

INDICATOR
SOUTH AFRICA

No 9 Winter 1997

CRIME and Conflict



EDITORIAL

CRIME

Crime research has come a long way in only a few years in South Africa. But since 1994, the focus of research and policy has unsurprisingly been on the police, as the most visible and politically problematic arm of the criminal justice system.

Because of the urgency which a problem like crime presents, there is a danger that policy beyond policing is being made off a weak base. Crime is of central concern, but surprisingly little is known about it as a phenomenon in this country. And not only is little research being conducted around the circumstances in which most crimes occur, but virtually no investigations cover crime prevention.

Policing is part of crime prevention, but it is not enough. Prevention requires input from agencies associated with development, health, welfare, education, planning, justice and correctional services. And to be effective, crime prevention must be conceptualised, implemented and monitored at local level. Prevention is also about priorities, but policies cannot be prioritised without sound base line information about where, when and how crimes occur, the *modus operandi* of criminals, and the nature of victims and offenders.

The good news is that these questions are starting to be answered. This issue of *Crime and Conflict* publishes exciting 'back to basics' research results, which illustrate the importance of cooperation between different disciplines. Butchart *et al's* study of violence and injury in a Johannesburg township illustrates – from the health sector perspective – relationships between violent crimes and the socio-economic features of varying neighbourhoods.

Rocha-Silva and Stahmer discuss the first national 'self-report' survey of criminal offenders in South Africa – in this case around drug and alcohol use, which are critical areas requiring preventive rather than simply reactive interventions. The role of alcohol is also described by Shaw and Louw in one of the first attempts to explain recent police crime statistics on the basis of empirical investigation.

And Christie's report on perceptions of Pagad on the Cape Flats shows what crime surveys can offer decision makers. Indeed, the first focused victimisation survey – which canvasses the perceptions of people about crimes that happened to them – is underway in Johannesburg with a national survey planned for next year. These surveys reveal the extent of crime which never reaches police databases and will probably indicate higher levels of crime than do the official statistics. Hopefully this will ease the anxiety in the Ministry for Safety and Security and the police around releasing crime statistics to the public.

INDICATOR SOUTH AFRICA produces Quarterly Reports and Crime and Conflict. It is based at the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban. Opinions expressed are not necessarily those of the Editorial Committee and should not be taken to represent the views of organisations which are donor members of Indicator.

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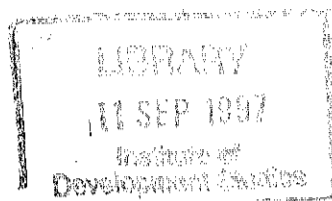
People on the Cape Flats do not necessarily approve of Pagad's vigilante methods, but feel that at least some action is being taken.

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Acknowledgement
Anglo-American and De Beers Chairman's Fund and the Human Sciences Research Council for sponsorship of Crime and Conflict
Cover painting by Louis Wassenaar
Production Marion Evans (PrePrint Publishing Services 031-287290)
Printing: Creds (Natal)

Dangerous Liaisons

CRIME *Conflict*



Alcohol, Drugs and Crime

Lee Rocha-Silva and Ina Stahmer
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Reducing drug and alcohol use is another urgent challenge for those concerned with crime. Little is known about the extent of alcohol and drug use among offenders in South Africa. In the first study of its kind locally, this article reports on the complex relationship between drug use and crime.

Rapid socioeconomic changes, such as in South Africa presently, often cause a progressive increase in the level of alcohol and drug consumption. Alcohol and drug taking patterns also frequently change. New segments of the population may enter the consumption market and new modes of intake may occur.

In fact, marked changes are taking place with regard to alcohol/drug intake in South Africa. A general rise in particularly illicit drug use is predicted for the near future (SAPS 1996). This will be facilitated by high unemployment levels, the financial benefits derived from illicit drug trafficking, and increased exposure to and involvement of South Africans in international illicit drug networks.

Given the positive correlation between levels of alcohol/drug intake and alcohol/drug related problems (Frankel and Whitehead 1981; Edwards *et al* 1994), drastic

steps need to be taken to stem the expected increase in consumption. Equally important, increases in related problems – particularly crime – need attention.

Comparative research and local media reports – frequently supported by criminal justice officials – assert that there is a relationship between drug use and crime. Numerous studies show a comparatively high prevalence and intensity of drug use among incarcerated populations, as well as criminal activity among nonincarcerated drug users (McBride and McCoy 1993).

There are also substantial indications of a positive association between the general level of drug intake and levels of crime. Explanations of this relationship differ. There is some agreement, though, that the relationship between drug use and crime is complex – too complex to infer linear causality and ascribe causal

priority to either drug use or criminal activity.

According to Inciardi *et al* (1993: 120): 'what the majority of the research seems to be saying is that although the use of...drugs does not necessarily initiate criminal careers, it tends to intensify and perpetuate them'. A positive association is thus to be expected between alcohol/drug use and recidivism (repeat offending). Indeed, drug use may complicate the rehabilitation of sentenced offenders.

Attempts to combat crime cannot then be isolated from attempts to reduce the level of drug intake in a community, especially intake that is (potentially) conducive to biopsychosocial impairment.

Framework

This research was based on a public health model of prevention as articulated by the WHO (World Health Organisation 1980). The model basically argues that alcohol/drug related problems will manifest to the extent that there is a demand for these substances, and to the extent that they are available.

The WHO model was elaborated on with various sociological theories – relating to human behaviour generally as well as deviant behaviour – and South African research on the nature and development of 'alcoholism'. Based on this framework, information was collected regarding:

- Level of drug intake.
- Reasons for drug intake.
- Context in which drug intake occurred (eg. place of use, people with whom drugs were taken, time of day usage started).
- Biopsychosocial experiences immediately before or during drug taking.
- Access to substances before prison/probation, and in prison.
- Social pressure to take drugs.
- Reasons for never having taken specific drugs.
- Knowledge of and willingness to use treatment services in prison.
- Treatment background and experiences.
- Criminal record.

Participatory action research was used, involving collaboration between researchers and intervenors. The project was managed by a committee represented by the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA), the Department of Correctional Services, the HSRC, the South African Police Service, and the Departments of Welfare, Justice and Health.

Initiation into drug use commonly occurred in a supportive and 'uncontrolled' environment

A national sample survey of 1 603 respondents was conducted during April 1996. The survey was restricted to males in South African prisons as well as sentenced males under correctional supervision. The comparatively small proportion of sentenced females led to their omission from the survey.

In a two stage sampling procedure, stratifying in terms of the nine

provinces, 1 440 male prisoners were randomly selected. In the first stage, 38 prisons were drawn with a probability proportional to their size. During the second stage, prison staff at each sampled prison randomly selected the number of prisoners to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted in the language chosen by individual respondents, beyond the hearing of other people, including prison wardens.

'Morning' drinking and particularly 'morning' dagga smoking, indicative of long term and fairly heavy drug use, was quite common

The emphasis was on drinking and the use of dagga (marijuana) rather than on other psychoactive substances. Clinical experience among Correctional Services' social workers suggests that alcohol, dagga and solvents are popular among offenders and frequently lead to multiple substance use.

Findings: risk factors

The findings point to various drug related individual and environmental factors that placed the respondents at risk of biopsychosocial impairment before they were sentenced. Preventive agents would need to prioritise the following matters:

Extensive drug/alcohol use

Offenders commonly indulged in risky drug taking for an extended period in their lives. Indeed, they showed a high level of intake, more marked than for the general population. Regarding level of drug intake in the pre-arrest period:

- Alcohol was taken in a high quantity – most offenders imbibed a risky total absolute alcohol intake for the relevant 12 months. In fact, 61,3% consumed an equivalent of at

least 9,3 tots of distilled spirits or 6,7 glasses of wine or 4,9 small (340 ml) bottles of ordinary beer a day.

Distilled spirits, the alcoholic beverage with the highest absolute alcohol content, was not only quite popular but also consumed in comparatively large quantities and at high frequency.

- Tobacco, dagga, mandrax and white pipe (mixture of dagga and mandrax) were also frequently used. The use of LSD, cocaine and heroin was not uncommon (the use of heroin seemed to be greater among the offender population than the comparable general population).
- Some injected drugs, a high risk practice in terms of HIV infection and indicative of 'heavy' drug use.
- 'Morning' drinking and particularly 'morning' dagga smoking, indicative of long term and fairly heavy drug use, was quite common.
- Drug intake generally started with fairly regular use and soon afterwards increased in frequency.
- Pre-arrest drug taking seemed to continue after the respondents' arrest, at least to a certain degree.

Social environment

Before their most recent arrest, offenders lived in a social environment conducive to drug taking. For example:

- Initiation into drug use commonly occurred in a supportive and 'uncontrolled' environment. Friends were generally the providers of the first substances, although in several cases offenders procured their first drugs themselves (these offenders quite frequently also reported that their parents had drug problems). In the case of illicit

drugs, drug dealers supplied the first drugs.

- Drug taking was commonly a group activity, mostly with friends – sometimes members of a gang – and at places of traders/drug dealers such as shebeens or taverns.
- Offenders generally reported easy access to the substances they used – tobacco, dagga and alcohol – before as well as after arrest.
- Direct social pressure to use drugs – especially alcohol and dagga – was a fairly common experience, specifically before the offenders' arrest. Severe social discrimination against drug use was absent.

Toleration of drug use

The environmental 'pressure' which offenders were subjected to regarding drug use was supplemented by a positive orientation towards consumption. In fact, offenders were tolerant towards drug use, did not expect discrimination against such use, were personally attracted to drug use and believed in its rewarding nature. For example:

- Reasons for the first try at various drugs were commonly reported to be experimentation, fun and pressure from especially friends.
- The onset of drug use was also generally positively experienced (as 'nice' or 'alright').
- After onset, short term hedonistic and escapist orientations motivated drug use.

The level of offenders' drug intake and criminal activity tended to correlate

History of drugs and crime

In line with comparative evidence, the level of offenders' drug intake

and criminal activity tended to correlate: both were fairly high, especially during the pre-arrest period. Moreover, the co-occurrence of comparatively heavy drug taking and heavy criminal activity reflects an interactive relationship. More specifically:

- Generally, the onset of drug intake tended to precede first involvements with the criminal justice system.
- Involvement with the criminal justice system occurred more or less concurrently with the onset of 'hard' illicit drug use in late adolescence or early adulthood, and appeared to be related to illicit drug trading.
- The onset of dagga use tended to precede that of alcohol.
- Involvement in a criminal subculture and specifically gangs, seemed to have been partly responsible for the onset or continuation of especially illicit drug use and trading.
- Participation in drug use and crime contributed to the development of a drugs-and-crime 'lifestyle'.

Drugs-and-crime lifestyle

This 'lifestyle' was characterised by:

- Taking drugs immediately before or at the time of committing an offence.
- Offenders reported trouble with the police during or after taking drugs.
- Drinking or taking 'hard' drugs (excluding dagga and white pipe) seemed to be fairly frequently accompanied by aggression.
- Certain crimes and certain drug taking settings as well as motivations for drug taking were associated.
- Rape and housebreaking were respectively associated with

drinking, especially group drinking and drinking at public places.

- Property crimes were generally associated with smoking dagga in company.
- Violent crimes and housebreaking were associated with drinking alcohol to build courage.
- The development of the drugs-and-crime lifestyle appeared to be related to socioeconomic deprivation, which characterised the (early) background of several offenders. An early developmental tendency to rebel against accepted conventions was also noted.

Rape and housebreaking were respectively associated with drinking

Regional variation

These risk factors differentiated on a regional basis:

- 'Heavy' drinking seemed to be particularly prevalent in Western Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal prisons. More specifically, during the pre-arrest period the frequent use of distilled spirits was most popular among offenders in these prisons.
- Dagga use appeared to be particularly entrenched among offenders in Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. Pre-arrest dagga users who admitted the use of a drug on the day of the interview, were particularly in Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga prisons.
- Positive experiences of the first try at alcohol were particularly common among persons in Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Free State prisons.

Reducing the supply of drugs requires focused policing as well as 'inconveniencing' policing

- ❑ Experimentation seemed to be an important reason for trying drugs for the first time, especially among offenders in Western Cape prisons, whereas pressure from friends was quite commonly reported among inmates in KwaZulu-Natal prisons.
- ❑ A need for fun was commonly given as the reason for the first try at alcohol among offenders in North West, Northern Province and Northern Cape prisons.
- ❑ The preference for drinking in company, especially the company of friends older than one self, was particularly popular in Western Cape prisons. Offenders in Free State, Mpumalanga, North West, Northern Cape and Northern Province prisons preferred drinking with friends of the same age or younger than themselves.
- ❑ Drinkers who, at some time in their life, were involved in quarrels and fights during or after drinking sessions and who were in Western Cape prisons commonly reported that their parents had a drug problem.
- ❑ Offenders in Western Cape prisons in particular tended to report very easy access to dagga, mandrax and other illicit drugs prior to and after their most recent arrest.

Preventive strategies

International research has demonstrated that reductions in drug use covary with reductions in the level of crime (McBride and McCoy 1993). In addition, coerced placement of offenders in drug related programmes is a cost-effective way of reducing and

preventing drug use and by implication, reducing and preventing crime or, for that matter, recidivism (Anglin and Maugh 1992).

Given the advantages of prevention programmes in reducing alcohol and drug use, initiatives must be taken both outside and inside the criminal justice system. Close collaboration between the respective agents is imperative.

Non-criminal justice settings

Demand reduction focusing on the individual would include community based information and education programmes (at schools and other service agencies) to demystify beliefs concerning the 'benefits' of drugs. Skills training around social pressure avoidance should also be offered.

Few (6,3%) offenders in this study said they had ever received some form of help or therapy with regard to drinking or drug taking

Redressing socioeconomic deprivation – increasing educational and legitimate economic development opportunities, increasing opportunities for non-risky group activity – is an important environmental measure to reduce demand.

Secondary and tertiary prevention would include specialised and broad-brush clinical services. These should provide short and long term therapy and other in and outpatient services (such as medical services), focusing on early identification of risk-prone drug related practices.

Reducing the supply of drugs requires focused policing as well as 'inconveniencing' policing in particular neighbourhoods with respect to illicit drugs (Pearson 1992). Emphasis needs to be placed on discouraging the local illicit drug market, identifying risk-prone users and directing them to treatment or tertiary prevention

facilities. Collaboration between the police and other community agents is imperative.

Criminal justice settings

This discussion of guidelines is based on Anglin and Maugh's (1992) suggestions. As a basis, criminal justice agencies must be willing to implement prevention programmes, and should not perceive these as a 'waste of time'.

