction in neighborhoods. This promotes familiarity and recognition which leads to social interaction and cohesion. With

familiarity and cohesion come a sense of ownership and responsibility. Additionally, investors will be attracted to the area.

The major impacts of violence and the fear of violence in society are linked to social and economic impacts related to development. As Moser (2004) states, urban violence as a development constraint eroded the assets of the poor and affected their livelihoods and well-being. The assets are physical, financial, human, social and natural. Furthermore, she asserts that violence has a dramatic impact on people's well-being in terms of their livelihood security and the functioning of local institutions.

The costs of crime and violence in society are enormous. Miller et al (1993) showed that in 1989 the estimates of direct physical and psychological costs in the U.S.A. was $10 billion. Bachman (1994) estimates that the cost of workplace victimization and crime specifically in the U.S.A. using data from 1987-1992. Bachman (1994) specifically shows that crime at work, in terms of lost wages and missed work, costs approximately 500 000 employees 1 751 100 days of work each year, which averages out to 3½ days per incident. Fisher and Gunnison (2001) state that the costs of crime can result not only in physical and psychological trauma to the victim, but also staggering financial losses to the employee. Furthermore, they assert that in relation to the victim, while current research has shown that the monetary losses can be significant in terms of lost pay, the effects in terms of employee's quality of life, psychological well-being, and employment status after the victimization remain under-researched.

Grinols and Mustard (2006) examine the relationship between casinos and crime. This is important to consider in the South African context where, in the last decade, there has been an increase in the development of casinos in urban areas. The results of their study show that criminal activities are linked to casinos and, more specifically, the effect on crime is lower shortly after a casino opens and increases over time.

2.10. STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS VIOLENCE AND THE FEAR OF VIOLENCE: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Miethe (1995) asserts that two broad strategies are adopted to deal with violence and crime in society. Protective strategies are identified as those strategies that seek to reduce or deter the risk of victimization by increasing the ability to deter or resist a criminal act. Specific examples of protective strategies include carrying a weapon, installing security systems and walking in groups. The creation of defensible buildings (for example, metal bars and grilles on top of high walls, windows and doors) is a visible expression of a fearful society and, according to Tabrizi and Madanipour (2006), is indicative of a high rate of crime. These strategies are aimed at gaining greater control (or at least the sense of greater control) over a situation. Avoidance strategies are to keep away from particular people, places or situations that are deemed to be risky or dangerous. In particular, strangers, unfamiliar public places and individuals or places known to be dangerous are avoided. Brownlow (2005) states that avoidance is the most common response to crime among both men and women. However, Stanko (1995) argues that women are significantly more likely than men to adopt avoidance strategies.

Ferguson and Ferguson (1994) state that women develop coping strategies based on their perceived danger areas and the types of violence they feel they are most likely to encounter. They indicate that the most common of these strategies is avoidance of places and individuals they perceive as threatening in the hope of avoiding potential attackers. Vetten and Dladla (2000) assert that avoidance is perhaps the most common strategy women adopted, even when it resulted in inconvenience to themselves. Another strategy that Vetten and Dladla (2000) cite is negotiation.

People adopt several coping strategies when responding to real and perceived threats of violence such as the avoidance of places and individuals they perceive as threatening and fighting back. It is important to note that many of the strategies that are used to cope with violence and the fear of violence constrain people's movements and limit their social, political and economic participation and opportunities.

Morris (1994) states that there are several initiatives where women and other groups have organized against gender-based violence. These include immediate and long-term action to challenge and prevent violence against women and gender-based exploitation more generally. An example of the initiatives provided by Morris (1994) are where women's groups and NGOs have set up refuges for women and children who need a place to escape from violence. Morris (1994) states that most shelters not only offer a place to stay and daily sustenance, but also counseling, material support and, if possible, legal assistance. Albertyn (1994) asserts that survivors in these shelters feel the solidarity of other women who have similar experiences and fears. Perry (2002) indicates that some of the organizations also organize self-defense classes and classes in procedures for reporting violence. Furthermore, Perry (2002) states that in addition to the focus on the survivors of violence, many organizations arrange briefings and workshops for police and court officials to help them understand the significance of violence against females and enable them to deal more sensitively and justly with the cases that come before them.

The Human Rights Watch (1995) identifies numerous long-term strategies to eliminate violence against females which include:

- Measures to raise the status of women and gain recognition of their full human rights.
- Research to be able to present a fuller picture of the much under-reported violence that plagues our homes, communities, nation and world.
- Education of girls and boys from the earliest age in the idea of equality between sexes, respect for everyone's human rights and non-violent ways to resolve conflict.
- Reform laws that allow violence towards women to go unpunished and ensuring that they are enforced.
- Sensitizing police, lawyers, social workers, teachers as well as political and religious leaders to these issues.
- Challenging local customs and traditional practices that incorporate or encourage violence against women, for example, female circumcision/genital mutilation and dowry.

- Changing public attitudes and myths that tolerate and perpetuate violence against women (for example, she must like it or she would not stay with him).

Allen (2004), Ferguson and Ferguson (1994), Rafkin (1995) and Upson (2004) identify numerous strategies that people employ (and can use) to be safe and deal with the threat of violence in both public and private spheres. Some of these include:

- Cultivating a sense of community and watching out for one another in the neighborhood
- Creating neighborhood watches
- Making sure that there is good lighting in areas frequented at night such as the home, entertainment areas and workplaces
- The use of security devices such as alarms and burglar guards
- Acquiring weapons such as guns and pepper sprays
- Taking self-defense classes/learning how to fight
- Physically fighting back
- Having dogs
- Having a "don't mess with me" posture and attitude
- Drawing attention to seek assistance and discourage would be attackers
- Parking in safe, well-lit areas
- Carrying a cellular phone
- Creating and maintaining boundaries in the workplace and home/ restricting access
- Avoiding or not going to certain areas
- Being deceptive
- Using distracting strategies such as acting crazy, urinating or throwing up
- Not walking alone in public areas
- Staying indoors at night

Clearly, several of the strategies identified above to cope with violence and the fear of violence constrain individuals' movements and limit their social, political and economic participation and opportunities. Thus, the strategies that people use can have serious implications for personal freedom and general quality of life.

Noguera (1999) states that within the context of the fight against violence, symbolic actions take on great significance, even though they may have little bearing upon the actual occurrence of violence or its perception. Several examples are provided which include visible security presence (security or police officers), signs, burglar guards, fences (barbed and electric), alarm systems and dogs. These are intended to warn perpetrators off and provide a sense of safety and security. Noguera (1999) argues also that these traditional approaches are rooted in their inability to address the contextual factors which influence the incidence of violence and reactions to it. Similarly, Bowen et al (2004) state that the national response to the increasing rates of violence is often geared towards reducing violent crime by strengthening the criminal justice response within the community and the home. However, "the result was insufficient attention paid to addressing the plethora of individual, community, and societal factors that were implicated in growing violence rates" (Bowen et al, 2004: 356).

The UN Habitat (2003) also states that community-based watch groups create new employment opportunities for the inhabitants in the different neighborhoods and strengthen the collaboration among different sectors of society (traders, youth, residents), under the guidance of the local authority. Crawford (1999) and van den Eynde et al (2003) show that community-based policing operates on the philosophy of law enforcement that is based on the premise that it is essential to work cooperatively with a wide range of community groups and institutions to prevent crime and reduce citizens' fear of crime. van den Eynde et al (2003: 238 citing National Crime Prevention, 1999 and Veno et al, 2000) further indicate that the range of crime prevention programs that have been implemented (particularly in the Western World) can be categorized loosely under three groupings:

- Situational crime prevention which reduces the opportunity of crime, by manipulation of the physical environment (examples include increased street lighting, security cameras, or introducing responsible serving of alcohol practices in licensed premised).

- Community or social intervention which attempts to manipulate the social conditions or institutions that may influence criminal activity (examples include targeting at-risk adolescents, strengthening communities, anti-bullying programs in schools)

- Managerialist crime prevention techniques which are aimed at making the criminal justice and other government agencies function more effectively to reduce criminogenic features.

van den Eynde et al (2003) state that community-based policing specifically emphasizes that the traditional police functions of enforcement and apprehension improves as the public begins to trust and cooperate with the police. They further assert that this approach also encourages a service-based orientation to law enforcement where the needs and demands of the citizens are centralized. Community-based policing efforts are based on the assumption that community networks in poorer areas help to prevent crime, given the stronger community surveillance networks which they may provide. However, in South Africa, communities are highly heterogeneous and wrought with tensions and conflicts.

According to Louw and Shaw (1997), experiences in townships in Eastern Cape, for example, have shown that the success of community police forums depend on issues such as sustaining the community's interest, participation and long-term commitment, and an ability to resolve internal community (or police–community) conflicts. This illustrates that the importance of cohesion and common purpose suggests that the chances of community policing succeeding as a crime prevention strategy in poorer areas are greatly reduced.

Louw and Shaw (1997) indicate that one key survival strategy of rising levels of insecurity and crime is to move. Cullen and Lewitt (1999) and van den Eynde et al (2003) indicate that violence and crime are key reasons why people move (including

emigration). Specifically, Cullen and Lewitt (1999) examine the link between rising crime rates and urban flight. Their main finding was that migration decisions of highly educated households and those with children are particularly responsive to changes in crime. These studies also reveal that the majority of people would move to what they perceived to be a safer area if given an opportunity to do so. The main reason for not moving in the face of vulnerability to violence is economic limitations.

The installation of physical security measures is also a widely used strategy. Louw and Shaw (1997) indicate that the poor are less able to install physical security measures such as burglar proofing and electronic alarms to protect their property due to financial constraints. They further state that in any event, patterns of victimization of the poor in relation to violent crime suggest that the installation of such security devices would have less effect than for wealthier groups, because poorer people are more likely to be victimized by those whom they know (or even live with).

The persistent and often growing divide between how the rich and poor are policed has, according to Louw and Shaw (1997), important longer-term policy implications. The wealthier segments of society often have the economic clout and political leverage to demand better and more law enforcement. Additionally, they can afford to complement public law enforcement resources with private policing and security. Furthermore, the public security sector often responds to incidents of violence and crime while the private security sector is better equipped to adopt proactive measure. This results in a dualist security environment: one for the rich and one for the poor.

UN Habitat (2003) illustrates that the Safer Cities Program has developed a set of tools in collaboration with its partners in the different projects and through international co-operation. This set of tools is primarily aimed at determining the extent and nature of crime; developing adequate prevention strategies and solutions based on each specific problems; and defining the modalities of implementation of the measures. The program is made up of:

- Four assessment tools: the victimization survey, the youth offender profile, the women safety audit and the local safety appraisal.

- Crime prevention planning tools: Action Plan Strategy and consultation workshops.

- Implementation tools: social prevention targeting groups at risk such as women and youth, situational prevention which entails changing environments conductive to crime, community prevention such as neighborhood watch groups, justice system reform such as restorative and mediation systems, municipal police service, victim assistance and the rehabilitation of offenders.

- Institutionalization: training of safer cities coordinators; training of local leaders, councilors and police; local coalition; institutional reform and budgeting; and justice system reform (alternative justice, restorative justice and mediators).

- Regional capacity building: international and regional seminars; reporting formats and a toolkit.

Some aspects of the program relevant to the study are elaborated on. According to the UN Habitat (2003), the Local Safety Appraisal is a key instrument to determine the extent of crime in a city, its manifestations, causes, impact on society and the public perceptions. The appraisal is also a tool to build awareness and mobilize the various stakeholders such as local government, police, criminal justice system, civil society, private sector and research institutions. Three tools are used to conduct a Local Safety Appraisal: a stakeholder analysis, a municipal analysis and a safety profile. The appraisal also draws from more in-depth surveys such as victimization surveys and women's safety audits. Specifically, the Local Safety Appraisal describes (UN Habitat, 2003):

- the main socio-economic characteristics of the city appraisal;

- the characteristics of the key urban stakeholders;

- the level of service delivery by the local government and by the police, and the people's perception of these services;

- existing strategies, policies and activities that address urban safety issues;

- the main security problems, the main manifestations of crime and violence, the characteristics of victims and offenders, and the fear and perceptions of crime and insecurity;

- the (perceived) causes of urban insecurity at the community level, the family level, the social level, in the urban design, due to organized crime and due to the crisis in the criminal justice system.

The (perceived) causes of urban insecurity focuses on those causes that the project can have an effect on.

The Local Safety Coalition brings together stakeholders involved in the safety issues of a city and those who represent the various interest groups in the area. The intention is to develop an effective crime prevention strategy and action plan that is based on dialogue partnerships. According to the UN Habitat (2003), Local Safety Coalitions have four main tasks:

- To define problems that need to be solved and formulate objectives;

- To draw up action programs on how to reach the objectives;

- To take stock of the available resources: financial, human, material, services; and

- To follow the implementation process and if necessary to readjust the safety strategy and action plan.

Furthermore, the coalition should be institutionalized within local authority structures and have conflict resolution mechanisms to ensure sustainability. Sabol *et al* (2004) stress that violence prevention programs should be structured in ways that contribute to the communities' own capacity to prevent violence. Furthermore, Bowen *et al* (2004) assert that community engagement is central to the effectiveness of primary or community-

based violence prevention programs. Their study shows that the violence prevention field has much to learn about developing and sustaining strategies to discuss interrelated violence problems; and the violence prevention field and community residents are in vastly different places with respect to primary violence prevention.

Attempts to prevent crime, however, can have unintended consequences. For example, Ayres and Thomas (1998) conducted a social environmental audit of urban renewal schemes based on an investigation of environmental hazard risk perceptions of people in their homes, workplaces and other places of urban activity, in the vicinity of five major renewal sites in Sandwell, West Midlands, U.K. The report indicated that urban renewal in the United Kingdom had brought about an increase in certain perceived environmental risks and not necessarily a more desirable perceived environmental state than the alternative of dereliction. Town and O'Toole (2005: 2) state:

> Architects and urban planners who call themselves New Urbanists say their proposals, including developments that mix residential and commercial uses, have homes with tiny private yards and large common areas, and feature pedestrian paths, will solve all sorts of social problems, including crime. Yet the housing and neighborhood designs they want to substitute for the modern suburb almost invariably increase crime.

van den Eynde *et al* (2003) indicate that in recent years there has been an international trend for governments to instigate community-based crime prevention programs, specifically partnerships with the community and police to effect safety in neighborhoods. They argue that in the Western World, global performance indicators are widely used by governments, bureaucrats and the police for measuring and assessing the effectiveness of these partnerships. Their study illustrates that these global performance indictors failed to measure changes in the three key performance areas: reducing crime in and around licenced premises, reducing violence in families, and reducing violence by young people. Specifically, van den Eynde *et al* (2003) indicated that the global

indicators failed to detect long-term changes and displacement problems (shifting crime to a different region). They further stated that other key problems associated with the use of global performance indicators were that they were too global in nature to be useful at the local level. Many of the indicators suffered from raw data recording deficiencies and constant monitoring of the indicators were expensive and time consuming.

Crime Prevention Through Environment Design (CPTED) approaches to crime prevention, as indicated earlier in this chapter, focus on architectural planning and design to create safer neighborhoods, preventing/reducing opportunities for crime and implementing mechanisms to dissuade criminal elements. However, as Ekblom (1997) and Tabrizi and Madanipour (2006) assert, design approaches to crime prevention have been criticized for their narrowness and their uncertain empirical basis, demanding that considerations should take both the conditions of the offender and the condition of the environment into account. They further state that an additional concern with literally physically attempting to design out crime is that they can displace crime or lead to a fortress mentality. This can result in a situation where fear of crime, and social as well as spatial inequalities, are reinforced in society. This appears to certainly be the case in South Africa where the emergence of gated communities, for example, is an illustrative example of this.

2.11. CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed underscores the importance of focusing on the perceptions/fears of violence and crime in society, the primary focus of the study. Clearly, the fear of crime and violence exacts huge social and personal costs. Adams and Serpe (2000) and Moore and Shephard (2006) illustrate that addressing the fear of crime has become just as important as crime reduction itself. Thus, dealing with perceptions of crime and violence is emerging as an important priority area.

The main themes emerging from the body of research reviewed in this chapter are:

- The impact of a milieu of crime and violence on society at various levels: individual, community, regional and national scales.

- Various strategies used to deal with violence and crime in society.

- The gendered nature of violence and crime.

- The role of various stakeholders in addressing issues pertaining to violence and crime.

Clearly, the literature review demonstrates that violence and crime in society are a major developmental issue linked to a range of social, economic and political issues.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The literature review indicates that crime and violence in society are related to a range of social, political, economic and environmental issues. It is, therefore, necessary to identify and develop conceptual frameworks that reveal the multiplicity of the aspects revealed in the literature review. Of particular importance is to draw on theories and frameworks that explicate the different scales and contexts as well as permits an examination of differing perspectives and views. In terms of scales and contexts, it is necessary to understand that the crime and violence have global, regional and local dimensions. From a geographical perspective, this is critical. Three conceptual frameworks inform this study: psychological/ behavioral perspective, rational perspective on physical environments and crime, and the political economy approach. Each is examined in detail in the sections below. The conclusion of the chapter summarizes the key contributions of each of the frameworks to this study.

Eisenhart (1991: 210 cited in Lester, 2005: 460) describes a conceptual framework as "A skeletal structure of *justification*, rather than a skeletal structure of *explanation*." As Lester (2005: 460) further elaborates:

> Conceptual frameworks are not constructed of steel girders made of theoretical propositions of practical experiences; instead they are like scaffoldings of wooden planks that take the form of arguments about what is relevant to the study and why ... at a particular point in time.

Several geographers (Bob, 1999; Moodley, 2002; Moss, 1995; Nast, 1994) have argued for the adoption of multi-conceptual approaches. Additionally, Taylor and Harrell (1996) states that a more powerful understanding of the relationship between crime and the built environment may emerge from an integration of different theoretical perspectives. This

permits an examination of the complex nature of several phenomena in society. This is certainly appropriate when examining violence and crime, especially in relation to the focus on perceptions and attitudes that tend to be subjective.

Theories reflect different ideological and philosophical positions that are socially produced within a historical, political and socio-economic context that influence and direct policies and behavioral patterns. They provide plausible explanations for why things are the way they are and provide signposts for how they ought to be. Lester (2005) and Noguera (2001) assert that proper theoretical considerations encourage a dynamic relationship between the abstract and the concrete. Abstract research provides the underpinning for conducting relevant empirical and locality-based research. Concrete research informs the abstract arena by helping in the formulation of theories and conceptual frameworks, and also helps in the refinement/ refutation/ confirmation of existing explanations and theories. They also assist in the development of new concepts and ideas. It is imperative that conceptual frameworks integrate local people's perceptions and ideas. This is particularly important when attempting to understand the issues pertaining to crime and violence in society.

Lester (2005) states that several social science disciplines generally justify their research investigations on grounds of developing understanding by building or testing theories and model. He states that most research is designed around frameworks of some sort.

> A research framework is a basic structure of the ideas (that is, abstractions and relationships) that serve as a basis for a phenomenon that is to be investigated. These abstractions and the (assumed) interrelationships among them represent the relevant features of the phenomenon as determined by the research perspective that has been adopted.
>
> (Lester, 2005: 458)

Lester (2005: 458) indicates that a "perspective" is "the viewpoint the researcher chooses to use to conceptualize and conduct the research." Lester (2005: 458) also indicates that

using a framework to conceptualize and guide one's research has four important advantages:

- A framework provides a structure for conceptualizing and designing research studies. More specifically, a research framework guides the nature of the questions asked; the manner in which questions are formulated; the way the concepts, constructs, and processes of the research are defined; and the choice of acceptable research methods.

- There is no data without a framework to make sense of those data. This implies that adopting an appropriate conceptual framework makes it possible to make sense of a set of data.

- A good framework allows us to transcend common sense. A conceptual framework permits a deeper understanding of complex problems.

- Need for deep understanding, not just 'for this' understanding. A research framework assists in the development of deep understanding by providing a structure for designing research studies, interpreting data resulting from those studies, and drawing conclusions.

Theoretical perspectives on violence and crime should address the following questions:

- What are the critical factors that contribute to crime and violence in society?

- How do poverty, social inequalities and social exclusion impact on crime and violence? How do crime and violence link to poverty, social inequalities and social exclusion?

- What issues and concerns inform the development of crime prevention strategies, safety and security legislation and the criminal justice system?

3.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL/BEHAVIORAL PERSPECTIVE

Dishion and Patterson (1997) illustrate that human behavior is highly sensitive to social contexts. Huesmann (1998: 85) states that social cognition (which refers to an individual's knowledge and perception of the world) informs attitudes and behavior, specifically "an individual faced with a social event appraises and interprets situational

cues, searches memory for guides to behavior, assesses and decides on the optimal behavior, an then enacts that response." This, Bennett *et al* (2005) state, results in individuals using their social information processing capabilities to decide what behavior is suitable for a particular situation.

Gender is an important aspect in understanding behavioral/psychological approaches to understanding crime and violence (Perry, 2002). Additionally, as Bennett *et al* (2005) state, the gender gap in crime (especially higher rates of offending for males than females) has been so consistent over time and cultures that it is difficult to disregard that gender demands attention in the search for the origins of crime. It is for the above reasons that this section highlights gender issues in examining the behavioral/psychological approaches to understanding crime and violence.

Burns (2000) highlights the importance of the social learning theory. Miller (1993) indicates that social learning theory describes the process by which children learn the values and mores of a particular social or cultural group through social reproduction. This is primarily done by imitating and modeling behavior of people, often the adults, around them. Bennett *et al* (2005) state this implies that parents or early guardians are the first agents of socialization, followed in time by schools and peers. They further state, "Parents who do not provide consistent or positive feedback to prosocial behavior, or do not themselves act prosocially, are unlikely to transmit prosocial cognitions to their children" (Bennett *et al*, 2005: 266). The most significant family risk factors that predict delinquent and violent behavior, as identified by Farrington (1998), are:
- Poor parental supervision and neglect
- Harsh or erratic discipline
- Parental conflict
- Having a parent with a criminal record
- Long-term separation from a biological parent

Burns (2000) sees sex-role development specifically as rising from the behaviors that the society defines as appropriate to each sex, and rewards or punishes on that basis. Burns

(2000) further asserts that people will model the behaviors that they see defined as masculine or feminine in society. Furthermore, in this model, the person is a somewhat passive recipient of social stimuli, simply copying behaviors that are expected to lead to reward and avoiding those that might lead to punishment.

The cognitive developmental theory, Heidensohn (1989) indicates, holds that the learner is an active agent and strives to impose order on the constant flow of information from the outside world. This, Heidensohn (1989) states, is done when a person filters information from outside and assimilates it into cognitive structures or "schemas". As indicated in the previous chapter, masculinity and femininity are linked to learned behavior and gender itself is essentially socially constructed. Bennett *et al* (2005) argue that gender differences in the development of social cognition may help to explain gender differences in crime and violence.

Bennett *et al* (2005) are of the opinion that many individual and family risk factors predict criminal and violent behavior. They also underscore Farrington's (2000 cited in Bennett *et al*, 2005) assertion that while risk factors suggest a significantly increased propensity to crime, these same risk factors cannot necessarily be said to cause crime. This point has also been emphasized in the literature review chapter.

Bennett *et al* (2005) and Ross and Fabiano (1985) state that offenders generally:
- Fail to think before they act
- Have trouble with abstract reasoning
- Have deficits in interpersonal cognitive problem solving
- Are egocentric
- Lack empathy or sensitivity
- Fail to recognize that other people may think or perceive differently than they do

According to Schuller (1992), gender-based violence operates at three levels:
- The family is the site of domestic violence. The family socializes its members to accept hierarchical family relations and unequal access to resources.

- The community often reflects and reinforces hierarchical family relations.
- The state reflects patriarchal and unequal tendencies that exist in society.

Unequal power relations persist at all levels despite the fact that particular gender relations are place and time specific. Sandell (1994) argues that violence against females is an expression of patriarchy that is reinforced by economic, social, cultural and familial arrangements. Gordon and Crehan (2000) indicate that violence is highly gendered and its nature and its effect reflect and reinforce existing social, economic, political and cultural differences and power relations between men and women. Reed (1998) generalizes this tendency by stating that violence is most often associated with situations in which relations are hierarchically structured in terms of dominance and submission.

Bennett *et al* (2005) assert that how an individual ultimately responds to a stressful life event or risk factor depends on how that event is perceived, which, in turn, depends on an individual's cognitive processes.

> Social-information processing skills allow individuals to encode information, interpret and consider risks and benefits of a particular action, and determine an appropriate response based on their repertoire of behavioral scripts. It is not necessarily suggested that deficiencies in cognitive abilities causes crime, but rather that certain ways of processing social information and certain social cognitive memory structures help to protect the individual from personal, social, environmental, or situational pressures towards criminal behavior.

> (Bennett *et al*, 2005: 263)

Bennett *et al* (2005) state that the psychological approach often results in a fixation on "get tough" measures which are premised on the notion that violence and crime can be reduced and controlled by identifying, apprehending and excluding violent or potentially violent individuals. Such an approach generally treats violence as a form of individual deviance that can be rooted out through punitive and exclusionary measures. However, the social and environmental factors are neglected which a significant body of research on violence cites as being central to the underlying causes of violence (Noguera, 1999).

At the community level, researchers exploring the sociological and psychological roots of violence illustrate that theoretical and empirical explanations for different rates of crime and violence have emerged from different disciplines suggesting that multiple pathways lead to violence and crime (Galea *et al*, 2002). In particular, Galea *et al* (2002) indicate that theorists have applied the subculture of violence hypothesis to urban areas, particularly to explain the disproportionately high crime rates in large metropolitan areas.

> A competing theoretical framework, arising primarily out of studies of urbanization in Chicago, posited that large, dense, urban areas produce superficial human relations that in turn increase inter-individual conflict and necessitate increased formal regulation and control. This results in social disorganization, accompanied by poverty and selective population mobility away from the urban areas. These developments lead to a weakening of social control which permits the rise of criminal subcultures that increase rates of violence.
>
> (Galea *et al*, 2002: 1374)

Agnew (1999) argues that community level crime rates could best be understood as emanating from both differences in social control and motivation for crime rooted in strain. The likelihood of criminal outcomes resulting from strain is dependent on:

- The level of public knowledge of one's personal affairs
- The availability of alternate goals or identities
- The presence of subcultures encouraging external attribution of blame
- The number of options for effective coping available in the community
- The level of informal social control of behavior
- Opportunities for crime
- Values conducive to crime
- The presence of criminal groups

(Agnew, 1999)

Specifically, community characteristics are likely to affect levels of strain by affecting the likelihood of residents failing to achieve positively valued goals, losing positive

stimuli, and experiencing negative or aversive stimuli. Residents in all neighborhoods generally desire to achieve economic and social success as well as to be treated in a just or non-discriminatory manner. Agnew (1999) indicates that residents of certain types of neighborhoods had a more difficult time in achieving these goals by using legitimate means.

3.3. RATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND CRIME

Taylor and Harrell (1996) present a Rational Perspective of Physical Environment and Crime which examines how physical features might influence behavior. This perspective is useful in postulating how the physical environment affects both potential offenders and residents or users in a setting. Nelson *et al* (2001) state that the analysis of patterns of crime in space and time draws upon the concepts developed in the field of environmental criminology. The focus is on where and when incidents occur. This perspective has played a major role in informing CPTED discussed in chapter two.

The rational choice theory is based on the premise that offenders deliberately and systematically choose victims that pose the least risk and provide the opportunity for maximum gain. The environment (which presents signals about its spatial and physical characteristics), as Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) illustrate, assists the potential offender to select a suitable target for crime. As indicated in the psychological perspective and supported by Clarke and Cornish (1985) and Clarke (1992), offenders often operate in a rational fashion; they prefer to commit crimes that require the least effort, provide the highest benefits, and pose the lowest risks. Taylor and Harrell (1996) assert that this view suggests that crimes are most likely to occur when potential offenders come into contact with a suitable crime target where the chances of detection by others are thought to be low or the criminal, if detected, will be able to exit without being identified or apprehended.

Several studies indicate that physical environment features can influence the chances of a crime occurring (Clarke, 1992; Taylor and Harrell, 1996). Offenders may decide whether

or not to commit a crime in a location after they determine the following (Taylor and Harrell, 1996):

- How easy will it be to enter the area?

- How visible, attractive, or vulnerable do targets appear?

- What are the chances of being seen?

- If seen, will the people in the area do something about it?

- Is there a quick, direct route for leaving the location after the crime is committed?

These questions indicate that potential offenders critically assess the environment as a potential crime site. Even opportunity crimes entail a rapid assessment of the environment. However, the link between the physical environment and crime is the type of crime as well as the relationship/s between the potential offenders and victims.

Much of crime prevention strategies at various scales (local municipalities, communities/ neighborhoods and household) assume the underpinnings of a rational perspective, that is, one's ability to predict the behavior of offenders. Taylor *et al* (1985) purports that this perspective relies on empirically grounded models of human territorial functioning which assumes that residents or users may respond to potential offenders. The nature and extent of the response are context specific and relate to economic, social, cultural and physical factors including belief systems, affordability, location and access to information. Physical features in particular play a role in creating public and private spaces as well as attempting to control access and detection/surveillance. The attempt to control space (in terms of zoning, fencing, monitoring, etc. is an attempt to manage the spatial aspects of threats of violence and crime (Taylor *et al*, 1994; Taylor *et al*, 1998).

Taylor and Harrell (1996) indicate that the rational perspective is embedded in four approaches to making a location more resistant to crime or crime-related problems:

- Housing design or block layout: this entails making it more difficult to commit crimes by reducing the availability of crime targets; removing barriers that prevent easy detection of potential offenders or of an offense in progress; and increasing physical obstacles to committing a crime.

- Land use and circulation patterns: this includes creating safer use of neighborhood space by reducing routine exposure of potential offenders to crime targets. This is accomplished largely by environmental design through careful attention to walkways, paths, streets, traffic patterns, and location and hours of operation of public spaces and facilities. These strategies may produce broader changes that increase the viability of more micro-level territorial behaviors and signage. For example, street closings or revised traffic patterns that decrease vehicular volume may, under some conditions, encourage residents to better maintain the sidewalk and street in front of their houses.

- Territorial features: encouraging the use of territorial markers or fostering conditions that will lead to more extensive marking to indicate the block or site is occupied by vigilant residents. This includes community watch/policing programs; cleanup and beautification campaigns; and creating controllable, semi-private outdoor locations. The main focus is at the street and house levels. It encourages residents themselves to install security features that demonstrate their involvement in and watchfulness over a particular delimited location. It is also a good indicator of residents' fear of crime.

- Physical deterioration: controlling physical deterioration to reduce offenders' perceptions that areas and their inhabitants are potential target locations. Physical improvements may reduce the signals of vulnerability and increase commitment to joint protective activities. Physical deterioration influences the perceptions and behavior of potential offenders and residents. Skogan (1990) argues that this results on a focus on physical incivilities or signs of disorder rather than territorial features. This type of approach focuses on the following:
    - Securely closing or "capping" private vacant dwellings to prevent further deterioration and to preserve house values and a neat appearance.
    - Removing trash and abandoned cars.
    - Razing deteriorated vacant houses.
    - Repaving worn sidewalks.

The above efforts often require significant involvement from various stakeholders including residents, city officials, community-based organizations and the private sector. An important aspect of the rational perspective is conducting a stakeholder analysis. This is also important within the political economy approach discussed next. Stakeholder analysis is the identification of key stakeholders, an assessment of their interests, and the ways in which these interests differ and impact on various aspects such as project viability (Allen and Kilvington, 2001). The analysis entails both an institutional and social appraisal. It also helps to identify appropriate forms of stakeholder participation. Stakeholders are persons, groups or institutions with specific interests and concerns. Primary stakeholders are those ultimately affected, either positively or negatively. Secondary stakeholders are those that are not directly affected but have a stake or interest such as NGOs, government departments and civic associations. A stakeholder analysis contributes to (Allen and Kilvington, 2001; Carmen, 1996; United Nations Habitat, 2003):

- Examining specific interests, perceptions, experiences and concerns of stakeholders in relation to violence and crime in society.
- Identifying points of synergy and conflicts between stakeholders.
- Assisting in identifying existing and potential relations between stakeholders which can be built upon to address violence and crime in society in a systematic and integrated manner.
- Helping to assess the appropriate type of participation by different stakeholders in programs and processes.

Allen and Kilvington (2001), Carmen (1996) and United Nations Habitat (2003) also identify the following variables affecting stakeholders' relative power and influence:

- Social, economic and political status
- Cultural attitudes and practices
- Legal and political hierarchy (command and control in decision-making as well as resources)
- Authority of leadership
- Degree of organization, consensus and leadership in the group

- Possession of specialist knowledge
- Economic power
- Informal and formal influence through links with other stakeholders

Focus on stakeholders is based on the premise that when the interests and concerns of a range of groups are considered, projects and intervention mechanisms are most likely to succeed. In the context of crime and violence, an integrated approach is needed that is inclusive. This will ensure buy-in from stakeholders.

In terms of physical deterioration, specifically, given its magnitude and nature (run-down buildings, vacant properties, etc), it has to be managed by the city. In fact, the DMC (2000) and Taylor and Harrell (1996) state that residents presume that deterioration emerges as a failure, in part, by public agencies (especially local government). Taylor and Harrell (1996) indicate that incivilities reduction may complement improvement strategies based on resident-generated territorial marking and signage while reductions in larger physical problems may encourage such markers and signage. Thus, the various components tend to complement each other. In fact,

> The interlocking aspect of the four approaches suggests that where possible, practitioners consider how each may be of help when they look at a particular setting. Stated differently, varying intervention points and levels of intervention may make or encourage physical improvements that may enhance safety and feelings of safety.
>
> (Taylor and Harrell, 1996: 5)

Several studies in The United States of America, summarized here, indicate examples of situations where physical design or redesign appears to have contributed substantially to lowering crime or to crime-related public order problems. Newman and Franck (1980; 1982) show that designing safer public housing in relation to fewer apartments per entryway, fewer stories, and better views of the outside have residents with lower levels of fear and rates of victimization. Atlas (1991) states that erecting barriers and changing

street patterns seem to have helped residents reduce the volume of drug dealers and buyers driving through the area in a North Miami neighborhood. Weisel *et al* (1994) indicate the control of access to buildings, schools, parks, public housing, or other trouble spots through the use of regulated entry. They also illustrate that creating safer public places deters drug dealing, vandalism, and the presence of homeless persons.

Knutsson's (1994) study in Stockholm also reveals that physical features that offer better surveillance, delineation between public and private space, segmentation of outdoor space into locations controlled by smaller groups, and proximity of sites to well-used locations enable stronger resident-based informal control of outdoor and near-home spaces. Such control often leads to less delinquency, less fear, and less victimization as indicated by Jacobs (1961) decades ago.

Taylor and Harrell (1996) argue that defensible space theory has received strong supporting evidence from studies of public housing in Britain and the United States and from studies of residential street blocks in the United States. For example, Newman and Franck's (1982) study focused on 63 public housing sites around the United States. The study found that sites with more defensible space features had residents who better controlled outdoor spaces and were less fearful and less victimized. The research on defensible space specifically and the link between the environment and crime more generally led to implementation of specific design elements in numerous locations.

Taylor and Harrell (1996) state that one of the major limitations to expanding the number of defensible space designs has been the lack of research about how potential offenders view or use the physical features in question. It is indeed possible that the creation of defensible space can create new opportunities for offenders and make residents feel trapped and restricted. Fisher and Nasar (1992) indicate that it is imperative that discussions of defensible space include physical features linked to prospect, refuge, and escape:
- Settings with high refuge offer concealment for the potential offender
- Settings with high prospect allow the legitimate user to survey a wide area

- Settings with high escape potential offer easy escape for the legitimate user

This view, according to Taylor and Harrell (1996), of defensible space focuses explicitly on potential victim-potential offender dynamics in specific locations and confirms that fear is higher in locations that offer good refuge for the potential offender but low prospect and escape for the user.

The internal layouts, boundary characteristics, and traffic patterns of neighborhoods may encourage or discourage different types of crime (Taylor and Harrell, 1996). Furthermore, they assert that at the neighborhood level, planners classify the relevant features into movement generators, such as high-volume streets, and attractors and non-residential land uses (such as shopping) that will draw outsiders. This implies that changes in land use, boundaries, and traffic patterns may result in higher or lower crime rates since they affect both potential offenders and users.

Redesign of the environment, especially residential space, is also often associated with changes in local social or organizational dynamics. Taylor and Harrell (1996) state that community mobilization is often at the forefront of physical changes in the environment. Taylor and Harrell (1996) further argue that although it seems likely that design changes themselves have been partially responsible for the impact observed, researchers have not yet precisely estimated their independent contribution to lowering crime, fear, or perceived risk: how much of the benefit has been due to the redesign, and how much has been due to the social and organizational changes surrounding the planned change?

There are several practical implications of this research at the neighborhood level (Taylor and Harrell, 1996):
- Social and organizational conditions are important when changes in layout, traffic, or land use are being considered. Community involvement of residents, neighborhood organizations, and local businesspersons is essential for developing a plan free of adverse effects on major interest groups.

- Local involvement may be an important precondition not only for rational, maximally beneficial change but also for achieving a redesign that will actually reduce crime. It is important to consider that the crime-preventive benefits of changes in layout appear to weaken as community mobilization wanes.

- An early step in planning redesign to prevent crime is understanding offender location. For some offenses, such as auto theft, offenders may come from other neighborhoods. For other offences, such as drug dealing, offenders may live in the area. If they come primarily from outside the neighborhood, can residents readily distinguish between these potential predators and individuals who are in the neighborhood for legitimate purposes? If they can make the distinction, physical impediments to entry and circulation may result in less crimes being committed by certain types of offenders.

Neighborhood layout and boundaries, especially ease of circulation and a higher proportion of non-residential land use, appear linked to higher street crimes and more burglary. In the context of development imperatives which are important to consider in South Africa, it is important to note that crime prevention cannot be the only objective of land use planning. It is important that economic, infrastructure development and the provision of basis services (such as housing and health care) be carefully balanced with the need to prevent crime. The creation of defensible spaces, such as gated communities in South Africa, often not only prevents potential offenders from entering an area but the wider public as well. This can also cause social isolation.

Young (2006: 353) asserts that social problems are inextricably linked to the social structure and physical environment of communities:

> If structure is weak, events like the decline of the industrial base, an influx of poor people or the spread of criminal organization are more likely to disrupt communities.

He also indicates that communities are as small as the household and as large as the nation-state. Communities (at all levels) are deemed to be constantly adapting to environmental problems or threats. Young (2006: 353) highlights the importance of the physical environment:

> This emphasis on the physical, social and biological environment as a source of threats for the community diverges from the current view among environmentalists that communities are threats to nature. Actually, both interpretations are valid: an unmanaged (environmentalism) problem often returns as a threat to the community.

Kurtz *et al* (1995) and Taylor *et al* (1994) show that residents living in close proximity to non-residential land use are more concerned for their personal safety and less likely to intervene if they see something suspicious; they experience higher victimization rates and call the police more often. Non-residential land uses, such as bars/shebeens, are particularly troublesome in residential areas. On the other hand, Taylor and Harrell (1996) state that it is possible that increasing the number of people in a particular area in some settings may enhance informal surveillance and reduce some types of offences. It also may contribute to other neighborhood goals, such as economic development. Good design and management may, to some extent, reduce some crime risks around facilities and public attractions.

The territorial approach is limited in three ways relevant to crime-related problems (Taylor and Harrell, 1996):

- It is not yet understood what happens over time. For example, it is not known how fear of crime can hamper territorial functioning or frustrate intervention in a cycle of increasing concern and weakening jurisdiction.
- It is difficult to separate the relative contributions to fear reduction of the social and cognitive components of territorial functioning from the physical components emerging from territorial marking. In part, this difficulty emerges from the close, system-like connections between social, cognitive, and behavioral components.
- It is not clear how potential offenders respond to territorial signage.

Miethe (1995) states that cross-sectional studies on signs of disorder, crime, and fear have generated different results, depending upon the unit of analysis and the type of measures used. Studies using residents' perceptions of incivilities have found more consistent effects than studies based on onsite ratings of physical features, and studies using street blocks generally have provided more consistent results than studies using neighborhoods. In neighborhoods where physical deterioration is more widespread, residents have been more fearful when the future of that neighborhood has appeared uncertain (Taylor *et al*, 1985). The effects of neighborhood deterioration on residents' fear levels has been well established in the South African context where studies have indicated that informal settlements (characterized by high levels of deterioration in relation to services, litter, social behavior, etc.) are perceived as unsafe places (Camerer *et al*, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998). Extensive research has linked perceptions of physical deterioration and social incivilities with fear of crime (Skogan, 1990).

Taylor and Harrell (1996) indicate that there are several practical and theoretical questions that remain about what works in specific situations and why:

- The sequence of relationships between physical change, crime events, fear of crime, and perceptions of place vulnerability is not well understood. Does physical decay precede and predict worsening crime rates or is the reverse more generally true? If one factor depends on the others, on what other characteristics of the setting do these processes rely? Where in these processes do residents' feelings of vulnerability and behavioral withdrawal from street life come into play?

- How do social, cultural, and organizational features contribute to the success of crime reduction through physical environment modifications? Research to date clearly counters the notion that physical environment features have stand-alone effects on crime and related problems. Their effectiveness depends on other features of the setting in question, especially local social, cultural, and organizational dynamics. Relations between neighbors, ethnic composition, and

initiatives emerging from local organizations determine whether physical design or redesign helps reduce crime or related problems, such as fear of crime.

- What is the effect of the larger social, political, and economic environment on the risk of crime, and how do these broader issues relate to the physical environment features discussed here? Do physical features have less crime-preventive benefits in areas with high-locational crime risk due to their position in the broader urban ecology? Understanding connections between urban location and crime-prevention benefits of physical design or redesign have important practical implications. Such an understanding can help agencies focus scarce resources on sites likely to produce maximum crime-preventive benefits. If planners have a choice between two equally needy and qualified locales, they would probably want to assist efforts at the site where success is more likely.

- Housing disrepair and vacancy, certain land use patterns, vandalism, physical layout, and patterns of traffic and pedestrian circulation may increase the risk of crime. What is the relative importance of these factors? Do their relative importance for crime-prevention purposes depend on the type of crime in question? Does it depend on other features of the context? What is their relative impact on residents' perceptions of safety in the area? How important are the different features, relative to one another, in making the area appealing to potential offenders?

Furthermore, the CPTED approach rooted in rational choice theory, although popular, has been criticized for several reasons (Giddens; 1984; Hearnden and Magill, 2004; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006):
- Not all criminal activities are motivated by rational thought, for example, some criminal activities can be mainly due to the influence of friends, boredom or the need to fund drugs.

- The limitation of the definition of rationality (which views it as a pure calculation) tends to focus on the individual level and excludes wider social and cultural considerations that influence decisions and actions.

- The relationship between deterrence and the calculated risk of criminal activities is not always direct and obvious.

- The cumulative effects of deterrence measures can lead to ethical and institutional as well as aesthetic and environmental problematic consequences.

Despite the concerns raised above, a focus on the physical environment permits the identification of spatial crime and violence 'hotspots'. As Nelson *et al* (2001) state, the identification of spatial 'hotspots' and temporal concentrations enables the targeted deployment of police resources to prevent the generation of crime and disorder, by policing the 'hotspots' more effectively. Furthermore, they assert that the identification and explanation of emerging patterns of crime enables more effective planning of the built and functional environment in order to reduce the susceptibility of certain locations to crime. This perspective that focuses on the physical environment also illustrates that a wide range of features of the physical environment at different scales are relevant to understanding crime patterns, perceptions and attitudes in society, especially at the local level. Certainly in South Africa, a central component of apartheid planning and structuring was the creation of defensible space, especially for the privileged Whites and to a lesser extent Indians and Coloreds. The spatial planning of apartheid entailed racial segregation.

3.4. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

The relevance of the political economy approach as articulated by Peet and Thrift (1989) remains relevant today, and particularly in the context of this study. They assert that the political economy approach includes a variety of perspectives that view the economy (including the broader social economy or way of life) as part of the process of social production. Social production is conducted by members of society that have significant class differences. Political economy has included other aspects of social contestation and

conflict including race and gender. The incorporation of gender has particularly been influenced by the feminist political economy approach (Bob, 1999).

Bernstein (1988 cited in Perry, 2002) and Turshen (2000) state that the political economy framework allows for the integration of places as objects of study. It, therefore, permits an understanding of general processes with the recognition of the importance of specific contexts. This requires an understanding of nature and society at different scales and spaces. The meso-scale (the "region") is viewed as an appropriate scale to integrate the global and the local, and external and internal dynamics. However, it is important to note that processes differ at different scales, and places/spaces are products that are historically and socially constructed. Political economy also raises questions pertaining to power relations, access to resources and who controls decision-making processes. Political economy further emphasizes that possible solutions/options (like the causes) to address violence and crime in society are linked to political, social, economic, historical, spatial and environmental aspects.

Chalker (1994) indicates that the political economy approach investigates phenomena by putting forward the following questions: What is happening? Why is it happening? Who gains? Who loses? Does it matter? If so, what can be done about it and by whom? These questions are central to an examination of crime and violence in society. Chalker (1994) also states that the strength of the political economy approach is its interdisciplinary nature. Jafari (2000) and Turshen (2000) argue that political economy describes the investigation of the relationship among political and economic policies, institutions and structures and the impacts that these policies impose on development, societies and individuals. This implies that the departure point of political economy from the discipline of economics is the recognition of both the political as well as the ideological dimensions of analysis, policy and theory. The literature review clearly illustrates that there are political, economic and social dimensions of crime and violence operating at different scales. The political economy framework enables an analysis of the formal relations within the capitalist state of development and the expression of real power relations among individuals, groups, institutions and culture.

The community or neighborhood as a geographic and social entity is important in studies of crime and violence since they provide detailed information about the nature and extent of violent crime within a particular area. It is also important to acknowledge that the wider origins of violence and the perception of violence (socially and/ or politically acceptable or unacceptable) are influenced by a range of institutions and structure as well as power relationships in society. While a violent or criminal act takes place in a specific geographical/ spatial setting, it is embedded in social, political and economic environments. Stavrou (1993) states that the advantage of a local, community-based crime survey is that it has the potential of providing the nuanced detail required to inform the development of humane policies which reflect people's needs and which can be monitored effectively. Furthermore, Stavrou (1998) asserts that the very different home and community lives experienced by different sections of the South African population makes it all the more important for anti-crime policies and strategies to be locally accountable whilst guided by a coordinated and legitimate national policy.

The political economy approach also integrates structural violence which, as Moser (2004) indicates, draws attention to the fact that violence may not always be just a physical act, but also a process that can be embedded into wider social structures. Violence is thus linked to inequities in society. This is also a result of the inadequacies in social, economic and political institutions. For example, Shaw (nd) illustrates that there is a direct link between ongoing conflicts in Africa and a growth in criminality on the continent. Furthermore, Shaw (nd: 2) states that in Africa, in several instances (and this was certainly the case in apartheid South Africa) the state has become an active participant in lawlessness.

> A propensity for the state to engage in criminal activities is the result of institutions being the primary focus of those in search of wealth and power. The Africa state, long before the current wars raging on the continent, became a tool for the accumulation of personal wealth.

Although in countries such as South Africa significant political and institutional changes have been implemented, the legacies of the past remain and often fuel crime and violence in society. Shaw (nd) specifically states that post-conflict societies are likely to be vulnerable to higher levels of crime, particularly violent crime. Conflict-ridden societies, Shaw (nd) asserts, result in reduced economic opportunities (except for an elite few), the undermining of the rule of law which creates weak states with little enforcement capacity, and accessibility to cheap firearms. The next chapter clearly demonstrates that South Africa faces several transformation and restructuring challenges in the period of post-apartheid transition. This has clearly influence crime and violence in South African society, although the nature and extent is being, often hotly, debated. Lovering (1989) indicates that restructuring has several complex political and economic implications that need to be considered when examining issues. Lovering (1989) particularly emphasized changes in labor processes or the division of labor.

The political economy approach advances that attempts to reduce crime and violence in society needs to include social, economic and political restructuring to address inherent inequalities and deficiencies in society, especially at the institutional level. This includes, for example, a transformation of educational systems and the criminal justice system, including aspects of policing and security provision. Specifically, Alexander (2006) illustrates the need to rethink justice and altruism from a behavioral political economy perspective. Within the political economy approach, the relationships between the state, citizens, the private sector, civil society and non-governmental organizations, such as neighbourhood watches and community-based policing forums, are analysed. The need for political intervention in particular is highlighted.

Winslow (2000) illustrates the importance of adopting a political economy approach in terms of critically examining crime statistics, trends and policies in the U.S.A. context. He states:

American politicians have been declaring victory in the war against crime at least since Richard Nixon said in 1972 that '[c]rime . . . [is] finally beginning to go back down . . . [because] we have a remarkable record on the law-and-order issues, with crime legislation . . . and narcotics bills.' In other words, crime declines because the government passes laws and spends money; larger prisons, more police, fewer civil liberties, and tougher punishments are winning the war on crime.

(Winslow, 2000: 1)

Winslow (2000) illustrates that the above approach (as adopted by Richard Nixon) does not work and adopting a political economy approach means asking fundamental questions about the causes of crime. This is particularly important in the South African context, especially since resources are limited and several law and order strategies such as increasing policing and prisons and well as imposing tougher sentences can be immensely expensive. Winslow (2000) also asserts the importance of examining corporate and state power.

Jafari (2000) argues that inextricably linked to the capitalist system is the process of the persistent commoditization of all aspects of life that is fast-tracking the process of globalization. The accumulation of wealth is a persistent feature of modern society. Stilwell (2002) asserts that Marxist economics, which is rooted in classical political economy, emphasises the ruthless and persistent drive for capital accumulation. Thus, although it is important to examine the links between poverty and crime, it is also important to assess how the desire for material wealth may underpin criminal activities. The latter is certainly a strong component of organized crime. Marxism which underpins the political economy approach centralizes the importance of class issues, an important component of understanding crime and violence in society. Stilwell (2002) states further that Keynesian economics highlights that a capitalist economy would not lead to full employment. Unemployment is a critical aspect that emerged repeatedly in the literature review.

Goddard and Hauck (2006: 81) assert:

> Models of political economy examine the broader political, institutional, and environmental constraints under which decisions are made. They help us move from the normative approach to priority setting, based on what should be done, into the realm of positive approaches that attempts to understand what happens in practice.

This approach integrates what Mueller (2003) refers to as public choice economics in the context of priority setting which is important in relation to dealing with crime and violence in different contexts.

Perry (2002) indicates that the political economy approach is extremely useful in highlighting the historical, international, national, regional and local dimensions of gendered power relations linked to gender-based violence. Braam and Webster (2000 cited in Perry, 2002) state that the political economy perspective argues for a redefinition of the lens through which we understand violence against females to broaden it to be seen as a structural part of the South African social formation, which is inter-linked to other forms of structural violence such as racism and poverty, in order to argue for an integrated approach to working towards eradicating violence against women.

An important concern in this study is the focus on environmental perceptions and impacts. Castree (2002) asserts that political economists have been concerned with the broad logic of production, including the consequences and ethics surrounding current local and global human-environmental relationships. The rational perspective of physical environment and crime discussed above clearly indicates the importance of considering the built and the natural physical environment when examining crime and violence in society as well as when developing prevention strategies. Political economy calls for an examination of power dimensions and contestations. Castree (2002) indicates specifically that the political economy approach raises questions relating to social (and economic) power and inequality, particularly with respect to class, race, gender and ethnicity. The

rise in social inequalities in modern society has been accompanied by a rise in crime and violence.

Dobash and Dobash (1992) argue that the geographical perspective (embedded in political economy) also reveals that fear closely follows lines of disadvantage in society. Perry (2002) shows that that those who are more marginalized and vulnerable in society, and are less likely to participate in decision-making processes are most likely to fear crime. Smith (1987: 177) states:

> The unintended consequences of informal reactions to crime include the reproduction of patterns of dominance, subordination and resistance that are expressed in the national political economy.

3.5. CONCLUSION

There is a need to develop conceptual frameworks and methodologies that examine crime and violence from multiple perspectives, thus exposing the multitude of dynamics and concerns. As Tabrizi and Madanipour (2006) state, identifying the most important measures for crime prevention depend on the perspectives that are used to explain crime and violence in society. The approaches presented above underscore the issues raised in the literature review chapter that crime and violence in society are related to a range of complex psychological, social, economic, political and environmental factors. Thus, there are several (often interrelated) dynamics at play in different contexts and scales. By adopting a multi-conceptual framework, an examination of a range of the issues identified above can be undertaken.

Specifically, the behavioral/psychological approach focuses on the individual level. This is particularly important to understand why people commit violence and crime as well as why and how people react to the fear of crime and violence in society. The rational perspective of physical environment and crime focuses on how physical and environmental features might influence behavior. This entails an examination of where crime takes place, why and when (the patterns of crime). Additionally, it assesses how

the built environment can either contribute to or limit criminal activities. Thus, space and place are centralized. Furthermore, design and planning are deemed to be critical aspects in crime prevention. The political economy conceptual framework locates crime and violence in society within the global and local political as well as economic context. Such a conceptual framework recognises the many stakeholders that influence and are influenced by crime and violence in society. Within the broad framework articulated in this chapter, drawing from the different perspectives discussed, it is clear that a range of factors including positions related to gender, class, age, ethnicity, race and location, significantly influence experiences of and reaction to violence and crime as well as the perceived threat of violence and crime. Additionally, it is important to note that both qualitative and quantitative methods are used in this study. As Lester (2005) indicates, embedding research in a single theory or conceptual framework does not encourage triangulation, the use of multiple methods.

