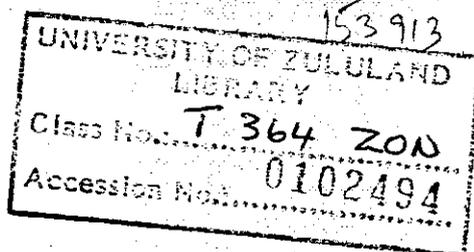


# FEAR OF CRIME IN ULUNDI

**Lawrence Musa Zondi**

**September 2000**



# **FEAR OF CRIME IN ULUNDI**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of

**Master of Arts**

in the Department of Criminal Justice at the

**University of Zululand**

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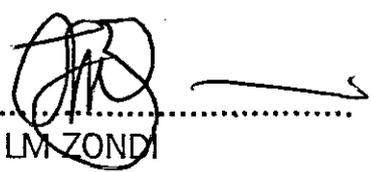
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Date of submission: September 2000

## DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation "Fear of Crime in Ulundi", is my own work both in conception and in execution. All the sources that have been used or quoted verbatim, have been acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Signature: .....



LM ZONDI

## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my wonderful wife, Phumzile Felicia Kankwanyana-Zondi, to my daughters, Sindiswa and Nokulunga, as well as my youngest son, Elvis.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- Brethren from Ulundi Assembly of God for their inspiration as well as their prayers, may God richly bless you with all spiritual gifts.

## SUMMARY

Fear of crime has become a much documented crime related problem. It can lead to avoidance behaviour, for example when normal social activities are curtailed and certain areas are avoided. Lewis and Salem (1986:3) conclude that "fear of crime [has become] as much of a social problem as the crime itself". Fear of crime is escalating in most parts of South Africa. In black urban as well as rural areas, it is so high that it seriously affects lifestyles and quality of life.

The impact of crime can be noted in the changes in lifestyle that are made as a result of the threat of crime. People restrict their normal activities and alter their behaviour in response to the fear of crime. Many countries in the western world have been grappling with the reality of high levels of crime for a number of decades. The crime problem is closely related to the general stability and economic position of a country. This is a well known fact that in South Africa people tend to restrict their normal activities and alter their behaviour in response to fear of crime.

The consequences of fear of crime are varied and numerous: psychologically, fear of crime generates feeling of anxiety, general mistrust, alienation, dissatisfaction with life and in some cases, mental illness (Glanz 1989:54).

Socially the fear of crime may lead to:

- a breakdown of social cohesion and solidarity;
- curtailment of normal activities;
- avoidance of sites and situations associated with crime;
- disappearance of sociability, mutual trust, willingness to support or assist other people; and
- the avoidance of strangers (Smith & Glanz 1989:54).

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# CHAPTER 1

## GENERAL ORIENTATION

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Fear of criminal victimisation has been the object of research and study by criminologists for more than two decades. Glanz (1992:16), for instance, indicated that researchers have been particularly interested in describing and explaining the observable differences in levels of fear between groups, such as between males and females and between young and old. The elderly's fear of crime has also been the focus of attention since this group is considered to be particularly vulnerable (i.e. they are not only regarded by offenders as "soft" targets), and less able to "recover" from a victimisation experience than younger persons.

Despite the volume of research that exists about fear of crime, there is increasing doubt concerning the validity of findings relating to this problem. Sometimes research findings are inconsistent and even contradictory.

Firstly, there are so many anomalies in the distribution of fear of crime that it appears at first glance the two are only weakly related. For some groups in the population crime and fear "go together" in consistent ways; city dwellers and the poor are both more fearful and more likely to be victimised. However, high levels of

fear of crime also are reported by some who generally enjoy lower levels of victimisation, including women and the elderly (Skogan 1986:136).

Early studies found other incongruities, for example, that area burglary rates were not related to how worried residents were about being burglarised. Again, sheer levels of the two seemingly do not match: survey measures of fear suggest that many more people are fearful than are victimised, even in large cities. It is easy to conclude that victimisation cannot explain most people's fear, and that fear of crime is to some extent "irrational".

Secondly, Skogan (1986:136) is of the opinion that little is known about the general impact of victimisation or its differential impact upon victims. Most research (Skogan 1986:136) has focussed on particular crimes or categories of victims. It has told us important things about the concerns of burglary victims, the stages of recovery among rape victims, and the impact of homicide on the members of victim's families.

Past research has been surprisingly inconclusive about issue of fear of crime, and some people's fears have been branded "irrational" because the two did not appear to be tightly linked. The most important aspect of any victimisation rest with the consequences incurred by the victim and society (Smith 1979:17). A social problem exists when some group of individuals in a society has a difficulty that is derived

principally, not from their own condition or behaviour, but the structure, functioning, or attitudes of society. Skogan (1986:135) states that some research has indicated that certain groups are especially affected by crime; a claim that might be used to justify special treatment for selected victims and which has been used to support demands for special "treatment" of selected offenders.

Firstly, there are anomalies in the distribution of fear of crime that it appears at first glance that these fear of crime and victims are only weakly related to each other. For some groups in the population crime and fear "go together" in consistent ways; city dwellers and the poor are both more fearful and more likely to be victimised. However, high levels of fear have also been reported by Skogan (1986:136) who generally enjoy lower levels of victimisation rates, including women and the elderly.

Secondly, Skogan (1986:136) is of the opinion that little is known about the general impact of victimisation or its differential impact upon victims. Most research (Skogan 1986:136) has focussed on particular crimes or categories of victims.

The exclusion of non-victims (Skogan 1986:136), from much of the research project has left unanswered the question of how victims differ from comparable non-victim populations as a result of their experience. Likewise its focus on specific crimes and victims has also not facilitated a comparative analysis of either the impact of different kinds of victimisation on different kinds of people (Skogan 1986:136).

Fear of crime is obviously an emotional and attitudinal phenomenon. A lack of congruence between fear of crime and some objective characteristics of crime has often been noted (Cordner 1986:223). People with the greatest actual risk of victimisation are frequently least likely to adopt security precautions and vice versa. The personal and social effects of fear of crime can be substantial. Individuals may change their habits, avoid certain areas, avoid going outside at certain times, adopt extreme protective measures, become more suspicious of others, move their residence or even refuse to leave the sanctuary of their homes (Cordner 1986:223).

The literature on fear of crime generally indicates that blacks and the elderly are most fearful of criminal victimisation (Ortega & Myles 1987:133). In those instances where race, gender and age have been simultaneously taken into account, studies have generally assumed that the relationships are additive. However, the gerontological literature suggests that age often interacts with other status characteristics in producing quality of life (Ortega & Myles 1987:133).

Each individual's personal safety and security is basic to the quality of life of a community, and Conklin (1975:1) stated that this personal security is "... affected more by crime than by anything else." If the quality of life experienced by the individual and community is affected by crime, then crime itself can be viewed as a social problem. This is so because crime threatens lives, security, property, the sense of well-being, social order and most importantly, it reduces people's quality

of life. Fear of crime (FOC) has been identified as a problem in its own right. As an issue of social concern, it has to be taken as seriously as ... crime prevention and reduction. Moore and Trojanowics (Williams & Dickinson 1993:33) argue that reasonable fears concerning crime can be harnessed to fight the threat of crime, but when these fears become unreasonable they amount to counterproductive response and become a social problem.

Research has highlighted many sources of fear of crime, such as being a victim, environmental characteristics (e.g. living in a high crime rate area), but most people have been neither a victim nor a witness of crime. This suggests that the perception that individuals have of the "crime problem" must be due largely to indirect sources. The purpose of the study is to examine the nature and extent of fear in our contemporary society.

Factors affecting the fear of crime are *inter alia*: vulnerability (i.e. physical and social), age, gender, socio-economic status, race, environment (i.e. size of a community, neighbourhood incivilities, neighbourhood cohesion), previous criminal victimisation, etc. Indirect sources such as mass media equally contribute to the daily climate of concern about crime.

Citizens of South Africa are regularly confronted with television, radio and newspaper reports of serious crime, some with brutal and fatal effects. Such information

directly affects the lives of law-abiding citizens and can create the impression that crime in South Africa is increasing which in turn, may lead to an increase in fear of crime (Baumer 1985:239).

Crime does not only affect and threatens the lives of a particular population group. The research has also indicated that black people are equally susceptible to crime and criminal victimisation (Baumer 1985:239). It is against the backdrop of the perception that the nature and extent of fear of crime has been identified and isolated as a social problem that needs to be scientifically investigated.

## **1.2 CONCEPTUALISATION**

The following concepts are going to be discussed mainly to avoid confusion and to clarify them as they relate to the present study.

### **1.2.1 Crime**

From the outset the reader must realise that the concept "crime" can be approached from various standpoints. "What is crime?" is a question that has been answered by practitioners of different sciences, viz.: theologian, psychologist, philosopher, criminologist, jurists and others (Van der Walt, Cronje & Smit 1985:22).

Crime in the juridical sense of the word has been defined by different researchers. Carver (Van der Walt et al. 1985:22) describes crime as "... any act or omission to

act, punished by society as a wrong against itself”.

Crime may be defined as any act which subjects the doer to legal punishment. An final set of definitions: Burcher and Hunt (Van der Walt *et al.* 1985:24): Crime is “conduct which common or statute law prohibits and expressly or impliedly subjects to punishment remissible by the state alone and which the offender cannot avoid by his own act once he has been convicted (Van der Walt *et al.* 1985:24).

On the basis of all these definitions, a crime is a contravention of the law to which a punishment is attached and imposed by the state.

### **1.2.2 Fear of crime**

The variation in the explained variance for different types of fear points to the complexity of the concept “fear of crime”. Other research has suggested that fear may result from factor such as fear of a specific act occurring, media reports situational cues, observations of physical decay of the urban environment and incivilities such as vandalism and perceived loss of territorial control (Kean 1992:222).

### **1.2.3 Victimization**

The concept victim can be traced back to ancient cultures and the earliest languages (Karmen 1984:3). Its roots lie in the religious notion of sacrifice. In the original

meaning of the term, a victim was a person or animal put to death during a ceremony in order to appease some supernatural power or deity. Today, in every day usage, the term embraces all those who experience injuries, losses or hardship due to any all causes (Karmen 1984:3).

### **1.3 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS**

Fear of crime affects not only the possible victim but also the community at large. Lewis and Salem (1986:5) propose that fear of crime can be approached in two ways, namely the individual fear profile approach which focussed on the correlates of fear among demographically defined groups. Emphasis in this approach was assessed and the researcher discovered that demographic characteristics are associated with fear of crime and victimisation (Lewis & Salem 1986:5). The second approach was based on an assessment of the neighbourhood (i.e. the environment) in which people live (Lewis & Salem 1986:5). Characteristics of the environment include size of the community, neighbourhood incivilities, housing conditions and neighbourhood cohesion.

#### **1.3.1 Size of the Community**

The research clearly reveals that the size of the community is closely related to fear of crime. According to Van Velzen (1998:7) as the crime rate for personal victimisation increases, people tend to migrate to the central city. Fear of crime is not evenly distributed throughout the city. Just as some neighbourhoods have more crime than others, residents perceive themselves as more at risk than do people who

live in other areas. While a broad group of studies concerning the relationship between crime and fear has focussed on the effects of general crime conditions in a community on an individual's perceptions of crime. Baumer (1985:245) is of the opinion that residents of cities exceeding 10 000 inhabitants report more fear than residents of suburbs or rural residential areas.

The likelihood of being an actual witness to a criminal act is greater and the chance of having friends who have been victims is also greater in urban areas. Lewis and Maxfield (1980:16) opine that fear of crime is not evenly distributed throughout the city. Just as some neighbourhood have more crime than others, residents of some neighbourhoods perceive themselves as more at risk than do people who live in other areas. While a broad group of studies concerning the relationship between crime and fear has focussed on the effects of general crime conditions on a community on an individual's perceptions of crime(Lewis & Maxfield 1980:168). Most often these comparisons have been made at the city level, examining differences on fear of crime among residents in high crime cities versus differences in fear among residents in cities with lower rates (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:161).

### **1.3.2 Neighbourhood Incivilities and Housing Conditions**

Lewis and Salem (1986:60) opine that neighbourhoods characterised by noisy neighbours, graffiti, gangs, vagrants, uncollected garbage and abandoned buildings create uncertainty as well as fear of crime. Dubious places such as shebeens may

also create fear in the neighbourhood. However, victimisation surveys are not more accurate estimates than Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) statistics of the amount of crime that people are aware of; people are more likely to hear about crime in their city through news reports such as television, newspapers and radios; and to the extent that the amount of crime in a city affects perceptions, then these perceptions will probably be more strongly related to official statistics than to more accurate estimates of the incidence of crime. Garofalo (1979:82) presented data showing fear indicators do in fact correspond more closely to Uniform Crime Report data than to victim survey data.

In the final analysis, research also made an attempt to show that these indicators of reported crime interact with neighbourhood residents' perception of incivility in forming perceptions of crime problems in the neighbourhood.

The research has measured incivility in terms of people's perceptions of the problems of abandoned buildings, vandalism, youths or children loitering on street corners and illegal drug usage in the neighbourhoods. The level of incivility in each neighbourhood creates a sense of danger and decay which increases individuals' perceived risk of victimisation. The research findings indicate that reported neighbourhood-level crime rates and perceptions of incivility interact to increase fear and concern (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:162).

Various researchers (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:18) recognise that some of the factors

that affect fear of crime are only indirectly linked to actual criminal offences. These authors found that attitudes of citizens regarding crime are less affected by their past victimisation than by their ideas about what is going on in their community - fear about weakening of social controls on which they feel their safety and the broader fabric of social life is ultimately dependant.

### **1.3.3 Neighbourhood Cohesion**

Where there is a high degree of social integration, residents feel that they are part of the neighbourhood and also tend to develop solid friendships within their own community. Community policing is another policing approach that can be used to promote peace and stability in the neighbourhood. Lewis and Salem (Ebbe 1989:751) indicate a large degree of similarity between Lagos in Nigeria and Chicago and New York in the USA as regards crime patterns. He also confirms that the higher criminality of certain types of neighbourhoods appears to universal. Therefore neighbourhood cohesion can be a decisive factor in reducing fear of crime, in one's environment.

Lewis and Salem (1986:87) state that integration seems to provide a support system for neighbourhood residents who feel more comfortable in a community where they know people to whom they can turn for help when needed. The support system on its own includes willingness to help each other and this engenders feelings of safety and security.

#### 1.3.4 Mass Media

Garofalo (1979:88) contend that there have been a number of works dealing with the content of media treatment of crime and deviance (e.g. Cohen and Young). However, little has been done to determine the effects of the media presentations. Although it would seem self-evident that the media have an influence on the public's fear of crime - if only by way of the pervasiveness of the media's message - relevant data from the National Crime Survey (NCS)(Garofalo 1979:88).

The effect of the media can also be judged inferentially. The media provide both fictional and non-fictional accounts of crime. For the most part, the non-fictional accounts must be based on crimes that come to the attention of criminal justice officials. This means that media treatments of actual crimes are largely restricted to those crimes that are reported to the police and the threat of crime communicated by the media will be shaped by those same crimes.

Therefore, one would expect the fear of crime to be more strongly related to official measures of crime rates than to victimisation survey rates which take into account crimes that are not reported to the police (Garofalo 1979:89).

According to Conklin (1975:20), the climate of concern about crime can be generated or reinforced by information from the mass media. This information can create the impression that crime is a threat and result in an increase in fear of crime. Baumer (Van Velzen 1998:13) indicates that media reports of crime tend to

overemphasize serious crimes or those of personal violence.

#### **1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY**

The rationale for the study is to further scientific understanding of the concept fear of crime. The researcher will attempt to do so first by examining the multidimensional qualities of the concept and then by identifying the various correlations of fear.

The following considerations are the reasons for the present study:

- Research into the fear of crime in South Africa as well as in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in particular is limited. No previous research of this nature had been ever conducted in Ulundi and Mahlabathini.
- The physical area of the research is confined to the Ulundi residential area in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This area is a predominant black residential area situated in the “Heart of Zululand”. Although this area can be regarded as rural it is regarded as the traditional capital of the Zulu nation. A study into the fear of crime (as a social phenomenon) therefore becomes a scientific necessity, as this was severely neglected in the past.

#### **1.5 AIMS OF THE STUDY**

Fear of crime appear to be a South African reality, as citizens are confronted daily with media reports about criminal activities and the actual experience of criminal victimisation in the form of brutal murders, rape of innocent women (including

juvenile females), armed robberies and vehicle hijacking, violent money heist (in most cases with fatal consequences), arson, abduction, housebreaking.

In view of this phenomenon it has become essential to highlight the fear of crime as it exists in Ulundi residential area.

Furthermore, the study also intends to highlight the following:

- (1) Bridge the gap in our substantive knowledge about fear of crime as a social phenomenon.
- (2) To ascertain whether elderly people in Ulundi experience a higher degree of fear of crime.
- (3) Whether male and female respondents differ in response to fear of crime.
- (4) Whether married respondents are more vulnerable to fear of crime than is the case with unmarried respondents.
- (5) To determine whether type of housing contributes to fear of crime among respondents.
- (6) Whether race is a decisive factor in fear of crime.
- (7) Whether level of education can contribute to fear of crime.
- (8) Whether occupation is playing a meaningful role in fear of crime.
- (9) To determine whether neighbourhood can contribute to fear of crime.
- (10) Whether household can contribute to fear of crime.

## 1.6 RESEARCH APPROACH

Basically research advances fundamental knowledge about the social world. It focuses on refuting or supporting theories that explain how the social world operates and what makes things happen. Basic research is the source of most new ideas and ways of thinking about the world. It can be exploratory, descriptive, or explanatory; however, explanatory research is the most common (Neuman 1997:21).

Many non-scientists criticise basic research and ask, "What good is it?" They consider basic research to be a waste of time and money because it does not have a direct use or help resolve an immediate problem. It is true that knowledge produced by basic research often lacks practical applications in the short term. Yet, basic research provides a foundation for knowledge and understanding that could be generalised to many policy areas, problems, or areas of study. Basic research is the source of most of the tools - methods, theories and ideas, that applied researchers use. Really big breakthroughs in understanding and significant advances in knowledge usually come from basic research (Neuman 1997:21-22).

Apart from having consulted a wide range of sources (see list of References) to orientate the research with regard to fear of crime and victimisation, the following sources were specifically consulted as they are regard as having a direct bearing on the present study:

- (i) Balkin, S. 1970. Victimisation rates, safety and fear of crime. *Social Problems*, 26:343-358.

- (ii) Baumer, T.L. 1978. : Research on fear of crime in the United States. *Victimology*, 3(3-4):254-264.
- (iii) Baumer, T.L. 1985. Testing a general model of fear of crime. Data from the National Sample. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 22(3):239-255.
- (iv) Glanz, L. 1989. Coping with crime: the South African public's perceptions of and reactions to crime. Pretoria: HSRC.
- (v) Glanz, L. 1992. Fear of crime among the elderly in the Cape Peninsula. *Acta Criminologica*, 5(2):16-26.
- (vi) Skogan, W.G. 1987. The impact of victimisation on fear. *Crime and Delinquency*, 33:135-154.

Secondly, a precoded, structural questionnaire was developed to gather information about people's fear of crime.

Thirdly, the questionnaire was distributed to a non-probability sample of residents in the Ulundi residential area.

Fourthly, the data was processed and presented in frequency distribution tables.

The following hypotheses were constructed:

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant relationship between age and the fear of crime.

- Hypothesis 2: There are significant differences between male and female responses to fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between marital status and fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 4: There are significant differences between type of housing and fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 5: There is a relationship between race and the fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 6: There is a relationship between educational level of respondents and fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 7: There is a relationship between occupation and fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 8: There is relationship between fear of crime and neighbourhood.
- Hypothesis 9: There is a relationship between household and fear of crime.

## **1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY**

- Chapter 1: General orientation to the study
- Chapter 2: Theoretical models of victimology and the fear of crime
- Chapter 3: Research methodology
- Chapter 4: Age, gender, household composition and the fear of crime
- Chapter 5: Previous victimisation
- Chapter 6: Crime as social problem
- Chapter 7: The role of the police and fear of crime
- Chapter 8: Responses to the fear of crime
- Chapter 9: Conclusion and recommendations

## 1.8 SUMMARY

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to introduce the concept of fear of crime, to highlight the factors which affect the fear of crime, and outline the basic aims and research methodology of the study. The factors affecting the fear of crime have been tabulated under the following headings: vulnerability, age, gender, socio-economic status, race, environmental conditions, neighbourhood incivilities and housing conditions, neighbourhood cohesion and mass media. The research has indicated that a few groups can be identified as being vulnerable, namely the old, women, the poor and those belonging to ethnic minorities. The vulnerable may also be unable to cope with the effects of victimisation. People may also become fearful of victimisation because they perceive their environment to be threatening.

The size of the community is related to fear of crime in that as the move is made from city centre to suburb to rural areas, fear of crime decreases.

Neighbourhoods characterised by incivilities which include vandalism, drug use, teenagers loitering in streets, abandoned houses, ethnic conflict, and lack of municipal services have residents with high levels of, and concern about, crime. In their analysis of the impact of social integration on fear of crime, Lewis and Salem (1986:84) propose that in neighbourhoods where there is a high degree of social integration, residents feel that they are part of the neighbourhood and also tend to develop a friendship network within their own community.

Conklin (1975:20) opines that the climate of concern about crime can be generated or reinforced by information from the mass media. This information can create the impression that crime is a threat and result in an increase in fear of crime.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **THEORETICAL MODELS OF VICTIMOLOGY AND THE FEAR OF CRIME**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Stafford and Galle (1984:173) point out that studies of fear of crime repeatedly point to an apparent paradox: fear of crime and risk of victimisation are related inversely among demographic groups (i.e. age, race and sex groups). However, data from surveys of Chicago residents (Stafford & Galle 1984:173), shows that fear of crime is related positively to victimisation rates once they are adjusted for exposure to risk. When demographic variables are included with the adjusted rates as predictors of fear of crime, age and sex effects persist. Even so the present findings indicate that fear of crime should not be interpreted as an irrational or unjustified response and that fear can be reduced by lowering victimisation rates (Stafford & Galle 1984:173).

### **2.2 MEASUREMENT OF VICTIMISATION RATES**

Stafford and Galle (1984:174) have supplied the formula for the conventional victimisation rate  $V/P_t$ , where  $V$  is the number of victimisations against members of a population,  $P$  is the number of persons in the population, and  $t$  designates a particular time period. Division of  $V$  by  $P$  controls for variation in the number of

potential victims across populations. However, use of P assumes that all persons are equally exposed to the risk of victimisation, and that assumption is untenable. Hinderlang *et al.* (Stafford & Galle 1984:174) note that personal victimisation (namely, rape, assault, robbery and personal larceny) occurs disproportionately away from the home of the victim, mainly on the street or in other public places. Because persons spend different amounts of time away from their homes, some people are more exposed to the risk of victimisation than others. Elaborating on this point, Hinderlang *et al.* (Stafford & Galle 1984:174) argue that the probability of being outside the home is a function of lifestyle, meaning routine activities pertaining to work and leisure. In this way, lifestyle differences are related to differential exposure to the risk of personal victimisation.

Much the same argument is made by Cohen and Felson (Stafford & Galle 1984:174) who contend that routine activities, especially activities spent outside the home, affect exposure to personal victimisation through “the convergence in space and time of the three minimal elements of direct contact predatory violations:

- motivated offenders,
- suitable targets, and
- the absence of capable guardians against a violation”.

These arguments suggest that there is considerable variation among persons in exposure to the risk of personal victimisation and that exposure varies as a function of lifestyle/routine activities. This adjusted rate has important implications for our

understanding of victimisation and fear of crime.

### 2.3 THE IMPACT OF VICTIMISATION ON FEAR OF CRIME

Skogan (1986:135) examines the relationship between criminal victimisation and fear of crime. Past research (Skogan 1986:135) has been surprisingly inconclusive about this issue, and some people's fear have been branded "irrational" because the two did not appear to be tightly linked. However, the data analysed here indicate that victimisation affects both fear-related attitudes and behaviour in a clear and consistent manner (Skogan 1986:135). Some research has indicated that certain groups are specially affected by crime, a claim that might be used to justify special treatment for selected victims and has been used to support demands for special treatment of selected offenders. Victimisation and fear may also appear to be loosely related for the opposite reason, because they are strongly connected. It seems likely the relationship between the two is partly reciprocal. If victimisation leads to fear-related behaviour, it may reduce victims' exposure to risk and thus lower their chance of victimisation in the future. This cannot be true for everyone in the population, for there is a statistical tendency for victims as a whole to be revictimised at a rate higher than chance would predict (at least some are "victim prone"). However, researchers have used the exposure-to-risk hypothesis to explain the low rates of victimisation among such high fear groups as women and the elderly (Skogan 1986:138).

A strong, reciprocal relationship between victimisation and fear of crime over time

would lead survey data gathered at one slice of time to suggest the two are unrelated. The mismatch between levels of victimisation and fear, and apparent anomalies in their social distribution, has stimulated research on other causes of fear of crime. They are numerous, and it is apparent that reports of fear of crime are diffuse attitudes that are sensitive to a number of aspects of daily life (Skogan 1986:138).

Skogan (1986:138) pointed out that they are correlated with perceptions of moral decline and anxiety about strangers and among whites fear is tied to concern about neighbourhood racial change. Both attitudinal studies and the demographic correlates of fear, suggest that potential physical vulnerability to victimisers stimulates fear.

Participation in rumour networks also stimulates fear, in a kind of "vicarious victimisation", especially when the stories that circulate concern victims from the recipient's area (Skogan 1986:138).

Traditionally, the impact of crime has been measured in terms of the harm caused to society as a whole by violations of law. With the rediscovery of crime victims, attention shifted to direct losses experienced by emphasizing what is taken away, or what the offender gets away with. The consequences of crime victims are not limited to financial expenses or even physical injuries. The psychological damage that lingers is real as well, although such intangible or less visible costs in the form of

pain and suffering may defy measurement (Karmen 1984:36). The impact of most crimes on their victims is perceived in an opposite way - as a violation of self and a grim reminder of one's vulnerability and mortality in a hostile world filled with antagonists intent on inflicting harm (Karmen 1984:36).

Homes are reflections and extensions of oneself - nests as well as castles. Burglaries strike victims as an invasion, intrusion or frightening breakdown in security, regardless of how little was spirited away. Robberies involve more than the loss of cherished possessions or hard-earned cash. The victims' sense of independence and autonomy is trampled on as they are forced to surrender and place their fate in the hands of enemies. Victimization can therefore be viewed as a burden, not just as a loss. Something is left behind as well as taken away. Haunting memories, chilling scenarios, nightmarish images and similar psychological scars are carried about as a crushing mental load. They are oppressive, worrisome, anxiety-provoking and encumbering to those who bear them (Karmen 1984:37).

Just as the researchers (Adler, Muller & Laufer 1991:48) can describe and categorise offenders, the criminologists can describe and categorise victims. The victims of burglaries own or occupy the premises burglarised. The victims of larcenies own or possess property. Victims of credit card frauds are store owners. It is more difficult to find common denominators among victims of crimes of violence. Nevertheless, victimological research tells us a lot about types and groups of human beings who are particularly vulnerable to crimes of various sorts (Adler, et-

al. 1991:48).

The list of researchers' "other" causes of fear is long and growing. Its significance here is to demonstrate that victimisation and fear co-occur in a world of interrelated individual, experiential, and neighbourhood phenomena. Direct, recent, personal experience with crime clearly is only one determinant of fear. To highlight the unique contribution of such victimisation experiences one must somehow control for other factors (Skogan 1986:138-139).

Previous correlational studies (Skogan 1986:139) have been limited by the availability of suitable data. Measures of experience with crime require adequate victimisation survey techniques. Many surveys are too small to uncover enough victims of personal crime for useful analysis, studies with a methodologically sound "recall period" for measuring victimisation typically uncover very few, usually about 6% of those interviewed for violent crime. Generally, the more conventionally serious an incident is, the less frequently it occurs (Skogan 1986:139). To overcome these problems, Skogan and Maxfield (Skogan 1986:139) analysed the Census Bureau's large city victimisation surveys, tabulating the relationship between victimisation experiences and fear. However, those data still reflected the complex social distribution of the two - for example, victims of weapon crimes reported lower levels of fear of crime than did non-victims, for they were overwhelmingly young males. Skogan and Maxfield (Skogan 1986:139) used multivariate statistical techniques to control for a number of demographic factors confounding the victimisation-fear

relationship and ultimately demonstrated a weak, but positive, correlation between the two. However, they could only control for what was available, a few simple demographic factors, and other, unmeasured variables possibly would have been more effective.

The data used in this research can go further in clarifying the victimisation-fear nexus. Skogan (1986:139) note that personal victimisation (namely rape, assault, robbery and personal larceny) occurs disproportionately away from the home of the victim, mainly on the street or in other public places. Because people spend different amounts of time away from their homes, some people are more exposed to the risk of victimisation than others. Elaborating on this point Stafford and Galle (1984:174) argue that the probability of being outside the home is a function of lifestyle, meaning routine activities pertaining to work and leisure. In this way, lifestyle differences are related to differential exposure to the risk of personal victimisation.

In connection with the above, this research revealed the following trends in connection with the neighbourhood and fear of crime.

**TABLE 2.1: NEIGHBOURHOOD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

NEIGHBOURHOOD	WATCHFUL EYE		BEING ATTACKED		HOME BROKEN INTO		CRIME RATE		SOURCE OF INFORMATION	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Very safe	1,32	0,49	1,30	0,46	1,51	0,73	1,41	0,50	1,76	0,68
Fairly safe	1,40	0,52	1,30	0,48	1,30	0,672	1,30	0,48	1,10	0,32
Fairly unsafe	1,18	0,39	1,14	0,35	1,32	0,67	1,25	0,44	1,48	0,70
Very unsafe	1,28	0,46	1,22	0,42	1,83	0,93	1,28	0,46	1,48	0,72
	F = 1,138 p ≤ 0,341		F = 0,722 p ≤ 0,608		F = 2,537 p ≤ 0,029		F = 1,012 p ≤ 0,411		F = 3,267 p ≤ 0,007	

p ≤ 0,05

Table 2.1 clearly shows significant differences between neighbourhood and fear of crime. The score ranges from 1,32 and 1,76 respectively. The table shows that the respondents preferred to report their departure to their neighbours. Others feel very much unsafe in their neighbourhood 1,28 and the level of crime rate was reported to be 1,48. The F-value are as follows: 1,138, 0,722, 2,537, 1,012 and 3,261. The study shows that in neighbourhoods where there is a high degree of social integration, residents feel that they are part and parcel of the neighbourhood and also tend to develop a friendship network within their own community.

#### 2.4 FEAR OF CRIME AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Until the late 1960s (Lewis & Salem 1986:1) the study of crime was viewed primarily as the question of why criminals violate laws. Researchers sought to understand the motivations of those engaged in criminal activity, and social policy planners developed programs grounded in that research and designed interventions

to change those motivations (Lewis & Salem 1986:1).

There is a widespread belief that the problems of maladjustment of men to one another and the world in which they live arise out of the nature of men or of things. Despite the work of a long line of social scientists who have indicated that the situations we call social problems are problematical only because they represent deviations from socially accepted norms and expectations, there is substantial evidence to indicate that even some contemporary sociologists continue to deal with social problems as if they did not involve evaluational elements. The studies of and policies directed at the problem of fear of crime illustrate well the impact of conceptualization on the experience of everyday life. By the late 1960s (Lewis & Salem 1986:3) the soaring crime rate and the ghetto riots turned the attention of policymakers away from the criminal and toward the victim. The so-called backlash, reflected in public anger at the infusion of funds into the black communities and at the concern with the rights of the criminal rather than those of the victim, led to an interest in alternative approaches to the crime prevention problem that would give primary consideration to the behaviour of those who are threatened by criminal activity.

Instead of examining the motivation of the perpetrator, the question raised concerned the impact of crime on the life of the victim and the community at large. Predatory crime does not merely victimise individuals, it impedes and, in the extreme

case, even prevents the formation and maintenance of community. By disrupting the delicate nexus of ties, formal and informal, by which we are linked with our neighbours, crime atomises society and makes of its members mere individual calculators estimating their own advantage, especially their own chances for survival amidst their fellows (Lewis & Salem 1986:3). The cost of crime went beyond what the victim might lose. It involved rather the subsequent fear of crime of both the victim and those aware of the victimisation. This fear appeared to generate behaviour that was, in fact, destructive to the community. Thus, the fear of crime became as much of a social problem as the crime itself (Lewis & Salem 1986:3).

Surveys by Lewis and Salem (1986:4) revealed that close to 50% of the adults living in urban areas were afraid to be out at night in their own neighbourhoods. The media portrayed individuals crippled by fear and limited in their freedom to lead normal productive lives. Indeed, some researchers labelled fear of crime as one of the principle causes of the decline of community life. At the same time, the research community moved from a consideration of the causes of crime and the motivations of the perpetrator to an examination of the effects of crime on victims and potential victims and their attitudinal and behavioural reaction to the threats that confronted them. Initially the research interest in fear of crime developed as a concomitant of an interest in assessing the true amount of crime in our society (Lewis & Salem 1986:4).

The early studies (Lewis & Salem 1986:5), attempted to determine both level of crime the level of fear of crime. The primary interest of these researchers was in assessing the dark figure of crime, that is, those unreported and under-reported crimes whose magnitude was not reflected in the official crime statistics of police departments. Attention in these early studies was primarily focussed on index crimes- such as rape, murder, burglary, robbery and assault. Fear of crime was considered mainly because it was assumed that levels of fear would be congruent with the true amount of crime in an area.

Early studies ( Lewis & Salem 1986:5) highlighted two ways in which victimisation could increase fear. The individual fear profile approach focussed on the correlates of fear among demographically defined groups. Emphasis was less on the criminogenic aspects of the environment and how it was assessed and more on the demographic characteristics associated with victimisation and the fear of crime. The neighbourhood assessment approach focussed on the amount of crime the respondent expected the local neighbourhood to produce.

Both Ennis and Biderman (Lewis & Salem 1986:5) developed measures of fear of crime that were premised on the imputed relationship between a dangerous neighbourhood and individual fear. Biderman (Lewis & Salem 1986:5) called this measure an index of anxiety, and it was composed of the following items:

- What was it about the neighbourhood that was most important? (This was asked only of those residents who indicated the neighbourhood was more important than the house in selecting their present residence). Safety or moral reasons vs convenience and so forth.
- When you think about the chances of getting beaten up would you say this neighbourhood is very safe, about average, less safe than most, one of the worst?
- Is there so much trouble that you would move if you could? (Again, a screen question asked only to those who did not say their neighbourhood was very safe).
- Are most of your neighbours quiet or are there some who create disturbances? (All quiet, few disturbances, many disturbances).
- Do you think that crime has been getting better or worse here in Ulundi during the past year?

Ennis (Lewis & Salem 1986:5) distinguished between fear of crime and perception of risk. He measured fear by the following items:

- How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood during the day?
- How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark?
- How often do you walk in your neighbourhood after dark?
- Have you wanted to go somewhere recently but stayed home because it was

unsafe?

- How concerned are you about being your house broken into? (Stafford & Galle 1984:178).

Risk was measured by two items:

- How likely is it a person walking around at night might be held up or attacked.  
- very unlikely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely?
- Compared to other parts of the city, is a home or apartment around here  
much less likely to be broken into, somewhat less likely, somewhat more likely  
or much more likely to be broken into?

Lewis and Salem (1986:6) distinguish between feeling unsafe (the report of fear) and the assessment of the possibility that a crime will occur (risk); but his fear of crime measure seems as much an assessment of the neighbourhood as it is a report on the respondent's sense of unease. As Lewis and Salem (1986:6) have pointed out, there is little published information on how these early measures were developed. But for the research's purpose it is their content rather than their methodological limitations that is of interest, for these early scholars developed the research vocabulary for the study of fear of crime in the decade that followed.