Further, there needs to be close collaboration between the criminal justice system and community prevention services (such as the services of SANCA and family and child welfare services).

Pre-incarceration strategies require that all persons who are arrested are screened for the use of drugs. This provides an opportunity for detecting and channelling hard-to-reach persons with drug related problems into treatment.

Indeed, in line with comparative findings, few (6,3%) offenders in this study said they had ever received some form of help or therapy with regard to drinking or drug taking.

Those who test positive should be assessed as a first step toward placing them in appropriate treatment, either while in prison or on their return to the community. Records of the screening results should be kept in court and corrections files along with other personal information – these results should be borne in mind when pretrial release or sentencing is considered.

A substantial proportion (17,3%) of offenders expressed a need for immediate therapeutic services

For offenders in prison, chronic users of drugs (including alcohol) and especially 'hard' drugs should be enrolled in compulsory treatment programmes

approximately nine to 12 months prior to their eligibility for parole or release.

A substantial proportion (17,3%) of offenders interviewed for this project expressed a need for immediate therapeutic services. They emphasised that they did not mind what type of assistance is rendered as long as it is provided by professionals. Alternatively, some preferred a support group such as Alcoholics Anonymous or a SANCA representative.

In-prison programmes may also comprise specialised individual or group counselling services, self help supportive groups (such as Alcoholics Anonymous), or residential treatment placements – facilities 'in which treatment involves personality and behavioural rehabilitation within a highly structured environment focusing on development of social relationships' (Anglin and Maugh II 1992: 71).

Community aftercare is also an important preventive measure. Long term compulsory enrolment in community based treatment

programmes at release from prison is essential to forestall recidivism.

Conclusion

These findings underscore the need – borne out by international experience – for evenly balancing drug intake 'treatment' and law enforcement when devising intervention strategies. In addition, the research reminds intervenors that, as shown throughout the world, drug-crime connections emerge and are sustained within a context of different social and economic opportunity.

Disentangling these connections is linked to the provision of educational and economic development opportunities. Efforts at arresting drug related crime must be part of a comprehensive initiative in which agencies in criminal justice, welfare, health, education, labour and industry collaborate.

To ensure effectiveness, the impact of interventions must be monitored on an ongoing basis. Intervening

agencies such as the Department of Correctional Services, should initiate and maintain an information system that monitors intervention needs and impacts. *IPSA*

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The Violence of Alcohol:

Crime in Northern Cape

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In Northern Cape and especially in Kimberley, rates of violent crimes like murder, assault, rape and child abuse are comparatively high. These crimes are characterised by their association with alcohol and familiarity among victims and offenders. Research suggests that solutions do not lie in more police or more aggressive policing.

The impact of crime on different people and places is rarely uniform. In South Africa, increases in crime since 1990 have affected different parts of society in different ways. Since not all South Africans are exposed to equal dangers, varying strategies will need to be devised in particular areas to curb crime.

South African Police Service (SAPS) crime statistics for January to December 1996 illustrate high levels of violent crime in Northern Cape. Indeed, violent crimes such as rape and serious assault measured per 100 000 head of population are the highest of all South Africa's provinces (Figures 1 and 2).

According to interviews conducted in Kimberley, crimes involving juveniles and children are also comparatively frequent. The

province was identified as having the highest reported levels of child abuse and child rape in the country. The involvement of juveniles as perpetrators in these (and other) crimes is also a concern.

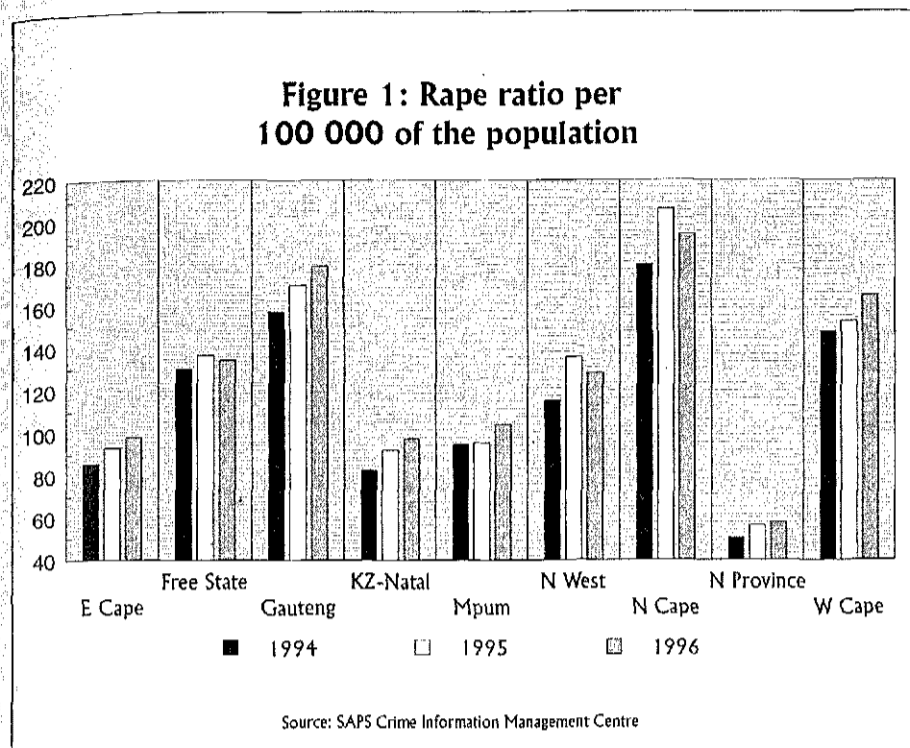
Crime and reporting

Research in Kimberley confirmed police statistics. It is possible that reported violent crime figures for Northern Cape are more accurate than the rest of the country. A combination of several factors may contribute to this:

- The province did not experience any integration of former bantustan police agencies with the former South African Police. Attendant problems of police integration, amalgamating crime data bases and the inclusion of areas

where recording has been poor or absent, are not at issue.

- Although the province is largely rural, the settlement geography of Northern Cape encourages reporting. Small urban communities which are relatively isolated are each served by an individual police station. According to interviewees, small town dynamics associated with people knowing each other and the police, also encourage reporting.
- Afrikaans is widely spoken as the first language of the province. It is also the dominant language used in state agencies such as the police and courts.
- The infrastructure in Northern Cape – particularly roads and telephones – can make the police more accessible to ordinary citizens than in less developed parts of the country.
- Interview material suggests that community and family support networks or structures in former coloured areas are not as developed as in African areas. This encourages the use of the police as the first recourse, particularly in the case of rape, domestic violence and associated crimes.
- There have been ongoing campaigns in the province since 1992 among several government departments to promote the reporting of violent crime.



Qualitative interviews and survey results confirm that most people living in Northern Cape believe unemployment and poverty cause crime in their areas. These views are not exclusive to the province and are shared by most South Africans.

In Northern Cape though, the lack of recreation and entertainment, particularly for the youth, are also believed to cause crime. Without exception, the excessive use of alcohol – often as a result of these broader problems – was identified as a key part of the crime problem.

Poverty and unemployment can be associated with the perpetration of certain crimes. But this does not explain why violent crime rates are substantially higher in Northern Cape than in other provinces equally or more affected by poverty.

If the statistics on violent crime in Northern Cape clearly reflect the extent of the problem compared to elsewhere in the country, they say little about the underlying causes or features common to most incidents of crime. In the absence of useful statistics, interview material sheds light on the defining features of violent crime in the province and in Kimberley in particular.

Victims and offenders

A significant proportion of violence occurs within the family or community context. Interpersonal violence especially in Kimberley, often takes the form of violence between friends, within the family, and in particular against woman and children.

Interpersonal violence often takes the form of violence between friends, within the family, and in particular against woman and children

In February 1997, the Child Protection Unit (CPU) in Kimberley had 700 dockets relating to instances of child abuse, statutory rape and a range of other offences relating to the abuse of children. In particular, the rape of young children and underage teenagers is a serious problem and many of these attacks occur within the family unit.

This pattern fits the national picture for crimes reported against children in 1996 (Artz and Levin 1996).

While rape as a general category has decreased over the past year in Northern Cape, recorded rapes of underage girls has increased according to police and government sources in the province.

In 1996 there were 1 450 reported rapes in the province – approximately 120 a month for a population of just over 700 000. Prosecution rates are significantly lower. The police in Galeshewe, for example, were investigating only 31 cases over a three month period between December 1996 and February 1997.

In Kimberley hospital's casualties department on the other hand, 26 rapes were reported during January 1997 alone. Although no figures are available, there was agreement among police, prosecutors and health officials that in many instances, cases were withdrawn.

Domestic violence – largely recorded by police as assault – and which probably contributes to Northern Cape's high rate of serious assault, is another crime for which charges against offenders are often dropped.

Cases are often withdrawn if victims lose faith in the legal process or if they fear retribution from offenders who are known to them. Furthermore, victims dependent on income earners – especially women with children – fear the loss of support that a separation or jail term would result in.

Poverty and violence

In Kimberley, as elsewhere in the country, the poor are particularly vulnerable to domestic violence and rape. Problems which begin as conflict over money or food often result in violence. Women in Kimberley said they felt 'trapped' in abusive relationships due to their dependence on partners for food, shelter and money.

Young parenthood, especially among the poor, has also been associated with domestic violence (World Bank 1996). According to

the provincial Department of Health and Welfare, teenage pregnancy is prevalent in the urban areas of Northern Cape: in Kimberley and Upington about one quarter of teenage girls become pregnant.

Shebeens are open throughout the day and several sell to teenagers and children

If violence in the home environment and between people who are known to each other is as common in Northern Cape as research suggests, this may be one reason for the high incidence of violent crimes generally in the province.

Campbell (1996), drawing on McKendrick and Hoffmann's (1990) analogy of the family as the 'cradle of violence', argues that 'because the family is a microcosm of society, the prevalence of violence in a particular society is invariably linked to high levels of domestic violence'. The family is the arena in which the use of violence as an accepted means for resolving conflicts, is learned.

There is also some evidence in Kimberley that teenage girls and children from poor families receive financial or material rewards in exchange for sexual favours. A similar scenario faces (largely male) youths who are reportedly employed by drug dealers in Galeshewe.

Competition between these children for entry into the business often erupts violently on school premises. Child labour is considered a problem and some children are involved in buying and delivering alcohol from shebeens to people around the township.

Role of alcohol

Research elicited graphic accounts of the effects of alcohol use on child abuse and rape: parents who drink excessively become negligent

and abusive – sometimes present and intoxicated while children are molested. Women drinking at shebeens and street parties are exposed to rape.

A lack of entertainment and 'boredom' was identified as one reason for high alcohol consumption. This was also mentioned by sentenced offenders in Northern Cape who commonly identified 'a need for fun' as the reason for their first try at alcohol (see Rocha-Silva and Stahmer in this issue).

Shebeens are open throughout the day and several sell to teenagers and children – many of whom are sent to buy alcohol for adults. Shebeens are the locus of much violence particularly over weekends and alcohol is believed to be the driving force behind most assaults (Dor 1996).

Characteristically, both victims and offenders of violent crimes are under the influence. Although guns are now used more often in criminal activity, most murders are committed with knives, and most serious assaults with broken bottles and blunt instruments. The majority of murders were described as 'assaults that go too far'.

This is important, since the murder rate is already the second highest in the country, and the rate of serious assault is over three times the

national average. Significantly, Galeshewe township is the main contributor to these provincial totals. During 1996 the provincial ambulance service in Kimberley transported 6 887 assault victims from Galeshewe to hospital (CPA Medical Emergency Services 1997).

This amounts to 52,6% of all serious assaults recorded by police for the entire province and an assault rate of 4 919,2 per 100 000 people – significantly above the already high provincial rate of 1 751,2. If alcohol abuse is the main contributor to these very high levels of assault, intervention in this regard is critical.

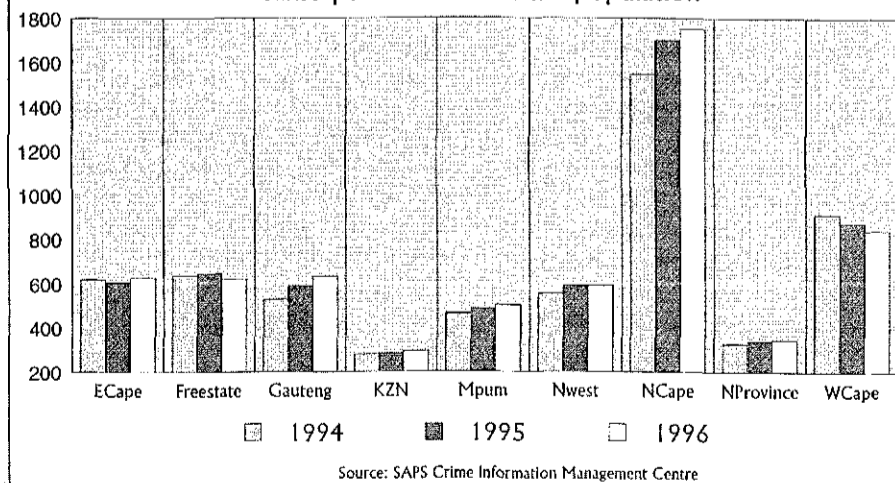
Although guns are now used more often in criminal activity, most murders are committed with knives

Historical factors

South Africans generally drink large quantities of alcohol: between 1 July 1995 and 30 June 1996 an estimated six billion litres of alcohol was consumed. With an adult per capita absolute alcohol consumption of nearly 10 litres per year, these drinking habits place South Africa among the highest consumers in the world (Parry 1997).

Figure 2: Serious assault

Ratio per 100 000 of the population



The history of alcohol in South Africa has influenced these patterns. For decades the state as well as mining concerns, used alcohol to control the black labour force for political and economic reasons. Inspired by similar motives, the tot system used on farms in the Cape was already entrenched by the eighteenth century.

The tot system – despite being illegal – is still used on wine and other farms in the province

Not all black people were passive participants in these processes, however. Alcohol became a rallying point for defiance and resistance to the state, as well as a means of economic survival in impoverished urban communities. In the process, excessive consumption took its toll, affecting people's health, families and livelihoods.

