Crime Statistics Series Volume II
Public perceptions about crime prevention and the Criminal Justice System
In-depth analysis of the Victims of Crime Survey data
2010 – 2013/14

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Foreword

In an increasingly globalising and urbanising world, crime in South Africa has proven to be a multifaceted and paradoxical phenomenon, displaying peculiar characteristics of increasing in certain areas, yet being invisible in others. Recently, more often than in the past, media reports on large scale crime have centred around robust reactions by police against political unrest and service delivery protests; drug use and trafficking in communities; and well-known crimes such as homicide, assault, rape and burglary; and their handling of high-profile cases.

As the second report in a series of thematic reports on crime, utilising the results from the Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) and administrative data supplied by the South African Police Service (SAPS), this report explores *Public perceptions about crime prevention and the Criminal Justice System*. One of the legislative interventions in fighting crime and violence in the country has been the inclusion of safety and security as a strategic priority. The Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) (2014–2019), further articulates Government's commitment towards ensuring that *"All People in South Africa are and feel safe"*. This report seeks to make a contribution towards the measurement of the extent to which success in that regard has been achieved.

VOCS, which is the primary data source used, measures perceptions about the overall level of crime and the households' feelings with regard to their safety; prevalence of victimisation; reporting rates; and satisfaction with services provided by police, courts and correctional services as a result of the contact with these institutions. These perceptions reflect to some extent the effectiveness of the public relations and delivery of the core competencies of the Criminal Justice System.

The Criminal Justice System (CJS) in South Africa is comprised of the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ & CD), and the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), which work together to combat crime in the country. This report identifies various factors that contribute to an understanding of public perceptions on crime prevention and management. These factors include the demographic and socio-economic profile of the population; their victimisation experience; the public's understanding of procedures within the Criminal Justice System; the *actual* performance of the various departments in the Criminal Justice System; and significantly, media reports which serve to, quite rightly, highlight injustices, but may distort or misrepresent the true extent of crime.

The study found that the majority of households in South Africa rated courts and police positively, while slightly more than half of households held a negative perception about Correctional Services. Factors such as decreasing crime trends, police visibility, and prompt police response evoked satisfaction with the work done by the police. Matters such as sentencing imposed by courts and the perception that the sentences passed were too lenient on offenders tended to tarnish the image of the courts. More than three-quarters of households held the opinion that many people who are guilty were not sent to prison. One in six households did not have confidence in the ability of Correctional Services to rehabilitate offenders.

The findings of this report point to the need to strengthen the processes within the Criminal Justice System as well as to increase communication about the successes achieved in order to improve public perceptions about the main role players. Furthermore, the information gathered may be used as empirical evidence to inform effective and sustainable crime prevention strategies, in order to promote a country where all inhabitants *are* and truly *feel* safe.

Pali Lehohla
Statistician-General: Statistics South Africa
31 March 2015

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Glossary of abbreviations/acronyms

CJS	Criminal Justice System
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
DoJ & CD	Department of Justice and Constitutional Development
DPME	Department of Monitoring and Evaluation
DSD	Department of Social Development
DTS	Domestic Tourism Survey
DU	Dwelling unit
EA	Enumeration area
EC	Eastern Cape
FS	Free State
GBH	Grievous bodily harm
GCIS	Government Communications
GHS	General Household Survey
GP	Gauteng
ICVS	International Crime Victim Survey
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
JCPS	Justice and Crime Prevention and Security
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LP	Limpopo
LSM	Living Standard Measure
MP	Mpumalanga
MS	Master sample
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NC	Northern Cape
NDP	National Development Plan
NHTS	National Household Travel Survey
NPC	National Planning Commission
NW	North West
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PSU	Primary sampling unit
SA	South Africa
SAPS	South African Police Service
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
VOCS	Victims of Crime Survey
WC	Western Cape

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Concepts and definitions

Absolute measure of the extent of crime (Incidence) – the number of crime events occurring during a given time period (i.e. a year) within a specified population, for example, number of home robberies.

Assault – attack, physical beating or threat to attack without taking anything from the victim.
Note: Includes domestic violence.

Home robbery – unlawful and intentional forceful removal and appropriation of tangible property from residential premises while there is someone at home.

Housebreaking/burglary – unlawful and intentional breaking into a building or similar structure, used for human habitation, and entering or penetrating it with part of the body or with an instrument, with the intention to control something on the premises, intending to commit a crime on the premises, while there is nobody in the dwelling.

Household – a group of persons who live together and provide themselves jointly with food and/or other essentials for living, or a single person who lives alone.
Note: The persons occupy a common dwelling unit (or part of it) for at least four nights in a week on average during the past four weeks prior to the survey interview, sharing resources as a unit. Other explanatory phrases can be 'eating from the same pot' and 'cook and eat together'.

Household head – the main decision-maker, or the person who owns or rents the dwelling, or the person who is the main breadwinner.

Individual crime – crime affecting a single person rather than an entire household.

Living Standard Measure – A Living Standard Measure (LSM) groups people and households into ten distinct groups based on criteria such as their level of urbanisation, and ownership of vehicles and major electrical appliances. The measurement is classified from LSM 1 to LSM 10. For the purposes of this report, these categories are combined as follows:

> Low LSM: comprising LSM 1 to LSM 4
>
> Intermediate LSM: comprising LSM 5 to LSM 7
>
> High LSM: comprising LSM 8 to LSM 10.

Malicious damage to property – unlawful and intentional damaging of property belonging to another.
Note: Excludes forced removals.

Multiple victimisation – refers to when a household or individual experiences more than one incident of different crime types within a specified reference period.

Murder – unlawful and intentional killing of another human being.

Perpetrator – person (s) who committed the crime.

Personal property – something belonging to an individual rather than a group of persons.

Physical force – bodily power, strength, energy or might.
Note: In the context of this survey, physical force includes actions where the human body is used to compel/force someone to do something or to hurt or kill someone. It can include actions such as pushing, pressing, shoving, hitting, kicking, throttling, etc.

Prevalence – the percentage or proportion of the specified population (of persons or households) experiencing crime during a given time period.

Property crime – taking something from a person by the use of force or the threat of force.

Repeat victimisation – refers to when a household or individual experiences more than one incident of the same crime within a specified reference period.

Robbery – refers to all crimes where a person's property was threatened but not his person, such as theft of property, burglary, etc.

Sexual offence (including sexual assault, rape and domestic sexual abuse) – refers to grabbing, touching someone's private parts, or sexually assaulting or raping someone.

Theft – stealing of property belonging to someone else while they are not aware.

Vandalism – deliberate damage to property belonging to someone else.

Violent crime – crime where a person was threatened, injured, or killed.

Weapon – an instrument used to cause harm or death to human beings or other living creatures.
Note: Includes knives, guns, pangas and knobkerries, metal or wooden bars/rods, broken glass, rocks, bricks, etc.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Crime as a social phenomenon has increasingly been a topic of discussion amongst South Africans, and its high prevalence remains a challenge. Its impact on the daily lives of people is recognised through the development, promotion and adoption of a range of strategies by national governments and international agencies such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Since crime is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, none of these strategies are likely to be effective unless it is grounded in an evidence-based understanding of the factors that drive these issues. According to the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR, 2007) no single factor in South Africa can be used to explain violence and crime. In their report "Why is crime in South Africa so violent?" the prevalence of crime is attributed to a combination of environmental, political-historical, and individual factors – some of which may be related to South Africa's legacy of apartheid.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) enshrines the rights of all individuals to be protected from all forms of violence regardless of whether it is of public or private origin. The level of crime in South Africa is also of great concern to the government. It has recognised the need for more concerted interventions and has identified safety and security as one of its strategic priorities. The vision of the NDP is that by 2030, "People living in South Africa should have no fear of crime. Women, children and those who are vulnerable should feel protected." One of the strategic objectives of the plan is to reduce crime by strengthening the Criminal Justice System and improving community environments. It therefore acknowledges the important role of the social fabric and community cohesion in efforts to reduce and prevent crime, and acknowledges that crime prevention should be at the forefront of efforts to reduce and eliminate crime. Despite the measures put in place by those tasked to combat crime, the South African Police Service (SAPS) data and the results from the Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) 2013/14 indicate that violent crime is rising. This contributes towards and increasing climate of fear.

The fear of victimisation is looming large in the national psyche and it infringes on people's ability to move and associate freely, whether it is in their area of residence or where they work or socialise. The fear of crime is a perception that may or may not be based on reality and is partly shaped by people's own experiences, the experiences of other people that form part of their social networks, and the news media. Needless to say, fear has its own adverse social and psychological effects.

This report explores the nature and scope of fear amongst South Africans, as well as public perceptions about the Criminal Justice System (CJS) using primarily the Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) and SAPS reported crime data. It further seeks to identify respondent characteristics, for example the level of education, age, gender, feelings about safety and previous crime experience, which may influence people's attitudes.

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1.2 General overview of the safety and security sector

In an attempt to put measures in place to deal with crime, many strategies have been developed during recent years. This section outlines key aspects of the legislative framework, the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 and the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) that have an influence on the safety and security sector.

1.2.1 Legislative framework

South Africa has a legislative framework in place to address challenges regarding crime in the country. The Bill of Rights (section 12), under the chapter "Freedom and security of the person", provides that: "Everyone has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right—

a) Not to be deprived of freedom arbitrarily or without just cause;

b) Not to be detained without trial;

c) To be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources;

d) Not to be tortured in any way; and

e) Not to be treated or punished in a cruel, inhumane or degrading way."

The South African Criminal Justice System is made up of various departments that all play different, but important roles in the operation of the Criminal Justice System. Figure 1 demonstrates the chain of events in the Criminal Justice System. Various departments play a role during this process, but the main role players are:

1. South African Police Service

2. Department of Justice and Constitutional Development

3. National Prosecuting Authority

4. Department of Correctional Services

Figure 1: The chain of events in the Criminal Justice System[1]

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[1] Source: http://www.justice.gov.za/about/cjschain.html
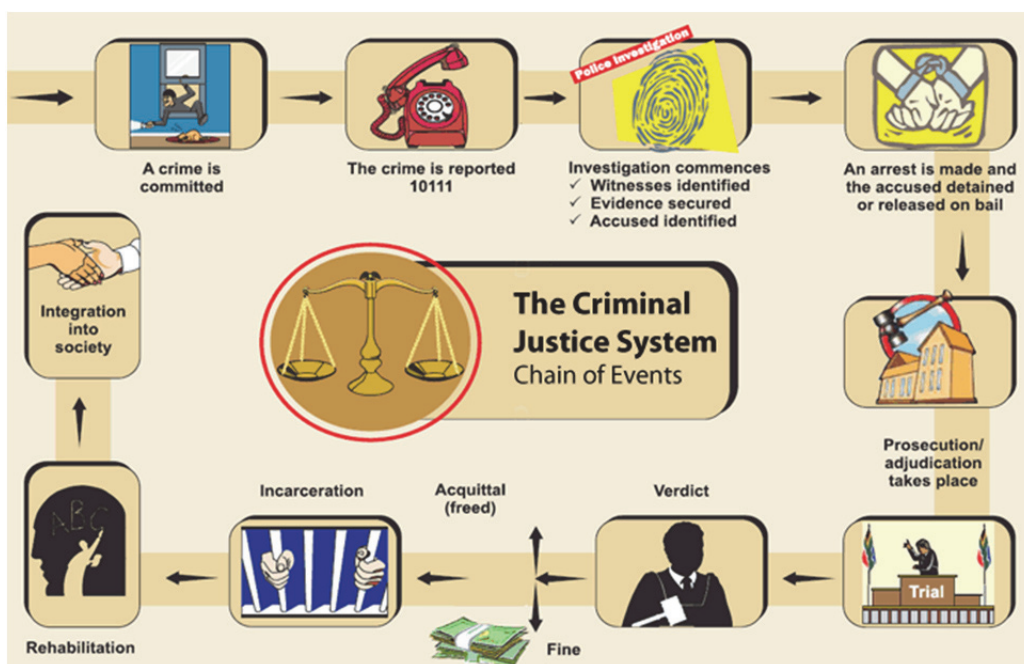
Even though there are several government departments active in the safety and security cluster, the primary agency responsible for law and order is the South African Police Service (SAPS). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) stipulates that "the South African Police Service has a responsibility to prevent, combat and investigate crime, maintain public order, protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, uphold and enforce the law, create a safe and secure environment for all people in South Africa, prevent anything that may threaten the safety or security of any community, investigate any crimes that threaten the safety or security of any community, ensure criminals are brought to justice and participate in efforts to address the causes of crime."[2]

The SAPS derives its mandate from section 205 of the Constitution, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996). The objectives of policing are to:

- prevent, combat and investigate crime
- maintain public order
- protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property
- uphold and enforce the law.

Other departments that play a direct role in safety and security include the National Prosecution authority (NPA) whose primary role it is to prepare cases for prosecution on behalf of the state, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ& CD) which is responsible for the administration of justice through the court system, and the Department of Correctional Services (DCS).

A single NPA was created in section 179 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), and it has the power to:

a) Institute and conduct criminal proceedings on behalf of the State.
b) Carry out any necessary functions incidental to instituting and conducting such criminal proceedings (this includes investigation).
c) Discontinue criminal proceedings.

The DoJ & CD administers the justice function through a tiered court system which includes the Constitutional Court; the Supreme Court of Appeal in Bloemfontein; the High Courts with fourteen provincial divisions; Circuit Courts which are also part of the High Court; Special Income Tax Courts which sit within provincial divisions of the High Court; Labour Courts and Labour Appeal Courts; Land Claims Court; the Water Tribunal; the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC); the Magistrates' Courts which deal with less serious criminal and civil cases; the Small Claims Courts; the Community Courts; Equality Courts; Child Justice Courts and Maintenance Courts; Sexual Offences Courts; Children's Courts; and Courts for Chiefs and Headmen. The latter has jurisdiction to hear certain matters on the level of magistrate's courts and primarily deal with issues related to customary law.

Finally, the vision of the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) is to 'contribute to a just, peaceful and safer South Africa through effective and humane incarceration of inmates, rehabilitation and social reintegration of offenders'.[3] The DCS has three strategic goals:

Goal 1: Effective criminal justice through the effective management of the remand processes
Goal 2: Society is protected through incarcerated offenders being secure and rehabilitated
Goal 3: Society is protected by offenders being reintegrated into the community as law-abiding citizens

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[2]Statutes of the Republic of South Africa-Constitutional Law *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act,No.108 of 1996,section 205,No .3*
[3] Source: http://www.dcs.gov.za/AboutUs/OurMission.aspx

1.2.2 National Development Plan

The government has recognised the need for an intervention; and safety and security has been identified as one of the strategic priorities of the government in both the National Development Plan 2030 and the Medium Term Strategic Framework. In its introduction, the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 highlights that safety is a core human right and a necessary condition for human development and improving productivity. The NDP therefore proposes, as one of its strategic priorities, that crime be reduced through strengthening the Criminal Justice System and improving community environments. It is further stated in the plan that by 2030, "people living in South Africa feel safe at home, at school and at work, and enjoy a community life free of fear. Women should be able to walk freely in the street and children should be able to play safely outside. Businesses should be able to invest confidently and create jobs without the threat of livelihoods being undermined by crime."

1.2.3 Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) and Criminal Justice System

One of the broad strategic frameworks of the MTSF (2014–2019) is that: "**All People in South Africa Are, and Feel Safe**".

As part of this process, the Justice and Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) Cluster, in partnership with the Department of Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME), have developed an outcome-based monitoring and evaluation framework for the priorities as contained in the Medium Term Strategic Framework (2014–2019). For the strategic priority, "Intensify the fight against crime and corruption", a broad outcome for the JCPS was developed, namely "Ensure that all South Africans are and feel safe"[4].

Key targets of the MTSF include:

- A reduction in the number of reported contact crimes
- An increased proportion of citizens who feel safe when walking alone, during the day or at night, as measured in official surveys
- An increase in the proportion of households that are satisfied with police services in their area, and with the way courts deal with the perpetrators of crime
- Improvements in citizens' perceptions of levels of crime and progress in reducing crime, as measured in official surveys

Data collected by Stats SA and other agencies should be used to assist in this regard as a complementary source of crime statistics to those already provided within the JCPS cluster.

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[4] Source: http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/MTSF_2014-2019.pdf

2. Objectives

Crime persistently features as a pressing national priority among citizens in South Africa. It is one of the strategic priorities mentioned in the National Development Plan (NDP). This report primarily focuses on perceptions about the performance of the Criminal Justice System in fighting against crime in South Africa. The report uses historical VOCS data to provide statistical measures on the fear of crime that has thwarted people's ability to live freely in their area of residence, and assesses people's perceptions about the performance of law enforcement agencies. More specific questions that were addressed include:

1. What does the indicator of feelings of safety reveal about the impact of crime?

2. Are there specific household characteristics that can explain why households were victimised?

3. What were the precautionary measures taken by victims to protect themselves from crime in South Africa?

4. What do the indicators on public perceptions about police, courts and correctional services reveal about the likelihood of satisfaction/dissatisfaction?

5. What measures are to be taken by the Criminal Justice System to increase public confidence?

6. Does the type of crime, i.e. violent/non-violent play a role in the dissatisfaction with the Criminal Justice System?

Crime statistics are important as they shed some light on the incidence of crime. However, they may not provide a complete picture of the prevalence of crime in the country. There are various challenges that are faced when trying to evaluate the performance of the Criminal Justice System. The data required for such an evaluation is usually difficult to collect and to analyse (UNODC, 2006). Survey data therefore serves to complement crime statistics as it gives more in-depth information about these crimes as well as perceptions about crime and law enforcement agencies.

3. Organisation and presentation of the report

This report is comprised of four main sections. The first and second sections provided an introduction and contextual background to the report as well as a general overview of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster, its legislative framework as well as the objectives of the report. Section four outlines the methodology and data analysis techniques used in the report and points out some of its limitations. A detailed discussion of the findings of the report is provided in section five, whilst the conclusion and recommendations can be found in the final section.

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4. Methodology and limitations

4.1 Methodology

This study used the Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) data dating back to its inception in 1998. The sample design for the VOCS 2013/14 used the Stats SA master sample (MS), based on information collected during the 2001 Population Census conducted by Stats SA. The MS has been developed as a general-purpose household survey frame that can be used by all household-based surveys irrespective of the sample size requirement of the survey. Census enumeration areas (EAs) were drawn from across the country in order to acquire a random sample of approximately 30 000 dwelling units (DUs) which was drawn from 3 080 primary sampling units (PSUs).

The sample was designed to be representative at provincial level. By drawing on a representative sample of the population and systematically covering a range of crime types, the survey provides statistically representative data across a specified geographic area that fills the gaps in administrative data due to possible under-reporting.

A questionnaire with a standardised set of questions was used during data collection. The questionnaire was administered using face-to-face interviews by trained survey officers. The VOCS 2013/14 questionnaire was developed based on the questions used in the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS), previous VOCSs (both conducted by the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) and Stats SA) with modifications in some instances. Data collection took place from April 2013 to March 2014 with a moving reference period of 12 months. This is different from previous collections that were done from January to March and had a fixed reference period from January to December of the previous year. The sample has been distributed evenly over the whole collection period in the form of quarterly allocations. This will provide a guarantee against possible seasonal effects in the survey estimates. It will, in future, provide an opportunity for the production of rolling estimates relating to any desired time period. It has been noted that the change of data collection methodology may cause concerns over the survey estimates, particularly upon comparisons of years before and after the change. Victimisation questions referred to the twelve calendar months ending with the month before the interview.

The final weights were benchmarked to the known population estimates of 5-year age groups by population groups and gender at national level, and broad age groups at provincial level. The VOCS had an additional selection process where one person, aged 16 years or older, was randomly sampled in each household to complete sections on the individual experience of crime. The individual weights were then benchmarked to an estimated national population of persons aged 16 and older as of mid-May 2013. The final survey weights were used to obtain the estimates for various domains of interest at household level, for example, victimisation level in South Africa and perceptions about crime levels in the country. More details related to the sampling and fieldwork methodology can be found in the VOCS (2011), VOCS (2012) and VOCS (2013/14) releases.

4.2 Data analysis

The statistical analysis programs SAS 9.3 and SAS Enterprise Guide 4.3 were used for statistical analysis, and ArcMap 10 for spatial data analysis. Missing and unknown values were excluded from totals used as denominators for the calculation of percentages, unless otherwise specified. Frequency values have been rounded off to the nearest thousand.

In addition to the use of basic descriptive statistics, bivariate Pearson Chi-Square, multivariate techniques including Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and multinomial logistic analysis were applied. These methods were used to predict the relationships between the experience of crime and level of satisfaction with elements of the CJS; the household level of satisfaction with police, courts, and correctional services, whether a person attended court, visited prison before, had official contact with police, and the impact of crime on household feelings of safety as well as protection measures that households took.

Data exploitation

Several composite datasets were constructed during the analysis process. These included:

- Living Standards Measure (LSM) data from the Domestic Tourism Survey (DTS) were merged with the Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) in order to attribute LSM features to the primary sampling units (PSUs) sampled in VOCS, based on the assumption that neighbourhoods have relatively uniform LSM characteristics. This was made possible by the fact that the two surveys were drawn from the same master sample and even though different dwelling units were visited, most PSUs were shared by the two surveys.

- The VOCS and South African Police Service (SAPS) data were overlaid spatially to analyse crime by police station boundaries in order to look at the victimisation survey data within the context of policing areas.

- Thematic maps of crime were created to spatially represent the general patterns of crime and its location.

Variable operationalisation

Roberts (2004) indicated that "There is a growing recognition in western nations that promoting public confidence in the administration of justice is one of the primary goals of good government. This recognition has sprung from public opinion surveys in which respondents have been asked to express their level of trust or confidence in criminal justice."

It is important to be able to investigate factors that are associated with community levels of satisfaction with the CJS in South Africa. A set of indicators was chosen to establish households' level of satisfaction with the CJS such as the relationship among socio-demographic characteristics, safety, neighbourhood characteristics, government institution officials who are likely to be involved in corruption, victimisation, police contact and satisfaction with the police service.

Socio-demographic characteristics such as population group, age, gender, and socio-economic status have been studied extensively as determinants of satisfaction. Most research that had been done in the past claimed that some socio-demographic characteristics independently affect satisfaction levels regardless of any police intervention (Brown & Coulter, 1983).

In a study done by Walker (1972), it was found that the socio-economic status of the individual played a role in determining the level of satisfaction; individuals with more income showed increased levels of satisfaction. Neighbourhood characteristics, nature of police contact, feelings of safety, and perceptions about crime rates were also considered as determining factors of citizen satisfaction with the police. It was also established that the

neighbourhoods where the interaction with police occured have significant effects on citizens' positive perception of police.

Feelings of safety are other important factors of citizen satisfaction studied by many scholars; results from most of the research indicate that people who have a great sense of safety and who rate their neighbourhoods favourably, generally hold a higher opinion of police, after controlling for individual characteristics such as population group and age (Hwang, McGarrell & Benson, 2006).

Victimisation was also found to be a significant factor that affected the perception of individuals on feelings of safety and fear of crime, leading to a change in their attitudes towards police. This result has policy implications in terms of influencing collaboration between police and the public in relation to citizens' perception of police work and satisfaction.

Findings from a study by Smith and Hawkins (1973) showed that contact with the police was perceived as a determinant of citizens' satisfaction. It can further be argued that the nature of contact may at times result in uncertainty about the level of satisfaction since it may vary depending on the person who contacted the police and how they relate to them; as well as the nature of the service they required and the nature of the police response.

Survey questions about contact with the police and courts, neighbourhood characteristics, police visibility, and police response time, feeling of safety, victimisation, overall satisfaction with police and courts, and socio-demographics have been included in the VOCS to measure the level of satisfaction with the CJS. These were then used for multivariate analysis in the following way:

Dependent variables: In testing our hypotheses regarding the effects of police contact, victimisation, neighbourhood, police visibility, and feelings of safety on citizen satisfaction with police, the dependent variable, satisfaction with police or court was derived from the following questions:

"Are you satisfied with the police services in your area?"

"Are you satisfied with the way the courts generally deal with the perpetrators of crime?"

The response categories for both questions were either 'Yes' or 'No'.

Independent variables: Police contact, victimisation, neighbourhood, police visibility, police response time, and feelings of safety are the predictor variables.

Feelings of safety were estimated using two questions: The first question was "How safe would you feel walking alone in your area when it is dark?" and the second question was "How safe would you feel walking alone in your area during the day?"

Public contact with the police (other than visiting them at the police station) was measured through a direct question, which was then followed up by asking if contact with police has changed their opinion about them.

Neighbourhood support was measured through a question that asked whether there was any organisation or group other than the police that provided protection against crime in their area.

The level of victimisation was estimated using the following question: In the past 12 months prior to the survey, have you or any member of your household experienced crime?

Control variables: Socio-demographic variables such as gender, population group, level of education, Living Standard Measure (LSM), and marital status were used as control variables to predict the household level of satisfaction with the police.

4.3 Limitations of the study

It should be noted that the data for VOCS 2013/14 was collected from April 2013 to March 2014 with a moving reference period of 12 months, whereas data from the previous VOCSs was collected between January and March and had a fixed reference period from January to December of the preceding year.

It is also important to highlight that survey data is based on respondent recall, while police records covered incidents that were reported as they happened from April to March of each financial year. The accuracy of statistics in victimisation surveys is influenced by the ability of people to recall past victimisations. The longer the elapsed time period, the less likely it is that an incident will be recalled accurately. Surveys are also subject to sampling and non-sampling errors.

Victimisation surveys are likely to produce higher crime estimates than police-recorded administrative data. This is because many crimes are not reported to the police. Such crimes include those that may be considered as 'petty' by victims, as well as those of a sensitive nature. Although data from victimisation surveys is likely to elicit better disclosure of criminal incidents than data from police records, it can also be subject to undercounting, as some victims may be reluctant to disclose information, particularly for incidents of a sensitive nature, such as sexual offences.

Crime statistics are important, as they shed some light on the incidence of crime. However, they may not provide a complete picture of the prevalence of crime in the country. Victim surveys deal with incidents that may not necessarily match the legal definitions of crime. Furthermore, the Victims of Crime Survey is limited to questions related to the work done by the SAPS, DoJ&CD, DCS and DSD. The survey did not contain questions about crime against business, children and those who are disabled.

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5. Findings

5.1 Perceptions about factors that influence the publics' views about the Criminal Justice System

This section reviews the data available on public opinion about how crime levels have changed, as well as which types of crime people fear the most. Both aspects are important because they are likely to influence broader public feelings of safety.

An understanding of the attitudes of the public regarding crime, the level of concern, how crime affects their daily activities and their perceptions about the causes of crime is central to the development of strategy/policy of its reduction or prevention. McIntyre (1967) alluded that the public's attitudes to some extent determine the feasibility of alternative methods of crime prevention and law enforcement. Public perception of crime is influenced by both primary and secondary factors (VOCS, 2007). Primary factors include first-hand experience of crime perpetrated against households. Secondary factors include media reports, crime statistics reports and even general word of mouth. This category has a wider impact on fear of crime in general. In an attempt to explore these issues, the report focuses on households' feelings of safety, actions people took to protect themselves and their households, as well as who the perceived perpetrators are.