The importance of this early work, for the researcher's purposes, can be found in the assumed association between fear (as reported internal state of the individual) and

the number of victimisations the respondent anticipates. Fear is assumed to be consequence of the potential for victimisation and research issue is how that fear is distributed within a given population. The neighbourhood is seen as a setting within which that victimisation takes place. If the respondent scores high as an anticipator of victimisation, he is defined as fearful. A neighbourhood is fear inducing to the extent that it provides the context for criminal activity.

This approach to the analysis of fear of crime which the researcher will label the victimisation perspective, postulates "crime" as an event that is experienced by the individual as either a direct or indirect victim. Accordingly, fear of crime is a consequence, a response in time, of having had contact with criminal events. If direct victimisation fails to account for particularly high levels of fear of crime, then indirect contact, usually through the media or personal communication is postulated as the mechanism through which the experience of crime affects the individual. Fear of crime then becomes an indicator of the effect of victimisation on the individual. It is seen as a consequence of exposure to crime.

Skogan (1987:142) cited that the impact of victimisation is dependent upon people's attitudes beforehand. Several researchers have speculated that victimisation may have more serious consequences for those who already were more fearful. Presumably the experience reinforces their perceptions of an "unjust world" and emphasises their personal vulnerability.

As Yin (Skogan 1986:143) puts it “any victimisation experience that does not create serious harm ... might actually aid the victim of forming a more realistic assessment of the nature of crime, thereby reducing fear of crime”. In the final analysis, the impact of past experiences and victim’s attitudinal predispositions are captured by first-wave measures of fear. The hypothesis that victims who initially are more fearful subsequently are more affected by crime is one concerning statistical interaction between those early measures and inter-wave victimisation (Skogan 1986:143).

**TABLE 2.2: NEIGHBOURHOOD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

NEIGHBOUR- HOOD	CHANGE DAILY PATTERN		GOING OUT AT NIGHT		SET SCHEDULE		CRIME COMMITTED AGAINST YOU		ROUTINE ACTIVITY	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Very safe	1,54	0,51	2,78	0,06	1,62	0,49	1,54	0,51	1,76	0,60
Fairly safe	1,30	0,42	3,00	1,05	1,40	0,52	1,40	0,52	1,50	0,71
Fairly unsafe	1,39	0,49	3,05	1,06	1,43	0,50	1,36	0,49	1,64	0,78
Very unsafe	1,48	0,51	2,70	1,15	1,59	0,50	1,43	0,50	1,78	0,66
	F = 1,452 p ≤ 0,207		F = 1,832 p ≤ 0,108		F = 0,901 p ≤ 0,481		F = 1,828 p ≤ 0,108		F = 0,992 p ≤ 0,424	

p ≤ 0,05

Pertaining to this study Table 2.2 clearly shows significant differences between neighbourhood and fear of crime. The score ranges from 1,32 and 1,76 respectively. The table shows that the respondents preferred to change their routine

activities due to the fear of crime. Others feel very much unsafe in their neighbourhood hence they minimise some chances of going out at night because of previous victimisation.

The fear of crime is found both in rural and urban areas. In rural areas the fear is that of tsotsism. The fear is so strong that nobody feels safe when travelling home alone after sunset. Where crime occurs constantly, people cannot help but view their neighbours with apprehension, look at their fellow-citizens with suspicion. The fear of crime sometimes leads people to react negatively to strangers who mean well and such fear reduces attachment to one's community.

Such mistrust, feelings of insecurity and dislike for the community, reduced human traffic on the streets and reduced social solidarity in a community will also diminish the informal social control in an area, including the area of research. It is well-known fact that offenders who commit street crimes seek victims who are alone. The fear of crime in Ulundi presses hard on all residents (Ndabandaba 1987:82).

For the most part, the researcher discovered that fearful persons greatly outnumbered those who had been exposed to victimisation. Furthermore, there was a significant range of variation in fear levels in those neighbourhoods generally acknowledged to be unsafe. The researchers have attempted to explain this apparent paradox by employing more sophisticated analytical techniques to the

analysis of crime and the levels and dimensions of fear reported by respondents. Some have postulated the existence of various social-psychological mechanisms to rationalise their findings. For example, Stinchcombe (Lewis & Salem 1986:7) introduced the concept of vulnerability to help explain fear among women and elderly. The most commonly relied upon mechanism is the idea of fear of strangers. Faced with the disjunction between levels of fear and levels of victimisation, several researchers introduced the stranger as the stimulus of fear. As stated by Ennis (Lewis & Salem 1986:7): It is not the seriousness of the crime, but rather the unpredictability and the sense of invasion by unknown strangers that engenders mistrust and hostility. McIntyre (Lewis & Salem 1986:7) argued that the same thinking in her analysis of avoidance behaviours. The precautions which people take to protect themselves indicate that underlying fear of crime is a profound fear of strangers. Biderman (Lewis and Salem 1986:8) saw the relationship as being even more direct: "fear of crime is the fear of strangers". And Skogan (1977) interpreted the relationship between robbery victimisation and fear as a consequence of the fear of strangers. But fear of strangers is only introduced *ex post facto* to interpret results and explain findings. While Skogan (1977) may have been correct in attributing the relationship between robbery and fear to an intervening fear of strangers, that suggestion was pure conjecture.

The fear of stranger explanation posits the existence of an intervening type of fear which has not been measured. Consequently, this attribution process is not opened to empirical testing and has no better standing than victimisation itself as an explanation factor. There has been some progress made within the victimisation

perspective by refining measurement techniques and analytical procedures in particular. Skogan, Hindelang, Garofalo and Gottfriedson (Lewis & Salem 1986:8) all refined the conceptualisation of fear within the victimisation framework. Distinctions between fear, concern, worry and risk have helped distinguish the various attitudinal dimensions captured in the idea of fear and these clarifications have improved the explanatory power of more recent studies. Also, refining the various types of victimisation (personal/property, single/multiple, direct/indirect). The use of the independent variable has led to improved results. In this vein, some researchers have attempted to develop more refined methods of measuring the amount of crime to which respondents are exposed. Balkin (1979:343), for example, argued that "fear of crime is a rational response to the actual incidence of crime and that where discrepancies appear it is because of faulty objective measures of crime incorrectly calibrating the real risk of crime."

However, the analysis of the victimisation perspective, which assumes implicitly that fear levels can be explained by victimisation experiences, remains basically unsubstantiated. This analysis shares one important feature with the strain and subcultural theories used to explain criminal behaviour and this feature is the basis of the perspective's weakness. The victimisation perspective offers an implicit theory of motivation. Fear is explained in terms of stimuli (victimisation) that trigger the fear in the individual. Just as Sutherland and Merton (Lewis & Salem 1986:9) sought to explain the motivations of offenders in terms of the values of the groups to which

they belong, so the victimisation researchers seek to explain fear of crime in terms of how victimisation experiences generates fear in individuals. Victimisation leads to fear just as naturally as working class cultures lead to delinquency (Lewis & Salem 1986:9). A theoretical perspective on the origin of crimes of violence that employs social norms and social values as explanatory variables is the subculture of violence argument. Certain expectations or norms about the behaviour that is appropriate for particular situations lead to violent crime among those who hold those norms which direct aggression towards others and weaken social inhibitions against violence. These norms are functionally autonomous and viewed as relatively durable and persistent although not unchangeable (Ndabandaba 1987:52).

## **2.5 INCIVILITY AND FEAR OF CRIME**

So far the researcher has looked only at people's perceptions of serious crime. The offences examined here are all rare events. They may be more common in certain neighbourhoods, but even in those areas with relatively high rates per capita, an individual's chance of being victimised on any given day is slim. This suggests that the concern people express may not necessarily refer as much to the incidence of the most serious offences as the other factors in the neighbourhood (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:179).

While relatively few people are victims of serious crime, many urban as well as rural residents witness behaviour that, while not necessarily classifiable as criminal, is

nonetheless disconcerting. Loud boisterous groups of teenagers or skid row denizens may be perceived as more dangerous than muggers and purse snatchers who take pains to be inconspicuous. Also, abandoned buildings and empty streets may generate more fear than do the private residence where violent personal crime most often occur. Lewis and Maxfield (1980:180) recognise that some of the factors that affect fear of crime are only indirectly linked to actual criminal offences.

We have found that attitudes of citizens regarding crime are less affected by their past victimisation than by their ideas about what is going on in their community - fears about a weakening of social controls on which they feel their safety and the broader fabric of social life is ultimately dependent.

Lewis and Maxfield (1980:180) state that these are problems of incivility in urban neighbourhoods that may or may not be related to the occurrence of serious crime. To evaluate the effects of such events and circumstances, they asked respondents to tell them about what are commonly believed to be problems of urban incivility. Each respondent was asked whether she or he thought each of the following conditions was big problem, some problem, or almost no problem: groups of teenagers loitering in the streets, abandoned or burned out buildings or storefronts, people using illegal drugs and vandalism (manifested, for example, in graffiti or broken windows) (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:180).

## **2.6 INDICATORS OF INCIVILITY**

Lewis and Salem (1986:59) state that the indicators of incivility described below represent neighbourhood conditions that produce anxiety among neighbourhood residents. Such fear generating situations involve either threatening physical conditions, changes in the environment, or improper conduct on the part of the individuals, which may not be classified as criminal. Since some of the indicators are drawn from the survey and others from a content analysis of the field notes, they range from very quantitative to qualitative in nature.

The following is a list of indicators:

- Concern about various sign of incivility as a neighbourhood problem.
- Descriptions of neighbourhood physical decay.
- Perceptions on the part of the neighbourhood activists that the neighbourhood is being inadequately served by city machinery.
- Presence and degree of ethnic conflict.
- Introduction of undesirable businesses in commercial areas in the neighbourhood.

## **2.7 CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBOURHOOD SIGNS OF INCIVILITY**

In order to assess the levels of concern that residents felt about various sign of neighbourhood disorganisation, the following questions were asked of the respondents in the telephone survey sample (Lewis & Salem 1986:60):

- Groups of teenagers loitering in the streets. Is this a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem on your neighbourhood?
- Building or storefronts sitting abandoned or burned out. Is this a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem in your neighbourhood?
- People using illegal drugs in the neighbourhood. Is this a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem in your neighbourhood?
- Vandalism, kids breaking windows and writing on walls. How much of a problem is this?

These particular indicators were developed in conjunction with the field research. When field workers asked neighbourhood residents what the nature of the local crime problem was, residents typically include descriptions of teenage loitering or drug activity as neighbourhood ills (Lewis & Salem 1986:60).

Aggregate profiles of these measures of incivility were also constructed. It was hypothesised that all four signs of incivility (loitering youth, drugs, vandalism and abandoned buildings) would define a construct representing the extent to which there was a perceived problem with social disorganisation in the neighbourhood.

The position of a neighbourhood on the concern about the social order scale was determined by the percentage of responses that were “big problems” for any of the four questionnaire items (Lewis & Salem 1986:60). The remaining indicators were

excerpts from the field notes and represent either expressed concern or conditions in the neighbourhood that are interpreted as threatening. These indicators include the following:

- **The presence or arrival of undesirable business**

Whether or not a business is seen as undesirable is a subjective assessment. But, businesses so categorised are unwanted typically because of the type of clientele they are perceived to attract, regardless of whether or not they actually do. Like for instance the presence of shebeens at Ulundi may perhaps cause fear of crime among the residents. Sometimes after consuming too much alcohol, people tend to quarrel and may end up committing crimes such as murder, assault or car hijacking. The presence or arrival of such businesses may symbolise the lack of control residents potentially have over their environment (Lewis & Salem 1986:61).

- **Inadequately served by city services**

This indicator permits us to assess how important and how locally powerful a community is with respect to its demands for municipal attention, another aspect of its local controlling ability (Lewis & Salem 1986:61).

- **Description of neighbourhood physical decay**

This indicator permits us to assess the extent to which a neighbourhood's residents control their community's land and its uses (Lewis & Salem

1986:61).

- **Presence and degree of ethnic conflicts**

Ethnic conflict is another indicator of the degree of control residents have over their neighbourhood. Apart from racism, this indicator also can be used to infer the degree of competition residents experience in their neighbourhood for community resources, and the type of dispute settlement that the area's residents engage in to solve difficulties (Lewis & Salem 1986:61).

In addition to physical vulnerability to attack, there is some evidence of social vulnerability as indicated by income. Baumer (1985:241) indicated that the poor tend to live in more dangerous neighbourhoods, are less able to secure their homes and find it more difficult to avoid dangerous areas. As a result, their risk of victimisation and fear is somewhat higher. Recent research has focussed on a set of variables referred to as signs of incivility, perceptions of threat and cohesion or social support. Signs of incivility are those environmental cues that signify crime indirectly through disorder, decay or disreputable behaviour (Baumer 1985:242).

## **2.8 DEFENSIBLE SPACE THEORY**

Newman's (Meadows 1998:156) work represent a novel idea in the use of architectural designs to save public housing from crime. His work extends early views that a relationship exists between crime, street use, and the layout of the land.

In one study, Jacobs (Meadows 1998:156) points out that the more diverse the land use (residential, commercial, leisure, and institutional) the more likely people are to pay attention to their environment and report crime. Thus offenders are attracted to areas where they can commit crime and avoid detection.

Newman (Meadows 1998:156) suggests the defensible space theory: residents living in large anonymous public housing units, with multiple access points, have little control over visitors. This housing project makes it difficult to identify residents from outsiders. The crux of defensible space theory is the empowerment of residents to develop a sense of community and territoriality by designing buildings that allow increased resident privacy. When residents live in housing units with private areas, they are more likely to identify outsiders and to have a sense of belonging and control. In the past, public housing units have been abandoned because of the crime and violence committed there (Meadows 1998:157).

In the early 1970s, a 2 740-unit housing project in St. Louis was torn down because of high vacancy rates as a result of crime there. The housing project, built in 1957, looked like a deteriorated high-rise hotel built in the 1920s (Meadows 1998:157). Residents constantly lived in fear, stayed behind fortified locked doors and avoided most other residents. They had no sense of control or privacy in the hallways or perimeter areas. Since there was no access control to the property, transients and various criminal types often were attracted to the property (Meadows 1998:157).

In addition, run-down neighbourhoods or structures that are unrepaired attract predators and deviant types because they present the perception that no one really cares. Once a window is broken, others will be broken unless there is an organised effort to improve the community (Meadows 1998:157). Physically deteriorating property not only influences behaviour and attract potential offenders but also shapes how people feel about each other. Making physical improvements and caring for property can reduce incivilities and negative attitudes that people have about their environment. The fear of victimisation could therefore affect how people feel and live. The more complex and anonymous the environment, the more difficult it is for a code of behaviour based on societal norms to be established and to be maintained. It is difficult for moderate-income families with two adult heads of households to cope with crime and vandalism problems in poorly designed environments. But when poor and broken families are grouped together in such a setting, the results prove disastrous. The public housing project now being abandoned consist of the worst mixture of social physical aggregates (Meadows 1998:158).

## **2.9 BROKEN WINDOW THEORY**

In the present study the broken window theory can also play a meaningful role. Sometimes people feel very much unsafe whenever approaching neglected or dubious building especially during the night. Unlighted streets create unsafe feeling when walking alone in the vicinity.

Routine activities should under no circumstances be understimulated. People who often use the same pattern for a long period of time, sometimes his or her behaviour precipitate or expose him or her to criminals (Livingston 1996:26).

## **2.10 CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES**

Sociological criminology is often divided into two major perspectives, namely the structural and the processual (Bartol 1991:14). The structural viewpoint studies crime as it relates to the social structure or organisation of society. It is primarily concerned with discovering conditions within a society that lead to or cultivate criminal behaviour. Structuralists ask, "what social factors that cause crime?" They usually answer by describing demographic characteristics of criminal groups, including their ecological and economic features (Bartol 1991:14).

The processual approach is concerned with how people become criminals. Sociological process theories generally emphasise the way individuals learn behaviour, both criminal and non-criminal. Among the prominent process theories are Edwin H Sutherland's theory of differential association (Bartol 1991:14).

Livingston (1996:26) stated that some social scientists argue that the people's instinctive reactions are right - that incivility or disorder does lead to real crime. For example, in an article called "Broken Windows", prominent criminologist James Q Wilson and co-author George Kelling cite the Newark study and conclude that

“disorder and crime are usually inextricably linked, in a kind of developmental sequence.”

Wilson and Kelling’s logical scenario of disorder leading to serious crime is now well known; criminologists even refer to the “broken windows” syndrome. But it suffers from one major flaw: It runs afoul of the evidence of the Newark study they are discussing. Over the course of nearly a year, community policing had stemmed and reversed the tide of disorder; good citizens had come back to the streets rather than staying home behind locked doors. Yet rates of predatory crime had “not gone down - in fact may have gone up.” Contrary to expectation, changes in “signs of crime” had no effect on actual predatory crime (Livingston 1996:26).

What seems logical is not always the way the world is. Although crime is usually most prevalent in neighbourhoods of much incivility and disorder, changing the level of disorder may have little effect on crime. Of course, we should distinguish among the various types of disorder. As precursors of crime, unmended broken windows are not the same as a gang of teens, and the loitering of teenagers or winos is different from the presence of drugs. Even with drugs, the connection between disorder and crime may depend on the nature of the drug. Apparently, the traffic in marijuana, heroin, and other precrack drugs was far less devastating to neighbourhoods than was the crack trade that began to flourish in the late 1980s. In any case, it is visible disorder and incivility, rather than the volume of crime, that make people feel unsafe

(Livingston 1996:26).

The picture of fear in relation to crime and disorder should now be a little clearer. The three are interrelated; where we find one, we usually find the other two. But which is causing which? We have gone from the simple idea that crime causes fear of crime (model A in Figure 2.1) to the realization that both disorder and crime cause fear (model B), with disorder probably being the more important. There is also Wilson's idea that disorder eventually causes crime, and both cause fear (model C).



**Figure 2.1 Models of Crime, Disorder and Fear of Crime**

Although the differences were not large, Woodlawn had both a higher rate of crime and a lower level of fear than did Wicker Park. Also note that in all neighbourhoods, people expressed more concern about incivility than they did about predatory crime.

One other neighbourhood studied, Lincoln Park, had a fairly low rate of concern about crime despite having the second highest crime rate of the areas. The low fear again demonstrates that crime is only one factor - perhaps not even the most important - in determining levels of fear. Lincoln Park was the most yuppie-like of

the areas studied, with large proportion of young, employed adults. It had the highest percentage in the 21 to 40 age group, and it was the most affluent of the four neighbourhoods - the only one with income levels higher than the Chicago average. From these facts and the relative low concern with incivility, we can guess that of the four neighbourhoods it was probably also the most orderly in appearance. In addition, most of the crimes committed there were residential burglaries committed during the day when nobody was at home. Lincoln Park's burglary rate was more than triple that of the city of Chicago as a whole, but its rates of violent crime were about the same as the city average (Livingston 1996:26).

## 2.11 SUMMARY

It has been pointed out that fear of crime is related positively to victimisation rates once they are adjusted for exposure to risk. The research also reveals that vulnerability implies a sense of powerlessness on the part of individual to protect themselves from being victimised and to recover from the victimisation experience. Being vulnerable also puts the individual at risk of possible victimisation. It has also been indicated that vulnerable victims are easy prey for criminals because of their inability to fight back.

The research also reveals that crime becomes a disturbing threat to those who are vulnerable and resulting fear of crime has debilitating consequences for their behaviour. Baumer (1985:241) indicates that the poor tend to live in more

dangerous neighbourhoods, are less able to secure their homes and find it more difficult to avoid dangerous areas. As a result, their risk of victimisation and fear of crime is somewhat higher.

Both the term and the concept of victimisation refer to societal process that occur before, during and after the event, simultaneously endanger the victim defenceless and even partly responsible for it. Victimisation, therefore, includes the preparation of the victim for the crime and treatment and responses the victim will encounter as part of the aftermath of the crime. The fear of victimisation in contemporary Black society, particularly in the townships, can never be disputed (Ndabandaba 1987:80).

# CHAPTER 3

## RESEARCH DESIGN

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

*Social research is an attempt to make sense of our social life. It's not the only way of making sense of things, of course. All of us every day, try to see patterns in what goes on around us. We want to understand, and we want some ability to predict what will happen in the future. At the least, we'd like some idea about the likely consequences of the various options available to us. Social research, of course, serves many purposes, viz., exploration, description and explanation (Babbie (a) 1992:90).*

### 3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

#### 3.2.1 Exploration

*Much of social research is conducted to explore a topic, to provide a beginning familiarity with that topic. In this case the researcher will attempt to familiarise himself with the fear of crime in a rural residential area. This purpose is typical when a researcher is examining a new interest or when the subject of study is itself relatively new and unstudied (Babbie (b) 1992:90).*

Exploratory studies are most typically done for three purposes:

- (i) to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding;
- (ii) to test the feasibility of undertaking a more careful study, and
- (iii) to develop the method to be employed in a more careful study.

### **3.2.2 Description**

The present study focuses on fear of crime among the residents of Ulundi as well as their reaction towards it.

A major purpose of many social scientific studies is to describe situations and events. The researcher observes and then describes what was observed. Because scientific observation is careful and deliberate, however, scientific descriptions are typically more accurate and precise than casual descriptions (Babbie 1992:91).

### **3.2.3 Explanation**

The present study envisages to analyse the nature and extent of fear of crime in rural residential areas, especially in Ulundi. In the final analysis the feelings as well as their perceptions of the respondents regarding fear of crime will also be measured.

Alant, Lamont, Maritz and Van Eeden (1982:199) defined ontology as a philosophical view of the "world" as it is, in other words, how things relate to another in society. In the present study the fear of crime will be related with the respondents' perceptions and their reactions thereof.

According to Hughes (1980:16) positivistic orthodoxy refers to philosophical epistemology (i.e. the nature of phenomena and procedures for determining their existence) which represent the intellectual approach in social sciences.

Epistemology also refers to the nature of things and phenomena (serious crime) and the procedure employed for establishing their existence.

### **3.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Research methodology is what makes social science scientific. Research methodology aims at the following:

- *studying of research procedure and setting of standards;*
- *selection of suitable research procedure and techniques; and*
- *facilitating the task of the researcher in the selection of subjects, clarification of terms, explication of research procedure, systematisation of empirical findings and writing of reports. Research methodology thus enables the researcher to select his research methods and research techniques. The present investigation has specific methods and techniques that have been selected to achieve particular goals (Mqadi 1992:8).*

Nachmias and Nachmias (1992:14) define methodology as a system of explicit rules and procedures on which research is based and against which claims for knowledge

are evaluated. This system is neither closed nor infallible. Rather, the rules and procedures are constantly being approved; scientists look for new means of observation, inference, generalisation and analysis. As these are developed and found to be congruent with the underlying assumptions of the scientific approach, they are incorporated into the system of rules that govern the scientific methodology.

### **3.4 RESEARCH METHODS**

Dreyer (Mqadi 1992:8) states that the goal of every research is based on the assumption that all behaviours and events are orderly and that they are effects which have discoverable uses. Research is thus a formal, intensive systematic application of the scientific method of the study problems, a systematic attempt to provide answers to questions and a research for truth. The scientist in research employs scientific methods in order to explain, predict and control the phenomena. The scientist's aim in research cannot be reached unless he uses the research methods.

A scientific method is a way of planned, verifying and systematising action (or work) that serves as a method of work (possibly assisted by aids) with the use of what is scientifically knowable to form science (i.e. Mqadi [1992:8] verifies and systematises knowledge). A method may therefore be regarded as the way by which the perceptible general is transformed to tested and systematised theories (Mqadi 1992:8). Research methods are of importance in any investigation. Through their use, the researcher can realize the phases of the research process which are

collection of data, systematisation processing and explanation (Van der Walt, Cronje & Smit 1982:168-169).

The researcher in criminology has a choice of three research methods, namely:

- (a) the method of case analyses;
- (b) the method of mass observation; and
- (c) the analytical method (Van der Westhuizen 1982:167).

### 3.4.1 The Analytical Method

If the researcher sees the phenomenon crime as a combination of individual-human and social phenomena he uses the analytical method. The analytical method can be defined as "... a scientifically planned way of research that can be used as a method in criminology to transform the scientifically knowable to science after the study objects, the research techniques used, and the goal to be researched in the investigation have placed in criminological perspective ..." Van der Walt *et al.* (1982:174-5) opine that from this definition they can make certain deductions:

- (a) The analytical method is a fully fledged method.
- (b) The analytical method is intended to overarch the whole process of scientific research, i.e. it is an attempt to describe the phenomenon crime, explain and apply the knowledge acquired for purposes of prediction and control. The other methods (case study and mass observation) are directed at analysis of the scientifically knowable.

- (c) The analytical method is non-particularistic, in other words, both the individual human and the group approach belong to it. In the analytical method the two views mentioned are regarded and put into operation as techniques and not methods.
- (d) The analytical method makes use of its techniques in three special ways (Van der Walt et al. 1982:175):
- as description (for knowledge)
  - as explanation (for insight) and
  - applicatively (to use learnt knowledge and insight for prediction and control.
  - the researcher made an extensive study of the available literature on fear of crime (books, magazines, etc.) in order to accumulate a broad insight into the phenomenon.

The findings of this study can be used to evaluate the present state of affairs.

- (e) The analytical method makes certain demands of the researcher, foremost of which is a logical ground-plan, before explanation of crime can be tackled.
- (f) The researcher sees the phenomenon of fear of crime as a combination of individual-human and social phenomena and therefore made use of the analytical method.
- (g) The researcher made an extensive study of the available literature on fear of crime (books, magazines, etc.) in order to accumulate a broad insight into the phenomenon.

In the present study, the researcher implemented the analytical research method to describe the phenomenon of crime and fear of crime as it unfolds in Ulundi. To this end, the method of mass observation was also implemented as a technique of the analytical method to allow the analysis and interpretation of data collected by means of the questionnaire.

### **3.5 RESEARCH DESIGN**

According to Kerlinger (Smith 1995:15) the concept research design or strategy includes the plan, structure and strategy of the research. The following objectives of a research design can be distinguished:

- to control the answers to research questions/variance;
- to eliminate or balance out variance that may have a differential effect on the research results.

This will ensure unambiguous interpretation of the results.

The research design as such does not, however, provide answers to the research question, but it does enable the researcher to obtain scientifically valid answers which have not been affected by interference variables. The researcher will naturally implement the research design that will be of the greatest value to his research, and that best fits his theoretical orientation (Smith 1995:15).

### **3.5.1 Statement of the problem**

The aim of this study is firstly to achieve an understanding of the phenomenon "fear of crime". Secondly, the theories are explored and used as a basis for the explanation of trends in this study. Thirdly, the researcher is exploring the phenomenon of fear of crime in the community, based on a quota sample of 231 respondents in the residential area of Ulundi during 1998. The questions contained in questionnaire are based on existing research and theoretical explanation found in the literature dealing with fear of crime.

### **3.5.2 The literature review**

Smith (1995:9) opines that before any research project is conducted, the investigator must have a thorough knowledge of earlier research findings. Even if the basic idea has been formulated, a review of past studies will aid the researcher to clarify his idea and to design the study. Study of the literature forms a fundamental and integral part of the planning and undertaking of a research project.

The role and function of a comprehensive study and in-depth interpretation of the literature in the planning and undertaking of a research project, can be summed up in the following points:

- It is essential for the identification and selection of a research theme;
- It identifies previous research that has contributed to increased knowledge of the research theme;

- It is indispensable for meaningful and scientifically based problem formulation and demarcation;
- It provides an introduction to empirical situations in which the research theme manifests itself;
- It also serves as an introduction to purposeful and effective research methods and procedures and a scientific orientation in respect of the research theme;
- It gives an indication of the methods suitable for data collection and analysis;
- A study of the literature familiarises the researcher with theories, definitions and theoretical argumentation concerning the problem theme;
- It provides a scientific basis for planning the research;
- It helps the researcher to determine the urgency and value of his intended research;
- A thorough study of the literature helps the researcher to formulate the hypotheses of his research theme more precisely; and
- It enables the researcher to adapt his findings to the overall framework of existing knowledge about the problem area (Smith 1995:9).

### **3.6 RESEARCH TECHNIQUES**

The techniques of observation consist largely in aids developed by the scientist to enable him to observe phenomena that cannot be satisfactorily observed by the senses alone. In a nutshell, techniques are aids in scientific methods (Van der Walt *et al.* 1982:177).

### **3.6.1 Statistical techniques**

In this study the researcher made use of the following statistical techniques: social survey (questionnaires), interviewing (structured) and literature review. The questionnaires were randomly distributed to the respondents in Ulundi and were completed by them on their own. The researcher conducted interviews with some of the respondents who voluntarily participated in the study.

### **3.6.2 Frequency distribution**

The word statistics has several meanings. It can mean a set of collected numbers (e.g. numbers telling how many people live in a city, as well as a branch of applied mathematics used to manipulate and summarise the features of numbers. Social research use both types of statistics. *Descriptive statics describe numerical data.* They can be categorised by the number of variables involved. The present study makes use of both univariate and bivariate statistical tables to portray the frequency distribution of data. For instance, in the case of nominal measurement of the gender of respondents, univariate statistical analysis had been implemented (see Table 3.1).

**TABLE 3.1. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

<b>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY (N)</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	115	49,8
Female	116	50,2
Total	231	100,0
<b>Race</b>		
Black	90	39,0
White	103	44,6
Indian	38	16,4
Total	231	100,0
<b>Age</b>		
16 - 20	49	21,2
21 - 25	61	26,4
26 - 30	55	23,8
31 - 40	28	12,1
41 - 50	11	4,8
60 - 70	5	2,2
70 +	22	9,5
Total	231	100,0
<b>Marital status</b>		
Married	76	32,9
Widowed	57	24,7
Divorced	37	16,0
Separated	41	17,7
Single	20	8,7
Total	231	100,0

From this table (Table 3.1), it is apparent that the gender ratio of the sample group is to a large extent similar or even (115 or 49,8% male, 116 or 50,2%) female).

It is also noticeable from this table that the race ratio of the sample group shows

similar features (90 or 39,0% blacks, 103 or 44,6% whites, 38 or 16,4% Indian).

The age group reveals the following: 49 or 21,2% from the age 16-20; 61 or 26,4% for 21-25 respondents; 55 or 23,8% for 26-30 respondents; 28 or 12,1% for 31-40 respondents; 11 or 4,8% for 41-50 respondents; 5 or 2,2% for 60-70 respondents and 32 or 9,5% for the respondents who are above 70 years of age.

Table 3.1 shows the following characteristics regarding marital status: 76 or 32,9% married; 57 or 24,7% widowed; 37 or 16,0% divorced; 41 or 17,7% separated and 20 or 8,7% single.

After data have been coded and prepared for automatic processing, they are ready for analysis. The first task is to construct frequency distributions to examine the pattern of response to each of the independent and dependent variables under investigation. To construct a frequency distribution, the researchers simply lists the categories of the variable and counts the number of observations in each (Nachmias & Nachmias 1992:340; Neuman 1997:297).

Researchers often want to summarise the information about one variable into single number. They use three measures of central tendency, or measures of the centre of the frequency distribution: mean, median and mode which are often called averages (a less precise and less clear way of saying the same thing). The mode is

the easiest to use and can be used with nominal, ordinal, interval, or ratio data. It is simply the most common or frequently occurring number (Nachmias & Nachmias 1992:298-299). The median is the middle point. It is also the 50<sup>th</sup> percentile, or the point at which half the cases are above it and half below it. The mean, also called the arithmetic average is the most widely used measure of central tendency. It can be used only with interval or ratio level data.

The first task, after data has been coded, is to construct frequency distributions to examine the pattern of responses to each of the independent and dependent variables under investigation. Frequency distributions contain the number of responses (n) and their percentages. Percentages (%) are given to the nearest decimal and totals equal exactly 100,00 (Van Velzen 1998:85).

Frequency distribution is usually utilised in the summation of nominal scales. Interval scales, however, requires the use of different measures. The first is the use of the arithmetic mean, which is the sum of the scores divided by the total number of cases involved. The symbol  $\bar{X}$  is used to indicate the mean. However, in research although it is necessary to compare the measures of central tendencies, it is also important to know about the dispersion in each group. For this purpose, the standard deviation is used. To arrive at the standard deviation, the difference of each score from the mean is taken, each difference is squared, the results are

added up and divided by the number of cases, and then the square root is taken (Van Velzen 1998:85).

### **3.6.3 Statistical test**

The F-and t-test were used in the present study to test for significance of differences between two or more variables. The F-statistic is employed in the case of two levels, for instance age and sex respectively (Mqadi 1994:84). In the interpretation of data, statistics are used for descriptive purposes, i.e. percentages, means, standard deviation and correlation coefficients which make it possible to reduce data to manageable proportions and clear interpretations.

## **3.7 SAMPLING**

In selecting a probability sampling technique, the researcher ensures that he or she will be able to make confident generalisation. A researcher draws a sample from a larger pool of cases or elements. A sampling element is the unit of analysis or case in a population. It can be a person, a group, an organisation, a written document or symbolic message or even social action (e.g. an arrest, a divorce, a kiss) that is being measured (Newman 1997:202). The large pool is the population, which has an important role in sampling.

Babbie (1990:70) states that probability sampling allows the researcher to specify the probability that a unit in the total population will be included in the sample.

Probability samples that rely on random process require more work than nonrandom ones. A researcher must identify specific sampling element (e.g. person) to include in the sample.

Non-probability sampling techniques are employed when precise representativeness is not required. Non-probability sampling is less expensive and can be conducted on a spur of the moment (Bailey 1987:92).

Neuman (1997:204) had tabulated three examples of non-probability sampling: haphazard, accidental or convenience.

Haphazard sampling can produce ineffective, highly unrepresentative samples and is not recommended, such samples are cheap and quick, however, the bias and serious misrepresentation can result.

Quota sampling is a improvement over haphazard sampling but it, too is a weak type of sampling. Quota sampling is an improvement because the researcher can ensure that population differences are in the sample.

Purposive or judgmental sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgment of an expert in selecting cases or it selects cases with specific purpose in mind (Neuman 1997:206).

For the purpose of this study, quota sampling was used not only to collect data from respondents but to enrich the study. The researcher is residing in one of the units at Ulundi and he had ample opportunity to go from house to house randomly distributing questionnaires among respondents.

Numerous efforts have been made by the researcher to obtain maps from Ulundi Transitional Council (TLC) with a view to get more information about the location of number of houses around Ulundi Township. However, this type of information proved to be unreliable and incomplete as they did not reflect the position of informal settlements.

Maxfield and Babbie (1995:206) opined that "... occasionally it may be appropriate to select a sample on the basis of the researcher's own knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of research aims - in short, based on the researchers judgment and the purpose of the study."

### **3.8 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

#### **3.8.1 Spatial Delimitation**

For the purpose of the study, it has been decided to limit the area of study to the Ulundi residential area, which is situated 150km north of Eshowe, and 106km south-east of Vryheid in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

### **3.8.2 Quantitative Delimitation**

In the initial planning phase, researchers arbitrarily decided to distribute 500 questionnaires, which will constitute the expected frequency. However, only 307 questionnaires were re-collected. After careful editing, seven questionnaires had to be rejected due to incomplete information given by those respondents. A usable sample of 300 respondents, constituting the observe frequency yielding with a response rate of 60% has been achieved. Therefore any pronouncements and findings emanating from this investigation will be based on the responses of this sample group only.

### **3.9 MEASUREMENT AND SCALING**

Bailey (1987:60) states that measurement process forms an integral part of social research and generally entails the assignment of numbers to concepts or variable (statements).

Stevens (Buthelezi 1997:23) defines measurement as an assignment of numbers, in terms of fixed rules, to individuals to reflect differences between in some or other characteristics or attributes.