Particular aspects of this history contributed to current high consumption levels:

- Prohibitions on drinking among black people between 1928 and 1962 encouraged the development of an extensive illegal liquor trade. Even after legalisation in 1962, shebeens continued to flourish in the absence of adequate numbers of legal facilities in townships and due to trading restrictions (Scharf 1985).
- It was in the previous government's interests to promote alcohol consumption since local government finance in black townships depended on it for three decades. In 1945 beerhalls were established by the state in townships. The profits from these sales were the primary source of local authority revenue until 1980.

Despite the illegality of shebeens, many liquor outlets run by municipalities after

prohibition supplied shebeens. During the 1976 student uprising, many beerhalls were destroyed because they symbolised the state. Importantly they were also a source of social decay.

- In the Cape, the tot system – providing wine as part of the wage – reduced the outlay of farmers' cash wages and tied workers to farms through alcohol dependence. Unsurprisingly, 'a bottle and a half of doctored wine per day from the age of twelve also did much to produce a rural class of alcoholics' (Scully 1992: 57). The tot system was not only used to secure cheap labour, but also to dispose of surplus wine.

With its economy dominated by diamond mining and the wine industry, all these aspects have shaped Northern Cape's alcohol history. The tot system – despite being illegal – is still used on wine and other farms in the province.

The tot system was not only used to secure cheap labour on farms, but also to dispose of surplus wine

Compared to other provinces, legally supplied alcohol seems more accessible. There are nearly twice as many liquor licenses per unit of the population in Northern Cape as in South Africa, mainly issued for bottle stores – of which there are nearly three times the national average.

Most liquor stores in Northern Cape are white owned, but many are situated on the periphery of townships and sell almost exclusively to township customers (Dor 1996). The fact that under apartheid (and until 1962) coloured people were allowed unlimited choice of alcohol (which Africans were not), could account for the high number of liquor licenses in the province.

The sale of illegal alcohol from unlicensed outlets is as widespread in Kimberley and Upington as in the rest of the country. Galeshewe typically has three to five shebeens per street, with the figure rising to between seven and 10 in some streets.

Alcohol and violence

The impact of the alcohol industry is severe. The prevalence of risky or binge drinking is high. Adult, African and coloured urban males and the youth fall into the high risk group in South Africa and estimates are that 30% of these people drink at dangerous levels (Parry 1997). This can be compared to 6% in England and Wales (Harrison 1996).

In Northern Cape, rural farm workers and women join this category of risky drinkers. Excessive drinking in turn can be linked to crime and violence, with high social and health related costs.

Alcohol is a major factor in domestic violence, child abuse, assault and murder. In the absence of data about perpetrators, information is usually gathered from victims. In the case of murder, 53% of homicide victims in the Cape metropole (one of the few places in the country where such data is available) in 1996 had considerably high blood alcohol levels (Medical Research Council).

The Cape Metropolitan Study established that 63,6% of assault related injuries caused by inter personal violence were alcohol related (Peden 1996). The same study found that in home violence against women, nearly 68% of incidents were alcohol related (Steenkamp and Sidzumo 1996).

There are nearly twice as many liquor licenses per unit of the population in Northern Cape as in South Africa

Circumstantial evidence suggests strong links between alcohol consumption and crime. Indeed,

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violent crimes like murder and rape are associated with alcohol use, with offenders reporting it gives them 'courage' (see Rocha-Silva and Stahmer in this issue).

Worldwide, research has failed to show a linear causal relationship between alcohol and criminal activity

But worldwide, research has failed to show a linear causal relationship between alcohol and criminal activity. The social situations, circumstances and environment in which crime occurs may be more important than the consumption itself, and violence and intoxication may also have the same causes.

Alcohol may also make offenders less able to avoid arrest (*The Lancet* 1990). Most research suggests that while drug and alcohol use does not necessarily start criminal careers, it tends to intensify and perpetuate them (Rocha-Silva and Stahmer 1996). It is likely then that alcohol will be more closely associated with repeat offending.

Crime prevention

Crime prevention strategies require a range of multifaceted programmes aimed at combating and preventing a single offence. In Northern Cape a multifaceted strategy is required to tackle a single crime such as rape, for example.

This requires programmes which consider education, alcohol distribution, environmental factors (such as lighting or the positions of shebeens in relation to schools), victim support and finally, policing (to ensure that there are regular patrols in high crime areas and that laws relating to alcohol consumption are enforced).

In Northern Cape the crime problem is not necessarily one of

too few police but relates, among other issues, to addressing high levels of alcohol consumption and gaining a better understanding of interpersonal violence.

In terms of the former, prevention will need to consider enforcing controls, such as the issuing of liquor licenses to bottle stores situated near schools and the selling of alcohol to minors, as well as more far reaching strategies. Interventions which treat demand must be balanced with those that police and legislate consumption (Rocha-Silva and Stahmer 1996).

Several alcohol consumption patterns could be modified through law enforcement measures. Alone, however, enforcing laws and controls cannot prevent abuse. And simply policing crimes like public drunkenness for example, may do little more than overburden the criminal justice system.

Government responses to alcohol abuse in the past have fallen far short of achieving a balanced approach – focusing on control measures largely the responsibility of Departments of Police, Justice and Trade and Industry.

Funding for treatment of alcohol problems has been inadequate and facilities tended to be concentrated in large urban areas, with major disparities in resources spent on the different races under the apartheid government. Health and Education departments have hardly been involved and few resources have been spent on prevention (Parry, forthcoming).

It is likely that alcohol will be more closely associated with repeat offending

Although more attention is being turned to the problem of alcohol and drug abuse, government responses remain *ad hoc* and

fragmented. Research in Northern Cape and recent analyses by the SAPS's Crime Information Management Centre (CIMC) in other parts of the country, allude to the extent of the alcohol-crime relationship. Understanding and responding to these problems pose new and urgent challenges for those concerned with crime prevention.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article is an extract of a larger publication *Stolen Opportunities: The Impact of Crime on South Africa's Poor*, published as an Institute for Security Studies Monograph No 14, August 1997. The report was commissioned for the Report on Poverty and Inequality in South Africa.

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Neighbourhood Safety

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A Township Violence and Injury Profile

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The causes of both violent and unintentional injury vary across neighbourhood types, but the problem is worse in areas with poor infrastructure, high levels of problem drinking and other social and environmental risk factors. This article suggests how information based safety promotion approaches can be turned into concrete action.

Violence is one among several external causes that produce physical injury and psychosocial damage. In South Africa, violence levels correspond closely with the extent of injuries due to unintentional causes – such as household burns, falls, and transport related injuries – which occur more often in settings where there is more violence.

Underlying this covariance are those risk factors – such as unemployment, family dysfunction, environmental degradation, alcohol and substance abuse (see Rocha-Silva and Stahmer in this issue) – that are shared by violent and unintentional injuries.

Although not surprising, this recognition has rarely been translated (at least in South Africa) into efforts at initiating and implementing information based violence and injury prevention

programmes targeted to local level variations in injury cause.

This article therefore aims to present some preliminary results from a larger, ongoing safety promotion programme in a Johannesburg township, in the hope that the data will encourage safety workers in other communities to initiate similar activities. The survey reported on here was conducted between May and October 1996.

Survey methods

In the absence of any pre-existing data sources about injuries and the demographic characteristics of the area, a method was required which could produce both types of information.

First, large scale town planning maps were used to survey the area's

spatial characteristics and mark out the different types of housing. These were council flats, council housing, and informal settlements, which in combination accounted for around 85% of all residents.

To investigate possible injury differences between similar neighbourhood types, two of each were strategically selected as survey sites. The exact number of dwellings within each neighbourhood was counted, and multiplied by the average number of residents per dwelling to generate a population figure for each area.

The household was identified as the unit of investigation, and within each neighbourhood a random sample of households was drawn. The most senior female resident in each household was used as a proxy respondent for all other persons sharing the dwelling.

Local residents were trained as interviewers, and worked in male-female pairs to enhance their safety. The final interview protocol included quantitative and qualitative questions investigating individual, social, communal, environmental and product related risk factors for injury, as well as soliciting demographic data about all residents in each home sampled (Table 2A).

The injury section asked respondents to describe all injuries that they or their co-residents had

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sustained over the past year. In relation to violent injuries, residents were probed for extra information about the victim-perpetrator relationship, weapons and products involved, etc.

Ten percent of the sample was reinterviewed by an independent rater about the injury incidents they listed, to yield a highly satisfactory reliability. Table 1 shows the final sample size, indicating the number of households and the total number of respondents.

Using version 10 of the International Classification of Diseases (WHO 1992) all injury descriptions were allocated codes for external cause and body area injured.

Selected results

Analysis is as yet far from complete, and the results reported here provide an overview of the injury profile generated for each neighbourhood, along with some information about possible risk and resilience factors.

Magnitude of injuries

A total of 394 injuries were reported over the past year in the 1 075 households sampled (Table 2). Of these, 23 resulted in death. Converted to a rate per 100 000 residents per annum, the injury rate for the full sample was 8 331. Overall injury incidence rates varied markedly between the areas (Table 3).

Both informal settlements returned incidence rates of around 15 000/100 000, twice that reported for Houses A and Flats A. The safest areas were Houses B (3 924/100 000) and Flats B (2 394/100 000). Mortality rates were also elevated in the informal settlements, although the very small sample size on which these rates were calculated means they have a large confidence interval.

Injuries due to violence

The single largest injury cause for the full sample was violence, which

Table 1: Final sample size by neighbourhood

	Informal A	Flats A	Houses A
Intervention A	174 Homes 669 People	53 Homes 289 People	124 Homes 701 People
Intervention B	317 Homes 998 People	100 Homes 543 People	307 Homes 1 529 People

Table 2: Injury and demographic information by neighbourhood

	Informal A	Informal B	Houses A	Houses B	Flats A	Flats B	Total
Total Dwellings	174	317	124	307	53	100	1 075
Total Residents	669	998	701	1 529	289	543	4 729
Number injuries	100	150	47	60	24	13	394
Number Mortalities	7	7	0	7	2	0	23

Injuries include morbidity and mortality.
Mortality = non-natural causes during previous year.

Table 2A: Additional demographic information

	Informal A	Informal B	Houses A	Houses B	Flats A	Flats B
Male: female ratio	52-48	52-48	49-51	48-52	53-47	51-49
Avg. age (oldest 10%)	42	43	55	54	53	46
Education -Adults (mean,sd)	5,5(3,1)	5,5(2,8)	5,7(3,6)	5,7(3,2)	6,4(3,2)	6,7(2,9)
Avg personal income (adults)	744 (464)	693 (456)	1 042 (819)	1 070 (915)	1 416 (1 577)	1 352 (906)
% Employed male	62%	61%	48%	50%	44%	51%
% Employed female	28%	45%	38%	35%	42%	39%

Table 3: Injury rate (per 100 000 people) by neighbourhood

	Informal A	Informal B	Houses A	Houses B	Flats A	Flats B	Total
Injury rate [all types]	14 947	15 030	6 704	3 924	8 304	2 394	8 331
95% CI	±1 379	±1 131	±945	±497	±1 623	±656	±402
Morbidity	13 901	14 329	6 705	3 466	7 612	2 394	7 845
95% CI	±1 338	±1 109	±945	±468	±1 560	±656	±391
Mortality rate	1 046	701	-	457	692	-	486
95% CI	±393	±264	-	±173	±488	-	±101

accounted for 48% of all injuries. Following WHO (1996), it is useful in conceptualising prevention strategies to divide sub-types of violence into categories on the basis of the victim-perpetrator relationship and the degree of organised intent.

This yields five main types of violence:

- Intimate violence (such as child and wife abuse).
- Acquaintance violence (such as between drinking partners).
- Stranger violence (such as violence in the course of robbery, rape by an unknown attacker).
- Self directed violence (including suicide and self mutilation).
- Organised violence (such as war and factional conflicts).

The predominant forms of violence in all areas involved intimate and acquaintance violence, which together accounted for between 50% and 60% of all instances, and occurred most often in homes and other private settings (Figure 1).

Stranger violence occurred mostly on the street within the immediate vicinity of the victims' homes, although women were more likely than men to be attacked by strangers in their homes.

These data suggest that traditional approaches which emphasise visible policing in public spaces may have some impact on the approximately one third of cases that occur in such settings. But very different prevention measures will be needed to address the problem of intimate and acquaintance violence.

However – at least in the informal settlements surveyed in this programme – such observations are purely academic, since they currently are not served by police patrols at all. Residents that make use of the police are those that themselves go the local police station.

Figure 1: Type of violence by neighbourhood (percentage)

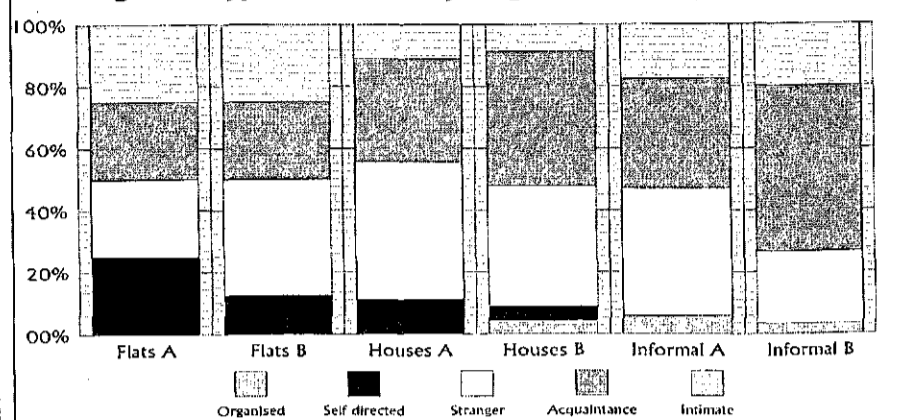


Figure 2: Neighbourhood injury profiles

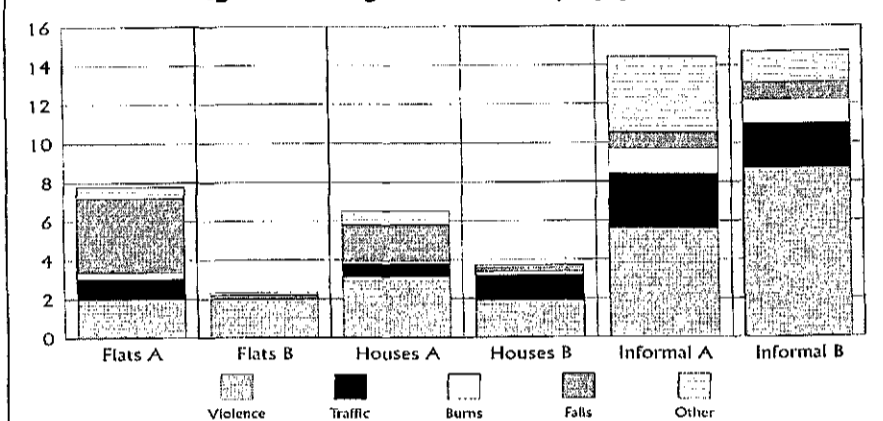


Figure 3: Incidence of violence by neighbourhood (thousands)