5.1.1 Victimisation and its effect on household perceptions of the Criminal Justice System

Figure 2: Distribution of crime prevalence rates, VOCS 1998 – VOCS 2013/14

	1998	2003	2007	2010	2011	2013/14
Murder	0,5	0,2	0,4	0,1	0,1	0,2
Sexual offence	0,4	1,0	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,2
Car theft	1,2	1,0	1,3	0,7	0,5	0,4
Street robbery				1,6	0,7	0,7
Assault	4,2	2,2	1,3	1,7	1,3	0,9
Theft from car	2,5	2,5	1,9	1,3	1,2	1,1
Theft of livestock	4,9	2,5	1,8	1,4	1,3	1,4
Home robbery				2,6	1,5	1,6
Theft of personal property					2,5	2,4
Housebreaking/burglary	7,2	7,5	7,2	4,5	5,4	4,7
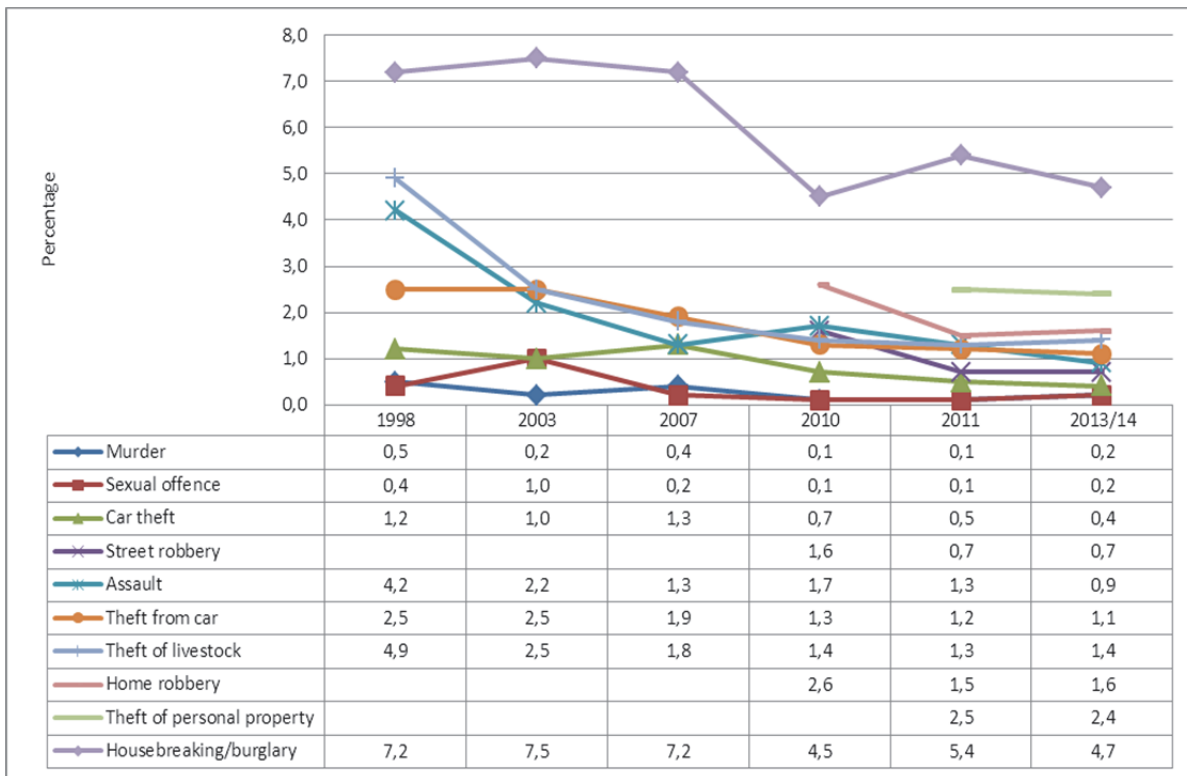
Note: A question on home robbery, theft of personal property and street robbery was not included in VOCS 1998–2007

The VOCS included questions that asked about crimes experienced by South African households. There has been a general decrease of the incidence of crime across crime types between 1998 and 2013/2014.

Figure 2 shows trends over time for different crime types. Housebreaking/burglary was the most prevalent household crime during the period April 2012 to February 2014, and it decreased by 0,7 percentage points when compared to 2011. On the other hand, theft of personal property was the most prevalent individual crime in the same period, and this decreased by 0,1 percentage point.

In 2010, 4,5% of households were victims of housebreaking/burglary in the preceding 12-month period, compared to 5,4% in 2011. While the rate of most crime types has decreased since 1998, housebreaking/burglary has increased by 0,9 percentage points in 2011. There was a downward trend in the period 2010 and 2013/14 for most of the crime categories.

The South African Police Service on the other hand, measured the incidence of 20 community crimes between 2010 and 2014. Contact crime such as murder, sexual offence, assault with the intent to cause grievous bodily harm (GBH) and common assault, robbery with aggravating circumstances and common robbery, motor vehicle hijacking, robbery at residential premises and other robbery are regarded as serious crimes. Property crimes include housebreaking at residential premises, theft of motor vehicle, theft out of motor vehicle, and stock theft.

Table 1: Incidence of police-reported crime, SAPS 2010/2011–2013/2014

Crime type	Year			
	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014
Assault GBH and common assault	384 493	374 322	358 802	350 330
Burglary at residential premises	247 630	245 531	262 113	260 460
Robbery with aggravating circumstances and common robbery	156 346	154 183	159 428	173 209
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	123 091	130 475	139 658	143 812
Sexual offences	66 196	64 514	66 387	62 649
Stock-theft	30 144	30 949	29 894	28 026
Murder	15 940	15 609	16 259	17 068
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	64 504	59 097	58 370	56 870
Robbery at residential premises	16 889	16 766	17 950	19 284

Source: SAPS 2014

Table 1 shows that assault, burglary at residential premises and robbery were the crime categories with the highest incidences of reported crimes to the police over the years. There was an increase in the number of murder cases reported from 2011/2012 to 2013/2014. Both sources of data provide useful statistical information, and a clear indication of the extent and magnitude of crime that prevents South Africans from living without fear of victimisation. The prominence given to crime in the media creates anxiety and uncertainty in many minds about the possibility that one may also become a victim of crime.

The NDP vision that by 2030 people living in South Africa will feel safe at home, at school and at work, is currently impacted by a relatively slow reduction in the incidence of some crimes and an increase in contact crimes.

5.1.2 Public's perception about the level of crime

This section addresses the extent to which people in South Africa 'are and feel safe' as outlined in the MTSF (2014–2019). Households' views about violent and property crime, types of crime that are perceived to be most common and feared, as well as their feelings of safety when walking alone in their areas, are discussed.

Figure 3: Percentage distribution of household perceptions of the level of crime, VOCS 2000 – VOCS 2013

	2000-2002	2004-2006	2008-2010	2009-2011	2010-2013
Increased	52,9	57,1	34,2	35,2	42,8
Decreased	20,8	18,4	40,7	36,9	30,8
Stay the same	25,3	20,2	25,1	27,9	26,4
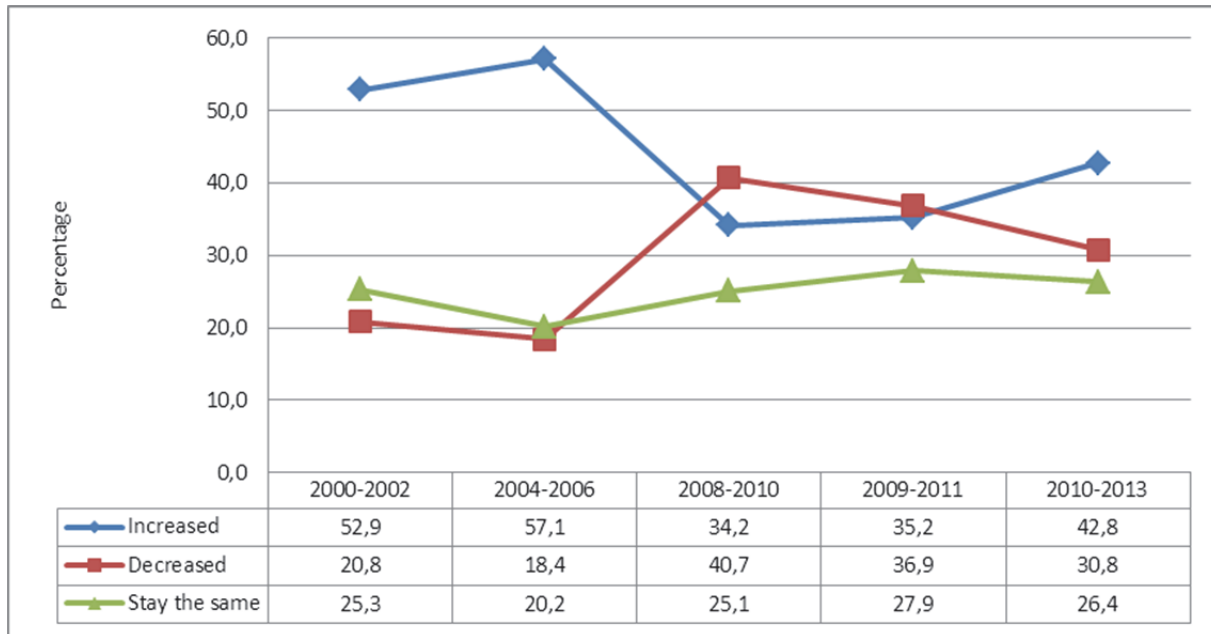
Figure 3 represents the household perceptions of the levels of crime in South Africa between 2003 and 2013/14, looking back at the three years prior to the survey. The results show that more than 40% of households in South Africa believed that the level of both violent and non-violent crime has increased in their areas of residence during the period 2010 to 2013.

Wynne (2008) found that both positive and negative associations between levels of fear and experience of crime exist. The value of understanding the dynamics of fear of crime should never be underestimated, as fear violates individuals before the physical action of crime can even occur, by hindering them from acting freely, even within their own homes and communities (Cordner, 2010). Fear of crime has been defined as "an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that may be associated with it" (Ferraro, 1995). It has been argued that there are "two classes of fear, namely 'concrete fear' which is the fear of being a victim of a specific crime, and 'formless fear' which describes a general feeling of being unsafe" (Ferraro *et al.*, 1988).

Investigating the relationship between fear of crime and actual experience of crime is significant, as it contributes to the knowledge base that will inform policy formulation and targeted interventions on crime.

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Table 2: Household level of satisfaction with police by their perceived level of property crime, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Level of property crime	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Increased	22,0	21,4	22,7	37,2	36,2	38,1	49,8	48,6	50,9
	Decreased	20,5	19,8	21,1	34,5	33,5	35,5	68,2	66,8	69,6
	Stayed the same	16,8	16,2	17,4	28,3	27,4	29,2	65,2	63,7	66,7
	Total	59,3	58,5	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Increased	22,2	21,6	22,9	54,5	53,3	55,8	50,2	49,1	51,4
	Decreased	9,6	9,1	10,0	23,5	22,4	24,6	31,8	30,4	33,2
	Stayed the same	9,0	8,5	9,4	22,0	20,9	23,0	34,8	33,3	36,3
	Total	40,7	40,0	41,5	100,0					

* Pearson Chi-Square (763, 9754), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0, 0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (level of property crime)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (level of property crime) therefore, the value of *increased* in those that are satisfied, when added to *increased* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 2 above represents household satisfaction with police, disaggregated by their perceptions about the level of property crime. The majority of those that felt the level of property crime decreased were satisfied with the police services in their area of residence (68,2%), while those who held the view that property crime increased were least likely to be satisfied with police (50,2%).

Table 3: Household level of satisfaction with police by their perceived level of violent crime, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Level of violent crime	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Increased	20,4	19,8	21,0	34,4	33,4	35,3	49,3	48,1	50,5
	Decreased	21,2	20,6	21,9	35,8	34,8	36,8	67,1	65,7	68,5
	Stayed the same	17,7	17,1	18,3	29,8	28,9	30,7	65,3	63,9	66,7
	Total	59,3	58,5	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Increased	20,9	20,3	21,6	51,4	50,2	52,7	50,7	49,5	51,9
	Decreased	10,4	9,9	10,9	25,6	24,4	26,7	32,9	31,5	34,3
	Stayed the same	9,4	8,9	9,8	23,0	22,0	24,1	34,7	33,3	36,1
	Total	40,7	40,0	41,5	100,0					

* Pearson Chi-Square(736,3139), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (level of violent crime)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (level of violent crime) therefore, the value of *increased* in those that are satisfied, when added to *increased* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 3 discusses the household level of satisfaction with police by their perceptions about the level of violent crime. An estimated 59,3% of households were satisfied with police, while 40,7% indicated that they were dissatisfied. Households who held a positive view about the state of violent crime, i.e. that it "decreased" (67,1%) or "stayed the same" (65,3%) were more likely to be satisfied with police in their area than those who perceived the level of violent crime to have increased (49,3%). Households who felt that the level of violent crime increased showed the highest level of dissatisfaction towards police (50,7%).

Households who perceived that the level of crime decreased or stayed the same were more likely to be satisfied with the police in their area than those who felt that the level of crime had increased.

5.1.3 Crime reporting and household level of satisfaction with the Criminal Justice System

This section discusses household satisfaction with police as an anticipated preamble to the need to consider whether or not victims will report victimisation experiences. The extent of households' confidence in the police has the potential to encourage or discourage crime reporting.

Table 4: Household level of satisfaction with the police and crime reporting, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with the police	Reporting of crime experienced	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Report crime	24,0	21,8	26,2	52,6	48,9	56,3	44,8	41,3	48,4
	Not report crime	21,7	19,7	23,7	47,4	43,7	51,1	46,7	43,1	50,2
	Total	45,7	43,2	48,2	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Report crime	29,5	27,2	31,9	54,4	51,0	57,8	55,2	51,6	58,7
	Not report crime	24,8	22,6	26,9	45,6	42,2	49,0	53,3	49,8	56,9
	Total	54,3	51,8	56,8	100,0					
Total	Report crime	53,6	51,1	56,1				100,0		
	Not report crime	46,4	43,9	48,9				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square (0,8), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,474)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (reporting of crime)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (reporting of crime) therefore, the value of *report crime* in those that are satisfied, when added to *report crime* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 4 shows the percentage distribution of households by the level of confidence in the police and crime reporting in South Africa, as measured by VOCS 2013/14. The results show that households' satisfaction with the police is evenly distributed. However, the Pearson Chi-Square test statistics showed that there was no significant relationship between households' approval of the police and crime reporting. In other words, households' satisfaction with the police is not significantly associated with the reporting of crime. VOCS 2013/14 cited that most property crime experienced was reported to the police mainly for insurance purposes. The reasons that were most frequently cited for not reporting were 'police could do nothing' and 'police won't do anything about it'. The severity of a crime may mediate decisions as to whether to report an incident or not, or the desire or need for compensation, for example when making an insurance claim (Cebula and Stephens, 2010). Contact crimes, such as murder, car hijacking and sexual offences (including rape) were generally reported to the police.

Table 5: Household level of satisfaction with courts by crime reporting, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction in the courts	Reporting of crime experienced	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with courts	Report crime	28,7	26,4	31,0	49,7	46,4	52,9	53,5	50,0	57,1
	Not report crime	29,1	26,8	31,3	50,3	47,1	53,6	62,6	59,2	66,1
	Total	57,7	55,2	60,2	100,0					
Not satisfied with courts	Report crime	24,9	22,6	27,2	58,9	55,1	62,8	46,5	42,9	50,0
	Not report crime	17,4	15,5	19,2	41,1	37,2	44,9	37,4	33,9	40,8
	Total	42,3	39,8	44,8	100,0					
Total	Report crime	53,6	51,1	56,1				100,0		
	Not report crime	46,4	43,9	48,9				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square =20,1165, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0003)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (reporting of crime experienced)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (level of property crime) therefore, the value of *report crime* in those that are satisfied, when added to *report crime* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Statistical evidence in Table 5 with respect to crime reporting shows that 58,9% of households who were not satisfied with courts in the 2013/14 financial year, reported crime to the police, while not much difference can be observed from households who were satisfied with courts when it comes to reporting of crime. The column percentage indicates that about 62,6% of households who did not report crime to the police were more likely to be satisfied with courts. The test statistics indicates the existence of a significant relationship between satisfaction with courts and reporting of crime to the police. Thus, household satisfaction with courts is significantly associated with crime reporting.

5.1.4 Public's perceptions on feelings of safety

"Violent crime and property crimes are so common that many South Africans live in fear. When people feel unsafe it becomes harder for them to pursue their personal goals and to take part in social and economic activities" (NPC, 2011: 349). The NDP targets that by 2030, vulnerable groups such as women and children should be able to walk freely in the street and children play safely outside. Businesses should also be able to operate without the threat of being undermined by crime. The MTSF (2014–19) also includes a target that an increased proportion of citizens feel safe walking alone, during the day or at night.

Figure 4: Percentage distribution of households who felt safe walking alone in their areas during the day and when it is dark, VOCS 1998 – VOCS 2013/14

	1998	2003	2007	2011	2012	2013/14
Safe during the day	85,0	85,0	76,0	88,2	85,7	86,5
Safe when it is dark	56,0	23,0	23,0	37,0	36,5	34,8

To evaluate the level of crime, households were asked to indicate their feelings of safety during the day and when it is dark when walking alone in their area of residence. A comparison between feelings of safety in 1998 and March 2014 presents some notable differences (Figure 4). About eight in ten households indicated that they felt safe walking alone in their areas during the day, with the exception of 2007, when about seven in ten households indicated that they felt safe. Households tended to feel safer during the day than when it was dark. In 2013/14, households in South Africa were significantly more likely to feel unsafe when walking alone when it is dark, than 15 years ago (a 21,2 percentage point decline). The publics' perception about crime emanates not only from their experiences, but also from what they have read or seen/heard in the media or from friends.

Figure 5: Percentage distribution of households' feelings of safety when walking alone in their area during the day, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP
Feel unsafe during the day	27,1	9,7	6,7	8,1	14,6	9,1	15,3	9,7	7,2
Feel safe during the day	72,9	90,3	93,4	91,9	85,4	90,9	84,7	90,3	92,9
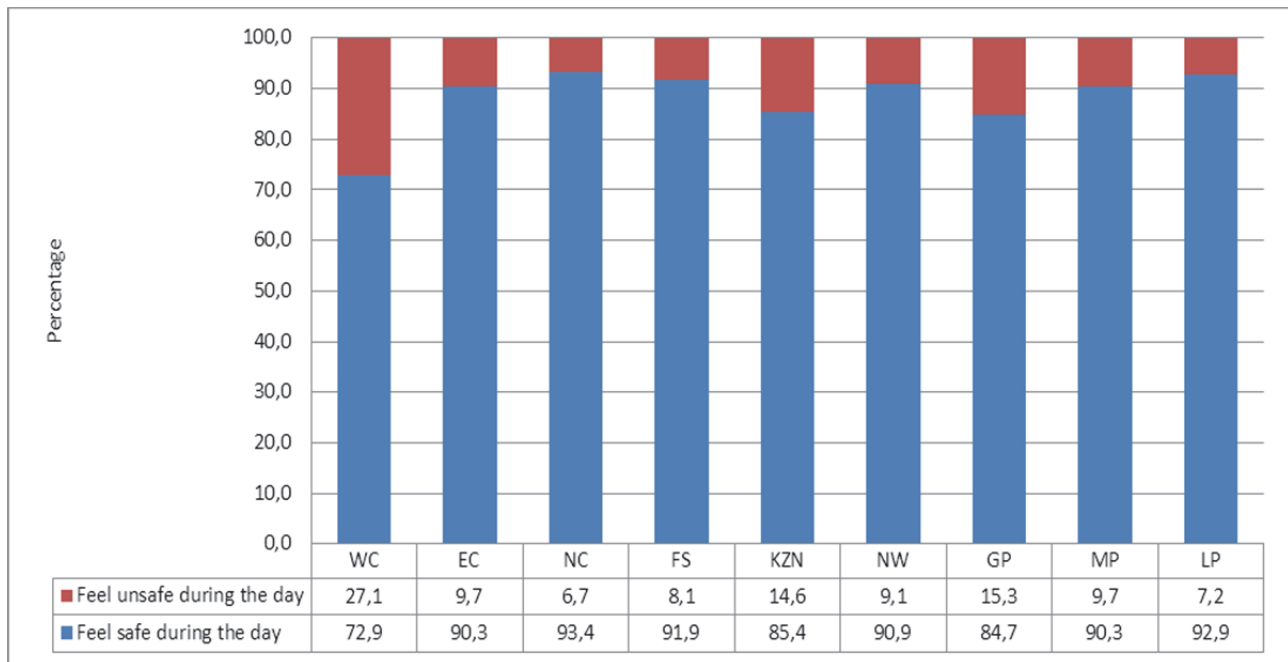
Figure 5 shows the percentage distribution of households' feelings of safety when walking alone during the day. About 27,1% of households in the Western Cape indicated that they felt unsafe when walking alone during the day, followed by Gauteng (15,3%) and KwaZulu-Natal (14,6%). More than nine in every ten households in other provinces indicated that they felt safe in their neighbourhood during the day.

Figure 6: Percentage distribution of households' feelings of safety when walking alone in their areas when it is dark, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP
Feel unsafe when it is dark	64,6	69,8	63,3	76,8	58,5	66,8	70,5	69,1	48,3
Feel safe when it is dark	35,4	30,2	36,7	23,3	41,5	33,2	29,5	30,9	51,7
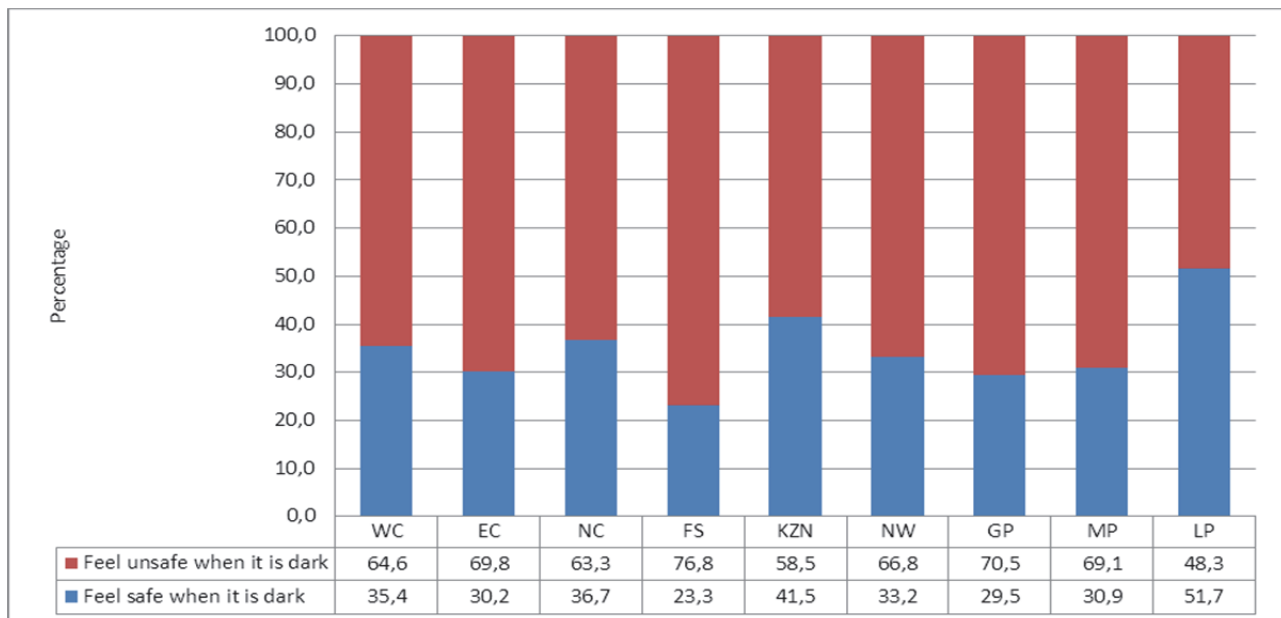
The results presented in Figure 6 represent the provincial distribution of households' feelings of safety when it is dark in their area of residence. Limpopo (51,7%) had the highest percentage of households who said they felt safe when walking alone when it is dark. The second highest prevalence was found in KwaZulu-Natal (41,5%), followed by Northern Cape (36,7%) and Western Cape (35,4%).

Figure 7: Percentage distribution of households' feelings of safety when it is dark by metro, VOCS 2013/14

	City of Cape Town	Nelson Mandela Bay	eThekwini	Ekurhuleni	City of Johannesburg	City of Tshwane
Unsafe when it is dark	73,1	80,2	59,7	71,7	75,4	63,4
Safe when it is dark	26,9	19,8	40,3	28,3	24,6	36,6
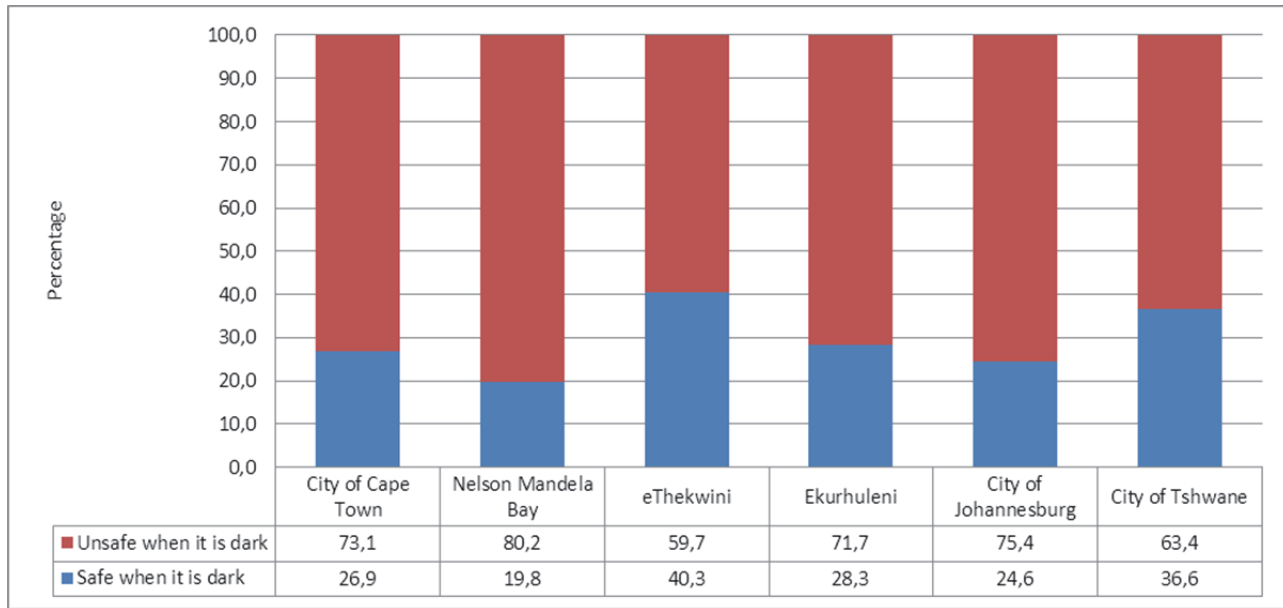
Feelings of safety when it is dark by metropolitan municipality are illustrated in Figure 7 above. The majority of households in Nelson Mandela Bay municipality felt unsafe when it was dark (80,2%), followed by the City of Johannesburg (75,4%) and the City of Cape Town (73,1%). Households in eThekwini municipality (59,7%) and the City of Tshwane (63,4%) had the lowest proportion of households who felt unsafe walking when it was dark compared to other metropolitan municipalities.

Figure 8: Percentage distribution of households' feelings of safety during the day by metro, VOCS 2013/14

	City of Cape Town	Nelson Mandela Bay	eThekwini	Ekurhuleni	City of Johannesburg	City of Tshwane
Unsafe during the day	31,1	18,4	18,6	11,8	15,6	20,2
Safe during the day	69,0	81,6	81,4	88,3	84,4	79,8
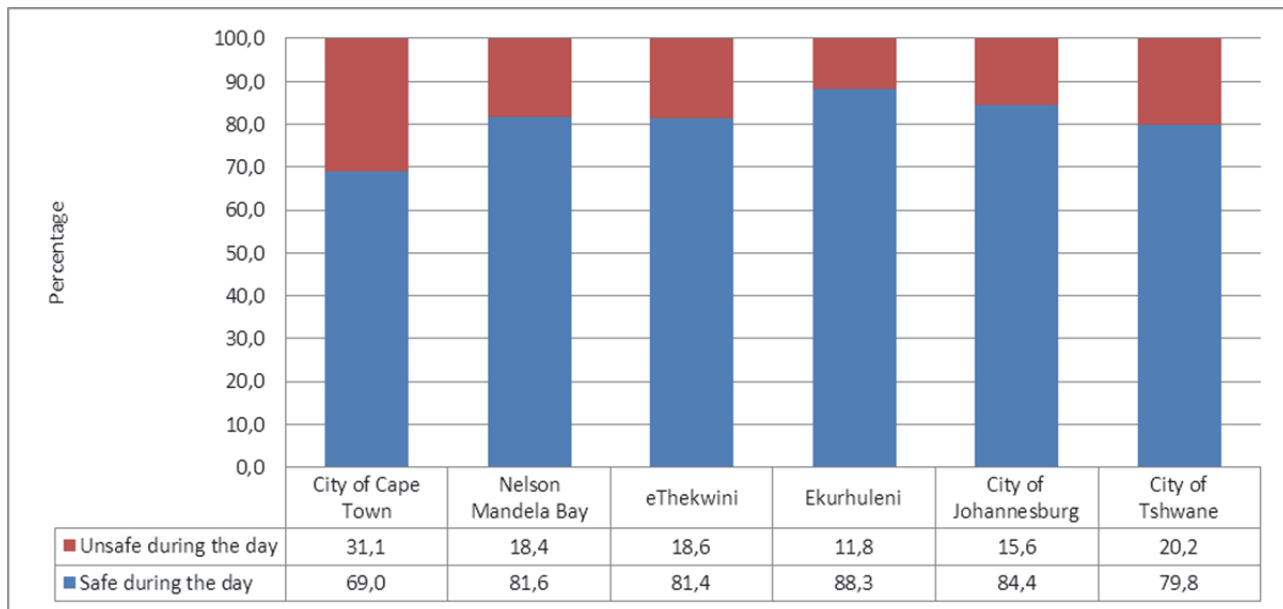
Figure 8 shows feelings of safety during the day by metropolitan areas. The City of Cape Town (31,1%) recorded the highest percentage of households that felt unsafe during the day, followed by the City of Tshwane (20,2%) and eThekwini (18,6%) municipalities.