Zeller and Carmines (Buthelezi 1997:23) offer a more appropriate social science

oriented definition of measurement namely: "... the process of linking abstract concepts to empirical indicants." This process includes both an explicit organised plan for classifying and quantifying particular data (indicants) in terms of the general concept in the researcher's mind. The advantage of this definition is that measurement is viewed as a process involving both theoretical when conducting research.

Van der Westhuizen (1977:87) regards scaling as the construction of some sort of measuring scale. A scale (like attitude scaling) is the operational rule that is used in a measurement. When a researcher is interested in the contents or processes of people's minds they should be asked to *respond (react) to stimuli (e.g. by means of questionnaires)*. It is a peculiar problem involved in constructing scales to measure the contents of people's minds that make scaling so important in social science.

The mere presence of a human being (respondent) in scientific measurement should not be singled out as being the primary source of the researcher's interest in scaling. Respondent's responses should rather be of interest to the researcher, especially the accumulations of variations in reactions, to stimuli within or among persons (sample group) under changing conditions (Buthelezi 1997:23).

Babbie (1992:140) as well as Rosenberg and Daly (1993:25), point out that the four levels of information data can convey, namely nominal scale, ordinal scale,

interval scale and lastly ratio scale.

First, scaling defines the level of information represented in the numerical code which the researcher used to record data, therefore data cannot be properly interpreted without knowing the scaling. Second, statistical tests for data analysis have underlying assumptions, one of which specifies the scaling are performed on data with a more superficial scaling level, the results of the analysis may be uninterpretable (Rosenberg & Daly 1993:25).

In the present study, a Likert-type scaling procedure has been implemented to portray and quantify the frequency distributions of responses.

The Likert-type scale has been extensively used in attitude measurement in the past - both locally and abroad. This scale may either consist of 4 or 5-point measurement capacities (see for instance variables 39-51 (4-point scale) and variable 132-137 (5-point scale).

### **3.10 VARIABLES**

In the dictionary variables is primarily an adjective. It describes something that is subject to change. In a research or mathematical context, however, the term variable is usually a noun, referring to the identity of that which is subject to change (Rosenberg & Daly 1993:30).

The variable is a central idea in quantitative research. Simply defined, a variable is a concept that varies. The language of quantitative research is a language of variables and relationships among variables (Neuman 1997:107).

Neuman (1997:107) opines that there are two types of concepts that can be encountered in a social research, namely: those that refer to a fixed phenomenon (e.g. the ideal type of bureaucracy) and those that vary in quantity, intensity, or amount (e.g. amount of education). The second type of concept and measures of the concept are variables.

Variables take on two or more values. Once you begin to look for them, you will see variables all over. For example, gender is a variable; it can take on two values: male or female. Marital status is a variable; it can take on the values of never married, single, divorced or widowed. Type of crime committed is a variable; it can take on values of robbery, burglary, theft, murder, and so forth. Family income is a variable; it can take on values for zero to billions of rands-(Neuman 1997:107).

The values or the categories of variable are its attributes. It is easy to confuse variable with attributes. Variables and attributes are related, but they have distinct purposes. The confusion arises because the attribute of one variable can itself become a separate variable with a slight change in definition. The distinct is between concepts themselves that vary and conditions within concepts that vary.

For example, "male" is not a variable, it describes a category of gender and is an attribute of the variable "gender" (Neuman 1997:107).

Yet, a related idea, "degree of masculinity" is a variable. It describes the intensity or strength of attachment to attitudes, beliefs and behaviours associated with the concept of masculine within a culture. "Married" is not a variable, it is an attribute of the variable "marital status". Related ideas such as "number of years married" or depth of commitment to a marriage" are variables (Neuman 1997:107).

### **3.10.1 Independent and dependent variables**

For the purpose of this study tables will be combined to correlate independent variables (gender, age, etc.) with the fear of crime.

When defined experimental research as a method for documenting cause-effect relationships between variables (Rosenberg & Daly 1993:30). Values of the independent variable of an experiment define its treatments or treatment conditions, conditions that are manipulated by and under the direct control of the experimenter. The dependent variable is a measure used to register the effect of one or more treatment conditions (Rosenberg & Daly 1993:30).

Assume, for example, that a psychologist is trying to find the answer to relatively straightforward research questions. Does a newly synthesised drug reduce the

craving for cocaine that addicts experience? The fundamental strategy she intends to use to address this question is to document changes in one variable (craving for cocaine) that take place following the systematic manipulation of another variable (degree of exposure to the new drug).

Since degree of exposure to the new drug is the variable the experimenter intends to manipulate in a systematic fashion, it is the independent variable. The measure that is likely to change value in response to the manipulation of the independent variables is craving for cocaine, so craving is the dependent variable (Rosenberg & Daly 1993:30).

### 3.10.2 Hypotheses

A hypothesis is a proposition to be tested or a tentative statement of a relationship between two variables. Hypotheses are guesses about how the social world works, they are stated in a value-neutral form. Kerlinger (Neuman 1997:108) noted: *hypotheses are much more important in scientific research than they would appear to be just by knowing what they are and how they are constructed. They have a deep and highly significant purpose of taking man out of himself, so to speak ...* Hypotheses are powerful tools for the advancement of knowledge, because, although formulated by man, they can be tested and show to be correct or incorrect apart from man's values and beliefs.

A causal hypothesis five characteristics, namely:

- (1) It has at least two variables.
- (2) It expresses a causal or cause-effect relationship between the variables.
- (3) It can be expressed as a prediction or an expected future outcome.
- (4) It is falsifiable, that is, it is capable of being tested against empirical evidence and show to be true or false (Neuman 1997:109).

The first two characteristics define the minimum elements of a hypothesis. The third restates the hypothesis. For example, the hypothesis that attending religious services reduces the probability of divorce can be restated as a prediction: couples who attend religious services frequently have a lower divorce rate than do couples who rarely attend religious services. The prediction can be tested against empirical evidence. The fourth characteristic states that the hypothesis should not be viewed in isolation (Neuman 1997:109).

It should be logically tied to a research question and to a theory. Researchers test hypotheses to answer the research question or to find empirical support for a theory. The best characteristic requires that a researcher use empirical data to test the hypothesis (Neuman 1997:109).

Smith (1995:12) points out that the objective of many research projects is to test hypotheses that have already been postulated. It should be emphasised that it is

not always necessary to formulate a hypothesis. Gorn (Smith 1995:12) is of the opinion that a hypothesis in a research project need only be formulated when it is relevant and necessary. He states that the postulation of a hypothesis is only necessary in experimental research. In other research strategies, the preference and skill of the researcher, as well as the nature of the data, determine whether an hypothesis will be formulated.

Tentative answers to questions arising from the research problem are implicit in the formulation of the problem. Hypotheses can therefore be postulated as possible answers to the problem formulation. An hypothesis can therefore be defined as a tentative answer to the problem as formulated.

Cohen and Nagel (Smit 1995:12) point out the following implications of hypotheses with regard to problem formulation:

- (i) Hypotheses emanate from a thorough knowledge of the nature, intensity and extent of the problem.
- (ii) Hypotheses are essential throughout the duration of the research process for structuring purpose.
- (iii) Hypotheses must be regarded as tentative solutions/explanations of the problem as formulated.
- (iv) Hypotheses must be precisely worded. If they are general and vague, they are of little value.

- (v) The number of hypotheses that can be postulated in a certain problem area is almost infinite.

Hypotheses have not only an explanatory function, but also an organising function, in that they guide and structure the research. An hypothesis can be regarded as the link between the theory and the research which leads to the expansion of knowledge. When an hypothesis is confirmed by scientific testing, it acquires the status of law of nature (Smith 1995:13).

Smith (1995:13) points out a common error in research, namely that hypotheses are confused with facts. The result is that one hypothesis serves as the point of departure for another hypothesis. He says (Smit 1995:13) one could put it like this: the less factual value the researcher attaches to the hypothesis, the more scientific is his approach. Remember, no matter how many empirical observations there are to substantiate the hypothesis, the hypothesis remains an hypothesis which has to be proven before one can rely on the facts it purports to formulate (Smith 1995:13).

In practice, a distinction can be drawn between a research hypothesis and a statistical hypothesis. A research hypothesis, also known as a working or operational hypothesis, is usually derived from the theory and sets out the presumed relationship between the two variables. This is given in the form of an explanation, and is the premise that demarcates the field of research and indicates the direction of the

research (Smith 1995:13).

The research hypothesis is directional if it points to the expected findings for example, "Men react quicker to visual stimuli than women". If the hypothesis only refers to the similarity/connection or difference, it is non-directional. Statistical hypothesis is also called the null hypothesis (Ho) and postulates an insignificant difference or a similarity between two variables. The perceived difference is therefore not a real one, but can be ascribed to incidental factors. The postulation of a null hypothesis makes it possible to implement statistical techniques (Smith 1995:13)..

For the purpose of this study the following hypotheses were formulated for statistical testing:

- Hypothesis 1: There is significant relationship between age and the fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 2: There are significant differences between male and female responses to fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between marital status and fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 4: There are significant differences between type of housing and fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 5: There is a relationship between race and the fear of crime.
- Hypothesis 6: There is a relationship between educational level of respondents and fear of crime.

Hypothesis 7: There is a relationship between occupation and fear of crime.

Hypothesis 8: There is a relationship between neighbourhood and fear of crime.

Hypothesis 9: There is a relationship between household and fear of crime.

### **3.11 SUMMARY**

The present study adopts as its research methodology, the analytical method. Use is made of both descriptive and inferential statistics. Thus, in research, the social phenomenon to be studied must be recognised as an individual-human-social phenomenon where factors such as age, sex, socio-economic status, living conditions and the perceptions of crime must be investigated.

The research techniques used in this study include the development of a questionnaire, sampling procedures as well as statistical techniques. Babbie (1992:140) points out the four levels of information data that can be conveyed, viz. nominal scale, ordinal scale, internal scale and lastly ratio scale.

## CHAPTER 4

# FEAR OF CRIME: IMPLICATIONS FOR AGE, GENDER, RACE AND HOUSEHOLD

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Fear of crime has become one of the most common problems in our contemporary society. It does not only affect the life of the individual *per se* but even the minds as well as conscience of the community. At this moment South Africa is experiencing a brain drain, that is professional people are leaving the country because the level of crime in South Africa is high, this was broadcasted live on SABC 1 under the heading Two Way dated 13.10.1998.

The public's fear of crime has become the basis for a number of social-political decisions and programs in the United States. Unfortunately, while evidence of the fear of crime (e.g. from public opinion polls) is often cited as a justification for particular measures, assumptions about the sources of the fear are left unstated (Garofalo 1979:80).

In recent years, various researchers (Baumer 1985:241) have identified a general model of fear of crime. This cognitive or volitional model, views fear of crime as an

essentially rational response to a perceived threat of harm. The components of this model can be grouped into three basic areas:

- (i) Individual characteristics indicative of vulnerability to criminal predators,
- (ii) Beliefs about and perceptions of the threat present in the local environment,  
and
- (iii) Knowledge of proximate criminal events (Baumer 1985:241).

In addition to physical vulnerability to attack, there is some evidence of social vulnerability as indicated by income. The poor tend to live in more dangerous neighbourhoods, are less able to secure their homes, and find it more difficult to avoid dangerous areas.

## **4.2 AGE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME**

Baumer (1985:241) points out that age is strongly related to the fear of crime. Various researchers (Baumer 1985:241) contend to this statement. According to them fear of crime has produced an interesting and inconsistent results. The present study will try to reveal the findings of other researchers who have gone out of their ways outlining the effect of age on the fear of crime.

### **4.2.1 General findings on age and fear of crime**

Ortega and Myles (1987:135) opine that dozens of studies in the literature demonstrate that age, race and gender independently effect fear of crime. Very few

studies, however, made an attempt to resolve the possibility that the effects of age, race and gender on fear of crime are interactive. With respect to other "quality of life" indicators, gerontologists revealed that the objective and subjective consequences of aging may be different for members of minority groups and members of dominant groups.

It seems likely that such interaction effects will also be present for fear of crime. First, age may effect the actual risk of criminal victimisation differently for men and women, blacks and whites. Secondly, age may differentially affect the capacities of these groups to deal with the economic and psychological consequences of crime. Thirdly, age may differentially affect sensitivity to, or perceptions of, risk (Ortega & Myles 1987:136). Extant research does not permit an answer to the question of whether age enhances or attenuates race and gender effects on fear of crime or even whether it interacts at all. The study reported below is an effort to answer this question.

### **Garofalo (1979)**

The determinants of the fear of crime were examined with special attention as to how the risk and experience of criminal victimisation affect that fear. By using data from victimisation and attitude surveys in eight American cities, a model of the determinants of the fear of crime was developed and evaluated in a preliminary fashion. The major conclusion was that the fear of crime was not simply a function

of the risk of and actual experiences with victimisation (Garofalo 1979:80).

But the fear of crime is worthy of study in own right. It is logical to assume that people who are fearful of crime suffer psychological discomfort. There is also some indication that the fear of crime leads some people to restrict their behaviour. Garofalo (1979:83) has used the National Crime Survey (NCS) to test the relationship between age and the fear of crime.

A working model of the influences on the fear of crime was presented in the following manner:

- (a) the actual risk of being victimised by criminal act,
- (b) past experiences of being victimised,
- (c) the content of socialisation process connected with particular social roles,
- (d) the content of media presentations about crime and victimisation,
- (e) the perceived effectiveness of official barriers that are placed between potential offenders and victims (Garofalo 1979:83).

Every person is unique, so it is theoretically possible to assign a unique risk factor (i.e. a probability of being victimised) to everyone in the sample. Garofalo (1979:84) stated that knowledge of the risk of victimisation has not reached that stage, even though some work has been done on deriving a typology of persons based on the risk victimisation. Previous analyses of NCS victimisation data have shown, however,

that several personal characteristics are related more or less strongly to rates of victimisation. Four of the characteristics, i.e. age, sex, race and income are also related to the fear of crime.

The rates of victimisation refer to the personal victimisation of rape, robbery, assault, and larceny involving contact between the victim and offender, these crimes should be most relevant to the fear of crime. The rates are computed per 1 000 persons in the category (Garofalo 1979:84). The numerator of each rate is the estimated count of the number of victimisations suffered by persons in the category, not the number of persons victimised. Thus, persons who suffered more than one victimisation are counted more than once in the numerator. This provides a measure of risk for the category rather than for any individual within the category. Garofalo (1979:84) points out that age has a negative relationship with victimisation rates and positive relationships with the fear of crime. That is, as age goes up, victimisation rates decrease and the fear of crime increases.

The findings that fear of crime and risk of victimisation are inversely related across age and sex groups, and that age and sex have much stronger effects on fear than does actual experience with personal victimisation (Garofalo 1979:88). It also lead to a focus on differences in the life situations of people in the various age and sex groups. The hypothesis here is that sex and age - specific socialisation patterns are responsible for the disjunction between fear of crime and risk (Garofalo 1979:88).

**TABLE 4.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED SAFETY WITHIN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD (N=231)**

	FREQUENCIES											
	POSITIVE RESPONSE				TOTAL	%	NEGATIVE RESPONSE				TOTAL	%
	VERY SAFE		FAIRLY SAFE				FAIRLY UNSAFE		VERY UNSAFE			
	N	%	N	%			N	%	N	%		
Walking alone	77	33,3	53	22,9	130	56,2	70	30,3	31	13,4	101	43,7
Unsafe - night	84	36,4	93	40,3	177	76,7	41	17,7	13	5,6	54	23,3
Why feel this way	75	32,5	64	27,7	139	60,2	64	27,7	28	12,1	92	39,8
How safe in home	116	50,2	45	19,5	161	69,7	52	23,5	18	7,8	70	31,3
Unsafe in neighbourhood	66	28,6	72	31,2	138	59,8	58	25,1	35	15,2	93	40,3

Having categorised the above table into negative and positive responses, the following can be deducted: respondents of this specific neighbourhood (Ulundi) do not feel unsafe at night in their neighbourhood.

The respondents of Ulundi feel marginally safe walking alone (56,2% as to 43,7%). They do not feel unsafe at night (76,7%) and to a large extent (59,8%) they do not feel unsafe in their neighbourhood.

**Stafford and Galle (1984)**

Studies of the fear of crime repeatedly points to an apparent paradox: fear of crime and risk of victimisation are related inversely among demographic groups (i.e. age, race and sex groups). However, data from surveys of Chicago residents showed that fear of crime was closely related to victimisation rates once they were adjusted for exposure to risk.

When demographic variables were included with the adjusted rates as predictors of fear of crime, age and sex effects persisted. Even so the present finding indicates that fear of crime should not be interpreted as an irrational or unjustified response and that fear of crime can be reduced by lowering victimisation rates (Stafford & Galle 1984:173).

### **Toseland (1982)**

The study of Toseland investigates the relationship of demographic, psychosocial and crime related factors to fear of crime. Data were collected from 1 499 respondents to a national public opinion survey. A discriminant analysis was used to determine those factors which contribute most to respondents fear of crime. Overall 12 variables were found to explain 45,7% of the variance in fear of crime.

Demographic variables such as sex, the size of the place where the respondent lives, age, marital status and the number of persons living with the respondent were the most important variables discriminating between fearful and non-fearful respondents. Psychosocial and crime-related variables were found to be less important than demographic variables in discriminating between fearful and non-fearful respondents (Toseland 1982:199).

Advancing age was related to increasing chances of being fearful of crime. More than 57% of the respondents who were 75 or older were more fearful of crime as compare

to only 39% of the respondents who were between the ages of 25 and 44. Young respondents were slightly more fearful of crime than respondents between the ages of 24 and 44 (Toseland 1982:203).

Increased fear in the younger age group may be due to several factors such as decreased availability of private transportation, spending time away from home in the evening hours and high proportion of criminal offenders and victims who are juveniles (Toseland 1982:203-204).

Marital status and the number of persons living with a respondent were other important determinants of fear of crime. Being unmarried or widowed and living alone are factors which contribute to the fear of crime. Respondents who were married and who lived with others were less likely to be fearful of criminal victimisation (Toseland 1982:204).

### **Baumer (1985)**

Baumer (1985:239) points out that in recent years, research on fear of crime has converged on a cognitive model that suggests that fear is a rational response to a subjectively defined threat of victimisation. However, the data have come almost exclusively from urban neighbourhoods. Using data from a National sample, the article tests the applicability of the model in the general population. The model was advanced by identifying relevant variable interactions and testing the stability of the model across social context. The results indicated that a simple additive model was appropriate only

in large cities.

Baumer (1985:241) states that the effect of age on the fear of crime was found to be strongest in cities, less strong in suburbs and weakest in small town and rural areas. It appeared that women and elderly perceived no more crime in the local environment than did their counterparts, but they were more fearful than men or younger residents.

However, Maxfield (Baumer 1985:247) has suggested that age and fear were not related in high crime urban neighbourhoods. Thus it may be that age and fear were related only under conditions of moderate threat such as those that exist in most urban environment. In low crime areas the elderly were not more fearful, whereas in high crime areas, the young residents as well as the old report being fearful. With increasing age, men become physically more vulnerable to predatory crime and thus report higher levels of fear (Baumer 1985:248).

### Ortega and Myles (1987)

While the literature on fear of crime is not wholly consistent, result generally indicate that blacks, women and the elderly are the groups most fearful. In those instances where race, gender and age have been simultaneously taken into account, studies have generally assumed that the relationships are additive (Ortega & Myles 1987:133).

However, the gerontological literature suggests that age often interacts with other

status characteristics in producing quality of life differences. Multiregression techniques were used on survey data from eight Chicago neighbourhoods to assess whether or not the effects of age were interactive with fear of crime. Findings indicate that significant interactions are present and the relevance of these findings are discussed in terms of actual and perceived risks of victimisation and of subcultural interpretations of crime and fear of crime (Ortega & Myles 1987:133).

Results of correlational analysis yield partial support for the proposition that fear of crime is a combined production of high exposure to crime, high subjective risk of victimisation and low resources for coping with the consequences of victimisation. There are significant positive relationships between fear of crime and both actual and perceived risk of victimisation. However, there is a positive relationship between risk-reducing behaviours and fear of crime - individuals who have made use of more avoidance strategies are more likely to be fearful than those who have engaged in fewer risk-reducing behaviours (Ortega & Myles 1987:138).

However, both race and age and fear of crime are related to neighbourhood crime level and to perceived victimisation risks. In this sample blacks are more likely to live in high-crime neighbourhoods than whites, older persons are somewhat less likely to live in high-crime neighbourhoods than younger persons. As expected, blacks and older persons have less education and less income - that is fewer resources for dealing with the consequences of being victimised. In sum, age and race are related to factors

which impact on fear of crime-neighbourhood crime level and perceived victimisation risk (Ortega & Myles 1987:138).

### **Warr (1990)**

A regression analysis was used in investigating the relationship between age, gender and the fear of crime (Warr 1990:895). The research indicates that the relationship was affected by cues from the environment as well as the absence or the present of others in the immediate vicinity.

The findings of Warr's research involves among other things show that young males are the least fearful group, older females are the most fearful group and being alone at night is also a fear producing experience for all age and gender groups (Warr 1990:895).

### **Parker and Ray (1990)**

Pearson's correlations coefficient was used to establish whether there was a relationship between the fear of crime and the following variables: age, race, gender, marital status and prior victimisation. The findings show that it was found that young person's fear of crime was increased if they had been previously victimised. It was also discovered that middle-age people especially the blacks who had been previously victimised were more fearful than any other people.

### **Keane (1992)**

The study conducted by Keane revealed that young people tend to become the victims of property crimes. The study also revealed that the concern of the elder respondents was insecurity in their neighbourhood.

#### **4.2.2 Findings on the Elderly and Fear of Crime**

The most prominent researchers who conducted studies on fear of crime in South Africa were Glanz and Pretorius. The former conducted the study of fear of crime among the elderly in the Cape Peninsula while the latter conducted her study about research on the elderly in Pretoria.

### **Yin (1982)**

A multiple classification analysis was to investigate the crime satisfaction with neighbourhood and the impact of fear on an individual's sense of well being. In his study, Yin reveals that there was a strong relationship between older people and the fear of crime. The fact that elderly tend to be neglected by their own families consequently they experience splendid isolation.

### **Glanz (1992)**

Research on the fear of crime has been beset with problems regarding the measurement of the dependent variable. Du Bow, McCabe and Keplan (Glanz 1992:18) have measured fear of crime in number of different ways over the past

decades. According to Du Bow *et al.* the contradictory research findings on fear of crime which have been noted in the literature can often be explained in terms of the different methods according to which fear has been measured. It was assumed in the initial stages of the research that fear was conceptualised by individual's assessment or perception of the probability of being victimised (Glanz 1992:18). During the years that followed, the measurement of fear was refined, Lewis and Salem (1986:19) and fear was distinguished from concern about crime as a social problem, worry about becoming the victim of crime, and assessment of personal risk of victimisation.

In the most recent studies the emotional reaction to crime has been identified as being representative of fear. Opinion poll questions can obviously not measure fear as and when it actually occurs. Researchers are restricted to ask respondents to recall times when they may have been afraid, or to anticipate how they would feel under certain circumstances (Glanz 1992:19).

Glanz (1992:19) found that 85% of the respondents had indicated that they felt unsafe in their neighbourhood during the day and the night. Responses to the four questions dealing with estimates of the likelihood of becoming the victim of different types of crime indicate a polarisation of the black respondents' assessment of personal risk. Whereas the majority of the coloured and the white respondents considered in their somewhat likely or somewhat unlikely that they would be victimised, the black respondents tended to assess their chances of victimisation as either extremely unlikely

or extremely likely (Glanz 1992:19).

### **Pretorius (1994)**

Pretorius (1994:88) used an explanatory model to explain the fear of victimisation among the aged, on the basis of certain determinants. Her findings involves the following:

- (a) the aging experience, with it increase in physical, financial and psychological vulnerability, is related to the fear of crime;
- (b) there is a strong relationship between neighbourhood safety and the fear of crime among the elderly; and
- (c) learned helplessness is a reality among the elderly and is related to their fear of being victimised.

Over and above the phenomenon of fear of crime generally affects all walks of life in terms of the present study.

### **Garofalo (1979)**

Regardless of the current push for greater equality for women, socialisation into the female sex role has traditionally emphasised submissiveness; conversely, assertiveness has been stressed for males. According to Weis and Borges (Garofalo 1979:88) one way submissiveness is achieved is by creating fear of criminal attack - particularly a fear

of rape - in females and thereby teaching them to feel dependent on males for protection. To the extent that these socialisation goals are achieved, one would expect females to express more fear than males, regardless of the objective risks of victimisation.

It is possible that role socialisation produces age and sex differences in expressed fear by a different mechanism. Younger people and males might be disinclined to admit fear to interviewers - whether or not they feel - because of the expectations associated with their roles (Garofalo 1979:88).

The indicators for role socialisation were chosen on theoretical and empirical grounds. Both age and sex are master statuses, in the sense that they have a pervasive effect on all aspects of a person's life. Empirically, it was found that fear and risk were negatively associated across age and sex groups, so role socialisation was invoked as a process which can override actual risk in determining the fear of crime in certain cases (Garofalo 1979:94).

### **Toseland (1982)**

Sudeen and Mathieu (Toseland 1982:205) pointed out that although females and the elderly are less likely than younger males to be the victim of crimes. Feelings of powerless to prevent victimisation is manifested in avoidance behaviour, which reduces the chances of behaviour in a crime victim. Women for example often avoid walking

alone in the evening.

Butler (Toseland 1982:205) notes that many older people particularly those who live in urban areas, drastically reduce their participation in social activities because they are fearful of becoming crime victims.

### **Stafford and Galle (1984)**

As previous indicated, much existing research indicates that groups with the most fear of crime typically have the lowest victimisation rates. Men have a higher rate of personal victimisation, but women are more fearful (Stafford & Galle 1984:175). When age and sex are considered together, there are further discrepancies between risk and fear of crime. Older females are the least victimised but the most fearful, while young males are the most victimised but least fearful.

However, virtually all existing research has employed conventional victimisation rates and divergent findings may emerge from use of the adjusted rate. Due to role expectations and other constraints (e.g. income), females and older persons are likely to spend a considerable part of their time in the home, thereby reducing their risk of personal victimisation. As adolescents, females are supervised more closely than males; and as adults, they are more likely than males to assume housekeeping responsibilities (Stafford & Gale 1984:175). Moreover, as age increases for both males and females, mobility decreases, but number of interpersonal contacts

decreases and people do not have as large a variety of experiences as earlier (Stafford & Gale 1984:175).

The lower conventional victimisation rates of women and the elderly thus may result from their lifestyles or routine activities that tend to insulate them from crime. Even so, both groups might have relatively high rates of victimisation per amount of time they are exposed to crime (Stafford & Gale 1984:175).

### **Ortega and Myles (1987)**

These researchers had devised multiple regression technique to assess whether age, gender and race interact in their effects on fear of crime. Factors associated with age, gender and race that may influence fear of crime-perceived risk of victimisation, actual exposure to crime and the ability to cope with the consequences of victimisation will then be examined as they pertain to be observed interaction effects (Ortega & Myles 1987:133). In their findings, it was discovered that females were substantially more fearful than males.

### **La Grange and Ferraro (1989)**

Like the findings of Ortega and Myles (1987:133), La Grange and Ferraro (1989) had discovered that females were substantially more fearful than males. In their research it was discovered that women are greatly affected by housebreaking, rape and assault. It is not surprising that they perceive themselves as vulnerable and at greater risk than

men. Sex differences in physical strength could lead to a greater sense of vulnerability among women and in turn a heightened fear of crime. Unlike men, women are subject to the risk of rape, meaning that women have greater potential for a criminal encounter.

### **Parker and Ray (1990)**

In their studies Parker and Ray (1990) discovered that there was a co-relation between gender and fear of crime. This is evidenced by the present study where the research shows that women of all races are incapable of defending themselves as compared to their male counterparts. Electronic media sometimes play a role in sensitising crimes where woman are involved thus creating greater fear of crime.

### **Keane (1992)**

According to Keane (1992) there is a co-relation between gender and the victims of fear of crime. In most cases females see themselves as the victim of crimes such as property crimes. The present study shares the same sentiment, however, rape, assault and other personal crimes should also never be underestimated (see Tables 4.2 to 4.9).

**TABLE 4.2 SEX AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SEX	SEXUALLY ASSAULTED		ROBBED		HOME BURGLED		DAMAGE TO PROPERTY		VEHICLE BROKEN INTO	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Male	1.50	0.50	1.45	0.50	1.42	0.50	1.43	0.50	1.53	0.50
Female	1.72	0.45	1.71	0.45	1.66	0.48	1.60	0.49	1.78	0.42
	t = -1.832 p ≤ 0.068		t = -1.209 p ≤ 0.228		t = -0.107 p ≤ 0.915		t = 0.612 p ≤ 0.541		t = -3.112 p ≤ 0.002	

p ≤ 0.05

Table 4.2 reflect the level of fear shown by the respondents on different types of crimes. The male respondents show that they experience great fear (the mean score 1.50 up to 1.53) on crimes such as sexually assaulted, robbery, burglary, damage to property and vehicle broken into. The female respondents also feel unsafe especially on crimes related to sexual assault, robbery and damage to property.

The t-value were as follows: t=-1.832 (p ≤ 0.068) and t=-3.112 (p ≤ 0.002). The mean score between female and male respondents is significant to the level of p ≤ 0.05.

**TABLE 4.3 SEX AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SEX	MOTOR VEHICLE BROKEN INTO		MOTOR VEHICLE STOLEN		SHOT WHILE DRIVING		STONED WHILE DRIVING		SHOT AT CHURCH	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Male	1.57	0.50	1.64	0.48	1.60	0.49	1.55	0.50	1.46	0.50
Female	1.78	0.42	1.76	0.43	1.75	0.44	1.72	0.45	1.77	0.42
	t = -3.226 p ≤ 0.001		t = -3.608 p ≤ 0.000		t = -2.872 p ≤ 0.004		t = -3.169 p ≤ 0.002		t = 1.337 p ≤ 0.183	

p ≤ 0.05

Table 4.3 reveals that there is a significant difference between male and female as far as fear of crime is concerned. The mean scores range from 1.57 up to 1.46, for female the score ranges from 1.78 up to 1.77. The t-value 3.608 (p ≤ 0.000); t = 2.872 (p ≤ 0.004); t = 3.169 (p ≤ 0.002); t = 1.337 (p ≤ 0.183). The t-value is significant at the 0.05 level.

The mean scores for females indicate that they generally feel more afraid in their neighbourhood than males. The mean scores attributed by Table 4.3 is significant to the level of p ≤ 0.05.

**TABLE 4.4 SEX/GENDER DIFFERENCES ON FEAR OF CRIME ON SECURITY MEASURES (N=231)**

SECURITY MEASURES	MALE		FEMALE	
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
Valuable engraved	1.60	0.49	1.50	0.50
Security lights	1.61	0.49	1.65	0.48
Lights left on	1.61	0.49	1.58	0.49
Concrete walls	1.56	0.50	1.56	0.50
	t = 4.538 p ≤ 0.000		t = 0.605 p ≤ 0.546	

p ≤ 0.05

Table 4.4 reveals that there are significant differences between male and female respondents on the issue of fear of crime. The t-value are: t=4.538 (p≤0.000) and t=0.605 (p≤0.546). The mean score for each measurement ranges from 1.60 up to 1.56 for male respondents while mean score for female respondents ranges from 1.50 to 1.56. Table 4.4 shows that both male and female respondents prefer security measures on their homes.

The mean scores attributed by Table 4.4 for security measures are as follows: 1.60 (0.49) valuables engraved; 1.60 (0.49) security lights; 1.61 (0.49) lights left on; 1.56 (0.50) concrete wall, for male respondents.

Female respondents stand as follows: 1.50 (0.50) valuables engraved; 1.65 (0.48) security lights; 1.58 (0.49) lights left on and 1.56 (0.50) concrete walls.

The mean score is significant at the level of p≤0.05.

**TABLE 4.5 GENDER AND CONTACT WITH THE POLICE (N=231)**

CONTACT	MALE		FEMALE		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Juridical contact	2.90	0.99	2.95	1.05	0.129
Report crime	2.71	1.17	2.70	1.17	0.008
Knowledge of crime	2.80	1.09	2.81	1.09	0.720
Bother police	1.71	0.45	1.65	0.45	0.183
No proper attention	1.40	0.49	1.55	0.50	0.783
No prompt	1.55	0.50	1.59	0.49	0.575
Unsolvable case	1.68	0.47	1.54	0.50	0.336
Police unable to solve	1.59	0.49	1.53	0.50	0.854
No interest	1.63	0.48	1.54	0.50	0.867
Settled personally	1.54	0.50	1.57	0.50	0.688
Personal nature	1.53	0.50	1.48	0.50	0.336
Time consuming	1.54	0.50	1.52	0.48	0.260
Dislike involvement	1.58	0.50	1.60	0.49	0.364
Negative attitude	1.52	0.50	1.67	0.48	0.440
Guilty party	1.55	0.50	1.59	0.49	0.027
Partiality of police	1.60	0.49	1.62	0.50	0.204
Fear of retaliation	1.60	0.49	1.67	0.48	0.000

$p \leq 0.05$

Table 4.5 shows that there are differences between gender and contact with the police regarding fear of crime. The mean score ranges from 2.90 to 1.60 for male respondents and 2.95 to 1.67 for female respondents. The study reveals that the level of police contact with the respondents is more or less similar (the mean score is 2.90 for male and 2.95 for female). The study also shows that the community in general is positive with the justice system.

**TABLE 4.6 GENDER AND FEELING TOWARDS CONTACT WITH POLICE (N=231)**

FEELINGS TOWARDS CONTACT	MALE		FEMALE		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Call upon police	1.36	0.48	1.46	0.50	0.00
Greet a police	1.60	0.49	1.56	0.50	1.38
Report crime	1.49	0.50	1.51	0.50	0.01

$p \leq 0.05$

Table 4.6 indicates that the mean scores for male respondents differ with female respondents respectively. The score ranges from 1.36 to 1.49 for male and 1.46 to 1.51 for female. The F-value 0.00; 1.38 and 0.01 which is significant at the level 0.05. The study also reveals that both male and female are eager to report crime to the police.

**TABLE 4.7 MARITAL STATUS AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

MARITAL STATUS	UNSAFE NEIGHBOURHOOD		SEXUALLY ASSAULTED		ROBBED		HOME BURGLED		DAMAGE TO PROPERTY		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Married	2.33	0.98	1.39	0.49	1.37	0.49	1.30	0.46	1.32	0.47	1.347
Widowed	1.91	0.83	1.55	0.52	1.45	0.52	1.45	0.52	1.64	0.50	8.388
Divorced	2.50	1.16	1.29	0.47	1.36	0.50	1.50	0.52	1.36	0.50	6.649
Separated	1.58	0.79	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.52	6.280
Single	2.30	1.08	1.83	0.37	1.80	0.40	1.74	0.44	1.67	0.47	5.949

$p \leq 0.05$

In Table 4.7 the figures of marital status regarding fear of crime have been shown. Married respondents show that their feeling towards unsafe neighbourhood or sexually assaulted crime is higher than crime against property. Although the widowed respondents have shown that their level of fear is lower than single respondents, however, they show great fear on crime such as sexually assaulted, robbery and burglary. The mean score ranges from 1.91 to 1.64.