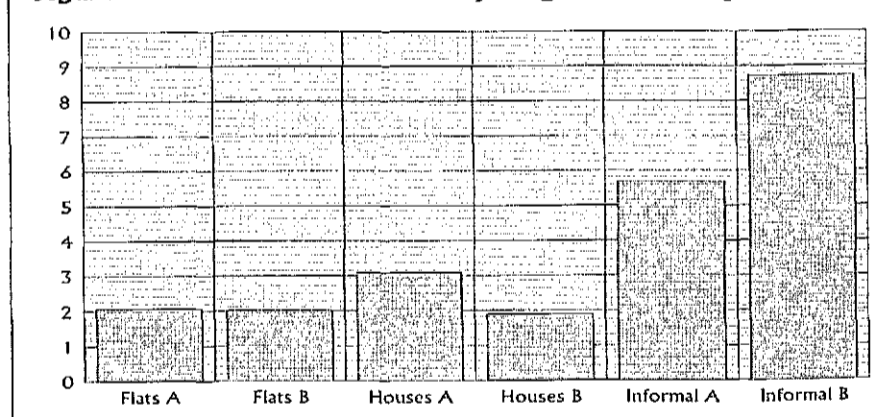


Table 4: Risk and resilience factors

	Informal A	Informal B	Houses A	Houses B	Flats A	Flats B
Avg people per home	3,85	3,15	5,65	4,98	5,45	5,43
Ave no of rooms	1,45	1,16	2,74	1,91	2,67	2,87
Length of stay (years)	2,9	2,6	16,1	12,3	14,7	10,4
Type of fuel used in home	Parafin	Parafin	Electricity	Electricity	Electricity	Electricity
% Unemployed*	55,4	47,8	57,2	58,1	57,3	55,8
% Use alcohol*	43,7	38,8	31,5	31,7	34,3	28,9
% Use alcohol in the morning*	12,4	14,3	1,9	9,2	2,3	1,3

* Indicates adults 21-65 years old.

The contribution of violence varied between areas, accounting for highs 59% and 85% of all injuries in Informal B and Flats B, against lows of 39% and 26% in Informal A and Flats A respectively (Figure 2).

However, these differences in the proportion of violent injuries say nothing about actual levels of violence, since they are relative to the contribution made by other unintentional injury causes, such as transport and burns. Thus, although violence in Informal A accounted for only 39% of its injuries, the violent injury rate here was 5 680/100 000 (Figure 3).

Although less than in Informal B, this was over twice that recorded in any of the other neighbourhoods. The data showed that 43% of all violent injuries were alcohol related, and that the percentage use of alcohol use in the mornings was substantially elevated in the informal settlements where the incidence rate for violent injuries was highest (Table 4).

Traffic injuries

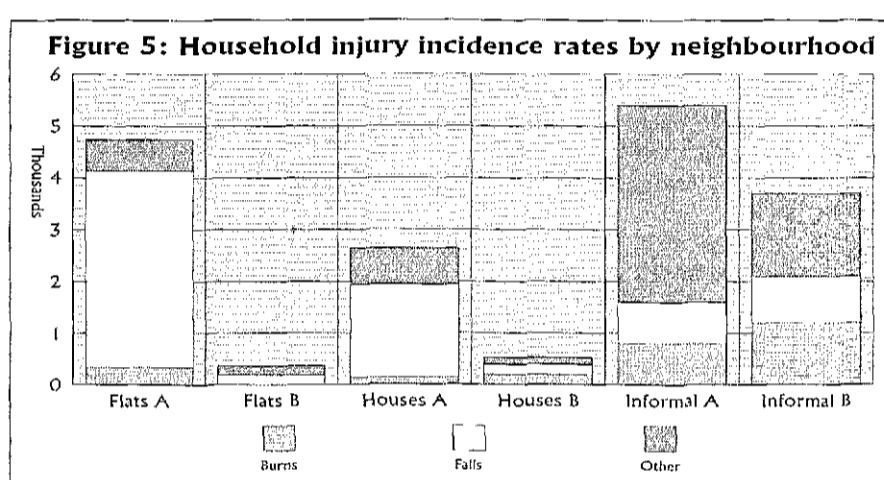
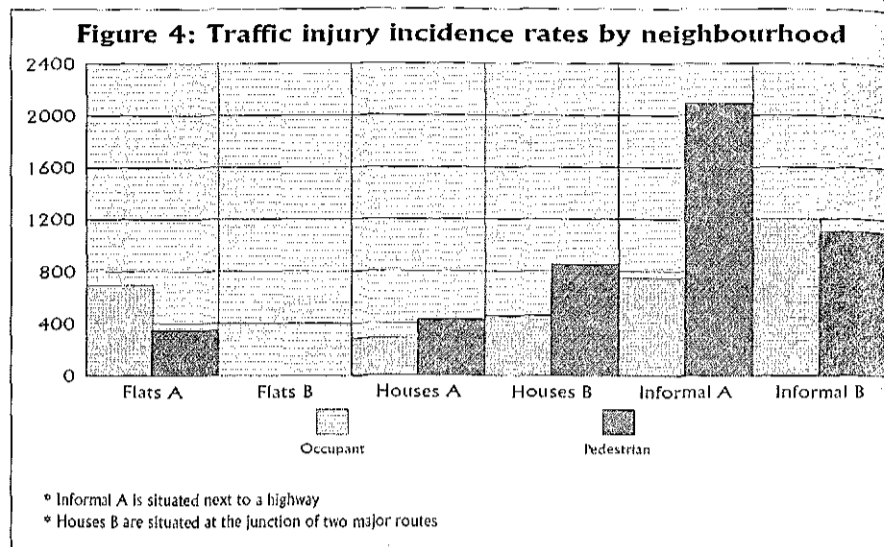
Figure 4 shows the incidence rates for traffic injuries, which – as for violence – were highest in the informal settlements, and especially so in Informal Settlement A. This neighbourhood is built directly alongside a high speed freeway with no traffic calming measures, no pedestrian barriers and no facilities for safe crossing.

Since all schools, shops, and other amenities are situated in formal housing areas directly across the highway, residents of Informal Settlement A have little choice but to cross it and risk fatal injury or at best severe disability.

Similar environmental risks applied in Houses B, which were also adjacent to a main arterial road characterised by a dangerous mix of pedestrians and speeding vehicles.

Injuries in the home

The incidence of unintentional household injury was, once again, highest in the informal settlements (Figure 5), where dependence on



fossil fuels for heating and cooking correlated with a substantially higher incidence of burns (Table 4).

Similarly, the proportion of injuries due to 'other' causes – such as snake and spider bites, being injured by hand held agricultural implements – was also elevated in the informal settlements, where residents are exposed to a far greater variety and complexity of risk factors than those in formal housing areas.

Of the formal housing areas, Flats A was the only anomaly, returning an incidence rate for injuries due to falls of just over 3 806/100 000.

Risk and resilience factors

Of the risk and resilience factors listed in Table 4, only average persons per dwelling, duration of stay at present address, and alcohol use in the mornings distinguished between the areas (this is a highly

selective table, and does not report on any of the as yet unanalysed risk factors investigated).

The informal settlements had fewer persons per dwelling than the formal areas, but since these informal dwellings are themselves far more densely spaced, this cannot be read as an index of crowding, which by another measure would probably be highest in the informal areas.

Residents of the formal areas had lived in their dwellings for between four and seven times as many years as residents of the informal areas, suggesting that transience may be an important risk factor for injury, although it is not yet possible to comment on its correlation with environmental and other risk factors.

As already noted, home fuel type showed a strong association with the incidence of burns, while the

percentage of respondents using alcohol in the mornings was highest in the informal settlements with the highest injury rates.

The predominant forms of violence in all areas involved intimate and acquaintance violence

Interventions

The results suggest that different types of injury demanded different levels of intervention, and that prevention measures could be conceptualised at three different levels:

- Actions that can be undertaken by residents themselves on the basis of information only (such as clean up campaigns).
- Actions that could be taken by residents once they had received training in special skills (such as first aid, child care, basic victim support and advice).
- Interventions that could only be implemented by local authorities (such as traffic calming measures, lighting and sanitation and housing).

To address each of these levels, implementation of the survey data is an ongoing activity aimed at linking problems with prevention resources. It involves feeding the information back at three levels:

- To community residents themselves, by way of weekend safety workshops and through simple 'injury fact books'.
- To other interest groups who may have the resources to provide appropriate training to residents of the different communities, or may be able to provide requisite services, such as mobile telephones or basic first aid points.
- To local authorities responsible for managing the environment and stabilising communities. Given that environmental changes are perhaps the most powerful modes of preventing injuries due to violence and unintentional causes, these agencies have a fundamental role to play.

43% of all violent injuries were alcohol related

Implementation is underway and the effects of the intervention should soon start to become visible. Monitoring of the responsiveness (or non-response) of local authorities to the information based arguments for environmental interventions, is especially important.

Information approaches

While the causes of injury show great variations across different neighbourhood types, the magnitude of the injury problem

The prevention of violence may be facilitated by promoting personal safety in relation to unintentional injuries

due to both violent and unintentional causes is elevated in areas with poor infrastructures, high levels of problem drinking and other social and environmental risk factors.

Although far from a remarkable 'discovery', the point of this article has been to suggest how information based safety promotion approaches can be turned into concrete action, even in the absence of formal police and hospital based information systems.

Perhaps most importantly, it suggests that the prevention of violence may be facilitated by promoting personal safety in relation to unintentional injuries.

This applies in so far as the protection of people from burns, traffic injuries and so on, may produce a heightened sense of personal and communal worth. The result is an increased sense of care for the body and respect for its integrity. [PEA]

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Partners Against Crime

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Partnership policing, known to most as community policing, is in full operation in South Africa. But inadequate structures and guidelines exist to support the increase in these initiatives. Communication skills, initiative and proactive involvement of communities are key requirements.

Partnership policing developed during the 1980s when 'community policing' evolved into a new concept of independent agents working with formal structures. This conforms to the ideal of a multi-agency approach whereby the police, the public, elected officials, government and other agencies together address crime.

Comparative experiences suggest that incorporating a professional police service and a responsible public is the most effective way to create a safer environment. Countries that have established, or are in the process of establishing the partnership approach, are the United Kingdom, Australia, Holland and South Africa.

With no single model to fit these different contexts, each country is tailoring the concept to suit its own environment and crime problems. The principle of local solutions for local issues is especially important in South Africa, where diverse communities live side by side.

Community partnership

Critics of community policing have argued that, '[c]ommunity policing is an attempt at surveillance and control of communities by the police, under the guise of police offering assistance' (Gordon 1987: 141).

Since the 1980s, 'community policing' has been displaced by the emerging practice of the community as a network of expert agents and independent actors who enter into partnership with the police.

During the 1960s and 1970s, community policing was articulated by agencies concerned with social welfare (O'Malley and Palmer 1996). Though the public were involved in crime prevention, they still depended on police expertise. The police were placed in the central role of providing their 'clients' – both offenders and community members – with assistance (Bright 1991).

Macdonald (1995) noted that, 'the police were moving more towards being social workers rather than police officers'. While the emphasis on the multi-agency approach remains, there has been a shift in content and meaning.

During the 1980s, community responsibility was substantially reconsidered. A series of police originated commentaries emerged with a new vision of 'partnership' and 'shared responsibility'. This is supported by Avery (1981:3):

"The prevention of crime and the detection and punishment of offenders...are the direct responsibilities of ordinary citizens...It is destructive both of the police and public social health to attempt to pass over to the police the obligations and duties associated with the prevention of crime and the preservation of public tranquillity".

This shift has already occurred in the United Kingdom, Canada, France and the United States. Though critics emphasise that this partnership is an illusion at grassroots level, it provides an image of community empowerment.

The partnership approach emphasises that relations between the police and public should be consultative, and extend into the process of planning. Furthermore, the community must be involved in determining policing needs, the appropriate style of police work, as well as desirable forms of police intervention.

Ultimately, the new role of the police is that of an 'accountable

professional practitioner and a community leader who harnesses community resources to tackle the problems leading to crime (Lauer 1995). Police professionalism is being recast in its new mould.

Principles

'Partnership goes to the heart of what is meant by community safety' (Metropolitan Police 1994). Although this sounds like an advertising jingle, it highlights that no one agency alone can succeed in reducing crime.

In this regard, it is the aim of the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) to establish partnerships between government and to a lesser extent private organisations. The basis of the partnership must be the recognition that all agencies have something to gain by working together.

However, there is no single model of a partnership that applies to all contexts. Examples of partnerships will naturally vary in their objectives, resources and results. Each partnership should tailor the following six elements to adhere to its local environment:

- structure
- leadership
- information
- identity
- durability
- resources.

The partnership approach emphasises the following principles:

- There should be an equitable distribution of power. A powerful agency should not impose its views, priorities and objectives on others with less power.
- Trust is vital. An effective partnership is built on mutual trust, honesty and the sharing of information.

- The fundamental success factor is involving local government. As a provider of services that directly impact on the causes of crime – such as education, housing and recreation – the local authority has a major role to play.

Comparative case studies of partnerships highlight that without the full participation of local government, the prevention of crime is clearly inhibited (Home Office 1994).

Case studies

Although the case studies are drawn from international examples, they provide some principles and ideas that can be applied in South Africa.

The Wandsworth partnership

The positive results of the policing partnership in the London borough of Wandsworth have directly impacted on locals' quality of life and is the envy of other boroughs. The project between the Metropolitan Police and Wandsworth Council resulted in the launch of the partnership charter, which outlined the key tasks for the year ahead in 1993.

The fundamental success factor is involving local government

Since then, the partnership's work expanded to the point where a forum for greater discussion was required. The council has since formed a crime prevention and public safety sub-committee that is advised by the police and the Wandsworth Policing Consultative Committee.

A series of leaflets highlighting simple crime prevention measures for local residents and businesses by the crimewatch section of the partnership have also been produced.

The representation of racial minorities was consistently problematic. A conference was held to explore crime prevention needs within the borough's minority communities. Since then, a special partnership reference group has been created to further improve relations between the partnership and community groups.