Map 1 shows the distribution of households' feelings of safety when walking alone during the day in all nine provinces of South Africa. Households in North West and Free State felt safer than households in other provinces.

Map 1: Distribution of households' feelings of safety during the day, VOCS 2013/14
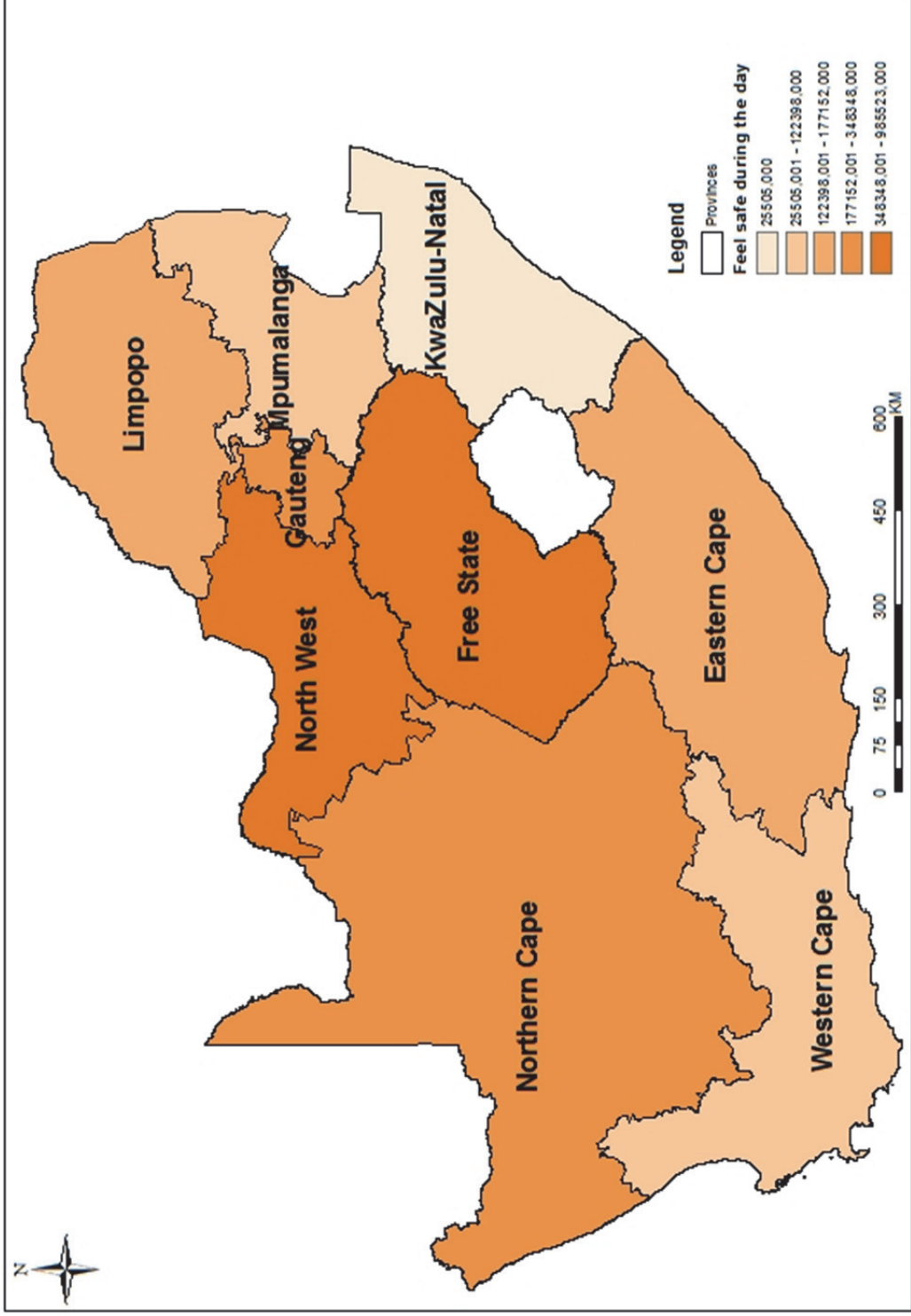
Table 6: Household level of satisfaction with police by their feelings of safety when walking alone in their area during the day, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Feelings of safety during the day	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Very safe	37,6	36,9	38,4	63,6	62,6	64,6	64,1	63,1	65,1
	Fairly safe	15,1	14,5	15,6	25,5	24,6	26,3	54,1	52,6	55,6
	A bit unsafe	4,2	3,8	4,5	7,0	6,5	7,6	50,4	47,5	53,3
	Very unsafe	2,3	2,1	2,5	3,9	3,5	4,3	44,8	41,3	48,2
	Total	59,2	58,4	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Very safe	21,1	20,5	21,7	51,7	50,4	52,9	35,9	34,9	36,9
	Fairly safe	12,8	12,2	13,3	31,3	30,2	32,5	45,9	44,4	47,4
	A bit unsafe	4,1	3,8	4,4	10,0	9,3	10,8	49,6	46,7	52,5
	Very unsafe	2,8	2,6	3,1	7,0	6,3	7,6	55,2	51,8	58,7
	Total	40,8	40,0	41,6	100,0					
Total	Very safe	58,7	58,0	59,5				100,0		
	Fairly safe	27,8	27,1	28,6				100,0		
	A bit unsafe	8,3	7,8	8,7				100,0		
	Very unsafe	5,2	4,8	5,5				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=403,9367, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (feelings of safety)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (feelings of safety) therefore, the value of *very safe* in those that are satisfied, when added to *very safe* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 6 depicts satisfaction with police and their perception about of safety during the day. Among households who were satisfied with police, about 63,6% felt very safe, while 25,5% felt fairly safe walking in their neighbourhood during the day. Of those who were dissatisfied with police, an estimated 51,7% felt very safe, while 31,3% felt fairly safe walking in their area during the day.

The findings imply that the feelings of safety of South African households are likely to be related to their satisfaction ratings of the police.

Map 2 shows the distribution of households' feelings of safety when walking alone when it is dark in all nine provinces of South Africa. Households in Limpopo, Western Cape and Eastern Cape felt safer walking alone when it is dark than households in other provinces.

Map 2: Distribution of households' feelings of safety when it is dark, VOCS 2013/14

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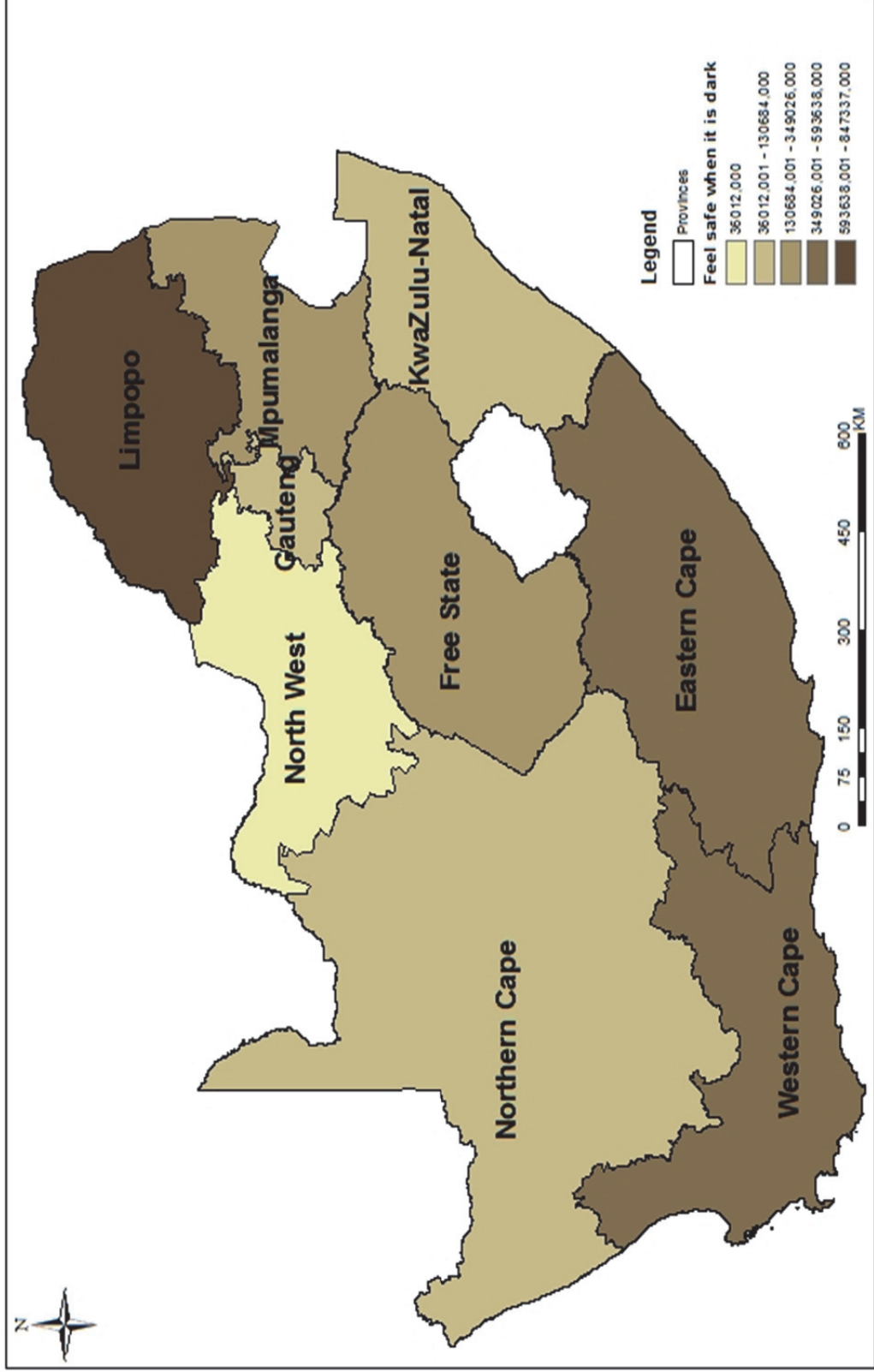
Table 7: Household level of satisfaction with police by their feelings of safety when walking alone in their area when it is dark, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Feelings of safety when it is dark	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Very safe	9,3	8,8	9,8	15,7	15,0	16,5	69,5	67,5	71,5
	Fairly safe	14,5	14,0	15,1	24,5	23,6	25,4	67,7	66,2	69,2
	A bit unsafe	12,5	12,0	13,0	21,1	20,2	21,9	62,4	60,7	64,1
	Very unsafe	22,9	22,3	23,6	38,7	37,7	39,7	50,8	49,7	52,0
	Total	59,3	58,5	60,1	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Very safe	4,1	3,8	4,4	10,0	9,3	10,8	30,5	28,5	32,5
	Fairly safe	6,9	6,5	7,3	17,0	16,1	17,9	32,3	30,8	33,8
	A bit unsafe	7,5	7,1	7,9	18,5	17,5	19,4	37,6	35,9	39,3
	Very unsafe	22,2	21,5	22,9	54,5	53,3	55,7	49,2	48,0	50,3
	Total	40,7	39,9	41,5	100,0					
Total	Very safe	13,4	12,9	14,0				100,0		
	Fairly safe	21,4	20,8	22,1				100,0		
	A bit unsafe	20,0	19,4	20,6				100,0		
	Very unsafe	45,1	44,4	45,9				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=666,8062, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (feelings of safety)
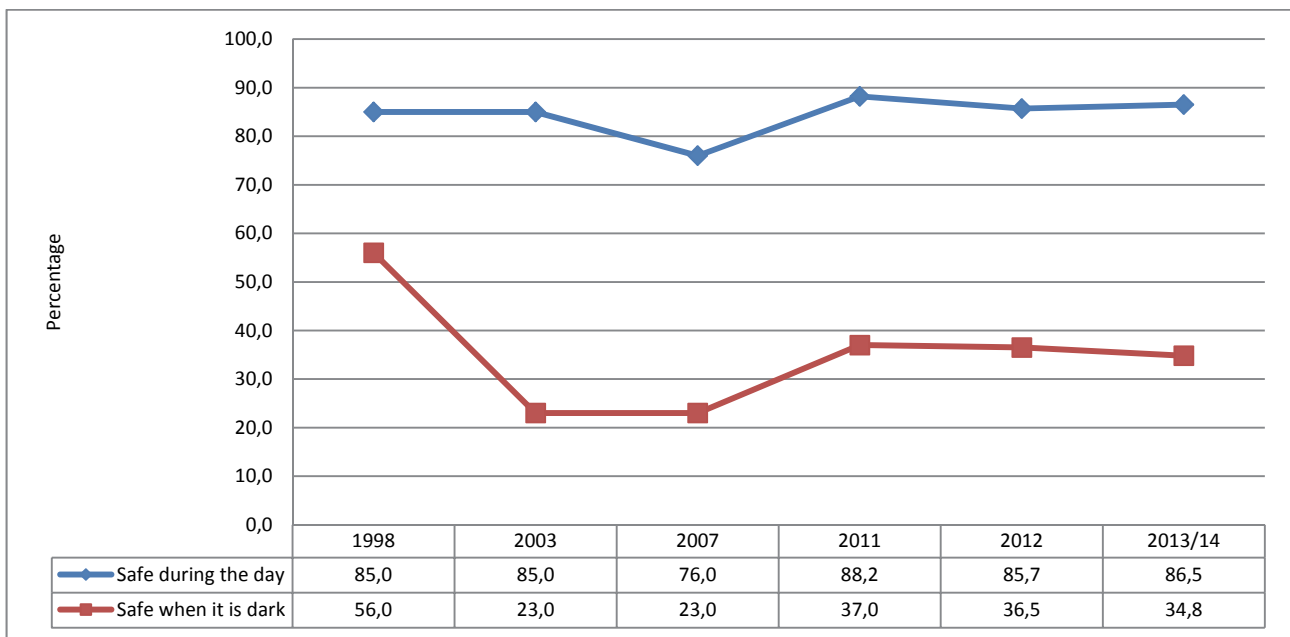*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (feelings of safety) therefore, the value of *very safe* in those that are satisfied, when added to *very safe* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 7 depicts satisfaction with police and their perception about safety when it was dark. Among households who were satisfied with police services in their area, approximately 21,1% felt a bit unsafe, while a further 38,7% of households felt very unsafe in their area of residence. Among those who were dissatisfied, an estimated 18,5% felt a bit unsafe in their surroundings, while 54,5% felt very unsafe.

These findings imply that a negative police rating was likely to be associated with households' feeling very unsafe when walking alone in their area.

Figure 9: Percentage distribution of crimes feared most, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	2011	2012	2013/14
Housebreaking/burglary	50,2	57,4	59,7
Home robbery	50,4	49,8	50,2
Street robbery	39,7	39,6	39,9
Murder	34,1	38,8	36,5
Sexual offences	27,0	29,8	30,5
Pick-pocketing/bag snatching	26,5	31,2	25,5
Assault	20,6	23,6	23,8
Business robbery	15,2	15,8	14,5
Mob justice	5,7	6,5	6,9
Political violence	5,3	6,6	6,5
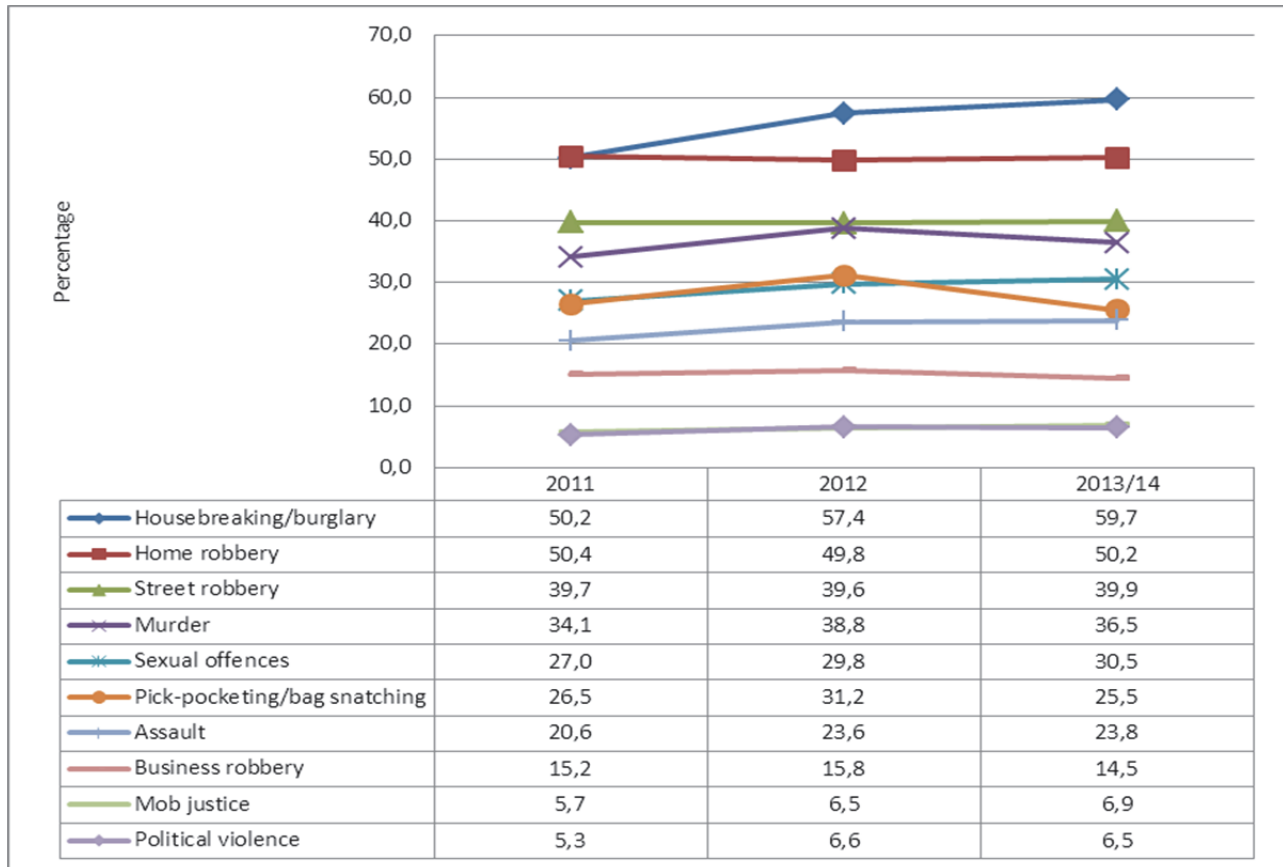
Figure 9 represents the percentage distribution of crimes feared most by households. Housebreaking/burglary was perceived to be the most common crime between 2011 and 2013/14, followed by home robbery, street robbery and murder. About six in ten households in 2013/14 felt that housebreaking/burglary was one of the most common types of crime, followed by five in ten who indicated that home robbery was the most common crime in their areas of residence. Most of these crimes are violent crimes, with the exception of housebreaking/burglary and pick-pocketing/bag-snatching. Crimes that occur at residential premises, especially housebreaking/burglary and home robbery, have the potential to violate basic human needs for physical security and comfort. Unlawful entry into someone's property, regardless of whether they are present or not, can be traumatic for those affected and may also lead to individuals and households becoming victims of multiple crimes. This initial observation validates the view that fear of crime is related to the victims' experience of crime.

Figure 10: Percentage distribution of crime most feared by province, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP
■ Housebreaking/burglary	50,6	64,2	55,5	54,0	59,3	64,2	59,3	59,7	59,3
■ Home robbery	40,3	55,9	25,4	39,8	54,2	41,7	53,2	47,1	53,1
■ Street robbery	39,4	40,7	24,9	28,3	45,3	38,2	42,9	41,8	38,4
■ Murder	34,2	54,5	42,4	37,9	39,1	29,3	28,7	34,4	42,1
■ Pick-pocketing/ bag snatching	22,1	33,6	9,4	18,5	31,6	22,2	28,7	17,8	19,2
■ Sexual offences	22,2	53,5	38,5	33,7	24,9	30,4	22,1	29,8	35,3
■ Business robbery	11,6	15,6	6,0	14,9	13,4	17,2	16,1	6,6	22,3
■ Assault	20,6	49,2	43,0	26,3	18,1	25,5	14,7	13,2	28,4
■ Mob justice	9,0	7,8	2,2	17,4	4,6	9,0	6,5	2,2	8,2
■ Political violence	6,8	6,4	1,3	9,9	7,6	9,2	5,2	1,8	10,1

Figure 10 depicts the percentage distribution of crime most feared by households. The level of fear varied across provinces according to the type of crime. The fear of housebreaking/burglary was common across many provinces, but noticeably higher in the Eastern Cape (64,2%) and North West (64,2%). In Eastern Cape, a higher percentage of residents were afraid of murder, pick-pocketing, sexual offences and assault as compared to other provinces. Free State (17,4%), Western Cape (9,0%) and North West (9,0%) had the highest proportion of households that were afraid of mob justice/vigilante groups. Political violence was more feared in Limpopo (10,1%), Free State (9,9%) and North West (9,2%).

Figure 11: Percentage distribution of the fear of housebreaking/burglary and the prevalence of housebreaking/burglary by province, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
Feared burglary	50,5	64,4	57,3	54,5	59,7	65,4	60,9	62,3	58,8	59,7
Burglary prevalence	6,4	4,6	4,1	3,6	5,3	4,4	4,5	5,3	3,4	4,7
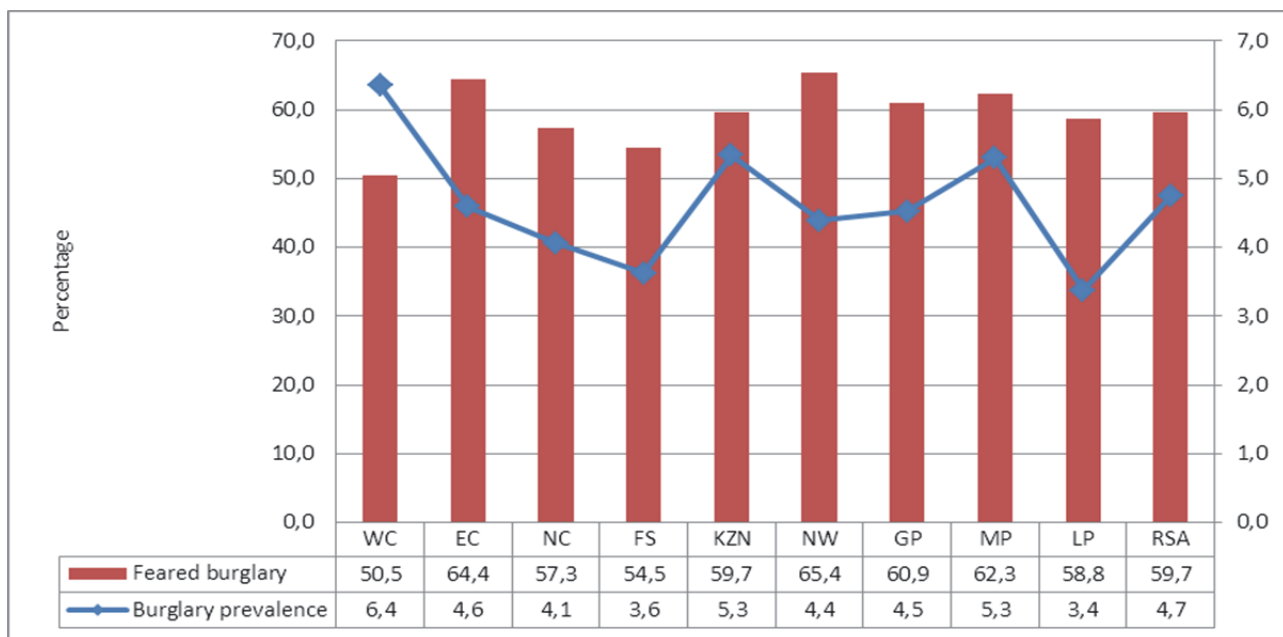
Figure 11 shows the percentage distribution of the fear of housebreaking/burglary and its prevalence across the provinces. The results show that about sixty per cent of households feared housebreaking/burglary in 213/14, while about 4,7% of households actually fell victim to housebreaking/burglary. North West (65,4%) and Eastern Cape (64,4%) had the highest level of fear associated with housebreaking/burglary; however, this type of crime was most prevalent in Western Cape (6,4%), KwaZulu-Natal (5,3%) and Mpumalanga (5,3%). Despite a high prevalence of housebreaking/burglary in Western Cape, this province displayed relatively lower levels of fear for this type of household crime.

Figure 12: Percentage distribution of the fear of home robbery and the prevalence of home robbery by province, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
Feared home robbery	40,2	56,0	25,7	39,6	54,6	41,8	54,1	49,7	53,1	50,2
Home robbery prevalence	1,7	1,1	1,4	0,7	1,9	0,9	2,1	2,0	1,0	1,6
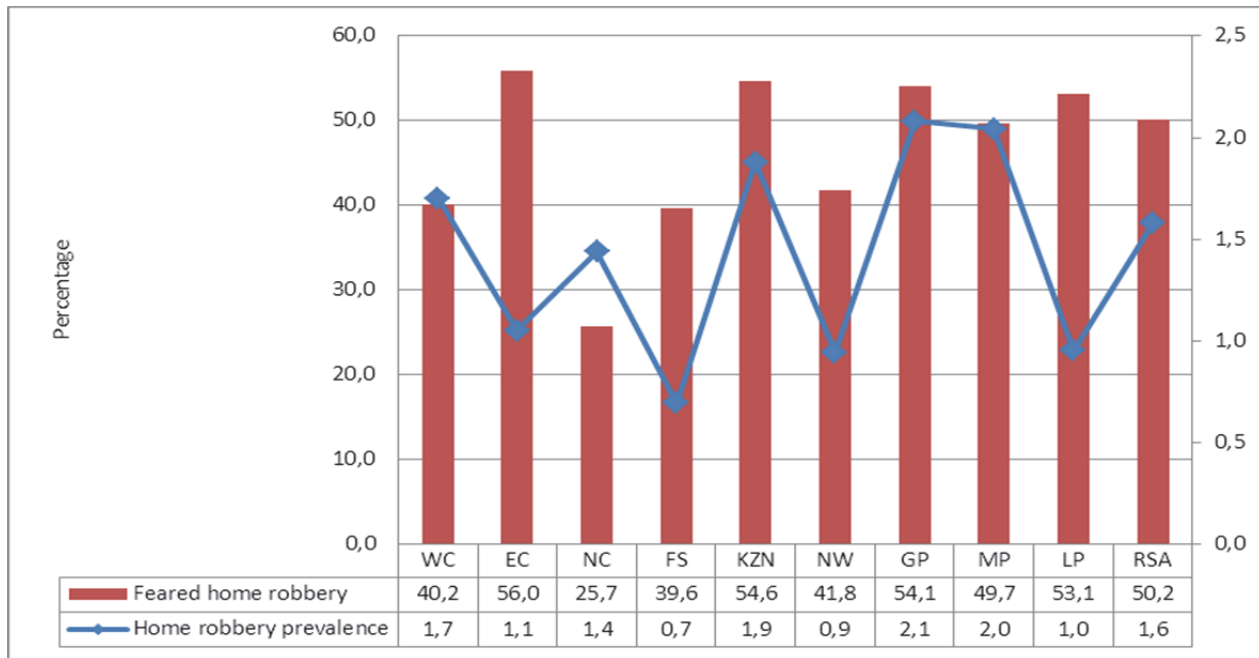
Figure 12 illustrates the prevalence and perceived fear for home robbery in 2013/14. Home robbery was more likely to be feared most in Eastern Cape (56,0%), KwaZulu-Natal (54,6%) and Gauteng (54,1%). The results, however, show that home robbery was mostly prevalent in Gauteng (2,1%), Mpumalanga (2,0%) and KwaZulu-Natal (1,9%).