**TABLE 4.8 MARITAL STATUS AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

MARITAL STATUS	WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT		WALKING ALONE (NEIGHBOURHOOD)		WHY FEELING THIS WAY		FEELING SAFE (HOME)		FEELING UNSAFE (HOME)	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Married	2.68	0.93	1.94	0.95	3.30	1.39	2.41	0.97	2.41	0.90
Widowed	2.09	1.14	1.64	0.67	2.91	1.64	1.73	0.90	2.27	0.90
Divorced	2.64	1.08	2.07	1.07	3.29	1.59	2.29	1.07	1.39	1.05
Separated	1.83	1.11	1.83	0.72	3.25	1.42	1.67	0.65	2.00	1.28
Single	1.94	1.02	1.94	0.83	3.57	1.96	2.14	1.08	1.97	1.12
	F = 3.265 p ≤ 0.007		F = 0.652 p ≤ 0.660		F = 1.853 p ≤ 0.111		F = 1.454 p ≤ 0.206		F = 1.688 p ≤ 0.138	

p ≤ 0.05

The mean scores range from 2.68 to 1.97; and F-value are as follows: 3.265; 0.652; 1.853; 1.454 and 1.688.

The mean score is significant to the level of p ≤ 0.05.

**TABLE 4.9 MARITAL STATUS AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

MARITAL STATUS	MOTOR VEHICLE BROKEN INTO		MOTOR VEHICLE STOLEN		SHOT WHILE DRIVING		STONED WHILE DRIVING		STONED AT CHURCH	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Married	1.44	0.50	1.51	0.50	1.51	0.50	1.48	0.50	1.46	0.50
Widowed	1.73	0.47	1.82	0.40	1.91	0.30	1.64	0.50	1.55	0.51
Divorced	1.50	0.52	1.57	0.51	1.64	0.50	1.57	0.51	1.57	0.51
Separated	1.67	0.49	1.67	0.49	1.58	0.51	1.83	0.31	1.83	0.37
Single	1.83	0.41	1.79	0.41	1.83	0.38	1.50	0.52	1.75	0.45
	F=5.890 p≤0.000		F=2.944 p≤0.014		F=3.129 p≤0.009		F=1.629 p≤0.153		F=2.333 p≤0.043	

p ≤ 0.05

The above tables reflect the demographic information of respective independent variables that were used in the present study.

The mean scores for females indicate that they generally feel in personal crimes such as sexual assault, robbery, damage to property, etc. The scores ranges from 1.50 to 1.53, see Table 4.2.

Table 4.9 indicates that the male respondents experience problems in terms of the following crimes: hijacking, housebreaking, theft of motor vehicle, etc.

The F-value stands as follows: 5.890; 2.944; 3.129; 1.629 and 2.333. The mean scores for marital status range from 1.44 to 1.75 which is significant at the level of p ≤ 0.05.

### **4.3 RACE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME**

#### **Smith (1979)**

When race of victims and race of offenders were paired, it was found that the majority of crime was intraracial. The findings of the Kansas City study (Smith 1979:16) support the contention that crime is more frequently a case of younger blacks victimising older blacks and younger whites victimising older whites.

White offenders committed crimes against elderly white people at rate that is three times greater than the incidence of white offenders victimising older blacks. Black offenders primarily victimise elderly black people, the rate being twice the rate of black offenders victimising older whites (Smith 1979:16).

#### **Garofalo (1979)**

The research conducted by Garofalo (1979:85) reveals that race and income show great variations. Whites have a slightly lower rate of victimisation both decline as income goes up. The correspondence between fear and risk of victimisation among racial and income might be due to an areal effect.

Because neighbourhoods tends to be somewhat homogeneous with respect to race and income and because areal crime rates also vary with race and income characteristics, the relationship between fear and risk of victimisation for racial and income groups may be a reflection of the convergence of these factors in

particular geographic locations (Garofalo 1979:85).

### **Toseland (1982)**

This study investigates the relationship of demographic, psychosocial, and crime related factors to fear of crime. Data were collected from 1 499 respondents in a national public opinion survey. A discriminant analysis was used to determine those factors which contribute most to respondents fear of crime.

Demographic variables such as sex, the size of the place where respondents lives, age, marital status and the number of persons living with respondents were the most important variables discriminating between fearful and non-fearful respondents.

Psychosocial and crime-related variables were found to be less important than demographic variables in discriminating between fearful and non-fearful respondents (Toseland 1982:204). The discriminant analysis included race a predictor of fear of crime. In examining his data, Toseland (1982:204) had clearly cited that race is relatively unimportant predictor of fear of crime. Although black respondents are more fearful of crime than white respondents, the relationship is very weak. Other demographic variables such as education, income and social class, were not found to be related to fear of crime in the discriminant analysis (Toseland 1982:204).

### **Walsh (1987)**

Research, examining race-based sentencing, has reported anomalous results. It has been argued by Kleck, Peterson and Hagan (Walsh 1987:149) that these anomalies would not be perceived as such given a greater sensitivity to the changing conceptions of race "in America society".

Wilson and Pettigrew (Walsh 1987:149) had pointed out that recent studies would seem to indicate that the significance of race as it relates to various social, political and economic issues is declining.

Walsh (1987:149) opines that the additive model fails to reveal any significant differences in severity of penalties based on either offender or victim race. The race-specific model reveals that significantly harsher penalties were imposed on blacks who sexually assaulted whites than were imposed on blacks who sexually assaulted blacks.

The research also reveals that young black males may not be fearful because they are physically able to defend themselves or because being among the perpetrators of crime, they are unlikely to fear themselves (Walsh 1987:150).

### **Ortega and Myles (1987)**

According to Skogan and Maxfield (Ortega & Myles 1987:134), race differences

in fear of crime stem, in part, from differences in actual exposure to crime, blacks of all ages are more likely to live in high crime neighbourhoods than are whites. Nevertheless, aging may close the gap between the races in fear of crime as the levelling hypothesis would imply.

First, the increase physical frailty of the elderly may increase vulnerability to crime, even in neighbourhoods where the risk of victimisation is generally low, Thus, the physical consequences of aging may neutralise some of the advantages that accrue to whites from their residing in low-crime neighbourhoods (Ortega & Myles 1987:134).

Furthermore, given high vulnerability to crime in their younger years, woman and blacks may have developed strategies for reducing the likelihood of criminal victimisation over the course of a lifetime. Such sources or methods for coping may be less developed among older men or older whites, since vulnerability to crime is a relatively new experience for them. Extended family support, for instance, and the type of community cohesion often found in black neighbourhoods but seldom found in white middle-class suburbs may be among the mechanism through which elderly blacks minimize their exposure to crime and hence reduce their fear of criminal victimisation (Ortega & Myles 1987:134).

#### **4.4 HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS AND FEAR OF CRIME**

Fear of crime is a major social problem in urban as well as rural areas. Surveys tell us that close to 50% of the adult urban population are afraid to be out at night in their own neighbourhoods (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:160). The media use dramatic stories to tell us that fear of crime has crippled the ability of individuals to lead normal, productive lives. Federal, state, and local government agencies have implemented programs to reduce the fear of crime among selected populations. Some commentators have gone so far as to label the fear of crime one of the principal causes of the decline of city life (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:160).

Lewis and Maxfield (1980:161) propose that fear of crime is affecting not only by the incidence of crime, but also by what they called the level of incivility. The data indicate that fear of crime is exacerbated by signs of disorder, or incivility, perceived by neighbourhood residents; however, these various signs of incivility may have little to do with the actual amount of serious crime.

##### **Lewis and Maxfield (1980)**

Residents in four Chicago neighbourhoods were surveyed to determine the relationship between fear of crime and official crime rates. Several anomalies were found. Citizens' perceptions of dangerous areas in their neighbourhoods match, for the most part, official records of crimes committed there. However, assessment of neighbourhoods specific crime problems and personal risks do not

consistently correspond with official statistics. The authors argue that citizens' perceptions of crime are shaped not so much by the neighbourhood conditions reflected in the crime statistics, but rather by the level of incivility in their communities (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:160).

Indicators of incivility are conditions more frequently confronted, indicating that community social control is weak. These include abandoned buildings, vandalism, drug use and loitering teenagers. The authors demonstrate the correspondence between levels of fear and concern about incivility. They suggest that fear of crime is triggered by a broad range of neighbourhood conditions and argue that attempts to understand and control that fear should look beyond serious crime incidents as the sole source of the problem (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:160).

Fear of crime is not evenly distributed throughout the city. Just as some neighbourhoods have more crime than others, residents of some neighbourhoods perceive themselves as more at risk than do people who live in other areas. While a broad group of studies concerning the relationship between crime and fear has focussed on the effects of general crime conditions in a community on an individual's perceptions of crime (Lewis & Maxfield 1980:161). For a general review of the literature, most often the comparisons have been made at city level, examining differences in fear among residents in high crime cities versus differences in fear among residents in cities with lower crime rates.

### **Toseland (1982)**

Data from the national survey suggests that, in addition to the personal characteristics of respondents being a crime victim, exposure to criminal behaviour and the quality of the neighbourhood environment in which a person lives are associated with fear of crime.

As in previous studies personal victimisation appears to be associated with fear of crime in a complex manner. Victims of burglary appear to be more fearful of crime than those who were not victimised. This findings appears to contradict the results of a study based on a sample of 1 545 respondents in Baltimore and Maryland, USA. In the study Rosenthal (Toseland 1982:206) concluded that fear of crime appeared to be inversely related to victimisation. The recent findings by Toseland show that victimisation and fear of crime are associated.

### **Miethe, Stafford and Long (1987)**

The findings of these authors concur with other researchers in that males, low income persons as well as the unmarried have a higher risk of violent victimisation. They also discovered that households headed by males, blacks, the unmarried, young persons and those with high incomes, have a high risk of property victimisation.

### **Smith and Jarjoura (1989)**

In Smith and Jarjoura's (1989) study it was discovered that single parents' household are at higher risk of burglary. The study was primarily based on burglary but it also show that the elder respondents are less affected by the risk of victimisation.

### **Parker and Ray (1990)**

The study conducted by Parker and Ray used Pearson's correlation coefficient ( $r$ ), the relationship between fear of crime and other independent variables also receive necessary attention. The findings revealed that there was no relationship between the household and the fear of crime.

### **Smith and Hill (1991)**

The findings of Smith and Hill where the relationship between the household and the fear of crime was measured, the research discovered that there was no such relationship. The same applies to the present study, the relationship between the fear of crime and household could not be proved.

### **Keane (1992)**

On the basis of his findings, Keane (1992) states that the relationship between type of dwelling and the fear of crime was not significant. With regard to formless fear, apartment dwellers were more likely to be fearful. The study also reveals

that there was a relationship between household and property crimes.

#### **Neser, Geldenhuys, Stevens, Grobbelaar and Ladikos (1993)**

The study of Neser, Geldenhuys, Stevens, Grobbelaar and Ladikos (1993) revealed that respondents who were living in the flats felt unsafe as compared to those occupying proper houses.

#### **4.5 SUMMARY**

In this chapter the following variables were discovered as relatively closed to the fear of crime: *inter alia* age, gender, race as well as household. The findings of previous researchers pertaining to those variables and the fear of crime were discussed.

Since age, race and gender effects persist within high crime neighbourhoods, one might conclude that actual risk of victimisation only partially explains the different levels of fear found among race, age and gender groups. However, exposure to risk may vary within, as well as between, high-end low-end neighbourhoods.

Individuals may minimise exposure to crime by staying at home, by living with others, by participating in crime prevention organisations and by avoiding the use of public transportation. What hold true for individuals may also hold true for groups, such as the elderly, females and perhaps racial minorities. Thus, race,

age and sex differences in fear among residents of high-crime neighbourhoods may still largely result from systematic differences in actual exposure to crime.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF VICTIMISATION**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

Skogan (1986:143) states that data to assess the impact of victimisation on fear was gathered in personal interviews with 1 738 residents of seven selected neighbourhoods in Newark, New Jersey and Houston, Texas. The neighbourhoods were relatively high-crime areas featuring a mixture of single-family homes and rental apartments. Respondents in Newark were virtually all black, while in Houston blacks, whites and Hispanics were represented in all residential addresses in each city; the respondents were chosen at random from among household residents 19 years of age and older. The data were available from the Criminal Justice Data Archive at the University of Michigan (Skogan 1986:143).

#### **5.2 EXPLAINING THE PATTERNS: VULNERABILITY AND RISKS**

What factors explain why the burden of victimisation falls more heavily on certain people than others? What is it if anything that catches the attention of criminals? Which behaviour and activities risks and which reduce the odds of being harmed? Vulnerability to crime is always a matter of degree (Karmen 1990:94).

The statistics from victimisation surveys confirm that particular groups of people

are more vulnerable to exploitation and injury than other. Victimologists, however, cannot agree among themselves exactly what characteristics victims have in common that make them relatively more susceptible than non-victims. In as much as the data reveal clear patterns, victimisation is definitely not a random process, striking people just by chance. When victims ask, why me? Victimologists, suggest that the answer may be more than simply "Bad luck" (Karmen 1990:94).

### **5.3 THE DETERMINANTS OF VULNERABILITY**

Galaway and Hudson (Karmen 1990:94) opined that someday, it will be possible to compute a vulnerability index to predict the possibility of a given individual's becoming a casualty of a specific type of crime. The calculation would take into account characteristics like sex, age, race, income, occupation, marital status and locality, since these factors have proven to be correlated with victimisation rates.

Personal attributes may play a part in determining vulnerability. The mentally retarded, newly arrived immigrants, uneducated people, and inexperienced people appear to be unusually exploitable by criminals employing deception and fraud. Con artists swindle the greedy, heartbroken and lonesome with legendary ease. Physically law depicted people, the elderly and frail, the very young and perhaps females in general are thought to be more assailable by violent offenders.

Situational factors may play a part as well. People are more susceptible at certain times, periods, or phases than at others. For example, tourists are a notoriously vulnerable group. Offenders prey on them with impunity, knowing that because of considerations of money, time, or both, few tourists will be willing and able to return to the jurisdiction of the crime to take part in criminal justice process, even if their assailants are caught red-handed by the police. A tourist's average length of stay of a few days to a few weeks is invariably too brief to see a case through to its conclusion. As a result, charges against defendants are usually dropped or drastically reduced because of the absence of a key witness or the complainant (victim) (Karmen 1990:94).

Most victimologists are not satisfied with explanations of variations on victimisation rates that emphasise vulnerability factors that are biological (like gender, age and race) psychological (like loneliness or greediness) social (like income and occupation), or situational (like being an immigrant or a tourist). Victimology has been charged with theoretical empiricism. In spite of an abundance of data, there is a lack of convincing explanations for observed patterns, trends and group differences. To counter this criticism, three more elaborate answers have been developed, namely:

- (a) The first is that observed differences in murder and robbery risks might be accounted for by differences in lifestyles. The sociological term lifestyle

refers to how people involve themselves in daily activities and special events on a predictable basis. It encompasses how people spend their time and money at work as well as at leisure and social role (like business traveller, student or homemaker) the play.

- (b) A second explanation for variations in victimisation rates is the “routine activities approach”. This analysis emphasises the vulnerability of people when they must venture away from their homes and families. Victimisation by predatory strangers can occur when criminally unclined persons are able to isolate suitable targets when they are not adequately guarded (Karmen 1990:95).

The routine activities approach ties together several major themes within criminology and victimology: that social conditions continuously create offenders motivated to harm others; that opportunities for committing crimes multiply as stealable property proliferates; that target-hardening measures and official policing and unofficial guardianship may prevent offenders from striking and that certain lifestyles expose people to heightened risks.

- (c) A third explanation for variations in victimisation rates portrays victims in a less sympathetic light. It stresses that vulnerability can result from the

pursuit of amusement and excitement. Activities such as cruising, hanging out, partying, and frequenting bars and social clubs include elements of danger.

All three of these explanations have in common a sociological orientation, rather than a psychological one. They emphasise general behaviour patterns characteristics of entire groups of people, instead of the peculiar propensities of specific individual to pick fights or treat valuable possession carelessly (Karmen 1990:96).

#### **5.4 GENERAL FINDINGS ON PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION AND FEAR OF CRIME**

The general findings of the various authors on the relationship between previous victimisation and the fear of crime are now discussed infra.

##### **Garofalo (1979)**

In the data of the National Crime Survey (NCS), Garofalo (1979:87) discovered that for every individual interviewed, attitude subsample information is available about certain victimisation suffered during the twelve (12) month proceeding the interview. The research shows the relationship between the number of personal victimisation suffered during the reference period and the fear of crime expressed; age and sex have also been controlled in his research (Garofalo 1979:87).

The research conducted by Garofalo (1979:87) reveals that experience with victimisation was represented by the total number of personal victimisation reported to the interviewer as having occurred to the respondent during the twelve months preceding the interview. His research further states that this indicator, of course, was not sensitive to victimisation that might have occurred more than one year before the interview. Actually it is sensitive to earlier victimisation in the limited sense that once a person has been victimised, the probability of a subsequent victimisation is higher than a simple multiplicative function of the probability of initial victimisation that is, some are "victimisation prone" (Garofalo 1979:94).

In addition, the variable covers a limited range of victimisation: rape, robbery, assault and larceny involving contact between the victim and offender. However, the most recent victimisation included in the variable would seem to be the ones most likely to create a fear of crime when they are experienced. The indicators for role socialisation were chosen on theoretical and empirical grounds. Both age and sex are master statuses, in the sense that they have a persuasive effect on all aspects of a person's life. Empirically, it was found that fear and risk were negatively associated across age and sex groups, so role socialisation was invoked as a process which can override actual risk in determining the fear of crime in certain cases (Garofalo 1979:94).

### **Baumer (1985)**

The research conducted by Baumer has been measured by both subjectively in terms of individual perceptions and objectively in terms of local crime rates. Finally, a lack of social cohesion or community social integration has been linked to fear of crime (Baumer 1985:242). However, there is considerable disagreement about whether this variable is a cause or a consequence of fear of crime. Another area of great concern is information about criminal events.

This information has generally been viewed as coming from three sources: personal experience, vicarious experiences of friends and neighbourhoods and news reports. Common sense suggests that those who have been victimised should be more fearful but early research (Baumer 1985:242) failed to identify such a relationship. However, various researchers (Baumer 1985:242) point out that recent research has shown victims to be more fearful than their non-victimised counterparts. Interestingly enough, the victimisation experience seems to affect both the victim and his or her friends. Skogan and Maxfield (Baumer 1985:242) found that in urban neighbourhoods, respondents with friends who had been victimised were more fearful than those without such friends.

### **Toseland (1982)**

Data from the national survey conducted by Toseland suggest that, in addition to the personal characteristics of respondents being crime victims, exposure to

criminal behaviour and the quality of the neighbourhoods environment in which a person lives are associated with fear of crime.

Toseland (1982:206) points out that personal victimisation appears to be associated with fear of crime in a complex manner. Victims of burglary appear to be more fearful of crime than those who were not burgled. The fear experienced by the victim of a burglary may be due to the violation of the person's security in his or her place of residence. Newman (Toseland 1982:206) clearly demonstrates the importance of defensible space and the anxiety suspicion and fear that result from a violation of this defensible space.

The data from the National Opinion Research Centre Survey in the United States are inclusive, however, about the effects of muggings, beatings and other violent crimes. Less than 5% of the respondents from the total sample reported being the victim of a mugging or a beating. Thus, although the discriminant analysis did not select these variables as useful discriminators between fearful and non-fearful respondents, this may be due to the small number of persons responding affirmatively to the questions rather than to the lack of a relationship between fear of crime and victimisation by violent crimes (Toseland 1982:206).

### **Skogan (1987)**

Skogan's (1987) study examines the relationship between criminal victimisation

and fear of crime. Some victims have greater capacity for coping with the consequences of previous victimisation. Property damage and financial loss from crime can place an enduring burden on victims. This is particularly true for the poor, who are least likely to have insurance (Skogan 1987:141). Skogan (1987:141) found that poor and less educated victims reported more practical “coping” problems than did others, and higher levels of fear. Victims with more knowledge and experience, and facility in dealing with public and private bureaucracies may more readily find support and assistance if they need it.

Finally, it may be that the impact of victimisation is dependent upon people's attitudes beforehand. Several researchers have speculated that victimisation may have more serious consequences for those who already were more fearful. Presumably the experience reinforces their perceptions of an “unjust world” and emphasises their personal vulnerability (Skogan 1987:142-143).

### **Parker and Ray (1990)**

Parker and Ray (Van Velzen 1998:125) utilised the variable of previous victimisations. In their study of the fear of crime, respondents were asked in terms of a questionnaire distributed to them, whether they had been a victim of vandalism, theft, violent crimes or had been threatened with victimisation during a period of 12 months. The result indicated that victimisation was the strongest predictor of fear of crime followed by age, race, marital status as well as gender.

The result also pointed out that high levels of fear were found among the elderly, especially elderly blacks and single females who had experience victimisation before.

### **Smith and Hill (1991)**

Van Velzen (1998:125) refers to Smith and Hill's research who had conducted their research about victimisation and the fear of crime. The aim behind their research was to determine whether the victimisation experience affects fear of crime. Their research shows that more serious forms of victimisation are reported by younger and poorer respondents; their results also revealed that there was a strong nexus between the fear of crime and victimisation experience.

### **Glanz (1992)**

The study undertaken by Glanz suggested that the elderly's fear of crime is a rational response to reveal danger. Jaycox and Smith (Glanz 1992:16) argue that when the level of fear of elderly residents in different neighbourhoods is compared and the dangerousness of the respective neighbourhoods is taken into account, their fear is realistic and accurate. When, on the other hand, fear across different age groups is compared, the paradox and irrationality become evident.

Other researchers contend that the elderly's fear is mainly unfounded. Glanz (1992:17) mentioned the two aspects of the problem which are significant in the

discussion of crimes against the elderly: fear of crime and the actual threat of crime. When considered against the actual threat of crime, the elderly's fear may seem unwarranted (Glanz 1992:17).

Research on fear of crime has been beset with problems regarding the measurement of the dependent variable.

Various researchers (Glanz 1992:18) have measured fear of crime in a number of different ways over the past two decades. According to the DuBow *et al.* (Glanz 1992:18) the contradictory research findings on the fear of crime which have been noted in the literature can often be explained in terms of the different methods according to which fear has been measured. It was assumed in the initial stages of the research that fear was conceptualised by an individual's assessment or perception of the probability of being victimised. The measurement of fear was refined and fear was distinguished from concern about crime as social problem; worry about becoming the victim of crime and the assessment of personal risk of victimisation (Glanz 1992:19).

The fear of crime is thought to be greater among the aged who have been victimised in the past. However, research undertaken to examine the effect of previous victimisation on fear is inconclusive and conflicting. Glanz (1992:18) points out that 662 sites, found that those who had been victimised previously, as well as those living in high crime areas, experienced higher levels of fear.

Hanson, Winfrey and Remondet found on the other hand that past victimisation experience and dangerousness of the neighbourhood were unrelated to fear of crime among the aged. Thomas and Hyman also agree that previous victimisation has little or not effect on subsequent levels of fear (Glanz 1992:18)

The following information regarding the ill-treatment of elderly by the South African community, Sowetan (19 October 1998:13).

There seems to be no respect given to many of South Africa's senior citizens. It appears thugs watch elderly people in Pinelands with the intention of attacking them. Three defenceless woman were attacked in their homes recently. One of them was murdered. These crimes and increasing number of abuse, neglect and exploitation received by the elderly indicate that our society does not take care or support senior citizens in this country.

How else can you account for attacks on vulnerable people – form all cultures, race and religion. Some are abused and exploited by family members and their carers. However, good policing and heavy sentencing is scant comfort to the elderly victims who have been forced to endure the very threat of being attacked and murdered.

Another fine elderly citizen were attacked in Bellville on the eve of October 1,

1998, International Day for the age. Another two were murdered that same week. Four elderly people were murdered in the Eastern Cape and two in KwaZulu-Natal. One was babysitting her nine-week old grandchild when she was attacked.

This demonstrates the South African society's record of ongoing violence against the elderly. In 1997 a total of 1 370 elderly people were the victims of rape; 2 000 were murdered and 22 000 were assaulted. These and other violent crimes against the elderly totalled over 27 000.

#### **Neser, Geldenhuys, Stevens, Grobbelaar and Ladikos (1993)**

Neser *et al.* (1993:29) studied previous victimisation as a variable which could influence levels of fear. In this study the respondents were asked to indicate whether they or any member of their household had been a victim of a crime during the previous five years. The findings of the research varied in the sense that out of 530 respondents, only 244 reported to have experienced previous victimisation and 286 had had no such experience (Van Velzen 1998:126).

#### **5.5 TOWARD A GENERAL MODEL**

Using data divided from a National sample, Baumer (1985:250) stipulated that his article tested a general model of fear of crime that has been developed primarily in rural areas. The variables in this model were grouped into three areas:

- perceptions and beliefs about the treat of victimisation present in the local environment,
- individual traits related to vulnerability, and
- prior victimisation experiences (personal and vicarious).

Expectations concerning the first two of these areas were confirmed. Women, the poor and the elderly were more fearful as were those respondents who though they lived in a dangerous neighbourhood and believed that they were likely to become victims of a robbery (Baumer 1985:250). Additionally, those residents who believed that they had adequate police protection were less fearful. Personal victimisation and knowledge of victimisation of others were both related to fear but the strength of the relationships was such as to be substantively meaningless. Although this may be taken as evidence contrary to the cognitive model being tested, a methodological interpretation is probably more appropriate.

This derives from two general problems. First, the victimisation questions were not crime specific. This blurred the distinction between the most fear-evoking personal offences and property crimes that are less directly related to fear. Second, as Skogan and Maxfield (Baumer 1985:250), observe, personal experience with crime can play only a limited role in explaining the general incidence of fear of crime even in large cities ... while victims are more fearful than non-victims, few people have been victimised in any recent period of time.

In addition to the additive effects identified above, several significant variable interactions were also identified. The effect age varied by both size of place and sex. The variable had its strongest impact in urban areas and for men. It was also found that the perceived adequacy of police protection is a more powerful predictor of fear under conditions of high perceived risk. Each of these interactions tend to confirm the general cognitive model (Baumer 1985:251). Finally, the interaction of the perceived adequacy of police protection and risk of robbery indicates that under conditions of high risk the security provided by subjectively adequate police protection mediates fear.

When the above model was tested for stability across differing contexts, several important difference emerged. First, the additive model was reaffirmed in the urban and suburban areas but not in the small town or rural areas. The principal difference in the correlates of fear between areas was the absence of an effect for both age and perceived adequacy of police protection in the latter subsample. However, the overall variance accounted for in the small town or rural areas was very similar to that in the other two subsamples (Baumer 1985:251).

Second, the variable interaction were not stable across each of the three sample areas. It has already been observed that the age by area interaction was affirmed. However, the age by sex interaction was significant only in the small town or rural areas and the interaction between adequacy of police protection and

subjective likelihood of robbery was not significant in any of the three areas. In addition, another interaction between likelihood of robbery and sex, which in the national sample was not significant in combination with the other interactive variates, was significant in both the suburban and small town or rural areas (Baumer 1985:251).

The nature of this interaction was such that the effect of subject risk was considerably stronger for woman. Within the framework of the current approach, women in these areas were more sensitive to threat than were men. The results of the above analysis both clarify and complicate the applied public policy considerations faced by practitioner. It was found that overall fear is a response to subjectively defined risk and personal vulnerability.

## **5.6 VICTIMISATION RATES AND FEAR OF CRIME**

Stafford and Galle (1984:181) compared population groups with regard to the relationship between victimisation rates and fear of crime in their study. Their findings cast doubt on the conclusion of previous research that fear is related inversely to subjective risks of victimisation. The issue centres on the measurement of victimisation rates. Previous research has relied on conventional rates, which are faulty because they fail to consider differential exposure to the risk of victimisation. Hence some groups with relatively low conventional rates can have high victimisation rates when adjusted for exposure to risk.

Inferring exposure from lifestyle or routine activities, Stafford and Galle (1984:182), showed that fear of crime was more strongly positively related to adjusted than conventional victimisation rates.

Perhaps the most important implication of Stafford and Galle's study was that fear of crime should not be viewed cavalierly as irrational or unjustified. For most population groups there is a high degree of correspondence between adjusted victimisation rates and fear of crime. Even where the correspondence is low (in the case of young black males and older white females), it would be premature at best to conclude that fear is irrational, for the research on its own knows little about how objective risks are translated into fear.

## **5.7 EXPOSURE TO RISK AND FEAR OF CRIME**

La Grange, Randy and Kenneth (1989:697) undertook a study of age and gender differences in perceived risk and fear of crime where they analysed or undertook a research of 1 987 telephone interviews with 320 randomly selected residents of a south eastern metropolitan area of the United States. Fear was measured using a US National Crime Survey (NCS) indicator plus 11 alternative indicators of fear of specific crimes. Women reported significantly greater perceived risks and fear than man, regardless of how fear was measured. Older adults reported the greatest fear when NCS measure was used, but not when the alternative individual measures of fear were used (La Grange et al. 1989:697-719).

Smith, Lynn, Newhart, Hill and Gary (1991:217-239) stated the following: A study employs multi-item measures of fear of crime and seriousness - weighted index of victimisation experience to explore the differential effects of property and personal victimisation of fear of crime. Fear of crime, at individual level, is tied to property victimisation. Victims of violent crime appear to express higher levels of fear only when they have also experienced property victimisation. Findings are discussed in relation to a general social vulnerability effect noted also gender, age and education (Smith et al. 1991:239).

Stafford and Galle (1984:182) noted the following:

- (a) For example, in the United States in 1973 only 19% of personal victimisations occurred in or near the victim's home. Moreover, a high percentage of these crimes involved situations where initial contact between the victim and offender occurred outside the victim's home.
  
- (b) Although groups with the most fear of crime should have the lowest exposure to risk, it does not follow that people reduce their exposure only because they are fearful. For example, Stafford and Galle (1984:182) showed that the inverse relation between fear of crime and the amount of time spent going out for entertainment (one dimension of leisure-related exposure to risk) is spuriously attributable to correlations between both variables and demographic characteristics of persons.

- (c) Balkin (Stafford and Galle 1984:182), reports findings that are consistent with this argument in his study of fear of crime in US cities, but his *measure of exposure to risk (i.e. whether or not people limited or changed their activities in the past few years because of crime)* is at best only a very crude, proxy measure. Those who reportedly changed their activities may have been unexposed totally to crime, and those who did not change their activities could still have a low degree of exposure. The validity of the argument thus remains an empirical issue.
- (d) The data on personal larceny involve theft with contact between the victim and offender. This consists of purse snatching and pocket picking as well as attempts to perpetrate these crimes. The distinction between robbery and personal larceny with contact hinges on the threat or use of force. When someone takes property from another by force or threat of force, the crime is classified as a robbery. If there is no use or threat of force, it is considered a personal larceny with contact (Stafford & Galle 1984:183).
- (e) There are of course other possible explanations for the outliers. For example, the costs of victimisation (actual or perceived) may differ substantially among population subgroups such that there is variation in the effects of victimisation rates on fear of crime.

(f) Simpler comparisons also tend to support the present argument.

Ignoring age and race, males have a higher conventional victimisation rate than females. However, females spend less time away from home and thus are exposed less to the risk of personal victimisation. Adjusting for differential exposure to risk, the pattern of victimisation is the reverse of that indicated by the conventional rates. Whether or not older persons actually suffer more harm if victimised is largely irrelevant. Their belief (Stafford & Galle) that this is the case still may affect their fear of crime.

A rather straightforward approach to assessing the role of objective risk factors in producing observed race, age and gender differences in fear of crime is to simply include a dummy variable representing high crime or low crime place of residence in the regression equations. However, variation in level of officially reported crime was not the only criterion used in selecting sample neighbourhoods. One should recall that racial stability and property values were also considered. Given the nature of the selection process, it is quite possible that respondents living in high-crime or low crime neighbourhoods not only differ in their exposure to crime but also in other conditions of community life that may enhance or attenuate fear of crime (Ortega & Myles 1987:144).

Consequently, the relationship between and among the independent variables and fear of crime may vary by community. Therefore, the effects of objective risk of victimisation on fear of crime are examined by conducting separate analyses for high-crime and low-crime neighbourhoods. Technically, what is suggested here is that level of neighbourhood crime may interact with one or all of the independent variables in terms of fear of crime. In fact, analysis indicates that this is so. There is a statistically significant three way interaction between sex, race, and neighbourhood crime level for fear of walking alone in the neighbourhood. Level of crime in the neighbourhood also interacts with perceived risk of personal victimisation (Ortega & Myles 1987:144).

**TABLE 5.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION  
(N=231)**

	FREQUENCIES			
	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
Sexually assaulted	88	38,1	143	61,9
Being robbed or mugged	97	40,7	137	59,3
Housebreaking	104	45,0	127	55,0
Malicious injury to property	111	48,1	120	51,9
Theft out of vehicle	77	33,3	154	66,7
Theft of vehicle	75	32,5	156	67,5
Shot at - driving	70	30,3	161	69,7
Stoned at - driving	77	33,3	154	66,7
Shot at -church	76	32,9	155	67,1
During the day	119	51,5	112	48,5
During the night	149	64,5	82	35,5
Guard dog	111	48,1	120	51,9
Alarm system	96	41,6	135	58,4
Extra lights	125	54,1	106	45,9
Deadlocks on doors	99	42,9	132	57,1
Burglar-proofing	120	51,9	111	48,1
Valuable engraved	91	39,4	140	60,6
Warning lights	97	42,0	134	58,0
Radio left on - not at home	98	42,4	133	57,1
Concrete walls	91	39,4	140	60,6
Fire-arm	99	42,9	132	57,1
No measures taken	103	44,6	128	55,4

Table 5.1 shows that actual risk and perceived risk of victimisation are also related to fear of crime. This study reveals that people who perceive themselves at high risk of victimisation are not actually at risk. The researcher also discovered that previous victimisation has been noted as having relationship with fear of crime. Consequently the results have indicated that knowledge about victimisation increases the level of fear of crime.

The frequency distribution clearly shows that about 69% of respondents were

being victimised or shot at whilst driving. It also reveals that other respondents have suffered from theft of motor vehicle.

## **5.8 FACTORS AFFECTING THE FEAR OF CRIME**

One of the most prominent factors affecting fear of crime is vulnerability.

### **5.8.1 Vulnerability**

Garofalo defined fear of crime as “an emotional reaction characterised by a sense of danger and anxiety ... produced by threat of physical harm ... elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime” (Williams & Dickinson 1993:34).

Garofalo and Lamb (Williams & Dickinson 1993:34) saw fear of crime as part of wider concept of “quality of life” that is, as more diffuse than a fear of some specific danger in one’s immediate environment. Skogan (1986:138-141) identified two components in fear of crime: an evaluative aspect (assessment of risk) and an emotional element (what the individual perceives to be the personal threat of crime). Williams and Dickinson (1993:34) quote Garofalo who related fear of crime to three sources of information about crime: directed experience, interpersonal communication about another’s experience and the mass media.

Skogan’s (1986:139) review of research pointed out the interactional nature of

fear of crime in his findings which shows that fear of crime is closely associated with personal vulnerability and the perceived seriousness of the consequences resulting from criminal victimisation.

Evidence of fear of crime (FOC) in Britain has been gathered by successive surveys of the British Crime Survey (BCS). The British Crime Survey found that respondents made alarmingly high estimates of crime rates, far in excess of actual risks. Pessimistic estimates were made particularly by women, the elderly, and those on the lower incomes scales. As with surveys of this kind, the measures of fear of crime were extent to which people worry about becoming a victim, and the anxiety felt about their personal safety in various situations, such as when walking alone at night. These findings also show that women, the elderly and those from lower-income households were those most worried and felt most unsafe (Williams & Dickinson 1993:34).

It appears that fear of crime is a matter of vulnerability. Junger (Toseland 1982:205), for example, placed emphasis on women's inability to handle dangerous situations in accounting for their high fear of crime. However Maxfield (Toseland 1982:205), reminds us not to talk of being vulnerable but of feeling vulnerable. Fear of crime however is not only manifested in measures of personal fear and risk assessments, it is marked also by increased estimates of the crime rate for the general population.