Cleaning up Kings Cross

The Kings Cross area of London – a fairly typical inner city area – falls within the Islington and Camden Councils and four police divisions. Long known for problems linked to street prostitution, Kings Cross underwent a marked change around 1990 with the increased influx of drugs.

In October 1992, an agreement was reached to develop a partnership between the two local councils, the Metropolitan Police, British Transport Police, other agencies, such as Islington Safer Cities, and local community representatives.

Within the partnership, the police aimed to reduce crime as well as the fear of crime. The Kings Cross Partnership was officially launched with the arrest of numerous drug dealers, supported by highly visible uniformed patrols.

After coordinated representations from police and local residents, Camden Council restricted the licences of fast-food outlets that offered night time cover to drug dealers and prostitutes. A hotel in which suspected drug dealing took place was also closed down and the dealers arrested.

Police crime prevention officers are now working with the two councils and the private sector to eliminate areas of drug dealing and prostitution by securing doorways and alleys, improving lighting, designing a closed circuit television system, and removing street furniture known to provide cover for dealers.

The impact has been immense. Kings Cross has become safer and cleaner, police have regained

control of the streets and residents believe that crime can be overcome.

Business contribution

The business sector has three main contributions to make:

- Most businesses suffer considerable losses as a result of crime. Since every business is part of a local community, it is in their interest to help minimise the impact of crime within the community.
- Businesses have the opportunity to contribute to the quality of life in their local community. In tackling crime, it is appropriate to invite business leaders to offer their ideas and managerial and problem solving skills to local partnerships.
- Local, national and international businesses have proved useful sources of short term project funding. However, the potential for further development is limited by general economic factors and the intense competition for business sector funding from a wide range of sources (Metropolitan Police 1994).

Though there are factors that may inhibit business involvement, the business community should be a major partner. The following example illustrates business's involvement in creating a safer environment.

BAC's desire for central coordination seems to inhibit partnership policing at a local level

Enschede-Haven industrial site in Holland covers more than 300 hectares. It is close to a state highway and is transected by a railway line. Four hundred companies are located in 250 industrial buildings and due to the

site's location, crime became a daily problem.

At the insistence of entrepreneurs, the police itemised recent criminal incidents on the industrial site. They concluded that crime should be dealt with on a project basis and by means of a partnership approach.

This led to the establishment of the Reduce Crime Enschede-Haven project by police and the business community to perform the preventive surveillance needed on the site. Participants received a basic security diploma on completion of the training course.

During the project phase, the police were accompanied by a trainee during their evening, night and weekend surveillance shifts on the industrial site. As compensation, the trainees received a small salary in addition to unemployment benefit. A few months later, a government security firm agreed to employ them.

The project proved successful. However, due to the substantial decrease in crime, companies are threatening to end their participation. One way of avoiding this is by emphasising at the outset that without long term commitment and continued involvement, crime would probably recur.

Business Against Crime

While business is a major roleplayer, it is fundamental that the business community be considered an active partner and not just a source of funds. The partnership should balance creating a safer environment and achieving business objectives.

This is particularly important in South Africa where the business community is actively involved in crime prevention. Business Against Crime (BAC), started in 1996, was originally a lobby group focusing on business involvement in crime prevention.

Now seen as an implementing body, it appears to have become stretched

beyond its means. Muted voices of criticism are now being heard. The *Mail & Guardian* (7 February 1997) recently argued that:

"while [BAC] would have been helpful to the [SAPS], particularly with regard to supply of technology and expertise, indications are that it has been co-opted by the political establishment and its critical voice is no longer heard."

At present, partnership policing falls under the auspices of community policing

In turn, BAC's desire for central coordination seems to inhibit partnership policing at a local level. Local expectations have been raised, but have not been fulfilled, leaving many partnership initiatives disillusioned with centralised business involvement.

SA partnerships

At present, partnership policing falls under the auspices of community policing. In some parts of the country successful partnerships are well established, but in many others there are either no partnerships or activities which appear *ad hoc* and uncoordinated.

The prescribed SAPS framework for establishing police/community partnerships are seen as the best way forward for policing. However, policy guidelines are only the legal framework in which to enforce the concept. With a country in transition and weak public organisations, public/private partnerships are inevitable.

As a result, partnership policing is not new in South Africa. Indeed, before the political transition, public/private partnerships had already emerged. The spawning of the private security industry in the 1980s and the development of

neighbourhood watch schemes in white suburbs were partnerships attempting to combat crime.

However, the concept changed after the 1994 elections, with public/private partnerships becoming legitimate, accountable and transparent. South Africa is making great strides in developing partnership projects.

The equal sharing of power in the partnership is proving almost impossible to put into practice

The implementation of Community Police Forums (CPFs) was an important move towards getting the police and the community to work together. Each operational CPF has formed partnerships with other community interest groups and partnerships are tailored to the needs of the local community.

For example, a partnership between the youth and police in Orlando, Soweto, established a youth subforum to address high youth crime rates. In Gallo Manor, a northern suburb of Johannesburg, the domestic workers have formed a subforum to work with the police to counter burglaries.

The Benoni SAPS, in partnership with the local chamber of commerce, has created a business watch with a kiosk in the centre of town, to encourage the reporting of and action against crime in the Central Business District.

National projects

Beyond local partnerships, there are several national projects in operation or in the pipeline. The 'Adopt a Cop' project of the SAPS is proving to be a successful partnership between schools and the police.

Each school 'adopts' a police officer from their local station. The 'cop' establishes a relationship with the school by attending events,

talking to the children about safety, as well as being receptive to any problems the children may have. This has helped significantly with the reporting of child abuse.

Business has also involved itself in various initiatives with the police:

- McKinsey, an international management consultancy, is working with the most needy police stations. McKinsey is helping to develop strategic plans tailored to overcome specific problems in each station. 'Project Lifeline' has already assisted several police stations with logistical problems so that they may focus on problem solving and service delivery.
- Business Against Crime (BAC) has proposed further partnerships between the police and the business community through the 'Adopt a Station' project. A local business is to be matched with its police station so that business expertise can be used in police training, resources, maintenance, as well as fleet management. As yet, the project has not been operationalised.
- Many CPFs are forming Section 21 companies, whereby local businesses sponsor or donate funds for various projects. The project has proved very successful for numerous police stations and CPFs. However, many of these initiatives are short term solutions. The challenge is to maintain these initiatives and involve local government.

The two problems of local government and power are not alien to South Africa

South African problems

Although there are many positive elements in the establishment of partnerships in South Africa, there

are specific problems. The internal structure of the SAPS has to be revised so that police officials at local level are empowered.

The present procedures which require obtaining permission from national level for any decisions made locally are time consuming and inefficient. Furthermore, middle management at most police stations is unprofessional and disorganised.

A recurring problem is the lack of participation by local government structures in the CPFs. Local governments include many roleplayers who can successfully intervene in issues that precipitate crime. Local authorities need to be introduced within the police framework provided by the Constitution, in order to make them accountable locally.

The partnership should at the outset set clearly defined objectives, and measure the achievements of these

Community empowerment is another problem. The equal sharing of power in the partnership is proving almost impossible to put into practice. Realistically, there will always be a discrepancy in power between the police and the community, because power ultimately remains in the hands of the state agencies (Jones *et al* 1984; Oppler 1996).

It is unrealistic to assume that police/community partnerships will reach a consensus without conflict. Confrontation is a positive step towards defining a power relationship. The two problems of local government and power are not alien to South Africa. International experiences with partnership policing are confronted with similar issues.

The way forward

South Africa's partnership policing is still in its infancy. To become

more successful, several areas need to be developed.

First, local government must be the focus. The councils must take an active and leading role at a senior level. This can be achieved by publishing a 'code of practice', agreed upon between the various central government departments and local government, the police and correctional services.

The code would set out best practices in terms of the partnership's organisation, structure and functions, and the role of the police, correctional services and local councils. The active participation of local councils will encourage a wider acceptance of responsibility among the potential partners.

However, if local councils get involved, the *ad hoc* manner of developing local partnerships and projects has to be replaced with a structured plan. The partnership should at the outset set clearly defined objectives, and measure the achievements of these.

Second, reducing crime through education also needs urgent attention. Effective family support and control can help young people avoid criminal activities, and equip them to lead a life as law abiding citizens.

Partnerships must be developed between parents, schools, provincial Departments of Education, Health and Welfare, and the police. Local forums incorporating these bodies should be established to help address youth crime.

Third, the sharing of best practices through case studies of local and international partnerships' evolution and success, is an important resource. South Africa

must take the opportunity to use European and American experiences as benchmarks for its own development.

For example, the issue of maintaining the momentum of partnerships consistently proves to be a problem in both the United Kingdom and South Africa. A British Home Office survey produced the following themes that can contribute to the maintaining of a partnership:

- The need for greater communication and understanding of the duties and functions of other agencies.
- The importance of drawing in voluntary and non-government organisations.
- The value of dedicated staff and sound training.
- The role of central government.
- The need for greater resources, funding and leadership (Metropolitan Police 1994).

Maintaining the momentum of partnerships consistently proves to be a problem in both the United Kingdom and South Africa

Finally, it must be acknowledged by all participants that preventing crime is as important as tackling its consequences. Roleplayers must do everything possible to prevent crime and create safer communities by promoting partnerships between the police, local government and the private and voluntary sectors.

UPEGI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Institute for Security Studies, Business Against Crime and the SAPS are working in partnership on documenting best partnership initiatives from across the country to alleviate crime. This will be published as part of the ISS Monograph Series by August 1997, translated into five South African languages and distributed nationally to station level officers, business representatives, community police forums, subforums and community interest groups.

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When the Victim is a Woman

CRIME

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United Nations Interregional Crime
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As victims of crime, women are worse off than men. The International Crime (Victim) Survey suggests that traumatic female victimisation, especially rape, sexual assault and domestic violence, requires much more attention, especially in the context of social development and crime prevention policy.

Women are subject to criminal victimisation as are men. Yet, for some crimes women may run higher or lower risks, while for others they are the conventionally exclusive potential and/or real victims. The latter category includes various types of sex related incidents.

The International Crime (Victim) Survey (IC(V)S) is one of the tools that may assist in collecting information on this type of victimisation.

International survey

The IC(V)S is a comparative research exercise involving more than 50 countries. The survey is coordinated by an International Working Group composed of representatives of the Ministry of Justice of The Netherlands, the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) and the Home Office of the United Kingdom.

Due to its representative and wide geographical coverage – including both developed and developing countries – the IC(V)S can be considered one of the major international comparative criminological projects.

In the IC(V)S, random samples of population aged 16 years and above are interviewed about their victimisation experiences.

The questionnaire includes questions on 13 types of crime against the household and the person. It also canvasses opinions about reporting to the police and police performance, patterns of crime prevention, fear of crime and attitudes towards punishment.

Despite standard methodology, the IC(V)S revealed that the cultural messages in varying contexts or in the wording of the questions might elicit different answers in different languages, countries and cultural contexts. This is critical for sexual incidents.

The IC(V)S results on sexual incidents therefore need to be interpreted with caution. The survey may be distorted either by over- or under-reporting. In some of the most industrialised countries covered by the IC(V)S, high sensitivity to gender issues corresponded to high rates of reported victimisation.

Even though some incidents which had not been reported to the police may have been reported to the survey interviewers, many sexual incidents remain unknown. Survey reporting might be reduced because sexual incidents and assaults often happen within the family.

The IC(V)S was not designed to deal with domestic violence, and in some cultural contexts, household surveys may further reduce reporting. For example, in some developing countries interviews were often carried out in the presence of family members. This might have precluded the respondent from revealing victimisation involving either the partner or relatives or friends.

Women victims

The highest rates of sexual incidents were found in Africa and Latin America, where 19% of the interviewed women experienced sexual victimisation in the last five years (Figure 1). In developing countries, the least victimised were women in Asia.

As regards industrialised countries, women in the New World were more frequently victims than those in Western Europe, which exhibited the same victimisation rates as

those in countries in transition. On average, women in developing countries run a much higher risk of sexual incidents than in the rest of the world.

Victims were asked to describe what happened and categorise the incident as rape, attempted rape, indecent assault or offensive behaviour. On average, half the incidents were defined as 'offensive behaviour', while about 5% were described as rapes and 15% as attempted rapes; 28% of the victims described the incident as an indecent aggression (Figure 2).

Women in Africa were more frequently exposed to rapes and attempted rapes. Approximately a third of the sexual incidents in Latin America and countries in transition were described as indecent assaults, and about a quarter as attempted rapes. More than half of women victims in the New World and Western Europe tend to describe their experience as 'offensive behaviour'.

Context of victimisation

Assault and robbery are the most serious types of non-gender specific personal victimisation considered by the IC(V)S. Discernible differences exist between male and female victims of these crimes.

A single offender was involved in more than 40% of robberies against women, while multiple offenders more frequently acted against male

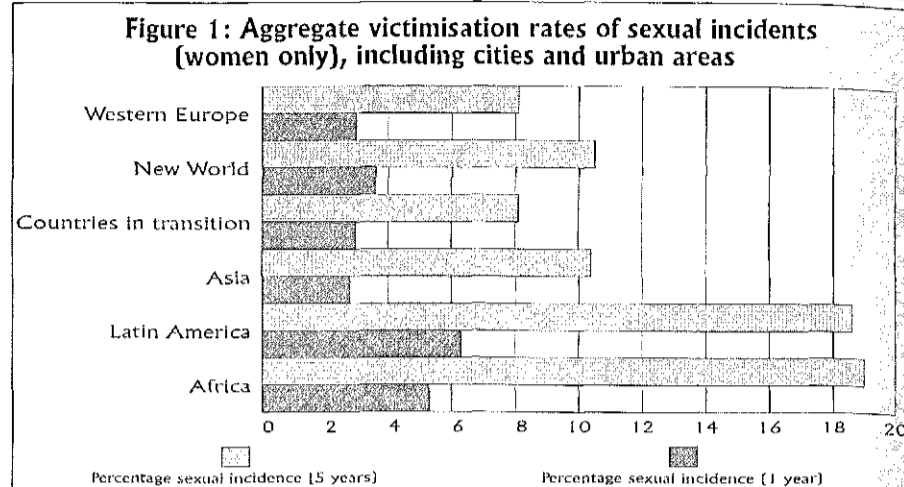


Table 1: Male and female victims of (non-sexual) assault and robbery, 1992-96

		Male victims	Female victims
Single offender	robbery	19.2	40.7
	non-sexual assault	33.0	55.0
Offender known by name	robbery	5.7	5.2
	non-sexual assault	24.4	33.2
In own home*	robbery	8.7	15.1
	non-sexual assault	10.8	22.6

* 1996 only

victims (Table 1). More than half of assaults against women involved a single offender, while this was the case with one third of men.