Embedded in both the political economy and rational perspective of physical environment and crime approaches is the need to examine differing (often competing and conflicting) interests and perceptions of various stakeholders. It is for this reason that data were collected from a range of stakeholders including residents, local businesses, police, private security and community-based organizations/ forums. The multi-conceptual framework presented in this chapter implicitly acknowledges the responsibility of various stakeholders towards addressing crime and violence in society. This is especially important in the context of South Africa where disparities and inequalities in relation to class, gender and race persist. It also highlights the importance of examining spatial, economic, social and political dimensions of crime and violence.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Societies in transition, especially those distinguished by high levels of inequality and discrepancy between the rich and the poor (as is the case in South Africa), are often characterized by high crime levels (Department of Safety and Security, 1998; Olsen and Pizam, 1998). The White Paper on Safety and Security (Department of Safety and Security [DSS], 1998: 13) states:

> South African Police Services statistics suggest that crime in the country increased from 1985. This began to change in 1996 when most categories of crime showed a stabilization. Despite this trend, current levels of crime remain high and continue to breed insecurity in the country. Crime has severe implications through the costs of victimization which undermine economic and social development. Also, fear of crime often changes lifestyles, negatively affecting the quality of living.

The objectives of the White Paper (DSS, 1998: 10) are to outline:

- Strategic priorities to deal with crime.
- Roles and responsibilities of various role-players in the safety and security sphere.
- The role of the Department of Safety and Security within the constitutional framework.

The DSS (1998) indicates that the White Paper on Safety and Security is in line with the National Crime Prevention Strategy (a critical component of ensuring safety and security in South Africa) that was launched in May 1996.

4.2. CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many communities in South Africa, especially those in previously disadvantaged areas, are crippled by poverty; unemployment; lack of access to education, health and welfare services as well as inadequate access to resources to improve their conditions. Many studies reveal that women and children are disproportionately impacted by poverty and marginalization and tend to be among the poorest and most disadvantaged in South Africa. South African cities reflect Olanrewaju's (2001) findings that indicate that infrastructure deficiencies and crises in cities in developing countries are mostly a result of rapid urbanization as well as past imbalances related to colonial practices. The problems are particularly acute in core areas of the city (inner city locations) as well as the outer settlements (townships and informal settlements in South Africa) that accommodate the low-income population. Olanrewaju (2001: 373) states: "In addition to its health implications, a spatial concentration of low-income population in poor areas of the cities is a possible source of urban crime and urban violence."

4.2.1. Apartheid era

During apartheid, as a result of racist policies, widespread rural poverty and the concentration of employment in urban areas, massive migration to urban centers was characteristic in South Africa. This, remains the trend today as well. During the apartheid era, Simpson (1998) states that since uncontrolled migration was contrary to official policy, housing, infrastructure and services were not provided to Black South Africans living in urban townships. This resulted in massive Black poverty, in both rural areas and urban townships, which was characterized by high levels of unemployment, scarcity of basic services and infrastructure, and a range of social problems and anomalies. In these areas criminal activity was widespread and consistent. The White areas, on the other hand, were characterized by wealth and prosperity, including high levels of safety and security which were ensured by the apartheid State apparatus, especially the police and defense force. Simpson (1998: 2) states:

Urbanization under apartheid placed enormous pressure on family structures and destroyed the support structures of the extended family. Traditional and customary legal structures were manipulated for the purpose of social control. Schools, which also operated as mechanisms of control, lost their potential as places of social cohesion and identity for young people, and became sites of political struggle. Young Black people were educationally, economically, politically and emotionally disempowered.

Louw and Shaw (1997), Naylor (2002) and Shaw (2002) indicate that extreme levels of inequality and decades of political conflict in South Africa have produced a society prone to crime and violence. They assert that during the era of race domination, apartheid offences were classified as crimes, while those engaged in 'the struggle' - particularly from the mid-1980s onwards - justified using violence against the state. For example, perpetrators of violence in KwaZulu-Natal in the mid-1980s and in Gauteng from 1990 onwards regarded violent crimes as legitimate forms of defence against political opponents.

In South Africa, crime and politics have thus been closely linked. But the impact of the widespread use of violence extended beyond state agencies and political groupings: the disempowering effects of apartheid and the legacy of political violence have been associated with high levels of domestic violence and violence against women and children (Louw and Shaw, 1997). As a result, the use of violence for political and personal aims has become endemic. Louw and Shaw (1997) further state that the decade from 1980 to 1990, when the apartheid State was most strongly challenged, showed significant increases in all forms of crime despite the common perception that crime only began to (slowly) increase from 1990 with the political transformation. In fact, Louw and Shaw (1997) assert that the most serious crimes, notably murder, rape, robbery and housebreaking, began to increase from mid-1980 onwards. Shaw (2002) also highlights the rise of organized crime in South Africa and the fact that some of the organized crime in South Africa has foreign origins and elements.

A component of this situation relevant to our understanding of violence in South Africa is that many individuals joined the anti-apartheid movement. A range of organizations was active that reflected an organized and dynamic civil society. However, Simpson (1998) states that several anti-apartheid activities were characterized by civil disobedience and violence which became understandably acceptable forms of behavior. Simpson (1998) further asserts that during this period the township-based youth were at the centre-stage rather than on the margins of society. However, in the process of transition young people were again marginalized since "the struggle moved from the streets to the negotiating table, and from the hands of youth to an older generation" (Simpson, 1998: 3).

Violence in South Africa is to a large extent embedded in its colonial and apartheid history. Hansson (1991) and Pelser *et al* (2000) assert that violence committed in the past has direct and indirect links to current levels of violence in South African society. Wardrop (1996) states that large numbers of youth have grown up within a violent context where police brutality and abuse of women seem to merge into one. As stated earlier, political violence in South Africa during the apartheid period has laid the foundation for the prevailing culture of violence that impacts on all aspects of South African society. Furthermore, Simpson (1993) asserts that the process of transition in South Africa has generated deep-rooted insecurity embedded in social fear and a sense of loss of control.

> The social-psychological trauma which accompanies the uncertainty of transition is often most dramatically experienced by those confronted with a loss of control in society. The frequent consequence is displaced aggression – expressed outside of the formal political or economic realm. The victims of this displaced aggression are often those who are most vulnerable in society and over whom control is most easily, symbolically reasserted. They are often women, children or elderly people who are subject to violent abuse, both within and outside of the private domain or the domestic arena.
>
> (Simpson, 1993: 3)

International research commonly suggests that the post-apartheid crime levels in South African cities can be partly attributed to a long history of social inequality and exclusion and a lack of institutional and social control (DMC, 2000). Any attempt to address crime and violence in South Africa must address past economic and social injustices. In particular, access to infrastructure and services are critically important. The White Paper on Local Government (March 1998 cited in DMC, 2000: 29) clearly articulates the importance of a strategic response that addresses social and economic justice:

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

The DSS (1998) states that policing in South Africa was traditionally highly centralized, para-military and authoritarian. A primary role of policing was to ensure that the police were effective under apartheid in controlling the political opponents of the government. However, in the democratic dispensation the South African police force was poorly equipped for crime control and prevention. The DSS (1998) also highlights that under apartheid rule the police force lacked legitimacy and functioned as an instrument of control rather than as a police service dedicated to ensuring the safety of all citizens. Specifically, the police have had little interest in responding to crimes within "Black" areas. The DSS (1998) states that in 1994, 74% of the country's police stations were situated in White suburbs or business districts. Police based in Black neighborhoods were used to respond to threats to the state rather than to ensure the safety and security of the Black communities. The historical legacy of apartheid has several consequences which have weakened the ability of the Police Department to combat crime (DSS, 1998) and these are:

- Authoritarian policing has few (if any) systems of accountability and oversight and does not require public legitimacy in order to be effective. Thus, with the advent of democracy in South Africa, systems of police accountability and oversight were not present.

- The South African Police Service has not had a history of criminal detection characteristic of the police in other democratic societies. The collection, collation and presentation of evidence to secure the prosecution of criminals is weakly developed in many areas. This is reflected by, among other indicators, the training levels and experience of the detective component of the SAPS.

- A concentration on policing for purposes of political control has meant that prior to 1994 – and in contrast with developments in other societies – the understanding and practice of crime prevention is poorly developed in South Africa. In relation to the police this means, in particular, that there has been little tradition of visible and community orientated policing on which to build.

The DSS (1998) asserts that these areas require serious attention.

4.2.2. Post-apartheid era

Simpson (1998) states that the apartheid era was characterized by high levels of mistrust and social anomalies that the democratic government inherited. Although a decade has passed from the first democratic elections in 1994, transformation is still underway to dismantle apartheid structures. Simpson (1998) asserts that the most widely distrusted institutions during apartheid were the police, the justice system and correctional services. Furthermore, Simpson (1998) further concludes that the criminal justice system has not yet produced new, legitimate and respected sources of social authority, with the result that there is a culture of impunity. Furthermore, Mashaba (2005) reveals that corruption and inefficiencies, including lack of appropriate skills, are discernible in state departments responsible for dealing with violence and crime.

It is also important to note that for many the pace of development change in South Africa, especially in relation to the creation of jobs and improvement in the quality of life has been non-existent or slow. This has, and is, developing high levels of frustration in the poorer segments of society, especially among the youth (Bruce, 2006). Simpson (1998) argues that to some extent the rising crime rates indicate growing disaffection, especially among the young. Furthermore, Bruce (2006) indicates that the process of transition in

South Africa is characterized by a culture of violence and also legitimation of criminality which is reinforced by a culture of entitlement.

Demombynes and Özler (2005) argue that crime and violence in South African society is identified as one of the main reasons for the widespread emigration of South African professionals. Zondi (2000) asserts that South Africa has the unenviable reputation of being amongst the countries where crime statistics are soaring, this is without taking into consideration the crimes that go unreported on a daily basis. Zondi (2000) further states that many people that are emigrating from South Africa cite crime as the main reason for doing so. Dodson's (2002) study, as part of the South African Migration Project, revealed that both Whites and Blacks rated security and safety as the most important push factor. The study argued that addressing the crime problem in South Africa was crucial to curb the brain drain currently taking place.

Few places in the world, especially urban areas, however, are without crime, and the risk of becoming a victim is high for the residents of most large cities. However, Hübschle (2005) underscores that risks are higher in poorer parts of the world. This is particularly the case in countries in transition from authoritarian rule to democracy which are characterized by pronounced economic inequality, such as states in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe. South Africa is no exception given its recent apartheid past.

Camerer *et al* (1998), Louw *et al* (1998) and Shaw (1998) assert that the effects of crime on residents are central. Their research reveals that the fear of crime is high as are feelings of insecurity. In Johannesburg (as is the case in most parts of South Africa), for example, they show that combined with diminishing confidence in the government's ability to protect its citizens, the city, already divided by the legacy of apartheid's boundaries, is increasingly compartmentalized by high walls, fenced-off suburbs and private security guards, for those who can afford it. For those who cannot, options (where they exist) are limited to informal preventive measures and alternative forms of justice in the face of vulnerability to crime. The wedge driven by crime between the daily activities of the wealthy and the poor encourages alternative crime control strategies. These

threaten to entrench already stark social and economic inequalities in South Africa (Bob *et al*, 2006).

Lemanski (2004 cited in Moser, 2004) argues that the end of apartheid and South Africa's armed struggle has heralded in new forms of urban panic that focus on criminal activity rather than political insurgency which is spreading to previously protected White suburbs. South African society, Bob *et al* (2006) state, based on historical mistrust of different racial groups and police officers (who during apartheid were government enforcers rather than citizen protectors), is characterized by fear-provoked residential fortification and segregation (especially in the form of gated communities). This, Moser (2004: 10) illustrates, takes different forms in different types of South African neighborhoods:

> While the poor use dogs, window grilles and high fences, the rich rely on sophisticated alarms and armed-response private security, and increasingly turn to gated communities, fortifying entire neighborhoods with electrified fences and CCTV to monitor their citadels. The outcome of such 'fear management' strategies is socio-spatial exclusion and segregation, more polarized than the 1980s, but now managed by citizens rather than the state.

This fear perpetuates stereotypes in South Africa's highly racialized, gendered and unequal society. Landman and Liebermann (2005) state that there has been an increase in the number of security villages and enclosed neighborhoods in South Africa, especially in or in close proximity to the major urban areas such as Johannesburg, Tshwane and Durban. Security villages are purpose built by private developers and include different types of developments with different uses, ranging from smaller townhouse complexes to larger office parks and luxury estates. Another type of gated community identified by Landman and Liebermann (2005) in South Africa is the enclosed neighborhoods which are characterized by road closures, with fences or walls around entire neighborhoods in some cases. They conclude that relying too heavily on physical barriers against crime often causes fragmentation and segregation, and ultimately tension and conflict within the city.

Louw and Shaw (1997) state that understanding and measuring criminality in South Africa is difficult, given the absence of reliable statistics.

> The historical divide between the people and police and the vagaries of apartheid record-keeping, which included the 'homelands' and 'self-governing territories', complicate any analysis.
>
> (Louw and Shaw, 1997: 13)

However, several studies conducted in recent years have begun to assess the various dimensions of crime and violence in South African society. These are discussed in the next section.

From a policy perspective, the Department of Safety and Security (1998) states in the White Paper that in the immediate post-1994 period, the government's policy agenda on safety and security was shaped by two objectives:

- To rehabilitate the police to ensure they became protectors of our communities; and
- To mobilize people to participate in the provision of safety and security.

Specifically, the vision of the Department of Safety and Security (1998) as stipulated in the White paper is that the people of South Africa will enjoy greatly improved levels of safety. Furthermore, the mission is intended to ensure that real reductions in crime will be attained through, firstly, more effective and efficient policing as part of an effective justice system and, secondly, through a greater ability to prevent crime.

4.3. CRIME STATISTICS

This section draws on available crime data from a few published sources and the internet. The statistics are drawn primarily from police crime reports and the National Victims Crime Survey (NVCS). According to Mistry (2004), the NVCR was conducted between September and October 2003. Four thousand eight hundred and sixty (4 860) people over

the age of 16 years were interviewed from randomly selected households across South Africa based on the 2001 Census data. Stratification of the sample on the basis of province and urban/rural areas was also undertaken. Furthermore, the data was weighted to reflect the actual composition of the population. A similar study was undertaken, as illustrated by Burton (2006), in 2005 that focused on the youth specifically. This National Youth Victimization Study had a total of 4 409 respondents that were aged between 12 and 22 years. It is important to note that a high proportion of actual crime data, especially statistics from the police services and private security sector, is unavailable since they are deemed to be confidential and classified. This is particularly the case in relation to recent data (2005 and 2006).

Louw and Shaw (1997) assert that political liberalization in 1990 brought a crime explosion as social controls were loosened and certain new opportunities opened up for the growth of criminal activity. This rising crime could be related to political, social and economic trends which began before the formal political transition but were accentuated by it. Louw and Shaw (1997) further state that evidence suggests that crime rates in Black townships have been high for years, but that racial segregation largely insulated Whites from its effects. The demise of apartheid, including restrictions on movement and the collapse of apartheid boundaries, permitted crime to move out of the Black townships and into the suburbs, where it is more likely to be recorded (recorded levels of almost all crime increased significantly in the period 1990 to 1994). Most crimes increased significantly during this period: assault increased by 18%, rape by 42%, robbery by 40%, vehicle theft by 34%, and burglary by 20% (Louw and Shaw, 1997). Furthermore, crimes of the affluent also increased; although accurate figures are not available, commercial crimes increased significantly.

According to Simpson (1998: 1-2), everyday in South Africa over 1 900 serious crimes are reported. On average, these include: 50 murders, 88 rapes, 150 cases of fraud, 187 aggravated robberies, 216 burglaries of businesses, 260 car thefts, 431 aggravated assaults and 544 burglaries of houses. In South Africa, several studies illustrate that most reported crime is in the cities and is committed by young people (Simpson, 1998). ISS

(2001) claims that while comparing crime between countries is very difficult to do, because a lot of crime is never reported to the police, the most reliable crime to compare is usually murder, because most homicides are recorded in police statistics. Figure 4.1 compares South Africa's murder rate in 1998 to those of selected countries. The results suggest that South Africa is indeed one of the most dangerous countries in the world for which these figures are available. Furthermore, Louw *et al* (1998) state that Johannesburg is popularly referred to as the country's crime capital and the most violent city in the world. It is interesting to note that ISS (2001) also stated that while violent crime makes up nearly a third of all South African crimes recorded, and South Africa experiences remarkably high levels of recorded violent crime, levels of recorded property crime appear to be comparable to those in other countries.

Figure 4.1: International Murder Rates, 1998
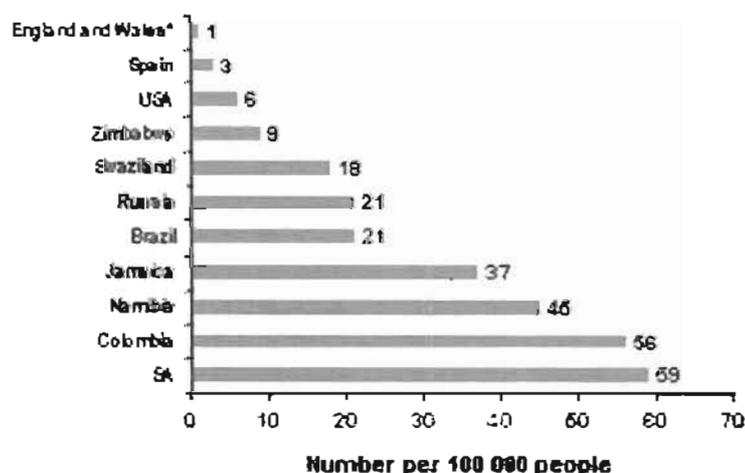
Source: derived from ISS (2001) "Perceptions of Safety," in Reducing Crime in Durban: A Victim Survey and Safer City Strategy Monograph Series, No. 58. Halfway House, Institute for Security Studies: Pretoria.
http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Monographs/No58/Chap11.html

ISS (2001) illustrates that the total number of crimes recorded by the police in South Africa has been increasing since 1994. ISS (2001) further states that significantly, the total number of murders and vehicular thefts recorded in South Africa has been declining since 1994. These are the very crimes where we can expect that most incidents are recorded by the police.

Table 4.1: Country crime rates as measured by victimization surveys, % victimized in year of study

	Survey year	Total crime	Property crime	Robbery	Sexual assault	Assault
Australia	1999	30.1	13.9	1.2	1.0	2.4
New Zealand	1991	29.4	14.8	0.7	1.3	2.4
England	1999	26.4	12.2	1.2	0.9	2.8
Netherlands	1999	25.2	7.4	0.8	0.8	1.0
Sweden	1999	24.7	8.4	0.9	1.1	1.2
Italy	1991	24.6	12.7	1.3	0.6	0.2
Canada	1999	23.8	10.4	0.9	0.8	2.3
Scotland	1999	23.2	7.6	0.7	0.3	3.0
Malta	1996	23.1	10.9	0.4	0.1	1.1
Denmark	1999	23.0	7.6	0.7	0.4	1.4
South Africa	2003	22.9	11.0	2.5	0.1	2.2
Poland	1999	22.7	9.0	1.8	0.2	1.1
France	1999	21.4	8.7	1.1	0.7	1.4
Belgium	1999	21.4	7.7	1.0	0.3	1.2
Slovenia	2000	21.2	7.7	1.1	0.8	1.1
USA	1999	21.1	10.0	0.6	0.4	1.2
Finland	1999	19.1	4.4	0.6	1.1	2.1
Austria	1995	18.8	3.1	0.2	1.2	0.8
Switzerland	1999	18.2	4.5	0.7	0.6	1.0
Portugal	1999	15.5	7.5	1.1	0.2	0.4
Japan	1999	15.2	3.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
Northern Ireland	1999	15.0	6.2	0.1	0.1	2.1

Source: UNDP (2004) cited in Altbeker, A. (2005b) "Puzzling Statistics: Is South Africa Really the World's Crime capital?" SA Crime Quarterly 11: 1-8.

Altbeker (2005b) undertakes a detailed comparison of available crime statistics to examine whether South Africa is indeed the 'crime capital' of the world. Table 4.1 encapsulates the data Altbeker (2005b) uses. He asserts that South Africa, with nearly 23% of people reporting having been victimized by at least one crime, falls somewhere in the middle of a list of 22 countries surveyed between 1992 and 2001. It leads the list for reported robbery victimizations (2.5%), followed by Poland, Italy, England and Australia. South Africa is also towards the top of the rankings for property crimes and assault. In

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the case of reported sexual assault, however, South Africa is at the bottom of a list headed by New Zealand, Austria and Sweden. The data indicate that South Africa compares favorably with several developed countries. However, how data are collected (nature and extent) as well as under-reporting remains unresolved issues and makes comparisons problematic. Altbeker (2005b: 8) concludes that "there are so many gaps in the data, so much room for doubt and interpretation, that it is not at all certain whether South Africa's crime levels are as exceptional as is often believed."

Figure 4.2: Number of recorded crimes in selected categories for South Africa, January-September 1994-2001
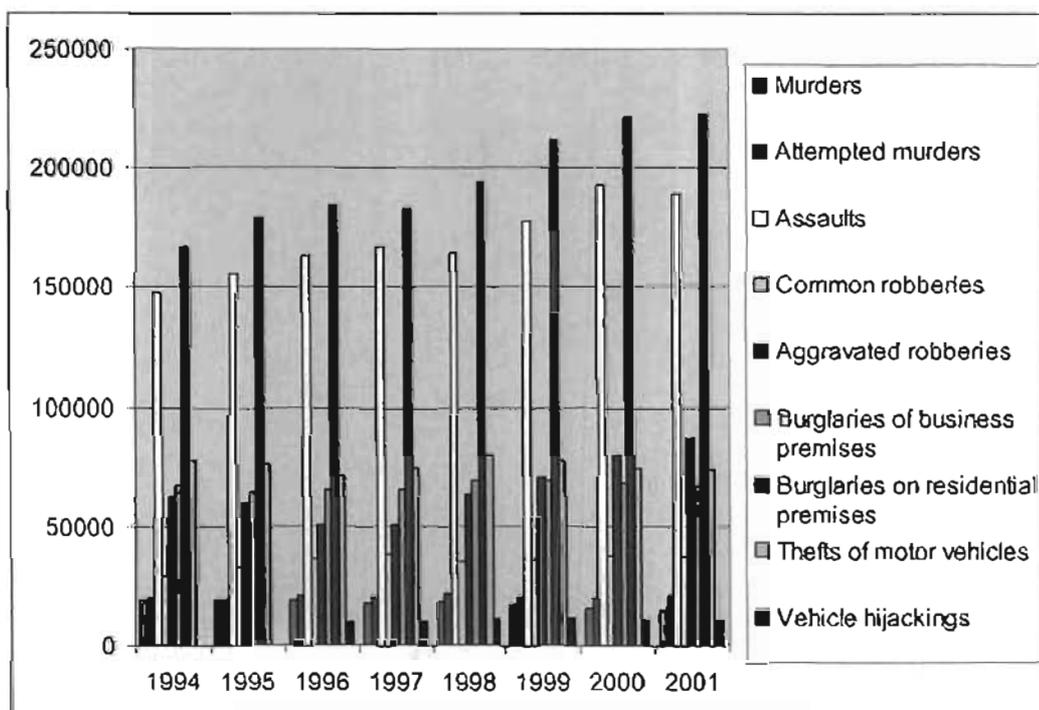
Source: derived from ISS (2001) "Perceptions of Safety," in Reducing Crime in Durban: A Victim Survey and Safer City Strategy Monograph Series, No. 58. Halfway House, Institute for Security Studies: Pretoria.
http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Monographs/No58/Chap11.html

Figure 4.2 illustrates the number of recorded crimes in selected categories for South Africa from 1994-2001 during January to September. The data show that with the exception of 1998, the actual number of murders recorded declined consistently after 1994. The ISS (2001) asserts that this is significant as murder is the most reliable crime type to measure, as virtually all murders are uncovered and recorded by the police.

Between 1994 and 2001 (for the January – September period) the number of recorded murders decreased by 4 618 or 24%. Unlike the number of recorded murders, the number of recorded attempted murders was higher in 2001 than in 1994 (by 207 or 6%). Over the period analyzed, recorded attempted murders were at their highest in 1998, and at their lowest in 1995. From 1994-2001 the number of recorded rapes was at its highest in 1997. Since 1997, recorded rapes have declined by 0.5%. However, over the 1994-2001 period, recorded rapes increased by 8 312 or 28%. Over the period analyzed, the number of recorded rapes were at their highest in 1997, and at their lowest in 1994.

Between 1997 and 2001, the number of recorded robberies with aggravating circumstances (that is, robberies involving a dangerous weapon or where a serious injury was inflicted) has consistently increased. Between 1994 and 2001 the number of recorded robberies with aggravating circumstances increased by almost 25 000 or 39%. Over the period analyzed, the numbers of aggravated robberies recorded were at their highest in 2001, and at their lowest in 1997. Between 1994 and 2001, the number of assaults with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm increased by 41 410 or 28%. However, between 2000 and 2001 there was a decline of 3 789 or 2% in the number of recorded incidents of assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm. Over the period analyzed, the number of assaults recorded were at their highest in 2001, and at their lowest in 1994.

The number of recorded burglaries of business premises has generally remained the same from 1994-2001. Also important to note is that since 1998, the number of recorded burglaries of business premises decreased by 2 031 or 3%. Since 1994 the number of recorded burglaries of residential premises has consistently increased (with the exception of a minor decline during 1997). Between 1994 and 2001 the number of recorded incidents increased by 55 062 or 33%. Over the period analyzed, the numbers of recorded burglaries of residential premises were at their highest in 2001, and at their lowest in 1994.

Between 1994 and 2001 the number of recorded thefts of motor vehicles declined by 4%. More specifically, between 1998 and 2001 the decline was 7%. Over the period analyzed,

the number of recorded thefts of motor vehicles were at their highest in 1998, and at their lowest in 1997. Between 1996 and 2001 (period with available statistics), the number of recorded vehicle hijackings (which are also recorded as robberies with aggravating circumstances by ISS, 2001) increased by 1 396 or 14%. There has, however, been a 4% decline in the number of recorded incidents between 1999 and 2001. Over the period analyzed, the numbers of recorded vehicle hijackings were at their highest in 1999, and at their lowest in 1996.

In addition to official statistics recorded by the police force, victim surveys based on the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) used in more than fifty countries have been used in Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban to (Camerer *et al*, 1998; Louw, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998; Shaw, 1998):

- Determine the extent of crime: survey data reflect those crimes that are not recorded by the police. Conducted at regular intervals over an extended period of time, the victim surveys are intended to enable an assessment of the extent to which changes in crime levels - as recorded by the police - are real or a function of changing reporting tendencies.

- Identify who is most at risk of particular crimes: because victim surveys gather information from both victims and non-victims from a representative sample of the population in any area, the data can be used to determine whether particular people are more at risk of victimization than others. This information (which cannot be obtained from police statistics) is essential to enable the prioritization of particular crime categories and vulnerable groups for attention. The spatial attributes can also be identified.

- Understand the nature of particular crime types, especially those that are poorly recorded in official crime statistics: victim surveys provide useful details which are difficult to glean from the South African Police Service (SAPS) databases on where and when crimes are most likely to occur, and circumstances which characterize certain crimes. Examples include the relationship between victim and offender, weapons used and degree of violence and injury sustained, association with drugs and alcohol, and what the victim was doing when the crime occurred.

This information is particularly relevant for crimes such as mugging, rape and assault which are seldom reported to the police.

- Measure levels of anxiety about crime: feelings of insecurity have social, economic and political consequences for society. By recording the perceptions of both victims and non-victims, and asking specific questions about fear, the surveys illustrate the extent and nature of fear of crime.

- Determine public perceptions of police effectiveness and service delivery: victim surveys provide useful mechanisms for recording the opinions of the public, and more importantly, those people that have had contact with the police, about their performance.

- Establish the opinions of victims and others about appropriate interventions: crime prevention and victim support are relatively new fields in South Africa. Accurate information about what victims would prefer in this regard, is thus particularly relevant.

The Durban Metropolitan Council's (DMC) (2000) summary of the key findings of the Durban Victim Survey and the ISS' (2001) findings on the Perceptions of Safety in Durban are presented here. In total, during December 1997, 1 884 people were interviewed across the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA). Fifty nine percent stated that they had been a victim of at least one crime between 1993 and 1997. The risk of victimization varied according to race, gender and age: women were more at risk than men; African and Colored residents were more likely to be victims than Asians and Whites; and the youngest and oldest residents were more at risk than other age groups. The two most prevalent crime types in the DMA were burglary followed by robbery. Generally, respondents who were victims indicated that they reported the most recent incident of murder, car theft, hijacking, burglary and sexual offence to the police. Insurance coverage was not the main reason for reporting. The occurrence of violence and injuries, and whether or not a victim knew the offender also played a role. Levels of satisfaction with police service when reporting a crime were low: only 38% of victims said that they were satisfied.

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

Victims tended to change their behavior to reduce the chances of victimization in future. Typically, across all types of crime, African victims were less likely to adopt precautionary measures (especially in relation to improving security or changing lifestyle patterns) than White or Asian victims. This could be related to the costs related to implementing precautionary measures. Those who could and did change their behavior indicated that they felt safer as a result. The type of support that victims favored the most was effective policing and emotional support. However, needs differed across race. African and White victims were most likely to request emotional support followed by better policing. More White victims wanted advice, information and counseling than other victims. Of concern was that less than a third of victims were familiar with any support services and less than a quarter had used such services. Victims of sexual offences were most likely to have heard of these services, to have used them, and to believe that they would be useful.

Based on perceptions of policing and other types of protection, unsurprisingly the poor were disadvantaged in terms of their access to safety. The survey indicated that 21% of people had no protection for their homes at all. White (and wealthier) residents were much more likely to use physical security measures than African and Colored residents who tended to be poorer. The results, as Swart *et al* (nd) state, suggest that those most at risk of crime therefore had the least protection for their homes.

Perceptions of policing differed significantly across the DMA. Just over half of all respondents thought the police were doing a poor job at controlling crime in Durban. White respondents and those living in the inner city were more likely to be satisfied than Asians, Africans and those living in informal settlements. The quality of policing appeared to be better in the wealthier parts of the city and those areas policed by the

former Durban City Police such as the inner city area and surrounding (largely White) suburbs.

Despite the police's positive rating by inner city residents, 53% of all Durban residents thought that the inner city was the most unsafe part of the metropolitan area. Colored, White and Asian respondents were much more likely to hold this view than were Africans. ISS (2001) specifically states that fear of crime in the inner city is probably caused by a range of concerns not all of which relate to crime or policing, such as congestion, overcrowding and litter. Furthermore, the risk of crime may also be quite unjustifiably associated with particular groups of people such as street children and street traders.

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

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

A comparison undertaken by Mistry (2004) between the 1998 and 2003 National Crime Victim surveys (NCVS) show that from this data source, crime rates (or respondents who

indicated that they were victims of specific crimes) have dropped for most types of crimes where comparable data were available (Table 4.2). A slight increase was only discernable in one category, that is, housebreaking (7.2% in 1998 and 7.5% in 2003). In most of the other categories only slight decreases were detected which support the assertion that crime rates are stabilizing. Additionally, the main crimes remain housebreaking, theft of personal property, stock theft, theft out of vehicle, assault and robbery. It is also important to note that 5.6% of the respondents indicated corruption (5.6%). However, Mistry (2004) warns that crimes such as rape, domestic violence, fraud and corruption should be treated with caution since respondents are often reluctant to provide information in relation to these crimes which tend to be under-reported.

Table 4.2: Percentage of South Africans, over the age of 16 years, who were victims of crime in 1998 and 2003

	1998	2003
Any crime	24.5	22.9
Housebreaking	7.2	7.5
Corruption*	-	5.6
Theft of personal property	4.8	4.7
Stock theft	4.9	2.5
Theft out of vehicle	2.5	2.5
Assault	4.2	2.2
Robbery	2.4	2
Deliberate damage to vehicle	1.3	1.3
Bicycle theft*	-	1.2
Car theft	1.2	1
Deliberate damage to buildings	1.1	0.9
Fraud	3	0.8
Crop theft*	-	0.7
Car hijacking**	1.4	0.5
Murder	0.5	0.2
Theft of motorbike	0	0.1
Sexual assault/ rape	0.4	0.1
Other crime	1.6	0.2

* crime types not covered in the 1998 survey
** in the 1998 survey the category 'car hijackings' included attempted and 'successful' hijackings, while in the 2003 survey only successful hijackings were recorded. This could account for the decrease in the hijacking rate between 1998 and 2003 reflected in the Table.

Source: Mistry, D. (2004) "Falling Crime, Rising Fear: 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey," SA Crime Quarterly 8: 17- 24.

The NCVS shows, according to Mistry (2004), that despite the decline in crime rates indicated in Table 4.2 and official crime statistics, South Africans felt less safe in 2003 than in 1998. The key indicator used to establish this is how safe respondents' felt when walking alone in the area during the day and after dark. The findings are presented in the Figures below.

Figure 4.3: Respondents' feelings of safety while walking alone in the area during the day
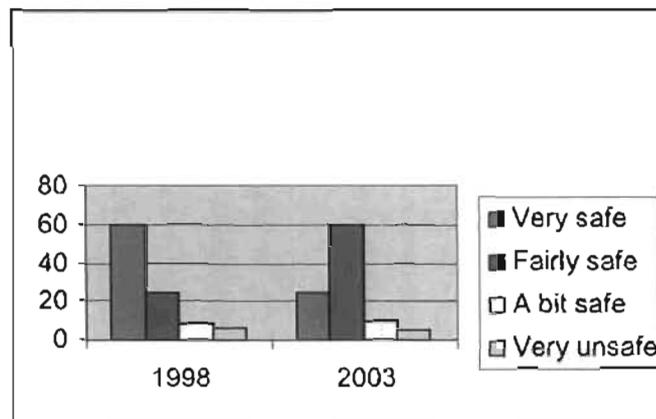
Source: Mistry, D. (2004) "Falling Crime, Rising Fear: 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey," SA Crime Quarterly 8: 17- 24.

Figure 4.4: Respondents' feelings of safety when walking alone in their area after dark
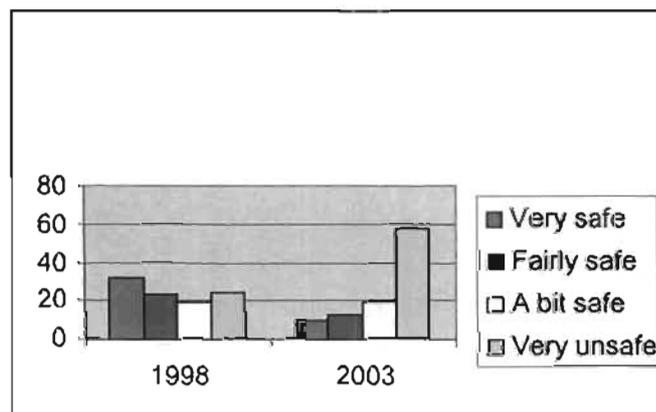
Source: Mistry, D. (2004) "Falling Crime, Rising Fear: 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey," SA Crime Quarterly 8: 17- 24.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 illustrate that South Africans were more fearful in 2003 than in 1998. During the day most respondents (85% in both 1998 and 2003) felt very safe or fairly safe. However, during the night most respondents in 2003 (77%) felt a bit unsafe and very unsafe compared to 44% in 1998. This indicates a marked increase.

Table 4.3: Recorded violent crime in South Africa 2005/06

Crime category	Number of cases	% of total violent crime
Assault GHB	226 942	30.1
Common assault	227 553	30.2
Aggravated robbery	119 726	15.9
Common robbery	74 723	9.9
Rape	54 926	7.3
Attempted murder	20 553	2.7
Murder	18 545	2.5
Indecent assault	9 806	1.3
TOTAL	752 773	

Source: SAPS 2005/06 Annual Report cited in Bruce, D. (2006) "Racism, Self-esteem and Violence in SA: Gaps in the NCPS' Explanation," Crime Quarterly 17: 31-36.

The trends in crime rates are also evident in the 2005/06 recorded violent crime rates in South Africa, presented in the Table 4.3 above. Assaults and robbery account for 86.1% of the violent crimes reported in South Africa in 2005/06. The research on the trends discernible in the South African national crime statistics (released by the South African Police Services) undertaken by Altbeker (2005a) illustrates specifically the two major types of crimes: property crimes and violent crimes from 1994 to 2005 (Figure 4.5). Altbeker (2005a: 1) argues that:

> There are eight forms of criminality which dominate public concern about crime: murder, attempted murder, serious assault, and rape (collectively, 'violent crime'); and aggravated robbery, common robbery, car theft and housebreaking (collectively, 'property crime')." The data reveals that the aggregate of violent and property crimes rose from about 855 000 in 1994/95 to nearly 1.1 million in 2002/03, before falling to 980 000 in 2004/05.

Figure 4.5: The number of recorded serious crimes in South Africa (1994/95-2004/05)
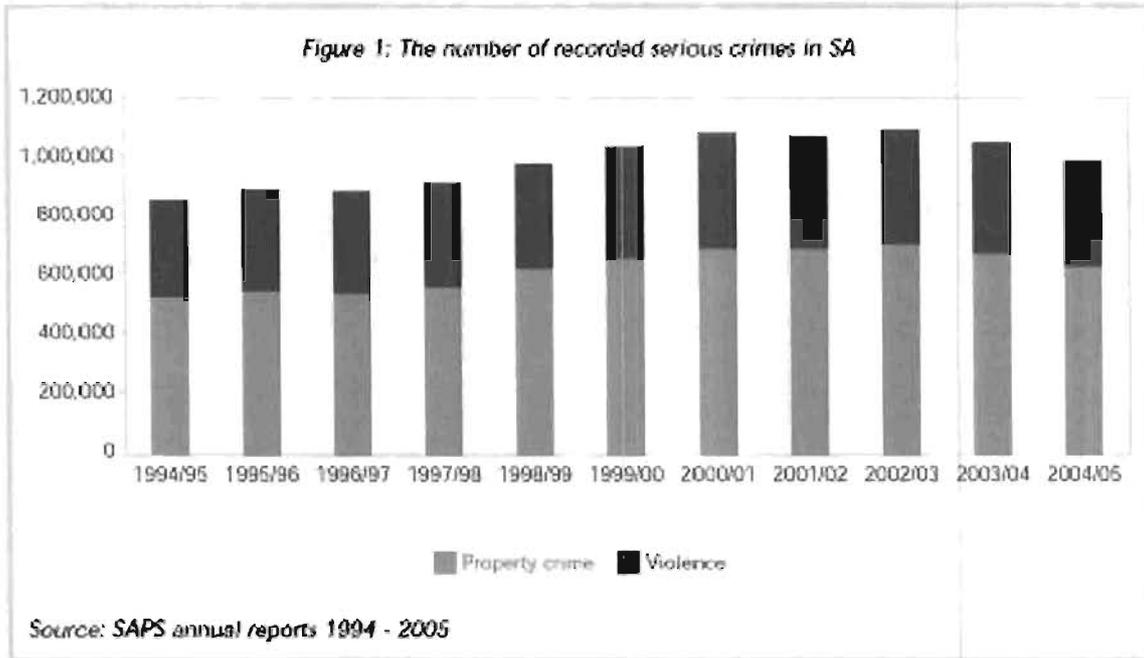
Figure 1: The number of recorded serious crimes in SA

Source: SAPS annual reports 1994 - 2005

Source: Altbeker, A. (2005a) "Positive Trends: The 2004/05 Crime Statistics," SA Crime Quarterly 14: 1:10.

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 present the disaggregated statistics for violent and property crimes. As Albeker (2005a) indicates, Figure 4.6 illustrates that murder (which has fallen fairly consistently for ten years) is well below the level of 1994/95 and attempted murder (having fallen steeply in the last two years) is, for the first time, also lower. It is important to note that rape and assault account for over 70% of incidents of serious violence.

Figure 4.6: The number of recorded serious violent crimes in SA 1994-2005
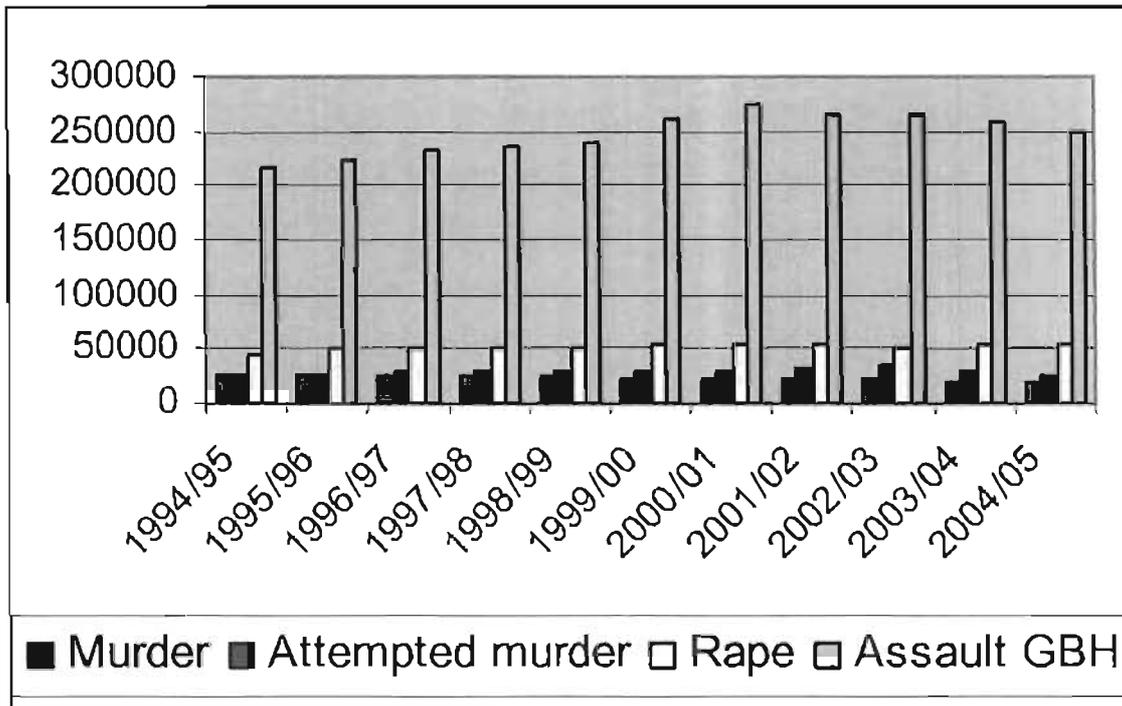
Source: Altbeker, A. (2005a) "Positive Trends: The 2004/05 Crime Statistics," SA Crime Quarterly 14: 1:10.

Similar to violent crimes, Altbeker (2005a) states that in relation to property crimes car theft numbers in 2004/05 were lower than in any previous year, burglary (which includes both business and residential housebreaking) is off its peaks, as are both common and aggravated robbery (though the last has fallen only in 2004/05) (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: The number of recorded serious property crimes in South Africa 1994-2005
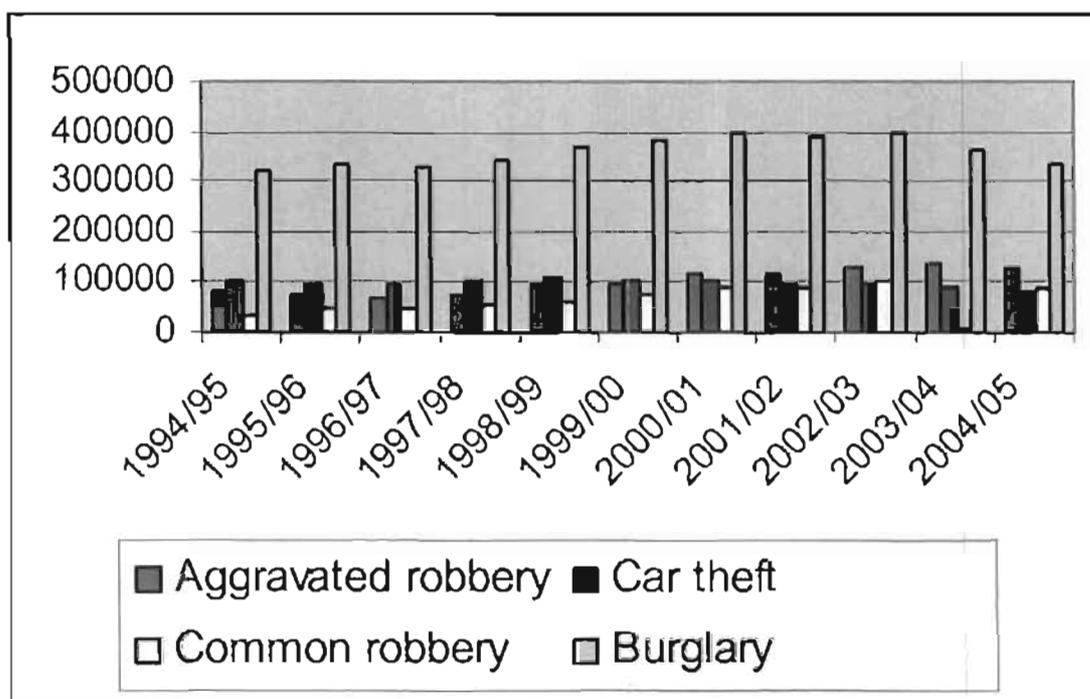
Source: Altbeker, A. (2005a) "Positive Trends: The 2004/05 Crime Statistics," SA Crime Quarterly 14: 1:10.

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 above indicate that crime rates seem to be stabilizing. According to Altbecker (2005a), among the categories of crime in which the recorded number of incidents rose in 2004/05 relative to 2003/04 are rape (up 5% to 55,114), indecent assault (9% increase to 10,123), common assault (which rose by 5% to 267,857), and drug offences (up 34% to 84,001). Further, there are reasons to believe that crime is more prevalent in South Africa than reported. The under-reporting of crime by victims is a universal issue, due in part, to the fact that many victims of crime do not believe there is much purpose in reporting a matter to the police (Altbeker, 2005a). In a survey of 5,000 South Africans conducted in 2003, 71% of those who reported having been robbed said they had not reported the matter to the police, with the same being true of 64% of victims of stock theft, 59% of victims of theft, 45% of victims of assault, 43% of burglary victims and 36% of those who had something stolen out of a motor vehicle (Burton et al, 2004).

Burton's (2006) examination of the National Youth Victimization Study shows that young people in South Africa are almost twice as likely to be victimized than adults, and that young people are surrounded by violence and crime in all spheres they occupy including the home, school and the community. Burton (2006: 1) states that "in the period between 2004 and 2005, 85 808 crimes were committed against children, of which over 27 000 were sexual offences, and over 1 000 were murders." In terms of the National Youth Victimization Study specifically, Burton (2006) highlights the following findings:

- In the period between September 2004 and September 2005, 42% of South African children and youth between the ages of 12 and 22 years were victims of crime or violence (approximately 4.3 million young people).

- The main crimes included assault, sexual assault/rape, theft, robbery, housebreaking and car hijacking.

- Boys are more at risk of becoming victims of crime and violence than girls, with almost one out of two (46%) males reporting victimization as compared to 37% of young females. This trend was noticeable among all forms of crimes except for sexual assault and rape.

- Youth residing in urban areas are more likely to be victims of crime, while those in the rural areas are least likely.

- Repeat victimization is common: more than one tenth (10.4%) of the respondents had been victimized on more than one occasion during the 12 month period.

- Children between 12 and 14 years, and youth between 18 and 20 years of age, are most likely to be victims of crime. The violent crime of robbery and assault are more common among the older age group of 18 to 20 and 21 to 22 years of age, while the property crime of theft is most common among the younger children.

- Three out of five young people have witnessed incidents of intentional violence within their home community, and one out of five children or youth have been witness to incidents of domestic violence within their own home. The results indicate that a significant proportion of the youth are regularly exposed to violence in South Africa.

- Approximately 28% of respondents cite murder as one thing that they are most scared of, and 21% cite rape or sexual assault.

- Almost one in five children or youth had considered engaging in acts that constitute a crime. Half of these, just under 1 million youngsters, had committed criminal acts.

The above statistics indicate that crime and violence directly impact on many South African children and the youth. An additional concern is highlighted by Frank (2006) who illustrates that in some cases adults are deliberately using children to commit crimes.

While it appears that South Africa has reversed the trend of rising crime in general (Mistry [2004] states that crime statistics indicate a drop in crime levels since 1998), incident rates for several types of crime are increasing. Furthermore, Mistry (2004) examines the relationship between fear of crime and actual experiences of victimization in the context of the 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey and indicates that although South Africa is experiencing a drop in crime levels in key areas since 1998, this is accompanied by high levels of public insecurity and fear.

4.4. POVERTY AND VIOLENCE

Hübschle (2005) states that the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report on "Crime and Development in Africa" contends that high levels of crime may be delaying Africa's development. Specifically the report asserts that crime worsens the suffering of the African people, make the poor even more vulnerable, distort economic values, rob national budgets, dampens the entrepreneurial spirit, discourages foreign investment, promotes capital flight, and perpetuates human suffering.

Louw and Shaw (1997) indicate that the lack of infrastructure and services which often characterize marginalized areas place the poor more at risk. They provide several examples which are presented below. Having to walk long distances to collect water and firewood in rural areas and informal settlements in urban areas increases women's chances of victimization. In the former homeland of KaNgwane, for example, most rapes which advice workers were aware of were committed while women were away from their

homes performing these chores. Another example cited is in a squatter settlement outside Somerset West in the Western Cape where women were regularly raped by gang members while collecting fuelwood. Women were very aware of the dangers of rape, but their only protection was one another. In these instances, providing basic services such as water and electricity could increase women's safety.

Louw and Shaw (1997) also argue that in terms of access to infrastructure poor communities can be entrapped in a deprived environment if crime acts as a disincentive to infrastructure investments, or if infrastructure is destroyed or stolen. They cite the example of people in the rural community of Blinkwater in Northern Province. They reported that the pump which supplied the local water reservoir was too far from the community to be secure, and that one pump had already been stolen.

The installation of infrastructure such as telephones and roads may also facilitate policing and contribute towards feelings of safety and security in the community. However, Louw and Shaw (1997) state that in the case of roads, though, it has been shown that the development of rural road networks in the former Transkei makes communities more accessible not only to the police but also to criminals.

The poor in South Africa are generally unable to afford physical security measures. The wealthier in society are in a position to install or hire physical protection measures such as armed response, fencing, burglar guards and private security. Shaw (2002) asserts that they are an estimated 5 000 private security services in South Africa that are used by the well-to-do, mostly Whites. In South Africa this has wider consequences: the pervasive use of private security in the (White) suburbs means that a critical mass of private policing is reached which provides a greater degree of overall protection to wealthier areas (Louw and Shaw, 1997). They further assert:

In comparative terms, poorer areas are doubly disadvantaged: not only are similar levels of private policing unavailable, but public policing resources too are generally underdeveloped. In fact, the poor – and thus the majority of South Africans – are more likely to be policed solely by the public police than those who are economically better off. The poor are further disadvantaged by the fact that public police resources were (and still are) concentrated almost entirely in white areas: in 1996, 74.6% of police stations nationally were based in White areas. South Africa thus has a legacy of uneven policing, which has contributed to the popular perception that the country is underpoliced in comparison with other societies. In fact, the SAPS is not much smaller proportionately than forces in other countries. Its combined police strength is 3.1 active force members for every 1 000 people - not much less than the European average of 3.5.

(Louw and Shaw, 1997: 21)

The above situation implies that in South Africa the poor are particularly disadvantaged in respect of policing. Together with the lack of infrastructure and services, this means that the poor are particularly at risk. Blau and Blau (1982) state that economic inequalities between groups may engender conflict in a society by consolidating and reinforcing ethnic and class differences. They further suggest that lack of prospects for upward mobility in the society may be linked to the prevalence in crime in that people who perceive their poverty as a permanent condition may be driven to engage in criminal activities. They literally have nothing to lose. This seems to be the case in South Africa.

Demombynes and Özler (2005) examine the effects of local inequality on property and violent crime in South Africa. Their study supports other findings that reveal that inequality leads to crime in general. They show that burglary rates are 25%-43% higher in police precincts that are the wealthiest among their neighbors, suggesting that criminals travel to neighborhoods where the expected returns from burglary are highest. Kinnes (2003: 51) indicates that in Cape Town the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing – "the city is divided between Black and White and the interface between the rich and poor is often violent."

4.5. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Females are relegated to secondary status within South African society generally (Perry, 2002). Artz (1998) argues that cultural stereotypes and practices reinforce women's subordinate positions in society as do desperate economic conditions which put pressure on family life and create limited opportunities for women to leave oppressive situations and conditions. Generally, women in South Africa (especially the poor and Black) suffer discrimination and disadvantage in almost every sphere of society and on a daily basis. Perry (2002) states that because the public and private spheres remain separated and the stigma of violence is often to blame victims, in South Africa, the culture of silence associated with violence (especially sexual and domestic forms of violence) remains widespread. Abraham (1998) indicates that in many cultures women are perceived as property to be transferred from fathers to husbands and finally sons. De La Rey (1999) asserts that guided by the doctrine of obedience most women experience internal and external pressures to stay within the parameters that define them as obedient and self-sacrificing.

The Human Rights Watch (1995) identified numerous constraints that prevent women from reporting violent incidences or threats of violence. These are also relevant to the South African context.

- The status of women in society: women are regarded as inferior.
- Devaluing experience: a tendency for women not to consider what they experience as being important.
- Social stigma: violence often stigmatizes the survivor (especially women who are deemed to have either asked to be violated or deserved it) and often leads to further victimization.
- Privacy: public exposure of private violation and violence often undermines the stature of women who come forward, given the already tenuous nature of women's status in society.
- Self-blame: women feel they ought to have prevented their violation by resisting it, unable to accept their own defenselessness and vulnerability.

- Re-living trauma: speaking about violence requires enormous courage as it comes with the fear involved in re-living the trauma which is compounded by the fear of loss of respect.
- Economic reasons: many women are unemployed and have children to care for, they are economically dependent on men.
- Political loyalty: restrictions placed on members' testimony by the liberation movements.
- Fear of reprisals: as a result of male dominance and the inability of social, political and legal systems to protect women and children, many women fear continued violence.

Louw and Shaw (1997) and Perry (2002) state that in South Africa there is no quantitative evidence to map the relationship between levels of political violence and violence against women, largely due to inadequate rigorous research as well as low levels of reporting and poor recording systems in the country. Dreyer *et al* (2002) state that the South African Police Service estimates that a woman is raped every 35 seconds. They further assert that given the pervasiveness of violence and violations in South African society, educators have no choice but to provide learners with the basic skills to cope with the dual threat of gender-based violence in schools and in society more generally.