Figure 13: Percentage distribution of the fear of street robbery and the prevalence of street robbery by province, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
Feared street robbery	39,3	40,6	26,8	27,0	44,1	36,8	42,4	40,5	37,9	39,9
Street robbery prevalence	1,9	0,7	0,6	1,2	0,2	0,6	0,5	1,4	0,4	0,7
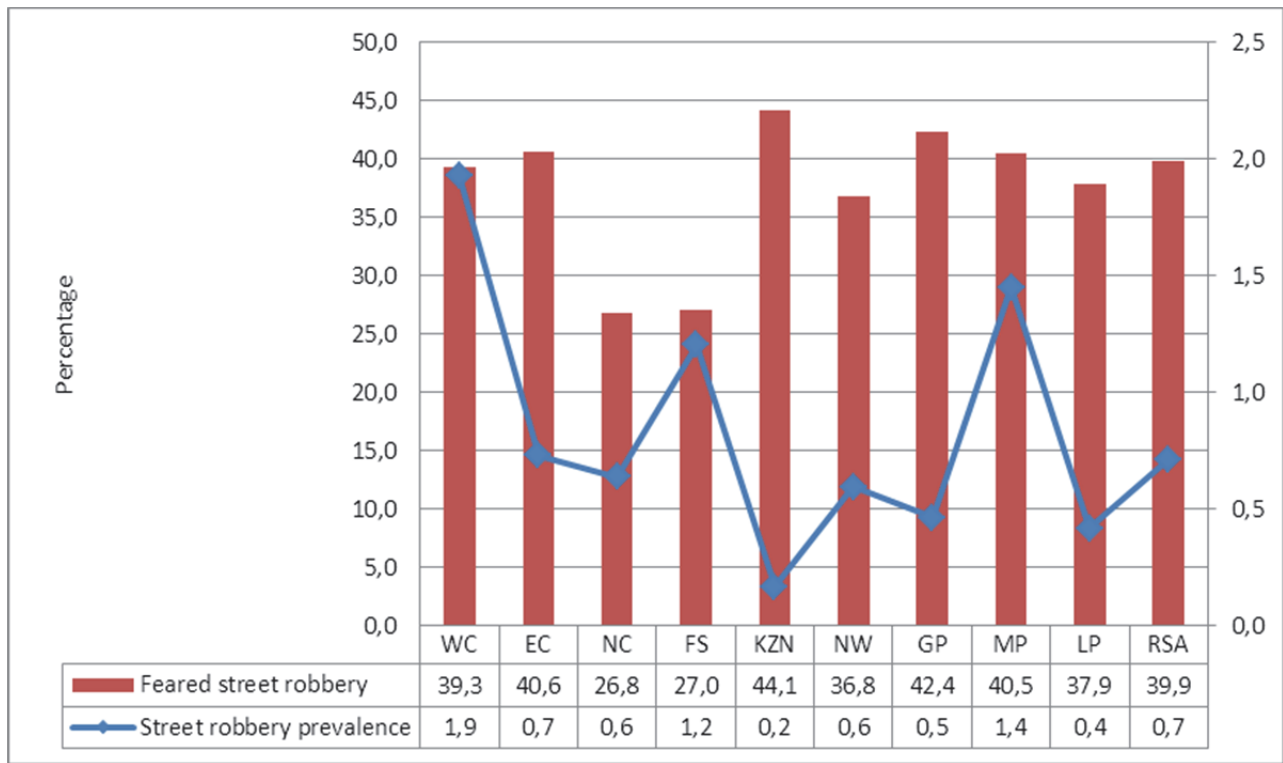
Figure 13 is a presentation of the perceived fear of street robbery and the prevalence of street robbery. About 0,7% individuals aged sixteen years and older, experienced street robbery in 2013/14, while about forty per cent of households in South Africa indicated that they feared this type of crime. VOCS indicated that Western Cape (1,9%), Mpumalanga (1,4%) and Free State (1,2%) had the highest prevalence rates of street robbery in 2013/14, and these rates were consistent with the relatively high proportion of households who feared falling victim to street robbery. While KwaZulu-Natal had the highest percentage of households who feared street robbery (44,1%), this province had the lowest street robbery prevalence rate (0,2%). Limpopo displayed a similar pattern, where a large percentage of respondents feared street robbery, but the prevalence rate of street robbery was fairly low.

Figure 14: Percentage distribution of the fear of assault and the prevalence of assault by province, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
Feared assault	20,4	49,1	43,0	26,5	18,4	23,2	15,2	13,0	30,3	23,8
Assault prevalence	1,6	1,1	1,8	1,6	0,3	1,3	0,7	1,4	0,9	0,9
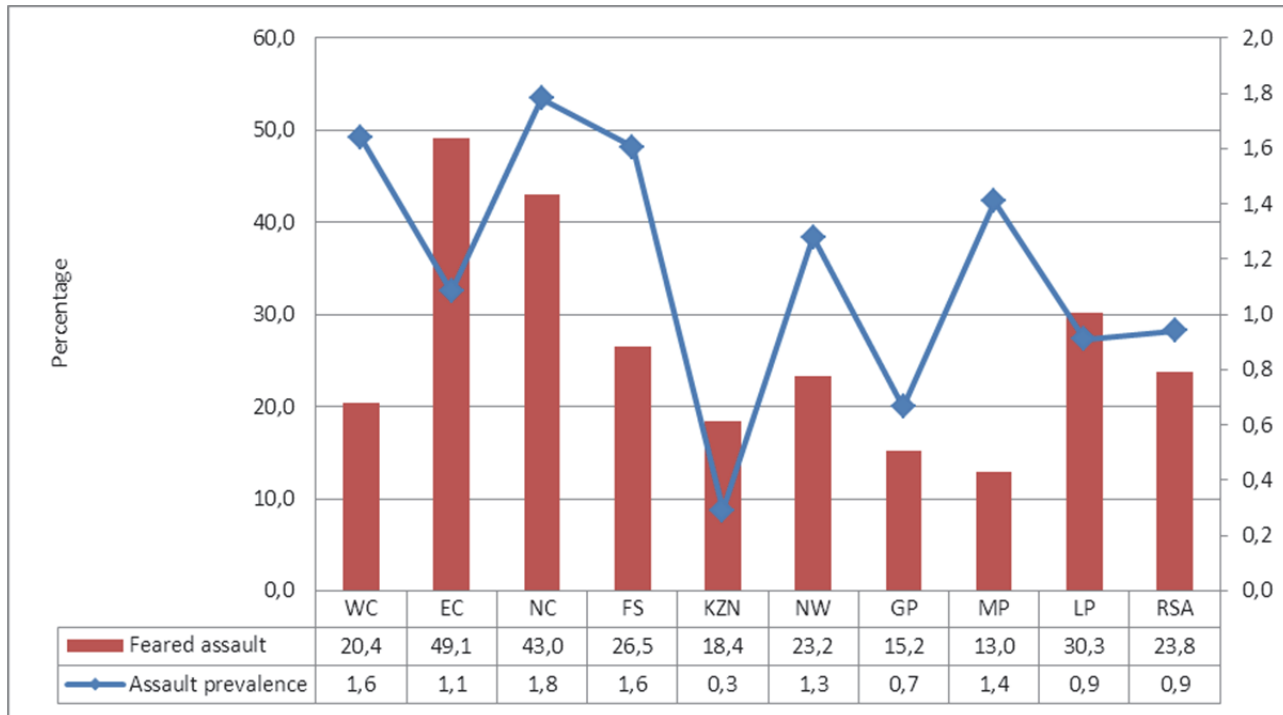
Figure 14 shows assault prevalence and perceived fear of assault in 2013/14. Approximately 0,9% of individuals who are sixteen years and older experienced assault. The highest prevalence rate for assault was in Northern Cape (1,8%), followed by Western Cape (1,6%), Free State (1,6%) and Mpumalanga (1,4%). The highest levels of fear for assault were recorded in Eastern Cape (49,1%) and Northern Cape (43,0%), while the lowest were recorded in Mpumalanga (13,0%) and Gauteng (15,2%). High assault prevalence rates in Northern Cape were associated with high levels of fear of assault, while in Mpumalanga, high prevalence rates were concurrent with low levels of fear of assault.

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Figure 15: Fear of specific crimes by population group of household heads, VOCS 2013/14

	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
Political violence	7,4	4,6	3,1	4,1
Mob justice	7,9	7,0	3,4	3,2
Business robbery	15,5	9,1	15,2	13,6
Assault	25,3	24,1	15,8	13,8
Pick-pocketing/bag snatching	28,8	19,0	22,6	12,8
Sexual offences	33,6	22,9	15,0	15,4
Murder	39,9	31,8	27,8	25,0
Street robbery	43,8	34,6	38,1	23,8
Home robbery	50,2	38,3	59,8	51,9
Housebreaking/burglary	59,9	49,9	61,0	58,6
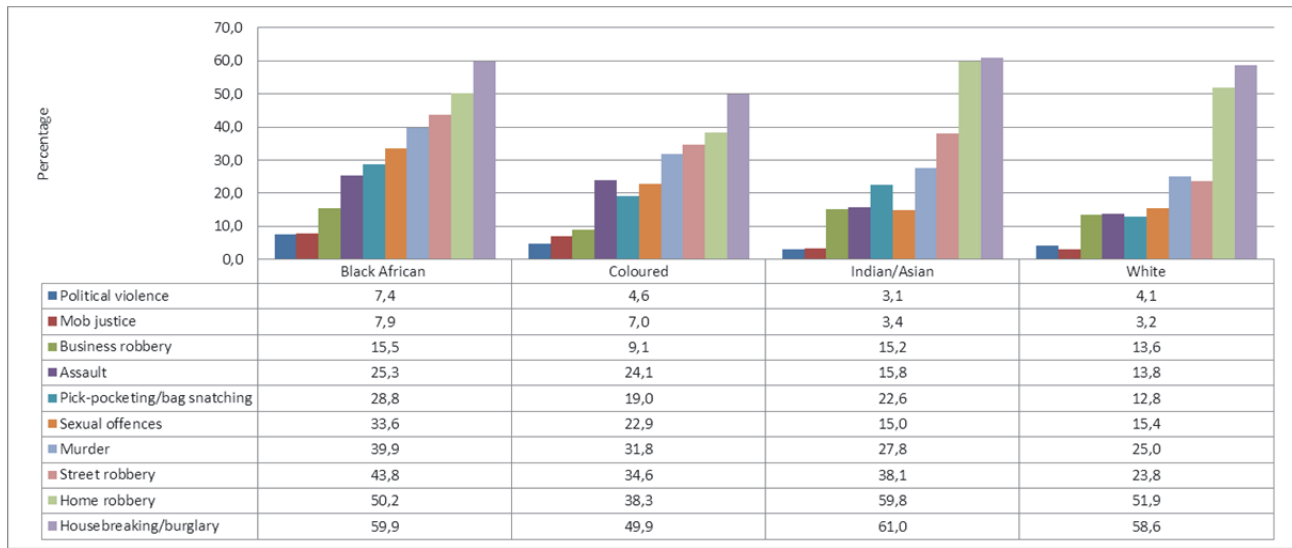
NB: Note that the percentage of the fear for each crime was calculated within each population group and percentages shown do not add up to a hundred

Figure 15 represents perceptions about fear of crime by the population group of household heads. Housebreaking/burglary was perceived to be the most feared crime by Indian/Asian-headed households (61,0%), followed by black African (59,9%) and white (58,6%) headed households. Home robbery was the second most feared crime, and a similar trend was noticed whereby Indian/Asian-headed households were most likely to be afraid (59,8%) followed by white (51,9%) and black African-headed households (50,2%). Political violence and mob justice were the least feared crimes for all the categories.

Figure 16: Percentage distribution of fear of crime by gender of household heads, VOCS 2013/14
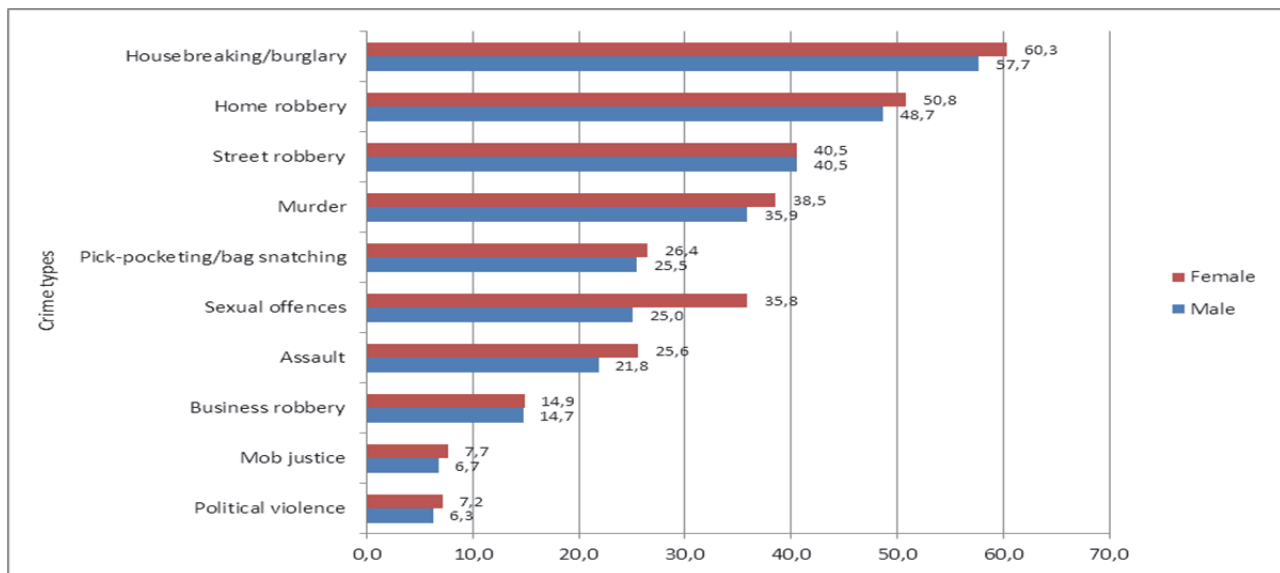
NB: Note that the percentage of the fear for each crime was calculated within each gender group and percentages shown do not add up to a hundred

Figure 16 shows perceptions of crime by gender of household heads. About 60,3 % of female-headed households perceived housebreaking/burglary as the most commonly feared crime, followed by home robbery (50,8%). For street robbery, the percentages were the same for both male and female (40,5%) headed households, which means anyone is more likely to fall victim of this crime. Generally, this shows that crime was most feared by female-headed households as compared to male-headed households.

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5.2 Publics' exposure to the Criminal Justice System

People can be exposed to the CJS through many ways, for an example, by attending court, by having contact with a police officer on duty, or by visiting a prison. Many people do not have first-hand experience with the CJS and are only exposed to crime and justice related matters through the media.

Table 8: Household level of satisfaction with police by whether they have contacted police or not, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Contacted police before	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Contact with police	19,3	18,7	20,0	32,7	31,7	33,6	58,9	57,5	60,2
	No contact with police	39,9	39,1	40,7	67,3	66,4	68,3	59,4	58,5	60,4
	Total	59,2	58,5	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Contact with police	13,5	13,0	14,1	33,2	32,0	34,3	41,1	39,8	42,5
	No contact with police	27,2	26,5	27,9	66,8	65,7	68,0	40,6	39,6	41,5
	Total	40,8	40,0	41,5	100,0					
Total	Contact with police	32,9	32,1	33,6				100,0		
	No contact with police	67,1	66,4	67,9				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=0,7358, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,5041)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Contacted police before)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Contacted police before) therefore, the value of *contacted police* in those that are satisfied, when added to *contacted police* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 8 above presents the association between the household level of satisfaction with the police and an indication of whether they have contacted the police. Since the pr>0,05, the null hypothesis, that having been in contact influences how households rate police performance, is rejected. Of about 59,2% of households who were satisfied with the police between April 2013 to March 2014, 66,4% did not have any contact with the police. In general, there were no significant differences among households who came into contact with the police or not to express their level of satisfaction with police.

Table 9: Household level of satisfaction with police by court attendance, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Attended court before	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row Per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Attended courts	7,1	6,8	7,5	12,1	11,4	12,7	54,8	52,7	56,8
	Not attended courts	52,1	51,3	52,9	87,9	87,3	88,6	59,9	59,1	60,8
	Total	59,3	58,5	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Attended courts	5,9	5,6	6,3	14,5	13,7	15,3	45,2	43,2	47,3
	Not attended courts	34,8	34,1	35,6	85,5	84,7	86,3	40,1	39,2	40,9
	Total	40,7	40,0	41,5	100,0					
Total	Attended courts	13,0	12,5	13,5				100,0		
	Not attended courts	87,0	86,5	87,5				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=31,7119, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Attended courts before)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Attended courts before) therefore, the value of *attended courts* in those that are satisfied, when added to *attended courts* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 9 shows that, of the 13,0% of households had been in courts in the three years prior to the survey, of those 54,8% were satisfied with services provided by police. Amongst the 87,0% households who did not attend courts, 59,9% were satisfied with police. Households in South Africa who did not attend courts were more likely to be satisfied with police than those who have been attending courts.

Table 10: Household level of satisfaction with courts by court attendance, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with courts	Attended court before	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row Per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column Per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with courts	Attended court	8,7	8,3	9,1	13,5	12,9	14,1	66,5	64,6	68,5
	Not attended court	55,6	54,8	56,4	86,5	85,9	87,1	64,0	63,1	64,8
	Total	64,3	63,5	65,1	100,0					
Not satisfied with courts	Attended courts	4,4	4,1	4,7	12,2	11,4	13,1	33,5	31,5	35,4
	Not attended courts	31,3	30,6	32,1	87,8	86,9	88,6	36,0	35,2	36,9
	Total	35,7	34,9	36,5	100,0					
Total	Attended courts	13,0	12,5	13,5				100,0		
	Not attended court	87,0	86,5	87,5				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=5,6031, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0179)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Attended courts before)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Attended courts before) therefore, the value of *attended courts* in those that are satisfied, when added to *attended courts* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 10 above indicates that of the estimated 13,0% of households who attended court, about two-thirds of these were likely to be satisfied with courts. The majority of households who did not attend court were likely to be satisfied with courts. Sentencing by the judiciary was amongst the reasons why households were dissatisfied. The more households got to know about court activities, the less likely they were satisfied with courts.

Table 11: Households who had visited the correctional services by their level of satisfaction with correctional services, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction correctional services	Contact with correctional services	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with correctional services	Has had contact with correctional services	0,9	0,8	1,0	9,2	7,9	10,5	9,2	7,9	10,5
	Never had contacted with correctional services	9,0	8,5	9,4	90,8	89,5	92,1	10,0	9,5	10,4
	Total	9,9	9,4	10,3	100,0					
Not satisfied with correctional services	Has had contact with correctional services	9,0	8,5	9,4	10,0	9,5	10,5	90,8	89,5	92,1
	Never had contacted with correctional services	81,1	80,5	81,8	90,0	89,5	90,5	90,0	89,6	90,5
	Total	90,1	89,7	90,6	100,0					

* Pearson Chi-Square=1,1725, DF=1, Pr>ChiSq (0,2789)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Contact with correctional services)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Contact with correctional services) therefore, the value of *has had contact with correctional services* in those that are satisfied, when added to *has had contact with correctional services* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 11 further indicates that the household level of satisfaction with correctional services was not influenced by their exposure to prison. Whether households have visited or been to prison for business did not influence how they perceived prison.

Table 12: Percentage distribution of household satisfaction with authorities within the CJS after experiencing crime (housebreaking/burglary, home robbery and assault), VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

Crime experienced	Police			Detectives			Prosecutor			Judge		
	2011	2012	2013/14	2011	2012	2013/14	2011	2012	2013/14	2011	2012	2013/14
Housebreaking/burglary	51,0	48,1	47,4	31,9	25,6	23,3	8,2	6,1	3,7	7,2	4,8	2,6
Home robbery	55,8	48,4	43,7	33,6	20,1	30,3	7,8	9,5	11,1	12,0	7,8	7,2
Assault	*	58,3	65,3	*	30,0	28,0	*	20,4	16,3	*	14,3	15,1

*Note: Assault not weighted in 2011, but proportions are available and therefore could not be used in this analysis for the particular year

The level of satisfaction with authorities among households who had experienced selected crimes is presented in Table 12 above. About five in ten households who experienced housebreaking/burglary were satisfied with the way in which police handled their cases, although the percentage decreased from 51,0% in 2011 to 47,4% in 2013/14. The level of satisfaction with the way in which detectives, prosecutors and judges handled their cases also decreased steadily over the years.

Over half of households who experienced home robbery in 2011 were satisfied with the way police handled their cases (55,8%), although this percentage decreased in subsequent years. The household level of satisfaction with how detectives handled home robbery cases fluctuated over the years and no clear trend could be established. On the other hand, their level of satisfaction with prosecutors increased steadily. The inverse was true for judges.

Assault victims were generally satisfied with police services in 2013/14 at 65,3%, which was a seven percentage point increase from the 58,3% who felt that way in 2012. The level of satisfaction with judges was slightly higher in 2013/14 than in 2012 (15,1% compared to 14,3%).

Satisfaction levels of assault victims with detectives and prosecutors decreased between 2012 and 2013/14. In the case of detectives, there was a two percentage points decrease and for prosecutors a 4,1 percentage points decrease over that time period.

5.3 Impact of crime

5.3.1 Impact of fear of crime on daily life

The level of crime in South Africa and the effect it has on the extent to which people in the country feel safe and secure is concerning, as it has an adverse effect on the population's quality of life. *Freedom and the Security of Persons* is a fundamental Constitutional right (Constitution of RSA, 1998) and is therefore one of the major priorities of government. Victimisation, or the fear of crime, may cause disruption in a person's social functioning. For example, it may hinder engagement in social activities or willingness to walk on the street. Vulnerability is a subjective concept and the extent to which it affects people varies. However, it is common knowledge that children constitute the most vulnerable portion of the population and the extent to which children feel protected should therefore be a priority. Chapter 2, section 28 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution stipulates unequivocally that *every child has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation*. VOCS 2013/14 results show that about a quarter of households in South Africa would not allow their children to move around unsupervised or play freely in the areas where they live. VOCS 2013/14 data further shows that about seven per cent of the households said that they would not teach their children to approach a police officer for help if they were lost or in trouble.

Fear is one of the strongest emotions associated with crime, thus exploring its dynamics and the impact that it has on society is important in understanding how crime prevention can enhance quality of life. Although there are policies in place to ensure a better life for the inhabitants of South Africa, crime tends to offset the progress that has been made in improving the lives of everyone living in the country.

Figure 17: Percentage distribution of households who were prevented from engaging in daily activities due to fear of crime, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

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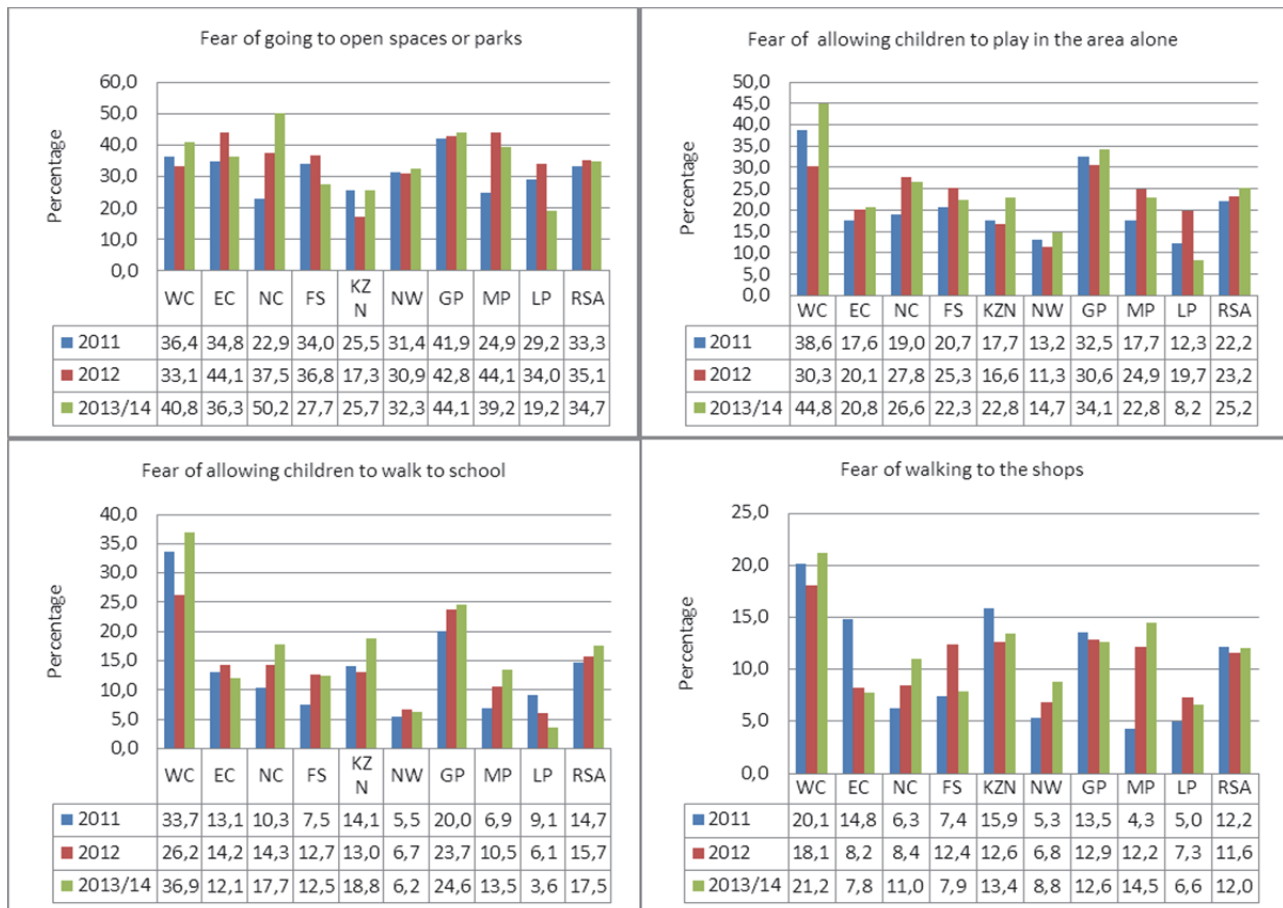
Decisions on where to live, shop, and socialise are influenced by people's perceptions of the relative safety of different cities, towns, and neighbourhoods (Cordner, 2010). Figure 17 represents the activities that households were prevented from engaging in, due to the fear of crime. VOCS 2013/14 found that more than a third of households (34,7%) avoided going to open spaces unaccompanied because of their fear of crime. About 25,2% did not allow children to play outside, 17,5% would not allow children to walk to school, 15,3% feared walking to work, all because they feared being victims of crime.