Women were assaulted and robbed in their own homes twice as frequently as men. Assaults were more often committed by offenders known by name or by sight.

As regards sexual incidents, a large portion of sexual victimisation took place either near to, or in the

victims' own home (Table 2). The highest percentage was observed for rape (61% - of which 37% in their own home and 24% near their home).

More than half of attempted rapes and non-sexual assaults against women also happened in the victim's home or nearby. Evidence from the IC(V)S as well as from other studies indicate that in most cases sexual assault (especially rape) is not an impulsive behaviour.

Very often such aggression is not an isolated incident, but one of a series within a difficult relationship. Mostly it involves a previous period of interaction with the victim, even if only by sight (Easteal 1992).

The least serious forms of sexual victimisation (indecent assault and offensive behaviour) occurred less frequently in the victim's home. It can be assumed that such incidents happen in public places, in the street or on public transport.

On average, 10% of the incidents happened at the workplace. This was particularly the case with the

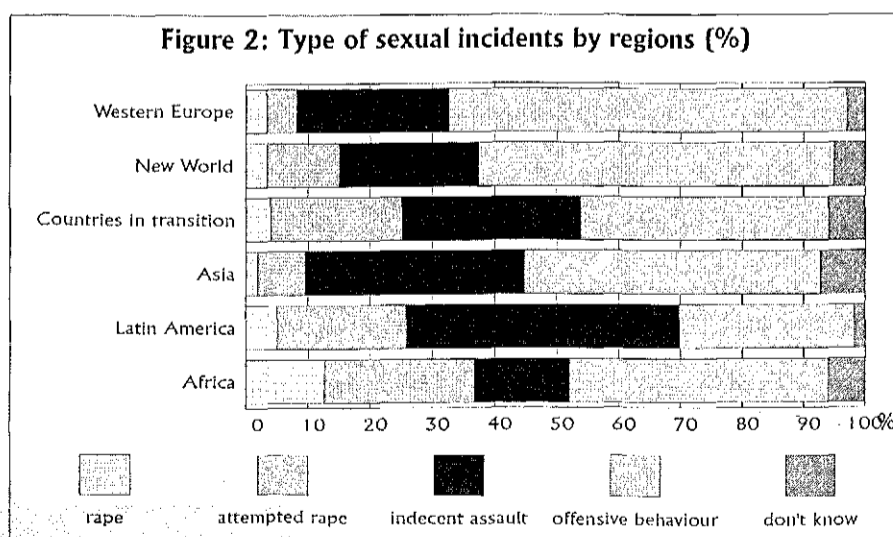


Table 2: Where victimisation of women happened by type of incident, 1996

	in own home	near own home	at the workplace	elsewhere (city)	elsewhere (country)	abroad
rape	33.7	22.9	9.9	20.7	10.7	2.1
attempted rape	18.2	37.6	9.6	27.0	5.6	1.1
(non-sexual) assault	22.6	29.7	12.0	27.9	4.5	1.7
indecent assault	8.8	33.2	9.5	33.9	9.8	3.9
offensive behaviour	4.7	17.9	11.6	52.8	7.8	2.4

least serious forms of sexual harassment and non-sexual assaults.

Furthermore, sexual incidents at the workplace included approximately 10% of the cases of rape, attempted rape and indecent assaults. Sexual harassment and violence against women at work thus include a substantial portion of very serious incidents.

These findings suggest that the difficulties women face in accessing the labour market are not limited to reduced opportunities, discrimination and disparity in wages. In addition, the workplace often becomes the scenario of sexual abuse of some sort.

It is also known that sexual abuse at work mostly involves a power relationship, in which the male offender is usually hierarchically superior to the female victim. In these cases, most victims do not report what happened to the police or any other authority since they are afraid of the consequences for their career or even of termination of employment.

Survey results therefore confirm that women are at a high risk of violence at home or in its vicinities

(Lynch 1991). Similar results were obtained by other surveys, which showed that the rate of violence committed by intimates was up to 10 times greater for females than for males (Bachman 1994).

Two thirds of the women victims of rape knew the offender by name (Table 3). Non-sexual assaults and attempted rapes also involved a majority of offenders known by name or at least by sight.

In a significant percentage of cases, the offender was the spouse/partner (11,4% of non-sexual assaults and 5,6% of rapes and offensive behaviours) or boyfriend (8% of rapes and attempted rapes).

More frequently the offender was the ex-partner (especially in rape

cases, 14,1%) or ex-boyfriend (especially in attempted rapes – 16,2% – and indecent assault – 14,5%), a close friend (about 20% of rapes and attempted rapes) or a relative (14% of rapes, attempted rapes and indecent assaults).

Fear of crime

IC(V)S indicators of fear of crime refer to:

- Feeling unsafe in the street after dark.
- Avoiding particular streets or areas for security reasons after dark.
- Likelihood of burglary.

Victims of crime, both male and female, generally show greater fear of crime than the average respondents. Most women victims of sexual incidents and non-sexual assault feel unsafe and use the precaution of avoiding particular places after dark.

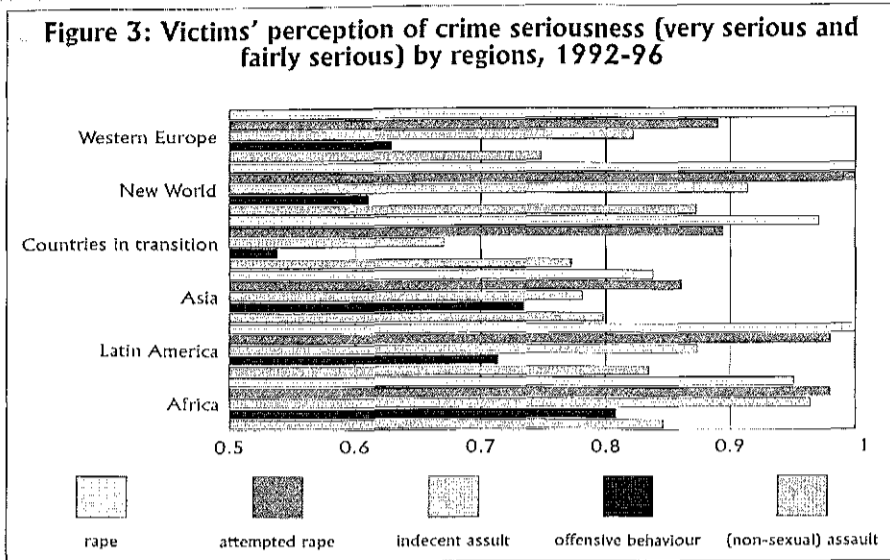
Women victims of attempted rape showed the highest percentages for each of the three indicators of fear of crime. Attempted rape more than other victimisation experiences

Table 3: Offender(s) known by type of incident against women, 1996

	known by name	known by sight	not known	did not see the offender
rape	62.9	5.8	31.3	–
attempted rape	32.1	14.8	52.2	–
(non-sexual) assault	32.7	15.0	49.3	1.4
indecent assault	27.3	10.3	61.1	0.8
offensive behaviour	22.3	10.1	65.5	1.9

Table 4: IC(V)S indicators of fear of crime by gender and type of victimisation, 1992-96

	overall attitudes victims & non-victims		non-sexual assault victims		rape victims	attempted rape victims	indecent assault victims	offensive behaviour victims
	male	female	male	female	female	female	female	female
feel very unsafe or a bit unsafe	28.0	48.7	38.5	56.7	54.3	59.8	52.3	45.4
avoid areas after dark	30.2	46.9	43.0	60.1	56.3	69.7	65.6	62.9
break in likely or very likely	42.7	42.7	52.7	51.5	59.5	60.4	55.3	48.8



leads to fear of crime. The threat of violence provokes higher fear than violence itself.

Access to justice

Industrialised countries show the highest rates of reporting to the police, followed by countries in transition and finally developing countries. On average, the highest number of reported cases relates to car theft and the lowest to personal theft and sexual incidents – only 20% of which were reported to the police. Data show a dark figure of 80 out of 100 sexual incidents.

The respondents' perception of the seriousness of the crime experienced may influence reporting. Most sexual incidents – irrespective of the type – were considered either very serious or fairly serious.

As expected, rape was considered the most serious (96,4%), followed by attempted rape (94,5%), indecent assault (81,7%), non-sexual assault (79,9%) and offensive sexual behaviour (66,4%).

As many observers have pointed out, the level of seriousness perceived by victims of offensive sexual behaviour might also be influenced by local crime conditions – in some countries respondents tend to see all offences as more serious than in others – and culture – a higher sensitivity to this particular topic.

Women victims in Asia expressed on average lower scores on the seriousness scale. The highest scores were observed with African victims who tend to perceive all types of victimisation more seriously than women in other regions (Figure 3).

In most regions, women victims showed a marked distinction between seriousness of rape and attempted rape – at the top of the seriousness scale – and other forms of victimisation. The latter in turn, were at approximately the same,

but lower, level of perceived seriousness across the board.

In Western Europe, the New World and countries in transition, women victims of incidents defined as 'offensive behaviour' considered this significantly less serious than victims in other regions.

These differences are reflected in variations in the proportion of 'minor' incidents input in the level of reporting. The women's position, awareness, freedom, the concept of privacy, and the gender biased police culture are reflected in the reporting patterns.

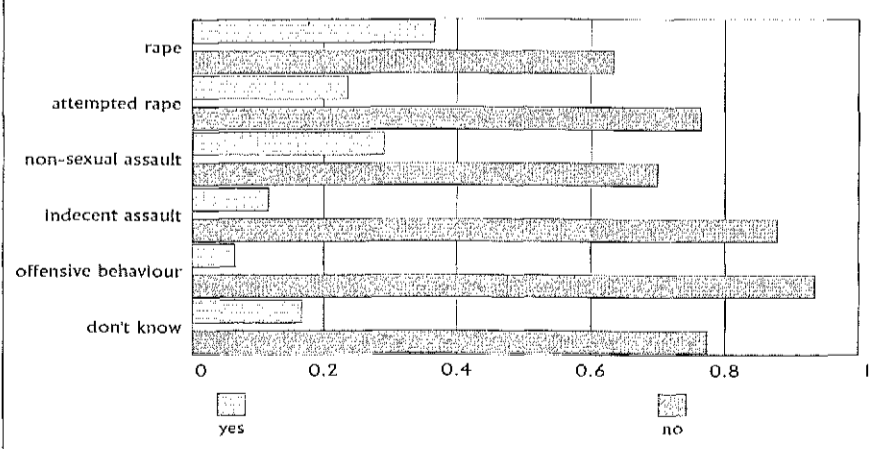
Total sexual victimisation is composed by a portion of violent crimes (rapes and attempted rapes) and others which may not be considered crimes. On average, more than two thirds of the incidents were described as crimes by victims (Table 5).

This was more frequent with rape (89,8%) and especially attempted rape (90,7%), while lower percentages of victims considered non-sexual assault, indecent assault and offensive behaviour as crimes.

Table 5: Victims' opinion whether victimisation experienced could be considered a crime by type of incident, 1992-96

Was it a crime?	Yes	no	don't know
rape	89.8	8.0	2.2
attempted rape	90.7	5.8	3.5
(non-sexual) assault	67.4	22.5	10.1
indecent assault	64.7	29.9	5.4
offensive behaviour	55.8	37.2	7.0

Figure 4: Reported crimes by type of incident, 1992-96



Reporting to police

The higher the seriousness of victimisation, the more reporting was observed. Approximately a quarter of non-sexual assaults and attempted rapes and one third of rapes were reported to the police (Figure 4). However, it appears that the perceived seriousness of the incident is not the only reason influencing whether to report a crime or not.

Only 6,5% of cases of offensive behaviour, ranking first as a non-reported type of crime, were reported, although the majority of victims considered their experience as a crime.

Different patterns in the relationship between reporting to the police and reporting to the survey are also found. In some cases both victimisation survey reporting and police reporting are high (for example, Tanzania, Argentina and among industrialised countries, the USA).

In others, however, either high levels of victimisation do not lead to a high level of police reporting (such as Egypt, Canada and Australia) or low victimisation rates lead to high reporting to the police (such as Switzerland and The Philippines).

Many of the reasons for under-reporting to the survey hold true for non-reporting to the police. A general lack of confidence in the police and, in particular, high risks of secondary victimisation once the incident is being reported to the police, also play a role.

Reasons for not reporting sexual incidents to the police include the perception that the incident was 'not serious enough' (35%), the victim 'solved it herself' (15%), or inappropriateness and/or inadequacy of the police (12%). Some victims did not dare to report (6,5%).

For sexual victimisation and assault, the special relation that often exists between the victim and offender might restrain reporting to

the police. Assaults from strangers are more likely to be reported than those by relatives or friends.

Among the reasons for reporting, the intention to stop these incidents happening ranked first and was mentioned by 45% of victims who reported to the police, followed by the willingness that the offender is caught (35%). Approximately a quarter of victims also mentioned that they reported to get help from the police, and a similar percentage declared that they perceived reporting as a civic duty.

Police performance

Women's opinion about police performance in controlling and preventing crime is affected by victimisation. Women victims' evaluation of police activities in their residential area is more negative than that of the respondents in general (Table 6).

The types of crime which most influenced such an opinion were attempted rape and rape. It is interesting to note, however, that victims of all types of crime less frequently fell into the 'don't know' category.

The worst perception about police performance was expressed by victims of rape and attempted rape, whose attitudes, as already observed, appeared most affected by the victimisation experienced.

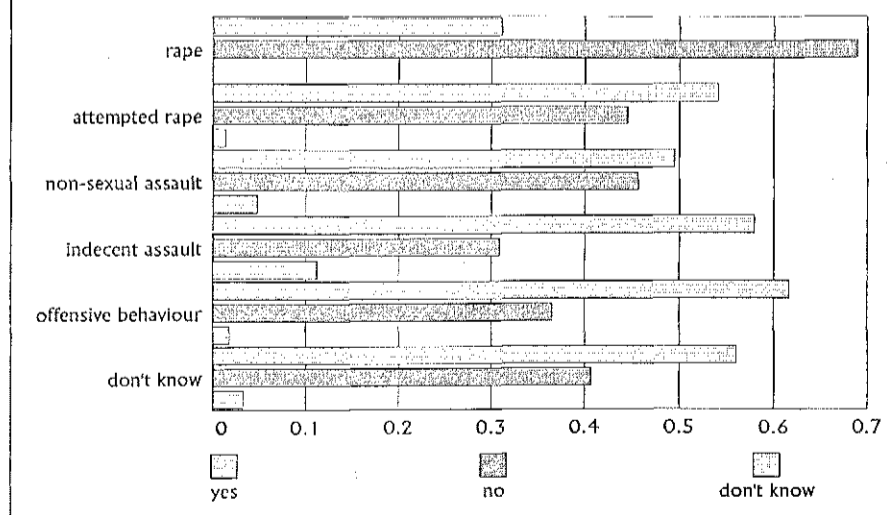
The IC(V)S also asked victims who reported crimes whether they were satisfied with the way the police dealt with their report. Patterns observed were different from those related to police performance as such. Rape victims were frequently dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with their report (Figure 5).