Britton (2006) and Robertson (1998) state that South Africa has one of the highest rape statistics in the world. Robertson (1998) indicates that in 1988, a total of 19 308 cases of rape were reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS), in 1994, this figure increased to 42 429 reported cases of rape and in 1996, 50 481 cases of rape were reported to the SAPS. She further states that according to the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation (NICRO), the situation is more serious that than statistics reflect because only one in twenty rapes are reported to the police. Robertson (1998: 1-2) postulates the following explanations that contribute to the high incidence of rape in South Africa:

- Sociological explanations which locate the roots of rape in male and female roles in society. South Africa is traditionally a male dominated and patriarchal society. Women hold limited power and authority and are frequently exploited.

- Societal attitudes, especially the acceptance of 'rape myths' contribute to rape. These myths are false ideas about what rape is and include beliefs such as: men rape because they cannot control their sexual lust, women encourage rape, rapists are strangers and women enjoy being raped. These myths serve to label women as in some way responsible for the rape and to view men's actions as excusable, thereby giving silent consent to their actions. These rape myths also reduce the likelihood of women reporting their rape, for fear of being blamed and stigmatized.

- A 'culture of violence' has dominated South African society for years. Current levels of criminal and political violence has its roots in apartheid and political struggle. The ongoing struggle and transition has left many men with a sense of powerlessness and perceived emasculation. In this context, rape is an assertion of power and aggression in an attempt to reassert the rapist's masculinity.

- Inadequacies in our criminal justice system create an environment where it is relatively easy to commit an offence of rape without any severe consequences. Rape has one of the lowest conviction rates of all serious crimes in South Africa. Sentencing tends to be lenient which creates an impression that rape is not seen as a serious crime.

Perry (2002) illustrates that government has passed legislation to give meaning to the Bill of Rights, such as the Domestic Violence Act, Maintenance Act, Prevention of Family Violence Act and the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act. Legislative and policy changes in South Africa are regarded as being an important component of effectively addressing and preventing gender-based violence in South Africa. Artz (1998) and Braam and Webster (2000) indicate that despite the progress that has been made at the levels of policy and legislation, it is clear that government's ability to give practical expression to these laws through effective implementation is severely constrained by economic factors.

More specifically, Morris (1994) argues that while the Prevention of Family Violence Act, for example, is a relatively inexpensive and speedy legal remedy for battered women, its effectiveness in providing long-term solutions is questionable. Gelsthorpe and Morris (1990) assert that law reform leaves untouched the institutions and practices that are at the root of insubordination and violence against females. However, policy and legislative considerations are central to providing an overall framework to deal with crime and violence in South African society. As Albertyn (1994) and Morris (1994) assert, there is no hope of redefining the truth of events or to change social life without engagement with the law. In fact, in the context of South Africa undergoing social, economic and political transformation and transition, getting the legal frameworks and institutions right to tackle gender-based violence is critically important (Perry, 2002). It is, however, important to consider Britton's (2006) warning that the level of gender-based violence may be increasing because of a backlash against the constitutionally-enforced gender equality of South African women.

Albertyn (1994), however, warns that it is imperative that broader societal issues be centralized. For example, in relation to gender-based violence formulating laudable laws and policies may be of limited value where the position of women in society remains subordinate and where issues affecting them are still marginalized. Braam and Webster (2000) and Britton (2006) support this position by indicating that government's political commitment to address gender-based violence is severely watered down by its lack of integrated planning, lack of resources available to ensure effective implementation and adopting a macro-economic framework that serves to entrench patriarchal socio-economic relations. Gelsthorpe and Morris (1990) state that it is, therefore, apparent that the patriarchal nature of the legal system does not preclude reform and that it is important to challenge the dominant discourses and values inherent in the system.

In terms of thinking strategically about addressing gender-based violence in South Africa, Braam and Webster (2000: 6-7) underscore that the following issues be highlighted:
- South Africa is characterized by high levels of inequality, poverty and high levels of violence against females, relative to other lower middle-income countries.

- An intervention within the legal system, in isolation from broader societal intervention would not make a significant impact on the above status quo. There is considerable research that shows that the legal system is not only gendered but is also male-dominated, reflecting wider unequal power relations in society.

- The historic response by the violence against women sector, whilst being critical, needs to shift to ensure a deeper, national impact. Given factors such as the high levels of gender-based violence and the apartheid legacy, most organizations dealing with women and violence tend to focus on crisis intervention.

- Violence against females in South Africa is generally not seen as a key developmental/political challenge in the country despite the progress that has been made at policy and legislative levels.

- Gender-based violence in South Africa continues to be largely seen by mainstream politics as a "women's issue".

Hübschle (2005) states that according to the NCPS, the feelings of powerlessness – experienced by men as emasculation – are displaced into the domestic arena as a means of reasserting their authority within those relationships in which they still maintain power, control and influence. This results in increased violence against women and children.

4.6. VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

Harber (2001) states that the legacy of the brutality of apartheid in South Africa is a violent social context characterized by high levels of unemployment, extremes of wealth and poverty, continuing racism, the easy availability of guns and patriarchal values and behaviors. Harber (2001) also asserts that children are regularly mugged and sexually assaulted and teachers are intimidated. Naylor (2002) and Perry (2002) state that violent crime is widespread in South African schools, particularly in disadvantaged areas that suffer from serious problems of continued crime and the fear of violence. Furthermore, the educational landscape in South Africa, from pre-school to tertiary levels, are embedded in a range of power relations which are shaped by race, gender and class. The

hidden curriculum, as illustrated by Perry (2002), is discernible in South Africa and reinforces gender roles, relations and positions in society.

Dreyer *et al* (2002) state that the School of Public Health at the University of the Western Cape developed two training models to incorporate the issue of gender-based violence into the primary school curriculum: the 'whole school' approach and 'train the trainer' approach. They further assert that the models focused on identifying and challenging teachers' own knowledge and attitudes towards gender and gender-based violence, on encouraging teachers to reflect on the messages they send to students and on identifying strategies to address gender-based violence.

Violence in schools include the following (Dreyer *et al*, 2001; Naylor, 2002; Perry, 2002):

- Bullying
- Gangs
- Rape
- Sexual harassment and abuse
- Racial harassment
- Harassment of people with disabilities
- Corporal punishment
- Harassment of homosexuals
- Child pornography
- Verbal and psychological abuse
- Violence against teachers

Dreyer *et al* (2002) state that it is imperative that these types of violence be addressed by government departments, the education systems and communities at all levels to permit learners the right to an education free from the fear of violence.

Braam and Webster (2000) argue that although in recent years there has been much public criticism of corporal punishment by students, parents and the public at large; it continues to varying degrees in many school settings. They assert that corporal

punishment tends to reinforce the problematic notion that physical violence can be effectively used to instill discipline and punish those who are difficult or misbehave. Furthermore, Braam and Webster (2000) and Naylor (2002) show that in South Africa sexual harassment is widespread within school settings and often takes the following forms:

- Boys touching girls on their private parts
- Boys looking at girls' panties by using a mirror on the floor, which she is often unaware of
- Forced kissing/petting, usually as a result of boys proving to other boys that they can 'get' a particular girl
- Boys whistling and making remarks about girls' bodies to humiliate her
- Boys ridiculing other boys who they perceive to be feminine by making remarks about their bodies/ provoking them to fight
- Educators abusing their positions of power by touching girls or communicating with them in sexual ways
- Educators abusing their positions of power by soliciting sexual favors, most often from girl learners but in some instances, from boys as well.

Vetten and Haffejee's (2005) study of gang rape cases reported to police in inner-city Johannesburg in 1999 indicates that the most striking thing about these rapes is their predatory nature and that they are generally committed by the youth. They assert that typically, groups of men either lie in wait for their victims, or actively drive around looking for someone to abduct. Furthermore, the attacks are also brazen and violent: women are confronted in public spaces, and the use of force increases with the number of perpetrators involved in the rape.

Simpson (1998: 3) asserts that it is easy to understand the appeal of the criminal youth gang as an alternative provider of social cohesion in the absence of the school, the family, the workplace or the political organization:

Criminal gangs offer a complete sub-culture with their own uniforms, language and alternative forms of wealth creation through crime. Criminal activities are not only acquisitive - robbery, arms-trading, assassination, protection - but include gang rape, domestic violence and child abuse.

4.7. APPROACHES TO CRIME PREVENTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Department of Safety and Security (1998: 11) asserts, similar to other studies cited, that the post-apartheid crime levels in South Africa can be partly attributed to a long history of social inequality and exclusion and a lack of institutional and social control.

> What is required are social crime prevention programs which target the causes of particular types of crime at national, provincial and local level. More generally, such an approach also recognizes the impact of broader government economic, development and social policies for crime prevention. Thus, the effective delivery of basic services such as housing, education and health as well as job creation, have in themselves, a critical role to play in ensuring living environments less conducive to crime.

Simpson (1998: 4-7) states that there are two approaches to crime prevention that are debated in South Africa: criminal justice and developmental schools. These are summarized below.

The criminal justice school believes that solutions to crime can be found by reforming or transforming the criminal justice system in one of the following ways:

- Punishments should be tougher sentences, they should be mandatory and longer bail should be refused; the death penalty should be reintroduced. A concern with this focus is that there is a danger that South Africa may retreat from its new culture of enshrined human rights. Additionally, a practical difficulty with this principle is that harsh sentencing is not a disincentive for certain types of crime,

such as crimes of passion or economic necessity. More importantly, for this to be an effective deterrent, criminals must first be caught and convicted, so this new approach is dependent on effective policing and prosecution.

- More police will ultimately solve the crime problem by means of saturation. While that might provide solutions for some types of crime, it would not deal with crimes which happen within the private sphere - rape, domestic violence and child abuse. Nor would visible policing prevent the growing problem of 'white collar' crime - fraud and embezzlement, which require specialist intelligence and expertise.

- Quality, not quantity, in policing: effective deployment of resources within the policing system, especially the development of sophisticated technology, will solve the crime problem. The gathering and analysis of intelligence needs to be enhanced in order to track criminal action effectively. The problem with this is that technological innovation often gives rise to new forms of crime - for example, if hi-tech surveillance and security techniques make car theft very difficult, car hijacking with violence may take its place. This leads to new and more serious problems of technological and resource allocation.

- Effective rehabilitation of criminals will solve the crime problem by eliminating recidivism. The correctional services are the key to dealing with problems of criminal behavior. This approach fails to disaggregate criminal behavior and therefore to recognize that rehabilitation is only appropriate to the psychological make-up of certain types of criminal. This principle, too, depends on effective detection and prosecution.

- The answer lies in a coordinated approach across the criminal justice system. Blockages and leakages need to be addressed in each part of the system - for example, effective correctional services depend on effective prosecution, which depends on effective police intelligence and investigation. All of these are

dependent on transformation of the responsible state institutions and building up public confidence in them. While this approach is more comprehensive, it needs further analysis. Problem areas within the system vary according to different types of crime. For some (for example, rape) the problem may be under-reporting; for others (for example, economic crimes) it may be lack of investigation; and for others prosecution, sentencing or rehabilitation may be flawed. Improved co-ordination demands considerably more targeted data-gathering and analysis, and requires systematic policy formation across the criminal justice system for each type of crime.

There is clearly some value in each of the positions outlined above, but none has much value in isolation. Perhaps the most important flaw in the 'criminal justice school' is its limited vision: that the problems of crime can be resolved within the criminal justice system alone. It ignores the extent to which the historical, social, political and value systems that underpin crime must be addressed if crime is to be prevented. Shaw (2002) indicates that although expenditures on the police have increased since 1990, much of these new funds have been used for organizational changes and the impacts on crime levels remain unclear. There certainly is no dramatic decrease in crime levels despite increase in funds to the criminal justice system, especially policing.

The developmental school of thought takes account of the historical inequities and the socio-economic issues that underpin crime and violence in transitional South Africa. Its approach to dealing with crime is through development and empowerment, in one of the following ways:

- Economic development: Poverty and unemployment are the root causes of crime. Without necessarily assuming a simple correlation between poverty and crime, the solution is investment, economic growth and job creation. This approach fails on its own because it takes no account of the economic crimes committed by the affluent and the employed. It also fails to account for the extent to which criminal activity is serviced by an extremely affluent illegal/ informal sector. In particular, the growing problem of syndicated crime, which is capturing a significant portion

of the country's economic wealth, will not be solved by job creation and economic development. Development might be against the vested interests of those in the criminal economy, who could be expected to resist. Also, economic development generates new forms of criminal behavior such as corruption, competition, theft and political conflict. The injection of new resources into communities previously divided by competition for scarce resources potentially escalates social conflict and crime.

- Human development: To undermine the conditions that lead to crime, target communities must be comprehensively educated and empowered. This should happen alongside the creation of economic opportunities. Here, the implicit assumption is that crime control is achievable only in the long term, because culture and value changes within a dehumanized society can take place only gradually. Although the human development model is an important realistic addition to the others, the need to seek interim short-term solutions to crime cannot be ignored.

Simpson (1998) concludes that neither of the above approaches for dealing with crime is entirely incorrect. The complex and multidimensional factors that contribute to crime in society, especially given South Africa's past and current social, political and economic challenges, demands an integrated approach that tackles both the criminal justice system and economic and human development simultaneously. In this regard, Simpson (1998: 8) outlines the following strategic objectives:

- Recognition that crime prevention must be based on data collection and disaggregation of different types of crime.
- Awareness, based on data analysis, of the regional differences in both magnitude and types of crime.
- Transformation of the criminal justice system as a whole, on the basis of disaggregation of crime into different categories. This demands unified, crime-specific policy formation and action.

- Prioritization of the most socially costly forms of crime. While all crime damages the national psyche and the building of reconciliation, the social and economic costs of violent crime are the greatest.
- A specific focus on crime in the spheres of development, education and social welfare.
- Formulation of plans for short, medium and long-term solutions.
- Integration and co-ordination of the activities of all the various departments - criminal justice, education, health and social welfare, home affairs and the police.

It is also important to underscore the key foci areas of South Africa's National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) (Simpson, 1998):

- The NCPS puts victims rather than criminals at the heart of crime prevention. Victim empowerment is seen as a critical intervention to break the cycle of crime and violence.
- Young people are the key target group in the fight against crime, because they are the primary victims and perpetrators of crime in South Africa, and because they represent the country's future.

Louw *et al* (1998: 4) indicate that local government in South Africa, although on a limited scale, is becoming involved in crime prevention in three ways:

- Establishing metropolitan and municipal police services: Local government will shortly have the option of establishing its own police service charged with the function of crime prevention. It is envisaged that such services, while not empowered to investigate crime, will provide visible policing in high density urban areas.
- Aligning resources and objectives within a crime prevention framework: crime and crime prevention are increasingly seen as central to the planning of all municipal department functions. This places crime prevention on the agendas, of among others, planning, transport and traffic departments at little extra cost to local government.

- Initiating targeted crime prevention programs: local government, if appropriate resources are allocated, is well placed to design and implement crime programs targeted at specific crime problems. Such prevention programs can either be financially supported by the local government itself or through business, donor or national government funding.

To effectively and efficiently implement crime prevention strategies it is necessary to have a thorough understanding of the nature and levels of crime in any area. This includes the types of crimes, their spatial distribution, their temporal patterns and the profiles of the victims and the perpetrators. This type of information is critical to managing and preventing crime and violence in society. Despite the prevalence of crime in many societies, including South Africa, surprisingly little has been known about the levels and types of crime which has resulted in limited debate on possible crime prevention strategies (Louw *et al*, 1998).

Several studies also indicate that the main source of information on crime is police sources based on incidents which are largely reported to the police by the public (Camerer *et al*, 1998; Louw, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998). Thus, official crime statistics are based on incidents recorded by the police. However, as indicated earlier, Louw and Shaw (1997) warn that several types of crimes and violence (especially sexual crimes, domestic violence, etc.) are severely under-recorded since they are often not reported to the police. Louw *et al* (1998) identify a range of factors that determine whether crimes are reported:

- The nature of the crime itself, such as how serious the victim regards the offence to be, the links between the victim and the offender (domestic violence is usually under-reported, for among other reasons, fear of reprisals and the potential loss of a breadwinner), and in the case of property crime, whether the goods are insured.
- The relationship between the police and the public is another factor: if people have little faith in the ability of the criminal justice system to protect them, secure a conviction or recover stolen property, or are treated unprofessionally by the police, they are generally less likely to report.

- If access to the nearest police station is limited by distance, poor roads (or an absence of roads), lack of transport or access to telephones, reporting is less likely.

These factors are widely prevalent in South African society and are, as stated by Louw *et al* (1998), compounded by the historically uneven distribution of resources (both policing and infrastructure) between formerly White and Black areas, and in particular, the former homeland regions in South Africa generally and the townships in urban areas more specifically. Shaw (2002: 145-146) asserts that it is imperative that "the requirement of controlling police transformation from the center against that of ensuring inputs into the policing process from citizens on the ground" be balanced to ensure "more effective working relations between the police and the (local) communities." The White Paper (DSS, 1998) stresses this aspect as well, indicating that the principle of community participation as embodied in the philosophy of community policing, and the principles of democratic control and accountability as envisaged in the Constitution are central to the Department's policy. Furthermore, DSS (1998: 10) asserts that the focus on community is "directly in line with international trends in policing which demonstrate that the participation of communities and community policing form the bedrock of effective law enforcement." This assertion is supported by the literature reviewed in the previous chapter.

The Table below illustrates the integrated and holistic crime prevention framework encapsulated in the White Paper (DSS, 1998). The Table clearly indicates that the intention is to focus on policing and the criminal justice system more broadly as well as socio-economic and environmental factors including design issues, education and addressing social-economic problems. Furthermore, the Table indicates that to effectively address crime and violence in South Africa, it is necessary for several stakeholders to work together. The stakeholders include various government departments, the community (citizens and residents) and civil society organizations.

Table 4.4: Crime prevention framework for the White Paper

Crime prevention through effective criminal Justice	Social crime prevention
Reduces the opportunity for crime by making it more difficult to commit crimes, more risky or less rewarding. Effective law enforcement creates a strong deterrent to crime.	Reduces the socio-economic and environmental factors that influence people to commit crimes and become persistent offenders.
HOW IS IT ACHIEVED? Justice system acts as a deterrent Law enforcement Rehabilitation and reintegration Active visible policing Successful investigations Victim empowerment	HOW IS IT ACHIEVED? Designing out crime (physical design of space) Education Promoting social cohesion Supporting youth and families and groups at risk Breaking cycles of violence Promoting individual responsibility Socio-economic interventions to undercut causes of crime
WHO IS RESPONSIBLE: All levels of Government All Government departments, particularly those engaged in the National Crime Prevention Strategy South African Police Service	WHO IS RESPONSIBLE: All levels of Government Government departments such as Housing, Education, Welfare, Health Municipalities National Crime Prevention Strategy Organizations of civil society Citizens and residents of South Africa.

Source: Department of Safety and Security (1998) White Paper on Safety and Security 1999-2004, In Service of Safety Pretoria: Author.

Bruce (2006) states that the National Crime Prevention Strategy adopted in May 1996 is intended to shift the approach to crime in South Africa that focused on crime control, to one that emphasized prevention.

Landman and Libermann (2005) are of the opinion that an effective tool for crime prevention available to municipalities lies in the area of urban planning since crime is closely tied to the places in which it occurs. They argue that instead of opting for enclosed neighborhoods and security villages, what many residents and businesses have preference for, there are alternatives that avoid the problems of access and exclusion that come with erecting barriers. Specifically, they assert that Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), discussed in detail in chapter two, presents a clear opportunity for municipalities to respond to the needs of their constituencies.

4.8. CONCLUSION

Research indicates that since 1994 the rates of several types of crime in South Africa are stabilizing (Camerer *et al*, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998; Louw and Shaw, 1998; Shaw, 2002). However, the authors underscore that stabilization is occurring at very high levels. Significant decreases in crime rates have not occurred. In fact, they assert that reporting levels of some categories of crime, notably rape and assault, continue to increase. Louw and Shaw (1997) further warn that comparative experience from other societies with high levels of crime suggests that unless adequate policy measures are taken, criminal activity has the potential to become institutionalized.

In summary, it is worth recounting the main contributing factors that make crime and violence in South Africa persistent and pervasive. These, according to Shaw (2002), are:

- Widespread unemployment and poverty
- Institutional racism
- Persistent patriarchy and the subordinate position of women in society
- A culture of violence and violation
- The breakdown of African family life
- Disrespect/disappointment for the police and security enforcers generally
- Breakdown of the criminal justice system
- Drug and alcohol abuse
- Easily available and accessible firearms
- Inequities in access to new opportunities to accumulate wealth
- Disillusionment with the post-apartheid government to deliver on expectations

The above are complex and interrelated social, economic and political problems rooted in historical colonial and apartheid practices. It is unlikely that simple solutions (increase the number of police or stricter sentencing) will result in a dramatic decline in the incidences of crime and violence in the country. What is required is an examination of the range of contributing factors and a safety and security strategy that addresses, together

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with other government departments and policies, the social, economic and political issues identified above. This is supported by the DSS (1998: 11) that states:

> What is required are social crime prevention programs which target the causes of particular types of crime at national, provincial and local level. More generally, such an approach also recognizes the impact of broader government economic, development and social policies for crime prevention. Thus, the effective delivery of basic services such as housing, education and health as well as job creation, have in themselves, a critical role to play in ensuring living environments less conducive to crime. This suggests that greater lobbying, planning and co-ordination are required at national, provincial and local level, specifically on the question of crime prevention and its links to a wider array of other government functions.

It is imperative that crime and violence are addressed in South Africa since, as Demombynes and Özler (2005) assert, the threat of crime in South Africa diverts resources to protection efforts, exacts health costs through increased stress, and generally creates an environment unconducive to productive activity.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDIES AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on providing backgrounds of the case studies and methodology used for the study. A brief description of the four communities under study (informal settlements, Clermont, Westville and Reservoir Hills) in Durban is provided. In the methodology section attention is given to the research questions that inform the methodological framework, the specific methods used, the sampling framework employed as well as the data collection process. In terms of the research methods adopted, both quantitative (questionnaire surveys) and qualitative (key informant interviews, focus group discussions and ranking exercises) methods used in the study are critically examined.

5.2. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDIES

The Durban Metro (nd) states that the Durban Metropolitan Area has a population of about 2.5 million people with most residing in the North Central (34.2%) and South Central (31%) local council areas with the smallest concentrations, of approximately 5% each, found in the North and South local council areas. The Inner and Outer West local council areas (where the case studies for this research are located) accommodate a further 13.6% and 11%, respectively. The DMC (2000) states that Durban is a thriving tourist and commercial centre in KwaZulu-Natal, with a large diverse population and rich cultural heritage. The Durban harbor is South Africa's busiest port. It is one of three major cities and industrial areas (with Cape Town and Johannesburg) in South Africa.

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

(DMC, 2000: 3)

Given its industrial, strategic and political importance, Durban is concerned with the growing threat (and in some instances escalation) of crime and violence and its impact on the safety and security of its citizens (DMC, 2000). Durban, like many other cities both nationally and internationally, recognizes that dealing effectively with crime and violence requires a city wide crime prevention strategy. The centrality of local government in relation to an effective crime prevention strategy has been underscored in Chapter Two. In South Africa specifically, the White Paper on Safety and Security 1999-2004, "In Service of Safety" (Department of Safety and Security, 1998: no page number) states:

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

The mission statement of Durban Metro makes a commitment to undertake processes to make the Metro area a safe and secure place (DMC, 2000). The DMC (2000) further articulates that this position in relation to local government's lead role in crime prevention is supported by local communities as demonstrated by Durban Metro Quality of Life Surveys, in which respondents were critical of the Council's failure to achieve safety and full employment at both the central and neighborhood levels. The survey

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revealed that 80% of the respondents said that crime, corruption and mugging were the biggest problems facing the city.

The Durban Safer City Project was established in October 1999 following discussions between the city and officials from the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) who were setting up similar initiatives in other parts of the world (DMC, 2000). The lack of safety and security was identified as the main threat to the city's ability to attract investment and implement its economic growth strategy, especially in relation to its tourism potential. Emerging from the Durban Victim Survey (Shaw, 1998), the Safer City Strategy was developed that focused on three complementary components:

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

The main thrust of Durban's Safer City Project is to be proactive (prevent crime and violence) rather than reactive. This entails focusing less on the perpetrators and more on potential offenders. This is deemed as being more cost effective (DMC, 2000: 3):

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

Figure 5.1 below shows the key crime factors and potential organizations/agents to join in partnerships aimed at combating crime as identified by the DMC (2000). A multi-pronged and multi-agency approach is advocated. The active participation of several stakeholders such as residents, business, NGOs, the criminal justice system and local government in strong cooperative partnerships is regarded as being essential.

Figure 5.1: Crime factors and potential partners in combating crime

Welfare Department
By-laws

Education
Department
Schools
Women's Groups
NGOs

Planners
Architects

Planners
Local authority

SAPS
Justice Department

[Diagram: Central circle labeled "CRIME" with surrounding ovals: Alcohol /drugs, Physical environment, Public transport, Lack of employment, Vulnerability of victim, Access to weapons — all with arrows pointing toward CRIME]

Blue font: Crime factors
Black font: Potential organizations/ agents to join partnerships

Source: Durban Metropolitan Council (2000) The Durban Safer City Strategy Unicity Committee.

Social conditions or factors which promote crime are varied and complex. They often relate to resource imbalances that were created and entrenched by the apartheid system. The DMC (2000) identifies the main social factors that promote the occurrence of crime and violent behavior that are prevalent in Durban as substance abuse, street children, inadequate access to education, high levels of victimization and a depressed job market. Under these conditions, an integrated and multi-agency approach becomes critical. Studies also reveal that perpetrators are usually male youths with very limited resources coming from deprived urban environments (DMC, 2000). Furthermore, they need appropriate education that increases their life chances and opportunities, recreational opportunities, training, counseling and organized activities. Living in a safe and secure environment plays a major role in preventing crime.

The DMC (2000) also reports that there are more than a thousand street children in Durban and owing to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the numbers could swell and strain social services as has been the experience in other African cities. The DMC (2000) deems that the management of street children is a strategic priority since they are children in need of care and are vulnerable to crime, exploitation and abuse. Furthermore, most of these neglected youngsters lack social and practical skills which increase the likelihood that they will participate in criminal activity. They can also have a detrimental impact on the economy since they congregate in business and tourist districts to beg. This results in residents and tourists being intimidated.

Criminal activity and violent behavior are also linked to substance abuse as illustrated by the DMC (2000) and studies cited in the literature review (Markowitz, 2005; Roberts, 2006). The DMC (2000) indicates that in Durban it can also create run-down areas of the city that further attract crime. In Durban 'sleazy' establishments and areas (such as Point Road) have developed to become centers of crime, drug and alcohol abuse and anti-social behavior.

In Durban studies have also shown that many schools within the city are unsafe and often become places for criminal activity and recruitment, especially in relation to drug dealing and gang violence (DMC, 2000). The Safer City Strategy advocates that schools represent the places where young members of society begin their training. It is imperative that they be made safe from criminal activity. The Safer City Strategy also focuses on interventions into the design of the environment which can help to reduce the incidence of crime. Internationally, this strategic component is known as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design or CPTED which is being successfully employed in many cities worldwide and is based on certain principles of architecture, landscaping, visibility and lighting, aesthetics and the marking of spaces that create greater public security both in real terms, and in terms of people feeling safe in a location (DMC, 2000). The Safer City Strategy, in addition to looking at the fixed city environment, also considers transport within an urban design strategy. Specifically, crime at bus shelters,

taxi ranks and along transit routes is considered to be high but under-reported. However, the victim surveys identified earlier reveals that this is a real concern to many commuters. It is also important to note that most users of public transport in Durban are working class people.

In terms of budgetary concerns, the DMC (2000) considers three levels of cost in implementing the Safer City Strategy. The three levels are:

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

- Low cost to medium cost (for example, law enforcement): Creating crime prevention projects through cooperation among role-players and through creating partnerships that expand existing functions.

- Medium cost to high cost (for example, environmental design): Initiating new projects which go beyond current local government activities and require new infrastructure or personnel.

No cost, low cost and some medium cost activities can be funded by redirecting budgets and by prioritizing current activities while medium cost to high cost activities can best be achieved by seeking additional funding sources such as through stakeholder partnerships which may include joint programs between business, communities, and the City, rate rebates, provincial and national funding or foreign funding (DMC, 2000).

In terms of the Safer City Strategy, monitoring and evaluation are identified as key components (DMC, 2000). Monitoring is the regular observation and recording of project activities. This enables that progress is checked and information is gathered which can inform future decisions to improve project performance. Evaluation refers to the process of judging the completed project against anticipated outcomes and objectives. It is intended to provide a clear picture of the extent to which the project has been able to

achieve its intended objectives. By comparing the anticipated outcome with what actually happened, it is possible to identify practices that both worked and failed.

Four communities in Durban (informal settlements, Clermont, Reservoir Hills and Westville) form the case studies for the following reasons:

- Given the sensitive nature of the issues under investigation, concerns around access to conduct fieldwork is important. The researcher lives in the area and has been involved in safety and security programs. Therefore, access to respondents was greatly enhanced.

- The communities also represent, in the specific locality, historically differentiated areas. These localities are Westville (a historically White, upper income area), Reservoir Hills (a historically Indian, middle income area), Clermont (a historically African, working class township) and the informal settlements. The informal settlements are the Palmiet informal settlement and the New Germany informal settlement which are located in Reservoir Hills. They are in close proximity to each other, about 300m apart with a main road, river (the Palmiet river) and part of a golf course separating them. The choice of these localities allowed for an examination of social, class and racial dynamics in relation to environmental perceptions regarding violence and crime.

The location of the areas in the Durban Metropolitan Area is illustrated in Map 5.1. The communities are located in close proximity to each other as indicated in Map 5.2.
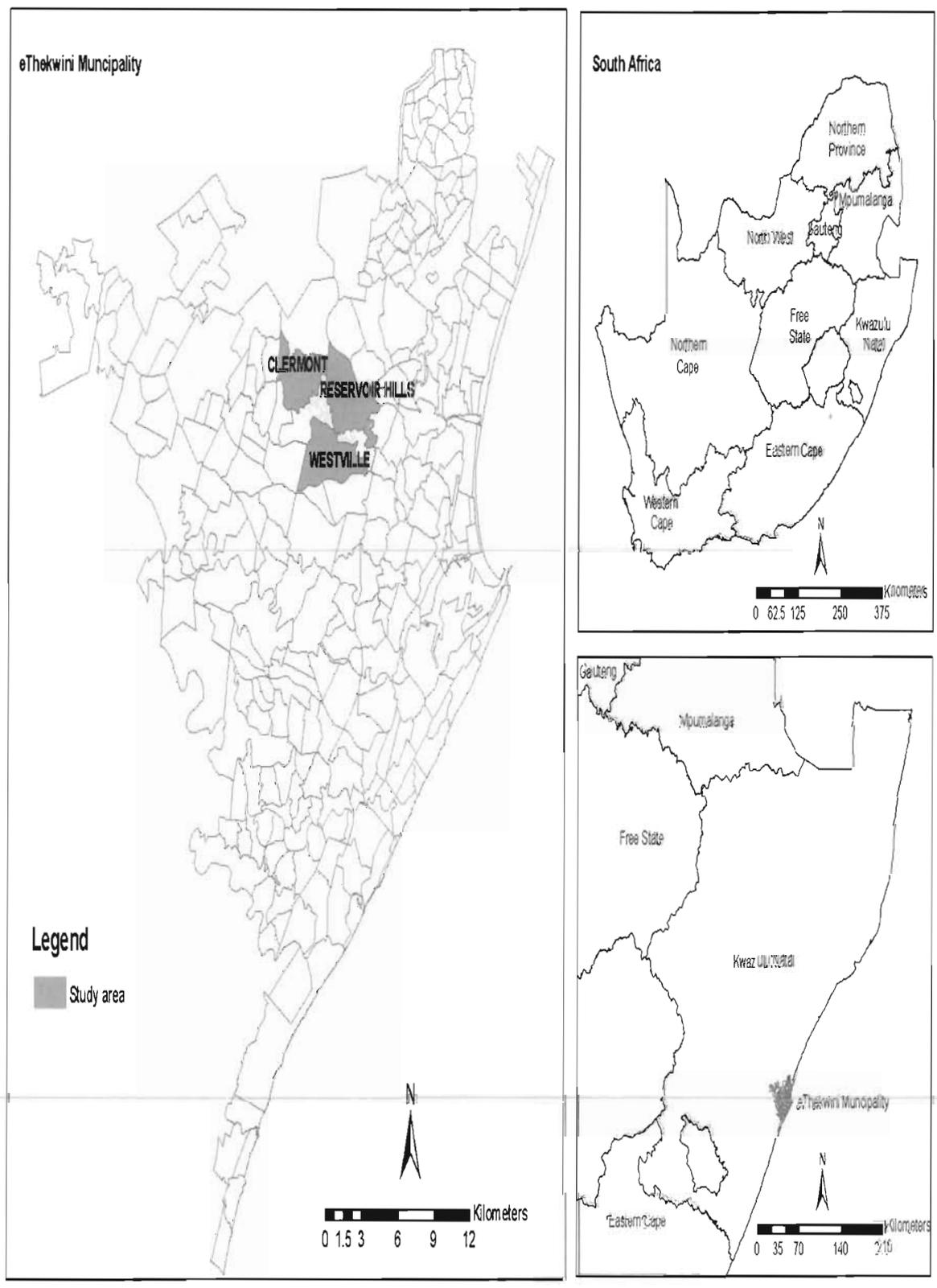
Map 5.1: Reservoir Hills, Westville and Claremont in the Durban Metro

Map 5.2: New Germany Road and Palmiet River Informal Settlements in Reservoir Hills

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The information presented below in terms of the areas under study are derived from the Ward profiles which the Economic Development Department (2005), eThekwini Municipality provided. The statistics are based on 2001 census data. It was, unfortunately, not possible to get specific data on the areas under study since the Ward profile was the lowest level of disaggregation.

Westville is located in Ward 24. Ward 24 comprises of the middle to upper income residential neighborhood of Westville, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville Campus) and a few informal settlements located on the University premises and close to the African township of Chesterville. There are 7 280 households in the Ward. In terms of dwelling types 84% are formal, 14% are informal and 1% are traditional. The total population is 32 093 and is made up of 59% Africans (the vast majority are located in the informal settlements), 25% Whites, 15% Indians and 2% Coloreds. In terms of gender, 61% of the population were male and 39% were female. In terms of age groups, 5% of the population was 0-4 years, 11% were 5-14 years, 49% were 13-34 years, 30% were 35-64 years and 5% were over 65 years. In relation to employment status, 46% of the population were employed, 46% were not economically active and 8% were unemployed. The dependency ratio was 3 and 69% of the population was literate (grade 7 and above). Annual household incomes ranged from none (14%) to more than R2 457 601. The main household income groups were R4 801-R9 600 (13%), R9 601-R19 200 (11%), R19 201-R38 400 (9%), R38 401-R76 800 (9%), R76 801-R153 600 (13%), R153 601-R307 200 (14%) and R307 201-R614 400 (2%). Basic household services such as electricity, refuse disposal and reticulated water and sanitation were available for over 80% of the population. Major community facilities located in the Ward include a library, police (including metro police), a hospital, billing points, 2 community halls, 2 post offices and 11 schools. In terms of the community needs assessment the five priority areas were park maintenance; safe and secure environments; upgrade and maintenance of road networks; safe, regular public transport; and one stop facility/center for rape survivors.

Reservoir Hills is located in Ward 23. Ward 23 comprises of the middle income residential neighborhoods of Reservoir Hills and Clare Estate as well as several (in total 15) informal settlements that are located in the area. These include the Palmiet and New Germany informal settlements that are part of the case study locations for this study. There are 8 439 households in the Ward. In terms of dwelling types 69% are formal, 29% are informal and 1% are traditional. This underscores the prevalence of informal settlements in the Ward. The total population is 27 490 and is made up of 31% Africans (the vast majority are located in the informal settlements), 66% Indians (reflects that this was a historically Indian residential area) and 2% Coloreds. In terms of gender, 48% of the population were male and 52% were female. In terms of age groups, 6% of the population was 0-4 years, 13% were 5-14 years, 41% were 13-34 years, 33% were 35-64 years and 6% were over 65 years. In relation to employment status, 44% of the population were employed, 37% were not economically active and 18% were unemployed. The dependency ratio was 3 and 66% of the population were literate (grade 7 and above). Annual household income ranged from none (25%) to R614 401-R1 1228 800. The main household income groups were R4 801-R9 600 (9%), R9 601-R19 200 (10%), R19 201-R38 400 (10%), R38 401-R76 800 (13%), R76 801-R153 600 (15%) and R153 601-R307 200 (10%). The majority of the population had access to basic household services such as electricity (71%), refuse disposal (96%), flush toilets (71%) and water in dwelling/yard (69%). This reflects the higher presence of informal settlements in the area. Major community facilities located in the Ward include a library, police, 2 clinics, 1 post office and 6 schools. In terms of the community needs assessment the five priority areas were clean living environment, housing, community center, job creation, and safety and security.

Clermont is located in Ward 92. Ward 92 comprises the lower income residential areas of Clermont and Kwadabeka, as well as 2 informal settlements. There are 9 604 households in the Ward (the largest of all three case study areas). In terms of dwelling types 66% are formal, 24% are informal and 9% are traditional. The total population is 28 960 and is made up of 85% Africans (reflective of most of the area being former African townships), 8% Indians and 7% Whites. In terms of gender, 49% of the population were

male and 51% were female. In terms of age groups, 9% of the population was 0-4 years, 16% were 5-14 years, 42% were 13-34 years, 29% were 35-64 years and 3% were over 65 years. In relation to employment status, 39% of the population were employed, 25% were not economically active and 36% were unemployed (highest unemployment rate in all three Wards). The dependency ratio was 4 and 61% of the population were literate (grade 7 and above). Annual household income ranged from none (31%) to R307 201-R614 400. The main household income groups were R1-R4 800 (6%), R4 801-R9 600 (13%), R9 601-R19 200 (19%), R19 201-R38 400 (13%), R38 401-R76 800 (6%), R76 801-R153 600 (5%) and R153 601-R307 200 (5%). The majority of the population had access to basic household services such as electricity (64%), refuse disposal (81%), flush toilets (82%) and water in dwelling/yard (83%). On average this was higher than Ward 23 which again reflects the high presence of informal settlements in the area. Major community facilities located in the ward include 5 community halls and 4 schools. This is the lowest of the three wards and reflects the apartheid legacy. In terms of the community needs assessment the five priority areas were health and social welfare services, infrastructure needs, job creation, safety and security, and sports and recreational facilities.

Concerns pertaining to safety and security issues are key priority areas identified in all the communities. This confirms the relevance and importance of this research endeavor that examines socio-economic and environmental perceptions of crime and violence in these communities.

The communities reflect a cross-section of experiences, contrasting socio-economic and spatial contexts. It was also anticipated that in the different contexts different sets of dynamics relating to perceptions and experiences of violence and crime exist. These communities together have more than 25 000 households (derived from Ward profiles). This, therefore, provides an ideal opportunity to intensively investigate the issues raised in this study.

5.3. METHODOLOGY

Farrall *et al* (1997) assert that although research on the fear of crime has grown substantially in recent years, from its inception, this field has relied almost exclusively upon quantitative surveys, which have suggested that the fear of crime is a prevalent social problem that can be quantified. However, there is growing concern that the nature of the instruments used to investigate this phenomenon, and in particular the use of 'closed' questions, have raised the possibility that the fear of crime has been significantly misrepresented (Farrall *et al*, 1997). Farrall *et al* (1997) further suggest that our understanding of the fear of crime is a product of the way it has been researched rather than the way it is. Stavrou (1993) states that the main methodological concerns in studies dealing with crime and violence was the measurement of perceptions and the accuracy of crime-related beliefs. He also indicated that literature surrounding this issue is filled with conflicting research findings.

This study explores socio-economic and environmental perceptions of violence and crime in four specific communities by adopting a locality level analysis based on the four case studies discussed above. Schwartz (1997) indicates that locality studies provide the opportunity for an in-depth analysis that pays sufficient attention to place and context specificities. Additionally, both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection were adopted to address Farrall *et al*'s (1997) concerns raised above. The following broad research questions guide the study generally and the methodological framework particularly:

- What are the roles of various stakeholders in dealing with safety and security concerns linked to crime and violence in residential areas in Durban?
- What are the socio-economic, political and environmental impacts of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban within the broader framework of safety and security considerations?
- What are the current safety and security strategies (including individual and household coping strategies), policies and institutional arrangements adopted by

various stakeholders in residential areas in Durban to deal with crime and violence? Are these effective?

- How do socio-economic characteristics, environmental contexts and perceptions as well as patterns of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban relate to each other?

- What are the opportunities and constraints for effectively dealing with safety and security concerns (addressing crime and violence) in residential areas in Durban?

- How do stakeholders perceive their environments in relation to crime and violence? What are the spatial patterns of environmental perceptions of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban by various stakeholders?

The research methodologies are guided by participatory and geographical approaches which promote the use of a variety of methods, that is, triangulation. This approach is also relevant to examine the socio-economic and environmental perceptions of crime and safety since, as indicated in the previous chapters, there are a range of experiences and concerns relating to the topic being under study. To examine these complexities, quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to generate data relating to the research objectives and questions identified. These include survey questionnaires (with some open-ended questions), key informant interviews, focus group discussions and ranking exercises. To identify trends and patterns the survey questionnaires were used while the qualitative approaches adopted permitted a more detailed examination of the survey findings. Issues were clarified and the underlying reasons for the patterns and trends were discussed. The need to include participatory techniques is based on the assertion that conventional methods used in data collection are often inadequate to unpack underlying meanings and processes (Chambers, 1997; Fortmann, 1995; Guijt and Shah, 1998; Perry, 2002; Slocum *et al*, 1995). Perry (2002) also asserts that qualitative research is consistent with many of the approaches that focus on subjectivity and knowledge stemming from everyday experiences.

Thus, the survey questionnaire identified trends and issues for further consideration. Additionally, the data assisted in identifying the focus groups in each community from

those who participated in the resident surveys to engage in more in-depth discussions around concerns raised in the questionnaire findings. Ranking exercises using pairwise ranking and scoring were used to systematically identify and prioritize areas that respondents considered to be unsafe. The ranking exercises also permitted an examination of different spatial aspects related to crime and safety in the specific residential localities under study such as security provisions, identifying risk areas, locations of specific criminal activities and how the landscape influences levels of fear and safety.

The use of qualitative methodologies is supported by several researchers (Borghi *et al*, 2007; Feldstein and Jiggins, 1994; Gibbs, 1997; Jones *et al*, 1997; Moser, 1993; Perry, 2002). Quantitative methods such as questionnaire surveys used in data collection are often unable to sufficiently unpack the underlying meanings and processes of people's experiences, perceptions and concerns. These issues are central to this study. Questionnaire surveys, Perry (2002) indicates, often tend to overlook important aspects of perceptions and experiences such as power dynamics associated with crime and violence. The focus tends to be on the collection of quantifiable data. The reasons behind why different patterns emerge when analyzing quantitative data tend also to be missed and are left in the hands of the interpretative skills of the researcher. Qualitative methods are particularly useful in unpacking social dynamics and incorporating voices of a range of stakeholders and groups (Morgan, 1996). Thus, both consensus and diversity among respondents/subjects can be explored. Borghi *et al* (2007) indicate that the use of qualitative methods considers the range of knowledge levels of respondents. Additionally, these methods bridge the gap between the researcher's and respondents' conceptualization of the problems and issues. Qualitative methods focus not only on what people think about a particular issue but why they think the way they do. Furthermore, it is possible that new concerns and issues will emerge during discussions and interactions with the researcher and the subjects.

A wide array of qualitative techniques are available: focus group discussions, participant observation, mapping exercises, transects, ranking exercises, semi-structured interviews,

key informant interviews, community transects, activities' profiles and Venn diagrams. This study uses focus group discussions and ranking exercises. Geographers (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995; McLafferty, 1995; Rose, 1993) warn that qualitative and quantitative methods are not replacements for each other but are alternatives that can be used to complement and clarify information.

The next section of this chapter involves a discussion of the specific methods used in this study. Also, the potential strengths and weaknesses of these methods are addressed and assessed.

5.3.1. Research methods and data sources

The methods employed in this study were guided by the research objectives, questions and methodologies presented earlier that aim to focus on the everyday experiences of people in relation to violence, crime and the fear of danger, as well as to relate these experiences to larger social, political and economic processes. Given the focus on socio-economic as well as spatial and broader environmental perceptions and experiences, the use of incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methodologies is appropriate.

The information for this thesis was based on multiple sources which are as follows:
- Secondary data and information sources (these sources were extensively used in the literature review chapters and the section in this chapter on the background to the case study areas)
  - Various crime and victim survey reports and statistics
  - Police statistics
  - Government policy documents at various levels pertaining to violence and crime, including the White Paper on Safety and Security
  - Research conducted by Non-governmental Organisations and other researchers (reports, books, chapters in books, journal articles)
  - eThekwini Municipality Ward profiles
- Primary data methods

- Interviews: questionnaire surveys and key informant interviews
- Qualitative methods: focus group discussions and ranking exercises

The secondary data and information sources were broad and comprehensive. It is also important to note that the internet provided a significant proportion of the government documents and crime victim surveys. There are a number of secondary sources of information in the form of research on crime and violence as well as on the impacts of violence more generally in South Africa as indicated in the literature reviewed in earlier chapters. The collection and analysis of secondary data was primarily a desk-top study aimed at visiting national and international level data as well as other studies on violence and crime conducted by academics and Non-governmental Organizations. Most of the secondary source data took the form of specific case studies.

In terms of the primary data sources fieldwork was conducted in four communities in the Durban Metropolitan Area. A variety of qualitative (focus group discussions, key informant interviews and ranking exercises) and quantitative (questionnaire survey) methods that are discussed in this section were used. Prior to discussing in detail the specific methods used, the sampling method adopted will be briefly reviewed.

5.3.1.1. Sampling and interviews

Perry (2002) indicates that although both participatory and geography methodologies advocate the use of questionnaires as one of the many methods available, the literature reviewed has given little thought to the issue of sampling or choosing respondents generally. The focus has primarily been on what information to collect, how to collect it (that is, what methods to use), how to analyze the data and how to present it. The link between what information and whom to get the information from has been relatively neglected except in the most general terms such as focus groups and targeted questionnaires. During the discussion of each method, the rationale used behind the identification of groups and individuals is explained. However, since the initial 100 household respondents in each of the specified communities formed the basic group for

all the research methods (the focus groups were drawn from each of the communities), the sampling technique used will be briefly discussed.

Schwartz (1997) indicates that sampling refers to the set of procedures by which individuals, households or communities are selected from a total population group. The main reason for sampling is that it is often not possible given various constraints to cover all units in a population. Some of the constraints include the size of the population, time and financial costs, inadequate person power and the fact that potential respondents may choose not to participate in the research process (Perry, 2002; Schwartz, 1997). In the case of the resident/household interviews, a systematic sampling approach was adopted. Every tenth house in designated localities in Westville, Reservoir Hills and Claremont were interviewed. In the case of the informal settlements, a preliminary visit was conducted to assess the number of shacks/ structures in the settlement. It was estimated that there were approximately 400 structures in the two informal settlements. Thus, every fourth household was selected to be interviewed. It is important to note that if households selected were not available or refused to participate, the interviews were conducted with the neighboring household chosen by the researcher.

The questionnaires (both structured and semi-structured) for the various stakeholders listed below was constructed, following the advise of Taylor-Powell (1998), by thoroughly examining the kind of evidence that was needed to fulfil the purpose of the study (as informed by the research objectives and questions) and an understanding of how the information will be used. Furthermore, due consideration was given to the group of people for which the specific questionnaire was being designed. Both open-ended and closed-ended questions were utilized. The open-ended questions, as stated by Taylor-Powell (1998), stimulate free thought and solicit creative suggestions as well as probes for more detail. The closed-ended questions (the focus of the resident and business surveys) permit more uniform responses as well as allowing for coding and statistical analysis of the information gathered. In all cases, face-to-face interviews were conducted.

Questionnaire surveys were piloted in each of the stakeholder categories tabulated below. This process allowed for a refinement of the questionnaire, if necessary. In all instances, given the sensitivities of the issues under consideration and to ensure coverage of the sampling size, face-to-face interviews were conducted. In the case of Zulu-speaking respondents, an interpreter was used to facilitate the interview process. In the case of residents and businesses in the identified residential areas, a sample of 100 households (as explained earlier) and 10 businesses in each community was chosen. In the case of the businesses they were also systematically drawn. Thirty business interviews were conducted (10 each in Reservoir Hills, Westville and Clermont) since the informal settlements are in Reservoir Hills. In the rest of the stakeholder categories key informant interviews were conducted by utilizing the purposive sampling approach. Police from all three police stations (Reservoir Hills which has a sub-station, Westville and Kwadabeka police station that Clermont residents use) servicing the areas under study were interviewed. In terms of the private security companies operational in the areas, eight were approached (all companies known by the researcher) but only four agreed to be interviewed. It is interesting to note that three out of the four companies interviewed were the larger, national, established companies. With the exception of one local company, the smaller local companies refused to be interviewed. Finally, in each of the case study areas a community forum/community-based organisation addressing crime and violence was interviewed. In the case of the last three groups (police, private security company and community forums), key informant interviews were conducted. The Table below presents the sampling framework.

Table 5.1: Sampling framework

Stakeholder	Sample size	Sampling approach	Type of method/s employed
Residents (100 x 4 localities)	400	Systematic	Questionnaire survey (see Appendix 1) Participatory focus group exercises (focus group discussions and ranking exercises)
Businesses (10 x 3 localities)	30	Systematic	Questionnaire survey (see Appendix 2)
Police representatives from each station	3	Purposive	Key informant interview (see Appendix 3)
Private security company	4	Purposive	Key informant interview (see Appendix 4)
Community forums/ community-based organisations	3 (one in each community)	Purposive	Key informant interview (see Appendix 5)

The resident questionnaire surveys were conducted at the homes of respondents. The business interviews were conducted at the places of work. This was done to get a greater feel for the daily lives and experiences of the respondents and also, as highlighted by Dyck (1997), to create a less hierarchical relationship between the respondents and the researcher. These were environments that they were familiar and comfortable with.

The resident and business questionnaire surveys were comprehensive and incorporated both closed and open-ended questions. The closed questions in the questionnaire were mostly related to gathering economic and social data that could be quantified. The open-ended questions were structured to enable respondents to provide more detail in relation to their experiences, perceptions and attitudes. The socio-economic aspects of the questionnaire were addressed in the first part of the interview in order to enable the interviewer to establish a sense of rapport with the respondent and allow for ease of entry to the more personal and sensitive areas of the interview. The questionnaires were also structured in such a way as to facilitate comparative analyses. Broadly, the following sections comprised the questionnaires: background of respondents, understanding of violence and crime, perceptions regarding the general characteristics of perpetrators and

those who are violated, environmental perceptions of violence and crime (specifically focusing on examining safe and unsafe areas), sources of information relating to violence and crime, personal experiences of violence and crime, and coping strategies that the respondents use to minimize the risk of violence and crime.

It is important to note that in terms of unpacking perceptions of crime and violence in the questionnaire, the approach adopted by Smith (1987) wasused. Smith (1997: 2) states:

> Surveys usually measure fear by asking how safe people feel in different circumstances and how much they worry about different types of crime. Broadly, what is being tapped is an emotional response to threat ... an expression of one's sense of danger and anxiety at the prospect of being harmed.

Smith (1997: 2) further asserts that "fear is an experience that is not discrete or clearly bounded" and that "anxiety about crime is not so much an event as a persistent or recurring sense of malaise."

Questionnaire-based surveys are the most common methodology used to gather information (Moodley, 2002). These types of surveys have been useful in gathering a wide range of information that can often be easily quantified, as is the case in this study. However, the questionnaire method has limitations as well. In the context of the study, the focus on examining perceptions and attitudes, of particular importance is the general inability of questionnaires to gather information that contributes to a greater understanding of social relations and dynamics. To some extent, including open-ended questions in the survey instruments was an attempt to address this concern. However, as Currie and MacLean (1997) state, the general structured nature of questionnaires tends to provide limited flexibility. Also, Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi (1995) and Rose (1993) indicate that questionnaires depend to a large extent on the respondent's ability to grasp the question and articulate his/her response. Thus, as Perry (2002) states, questions rely heavily on verbal and written forms that often fail to capture important processes, experiences and concerns. The focus group discussions and ranking exercises proved to

be particularly useful to allow the respondents and the researcher to openly communicate issues and talk about concerns not broached in the questionnaire. Thus, to clarify issues raised during the questionnaire interviews and complement the data gathered, focus group discussions and ranking exercise methods were also conducted.

5.3.1.2. Focus group discussions and ranking exercises

Qualitative methods were also used in the research effort as the study concentrated on unquantifiable concepts like life experiences, attitudes and perceptions. Bob (1999) states that the strength of adopting a qualitative approach lies in the ability of the researcher to capture people's experiences in their own terms and to begin to tease out underlying meanings and processes. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) state that qualitative research might be particularly valuable as part of the process to probe experiences which the questionnaire may not be well suited to capture. They further state that qualitative approaches need to be added to the quantitative suite of methodological considerations in terms of research on violence.

> This (qualitative research) needs to be added to the ever growing list of methodological considerations for this (violence) area of research, which currently include good interviewer selection, training and adherence to ethical principles, avoidance of complex notions such as 'rape' and 'abuse' in questions, use of multiple questions, use of triggers to memory (for example, age, or setting – school, work or community), and the need to ask about specific forms of coercion in multiple ways including the use of physical force, coercion in intimate relationships, forced sexual initiation, persuasion, economic coercion, sexual harassment at school and work and child sexual abuse.
>
> (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002: 1241)

Slocum *et al* (1995) argue that the selection of the appropriate qualitative tools depend on the activity and the type of issue being investigated. In this study, the selection of specific participatory methods used was informed by the research questions as well as the results

from the questionnaire survey. In particular, focus group discussions and ranking exercises were used. These are discussed below.