According to Toseland (1982:205) fear of being powerless to prevent victimisation is manifested in avoidance behaviour, which reduces the chances of becoming a crime victim. Physical injuries are more likely to occur when the person being assaulted or robbed is frail. Persons who are older and in poor health take longer to recover when physical injuries are sustained (Toseland 1982:205).

### 5.8.2 Age

Examining age, the research conducted by Keane (1992:219) reveals that younger people are more likely to perceive themselves as victims of concrete crimes, while older people are more likely to express formless fear. The elderly are more vulnerable to physical strength and agility is increasingly declining. Research finding reveals that there is a higher fear of crime among respondents over the age of sixty (Keane 1992:219).

Although females and elderly people are less likely than younger males to be victim of crimes, feelings of powerlessness and lack of self-defence skills may increase fear of crime. Butler (Toseland 1982:204) notes that many older people, particularly those who live in urban areas, drastically reduce their participation in social activities because they are fearful of becoming crime victims. Perceptions about the effects of victimisation may also influence fear of crime. The effects of victimisation for the elderly and those in poor health are often severe (Toseland 1982:205). Another factor which cannot be

underestimated is social isolation, which appears to be more important in the association between selected demographic characteristics and respondents' fear of crime. Persons who are married are less fearful of crime than those who are unmarried or widowed or those who live alone and find people generally unhelpful. Although casual inferences cannot be made from cross-sectional non-experimental data, the results suggest that the availability of a spouse, relative, friend, or helpful neighbour is essential in maintaining feelings of security and reducing the fear of crime (Toseland 1982:205).

### **5.8.3 Gender**

Women of all ages are more fearful of crime than men. This has been attributed to role socialisation and the fact that men are less willing to admit fear. The age difference in the level of fear is greater for men than for women. This could be due either to marked changes in perceived vulnerability during the male life-cycle or to the greater willingness on the part of elderly males to admit to experiencing fear (Glanz 1992:18).

The elderly who live alone are more fearful, irrespective of age heterogeneity or homogeneity of the environment. Because of differing mortality rates, many women spend their last years alone. In the USA, for example, between 1965 and 1976 there was a 40% increase in the number of women aged 65 years and older who were living alone. It is, however, not always clear from research

whether the fact that elderly women are more fearful than elderly men is related to living arrangement (Glanz 1992:18).

#### **5.8.4 Socio-economic Status**

Glanz (1992:18) is of the opinion that fear of crime increases as income decreases. Clemente and Kleiman (Glanz 1992:18) found that the high-income respondents were less fearful than their low-income counterparts. However, this could be confounded by socio-economically determined housing, i.e. housing in either high or low crime areas.

During the apartheid era the socio-economic status of blacks were poor and as such they were experienced high risks of victimisation in terms of security. Higher income groups who could afford to stay in safer suburbs were experiencing a relatively lower personal victimisation. Black townships such as KwaMashu, Umlazi and Embali were receiving inadequate policing. Consequently, these entire communities lived in fear. Baumer (1985:241) opines that the poor tend to live in more dangerous neighbourhoods, were less able to secure their homes and find it more difficult to avoid dangerous areas. As a result, their risk of being victimised were higher.

Education, income and social status, were found to be related to the fear of crime. The results of the research conducted by Toseland, suggests that fear of

crime affects the well-educated, higher income person as well as the less educated, lower income person (Toseland 1982:207).

### 5.8.5 Race

Van Velzen (1998:6) noted that blacks are less fearful of crime than other population groups. Factors associated with age, gender and race that may influence fear of crime, perceived risk of victimisation, actual exposure to crime and ability to cope with the consequences of victimisation. According to Skogan and Maxfield (Ortega & Myles 1987:134) race differences in fear of crime stem, in part, from differences in actual exposure to crime; blacks of all ages are more likely to live in high-crime neighbourhoods than whites. Furthermore, given high vulnerability to crime in their younger years, woman and blacks may have developed strategies for reducing the likelihood of criminal victimisation over a lengthy period of time. Such resources or methods for coping may be less developed among older men or older whites because vulnerability to crime is a relatively new experience for them and they seldomly expose themselves to outside activities.

Extended family support, for instance, and the type of community cohesion often found in black neighbourhoods but seldom found in white middle-class suburbs may be among the mechanisms through which elderly blacks minimise their exposure to crime and hence their fear of criminal victimisation. Consequently,

race and gender differences in fear of crime may decrease with age, due to a pattern of more rapidly increasing fear among senior citizens.

In contrast to the levelling hypothesis, the principle of double jeopardy would predict that age effects on fear of crime are amplified among minority groups, that is, blacks and women. Since older women and older blacks are on the average, more economically deprived than senior citizens, they are less able to recover financially from crime-related losses and are less able to move away from a high crime area. This combination of high exposure to crime and low resources for coping with the consequences of criminal victimisation defines what Skogan and Maxfield refer to as social vulnerability (Ortega & Myles 1987:140).

Thus, the findings of Ortega and Myles (1987:150) discovered that typical blacks are more fearful than whites probably result largely from racial differences in exposure to criminogenic conditions. As exposure to crime is relatively equal between blacks and whites, whites' fear of crime may further be exacerbated by the prevalence of blacks themselves (Ortega & Myles 1987:150). The ethos of the street, however, also requires the projection of toughness, smartness, autonomy and similar macho qualities (Ortega & Myles 1987:150).

## **5.9 SUMMARY**

The finding that fear and concern about crime are related to perceptions of uncivil

behaviour as well as perceptions of serious crime, has important implications for policy makers. To the extent that fear can be identified as a problem independent of crime rates, policy makers should begin to explore ways to reduce fear independent of policies directed at reducing the incidence of crime. It may be that the impact of victimisation is dependent upon people's attitudes beforehand.

Victimisation also has other consequences than those measured here. The list of potential psychological consequences of victimisation is a long one, including depression, anxiety, paranoia, loss of control, shame, embarrassment, vulnerability, helplessness, humiliation, anger, shock, feeling of inequity, awareness of mortality, tension, and malaise, as well as fear.

There are some factors which tend to affect the relationship between previous victimisation and the fear of crime: the time lapse between the victimisation *per se* and the research study; the type of victimisation (whether it is personal in nature or directed at property) and the precautionary measures instituted by the victim after victimisation.

## CHAPTER 6

# THE ROLE OF THE POLICE AND FEAR OF CRIME

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Policing is a social service created and rendered by human beings to human beings in an environment that has been shaped by human beings. The police role is one of those social roles about which there is widespread uncertainty, particularly because, more than any other role, it consists in a service from and to society. It can never be performed in isolation for it involves constant interaction with society, which assigned the role in the first place. It is in this area of reciprocal expectations and obligations that uncertainties arise, in both the role-assigner (the public) and the role-fulfiller (the police), concerning the true content of the role.

Geary (1975:45) defines a role as something that is done by a person in a particular position, or as the pattern of actions expected or required of a person in a particular social situation. Because institutions are composed of individual role-fulfillers, the role-fulfiller by each and every individual is a projection of the collective role of the whole institution. The individual role-fulfiller is not an isolated practitioner of the role, because his patterns of action are determined by the institution within which he acts. This implies especially to police institutions in which the individual role-fulfiller, by reason of his continued authority, is a representative in society of the institution and its authority structure (Geary 1975:41).

## **6.2 POLICING STYLE**

Motivation and the general organisational structure are linked with the particular style of policing each police organisation. The style of policing based upon Hopkins' war theory has an obvious affinity with the quasi-military nature of policing and the belief that the police are the first line of defence against the criminal. Where this theory prevails, the police take the attitude that they are involved in a peace-time war against a common enemy, the criminal, and that they are justified in using any method that might help them to win this war.

Criminals are therefore tackled in the streets, sometimes with excessive violence. The predominant view among the police is that crime can be controlled by means of punishment and that it is their task to administer punishment. This style of policing is obnoxious and contrary to the principle of limited authority.

According to Wilson (1968:140-226), there are three distinguishable styles of policing: the guardianship, the legalistic and the service styles. They are seldom encountered in their pure forms: the classification really refers to the emphasis placed upon particular aspects of the service in each case.

### **6.2.1 Watchman styles**

In the case of the watchman style, the emphasis falls upon the maintenance of order rather than law enforcement. The operational code allows latitude for discretionary action, so that minor offences, particularly infringements of traffic regulations and misdemeanours committed by young people, may be overlooked, tolerated or even ignored. The law is regarded as a means of preserving order and protecting people rather than as a method of regulating behaviour. Minor

transgression are therefore dealt with informally, but serious offences are rigorously suppressed.

### **6.2.2 The legalistic style**

The legalistic style places more emphasis upon the enforcement of laws than upon the preservation of order. The police official is encouraged to judge all situations from the legal point of view and to act accordingly. The law is regarded as the only standard of behaviour. This means that a great many arrests are made, particularly in case where the appeal to law comes from the police rather than the public, i.e. misdemeanours investigated by the police on their own initiative. Efficiency is measured in terms of technical or administrative skills, and in terms of arrest statistics (Wilson 1968:140).

### **6.2.3 Service style**

Law enforcement and order maintenance receive equal consideration in service-style policing. This style is really a synthesis of the watchman and legalistic styles. Situations requiring the maintenance of order are taken very seriously, but there is less action in the form of arrests and sanctions. The law is applied less frequently than it is under the legalistic style. The police do take action very frequently indeed, but in a more informal way, since the alternatives to arrest are given preference whenever possible.

Offenders may for instance be referred to children's homes, treatment centres for alcoholics, or training institutions where they can be given expert guidance with a view to improving their behaviour.

Service style of policing is most common in homogeneous communities in which there is a high degree of unanimity on the question of what constitutes order. Policing is directed towards the maintenance of an orderly state of affairs rather than the absolute enforcement of the law - which might in fact endanger the existing order. Police action is to a great extent led and directed by public opinion (Wilson 1968:226).

### 6.3 POLICE HANDLING OF CRIME

The police, as part of the executive subsystem of the state, have the specific task of handling crime in society. For this purpose there is a link between the police and other subsystems, viz. the legislative and judicial authorities. The legislative and judicial bodies have, respectively, directive and monitoring or adjudicative functions over the police in the process of dealing with crime. The police are under no illusion as regards their function of dealing with. Section 205 (3) of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states *inter alia*: The objects of the police service are to prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order, to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, and to uphold and enforce the law (The Constitution 1996:115).

Hook (1975:101-102) illustrates the view: The phenomena of social disturbances are fundamentally like the phenomena of criminality. The main difference is in scale. When a few individuals kill, steal, or rob others, the isolated cases are called crimes. When the same actions are perpetrated on a large scale and by the masses, the phenomena are called riots, disturbances or revolutions.

Accordingly most of the disturbances spring from, and develop in, exactly the

same sort of situation as does criminal demoralisation among individual. In a nutshell the role of the police is to alleviate fear as much as they can in the community under which they operate.

Discretionary action begins with the injured party. In most cases the police have to rely upon descriptions by citizens to help them determine whether crime has been committed. Police action is usually subject to a formal reporting of the incident in the form of a statement, unless the crime has been committed in the presence of a police official. Thus the evaluation of the act and the decision to initiate the legal process lies in the first place with the injured party. His decision may be influenced by the fact that the offender is a member of his family or is an acquaintance, or that the matter has been settled privately; or he may be convinced that disclosure of the information would not be in the interest of society, or he may have darker motives for not wishing to reveal that a crime has been committed (Reiss 1973:114).

A great many innocent people are arrested, sometimes by fellow-citizens on the basis of false information. Some of these are eliminated because the police do not institute proceedings against them; others are spared prosecution because the charge is subsequently withdrawn; others are found not guilty by the court. It is the community *per se* who mobilise the police and set the processes of injustice in motion. These decisions by citizens have a pronounced effect on the discretionary actions of the police (Reis 1973:114).

#### **6.4 STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK**

It is obvious that the determining of policing priorities and objectives cannot be

done without taking cognisance of relevant Government policies and strategies, such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) and the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS). It also calls for a proper analysis of crime in South Africa and sound understanding of the South African Police Service's (SAPS) role in combatting crime.

Although GEAR clearly intends to cut back on expenditure by government departments, saving generated in this way is intended for socio-economic development. The SAPS obviously supports government initiatives to promote socio-economic development, if for no other reason, because it also address the root causes of crime (Policing Priorities & Objectives 1998/99:9).

It has been argued by the South African Police Services, for a long time, that it finds it increasingly difficult to effectively deal with crime when one of its main causes, i.e. social decline and adverse economic conditions, is not properly addressed. For the Service it has been a source of continuous concern that it carries the blame for the crime wave in this country, while it is a matter of course that there is very little, if anything, that the Service can do in terms of dealing with the socio-economic causes of crime.

The lack of understanding, in many quarters, of the relationship between the causes of crime and the manifestation of crime and the role of the South African Police Service in this regard, creates, especially for the Service, an untenable situation. This situation is now clearly recognized in the draft White Paper on Safety and Security. The draft White Paper correctly argues that law enforcement (including visible policing and criminal investigations) should be separated from

social crime prevention issues. It is within this framework that the role and responsibility of the police should be defined (Policing Priorities & Objectives for 1998/99:9).

The realities, however, of the South African situation are that any socio-economic programme could, at best, hope for medium term results with more positive results in the long run. In the meantime the South African Police Service has to deal with crime in its current manifestation.

Current priorities and objectives therefore, forms the basis of the development of the first Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) and the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) as an integral part of GEAR. This approach was adopted for the purpose of a three year cycle, starting with the 1998/99 financial year (Policing Priorities & Objectives 1998/99:9).

## **6.5 STRATEGIC APPROACH**

The strategic approach by the South African Police Service towards more effective *crime combatting and towards improved service delivery in general* is that, in view of its limited resources, it is not in a position to simultaneously address all crime areas with the same vigour. This is the primary reason for prioritising. It does not necessarily mean that the Service will not meet its responsibilities in the general field of policing (e.g. attending and investigating complaints, patrolling, etc.), but it does mean that in the prioritised areas crime will be met by concerted counter-actions. The same argument holds true for the organisational fabric of the Service where *prioritised areas* are referred to as *focus areas*.

In the formulation of objectives for the focus areas, emphasis was placed on strengthening those facets of the organisation that would best support the achieving of the policing priorities. Although this approach seems to be justified, there is a growing belief in the Service that it should be looking at additional ways to support this effort.

In building a policing model the aim is to develop "pockets of excellence" in geographical areas as well as in core functional areas. These pocket of excellence should serve, not only as building blocks for a policing model but also as shining examples to the rest of the country and especially to colleagues in other functional areas.

Principles and practices thus developed, will be adopted elsewhere. To facilitate this development, a Service Delivery Improvement Programme (SDIP) was designed and implementation has already started in the Johannesburg Police Area. The SDIP will focus on the following key areas of policing:

- Crime information
- Targeted visible policing
- Crime reaction
- Resource utilisation, and
- Service to community (Policing Priorities & Objectives 1998/99:11).

## **6.6 DIVERSION**

The diversion programme of the South African Police Service should be seen as an integral part of the diversion programme of the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS). The diversion programme of the NCPS is aimed at releasing

pressure on the criminal justice system by investigating alternative ways to deal with certain categories of youth and adult offenders. This should enable the system to deal more speedily and effectively with priority crimes.

In the service, diversion is aimed at the optimal utilisation of investigators and other resources for the combatting of priority crimes and finding alternative ways (such as spot fines, warning, etc.) to deal with less serious crime. The service will further consult all other role players on possible alternative ways of dealing with issues such as motor vehicle accidents, gambling, etc. The envisaged result should contribute to a release of pressure on the rest of the criminal justice system (Policing Priorities & Objectives 1998/99:12).

## **6.7 THE POLICING PRIORITIES AND FOCUS AREAS**

Reference to policing priorities and objectives could, to some extent, be misinterpreted. Seen in its proper context it is important issues in the external environment are referred to as policing priorities, but also that the organisational issues, which enable the South African Police Service to address the policing priorities, are prioritised as well. These organisational priorities are referred to as focus areas. Suitable goals and objectives are thus set for both policing and organisational priorities (Policing Priorities & Objectives 1998/99:13).

It is also necessary to emphasise that, although the policing priorities and objective (PPO's) may create the impression that only the priorities will receive attention, the service remain legally obliged and committed to fulfil all its obligations. In reality everything cannot be addressed at once, and it makes good sense to identify critical areas for more focussed attention. Some issues that are

deemed less important now or for which financial or other resources are currently not available, may accordingly not receive the same attention.

As was indicated earlier, a decision was taken after consultation between the Minister of Security and the National Commissioner, to largely maintain the policing priorities and focus areas as outline in the 1997/98 PPOs. This was done for various practical reasons, such as the fact that the policing priorities and focus areas in reality remain priorities and will remain as such for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the current limited financial and other resources do not enable the service to eliminate any of these priorities in the near future (Policing Priorities & Objectives 1998/99:13).

#### Focus areas (Organisational Priorities)

- Improving the quality of investigative services
- Victim empowerment
- Budget and resource management
- Performance appraisal and service monitoring
- Employee Development and Affirmative Training, i.e. focus areas previously known as Affirmative Training now expanded to provide for the development of all employees of the SAPS.

## 6.8 FEAR OF CRIME

The public seems most afraid of unprovoked attacks in public places by strangers. Robbery is a prototype of the kind of crime most feared by the public. It usually involves theft with violence or the threat of violence by a person with the victim has had no previous contact, and it is usually unprovoked and unpredictable.

The public most fears those crimes that occur least frequently, namely, murder, rape and robbery; "fear of crimes of violence is not a simple fear of injury or death or even of all crimes of violence, but at bottom, a fear of strangers. This is true even though the chance of being killed by a stranger is much less than the chance of dying in a car accident or the chance of dying in an accident fall (Silberman 1978:6).

Fear of victimisation seems to be greatest among people who have been directly victimised (Skogan & Maxfield 1981:140). However, a relatively small percentage of adults, perhaps only 3% are injured in crimes of violence during any given year. Individual property crimes have modest effects on fear, but they may have a large cumulative effect because they are relatively common (Skogan & Maxfield 1981:140). The threat of crime seems to cause fear even in the absence of actual victimisation. Sometimes people's fear is much greater than seems warranted by the actual risk of victimisation they face. For instance, women are the victims of crime less often than men, but they fear crime more, perhaps because of the threat of sexual assault.

Likewise, many studies find a relatively low rate of victimisation for the elderly, but much fear of crime among them. This may be due to their belief that they are physically vulnerable and will not recover if injured (Skogan 1986). Fear of crime among the elderly is also closely associated with their lower degree of confidence in the police Baker, Mary & Holland 1983:319, their greater dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood in which they live, and their lower overall morale.

Some research suggests that fear of crime among the elderly may have a realistic

basis, because the elderly may be more susceptible to crime if we look at the amount of time they are at risk. Elderly people are probably on the streets less often than younger people, and thus may mean that the number of crimes per number of hours that the elderly are actually at risk may be quite high (Stafford & Galle 1984:181).

### **Baumer's findings**

Baumer (1985:248) opined that a significant interaction was recorded between the perceived adequacy of police protection and the subjective likelihood of being robbed in the next year. The nature of this interaction was such that the strength of the relationship between perceived adequacy of police protection and fear varied directly with the subjective risk (likelihood) of robbery. It would appear that under conditions of high subjective risk the police have the greatest potential impact on the fear of crime. This interaction might also partially explain the fear reduction observed in the Newark Foot Patrol Project (Baumer 1985:248).

Although policing strategies have a difficult time demonstrating an impact on actual levels of crime, it may very well be that specific activities that develop confidence in locale residents can reduce fear – but only in subjectively high-risk areas. However, neither age nor adequacy of police protection was related to the dependent variable in the small town and rural areas. Thus it appears that policing programs might be expected to have an impact on fear of crime in urban and suburban areas, but not in small towns and rural areas. Of course, the absence of an effect for age is an expression of the previously noted interaction between age and size of place. In rural areas and small towns, the elderly simply do not develop the high levels of fear observed in cities (Baumer 1985:248).

### Ortega and Myles' findings:

As symbolic interactionists suggest, events or conditions in the social environment have relevance to individual attitudes and behaviour only insofar as they have a subjective reality for the individual. Objective risks of victimisation will influence fear of crime to the extent that such risks are transformed into a subjective appraisal of personal risk of victimisation: high exposure to crime will lead to high fear of crime only when perceived risk of personal victimisation is also high. Even when individuals living in high-crime neighbourhoods adopt a series of preventive measures that presumably reduce the objective risk of victimisation, unless this leads to simultaneous reduction in perceived risks of personal victimisation, one may still find relatively high levels of fear. If women, blacks and the elderly suffer more general anxiety in response to risk factors in the environment and if they also feel less able to control or prevent victimisation it may be that their elevated levels of fear reflect their relatively high risk of victimisation in addition to their relatively high levels of actual risks (Ortega & Myles 1987:147).

Subjective double jeopardy, of course, may result from the cumulative effects of objectively undesirable conditions. Thus, disproportionate levels of fear of crime among the minority elderly or older females may simply reflect a lifetime of exposure to high objective risks of victimisation.

Although exposure to crime is in fact related to fear of crime, objective double jeopardy does not provide a complex explanation for fear of crime. Race-age and race-sex interactions persist even when controls are introduced for objective risk and for the availability of resources for coping with consequences of crime. Furthermore, it does not appear that amplified levels of fear of crime result from

disproportionate sensitivity to environmental risks on the part of older blacks or females – that is perceived risks of victimisation (Ortega & Myles 1987:149).

### **Levi and Jones' findings**

Levi and Jones (1985:234) reviews the uses and abuses of seriousness survey and then examines the crime seriousness ratings and rankings of representation sample of the police and public from one Northern and one Southern police force area in England and Wales. It concludes that there is high concordance (both among the public and between the police and public) on offences such as violence and theft by a police officer, but more disagreement on the rating of frauds, burglary and victimless crimes. The police understate the absolute and relative seriousness of business fraud offences, probably because of their occupational culture. Few significant differences appear between offenders and non-offenders or between victims and non-victims.

## **6.9 CONSEQUENCES OF THE FEAR OF CRIME**

Fear of crime has many socially harmful consequences. Fear of crime in the schools destroys the atmosphere necessary for learning, leads students to avoid dangerous places such as rest rooms and can increase truancy. This may produce financial losses for schools as well as the government. Fear of street crimes, particularly robberies, causes people to stay homes rather than venture outdoors. People lock their doors and windows, install expensive alarm systems or bright lighting, and buy watchdogs.

Conklin (1989:105) points out that a 1984 survey showed that 25% of American families had engraved valuables with an identification number, 7% had a burglar

alarm, and 7% participated in a Neighbourhood Watch Program; 33% had taken at least one of these measures. The purchase of various protective measures might even escalate to the point that the costs of protection against crime could become greater than the losses from the crimes those measures are designed to prevent.

Consequently, when people decide to go out they prefer to do so during the daylight or may travel only in groups. Sometimes at night they may use their cars to travel short distances or may take cabs to avoid walking alone on unlit streets. People who are afraid may avoid certain neighbourhoods, which in turn become even more isolated and dangerous. This in turn may promote obvious places or sometimes promote influx as well as squatter camps.

A few people even respond to their fear by moving to communities that seem safer. Since the inception of new South Africa, many blacks decided to leave townships because of violence and gangsterism, they went to larger cities as well as to the suburbs, which were predominantly occupied by the whites only in the past.

What is not clear is how many people actually move because of their fear of crime. For instance, one study found that flight to the suburbs was due more to the attractiveness of suburb living – part of which, of course, may be a safer environment – than to an effort to escape central city neighbourhoods (Skogan & Maxfield 1981).

*Fear of rape restricts women's freedom of movement. Children and adolescents*

who are raped often stay out of school for some time, and they even transfer schools to avoid questions and social discomfort. Adult rape victims often need outside help in homemaking and parenting, because of either physical injury or psychological distress. Some adult victims quit their jobs, stay away from work for a long time in order to avoid having to talk about the rape (Conklin 1989:106).

#### **6.10 FEAR OF TRUST**

Social life, especially in large cities, requires a faith that others will abide by the law. Crime can reduce that trust under certain circumstances, although some research finds that fear of crime is not strongly associated with mistrust and suspicion. Even the crime of burglary, a relatively common non-violent offence, can create mistrust.

The burglars used the trust most people feel to their advantage, the effect on the couple probably was to make them less trusting of strangers and maybe even of their neighbours. This crime was not a violent one, the impact on interpersonal trust might well be even greater for victims of rape, robbery, or assault (Conklin 1989:106). Children became more mistrustful of strangers and even interviewers had a difficult time approaching them. The children also suffered a decline in self-esteem and self-confidence. They became more hostile towards others, fought more at school and even carried weapons to defend themselves.

Nightmares sometimes become a common problem to the youths. In most cases they experience fear at night, fear of being alone and fear of being outdoors all increased. Parents sometimes exacerbated these fears by being overprotective, an unstable response. Conklin (1989:107) gave the following example on the

issue of a nightmare: A school bus with twenty-six children was hijacked, and the children were buried underground in a truck trailer for sixteen hours; eventually, they dug their way out. Nearly five years later, these children, who were between five and fourteen when the kidnapping occurred, still showed effects. They experienced nightmares, feared ordinary things such as cars and dogs, and manifested an "on guard" mistrust of everyone.

### **6.11 FEAR AND COMMUNITY TIES**

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim claimed in 1895 that crime enhances social solidarity of outsiders (in a sociological rather than geographical sense) can be identified. This perspective does not argue that solidarity will be increased within a geographical area where there are few crosscutting ties and where individuals feel no sense of community (Conklin 1989:107).

Skogan (1986:215) indicates that fear of crime can have severe consequences for a community, including:

- physical and psychological withdrawal from community life,
- a weakening of the informal social control processes that inhibit crime and disorder,
- a decline in the organisational life and mobilisation capacity of the neighbourhood,
- deteriorating business conditions,
- the importation and domestic production of delinquency and deviance, and
- further dramatic changes in the composition of the population.

Although a high crime rate is often a primary source of the fear of crime, that fear

is often greater than is warranted by the objective risk victimisation. Fear of crime also seems to be functions of weak ties to the community among residents, a sense among those residents that they cannot control what is happening in their neighbourhood, a lack of powerful local organisations, the absence of knowledge about effective ways to prevent crime, and a perception of incivility (signs of crime) in the area. Incivility in the community includes gangs of teenagers hanging out on street corners, drug addicts and prostitutes in doorways, abandoned and burnout buildings and signs of vandalism such as graffiti and broken windows (Skogan & Maxfield 1981).

If informal control fails, it stands to reason that formal control will become necessary through reactive policing measures. However, the police (like the SA Police Service) will first attempt to present a criminal situation by means of proactive measures, such as increased street and neighbourhood patrolling.

**TABLE 6.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE PATROLLING OF THE RESIDENTIAL AREAS (N=231)**

	FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION	
	N	%
Monthly	39	16,9
Weekly	33	14,3
Daily	31	13,4
Seldom	54	23,4
Never	74	32,0

In the above table the respondents were asked to show how often the police patrol their residential areas. Of the respondents 39 (16,9%) stated that the police patrolled every month; 33 (14,3%) said weekly; 31 (13,4%) reported daily; 54 (23,4%) said seldom and lastly 74 (32,0%) indicated that the police never

patrol their neighbourhood. It transpires from Table 6.1 that the majority of the respondents (128 or 55.4%) experienced a fairly low intensity of visible police presence in the form of patrol in the research area. Van Heerden (1986:182) is adamant when he emphasises the crucial role of police role visibility - especially in as far as it creates the illusion of omnipresence.

## 6.12 SUMMARY

The police handle crime by way of preventive and investigative methods. The question is, however, how effective are police in their efforts. General efficiency is, according to the public, the absence of crime. The public seems most afraid of unprovoked attacks in public places by strangers. Fear of victimisation seems to be greatest among people who have been directly victimised. Fear of crime can generate suspicion and mistrust in homogeneous small towns as well as in heterogeneous urban communities.

The prevention of crime during the past few years has occupied a great deal of time and energy in Ulundi by the South African Police Services. To achieve their objectives in crime prevention, the police endeavour to involve the community in being active by, *inter alia*, establishing crime prevention projects which are proving to be a great success. In Ulundi plaza, there is a mobile police station which is well known as satellite police station. Its main objectives is to patrol the whole complex, prevention of crime as well as reducing fear of crime among the residents of Ulundi.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **RESPONSES TO THE FEAR OF CRIME**

#### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

Traditionally, the impact of crime has been measured in terms of the harm caused to society as a whole by violations of law. With the rediscovery of crime victims, attention shifted to direct losses experienced by victims, their families and their communities. But the concept of loss emphasizes what is taken away, or what the offender gets away with. The consequences of crime for victims are not limited to financial expenses or even to physical injuries. The psychological damage that lingers is real as well, although such intangible or less visible costs in the form of pain and suffering may defy measurement (Karmen 1984:36).

The burden of fear of crime falls unevenly, hitting some groups of people much harder than others. In a nutshell particularly kinds of people facing great dangers, whereas other kinds have little to fear.

The impact of most crimes on their victims is perceived in an opposite way - as a violation of self and a grim reminder of one's vulnerability and mortality in a hostile world filled with antagonists intent on inflicting harm.

#### **7.2 FEAR OF CRIME: A COMMON CONSEQUENCE OF ACTUAL AND PERCEIVED VICTIMISATION**

The crime prevention business is acutely aware that people who live in high crime areas and those who have had previous experiences with crime, even "petty

crime" such as larceny, of readily replaceable items, are prime prospects for the purchase of alarms, guns, locks, attack dogs, mace, stun guns and other weapons. The most common reaction of victims to theft vandalism and assault are feeling vulnerable, violated or helpless, and fearing subsequent victimisation. The purchase of weapons showed them to be of dubious help in the prevalent crimes, was often motivated by a desire to feel less helpless and more powerful in preventing future victimisation (Voigt, Thornton, Barrile & Seaman 1994:116).

Skogan and Maxfield (Voigt *et al.* 1994:116), believe that although women and those over 60 years old voice a comparatively high fear of crime, statistics show that they are less victimised than males and those younger than 60. Greater vulnerability to crime from diminishing physical competence and powerless social circumstances. The urban poor and minorities are socio-economically at greater risk from predatory street crime. The social structure renders them situationally and socially less competent to resist crime, simply because the odds of avoiding crime where they live are dismal. Among the elderly, particularly those isolated from family and community, there is a perception of physical and emotional incompetence to resist crime. Similarly, for women, lower social status and perceived physical vulnerability heighten the feelings of incompetence to resist crime (Voigt *et al.* 1994:116).

**TABLE 7.1 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONTACT OF RESPONDENTS WITH THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OR THE POLICE (N=231)**

	FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION	
	N	%
Convicted in court	49	21,2
Acquitted in court	61	26,4
Suspect - criminal case	55	23,8
Complainant	28	12,1
Witness - criminal case	11	4,8
Informant	5	2,2
No contact	22	9,5

The frequency distribution of the contact of respondents with the judicial system or the police shows that 26% of the respondents indicate that they have been acquitted in a court of law after committing certain crimes. The study also reveals that 9,5% of the respondents have no contact with crimes.

There is evidence of a relationship between fear of crime and the social structure or situational vulnerability that explains some of the variability these groups. Women and the elderly are more fearful when the violent crime rate in the community is high, when they have already experienced some form of victimisation, and when they are alone. Research indicates that there is some relationship among actual crime rates, actual victimisation, situational vulnerability, and perceived physical or social vulnerability. Even changes in the community, such as decreased wealth, deteriorated quality of life, increased unemployment, increased school drop-out rates, or the infusion of new groups of

strangers or visitors who are perceived as “bad elements”, can stimulate a fear of crime in those with no previous experience with criminal victimisation.

Whatever the specific cause, the fear of crime is not usually a fabrication of irrationally phobic groups, but is grounded in real circumstances and perceptions about one’s community and oneself.

Importantly, the relative losses from crime vary across groups. When the elderly, women, and the poor are victimised, the financial and health losses are likely to be comparatively greater because of lower income, lack of insurance, and fewer job benefits such as sick leave and personal days. Indeed, common crimes such as auto theft and household larceny can greatly set back individuals existing on the financial and social margins (Voigt *et al.* 1994:117).

Fear of crime is clearly a consequence of how safe a community is from crime. It is a result of past victimisation, the actual local crime rate, actual vulnerability and perceived vulnerability, or worry about crime in the community (Voigt *et al.* 1994:118).

The present study seeks to establish whether the fear of crime in rural residential area exist or not. As a social phenomenon fear of crime is as old as mankind. Many people believe that the issue of crime affects those who are staying in urban areas. Conversely, it does affect even those who are found in rural areas as well. The researcher went out of his own way to find out the position in places which are predominantly occupied by Amakhosi. The tribal authorities have their own way of dealing with community problems. Inkosi is always assisted by his own

indunas in handling nation's problems. In KwaZulu-Natal we have a number of tribal courts which are also enjoyed recognition by the criminal courts of our country. Its fines involves among other things, one or two cattle from the defendant. The only person who is authorised to pass judgement is Inkosi who is the head of that clan. Previously, corporal punishment as well as death sentence, was the order of the day and was also used as a deterrent factor. As a result people were very much scared to commit any type of crime. In olden days committing a crime was regarded as a disgrace as well as izigcwelegcwele, were isolated from the community at large.

In Christian perspective, it was tantamount to committing adultery, fornication, evil concupiscence, etc. The leaders of the church use to ex-communicate a person who has committed these types of sins. The Christianity regards this as serious misdemeanour.

### **7.3 THE INFORMAL CONTROL OF CRIME**

Many crimes are never reported to the police, it was discovered that many crimes do not produce an arrest, and because many crimes do not lead to a conviction, the formal sanctions of the criminal justice system may be less effective in controlling criminal behaviour than are such informal sanction as group censure and bystander intervention. Loss of esteem in the eyes of relatives and peers may be a more significant cost for an offender than a court judgement that he has committed a crime (Conklin 1981:364). Crime creates fear, distrust and suspicion in a community. When the level of crime is high, people are compelled to leave their place of residence. One effect may be reduced social interaction among the residents of a community.

As the social solidarity of a community weakens, informal control over behaviour dissipates. This may lead to a higher crime rate as restraints on potential criminals are loosened. One author (Conklin 1981:364), suggests that a good indicator of the effectiveness of a community's standards in controlling deviance is the proportion of crimes in the community that are committed by local residents. As society becomes more complex and interpersonal become less intimate, the informal control of behaviour becomes less likely. Tribal societies are often characterised by more intimate interpersonal relations and greater social solidarity than are modern industrial societies (Conklin 1981:364).

In a simple society children learn social norms at an early age through face-to-face interaction. Such learning creates the basis of a moral consensus that reduces violations of social norms and laws, although there is considerable deviation from social and legal norms even in these societies.

Related to the idea that informal social control is stronger in simpler societies is the argument that such control is greater in small towns than it is in large cities. The child-saving moment of the late nineteenth century was characterised by a belief that the problem of juvenile delinquency could be solved by making the urban social environment more like a rural community, or even by actually moving delinquents from urban homes to rural institutions (Conklin 1981:364).

A comparison of two urban communities in Kampala, Conklin (1981:364) found that the area with less crime was characterised by greater social solidarity, more social interaction among neighbours, more participation in local relationships. There was also greater cultural homogeneity and more emphasis on tribal and

kinship ties in the low crime rate community, all of which helped to alleviate the anonymity that recent migrants to the city would otherwise have felt.

A study of two neighbourhoods in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Conklin 1981:368), supports this conclusion. Residents of two communities, one with a high rate of delinquency and the other with a lower rate, were similar in number of ways. However, the community with the high delinquency rate was less socially integrated, residents were more heterogeneous in religion and ethnicity, knew fewer neighbours by name, felt they had few interests in common with their neighbours, and liked the community less. Adults in the high delinquency rate area were no more tolerant of deviance than were adults in the low delinquency rate area, but those in the high rate area were less likely to do something about delinquency if they observed it (Conklin 1981:368).