About half of women victims of other types of sexual incidents and non-sexual assault – which were,

Table 6: Women's opinion on police performance in preventing crime, 1996

	good job	not a good job	don't know
men's overall opinion	38.3	38.8	23.0
women's overall opinion	35.0	36.5	28.5
non-sexual assault victims	31.6	45.8	22.6
rape victims	22.1	57.3	20.7
attempted rape victims	25.2	54.1	20.7
indecent assault victims	30.2	49.2	20.6
offensive behaviour victims	35.4	39.2	25.4

Figure 5: Satisfaction with the police on reporting, by type of reported crime, 1996



however, less frequently reported to the police – expressed a positive opinion about the way the police reacted to their report. These data suggest that the seriousness of rape may not only lead to more reporting, but also to higher expectations regarding police action subsequent to reporting.

Among the reasons for dissatisfaction, women mentioned that 'the police did not do enough' (45%), 'they were not interested' (35%) and 'did not find the offender' (33%). Furthermore, many victims of sexual incidents indicated that the police were impolite (45%). This latter reason was rarely mentioned by victims of other types of crime.

Special attention

The survey data help to disclose the broad area of victimisation experienced by women. But the nature of reporting both to the survey as well as to the police undercut the 'true' extent of victimisation of women.

The fact remains that women victims are worse off within the generally bad position of crime victims. Victimisation due to domestic violence in particular is still disclosed with much difficulty, or not at all.

Women from the countries participating in the IC(V)S enjoy different status and levels of freedom. There are also different levels of awareness of violence against women. This leads to

different perceptions of victimisation on the one hand, and different levels of readiness to talk about such episodes, or report them to public authorities, on the other.

The seriousness of victimisation experienced by male survey respondents should not be underestimated. But it appears that traumatic female victimisation – especially rape, sexual assault and domestic violence – requires much more analysis and consideration in the context of social development and crime prevention policy.

In May 1997, the United Nations Crime Commission approved a resolution on the 'Elimination of violence against women'. This, *inter alia*, urges member states to utilise the 'Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice', presented as an annex to the resolution.

The 'Strategies and Practical Measures' include sections dealing with the police and with research and evaluation. As regards recommendations for the police, member states are encouraged to provide for appropriate measures, including:

- Developing and implementing appropriate law provisions, investigation techniques and police procedures.
- Adopting appropriate police powers and policies to ensure a wider participation of women in the police (United Nations 1997).

As regards research and evaluation, the resolution urges member states, the Institutes comprising the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme network and other relevant bodies to develop crime surveys on the nature of violence against women.

Data and information must be gathered on a gender disaggregated basis for analysis together with existing data, around needs assessment, decision making and policy making in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice.

Furthermore, the incidence of violence against women, arrest and clearance rates, prosecution and case disposition of offenders must be monitored and annual reports issued. The effectiveness of the criminal justice system in fulfilling the needs of women subject to violence must also be evaluated.

IPED

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Safety At Any Cost

CRIME *Conflict*

Community Perceptions of Pagad

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Public Opinion Service
Idasa Public Information Centre

A Cape Flats survey finds people weary of crime and of an ineffective criminal justice system. While not necessarily approving of Pagad's vigilante methods, people feel that at least some action is being taken.

Crime has become a national obsession in South Africa. The public has become increasingly vocal in its demand for perpetrators to be apprehended and brought to justice. Perceptions that the police service and the justice system cannot deliver, have led to an increase in the demands for drastic action.

On August 4 1996 the community organisation People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad) took such drastic action. The murder of reputed gang leader Rashaad Stagie in full view of the South African public – via the media – made Pagad a household name overnight.

Pagad activities quickly spread to other areas of the country, but what made the Cape Flats the flash point?

As a first step in understanding these events, Idasa's Public Opinion Service (POS) surveyed people in Cape Flats communities

where Pagad activity was the most intense. Respondents were asked questions relating to perceptions of crime in the area, the effectiveness of the police and courts, and of Pagad itself.

Table 1: Most important problems facing the community

Problem mentioned	Percentage
Gangsterism	41
Drugs	39
Burglary, Theft, Robbery & Housebreaking	29
Crime	18
Unemployment	15
Violence	11
Shebeens and Alcohol	8
Car theft	5
General state of decline	4
Education	2
Loitering	2

[Total mentions equal more than 100% because respondents could give more than one answer]

The questionnaire and survey were designed by Idasa's Public Opinion Service and administered by Research Surveys using telephone interviews with a sample of 500 respondents in early September 1996.

Telephone interviews – rather than personal face-to-face interviews – were used out of concern for the sensitivity of the issues and the safety of fieldworkers.

The sample was drawn from selected suburbs in Cape Town, especially the Cape Flats. The areas included were chosen by first locating suburbs marked by Pagad's anti-crime activities, and then drawing an outer boundary around these areas along suburb boundary lines.

High crime levels

'Gang related violence is claiming as many lives in the Cape Peninsula as political violence in the killing fields of KwaZulu-Natal' (*The Argus*, 8 December 1995). This hints at both the type, and the intensity of criminal activity experienced by Cape Flats communities.

Approximately the same number of deaths had occurred over 11 months in 1995 in the relatively tiny geographical area of the Cape Flats,

CRIME *Conflict*

as in KwaZulu-Natal over the same period. Despite this, Western Cape province was being pressurised to redeploy policemen to KwaZulu-Natal.

It comes as no surprise, then, that when asked about the most important problems facing their communities, people mentioned gangsterism and crime most frequently (Table 1). Interestingly, unemployment was mentioned by only 15% of respondents, ranking it only fifth on the list. Until recently, unemployment was the primary concern of South Africans.

This is consistent with findings of the National Crime Survey conducted in October 1995 (Nedcor Crime Project Report, June 1996). Crime or specific crimes were mentioned by 46%, while unemployment was mentioned by only 18% of the respondents.

When people were asked about specific types of crime in their neighbourhoods, gangs and drugs again dominated the responses (Table 2).

Problem mentioned	Percentage
Drugs	22
Gangsterism	22
House Breaking	11
Burglary	11
Car Theft	10
Robbery	8
Shooting	7
Unemployment	6
Mugging	4
Murder	4
Alcohol/Drinking	3

(Total mentions equal more than 100% because respondents could give more than one response)

People also felt that compared to five years ago, crime is now more rampant in their areas; they are less safe at home and in their neighbourhoods. Drug and gang activity was also seen to have increased over the same period.

The greatest threat to the moral fabric of the community was overwhelmingly perceived to be

Figure 1: Perceptions of safety at home and in the neighbourhood, and levels of crime, gangsterism and drug activity

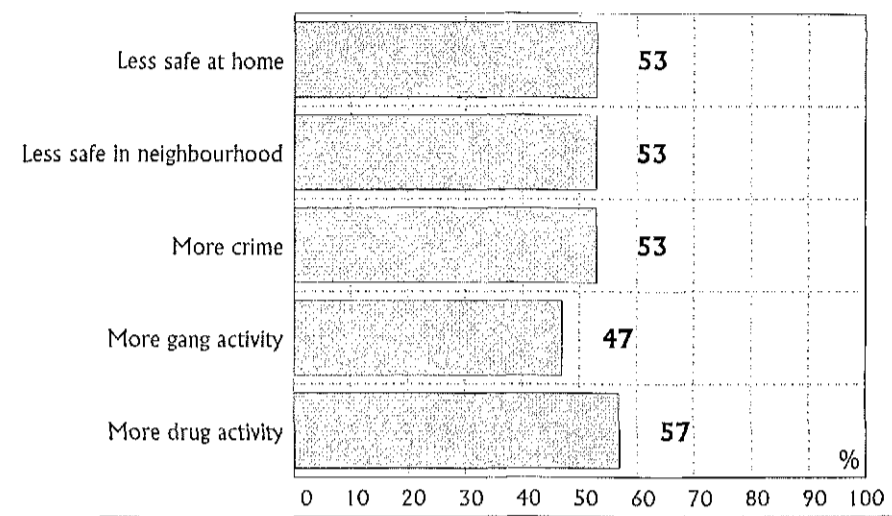


Figure 2: Perception of positive contribution by gangs

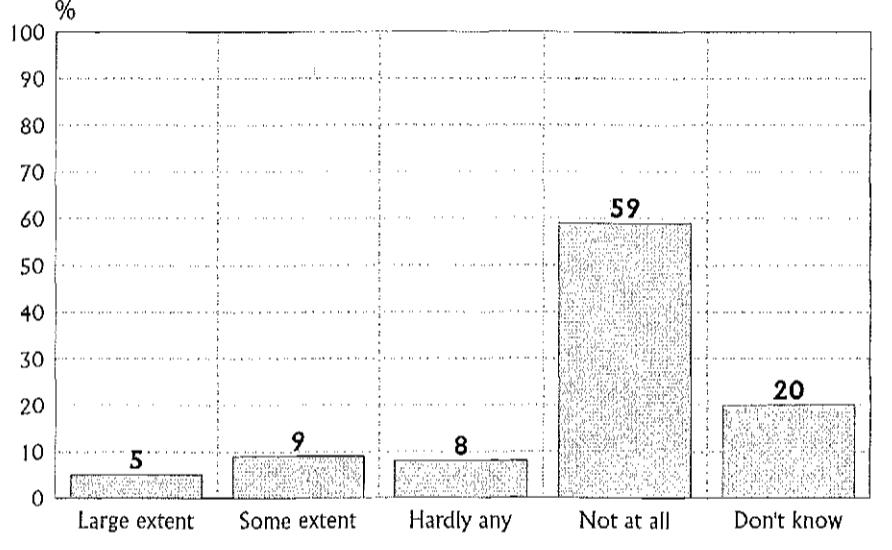
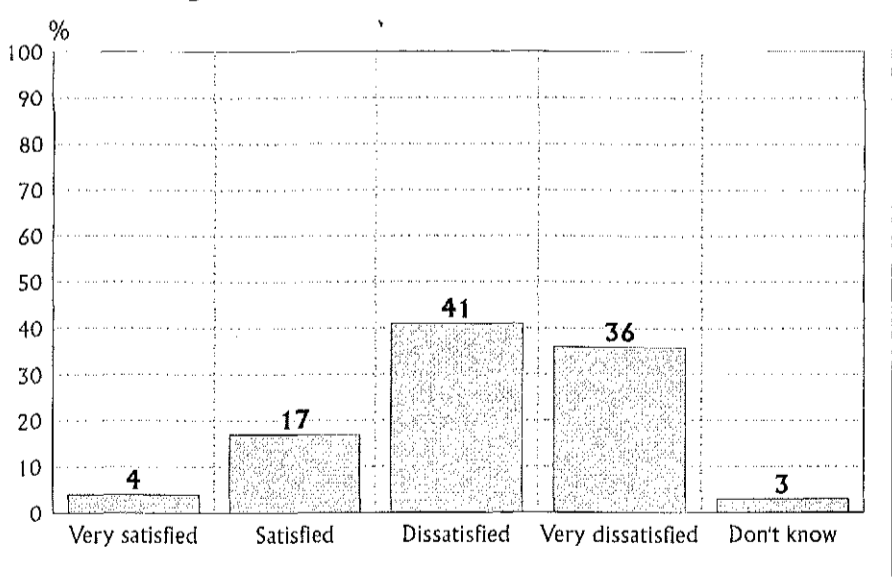


Figure 3: Satisfaction with the crime situation



gangsters (45%) and drug dealers (11%). Most felt that gangs did not make a positive contribution to the community, with 59% saying gangs made no contribution at all (Figure 2).

These are arguably perceptions and not necessarily the reality. The media is frequently blamed for fuelling panic over crime. However, more than one third of those interviewed, or a member of their household, had been a victim of crime since 1991.

Of those, most had experienced a break-in or burglary (48%), theft of some description (31%), an assault (18%) or mugging (16%). In all, 4% had experienced an attempted murder and 2% a rape.

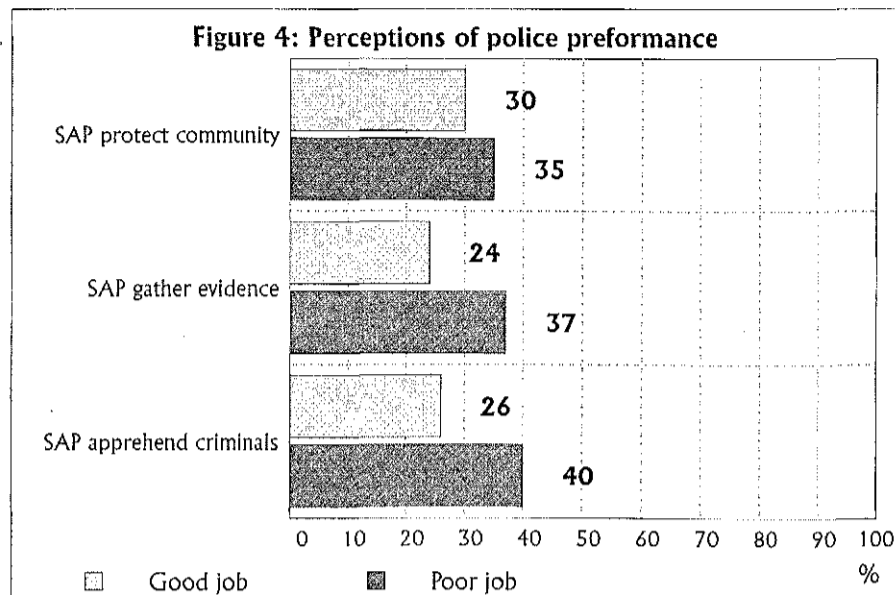
Respondents were generally extremely dissatisfied with crime in their areas. In all, 77% were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied (Figure 3). The same is true for safety at home (50%) and in the neighbourhood (58%).