5.3.1.2.1. Focus group discussions

Morgan (1996) states that focus groups and group interviews have emerged as a popular technique for gathering qualitative information. Furthermore, focus groups are used as a self-contained method and in combination with surveys and other research methods. According to Kreuger (1988), focus group interviews were born in the late 1930s by social scientists who had doubts about the accuracy of traditional information gathering methods. Specifically, Rice (1931: 561 cited in Kreuger, 1988: 18) indicated:

> A defect of the interview for the purposes of fact-finding in scientific research, then, is that the questioner takes the lead ... data obtained from an interview are likely to embody the preconceived ideas of the interviewer as the attitude of the subject interviewed.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 365) state that "Merton *et al.* coined the term 'focus group' in 1956 to apply to a situation in which the interviewer asks group members very specific questions about a topic after considerable research has already been completed". Furthermore, Kreuger (1988: 18) defines a focus group as a "carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions in a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment." The focus group interview is a qualitative data gathering technique that finds the interviewer/moderator directing the interaction and inquiry in a very structured or unstructured manner, depending on the interview's purpose (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Merton *et al* (1990: 135) suggest that the focused interview with a group of people "... will yield a more diversified array of responses and afford a more extended basis both for designing systematic research on the situation in hand". Additionally, Knodel (1993 cited in Borghi *et al*, 2007) state that focus groups are a more straight forward approach to explore a broad spectrum of individual views. Also, the group approach benefits from the interaction between participants and the researcher/s as

well as among participants themselves in a less formal environment. Gibbs (1997) states that the benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation.

For this study convenience sampling was used to choose 10 individuals, regarded as ideal focus group sizes by Stewart and Shamdasani (1990), from those interviewed during the questionnaire survey phase. This was done for the residents only in each of the study localities. Utilizing convenience sampling ensured that the focus group consisted of representative members. Specifically, the individuals chosen to participate were both men and women, and were from various localities in the study areas (ensuring a geographical spread).

5.3.1.2.2. Ranking exercises

During the focus group discussions, ranking exercises using pairwise ranking and scoring were conducted. Pairwise ranking and scoring are tools for identifying issues of concern, their causes and prioritizing these problems. They may not be a concern common to the entire group, rather they may be priorities and solutions that differ according to gender, class, ethnicity, age and race within different contexts.

The ranking exercises for this study focused on identifying unsafe areas. Prior to the actual ranking, the chosen concepts of violence and crime as well as the fear of violence and crime were discussed fully. The discussion included an examination of how different people experience violence and crime as well as the way in which individuals 'see' their physical environment. Each focus group was asked to identify areas that they considered to be unsafe. Using a matrix, each unsafe area identified was weighted against another. Finally, the unsafe areas were scored and ranked. The ranking exercises served as useful sources to explore the spatial perceptions of safety and insecurity. This technique also allowed the researcher to understand better how spatial perceptions of fear and safety might affect or has affected people. The intention was to ascertain respondents' spatial

perceptions about danger and violence in their localities. Examining spatial experiences and perceptions of violence is essential to understand how places and spaces are used. Different meanings and experiences associated with the landscape leads to different cognitive maps which influence where people go and places that they avoid.

An important approach in attempting to understand the spatial patterns of violence and the fear of violence is to identify and highlight areas where violence is perceived to exist, areas where people are fearful of violence and areas where they feel safe. This spatial understanding of fear and violence allows conclusions to be drawn about the relationships between perceptions, risk, fear and concomitant behavior.

The materials used for the ranking exercises were large poster papers and colored felt pens. The participants were first asked to list ten locations (or types of locations) that they deemed to be unsafe. A matrix table was then drawn on the posters. The exercises were conducted in community centers in all the areas. The process was interactive with the researcher asking leading questions with the respondents adding aspects.

The introductory steps to the focus group entailed an introduction by all participants and the researchers (there were Zulu interpreters in Claremont and the informal settlements to assist when necessary). The introduction also included an explanation of the process to follow. The first part entailed a facilitated discussion about issues that the researcher wanted discussed/clarified that emerged from the questionnaire surveys. The second part entailed the participants engaging in a ranking exercise that was intended to identify and prioritize the top ten unsafe areas or crime 'hotspots' listed by the respondents.

It is important to note that when using qualitative methods, as Gibbs (1997) states, problems arise when attempting to identify the individual view from the group view, as well as in the practical arrangements for conducting focus groups. Logistical problems did not emerge in this research endeavor since, as indicated earlier, the researcher was familiar with a range of stakeholders in the areas including residents, businesses, community forums, the private security industry and the police.

5.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

In terms of primary fieldwork conducted in this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The usefulness of this was that each method reflected different ways of getting information and getting different kinds of information. The literature clearly illustrates that when multiple methods are used concurrently, the sequencing in which methods are implemented is crucial (Rochealeau *et al*, 1996). Rochealeau *et al* (1996) further argue that this is particularly important to compensate for weaknesses in individual data gathering techniques and to build on knowledge systematically. Taking these concerns into consideration the following sequencing for this study was adopted:

- Introductory meetings (February - March 2005):

Entry meetings were held with the key stakeholders: community forums, police departments, private security companies and business forums. This provided an opportunity to inform the relevant stakeholders about the purpose of the study, to allay any concerns and to develop a time-table for the rest of the visits to collect the data. During this period, the questionnaire was piloted with each of the stakeholders, including two households and two businesses in each of the communities.

- Questionnaire surveys (April 2005 – January 2006):

The questionnaires (both residents and businesses) were conducted in each of the communities.

- Focus group discussions and ranking exercises (February – April 2006):

The focus group discussions and ranking exercises were conducted after the questionnaires were implemented.

5.5. DATA ANALYSIS

The closed ended questions in the questionnaire surveys were captured in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequency tables were generated and are discussed in the data analysis chapter. The open-ended questions were grouped in relation to key issues and categories and the hand tally system was used to provide an indication of the percentages of the responses. The data analysis is undertaken in relation to each stakeholder group interviewed. Additionally, the issues emerging from the study are discussed thematically. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of the findings among the case study areas as well as the stakeholders is undertaken.

In terms of the qualitative data collected, the information gathered was interpreted by categorization and connection as Dey (1993 cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) indicated. Master themes were developed and where appropriate, sub-themes emerged as well. After the themes were extracted, as Kitchin and Tate (2000) indicate, the data were interpreted using the processes of describing the data (portraying the data in a way that is easily understandable), classification of the data (breaking up the data into similar components and placing them into similar groups) and examining the interconnectivity of the data (finding associations and relationships). It is important to note that the quantitative and qualitative data were analysed together for the residents and businesses since the main purpose of the qualitative methods were to clarify and provide more detailed information on aspects emerging from the questionnaire surveys. Key citations were also extracted from the focus group discussions and are included in the text. Thus, when relevant themes were discussed, qualitative information was integrated where appropriate. In essence, a combination of thematic, content and comparative analysis was adopted.

5.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to underscore that studies of this nature that focus on perceptions and experiences have several limitations regarding data collection and its application which are (Camerer *et al*, 1998; Louw, 1998; Louw *et al*, 1998):

- Responses to the surveys are affected by the ability of interviewees to recall events and when they happened.
- There is a general reluctance to discuss the experiences and opinions, particularly in the case of sexual crimes and domestic violence.
- Responses measure public perceptions of crime and violence rather than actual experiences.
- Variations on how incidents are understood by respondents, particularly where the sample is not homogeneous as is the case in this study, may also affect the consistency and comparability of data. Problems of definition and interpretation especially affect the documentation of sexual incidents.
- There is also a chance that stereotyping of particular incidents and groups can occur during the course of the survey.

However, despite the limitations of the study it is believed that the research complements official statistics as well as other studies that attempt to unpack issues pertaining to crime and violence in South African society.

5.7. CONCLUSION

Although the sample size is relatively small (400 households, 30 businesses, 3 police representatives, 4 private security company representatives and 3 community-based organization representatives), it is believed for the purposes of this study that the data gathered provides an in-depth, qualitative and quantitative understanding of central issues as stated in the objectives and research questions. Additionally, a range of stakeholders are included in the study to ensure that multiple perspectives and concerns are captured. In this chapter, the background to the case studies as well as the methods employed in the

study were presented. The methods chosen provide the opportunity to probe and explore the themes under investigation in a flexible manner. The variety of approaches adopted in this study as well as the multiple opportunities that respondents interviewed had to raise concerns ensured the integration of quantifiable data with qualitative perceptions and experiences. Furthermore, triangulation was possible whereby the information gathered from different sources was critically examined to assess, as Murkhurjee (1993) indicated, whether valid representations were being discerned. This study offers a useful example of integrating qualitative and quantitative methods to provide an analysis of violence and crime.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the primary data collected. This is done in relation to the socio-economic profiles of the respondents as well as the research questions identified in the previous chapter. The main intention of the chapter is to draw out pertinent findings and make relevant links to the literature review outlined in chapters two, three and four. The data is represented thematically in terms of the methodologies used. Thus, the first section analyzes the findings from the data collected in relation to the residents, namely the questionnaire survey and ranking exercise results. This is followed by a discussion of the business survey results. An examination of the key informant interviews with police representatives, private security companies and community forums is then undertaken. Finally, some concluding remarks are provided.

During the interviews and participatory exercises conducted with the respondents in the four case studies, a number of important concerns pertinent to the study were raised. These include:

- respondent profiles;
- perceptions regarding the general characteristics of the perpetrators and victims of violence and crime;
- types of violence and crime victims are aware of;
- general environmental perceptions of violence;
- perceptions of violence and crime in relation to the community and business locations;
- sources of information regarding violence and crime;
- experiences of violence and crime;
- coping strategies used to deal with violence and crime (including fear of); and

- recommendations to deal with violence in society generally and in the community specifically.

Throughout the analysis the following abbreviations are used in the Tables to denote the case study areas:

RH: Reservoir Hills

W: Westville

C: Clermont

IS: Informal settlements

T: Total

6.2. RESIDENTS

6.2.1. Survey findings

This section of the chapter presents the data derived from the questionnaire survey undertaken. A comparative critical analysis of the data is undertaken.

6.2.1.1. Respondent profiles/background of respondents

This sub-section briefly summarizes the socio-demographic profile of the respondents.

Table 6.1: Respondents' gender (in %)

Gender	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Male	50	51	56	45	50.5
Female	50	49	44	55	49.5

Almost equal proportions of males (50.5%) and females (49.5%) were interviewed. Slightly more respondents were males (56%) in Clermont and more females (55%) were interviewed in the informal settlements.

Table 6.2: Respondents' historical racial classification (in %)

Race	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
African	2	6	100	100	52
White	-	57	-	-	14.25
Indian	93	35	-	-	32
Colored	5	2	-	-	1.75

The Table above indicates that the historical race classification of the respondents varied across the communities surveyed and reflect the historical Group Areas, that is, the majority of the respondents in Reservoir Hills were Indian (93%) and the majority of respondents in Westville (57%) were Whites. Some integration is discernible in both the communities. In Reservoir Hills 2% of the respondents were African and 5% were Colored. In Westville, a more diverse racial grouping is noticeable (6% African, 35% Indian and 2% Colored). This is largely as a result of out-migration of Whites and the entry of other racial groups from upper and upper-middle income categories into the community. In both Clermont and the informal settlements all respondents were Africans. The data reveals that the survey reflects the current racial composition in the communities under study.

Table 6.3: Respondents' age (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
< 20	-	-	1	3	1
21-30	16	8	14	25	15.75
31-40	30	31	19	33	28.25
41-50	43	45	53	29	42.5
51-60	10	13	7	10	10
> 60	1	3	6	-	2.5
	X = 39.5	X = 42.2	X = 41.9	X = 36.9	X = 40.1

The majority of respondents were between 21 and 50 years old (87%) (Table 6.3). The main age category among the respondents was 41-50 years (42.5%). This age category was particularly prevalent in Reservoir Hills (43%), Westville (45%) and Clermont (53%). The overall average age of the respondents was 40.1 years (39.5 years in Reservoir Hills, 42.2 years in Westville, 41.9 years in Clermont and 36.9 years in the informal settlements).

Table 6.4: Respondents' educational level (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
No formal schooling	-	-	1	32	8.25
Partial primary	-	-	13	39	13
Primary	11	-	18	21	12.5
Partial secondary	24	18	32	5	19.75
Secondary	45	40	24	3	28
Diploma/ certificate	12	21	10	-	10.75
Degree	5	17	2	-	6
Postgraduate degree	3	4	-	-	1.75

In terms of the educational level of respondents, the majority of the respondents had secondary level (28%). This was followed by partial secondary (19.75%), partial primary (13%), primary (12.5%) and diploma/certificate (10.75%). However, the educational levels of the respondents vary considerably across the case studies, reflecting both socio-economic categories and historical legacies. In terms of the latter it is important to note that a significant proportion of the African population in South Africa did not have access to educational opportunities, especially at the higher levels. Given that the majority of respondents are adults over the age of 30 years (Table 6.3), it is expected that they would have had limited access to educational opportunities. This is certainly reflected in the results. In Reservoir Hills, most respondents' educational levels were partial secondary (24%) and secondary (45%). In Westville, all respondents had at least partial secondary with most respondents' educational levels being secondary (40%) and diploma/ certificate (21%). The main educational levels attained by respondents in Clermont were primary (18%), partial secondary (32%) and secondary (24%). Thirty two percent of the respondents in the informal settlements had no formal schooling. The main education levels attained among the rest were partial primary (39%) and primary (21%). A few respondents had degrees (17% in Westville, 5% in Reservoir Hills and 2% in Clermont) and postgraduate degrees (4% in Westville and 3% in Reservoir Hills).

Table 6.5: Respondents' employment status (in %)

Type of employment	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Unemployed	-	-	13	35	12
Home executive/ housewife	11	8	15	5	9.75
Student/ scholar	7	11	5	-	5.75
Professional	31	45	5	-	20.25
Businessperson	15	17	4	2	9.5
Sales/ marketing	12	9	2	-	5.75
Artisan	15	2	5	2	6
Laborer/ unskilled	-	-	22	51	18.25
Technical	8	4	11	3	6.5
Administrative/ clerical	1	4	18	2	6.25

Similar to the educational levels presented in Table 6.4, the employment status of respondents (Table 6.5) varies considerably and generally reflects the income status of the households and more generally the communities under study. The main types of employment of respondents in Reservoir Hills are professional (31%), businesspersons (15%), artisans (15%) and sales and marketing (12%). The main types of employment of respondents in Westville are professional (45%), businesspersons (17%), student/scholar (11%) and sales and marketing (9%). The main types of employment of respondents in Clermont are laborer/unskilled (22%), administrative/clerical (18%) and technical (11%). The main types of employment of respondents in the informal settlements are laborer/ unskilled (51%). It is important to note that 13% of the respondents in Clermont and 35% in the informal settlements stated that they were unemployed.

6.2.1.2. Respondents' understanding of violence and crime

This section examines respondents' understanding of violence and in relation to definitions, types of violence they are aware of and the specific type/s of violence they deem to be the worst form.

Table 6.6: Respondents' definition of violence (in %): multiple responses

Definitions	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Abuse of an individual physically, sexually or emotionally	36	35	13	7	22.75
When a person physically attacks another	12	13	13	15	13.25
Hurting a person	13	11	3	5	8
Physical (hitting) or verbal (swearing) abuse	6	-	13	16	8.75
Form of aggression and intimidation	2	5	-	-	1.75
Assault	9	-	5	9	5.75
When someone abuses people when they are not in their right state of mind	1	-	-	-	0.25
Conflictual circumstances that bring about aggression (mostly physical)	-	1	-	-	0.25
An act which endangers others	10	3	-	-	3.25
Intentionally harming someone	6	11	4	2	5.75
Mental, verbal and/ or physical abuse	31	16	12	-	14.75
Violation of a person's rights	7	10	5	-	5.5
Physical abuse	10	5	9	9	8.25
Sexual abuse	3	5	14	15	9.25
Invasion of privacy or a person in a harmful way	-	10	5	-	3.75
Intention to inflict harm/ injury	4	10	5	12	7.75
People fighting	3	-	23	35	15.25
Hijackings	2	7	3	-	4
Murder	12	12	13	11	12
Robbery	-	-	-	3	0.75

The main definitions of violence forwarded by the respondents were (Table 6.6):

- Abuse of an individual physically, sexually or emotionally (22.75%: mainly in Reservoir Hills and Westville)
- People fighting (15.25%: mainly in Clermont and the informal settlements)
- Mental, verbal and/or physical abuse (14.75%: mainly in Reservoir Hills, Westville and Clermont)
- When a person physically attacks someone (13.25%)
- Murder (12%)
- Sexual abuse (9.25%)
- Physical (hitting) or verbal (swearing) abuse (8.75%: mainly in Clermont and the informal settlement)
- Physical abuse (8.25%)

The respondents' definitions of violence incorporate physical, sexual, verbal and psychological abuse.

Table 6.7: Respondents' definition of crime (in %): multiple responses

Definitions	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Robbery/ theft	2	2	24	22	12.5
People fighting	3	-	33	37	18.25
Murder	11	3	5	11	7.5
Any unlawful activity against state or person	25	37	15	5	20.5
Unlawful acts displayed by individuals that cause harm to others	33	39	7	7	21.5
An act that is illegal/ against law of country	43	41	28	33	36.25

The main definitions of crime forwarded by the respondents were (Table 6.7):

- An act that is illegal/against the law of the country (36.25%)

- Unlawful acts displayed by individuals that can cause harm to others (21.5%)

- Any unlawful activity against state or person (20.5%)

- People fighting (18.25%)

Respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements emphasized robbery/theft and people fighting while respondents in Reservoir Hills and Westville underscored unlawful aspects. However, most respondents across the case studies correctly indicated the importance of viewing crime as being illegal.

It is important to note that many of the respondents stressed that violence and crime has an intentional component linked to pre-meditated attempts to harm someone. As Nadesan (2000) indicates, most violence and crime in society is characterized by the assertion of power and control over people. This was also illustrated by Bob *et al* (2006) who indicate that crime in South Africa is particularly problematic because of the high levels of violence associated with crime and that a significant proportion of crime is pre-meditated rather than opportunistic in nature.

Table 6.8: Types of violence respondents are aware of (in %): multiple responses

Type of violence	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Physical	23	25	5	8	15.25
Emotional/ mental/ psychological	12	9	2	-	5.75
Sexual	23	22	13	11	17.25
Fighting	-	-	19	25	11
Domestic	11	14	9	7	10.25
Verbal/ abusive language	8	9	2	-	4.75
Child abuse	11	15	19	17	15.5
Rape	21	18	23	27	22.5
Hijacking	11	15	2	-	7
Kidnapping	1	-	1	-	0.5
Assault/ murder/ shooting/ stabbing	21	14	22	30	21.75
Robbery/ theft/ burglary	25	22	33	29	27.25
Fighting	1	-	24	33	14.5
Human abuse	-	-	2	-	0.5
Male abuse	1	1	2	-	1
Police violence	-	-	2	-	0.5

Respondents were aware of a range of different types of violence which are indicated in Table 6.8. The main types of violence identified were robbery/ theft/ burglary (27.25%), rape (22.5%), assault/ murder/ shooting/ stabbing (21.75%), sexual (17.25%), child abuse (15.5%), physical (15.25%) and fighting (14.5%). It is interesting to note that respondents from Clermont could identify more types of violence than respondents from other case study areas. Physical, sexual and emotional violence were highlighted.

The 'continuum of violence" (Moser, 2004) cited in the literature is discernible with a range of different types of violence and crime being identified. This ranges from verbal/ abusive language to murder. However, it is important to note that several types and manifestations of violence cited Table 2.1 in chapter two were not identified by most, if not all, of the respondents. For example, institutional forms of violence as perpetrated by the police, educators and health workers. were not indicated with the exception of two respondents in Clermont. It is interesting to also note that more organized types of violence such as fraud and corruption were not identified by the respondents. Political violence such as armed conflict and political assassinations did not emerge as an aspect of violence and crime that respondents were aware of. However, during the focus group discussions, respondents in Clermont indicated that this type of violence was prevalent during the apartheid era and during the run-up to the first democratic election in 1994.

Territorial or identity-based 'turf' (gansterism) violence was also not evident. This is an enormous problem in some residential neighborhoods in South Africa (Louw and Shaw, 1997) but appears not to be a significant problem in the case study areas. Hate crimes, as indicated by Rayburn et al (2003), also did not emerge in this study.

Table 6.9: Type/s of violence respondents consider to be the worst form of violence (in %)

Type of violence	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Sexual/ rape	33	34	45	38	37.5
Murder	50	42	18	40	37.25
Child abuse	7	24	33	21	21.25
Physical	2	-	-	-	0.5
Emotional	1	-	-	-	0.25
Any form of violence	7	-	4	1	3

Table 6.9 shows that the worst types of violence identified by the respondents were murder (37.25%), sexual/ rape (37.5%) and child abuse (21.25%). The worst types of violence identified in the different communities were murder in Reservoir Hills (51%), Westville (42%) and the informal settlements (40%), and sexual/rape in Clermont (45%). Some of the respondents (3%) stated any form of violence. These respondents felt strongly that all types of violence should not be tolerated and that one type of violence was not worse than the other.

Clearly, sexual and physical violence in the form of murder were identified by the respondents as the worst types of violence. Some of the reasons forwarded were that it devastates the individual physically and emotionally. Sexual violence in particular was deemed to be dehumanizing. All respondents who highlighted sexual violence specifically cited rape. During the focus group discussions, participants also stated that these types of abuses were associated with the most physical pain and emotional trauma. Victims do not easily recover from this form of violence. As one respondent from Reservoir Hills stated, "physical and sexual violence changes one's life forever. A person will never be the same again." The respondents who identified murder felt that taking someone's life was the worst type of violence. One respondent from Clermont said:

Rape is the worst type of violation a woman can ever experience. It destroys you physically and emotionally. Also, today with HIV/AIDS rape can be a death sentence.

Many respondents held the perception that sexual violence dramatically impacts on females' abilities to have healthy relationships, especially with the opposite sex. The possibility of falling pregnant also makes rape a terrifying and emotionally devastating experience for women.

Many of the respondents also felt that the types of violence identified in Table 6.9 impact negatively on one's psychological, emotional and social well-being. One respondent in the informal settlements stated:

> Many of our children are constantly being abused. This is a vicious and never-ending cycle and there is no hope for their future. Violence leads to more violence. It has to stop!

All the respondents who highlighted child abuse as the worst type of violence indicated that children are innocent and extremely vulnerable. One respondent from Westville stated:

> The worst thing a human-being can do is abuse children. They are innocent and it is our job as adults to take care of them. I cannot understand why anyone will do such an awful thing. What does the man get by hurting our precious children?

Respondents generally assumed that men abuse children. Another respondent from Reservoir Hills stated:

> What hope is there for the future if we cannot take care of our children? South Africa will never prosper until our children are safe and can reach their full potential in a loving and caring environment.

The types of violence regarded as being the worst forms by the respondents were viewed as the most devastating to a person's physical, psychological and emotional well-being. They tend to have the greatest impact on a person's quality of life and to function in society. Physical, sexual and psychological violence were viewed by many of the respondents as a very destructive force.

6.2.1.3. Perceptions regarding the general characteristics of the perpetrators of violence

This sub-section examines respondents' perceptions regarding who they believe are generally perpetrators of violence. The key characteristics discussed are gender, age, marital status, parental status, historical racial category, educational level, occupation, relationship to victim and residential location.

Table 6.10: Perceptions regarding the gender of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Gender	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Male	97	99	98	100	98.5
Both males and females	3	1	2	-	1.5

The vast majority of respondents (98.5%) perceived that the gender of the perpetrators of violence is males (Table 6.10). The rest (1.5%) indicated that both males and females are the perpetrators of violence. This is in keeping with the findings in the literature review which strongly suggests that males tend to be more prone towards violence than females. This is linked to the male, patriarchal socialization process. The prevalence of gender-based violence in society which generally takes the form of males abusing females is also rooted in patriarchal values and tendencies. As Morrell (2002 argues, violence and violation in society is highly gendered. The gender dimensions of violence as perceived by the respondents are clearly evident. The literature also indicates that people generally view males as being violent (against females as well as against one another).

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Table 6.11: Perceptions regarding the age of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
< 15	11	7	11	13	10.5
16-25	53	72	45	59	57.25
26-35	29	21	40	28	29.5
36-45	3	-	2	-	1.25
46-55	1	-	-	-	0.25
Any age	3	-	2	-	1.25
	X = 23.6	X = 22.1	X = 24.1	X = 22.3	X = 23

The majority of the respondents across all the case studies (87%) stated that the perpetrators of violence tend to be between the ages of 16 and 35 years (Table 6.11). None of the respondents stated that the perpetrators were over 55 years. A few respondents (1.25%: 3% in Reservoir Hills and 2% in Clermont) stated that perpetrators of violence generally tend to be of any age. The overall average perceived age of the perpetrators of violence was calculated to be 23 years. In terms of the specific case studies, the average perceived ages of the perpetrators of violence were 23.6 years in Reservoir Hills, 22.1 years in Westville, 24.1 years in Clermont and 22.3 years in the informal settlements.

Table 6.12: Perceptions regarding the marital status of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Marital status	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Married	2	-	-	10	3
Single	88	93	97	87	91.25
Divorced	9	5	2	-	4
Separated	1	2	1	3	1.75

In terms of the perceived marital status of the perpetrators of violence, most respondents indicated that they were single (91.25%). Some of the respondents stated that perpetrators were either divorced (4%), married (3%) or separated (1.75%). It is important to note that respondents in the informal settlements that indicated married (10%) clarified that although the perpetrators were married their spouses resided in the rural areas and they were living alone in the urban areas. The results from this study (overwhelming perception that the perpetrators of violence are single) is dissimilar to the literature review which indicates that no particular group in terms of marital status appears to be more likely to commit violence than another. In specific types of violence trends may be

discernible. However, examining this aspect was beyond the scope of this study since respondents were not asked about specific type of violence/ crime. For example, Louw *et al* (1998) show that the perpetrators of theft tend to be young, single males who tend to engage in riskier patterns of behavior than married men. Another telling example is the prevalence of date rape as the most likely type of rape to be encountered by a female. These are often committed by single men, usually younger, involved in a relationship.

Table 6.13: Perceptions regarding the parental status of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Parental status	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
No children	61	65	71	55	63
Young parent*	39	35	19	45	37

* have children but do not take care of them/ not involved in raising children

The majority of the respondents (63%) indicated that in relation to the parental status of perpetrators of violence, perpetrators had no children (Table 6.13). The rest (37%) indicated that the parental status was young parent. Several of these respondents (and this was reinforced during the focus group discussions) stated that although the perpetrators were young parents they did not take care of, or were not involved in raising their children. During the focus group discussions, the participants also indicated that there was a general perception that people who committed crime did not have major personal responsibilities like being a parent.

Table 6.14: Perceptions regarding the occupation of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Occupation	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Unemployed	81	93	91	87	88
Student	15	2	-	-	4.25
Laborer/ unskilled	4	5	9	13	7.75

In terms of the perceived occupation of perpetrators of violence illustrated in Table 6.14 above, the majority of respondents (88%) stated that people who are unemployed are most likely to commit acts of violence. This was linked to economic desperation and social fragmentation that tend to be associated with poverty. Thus, most of the respondents believed that violence was linked to unemployment and poverty. Again, a more differentiated analysis in terms of the specific types of violence is more likely to

reveal that there is a strong relationship between the type of violence and the occupation of the person committing the violence. Some respondents indicated that laborers/ unskilled workers are perpetrators of violence. Some of the respondents indicated that it was specifically the domestic workers/laborers who were involved in criminal activities. The relatively higher percentage of laborer/unskilled may also be linked to the perceived relationship between violence and poverty which has been underscored in the literature review. A few respondents (4.25%: 15% in Reservoir Hills and 2% in Westville) stated that students commit crime and violence. These were residents who reside in close proximity to the University of KwaZulu-Natal in areas where many students live. In recent years students have became a major problem (especially in relation to drugs, drinking and fighting) in the area.

The results, albeit based on perceptions, support Zondi's (2000) assertion that there is a link between crime and poverty in South Africa. The respondents also support the position that the lack of economic opportunities create the environment for crime and violence to thrive as many people, especially youngsters, do not have viable livelihood options.

It is interesting to note that none of the respondents indicated professionals or middle income employees (including government officials/workers) who are involved in blue collar and organized crime such as fraud and corruption. Respondents tended to ignore that extent and prevalence of organized crime which several researchers argue is emerging as a major component of violence and crime in society. They also assert that studies that focus almost exclusively on crime and poverty/inequalities tend to ignore organized crime.

Table 6.15: Perceptions regarding the race of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Race	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
African	91	99	92	96	94.5
Indian	2	-	2	1	1.25
Colored	2	-	1	-	0.75
Anyone	1	1	-	-	0.5
Foreigners/ illegal emigrants	4	-	5	3	3

With regard to racial classification, the vast majority of respondents (94.5%) identified Africans as the group most likely to commit violence (Table 6.15). Some of the respondents also identified Indians (1.25%) and Coloreds (0.75%). Three percent of the respondents felt that foreigners/illegal emigrants (of African descent) were the perpetrators of violence. Two respondents (one in Reservoir Hills and one in Westville) felt that a person from any race category was likely to commit violence. In relation to Indians, respondents stated that the violence was associated with the way Indians run their business. The identification of foreigners may also be linked to the rise of xenophobia that is also characteristic of South Africa today. Perry (2002) illustrates that the general perception that Africans (predominantly South Africans but foreigners as well) are most likely to commit violence is strongly linked to racialized worldviews that persist in South Africa due to the colonial and apartheid legacies. Furthermore, he asserts that it can also be linked to the association of violence with poverty given the past history of dispossession and discrimination that was disproportionately experienced by Africans. Despite the end of apartheid, many Africans still remain in abject poverty. They generally have fewer economic, social and educational opportunities as compared to other race groups in South Africa. This widespread perception that Africans are more likely to commit violence and crime is further reinforced by the fact that none of the respondents perceived that a White is most likely to commit violence and only few respondents identified Indians (1.25%) or Coloreds (0.75%). The results here show that many of the respondents have internalized the widely prevalent societal perception that Africans (especially those who are young, unemployed and male) tend to be the most likely perpetrators of violence. Thus, Barak's (1994) assertion that Black males are criminalized is certainly evident in the findings (in relation to respondents' perceptions) of this study. What is important to underscore is that the vast majority of Africans interviewed expressed this perception as well. However, it is important to note that three respondents (one White and 2 Indians) stressed that their choice of African was because they are in the majority (expected to commit the most crime). They did not want to be perceived as being racist or anti-African.

Table 6.16: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Highest educational level	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
No formal education	61	65	59	71	64
Primary	25	26	20	22	23.25
Secondary	14	9	21	7	12.75

The majority of the respondents (64%) believed that perpetrators did not have any formal education (Table 6.16). The rest stated that perpetrators of violence had primary schooling (23.25%) or secondary schooling (12.75%). The general perception is that persons with no or very little formal education are most likely to commit violence. This is again linked to the lack of opportunities associated with poverty and deprivation discussed in chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter.

Table 6.17: Perceptions regarding where perpetrators of violence live (in %)

Residential location	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Homeless	-	2	7	-	2.25
Informal settlements	55	61	67	85	67
Townships	12	17	21	12	15.5
Low income areas	33	20	3	2	14.5
Anywhere	-	-	2	1	0.75

Table 6.17 shows that the vast majority of the respondents indicated that perpetrators of violence tend to live in informal settlements (67%), townships (15.5%) and low income areas (14.5%). A few respondents (2.25%) stated that perpetrators tend to be homeless or live anywhere (0.75%). The perception that violence and poverty are linked is again reinforced by these findings.

Table 6.18: Perceptions regarding who (relationship to victim) is most likely to be perpetrators of violence (in %)

Who (relationship to victim)	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Stranger	70	63	37	66	59
Family member	6	10	23	17	14
Close friend	2	3	12	4	5.25
Authority figures	6	13	7	-	6.5
Acquaintance	16	10	21	13	15
Anyone	-	1	-	-	0.25

The majority of the respondents (59%) indicated that strangers are most likely to commit violence. This is similar to other studies cited in the literature review (Artz, 1999; Kuo

and Sullivan, 2001a; Pain, 2000) that demonstrate people, particularly women, perceive themselves to be in danger from strangers and in public spaces. Other groups identified were acquaintances (15%), family members (14%), authority figures (6.5%) and close friends (5.25%). One respondent indicated that anyone commits violence. One respondent from Clermont specified that the perpetrator tends to be boyfriends of family members. It is important to highlight that in Clermont more respondents (compared to other areas) felt that family members and acquaintances commit crime. A few respondents specified that in relation to family members these were often uncles and fathers.

6.2.1.4. Perceptions regarding the general characteristics of those who tend to be violated

Unlike the previous sub-section that focused on the perpetrators of violence, this part of the discussion focuses on perceptions regarding those who are most likely to be violated, that is, the victims of crime and violence.

Table 6.19: Perceptions regarding the gender of those who are violated (in %)

Gender	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Female	88	91	65	71	78.75
Male*	7	8	32	29	19
Both males and females	5	1	3	-	2.25

* murder and assault

The majority of respondents (78.25%) believed that females are targets of violence. Some of the respondents (19%) stated that males are usually victimized and a few (2.25%) indicated that both males and females are victims. It is interesting to note that more respondents in Reservoir Hills (88%) and Westville (91%) identified women as targets as compared to Clermont (65%) and the informal settlements (71%). On the other hand, more respondents in Clermont (32%) and the informal settlements (29%) identified males as compared to Reservoir Hills (7%) and Westville (8%). During the focus group discussions in Clermont and the informal settlements this response was explored further. Participants indicated that they were particularly referring to murder and assault which is rife in their neighborhoods. They stated that male-on-male violence was prevalent. This

study supports the widespread perception that males (the perpetrators of violence) tend to target females (the victims of violence). The perceptions among the respondents support Reed's (1998) and Valentine's (1992) assertion that generally women are more frequently victimized and violated than men. It is also important to note that the notion that women are the victims and males are the perpetrators cuts across socio-economic groups and genders since nearly all respondents (irrespective of the case study location or gender) expressed this position.

Table 6.20: Perceptions regarding the age of those who are violated (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
< 15	12	9	5	9	8.75
16-25	23	24	19	21	21.75
26-35	24	20	21	23	22
36-45	15	16	14	12	14.25
46-55	12	11	15	16	13.5
> 55	13	20	25	19	19.25
Any age	1	-	1	-	0.5
	X = 33.9	X = 36.2	X = 39.6	X = 36.8	X = 36.6

Unlike perceptions of perpetrators (the majority indicated that they were 16-35 years old), no discernible trend in terms of respondents' perceptions of those who tend to be violated is noticeable. The main cohort age categories are 26-35 years (22%), 16-25 years (21.75%) and 46-55 years (19.25%) (Table 6.20). The average perceived ages of those who are violated was calculated to be 36. 6 years (33.9 years in Reservoir Hills, 36.2 years in Westville, 39.6 years in Clermont and 36.8 years in the informal settlements). Despite the inability to identify a discernible trend in terms of the age of victims of violence in crime, the averages indicate that respondents perceived victims to be generally older than the perpetrators since the average age of the perpetrators was calculated to be 23 years. The results indicate that respondents believed that all age groups were targets of violence from the youth to older people. Thus, people from all age groups are viewed as being vulnerable to violence. It is also important to point out that while only a few respondents (2.75%) felt that those over 35 years are unlikely to commit violence, almost half of the respondents (47%) indicated that people within this age group are most likely to be violated.

Figure 6.1: Perceptions regarding the marital status of those who are violated (in %)
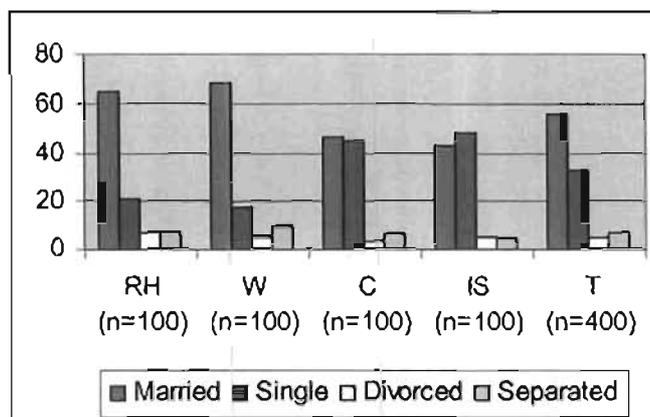
Unlike perceptions regarding the perpetrators of violence, slightly over half of the respondents (55.5%) indicated that those who tend to be violated are married (Figure 6.1). Furthermore, 33% of the respondents stated that those who tend to be violated are single while a few stated separated (6.5%) and divorced (5%). The studies cited in the literature review did not detect any patterns in terms of marital status and those violated that could either reinforce or contradict these results.

Table 6.21: Perceptions regarding the parental status of those who are violated (in %)

Parental status	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Parent	97	98	89	85	92.25
Grandparents	2	1	11	15	7.25
No children	1	1	-	-	0.5

The perceived parental status among those who are violated, unlike those pertaining to the perpetrators of violence which shows no clear pattern, indicates that the vast majority of the respondents felt that parents (92.25%) were targets (Table 6.21). A few respondents (7.25%), mainly in Clermont (11%) and the informal settlements (15%), stated grandparents and two respondents indicated that victims were usually people who did not have any children.

Table 6.22: Perceptions regarding the occupation of those who are violated (in %)

Occupation	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Unemployed	-	-	21	26	11.75
Student	5	3	2	-	2.5
Professional	41	51	9	13	28.5
Business persons	27	23	8	10	17
Sales/ marketing	6	1	2	-	2.25
Technician	-	1	1	-	0.5
Laborer/ unskilled	21	21	57	51	37.5

In terms of the perceived occupation of those who are violated, no clear pattern could be discerned. The main occupations identified were: laborer/unskilled (37.5%), professional (28.5%), business persons (17%) and unemployed (11.75%). However, it is clearly noticeable that Clermont and the informal settlements (lower income and African) have different perceptions than Reservoir Hills and Westville (Indian, White and middle to upper income). More specifically, the two main occupation categories of those who are violated identified by respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements were:

- Laborer/unskilled (57% in Clermont and 51% in the informal settlements)
- Unemployed (21% in Clermont and 26% in the informal settlements)

On the other hand, in Reservoir Hills and Westville the two main occupation categories of those who are perceived to be violated were:

- Professionals (41% in Reservoir Hills and 51% in Westville)
- Business persons (27% in Reservoir Hills and 23% in Westville)

It is interesting to note that many of the respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements tend to link poverty to vulnerability while in Reservoir Hills and Westville respondents tend to associate wealth with vulnerability, that is, those who are better-off economically are more likely to be those who are violated. This pattern was also found in Artz *et al*'s (1998) study that showed that people generally perceived those who are better-off to be the targets of violence. However, the views of the respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements show that they tend to make a stronger link between poverty and violation.

Table 6.23: Perceptions regarding the race of those who are violated (in %)

Race	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
African	5	12	71	74	40.5
White	12	46	13	7	19.5
Indian	78	35	14	14	35.25
Anyone	5	7	2	5	4.75

With regard to racial classification, the respondents' views regarding those who are most likely to be violated differed significantly, especially when compared to perceptions regarding the racial group most likely to commit violence. In terms of the perpetrator of violence the vast majority felt that Africans committed violence generally. Respondents from Reservoir Hills felt that Indians (78%), Whites (12%) and Africans (5%) were likely to be violated (Table 6.23). The respondents from Westville felt that Indians (46%), Whites (35%) and Africans are likely to be violated. The respondents from Clermont felt that Africans (71%), Indians (14%) and Whites (13%) are most likely to be violated. The respondents from the informal settlements felt that Africans (74%), Indians (14%) and Whites (7%) are most likely to be violated. The results reveal that in terms of historical racial groups, most of the respondents believed that the group that they belonged to was most vulnerable.

More generally, respondents' perceptions (in Reservoir Hills and Westville specifically) closely reflect existing stereotypes of race and violence in South African society, as indicated by Simpson (1993). Generally, Africans (occupying the perceived 'inferior' group in terms of racial hierarchy and lower income levels) are the perpetrators of violence. Those who are regarded as being racially 'superior' and economically better off (Indians and Whites) are the targets of violence. Racial perceptions are therefore also related to perceptions regarding where economic wealth is concentrated. The exception is the large proportion of African respondents in Clermont (71%) and the informal settlements (74%) who believe that Africans are the most vulnerable. This perception is in contradiction to other research findings cited in the literature review.

The notion of personal vulnerability emerges strongly in this study. Unlike perceptions pertaining to the perpetrators of violence (most indicated African), clearly the majority of

the respondents felt that someone in their own racial category was most likely to be victims. This reflects the level of fear at the individual and group level since most respondents believe that someone like themselves is most likely to be a victim.

Table 6.24: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of those who are violated (in %)

Highest educational level	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
No formal education	13	9	26	31	19.75
Primary	6	8	21	19	13.5
Secondary	28	29	35	34	31.5
Tertiary	25	37	10	16	22
Postgraduate	28	17	8	-	13.25

The respondents felt that those who are violated tend to have completed secondary level education (31.5%) and tertiary education (25%) (Table 6.24). A significant proportion of the respondents (19.75%), mainly from Clermont (26%) and the informal settlements (31%), felt that those with no formal education were targeted. The rest of the respondents stated primary (13.5%) and postgraduate (13.25%). Again, while respondents in Reservoir Hills and Westville generally felt that people with higher levels of formal education were targeted, respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements indicated that individuals with lower levels of formal education were targeted. This trend reinforces earlier assertions that respondents tend to feel that individuals like them (or who live in communities similar to the ones they reside in) are vulnerable to crime and violence.

Table 6.25: Perceptions regarding where those who are violated live (in %)

Residential location	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Homeless	1	-	-	-	0.25
Informal settlement	-	-	23	31	13.5
Low income areas	3	-	12	13	7
Middle income areas	56	67	38	41	50.5
Upper income areas	40	32	27	15	28.5
Anywhere	-	1	-	-	0.25

The respondents tended to follow similar trends as identified earlier, that respondents from Reservoir Hills and Westville share similar perceptions while Clermont and the informal settlements share similar perceptions. However, the main areas identified by the respondents pertaining to where those who are violated live are middle income areas

(50.5%) and upper income areas (28.5%) (Table 6.25). Significantly, more respondents in Reservoir Hills (56% and 40%, respectively) and Westville (67% and 32%, respectively) supported this view. This is linked to earlier responses regarding the occupation of those who are violated which is indicative of social and income status. A significant proportion of respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements felt that those who are violated reside in informal settlements (23% and 31%, respectively) and low income areas (12% and 13%, respectively). In the case of the respondents from Clermont and the informal settlements, the link between violation and poverty is again discernible. On the other hand, respondents from Reservoir Hills and Westville felt that better-off neighborhoods are targets.

6.2.1.5. Environmental perceptions of violence and danger

This sub-section examines respondents' environmental perceptions of violence and danger. The main focus areas are where violence acts are most likely to occur, when violent acts are most likely to be committed, perceptions of safe and unsafe places, and factors that contribute to violence and crime in the community and society more generally.

Table 6.26: Perceptions pertaining to where violent acts are most likely to occur (in %): multiple responses

Location/ place	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
In the home	33	23	21	25	25.5
Close to the home	16	10	20	19	16.25
Public spaces	51	53	12	9	31.25
School	6	3	2	5	4
Relative or friend's home	-	1	2	2	1.25
The workplace	1	-	1	-	0.5
Unknown/ unfamiliar environment (new area)	36	31	19	8	23.5
Parks/ grounds	13	5	4	3	6.25
Open spaces	8	11	3	3	6.25
Traffic lights	3	1	-	-	1
Nightclubs	10	6	4	5	6.25
Bars/ shebeens	3	-	16	15	8.5
Poorly lit areas	6	10	2	3	5.25
Shopping centers	18	3	2	2	6.25
Taxi ranks and bus stops	-	-	25	12	9.25
Everywhere	3	-	2	1	1.5

Interviewees identified a range of areas/ places where they felt that violent acts are most likely to occur (Table 6.26). The main locations identified were:

- public spaces (31.25%: 51% in Reservoir Hills, 53% in Westville, 12% in Clermont and 9% in the informal settlements)
- in the home (25.5%: 33% in Reservoir Hills, 23% in Westville, 21% in Clermont and 25% in the informal settlements)
- unknown/ unfamiliar environment (23.5%: 36% in Reservoir Hills, 31% in Westville, 19% in Clermont and 8% in the informal settlements)
- close to the home (16.25%: 16% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville, 20% in Clermont and 19% in the informal settlements)

Additionally, it is important to note that case study specific perceptions of where violent acts are most likely to occur are also noticeable. In Reservoir Hills, shopping centers (18%), parks/ grounds (13%), nightclubs (10%) and open spaces (8%) were deemed to be unsafe. In Westville, other major unsafe places identified were open spaces (11%) and poorly lit areas (10%). In Clermont and the informal settlements, taxi ranks and bus stops (25% and 12%, respectively) and bars/shebeens (16% and 15%, respectively) were viewed as being unsafe. Other areas identified by the respondents as being unsafe were: schools (4%), relative or friend's home (1.25%), traffic lights (1%) and the workplace (0.5%). A few respondents (1.5%) felt that everywhere was unsafe. The results reveal differences among the respondents and case studies in relation to their perceptions pertaining to where violent acts are more likely to occur.

The responses are similar to studies cited in the literature review that show that the majority of respondents perceive that violence is most likely to occur in public spaces as well as unknown and unfamiliar environments (Cozens *et al*, 2002; 2004; Martin, 1997; Moser, 2004; Smiley and Roux, 2005; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006). However, it is important to note that the home was also perceived by a significant proportion of the respondents as a place where violence was most likely to occur. Valentine (1992) states that most violence, especially gender-based violence, occurs at home and are committed by someone who is known to the victim. However, in this study the perceived violence in

the home that respondents were referring to were burglaries and hijackings. This was why respondents indicated that they felt unsafe in their homes. Thus, they fear strangers rather than someone they know which is dissimilar to Valentine's (1992) findings.

Table 6.27: Perceptions pertaining to when violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

Time	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Anytime	12	6	11	3	8
Afternoon	3	4	2	4	3.25
Mid-day	2	-	2	1	1.25
Evening	13	16	12	15	14
Late night	70	74	73	77	73.5

The majority of the respondents (73.5%) across all case studies stated that they believed that most violent acts took place late at night (Table 6.27). The reasons forwarded included that this was the most dangerous time of the day since usually very few people are around and many people are inebriated.

Some of the respondents felt that violent acts took place during the evening (14%), anytime (8%), during the afternoon (3.25%) and during the day (1.25%). The respondents who identified the morning as the time of the day when violent acts are most likely to occur stated that this was the time when hijackings occurred when people leave for work. Those who indicated afternoons and mid-day stated this because it is the time when homeowners/ parents are not at home since they are working. The homes (and young females) become soft targets.

Table 6.28: Perceptions pertaining to which day of the week violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Friday	23	21	15	22	20.25
Saturday	70	76	80	77	75.75
Sunday	7	3	5	1	4

Table 6.28 shows that all the respondents stated that violent acts tend to take place on Friday (20.25%), Saturdays (75.75%) or Sundays (4%). The weekends were thus viewed as the time of the week when violent acts are most likely to occur. Particularly, Saturday was identified as the main day since generally people do not work on Sundays. It is also

during weekends that people drink alcohol and/ or take drugs. This, respondents indicated, makes individuals lose control and they can easily become targets of violent crimes and/or engage in violent acts.

Table 6.29: Perceptions pertaining to which month of the year violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

Month	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
January	3	13	7	-	5.75
June	13	12	6	2	8.25
July	10	11	7	3	7.75
November	20	10	11	7	12
December	54	54	69	88	66.25

Most respondents (66.25%), especially in Clermont (69%) and the informal settlements (88%) indicated that December was the main month during the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed (Table 6.29). Other months cited by some of the respondents were November (12%), June (8.25%), July (7.75%) and January (5.75%). Respondents perceived the vacation periods, especially the festive season during December, to be periods in the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed.

In addition to being vacation periods, June and July were also viewed as periods in the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed because days are shorter and nights are longer (being winter). During this period it gets dark earlier. Again, respondents perceived the darkness to encourage violent or criminal behavior. This aspect is explored further below.

Figure 6.2: Rating of how safe respondent felt walking where home is located after dark (in %)
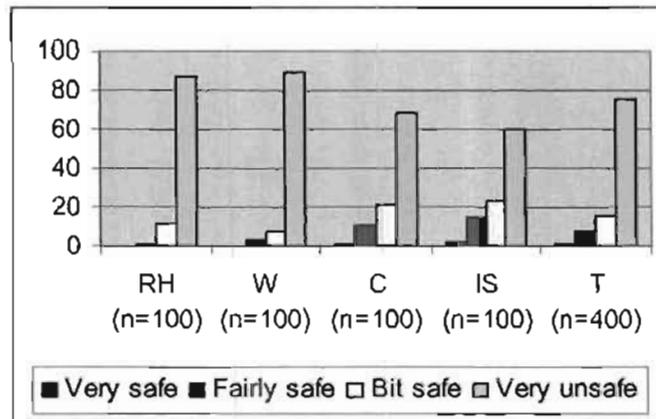
Figure 6.3: Rating of how safe respondent felt walking where home is located during the day (in %)
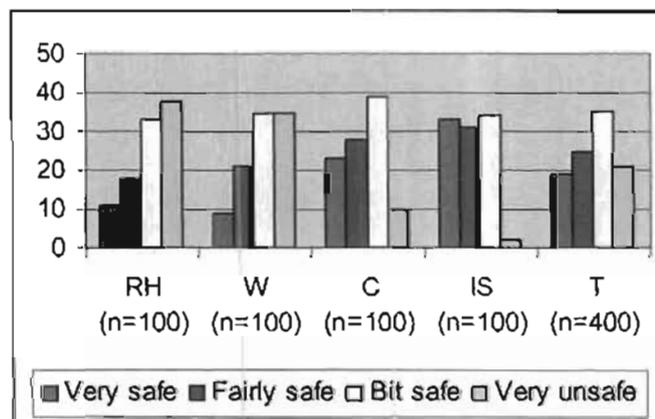
The majority of respondents (76.25%) indicated that they felt very unsafe walking in the area where their homes are located during the night. This was especially the case in Reservoir Hills (87%) and Westville (90%) as compared to Clermont (68%) and the informal settlements (60%). Residents in the middle and upper income neighborhoods thus felt more unsafe during the night than respondents from lower income neighborhoods. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 reveal that respondents generally feel safer walking in the neighborhoods during the day than at night. A significant proportion of the respondents described the level of safety they felt walking where their home is located during the day as a bit safe (34.25%), fairly safe (24.5%) and very safe (19%). Some of the respondents (21.25%), mainly in Reservoir Hills (38%) and Westville (35%) stated that they felt unsafe.

This is similar to findings in the literature review that indicate that the night is often associated with higher levels of criminal activity and fear of violence (Allen, 2004; ISS, 2001; Pain, 1991; Phillips, 2002). Gomme (1988) specifically asserts that the main indicator of fear of crime is the degree to which residents of an area are unwilling to walk alone at night in areas near their homes. What is surprising in this study as compared to international studies is that people are extremely fearful at night walking in the neighborhoods where their homes are located. Those who indicated that they felt some level of safety generally stated that they knew their neighbors and were familiar with the environment. Those who felt very unsafe often indicated that they did not know anyone in the area in which they lived. It is interesting to note that a few respondents (2 in Reservoir Hills and 3 in Westville) stated that they were actually scared of the vicious dogs in their neighborhoods (both day and night) rather than people. This is ironical since many respondents (and this is confirmed in other studies cited in the literature) stated that a strategy to increase security may result in some residents feeling extremely unsafe. Thus, what is deemed to increase security and safety for one home can result in constraining movements and increasing the level of insecurity for others.

Table 6.30: Perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are unsafe (in %): multiple responses

Places	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Central town/ city	30	46	25	17	29.5
African townships	21	18	7	-	11.5
Public places	18	14	23	12	16.75
Nightclubs	11	7	2	1	5.25
Beachfront	10	26	2	-	9.5
Informal settlements	36	23	21	28	27
Home	1	-	2	-	0.75
Shopping areas	18	7	5	9	9.75
Tuckshops	2	-	5	7	3.5
Quiet roads	2	1	3	-	1.5
Dark roads and alleys	11	13	9	3	9
Deserted areas	3	-	2	-	1.25
The grounds/ parks	34	21	24	18	24.25
Parking lots	8	7	2	-	4.25
Outside school	10	14	16	9	12.25
In school	5	2	6	2	3.75
Public toilets	3	5	-	-	2
Motor vehicles	4	3	1	-	2
Unfamiliar environment	2	3	1	1	1.75
Taxi ranks/ bus stops	2	-	21	13	9
Robots/ traffic lights	1	-	-	-	0.75
Hostels	-	-	8	-	2
Bars/ shebeens	2	-	13	15	7
Incomplete buildings (hide)	-	-	3	-	0.75
Parks (hide, consume alcohol)	13	2	3	-	4.5
Bushes (hide)	15	7	8	5	8.75
Workplace	1	-	1	-	0.5

The findings in the Table above are similar to those in Table 6.26 relating to where respondents felt that violent acts are most likely to occur. In general, Table 6.30 shows that the main areas considered unsafe by the respondents were:

- Central town/ city (29.5%): 30% in Reservoir Hills, 46% in Westville, 25% in Clermont and 17% in the informal settlements

- Informal settlements (27%): 36% in Reservoir Hills, 23% in Westville, 21% in Clermont and 28% in the informal settlements

- The grounds/ parks (24.25%): 34% in Reservoir Hills, 21% in Westville, 24% in Clermont and 18% in the informal settlements

- Public spaces (16.75%): 18% in Reservoir Hills, 14% in Westville, 23% in Clermont and 12% in the informal settlements

- Outside school (12.25%): 10% in Reservoir Hills, 14% in Westville, 16% in Clermont and 9% in the informal settlements

- African townships (11.5%): 21% in Reservoir Hills, 18% in Westville and 7% in Clermont (mainly in Reservoir Hills and Westville)

- Shopping areas (9.75%): 18% in Reservoir Hills, 7% in Westville, 5% in Clermont and 9% in the informal settlements

- Beachfront (9.5%): 10% in Reservoir Hills, 26% in Westville and 2% in Clermont (mainly in Reservoir Hills and Westville)

- Dark roads and alleys (9%): 11% in Reservoir Hills, 13% in Westville, 9% in Clermont and 3% in the informal settlements

- Taxi ranks/ bus stops (9%): 2% in Reservoir Hills, 21% in Clermont and 13% in the informal settlements (mainly in Clermont and the informal settlements

- Bushes (8.75%): 15% in Reservoir Hills, 7% in Westville, 8% in Clermont and 5% in the informal settlements

Furthermore, other significant areas deemed to be unsafe that are case study area specific are nightclubs (11% in Reservoir Hills and 7% in Westville), tuckshops (5% in Clermont and 7% in the informal settlements), in school (5% in Reservoir Hills and 5% in Clermont), hostels (8% in Clermont), parking lots (8% in Reservoir Hills and 7% in Westville), public toilets (3% in Reservoir Hills and 5% in Westville), motor vehicles (4% in Reservoir Hills and 3% in Westville), and bars/shebeens (13% in Clermont and 15% in the informal settlements).