Victims of delinquent acts were equally likely to take action in each community, but those who were not directly victimised by the delinquent act were less likely to take action in the high delinquency rate area than in the low rate area. More adults in the high delinquency rate area said that neighbours ought to mind their own business and not to interfere when the children of neighbours engaged in delinquent acts.

Informal control of crime in the city is related to the attitudes of the residents of a community. The feeling of being unsafe in a neighbourhood usually means a sense of insecurity when an individual is in such public places as streets, sidewalks and parks. Fear of venturing out of doors at night means that streets become deserted and that informal control that would check crime if people were

there are absent.

The presence of people on the street produces surveillance of public places and also attracts the attention of others to the street, this will reduce opportunities for crime. Better lighting may also increase surveillance since activities on the street can be more easily observed and people will be more likely to venture onto brightly lit streets (Conklin 1981:368).

During the day, informal control of deviance in those areas was maintained by businessmen and customers in the area, but at night the deserted areas were seen as dangerous and were avoided.

Informal social control of criminal behaviour may be created in a community through architectural design. One leader in this field, Oscar Newman, (Meadows 1998:157) feels that citizen involvement in crime prevention is needed and that it is possible to construct residential complexes to deter crime by creating "defensible space". Defensible space involves the subdivision and design of housing to allow residents to distinguish stranger from neighbours. The crux of defensible space theory is the empowerment of residents to develop a sense of community and territoriality by designing buildings that allow increased resident privacy. When residents live in housing units with private areas, they are more likely to identify outsiders and to have sense of belonging and control. In the past, public housing units have been abandoned because of the crime and violence committed there (Meadows 1998:157).

#### 7.4 PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE LAW

Social support for the law has commonly been examined in the context of social stratification. The pressure to pass certain laws and to assist the agents of the criminal justice system has often been seen as a function of social status and political power. Marx and Engels viewed support for the law in terms of class interests, with capitalists using the law to oppress and exploit the proletariat (Conklin 1981:370). The author of a historical study (Conklin 1981:371) concluded that the "disinterested tendency to inflict punishment is concentrated in the lower middle class". Experimental studies that asked people of higher socioeconomic status assign harsher penalties to offenders than do people of lower socioeconomic status. Lower-status people are also more flexible in assigning penalties for specific offences and are more willing to vary the punishment with the background of the offender and the type of victim.

Support for the law can also be viewed in the context of the amount of crime in a community. Support for the law might be greater in communities with more crime because people try to solve the crime problem that confronts them by supporting the law and its enforcers. On the other hand, where crime is threatening people may retreat from doing anything because they are impotent or fear reprisals.

The present study has discovered the following under the area which is being investigated:

##### ***"Crime wave hits Ulundi"***

A police Sergeant was shot dead and his colleagues sustained injuries when their

vehicle was hijacked by armed men in what has been described as an escalation of crime in Ulundi. Sergeant Thembinkosi Shabangu died on the way to hospital, while his colleague escape through the skin of his teeth from his assailants. At least 10 people have been killed this year alone and 25 incidents of attempted murder have been reported since January this year (Sowetan, Friday November 27, 1998).

However, the hardest hit were top government officials, whose village outside the Legislature has been the target of several burglaries and thefts. Several houses of provincial directors, have been targeted. Linen and cutlery were removed while they were at meetings over weekends. This has led to 222 burglaries in both residential as well as business properties this year (Sowetan, Friday November 27, 1998).

**TABLE 7.2: HOUSEHOLD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH SYSTEM		MEMBER OF THE SYSTEM		PARTICIPATION IN SYSTEM		RESPOND TO ALARM		REACTION	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Only one	1,38	0,62	1,44	0,51	1,00	0,00	1,38	0,50	2,56	1,71
Two	1,62	0,59	1,52	0,51	1,38	0,50	1,33	0,48	2,48	1,54
Three	1,47	0,61	1,37	0,49	1,25	0,44	1,27	0,45	2,76	1,12
Four	1,82	0,63	1,63	0,49	1,61	0,49	1,43	0,50	2,35	1,39
Five or more	1,93	0,64	1,64	0,48	1,41	0,50	1,52	0,50	2,66	1,62
	F = 6,115 p ≤ 0,000		F = 3,010 p ≤ 0,019		F = 6,727 p ≤ 0,000		F = 2,340 p ≤ 0,056		F = 0,598 p ≤ 0,665	

p ≤ 0,05

The mean scores in respect of the size of respondents' households shows that

where more than four family members are present, less fear of crime has been observed. This is especially true as well as significant. Where a neighbourhood watch system is in operation ( $p=0,000$ ), family or a member is also a member of such system ( $p=0,019$ ) or participated in such crime prevention strategy ( $p=0,000$ ) compared to family households with lesser members.

The public is often disorganised in its response to crime, the failure to translate condemning attitudes toward crime into actual behaviour allows crime to flourish. For example, the willingness of some victims of professional theft to accept the return of their property in return for dropping a complaint against the thief to continue to violate the law with little risk. The researcher has discovered that people are not interested to report crimes of which they are victims because of the following:

- It is too much trouble for them to do so.
- They know the offender personally and do not wish to get him into trouble.
- They feel that the police will not be able to apprehend the offender.
- They do not wish to spend their precious time waiting to testify in court.
- The justice system is seen as too lenient to criminals while disregarding the victims.
- Reprisals by the offender is feared.

Apparently the threat of crime is correlated with unwillingness to call the police at the same time that it is correlated with public reliance on the police for crime prevention, since the residents of the high crime rate community were much more likely than were the residents of the low crime rate community to say that crime

prevention was a police duty rather than a duty of a community. The high crime rate community was characterised by widespread fear of crime, unwillingness to report crime to the police and reliance on formed control agents (the police).

A common response to rising crime rates is for people to blame the police rather than focus on the breakdown of informal controls within the community. The police may contribute to this by emphasising the importance of police crime statistics as a measure of crime and by taking upon themselves the task of crime reduction. In a nutshell, this strategy mean public support for stricter enforcement and an increased budget for the police, but in the long run this approach will probably undermine public support of the police as the public becomes critical of the police for their inability to hold crime rates down (Conklin 1981:371).

## **7.5 INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE TO CRIME**

The informal control of crime depends not only on the surveillance of public places by the residents of a community but also on the willingness of those people to take some action if they observe a crime in progress. The combination of co-operative surveillance and willingness to intervene has been called protective neighbouring (Conklin 1981:373).

Such a combination is somewhat more likely to be forthcoming from people with higher incomes, longer residence in a community, and their own homes. Just as crime and delinquency are less common among those with a stake in conformity, so it also appears that efforts to control crime and delinquency are more common among those with such a stake in conformity. The actions taken will usually be

to call the police to report a crime, occasionally those who observe a crime may intervene personally. This is probably less likely to occur where fear of crime leads people to withdraw from social contacts, stay home at night, and avoid strangers.

These reactions to crime will minimise the likelihood that anyone will be around to observe a crime and will cause bystanders to adopt a self-protective stance and retreat from personal intervention in a crime (Conklin 1981:373).

How then do people respond when faced with an emergency or a crime that requires action? Lawrence Freedman (Conklin 1981:374) has suggested that the initial response is fear of being hurt and of reprisal. Some witnesses cannot fit the unusual event into any familiar category of past experience. Before a witness takes action, he must clearly define the situation as a crime or an emergency that requires personal action. Although some witnesses do nothing when faced with a crime or other emergency, others seek information to clarify the event. Witnesses often do not respond appropriately and deny to themselves that anything so unusual could be happening in their presence, what appears to be apathy may in fact be massive inhibition or paralysis of consciousness resulting from internal conflict.

Freedman says about reactions to emergencies that: apathy and indifference are the least likely primary psychic vectors ... The sequence as the researcher sees it, first, the intense emotional shock - characterised predominantly, but not exclusively, by anxiety; second, the cognitive perception and awareness of what has happened; third, an inertial paralysis of reaction, which as a non-act becomes in fact an act; and fourth, the self-awareness of one's own shock anxiety, non-

involvement which is followed by a sense of guilt and intrapsychic and social self-justification (Conklin 1981:375).

Witnesses may justify their inaction by claiming that the victim and the offender know each other, which often is the case especially in crimes of violence such as murder and assault. Witnesses are probably more likely to intervene if they feel that the victim is totally innocent and can identify in some way with the victim and his plight. Before a bystander will intervene, he must make a series of decisions. A negative decision at any point means that he will not help the victim. He must notice the situation, and must then define it as an emergency. Then he must determine that he has some personal responsibility to act, if he feels it is none of his business, he will not help.

**TABLE 7.3: HOUSEHOLD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	CHANGE DAILY PATTERN		GOING OUT AT NIGHT		SET SCHEDULE		PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION		ROUTINE	
	$\bar{x}$	SD								
Only one	2,50	1,26	2,94	1,06	2,50	1,15	1,63	0,50	2,44	1,09
Two	2,67	1,20	2,76	1,18	2,52	1,25	1,48	0,51	2,71	1,01
Three	3,51	0,88	3,53	0,86	3,41	0,94	2,92	1,04	2,92	1,07
Four	2,49	1,23	2,39	1,24	2,57	1,24	1,55	0,50	2,63	1,09
Five or more	2,16	1,21	2,04	1,10	2,02	1,13	1,56	0,50	2,61	1,14
	F = 3,639 p ≤ 0,004		F = 4,209 p ≤ 0,003		F = 1,239 p ≤ 0,295		F = 5,577 p ≤ 0,000		F = 7,214 p ≤ 0,000	

p ≤ 0,05

Table 7.3 shows significant differences between size of household and fear of crime. This is especially evident in respondents' previous victimisation experience

which, in fact, shows a significant difference where the household consisted of three persons - most probably because of mutual support and family cohesion ( $p=0,000$ ). As a result of previous victimisation, it also appears that this "household group" tends to change their routine activities ( $p=0,000$ ); daily patterns ( $p=0,004$ ), as well as going out at night ( $p=0,003$ ).

According to Conklin (1981:376) the following factors are critical in determining whether or not a bystander will act:

- (a) Identification with the victim.
- (b) Extent to which the observer feels that the activity he observes is within his sphere of influence.
- (c) Extent to which the observer has proprietary feelings and is accustomed to defending his property.
- (d) Identification of the behaviour as abnormal to the area in which it occurs.
- (e) Extent to which the observer feels he can alter the course of events he observes.

However, social psychological experiments demonstrate that the presence of others at the scene of a crime or an emergency will actually inhibit help behaviour.

People may be embarrassed to help others, since such assistance may turn out to be unwanted or unneeded. When no witness in a group of bystanders immediately reacts by helping, others in the group may figure that their interpretation of the event as one requiring is wrong, if help were needed, would not someone already have offered it? People in groups take cues from others,

and if no one helps they may reinterpret the event. This has been referred to as pluralistic ignorance, with witnesses in a group failing to help because they interpret the failure of other witnesses to help as a sign that no help is needed. Apathy is not a good explanation for the failure to help, for bystanders to emergencies do experience emotional arousal and inner conflict instead, pluralistic ignorance reduces the chance that help will be offered by any person in a group that witnesses an emergency or a crime (Conklin 1981:376).

## **7.6 COLLECTIVE RESPONSE TO CRIME**

People occasionally band together in a collective response to crime. They work for a political candidate who promises law and order. Before the general election in 1994 the ANC made big promises to the people of South Africa. They promised to create job opportunities, houses, free education as well as reducing the crime rate. Conversely, the level of crime in this country is escalating hence overseas companies are reluctant to come and invest in South Africa. Since the government has shown some signs of failing to handle issue of crime adequately, the community must organise themselves create programs which will be able to restore order in the community. The community may even unite in civilian police patrols to perform functions they feel the police do not perform adequately (Conklin 1981:378).

Such group actions in response to crime have been both condemned as a mob taking the law into its own hand and praised as citizen involvement in crime prevention. Collective response to crime has a long history. Vigilante groups on the American frontier developed in response to a perceived lack of order rather than in response to particular crimes. Sometimes lynchings were reactions to

specific crimes, but lynchings usually did not lead to organised vigilante groups that persisted over time.

Because new frontier communities often lacked the resources to hire law enforcement officials, because they were usually far from towns that could provide such officials, and because they were near to open spaces to which suspects could easily flee, vigilante groups sometimes arose in an effort to establish formal means of social control over crimes and to bring stability to the community (Conklin 1981:379).

Vigilante groups believed in popular sovereignty, the right of the people to wield power in their own best interests. They asserted the right of the people to revolt against established authority if that authority failed to maintain order. Vigilante groups sought to preserve and protect the life, liberty, and property of their members and the residents of the community. Some of these movements were socially constructive, they dealt with specific problems of disorder and then disbanded. These movements represented the consensus of the community and involved large numbers of residents in the movement. On the other hand, social destructive vigilante movements encountered stiff opposition and group feuds and from political and economic rivalries in the community. Movements became socially destructive when they failed to exercise control over their violent or sadistic members (Conklin 1981:379).

Patrol groups rarely punish or kidnap suspects. Instead they walk the streets and try to multiply the number of eyes and ears that police have at their disposal. Patrol groups seek to deter crime by their presence. When they spot a crime in

progress, they call the police to the scene. Patrols are usually routine and even dull, rarely producing any contact with an offender. They provide more structured surveillance of a community than is possible through informal observation by unorganised citizens. Patrol groups face a number of problems. To sustain the interest of their members and the support of the community, they need to make the crisis to which they are responding continuously felt by the community.

They need a charismatic leader to inspire confidence in their members and in the residents of the community. Patrol groups need to be formally organised and they require financial support. They have a better chance of survival if they have an ideology that states positive and specific goals, vague targets such as crime and disorder do not seem to sustain patrol groups for long. Patrol groups seem to be most effective in limited and well-defined settings, such as housing projects and rock concerts, where there are homogeneous populations that are divided from others by clear boundaries (Conklin 1981:381).

**TABLE 7.4 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN RELATION TO NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH SYSTEM IN THEIR AREA (N=231)**

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION			
	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
Member of watch system	27	11,7	103	44,0
Participate in system	128	55,4	141	61,0
Alarm or noise	90	39,0	134	58,0

The above offensive crime prevention strategies can be of tremendous assistance

to support the patrol function of the police.

According to the respondents 27 (11,7%) indicated that a neighbourhood watch system is in operation; 128 (55,4%) said they participate in the system; while 90 (39,0%) recommended the installation of alarm systems as a way of preventing crime.

## **7.7 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION**

In recent years there has been an increasing recognition that most criminals who are sent to prison will eventually return to society and that most rehabilitation programs to which those offenders are exposed in prison have little or not effect. Criminals to get free trip to Australia, an excerpt from Sunday Times, 29 November (1998:6) quoted verbatim:

Plans are underway to send a group of young convicted criminals on an all-expenses-paid trip to Australia as ambassadors for South Africa. The six men, aged between 19 and 24, who are all on parole, were inmates of Leeuwkop prison in Gauteng, having committed crimes ranging from robbery and housebreaking to possession of unlicensed firearms and car theft. The ambitious plan to send them to Australia is the brainchild of Lesley Ann Tintiger, a member of the public who became involved with Leeuwkop when she founded the Khulise project, which aims to rehabilitate young offenders through storytelling, a circus and acrobatics among other activities. In Australia our group will tell their stories through theatre, dance, song, poetry and storytelling. In preparation for the trip Tintiger had nine prisoners undergo a lie detector test this week so she could establish if what they had told her during the Khulisa programme was the truth.

Her biggest fear was drug abuse. In jail at least 99% of the inmates are involved in drugs. Once a drug user is released on parole it is much easier for them to end up back in jail because they will commit a crime to feed the habit. Of the nine tested, six passed the polygraph test. Tintinger will share the cost of R504 000 trip with an Australian leadership development company, DGL international. One of its managing partners Fabian Dattner, is organising the group's visits to at least six schools and two juvenile detention centres. They will leave for Australia in about June if permission for the trip is granted by the Department of Correctional Services' parole board (*Sunday Times*, 29 November 1998:6).

The term "community-based corrections" signifies a reduced emphasis on the incarceration of offenders in large "warehouse prisons" distant from their homes and an increased emphasis on keeping them within their own community. There have been some efforts to develop community-based correctional facilities, which are small institutions located in the population centres where most offenders live. These facilities make it easier for relatives and friends to visit inmates, help to maintain offenders' ties to their community, and make it easier for offenders to find jobs when they are about to be released from custody. Another aspect of community-based corrections is work-release and education-release programs. These programs place incarcerated offenders in a less secure housing situation outside the main prison. The offenders work or go to school during the day and return to the institution at night, this provides both security for the community and maintenance of community ties for the offender.

Another program that derives from the emphasis on community-based corrections is the halfway house. This is an institution with little or no security in which offenders who are about to be paroled from prison or released at the end of their sentence are placed in a house with other offenders. This eases the offender's transition back into the community rather than confronting them with the abrupt transition from prison to freedom that many releases find difficult to manage (Conklin 1981:382).

The reaction of people in the community to the presence of correctional facility or to prisoners in a work-release or education-release program must be considered in planning community-based correctional programs. The general public often overlooks the great diversity among those who have been found guilty of a crime. People often see criminals as highly dangerous, with the specific offence for which they were convicted indicating a life of frequent violations of the law. A common attitude toward the criminal offender is that he is an outsider to society; fear of crime is basically a fear of the stranger, and fear of the stranger is fear of an outsider (Conklin 1981:383).

Local crime is often attributed to outsiders, although most offenders commit their crimes in close proximity to where they live and most victims live close to where they suffer their crimes. Still, people often feel that those who attack them or steal from them are not local residents but strangers from other neighbourhoods (Conklin 1981:383).

## **7.8 SUMMARY**

In recent years, researchers have begun to study the impact of criminal

victimisation on individuals who do not experience the crime directly, but who are close to the person who is victimised (Lurigio, Skogan & Davis 1990:122). Victimisation can therefore be viewed as a burden, not just a loss. Something is left behind as well as taken away. Haunting memories, chilling scenarios, nightmarish image and similar psychological scars are carried about as a crushing mental load. They are oppressive, worrisome, anxiety-provoking and encumbering to those who bear them. The most common reactions of victims to theft, vandalism and assault are feeling vulnerable violated or helpless, and fearing subsequent victimisation.

Although they are less victimised by crime statistically, woman and those over 60 years old voice a comparatively high fear of crime (Voigt et al. 1994:116).

Skogan (1986:141) opined that socially isolated people are more fearful, and research on victims suggests that networks of supporters play an important role in alienating people's fears and making victims "whole" again. Fear may be magnified among victims who live alone. Single adult and others who live alone may be more fearful because they do not have anyone to take care of them.

## : CHAPTER 8

# FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

Basically, the aim of this research was to analyse the fear of crime in a rural residential area. Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to collect the data for the investigation. The research was conducted among the residents of Ulundi district. The impact of crime is observable in the changes in life-style that are affected as a result of the threat of crime. The present study shows that the respondents tend to restrict their normal activities and to alter their behaviour in response to fear of crime. The respondents who participated in this research project were questioned, through a structured questionnaire, about their perception of the impact of crime on the daily lives of people in general; on the lives of the residents in their neighbourhood, and on their own lives (Glanz 1992:23).

Theoretical concepts of the independent variables included: gender, age, household composition, type of housing, previous victimisation, rating of crime as a social problem, the role of the police and their involvement in the neighbourhood were also highlighted.

The dependent variables included the three measures of formless fear and the measures of concrete fear.

## 8.2 THE MOST IMPORTANT FINDINGS

Fear of crime, of course, is one subjective outcome that may be influenced by minority status, whether defined in terms of race, gender or age. Indeed, research consistently shows that each of these variables is independently related to fear of crime (Ortega & Myles 1987:148). Subjective double jeopardy, of course, may result from the cumulative effects of objectively undesirable conditions. This, disproportionate levels of fear of crime among the minority elderly females may simply reflect a lifetime of exposure to high objective risks of victimisation.

Although exposure to crime is related to fear of crime, objective double jeopardy does not provide a complete explanation for fear of crime. Race-age and race-sex interactions persist even when controls are introduced for objective risk and for the availability of resources for coping with the consequences of crime. Further, it does not appear that amplified levels of fear of crime result from disproportionate sensitivity to environmental risks on the part of older blacks or females as far as perceived risk of victimisation is concerned (Ortega & Myles 1987:149).

The present study is related to that of Garofalo because fear of crime has been presented, discussed and evaluated, using data from victimisation surveys conducted at Ulundi district. Perhaps the most important conclusion which can be drawn from this study is that fear of crime is not a simple reflection of the risk or experience of being victimised. Social role expectations, in particular, are related to fear of crime, regardless of - and even contrary to the objective risk of and experience with personal victimisation. Thus, policy-makers should not

necessarily expect a major decrease in the amount of fear if it is successfully reduced (Garofalo 1979:96).

On the other hand, the findings do imply that fear of crime can be reduced without waiting for progress on the difficult task of lowering the level of crime. The finding that fear and concern about crime are related to perceptions of uncivil behaviour as well as perceptions of serious crime has important implications for policy-makers. To the extent that fear can be identified as a problem, independent of crime rates, policy-makers should begin to explore ways to reduce fear directed at reducing the incidence of crime. The most important implication of this study is that fear of crime should not be viewed cavalierly as irrational or unjustified.

For most population groups there is a high degree of correspondence between adjusted victimisation rates and fear of crime.

The findings further imply that fear of crime can be reduced by lowering victimisation rates, a strategy that largely has been eschewed by criminologists on the grounds that there is little or no relation between victimisation and fear of crime. Lowering victimisation rates is of course a difficult and costly task, and it might not provide a complete solution to the problem of fear of crime (Stafford & Galle 1999:182). At the same time, it appears that any strategy to reduce fear will be unsuccessful if efforts to lower victimisation rates are ignored.

The fact that certain groups within society are very vulnerable to fear of crime suggests that special efforts should be made to reduce fear of crime to reach

these groups in efforts by police departments and community service agencies.

Fear of crime has been divided into two dimensions, viz. formless fear and concrete fear. The former embraces "How safe would you feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark?" Since this question excludes offences such as burglary and car theft, it appears to be measuring some general concern, or fear, of personal safety outside the home and some perception of the safety of the neighbourhood. As such, formless fear may reflect a perception that under certain conditions the neighbourhood may be aversive. The latter is more specific in that respondents were asked to assess the likelihood of their being a victim of a specific criminal act.

**TABLE 8.1: AGE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

AGE	WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT - NEIGHBOURHOOD		ALONE AT HOME		LEAVING OR ARRIVING IN DARK	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
16 - 20	1,82	0,97	2,00	1,02	2,11	1,03
21 - 25	2,41	0,94	2,06	0,97	2,88	0,99
26 - 30	2,29	1,10	2,24	0,94	2,10	1,00
31 - 40	2,68	1,01	2,34	1,03	2,34	1,03
41 - 50	2,58	0,92	2,58	0,89	2,29	1,04
51 - 60	2,92	1,08	2,42	1,24	2,33	0,89
61 - 70	3,50	0,71	2,00	1,41	3,00	0,00
71 +	1,00	0,00	2,50	2,12	4,00	0,00
	F = 6,227 p ≤ 0,05		F = 1,462 p ≤ 0,182		F = 2,356 p ≤ 0,024	

p ≤ 0,05

Table 8.1 reflects a cross correlation between the age categories of respondents and dependent variables pertaining to fear of crime and criminal victimisation in their neighbourhood. Walking alone at night in the neighbourhood generated fear of crime among all the age categories, except for those between 61 - 70 years.

It appears that the youngest (16 - 20 years) and oldest (71 + years) respondents are significantly more fearful than those in the other age groups. Young people, especially teenagers, are more often more involved in outside activities in the evenings while the elderly are more frail due to their physical make-up. Walking alone at night in the neighbourhood as well as being alone at home at night generated feelings of fear of crime among all the age categories ( $p \leq 0,000$ ).

Leaving or arriving at home when it is dark also generates fear of crime among respondents in all the age categories except for those in the 61 - 70 and older age groups. The aforementioned can be ascribed to the elderly being at home earlier. Young respondents tend to pursue outside activities such as visiting restaurants, cinemas, nightclubs, etc. more frequently. This correlation is significant at  $p \leq 0,000$  level.

**TABLE 8.2: REASONS FOR FEELING UNSAFE IN NEIGHBOURHOOD****(N=231)**

AGE	WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT		FEELING THIS WAY	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
16 - 20	2,06	0,85	3,70	2,04
21 - 25	1,53	0,72	3,18	1,78
26 - 30	1,18	0,68	2,86	1,31
31 - 40	1,86	1,00	3,05	1,46
41 - 50	1,81	0,95	3,42	1,12
51 - 60	2,25	0,75	3,83	0,94
61 - 70	1,00	0,00	2,00	1,41
71 +	2,00	0,00	3,50	0,71
	F = 1,591 p ≤ 0,139		F = 1,361 p ≤ 0,223	

p ≤ 0,05

Reasons why respondents fear crime and criminal victimisation when walking alone at night are as follows:

- (i) The respondents feel that they might be attacked or killed (84 or 36,4%). Table 8.2 (p. 237) clearly shows that the respondents ranges between 41-50 and 51-60 feel very much unsafe when walking alone at night in the neighbourhood.
- (ii) The study also reveals that the elderly fear darkness (93 or 40,3%), consequently they minimise their movement during the night.

The possibility of being attacked or killed while walking alone at night is exacerbated by mass media reports (e.g. TV, radio, etc.) or previous incidences

of this nature (8 or 38,10%) while knowledge of such attacks or murders of friends, relatives or even neighbours were indicated by 44 respondents (19,0%).

**TABLE 8.3: REASONS FOR FEAR OF CRIME IN NEIGHBOURHOOD (N=231)**

REASONS	FREQUENCY	
	N	%
Happened to me before	22	9.5
Happened to a friend	44	19.0
Seen on TV/Radio	88	38.1
Read about it in newspaper	29	12.6
Informed by friend	18	7.8
Informed by police	10	4.3
Other reasons	12	5.2
Not applicable	8	3.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 8.3 shows the reasons why neighbourhood feel very much threatened by fear of crime. The frequency distribution reveals that out of 231, 88 (38,1%) heard about fear of crime over the radio or TV. The study also shows that 44 (19,0%) of the respondents report that it happened to their friend previously. Others 29 (12,6%) read about it from the newspaper. Respondents who had previous experience report that the problem of fear of crime has had happened to them previously 22 (9,5%).

### 8.3 TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

Nine hypotheses have been formulated (see par. 1.7 *supra*). For the sake of

convenience, these hypotheses will be repeated as they are being subjected to empirical testing.

### Hypothesis 1

There is a significant relationship between age and the fear of crime.

Ferraro and La Grange (1987:75) recommended that the fear of specific crimes can be measured. In the present study the respondents were asked to indicate four levels of fear of crime:

- not fearful at all;
- a little fearful;
- quite fearful; and
- very fearful.

Table 8.1 (p. 236) reveals that there is a positive relationship between age and fear of crime. The study also indicate that younger respondents are more prone to property crimes and personal crimes. Generally speaking this correlation is true because peer groups tend to seek outside activities such as leisure time hanging around with many friends.

Older people feel more secure in their homes due to the protection measures they have taken to ensure their safety. The study also reveals that older people tend to avoid situations which could lead to victimisation and therefore feel safer.

Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

## Hypothesis 2

There are significant differences between male and female responses to fear of crime.

The following trends are especially noticeable:

- Females are more fearful of crime than males - especially in regard to crimes such as sexual assault, robbery, housebreaking, damage to property, etc. (Table 4.2, p. 105).

This argument is supported by Garofalo (1979:87) who reported that women have higher levels of fear because of passive sex role socialisation, i.e. women are taught to think of themselves as helpless and powerless.

He further conjectured that it is role socialisation which makes men reluctant to admit to fear of crime because of the expectations associated with the masculine role.

Generally speaking, females are more confined to their homes than males because of their domestic commitment.

Parker and Ray (1990:33) in their study on gender differences and fear of crime, it was discovered that victimisation, age and community size had significant effects on fear of crime among women. The reasons for the higher level of fear of crime amongst women include the following: women are the targets for a large range of personal and life threatening offences; women feel less capable of defending themselves against criminals who tend to be physically stronger than

them and media involving among other things, women which tend to sensitise women to their vulnerability.

Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

### Hypothesis 3

There is a relationship between marital status and fear of crime.

According to Table 5.2 all the categories pertaining to the marital status of respondents, fear of crime appears to be a reality for all the respondents. This fear relates to four selected crimes, namely sexual assault (which causes a major outcry in South Africa at present), robbery, housebreaking and malicious damage to property. Supporting evidence is found in Table 5.3 and 5.4 which deal exclusively with concrete reasons for the presence of such fear.

The reasons for this fear could be ascribed to married couples being more possessive in terms valuable property and more proactive in the sense that they always being cautious about crime prevention measures. Consequently, this hypothesis is accepted as valid and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

### Hypothesis 4

There are significant differences between type of housing and fear of crime.

Although the literatures dealing with type of housing and fear of crime are relatively limited, however this hypothesis can positively contribute a lot to the present study. The study reveals that respondents living in the following type of

housing or categories, are quite fearful of having their goods being stolen (housebreaking), arson and hijacking: brick house, flat, duplex flat, simplex as well as room attached to house. Respondents who are living in those decent houses take stronger measures to secure their property from criminals.

The respondents from informal settlement, tent, caravan and rondavel, tend to have limited property and their feelings against crime is relatively low compared to respondents who live in decent houses. Considering the number of outbreak of fire in informal settlements, it is apparent that they are more fearful of arson. Therefore this hypothesis is accepted and is significant at  $p \leq 0.000$  level (Table 5.2 and 5.3).

#### Hypothesis 5

There is a relationship between race and fear of crime.

Although the area under investigation is predominately blacks, the researcher has managed to consult other minority race groups who are found in the area in question. The type of ethnic groups that were enlisted on the present study were as follows: black, white, Asian and coloured. The latter groups is relatively small in Ulundi and their fear of victimisation is on average. The study shows that blacks were victims of crimes such as murder. Table 6.4 and 6.5 reveal that all race categories do experience the problem of property crimes such as housebreaking and theft.

The presence of informal settlement in the immediate vicinity is one of the reasons why there is a high level of property crimes. Other factors which can

attribute to fear of crime, are the high level of unemployment as well as poverty.

Job opportunities are limited in the area under investigation hence certain race groups (blacks, followed by whites) feel very much uncertain about fear of crime.

The hypothesis is accepted and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

#### Hypothesis 6

There is a relationship between educational level of respondents and fear of crime.

The study reveals that there are significant differences between educational level of respondents and fear of crime. The respondents who are above matric feel more vulnerable to crimes such murder, abduction, housebreaking, theft, rape and vandalism (see Table 1.1 and 1.2 *supra*).

Toseland (1982:204) opines that education, income and social class may in fact be related to fear of crime. In other words these two variables (education and income) have a positive correlation with fear of crime. The study also shows that the fear of crime (to educated people) has a greater impact than on uneducated respondents. Therefore the hypothesis is accepted as valid. Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

#### Hypothesis 7

There is a relationship between occupation and fear of crime.

The present study reveals that fear of crime affects all respondents irrespective

of occupation. Table 5.8 and 5.5 show that the impact of crime does generate fear across all occupation categories. Professional workers feel very much vulnerable in respect of property crimes such as housebreaking, theft, handbag snatching and robbery.

Unemployed respondents and semiskilled labourers tend to live in environment of high crime rate. Respondents who live in high crime areas tend to deny the high risk of victimisation so that they can preserve a sense of security. The relationship between occupation and fear of crime is positive and accepted as valid. Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

#### Hypothesis 8

There is relationship between fear of crime and neighbourhood.

Lewis and Salem (1986:84) propose that in neighbourhoods where there is a high degree of social integration, residents feel that they are part of the neighbourhood, and also tend to develop a friendship network within their own community. Such integration provides a support system for neighbourhood residents.

Residents who are uninvolved in their community tend to be more fearful of crime and feel isolated hence eventually pre-empt criminal victimisation.

Conklin (1995:141) reported in the regard that areas with less crime showed greater social integration, social solidarity, social interaction between neighbours

and participation in local organisations. See Table 2.1 and 2.2 *supra*.

Interaction between neighbours generates trust and interdependence. In other words, when neighbours know each other they are able to look after each other and sometimes to guard another's property during their absence in neighbourhood.

Therefore this hypothesis is accepted and valid. It is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

#### Hypothesis 9

There is a relationship between household and fear of crime.

Table 8.3 shows that as the number of persons in the household increases, so does the level of formless fear felt by the respondents. The study also reveals that being alone at home generates fear, and thus the inference drawn under this circumstances, is that having more people in the vicinity could lesson fear of crime.

This argument was also supported by Warr (1990:894) who indicated that being alone is said to provoke fear because an isolated individual is viewed as an easy target for victimisation. Individuals believe that if there are other people in the immediate vicinity, they will come to one's aid in the event of an attack. The characteristics of a household are therefore viewed as an important factor in determining the fear of crime.

Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted and is significant at level of  $p \leq 0,000$ .

#### 8.4 CRIME AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM IN ULUNDI

Throughout the research indications are that the community of Ulundi feel unsafe as to fear of crime. Historically, Ulundi started as a small town during the seventies, but due to its development, people came in numbers from all corners of the Republic seeking for employment. Consequently, the problem of crime in South Africa expanded or proliferated. The researcher also provided this information (phenomenon of fear of crime) since he had been staying at Ulundi for more than ten years and is also attached to the Department of Safety and Security where a number of crimes are reported daily.

The research findings shows that people feel scared at night because they fear criminal victimisation. Table 6.5 *supra* precisely shows that the problem of car hijacking is the order of the day, especially people who are driving state vehicles bearing KZN number plates who become victims of car hijackers. However, it must also be stated that the reason behind the high number of state vehicles being hijacked was that criminals tend to believe that they do not cause any harm against an individual but to the state which is always regarded as the richest entity.

Violent crimes such as assault, rape, robbery and murder also affect the area under research. Mention should also be made about the issue of bank robberies which also became the order of the day in the area under investigation or research. Just recently commercial banks became victims of armed robberies where substantial amounts of money were taken. The issue of house breaking

should also not be overlooked.

Most of the residents of Ulundi come from places like Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Empangeni and Newcastle, to name but a few. Over the weekends they use to visit their relatives, especially on month ends. The study also reveals that during their absence criminals take chances and commit crimes such as housebreaking and sometimes theft.

## **8.5 VIGILANTISM**

Vigilantism is an enigmatic concept. There is considerable dispute among those few writers who have examined the phenomenon as to its precise character: whether or not it is essentially violent, conservative, extra-legal, organised, and directed only towards crime; whether it can be undertaken by agents acting on behalf of the state (such as the police) as well as by private citizens and whether it is a genuine social movement or a mere social reaction (Johnston 1996:221). Yet, despite this apparent uncertainty, opinion leaders are more than ready to make sweeping judgements about the social significance of vigilante activity.

The study precisely recommends that the problem of fear of crime amongst the residents of Ulundi can be prevented by promoting vigilantism hence the research has six specific characteristics that need to be considered before any meaningful analysis can be undertaken.

### **8.5.1 Planning, premeditation and organisation**

The first element is that of (at least minimal) planning on behalf of the instigator of the act. For vigilantism to occur the participating agent must engage in some

form of preparatory activity - such as the surveillance of an intended victim or the observation of a particular location. It is not without significance that the Latin derivation of vigilantism, "vigil", meaning awake or observant. This would suggest that some of the cases reported recently in the media as instances of vigilantism should be treated with caution (Johnston 1996:222).