Perceptions of police

Given the high levels of crime in these areas and residents' dissatisfaction, the perceptions of policing and the justice system need to be explored. Only 37% of people said they approved of the way the South African Police Service (SAPS) had performed over the last year.

A majority (55%) said they disapproved or strongly disapproved. When asked about the way the police had solved problems or dealt with cases that had come before them, 52% were dissatisfied.

More importantly, there was a certain amount of cynicism towards



the police. Many did not expect to get fair results when dealing with the police: 39% said citizens receive fair results 'some of the time' and 19% said 'hardly ever'.

Furthermore, 42% believed the police treated people fairly and handled their problems in a fair way only 'some of the time' with 15% saying 'hardly ever'. There was no great enthusiasm about the job police did in protecting the community, apprehending suspects or gathering evidence (Figure 4).

In addition, trust in the police is not high. Only 5% said that they could trust the police to do what is right 'always'. Twenty nine percent said the police could be trusted to do what is right 'most of the time' while nearly half (44%) thought this applied 'some of the time'.

This is hardly surprising when one looks at the perceptions of corruption in the police. Three quarters (75%) of those interviewed felt that at least some members of the police were engaged in corruption (Figure 5).

Even more disturbing is that victims of crime had much more negative evaluations of the police (Table 3). Victims are far more likely to be dissatisfied with the way police solve problems or deal with cases. Just over two thirds felt the police treat people unfairly, whereas those who had not been victims of crime were far more optimistic about police treatment.

Perceptions of courts

Perceptions of the courts' effectiveness were no better. However, the response of many to these questions was 'don't know'. This is probably due to people having less contact with, and therefore less knowledge of, the courts in South Africa than they do about the police who are more visible in the community.

Most disapproved of the courts' performance (52%), and are dissatisfied with the courts' ability to deal with cases that come before them (50%). Neither were the respondents confident that the courts were reaching the right decisions or giving appropriate sentences:

- 19% said that the courts did a good job in reaching the right decisions about a defendant's guilt or innocence, while 32% said that they did a poor job.
- Only 15% said that the courts did a good job giving

Table 3: Views of police according to whether people had been a victim of crime

Victim of crime	Disapprove of job	Dissatisfied with job	Treat people unfairly	Do poor job protecting community	Do poor job gathering evidence
Yes	68	67	68	49	50
No	47	43	43	28	31

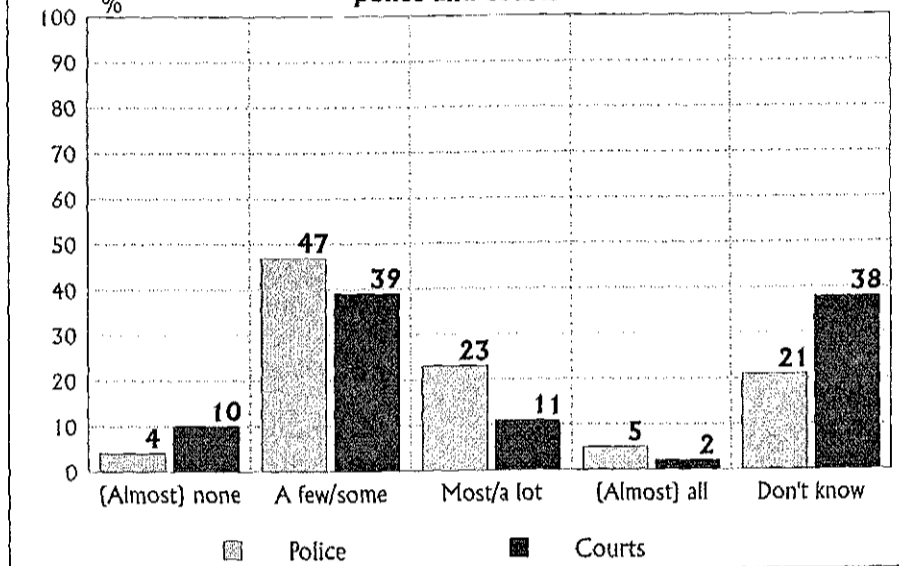
(entries in cells give "row" percentages)

Table 4: Views of courts according to whether people had been a victim of crime

Victim of crime	Disapprove of job	Dissatisfied with job	Treat people unfairly	Do poor job giving sentences	Do poor job reaching decisions
Yes	66	64	68	58	41
No	43	38	52	35	26

(entries in cells give "row" percentages)

Figure 5: Perceptions of level of corruption in the police and courts



appropriate sentences to people they found guilty. A damning 43% said performance was 'poor'.

- Only 23% felt that the courts made fair decisions 'all' or 'most of the time'. A further 23% said 'hardly ever' or 'never'.
- 29% felt the courts treated people fairly 'most of the time'.

Again those who have been victims of crime were far more negative about the courts than others (Table 4). This emphasises the disillusionment of those who have cause to use and rely on the institutions of justice.

People were not sure about the honesty of staff in the justice system either. A majority (52%) said at least some of the judges/prosecutors were engaged in corruption (Figure 5). This does not bode well for trust in the system.

Only 5% felt that they could trust the courts to do what was right 'always'; 26% said 'most of the time', 41% said 'some of the time' and 9% said 'never'. In all, 19% said that they 'didn't know'.

Attitudes towards Pagad

Not surprisingly, 97% of those interviewed had heard of Pagad. This appears to be the result of the very intense publicity given to the organisation by the media rather than direct personal contact with Pagad.

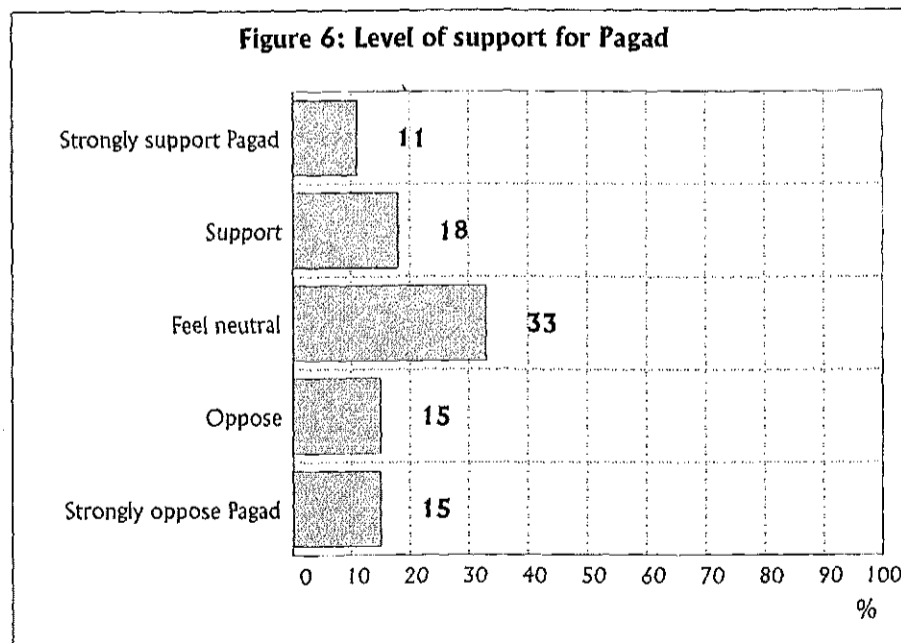
Although the sample was drawn from areas where Pagad activities had actually taken place, only 21% said there was a great deal of activity taking place in their area, with 27% saying 'some'. One fifth said that they 'did not know'.

Direct support for Pagad was muted. Approximately one third of respondents indicated that they supported the organisation (Figure 6). Another third felt neutral towards it, and a further third said they opposed it.

However, when asked about Pagad's effectiveness, people were much more positive. At the time of the survey, most (59%) felt that Pagad was effective, with only 24% describing it as 'ineffective' ~ 18% said that they 'didn't know'.

Respondents were asked how they thought 'people who are important to you' might feel about Pagad. While 29% of the sample actually supported the organisation, 45% felt their respected friends or colleagues would probably support it.

Figure 6: Level of support for Pagad



This is noteworthy since citizen organisations often trade on perceived, rather than actual levels of support. This seems to be the case here, as people tended to overestimate Pagad's actual level of support among their friends and colleagues.

When asked to describe their feeling towards Pagad, the following were mentioned by 5% or more of respondents:

Positive comments

- Pride/empowerment/respect 7%
- Positive feelings/doing good 7%
- Getting rid of gangs and drugs 6%
- Agree with principles/motives 6%
- Doing the right thing 5%

Mixed comments

- Agree with the principles but methods used are wrong 16%

Negative comments

- They take the law into their own hands 9%
- They must not take the law into their own hands 5%
- Disagree with action/method 8%
- Against killing 6%
- Scared/frightened 5%
- I am anti-violence 5%

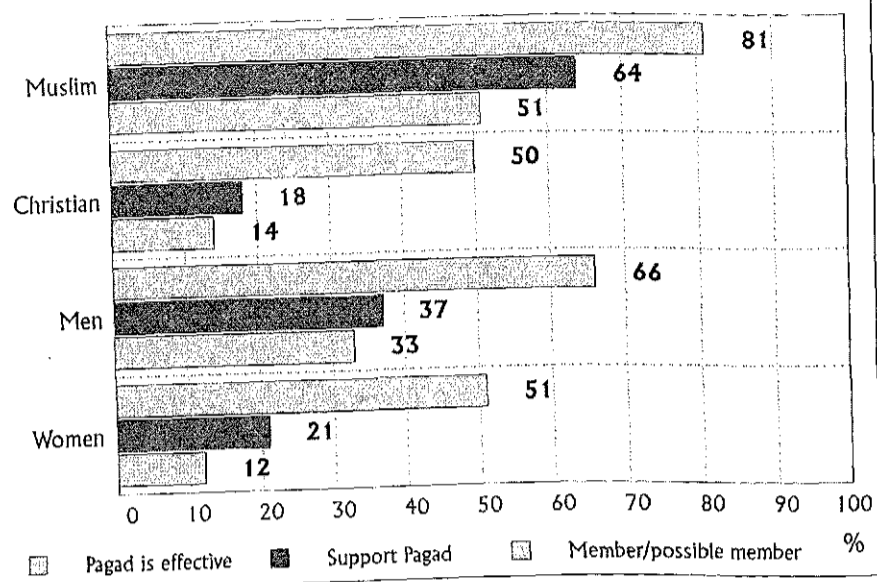
In a separate question people were asked who they thought Pagad represented:

- Muslims 26%
- The community 15%
- People/people of South Africa 9%
- People against drugs 3%
- People against gangsterism 2%
- Other Muslim related mentions 2%
- Christians 1%
- Don't know/can't say 26%

Pagad's support base

While the leadership of Pagad has been widely perceived to have taken on a religious – specifically Muslim – profile, the actual composition of its support base has remained a matter of debate.

Figure 7: Views/perceptions of Pagad by religion and gender



However, the Idasa survey clearly confirms that support for, and opinions about Pagad, vary along religious as well as ethnic and class lines.

The organisation clearly enjoys much more support in the Muslim community. In all, 64% of Muslim respondents said they supported Pagad compared to only 18% of Christians (Figure 7).

83% of those who perceived it to be a Muslim organisation said they would never join

Forty eight percent would join, or would consider joining the organisation, compared to only 12% of Christians. In fact, 75% of Christians said they would never join, compared to 37% of Muslims.

More than three quarters of Muslim people felt their friends supported the organisation (compared to one third of Christians), and more than half felt their friends were likely to join (13% of Christians).

Altogether, 81% of Muslims felt that Pagad was effective compared to one half of Christians (Figure 7).

Regarding perceptions about who it represented, 49% of Muslim

respondents felt that Pagad represented the community or the people, compared to 16% of Christian respondents. On the other hand, almost one third of Christians (29%) felt Pagad represented Muslims, compared to 12% of Muslims.

It appears that Pagad's perceived identity is an important factor in determining its potential support base: 83% of those who perceived it to be a Muslim organisation said they would never join. On the other hand, 57% of those who saw it representing the interests of the larger community said they were likely to, or might consider, joining.

However, other factors were also important in shaping perceptions of Pagad.

More than two thirds (68%) of the small Indian segment of the sample supported Pagad, compared to 28% of coloured people, and an even smaller proportion of white respondents (13%). Compared to 49% of coloured and 31% of white respondents, 81% of Indians felt the organisation has been effective.

English speakers were also consistently more likely to favour the organisation than Afrikaans speakers.

Favourable attitudes about Pagad increased steadily with income, and among professional occupation categories. In all, 46% of the highest income category (those earning over R6 000 per month) supported Pagad compared with only 20% of those in the lowest category (under R1 499 per month).

Favourable attitudes about Pagad increased steadily with income, and among professional occupation

Altogether, 44% of those with professional occupations supported Pagad, compared to 33% of blue collar workers.

Finally, there was also a significant gender split with 37% of men in support compared to 21% of women. Men held consistently more favourable attitudes about Pagad than women (Figure 7).

Future support

As far as active participation is concerned, 66% of respondents said they would never join Pagad, although 18% said that they would consider joining at some point.

Only 4% said that they would definitely join if they had the chance and 1% said that they were already members, while 11% said that they 'didn't know'. In terms of the future effectiveness of Pagad is concerned, 51% felt that Pagad could be effective, 23% believed the organisation would be ineffective and 27% were unsure.

As the survey data shows, people living in the Cape Flats where Pagad activities began, believe the crime situation has deteriorated and the police and courts are ineffective in dealing with their problems.

Men held consistently more favourable attitudes about Pagad than women

Given that most of those interviewed said they would never join Pagad, it would be interesting to monitor changes in people's attitudes over time in the area.

Since that fateful night in August 1996, Pagad has retained its high profile in the media. This is largely due to ongoing mass rallies and clashes Pagad has had with police and reputed gangsters and gang

leaders. The organisation itself has evolved with a change in leadership. However, the issues that led to the rise of Pagad, remain.

Most of those interviewed said they would never join Pagad

The fundamental problems relating to crime and the apparent helplessness of the police continue, providing fertile ground for Pagad's activities.

The police in Western Cape warn of increasing lawlessness and a 'descent into near-war' (*Mail & Guardian*, 9-15 May 1997). Attacks on the homes of alleged gangsters continue, as do gang related crimes, and the communities of the Cape Flats continue to wait and hope for justice. (EEG)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Cherrel Africa, Mikhail Rassool and Dr Bob Mattes for comments and assistance.



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ISSN: 1025-1677

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