The reasons forwarded for particular areas being unsafe include:
- Public spaces: areas are frequented by strangers and criminals tend to target these areas.

- Central town/city: many people visit the area which is deemed to be a high crime zone. Because the area is busy perpetrators of violence prey on victims in these areas.

- Nightclubs: these areas are associated with drinking, smoking, taking drugs and fighting. The youth tend to congregate in these areas. They felt that nightclubs

were dangerous and many females are taken advantage of in these areas. The high levels of noise in nightclubs also make it easier for a perpetrator to get away with violating someone.

- The beachfront: this area was frequented, especially during vacation periods and weekends, by many people who behave in an unruly manner. Again, drinking alcohol is common. Also, in Durban the beachfront is frequented by homeless people who respondents considered to be dangerous.

- Informal settlements: crime was deemed to be high in these areas. Again, the perception that poverty and crime are linked is discernible. Some of the reasons forwarded included desperation as a result of dire poverty and the fact that informal settlements tend to be overcrowded. Some respondents also felt that people who live in informal settlements are generally uneducated. It should be noted that a significant proportion of the respondents felt that perpetrators of violence resided in informal areas. Furthermore, a high percentage of respondents (28%) living in informal settlements deemed them to be unsafe. During the focus group discussions it emerged that it was primarily other informal settlements that respondents felt were unsafe. However, the women participants claimed that they were referring also to the informal settlement they resided in.

- African Townships: the respondents who identified these areas associated them with high levels of crime. Perceptions of these areas (as well as informal settlements) in South Africa remain criminalized (especially by those living in middle and upper income areas or areas historically designated for non-African groups). This reinforces notions of the "other" and unfamiliar areas as being deemed to be unsafe.

- Shopping areas and tuckshops: the respondents felt that shopping areas, especially in residential locations, are frequented by boys who like hanging around the shops and look for trouble.

- Quiet roads as well as dark roads and alleys/ deserted areas: these areas are often unfamiliar and unknown. This fear reflects the widespread perception that crime and violence are committed by strangers in unfamiliar areas. Respondents felt that it was very difficult to get help and for violators to get caught in these areas.

- The grounds/parks and bushes: these areas were seen as locations where unsavory elements in the community, particularly youngsters who take alcohol and drugs, congregate. They thus felt that increasingly these places are associated with drugs and alcohol as well as other types of unruly behavior. Respondents also felt that criminals tend to hide in these areas.

- Taxi ranks/ bus stops: these locations are associated with high levels of criminal activities and taxi violence.

- Parking lots: parking lots were viewed to be particularly dangerous at night. Respondents felt that the parking lots were isolated and perpetrators can easily pounce on victims.

- Outside school and in school: respondents indicated that in most schools there was a lack of security outside the school premises and learners tend to behave badly outside the schools. Some of the schools were also located in close proximity to areas that respondents considered to be dangerous, for example, parks, shops, informal settlements and the graveyard. Increasingly schools, particularly secondary schools, are associated with high levels of violence and consumption of drugs and alcohol.

- Public toilets: these were also regarded as isolated and dangerous areas since perpetrators can hide in the toilets.

- Motor vehicles: some of the respondents felt that car hijacking is one of the biggest problems South Africa faces. This resulted in them feeling unsafe in their vehicles.

- Hostels: Respondents in Clermont indicated that these areas have high crime levels. Men fight in the hostels, especially during weekends, when alcohol consumption is high.

It is important to note that very few respondents (0.75%) identified the home as an unsafe place despite statistics that indicate otherwise. The few who did identify the home forwarded reasons linked to external forces (such as fear of burglary or living close to an informal settlement) rather than internal household dynamics (such as domestic violence). In general, public spaces were viewed as being unsafe. Many of the

respondents stated that they knew these areas were unsafe because they had a reputation for being so. This confirms the findings in the literature review that peoples' perceptions of safe and unsafe areas are informed by information that they gather from various sources (which will be discussed later in the chapter) rather than real personal experiences of violence.

It is important to note that unlike the studies of APA (2003), Kuo and Sullivan (2001b) Kuo *et al* (1998) and Taylor *et al* (1998) cited in the literature who indicate that green spaces can lower crime and illegal activities, this research reveals that several respondents saw green spaces and parks as places that are unsafe and where unsavory elements congregate. During the focus group discussions this attitude was further reinforced with participants indicating that very few residents use parks because of fear of being harassed, assaulted or robbed. They stated that these were unsafe places for their children to go to. This was particularly evident in Reservoir Hills where the rape and murder of a 10-year old girl in 2000 in a community park is still remembered by many of the participants. This incident can also be considered as a 'signal crime' that Innes (2004) identifies as an incident that functions as a warning signal to people about the distribution of risk throughout social space. Unsafe places identified by the respondents are also reflective of poor infrastructure, unsavory elements (especially unruly youth, drunkenness, etc.), isolated and poorly lit areas, locations with places to hide in, overcrowding and dilapidated or uncared for areas.

Table 6.31: Perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are regarded as being safe (in %): multiple responses

Places	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Shopping mall	22	30	25	12	22.25
School (security guard)	38	42	33	28	36.75
Religious places	13	16	28	27	21
Friend's home	25	23	17	21	21.5
Home	80	91	42	31	61
Gymnasium	1	-	-	-	0.25
Restaurants	-	2	-	-	0.5
Mvuzani	-	-	2	-	0.5
Workplace	8	11	3	2	6
None	3	1	13	14	7.75

Compared to unsafe places identified in Table 6.30, respondents identified fewer places frequented that they deem to be safe (Table 6.31). This illustrates the pervasiveness of fear and insecurity that respondents feel. The vast majority of respondents (61%: 80% in Reservoir Hills, 91% in Westville, 42% in Clermont and 31% in the informal settlements) felt that they regarded their homes as being safe. The higher responses in Westville and Reservoir Hills are largely attributed to the higher levels of security mechanisms that respondents have in the homes (such as alarms, burglar guards, fences, dogs, etc.). This was also the case in relation to friends' home. Other main areas cited by the respondents as being safe were the school (36.75%), shopping mall (22.25%), friend's home (21.5%), religious places (21%) and the workplace (7.75%). Some respondents also identified restaurants (0.5%), Mvuzani (0.5%) and the gymnasium (0.25%). In terms of Mvuzani, the two respondents who felt that this was a safe place said that it was peaceful and quite. Schools, shopping malls and the workplace were regarded as being safe because of the presence of security and that many people are around. One respondent stated that she considered the school safe because it was an area where entrance into the premises was deemed to be controlled. Religious places were deemed to be safe because of the presence of people and because, as one respondent in Clermont stated, "even most criminals respect the church". The statement indicates that respondents felt that religious places were sacred and therefore safe.

In general, the areas that respondents regard as being safe were generally private, familiar areas. These areas are also generally enclosed. The vast majority of respondents (especially in Westville and Reservoir Hills) felt safe at home. A sense of security was a primary factor in determining whether a place was safe or unsafe. In this regard, the presence of visible security such as alarms, vicious dogs, fencing, police and security guards made the respondents feel particularly safe. As indicated earlier, the main reasons forwarded for the home being regarded as safe were that family members could be trusted and will offer protection, if necessary, as well as the presence of security measures such as alarms, fences and dogs. The respondents stated that they felt safe in these areas because people they knew and trusted were always around. The main groups whose presence seems to instill a sense of security among respondents were family members,

friends, teachers and security or police. Most of the respondents also expressed that they felt particularly safe when they were with friends or family members.

Table 6.32: Perceptions regarding what would make respondents' feel safer in areas that they have identified as being unsafe (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
More police/ security presence	88	91	75	69	80.75
Only certain people allowed in area/ restricted access	17	39	2	-	14.5
Improving the infrastructure in the area	11	4	39	35	22.25
Cleaning up area	7	1	17	12	9.25
Proper fencing of area	3	8	2	1	3.5
Proper lighting in the area	7	3	12	17	9.75

The majority of the respondents (80.75%) felt that police/security presence will make them feel safer in areas that they deemed to be unsafe (Table 6.32). A significant proportion of the respondents (22.25%) indicated that improving the infrastructure in the area would make them feel safer. Related to improvements in infrastructure, some respondents stated that the areas should have proper lighting (9.75%) and be properly fenced (3.5%). Some respondents (9.25%) felt that the area should be cleaned up. It is important to note that in terms of infrastructure issues and cleaning up areas, mostly respondents from Clermont and the informal settlements provided these responses. Some respondents (14.5%) also stated that only certain people should be allowed in the area or there should be restricted access. This was mainly in Reservoir Hills (17%) and Westville (39%). During the focus group discussions this was supported by several participants particularly in Westville who supported gated communities or boom gates that restricted access to the roads where they lived.

It is important to note that the above responses suggest that in terms of ensuring a safe environment that promotes feelings of security the most important aspects identified by the respondents related to controlling who had access (specifically in Westville and Reservoir Hills) and having visible police/ security presence. Also, ensuring that the infrastructure (in terms of lighting and fencing) was up to standard was deemed important by the respondents. Thus, most respondents supported a proactive stance when dealing

with making unsafe areas safe. This is in keeping with the CPTED approach presented in the literature review. The focus is on design, controlling access and use of specific places, and the reduction of criminal opportunity.

Table 6.33: Respondents' views on factors that contribute to crime and violence in their community (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Criminals feel that homes are a soft target	29	35	5	-	17.25
Poverty	31	25	39	43	34.5
Influence of media – sensationalizing violence	2	3	-	-	1.25
Racial tensions	25	28	23	21	24.25
Cultural misunderstanding	17	17	8	7	12.25
Patriarchy/ sexism	2	1	-	-	0.75
Lack of proper education/ information	26	29	41	43	34.75
Alcohol	35	39	42	48	41
Poor infrastructure	20	11	13	18	15.5
Drugs (including dagga)	27	33	29	30	29.75

A number of responses were obtained from the respondents regarding the factors they felt contributed to crime and violence in their community. Some of the most important responses (Tables 6.33) were:

- Alcohol (41%: 35% in Reservoir Hills, 39% in Westville, 42% in Clermont and 48% in the informal settlements)

- Lack of proper education/information (34.75%: 26% in Reservoir Hills, 29% in Westville, 41% in Clermont and 43% in the informal settlements)

- Poverty (34.5%: 31% in Reservoir Hills, 25% in Westville, 39% in Clermont and 43% in the informal settlements)

- Drugs (including dagga) (29.75%: 27% in Reservoir Hills, 33% in Westville, 29% in Clermont and 30% in the informal settlements)

- Racial tensions (24.25%: 25% in Reservoir Hills, 28% in Westville, 23% in Clermont and 21% in the informal settlements)

- Criminals feel that homes are soft targets (17.5%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 35% in Westville and 5% in Clermont)

- Poor infrastructure (15.5%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 11% in Westville, 13% in Clermont and 18% in the informal settlements)

- Cultural misunderstanding (12.25%: 17% in Reservoir Hills, 17% in Westville, 8% in Clermont and 7% in the informal settlements)

Some significant differences between the case studies are noticeable. More respondents from Westville and Reservoir Hills felt that the main factors that contribute to crime and violence in the community were that criminals feel that their homes are soft targets, and cultural misunderstanding. On the other hand, more respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements cited poverty and lack of proper education/information. The view from some of the respondents that racial tensions and cultural misunderstanding contribute towards violence and crime in the community reveals that lack of effective communication and differences among groups can be perceived to play a major role towards contributing towards violence and crime in society. The results indicate that a significant proportion of the respondents viewed violence and crime as being associated with alcohol and drugs. This is similar to Nelson *et al*'s (2001) assertion that the majority of incidents of violence are considered to involve drinking and drugs.

Table 6.34: Respondents' views on factors that contribute to violence in society generally (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Criminal activities	66	61	58	57	60.5
Racial tensions	53	56	57	49	53.75
Cultural misunderstanding	26	23	19	25	23.25
Organized crime	3	6	4	2	3.75
Patriarchy/ sexism	5	5	2	1	3.25
Lack of proper education/ information	37	43	43	48	42.75
Xenophobia (fear of foreigners)	2	1	2	-	1.25
Drugs (including dagga)	48	60	51	53	53
Influence of the media – sensationalizing violence	23	31	25	21	25
Alcohol	63	61	65	68	64.25
Poverty and unemployment	45	43	51	53	48
Jealousy	1	-	-	-	0.25
Uncivilized upbringing	-	1	-	-	0.25
Lack of visible and effective security	2	3	1	-	1.5
Broken homes/ poor parenting	1	-	3	1	1.25

Factors identified by the respondents as contributing to violence in society more generally are similar to those that the respondents felt contributed to violence in their community (Table 6.34). Clearly, this shows that communities are part of society and the

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problems experienced in specific communities are reflective of those facing society at large. However, it is important to note that factors such as the media, racial tensions, alcohol and drugs were identified by more respondents in Table 6.34 than Table 6.33.

Unlike responses regarding factors that contribute to violence and crime in the specific case study communities, in terms of factors that contribute to violence in society at large there appears to be generally similar responses for each of the aspects raised across the case study communities. The main contributing factors identified by the respondents were alcohol (64.25%), criminal activities (60.5%), racial tensions (53.75%), drugs (53%) poverty and unemployment (48%), lack of proper education/information (42.75%), influence of the media-sensationalizing violence (25%) and cultural misunderstanding (23.25%). Other factors identified by some of the respondents were organized crime (3.75%), patriarchy/ sexism (3.25%), lack of visible and effective policing (1.5%), xenophobia/ fear of foreigners (1.25%), broken homes/ poor parenting (1.25%), jealousy (0.25%) and uncivilized upbringing (0.25%). Factors that contribute to crime and violence in society reflect the socio-cultural, economic and political factors cited in the literature review.

6.2.1.6. Sources of information regarding violence

This sub-section focuses on where respondents get their source/s of information relating to crime and violence, and awareness of laws and legislation.

Table 6.35: Where do respondents get their source/s of information relating to crime and violence (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Television	62	48	35	21	41.5
Local newspapers	67	68	43	11	47.25
Radio	23	21	53	58	38.75
Police forum	2	3	2	-	1.75
Movies	16	30	16	3	16.25
Peers	13	22	23	18	16.5
Official statistics	-	1	-	-	0.25
Police/ government officials	3	2	1	-	1.5
Family members	24	45	34	31	33.5
Internet	2	3	1	-	1.5
See it	1	-	3	5	2.25

The main sources of information pertaining to violence identified by the respondents were (Table 6.35):

- Newspapers (47.25%: 67% in Reservoir Hills, 68% in Westville, 43% in Clermont and 11% in the informal settlements)

- Television (41.5%: 62% in Reservoir Hills, 48% in Westville, 35% in Clermont and 21% in the informal settlements)

- Radio (38.75%: 23% in Reservoir Hills, 21% in Westville, 53% in Clermont and 58% in the informal settlements)

- Family members (33.5%: 24% in Reservoir Hills, 45% in Westville, 34% in Clermont and 31% in the informal settlements)

- Peers (16.5%: 13% in Reservoir Hills, 22% in Westville, 23% in Clermont and 18% in the informal settlements)

- Movies (16.25%: 16% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville, 16% in Clermont and 3% in the informal settlements)

A few respondents also stated police forums (1.75%), police/ government officials (1.5%), the internet (1.5%) and official statistics (0.25%). Some respondents (2.25%) stated that their main source of information was that they see it (mainly in Clermont and the informal settlements).

When one considers the overwhelming and complex influence that the media has on individuals and society (informing, agenda setting, framing and persuading discussed by Collins *et al* [2006]), the importance of the media as a source of information is further centralized. The main media sources cited in this study (radio, newspapers and television) are accessible by most of the respondents. This is especially the case in Reservoir Hills, Westville and Clermont. Although this study has not examined the form and the content of media coverage of crime, it is important to note Altheide's (2002; 2003) assertion that the mass media is important in shaping public agendas by influencing what people think about and how events and issues are packaged and presented.

Figure 6.4: Awareness of laws and legislation relating to crime violence in South Africa (in %)
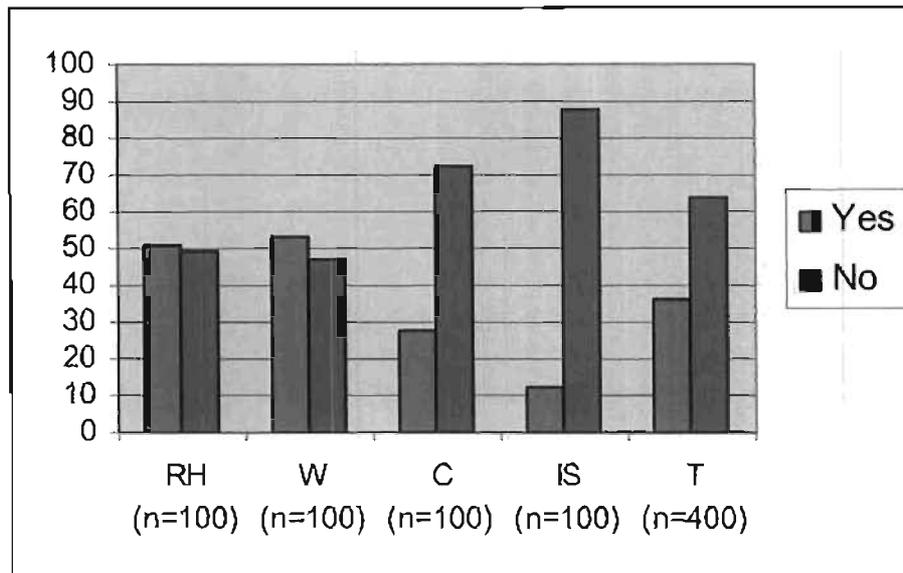
The majority of respondents in Clermont (72%) and the informal settlements (88%) stated that they were unaware of the laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa (Figure 6.4). In Reservoir Hills (51%) and Westville (53%), slightly more than half of the respondents indicated that they were aware. The higher level of awareness may be linked to access to information (as illustrated earlier) as well as income and educational levels.

Table 6.36: If aware, what have they heard about the laws and legislation relating to crime and violence in South Africa (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	49	47	72	88	64
Will be imprisoned if caught committing them	33	47	26	12	29.5
Zero tolerance	7	3	2	-	3
Women and children's rights	10	3	-	-	3.25
Innocent until proven guilty	1	-	-	-	0.25
Restraining orders/ interdicts can be used to protect someone	4	2	2	1	2.25
Types of punishment for specific crimes	15	13	8	1	9.25
All crimes should be reported to the nearest police station	14	15	7	2	9.5

The respondents who stated that they were aware of the laws and legislations relating to violence in South Africa indicated that they specifically heard of the following (Table 6.36):

- A person will be imprisoned if caught committing them (29.5%)
- All crimes should be reported to the nearest police station (9.5%)
- Types of punishment for specific crimes (9.25%)
- Women and children's rights (3.35%)
- Zero tolerance (3%)
- Restraining orders/interdicts can be used to protect someone (2.25%)
- Innocent until proven guilty (one respondent)

In addition to the above, during the focus group discussions some of the respondents stated that people have the right to live in a safe environment. One respondent stated that the laws and legislation are in the first place enshrined in the South African constitution.

The responses clearly show that among the respondents who indicated that they were aware of laws and legislation, most only had a superficial, general knowledge of the laws and legislation, especially as they relate to punishment and sentencing. This is similar to other studies such as Perry (2002).

Table 6.37: Where respondents' heard about the laws and legislation (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	49	47	72	88	64
Friends and/ or family	19	14	11	5	12.25
Media (radio, TV, newspaper)	18	22	12	2	13.5
School/ educational institution	3	2	1	2	2
Government documents	2	8	1	-	2.75
Talks/ workshops	3	5	2	1	2.75
The police/ government officials	3	2	2	2	2.25
Rape/ crisis/ abuse centre	2	-	-	-	0.5
Specific teachers at school	3	-	-	-	0.75
Internet	-	1	-	-	0.25

The main sources from which respondents heard about the laws and legislation were the media (13.5%) and friends and/or family (12.25%) (Table 6.37). Other sources of information identified by some of the respondents were government documents (2.75%), talks/ workshops (2.75%), the police/ government officials (2.25%), school/ education institution (2%), specific teachers at school (0.75%), rape/ crisis/ abuse centre (0.5%) and the internet (0.25%). The results again underscore the importance of the media and peers (especially family and friends) in relation to information about crime and violence.

Table 6.38: Which respondents' think are the best sources of information (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Friends and/ or family	5	2	13	19	9.75
Media (radio, TV, newspaper)	31	33	23	15	25.5
School/ educational institution	24	26	38	42	32.5
Government documents	3	5	2	-	2.5
Talks/ workshops	21	22	23	26	23
The police/ government officials	31	33	28	30	30.5
Community forums	13	18	9	3	10.75

The respondents felt that the following were the best sources of information:

- School/ educational institutions (32.5%)
- The police/ government officials (30.5%)
- Media (25.5%)
- Talks/ workshops (23%)
- Community forums (10.75%)
- Friends and/ or family (9.75%)
- Government documents (2.5%)

Respondents seem to use two criteria to identify the best sources of information: sources that they trust and sources that they deem to provide 'factual'/'correct' information. They particularly view educational institutions, family, friends and government (including the police) as being trustworthy. During the focus group discussions participants indicated that they viewed government documents as providing information that is based on facts and are rarely distorted. Talks/ workshops permit issues to be clearly explained and participants are given an opportunity to clarify concerns and ask

questions. The media is seen as providing information based on facts and presents information in a way that is presented realistically, uniformally and in a manner in which ordinary people can understand the issues being raised. One respondent also stated that the media keeps the public informed about current information and updates the public. The television, newspaper and radio were specifically regarded as being popular media that are accessible to many people. Additionally, the media was deemed to provide an independent viewpoint and they present information that has been verified.

The results indicate that several respondents assumed that the media and government are well informed and aim to educate the public in a responsible manner. This perception is not in keeping with the findings in the literature that indicate that the media often sensationalize violence and crime (Lawlink, nd). Furthermore, government sources often distort information or provide limited and selected information to serve political and economic purposes (Lehman and Okcabol, 2005).

6.2.1.7. Experiences of violence

This sub-section focuses on respondents' personal experience of violence in relation to the following aspects: their experience of violence and crime as well as if they knew of someone who was violated.

Figure 6.5: Whether respondents have personally experienced any form of violence and crime (in %)
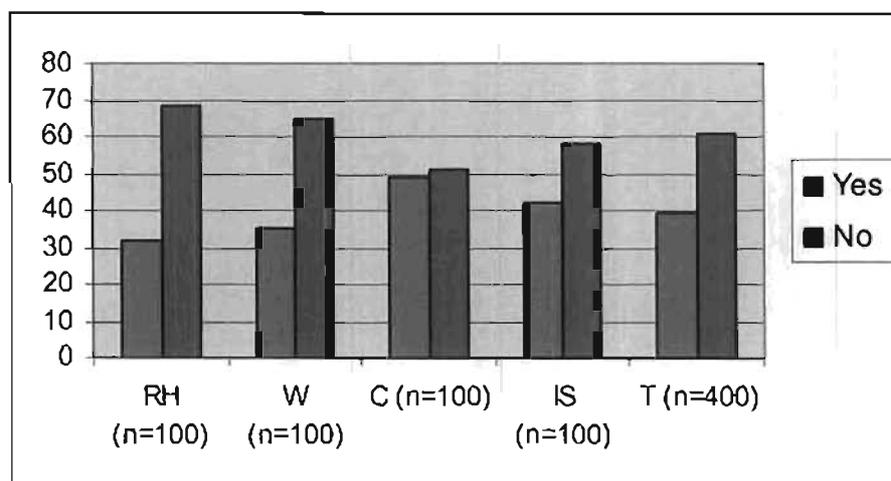
A significant proportion of the respondents (39.5%) indicated that they had personally experienced some form of violence (Figure 6.5). The majority (60.5%) stated that they have not personally experienced any form of violence. Similar trends were found in other studies (Grabosky, 1995; Noguera, 1999; 2001; Pain, 1991; Valentine, 1992) that illustrated that the fear of violence and crime is significantly higher than actual experiences.

Table 6.39: Nature/ type of violence and/ or crime respondent had personally experienced (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
Theft of vehicle/ car hijacking	7	6	4	-	4.25
Robbery/ mugging/ theft	9	12	25	21	16.75
Vandalism	1	-	-	2	0.75
Burglary in the home	9	12	9	6	9
Harassment	2	1	4	-	1.75
Homicide/ murder	1	-	1	1	0.75
Rape	-	-	3	5	2
Physical abuse/ assault	3	3	3	7	4
Emotional/ psychological abuse	-	1	-	-	0.25

The main types of violence that respondents personally experienced were (Table 6.39):

- Robbery/ mugging/ theft (16.75%: 9% in Reservoir Hills, 12% in Westville, 25% in Clermont and 21% in the informal settlements)

- Burglary at home (9%: 9% in Reservoir Hills, 12% in Westville, 9% in Clermont and 6% in the informal settlements)

- Theft and hijacking (4.25%: 7% in Reservoir Hills, 6% in Westville and 4% in Clermont)

- Physical abuse/ assault (4%: 3% in Reservoir Hills, 3% in Westville, 3% in Clermont and 7% in the informal settlements)

Other types of violence experienced by some of the respondents were rape (25%), vandalism (0.75%) and homicide/ murder (0.75%). One respondent identified emotional/ psychological abuse. Generally, the two main types of violence experienced related to some form of abuse (physical, sexual, psychological) or theft of property.

Table 6.40: Where incident personally experienced took place (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
Inside the home	12	15	13	11	12.75
Outside the home on respondent's premises	3	4	4	2	3.25
In close proximity of respondent's home	6	5	13	15	9.75
Public spaces in the community	7	9	15	11	10.5
Relative or friend's home	-	-	2	3	1.25
At work	1	-	-.	-	0.25
Social places (night clubs, restaurant, etc.)	1	2	-	-	0.75
Unknown area (new environment)	2	-	2	-	1

The main places where violence was experienced by the respondents are illustrated in Table 6.40:

- Inside the home (12.75%: 12% in Reservoir Hills, 15% in Westville, 13% in Clermont and 11% in the informal settlements)

- Public spaces in the community (10.5%: 7% in Reservoir Hills, 9% in Westville, 15% in Clermont and 11% in the informal settlements)

- In close proximity of the respondent's home (9.75%: 6% in Reservoir Hills, 5% in Westville, 13% in Clermont and 15% in the informal settlements)

- Outside the home on respondent's premises (3.25%: 3% in Reservoir Hills, 4% in Westville, 4% in Clermont and 2% in the informal settlements)

Other places identified by a few of the respondents were relative or friend's home (1.25%), unknown area/ new environment (1%), social places (0.75%) and at work (0.25%).

These findings reinforce studies cited in the literature review (Cozens *et al*, 2002; 2004; Martin, 1997; Moser, 2004; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006) that although most people perceive unknown and unfamiliar places as being dangerous, most incidents of crime and violence take place at or near homes (places frequented and known by the victim). This research, therefore, supports the findings in the literature review that in reality most violations occur at home, close to the home or in familiar places. Additionally, the perpetrators are usually known rather than strangers. In this study specifically, unlike

earlier perceptions mentioned by the respondents that violence is most likely to occur in public spaces as well as unfamiliar and unknown places, the responses here reveal that most respondents' experiences of violence took place in areas they were familiar with. Thus, as Perry (2002) indicates, the fear of the unfamiliar and the unknown as well as places in which one is most likely to be surrounded by strangers (public spaces) persists despite very different personal experiences.

Table 6.41: Perpetrator of the violence or crime that respondent had personally experienced (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
Stranger	21	24	22	7	18.5
Family member	9	6	15	10	10
Close friend	-	1	3	4	2
Acquaintance	2	3	7	16	7
Authority figure (teacher)	-	-	2	3	1.25
Neighbor	-	1	-	2	0.75

A significant proportion of the respondents (18.5%: 21% in Reservoir Hills, 24% in Westville, 22% in Clermont and 7% in the informal settlements) stated that they were violated by strangers (Table 6.41). It is interesting to note that a significantly lower proportion indicated strangers among the informal settlement respondents. This may be linked to the fact that most violence in the other areas is usually linked to theft of property. These personal experiences reinforce respondents' perceptions that the persons most likely to violate them are strangers. However, the rest stated that the perpetrator of the violence they personally experienced were known to them. Ten percent cited family members, 7% acquaintances (mostly in the informal settlements), 2% close friends, 1.25% authority figures (specifically teacher) and 0.75% stated neighbors.

Similar to findings pertaining to where incidents occurred (Table 6.40), these findings support studies cited in the literature review (Artz, 1999; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001a; Pain, 2000) that reveal that although most people perceive strangers as being the main perpetrators, crime and violence are mostly committed by persons known to the victims . In this study the majority of the respondents (30%) indicated that the violence they experienced was committed by someone known to them. However, it is important to note

that a significant proportion of the respondents (18.5%) indicated that the violence they experienced were committed by strangers.

Table 6.42: Gender of the perpetrator of the violence or crime that respondent had personally experienced (in %)

Gender	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
Male	28	33	48	42	37.75
Female	4	2	1	-	1.75

While a few respondents (1.75%) stated that the perpetrators of the violence they experienced were females, the majority (37.75%: 28% in Reservoir Hills, 33% in Westville, 48% in Clermont and 42% in the informal settlements) indicated that the perpetrators were males (Table 6.42). This again reinforces the respondents' perceptions that males tend to commit violence and is also similar to studies cited in the literature review (Morrell, 2002; Perry, 2002).

Table 6.43: Age of the perpetrator of the violence or crime that respondent had personally experienced (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
< 15	-	2	-	2	1
16-25	5	10	12	3	7.5
26-35	9	9	5	9	8
36-45	-	1	5	3	2.25
46-55	-	-	4	1	1.25
> 55	-	-	2	-	0.5
Unknown	18	13	21	24	19
	X = 33.6	X = 24.5	X = 32.1	X = 29.4	X = 29.3

Most of the respondents (19%) who experienced violence indicated that the specific age of the perpetrator was unknown (Table 6.43). However, all of these respondents stated that the perpetrators were adults. Among the rest who experienced violence, the age ranged from less than 15 years to more than 55 years old. However, the main age groups cited were 26-35 years (8%) and 16-25 years (7.5%). The average age of the perpetrators of the violence experienced by the respondents was 29.3 years (33.6 years in Reservoir Hills, 24.5 years in Westville, 32.1 years in Clermont and 29.4 years in the informal settlements).

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Table 6.44: Race of the perpetrator of the violence or crime that respondent had personally experienced (in %)

Race	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
African	26	33	49	42	37.5
White	-	1	-	-	0.25
Indian	5	1	-	-	1.5
Colored	1	-	-	-	0.25

With the exception of a few responses (2%), the vast majority of respondents (37.5%) who experienced violence stated that the perpetrators were African (26% in Reservoir Hills, 33% in Westville, 49% in Clermont and 42% in the informal settlements) (Table 6.44). A few (1.5%: 5% in Reservoir Hills and 1% in Westville) identified Indians as the perpetrators of the violence they experienced. One respondent each indicated White (in Westville) and Colored (in Reservoir Hills). The responses support studies cited in the literature review as well as perceptions of who commits violence earlier in this study that Africans are most likely to be the perpetrators of violence.

Table 6.45: When did the violence or crime that respondent had personally experienced occur (in %)

Time of incident	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
Night	15	12	27	23	19.25
Day	17	23	22	19	20.25

Almost similar proportions of respondents experienced violence at night (19.25%: 15% in Reservoir Hills, 12% in Westville, 27% in Clermont and 23% in the informal settlements) or during the day (20.25%: 17% in Reservoir Hills, 23% in Westville, 22% in Clermont and 19% in the informal settlements) (Table 6.45). This was different from earlier perceptions regarding when respondents felt that violence was most likely to occur. The majority of respondents felt strongly that violence was most likely to occur during the night.

Table 6.46: If respondent or anyone else reported the incident (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	68	65	51	58	60.5
Yes	29	33	38	18	29.5
No	3	2	11	24	10

The majority of respondents (29.5%) who experienced violence indicated that they reported the incident (Table 6.46). The rest (10%) stated that they did not report the incident.

Table 6.47: If incident was not reported, why not (in %)

	RH (n=3)	W (n=2)	C (n=11)	IS (n=24)	T (n=40)
Not worth reporting/ not serious enough	33.3	50	18.2	29.1	27.5
Police would not have done anything/ police disinterested	33.3	-	27.3	16.7	20
Involving the police was not appropriate/ was an internal matter	-	-	27.3	12.5	15
Fear of reprisals/ scared	-	-	18.2	12.5	12.5
Fear of negative publicity	-	-	9	-	2.5
Didn't bother because no insurance claim was involved	33.3	-	-	-	2.5
Lack of proof/ evidence/ witness	-	50	-	8.4	7.5
Didn't know what to do	-	-	-	20.8	12.5

Table 6.47 indicates the reasons that some of the respondents did not report the incident. The main reasons for not reporting the incident were:

- Not worth reporting/ not serious enough (27.5%: 33.3% in Reservoir Hills, 50% in Westville, 18.2% in Clermont and 29.1% in the informal settlements)
- Police would not have done anything/ police disinterested (20%: 33.3% in Reservoir Hills, 27.3% in Clermont and 16.7% in the informal settlements)
- Involving the police was not appropriate/ was an internal matter (15%: 27.3% in Clermont and 12.5% in the informal settlements)
- Fear of reprisals/scared (12.5%: 18.2% in Clermont and 12.5% in the informal settlements)
- Didn't know what to do (12.5%: 20.8% in the informal settlements)

- Lack of proof/ evidence/ witness (7.5%: 50% in Westville and 8.4% in the informal settlements)

A few respondents in Clermont (9%) stated fear of negative publicity while one in Reservoir Hills stated that he/ she did not bother to report the incident because no insurance claim was involved.

The results indicate that many people do not report incidents. This supports the importance of considering under-reporting when examining statistics (Moser, 2004; Louw and Shaw, 1997; Short, 1997). The reasons are varied and include perceptions of police incompetence, not believing that anything will be done, fear of reprisals and negative publicity, feeling that reporting the incident was inappropriate and now knowing what to do.

Table 6.48: If incident was reported, who was it reported to (in %)

	RH (n=29)	W (n=33)	C (n=38)	IS (n=18)	T (n=118)
The police	72.4	66.7	84.2	83.3	76.3
Private security company	17.3	27.3	2.6	-	12.7
Advice desk	6.9	-	-	-	1.7
Community forum/ organization	3.4	6	5.3	5.6	5.1
Spiritual leader	-	-	7.9	11.1	4.2

The respondents (29.5%) who reported the incident, mainly reported it to the police (76.3%: 72.4% in Reservoir Hills, 66.7% in Westville, 84.2% in Clermont and 83.3% in the informal settlements) (Table 6.48). The rest reported the incident to a private security company (12.7%: mainly in Reservoir Hills and Westville), community forum/ organization (5.1%), spiritual leader (4.2%: only in Clermont and the informal settlements) and the advice desk (1.7%: only in Reservoir Hills where an advice desk is functional). The results show that some respondents do not report the incidents to the police. This again raises questions about the validity of official police statistics and confidence in the police's ability to deal with crime and violence.

Table 6.49: If incident was reported, was respondent satisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or being dealt with (in %)

	RH (n=29)	W (n=33)	C (n=38)	IS (n=18)	T (n=118)
Yes	48.3	36.4	36.8	38.9	39.8
No	51.7	63.6	63.2	61.1	60.2

Table 6.49 indicates that the majority of the respondents who reported the incident (60.2%) were dissatisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or being dealt with. These were respondents who reported the incident to the police. This high level of dissatisfaction reveals dissatisfaction with the police's ability to act promptly and tangible outcomes/ results to be achieved, as indicated in the Table below.

Table 6.50: If respondent was not satisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or is being dealt with, why not (in %)

	RH (n=15)	W (n=21)	C (n=24)	IS (n=11)	T (n=71)
Police didn't do enough	13.3	-	20.8	18.2	12.7
Police were not interested	-	4.8	8.3	-	4.2
Police didn't find or apprehend the offender	33.3	42.8	25	27.3	32.4
Police didn't recover property/ items	40	38.1	29.2	45.4	36.6
Police didn't keep respondent properly informed	6.7	9.5	4.2	9.1	7.1
Police were impolite	-	4.8	4.2	-	2.8
Police were slow to arrive	6.7	-	8.3	-	4.2

The main reasons for dissatisfaction with the way the matter was dealt with or is being dealt with are (Table 6.50):

- Police didn't recover property/ items (36.6%)

- Police didn't find or apprehend the offender (32.4%)

- Police didn't do enough (12.7%)

- Police didn't keep respondent properly informed (7.1%)

Other responses were: police were not interested (4.2%), police were too slow to arrive (4.2%) and police were impolite (2.8%).

The lack of confidence in the police is evident in many of the responses. Nofziger and Williams (2005) state that perceptions of police affect feelings of safety in the community. In particular, they assert that predictors of confidence in police are influenced predominantly by impressions that crime has decreased in the community or

by having a positive encounter with police, and confidence in police significantly increases feeling safe. Given attitudes towards the police expressed in this study, widespread fear of violence and crime are understandable.

Table 6.51: Why respondent thinks that violent and criminal acts need to be reported (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
No comment/ don't know	-	-	2	-	0.5
To recover property	23	27	19	26	23.75
For insurance reasons	35	42	18	-	23.75
Crimes should be reported since they are serious	12	8	7	11	9.5
Want offender to be caught and punished	38	41	33	29	35.25
To stop it from happening again	61	67	72	68	67
To get compensation from the offender	13	16	11	9	12.25
To follow trends in number of incidents	3	2	-	-	1.25

With the exception of two respondents in Clermont, the rest of the respondents forwarded a range of reasons why they felt that violent and criminal acts need to be reported (Table 6.51). The main reasons were:

- To stop it from happening again (67%)
- Want offender to be caught and punished (35.25%)
- To recover property (23.75%)
- For insurance reasons (23.75%)
- To get compensation from the offender (12.25%)

A few respondents (1.25%) stated to follow trends in number of incidents.

6.2.1.8. Coping strategies used by respondents to address violence and/or the threat of violence

This sub-section examines the coping strategies used by respondents to address violence and/ or the threat of violence. Specifically, the actions taken at the individual and household level by the respondents are identified. Whether respondents can contact the police, abuse/ advice center and doctor/ hospital are also addressed. Finally, what needs to be done at the community and societal level to address crime and violence are considered.

Table 6.52: If respondent consciously takes action to minimize the risk of violence (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Yes	98	100	84	73	88.75
No	2	-	16	27	11.25

The vast majority of the respondents (88.75%: 98% in Reservoir Hills, 100% in Westville, 84% in Clermont and 73% in the informal settlements) stated that they consciously took actions to minimize the risk of violence (Table 6.52). The fewer respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements may not have the resources to be able to afford to take actions.

Table 6.53: Actions taken/ strategies adopted by respondent to minimize the risk of violence (in %): multiple responses

Action/ strategy	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	2	-	16	27	11.25
Take responsibility to gain information	33	36	7	-	19
Attend self-defense/ awareness classes	4	5	-	-	2.25
Walk in groups (try not to be alone)	60	76	47	35	54.5
Choose responsible friends	52	41	23	21	34.25
Get to know places/ environments frequented	43	45	19	21	32
Always tell someone where you are	72	81	47	32	58
Carry a weapon	8	11	7	3	7.25
Carry a cell-phone	68	72	49	33	55.5
Refrain from taking alcohol	23	19	12	7	15.25
Refrain from taking drugs	59	61	19	21	40
Secure vehicles used to travel	5	9	2	-	4
Engage in responsible sexual relationships	1	2	1	-	1
Security system at home	78	100	17	-	48.75
Have dogs	23	58	17	2	25

The most important actions taken/ strategies adopted include (Table 6.53):

- Always telling someone where they are (58%)

- Carry a cell phone (55.5%)

- Walk in groups (try not to be alone) (54.5%)

- Security system at home (48.75%)

- Refrain from taking drugs (40%)

- Choose responsible friends (34.25%)

- Get to know places/ environments frequented (32%)

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- Have dogs (25%)
- Take responsibility to gain information (19%)
- Refrain from taking alcohol (15.25%)

Other strategies identified by the respondents were carry a weapon (7.25%), secure vehicles used to travel (4%), attend self-defense/ awareness classes (2.25%) and engage in responsible sexual relationships (1%).

Table 6.54: Mechanisms/ ways that respondent's home/ dwelling/ property is protected (in %): multiple responses

Protection mechanism	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable/ none	-	-	15	91	26.5
Burglar alarm/ armed response	78	100	17	-	48.75
CCTV	11	25	-	-	9
Dogs	23	58	17	2	27.25
Insured	77	100	29	-	51.5
A caretaker or security guard	5	18	-	-	5.75
Window/ door grilles (burglar guards)	100	100	78	7	71.25
Remote controlled gate	54	94	15	-	40.75
Intercom	13	72	-	-	21.25
A gun	8	11	7	3	7.25
Special security locks	56	73	21	5	38.75
Fence	81	100	31	5	54.25
A neighborhoods watch scheme	13	15	7	-	8.75

In addition to actions taken/ strategies adopted by respondents to minimize the risk of violence, respondents were asked to identify mechanisms or ways in which they specifically protected their homes/ dwelling/ property (Table 6.54). The results indicate clear differences among households in the different localities. The vast majority of the respondents in the informal settlement (91%) indicated that they did not do anything to protect their homes. The few that did indicate that they protected their homes stated that they had installed window/door grilles (burglar guards) (7%), special security locks (5%) and had a fence (5%). A few respondents also had a gun (3%) and dogs (2%).

In Clermont the ways in which households were protected were burglar guards (78%), fences (31%), insurance (29%), special security locks (21%), burglar alarm/ armed response (17%), dogs (17%), a neighborhood watch scheme (7%) and guns (7%). Fifteen percent of the respondents indicated that they did not protect their homes.

In Reservoir Hills and Westville all respondents protected their homes in some way or another. The main ways in which respondents in Reservoir Hills and Westville protected their homes were burglar guards (all), fences (81% and all, respectively), burglar alarm/ armed response (78% and all, respectively), insurance (77% and all, respectively), special security locks (56% and 73%, respectively), remote controlled gates (54% and 94%, respectively), dogs (23% and 58%, respectively) and intercoms (13% and 72%, respectively). Other mechanisms used were CCTV (11% and 25%, respectively), a neighborhood watch scheme (13% and 15%, respectively), a caretaker or security guard (5% and 18%, respectively) and a gun (8% and 11%, respectively).

The ability to afford protective mechanisms emerges as a critical factor. The higher the income levels of the areas, a greater number of as well as more expensive mechanisms are used to protect homes. What is also discernible from the results is that those respondents who are able to afford to invest in protective mechanisms usually did so in a variety of ways. The most common were alarm systems, burglar guards, special security locks, fences and dogs. Also, households in Westville and Reservoir Hills were insured. The results support Artz (1999), Dangor (1996), Louw and Shaw (1997) and Moser's (2004) findings that the poor are more vulnerable to crime and violence (and are less likely to fully recover from incidents) because they cannot protect themselves as well as those who can afford to do so. It is also important to note that a considerable amount of resources at the household level seems to be utilized in dealing with the threat of violence and crime.

Both protective and avoidance strategies, as identified by Miethe (1995), are used by the respondents. The protective strategies include creating defensible spaces (dogs, burglar guards, alarms), carrying a weapon and walking in groups. During the focus group discussions it emerged that most respondents, if possible, avoided places that they deemed to be unsafe. Similar to Brownlow's (2005) study, avoidance was a common response among the respondents. The strategies identified by Allen (2004), Ferguson and Ferguson (1994), Rafkin (1995) and Upson (2004) in the literature review are used by many respondents in this study as well.

Table 6.55: If respondent expects others to help if he/ she is in trouble (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Yes	88	97	99	100	96
No	12	3	1	-	4

The majority of the respondents (96%) indicated that they expected others to help them if they were in trouble (Table 6.55). The rest of the respondents (4%) felt that they could only rely on themselves.

Table 6.56: If expect help, who does respondent expect help from (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	12	3	1	-	4
Family members/ friends	33	34	41	38	36.5
Neighbors	54	27	72	89	60.5
Private security company	78	90	12	-	45
Police	31	27	45	51	38.5
Trustworthy persons	1	-	2	-	0.75
Accompanying persons at the time	1	-	6	11	4.5
Any person around at the time	-	-	12	17	7.25

The respondents who indicated that they expect help from others stated that the persons they expected to help them were (Table 6.56):

- Neighbors (60.5%: 54% in Reservoir Hills, 27% in Westville, 72% in Clermont and 89% in the informal settlements)

- Private security company (45%: 78% in Reservoir Hills, 90% in Westville and 12% in Clermont)

- Police (38.5%: 31% in Reservoir Hills, 27% in Westville, 45% in Clermont and 51% in the informal settlements)

- Family and friends (36.5%: 33% in Reservoir Hills, 34% in Westville, 41% in Clermont and 38% in the informal settlements)

A few respondents stated any person around at the time (7.25%: 12% in Clermont and 17% in the informal settlements), accompanying persons at the time (4.5%: 1% in Reservoir Hills, 6% in Clermont and 11% in the informal settlements) and trustworthy persons (0.75%: 1% in Reservoir Hills and 2% in Clermont). The persons that respondents mostly expect to help them are known persons (friends, family members and/ or neighbors) as well as security and police.

Table 6.57: Respondents who knew where the nearest police station is close to their homes, school and social places they frequent (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Home	100	100	97	78	93.75
School	100	100	88	52	85
Social places frequented	59	65	32	24	45

Table 6.57 shows that the majority of the respondents knew where the nearest police station was close to their homes (93.75%: all in Reservoir Hills and Westville, 97% in Clermont and 78% in the informal settlements) and schools (85%: all in Reservoir Hills and Westville, 88% in Clermont and 52% in the informal settlements). Less than half of the respondents (45%: 59% in Reservoir Hills, 65% in Westville, 32% in Clermont and 24% in the informal settlements) knew where the police station was close to social places they frequent. The results reveal that respondents in the informal settlement and Clermont were less likely to know where the nearest police stations are close to schools and social places they frequent. Fewer respondents in the informal settlement knew where the nearest police station was close to their home.

Figure 6.6: Respondents who could contact a police station, abuse center and doctor/ hospital in an emergency (in %)
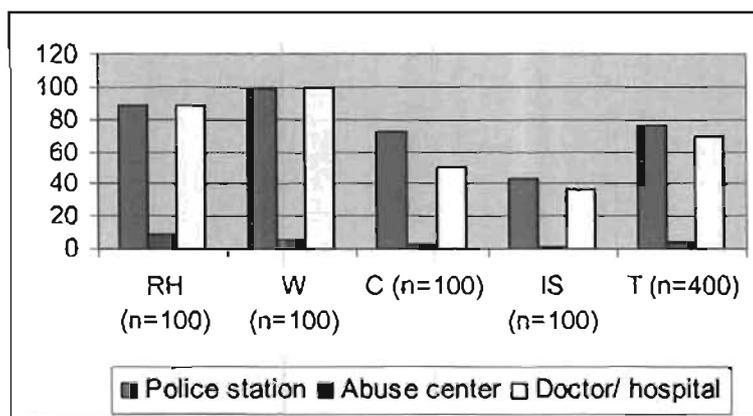
Figure 6.6 illustrates that most respondents in Westville (99% and all, respectively) and Reservoir Hills (88% and 89%, respectively) could contact a police station and a doctor/ hospital in an emergency. Fewer respondents in Clermont (72% and 51%, respectively) and even fewer in the informal settlements (43% and 37%, respectively) could contact a police station and a doctor/ hospital in an emergency. A significantly small proportion of respondents (4.25%: 9% in Reservoir Hills, 5% in Westville, 2% in Clermont and 1% in

the informal settlements) stated that they could contact an abuse center. A significant proportion of the respondents during the interviews and focus group discussions did not know what an abuse center was. Given the high rates of police insensitivity in South Africa, identified by Fyfe (1995), abuse centers play a major role in assisting victims, especially females who are sexually abused, to report crimes and support victim rehabilitation.

Table 6.58: Average respondents' ratings (from 1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police to deal with crime and violence in relation to statements below

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Ability to respond quickly to a situation	2.3	2.3	2.7	1.9	2.4
Courteous, professional and respectful	2.3	2.5	2.8	1.9	2.4
Knowledge of the law and proper procedures	2.2	2.4	2.6	1.9	2.3
Well-trained	2.2	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.5
Caring and committed	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.4	2.6
Having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.3
Can compile a report properly	3	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.9
Able to communicate with members in the community	2.5	2.7	2.9	3	2.8

The average ratings presented in Table 6.58 are derived from survey results shown in Appendix 6 (Tables 1-8). Only a few respondents indicated a rating of more than 3. This suggests that most respondents perceive police performance as below average (several indicated a rating of 1 which is appalling) or average. The average ratings in order of highest satisfaction to lowest satisfaction were:

- Can compile a report properly (2.9)

- Able to communicate with members in the community (2.8)

- Caring and committed (2.6)

- Well-trained (2.5)

- Ability to respondent quickly to a situation (2.4)

- Courteous, professional and respectful (2.4)

- Knowledge of the law and proper procedures (2.3)

- Having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively (2.3)

It is important to note the differences in terms of ratings. For example, with the exception of ability to communicate a report properly, respondents in the informal sector indicated a lower rating than respondents in other localities in relation to the rest of the statements. This was particularly the case in relation to ability to respond quickly to a situation; courteous, professional and respectful; and knowledge of the law and proper procedures.

Table 6.59: If dissatisfied with police in any way, reason/s for dissatisfaction (in %): multiple responses

Reasons	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
Not applicable	11	19	3	-	8.25
Police not seen in the area	35	13	27	33	27
Police involved in corruption	29	14	31	35	27.25
Police take too long to react to incidents	21	25	27	23	24
Police do not react to alarms going off	23	19	5	-	11.75
Police do not catch/ assist in prosecution of offenders	15	17	12	16	15
Get little/ no information back on reported crimes	7	3	4	-	3.5
No day-to-day contact with police	9	-	2	-	2.75
Police are uncaring	11	8	21	25	16.25

The reasons for dissatisfaction with the police are presented in Table 6.59. With the exception of 8.25% of the respondents (11% from Reservoir Hills, 19% from Westville and 3% from Clermont), the rest forwarded reasons. The main reasons identified by the respondents were:

- Police involved in corruption (27.25%)
- Police not seen in the area (27%)
- Police take too long to react to incidents (24%)
- Police are uncaring (16.25%)
- Police do not catch/ assist in the prosecution of offenders (15%)
- Police do not react to alarms going off (11.75%)

Louw and Shaw (1997) indicated that a key issue in South Africa is attitudes towards the police. In this study this attitude was reinforced by several respondents some of who stated:

You can't trust the police. They are useless.

Most police are corrupt and only take bribes. You cannot get anything done if you can't pay them.

It is a waste of time to report crime to the police. They take forever to come and when they do they don't take anything seriously. One police office actually told me that "this is South Africa and you must get used to the new South Africa".

Table 6.60: What respondent thinks needs to be done to address the problems of crime and violence in society (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
More police need to be provided	45	33	51	58	46.75
Police need to interact with community	12	3	21	23	14.75
Quicker police response	19	21	15	18	18.25
Neighborhood watches/ policing forums	5	11	3	-	4.75
Better education	2	1	13	15	7.75
Violence awareness programs	3	3	5	2	3.25
Educating people about their rights	4	3	15	11	8.25
Create more jobs	31	28	41	52	38
Address poverty	22	17	42	49	32.5
Build more prisons	13	11	3	1	7
Stricter sentencing	17	19	7	2	11.25
Impose the death penalty	3	2	5	3	3.25
Close down bars/ shebeens	2	-	17	13	8
Stop/ ban drugs and alcohol	13	3	7	3	6.5
Recreational centers for the youth	-	-	4	2	1.5

A range of strategies to address the problems of crime and violence in society was identified by the respondents (Table 6.60). The five most important ones were more police need to be provided (46.75%), create more jobs (38%), address poverty (32.5%), quicker police response (18.25%) and police need to interact with the community (14.75%). Generally, a higher percentage of respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements forwarded these suggestions as compared to Reservoir Hills and Westville. Clearly, the two main aspects relate to the police and addressing poverty (including employment creation in society). The latter again reinforces the perception among many of the respondents that crime and violence are linked to poverty. Other suggestions forwarded by some of the respondents include stricter sentencing (11.25%), educating people about their rights (8.25%), close down bars/ shebeens (8%), better education (7.75%), build more prisons (7%), stop/ ban drugs and alcohol (6.5%), neighborhood

watches/ police forums (4.75%), violence awareness programs (3.25%), impose the death penalty (3.25%) and recreational centers for the youth (1.5%).