It should be emphasized that the stress here is on minimal planning, for although some vigilante acts clearly involve lengthy preparation, others are, largely, unrehearsed. Even in cases of so-called spontaneous vigilantism, however, those in which bystanders apprehend and punish criminals "caught in the act". It has been noted that specific social conditions (e.g. living in a homogeneous community or lacking faith in the justice system) predispose participants to engage in direct action. In that respect, even spontaneous vigilantism - in any case, a rather inappropriate term - involves predisposition and premeditation (Johnston 1996:222).

One important corollary of planning is organisation. Such organisation may involve a variety of different types of vigilante engagement. Organisation involves more than mere numbers, however. One key question is whether engagement is organised on a recurrent or an *ad hoc* basis. Some vigilante acts are clearly "one off" events, involving isolated individuals or large groups in *ad hoc* mobilization. In contrast to this minimal level organisation, other examples involve the relatively long term mobilization of members for some highly organised collective end (Johnston 1996:224).

### 8.5.2 Private voluntary agency

Vigilantism has to be undertaken by private agents. What, in this context, is meant by the term private agent. The research does not show that off-duty police officers who engage in acts of private enterprise should be regarded as vigilantes, on the grounds that their retention of police powers calls into question their private status. But what of private security guards? Recently, there has been a significant increase in the number of private security companies contracted by groups of residents to undertake foot and mobile patrols of residential space.

Does it follow, then, that such patrol may be regarded as vigilantism? They would after all, appear to satisfy the second precondition: that vigilantism involves acts of social regulation undertaken private agents. It is significant that a number of public police officials have already discussed the prospect of setting up their own private companies to sell police patrol services on a commercial basis to members of the public. The point is that although such patrols would undoubtedly be private in the commercial sense, they could be carried out just as easily by public bodies as by private ones. Moreover, the private personnel deployed by the public police force could possess limited police powers.

For the purposes of defining private agents in the present context, the crucial distinction which needs to be drawn is that between private commercial activity (that which involves individual citizens, groups of citizens, and companies in the purchase and sale of commodities) and private voluntary activity (that which is undertaken by individual citizens or groups of citizens on non-contractual basis). The critical question concerns whether the state recognises and authorises such activity. Such authorisation may reside in the legal condition specified in given

laws (e.g. company or contract law), though it may also reside in other conditions (e.g. state provision of direct or indirect financial, political or other support).

In the case of private commercial activity it is clear that the acts undertaken by commercial companies are subject to specific forms of state recognition and authorisation. In the case of private voluntary activity the position is rather more complicated. Certain forms of voluntary activity undertaken by citizens are recognised and authorised by the state.

Neighbourhood Watch constitute an example of such responsible citizenship; a form of citizenship that is both sanctioned and sponsored by the state (Johnston 1996:226).

### **8.5.3 Autonomous citizenship**

A third aspect of vigilantism is, therefore, that it is a voluntary activity engaged in by active citizens (private voluntary agents) without the state's authority or support. Vigilantism does not include similar acts undertaken by companies on behalf of citizens for commercial profit. Nor does it include similar acts undertaken by responsible citizens who have the backing of the state's authority.

In fact, there are good grounds for subsuming vigilantism under the concept of autonomous citizenship. For one thing, there are important differences between voluntary practices and commercial ones which are lost sight of if both are merely deemed to be forms of vigilantism (Johnston 1996:226).

#### **8.5.4 The use or threatened use of force**

Violence is a common feature of vigilantism and suggests that the exercise of force is a necessary element in any vigilante engagement. That would certainly be the view of those who seek to reduce vigilantism to establishment violence and it would also seem to find support in media accounts of vigilante activity (Johnston 1996:228).

#### **8.6 REACTION TO CRIME AND SOCIAL DEVIANCE**

The purpose of the fifth element of the researcher's definition is to establish vigilantism as a criminological concept rather than one having its deprivation in some other discursive domain. A distinction can also be drawn between those forms of vigilantism directed at crime and those directed at social or communal control. The most developed version of this classification can be found in Drown's 1975 analysis of North American vigilantism between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

Here, Brown (Johnston 1996:228) distinguishes between classic (that is directed against horse thieves, outlaw, and the rural lower classes before 1900) and neo-vigilantism (that is directed at urban Catholics, Jews, African-Americans and labour leaders from the late nineteenth century onwards). It is possible, then, to draw a distinction between two models of vigilantism: one having a focus on crime control, the other being concerned with social control or more, specifically, with the maintenance of communal, ethnic or sectarian order and values (Johnston 1996:228).

## **8.7 PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

Placing emphasis on the normative aspect of vigilantism, however, is still only part of the solution to the problem of specificity. For although the criterion of normative infraction would eliminate an act such as political assassination from the researcher's consideration, it would not necessarily exclude a case such as the chastisement of a disobedient child, one in which some transgression of domestic norms provoked a forceful reaction.

Security is a peculiarly underdeveloped concept in criminological and socio-legal studies. Perhaps this should not surprise us. Freedman (Johnston 1996:230) a political scientist and specialist in international security, has observed that the concept is underdeveloped even here, though, paradoxically, it is still used to justify draconian policy measures such as censorship and suspension of civil rights. In fact, there are striking parallels between this situation and that pertaining in the field of crime. The security is marketed as a desirable social good, the provision of which may require necessary sacrifices on society's part - financial costs, limitations on privacy and so on, yet, despite such policy implications, there is little effort to analyse the concept (Johnston 1996:230).

## **8.8 ANALYSES OF CRIME REPORTING IN NEWSPAPERS**

Most analyses of newspaper crime reporting have been concerned with the potentially distorted impression by the high proportion of violent crimes. Ditton and Duffy (Johnston 1996:35) analysed the crime content of three Scottish newspapers in terms of the numbers and page areas of crime reports. They found that 6.5 per cent of the news involved crime and that 45.8 per cent of this was violent and sexual crime. They suggested, however, that readers may be sufficient

intelligent and discerning to appreciate that frequency and type of coverage does not necessarily reflect *pro rate* frequency and type of incidence.

They called for research into qualitative aspects of reporting (such as sensationalism) and for research to determine whether the misrepresentation of crime in newspapers influence the general perceptions of readers (Williams & Dickinson 1993:35). Winker and Vry (Williams & Dickinson 1993:35) found that identifying with the victim or perceiving a similarity between one's own neighbourhood and the locale of the reported crime heightens fear of crime in response to newspaper reports of crime. Serial learning theory research shows that recall of a news item is greater if it is favourably situated or if it is read first or last. Booth's research (Williams & Dickinson 1993:35) has also shown how recall is increased when news items are larger and when they appear with photographs.

Photographs are important in catching the reader's attention and is more likely to have a stronger impact than a single-channel display. Content analyses have also ignored *more qualitative aspects of reporting*.

Many crime reports are far from dispassionate, are highly graphic and involve sensational portrayals and embellished descriptions. Heath (Williams & Dickinson 1993:36) is one of the few to have addressed qualitative aspects of presentation specifically the geographical locality, randomness (lack of victim precipitation), and sensationalism of the crime reported. The research found that random and sensational crimes lead to increased fear of crime (especially if committed locally).

## **8.9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEWSPAPER CRIME REPORTING AND FEAR OF CRIME**

The main question is whether people base their own subjective assessment of the probability of crime on the frequency with which various types of crime are reported in newspapers. Twersky and Kahneman (Williams & Dickinson) suggested that, when assessing probability, people rely on heuristic principles or rules of thumb, can also lead to systematic errors. One such heuristic principle "availability" saves individuals from the need to review all the evidence before resolving the problem. However, because we tend to use only the information which is most readily retrievable (because of its familiarity, salience, or recentness) this can lead to biases.

The implications for risk assessment are that an event is judged more likely or frequent if it is easier to imagine or recall relevant instances. This idea was developed and suggested that information is more readily available if it is encoded through more than one mode (e.g. iconic and semantic), or is encoded differently from other stimuli (e.g. in images as apposed to semantic encoding). The above review shows that research on the causes of fear of crime has tended to concentrate on demographic factors affecting perceived vulnerability rather than on factors affecting perceived frequencies of crime.

While newspaper reports have been suggested as a source of belief about such frequencies, research into the effects of newspaper crime reporting has been hampered by variation in measures of news contact. It seems apparent that, although some research has been carried out on the possible effects of newspaper crime reporting on fear of crime. Quantitative measures taken in

content analyses have lacked thoroughness and ingenuity and have ignored many aspects of reporting. Virtually no qualitative content analyses have been undertaken; analyses have largely ignored the media or press. Few attempts appear to have been made to relate newspaper reporting of crime to the readers' fear of crime (Williams & Dickinson 1993:37).

Table B12 (Annexure B) shows that different newspaper groups differ greatly in how they report crime news and that the corresponding readership groups vary on most levels of fear of crime. The variance was in the direction predicted, namely, that people who read newspapers which contain more salient crime reports show more fear of crime. There is evidence that newspaper construct news in the differences found between newspapers.

## **8.10 RECOMMENDATION**

Throughout the study it was highlighted that fear of crime was a problematic phenomenon. The most important aspect of the recommendations is on ways to reduce or minimise the fear of crime amongst the residents and the South African public in general as well.

### **8.10.1 Community policing**

The police statistics has revealed that during the past five years immediately after the 1994 elections, the government showed its full commitment to the fight against crime by closing loopholes in our criminal justice system. It also noted that frustration of communities with regard to policing and the process of cases. These initiatives (community forums, community policing forums, neighbourhood watch, etc.) should be viewed within the context of our past, where criminal

justice system failed to provide adequate measures to fight crime.

Now the challenge facing not only the government but all of us is to speed up the implementation of these crime-fight measures. Co-operation by members of the public as well as community policing forums will be most valuable in this regard. Our duty as South Africans is to get involved through our community policing forums and other relevant structures within our local areas to ensure that the police and the courts are in a better position to arrest and prosecute those rapists, women and children abusers, car hijackers, murderers, drug dealers and perpetrators of other forms of violent crimes.

The community at large must co-operate with the courts to ensure that bail is denied to those implicated in the commission of serious offences and that they, if found guilty, are set to jail for a very long time. Our magistrates, judges and prosecutors have shown a hardening attitude towards rapists as well as perpetrators of other violent crimes. They, too, deserve our support.

#### **8.10.2 Community Police Forums (CPF's)**

As pointed out in the previous section the establishment of community police forums can play a major role in alleviating the level of crime in our communities. Community police forums entails voluntary involvement on the part of the community in policing activity, and the creation of a community policing officer (CPO) who acts as a direct link between the police and the community.

These structures serve only to combat crime but also solve the particular problems experience in the community. Community police forums enhance a relationship

between the community and the police.

### 8.10.3 Protective units

Protective units concentrate upon the protection of life and property by suppressing latent crime and by preventing potential disrupters of order from indulging in violent and disorderly behaviour which might threaten the security of the individual or the state, or endanger the property of other. As few examples of such units we may mention those entrusted with patrols, protection, traffic control, risk control or counter-espionage and combating crime among young people (Van Heerden 1986:110).

### 8.10.4 Crime prevention through environment design

The concept of crime prevention through environment design goes beyond defensible space theory. It focuses on the location rather than the offender. The work of Jeffrey (Meadows 1998:159) encompassed a set of principles broader than defensible space and extending beyond the residential context to the community and business setting. The concept of making an area safe and secure is known as *crime prevention through environmental design*.

According to the rational offender perspective, criminal behaviour and victimisation result from the physical environment or the layout of an area. Offenders decide whether to commit a crime in a location after they have determine a number of factors:

How easy will it be to enter the area?

- (i) How visible, attractive or vulnerable do targets appear?

- (ii) What are the chances of being seen?
- (iii) Will the people in the area do something if they see a problem?
- (iv) Is there a quick, direct route for leaving the location after committing a crime?

Accordingly, some properties provide the opportunity for crime. An ATM machine located in an isolated area with poor lighting, abundant foliage, and several routes of undetected escape is an environment conducive to crime. A cash-orientated business situated in a high crime area with lax security standards and controls is an invitation to victimisation of employees and customers. Consequently, victims of crime are seeking compensation from property owners and managers for their victimisation. These cases are commonly known as premises liability cases. These cases are based on allegations made by the victim that the property owner failed to provide adequate security and thereby contributed to the crime (Meadows 1998:159).

Meadows (1998:158) recommended, among other things, minimising some through way which lead to public road and monitoring the area which the public regard as a danger area. The police should patrol the area and the community must be involved in the fighting against crime. Criminals driving through the portals found leaving the area more difficult. Blocking the streets also increased neighbourhood identity and social interaction of the neighbours and led to an awareness of suspicious persons in the area. Traffic and crime decreased. Residents became involved with each other and their environment.

### 8.10.5 . Situational crime prevention

Situational crime prevention is an extension of the defensible space theory and crime prevention through environmental design. Another aspect of environmental criminology, it is concerned with strategies to reduce crime opportunity through management or manipulation of the environment. Situational crime prevention is directed at specific forms of crime including fear of crime. It is an attempt to make crime more difficult to commit, increase the risks of offending and reduce the rewards of the offending. The reader's attention is also drawn to the following factors:

- (i) Target hardening. This technique reduces the opportunity for crime by placing physical barriers such as locks, safes, or steering lock devices to reduce auto theft.
- (ii) Access control. This is the central component of defensible space theory. *Fencing, gated communities and barriers around property limit access to property.*
- (iii) Deflecting offenders. This is an attempt to channel inappropriate behaviour. Some cities have closed off streets known for gang violence with barricades to deter or deny drive-bys and drug dealing.
- (iv) Controlling facilitators. One way to deter or control crime is by regulating the instruments of crime; for example, one way to control graffiti is to regulate spray paint sales. Control of guns is part of this approach.
- (v) Entry/exit screening. This technique limits the access or exit of persons not in conformity with entry or exit requirements. Entry screening is used at airports, where passengers must pass through metal detectors. Exit screening use sensor tags on merchandise, which are removed upon

purchase. If not removed, an alarm is activated as the person carrying merchandise passes through the door. Border searches and customs checks are other examples (Meadows 1998:165).

### **8.11 REACTIVE RESPONSES TO VICTIMISATION**

Reaction responses to victimisation include programs and laws. Clearly, victimisation cannot be totally prevented. Despite the best crime prevention efforts, no guarantees to prevent victimisation can be made, especially when dealing with determined offenders or careless citizens. The reactive responses discussed are compensation programs to assist the crime victim. They also include measures to warn citizens of released sex offenders (rapists) and car hijackers.

### **8.12 VICTIM COMPENSATION PROGRAMS**

In the past twenty years, crime victims have received the attention of public policy makers. Victim compensation is defined as money paid from a public fund to innocent victims to allow them to recoup some of their financial losses. It is not a new concept. In the United States, California began the first victim compensation program in 1966. Since 1965, all-states have passed some form of victim compensation program which enables victim of violence to obtain some form of compensation for out of pocket expenses (Meadows 1998:167).

Generally speaking, only victims who are directly harmed as a result of violent crime are eligible for compensation. In some cases, however, dependant family members of victims as well as good Samaritans can receive compensation. Most status requires that the victim be physically harm, however, some exceptions

allow compensation for psychological counseling and treatment for children who witnessed a violent crime.

A victim must not have provoked or contributed to the crime, report the crime to the police, cooperate with the investigation, and apply for the compensation in a reasonable time (normally within one year) to be eligible for compensation. If the victim initiated a fight but was beaten in the process eligibility is denied. Likewise, a victim who was a participant in a crime but was injured by the other offender is not eligible. The amount of compensation awards is limited (Meadows 1998:168).

In most states, family members are allowed to recover for losses incurred by homicide victims, including medical and funeral expenses. The types of losses for which victims may obtain restitution vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Almost all state allow recovery of the victim's actual costs such as medical expenses, which may include mental health counselling, psychiatric care, physical therapy, HIV tests, and property damage or loss. Restitution may be ordered during pretrial hearing or during sentencing.

### **8.13 Victim support schemes**

In this research an exposition of victim support schemes is given and the victim support movement in South Africa briefly discussed. A possible model for rendering services to victims in South Africa will be highlighted as well.

Services for victims of crime are rendered by organisations that endeavour to help the victims by assessing their needs and actively working towards meeting those

needs. The aim of services for victims of crime is twofold:

- (i) Skilful support of victims to enable them to work successfully through the trauma caused by the crime, and to prevent secondary victimisation.
- (ii) The prevention of crime by advising and guiding the victim towards a preventive lifestyle and by creating an awareness among the public of the risk of crime (Schurink, Snyman, Krugel & Slabbert 1992:474).

### 8.13.1 Functions of victims support schemes

The dominant theme of all victim service programmes is to put right the wrong done to the victim. Victim service programmes have primary, secondary and tertiary functions.

- **Primary functions**

Primary functions are immediate and cover a limited range of services to victims of crime. Examples of primary functions are the acceptance of responsibility for victims, ensuring that they are provided with emergency medical and or social services, looking after the needs of their families and ensuring that they will not be exploited further (Schurink *et al.* 1992:474).

- **Secondary functions**

Secondary functions include long-term objectives and cover a wider range of services to victims. It also includes assisting victims in their role as witnesses, advising them so as to minimise the risk of further victimisation in the future.

- **Tertiary functions**

Tertiary functions are directed at specific categories of victims. Tertiary objectives

are concerned with planning and prevention in general and also with creating awareness in society of the lot of the victim of crime. Information is collected from individual victims for use in prevention programmes. Assistance should be given with a view to the development of restitution and reconciliation programmes (Schurink et al. 1992:475).

#### **8.14 VICTIM SUPPORT MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Research on the victim support movement in South Africa is needed because of the rising crime rate and the fragmented nature of the service rendered to the victims of crime. Although numerous victim support schemes have been established in overseas countries since 1969, similar schemes have come into being in South Africa only since 1977. Owing to the lack of research on the victim support movement in South Africa, Snyman did a study on the rendering of support services to the victims of crime. She found that the initiative for the establishment of victim support schemes came from the private sector as well as the public sector (Schurink et al. 1992:477).

##### **8.14.1 Contribution of the private sector**

The first organisation that offered help in South Africa to the victims of crime was the Child and Family Welfare Society, which assisted the victims of child abuse as early as 1918. This assistance formed part of their family care programmes and it was only in the late 1960s that the victims of child abuse and child sexual molestation were singled out for specialized services.

During the 1970s the feminist movement in South Africa recorded the distress experienced by the victims of rape and woman abuse. Rape Crises South Africa

(RCSA) was established in 1977 in Cape Town, and branches opened in 1977 in Pietermaritzburg, in 1980 in Durban and in 1981 in Johannesburg. Since then, the Durban branch of RCSA has merged with the one in Pietermaritzburg, a new branch is being planned for Grahamstown and the Johannesburg branch has changed its name to People Opposing Woman Abuse (POWA).

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) changed its constitution in 1987 to enable it to include support services as part of its crime prevention programmes. This step led to the establishment in Bloemfontein of a rape crises service in 1987 and the establishment in 1989 of an Action Committee that is investigating the feasibility of a national co-ordinating body for victim support schemes (Schurink *et al.* 1992:478).

#### **8.14.2 Contribution of the government**

The government has launched several outreach programmes. A Child Protection Unit of the South African Police Service was established in 1986, which led to the creation of such units in the main centres of South Africa. In areas where such units are not existing, trained police officers are always on stand by to handle all cases of child abuse.

Similarly, Rape Crises Units of the SAPS, which are associated with the Murder and Robbery Unit, were also introduced in 1986. All policemen at college level are trained to handle rape cases. There is close co-operation between the SAPS and the provincial hospitals, where the staff who man the emergency units are trained in the handling of cases of rape, child abuse and sexual molestation (Schurink *et al.* 1992:479).

## 8.15 CONCLUSION :

The fear of crime was the main focus of the present study as it reduced changes in the lifestyle of the individual and also the functioning of the community. Fear of crime generates feelings of anxiety, general mistrust, alienation, cynicism and suspicion. At a social level, it can lead to break down of social cohesion, the curtailment of normal activities and unwillingness to help other people.

If the individuals are succumb to fear they almost feel unease about strangers, feel not comfortable in the neighbourhood especially when it is dark or during the night. The fact that certain groups within society are very vulnerable to fear of crime suggests that special efforts should be made to reach these groups in efforts by the police as well as community service agencies to reduce fear of crime.

Groups that should receive special attention include the elderly, women, urban residents, persons who live alone. Some recent innovative programs designed to reduce fear in the elderly may serve as models.

These programs include public education in safety and crime prevention, self-defense classes, special transportation services, hotlines for crime prevention and crimes in progress, escort services and victim reporting programs. Education, income and social status, for example, were found to be unrelated to the fear of crime. The results suggest that fear of crime affect the well educated, higher income person as well as the less-educated, lower income person.

It was found that overall fear of crime is a response to subjectively defined risk

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It was found that overall fear of crime is a response to subjectively defined risk

and personal vulnerability. Potential intervention points could involve attempts to change the reputational character of the neighbourhood as well as the perceived likelihood of robbery. These changes might be effected, either subjectively through community building or public relation strategies or objectively, through programs that produce actual reductions in fear of crime. This approach would seem to be the most desirable, but planners must be careful not to design crime prevention strategies that might have the effect of increasing the subjective environmental threat among local residents.

The effect of perceived adequacy of police protection offers a promising avenue as well as an explanation of several former programmatic outcomes. Various policing strategies have rather consistently failed to affect crime, but some have produced significant reductions in fear of crime. Increased patrols or the shift to patrols apparently can lead to reduced fear of crime through an additional feeling of police protection provided by such changes. Police officials should by no means abandon attempts to increase their effectiveness in reducing fear of crime, but should consider the ways in which their activities can provide greater subjective security for residents (Baumer 1985:252).

Although Ulundi can be seen as a small town but the problem of crime is increasing day by day. The residents appeal to the police to make their presence felt in terms of addressing criminality in the area. Hence it is recommended that the involvement of church leaders, business sectors, community leader and the police can reduce the high crime rate not necessarily in Ulundi but through out the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

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# UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

## QUESTIONNAIRE: FEAR OF CRIME IN RURAL RESIDENTIAL AREAS

DEAR RESPONDENT

- Your assistance in this research project is of utmost importance and is indeed highly appreciated.
- Your name and address are not required and should under no circumstances be reflected on this questionnaire.
- All information supplied by you will be treated in the strictest confidence.
- Please ensure that you are as accurate as possible. This is very important!
- Answer all the questions as they apply to you personally by making a cross (X) in the appropriate space provided.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER

		1	0	0
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**SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF**

**Q.1 YOUR SEX?**

Male	1	
Female	2	

**Q.2 YOUR MARITAL STATUS?**

Married	1	
Widowed	2	
Divorced	3	
Separated	4	
Never married (single)	5	

**Q.3 YOUR PRESENT AGE? (Tick only the relevant block)**

16 - 20	1	
21 - 25	2	
26 - 30	3	
31 - 40	4	
41 - 50	5	
51 - 60	6	
61 - 70	7	
70 +	8	

**Q.4 TO WHAT ETHNIC GROUP DO YOU BELONG?**

Black	1	
White	2	
Asian	3	
Coloured	4	

**Q.5 INDICATE YOUR HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION**

Below Standard 8	1	
Standard 8	2	
Standard 9	3	
Standard 10	4	
Diploma	5	
Degree	6	

**Q.6 YOUR PRESENT OCCUPATION?**

Unemployed	1	
General labourer	2	
Semi-skilled labourer	3	
Professional worker (doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc.)	4	
Technical and related worker (mechanic, electrician, etc.)	5	
Business or sales worker	6	
Administrative (director, manager, clerk, etc.)	7	
Worker in transport (driver, dispatcher)	8	
Worker in communication (journalist, PRO, etc.)	9	
Craftsman or production worker	10	
Student or scholar	11	
Services worker (nursing, social worker, etc.)	12	
Engaged in sport and recreation	13	
Armed forces (police, army)	14	
Agricultural and related worker (tending crops, animals, forest, farmer)	15	
Housewife	16	
Retired (pensioner)	17	

**Q.7 IN WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING AREAS DO YOU LIVE?**

Unit A	1	
B South	2	
B North	3	
Unit C	4	
Unit D	5	
Mbilane	6	

**Q.8 INDICATE YOUR TYPE OF HOUSING?**

Brick house	1	
Flat	2	
Duplex flat	3	
Simplex	4	
Room attached to house	5	
Tent	6	
Caravan	7	
Rondavel	8	
Shack (informal settlement)	9	
Other (specify)	10	

**Q.9 INDICATE THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD (staying regularly with you excluding yourself):**

Only one	1	
Two	2	
Three	3	
Four	4	
Five or more	5	

**SECTION B: YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD**

**Q.10 HOW SAFE DO YOU FEEL WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?**

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

**Q.11 I DO NOT FEEL SAFE WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?**

I might be attacked or killed	1	
I fear the dark	2	
Other reason	3	
For office use only: Not applicable	4	

**Q.12 IF 1 IN Q.11, WHY DO YOU FEEL THIS WAY?**

It had happened to me before	1	
It has happened to a friend / relative / neighbour	2	
Have seen / hear about it on TV / radio	3	
Have read about it in the newspaper	4	
I was informed about it by a friend / relative / neighbour	5	
Was informed of it by the police	6	
Other reason	7	
For office use only: Not applicable	8	

**Q.13 HOW SAFE DO YOU FEEL WHEN ALONE IN YOUR HOME OR APARTMENT AT NIGHT?**

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

**Q.14 DO NOT FEEL SAFE IN MY HOME OR APARTMENT ALONE AT NIGHT BECAUSE:**

Might be burgled / attacked	1	
House might catch alight (fire)	2	
Other reason	3	
For office use only: Not applicable	4	

**Q.15 IF 1 IN Q.14, WHY DO YOU FEEL THIS WAY?**

It had happened to me before	1	
It has happened to a friend / relative / neighbour	2	
Have seen / hear about it on TV / radio	3	
Have read about it in the newspaper	4	
I was informed about it by a friend / relative / neighbour	5	
Was informed of it by the police	6	
Other reason	7	
For office use only: Not applicable	8	

**Q.16 HOW SAFE / UNSAFE DO YOU FEEL IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD WHEN LEAVING OR ARRIVING AT HOME WHEN IT IS DARK?**

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

DURING THE PAST YEAR, HAVE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING HAPPENED TO YOU?

		YES	NO	
Q.17	Being sexually assaulted (including rape) [Male respondents tick "no"]	1	2	
Q.18	Being robbed or mugged	1	2	
Q.19	Having my home burgled	1	2	
Q.20	Having damage caused to my property	1	2	
Q.21	Having my motor vehicle broken into and valuables stolen	1	2	
Q.22	Having my motor vehicle stolen	1	2	
Q.23	Being shot at whilst driving a motor vehicle	1	2	
Q.24	Being stoned whilst driving a motor vehicle	1	2	
Q.25	Being shot at during a church ceremony	1	2	

DO YOU LOCK THE DOORS OF YOUR HOME OR APARTMENT WHEN ALONE?

		YES	NO	
Q.26	During the day	1	2	
Q.27	During the night	1	2	

## SECTION C: PHYSICAL SECURITY MEASURES

HAVE YOU TAKEN ANY STEPS (PRECAUTIONS) TO PROTECT YOUR PROPERTY AGAINST ANY TYPE OF CRIME?

**PLEASE TICK EACH QUESTION BELOW AS "YES" OR "NO"**

	TYPE OF SECURITY MEASURE	YES	NO	
Q.28	Acquisition of guard dog	1	2	
Q.29	Installation of alarm system	1	2	
Q.30	Extra outside lights	1	2	
Q.31	Fixing of deadlocks on doors	1	2	
Q.32	Fixing of burglar-proofing	1	2	
Q.33	Valuables engraved, photographed and serial numbers kept	1	2	
Q.34	Installed security warning lights	1	2	
Q.35	Radio / TV / lights left on while not at home	1	2	
Q.36	Erection of concrete walls to keep out intruders	1	2	
Q.37	Acquisition of fire-arm	1	2	
Q.38	No extra measures taken	1	2	

HOW DO YOU RATE THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF CRIMES AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM IN THE AREA WHERE YOU LIVE?

**NB: Please make sure to tick each one with a cross (X)**

		No problem at all	Less of a problem	More of a problem	Very problematic	
Q.39	Murder (being killed)	1	2	3	4	
Q.40	Abduction	1	2	3	4	
Q.41	Housebreaking	1	2	3	4	
Q.42	Theft	1	2	3	4	

Q.43	Rape (males tick 1)	1	2	3	4	
Q.44	Vandalism	1	2	3	4	
Q.45	Hijacking	1	2	3	4	
Q.46	Housebreaking and theft	1	2	3	4	
Q.47	Theft of or out of vehicle	1	2	3	4	
Q.48	Traffic violations	1	2	3	4	
Q.49	Killing of people with AK-47 rifles or other weapons	1	2	3	4	
Q.50	Abduction of young children	1	2	3	4	
Q.51	Handbag snatching	1	2	3	4	

ARE THERE ANY PRECAUTIONS THAT YOU TAKE TO PROTECT YOURSELF AGAINST A PHYSICAL ATTACK?

**PLEASE TICK EACH ONE BELOW**

	TYPE OF PRECAUTION	YES	NO	
Q.52	Do not go out alone at night	1	2	
Q.53	Do not go out alone during the day	1	2	
Q.54	Carry a personal alarm	1	2	
Q.55	Have done self-defence training	1	2	
Q.56	Lock all doors whilst driving alone in my vehicle	1	2	
Q.57	Notify others about my movements	1	2	
Q.58	Carry a fire-arm	1	2	
Q.59	Take no special precautions	1	2	

Q.60 DURING THE PAST TWO (2) YEARS, HAVE YOU ASKED A NEIGHBOUR TO KEEP A WATCHFUL EYE ON YOUR PROPERTY WHILE YOU WERE AWAY?

Yes	1	
No	2	

**Q.61 DURING THE PAST TWO (2) YEARS, HAS A NEIGHBOUR ASKED YOU TO KEEP A WATCHFUL EYE ON THEIR PROPERTY WHILE THEY WERE AWAY?**

Yes	1	
No	2	

**Q.62 IF YOU WERE BEING ATTACKED / ROBBED / STOLEN FROM WHILE AT HOME, DO YOU THINK YOUR NEIGHBOURS WOULD COME TO YOUR RESCUE / ASSISTANCE IF THEY HAD KNOWLEDGE OF SUCH ATTACK?**

Yes	1	
No	2	

**SECTION D: CRIME AWARENESS**

**Q.63 DO YOU PERSONALLY KNOW OF ANYONE, OTHER THAN YOURSELF, WHOSE HOME OR APARTMENT IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD HAS BEEN BROKEN INTO DURING THE PAST YEAR OR SO?**

Yes	1	
No	2	

**Q.64 IN YOUR OPINION, HAS THE CRIME RATE IN THE AREA WHERE YOU LIVE INCREASED OVER THE PAST YEAR?**

Yes	1	
No	2	
Do no know	3	

**Q.65 IF "YES" NOT Q.64, HOW DID YOU COME TO THIS CONCLUSION?**

Own knowledge	1	
Newspaper reports	2	
Radio / TV	3	
Police informed me	4	
Informed by other peopled	5	
For office use only: Not applicable	6	

Q.66 DO YOU READ ANY NEWSPAPERS?

Yes	1	
No	2	

IF "YES" TO Q.66, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING NEWSPAPERS DO YOU RES?

**NB: PLEASE TICK EACH ONE BELOW**

		Never	Occasionally	Often	Regularly	
Q.67	Zululand Observer	1	2	3	4	
Q.68	Natal Mercury	1	2	3	4	
Q.69	Ilanga	1	2	3	4	
Q.70	City Press	1	2	3	4	
Q.71	Rapport	1	2	3	4	
Q.72	Sowetan	1	2	3	4	
Q.73	Sunday Times	1	2	3	4	
Q.74	Other	1	2	3	4	

Q.75 IS THERE ANY NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH SYSTEM OPERATING IN THE AREA WHERE YOU LIVE?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Do not know	3	

Q.76 ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH SYSTEM?

Yes	1	
No	2	

Q.77 IF "NO", WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A SYSTEM?

Yes	1	
No	2	

Q.78 HAVE YOU EVER RESPONDED TO AN ALARM OR NOISE COMING FROM ONE OF YOUR NEIGHBOUR'S HOMES?

Yes	1	
No	2	

Q.79 IF "YES" TO Q.78, WHAT STEPS DID YOU TAKE?

Called the police	1	
Personally investigated the cause of the alarm / noise	2	
Called upon a neighbour to assist with the investigation	3	
No steps taken	4	
Other (specify)	5	
For office use only: Not applicable	6	

HOW FEARFUL ARE YOU OF THE FOLLOWING CRIMES?

**NB: Please tick EACH one below with a cross (X)**

	TYPE OF CRIME	Not fearful at all	A little fearful	Quite fearful	Very fearful	
Q.80	Having your home or apartment broken into and property stolen	1	2	3	4	
Q.81	Being raped while alone at home (males tick 1)	1	2	3	4	
Q.82	Being raped while alone at home (males tick 1)	1	2	3	4	
Q.83	Being killed while at home	1	2	3	4	
Q.84	Being killed while away from home	1	2	3	4	

Q.85	Being robbed / mugged	1	2	3	4	
Q.86	Being assaulted (not sexually)	1	2	3	4	
Q.87	Having damage inflicted to your property	1	2	3	4	
Q.88	Having your house set alight (petrol bombed)	1	2	3	4	
Q.89	Having your motor vehicle broken into and valuables stolen	1	2	3	4	
Q.90	Being abducted from your home	1	2	3	4	
Q.91	Being "ambushed" whilst driving a motor vehicle	1	2	3	4	
Q.92	Being shot at with an AK-47 or other fire-arm whilst driving your motor vehicle	1	2	3	4	
Q.93	An adult in your immediate family	1	2	3	4	
Q.94	A child in your immediate family	1	2	3	4	
Q.95	Other members of your family (brother, sister, elderly parents)	1	2	3	4	

## SECTION E: ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

Q.96 HAVE YOU, DURING THE PAST YEAR, CHANGED YOUR DAILY LIVING PATTERN?

Yes	1	
No	2	

Q.97 DO YOU GO OUT AT NIGHT?

	Frequently	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
Alone	1	2	3	4	
With somebody	1	2	3	4	

Q.98 DO YOU FOLLOW A SET SCHEDULE OF LEAVING AND RETURNING TO YOUR HOME (i.e. set hours, leave 08h00 - return 17h00)?

Yes	1	
No	2	

Q.99 HAVE YOU, DURING THE PAST YEAR, EXPERIENCED A CRIME COMMITTED AGAINST YOU?

Yes	1	
No	2	

Q.100 IF "YES", DO YOU THINK YOUR ROUTINE ACTIVITY CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS YOUR VICTIMISATION?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Do not know	3	

SECTION F: ROLE OF THE POLICE

**LAST BUT NOT LEAST, LET US HAVE A LOOK AT THE ROLE OF THE POLICE**

Q.101 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN JURIDICAL CONTACT WITH THE POLICE?

**NB: If necessary, tick more than one**

As an accused AND convicted in court	1	
As an accused BUT acquitted in court	2	
As a suspect in a criminal case (interrogated)	3	
As a complainant (victim of a crime)	4	
As a witness in a criminal case	5	
As an information (giving information to the police about crime)	6	
No contact	7	

Q.102 DO YOU, AS A MEMBER OF SOCIETY, HAVE A DUTY TO COMBAT CRIME?

**NB: TICK ONLY ONE PLEASE**

Undoubtedly	1	
To a large extent	2	
Uncertain	3	
To a lesser extent	4	
Not at all	5	

Q.103 I AM WILLING TO ASSIST THE POLICE TO COMBAT CRIME?

**NB: TICK ONE ONE PLEASE**

Always	1	
Often	2	
Uncertain	3	
Sometimes	4	
Never	5	

DO YOU REPORT ALL CRIMES AND MISCONDUCT TO THE POLICE?