Figure 18: Percentage distribution of households who were prevented from using public transport due to fear of crime, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
■ 2011	23,3	10,6	3,7	4,9	16,8	5,5	12,8	4,0	4,5	11,7
■ 2012	22,3	3,7	8,0	11,2	12,7	7,5	12,4	16,1	7,1	11,6
■ 2013/14	24,2	4,2	10,6	7,8	14,3	8,3	13,6	14,9	4,7	11,9
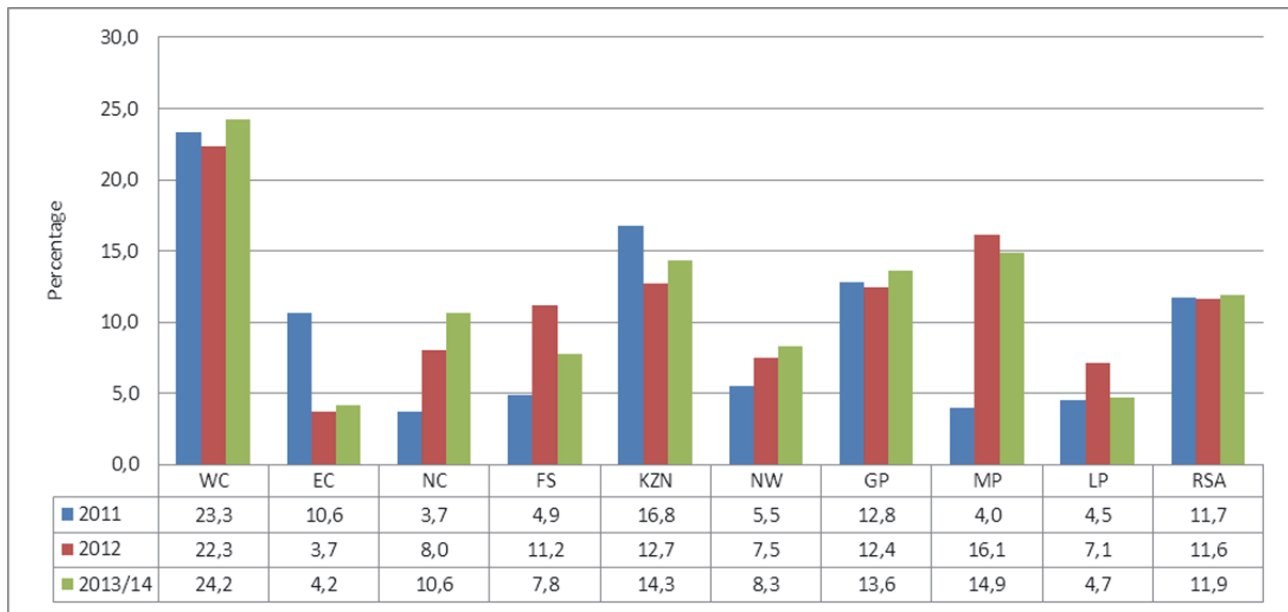
Figure 18 above shows the percentage of households who were prevented from using public transport due to the fear of crime. From 2011 to 2014, VOCS (2013) found that more than a tenth of households feared using public transport as a result of crime. The majority of households that feared using public transport resided in Western Cape. In 2013/14, almost a quarter (24,2%) of households in Western Cape avoided using public transport, followed by Mpumalanga (14,9%), KwaZulu-Natal (14,3%) and Gauteng (13,6%).

According to the National Household Travel Survey (NHTS) (2013) that was conducted by Statistics South Africa, crime was among the most important transport-related problems experienced by households in South Africa. About 9% of households in Western Cape attributed their transport related problems to crime, followed by Gauteng (3,1%) and KwaZulu-Natal (2,9%). While Gauteng and Western Cape remain South Africa's economic centres, or more precisely, Johannesburg and Cape Town, crime persists in deterring their citizens from moving freely in those areas.

The Department of Transport, through their Public Transport Strategy 2007 introduced Integrated Rapid Transport Service Networks in metropolitan cities in an attempt to provide sustainable, equitable and uncongested mobility in cities of South Africa (Stats SA, NHTS, 2013). The cities of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Tshwane have already implemented pro public transport initiatives, MyCiTi, Rea Vaya and A Re Yeng in line with Strategy (2007) which also aims to encourage the use of public transport networks (Stats SA, NHTS, 2013).

While Gauteng and Western Cape are taking strides in advancing mobility by the expansion of public transport networks, crime may work against efforts intended to improve the livelihoods of South Africans. These challenges

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do not only need attention from transport planners or those in the transportation industry, but also need to be tackled by those tasked to combat crime in the country.

When communities do not feel safe and live in fear, the economic development of the country and the people's well-being is negatively affected, hindering their ability to achieve their full potential (NPC, 2011). "While making people safe is one of the most important purposes of government, making them *feel safe* is nearly as important because fear has such negative ramifications for politics, economics, and social life" (Cordner, 2010). Crime can limit the rights of the individuals, by, for example, not being able to walk freely in neighbourhoods. It can be argued that crime also affects economic growth negatively and discourages possible business ventures. VOCS 2013/14 indicated that an estimated 11,8% of households reported that they did not keep livestock due to the fear of crime, while 9,8% were prevented from investing in a home business.

5.3.2 Protective measures against crime

The fear of crime is a subjective and dynamic phenomenon, thus its impact on quality of life will vary from place to place depending on the demographic profile of the community, their experience of crime and victimisation and their perceptions of local crime levels and policing (Irish National Crime Council, 2009). It is for these reasons that one person's reaction to crime may be different from that of another.

Figure 19: Percentage distribution of households who protected their homes or carried weapons, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

Households who protected their homes

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
2011	64,7	37,6	31,6	39,3	46,5	36,3	64,8	49,7	33,9	49,6
2012	64,4	36,9	38,0	42,3	41,8	38,8	65,6	49,1	31,2	48,9
2013/14	63,3	36,8	42,9	47,1	45,5	42,4	65,3	50,1	34,5	50,0

Households who carried weapons

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
2011	5,9	5,7	6,0	4,7	4,6	4,1	5,8	3,5	6,2	5,3
2012	3,6	3,3	3,6	4,6	4,3	5,6	6,3	4,2	3,4	4,6
2013/14	5,4	7,2	4,7	4,7	3,3	6,2	5,8	5,4	4,0	5,2
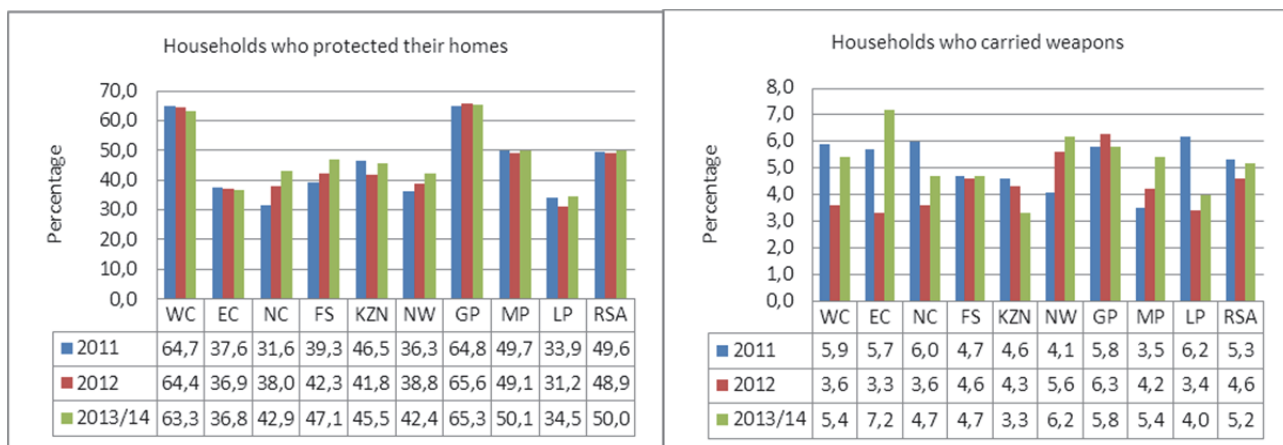
Figure 19 depicts households who took measures to protect their homes and those that carried weapons. In the period under review (2011–2013/14), about half of households in South Africa actively took measures to make their homes more secure. Households that took these protective measures were predominantly in Gauteng and Western Cape. In 2013/14, about 65% residents in Gauteng protected their homes from crime, followed by Western Cape with about 63% of households.

Generally, households who fear being victimised are inclined to take responsibility for their own protection. These home protective measures include measures that fortify homes and make their owners less prone to victimisation. These include target-hardening measures such as higher fencing, electrical gates, or other barriers that deter intruders or potential perpetrators. According to Skogan and Maxfield (1981), households who were likely to take crime reduction measures were upper status persons, and the measures they took were mostly influenced by factors such as home ownership, moderate levels of income, and integration into community life.

Perpetrators of violent crimes tend to carry weapons that they use to overpower a victim. Weapons play a role in the extent and severity of violence used in the crime committed (Thaler, 2011). Increases or perceived increases

in violent crimes can contribute towards increased feelings of insecurity. While some households used target-hardening measures to curb crime, others felt that the carrying of weapons were better ways of protecting themselves.

Figure 19 further shows the percentage of households who carried weapons in order to protect themselves from crime. In 2012, about 4,6% of households in South Africa carried weapons in order to protect themselves, while an estimated 5,2% of households carried weapons in 2013/14. About 7,2% of households in Eastern Cape carried weapons, followed by North West (6,2%). The percentage of households that carried weapons increased from an estimated 4,6% in 2012 to about 5,2% in 2013/14, while the prevalence of violent crimes like robbery, assault, murder and others increased in the same period.

Table 13: Households who took measures to protect their homes by their level of satisfaction, VOCS 2013/14

| Level of satisfaction with police | Took measures to protect home | Percentage of all households | 95% confidence limits for per cent | | Row per cent | 95% confidence limits for row per cent | | Column per cent | 95% confidence limits for column per cent | |
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Yes	29,9	29,2	30,7	50,5	49,5	51,5	60,0	58,9	61,1
	No	29,3	28,6	30,0	49,5	48,5	50,5	58,5	57,4	59,6
	Total	59,2	58,5	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Yes	19,9	19,3	20,6	48,9	47,7	50,2	40,0	38,9	41,1
	No	20,8	20,2	21,4	51,1	49,8	52,3	41,5	40,4	42,6
	Total	40,8	40,0	41,5	100,0					
Total	Yes	29,9	29,2	30,7	50,5	49,5	51,5	60,0	58,9	61,1
	No	29,3	28,6	30,0	49,5	48,5	50,5	58,5	57,4	59,6
	Total	59,2	58,5	60,0	100,0					

* Pearson Chi-Square=1,9145, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,1665)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Took measures to protect home)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Took measures to protect home) therefore, the value of *yes* in those that are satisfied, when added to *yes* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

The results depicted in Table 13 above show no significant difference between households who took measures to protect their homes and their level of satisfaction with the police. People tend to protect their homes irrespective of their satisfaction level with the police.

Table 14: Households who carried weapons to protect themselves by their level of satisfaction, VOCS 2013/14

| Level of satisfaction with police | Carry a weapon for protection | Percentage of all households | 95% confidence limits for per cent | | Row per cent | 95% confidence limits for row per cent | | Column per cent | 95% confidence limits for column per cent | |
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Yes	2,6	2,3	2,9	4,5	4,1	5,0	52,5	48,6	56,3
	No	54,7	53,8	55,5	95,5	95,0	95,9	57,5	56,6	58,4
	Total	57,3	56,4	58,1	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Yes	2,3	2,1	2,6	5,5	4,9	6,1	47,5	43,7	51,4
	No	40,4	39,5	41,3	94,5	93,9	95,1	42,5	41,6	43,4
	Total	42,7	41,9	43,6	100,0					
Total	Yes	4,9	4,6	5,3				100,0		
	No	95,1	94,7	95,4				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=1,9145, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0013)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Carry a weapon for protection)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Carry a weapon for protection) therefore, the value of *yes* in those that are satisfied, when added to *yes* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Amongst households who did not carry weapons to protect themselves, 57,5% were satisfied with the police, compared to 52,5% who did carry weapons and were satisfied. Households who did not carry weapons were more likely to be satisfied with the police than those who carried weapons for protection.

Figure 20: Percentage distribution of households who hired security or used self-help groups, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
■ Hired private security	18,2	6,7	5,3	6,0	10,6	5,0	21,1	9,2	3,4	12,1
■ Used self-help groups	6,4	4,3	2,6	1,7	2,0	7,7	13,7	9,8	7,2	7,3
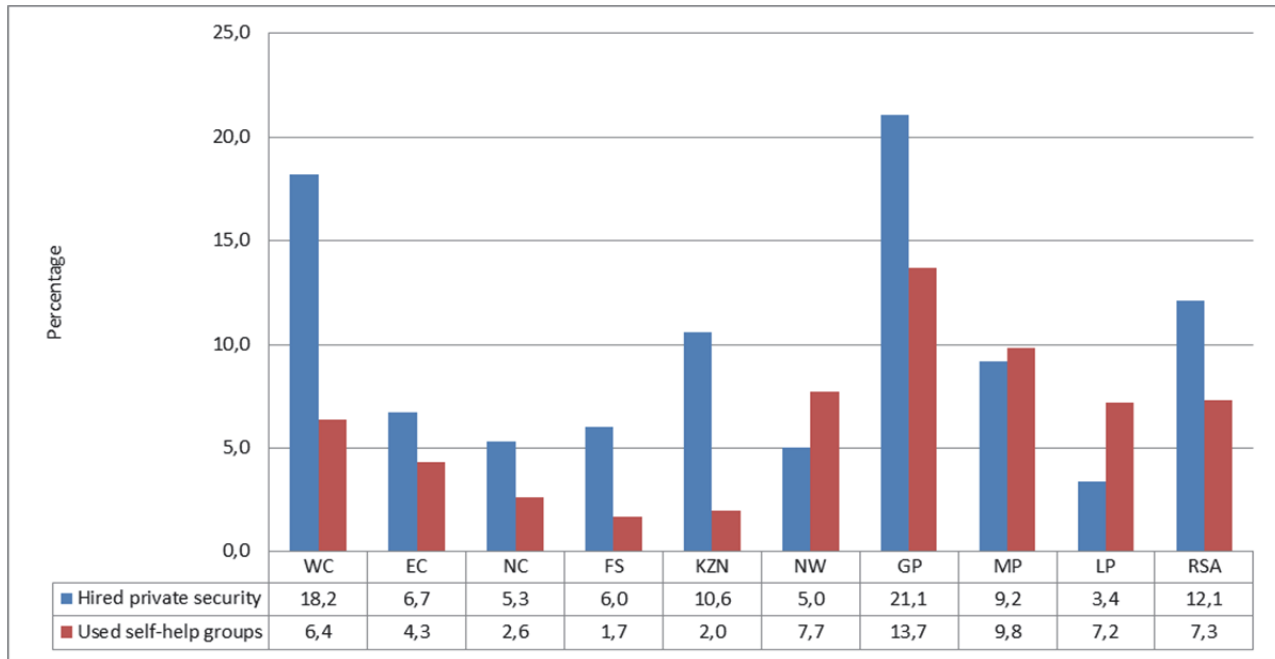
Figure 20 depicts the distribution of households that hired private security and those that participated in self-help groups as a result of crime. From 2011 to 2013/14, the estimated proportion of households who hired private security for protection increased marginally from 11,4% to 12,1% while the proportion of those who used self-help groups decreased from 9,4% to 7,3%. Among the 12,1% of households who preferred to hire private security companies for protection, the majority resided in Gauteng (21,1%) and Western Cape (18,2%). Gauteng (13,7%) and Mpumalanga (9,8%) had the highest percentages of households who formed self-help groups that empowered households to protect themselves against crime in 2013/14.

Table 15: Households who hired private security by their level of satisfaction, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Hired private security	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Yes	6,9	6,4	7,4	12,0	11,1	12,8	63,6	60,7	66,5126
	No	50,7	49,8	51,6	88,0	87,2	88,9	56,9	56,0	57,8068
	Total	57,6	56,7	58,5	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Yes	3,9	3,5	4,3	9,3	8,4	10,2	36,4	33,5	39,2747
	No	38,5	37,6	39,3	90,7	89,8	91,6	43,1	42,2	44,05
	Total	42,4	41,5	43,3	100,0					
Total	Yes	10,8	10,2	11,4				100,0		
	No	89,2	88,6	89,8				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square (13,1564), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,0003)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Hired private security)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Hired private security) therefore, the value of *yes* in those that are satisfied, when added to *yes* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

About two-thirds of households (63,6%) who hired private security were satisfied with the police. More than half of households (56,9%) who did not hire private security were also satisfied with the police. Thus, households who hired private security were statistically significantly more likely to be satisfied with police than those who did not hire private security (Table 15).

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Table 16: Households who took part in self-help groups by their level of satisfaction, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Self-help group	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Yes	4,1	3,8	4,5	7,2	6,6	7,7	58,2	55,0	61,4
	No	53,6	52,8	54,5	92,8	92,3	93,4	57,7	56,8	58,6
	Total	57,8	56,9	58,6	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Yes	3,0	2,7	3,3	7,0	6,3	7,8	41,8	38,6	45,0
	No	39,3	38,4	40,1	93,0	92,2	93,7	42,3	41,4	43,2
	Total	42,2	41,4	43,1	100,0					
Total	Yes	7,1	6,7	7,6				100,0		
	No	92,9	92,4	93,3				100,0		
	Total	100								

* Pearson Chi-Square (0,3723), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0,5418)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Self-help group)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Self-help group) therefore, the value of *yes* in those that are satisfied, when added to *yes* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 16 presents the findings of households who used self-help groups as a protective measure against crime in their area of residence. About 58,2% who used self-help groups were likely to be satisfied with the police. This is nearly similar to the percentage of households who did not participate in self-help groups (57,7%) and were satisfied with the police.

5.4 Household characteristics

5.4.1 Characteristics of household heads and their level of satisfaction and feelings of safety

Table 17: Characteristics of household heads by their level of trust in police, satisfaction with police and courts and feelings of safety, VOCS 2013/14

Variable	Descriptor	Trust in the police	Satisfaction		Feeling of safety	
			SAPS	Courts	During the day	When it is dark
Population group	Black African	77,6	57,7	67,4	88,3	34,3
	Coloured	73,3	60,6	54,8	79,7	39,0
	Indian/Asian	74,9	62,5	67,8	77,4	37,8
	White	72,4	67,9	49,6	82,1	34,9
Gender	Male	65,5	59,6	64,1	86,9	36,1
	Female	64,7	58,9	64,5	86,2	33,4
Educational background	Primary education	65,2	59,2	63,2	86,3	34,5
	Secondary education	64,7	59,1	64,5	86,4	34,7
	Tertiary education	67,4	59,8	68,9	89,2	37,8
Age group	<25	80,7	58,6	68,0	87,1	34,7
	25–34	76,3	59,5	65,1	87,1	34,0
	35–44	74,9	57,8	63,6	86,1	33,3
	45–54	75,7	57,6	62,9	86,9	34,9
	>55	77,4	61,7	63,9	86,2	36,9
Marital status	Married/living together like husband and wife	77,9	59,0	65,1	87,1	35,3
	Divorced	78,2	62,8	66,5	88,4	36,7
	Separated	65,1	48,6	60,9	85,5	31,1
	Widowed	75,8	57,7	62,7	86,9	37,1
	Single	76,2	59,6	64,1	86,4	34,5
Household size	1 to 2	77,1	62,8	64,5	87,7	36,0
	3 to 4	76,2	58,5	62,9	85,3	33,5
	5 or more	76,3	57,5	63,2	87,6	33,3
Main source of income	Salaries	74,7	59,4	62,4	85,8	33,6
	Grants	80,0	59,2	68,1	88,2	37,3
	Other income	74,3	63,0	60,0	82,0	30,2
	No income	80,3	53,8	60,5	91,7	42,0

Table 17 shows the characteristics of household heads and their level of satisfaction with the police and courts, as well as their feelings of safety during the day and when it is dark. About 65,0% of both the male and female populations indicated that they trusted the police. Both genders felt safe when walking alone during the day. However, females were less likely to feel safe than males when walking alone in the dark.

The majority of household heads within all population groups were satisfied with the police, although black Africans (57,7%) were less likely to be satisfied with the police than other population groups. Households headed by whites (49,6%) were less likely to be satisfied with courts, followed by households headed by coloureds (54,8%). Black Africans (88,3%) felt the safest walking alone during the day, while coloureds (79,7%) and Indians (77,4%) were the least likely to feel safe when walking alone during the day.

Households with older household heads were more likely to be satisfied with the police and courts than households headed by younger age groups. They were also more likely to feel safe. Household heads who were

separated from their spouses (48,6%), widowed (57,7%), and those who were living alone (59,6%) were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those who were married. More than sixty per cent of household heads for all marital status categories were likely to be satisfied with the courts.

Households who had one or two members were more likely to trust the police (77,1%) than those with more than two members. Furthermore, they were also more likely to be satisfied with both the police (62,8%) and courts (64,5%) and feel safer during the day when walking alone (87,7%).

Households who have no income (80,3%) were more likely to trust the police and feel safe during the day (91,7%) than those with an income. Income was more likely to influence household satisfaction with the police. About 63,0% of households with an income were satisfied with the police. Households whose main source of income were social grants were most likely to be satisfied with courts (68,1%).

5.4.2 Neighbourhood characteristics

The VOCS did not include questions on income, households' tenure status and other variables in order to measure living standards. However, other household surveys (e.g. Domestic Tourism Survey (DTS)) conducted within Stats SA do measure such indicators.

The DTS and VOCS were designed from the same master sample as discussed under the methodology section. Each of the above three surveys has independent samples which in some instances match at the primary sample unit (PSU) level. More than ninety per cent of the PSUs of the VOCS 2013/14 and DTS 2013 overlapped out of a total of 3 017 PSUs that were surveyed. Nearest neighbourhood characteristic methodologies were used for the spatial matching process in cases where there were no exact matches. This implies that the nearest PSUs included in the VOCS sample were given the Living Standard Measure (LSM) characteristic as measured by the DTS.

The LSM was used as a proxy for living standards. Although the DTS did not measure income, this variable was derived from the LSM. The LSM is segmented into 10 groups with an LSM of 10 (highest) and 1 (lowest). These are quite often grouped together into subgroups that roughly represent the low-income group (LSM 1–4), middle-income group (LSM 5–7) and high-income group (8–10).

Figure 21: Percentage distribution of household trust towards SAPS by Living Standard Measure, VOCS 2013/14

	Low	Intermediate	High	Total
Do not trust SAPS	23,4	27,3	26,8	23,4
Trust SAPS	76,6	72,7	73,2	76,6
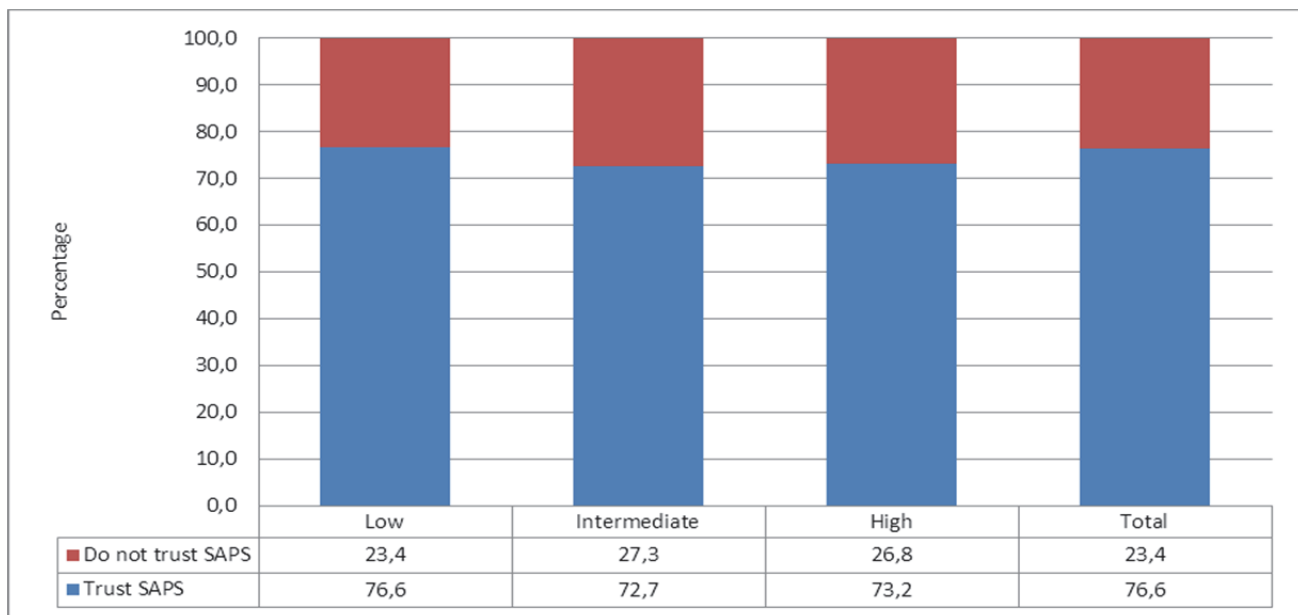
Figure 21 shows the household level of trust towards the SAPS by the Living Standard Measure. About 76,6% of households with low-income levels indicated that they trusted the SAPS, while households with high (73,2%) and intermediate (72,7%) income levels were the least likely to trust the SAPS.

Table 18 provides a summary of the household level of satisfaction with the police and courts, feelings of safety, victimisation level and protective measures taken by households to protect themselves from crime by geographical location. Perceptions about police and courts vary across provinces. Households in North West were less likely to be satisfied with the police and courts in general. Households in Western Cape and Gauteng were also less likely to be satisfied with courts, while households in Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Free State were more likely to be satisfied with the police in their area of residence.

Households in Limpopo and Northern Cape felt safe when walking alone when it is dark and during the day, while residents in Gauteng indicated that they felt unsafe walking alone when it is dark. Households in Western Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal were more likely to feel unsafe while walking alone during the day.

Households in Western Cape, North West and Free State had the view that crime has increased in their area of residence, while households in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal indicated that crime has decreased. Households in Eastern Cape, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal were more likely to take protective measures from crime.

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Table 18: Geographical location by level of satisfaction with police and courts, households' feelings of safety, experience of crime, and perceived level of safety and protection measures, VOCS 2013/14

Geographical characteristics	Satisfied with police		Satisfied with courts		Feeling of safety walking alone when it is dark		Feeling of safety walking alone during the day		Crime experienced at least once		Perceived level of crime			Taken any measure to protect themselves	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Increased	Decreased	Stayed the same	Yes	No
Province															
WC	63,9	36,1	45,0	55,0	35,4	64,6	72,9	27,1	18,1	81,9	56,3	12,6	31,2	56,8	43,2
EC	65,6	34,4	68,2	31,8	30,4	69,6	90,5	9,5	16,1	83,9	43,6	27,0	29,4	66,5	33,5
NC	59,8	40,2	72,6	27,4	39,3	60,7	93,2	6,8	14,0	86,0	49,6	23,2	27,2	51,9	48,1
FS	61,3	38,7	68,5	31,5	23,3	76,7	91,9	8,1	10,1	89,9	50,2	29,2	20,7	53,0	47,0
KZN	56,3	43,7	71,9	28,1	41,5	58,5	85,2	14,8	12,8	87,2	41,9	31,3	26,8	55,5	44,5
NW	49,5	50,5	62,9	37,1	33,1	66,9	91,7	8,3	13,8	86,2	53,7	22,9	23,4	53,6	46,4
GP	59,7	40,3	56,8	43,2	29,2	70,8	84,4	15,6	17,5	82,5	36,9	39,3	23,8	37,7	62,3
MP	57,2	42,8	73,5	26,5	34,4	65,6	90,0	10,0	14,6	85,4	39,9	32,3	27,8	48,2	51,8
LP	58,4	41,6	74,1	25,9	48,8	51,2	93,0	7,0	9,2	90,8	47,3	31,5	21,3	41,4	58,6
RSA	59,2	40,8	64,2	35,7	34,9	65,1	86,6	13,4	14,7	85,3	44,2	30,1	25,7	50,1	49,9
	Pearson Chi-Square (180,0134) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (943,6873) Pr >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (539,0983) Pr >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (725,6321) Pr >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (174,9188) Pr >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (858,9469) Pr >0,05 (0,001)			Pearson Chi-Square (947,6555) Pr >0,05 (0,001)	
Settlement type															
Rural formal	60,3	39,7	56,0	44,0	36,4	63,6	86,7	13,3	17,5	82,5	46,3	28,1	25,6	46,3	53,7
Tribal area	60,0	40,0	69,3	30,7	35,0	65,0	88,3	11,7	12,7	87,3	43,0	33,5	23,5	50,0	50,0
Urban formal	58,6	41,4	61,9	38,1	34,5	65,5	85,1	14,9	15,9	84,1	45,0	28,0	27,1	51,0	49,0
Urban informal	59,0	41,0	63,2	36,8	35,6	64,4	87,8	12,2	13,1	86,9	43,0	29,6	27,4	47,5	52,5
	Pearson Chi-Square (5,2999) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,3542)		Pearson Chi-Square (180,7431) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,0001)		Pearson Chi-Square (2,8697) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,619)		Pearson Chi-Square (49,1504) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (57,5894) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,001)		Pearson Chi-Square (91,7728) Pr >0,05 (0,001)			Pearson Chi-Square (18,5293) Pr > ChiSq >0,05 (0,0095)	

5.5 Household perceptions of the perpetrators of crime

Figure 22: Percentage distribution of the views on where those most likely to commit crime live, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14
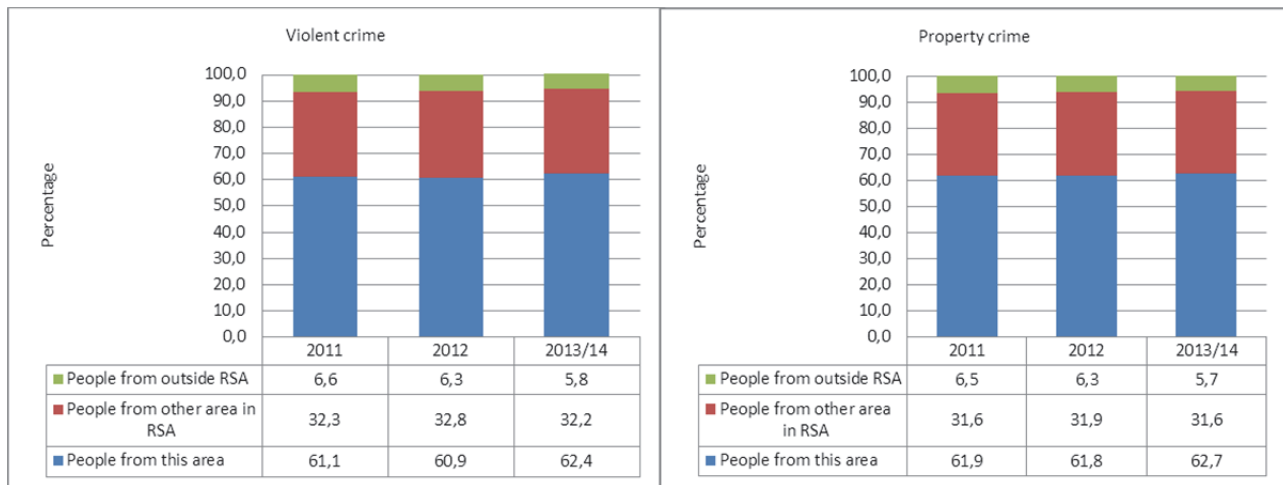
Figure 22 shows that most incidents of property and violent crime were committed by people from the area, while people from other areas in South Africa accounted for more than 30% of cases of property and violent crime. A thorough discussion of crime should take cognisance of the dynamics of population changes and growth in the country. Fear of crime in a community is normally associated with rapid population growth as well as deteriorating community cohesion. Migration and fertility are important demographic processes that affect population change. While fertility is largely considered a relatively non-threatening element of population growth, migration is often viewed in a different light, particularly by host communities. Migration has the potential to create fear and anxiety about crime, especially from the perspective of migrants who are vulnerable and may not have strong social capital, as well as residents who may feel threatened by the influx of new people into their community.