It is interesting to note that the respondents' recommendations to deal with violence in society included both treating the ineffectiveness of current safety and security as well as intervention strategies (improving policing, stricter and harsher sentencing, neighborhood watches, etc.) and broader societal causes of the problems (poverty, unemployment, alcohol and drugs, etc.). Education and dissemination of information were broadly indicated as key areas of intervention. Respondents felt that education should be geared towards making people aware of their rights and ways in which they can protect themselves. Additionally, some respondents indicated that overall improvements in education will result in improvements in quality of life among the majority and thus reduce crime and violence in society. Targeting the youth was viewed as being particularly important.

6.2.2. Ranking exercises

This sub-section summarizes key findings in relation to the qualitative exercises conducted with residents. The mapping exercise results are presented followed by the ranking exercise findings.

The ranking exercises (Tables 6.61, 6.62, 6.63 and 6.64) show that it was generally found that respondents participating in the focus groups viewed public spaces (the Central Business District, roads, parks, bus stops and shopping centers) as unsafe areas. This reinforces the questionnaire survey findings regarding respondents' perceptions of safe and unsafe areas.

Table 6.61: Ranking matrix illustrating unsafe places identified by respondents in Reservoir Hills

	IS	S	P	BS	SC	VIP	D	CB	CBD	R
IS	X	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS
S	X	X	P	BS	SC	VIP	S	CB	CBD	R
P	X	X	X	P	P	VIP	P	P	P	P
BS	X	X	X	X	BS	VIP	BS	BS	BS	BS
SC	X	X	X	X	X	VIP	D	CB	CBD	R
VIP	X	X	X	X	X	X	VIP	VIP	VIP	VIP
D	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	D	CBD	R
CB	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	CBD	R
CBD	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	CBD
R	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

	Scoring	Ranking
Informal settlements (IS)	9	1
Schools (S)	1	9
Parks (P)	7	3
Bus stops/taxi ranks (BS)	6	4
Shopping centers (SC)	1	9
Vacant/ incomplete properties (VIP)	8	2
Driveways (D)	2	7
Central beachfront (CB)	2	7
Central Business District (CBD)	5	5
Roads (R)	4	6

The ranking of the unsafe areas identified by the participants during the focus group discussion in Reservoir Hills show that informal settlements was ranked number 1 (Table 6.61). Vacant/ incomplete properties were ranked number 2 and parks were ranked number 3. This was followed by bus stops/ taxi ranks (4), Central Business District (5) and roads (6). Both driveways and central beachfront were ranked 7 while schools and shopping centers were ranked 9. During the discussions it became evident that the fear of car hijackings was an important consideration among participants (roads and driveways were deemed to be unsafe primarily for this reason). This discussion also entailed a lengthy recollection of the rape and murder of a 10 year old girl in 2000 in a community park. Resident questionnaire survey respondents also discussed this as an important incident. Thus, this is certainly a major signal crime in the community.

Table 6.62: Ranking matrix illustrating unsafe places identified by respondents in Westville

	IS	T	H	VL	BS	U	PL	CC	PB	P
IS	X	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS
T	X	X	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
H	X	X	X	VL	BS	H	PL	CC	PB	P
VL	X	X	X	X	BS	VL	VL	VL	VL	VL
BS	X	X	X	X	X	BS	BS	CC	PB	BS
U	X	X	X	X	X	X	PL	CC	PB	P
PL	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	CC	PB	P
CC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	PB	CC
PB	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	PB
P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

	Scoring	Ranking
Informal settlements (IS)	9	1
Townships (T)	8	2
Highways (H)	1	9
Vacant land (VL)	6	3
Bus stops/ taxi ranks (BS)	5	5
University (U)	0	10
Parking lots (PL)	2	8
City center (CC)	5	5
Public beaches (PB)	6	3
Parks (P)	3	7

The ranking of the unsafe areas identified by the participants during the focus group discussion in Westville show that informal settlements were ranked number 1 (Table 6.62). This was the same in Reservoir Hills. Townships were ranked number 2 and vacant land together with public beaches were ranked number 3 jointly. This was followed by bus stops/ taxi ranks and the city center which were both ranked 5. Parks were ranked 7 followed by parking lots which was ranked 8. Highways were ranked number 9 and the University (specifically the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Westville Campus) was ranked 10. As was the case in Reservoir Hills, participants expressed the fear of car hijackings. Participants indicated that they tended to avoid most of these places. In fact, for example, none of the participants had been in an informal settlement or township although they stated that they passed these places on several occasions. The fear of the unfamiliar and unknown is therefore noticeable.

Table 6.63: Ranking matrix illustrating unsafe places identified by respondents in Clermont

	BT	SS	BS	H	IS	UR	OS	B	CC	P
BT	X	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT
SS	X	X	BS	H	SS	SS	SS	B	SS	SS
BS	X	X	X	BS	BS	BS	BS	BS	BS	BS
H	X	X	X	X	H	H	H	B	H	H
IS	X	X	X	X	X	UR	IS	B	IS	IS
UR	X	X	X	X	X	X	UR	B	UR	UR
OS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	B	CC	P
B	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	B	B
CC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P
P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

	Scoring	Ranking
Bus stops/taxi ranks (BT)	9	1
Outside schools (OS)	0	10
Stores/spaza shops (SS)	5	5
Bars/shebeens (BS)	8	2
Hostels (H)	6	4
Informal settlements (IS)	3	7
Unused roads (UR)	4	6
Bushes (B)	7	3
City center (CC)	1	9
Parks (P)	2	8

The ranking of the unsafe areas identified by the participants during the focus group discussion in Clermont shows that bus stops/ taxi ranks was ranked number 1 (Table 6.63). Bars/shebeens were ranked number 2 and bushes were ranked number 3. This was followed by hostels (4), stores/spaza shops (5), unused roads (6), informal settlements (7) and parks (8). The city center was ranked 9 and outside schools was ranked 10. It is interesting to note that although outside schools was the second area identified by the respondents, when weighted with other areas identified, the school was regarded as being relatively safe (ranked last). The participants indicated that they often used or had to frequent (walk past) the main areas that they considered to be unsafe (bus stops/ taxi ranks, bars/shebeens, bushes, hostels and stores/spaza shops). Unused roads and bushes were particularly viewed as being unsafe for females. Several of the respondents recalled rapes that occurred in these areas. The unruly behavior of youth (males in particular) outside schools and the stores/spaza shops was emphasized by many of the participants.

Table 6.64: Ranking matrix illustrating unsafe places identified by respondents in informal settlements

	IS	BT	SS	BS	T	PR	BV	NR	RC	C
IS	X	BT	SS	BS	IS	IS	BV	NR	IS	IS
BT	X	X	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT	BT
SS	X	X	X	BS	SS	SS	SS	SS	SS	SS
BS	X	X	X	X	BS	BS	BS	BS	BS	BS
T	X	X	X	X	X	PR	BV	NR	T	T
PR	X	X	X	X	X	X	BV	NR	RC	PR
BV	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	BV	BV	BV
NR	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	NR	NR
RC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	C
C	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

	Scoring	Ranking
Informal settlements (IS)	4	8
Bus stops/taxi ranks (BT)	9	1
Stores/spaza shops (SS)	7	3
Bars/shebeens (BS)	8	2
Townships (T)	2	6
Palmiet river (PR)	2	6
Bushes/vacant areas (BV)	6	4
Nearby roads (NR)	5	5
Reservoir Hills/Clare Estate (RC)	1	9
Cemetery (C)	1	9

The ranking of the unsafe areas identified by the participants during the focus group discussion in the informal settlements show that as was the case in Clermont, bus stops/ taxi ranks was ranked number 1 and bars/shebeens were ranked number 2 (Table 6.64). Stores/spaza shops were ranked number 3. This was followed by bushes/ vacant areas (4) and nearby roads (5). Townships and the Palmiet River were ranked number 6. Informal settlements were ranked number 8. Reservoir Hills/Clare Estate (the neighboring formal residential areas) and the cemetery (also located in relative close proximity, less than a km, to one of the informal settlements) were ranked 9. Similar to Clermont, participants in the informal settlements frequented the areas that they deemed to be unsafe. It is important to note that Reservoir Hills/Clare Estate was regarded as being unsafe because participants felt that the residents in these areas harassed and threatened them. They stated that they were frequently beaten up, threatened to be shot and police were called although they did nothing wrong. What is interesting, and different from the other case study areas, was that some of the unsafe areas identified by the informal settlement

participants were considered to be unsafe for reasons other than the fear of crime and violence. Specifically, the Palmiet River was deemed unsafe because during times of flooding houses were destroyed and sometimes lives were lost. The cemetery was regarded as being unsafe because of the fear of the dead. One participant also stated that informal settlements are a health hazard.

Unlike participants in Westville and Reservoir Hills who tended to avoid the main areas (such as informal settlements, townships, parks, the city center and the beachfront) they regarded as being unsafe, participants in Clermont and the informal settlements literally lived and worked in or near the areas they considered to be unsafe. Given the earlier results that indicated that respondents living in these areas also have limited or no access to mechanisms to increase their physical safety, this indicates the increased vulnerability that poorer segments in society experience.

Unlike the survey responses, none of groups during the ranking exercises identified their homes as one of the ten main unsafe areas. This indicates that compared to other unsafe areas (specifically in relation to public spaces), the home is viewed as a safe haven.

The areas that were deemed to be unsafe were viewed as places that criminals target and unsavory inhabitants are found in these areas. The participants stated that the areas (especially vacant land, bars, spaza shops, parks and specific roads) were notorious in the area for drug dealing and drunken behavior. Participants also provided specific incidents of crime that occurred in these areas. This illustrates that perceptions of unsafe places are informed by knowledge of criminal activities that are likely to take place there. However, it is important to note many of the participants did not experience or see these events first hand but heard about them, generally from local newspapers and friends and family. This study indicates similar findings to the ISS (2001) study which found that the fear of crime in the inner city is linked to higher crime levels as well as general governance issues such as congestion, overcrowding, uncontrolled street-hawking and litter.

It is also important to highlight that a significant proportion of the areas in all case studies that were perceived as being unsafe were in the local neighborhoods. With the exception of the city center and beachfront, the rest were places found near the participants' homes and places they frequent. Again, the sense of insecurity and vulnerability that emerged during the interviews is reinforced by the ranking exercises and focus group discussions more generally.

The fear of parks, grounds, bushes and vacant plots was evident during the interviews and ranking exercises. It is also important to note that particularly in Reservoir Hills and Clermont the researcher observed that the parks/ grounds were generally unkempt and unattractive. One respondent in Reservoir Hills stated:

> I have lived in the area for the past forty years next to the park. There were never any problems. In the past five years there has been one murder (of a teenage girl) and three rapes in the park. It is not safe anymore. The youth congregate in the park where they consume alcohol and take drugs. It has become a hang-out for kids who truant school. I just can't understand why the police cannot do anything since I see them everyday and they are in plain view.

Most participants felt strongly that parks and grounds should not exist and homes should be built. Open spaces (especially parks and conservancies) are viewed as being critically important to protect the natural environment in urban areas. They are also important for recreational purposes. However, the inability to ensure that these places are safe has resulted in antagonism among residents to these places.

Low income areas (informal settlements and townships) were also viewed as being unsafe places. This again supports the assertion that there is a perceived link between poverty and the lack of safety.

The ranking exercises compiled by the focus groups in each of the study areas and the survey responses represent spatial perceptions regarding unsafe areas and safe areas. To

recount, the main places regarded as being safe during the interviews were homes, friend's homes, shopping malls, schools and religious places. These are places respondents generally felt were safe because they were familiar areas, they knew and trusted people who were there or these areas had visible security presence. From these results (ranking exercises and surveys) the landscape (especially communities where people live) can be seen as influencing levels of fear and safety. It is also important to note that the locality specific analysis shows that in relatively small communities both safe and unsafe areas are discernible. This perception, as indicated in earlier discussions, is strongly influenced by who frequents and what types of activities characterize a particular location. The findings show that areas considered to be safe were areas where there was a level of controlled access. The respondents deemed open areas or public spaces as being unsafe.

During the discussions it was clear that, when possible, respondents tended to avoid areas they considered to be unsafe. The avoidance zones were constructed around particular types of activities and around particular groups of people. The respondents highlighted public spaces as being dangerous and areas Africans frequented were usually described as being unsafe. Additionally, it is clear that the presence of males (especially in groups at the shopping centers as well as in recreational areas such as the parks and on streets) was also associated with danger. The avoidance of certain places illustrates poignantly the way in which the fear of crime and violence restricts the movement of residents.

It is clear from the questionnaire survey results, focus group discussions and ranking exercises that residents are correlating crime patterns (or more specifically the fear of crime) with the environmental and physical layout of places where crimes are most likely to occur. For the respondents, and similar to Brantingham and Brantingham's (1993) and Tabrizi and Madanipour's (2006) findings, incidents of crime and fear of crime tend to concentrate in specific locations at particular time periods. The social construction of space into safe and unsafe places, as illustrated by Pain (1997), is also clearly evident.

6.3. BUSINESSES

The results in this section are similar to those of the residents discussed above.

6.3.1. Respondent profiles/background of respondents

Table 6.65: Respondents' gender (in %)

Gender	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Male	60	80	80	73.3
Female	40	20	20	26.7

Table 6.65 shows that the majority of respondents interviewed were males (73.3%). This is indicative of the gender of business owners in the areas since they were targeted during the interviews.

Table 6.66: Respondents' historical racial classification (in %)

Race	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
African	-	-	90	30
White	-	70	-	23.3
Indian	100	30	10	46.7

Similar to the residents' results, the Table above indicates that the historical race classification of the respondents is reflective of the historical Group Areas. All of the respondents in Reservoir Hills were Indian and the majority of respondents in Westville (70%) were Whites. Thirty percent were Indians. In Clermont 90% of the respondents were Africans and one respondent was Indian.

Table 6.67: Respondents' age (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
< 20	-	-	10	3.3
21-30	20	10	10	13.3
31-40	40	20	10	23.3
41-50	30	60	50	46.7
51-60	-	10	-	3.3
> 60	10	-	20	10
	X = 38.5	X = 42	X = 42.5	X = 41

The majority of respondents were between 21 and 50 years old (83.3%) (Table 6.67). The main age category among the respondents was 41-50 years (46.7%). The overall average

age of the respondents was 41 years (38.5 years in reservoir Hills, 42 years in Westville and 42.5 years in Clermont).

Table 6.68: Respondents' educational level (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Partial primary	-	-	10	3.3
Primary	10	-	-	3.3
Partial secondary	10	-	20	10
Secondary	40	20	50	36.7
Diploma/ certificate	40	60	10	36.7
Degree	-	10	10	6.7
Postgraduate degree	-	10	-	3.3

In terms of the educational level of respondents, the majority of the respondents indicated secondary level and higher (83.4%) (Table 6.68). The main educational categories were secondary and diploma/ certificate (36.7% each). The relatively higher education levels as compared to the residents can be attributed to the fact that all respondents are business persons.

Table 6.69: Background of business (in %)

Type of employment	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Established retail food/ grocery store	40	50	40	43.3
Restaurant	20	-	20	13.3
Petrol station	-	10	-	3.3
Video store	-	10	-	3.3
Car repairs/ spares shop	10	-	10	6.7
Service stores (doctors, hair salons, etc.)	30	30	10	23.3
Clothing store	-	-	10	3.3
Taxi driver	-	-	10	3.3

Table 6.69 shows that the majority of the respondents indicated that their businesses were established retail food/ grocery stores (43.3%), service stores (mainly doctors and dentists) (23.3%) and restaurants (13.3%). Two respondents (6.7%) indicated that their businesses were car repairs/ spares shops. One respondent each stated that their businesses were a petrol station, video store and clothing store. One respondent was a taxi driver.

Table 6.70: Number of years business has been operational (in %)

Number of years operational	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
2	10	-	-	3.3
3	10	-	30	13.3
4	10	-	-	3.3
5	10	-	20	10
6-10	10	40	20	23.3
11-15	20	50	-	23.3
16-19	20	10	-	10
20	10	-	10	6.7
21	-	-	10	3.3
22	-	-	10	3.3
	X = 10.4	X = 11.5	X = 9.8	X = 10.6

Table 6.70 shows that the majority of businesses (20%) were established, that is, in excess of 5 years. Main categories in terms of number of years business has been operational were 6-10 years and 11-15 years (23.3% each). The overall average number of years businesses interviewed have been in operation was 10.6 years (10.4 years in Reservoir Hills, 11.5 years in Westville and 9.8 years in Clermont).

6.3.2. Respondents' understanding of violence and crime

This section examines respondents' understanding of violence and in relation to definitions, types of violence they are aware of and the specific type/s of violence they deem to be the worst form.

Table 6.71: Respondents' definition of violence (in %)

Definitions	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Abuse	20	10	20	16.7
Acting upon anger	10	-	10	6.7
Instill fear	10	-	-	3.3
Inappropriate behavior	10	-	10	6.7
Rape, murder, robbery, shooting	40	30	50	40
Harassment	10	-	10	6.7
Committing a harmful act	-	40	-	13.3
Violating someone's human rights	-	20	-	6.7

The main definitions of violence forwarded by the respondents were (Table 6.71):

- Rape, murder, robbery, shooting (40%: 40% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 50% in Clermont)

- Abuse (16.7%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 20% in Clermont)

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- Committing harmful acts (13.3%: 40% in Westville)

Other definitions of violence forwarded by the respondents include acting upon anger (6.7%), inappropriate behavior (6.7%), harassment (6.7%) and violating someone's human rights (6.7%) and instill fear (3.3%).

Table 6.72: Respondents' definition of crime (in %)

Definitions	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Any unlawful activity against person or state	20	30	-	16.7
Rape, murder, robbery, shooting	40	-	70	36.7
Illegal act	20	20	20	20
Anything against the law	10	20	-	10
Doing something without permission or consent	10	-	10	6.7
Violating someone's human rights	-	30	-	10

The definitions of crime forwarded by the respondents were (Table 6.72):

- Rape, murder, robbery, shooting (36.7%: 40% in Reservoir Hills and 70% in Clermont)

- An illegal act (20%: 20% each in Reservoir Hills, Westville and Clermont)

- Any unlawful activity against state or person (16.7%: 20% in Reservoir Hills and 30% in Westville)

- Anything against the law (10%: 10% in Reservoir Hills and 20% in Westville)

- Violating someone's human rights (10%: 30% in Westville)

- Doing something without permission or consent (6.7%: 10% in Reservoir Hills and 10% in Clermont)

Respondents tended to focus on the legalities of the act being committed as well as emphasized criminal acts (murder, rape, etc.).

What is evident from both the resident and business definitions of violence and crime is that most respondents find it difficult to define. This supports Nadesan's (2000) assertion. Clearly, the respondents' definitions illustrate Reed's (1998) assertion that broadly and theoretically violence can take multiple forms, exist at many levels and occur in a variety of social contexts. This reveals that in a way ordinary citizens reflect the complexities of understanding, and therefore dealing, with violence and crime in society.

Table 6.73: Types of violence respondents are aware of (in %): multiple responses

Type of violence	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Abuse	20	10	40	23.3
Theft	60	20	80	53.3
Assault	30	20	10	20
Rape	60	90	40	63.3
Domestic violence	20	30	20	23.3
Hijacking	20	10	10	13.3
Murder	30	80	20	43.3
Vandalism	-	-	20	6.7
Harassment	-	-	10	3.3

Interviewees were aware of a range of different types of violence which are indicated in Table 6.73. The main types of violence identified by respondents in Reservoir Hills were theft (60%) and rape (60%). Other forms of violence identified were assault (30%), murder (30%), abuse (20%), domestic violence (20%) and hijacking (20%). The main types of violence identified by respondents in Westville were rape (90%) and murder (80%). Other forms of violence identified were domestic violence (30%), theft (20%), assault (20%), abuse (10%) and hijacking (10%). The main types of violence identified by respondents in Clermont were theft (80%), abuse (40%) and rape (40%). Other forms of violence identified were domestic violence (20%), murder (20%), vandalism (20%), assault (10%), hijacking (10%) and harassment (10%).

It is interesting to note that similar to the residents' responses, respondents from Clermont could identify more types of violence than respondents from other case study areas. Business respondents also did not identify organized types of violence such as fraud and corruption.

Table 6.74: Type/s of violence respondents consider to be the worst form of violence (in %)

Type of violence	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Women abuse	10	-	-	3.3
All types of violence	10	-	-	3.3
Rape	20	50	-	23.3
Murder	40	50	-	30
Robbery/theft	20	-	60	26.7
Domestic violence	-	-	10	3.3
Hijacking	-	-	10	3.3
Men abuse	-	-	10	3.3
Harassment	-	-	10	3.3

Table 6.74 shows that the worst types of violence identified by the respondents differed considerably among the areas under study. In Reservoir Hills the worst type of violence identified was murder (40%) which was followed by robbery/theft and rape (20% each). One respondent each stated women abuse and rape. One respondent also indicated all types of violence. In Westville, half of the respondents indicated rape while the other half stated murder. In Clermont the worst type of violence identified was robbery/ theft (40%). One respondent each stated domestic abuse, hijacking, men abuse and harassment. Clearly, sexual and physical violence as well as theft were regarded by the respondents as the worst types of violence.

6.3.3. Perceptions regarding the general characteristics of the perpetrators of violence

Table 6.75: Perceptions regarding the gender of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Gender	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Male	100	100	90	96.7
Female	-	-	10	3.3

The vast majority of respondents (96.7%) perceived that the gender of the perpetrators of violence is male (Table 6.75). One respondent from Clermont stated female. This was also the respondent who indicated that the worst type of violence was men abuse. The results are similar to the residents' perceptions and the findings in the literature review.

Table 6.76: Perceptions regarding the age of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
16-25	40	80	80	66.7
26-35	60	20	20	33.3
	X = 26	X = 22	X = 22	X = 23.3

All the respondents across the case studies stated that the perpetrators of violence tend to be between the ages of 16 and 35 years (Table 6.76). Two thirds of the respondents (mainly in Westville and Clermont) stated 16-25 years and a third (mainly in Reservoir Hills) stated 26-35 years. The overall average perceived age of the perpetrators of violence was calculated to be 23.3 years (similar to the residents). In terms of the specific

case studies, the average ages of the perpetrators of violence were 26 years in Reservoir Hills, 22 years in Westville and Clermont.

Table 6.77: Perceptions regarding the marital status of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Marital status	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Single	90	100	90	93.3
Divorced	10	-	-	3.3
Separated	-	-	10	3.3

In terms of the perceived marital status of the perpetrators of violence, most respondents indicated that they were single (93.3%) (Table 6.77). One respondent each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont stated divorced and separated, respectively.

Table 6.78: Perceptions regarding the parental status of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Parental status	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
No children	60	70	30	53.3
Parent	20	30	60	36.7
Adoptive parent	20	-	10	10

Slightly more than half of the respondents (53.3%) indicated that in relation to the parental status of perpetrators of violence, perpetrators had no children (Table 6.78). The rest indicated that the parental status was parent (36.7%) and adoptive parent (10%).

Table 6.79: Perceptions regarding the occupation of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Occupation	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Unemployed	100	100	40	80
Student	-	-	40	13.3
Laborer/ unskilled	-	-	10	3.3
Professional	-	-	10	3.3

In terms of the perceived occupation of perpetrators of violence illustrated in Table 6.78 above, the majority of respondents (80%: all respondents in Reservoir Hills and Westville as well as 40% in Clermont) stated that people who are unemployed are most likely to commit acts of violence. In Clermont, the rest of respondents stated student (40%), laborer/unskilled (10%) and professional (10%). For respondents in middle and upper income areas the link between crime and violence to unemployment and poverty remains prominent, as was the case among the residents interviewed.

It is interesting to note that one respondent in Clermont indicated professional. This individual explained that organized crime is behind several criminal activities. Specifically, the respondent cited the example of car hijackings.

With regard to racial classification, all of the respondents identified Africans as the group most likely to commit violence. Similar to residents, there is a general perception that Africans are most likely to commit violence and crime.

Table 6.80: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of perpetrators of violence (in %)

Highest educational level	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
No formal education	50	30	-	26.7
Primary	30	60	10	33.3
Secondary	20	10	80	36.7
Tertiary	10	-	10	6.7

Unlike the resident survey where the majority of the respondents believed that perpetrators did not have any formal education, among the business respondents the majority indicated secondary education (36.7%) or primary education (33.3%) (Table 6.80). The rest of the respondents stated that perpetrators of violence had no formal education (26.7%) and tertiary education (6.7%). However, the general perception that persons with no or very little formal education are most likely to commit violence remains.

Table 6.81: Perceptions regarding where perpetrators of violence live (in %)

Residential location	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Homeless	10	-	-	3.3
Informal settlements	70	20	30	40
Low income areas	20	80	30	43.3
Middle income areas	-	-	40	13.3

Table 6.81 shows that the vast majority of the respondents indicated that perpetrators of violence tend to live in low income areas (43.3%) or informal settlements (40%). Forty percent of the respondents in Clermont stated middle income areas and one respondent in Reservoir Hills stated that perpetrators of violence are homeless. Like the resident survey,

the strong relationship between the perceptions of violence and poverty is again reinforced by these findings.

Table 6.82: Perceptions regarding who (relationship to victim) is most likely to be perpetrators of violence (in %)

Who (relationship to victim)	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Stranger	100	80	80	86.7
Family member	-	-	20	6.7
Acquaintance	-	20	-	6.7

The vast majority of the respondents (86.7%) indicated that strangers are most likely to commit violence (Table 6.82). Other groups identified were acquaintances (6.7%) and family members (6.7%).

Similar to the resident survey results, among the business respondents, the majority perceived the perpetrators of violence as being young adults (early twenties), strangers, male, single, African, not a parent and unemployed. Perpetrators were also perceived to have little or no formal schooling and live in informal settlements or low income neighborhoods.

6.3.4. Perceptions regarding the general characteristics of those who tend to be violated

This sub-section focuses on perceptions regarding those who are most likely to be violated.

Table 6.83: Perceptions regarding the gender of those who are violated (in %)

Gender	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Female	60	40	40	46.7
Male	20	60	60	46.7
Both males and females	20	-	-	6.7

Unlike the resident respondents, equal proportions of business respondents (46.7% each) indicated that males and females are those who are most likely to be violated (Table 6.83). Some of the respondents (6.7%) stated that both males and females are usually victimized. During discussions with the respondents it was clear that they were basing

their perceptions on different types of violence. Those who indicated females were usually referring to domestic violence and rape while respondents who indicated males were referring to assault and murder.

Table 6.84: Perceptions regarding the age of those who are violated (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
16-25	10	-	20	10
26-35	80	30	30	46.7
36-45	-	50	30	26.7
46-55	10	20	10	13.3
> 55	-	-	10	3.3
	X = 31	X = 39	X = 36	X = 35.3

The majority of the respondents (73.4%: 46.7% indicated 26-35 years and 26.75 indicated 36-45 years) stated that those who are violated tend to be between the ages of 26 and 45 years (Table 6.84). Other cohort age categories identified were 46-55 years (13.3%), 16-25 years (10%) and > 55 years (3.3%). The average perceived ages of those who are violated was calculated to be 35.3 years (31 years in Reservoir Hills, 39 years in Westville and 36 years in Clermont). The average is slightly lower than the residents' average of 36.6 years. Similar to the residents' survey, although a range of age groups have been identified by the business respondents, the averages indicate that respondents perceived victims to be generally older than the perpetrators who were viewed as being much younger (the average age of the perpetrators identified by the business respondents was calculated to be 23.3 years).

Figure 6.7: Perceptions regarding the marital status of those who are violated (in %)

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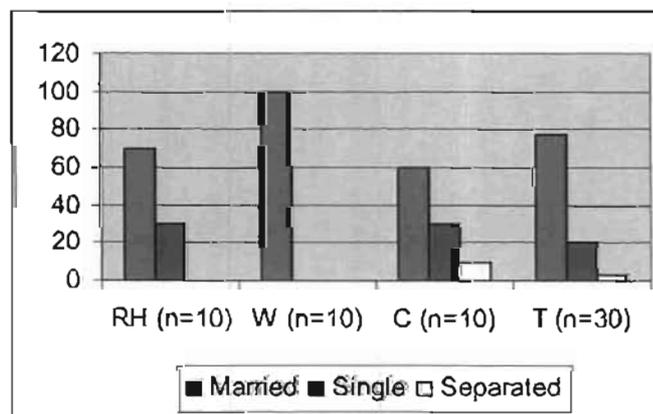
Unlike perceptions regarding the perpetrators of violence, the majority of the respondents (76.7%: all respondents in Westville, 70% in Reservoir Hills and 60% in Clermont) indicated that those who tend to be violated are married (Figure 6.7). Furthermore, 20% (30% each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont) of the respondents stated that those who tend to be violated are single while one respondent in Clermont indicated separated.

Table 6.85: Perceptions regarding the parental status of those who are violated (in %)

Parental status	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Parent	80	100	90	90
Anyone	-	-	10	3.3
No children	20	-	-	6.7

The perceived parental status among those who are violated, indicates that the vast majority of the respondents felt that parents (90%: all respondents in Westville, 90% in Clermont and 80% in Reservoir Hills) were targets (Table 6.85). Two respondents in Reservoir Hills stated those with no children and one respondent in Clermont indicated anyone.

Table 6.86: Perceptions regarding the occupation of those who are violated (in %)

Occupation	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Unemployed	10	-	10	6.7
Student	30	-	10	13.3
Professional	60	90	40	63.3
Owners of businesses	-	10	-	3.3
Laborer/ unskilled	-	-	40	13.3

In terms of the perceived occupation of those who are violated, Table 6.86 illustrates that the majority of the respondents indicated professionals (63.3%: 90% in Westville, 60% in Reservoir Hills and 40% in Clermont). Other occupations identified were: laborer/ unskilled (13.3%: 40% in Clermont) and student (13.3%: 30% in Reservoir Hills and 10% in Clermont). One respondent each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont stated that the unemployed are most likely to be violated. Furthermore, one respondent in Westville indicated owners of businesses.

Table 6.87: Perceptions regarding the race of those who are violated (in %)

Race	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
African	20	-	100	40
White	-	70	-	23.3
Indian	60	30	-	30
Anyone	20	-	-	6.7

With regard to racial classification, Table 6.87 shows that the respondents' views regarding those who are most likely to be violated differed significantly, especially when compared to perceptions regarding the racial group most likely to commit violence (all respondents indicated Africans). Respondents from Reservoir Hills felt that Indians (60%) and Africans (20%) were likely to be violated. Two respondents stated that anyone in terms of historical race groups are likely to be violated. The respondents from Westville felt that Whites (70%) and Indians (30%) are likely to be violated. All the respondents from Clermont felt that Africans are most likely to be violated. Similar to the residents' survey, the results reveal that in terms of historical racial group, most of the respondents believed that the group that they belonged to was most vulnerable.

Table 6.88: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of those who are violated (in %)

Highest educational level	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Secondary	-	10	40	16.7
Tertiary	80	70	10	53.3
Postgraduate	20	20	50	30

All the respondents felt that those who are violated tend to have completed secondary level education (Table 6.88). Specifically, respondents in Reservoir Hills stated tertiary (80%) and postgraduate (20%) education. Respondents in Westville identified tertiary (70%), postgraduate (20%) and secondary (10%) education. Respondents in Clermont indicated postgraduate (50%), secondary (40%) and tertiary (10%) education. The results tend to reflect respondents own educational level supporting earlier assertions that respondents perceive individuals similar to themselves as being targeted. This signals a pervasive sense of fear among both residents and business respondents that they are likely to experience violence and that perpetrators of violence are targeting them.

Table 6.89: Perceptions regarding where those who are violated live (in %)

Residential location	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Informal settlement	-	-	10	3.3
Low income areas	10	-	20	10
Middle income areas	80	70	70	73.3
Upper income areas	10	30	-	13.3

Table 6.89 shows that the majority of respondents stated that those who are violated reside in middle income areas (73.3%: 80% in Reservoir Hills, 70% each in Westville and Clermont). One respondent each in Reservoir Hills stated low income areas and upper income areas. Thirty percent of the respondents in Westville indicated upper income areas. Thirty percent of the respondents in Clermont stated low income areas (20%) and informal settlement (10%). With the exception of a few respondents, the main areas identified by the respondents pertaining to where those who are violated live are middle income areas and upper income areas. The findings reflect the dominant perception that those with higher levels of material wealth from better-off neighborhoods are targeted.

Among the respondents, the majority perceived the victims of violence as being from 26 to 45 years, males and females, post-secondary level education, married, parents and employed. In terms of historical racial category, generally respondents tended to believe that the racial group that they belonged to was the most vulnerable. Victims were also perceived by respondents to reside in middle and upper income areas.

6.3.5. Environmental perceptions of violence and danger

Table 6.90: Perceptions pertaining to where violent acts are most likely to occur (in %): multiple responses

Location/ place	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
In the home	50	40	50	46.7
Close to the home	20	10	10	13.3
Public spaces	60	40	50	50
School	30	-	10	13.3
Relative or friend's home	10	-	-	3.3
Business premises	60	60	60	60
Unknown/ unfamiliar environment (new area)	20	30	-	16.7

Interviewees identified a range of areas/ places where they felt that violent acts are most likely to occur (Table 6.90). The main locations identified were:

- Business premises (60% each in all case study areas)
- public spaces (50%: 60% in Reservoir Hills, 40% in Westville and 50% in Clermont)
- in the home (46.7%: 50% in Reservoir Hills, 40% in Westville and 50% in Clermont)

Other locations identified by the respondents were unknown/ unfamiliar environment (16.7%: 20% in Reservoir Hills and 30% in Westville), close to the home (13.3%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 10% in Clermont), school (13.3%: 30% in Reservoir Hills and 10% in Clermont) and relative or friend's home (3.3%: 10 % in Reservoir Hills). Unlike the case studies cited in the literature review and the resident survey results in this study (where respondents perceive that violence is most likely to occur in public spaces as well as unknown and unfamiliar environments), among business respondents two of the three main unsafe places identified were the business premises and the home, areas that respondents are familiar with.

Table 6.91: Perceptions pertaining to when violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

Time	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Morning	10	30	-	13.3
Afternoon	10	10	20	13.3
Mid-day	-	10	30	13.3
Evening	60	-	-	20
Late night	20	50	50	40

Unlike the resident survey results which revealed that most respondents believed that most violent acts took place late at night, the business respondents identified a range of times during the day when violent acts are most likely to occur (Table 6.91). These were:

- late night (40%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 50% each in Westville and Clermont)
- evening (20%: 60% in Reservoir Hills)
- morning (13.3%: 10% in Reservoir Hills and 40% in Westville)
- afternoon (13.3%: 10% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 20% in Clermont)
- mid-day (13.3%: 10% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

The reasons forwarded for evening and late nights were similar to the resident respondents: this was the most dangerous time of the day since usually very few people are around, the darkness protects (and encourages) perpetrators, and often people get inebriated. Respondents who identified morning and mid-day since this was a time they felt that their businesses were targeted since it was quieter.

Table 6.92: Perceptions pertaining to which day of the week violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Friday	30	10	70	36.7
Saturday	30	30	-	20
Monday	-	40	20	20
Wednesday	-	-	10	3.3
Weekend	40	20	-	20

Table 6.92 shows that most of the respondents stated that violent acts tend to take place on Friday (36.7%: 70% in Clermont, 30% Reservoir Hills and 10% in Westville), Saturdays (20%: 30% each in Westville and Reservoir Hills) or weekends which comprised of Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays (20%: 40% in Reservoir Hills and 20% in Westville). The weekends were thus viewed as the time of the week when violent acts are most likely to occur. A few respondents in Westville (40%) and Clermont (20%) stated that violent acts are most likely to be committed on Mondays. The reason forwarded was that perpetrators tend to spend their money during the weekend and are desperate on Mondays. One respondent in Clermont stated Wednesdays.

Table 6.93: Perceptions pertaining to which month of the year violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

Month	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
January	10	-	10	6.7
February	10	-	-	3.3
March	10	-	-	3.3
May	-	-	10	3.3
June	-	30	-	10
July	-	10	20	10
August	-	10	-	3.3
November	-	10	-	3.3
December	50	40	60	50
Throughout the year	20	-	-	6.7

Table 6.93 shows that half of the respondents identified December as the main month during the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed. Other months cited by the rest of the respondents were June (10%), July (10%) and January (6.7%). One respondent each stated February, March, May, August and November. Two respondents in Reservoir Hills stated throughout the year. Respondents perceived the vacation periods (December, January, June, July and March) to be periods in the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed. One respondent stated that during these periods many tourists and holiday-makers are around and these are generally soft targets. Also, perpetrators target these periods since they know that people have money on them during these periods. Also, during these times the taking of drugs and alcohol increases which contributes to violent behavior. One respondent also stated that during these times people tend to leave their houses and businesses unattended which contribute to an increase in property crime. June, July and August were also regarded as cold months when days get shorter and nights are longer.

Figure 6.8: Rating of how safe respondent felt walking where business is located after dark (in %)

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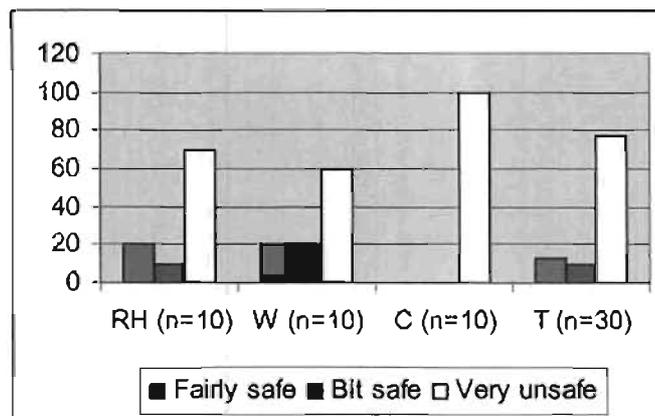
Figure 6.9: Rating of how safe respondent felt walking where business is located during the day (in %)
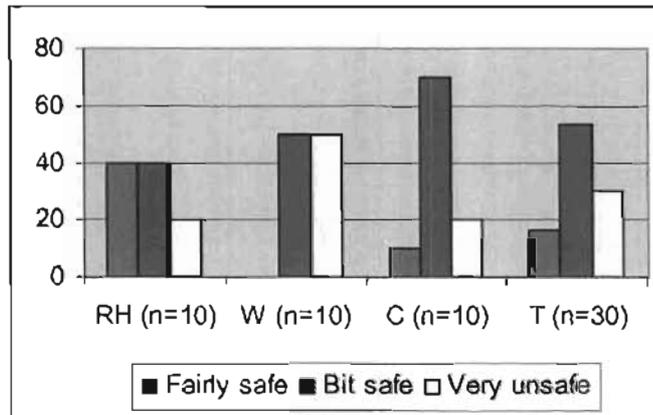
The majority of respondents (76.7%: all respondents in Clermont, 70% in Reservoir Hills and 60% in Westville) indicated that they felt very unsafe walking in the area where their businesses are located during the night (Figure 6.9). The rest of the respondents indicated fairly safe (13.3%: 20% each in Reservoir Hills and Westville) and a bit safe (10%: 10% in Reservoir Hills and 20% in Westville). Businesses in the middle and upper income neighborhoods thus felt safer during the night than respondents from lower income neighborhoods (Clermont). Slightly more than half of the respondents (53.3%: 70% in Clermont, 50% in Westville and 40% in Reservoir Hills) indicated that they felt a bit safe walking in areas where their businesses were located during the day (Figure 6.8). The rest of the respondents stated very unsafe (30%: 50% in Westville and 20% each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont) and fairly safe (16.7%: 40% in Reservoir Hills and 10% in Clermont). It is important to note that none of the respondents stated that they felt very safe walking in the neighborhoods where their businesses are located during the day or night. However, Figures 6.8 and 6.9 reveal that respondents generally feel safer walking in the neighborhoods during the day than at night.

Table 6.94: Perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are unsafe (in %): multiple responses

Places	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Public places	40	-	10	16.7
Business/ shopping premises	40	80	-	40
Bars	10	-	10	6.7
Informal settlements	30	-	20	16.7
Bus stop/ taxi ranks	30	20	50	33.3
Parks/ grounds	30	10	-	13.3
Parking areas	10	10	-	6.7
Home	10	10	-	6.7
Hostel	-	-	30	10
In car	-	40	-	13.3
Highway	-	40	-	13.3
University	-	30	-	10
Everywhere	-	10	50	20

Table 6.94 illustrates respondents' perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are deemed to be unsafe. It is important to note that frequented places include areas that respondents regularly go past. Significant differences were discernible among the case study areas. In Reservoir Hills the main areas identified were public places (40%), business/ shopping premises (40%), informal settlements (30%), bus stops/ taxi ranks (30%) and parks/ grounds (30%). One respondent each stated bars, parking areas and home. In Westville the main areas identified were business/ shopping premises (80%), in their car (40%), highway (40%), university (30%) and bus stop/ taxi rank (20%). One respondent each stated parks/ grounds, parking areas and home. Furthermore, one respondent stated everywhere. In Clermont half of the respondents stated everywhere and bus stops/ taxi ranks. Other main areas identified were hostels (30%) and informal settlements (20%). One respondent each stated public places and bars. The areas identified are viewed as being crime 'hotspots' by the respondents.

Table 6.95: Perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are regarded as being safe (in %): multiple responses

Places	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
None	50	40	50	46.7
Home	40	30	40	36.7
Shops	20	10	10	13.3
Schools	-	-	40	13.3
Workplace	-	-	40	13.3
Religious places	-	60	-	20

Similar to the resident survey, compared to unsafe places identified, respondents identified fewer places frequented that they deem to be safe. Close to half of the respondents (46.7%: 50% each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont, and 40% in Westville) could not identify an area frequented (including their homes) to be safe (Table 6.95). Fear and insecurity is therefore widespread among the business respondents. They appear to have a much more heightened sense of fear as compared to the resident respondents. The areas that some of the respondents regarded as being safe were:

- home (36.7%: 40% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 40% in Clermont)
- religious places (20%: 60% in Westville)
- shops (13.3%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 10% in Clermont)
- schools (13.3%: 40% in Clermont)
- workplace (13.3%: 40% in Clermont)

The areas deemed to be safe were areas which respondents were familiar with, felt that other people who frequented the area could be trusted and there was a higher presence of security in these areas.

Table 6.96: Perceptions regarding what would make respondents' feel safer in areas that they have identified as being unsafe (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
More police/security presence	100	80	80	86.7
Only certain people allowed in area/ restricted access	10	20	-	10
Improving the infrastructure in the area	-	20	10	10
Cleaning up area	60	20	10	30
Proper fencing of area	10	10	-	6.7
Proper lighting in the area	70	-	-	23.3
Addressing differences so that there can be more tolerance and understanding	-	20	20	13.3
Employ special security company	-	-	30	10
Create more jobs	-	10	-	3.3

The majority of the respondents across the case study areas (86.7%: all respondents in Reservoir Hills and 80% each in Westville and Clermont) felt that police/security presence will make them feel safer in areas that they deemed to be unsafe (Table 6.96). In terms of the rest of the responses, area specific trends are noticeable. In Reservoir Hills the majority of the respondents stated proper lighting in the area (70%) and cleaning up the area (60%). One respondent each stated only certain people allowed in area/ restricted

access. In Westville other strategies identified by respondents to make areas safer were only certain people allowed in area/ restrict access (20%), improving the infrastructure in the area (20%), addressing differences so that there can be more tolerance and understanding (20%), proper fencing in the area (10%) and create more jobs (10%). In Clermont other strategies identified by respondents to make areas safer were employing a special security company (30%), addressing differences so that there can be more tolerance and understanding (20%), cleaning up the area (10%) and improving the infrastructure in the area (10%). Police/ security presence and improving the neighborhood were the main issues that need to be addressed to improve safety in the area.

Table 6.97: Respondents' views on factors that contribute to crime and violence in their community (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Criminals feel that homes are a soft target	80	60	-	46.7
Poverty	50	30	70	50
Influence of media – sensationalizing violence	10	-	40	16.7
Racial tensions	20	-	-	6.7
Lack of proper education/information	30	20	30	26.7
Drugs and alcohol abuse	70	40	80	63.3
Bars/bottlestores	10	-	-	3.3

The main factors that respondents felt contributed to crime and violence in their community were (Table 6.97):

- Drugs and alcohol abuse (63.3%: 70% in Reservoir Hills, 40% in Westville and 80% in Clermont)

- Poverty (50%: 50% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 70% in Clermont)

- Criminal feel that homes are soft targets (46.7%: 80% in Reservoir Hills and 60% in Westville)

- Lack of proper education/information (26.7%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

- Influence of media – sensationalizing violence (16.7%: 10% in Reservoir Hills and 40% in Clermont)

A few respondents in Reservoir Hills also stated racial tensions (20%) and bars/bottlestores (10%). It is important to note that the main contributing factors

identified in Reservoir Hills and Westville were that criminals feel that homes are a soft target and drug and alcohol abuse. The main contributing factors in Clermont were drugs and alcohol abuse, and poverty.

Table 6.98: Respondents' views on factors that contribute to violence in society generally (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Racial tensions	30	10	-	13.3
Organized crime	40	40	30	36.7
Patriarchy/sexism	10	-	-	3.3
Lack of proper education/information	40	10	20	23.3
Xenophobia (fear of foreigners)	-	10	-	3.3
Drugs and alcohol abuse	80	60	80	73.3
Influence of the media – sensationalizing violence	10	10	50	23.3
Poverty	-	20	-	6.7
Lack of religion	-	10	-	3.3

Factors identified by the respondents as contributing to violence in society more generally were more wide ranging than those that the respondents felt contributed to violence in their community (Table 6.98). The main factors identified in Reservoir Hills were drugs and alcohol abuse (80%), organized crime (40%), lack of proper education/ information (40%) and racial tensions (30%). One respondent each stated patriarchy/ sexism and influence of the media. The main factors identified in Westville were drugs and alcohol abuse (60%), organized crime (40%) and poverty (20%). One respondent each stated racial tensions, lack of proper education/information, xenophobia (fear of foreigners, influence of media and lack of religion. The factors identified in Clermont were drugs and alcohol abuse (80%), influence of the media (50%), organized crime (30%) and lack of proper education/information (20%). It is important to note that among the business respondents a significant proportion indicated that the main contributing factor was drug and alcohol abuse in the community (63.3%) and society more generally (73.3%).

6.3.6. Sources of information regarding violence

Table 6.99: Where respondents get their source/s of information relating to crime and violence (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Television	90	20	70	60
Local newspapers	60	50	30	46.7
Radio	50	60	70	60
Family	40	-	-	13.3
Movies	10	-	10	6.7
Peers	-	10	10	6.7
Official statistics	-	10	10	6.7
Word of mouth	10	-	-	3.3

The main sources of information pertaining to violence identified by the respondents were (Table 6.99):

- Television (60%: 90% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 70% in Clermont)
- Radio (60%: 50% in Reservoir Hills, 60% in Westville and 70% in Clermont)
- Local newspapers (46.7%: 60% in Reservoir Hills, 50% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

Other sources of information identified by some of the respondents were family members (13.3%: 40% in Reservoir Hills), movies (one each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont), peers (one each in Westville and Clermont), official statistics (one each in Westville and Clermont) and word of mouth (one in Reservoir Hills). As was the case with the resident respondents, the importance of the media and entertainment sources (television, radio and local newspapers) emerge as being significant sources of information about crime and violence.

Figure 6.10: Awareness of laws and legislation relating to crime violence in South Africa (in %)
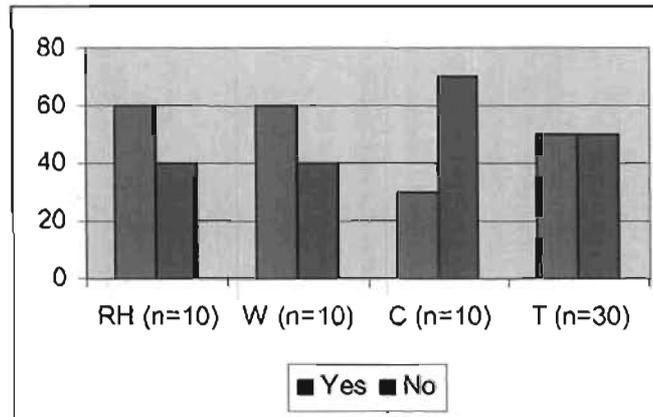
Half of the respondents were aware of laws and regulations relating to crime and violence in South Africa while the other half were unaware (Figure 6.10). The majority of respondents in Clermont (70%) stated that they were unaware of the laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa. In Reservoir Hills and Westville, 60% of the respondents indicated that they were aware.

Table 6.100: If aware, what have they heard about the laws and legislation relating to crime and violence in South Africa (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	40	40	70	50
Robbery is illegal	20	-	-	6.7
Not much is done when crime is committed	20	-	-	6.7
Hijacking	10	-	-	3.3
Committing crimes are illegal	10	-	-	3.3
By committing crimes you are contravening South African laws	-	-	10	3.3
Every South African has the right to be safe	-	-	10	3.3
Committing violence can result in you being jailed	-	10	10	6.7
Organized crime is on the rise	-	10	-	3.3
No means no	-	10	-	3.3
Zero tolerance	-	10	-	3.3
Join the police forum	-	10	-	3.3
Government is cracking down on crime	-	10	-	3.3

The respondents who stated that they were aware of the laws and legislations relating to violence in South Africa indicated that they specifically heard of a range of issues/ aspects that varied across the case study areas (Table 6.100). In Reservoir Hills respondents heard that robbery is illegal (20%), not much is done when crime is

committed (20%), hijacking (10%) and committing crimes are illegal (10%). In Westville one respondent each identified committing violence can result in a person being jailed, organized crime is on the rise, no means no, zero tolerance, join the police forum and government is cracking down on crime. In Clermont one respondent each stated that by committing crimes a person is contravening South African laws, every South African has the right to be safe and committing violence can result in a person being jailed. It is important to highlight that like the resident respondents, business respondents could not provide specific information about laws and regulations but indicated a general understanding and focused more on perceptions.

Table 6.101: Where respondents' heard about the laws and legislation (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	40	40	70	50
Friends and/or family	10	-	-	3.3
Media (radio, TV, newspaper)	40	60	20	40
Government documents	10	-	30	13.3
Talks/workshops	10	-	-	3.3
The police/government officials	10	-	-	3.3
Business forum	30	20	-	16.7

Table 6.101 shows that the main source from which respondents heard about the laws and legislation was the media (40%: 40% in Reservoir Hills, 60% in Westville and 20% in Clermont). Thirty percent of the respondents in Clermont stated government documents. One respondent each in Reservoir Hills indicated friends and/or family, government documents, talks/workshops, the police/government officials and business forums. Clearly, the media as a main source of information prevails. This is similar to the resident survey findings.

Table 6.102: Which respondents' think are the best source of information (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Media (radio, TV, newspaper)	80	80	60	73.3
Community police forum	-	10	-	3.3
Government documents	-	-	10	3.3
No response	20	10	30	20

The majority of the respondents (73.3%: 80% in Reservoir Hills and Westville and 60% in Clermont) felt that the media was the best sources of information (Table 6.102). Particularly, the radio, television and newspaper were emphasized. This suggests that respondents are satisfied with their current source of information about crime and violence. One respondent each in Westville and Clermont stated community police forums and government documents as the best source of information about crime and violence. Twenty percent of the interviewees (30% in Clermont, 20% in Reservoir Hills and one respondent in Westville) did not respond.

6.3.7. Experiences of violence

This sub-section focuses on whether the businesses had experienced violence and crime.

Figure 6.11: Whether business has experienced or was threatened with any form of violence and crime (in %)
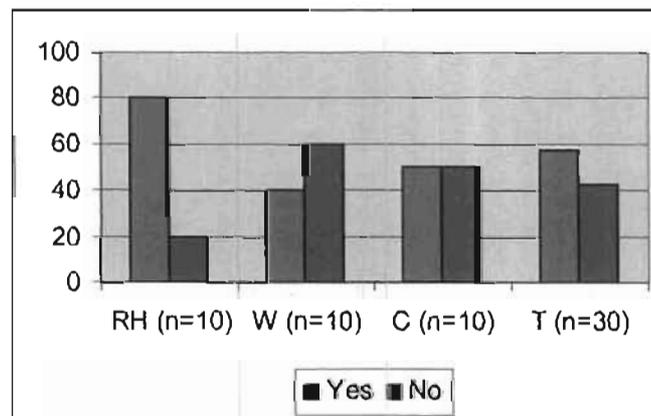
More than half of the respondents (56.7%) indicated that their business had experienced some form of violence or crime (Figure 6.11). These respondents were mainly from Reservoir Hills (80%) followed by Clermont (50%) and Westville (40%).

Table 6.103: Nature/ type of violence and/ or crime business experienced (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
Theft of vehicle/car hijacking	40	10	10	20
Theft of personal items	40	-	-	13.3
Vandalism	10	-	-	3.3
Theft of business products/merchandize/equipment	40	20	30	30
Theft of cash	10	30	40	26.7
Harassment	10	-	-	3.3

The main types of violence that businesses experienced were (Table 6.103):

- Theft of business products/merchandize/equipment (30%: 40% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

- Theft of cash (26.7%: 10% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 40% in Clermont)

- Theft of vehicle/car hijacking (20%: 40% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 10% in Clermont)

Other types of violence experienced by some of the respondents in Reservoir Hills were theft of personal items (40%), vandalism (10%) and harassment (10%). Theft was the dominant form of violence experienced by the businesses.

Table 6.104: Perpetrator of the violence or crime business experienced (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
Stranger	80	30	50	53.3
Employee	-	10	-	3.3

A majority of the respondents (53.3%: 80% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 50% in Clermont) stated that their businesses were violated by strangers (Table 6.104). One respondent in Westville stated an employee committed the criminal or violent act. The actual experiences of violence reflect the perception held by most of the respondents that strangers commit violence and crime in society.