		Always	Sometimes	Often	Never	
Q.104	Where you are the victim (complainant)	1	2	3	4	
Q.105	Those you have knowledge about	1	2	3	4	

INDICATE BELOW WHETHER THE FOLLOWING REASONS HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN YOUR DECISION NOT TO REPORT CRIME TO THE POLICE?

**NB: Tick each one below as either "YES" or "NO"**

	REASONS	YES	NO	
Q.106	Did not want to bother the police with trivial matters	1	2	
Q.107	The case would in any case not receive proper attention by the police	1	2	
Q.108	The police do not react promptly to emergency calls	1	2	
Q.109	The case is unsolvable (i.e. nothing can be done to trace the offender or to recover stolen property)	1	2	
Q.110	The inability of the police to solve the crime	1	2	
Q.111	Not in the interest of the society that the case should be reported	1	2	
Q.112	The case is settled personally	1	2	
Q.113	Personal nature of the case	1	2	
Q.114	Attending court is too time consuming	1	2	
Q.115	Hate to get involved in court cases	1	2	
Q.116	Negative attitude and approach of the police when called upon to attend a criminal case	1	2	
Q.117	You are treated as the "guilty party" when reporting crime to the police	1	2	
Q.118	Partiality on the part of the police when crime is reported	1	2	
Q.119	Fear of retaliation	1	2	

Q.120 DO YOU REGARD YOURSELF AS AN IMPORTANT LINK IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS (i.e. as a complainant or witness in a criminal case)?

Yes	1	
No	2	

**Q.121** DO YOU BELIEVE THAT YOU HAVE EQUAL ACCESS TO THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (i.e. police and courts)?

Yes	1	
No	2	

**DO YOU NURTURE A FEAR OF:**

	NATURE OF FEAR	YES	NO	
Q.122	A policeman in a uniform	1	2	
Q.123	A detective (dressed in private clothes)	1	2	

**IF YOU HAD A NEGATIVE ENCOUNTER WITH THE POLICE IN THE PAST (i.e. being accused or suspected of a law violation) WOULD YOU AGAIN FEEL AT LIBERTY TO:**

		YES	NO	
Q.124	Call upon the police when you, your family or property is being criminally threatened	1	2	
Q.125	To greet a policeman on the street	1	2	
Q.126	Personally proceed to a police station and lodge a complaint against somebody else	1	2	
Q.127	To have the one or other official document sworn or signed at a police station	1	2	

**IF YOU WOULD NOT HAVE THE LIBERTY TO PROCEED TO A POLICE STATION, WOULD YOU RATHER:**

		YES	NO	
Q.128	Prefer to make use of your local magistrate's office	1	2	
Q.129	Prefer to visit a police station in a neighbouring town	1	2	

Q.130 THE LOCAL POLICE ARE DOING A GOOD JOB TO PREVENT CRIME:

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Uncertain	3	
Disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	

Q.131 THE LOCAL POLICE SHOULD HAVE MORE POWER TO ARREST AND PROSECUTE LAW VIOLATORS?

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Uncertain	3	
Disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	

WHEN CALLED OUT TO AN EMERGENCY: FOUND THE LOCAL POLICE TO BE:

KEY: SA	=	Strongly Agree
A	=	Agree
U	=	Uncertain
DA	=	Disagree
SDA	=	Strongly Disagree

		SA	A	U	DA	SDA	
Q.132	Very prompt	1	2	3	4	5	
Q.133	Co-operative	1	2	3	4	5	
Q.134	Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	
Q.135	Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	
Q.136	Courteous	1	2	3	4	5	
Q.137	Not interested in the case	1	2	3	4	5	

Q.138 THE LOCAL POLICE PATROL MY NEIGHBOURHOOD:

Monthly	1	
Weekly	2	
Daily	3	
Seldom	4	
Never	5	

*Finally, we would like to thank you for having provided us with information on an important issue that daily effects our lives*

## Annexure B

### TABLES

**TABLE B1(i) REASON FOR FEELING UNSAFE AT NIGHT IN NEIGHBOURHOOD**

REASONS	FREQUENCY	
	N	%
Might be attacked / killed	84	36.4
Fear darkness	93	40.3
Other reasons	41	17.7
Not applicable	13	5.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**TABLE B1(ii) SEX AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SEX	MURDER		ABDUCTION		HOUSE-BREAKING		THEFT		RAPE		VANDALISM	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Male	2.85	1.08	3.01	0.99	3.07	1.03	3.02	1.02	2.91	1.09	3.04	1.07
Female	2.56	1.08	2.79	0.97	2.94	0.92	3.02	0.96	2.97	1.02	2.96	0.97

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B1(iii) SEX AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SEX	HIJACKING		HOUSE-BREAKING & THEFT		THEFT OF MOTOR CAR		TRAFFIC OFFENCES		KILLING WITH AK47		ABDUCTION	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Male	3.12	1.04	3.10	1.02	2.88	1.11	2.46	1.20	2.50	1.23	2.45	1.24
Female	3.06	0.98	3.20	1.00	2.90	1.07	2.71	1.20	2.60	1.18	2.48	1.19

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B1(iv) SEX AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SEX	SEXUALLY ASSAULTED		ROBBED		HOME BURGLED		DAMAGE TO PROPERTY		VEHICLE BROKEN INTO	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Male	1.50	0.50	1.45	0.50	1.42	0.50	1.43	0.50	1.53	0.50
Female	1.72	0.45	1.71	0.45	1.66	0.48	1.60	0.49	1.78	0.42
	t = -1.832 $p \leq 0.068$		t = -1.209 $p \leq 0.228$		t = -0.107 $p \leq 0.915$		t = 0.612 $p \leq 0.541$		t = -3.112 $p \leq 0.002$	

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B1(v) SEX AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SEX	MOTOR VEHICLE BROKEN INTO		MOTOR VEHICLE STOLEN		SHOT WHILE DRIVING		STONED WHILE DRIVING		SHOT AT CHURCH	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Male	1.57	0.50	1.64	0.48	1.60	0.49	1.55	0.50	1.46	0.50
Female	1.78	0.42	1.76	0.43	1.75	0.44	1.72	0.45	1.77	0.42
	t = -3.226 p ≤ 0.001		t = -3.608 p ≤ 0.000		t = -2.872 p ≤ 0.004		t = -3.169 p ≤ 0.002		t = 1.337 p ≤ 0.183	

p ≤ 0.05

**TABLE B1(vi) SEX/GENDER DIFFERENCES ON FEAR OF CRIME ON SECURITY MEASURES (N=231)**

SECURITY MEASURES	MALE		FEMALE	
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
Valuable engraved	1.60	0.49	1.50	0.50
Security lights	1.61	0.49	1.65	0.48
Lights left on	1.61	0.49	1.58	0.49
Concrete walls	1.56	0.50	1.56	0.50
	t = 4.538 p ≤ 0.000		t = 0.605 p ≤ 0.546	

p ≤ 0.05

**TABLE B1(vi) GENDER AND CONTACT WITH THE POLICE (N=231)**

CONTACT	MALE		FEMALE		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Juridical contact	2.90	0.99	2.95	1.05	0.129
Report crime	2.71	1.17	2.70	1.17	0.008
Knowledge of crime	2.80	1.09	2.81	1.09	0.720
Bother police	1.71	0.45	1.65	0.45	0.183
No proper attention	1.40	0.49	1.55	0.50	0.783
No prompt	1.55	0.50	1.59	0.49	0.575
Unsolvable case	1.68	0.47	1.54	0.50	0.336
Police unable to solve	1.59	0.49	1.53	0.50	0.854
No interest	1.63	0.48	1.54	0.50	0.867
Settled personally	1.54	0.50	1.57	0.50	0.688
Personal nature	1.53	0.50	1.48	0.50	0.336
Time consuming	1.54	0.50	1.52	0.48	0.260
Dislike involvement	1.58	0.50	1.60	0.49	0.364
Negative attitude	1.52	0.50	1.67	0.48	0.440
Guilty party	1.55	0.50	1.59	0.49	0.027
Partiality of police	1.60	0.49	1.62	0.50	0.204
Fear of retaliation	1.60	0.49	1.67	0.48	0.000

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B1(vii) GENDER AND FEELING TOWARDS CONTACT WITH POLICE**

**(N=231)**

FEELINGS TOWARDS CONTACT	MALE		FEMALE		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Call upon police	1.36	0.48	1.46	0.50	0.00
Greet a police	1.60	0.49	1.56	0.50	1.38
Report crime	1.49	0.50	1.51	0.50	0.01

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B2(i) MARITAL STATUS AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

MARITAL STATUS	UNSAFE NEIGHBOUR- HOOD		SEXUALLY ASSAULTED		ROBBED		HOME BURGLED		DAMAGE TO PROPERTY		F- VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Married	2.33	0.98	1.39	0.49	1.37	0.49	1.30	0.46	1.32	0.47	1.347
Widowed	1.91	0.83	1.55	0.52	1.45	0.52	1.45	0.52	1.64	0.50	8.388
Divorced	2.50	1.16	1.29	0.47	1.36	0.50	1.50	0.52	1.36	0.50	6.649
Separated	1.58	0.79	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.52	6.280
Single	2.30	1.08	1.83	0.37	1.80	0.40	1.74	0.44	1.67	0.47	5.949

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B2(ii) MARITAL STATUS AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

MARITAL STATUS	WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT		WALKING ALONE (NEIGHBOURHOOD)		WHY FEELING THIS WAY		FEELING SAFE (HOME)		FEELING UNSAFE (HOME)	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Married	2.68	0.93	1.94	0.95	3.30	1.39	2.41	0.97	2.41	0.90
Widowed	2.09	1.14	1.64	0.67	2.91	1.64	1.73	0.90	2.27	0.90
Divorced	2.64	1.08	2.07	1.07	3.29	1.59	2.29	1.07	1.39	1.05
Separated	1.83	1.11	1.83	0.72	3.25	1.42	1.67	0.65	2.00	1.28
Single	1.94	1.02	1.94	0.83	3.57	1.96	2.14	1.08	1.97	1.12
	F = 3.265		F = 0.652		F = 1.853		F = 1.454		F = 1.688	
	$p \leq 0.007$		$p \leq 0.660$		$p \leq 0.111$		$p \leq 0.206$		$p \leq 0.138$	

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B2(iii) MARITAL STATUS AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

MARITAL STATUS	MOTOR VEHICLE BROKEN INTO		MOTOR VEHICLE STOLEN		SHOT WHILE DRIVING		STONED WHILE DRIVING		STONED AT CHURCH		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Married	1.44	0.50	1.51	0.50	1.51	0.50	1.48	0.50	1.46	0.50	5.890
Widowed	1.73	0.47	1.82	0.40	1.91	0.30	1.64	0.50	1.55	0.51	2.944
Divorced	1.50	0.52	1.57	0.51	1.64	0.50	1.57	0.51	1.57	0.51	3.129
Separated	1.67	0.49	1.67	0.49	1.58	0.51	1.83	0.31	1.83	0.37	1.629
Single	1.83	0.41	1.79	0.41	1.83	0.38	1.50	0.52	1.75	0.45	2.333

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B3(i) GENDER AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (N=231)**

POLICE VISIBILITY	MALE		FEMALE		F-VALUE
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Police in uniform	1.53	0.50	1.30	0.46	1.38
A detective	1.57	0.50	1.41	0.49	1.44
Patrolling neighbourhood	1.55	0.50	1.36	0.48	1.44

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B3(ii) AGE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

AGE	NEIGHBOURHOOD		WALKING ALONE		FEELING THIS WAY		LEFT ALONG HOME	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
16-20	1.82	0.97	2.06	0.85	3.70	2.04	2.00	1.02
21-25	2.41	0.94	1.53	0.72	3.18	1.78	2.06	0.97
26-30	2.29	1.10	1.81	0.68	2.86	1.31	2.24	0.94
31-40	2.68	1.01	1.86	1.00	3.05	1.46	2.34	1.03
41-50	2.58	0.92	1.81	0.95	3.42	1.12	2.58	0.89
51-60	2.92	1.08	2.25	0.75	3.83	0.94	2.42	1.24
61-70	3.50	0.71	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.41	2.00	1.41
71+	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	3.50	0.71	2.50	2.12
	F = 6.227 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 1.591 $p \leq 0.139$		F = 1.361 $p \leq 0.223$		F = 1.462 $p \leq 0.182$	

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B3(iii) AGE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

AGE	NOT FEEL SAFE		FEELING THIS WAY		UNSAFE IN NEIGHBOURHOOD	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
16-20	1.95	1.10	3.64	2.24	2.11	1.03
21-25	2.12	1.11	3.76	2.14	2.88	0.99
26-30	1.62	0.86	2.86	1.53	2.10	1.00
31-40	1.93	0.90	3.14	1.82	2.34	1.03
41-50	1.65	0.91	2.68	1.56	2.29	1.04
51-60	2.00	1.04	2.67	1.44	2.33	0.89
61-70	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.41	3.00	0.00
71+	1.50	0.71	2.50	2.12	4.00	0.00
	F = 0.934 p ≤ 0.481		F = 1.538 p ≤ 0.158		F = 2.356 p ≤ 0.024	

p ≤ 0.05

**TABLE B3(iv) AGE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

AGE	SEXUALLY ASSAULTED		BEING ROBBED		HOME BURGLED		MALICIOUS INTEND TO PROPERTY	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
16-20	1.80	0.40	1.79	0.41	1.76	0.43	1.72	0.45
21-25	1.76	0.44	1.59	0.51	1.29	0.47	1.41	0.51
26-30	1.71	0.46	1.67	0.48	1.48	0.51	1.52	0.51
31-40	1.34	0.48	1.34	0.48	1.43	0.50	1.39	0.49
41-50	1.39	0.50	1.42	0.50	1.32	0.48	1.26	0.44
51-60	1.33	0.49	1.17	0.39	1.25	0.45	1.17	0.39
61-70	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
71+	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
	F = 8.194 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 7.997 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 6.948 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 6.298 $p \leq 0.000$	

$P \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B3(v) AGE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

AGE	MOTOR VEHICLE BROKEN INTO		VEHICLE STOLEN		SHOT WHILE DRIVING	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
16-20	1.83	0.37	1.78	0.41	1.81	0.39
21-25	1.59	0.51	1.71	0.47	1.76	0.44
26-30	1.76	0.44	1.76	0.44	1.62	0.50
31-40	1.52	0.51	1.57	0.50	1.59	0.50
41-50	1.45	0.51	1.61	0.50	1.61	0.50
51-60	1.33	0.49	1.42	0.51	1.33	0.49
61-70	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
71+	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
	F = 5.810 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 2.618 $p \leq 0.013$		F = 3.592 $p \leq 0.001$	

$p \leq 0.05$

TABLE B4(i)

## ETHNIC GROUP AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

ETHNIC GROUP	MURDER		ABDUCTION		HOUSEBREAKING		THEFT		RAPE	
	$\bar{x}$	SD								
Black	2.63	1.08	2.88	0.96	3.00	0.95	3.00	0.99	2.92	1.06
White	2.84	1.04	2.84	1.00	2.94	1.03	2.94	1.00	2.71	1.13
Asian	3.00	1.12	3.00	1.12	3.00	1.08	3.30	0.92	3.25	0.79
Coloured	2.60	1.17	2.89	0.98	3.00	0.97	3.02	0.99	2.94	1.05
	F = 1.664 $p \leq 0.119$		F = 0.938 $p \leq 0.478$		F = 1.442 $p \leq 0.190$		F = 0.975 $p \leq 0.451$		F = 1.557 $p \leq 0.150$	

 $p \leq 0.05$ 

TABLE B4(ii)

## ETHNIC GROUP AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

ETHNIC GROUP	SEXUALLY ASSAULTED		BEING ROBBED		HOME BURGLIED		MALICIOUS INTEND TO PROPERTY	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Black	1.70	0.46	1.67	0.47	1.62	0.49	1.56	0.50
White	1.42	0.50	1.29	0.46	1.35	0.49	1.39	0.50
Asian	1.45	0.51	1.50	0.51	1.35	0.49	1.40	0.50
Coloured	1.27	0.47	1.45	0.52	1.45	0.52	1.45	0.52
	F = 8.194 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 7.997 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 6.948 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 6.298 $p \leq 0.000$	

 $p \leq 0.05$

TABLE B4(iii)

## ETHNIC GROUP AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

ETHNIC GROUP	VANDALISM		HIJACKING		HOUSEBREAKING & THEFT		THEFT OF MOTOR VEHICLE		TRAFFIC OFFENCE	
	$\bar{x}$	SD								
Black	2.90	1.30	2.96	1.07	3.11	1.06	2.90	1.08	2.71	1.18
White	3.13	1.02	2.35	0.80	3.10	0.96	2.84	1.10	2.74	1.24
Asian	3.40	0.75	3.45	0.60	3.40	0.75	3.40	0.82	3.25	0.79
Coloured	3.36	1.03	3.64	0.67	3.55	0.69	3.45	0.69	3.27	1.01
	F = 2.999 $p \leq 0.005$		F = 2.760 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 2.683 $p \leq 0.011$		F = 3.720 $p \leq 0.001$		F = 3.099 $p \leq 0.000$	

$p \leq 0.05$

TABLE 5(i) EDUCATION AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

EDUCATION	MURDER		ABDUCTION		HOUSEBREAKING		THEFT		RAPE		VANDALISM	
	$\bar{x}$	SD										
Below Std 8	2.91	1.04	3.09	0.90	3.22	0.85	3.04	0.93	3.35	0.83	3.04	1.07
Std 8	2.67	1.03	3.33	0.82	3.17	1.17	3.17	1.17	2.83	1.17	2.83	1.17
Std 9	2.46	1.11	2.71	0.79	2.78	1.01	2.86	1.04	2.75	1.14	2.76	1.11
Std 10	2.94	1.06	3.01	1.01	3.07	0.92	3.09	.096	3.12	1.03	3.07	0.97
Diploma	3.22	0.85	3.30	0.88	3.61	0.58	3.52	0.79	3.48	0.67	3.22	0.85
Degree	2.53	1.02	2.58	1.12	2.84	1.07	3.00	1.05	2.89	1.05	3.11	0.88
	F = 6.999 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 6.006 $p \leq 0.000$		F = 5.075 $p \leq 0.001$		F = 3.589 $p \leq 0.007$		F = 2.415 $p \leq 0.050$		F = 4.386 $p \leq 0.002$	

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE 5(ii) EDUCATION AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

EDUCATION	HIJACKING		HOUSEBREAKING & THEFT		THEFT OF MOTOR VEHICLE		TRAFFIC OFFENCES		KILLING WITH AK47	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Below Std 8	3.35	0.88	3.22	0.90	2.87	1.18	2.96	1.07	2.57	1.24
Std 8	3.17	0.98	2.83	1.17	2.33	1.21	3.00	1.26	3.00	0.89
Std 9	2.92	1.13	3.12	1.08	2.90	1.14	2.55	1.18	2.33	1.16
Std 10	3.09	0.96	3.12	1.03	3.07	0.97	2.94	1.16	2.69	1.23
Diploma	3.52	0.79	3.48	0.67	3.22	0.85	3.09	1.08	2.65	1.23
Degree	3.00	0.82	3.05	1.03	2.84 *	1.01	2.74	1.15	2.68	1.06
	F = 4.259		F = 3.354		F = 5.298		F = 4.451		F = 1.669	
	$p \leq 0.002$		$p \leq 0.011$		$p \leq 0.000$		$p \leq 0.002$		$p \leq 0.158$	

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B6 OCCUPATION AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

OCCUPATION	NOT FEARFUL		LITTLE FEARFUL		QUITE FEARFUL		VERY FEARFUL	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Unemployed	3.21	0.98	3.08	1.16	3.05	1.02	3.28	0.89
General labourer	3.33	1.12	3.11	1.05	3.00	1.00	3.56	0.53
Semi-skilled labourer	3.36	0.81	2.82	1.33	2.73	1.42	2.82	1.08
Professional worker	2.88	1.24	3.19	1.13	2.96	1.25	3.23	1.03
Mechanic	3.24	1.20	3.18	1.24	3.00	1.41	3.06	1.39
Sales worker	3.00	1.26	3.25	1.18	3.25	1.18	3.37	0.89
Clerk	3.30	1.03	3.20	1.15	3.15	1.14	3.30	0.92
Driver	2.75	0.89	3.00	0.93	3.00	1.20	3.25	1.16
PRO	2.43	1.51	3.29	0.76	2.57	1.27	3.00	1.15
Craftsman	3.50	0.52	3.25	1.06	2.88	1.26	3.00	1.15
Scholar	2.93	1.03	3.07	1.30	3.09	1.23	3.14	1.25
Nursing	2.25	0.96	2.75	0.50	3.00	0.82	3.00	0.82
Sports & recreation	3.28	0.89	2.97	0.93	3.05	0.94	2.90	0.99
Police	3.67	0.50	3.44	1.01	3.44	0.88	3.00	1.12
Farmer	3.18	1.17	3.18	0.87	3.09	1.22	3.09	0.94
Housewife	3.31	0.88	3.35	0.98	3.12	1.07	3.31	0.93
Pensioner	3.29	1.21	3.18	1.19	3.29	1.10	3.12	1.05
	F = 1.384		F = 0.555		F = 0.626		F = 0.661	
	p ≤ 0.171		p ≤ 0.915		p ≤ 0.861		p ≤ 0.830	

p ≤ 0.05

**TABLE B7 AREAS AND THE FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE	BRICK		CONNECTED		ALTERNATIVE	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Rape	3.15	1.06	2.50	2.12	4.00	0.00
Rape away from home	3.50	0.97	3.32	0.96	3.50	0.71
Being killed (home)	3.75	0.64	2.99	1.05	3.23	0.83
Being killed (away)	3.60	0.60	3.13	1.20	1.50	0.71
Robbed	3.63	0.62	3.70	0.66	3.15	1.00
Assaulted	3.00	1.41	3.55	0.60	2.79	1.11
Abduction	4.00	0.00	3.31	0.79	3.44	0.89
Ambushed	3.38	0.51	3.25	1.50	3.80	0.52
	F = 4.244 $p \leq 0.002$		F = 4.113 $p \leq 0.003$		F = 3.960 $p \leq 0.004$	

$p \leq 0.05$

TABLE B8(i)

## TYPE OF HOUSING AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

TYPE OF HOUSING	GUARD DOG		ALARM SYSTEM		OUTSIDE LIGHTS		BURGLAR PROOFING		VALUABLE ENGRAVED	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Brick house	1.63	0.49	1.71	0.46	1.51	0.50	1.63	0.49	1.51	0.50
Flat	1.44	0.51	1.50	0.52	1.38	0.50	1.56	0.51	1.50	0.52
Duplex flat	1.40	0.50	1.40	0.50	1.45	0.51	1.50	0.51	1.40	0.50
Simplex flat	1.25	0.44	1.25	0.44	1.35	0.49	1.40	0.50	1.30	0.47
Room attached	1.38	0.50	1.44	0.51	1.44	0.51	1.50	0.52	1.50	0.50
Tent	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.75	0.50	1.50	0.58	1.75	0.50
Caravan	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Informal settlement	2.00	0.00	1.50	0.71	1.50	0.71	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
Other	1.31	0.48	1.31	0.48	1.15	0.38	1.31	0.48	1.23	0.44
	F = 4.244		F = 4.113		F = 3.960		F = 2.011		F = 2.884	
	$p \leq 0.002$		$p \leq 0.003$		$p \leq 0.004$		$p \leq 0.094$		$p \leq 0.023$	

 $p \leq 0.05$

TABLE B8(ii)

## TYPE OF HOUSING AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

TYPE OF HOUSING	SECURITY		LIGHTS LEFT		CONCRETE		ACQUISITION		EXTRA	
	LIGHTS		ON		WALLS		OF FIREARM		MEASURES	
	$\bar{x}$	SD								
Brick house	1.69	0.47	1.66	0.47	1.72	0.45	1.66	0.47	1.66	0.48
Flat	1.50	0.52	1.56	0.51	1.44	0.51	1.44	0.51	1.44	0.51
Duplex flat	1.45	0.51	1.30	0.47	1.30	0.47	1.35	0.49	1.30	0.47
Simplex flat	1.20	0.41	1.20	0.41	1.40	0.50	1.30	0.47	1.25	0.44
Room attached	1.44	0.51	1.44	0.51	1.50	0.52	1.44	0.51	1.50	0.52
Tent	1.50	0.50	1.75	0.50	1.75	0.50	1.50	0.58	1.00	0.00
Caravan	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
Informal settlement	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.50	0.71	1.50	0.71	1.50	0.71
Other	1.38	0.51	1.38	0.51	1.46	0.52	1.31	0.51	1.62	0.51
	F = 4.416		F = 3.355		F = 3.590		F = 4.237		F = 4.916	
	$p \leq 0.002$		$p \leq 0.011$		$p \leq 0.007$		$p \leq 0.003$		$p \leq 0.001$	

 $p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B8(iii) TYPE OF HOUSING AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

TYPE OF HOUSING	MURDER		ABDUCTION		HOUSE-BREAKING		THEFT		RAPE		VANDALISM	
	$\bar{x}$	SD										
Brick house	2.57	1.12	2.84	0.98	2.96	0.97	2.95	1.02	2.80	1.11	2.82	1.08
Flat	2.88	0.89	2.81	0.98	2.88	0.96	3.25	0.86	3.19	1.05	3.25	0.86
Duplex flat	3.20	1.01	3.20	1.11	3.30	0.92	3.10	0.97	3.10	0.97	3.30	0.86
Simplex flat	3.15	0.59	3.20	0.62	3.25	0.97	3.15	0.81	3.15	0.81	3.35	0.49
Room attached	2.53	1.19	3.00	1.10	3.06	1.06	2.94	0.85	3.44	0.81	3.44	0.89
Tent	2.00	1.41	2.25	1.26	2.50	1.29	2.50	1.29	2.50	1.29	3.25	0.96
Caravan	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	0.00
Informal settlement	2.00	1.41	2.50	0.71	2.50	0.71	2.50	0.71	2.50	0.71	3.00	1.41
Other	2.69	1.11	2.69	1.11	2.92	1.19	2.92	1.19	3.23	0.83	2.92	1.04
	F = 2.506		F = 3.230		F = 4.131		F = 3.160		F = 0.971		F = 2.014	
	$p \leq 0.043$		$p \leq 0.013$		$p \leq 0.003$		$p \leq 0.015$		$p \leq 0.424$		$p \leq 0.093$	

$p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE B9(I) HOUSEHOLD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SIZE OF HOUSING	NEIGHBOURHOOD		MEMBER OF THE		PARTICIPATION IN		RESPOND TO		REACTION	
	WATCH SYSTEM		SYSTEM		SYSTEM		ALARM			
	$\bar{x}$	SD								
Only one	1.38	0.62	1.44	0.51	1.00	0.00	1.38	0.50	2.56	1.71
Two	1.62	0.59	1.52	0.51	1.38	0.50	1.33	0.48	2.48	1.54
Three	1.47	0.61	1.37	0.49	1.25	0.44	1.27	0.45	2.76	1.12
Four	1.82	0.63	1.63	0.49	1.61	0.49	1.43	0.50	2.35	1.39
Five or more	1.93	0.64	1.64	0.48	1.41	0.50	1.52	0.50	2.66	1.62
	F = 2.991 p ≤ 0.001		F = 2.145 p ≤ 0.027		F = 2.646 p ≤ 0.006		F = 1.825 p ≤ 0.065		F = 0.786 p ≤ 0.629	

p ≤ 0.05

**TABLE B9(ii) HOUSEHOLD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

SIZE OF HOUSING	CHANGE DAILY PATTERN		GOING OUT AT NIGHT		SET SCHEDULE		PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION		ROUTINE	
	$\bar{x}$	SD								
Only one	2.50	1.26	2.94	1.06	2.50	1.15	1.63	0.50	2.44	1.09
Two	2.67	1.20	2.76	1.18	2.52	1.25	1.48	0.51	2.71	1.01
Three	3.51	0.88	3.53	0.86	3.41	0.94	2.92	1.04	2.92	1.07
Four	2.49	1.23	2.39	1.24	2.57	1.24	1.55	0.50	2.63	1.09
Five or more	2.16	1.21	2.04	1.10	2.02	1.13	1.56	0.50	2.61	1.14
	F = 1.672 $p \leq 0.097$		F = 2.313 $p \leq 0.017$		F = 1.317 $p \leq 0.229$		F = 1.016 $p \leq 0.428$		F = 2.238 $p \leq 0.012$	

$p \leq 0.05$

TABLE 10(i)

## NEIGHBOURHOOD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)

NEIGHBOURHOOD	ALONE AT NIGHT		ALONE DURING THE DAY		CARRY FIRE-ARM		SELF DEFENCE		LOCKING DOORS	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Very safe	1.32	0.47	1.65	0.48	1.70	0.46	1.62	0.49	1.62	0.49
Fairly safe	1.20	0.42	1.20	0.42	1.20	0.42	1.20	0.42	1.40	0.52
Fairly unsafe	1.41	0.50	1.61	0.49	1.64	0.49	1.48	0.51	1.48	0.51
Very unsafe	1.37	0.49	1.50	0.51	1.59	0.50	1.57	0.50	1.50	0.51
	F = 2.632		F = 2.119		F = 2.507		F = 0.591		F = 1.262	
	$p \leq 0.025$		$p \leq 0.064$		$p \leq 0.031$		$p \leq 0.707$		$p \leq 0.281$	

 $p \leq 0.05$

**TABLE 10(ii) NEIGHBOURHOOD AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=231)**

NEIGHBOURHOOD	WATCHFUL EYE		BEING ATTACKED		HOME BROKEN INTO		CRIME RATE		SOURCE OF INFORMATION	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
Very safe	1.32	0.49	1.30	0.46	1.51	0.73	1.41	0.50	1.76	0.68
Fairly safe	1.40	0.52	1.30	0.48	1.30	0.672	1.30	0.48	1.10	0.32
Fairly unsafe	1.18	0.39	1.14	0.35	1.32	0.67	1.25	0.44	1.48	0.70
Very unsafe	1.28	0.46	1.22	0.42	1.83	0.93	1.28	0.46	1.48	0.72
	F = 1.138 p ≤ 0.341		F = 0.722 p ≤ 0.608		F = 2.537 p ≤ 0.029		F = 1.012 p ≤ 0.411		F = 3.267 p ≤ 0.007	

p ≤ 0.05

**TABLE B11 TYPES OF CRIMES COMMITTED IN THE AREA (N=231)**

TYPES OF CRIME	FREQUENCIES							
	NO PROBLEM AT ALL		LESS OF A PROBLEM		MORE OF A PROBLEM		VERY PROBLEMATIC	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Abduction	27	11.7	44	19.0	87	37.7	73	31.6
Housebreaking	25	10.8	34	14.7	88	38.1	84	36.4
Theft	28	12.1	26	11.3	91	39.4	86	37.2
Rape	34	14.7	32	13.9	78	33.8	87	37.7
Vandalism	30	13.0	29	12.6	84	36.4	88	38.1
Hijacking	28	12.1	24	10.4	79	34.2	100	43.3
Housebreaking & theft	25	10.8	27	11.7	67	29.0	112	48.5
Theft out of motor vehicle	32	13.9	38	16.5	68	29.4	93	40.3
Traffic violation	50	21.6	34	14.7	62	26.8	85	36.8
Killing by AK47	67	29.0	40	17.3	57	24.7	67	29.0
Abduction - young	71	30.7	44	19.0	48	20.8	68	29.4
Bay snatching	72	31.2	43	18.6	54	23.4	62	26.8

**TABLE B12 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN RELATION TO  
NEWSPAPERS (N=231)**

NEWSPAPER	FREQUENCIES							
	NEVER		OCCASIONAL		OFTEN		REGULARLY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Zululand Observer	65	28.1	48	20.8	38	16.5	80	34.6
Natal Mercury	46	19.9	47	20.3	47	20.3	91	39.4
Ilanga	27	11.7	36	15.6	56	24.2	112	48.5
City Press	49	21.2	38	16.5	63	27.3	81	35.1
Rapport	100	43.3	25	10.8	41	17.7	65	28.1
Sowetan	32	13.9	38	16.5	65	28.1	96	41.6
Sunday Times	44	19.0	46	19.9	51	22.1	90	39.0
Other	72	31.2	51	22.1	43	18.6	65	28.1
Apartment broken	33	14.3	28	58.0	58	25.1	112	48.5

**TABLE B13(i) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CHANGING DAILY LIVING OF  
RESPONDENTS (N=231)**

Daily living pattern	FREQUENCIES			
	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
	118	51.1	113	48.9

**TABLE B13(ii) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CHANGING LIVING STYLE OF RESPONDENTS**

Going out at night	FREQUENCIES							
	FREQUENTLY		OFTEN		SELDOM		NOT AT ALL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	35	15.2	68	29.4	45	19.5	83	35.9

**TABLE B13(iii) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AMONGST RESPONDENTS REGARDING ROUTINE ACTIVITIES (N=231)**

RESPONSE	FREQUENCIES			
	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
Change daily living	118	51.1	113	48.9
Going out at night	110	47.6	121	52.4
Follow schedule	115	49.8	116	50.2

**TABLE B13(iv) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS IN RELATION TO CRIMES COMMITTED TO THEM (N=231)**

RESPONSE	- FREQUENCIES							
	VERY FEARFUL		QUITE FEARFUL		A LITTLE FEARFUL		NOT FEARFUL AT ALL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adult in your family	125	54.1	73	31.6	43	18.6	49	21.2
Child in your family	66	28.6	71	30.7	49	21.2	50	21.6
Members of family	61	26.4	75	32.5	49	20.3	51	22.1

**TABLE B13(v) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIETY TOWARDS COMBATING CRIME (N=231)**

RESPONSE	FREQUENCIES									
	ALWAYS		OFTEN		UNCERTAIN		SOMETIMES		NEVER	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Undoubtedly	50	21.6	48	20.8	61	26.4	32	13.9	40	17.3
To a large extent	50	21.6	48	20.8	61	26.4	32	13.9	40	17.3
Uncertain	50	21.6	48	19.9	61	22.5	40	17.3	44	19.0

**TABLE B13(vi) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS IN RELATION TO THE LOCAL POLICE IN DOING CRIME PREVENTION (N=231)**

RESPONSE	FREQUENCIES	
	N	%
Strongly agree	76	32.9
Agree	57	24.7
Uncertain	37	16.0
Disagree	41	17.7
Strongly disagree	20	8.7
Strongly agree	88	38.8
Agree	73	31.6
Uncertain	30	13.0
Disagree	24	10.4
Strongly disagree	16	6.9
Strongly agree	39	19.9
Agree	97	42.0
Uncertain	47	20.3
Disagree	29	12.6
Strongly disagree	19	8.2

**TABLE B13(vii) FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT**

**REPORT CRIME TO THE POLICE (N=231)**

RESPONSE	FREQUENCIES			
	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
Not bother police	105	45.0	125	54.5
Receive proper attention	94	40.7	137	59.3
No reaction from police	90	39.0	141	61.0
Case unsolvable	86	37.2	145	62.8
Inability to solve crime	107	46.3	124	53.7
Showing no interest	111	48.1	120	51.9
Case settled personally	105	45.5	126	54.5
Personal nature - case	93	40.3	138	59.7
Court process- time consuming	87	37.7	144	62.3
Hate court cases	82	35.5	149	64.5
Negative attitude	99	42.9	132	57.1
Guilty party	100	43.3	131	56.7
Partiality of the police	105	45.5	126	54.5
Retaliation	108	46.8	123	53.2
Criminal justice	118	51.1	113	48.9
Access - criminal justice	113	48.9	118	51.1
Uniform	103	44.6	128	55.4
Detection	118	51.1	113	48.9
Call upon police	147	63.6	84	36.4
Police on street	135	58.4	96	41.6
Lodge a complaint	121	52.4	110	47.6
Sworn document	122	52.8	109	47.2
Local magistrate	135	58.4	96	41.6
Visit police station	141	61.0	90	39.0