Figure 23: Percentage distribution of households who thought that crime was perpetrated by people from outside the country, by province, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14
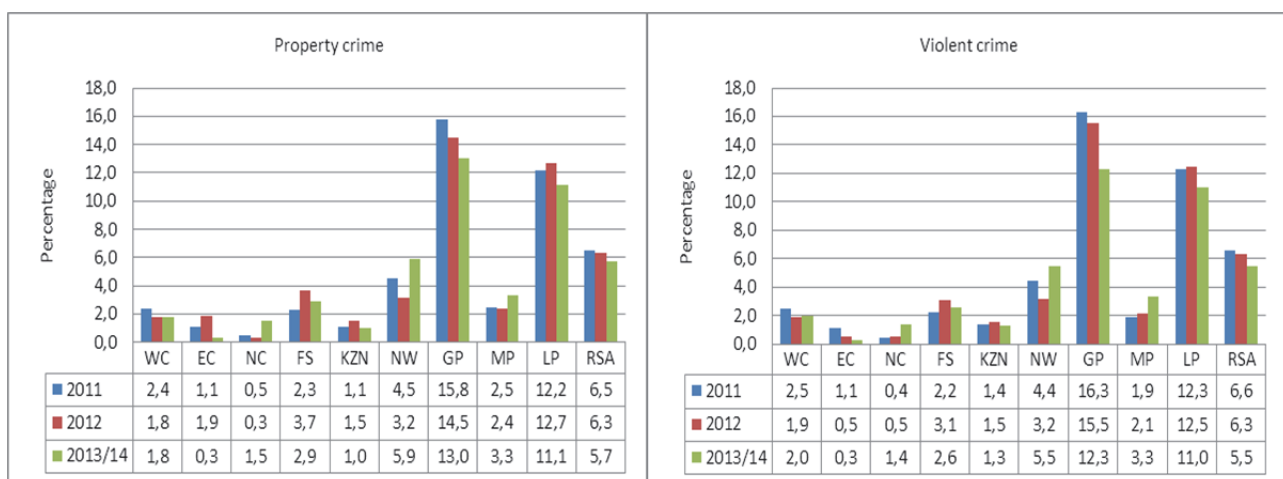
Figure 23 displays the perception of households who hold the view that the perpetrators of property and violent crime come from outside the country. Gauteng (13,0%) and Limpopo (11,1%) had the highest percentages of households who felt that the perpetrators of property crime come from outside the country. The Census 2011

results indicate that most people who moved from outside the country, now reside in Gauteng (487 118), followed by Western Cape (113 873) and Limpopo (101 749).

Figure 24: Percentage distribution of households who thought that crime was perpetrated by people from other areas in South Africa by province, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
Violent crime	40,3	36,7	22,6	23,0	28,5	28,8	39,3	27,4	21,4	32,3
Property crime	40,1	36,2	28,1	23,9	28,1	26,1	37,5	28,5	21,0	31,7
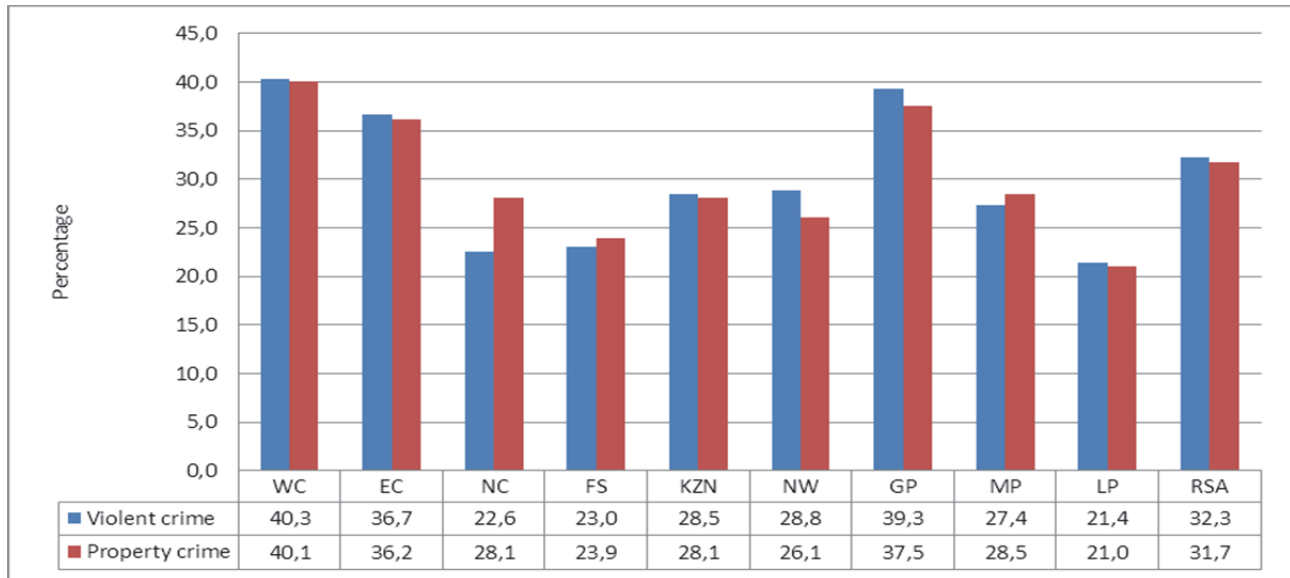
Figure 24 above shows the proportion of households who felt that property and violent crimes are committed by people who come from other areas in South Africa. Western Cape and Gauteng had the highest number of households who thought that crime was committed by people from other areas in the country.

Figure 25: Percentage distribution of households who thought that crime was perpetrated by people from other areas by population group of household heads, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

Property crime

	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
2011	25,0	32,0	61,8	65,9
2012	25,5	31,2	68,9	64,9
2013/14	25,4	34,7	60,2	64,6

Violent crime

	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
2011	25,8	31,6	61,1	66,5
2012	26,7	31,7	67,1	65,1
2013/14	25,9	34,7	61,4	65,5
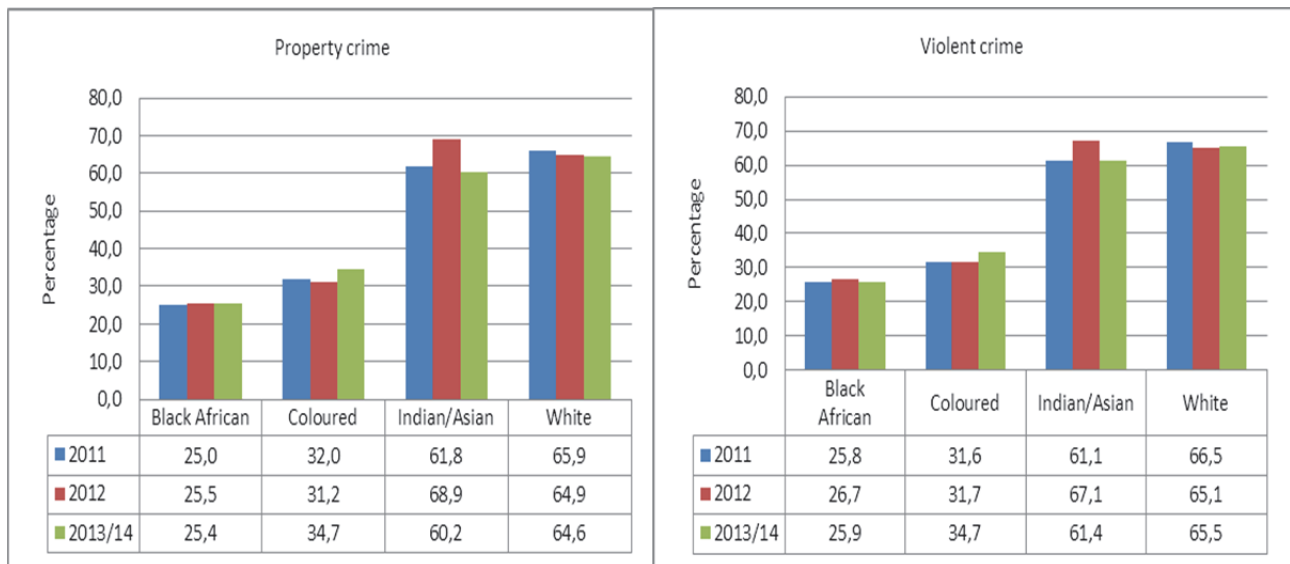
White and Indian/Asian households were more likley to think that violent and property crimes are committed by people from other areas in South Africa, whilst fewer households from both the coloured and black African communities felt the same way (Figure 25).

Figure 26: Percentage distribution of households who thought that crime was perpetrated by people from their area, by province, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

In South Africa, a little over 60% of households felt that property crime and violent crime were mostly committed by people residing in their own community (Figure 26). Gauteng had the lowest percentage of households who indicated that they thought property crime (49,5%) and violent crime (48,4%) were committed by people originating from their area of residence.

These findings are not surprising because, as illustrated in the previous graph (Figure 25), Gauteng had the highest percentages of households who felt that the perpetrators of property crime come from outside the country.

Figure 27: Percentage distribution of households who thought that crime was perpetrated by people from their area, by population group of household heads, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14
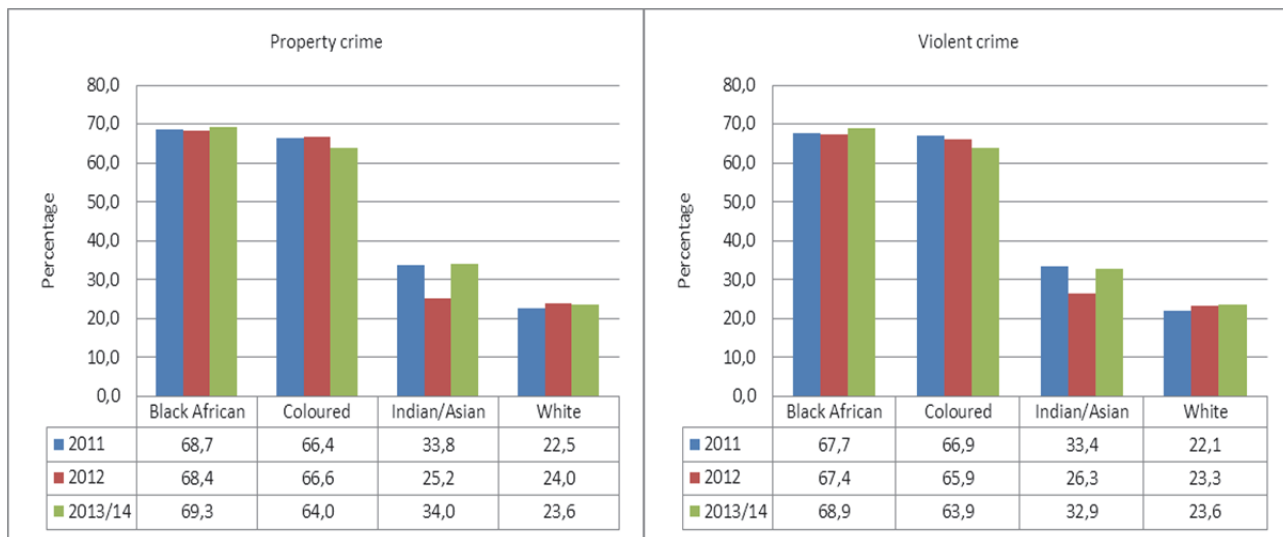
Figure 27 represents the percentage distribution of household perceptions of the perpetrators of property and violent crimes, disaggregated by population group. Black African-headed households and coloured-headed households felt that property and violent crimes were committed by people from their area. Very few white and Indian/Asian-headed households perceived that people from their area of residence were most likely to commit crimes.

5.6 Household perceptions of law enforcement agencies in South Africa

The main focus of this report, as indicated in the objectives, is to examine the public's perceptions about the Criminal Justice System in its fight against crime in South Africa. Although it can be argued that the views of the public about law enforcement agencies may be highly influenced by what is reported in the media, the value of public perceptions cannot go unnoticed.

It has been established that crime is naturally a difficult concept to measure due to the sensitive nature of some crimes, and there is a possibility that some crimes may go unreported. Significant developments have been made regarding the production of accurate and relevant crime and safety statistics; nonetheless, neither the victimisation survey results nor the police recorded data can produce crime statistics that are exhaustive. Various studies have argued that socio-economic factors may have an impact on whether one becomes a victim or a perpetrator of crime, therefore the fight against crime requires a holistic approach that necessitates cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the public. It is imperative to note that the issue of crime is not just a security issue to be handled by the Criminal Justice System, but also a social issue, thus community participation is vital (The Presidency, 2014). Despite this assertion, the community at large still persists to place the responsibility of safety and security entirely on the Criminal Justice System.

Assessing the work of the Criminal Justice System (CJS) will assist us in evaluating the gains that have been made by our democracy, not only relating to crime and safety but also through other government related priorities. This chapter attempts to show the importance of the work that the CJS does in ensuring the safety of people, and more importantly, how it may indirectly infringe on the work of other government departments, particularly those that deal with social security, health and economic wellbeing.

Furthermore, the report discusses findings about factors that have an impact on households' feeling of safety, which may be influenced by the level of crime. It is believed that an increase in the level of crime, especially violent crime, creates anxiety amongst households.

5.6.1 Household satisfaction with the Criminal Justice System

The Criminal Justice System or the individual departments that make up the CJS have a set of performance indicators against which their performance is evaluated on an annual basis, but it is through public surveys that the level of satisfaction with the CJS can be evaluated. Public opinion surveys afford the public a platform to share their views about the CJS, and the results can be used to formulate social policy.

Victimisation surveys provide rich information that can be used by policymakers and CJS members to evaluate whether policies and programmes benefit all citizens in the country. Until recently, the performance of police and courts were measured in terms of the general public's confidence in local policing and the way courts deal with the perpetrators of crime. The VOCS provides baseline information in measuring indicators linked to the strategic objectives outlined in the MTSF (2014–2019).

While it may be fairly easy to use survey data to determine the household level of confidence in the CJS, it is rather complex to establish whether households' rating of the CJS influences their feelings of safety and vice versa.

One of the objectives of this study is to explore potential associations between household satisfaction with the CJS and other related factors, and therefore variables such as criminal victimisation, corruption, police visibility, courts and police accessibility were tested in relation to the household level of satisfaction with the CJS.

Figure 28: Percentage distribution of household satisfaction with police, courts and correctional services VOCS 1998 – VOCS 2013/14

	1998	2003	2007	2011	2012	2013/14
Satisfied with police	38,2	51,8	49,1	64,6	62,4	59,2
Satisfied with courts		71,4	75,5	64,7	63,7	64,3
Satisfied with correctional services				52,0	51,3	49,8
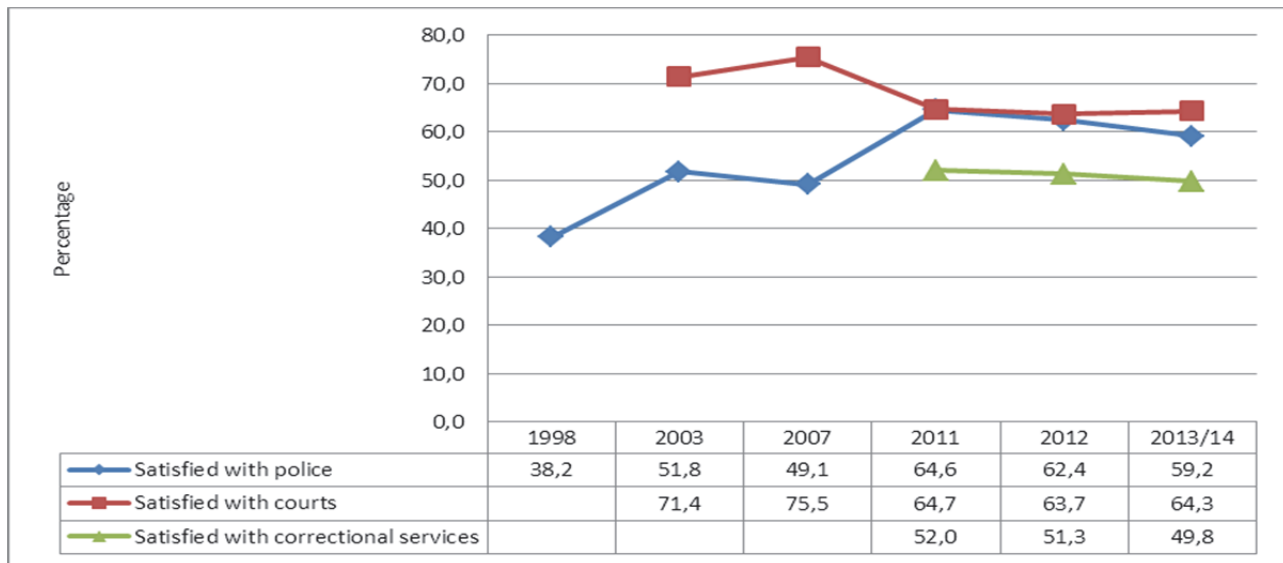
Note: A question on satisfaction with courts and correctional services ry was not included in VOCS 1998–2007

Figure 28 depicts the distribution of household satisfaction with police, courts and correctional services. A comparison of the 1998 and 2013/14 findings on household perceptions of police, courts and correctional services performance shows that more people are currently satisfied with the police than in 1998. However, South Africans' views of the courts are still more favourable than their views of the police or correctional services. Since 2012, public perceptions of police performance decreased slightly, perhaps giving an indication that more needs to be done to improve the public face of the services provided by frontline police personnel. Household perceptions of the judiciary have marginally declined in 2013/14 to 64,3%.

Household victimisation status has been seen as one of the factors that affect people's confidence in various elements of the CJS. In the event of being victimised, it is critical that members of the public are treated well when they encounter the CJS, in line with the service delivery requirements of these state organs. South Africans are quite satisfied with, and generally hold encouraging attitudes toward, their local police and judiciary. Table 19 to Table 21 illustrate the interplay between the levels of satisfaction related to the police, courts and correctional services.

Table 19: Households who were satisfied with the police and courts, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction with police	Level of satisfaction with courts	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Percentage satisfaction with police	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Percentage satisfaction with courts	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with police	Satisfied with courts	44,5	43,7	45,3	75,1	74,2	76,0	69,3	68,4	70,1
	Not satisfied with courts	14,7	14,2	15,3	24,9	24,0	25,8	41,3	39,9	42,6
	Total	59,3	58,5	60,0	100,0					
Not satisfied with police	Satisfied with courts	19,8	19,1	20,4	48,5	47,3	49,7	30,7	29,9	31,6
	Not satisfied with courts	21,0	20,3	21,7	51,5	50,3	52,7	58,7	57,4	60,1
	Total	40,7	40,0	41,5	100,0					
Total	Satisfied with courts	64,3	63,5	65,0				100,0		
	Not satisfied with courts	35,7	35,0	36,5				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square=1903, 9619, DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0, 0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Level of satisfaction with courts)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Level of satisfaction with courts) therefore, the value of *satisfied with courts* in those that are satisfied, when added to *satisfied with courts* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 19 shows the percentage distribution of households who were satisfied with courts (row per cent) within each response category of household satisfaction with the police, while the column percentage depicts the household level of satisfaction with the police within each category of those who were satisfied with courts. About 59% of households who were satisfied with services provided by the police in their neighbourhood, and three-quarters of those (75,1%) were likely to be satisfied with courts. Amongst the 40,7% households who were not satisfied with the police, less than half (48,5%) were likely to be satisfied with courts.

Conversely, about 64% of households were satisfied with services provided by courts, more than two-thirds (69,3%) were likely to be satisfied with the police. From an estimated 35,7% of households who were not satisfied with courts, 41,3% were satisfied with the police. This implies that those who were satisfied with the police were likely to be satisfied with courts. Therefore, confidence in the police is more likely to predict confidence in the courts. Activities of the police from the line function of the CJS contribute towards judiciary activities. Confidence in the CJS implies a need for governments and professionals within departments to better communicate to the public their roles and mandates.

Table 20: Percentage distribution of households who were satisfied with the police and correctional services, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction correctional services	Level of satisfaction with police	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Percentage satisfaction with correctional services	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Percentage satisfaction with police	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with correctional service	Satisfied with police	7,0	6,6	7,4	70,9	68,7	73,0	11,8	11,2	12,5
	Not satisfied with police	2,9	2,6	3,1	29,1	27,0	31,3	7,1	6,5	7,7
	Total	9,9	9,4	10,3	100,0					
Not satisfied with correctional services	Satisfied with police	52,2	51,4	53,0	57,9	57,1	58,8	88,2	87,5	88,8
	Not satisfied with police	37,9	37,1	38,7	42,1	41,2	42,9	92,9	92,3	93,5
	Total	90,1	89,7	90,6	100,0					
Total	Satisfied with police	59,2	58,4	60,0				100,0		
	Not satisfied with police	40,8	40,0	41,6				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square (155, 7339), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0, 0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Level of satisfaction with police)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Level of satisfaction with police) therefore, the value of *satisfied with police* in those that are satisfied, when added to *satisfied with police* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 20 depicts the distribution of households who were satisfied with the police and correctional services in 2013/14. Among those households that were satisfied with correctional services, an estimated 70,9% were also satisfied with the police. About 11,8% of households who were satisfied with the police were also satisfied with correctional services.

Table 21: Percentage distribution of households who were satisfied with the courts and correctional services, VOCS 2013/14

Level of satisfaction correctional services	Level of satisfaction with courts	Percentage of all households	95% confidence limits for per cent		Row per cent	95% confidence limits for row per cent		Column per cent	95% confidence limits for column per cent	
			Low	High		Low	High		Low	High
Satisfied with correctional services	Satisfied with courts	8,0	7,6	8,4	81,0	79,2	82,8	12,4	11,8	13,1
Not satisfied with correctional services	Not satisfied with courts	1,9	1,7	2,1	19,0	17,2	20,8	5,3	4,7	5,8
Total	Total	9,9	9,4	10,3	100,0					
Satisfied with correctional services	Satisfied with courts	56,4	55,6	57,2	62,6	61,7	63,4	87,6	86,9	88,2
Not satisfied with correctional services	Not satisfied with courts	33,7	33,0	34,5	37,4	36,6	38,3	94,7	94,2	95,3
Total	Total	90,1	89,7	90,6	100,0					
Total	Satisfied with courts	64,4	63,6	65,2				100,0		
	Not satisfied with courts	35,6	34,8	36,4				100,0		
	Total	100,0								

* Pearson Chi-Square (332, 8658), DF=1, Pr > ChiSq (0, 0001)
*Row percentage refers to the distribution of row categories (satisfied & not satisfied) by the variable in the second column (Level of satisfaction with courts)
*Column percentage refers to the value within each category of the variable in the second column of the table (Level of satisfaction with courts) therefore, the value of *satisfied with courts* in those that are satisfied, when added to *satisfied with courts* in those that are not satisfied, must add up to 100 per cent

Table 21 shows the distribution of household satisfaction with courts and correctional services. From an estimated 9,9 % of households that were satisfied with correctional services, about 81% were satisfied with courts. About 64,4% of those who were satisfied with courts were also satisfied with correctional services.

5.6.2 Household perceptions of police services

5.6.2.1 Household level of trust in police

The VOCS 2013/14 is used in this report as a main source of data to assess the level of trust communities have in the police. The survey included questions that probe the household level of trust in the police and average police response time, protective measures taken by households to curb crime, victimisation experience and households' general attitudes toward organs of state in the Criminal Justice System.

Figure 29: Percentage distribution of households who trust the police in their area by province, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
2011	76,3	83,8	75,4	85,7	82,8	87,0	73,5	78,4	85,1	80,1
2012	71,7	84,8	81,0	85,5	83,1	75,6	72,2	81,0	83,1	78,8
2013/14	73,1	87,2	77,6	82,0	78,5	78,5	67,2	76,2	82,9	76,6
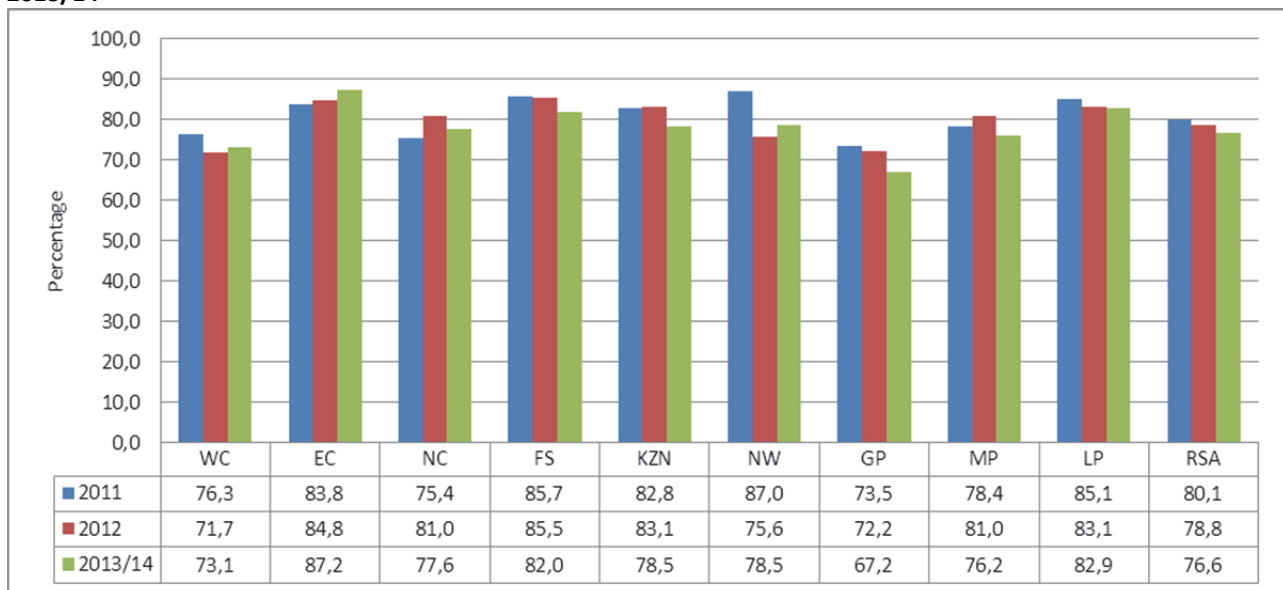
Figure 29 shows the provincial distribution of the household level of trust in the police. About eighty per cent of households indicated that they trusted the police in 2011, while an estimated 78,8% trusted the police in 2012. Slightly more than three-quarters of households in South Africa reported having trust in the police in 2013/14. This indicates that despite the majority of households in South Africa trusting the police services, the level of trust that households have in the police decreased steadily between 2011 and 2013/14. Noticeable declines in the levels of trust were noted in Gauteng and North West. Eastern Cape (87,2%) households were most likely to trust the police in 2013/14, while Gauteng (67,2%) recorded the smallest percentage in the same period.