Table 6.105: Gender of the perpetrator of the violence or crime that business experienced (in %)

Gender	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
Male	80	20	50	50
Female	-	20	-	6.7

The gender of the perpetrators of the violence businesses experienced were males (50%: 80% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 50% in Clermont) (Table6.105). Two of the respondents in Westville indicated that the gender of the perpetrators were females (6.7%).

Table 6.106: Age of the perpetrator of the violence or crime that business experienced (in %)

Age (in years)	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
< 15	-	10	-	3.3
16-25	50	20	30	33.3
26-35	20	10	20	16.7
36-45	10	-	-	3.3
	X = 25	X = 21.3	X = 24	X = 23.9

Most of the respondents (33.3%) who stated that their business experienced violence indicated that the perpetrators were between 16-25 years and 26-35 years (16.7%) (Table 6.106). One respondent each from Westville and Reservoir Hills identified those who were < 15 years and 36-45 years, respectively. The average age of the perpetrators of the violence experienced was 23.9 years (25 years in Reservoir Hills, 21.3 years in Westville and 24 years in Clermont). Business respondents' experience of violence confirms their perception that young adults (in their twenties) commit violence.

Table 6.107: Race of the perpetrator of the violence or crime that business experienced (in %)

Race	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
African	80	30	40	50
White	-	10	10	6.7

With the exception of a few respondents (6.7%: one respondent each in Westville and Clermont) who stated Whites, the vast majority of respondents (50%) who experienced violence stated that the perpetrators were African (80% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 40% in Clermont) (Table 6.107). Again, business respondents of the race of the perpetrators of violence (Africans) tend to be confirmed by personal experiences.

Table 6.108: When did the violence or crime that business experienced occur (in %)

Time of incident	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
Night	30	20	40	30
Day	50	20	10	26.7

Almost similar proportions of respondents experienced violence at night (30%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 40% in Clermont) or during the day (26.7%: 50% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 10% in Clermont) (Table 6.108). Thus, no noticeable trend was detected.

Table 6.109: If respondent or anyone else reported the incident (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	60	50	43.3
Yes	60	30	40	43.3
No	20	10	10	13.3

The majority of respondents (43.3%: 60% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 40% in Clermont) whose businesses experienced violence indicated that they reported the incident (Table 6.109). The rest (13.3%: 20% in Reservoir Hills and one respondent each in Westville and Clermont) stated that they did not report the incident. Unlike the resident respondents most business respondents reported the incidents.

Table 6.110: If incident was not reported, why not (in %)

	RH (n=2)	W (n=1)	C (n=1)	T (n=4)
Not worth reporting/not serious enough	-	100	-	25
Police would not have been able to do anything/ slight chance of success	50	-	100	50
Didn't bother because no insurance claim was involved	50	-	-	25

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Table 6.110 indicates the reasons that some of the respondents did not report the incident. The reasons for not reporting the incident were:

- Not worth reporting/not serious enough (respondent in Westville)
- Police would not have done anything/slight chance of success (one respondent each in Reservoir Hills and Clermont)
- Didn't bother because no insurance claim was involved (one respondent in Reservoir Hills)

Table 6.111: If incident was reported, was respondent satisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or being dealt with (in %)

	RH (n=6)	W (n=3)	C (n=4)	T (n=13)
Yes	33.3	33.3	25	30.8
No	66.7	66.7	75	69.2

Table 6.111 indicates that the majority of the respondents who reported the incident (69.2%) where dissatisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or being dealt with. The rest of the respondents (30.8%) stated that they were satisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or being dealt with.

Table 6.112: If respondent was not satisfied with the way that matter was dealt with or is being dealt with, why not (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=4)	W (n=2)	C (n=3)	T (n=9)
Police didn't do enough	50	50	-	33.2
Police were not interested	25	-	-	11.2
Police didn't find or apprehend the offender	-	50	66.7	33.2
Police didn't recover property/items	-	-	33.3	11.2
Police were slow to arrive	25	-	-	11.2

The main reasons for dissatisfaction with the way the matter was dealt with or is being dealt with were (Table 6.112):

- Police didn't do enough (33.3%: 50% in Reservoir Hills and Westville)
- Police didn't find or apprehend the offender (33.2%: 50% in Westville and 66.7% in Clermont)

One respondent each also stated that police didn't recover property/ items (in Clermont), police were not interested (in Reservoir Hills) and police were slow to arrive (in Reservoir Hills).

Table 6.113: Why respondent thinks that violent and criminal acts need to be reported (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
To recover property	30	70	20	40
For insurance reasons	20	50	-	23.3
Crimes should be reported since they are serious	40	20	70	43.3
Want offender to be caught and punished	20	30	50	33.3
To stop it from happening again	80	30	90	66.7

Respondents identified several reasons why they thought that violent and criminal acts need to be reported. These were (Table 6.113):

- To stop it from happening again (66.7%: 80% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 90% in Clermont)

- Crimes should be reported since they are serious (43.3%: 40% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 70% in Clermont)

- To recover property (40%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 70% in Westville and 20% in Clermont)

- Want offender to be caught and punished (33.3%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 50% in Clermont)

- For insurance reasons (23.3%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, and 50% in Westville)

The results clearly show that in Westville and Reservoir Hills the focus was on insurance, punishing offenders and recovering property. In Clermont the main reasons were wanting the offender punished and crimes are serious. In Reservoir Hills and Clermont the main reason was to stop it from happening again.

Table 6.114: If, according to respondent, crime problems for his/her business has increased, decreased or remained the same for the last two years (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Increased	30	40	30	33.3
Decreased	20	20	30	23.3
Remained the same	50	40	40	43.3

There was no trend in terms of whether respondents perceived crime problems for their businesses increasing, decreasing or remaining the same in the last two years (Table 6.114). The highest response was that crime problems have remained the same (43.3%: 50% in Reservoir Hills, 40% each in Westville and Clermont). This was followed by

crime problems have increased (33.3%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 40% in Westville and 30% in Clermont). Lastly, some respondents stated that crime problems have decreased (23.3%: 20% each in Reservoir Hills and Westville, and 30% in Clermont).

Table 6.115: Which type of crime, according to respondent, is the most serious threat to his/her business (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Theft of vehicle	30	10	-	13.3
Theft of personal items	10	-	-	3.3
Theft of business goods/ products/ merchandize/ equipment	30	60	90	60
Theft of cash	30	30	10	23.3

Most of the respondents (60%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 60% in Westville and 90% in Clermont) stated that the type of crime they felt was the most serious threat to their business was theft of business goods/ products/ merchandize/ equipment (Table 6.115). This was followed by theft of cash (23.3%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 10% in Clermont) and theft of vehicle (13.3%: 30% in Reservoir Hills and 10% in Westville). One respondent in Reservoir Hills indicated that theft of personal items was the most serious threat to his/ her business.

6.3.8. Coping strategies used by respondents to address violence and/or the threat of violence

Table 6.116: If respondent consciously takes action to minimize the risk of violence (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Yes	100	100	90	96.7
No	-	-	10	3.3

All of the respondents, with the exception of one respondent in Clermont, stated that they consciously took actions to minimize the risk of violence (Table 6.116). Thus, businesses tended to take action to minimize the threat of violence.

Table 6.117: Mechanisms/ways that respondent's business is protected (in %): multiple responses

Protection mechanism	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable/none	-	-	10	3.3
Burglar alarm	70	60	80	70
Controlled access to premises	-	10	10	6.7
Monitoring of alarm	60	20	-	26.7
Armed response	30	50	-	26.7
CCTV	20	20	10	16.7
Erection of physical barriers in store	20	-	-	6.7
Dogs	10	-	20	10
Insured	30	30	-	20
Armed security guard	20	10	30	20
Having a personal firearm	30	40	10	26.7
A neighborhoods watch scheme	-	10	10	6.7
Security escort services/ cash collection by security company	20	30	-	16.7
Rely on ancestors	-	-	10	3.3

The respondents identified a range of actions taken/ strategies adopted to minimize the risk of violence (Table 6.117). The main ones were:

- Installed burglar alarms (70%: 70% in Reservoir Hills, 60% in Westville and 80% in Clermont)

- Monitoring of alarm (26.7%: 60% in Reservoir Hills and 20% in Westville)

- Armed response (26.7%: 30% in Reservoir Hills and 50% in Westville)

- Having a personal firearm (26.7%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 40% in Westville and 10% in Clermont)

- Insured (20%: 30% each in Reservoir Hills and Westville)

- Armed security guard (20%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

- CCTV (16.7%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 20% in Westville and 10% in Clermont)

- Security escort services/ cash collection by security company (16.7%: 20% in Reservoir Hills and 30% in Westville)

Other strategies identified were controlled access to premises (one respondent each in Westville and Clermont, erection of physical barriers in store (2 respondents in Reservoir Hills) and rely on ancestors (one respondent in Clermont).

Similar to the resident responses, better-off areas have more expensive security mechanisms since they can afford them. Additionally, they use a greater number of mechanisms to protect their business.

Table 6.118: If respondent expects others to help if he/ she is in trouble (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Yes	80	80	80	80
No	20	20	20	20

The majority of the respondents (80%) indicated that they expected others to help them if they were in trouble (Table 6.118). The rest of the respondents (20%) felt that they could not expect others to assist them if they are in trouble.

Table 6.119: If expect help, who does respondent expect help from (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	20	20	20	20
Family members/ friends	10	-	-	3.3
Neighbors	30	50	50	43.3
Community members	30	-	-	10
Police	40	-	50	30
Other business owners	-	10	-	3.3
Security guards	-	10	-	3.3
Employees	-	10	-	3.3

The respondents who indicated that they expect help from others stated that the persons they expected to help them were (Table 6.119):

- Neighbors (43.3%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, and 50% each in Westville and Clermont)
- Police (30%: 40% in Reservoir Hills and 50% in Clermont)
- Community members (10%: 30% in Reservoir Hills)
- Family members/ friends (one respondent in Reservoir Hills)
- Other business owners (one respondent in Westville)
- Security guards (one respondent in Westville)
- Employees (one respondent in Westville)

Table 6.120: Respondents who could contact a police station, abuse center and doctor/ hospital in an emergency (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Police station	80	100	70	83.3
Abuse center/ advice desk	70	100	30	66.7
Hospital/ doctor	100	100	40	80

All of the respondents knew where the nearest police station was close to their place of business. Furthermore, all of the respondents in Westville could contact a police station, abuse centre/ advice desk and a doctor/ hospital in an emergency (Table 6.120). All of the respondents in Reservoir Hills could contact a hospital/ doctor in an emergency. In Reservoir Hills 80% of the respondents could contact a police station in an emergency and 70% could contact an abuse center/ advice desk. In Clermont the majority of the respondents (70%) could contact a police station in an emergency and less than half of the respondents could contact a hospital/ doctor (40%) and abuse center/ advice desk (30%). These findings are similar to the resident responses in that more respondents in middle and upper income areas could contact a police station, abuse centre/ advice desk and hospital/ doctor in an emergency as compared to respondents in lower income areas.

Table 6.121: Average respondents' ratings (from 1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police to deal with crime and violence in relation statements below

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Ability to respond quickly to a situation	2.6	3.5	1.6	2.6
Courteous, professional and respectful	3	3.5	2.3	2.9
Knowledge of the law and proper procedures	3	3.3	2.4	2.9
Well-trained	3.3	2.9	2.9	3
Caring and committed	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.5
Having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively	3.4	2.6	3.1	3.1
Can compile a report properly	3.4	2.7	2.6	2.9
Able to communicate with members in the community	3.4	2.9	1.9	2.7

The average ratings presented in Table 6.121 are derived from survey results shown in Appendix 6 (Tables 9-16). The ratings were generally higher than those of the resident respondents, indicating that business respondents have a higher level of satisfaction with the police as compared to the resident respondents. The average ratings in order of highest satisfaction to lowest satisfaction in Reservoir Hills were having equipment

(resources) to perform duties effectively (3.4), can compile a report properly (3.4), able to communicate with members in the community (3.4), well-trained (3.3), courteous, professional and respectful (3), knowledge of the law and proper procedures (3), caring and committed (2.6) and ability to respondent quickly to a situation (2.4). The average ratings in order of highest satisfaction to lowest satisfaction in Westville were ability to respondent quickly to a situation (3.5), courteous, professional and respectful (3.5), knowledge of the law and proper procedures (3.3), well-trained (2.9), able to communicate with members in the community (2.9), can compile a report properly (2.7), having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively (2.6), and caring and committed (2.6). The average ratings in order of highest satisfaction to lowest satisfaction in Clermont were having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively (3.1), well-trained (3), can compile a report properly (2.9), knowledge of the law and proper procedures (2.9), courteous, professional and respectful (2.9), able to communicate with members in the community (2.7), ability to respondent quickly to a situation (2.6), and caring and committed (2.2). The results reveal that generally the highest ratings were in Reservoir Hills and Westville. Clermont had the lowest ratings.

Table 6.122: If dissatisfied with police in any way, reason/s for dissatisfaction (in %): multiple responses

Reasons	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Not applicable	10	-	-	3.3
Police not seen in the area	20	40	40	33.3
Police involved in corruption	50	30	40	40
Police take too long to react to incidents	60	30	80	56.7
Police do not react to alarms going off	10	-	-	3.3
Police do not catch/ assist in prosecution of offenders	20	10	30	20
Get little/ no information back on reported crimes	30	10	20	20
No day-to-day contact with police	-	30	10	13.3
Too much of a hassle to report	20	-	-	6.7
Demanding alcohol licenses	-	-	10	3.3

The reasons for dissatisfaction with the police are presented in Table 6.122. With the exception of one respondent in Reservoir Hills, the rest forwarded reasons. The main reasons identified by the respondents were:

- Police take too long to react to incidents (56.7%: 60% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 80% in Clermont)

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- Police involved in corruption (40%: 50% in Reservoir Hills, 30% in Westville and 40% in Clermont)

- Police not seen in the area (33.3%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 40% in Westville and 40% in Clermont)

- Police do not catch/ assist in the prosecution of offenders (20%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

- Get little/ no information back on reported crime (20%: 30% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 20% in Clermont)

Other reasons identified by a few respondents were no day-to-day contact with police (13.3%: 30% in Clermont and 10% in Clermont), too much of a hassle to report (two respondents in Reservoir Hills), police do not react to alarms going off (one respondent in Reservoir Hills) and demanding alcohol licenses (one respondent in Clermont).

Table 6.123: If respondent knows whether businesses in the area have taken any steps against crime and violence such as setting up a business watch or jointly employing a security company (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Yes	30	100	40	56.7
No	20	-	50	23.3
Don't know	50	-	10	20

All of the respondents in Westville stated that they knew that businesses in the area have taken steps against crime and violence such as setting up a business watch or jointly employing a security company (Table 6.123). In Reservoir Hills half of the respondents stated that they did not know while 30% knew that businesses in the area have jointly taken steps against crime and violence. In Clermont one respondent did not know while 40% knew. The results indicate that joint efforts by businesses to deal with violence and crime were stronger in Westville as compared to Reservoir Hills and Clermont.

Table 6.124: If respondent would be interested in cooperative action against crime and violence in respondent's area such as setting up a business watch or jointly employing a security company (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
Yes	60	90	90	80
No	10	10	10	10
Don't know	30	-	-	10

The vast majority of the respondents (80%: 60% in Reservoir Hills and 90% each in Westville and Clermont) stated that they would be interested in cooperative action against crime and violence in their area such as setting up a business watch or jointly employing a security company (Table 6.124). This indicates that there is a strong support to jointly address crime and violence. However, the problem may lie in developing effective mechanisms to do so. One respondent in each of the case study areas stated that they were not interested. Thirty percent of the respondents in Reservoir Hills indicated that they did not know.

Table 6.125: What respondent thinks needs to be done to address the problem of crime and violence in society (in %): multiple responses

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
More effective policing	60	10	30	33.3
Close down bars/ shebeens	10	-	-	3.3
Create jobs/ deal with poverty	20	60	10	30
Be more vigilant	10	-	10	6.7
Neighborhood watch	10	-	-	3.3
Patrols	10	-	-	3.3
Build more prisons	10	-	-	3.3
Bring back the death penalty	-	-	10	3.3
Training centers	-	-	20	6.7
Use SANDF	-	-	10	3.3
Improve education	-	10	10	6.7
Cooperate with the police	-		10	3.3
Work together	-	20	30	16.7
Take law in own hands/ not rely on police	-		10	3.3
Rebuild family	-	10	-	3.3
None/ no response	20	-	-	6.7

A range of strategies to address the problems of crime and violence in society were identified by most of the respondents (with the exception of two respondents in Reservoir Hills). The most important ones were (Table 6.125):

- More effective policing (33.3%: 60% in Reservoir Hills, 10% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)
- Create jobs/ deal with poverty (16.7%: 20% in Reservoir Hills, 60% in Westville and 10% in Clermont)
- Work together (20%: 20% in Westville and 30% in Clermont)

One respondent each in Reservoir Hills identified the following: close down bars/ shebeens, be more vigilant, neighborhood watch, patrols and build more prisons. One respondent each in Westville stated improvement in education and rebuilding the family. Two respondents in Clermont indicated training centers and one respondent each stated be more vigilant, bring back the death penalty, improve education, cooperate with police and take law in own hands/ not rely on police. The latter response is a dangerous one.

6.4. PRIVATE SECURITY

As indicated in the methodology chapter, representatives from four security companies were interviewed. All companies were operational in Westville and Reservoir Hills. Only two companies indicated that they had clients in Clermont. The respondents indicated that most security officers do not live in the areas they patrol.

All were involved in alarm monitoring and armed response/reaction. In the case of one of the companies they called the police first prior to the company sending security officers themselves. Another company was involved in guarding as well. All companies stated that their approach to dealing with violence and crimes in the areas where they were operational was primarily reactive. They indicated that proactive approaches will need to incorporate more patrol vehicles and security officers which will result in increased costs.

All the respondents stated that current strategies to curb crime and violence are ineffective. The reasons forwarded were:
- The police and security companies do not work closely together. One respondent stated that police officers and security officers often undermine each other and compete with each other. One respondent also stated that competition between

security companies are also unhealthy and creates problems. The inability to work together results in a fragmented safety and security strategy at the local level.

- Security officers do not have the same powers as police officers. This results in private security companies being ineffective and they have to still rely on police officers to make arrests and investigate crimes. This often results in a waste of resources and time since duplication takes place. One respondent indicated that private security officers are often the first on the scene but are unable to get much accomplished because of their limited roles as stipulated by the country's laws and legislation.

- Security officers do not have sufficient investigative training. One respondent stated that there are no resources and training allocated to ensure that crime scenes/ incidents are properly investigated. This results in many criminals "getting away with committing crime". The respondent further stated that this is one of the main reasons why crime in South Africa is so high. Criminals are more likely to get away with committing a criminal act than getting caught. This is particularly true with the types of crimes most prevalent in residential areas: burglary and theft.

- Security officers often do not carry proper firearms. One respondent indicated that security officers (including the police as well) are not properly armed to fight criminals. He stated that often criminals themselves have semi-automatic firearms such as AK47s.

The above responses clearly indicate that from the perspective of the security companies interviewed, the main strategies to improve the effectiveness of current ways to curb crime and violence should entail equipping security officers better and promoting improved relationships between the security companies and police to work together. There was no mention of addressing broader societal factors such as dealing with poverty, patriarchy and the youth.

The inability of the private security companies to conduct thorough investigations was also underscored by all of the respondents stating that private security do not respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and do not conduct thorough investigations. In

terms of the latter, one respondent stated that conducting investigations was beyond the jurisdiction of the private security companies. They can apprehend criminals but release them to the police. One respondent indicated that they are not allowed to work independently to investigate crimes. Another stated that private companies "do not have the means nor the money to conduct investigations" in relation to specific criminal acts. Respondents stated that they try to assist the police with the investigations but generally they do not have the person power and time to do so. One company specifically stated that they only respond immediately to specific alarm activations which they are hired for.

The respondents identified the following types of violence as being most prevalent in the areas they patrolled: robberies (especially housebreaking), car hijackings and rape. They stated that specific areas within the communities were regarded as 'soft targets'. They did not respond to rape incidents as such but stated that they were aware that these were taking place in the communities.

All the respondents stated that they believed that there is corruption in the security industry. They cited examples such as security officers (sometimes jointly with police officers) committing criminal acts such as car hijackings and thefts. None of them indicated that they were involved in or directly knew of someone who was involved in these types of activities. They heard about other security officers stealing from clients. It is also interesting to note that all the examples cited by the respondents were from other security companies rather than their own.

The factors that the respondents believed contributed to violence and crime in society were:
- Lack of employment/ poverty
- Alcohol and drugs
- Lack of infrastructure
- Not dealing with crime firmly and consistently

One respondent indicated that the lack of employment or poverty has led to increased frustration which resulted in domestic violence. Alcohol and drugs abuse were deemed to

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be mainly associated with the youth. The ineffectiveness of current crime strategies (especially inability to reduce crime, apprehend criminals and ensure stricter sentencing) was again highlighted. Poor policing and ineffective safety and security measures were also cited.

The respondents forwarded the following suggestions to improve security provision in residential areas:

- More patrols and policing
- Provision of more and better firearms to security officers
- Have security companies and police work closer together
- All residents should install alarm systems
- Residents should secure their homes better
- Restrict access (more boom gates)
- Identification for all domestic workers
- Education to make all residents aware of crime in the area and what they can do to prevent it.

Clearly, the above responses denote two aspects: improved security and policing as well as investing in security mechanisms/ strategies at the household level. These are interesting responses since they do not correlate with some of the respondents' perceptions about what causes crime (namely poverty and alcohol/ drugs). When asked about this contradiction, one of the respondents stated that the poverty problems in South Africa are deep-seated and difficult to address. It is more realistic that people should protect themselves in the best way they can.

While one respondent stated that the private security industry was sufficiently equipped to deal effectively with crime and violence in residential areas, the rest stated that they did not think so. The reasons forwarded for the latter position were that more resources are needed, and more timely statistics and information are needed to improve what the security does and how they do it. In terms of the former, two respondents stated that the clientele base is currently saturated and most of the clients will not be able to afford

higher payments. One respondent stated that given the inability of the police to address crime and violence in society, the government should seriously consider subsidizing the private security industry since they perform a critical safety and security function. This will allow the private security companies to invest more in proactive security measures to address crime and violence in society at large rather than focus almost exclusively on people who can afford to pay for their services. In terms of the latter, one respondent stated that criminals are better informed than the security industry which accounts for them getting away with criminal acts.

The problems experienced as a private security service provider that impact on the industry's ability to fight crime and violence identified by the respondents were lack of training to effectively perform functions, insufficient trained personnel, lack of proper firearms and lack of incentives, including low wages. Again, the issue of training was highlighted. One respondent stated: "security officers put their lifes on the line daily for peanuts."

In terms of cooperation with police services and community structures to deal with crime and violence, all respondents stated that there was some but not enough. One respondent indicated that cooperation was better in the past with the former superintendent of the police station promoting cooperation and working closely with the security companies. The current superintendent is unwilling to do so. The ways in which cooperation could be fostered were:
- Police and security officers should train together
- Have joint meetings/ forums for all stakeholders (including community groups)
- Share information and statistics
- Jointly make decisions about safety and security strategies in the community
- Improve communication
- Have joint patrols

The areas identified by the respondents as being unsafe were informal settlements, university (specifically university residences) and grounds/ parks. The respondents also

stated that there were specific areas, such as central Westville and lower Reservoir Hills, where high levels of housebreaking occurred.

At a personal level, it is worth noting that when asked about how crime and violence affects the respondents and their families, all the respondents stated that loss of their own lives while on duty was their biggest fear. Thus, the security industry themselves fear violence. They felt that they were not adequately protected, both in terms of resources as well as proper and adequate insurance. All the respondents stated that the jobs they performed were the most dangerous jobs in society. For their families, the constant threat to their lives is traumatic.

All representatives from the companies interviewed indicated that most of the criminals were from the informal settlements and townships. Additionally, they regarded young, African males as prime perpetrators. This again reinforces the widely held perception among the resident and business respondents that poor African men are most likely to commit crimes.

6.5. POLICE

Representatives from the three main police stations servicing the areas under study were interviewed. The respondents indicated that most of the police officers do not live in the areas they work in. This was particularly the case in Reservoir Hills and Westville.

The respondents indicated that they were primarily involved in patrolling the neighborhoods and responding to any reports of incidents (whether big or small). Additionally, one respondent (in Westville) stated that they spend a considerable amount of time educating residents and businesses in the area about crime and violence. They did, however, indicate that they were limited by the number of police officers available to be proactive in terms of patrolling the neighborhoods and addressing concerns of the residents. This impacted significantly on their ability to respond quickly.

While one respondent stated that current strategies to curb crime and violence are effective, two indicated that they were ineffective. In terms of the latter, one respondent indicated that while some positive impacts have been made regarding reducing crime, violence is still a widespread and persistent problem. The other indicated that what makes dealing with crime and violence in the area extremely difficult is that most criminals live outside the area. The responses indicate, unlike the private security companies interviewed, that police representatives did not focus on the training or skill levels of the police officers and more general resource issues.

All the respondents indicated that the police try their best to respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and conduct thorough investigations. They stated that because of the number of police officers it is sometimes not possible to respond to all incidents reported immediately. They therefore focus on the serious crimes first. What was interesting during the conversations with all three respondents that domestic violence was not considered a serious crime. In fact most of the respondents stated that they often simply listened to those involved and encouraged them to "make-up". This reinforces the findings in the literature (Locke, 1999; Meth, 2003; Rude, 1999; Simpson, 1993; Usdin *et al*, 2005) that from a gender perspective domestic violence is a serious crime faced primarily by women but tended to be neglected by law enforcement agencies. The pervasiveness of domestic violence is also reflected in that two of the respondents (in Kwadabeka and Reservoir Hills) indicated that domestic violence is the most prevalent type of violence in the areas.

Other prevalent types of violence and crime identified by the respondents were robberies in all three areas. Particularly housebreaking was rife in all three communities. In Reservoir Hills and Westville car hijacking was identified as a major problem. In Westville, the respondent stated that business theft is emerging as a serious crime in the area and seems to be on the increase.

All the respondents stated that they believed that there is very little or no corruption in the security industry. This was a different perception as compared to the residents and businesses interviewed. A significant proportion of the respondents believed that elements of corruption were rife in the police force. The respondents stated that although corruption may have been a serious problem in the past this has been curbed because there has been a concerted effort by the government to stop corruption. Also, the public is now aware of the appropriate channels to use to report corruption. Thus, the police respondents believed that corruption was generally under control.

The factors that the respondents believed contributed to violence and crime in society were:

- Lack of employment/ poverty (one respondent stated "the wide gaps between the have and have nots")
- Alcohol and drugs (especially the increase in drug dealing)
- Lack of education

Clearly, the respondents felt that broader societal factors are deemed to contribute to crime and violence in society.

The respondents forwarded the following suggestions to improve policing in residential areas:

- Work with community-based organizations/ community forums
- Get residents involved in community forums
- Educate community members about crime prevention strategies
- More patrols and policing
- Have more jails

Clearly, the responsibilities and increased roles of the community in dealing with crime and violence are regarded as being central to the police. As one respondent stated, "We need to take ownership of our neighborhoods to such an extent that criminals will know that they are not welcome." However, it is important to note that like the private security responses, the suggestions forwarded by the respondents were not specifically addressing

the endemic causes of crime (poverty, unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, and lack of education) identified by the respondents earlier. However, one respondent did state that the government needs to create more jobs and provide housing and free education.

Unlike the private security responses, none of the respondents suggested that security companies and police should work closer together. In fact, during the discussions one of the respondents stated that the security industry undermines the police force and many of the security officers have inadequate training. Another respondent stated that the security industry (especially certain security officers) is involved in committing crimes, especially property theft.

While one respondent stated that the police was sufficiently equipped to deal effectively with crime and violence in residential areas, the rest stated that they did not think so. The respondent (from Reservoir Hills) who indicated that the police was sufficiently equipped qualified the response by indicating that although police officers are, the community as a whole is not. The reasons forwarded by the two respondents who believed that the police were not sufficiently equipped were that there was not enough police officers to do the job and inadequate resources, especially guns. These were similar reasons to that forwarded by the private security companies. This, the respondents stated, could be attributed to the low budgets of the police force. One respondent (from Kwadabeka) also stated that the increase in women police officers occupying more positions instead of men were placing a drain on human resources since women police officers, especially in the field, could not do many aspects of the job men can. When asked about improved training for women officers, the respondent indicated that most women officers do not like patrolling or being in a conflictual situation. For many male police officers this meant that during patrols they had to take care of themselves and their female colleagues. The respondent stated, "as you know women are not brave enough compared to men." While this study did not examine this aspect, it is worth noting that the response of the respondent tends to reflect patriarchal notions and attitudes.

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The problems experienced by the police force that impact on their ability to fight crime and violence identified by the respondents were:

- Insufficient police officers
- Employing female police officers (for reasons discussed above)
- Language and cultural differences between community members and police officers
- Low budgets
- Frustration of catching criminals who are subsequently released

The respondents believed that the police force should have a larger budget allocated by the government so that more police officers could be employed. Also, officers need improved training to better equip them.

In terms of cooperation with police services, private security companies and community structures to deal with crime and violence, all respondents stated that it was important to foster cooperation. However, all emphasized the need to specifically focus on building improved relationships between the police and the community. This, they believed, could be done by increasing the number of community forums to smaller precinct areas in the community and encourage all residents to participate. In terms of fostering relationships with private security companies, one respondent stated that although they can work with some security companies they were unable to work with others. He further stated that in terms of the latter, some security companies were just in it for the money and played on the communities' fears. In fact, he stated, "security companies make more money when they make the police look incompetent and ineffective." Another respondent stated that they can work together if security officers were better trained and understood clearly the roles of the police and the security companies.

The areas identified by the respondent in Clermont as being unsafe were the hostels and taxi ranks. The reasons were that these areas are crowded and busy. Also, people drink in these locations. In Reservoir Hills the respondent cited the grounds/ parks and informal settlements as being unsafe. Alcohol and drugs were viewed as being major problems in

these areas. In Westville dead-end roads, townships and highways were deemed to be unsafe areas.

At a personal level, similar to the private security responses, the respondents stated that loss of their own lives while on duty was their biggest fear. One respondent stated, "My family is scared every time I leave the house. This is a dangerous job." One respondent also stated that he constantly fears for his family's safety because he is acutely aware of, as a police officer, the horrible criminal acts that are being committed daily. He knows that his family is vulnerable and although he is trained, he cannot be with his family 24 hours a day. One respondent stated that knowing what is going on in the neighborhoods makes him a hateful person.

6.6. COMMUNITY FORUMS

Representatives from three community-based organizations/ community forums dealing with crime and violence in the areas under study were interviewed. It is important to note that the community forums interviewed in Reservoir Hills and Westville are more established and better resourced than the one in Clermont. In Reservoir Hills and Westville they have an office base while the group in Clermont operate from a local community hall.

The respondents indicated that they were primarily involved in assisting residents to report crimes, counseling victims and working with both the police and private security companies to ensure that they do their jobs. In terms of the latter, the community forums appear to play a monitoring and evaluation role of the security and police operating in their neighborhoods. One respondent also stated that they approach suspects and warn them of the consequences of their actions. If this fails they report the individuals to the police. In Reservoir Hills and Westville the counseling role is deemed to be particularly important and the community forums are linked to abuse centers and advice desks. They also raise funds for places of safety. In Reservoir Hills the community forum was a direct funder of a place of safety for abused women and children. They stated that the place of

shelter was always full and that they were trying to buy another house as well to serve this function. They played a major role in encouraging residents to be volunteers in the places of shelter and offices. All the respondents also stated that they organized community workshops and seminars to educate residents about crime and safety issues. They were concerned, however, about the level of participation and attendance.

While one respondent (in Westville) stated that current strategies to curb crime and violence are effective, two indicated that they were ineffective. The latter respondents felt that crime was on the increase and that they were dealing with more reports of incidents of crime and violence. The respondent in Reservoir Hills stated that it is difficult to deal with crime and violence in the neighborhood because of the large number of informal settlements in the community. He stated that the community forum was constantly lobbying government to relocate the informal settlements and clean-up their neighborhood. The respondent strongly believed the crime and violence in Reservoir Hills will not be curbed until the informal settlements are removed. In Clermont, the respondent indicated that widespread poverty and youth unemployment poses a serious challenge in terms of addressing crime and violence.

All the respondents indicated that both the private security companies and the police do not respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and conduct thorough investigations. In Reservoir Hills and Westville the respondents stated that private security companies do respond quicker but only to those households who pay for the services. All respondents felt that the police were under-resourced, especially in terms of the number of police officers available. All respondents cited incidents where they reported drunk police and security officers. The under-preparedness and lack of professionalism among many of the police and security on duty were viewed as being reflective of the general ineffectiveness of safety and security personnel in their neighborhoods. One respondent stated that the police and security only take certain crimes seriously, namely, housebreaking and car hijacking. They deal with most of the domestic violence and rape cases. In fact, all respondents stated that they often had to have a member of the community forum accompany the victim to the police station or they will not take the incident seriously.

One respondent felt that very few, if any, of the cases are properly investigated which accounts for the low sentencing rates. The respondents felt that the community forums were doing much of the jobs police are supposed to do. They also spent time addressing concerns of households who are unable to afford to pay for private security services.

The types of violence and crime identified by the respondents that were deemed to be prevalent in the communities were:
- robberies (theft of money and housebreaking)
- car hijackings
- domestic violence
- rape

The respondents in Reservoir Hills and Clermont indicated that domestic violence and rape were rife in their neighborhoods but neglected by the police. All respondents stated that the crimes were often associated with alcohol and drug abuse.

All the respondents stated that they believed that there is corruption in the security provision industry (both police and the private security companies). They cited incidents where both the police and security were involved in planning and executing crimes, especially housebreaking and car hijackings. They also indicated that the police are prone to bribery. This perception was similar to those of the residents and businesses interviewed. The community forum respondents stated that when individuals involved in corruption and unprofessional behavior (such as being drunk while on duty) are reported nothing is done. They continue to work and their behavior does not seem to change.

The factors that the respondents believed contributed to violence and crime in society were:
- Lack of employment/poverty
- Alcohol and drugs abuse (this was also associated with juvenile delinquency)
- Lack of education
- Materialism/greed
- Disrespect for other people and their possessions

- Inability of government (especially in terms of safety and security measures) to curb crime and violence
- High levels of corruption
- Untrained and ineffective police and security officers
- Inability of community to be united in their fight against crime and violence
- Under-resourced community organizations that are dealing with crime and violence

Unlike the police and private security respondents, the community forum respondents identified a range of factors that contribute to crime and violence in society. The factors include economic, social, institutional and political issues. They range from the individual (greed) to national (government inadequacies) aspects.

The respondents forwarded the following suggestions to improve safety and security in residential areas:

- Community-based organizations/ community forums, police, private security and political organizations (councilors, government and political parties) need to work together
- Educate and train community members about crime prevention strategies (one respondent stated that they should be self-defense classes for all community members)
- Get community members (especially the most vulnerable such as women and the elderly) involved in community forums
- Create more opportunities for stakeholders to get involved (mass meetings, workshops, seminars, etc.)
- Focus on educating the youth and creating activities that will keep them constructively occupied and improve their skills to increase their employability
- More patrols and policing
- Take a stronger stance in dealing with alcohol and drug abuse
- Build personal relationships with neighbors to establish trust and an ethic of caring and sharing

Unlike the security and police respondents that focused primarily on reactive suggestions (increase security), the community forum representatives forwarded both reactive and proactive suggestions which included improving security measures and addressing the social and economic challenges facing the communities. They also saw the need for an integrated approach which included a range of stakeholders which included government officials and politicians. Working together was deemed to be central to addressing crime and violence in society.

The problems experienced by the community forums that impact on their ability to fight crime and violence identified by the respondents were:

- Insufficient volunteers/ human resources, especially trained councilors
- Inability to get the police, private security companies and politicians to work together (one respondent in Clermont stated, "while the police, government officials and politicians are fighting to prove who is right and who has the most power, the people are suffering")
- Resistance on the part of police and the security industry to report to community forums and share information
- Lack of resources such as places of shelter and office equipment (including the internet) – this is also linked to insufficient funds

The areas identified by the respondent as high risk areas were upper and middle income areas, public and open spaces, bus stops and taxi ranks, and shopping centers. They feel that criminals tend to target these areas.

The respondents stated that crime and violence affect their community by:

- Developing distrust and increasing fear;
- Making it difficult to build community unity;
- Destroying the lives of the victims of violence (many die and those who survive are not able to function properly);
- Taking much of the community resources in terms of funds, time and effort; and

- Frustrating people who themselves start to behave aggressively in an attempt to protect themselves and their families (this accounts for the large number of people in South Africa that carry guns).

6.7. CONCLUSION

The results clearly provide discernible patterns of fear of violence, experiences of violence, perceptions of violence and responses to the perceived threat of violence among the various stakeholders interviewed. The structural apartheid legacy of violence and poverty are noticeable in this study. The environmental and spatial dimensions are also clearly evident. The findings highlight the range and diversity of experiences of violence in residential areas and in society more generally. Clearly, the fear of violence and crime is prevalent in all of the study areas. The fear of violence and crime was more prevalent and widespread in the better-off (in terms of income levels) neighborhoods of Reservoir Hills and Westville.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this concluding chapter is to summarize the key research findings as well as forward recommendations and further research questions. In the light of the literature review and research findings presented, general conclusions pertaining to socio-economic and environmental perceptions of violence and crime in residential areas are drawn.

The key research objectives and questions raised in this study relate to environmental perceptions of violence and the fear of violence in residential areas. The main issues under investigation were the differing perceptions and concerns of various stakeholders (namely, residents, businesses, police, private security companies and community forums); the socio-economic, political and environmental impacts of crime and violence in residential areas; current safety and security strategies adopted by the various stakeholders; the relationships between socio-economic characteristics, environmental contexts and perceptions as well as patterns of crime and violence in residential areas (especially in relation to perceptions regarding general characteristics of perpetrators and victims); opportunities and constraints for effectively dealing with safety and security concerns; and environmental/ spatial perceptions of crime and violence in residential areas (especially in relation to safe and unsafe areas) by various stakeholders.

To enable a critical examination of these aspects, four residential communities in Durban reflecting a range of socio-economic profiles were used as case studies. These areas were Westville, Reservoir Hills, Clermont, and the Palmiet as well as New Germany Road informal settlements. The summary of the key findings presented in the next section clearly illustrates that the key objectives and research questions in this thesis have been addressed. A critical and comparative analysis of the perceptions and experiences of respondents was undertaken in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the findings provide

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useful lessons to address violence and crime in residential areas specifically and in society more generally.

7.2. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The characteristics of the survey respondents show that although the sample covers a range of gender, age and occupational groups. However, in terms of historical racial backgrounds, these generally corresponded with the historical racial residential location patterns, that is, the majority of the respondents from Reservoir Hills were Indian, the majority of the respondents from Westville were Whites and all of the respondents interviewed in Clermont and the informal settlement were Africans. The former Indian (Reservoir Hills) and White (Westville) residential areas have integrated to some extent while the informal settlements and former African Township (Clermont) do not appear to have changed.

Perceptions of safety and security vary greatly depending on personal, socio-economic, and environmental factors. The types of violence experienced and feared differed across the communities and stakeholders studied. Perceptions of fear were generally linked to the following variables: gender (women had higher levels of fear than men), age (the elderly exhibited higher levels of fear than the younger generation, race (Whites and Indians had higher levels of fear than Africans), victimization (those who had experienced crime previously had higher levels of fear) and language (non-Zulu speakers displayed higher levels of fear). This supports assertions in the literature review that perceptions of violence are informed by societal values and mind-sets and not necessarily by personal experiences. For example, experiences of who violates (known rather than strangers) and where violation takes place (known rather than unknown places, takes place at night).

Violence and the threat of violence severely constrain and influence the movements and options of people in South African society. The findings also support Adams and Serpe (2000), Evans and Fletcher (2000), Ferraro (1996b), Gibbons (2004), Grabosky (1995),

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Kuo and Sullivan (2001), Moore and Shephard (2006) and Scholten's (2001) assertions that violence or the threat of violence can have long term implications for life chances, livelihood options as well as physical and psychological well-being. Certainly all respondents are impacted in one way or another by their fear of violence.

Several types of violence and crime were identified by respondents. Most of their knowledge of the types of violence identified were from hearsay and not personal experiences. However, it is important to underscore that nearly all of the respondents knew personally of someone who had experienced violence and a significant proportion of the resident and business respondents personally experienced some form of violence. The most dominant form of violence experienced was theft (either of property, money or car hijackings). Sexual (especially rape) and physical violence were identified by the respondents as the worst types of violence. The main reasons forwarded were that it devastates the individual physically and emotionally. Sexual violence in particular was deemed to be dehumanizing.

The literature review and the results of this study also indicate that people generally view males as being violent (against females as well as against each other). Similar to Morrell (2002) and Perry (2002), race continues to play an important role in informing perceptions in South African society. Furthermore, Barak's (1994) assertion that Black males are criminalized is certainly evident in the findings (in relation to respondents' perceptions) in this study. This is bound to continue to impact on race relations and racialized hierarchies in South African society. The majority of the respondents indicated that strangers are most likely to commit violence. This is similar to other studies cited in the literature review (Artz, 1999; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001a; Pain, 2000) which illustrate that people, particularly women, perceive themselves to be in danger from strangers. The fear of the unknown is also reflected in the fact that most respondents regarded public places as being unsafe and that violent acts are most likely to take place in unfamiliar, unknown environments. Among the respondents, the majority perceived the perpetrators of violence as being young adults (early twenties), strangers, male, single, African, not a

parent and unemployed. Perpetrators were also perceived to have little or no formal schooling and live in informal settlements, townships or low income neighborhoods. Again, this response reinforces the perception that Africans commit crimes since they generally reside in informal settlements or townships.

This study supports research cited in the literature review (Belson *et al* 2001; Reed, 1998; Valentine, 1992) that females and older members of society consider themselves, and are perceived by society, as being at greatest risk from violent crimes. The literature review strongly suggests that males tend to be more prone towards violence than females. The prevalence of gender-based violence in society which generally takes the form of males abusing females is also rooted in patriarchal values and tendencies (Morrell, 2002). The responses in the middle and upper income areas support Artz *et al*'s (1998) study which showed that people generally perceived those who are better-off to be the targets of violence. However, the views of the respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements indicated that they tend to make a stronger link between poverty and violation. Thus, several respondents in the lower income areas stated that the poor were primary targets of violence and crime. In terms of the racial category of the victims of violence, the results reveal that most of the respondents believed that the group that they belonged to was most vulnerable. The notion of personal vulnerability emerges strongly in this study. This reflects the level of fear at the individual and group level since most respondents believe that individuals like themselves are most likely to be victims. In sum, among the respondents, the majority perceived the victims of violence as being from a range of age groups, female, married, parents and employed. In terms of historical racial category, perceptions differed considerably among the respondents. Generally respondents tended to believe that the racial group that they belonged to was the most vulnerable. Victims were also perceived by respondents from Reservoir Hills and Westville to have higher levels of education who live in middle and upper income areas. On the other hand, respondents from Clermont and the informal settlements felt that victims reside in informal settlements and low income neighborhoods. The responses are similar to studies cited in the literature review which show that the majority of respondents perceive that violence is most likely to occur in public spaces as well as

unknown and unfamiliar environments (Cozens *et al*, 2002; 2004; Martin, 1997; Moser, 2004; Smiley and Roux, 2005; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006).

Place (especially peoples' understanding of and attitudes towards specific locations) and subjectivity (personal experiences and perceptions) play central roles in people's understanding of, and attitudes towards, crime and violence in society (Haymes, 1995; Johnson, 2005; Massey, 2004; Moser, 2004; Scholten, 2001; Tabrizi and Madanipour, 2006). Violent acts took place in a range of areas, mostly in locations familiar or very well-known (like the home and school) by the respondents. This was in contradiction to respondent's perceptions that unsafe areas are public or unfamiliar spaces. In general, the perceptions of the respondents in terms of key issues pertaining to violence (such as who were the perpetrators, who were violated, types of violation and where violent acts are likely to take place) differed from their personal and known experiences. This supports the widespread contention in the literature review that a range of factors other than actual experiences inform people's, especially females', perceptions of violence and danger. The responses from primary research and findings from the literature review indicate that the fear of violence and crime is largely located in public spaces. The "spatial paradox" identified by Pain (1997: 235) that most violence takes place in the private spaces of the home is not discernible in this study. This is possibly because most of the respondents focused on theft and assaults rather than sexual and domestic violence which tend to take place in familiar, known places such as the home.

It is clear from the responses that many indicated that they considered numerous locations in their neighborhoods, including in some instances their homes, as either being unsafe or being in close proximity to areas that they perceived to be dangerous. The main areas considered to be unsafe were central town/city, informal settlements, grounds/ parks, public spaces, outside school, African townships, shopping areas, the beachfront, darks roads and alleys, taxi ranks/ bus stops and bushes. The physical elements of landscapes that are commonly perceived as unsafe by the respondents were insufficient lighting, unkempt open spaces, places where perpetrators can hide and low income

homes. The following factors played a major role in influencing what was perceived as safe and unsafe areas: racial and class identity, pedestrian volume (number of people present), environmental neglect and street lighting. More specifically, respondents in this study identified a number of factors in unsafe public places which they said made them feel more vulnerable to crime. Similar to Lawlink's (nd) findings, the main reasons were if the places were isolated and poorly lit, if they had lots of hiding spots, if they were not well cared for, if there was an excessive amount of alcohol consumed there, or if groups of people perceived as 'unsafe' were often hanging around. Fear generators, as indicated by Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) and Ferraro (1995), are therefore clearly discernible in this study. Additionally, Nasar's (1995) assertion that perceptions of blocked prospects (reduced visibility), areas of concealment for potential offenders and bounded spaces which reduced the possibility of escape are important determinants of perceptions of unsafe places is also evident. Unlike participants in Westville and Reservoir Hills who tended to avoid the main areas they regarded as being unsafe, participants in Clermont and the informal settlements literally lived and worked in or near the areas they considered to be unsafe. They could not avoid these places. This again underscores the vulnerability of the poor.

Unlike the areas deemed to be unsafe, the areas that respondents regard as being safe were generally private, familiar and enclosed areas. The vast majority of respondents (especially in Westville and Reservoir Hills) felt safe at home. The findings suggest that in middle and upper income areas, the more security measures in place (alarms, armed response, fences, dogs, etc.), the greater the sense of security. This emerged as a primary factor in determining whether a place was safe or unsafe. Thus, the presence of visible security made the respondents feel particularly safe in these areas. What was interesting was that respondents in the lower income areas felt safer than those in the middle and upper income areas despite significantly fewer security measures. This could be attributed to the probability that they have a higher acceptance and tolerance for violence. The main reasons forwarded for the home being regarded as safe were that family members could be trusted and could offer protection, if necessary, as well as the presence of security measures such as alarms, fences and dogs. The main groups whose presence

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seems to instill a sense of security among respondents were family members, friends, teachers and security or police. This was also reflected in terms of the responses pertaining to who respondents expect help from. The persons that respondents mostly expect to help them are known persons (friends, family members and/ or neighbors) as well as security and police.

The households and business premises, especially in the upper and middle income neighborhoods used a range of security measures which was similar to those identified by other studies cited in the literature review (Allen, 2004; Brownlow, 2005; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1994; Rafkin, 1995; Upson, 2004). The most important were burglar guards, fences, installing security systems in the home, armed response, remote controlled gates, intercoms and dogs. Also, the majority of respondents in Reservoir Hills and Westville insured their homes and themselves. At the individual level the main security strategies adopted were always telling someone where they are, carrying a cell phone, walking in groups (trying not to be alone), refraining from taking drugs, choosing responsible friends and getting to know places/ environments frequented. It is important to note that the use of security measures was linked to affordability and levels of fear. The ability to afford protective mechanisms emerges as a particularly critical factor. The higher the income levels of the areas, a greater number of and more expensive security measures are used to protect businesses, homes and individuals.

Fear of certain places and specific groups was generally constructed via the media (especially local newspapers reporting crime), family members and peers. Thus, the construction of local knowledge was an important component in terms of informing perceptions of certain areas and people. The importance of the media and entertainment sources (television, radio, newspapers and the movies) emerge as being significant sources of information about crime and violence. This was followed by peers and family members. Spear and Seydegart's (1993) particularly stressed the importance of the media in influencing the youth. Altheide (2004), Barak (1995), Bob et al (2006), Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2005), Chermak (2003), Collins et al (2006), Heath and Gilbert (1996), Innes (2004), Reiner (1997), Savage (2004), Slovic (2000), Sparks (1992) and

Williams and Dickinson (1993) assert that the mass media are important in shaping public agendas by influencing what people think about, and how events and issues are packaged and presented. It is also important to note that during the focus group discussions an important aspect relating to media and entertainment sources was that they were deemed to be easily accessible. This was even the case for poorer communities where the radio was viewed as a particularly useful source of information. However, it is important to heed a concern Perry (2002) raised that the reliance on popular media as well as peers and family members may be one of the reasons for the often distorted perceptions regarding violence in society.

The results indicate that many people do not report incidents. This supports Moser (2004), Louw and Shaw (1997) and Short's (1997) assertion that it is important to consider under-reporting when examining police statistics. The reasons for not reporting incidents varied and included perceptions of police incompetence, not believing that anything will be done, fear of reprisals and negative publicity, feeling that reporting the incident was inappropriate and not knowing what to do. This suggests than any attempt to improve incident reporting must address a range of issues.

In Louw and Shaw's (1997) study, respondents generally expressed dissatisfaction with the police servicing their areas. However, it is important to note that there were different ratings in relations to specific areas. For example, the informal settlements generally expressed lower ratings as compared to the other areas. The lower ratings were most noticeable in relation to the following statements: well-trained; ability to respondent quickly to a situation; courteous, professional and respectful; knowledge of the law and proper procedures; and having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively. The main reasons forwarded for respondents' dissatisfaction were: police involved in corruption, police not seen in the area, police take too long to react to incidents, police are uncaring, police do not catch/ assist in the prosecution of offenders and police do not react to alarms going off. It is also important to note that police patrolling and responses to actual crime/ violence locations and concerns do not appear to correspond to areas deemed to be unsafe by the respondents. Furthermore, the police are complicit in the

abuse in that they tend to disregard or neglect certain types of crime and violence such as domestic abuse. They fail to even acknowledge that domestic abuse is a serious crime and deny the extent of the abuse. The inability to have structured programs as well as proper counseling to deal with violence and danger is also reflective of this complacency.

Stavrou (1993) states that however inaccurate subjective beliefs about crime are, it is subjective world views that we are ultimately dealing with. There is enough evidence from previous studies and this study to indicate that the actual and potential violence which impacts on safety and security in the communities under study should be of concern. It appears, therefore, timely to initiate proactive measures and evaluate existing strategies to ensure safe environments. Clearly, a sustainable community is one that is defined as safe, perceives itself to be safe and is widely considered by others to be safe (Cozens *et al*, 2004). If this definition carries then it is clear that none of the case study areas can be considered 'sustainable communities' since a considerable proportion of the respondents in all neighborhoods perceive their communities to be unsafe and other communities (specifically informal settlements and townships) are deemed to be unsafe by others as well.

Aspects of Moser's (2004) "continuum of violence" cited in the literature are discernible with a range of different types of violence and crime being identified by the various stakeholders interviewed. Personal and household as well as retail business types of violence (theft and robberies, assaults and physical abuse, sexual violence and domestic violence) were prevalent. The types and manifestations of violence that were generally ignored were institutional forms of violence as perpetrated by the police, educators, and health workers; hate crimes; more organized types of violence such as fraud and corruption; political violence such as armed conflict and political assassinations; and territorial or identity-based 'turf', gang-related violence. This does not imply that these types of violence and crime are not prevalent in South African society. It is more plausible that the methodological approach adopted in this study, specifically the focus on residential areas and the primary data collection methods adopted, did not cater for a thorough examination of these types of violence and crime.

In terms of the gender dimensions of violence, the literature review and the findings of the primary research undertaken emphasize the vulnerability that females face in society. It was clear from the responses that females are regarded as being targets of the particularly heinous violent acts such as rape and domestic abuse. It is also important to note that gender is also linked to poverty and race. Clearly, some groups in society are more vulnerable than others. Additionally, a major finding of the research is that the perpetrators of the violence experienced by the respondents tended to be males. Also, almost all respondents stated that they believed that the gender of the perpetrators of violence were young (in the early twenties) males. This research therefore supports the findings of other studies such as Burns (2000), Campbell *et al* (2001), De La Rey (1999), Dreyer *et al* (2002), Harber (2001), Linn *et al* (1996), Loveday (1997), Mooney (2000), Morrell (2002), Pain (1991), Reed (1998) and Ross (1993).

This study reveals that the violence and the fear of violence have dramatic impacts on the behavior and lifestyles of people. In both public and private spaces violence, whether real or perceived, influences people's travel patterns and plans. This includes when and where they go, who they go with as well as what type of transport they use. As illustrated in the literature review, there is a heightened perception of vulnerability when using public transport or in areas where there were bus stops or taxi ranks. It is important to note that a common strategy adopted by several of the respondents, especially those who can afford to do so, is the avoidance of specific areas totally. This has the potential to seriously limit their options and experiences. The study showed that the strategies and precautions used to minimize the risks of being a victim range from avoidance of certain places, types of transport used, installation of physical structures (burglar guards, fences, etc.) and alarm security systems (including paying for the services of private security companies), to being prepared to physically defend themselves if necessary (for example taking self-defense classes and carrying a gun). Most of the strategies adopted are costly and entails self-imposed restrictions and constraints which reflect psychological and physical guardedness identified by Pain (1997).

This study supports Perry's (2002) findings that socio-economic status has a strong bearing on who is feared, places that are identified as safe and unsafe as well as specific situations that respondents fear. Also, socio-economic factors tend to influence the strategies that are used to deal with the fear of violence. For example, most of the respondents who were from wealthier families, stated that they did not use public transport. For poorer respondents, on the other hand, this was not an option.

Areas perceived as safe havens are usually locations that are inhabited with individuals that are similar to those of the respondents, for example, homes of friends and family and places of worship. This is particularly true in townships and informal settlements. The reason why some of the respondents felt safe in their neighborhoods was aptly stated by one respondent from Reservoir Hills:

> My community makes me feel at home. The people around me are like me, they live like me and face the same problems. We stand together to protect and take care of each other.

These community spaces are viewed as being comfortable (something known) and empowering. This allows residents to look past the dangers and to feel at home. Interestingly, the social benefits outweigh the physical risks for some. Coping with the presence of violence is an important survival mechanism or strategy.

Perhaps the most striking contrast between the four communities surveyed concerned their perception of safety in their neighborhood. Significantly lower percentages of respondents in Reservoir Hills and Westville said they felt safe when walking in their neighborhood (both during the night and during the day), the majority of the respondents in Clermont and the informal settlements reported feeling relatively safe. This is contradictory to international studies that Noguera (1999) cites which reveal that residents in middle and upper class suburbs felt safer than those living in poor neighborhoods. This indicates that in South Africa, the fear of crime and violence is widespread and pervasive, especially among richer and more exclusive neighborhoods. It

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is possible that apartheid literally protected these communities from violence and crime and with the demise of apartheid the fear of violence that was experienced in a limited manner previously is paramount. In terms of perceptions of safety during the day and during the night in their respective neighborhoods, it is important to note that the responses are similar to studies cited in the literature review which show that the majority of respondents perceive that violence is most likely to occur during the night than during the day (Allen, 2004; ISS, 2001; Pain, 1991; Phillips, 2002).

The following sets of factors help us explain the differences in community perceptions and experiences of crime and violence (as well as why some communities have high crime rates or are experiencing a rapid increase in crime):

- Culture: some areas historically have higher rates of violence, which are associated with the presence and use of violence as an accepted means of resolving disagreements and conflicts as well as signifying opposition. This was particularly the case in informal settlements and townships during the apartheid era. This culture of violence also results in people being more tolerant of violence in their lives and becoming used to it. Kynoch (1999), Schönteich and Louw (2001), Simpson (1993) and Stavrou (1993) state that the culture of violence in South Africa, which is a direct effect of apartheid and related political violence, permeates all aspects of society.

- Poverty: Areas with persistent poverty over several generations generally exhibit higher levels of crime and violence. These areas are also associated with crime and violence. Certainly in this study most of the respondents viewed informal settlements and townships as 'crime hotspots'. Furthermore, nearly all respondents indicated that the perpetrators of violence tend to live in low income neighborhoods. Artz (1999), Dangor (1996), Demombynes and Özler (2005), Moser (2004), Stolzenberg et al (2006), Vanderscheuren (1996) and Zondi's (2000) assertions that there is a link between crime and poverty in South Africa are supported in this study. Some of the respondents (especially in low income areas) were also of the opinion that the lack of economic opportunities creates the

environment for crime and violence to thrive as many people, especially youngsters, do not have viable livelihood options.

- Race relations: this study illustrates that perceived and actual patterns of crime and violence contribute to strained race relations in South Africa. This is heightened by the dominant perception that Africans commit violence and crime. This study also supports Nofziger and Williams' (2005) assertion that race is a stronger predictor of attitudes towards violence and crime than most other demographic characteristics such as sex, age or socio-economic status.

- Unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization: the presence of informal settlements in formal residential areas, particularly in upper and middle income neighborhoods, was a major source of insecurity. Informal settlements are one of the most visible signs of unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization in developing economies. It is critical that this be addressed without limiting the opportunities of the poor to urban livelihoods and prospects. Rapid, uncontrolled change can also weaken one's sense of community and belonging. The resultant lack of community social norms and values can lead to unlawful behavior and make the community (as well as neighboring communities) feel vulnerable.

- The results indicate that a significant proportion of the respondents viewed violence and crime as being associated with alcohol and drugs. Crime and violent behavior were associated with alcohol and drug abuse across all the stakeholder groups and communities under study. They believed that the prevalence of drug taking and alcohol abuse can increase crime and violence. This is similar to Fox and Marsh (1995), Markowitz (2005), Nelson *et al* (2001), Parker (1998), Reese *et al* (2001) and Roberts' (2006) assertion that the majority of incidents of violence are considered to involve drinking and drugs.

According the police and private security companies interviewed, there was general consensus that the police and private security companies do not work closely together. Unlike the resident, security and business respondents, the police believed that corruption is under control and limited. Both the police and security identified the need for more training. The security respondents in particular saw the need for similar powers to that of the police to increase their effectiveness and ability to service the residential areas. The need to carry firearms was also indicated. In terms of the police, they stated the need for better firearms.

During the focus group discussions and interviews it was clear that parks in the neighborhood and open spaces generally were a source of fear in relation to potential criminal and violent activities. This was the case whether the open spaces were well maintained or not. The researcher observed that although there were several parks in the area under study, many of which had well maintained play facilities, in very few instances were these used. The results are different from the findings of APA (2003), Kuo and Sullivan (2001a; b), Kuo *et al* (1998) and Taylor *et al* (1998) who indicate that green spaces can lower crime and illegal activities. This research reveals that several respondents saw green spaces and parks as places that are unsafe and where unsavory elements congregate. In South Africa, it is therefore necessary to rethink open space planning.

The responses regarding factors that contribute to crime and violence in society among the respondents support several studies (for example, Creveld, 2000; Moser, 2004; Wilson and Doenges, 2000) that indicate that socio-cultural, economic and political factors influence crime and violence in society. Furthermore, the physical environment also plays a critical role. This was particularly important in relation to infrastructure development and spatial planning. In terms of the latter, open spaces (vacant plots, parks, bushes and grounds) were deemed by all stakeholders interviewed as being problematic in residential areas. This, as indicated earlier, poses several environmental design challenges in South Africa. As suggested by Dreyer *et al* (2002) and Leach *et al* (2001),

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an integral holistic approach to stamping out violence and the threat of violence in society is necessary.

Similar to Brownlow (2005), Nelson *et al* (2001) and Shephard's (2006) study, this research reveals that in the context of widespread fear of violence and crime many citizens adopt the avoidance strategy. However, it is important to note that avoidance strategies adopted to reduce exposure to risk will have detrimental economic impacts on specific spaces and further increase social and economic inclusion and exclusion.

The respondents' recommendations to deal with violence in society included improving policing, stricter and harsher sentencing, and neighborhood watches. Furthermore, addressing broader societal problems such as poverty, unemployment, and alcohol and drugs abuse were highlighted. Additionally, education and dissemination of information were broadly indicated as key areas of intervention. Targeting the youth was viewed as being particularly important.

The findings of the research reveal the importance of adopting a multi-conceptual framework that examines the interrelatedness and complexities of the psychological, social, cultural, economic, political and environmental factors that influence crime and violence in society. The importance of specific contexts and scales are also underscored. Behavioral/psychological issues at the individual level are clearly evident. This approach was particularly useful in understanding why people commit violence and crime as well as why and how people react to the fear of crime and violence in society. The rational perspective of physical environment and crime clearly revealed how physical and environmental features influence behavior and perceptions. Furthermore, the study highlights that design and planning are deemed to be critical aspects in crime prevention. The political economy approach highlighted political and economic dynamics. Furthermore, the conceptual framework adopted provided an appropriate perspective to examine differing (often competing and conflicting) interests and perceptions of various stakeholders.

7.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the above findings, the recommendations discussed below are forwarded to address crime and violence in residential areas specifically and society more generally. It is important to note, that where appropriate, recommendations have already been integrated in the above discussion as well as the data analysis chapter.

An extensive analysis of the geographical distribution of different crimes across the DMA is required to direct relevant action to where it is needed the most. It is critical to integrate development imperatives in these initiatives since the literature review clearly indicates that crime and violence (both actual and perceived) closely correlate to deprivation and poverty in society.

It is important to note the respondents' perceptions and concerns must be interpreted in the context of how they define violence and crime. It terms of the definitions most respondents defined violence as physical, emotional or sexual abuse. The understanding of violence tended to be on clearly discernible acts that often can be either seen or noticeably experienced like being physically assaulted, raped or being told that you are stupid. The responses show that most respondents found it difficult to provide meaningful definitions of violence and crime. It is important to underscore that respondents generally forwarded a superficial and limited understanding of the concepts of violence and crime. Of particular concern were most respondents' lack of knowledge and information about the legal aspects of crime and violence. This suggests that a large proportion of the respondents are not aware of their legal rights, and by implication are therefore unlikely to effectively use the law to protect themselves, their families and their neighborhoods. The development of effective information dissemination mechanisms to educate people about crime and violence (and more specifically their rights and effective ways to protect themselves) is critical in the fight against crime and violence.

The main strategies that the DMC (2000) views as being strategically important to creating a safer city were also identified as key areas of intervention by the respondents.

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These include effective policing and crime prevention, targeted crime prevention and improved environmental design. What is clear from the findings is that respondents are generally aware of what they need and strategies that will help them feel safer and reduce crime and violence in society. It is imperative that the city develops mechanisms to include residents and other stakeholders in the planning processes. This will ensure greater buy-in and support of strategies adopted. Consultative forums for crime prevention should be set up specifically to address safety and security concerns. These should be well resourced and there should be policies in place to ensure that the police and private security companies (currently the key security enforcement agencies in some of the communities under study) consult and liaise with community forums.

Landman and Liebermann (2005) state that in South Africa, the question is how we should plan to reduce crime at a neighborhood level, so that it responds to residents' needs without infringing on the future good functioning of the city. It is imperative that a participatory process of designing inclusive residential areas which encourages greater integration be adopted. The 'boomed-off suburbs' or security villages and their impact on crime, as Landman and Liebermann (2005) state, need to be examined more critically. The emphasis on fortification and segregation has wide ranging social, political and economic implications and there is no evidence which indicates that they reduce crime in society. It is more likely that they simply displace crime and violence.

It is important to recognize that institutions within society (such as family structures, community-based organizations, schools and religious bodies) were deemed by many of the respondents as key instruments for change. It is, therefore, important to include these institutions in safety and security education attempts and strategies to deal with crime and violence in society.

An important finding of the study is that the perception of victims and perpetrators of violence is linked to race, gender and geographical location. It is important to address these perceptions and challenge stereotypes. It is critical to underscore that currently the main sources of information on crime and violence are the media and word of mouth. In

terms of the media, specific incidents are selected and often these are sensationalized. It is imperative that information regarding crime and violence is properly disseminated to the public. Proper and timely information will allay fears. This will also result in people making more informed choices and decisions.

During the key informant interviews with the community-based organizations it was clear that there were inadequate resources for effective and continued counseling in the communities. This was for victims specifically but also for residents who lived in constant fear. Although some attempts were underway to provide counseling services, there was a heavy reliance on volunteers. Additionally, often these volunteers (although well meaning) are not adequately trained. This is a serious problem that needs to be addressed. Given the pervasiveness of violence (and especially the fear of violence) in society proper, proactive counseling should be the responsibility of the state. Counseling services provide assistance to those traumatized (whether by actually experiencing violence or living in fear) but they can also encourage people to talk about their experiences as well as report incidences (Perry, 2002). Given the fact that several researchers (Demombynes and Özler, 2005; Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002; Louw and Shaw, 1997; Moser, 2004; Short, 1997) have highlighted that a major problem is the under-reporting of crime and violent incidences, counseling can play a major role in contributing towards effective reporting and monitoring of violence in residential areas.

Dahlberg and Potter (2001: 12) assert that any effective prevention strategy requires us to:

> ... intervene early, provide support across developmental contexts, create opportunities for positive behavior, and reassess needs and support as children transition to new developmental periods. We must also pay particular attention to the type of preventive programming undertaken, the recipients of the preventive programming, and what is needed to create a climate for positive, pro-social behavior.

The need to focus on the youth has been highlighted by numerous researchers (Bruce, 2006; Burton, 2006; Dahlberg and Potter, 2001; Morrell, 2002; Simpson, 1998; UN Habitat, 2003; Wardrop, 1996). Furthermore, comprehensive preventive efforts are necessary. As discerned from the literature review and the conceptual framework presented in previous chapters, violence and crime are highly complex and related to a range of biological, psycho-social, political, economic and environmental factors. Preventive interventions should therefore be orientated at different levels including the individual, family, community and society more generally. The school (or education sector more generally) has emerged as an important locale where education pertaining to violence and crime can occur.

Nofziger and Williams (2005) state that perceptions of the police affect feelings of safety in the community. It is important that the relevant government departments join forces to launch a massive public relations exercise that confronts the negative perceptions of the police in society and changes the image of the police in South African society. The most important aspect to change negative perceptions will be to invest in training and resources to improve the effectiveness and visibility of the police. Attitudes towards the police, who the public views as the government's safety and security arm on the ground, is only likely to improve if government (especially relevant government departments such as the Department of Safety and Security and local government) sends a clear message to society that violence and crime will not be tolerated and the people's rights to live without the constant fear and threat of violence will be protected.

To play an effective role in addressing gender-based violence in society and given the pervasiveness of patriarchy, it is important to understand and confront attitudes and experiences regarding gender and gender-based violence. Additionally, there are many issues to consider in developing appropriate responses to the problem of gender-based violence. It is important to understand that such violence is complex and must be viewed in an interdisciplinary sense. As Perry (2002) states, preventing violence, both perceived and real, will necessitate a shift in terms of gender role expectations, acceptable mechanisms to deal with differences and conflicts, and the unacceptability of all forms of

violence and threats in society. Furthermore, Perry (2002) highlights the following policy considerations for addressing gender-based violence:

- recognizing that violence is not gender neutral: gender-based violence is a discernible and prominent pattern of violence that persists in society. Additionally, it is clear that females experience a more heightened and widespread fear of violence that constrains their mobility and opportunities.

- gender equality needs to be integrated into every facet of socio-economic, political and educational activities. This must challenge prevailing notions of masculinity and femininity which are not based on the use of force and violence or on submission and a sense of inferiority.

- promoting democratic values will provide a foundation for participation in decision-making, addressing concerns, transparency and assertiveness of one's opinions and rights.

It is also important to broaden the scope of our understanding of violence against women to include issues of access, development and women's socio-political status (Artz, 1999). UNFPA (2001) indicates that attention to many aspects of gender-based violence is needed, including research on the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the problem, the creation and maintenance of services for gender-based violence survivors as well as appropriate education and prevention strategies. Furthermore, UNFPA (2001) asserts that fundamental social change that eliminates women's subordinate status will bring an end to gender-based violence. The changes needed include eliminating laws that discriminate against women and children, promoting women in leadership and decision-making processes, improving access and sense of entitlement to education, and increasing women's access to economic resources and health information.

Intervention and training coupled with mutual support and cooperation between various community-based institutions (such as schools, community forums and places of worship), the police and other government departments (especially at the local government level), and businesses and other private sector interest including private security companies can reduce incidents of crime and violence. Additionally, when a

concerted effort is made to ensure that safe and secure neighborhoods are created, a more conducive environment is established for people to live healthy and productive lives. This can dramatically increase personal well-being and improved quality of life. It is important to note that small-scale, simple and inexpensive intervention could help to improve safety and security in residential areas. This includes more visible security and police presence, programs to build community and personal confidence, as well as addressing the challenges and concerns of the youth. Given the existing strategies used by respondents it is clear that they are not helpless in the face of an onslaught of crime and violence.

Focusing on the youth is an important aspect of addressing violence and crime in society. Youth delinquency, especially alcohol and drug abuse, emerged as a central concern in this study. Linn *et al* (1996), Perry (2002) and Stein (1991) indicate that there are various ways to integrate issues of violence in the curriculum, including incorporating such specific components as violence prevention, conflict resolution, gender equity, health education and peer leadership programs. However, Stein (1991) warns that most of these approaches depend upon individual class presentations without ensuring other aspects of necessary institutionalized support, including thorough staff training, supportive services for male and female victims, and rehabilitative and disciplinary programs for abusers.

A central concern of this study is how can violence be ceased and the fear of violence reduced. Furthermore, how can different stakeholders (the schools, community, police, businesses, etc.) work together to improve security in neighborhoods? It is imperative that a forum be established to bring the different stakeholders together to address issues pertaining to violence and crime in society.

In addition to the issues raised above, it is imperative that communities take a firm stand against violence and the threat of violence in its various forms. This includes ensuring that environmental safety aspects are given due consideration and that resources are allocated toward creating a safe and secure neighborhoods. Proper policies and programs (developed in consultation with various stakeholders, especially residents) that are widely

circulated and rigorously implemented are deemed one of the main components of developing a culture of zero tolerance towards violence and the threat of violence.

Dealing with perceptions of violence and crime are critical. This study, similar to other research, indicates that when factors which influence perceptions are not addressed, people continue to feel unsafe regardless of whether crime trends are increasing or decreasing. The current focus, as discerned from the key informant interviews with the police and private security companies, suggests that current crime strategies are largely reactive and fail to adequately consider the factors that contribute to excessively high levels of fear in society. This fear is extremely debilitating with many members of society feeling helpless.

Future research questions/ issues include:
- Providing disaggregated data (and even conducting separate studies) on the income and socio-economic position of the man and woman in a household, not only that of the 'head of household' or household as a whole in order to assess different possible contributing factors, perceptions and experiences of violence and crime. This includes re-examining the household as a conflictual rather than a consensual unit of analysis. This also entails examining issues relating to intra-household power and violence. It is these types of studies that will enable a more nuanced understanding of domestic violence.
- Why are poor households at greater risk of violence and crime although economic resources are limited? More research needs to focus on the link between poverty and crime. Aspects of vulnerability, and resilience in the face of vulnerability, need to be examined. Why, for example, as this study reveals, do poorer segments of society exhibit higher feelings of safety as compared to residents in middle and upper income areas who have access to a wide range of security measures?
- To what extent would increases in employment and changes in positions of marginalized groups such as women, children and the poor, reduce violence and crime in society? This is a critical issue since, according to Walby (1997), it

places at the centre the developmental component of addressing violence and crime in society.

- As Farrall and Bowling (1999) indicate, it is necessary to examine what produces resistance? Why is it that certain individuals (across different socio-economic groups and location) are better equipped to deal with violence and crime in society? Are certain coping strategies better than others?

- Mistry (2004) concludes her examination of the National Victims of Crime Survey (NVCS) that more research is required in order to understand the complex dynamic between the increasing fear of crime and decreasing crime rates. This is indeed an important aspect and underscores the importance of examining perceptions associated with crime and violence, the key focus of this study.

- This study has specifically focused on adult perceptions and concerns. It is imperative that research be undertaken to examine the perceptions and concerns of youth and children. Many respondents cited child abuse as the worst type of violence. However, our understanding of this type of abuse is particularly limited given the sensitivities of the topic and the difficulties with ascertaining information about child abuse. What is needed is more appropriate and innovative methodologies to unpack and improve our understanding of the scourge that faces society. Qualitative approaches provide an effective suite of tools to bring in the voices and concerns of youth and children.

Given the focus (at the individual, household and community levels) on creating defensible spaces, it is imperative that researchers examine in a more detailed way how physical security features impact on economic, social and cultural aspects of people's lives. Additionally, as alluded to in this study, from a geographical perspective it is imperative that studies unpack impacts on territorial behavior and mobility. It is also important to consider whether these dominant physical features in the landscapes, which are constant reminders of the potential threat of violence and crime, reduce or enhance fear and perceptions of violence in society. Also, it is essential to examine the way potential perpetrators view (and many even use) these physical features to make decisions about which crimes they commit and where.

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It is important to note that the most significant aspects identified by the respondents in terms of ensuring a safe environment that promotes feelings of security were controlling who had access (specifically in Westville and Reservoir Hills), and having visible police/ security presence. Also, ensuring that the infrastructure (in terms of lighting and fencing) was up to standard was deemed important by the respondents. Thus, most respondents supported a proactive stance when dealing with making unsafe areas safe. This is in keeping with the CPTED approach presented in the literature review. The focus is on design, controlling access and use of specific places, and the reduction of criminal opportunity. Thus, the implementation of the CPTED approach is important.

At a more general policy and implementation level, it is critical that safety and security concerns be integrated into all aspect of local government and integrated development planning. The findings of this study and several studies cited in this research indicate that violence and crime are principal concerns confronting South Africans from all backgrounds. Additionally, Landman and Liebermann (2005) assert that concerns about crime rank among the top three priorities of every Integrated Development Plan in South Africa. They state that despite this there is limited incorporation of crime prevention plans into local development agendas. An examination of Patel's (2004) presentation on the challenges facing South African cities indicate that there is no direct mention of safety and security as well as crime prevention. This presentation was on behalf of the national Department of Provincial and Local Government. The proposed interventions were urban economies, urban-rural linkages, urban poverty, urban integration and renewal, urban governance, urban environment and national urban policy reviews. In none of the intervention areas discussed was crime and violence considerations raised. The intervention strategy is underpinned by "Think Big", "Think Competitive Advantage", "Think Added Value", "Think Positioning", "Think Performance" and "Think Action". There was no mention of 'Think Safe'. It is imperative that safety and security concerns are centralized in policies and programs, especially at the local government level.

7.4. CONCLUSION

This study shows that acts of violence and crime need to be understood in their environmental contexts inclusive of the locational/spatial, social, cultural, economic and political (as reflective of the power dynamics between individuals and groups) dimensions. This will in turn lead to a more comprehensive understanding of violence and crime in society. Furthermore, attempts to eradicate violence and crime in society will need to incorporate multiple strategies that deal with the socialization processes, education, empowerment, development imperatives (dealing with poverty and improving quality of life), institutional and legal aspects, infrastructural concerns, sufficient and appropriate support and resources for victims (both those who personally experience violence and those who live in constant fear of violence) as well as advancing fitting and effective forms of punishment and correctional services for the perpetrators. Additionally, as Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) state, violence needs to be viewed as a major public health issue.

Finally, it is important to note that most empirical studies cited in this study tend to focus on victim surveys and rely on crime statistics as ascertained from the police services or national studies. Furthermore, most studies focus on national and regional trends and concerns, with very few studies examining the locality or neighborhood scale of analysis. It is this particular lacunae in the research that this study aimed to address. Thus, the study specifically provided a more detailed examination of crime and violence at the local level as well as integrated perceptions and experiences of a range of stakeholders. In terms of the latter, this research endeavor focused primarily on the residents, businesses, police, community forums and private security sector. The study contributes to a greater understanding of how we perceive the urban environments in which we live. The results assist us to design and construct places that promote feelings of safety and security in communities.

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APPENDIX 1
QUESTIONNAIRE: RESIDENTS
CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN DURBAN

Date of interview: _____

Location:

1. Reservoir Hills	2. Westville	3. Claremont	4. Informal settlement

INTRODUCTION

I am undertaking a survey of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban. May I ask you a few questions on this topic? This interview should only take about 20 minutes of your time. Your answers will, of course, be treated confidentially and anonymously.

RESPONDENT DETAILS

1. Gender of respondent

1. Male	2. Female

2. Historical racial classification of respondents

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Colored

3. Age of respondent (in years)

1. < 20	2. 21-30	3. 31-40	4. 41-50	5. 51-60	> 60

4. Educational level of respondent

1. No formal schooling	
2. Partial primary	
3. Primary	
4. Partial secondary	
5. Secondary	
6. Diploma/ certificate	
7. Degree	
8. Postgraduate degree	

5. Employment status of respondent

1. Unemployed	
2. Home executive/ housewife	
3. Student/ scholar	
4. Professional	
5. Businessperson	
6. Sales/ marketing	
7. Artisan	
8. Technical	
9. Administrative/ clerical	
10. Other (specify)	

UNDERSTANDING OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

1. How would you define violence?

_____

_____

2. How would you define crime?

_____

_____

3. What are the general characteristics of a perpetrator of violence (who commits violent crimes)?

3.1. Gender of perpetrator

1. Male	2. Female

3.2. Age of perpetrator

1. <15	2. 16-25	3. 26-35	4. 36-45	5. 45-55	6. >55

3.3. Marital status of perpetrator

1.married	2. single	3. divorced	4. separated	5. other (specify)

3.4. Parental status of perpetrator

1. No children	2. Parent	3. Adoptive parent	4. Other (specify)

3.5. **Occupation** of perpetrator

1. Unemployed	
2. Student	
3. Professional (teacher, lawyer,etc.)	
4. Sales	
5. Technical	
6. Labourer	
7. Other (specify)	

3.6. Race of perpetrator

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Coloured

3.7. Highest Education Level of perpetrator

1. No formal education	2. Primary	3. Secondary	4. Tertiary	5. Post-graduate

3.8. Where do violent perpetrators live?

1. Homeless	2. Informal settlements	3. Low income areas	4. Middle income areas	5. Upper income areas

3.9. Who is likely to commit violent acts (relationship to victim)

1. Stranger	
2. Family member (specify which member of the family)	
3. Close friend	
4. Authority figures (priests, teachers, police, etc.)	
5. Acquaintance	
6. Other (specify)	

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4. What are the general characteristics of those who are violated (targets of violent crimes)?

4.1. Gender of victims

1. male	2. female

4.2. Age of victims

1. <15	2. 16-25	3. 26-35	4. 36-45	5. 45-55	6. >55

4.3. Marital status of victims

1. married	2. single	3. divorced	4. separated	5. other (specify)

4.4. Parental status of victims

1. no children	2. parent	3. adoptive parent	4. other (specify)

4.5. Occupation of victims

1. Unemployed	
2. Student	
3. Professional (teacher, lawyer, etc.)	
4. Sales	
5. Technical	
6. Laborer	
7. Other (specify)	

4.6. Race of victims

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Colored

4.7. Highest Education Level of victims

1. No formal education	2. Primary	3. Secondary	4. Tertiary	5. Post-graduate

4.8. Where do the victims of violence usually live?

1. Homeless	2. Informal settlements	3. Low income areas	4. Middle income areas	4. Upper income areas

5. What types of violence are you aware of (list)?

_____

_____

_____

6. Which, in your opinion is the worst type of violence? Why?

_____

_____

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ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER

1. Where are violent acts most likely to occur?

1. In the home	
2. Close to the home	
3. Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.)	
4. School	
5. Relative or friend=s home	
6. The workplace	
7. Unknown enviroument (new area)	
8. Unfamiliar environment	
9. Other (specify)	

2. When are violent acts most likely to be committed?

2.1. Specify time during a day and reason.

1. Morning	2. Mid-day	3. Afternoon	4. Evening	5. Late night

2.2. Day of week and reason

1. Monday	2. Tuesday	3. Wednesday	4. Thursday	5. Friday	6. Saturday	7. Sunday

2.3. Month of year and reason

1.Jan	2.Feb	3.Mar	4.Apr	5.May	6.Jun	7.Jul	8.Aug	9.Sep	10.Oct	11.Nov	12.Dec

3.1. How safe do you feel walking in the area where your home is located after dark?

1. Very safe	2. Fairly safe	3. Bit safe	4. Very Unsafe

3.2. How safe do you feel walking in the area where your home is located during the day?

1. Very safe	2. Fairly safe	3. Bit safe	4. Very Unsafe

4.1. List three places in your community that is unsafe to you. Give reasons.

1.	
2.	
3.	

4.2. List three places in your community where you feel safe. Give reasons.

1.	
2.	
3.	

5. What would make you feel safer in the areas that you have identified as being unsafe?

1. More police/ security presence	
2. Only certain people being allowed in area/ restricted access	
3. Cleaning up the area	
4. Improving the infrastructure in the area	
5. Proper fencing of area	
6. Proper lighting in area	
7. Addressing differences so that they can be more tolerance and understanding	
8. Other (specify)	

6. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to crime and violence in your community?

1. Criminals feel that homes is a soft target	
2. Poverty	
3. Racial tensions	
4. Cultural misunderstanding	
5. Patriarchy/ sexism	
6. Lack of proper education/ information	
7. Poor infrastructure	
8. Drugs (including dagga)	
9. Influence of media-sensationalising violence	
10. Alcohol	
11. Other (specify)	

7. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think **contribute/s to violence generally** in society?

1. Organised crime	
2. Racial tensions	
3. Cultural misunderstanding	
4. Patriarchy/ sexism	
5. Lack of proper education/ information	
7. Homophobia	
8. Drugs (including dagga)	
9. Influence of media-sensationalising violence	
10. Alcohol	
11. Other (specify)	

SOURCES OF INFORMATION
1. Where do you get your information relating to crime and violence?

1.TV	2.Radio	3.Movies	4.Peers	5.Newspapers	6.Official stats	7.Family	8.Other (specify)

2. Are you aware of laws and legislation relating to crime and violence in South Africa?

1. Yes	2. No

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2.1. If yes, what have you heard?

_____

_____

2.2. Where did you hear it from?

1. Friends/ family	
2. Media (radio, TV, newspaper)	
3. School/ educational institution	
4. Government documents	
5. Talk/ workshop	
6. Police/ government officials	
7. Rape/ crisis/ abuse centre	
8. Other (specify)	

2.3. Which do you think is the best source of information? Why?

_____

_____

EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

1. Have you or anyone in your household personally experienced or were threatened with any form of violence and crime?

1. Yes	2. No

1.1. If yes, what was the nature of the violation and / or crime?

TYPE		Where did incident occur? (use code table below)
1. Theft of vehicle (specify if it was a car hijacking)		
2. Robbery/ mugging (cell phone, bag, etc.)		
3. Vandalism		
4. Burglary in the home		
5. Harassment		
6. Homicide/ murder		
7. Rape		
8. Assault		
9. Other (specify)		

Code for where incident occurred:
1. Inside the home
2. Outside the home on your premises
3. In close proximity to your home
4. Public spaces in community (road, sports ground, store, etc.)
5. Relative or friend's home
6. At work
7. Social places (night clubs, restaurant, etc.)
8. Unknown area (new environment)
9. Other (specify)

1.2. Who was the perpetrator of the violent act (especially personal experiences of violence)?

1. Stranger	
2. Family member (specify which member of the family)	
3. Close friend	
4. Acquaintance	
5. Authority figure (eg. teacher, doctor, priest)	
6. Other (specify)	

1.3. Gender of perpetrator

1. Male	2. Female

1.4. Approximate age of perpetrator

1. <15	2. 16-25	3. 26-35	4. 36-45	5. 45-55	6. >55

1.5. Race of perpetrator

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Coloured

1.6. When did it take place?

1. Night	2. Day

1.7. Did you or anyone else report the incident?

1. Yes	2. No	3. Don't know

1.7.1. If no, what were the main reason/s for not reporting such an incident?

1. Not worth reporting/ not serious enough	
2. Police would not have done anything/ police disinterested	
3. Police would not been able to do anything/ slight chance of success	
4. Involving the police was not appropriate/ was an internal matter	
5. Fear of reprisals	
6. Fear of negative publicity	
7. Didn't bother because no insurance claim was involved	
8. Lack of time/ too much trouble	
9. Lack of proof/ evidence/ witness	
10. Other (specify)	

1.7.2. If yes, who did you report the incident to?

1. The police	
2. Private security company	
3. Advice desk	
4. Community forum/ organisation	
5. Spiritual leader	
6. Other (specify)	

1.7.3. If yes, were you satisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or is being dealt with?

1. Yes	2. No

1.7.3.1. If no, why were you dissatisfied?

1. Didn't do enough	
2. Were not interested	
3. Didn't find or apprehend the offender	
4. Didn't recover property/ items	
5. Didn't apprehend the offender	
6. Didn't keep respondent properly informed	
7. Was impolite	
8. Were slow to arrive	
9. Other (specify)	

1.7.4. Why do you think violent and criminal acts need to be reported?

1. To recover property	
2. For insurance reasons	
3. Crimes should be reported since they are serious	
4. Want offender to be caught and punished	
5. To stop it from happening again	
6. To get help	
7. To get compensation from the offender	
8. To follow trends in the number of incidents of a particular type of crime and/ or violent act	

COPING STRATEGIES

1. Do you consciously take action to minimise the risk of violence?

1. Yes	2. No

2. If yes, what do you do?

1. Take responsibility to gain information	
2. Attend self-defence/ awareness classes	
3. Walk in groups (try not to be alone)	
4. Choose friends who are responsible to socialise with	
5. Get to know more about the environments you frequent	
6. Always tell someone where you are	
7. Carry a weapon	
8. Carry a cell phone	
9. Refrain from taking alcohol	
10. Refrain from taking drugs	
11. Secure your vehicle	
12. Responsible sexual relationships	
13. Secure your home	
14. Other (specify)	

3. Is your home/ dwelling protected by any of the following:

1. A burglar alarm	
2. Monitoring of alarm (specify company)	
3. Armed response (specify company)	
4. Dogs	
5. Insured	
6. A caretaker or security guard (specify company)	
7. Special window/ door grilles	
8. Remote controlled gate	
9. Intercom	
10. A gun	
11. Special security door locks	
12. Fence (specify if electrified, has razor wire, etc.)	
13. A neighbourhood watch scheme	
14. Security escort services	

4. Do you expect help from others if you were in trouble?

1. Yes	2. No

4.1. If yes, from whom?

_____

5. Do you know where the nearest police station is near your?

	Yes	No
1. Home		
2. School		
3. Social places you frequent (night clubs, friend's home)		

6. Can you contact a police station in an emergency?

1. Yes	2. No

7. Can you contact an abuse centre/ advice desk if you need assistance?

1. Yes	2. No

8. Can you contact a hospital/ doctor if you need assistance?

1. Yes	2. No

9. How would you rate the effectiveness of the police in your area dealing with crime and violence in relation to the following (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent):

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Ability to respond quickly to a situation					
2. Courteous, professional and respectful					
3. Knowledge of the law and proper procedures					
4. Well-trained					
5. Caring and committed					
6. Have equipment to perform duties effectively					
7. Can compile a report properly					
8. Able to communicate with members in the community					

10. If dissatisfied with the police in any way, why is this so?

1. Police not seen in this area			
2. Police involved in corruption			
3. Take too long to react to incidents			
4. Do not react to alarms going off			
5. Do not catch or assist in the prosecution of offenders			
6. Give little or no information back on reported crimes			
7. No day to day contact with police			
8. Not interested in reporting crimes			
9. Too much hassle to report			
10. Other (specify)			

11. What do you think we need to do to address the problem of violence in society?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for participating

QUESTIONNAIRE: BUSINESSES
CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN DURBAN

Date of interview: _____

Location:

1. Reservoir Hills	2. Westville	3. Claremont	4. Informal settlement	

INTRODUCTION

I am undertaking a survey of crime and violence in residential areas in Durban. May I ask you a few questions on this topic? This interview should only take about 20 minutes of your time. Your answers will, of course, be treated confidentially and anonymously.

RESPONDENT DETAILS

1. Gender of respondent

1. Male	2. Female	

2. Historical racial classification of respondents

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Colored

3. Age of respondent (in years)

1. < 20	2. 21-30	3. 31-40	4. 41-50	5. 51-60	> 60

4. Educational level of respondent

1. No formal schooling	
2. Partial primary	
3. Primary	
4. Partial secondary	
5. Secondary	
6. Diploma/ certificate	
7. Degree	
8. Postgraduate degree	

BACKGROUND OF BUSINESS

1. Main activity of business

1. Established retail food/ grocery store	
2. Restaurant	
3. Petrol station	
4. Car repair/ spares shop	
5. Video store	
6. Informal trade	
7. Service stores (doctors, hair salons, etc.)	
8. Other (specify)	

2. How long has this business been operational in this location (in years)?

1. > 5	2. 6-10	3. 11-15	4. 16-20	5. >20

UNDERSTANDING OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

1. How would you define violence?

2. How would you define crime?

_____

_____

3. What are the general characteristics of a perpetrator of violence (who commits violent crimes)?

3.1. Gender of perpetrator

1. Male	2. Female

3.2. Age of perpetrator

1. <15	2. 16-25	3. 26-35	**4. 36-45**	**5. 45-55**	6. >55

3.3. Marital status of perpetrator

1.married	**2. single**	3. divorced	4. separated	5. other (specify)

3.4. Parental status of perpetrator

1. No children	2. Parent	3. Adoptive parent	4. Other (specify)

3.5. Occupation of perpetrator

1. Unemployed	
2. Student	
3. Professional (teacher, lawyer,etc.)	
4. Sales	
5. Technical	
6. Laborer	
7. Other (specify)	

3.6. Race of perpetrator

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Colored

3.7. Highest Education Level of perpetrator

1. No formal education	2. Primary	3. Secondary	4. Tertiary	5. Post-graduate

3.8. Where do violent perpetrators live?

1. Homeless	2. Informal settlements	3. Low income areas	4. Middle income areas	5. Upper income areas

3.9. Who is likely to commit violent acts (relationship to victim)

1. Stranger	
2. Family member (specify which member of the family)	
3. Close friend	
4. Authority figures (priests, teachers, police, etc.)	
5. Acquaintance	
6. Other (specify)	

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4. What are the general characteristics of those who are violated (targets of violent crimes)?

4.1. Gender of victims

1. male	2. female

4.2. Age of victims

1. <15	2. 16-25	3. 26-35	4. 36-45	5. 45-55	6. >55

4.3. Marital status of victims

1. married	2. single	3. divorced	4. separated	5. other (specify)

4.4. Parental status of victims

1. no children	2. parent	3. adoptive parent	4. other (specify)

4.5. Occupation of victims

1. Unemployed	
2. Student	
3. Professional (teacher, lawyer,etc.)	
4. Sales	
5. Technical	
6. Laborer	
7. Other (specify)	

4.6. Race of victims

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Colored

4.7. Highest Education Level of victims

1. No formal education	2. Primary	3. Secondary	4. Tertiary	5. Post-graduate

4.8. Where do the victims of violence usually live?

1. Homeless	2. Informal settlements	3. Low income areas	4. Middle income areas	4. Upper income areas

5. What types of violence are you aware of (list)?

_____

_____

6. Which, in your opinion is the worst type of violence? Why?

_____

_____

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ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER

1. Where are violent acts most likely to occur?

1. In the home	
2. Close to the home	
3. Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.)	
4. School	
5. Relative or friend=s home	
6. Business premises	
7. Unknown environment (new area)	
8. Unfamiliar environment	
9. Other (specify)	

2. When are violent acts most likely to be committed?

2.1. Specify time during a day and reason.

1. Morning	2. Mid-day	3. Afternoon	4. Evening	5. Late night

2.2. Day of week and reason

1. Monday	2. Tuesday	3. Wednesday	4. Thursday	5. Friday	6. Saturday	7. Sunday

2.3. Month of year and reason

1.Jan	2.Feb	3.Mar	4.Apr	5.May	6.Jun	7.Jul	8.Aug	9.Sep	10.Oct	11.Nov	12.Dec

3.1. How safe do you feel being in and around your business premises after dark?

1. Very safe	2. Fairly safe	3. Bit safe	4. Very Unsafe

3.2. How safe do you feel walking in and around your business premises during the day?

1. Very safe	2. Fairly safe	3. Bit safe	4. Very Unsafe

4.1. List three places in the community in which your business is located that is unsafe to you. Give reasons.

1.	
2.	
3.	

4.2. List three places in your community in which your business is located where you feel safe. Give reasons.

1.	
2.	
3.	

5. What would make you feel safer in the areas that you have identified as being unsafe?

1. More police/ security presence	
2. Only certain people being allowed in area/ restricted access	
3. Cleaning up the area	
4. Improving the infrastructure in the area	
5. Proper fencing of area	
6. Proper lighting in area	
7. Addressing differences so that they can be more tolerance and understanding	
8. Other (specify)	

6. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to crime and violence in the community in which your business is located?

1. Criminals feel that community is a soft target	
2. Poverty	
3. Racial tensions	
4. Cultural misunderstanding	
5. Patriarchy/ sexism	
6. Lack of proper education/ information	
7. Drugs and alcohol abuse (including dagga)	
8. Influence of media-sensationalising violence	
9. Other (specify)	

7. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to violence generally in society?

1. Organised crime	
2. Racial tensions	
3. Cultural misunderstanding	
4. Patriarchy/ sexism	
5. Lack of proper education/ information	
6. Xenophobia (fear of foreigners)	
7. Homophobia	
8. Drugs and alcohol abuse (including dagga)	
9. Influence of media-sensationalising violence	
10. Other (specify)	

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Where do you get your information relating to crime and violence?

1.TV	2.Radio	3.Movies	4.Peers	5.Newspapers	6.Official stats	7.Family	8.Other (specify)

2. Are you aware of laws and legislation relating to crime and violence in South Africa?

1. Yes	2. No

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2.1. If yes, what have you heard?

_____

_____

2.2. Where did you hear it from?

1. Friends/ family	
2. Media (radio, TV, newspaper)	
3. School/ educational institution	
4. Government documents	
5. Talk/ workshop	
6. Police/ government officials	
7. Rape/ crisis/ abuse centre	
8. Business forum	
9. Other (specify)	

2.3. Which do you think is the best source of information? Why?

_____

_____

EXPERIENCES OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

1. Has your business experienced or was threatened with any form of violence and crime?

1. Yes	2. No

1.1. If yes, what was the nature of the violation and / or crime?

TYPE	
1. Theft of vehicle (specify if it was a car hijacking)	
2. Theft of personal items (cell phone, bag, etc.)	
3. Vandalism	
4. Theft of business goods/ products/ merchandise/ equipment	
5. Harassment	
6. Homicide/ murder	
7. Rape	
8. Assault	
9. Theft of cash	
10. Other (specify)	

1.2. Who was the perpetrator of the violent act (especially personal experiences of violence)?

1. Stranger	
2. Family member (specify which member of the family)	
3. Close friend	
4. Acquaintance	
5. Person employed by the business	
6. Other (specify)	

1.3. Gender of perpetrator

1. Male	2. Female

1.4. Approximate age of perpetrator

1. <15	2. 16-25	3. 26-35	4. 36-45	5. 45-55	6. >55

1.5. Race of perpetrator

1. African	2. White	3. Indian	4. Colored

1.6. When did it take place?

1. Night	2. Day

1.7. Did you or anyone else report the incident?

1. Yes	2. No	3. Don't know

1.7.1. If no, what were the main reason/s for not reporting such an incident?

1. Not worth reporting/ not serious enough	
2. Police would not have done anything/ police disinterested	
3. Police would not been able to do anything/ slight chance of success	
4. Involving the police was not appropriate/ was an internal matter	
5. Fear of reprisals	
6. Fear of negative publicity	
7. Didn't bother because no insurance claim was involved	
8. Lack of time/ too much trouble	
9. Lack of proof/ evidence/ witness	
10. Other (specify)	

1.7.2. If yes, were you satisfied with the way the matter was dealt with or is being dealt with?

1. Yes	2. No

1.7.2.1. If no, why were you dissatisfied?

1. Didn't do enough	
2. Were not interested	
3. Didn't find or apprehend the offender	
4. Didn't recover property/ items	
5. Didn't apprehend the offender	
6. Didn't keep respondent properly informed	
7. Were slow to arrive	
8. Other (specify)	

1.7.3. Why do you think violent and criminal acts need to be reported?

1. To recover property	
2. For insurance reasons	
3. Crimes should be reported since they are serious	
4. Want offender to be caught and punished	
5. To stop it from happening again	
6. To get help	
7. To get compensation from the offender	
8. To follow trends in the number of incidents of a particular type of crime and/ or violent act	

1.8. In general, have crime problems for your business increased, decreased or remained the same over the last two years?

2. increased	2. decreased	3. remained the same

1.9. Which type of crime, in your opinion, is the most serious threat to your business?

1. Theft of vehicle (specify if it was a car hijacking)	
2. Theft of personal items (cell phone, bag, etc.)	
3. Vandalism	
4. Theft of business goods/ products/ merchandise/ equipment	
5. Harassment	
6. Homicide/ murder	
7. Rape	
8. Assault	
9. Theft of cash	
10. Other (specify)	

COPING STRATEGIES

1. Do you consciously take action to minimise the risk of violence in your business?

1. Yes	2. No

2. If yes, what do you do?

1. Installed a burglar alarm	
2. Monitoring of alarm (specify company)	
3. Armed response (specify company)	
4. CCTV	
5. Having personal firearms	
6. Unarmed store security guard (specify company)	
7. Armed security guard (specify company)	
8. Erection of physical barriers in store such as glass enclosures and bullet proof glass	
9. Dogs	
10. Insured	
11. Cash collection by security company (specify company)	
12. Controlled access to premises such as gates and intercoms	
13. Fence (specify if electrified, has razor wire, etc.)	
14. A neighbourhood watch scheme	
15. Security escort services	
16. Other (specify)	

4. Do you expect help from others if you were in trouble?

1. Yes	2. No

4.1. If yes, from whom?

_____

5. Do you know where the nearest police station is near your place of business?

1. Yes	2. No

6. Can you contact a police station in an emergency?

1. Yes	2. No

7. Can you contact an abuse centre/ advice desk if you need assistance?

1. Yes	2. No

8. Can you contact a hospital/ doctor if you need assistance?

1. Yes	2. No

9. How would you rate the effectiveness of the police in your area dealing with crime and violence in relation to the following (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent):

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Ability to respond quickly to a situation					
2. Courteous, professional and respectful					
3. Knowledge of the law and proper procedures					
4. Well-trained					
5. Caring and committed					
6. Have equipment to perform duties effectively					
7. Can compile a report properly					
8. Able to communicate with members in the community					

10. If dissatisfied with the police in any way, why is this so?

1. Police not seen in this area	
2. Police involved in corruption	
3. Take too long to react to incidents	
4. Do not react to alarms going off	
5. Do not catch or assist in the prosecution of offenders	
6. Give little or no information back on reported crimes	
7. No day to day contact with police	
8. Not interested in reporting crimes	
9. Too much hassle to report	
10. Other (specify)	

11. To your knowledge, have businesses in this area taken any kind of steps against crime and violence in the area such as setting up a business watch or jointly employing security?

1. Yes	2. No	3. Don't know

11.1. Would you be interested in participating in cooperative action against crime and violence in your area such as setting up a business watch or jointly employing security?

1. Yes	2. No	3. Don't know

12. What do you think we need to do to address the problem of violence and crime in society?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for participating

APPENDIX 3

POLICE REPRESENTATIVES
Unstructured interview schedule

NAME OF POLICE STATION: _____

1. What role do you play in dealing with violence and crime in the Innerwest Council area? Differentiate between proactive and reactive roles.

2. Are the current strategies used to curb violence and crime effective?

3. Do you think that the police respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and conduct thorough investigations? If not, why?

4. What types of violence and crime is most prevalent in the residential area that you service? Why is this so?

5. Do you believe that there is corruption in the South African Police Service?

6. What factors do you think contribute to violence and crime in society?

7. What suggestions do you have to improve policing in residential communities?

8. Do you feel that the police services are sufficiently equipped to deal effectively with violence and crime? If not, why do you think that they are not equipped?

9. What types of problems do police officers experience that impact on their ability to fight crime and violence?

10. Is there cooperation with security companies and community structures that are addressing issues pertaining to crime and violence? How can these types of relationships be fostered and/ or improved?

11. In your opinion, which places in the areas that you service would you regard as high risk areas? Why?

12. As a professional police officer how does crime and violence affect you and your family?

13. What can and/ or should be done to assist in improving the quality and type of services provided by the police sector?

14. Do the police officers at your station live in the community they serve?

15. How can we make our neighborhoods safer for all?

APPENDIX 4

REPRESENTATIVES OF PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANIES
Unstructured interview schedule   -

NAME OF COMPANY: _____

1. What role do you play in dealing with violence and crime in the Innerwest Council area? Differentiate between proactive and reactive roles.

2. Are the current strategies used to curb violence and crime effective?

3. Do you think that the private security respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and conduct thorough investigations? If not, why?

4. What types of violence and crime is most prevalent in the residential area that you service? Why is this so?

5. Do you believe that there is corruption in the security industry?

6. What factors do you think contribute to violence and crime in society?

7. What suggestions do you have to improve security provision in residential communities?

8. Do you feel that the private security industry are sufficiently equipped to deal effectively with violence and crime? If not, why do you think that they are not equipped?

9. What types of problems do you experience as a private security service provider that impact on your ability to fight crime and violence?

10. Is there cooperation with police services and community structures that are addressing issues pertaining to crime and violence? How can these types of relationships be fostered and/ or improved?

11. In your opinion, which places in the areas that you service would you regard as high risk areas? Why?

12. As a private security officer how does crime and violence affect you and your family?

13. What can and/ or should be done to assist in improving the quality and type of services provided by the private security sector?

14. Do the officers live in the community they serve?

15. How can we make our neighborhoods safer for all?

APPENDIX 5

REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNITY FORUMS
Unstructured interview schedule

NAME: _____

1. What role do you play in dealing with violence and crime in the Innerwest Council area? Differentiate between proactive and reactive roles.

2. Are the current strategies used to curb violence and crime in your community effective?

3. Do you think that the private security respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and conduct thorough investigations? If not, why?

4. Do you think that the police respond immediately to reports of criminal acts and conduct thorough investigations? If not, why?

5. What types of violence and crime is most prevalent in your community? Why is this so?

6. Do you believe that there is corruption in the security provision industry?

7. What factors do you think contribute to violence and crime in society and specifically in the community you represent?

8. What suggestions do you have to improve security provision in residential communities generally and in your community specifically?

9. Do you feel that the private security industry and police services are sufficiently equipped to deal effectively with violence and crime? If not, why do you think that they are not equipped?

10. What types of problems do you experience as a community forum/organization that impact on your ability to fight crime and violence?

11. Is there cooperation with police services, the private security sector and community structures in addressing issues pertaining to crime and violence in your community? How can these types of relationships be fostered and/ or improved?

12. In your opinion, which places in your community would you regard as high risk areas? Why?

13. How does crime and violence affect the community?

14. What can and/or should be done to assist in improving the quality and type of services provided to combat crime and violence in your community?

15. How can we make our neighborhoods safer for all?

RESIDENTS

Table 1: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "ability to respond quickly to a situation" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	20	9	11	28	17
2	35	37	41	51	41
3	45	47	25	21	34.5
4	-	7	12	-	4.75
5	-	-	11	-	2.75
	X = 2.3	X = 2.3	X = 2.7	X = 1.9	X = 2.4

Table 2: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "courteous, professional and respectful" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	20	10	9	29	17
2	32	36	40	50	39.5
3	44	48	25	21	34.5
4	3	6	15	-	6
5	1	-	11	-	3
	X = 2.3	X = 2.5	X = 2.8	X = 1.9	X = 2.4

Table 3: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "knowledge of the law and proper procedures" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	25	14	22	25	21.5
2	35	37	32	55	39.75
3	40	47	22	20	32.25
4	-	2	14	-	4
5	-	-	10	-	2.5
	X = 2.2	X = 2.4	X = 2.6	X = 1.9	X = 2.3

Table 4: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "well-trained" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	21	7	21	18	16.75
2	39	22	30	42	33.25
3	40	47	31	22	35
4	-	23	8	17	12
5	-	1	10	1	3
	X = 2.2	X = 2.9	X = 2.6	X = 2.4	X = 2.5

Table 5: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "caring and committed" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	17	7	11	18	13.25
2	28	35	21	31	28.75
3	53	48	45	41	46.75
4	2	8	13	9	8
5	-	2	10	1	3.25
	X = 2.4	X = 2.6	X = 2.9	X = 2.4	X = 2.6

Table 6: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	13	19	18	25	18.75
2	41	37	31	31	35
3	46	44	48	41	44.75
4	-	-	3	3	1.5
	X = 2.3	X = 2.3	X = 2.4	X =2.2	X = 2.3

Table 7: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "can compile a report properly " (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	7	4	3	2	4
2	15	22	31	21	22.25
3	48	55	53	61	54.25
4	30	17	8	15	17.5
5	-	2	5	1	2
	X = 3	X = 2.9	X = 2.8	X = 2.9	X = 2.9

Table 8: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "able to communicate with members in the community" (in %)

	RH (n=100)	W (n=100)	C (n=100)	IS (n=100)	T (n=400)
1	13	5	11	9	9.5
2	25	27	13	11	19
3	56	59	60	61	59
4	6	7	11	13	9.25
5	-	2	5	6	3.25
	X = 2.5	X = 2.7	X = 2.9	X = 3	X = 2.8

Table 9: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "ability to respond quickly to a situation" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	30	-	70	33.3
2	20	10	10	13.3
3	20	30	10	20
4	20	60	10	30
5	10	-	-	3.3
	X = 2.6	X = 3.5	X = 1.6	X = 2.6

Table 10: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "courteous, professional and respectful" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	20	-	40	20
2	10	10	30	16.7
3	40	30	10	26.7
4	10	60	-	23.3
5	20	-	20	13.3
	X = 3	X = 3.5	X = 2.3	X = 2.9

Table 11: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "knowledge of the law and proper procedures" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	20	-	40	20
2	20	20	20	20
3	20	30	20	23.3
4	20	50	-	23.3
5	20	-	20	13.3
	X = 3	X = 3.3	X = 2.4	X = 2.9

Table 12: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "well-trained" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	20	-	40	20
2	-	20	10	10
3	40	70	10	40
4	10	10	-	6.7
5	30	-	40	23.3
	X = 3.3	X = 2.9	X = 2.9	X = 3

Table 13: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "caring and committed" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	30	-	30	20
2	20	10	20	16.7
3	-	50	50	33.3
4	30	40	-	23.3
5	20	-	-	6.7
	X = 2.6	X = 2.6	X = 2.2	X = 2.5

Table 14: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "having equipment (resources) to perform duties effectively" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	10	10	20	13.3
2	10	20	10	13.3
3	40	70	40	50
4	10	-	-	3.3
5	30	-	30	20
	X = 3.4	X = 2.6	X = 3.1	X = 3.1

Table 15: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "can compile a report properly" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	10	10	40	20
2	-	20	-	6.7
3	50	60	40	50
4	20	10	-	10
5	20	-	20	13.3
	X = 3.4	X = 2.7	X = 2.6	X = 2.9

Table 16: Rating (1 is appalling and 5 is excellent) of effectiveness of police in the respondent's area to deal with crime and violence in relation to statement "able to communicate with members in the community" (in %)

	RH (n=10)	W (n=10)	C (n=10)	T (n=30)
1	10	-	50	20
2	10	20	10	13.3
3	40	70	40	50
4	10	10	-	6.7
5	30	-	-	10
	X = 3.4	X = 2.9	X = 1.9	X = 2.7