When asked who they would first contact to come to their rescue in the event of being victimised, the majority (54,5%) of households in South Africa indicated that they would first call the police before contacting anyone else. This may be indicative of households' knowledge that the police have an institutional mandate to combat crime or it may relate to the level of trust that they have in the police.

5.6.2.2 Household level of satisfaction with police

The South African Police Service has made various interventions in an effort to address aspects of its strategic outcome by implementing "citizen-based monitoring and evaluation; and conducting objective safety audits and customer satisfaction surveys" (SAPS, 2013/14: 1), while Statistics South Africa conducts Victims of Crime Surveys which measure, among others, the public's level of satisfaction with police services.

The SAPS is the frontline institution in the CJS, and the way in which they treat victims is likely to shape their overall perceptions of the CJS (NPA, 2007). In the VOCS, households were asked to give reasons why they were satisfied with the police. Reasons most likely to be provided included police come to the scene of the crime, they are committed, they arrest criminals, they are trustworthy, and they respond on time.

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Map 3 shows the distribution of household level of satisfaction with the police in all nine provinces of South Africa. Households in Limpopo, North West, Free State and Mpumalanga were more satisfied with police in their area of residence when compared to provinces in the rest of the country.

Map 3: Distribution of household level of satisfaction with the police, VOCS 2013/14

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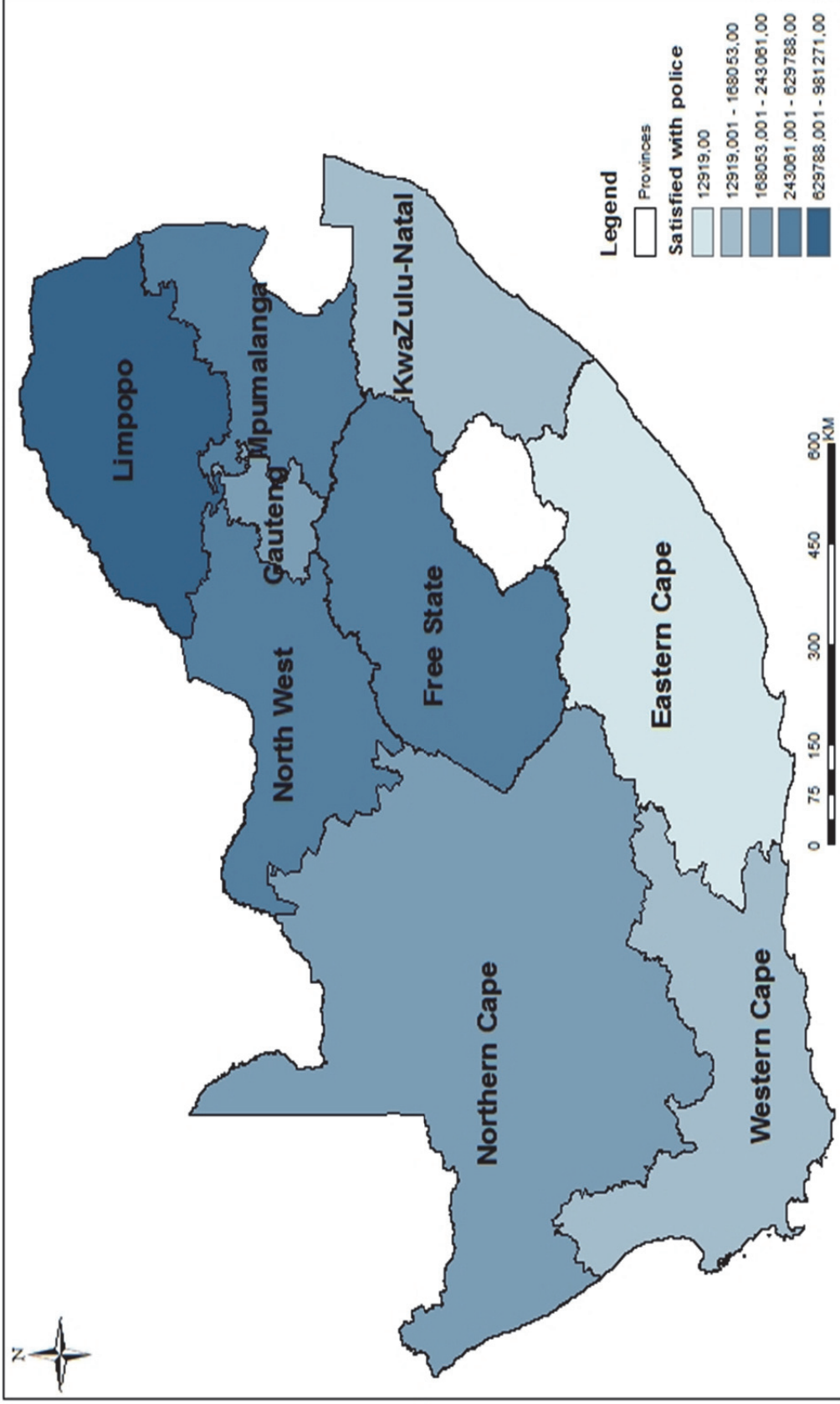
Figure 30: Percentage distribution of households who were satisfied with the police in their area by province, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
■ 2011	71,1	62,8	60,9	64,1	63,0	62,4	66,2	57,1	66,7	64,6
■ 2012	66,1	65,6	61,1	61,0	60,1	51,1	65,3	58,2	62,4	62,4
■ 2013/14	63,9	65,8	58,7	61,3	56,3	50,7	59,1	55,4	59,7	59,2
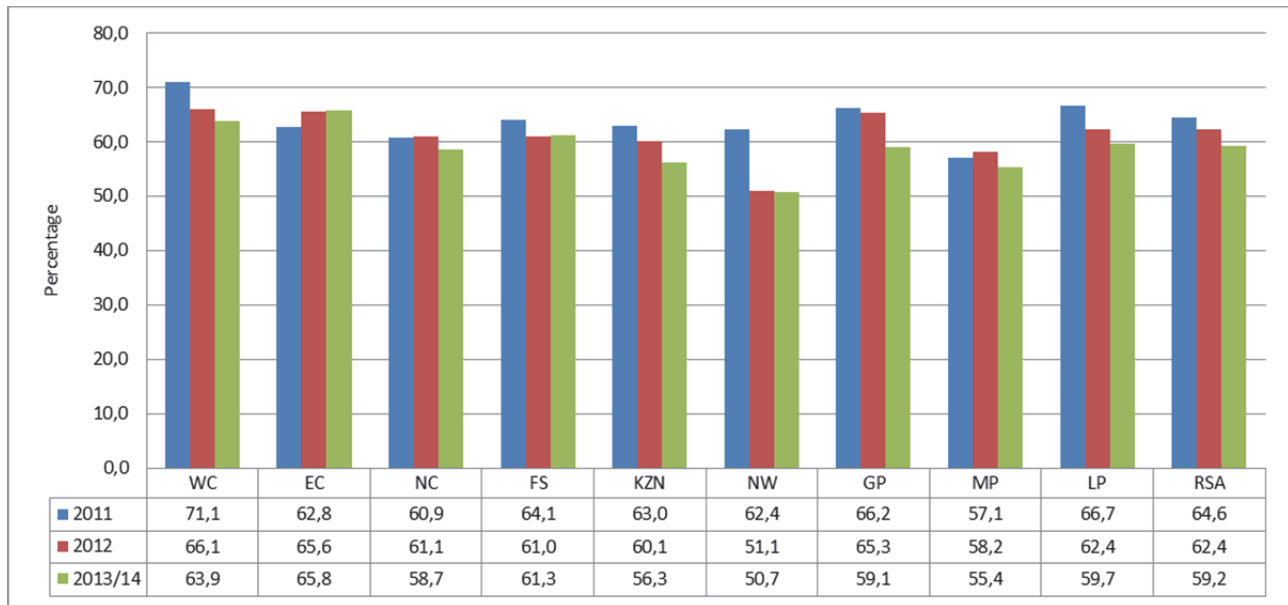
In Figure 30, the VOCS results show that the proportion of households that were satisfied with police services in their area of residence declined from 64,6% in 2011 to 59,2% in 2013/14. From 2012 to 2013/14, noticeable decreases in satisfaction were observed in Gauteng (6,2 percentage points), KwaZulu-Natal (3,8 percentage points) and Mpumalanga (2,8 percentage points). Increasing levels of satisfaction with the police were observed in Free State (0,3% percentage points) and Eastern Cape (0,2% percentage points).

The majority of households (78,0%) were satisfied with the police because they come to the scene of the crime, followed by those who said the police are committed (73,7%) and that they arrest criminals (66,3%). During the 2013/14 financial year, about 41% of households who were not satisfied with the police were mostly of the view that they do not respond on time (74,1%), they are lazy (56,9%) and that they are corrupt (51,0%).

While it may be comforting that the majority of South Africans expressed satisfaction with the police services in their area, it is concerning that there was a noticeable decline in the proportion of persons who were satisfied in the period under observation. This decreasing level of satisfaction with police services suggests that more needs to be done in order to improve those aspects for which the police were rated poorly by the public.

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The Principal Component Analysis method was used to reduce the number of related variables that can be used to predict the level of satisfaction with the police into fewer numbers of variables, but with more variation. In predicting the level of satisfaction with the police, thirteen variables were used, which were the same as the number of principal components displayed.

Table 22: Eigenvalue of the correlation matrix used in the prediction of level of satisfaction with the police, VOCS 2013/14

Eigenvalues of the correlation matrix				
Components	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
1	1,467	0,227	0,113	0,113
2	1,240	0,072	0,095	0,208
3	1,168	0,068	0,090	0,298
4	1,100	0,044	0,085	0,383
5	1,056	0,037	0,081	0,464
6	1,020	0,035	0,078	0,542
7	0,985	0,039	0,076	0,618
8	0,946	0,045	0,073	0,691
9	0,901	0,019	0,069	0,760
10	0,882	0,058	0,068	0,828
11	0,825	0,030	0,063	0,892
12	0,795	0,180	0,061	0,953
13	0,614	-	0,047	1,000

In order to select the number of components to use, a method known as Kaiser Criterion (Kaiser, 1960) was used. In the interpretation of the SAS output, Cary (1986) indicated that with this method, any component with an eigenvalue greater than 1,000 is retained and interpreted. Table 22 shows that components one to six had eigenvalues greater than one, which accounted for about 54% of the variability.

Table 23: Eigenvector matrix used in the prediction of level of satisfaction with the police, VOCS 2013/14

Eigenvectors						
Variables	Principal component 1	Principal component 2	Principal component 3	Principal component 4	Principal component 5	Principal component 6
Official contact with the police	0,299	-0,220	0,104	0,349	0,169	-0,180
Police took less than 30 minutes to respond	0,588	0,149	0,266	-0,129	-0,129	0,062
Saw police officer on duty at least once a day	0,601	0,109	0,047	-0,125	-0,175	0,237
Satisfied with the courts	-0,192	0,340	0,123	-0,122	-0,042	-0,277
Living Standard Measure	-0,189	0,076	-0,189	-0,338	0,334	0,525
Feelings of safety when walking alone during the day	-0,202	0,355	0,438	0,205	0,014	0,107
Feelings of safety when walking alone when it is dark	-0,078	0,200	0,601	0,111	0,331	-0,064
Age	0,034	0,379	-0,396	0,465	0,030	-0,079
Experienced crime	-0,159	0,324	0,135	-0,220	-0,483	0,251
Gender	0,131	0,487	-0,279	0,350	0,103	0,234
Safer after taking precautions	0,162	0,242	-0,054	-0,327	0,435	-0,405
Government corruption	0,024	-0,233	0,193	0,229	0,360	0,501
Took protection measure	0,116	0,179	-0,141	-0,340	0,372	0,021

Table 23 shows the correlation between variables used and principal components. The variables which are strongly correlated with the principal component based on the magnitude according to the selected correlation value of more than 0,5 are retained. The second, fourth and fifth principal components were outside our cut-off correlation value.

- The first principal component is strongly correlated with how often households saw a police officer in uniform or on duty in their area of residence and the average time it took the police to respond to an emergency call. In this instance, this component (police visibility and the police response time to emergencies) was found to better predict household level of satisfaction with the police.

- The third principal component (households who felt safe when walking alone when it is dark), can be used to predict household satisfaction with the police.

- The sixth principal component is composed of the variables Living Standard Measure (LSM) and government corruption. In this context, government corruption refers to court related services, policing, driver's licences, traffic fines and corruption when visiting a prison.

The analysis of the tables above shows that indicators such as police visibility and prompt response time, feelings of safety and government corruption could be used to predict the household level of satisfaction with the police.

Table 24: Multinomial logistic regression analysis predicting household level of satisfaction with police by sets of predictor variables, VOCS 2013/14

Parameter	Point estimate	95% Wald confidence limits	
		Lower	Upper
Metropolitan area	0,616	0,575	0,660
Traditional area	1,350	1,245	1,464
Household size	0,862	0,796	0,933
Coloured population group	0,854	0,768	0,950
Age 45–54	1,050	0,943	1,169
Age greater than 54	1,380	1,243	1,531
Feelings safety when it is dark	1,597	1,500	1,700
Attend court	0,759	0,697	0,827
See police at least once a week	0,622	0,577	0,671
See police at least once a month	0,518	0,471	0,569
See police more than once a month	0,481	0,426	0,543
Never see police on duty	0,372	0,339	0,408
Response time between 30 and 60 minutes	0,529	0,483	0,580
Response time between 60 and 120	0,291	0,264	0,321
Experienced property crime	0,718	0,656	0,784

Table 24 shows the number of factors that are likely to influence household satisfaction with the police. We have used a combination of demographic, income, location, satisfaction, court attendance and visibility variables of the police to categorise them. These crime factors were modelled to predict household satisfaction with the police. The results depict all the variables that were statistically significant to influence the household level of satisfaction with the police and the odds of households being satisfied with the police against the variable of influence. The model showed that demographic variables such as age and population group were significant in explaining satisfaction with the police. Other variables such as living in a metropolitan area or traditional area, feeling safe walking alone when it is dark, police visibility, time it took for police to respond and the experience of property crime were also most likely to influence household satisfaction levels with the police.

Furthermore, the results of the model show the following:

- Households in the non-metropolitan areas were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those in metropolitan areas.
- Households who had between five to nine members were less likely to be satisfied with the police than the household with one to two members.
- Households in traditional areas were more likely to be satisfied with the police than households in non-traditional areas.
- Households where the population group of the household head was coloured were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those where the population group of the household head was black African.
- Households with older household heads (45–54 years and 54 years and older), were more likely to be satisfied with the police than those with younger household heads.
- Households who felt safe walking alone in their area of residence when it was dark were more likely to be satisfied with the police than households who did not feel safe.
- Households who had never attended court were less likely to be satisfied with the police than households who had attended court at least once.
- Households who indicated that they had seen a police officer uniform and on duty in their area of residence and those who had never seen a police officer were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those households who saw the police once a day.
- Households who indicated that police took between 30 to 60 minutes and between 60 to 120 minutes to respond to an emergency were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those households who indicated that police took less than 30 minutes to respond.
- Households who experienced property crime were less likely to be satisfied with the police than those who did not experience any property crime.

Households staying in traditional areas, those aged 45 years and older, those who had not experienced property crime and those who felt safe when walking alone in their area of residence when it was dark were most likely to be satisfied with police.

Factors including prior court attendance, police visibility, time it took for police to respond to emergencies, household size, staying in metropolitan areas, population group and previous property crime experience were likely to influence a household's unfavourable rating of the police.

5.6.2.3 Household perceptions of police accessibility

The police to population ratio was 1 police officer for 346 people in 2013/14. This falls within the United Nations standard of 1:450. In order to improve service delivery provision, the SAPS established a number of service points including police stations, active satellite police stations, active fixed contact points and active mobile contact points (SAPS, 2013/14).

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Map 4 shows the distribution of police stations in all nine provinces of South Africa. The provinces with large metropolitan areas (Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape) have more police stations than provinces with non-metropolitan areas.

Map 4: Distribution of police stations in South Africa, SAPS 2013/14
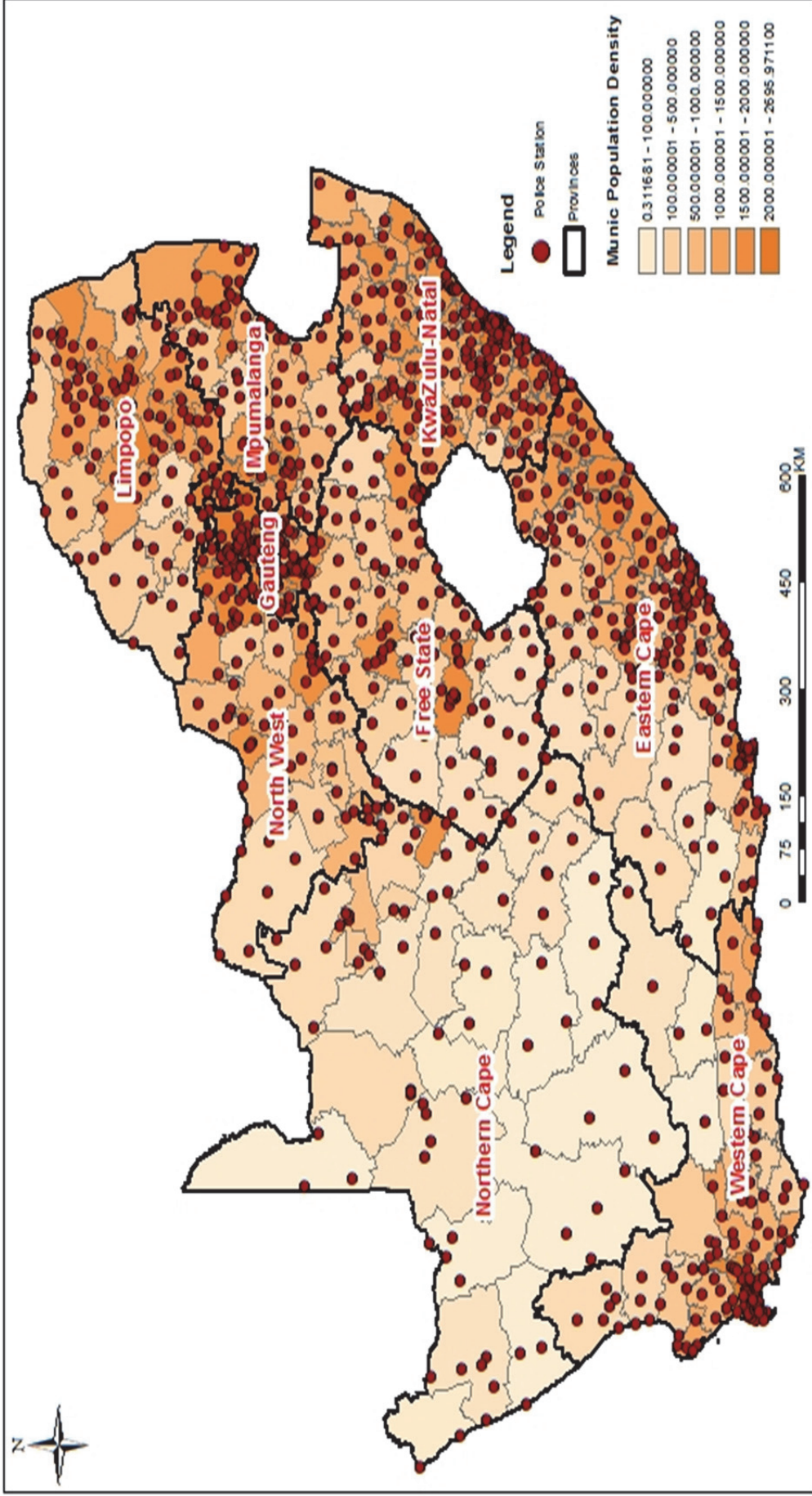
Map 5 presents the distribution of households who took less than 30 minutes on average to get to the nearest police station, using their usual mode of transport. The highest percentage of households who were within a 30-minute radius of the nearest police station was recorded in Western Cape and Gauteng. The provinces least likely to access a police station in less than 30 minutes were Limpopo, Eastern Cape and North West.

Map 5: Distribution of households who took less than 30 minutes to get to the nearest police station, VOCS 2013/14

Legend

Average time to police station
Per 10 000 households

- 5 000 - 5 500
- 5 501 - 6 000
- 6 001 - 7 000
- 7 001 - 8 500
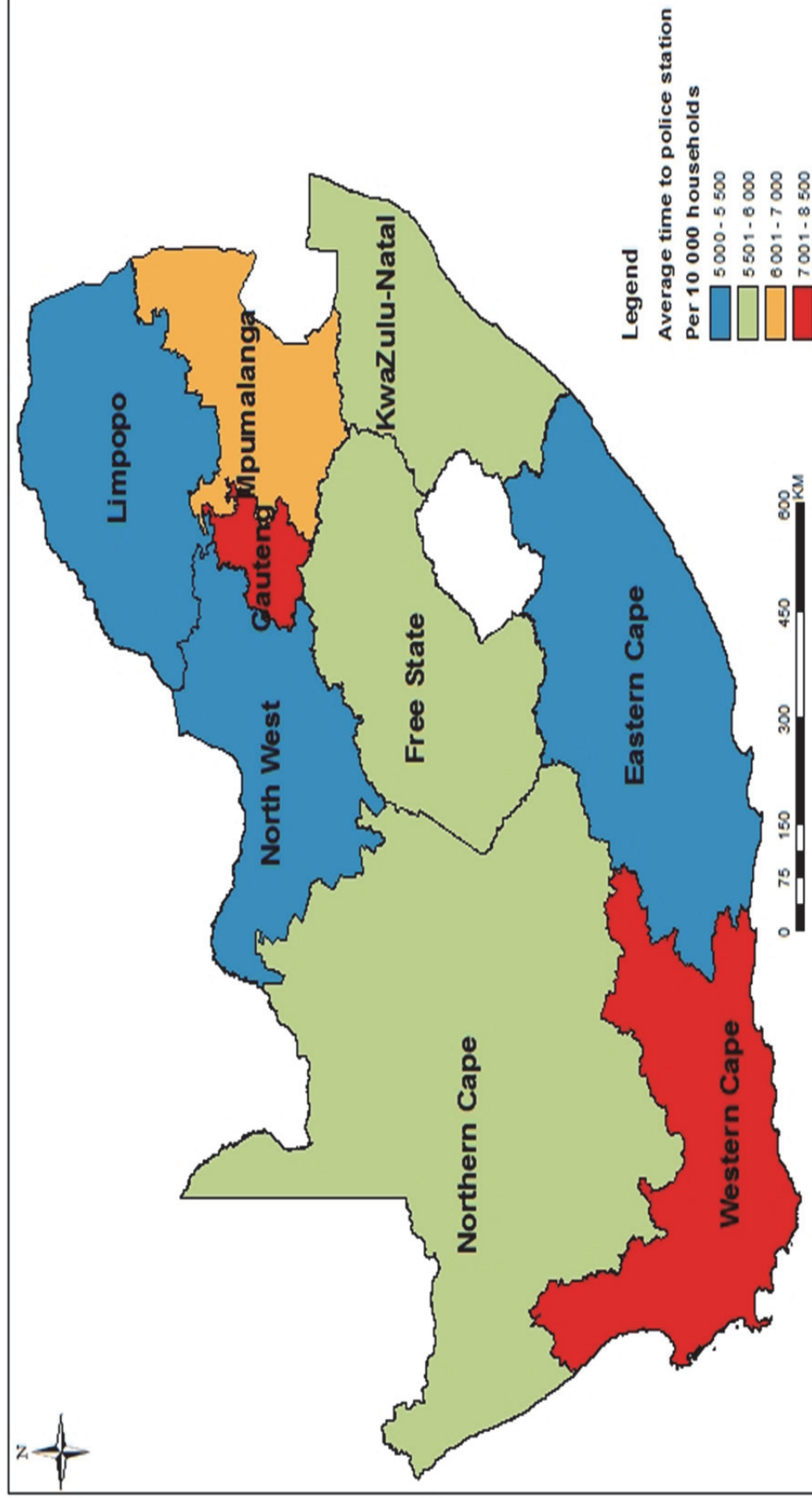
Figure 31: Percentage distribution of household perceptions of the average time it takes to get to the nearest police station using usual mode of transport by province, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14
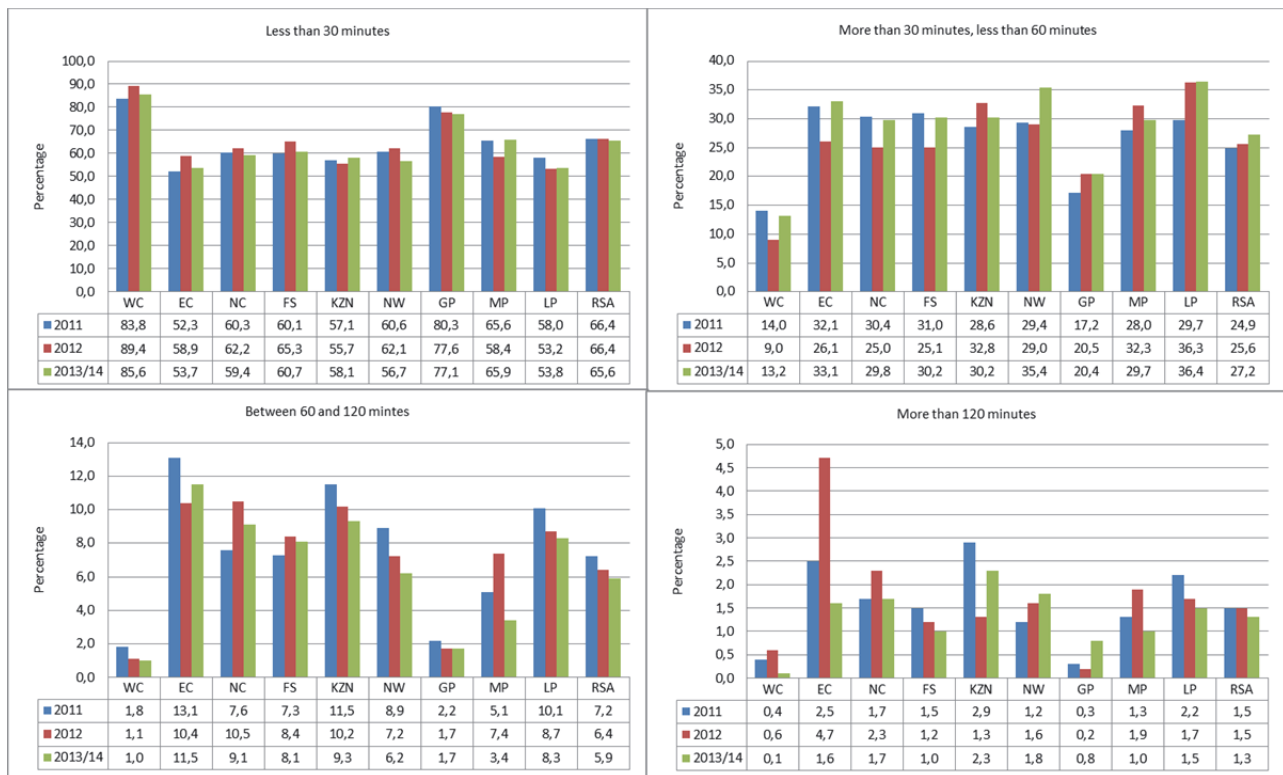
Figure 31 shows the length of time it takes households to access the nearest police station by province. Between 2011 and 2013/14, about 65% of households took less than 30 minutes to access their nearest police station using their normal mode of transport. Households in Western Cape and Gauteng were most likely to reach a station in their area of residence within 30 minutes, as opposed to other provinces. Eastern Cape and Limpopo province were least likely to reach a police station in less than thirty minutes.

Over the same period under observation, about a quarter of households took between half an hour and an hour to access their nearest police station, while no more than 7,2% of households took between an hour and two hours. Between 2012 and 2013/14, there was a marginal decrease in the number of households who said that it took more than two hours to access their nearest police station between (from 1,5% to 1,3%).

According to Map 4, there appears to be a relatively high concentration of police stations in metropolitan areas, and this may be one of the factors affecting the ease with which households can access police stations.

Figure 32: Percentage distribution of household access to the nearest police station by metropolitan municipality, VOCS 2013/14

	City of Cape Town	Nelson Mandela Bay	eThekwini	Ekurhuleni	City of Johannesburg	City of Tshwane
More than 2 hours	0,1	0,2	0,4	0,0	1,2	0,4
Less than 2 hours, but more than 1 hour	0,7	0,2	1,8	1,2	1,4	0,6
Less than 1 but more than 30 mins	8,8	11,3	16,0	16,9	18,7	18,0
Less than 30 mins	90,4	88,2	81,9	82,0	78,7	81,0

Figure 32 summarises the percentage distribution of household access to the nearest police station using their usual mode of transport, focusing only on metropolitan municipalities. The City of Cape Town had the highest proportion of households who could access their nearest police station in less than 30 minutes (90,4%), followed by Nelson Mandela Bay (88,2%), Ekurhuleni (82,0%), and eThekwini (81,9%).

5.6.2.4 Household perceptions about police visibility and response to crime

Visible policing is regarded as a line-function division of the SAPS, specifically responsible for combating crime through crime operations; providing services and activities at police stations, dealing with crimes affecting the social fabric of society including crime against women and children and community-based crime prevention, as well as providing a rapid-response service in respect of crimes in progress amongst others (GCIS, 2014).

The VOCS 2013/14 indicated that about 55,8% of households who were satisfied with the police said that the police responded on time. About 71,0% of households in Limpopo and an estimated 62,7% of households in Western Cape attributed their satisfaction to prompt police response. It is worth highlighting that when asked about the proximity of police stations, households in Limpopo were amongst those that were least likely to reach their nearest police stations in less than thirty minutes. However, when asked about their levels of satisfaction with the police, the majority of households in Limpopo attributed their satisfaction to prompt police response. This could be more of a revelation about household dynamics such as their normal mode of transport or factors that are related to household access to the nearest police station.

The majority of households who were dissatisfied with the police, attributed their unfavourable rating of the police to a tardy response to emergency calls.

Figure 33: Percentage distribution of households who indicated that the police respond to their calls in less than 30 minutes, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
■ 2011	39,4	16,9	27,7	26,2	17,9	18,4	30,4	16,9	24,0	24,6
■ 2012	45,5	16,3	29,1	23,4	15,9	17,7	29,3	10,9	19,0	23,4
■ 2013/14	43,1	12,4	23,8	22,2	13,1	16,8	29,7	12,3	18,8	22,0
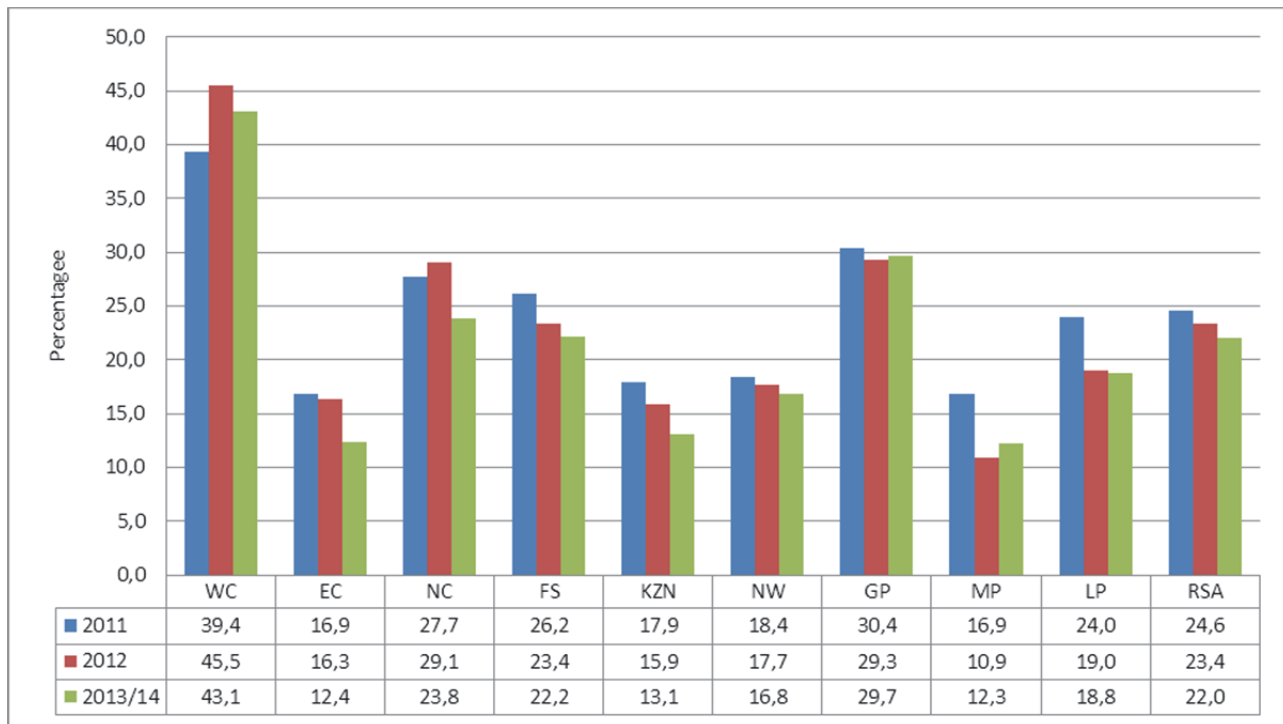
A distinction should be drawn between Figure 31 and Figure 33. Figure 31 shows how long it takes households to reach their nearest police station, while Figure 33 depicts a distribution of households who indicated that it took police less than 30 minutes to respond to emergencies.

About 22% of households in South Africa indicated that the police respond to their calls in less than 30 minutes (VOCS 2013/14). This view was more likely to be held by households in Western Cape (43,1%) and Gauteng (29,7%) than in the other provinces.

Figure 34: Percentage distribution of police response time by metropolitan municipality, VOCS 2013/14

	City of Cape Town	Nelson Mandela Bay	eThekwini	Ekurhuleni	City of Johannesburg	City of Tshwane
■ Never arrive	5,8	0,7	7,6	1,8	8,4	5,5
■ More than 2 hours	14	10,8	23,6	6,9	13,9	17,2
■ Less than 2 hours, but more than 1 hour	15,2	11,4	24,8	23,1	14,5	16,6
■ Less than 1 but more than 30 mins	23,5	50,7	23,1	36,8	34,9	28,3
■ Less than 30 mins	41,5	26,5	20,9	31,3	28,4	32,4

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Taking only the metropolitan municipalities into account, households in the City of Cape Town, Ekurhuleni and the City of Tshwane had the highest proportions of households who indicated that the police responded in less than thirty minutes (Figure 34). Noticeably, Nelson Mandela Bay municipality had the highest proportion of households who indicated that it took police between thirty minutes to an hour to respond to an emergency call. About 24,8% of households in eThekwini indicated that police took less than two hours, but more than 1 hour to respond to an emergency, followed by Ekurhuleni and the City of Tshwane

Figure 35: Percentage distribution of households who see the police, in uniform and on duty, in their area of residence, VOCS 2003 – VOCS 2013/14

	2003	2007	2011	2012	2013/14
See police at least once a day	29,0	34,0	41,0	37,5	36,3
See police at least once a week	25,0	28,0	27,2	27,6	27,2
See police at least once a month	14,0	11,0	10,6	12,1	13,3
Never see police in uniform	21,0	14,0	13,6	15,1	16,0
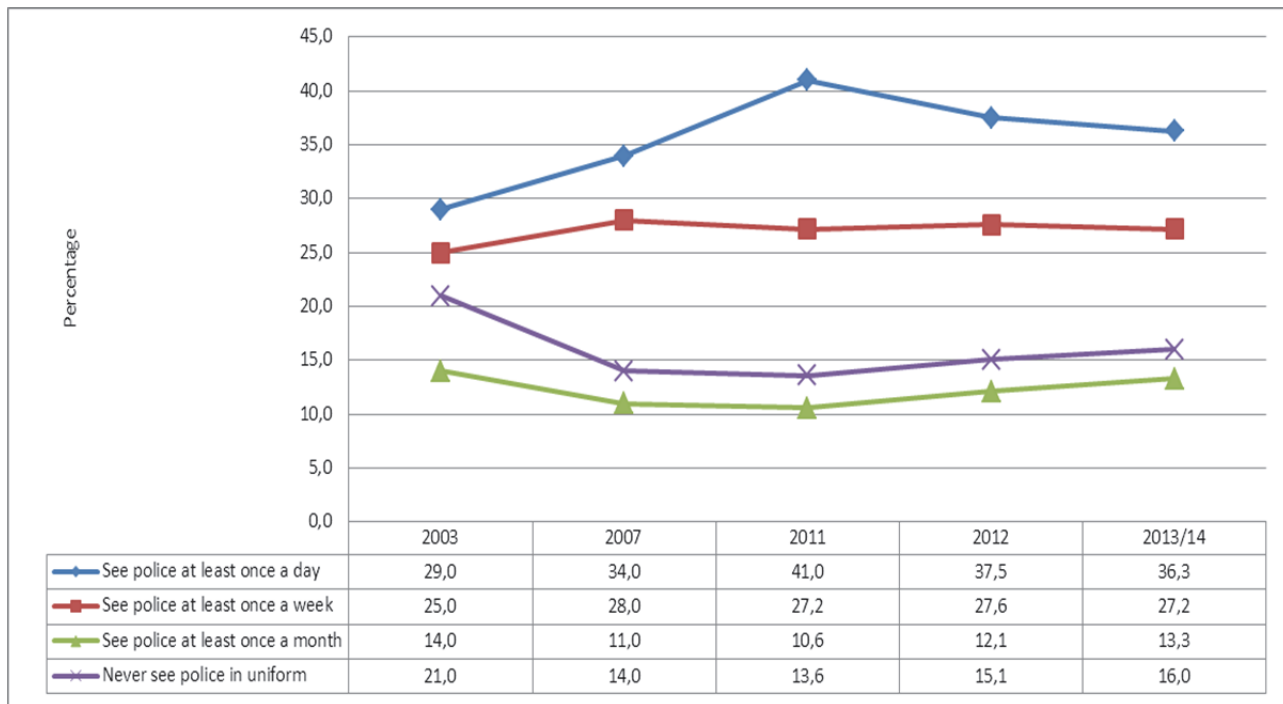
Figure 35 above depicts a time series of police visibility in South Africa. This examines how often households saw police on duty and in uniform in their area of residence. The VOCS findings indicate that between 2011 and 2013/14, there was a decrease in the proportion of households who saw police at least once a day. In 2011, the figure was 41,0%, and in 2013/14, the figure had decreased to 36,3%. On the other hand, the percentage households who never saw police in uniform, has steadily increased over the same time period.

Map 6 depicts the distribution of households who see police on duty and in uniform at least once a day. Households in Northern Cape, Gauteng and Western Cape were most likely to see police at least once a day, while households in Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal were least likely to see them no less than once a day. The VOCS 2013/14 found that about one in three households indicated that they would still take victims who require access to medical services to their nearest police station for assistance; this assistance might be in the form of vehicles or calling for further assistance by emergency vehicles on behalf of households. In addition to knowing more about the police, their visibility and access, the actual geographic location of crime also provides important information that can be used for planning and crime prevention activities.

Map 6: Distribution of households who saw police on duty at least once a day, VOCS 2013/14
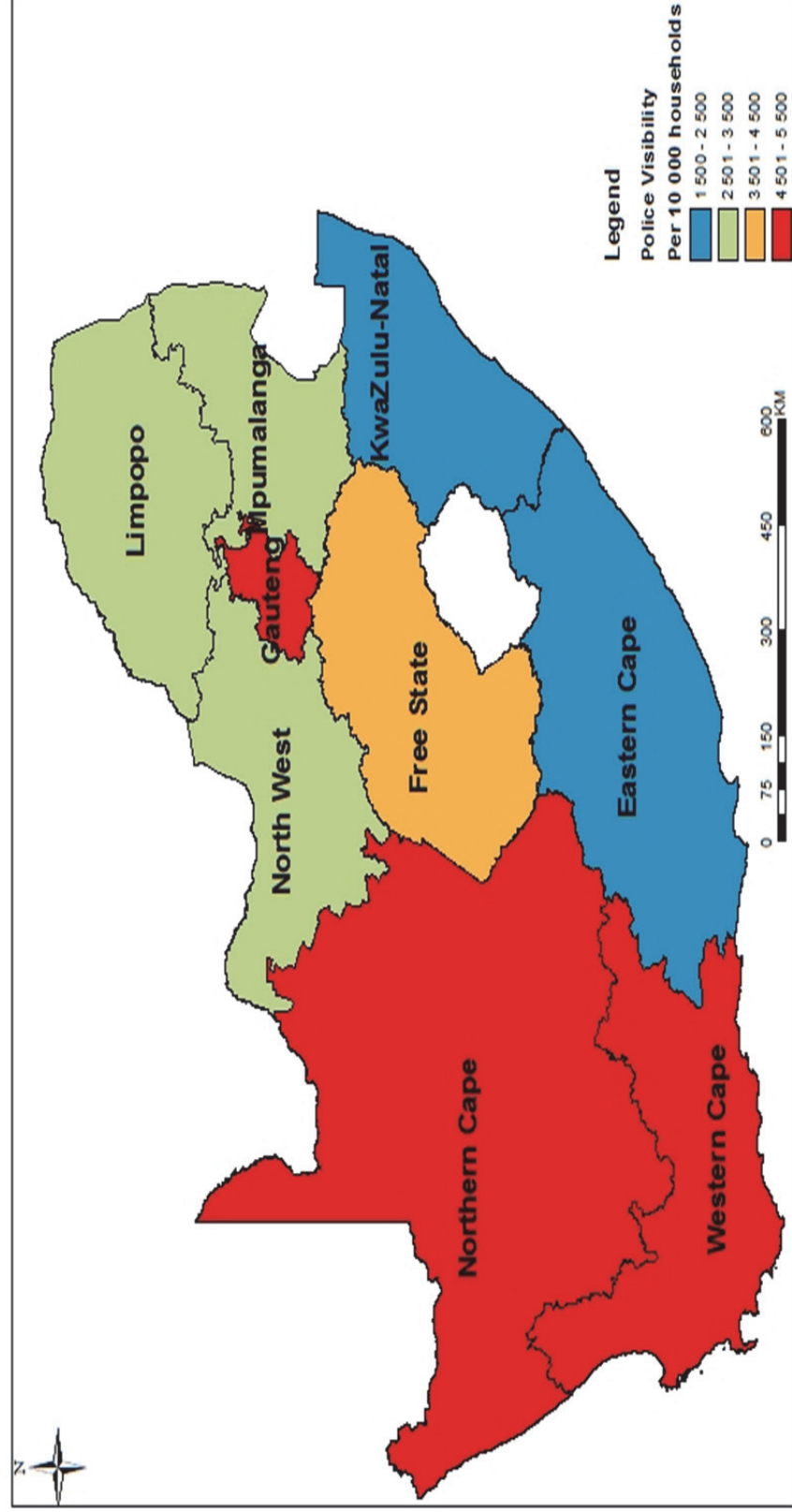
5.6.3 Household level of satisfaction with courts

The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJ&CD) is mandated to "ensure an accessible justice system that promotes and protects social justice, fundamental human rights and freedoms, thus providing a transparent, responsive and accountable justice for all" (GCIS, 2014:124). Courts, therefore, have a crucial role to play as the country works towards a South Africa where people "are and feel safe" (GCIS, 2014:124).

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Map 7 shows the distribution of the household level of satisfaction with courts in all nine provinces of South Africa. Households in Mpumalanga and Western Cape were more satisfied with courts compared to other provinces.

Map 7: Distribution of household level of satisfaction with courts, VOCS 2013/14
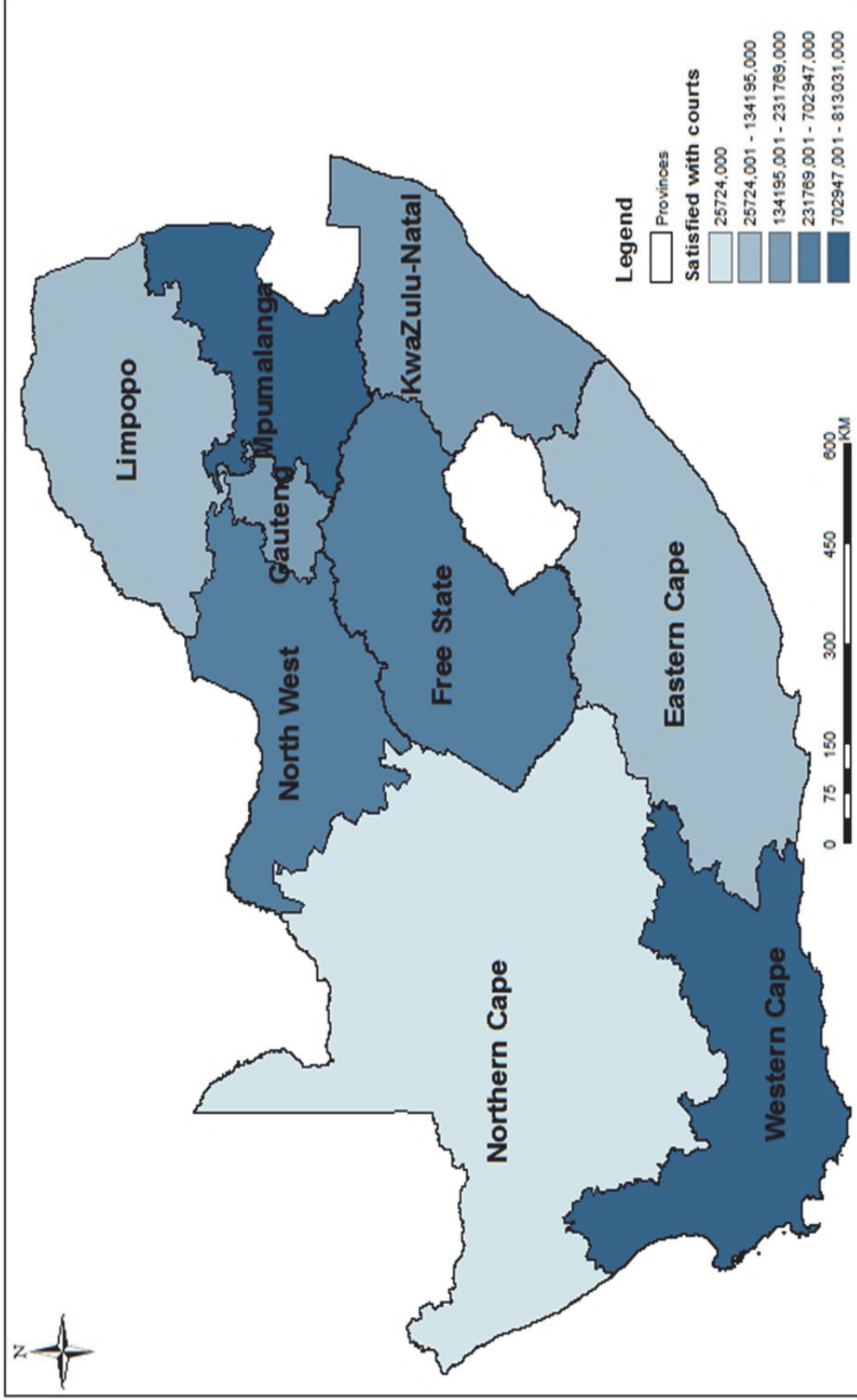
The Victims of Crime Survey found that the majority (64,3%) of households in South Africa were satisfied with courts, which is a consistent result over time. Of the households who expressed satisfaction with courts, 53,8% felt courts pass sentences appropriate to the crime, while 26,4% thought that the courts had a high conviction rate.

Figure 36 : Percentage distribution of the reasons for being dissatisfied with courts, VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
■ Courts are too lenient on criminals	50,9	34,8	37,8	24,0	26,6	44,1	34,0	35,0	16,4	34,3
■ Matters drag for too long	19,1	28,6	32,0	20,3	26,7	21,7	34,4	23,1	16,9	26,5
■ They release perpetrators unconditionally	8,7	15,3	15,0	29,6	18,8	19,8	11,3	23,1	21,8	15,8
■ Not enough convictions	10,9	13,8	6,3	11,7	14,1	6,0	12,9	14,2	32,4	13,8
■ Other	8,5	5,5	1,4	11,9	1,8	4,2	4,4	1,2	8,5	5,3
■ No proper notice of hearing	1,9	1,9	7,5	2,7	11,9	4,2	3,0	3,4	4,0	4,3

While it is important to acknowledge reasons why households are satisfied with courts, it is equally important to know and understand the reasons that they attribute to their dissatisfaction with the courts. Figure 36 illustrates the reasons why households were dissatisfied with courts in 2013/14.
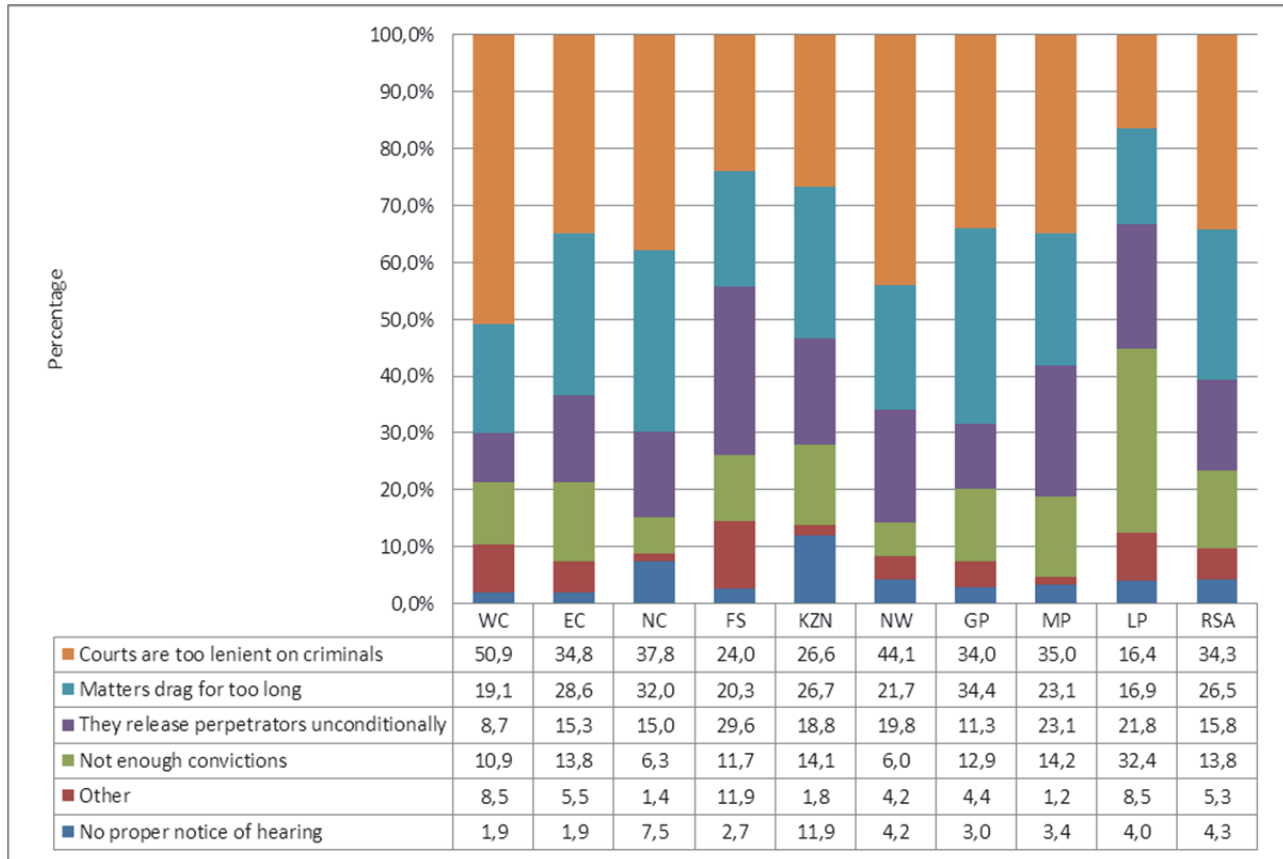
More than a third of households considered sentencing imposed by the courts as too lenient on offenders (34,3%), while more than a quarter felt that court matters took too long to be finalised (26,5%). About sixteen per cent of households felt that courts released perpetrators of crime unconditionally (15,8%). Further criticisms by households who were not satisfied with courts said that the institution did not have enough convictions of criminals (13,8%).

Although it can be argued that the public may not have sufficient knowledge about the law and courts, in order to have informed views on such matters, Butler (2009) advised that advancing public awareness and knowledge in relation to sentencing issues is essential in bridging the perceived gap between the public's expectation and the reality of sentencing practices. Dowler (2003) asserts that much of the public knowledge related to crime and justice is largely derived from the media, but this evokes another debate as to who has the responsibility of providing the general public with accurate information that relates to the Criminal Justice System.

Table 25: Eigenvalue of the correlation matrix used in predicting household level of satisfaction with the courts, VOCS 2013/14

Eigenvalues of the correlation matrix				
Components	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
1	1,237	0,099	0,155	0,155
2	1,138	0,102	0,142	0,297
3	1,036	0,034	0,130	0,427
4	1,002	0,010	0,125	0,552
5	0,992	0,035	0,124	0,676
6	0,957	0,093	0,120	0,795
7	0,864	0,092	0,108	0,904
8	0,772	-	0,097	1,000

Table 25 shows that component 1, component 2, component 3 and component 4 had an eigenvalue greater than one and these will be retained and used to predict the level of satisfaction with the courts.

Table 26: Eigenvector matrix used in predicting household level of satisfaction with courts, VOCS 2013/14

Eigenvectors						
Variables	Principal component 1	Principal component 2	Principal component 3	Principal component 4	Principal component 5	Principal component 6
Satisfied with the police	-0,354	0,573	0,098	0,151	-0,354	0,573
Living Standard Measure	0,109	-0,090	0,575	0,599	0,109	-0,090
Age	0,589	0,377	-0,145	0,026	0,589	0,377
Experienced crime	-0,147	0,463	0,290	-0,146	-0,147	0,463
Gender	0,302	0,413	0,011	-0,403	0,302	0,413
Government officials corrupt	-0,098	0,335	-0,494	0,622	-0,098	0,335
Took protection measures	0,000	0,147	0,551	-0,033	0,000	0,147
Population group	0,627	-0,053	0,077	0,214	0,627	-0,053

Table 26 indicates the following:

- The first principal component is correlated with population group and age of the household head. This component can be seen as predicting that the population and age of the household head has an influence on the level of satisfaction with courts.

- The second principal component is correlated with the satisfaction with the police. This component can be seen as predicting that satisfaction with the police has an influence on the level of satisfaction with the courts.

- The third principal component is correlated with Living Standard Measure and households who took protection measures from crime and can be used to predict the level of satisfaction with courts.

- The fourth principal component is correlated with Living Standard Measure and households who perceive government officials as being corrupt and can be used to predict the level of satisfaction with courts.

The tables above established the relationship between selected variables and the level of satisfaction with courts. The results of the Principal Component Analysis revealed that variables such as satisfaction with the police, age, population group, government corruption, taking protective measures and the Living Standard Measure can be used to predict the household level of satisfaction with the police. Variables such as the experience of crime and gender were found to be outside the set cut-off point.

Table 27: Multinomial logistic analysis to predict the household level of satisfaction with courts by sets of predictor variables, VOCS 2013/14

Parameter	Point estimate	95% Wald confidence limits	
		Lower	Upper
Intermediate LSM	0,67	0,51	0,89
High LSM	1,28	0,92	1,79
Traditional area	1,20	1,11	1,30
Metropolitan area	0,55	0,51	0,58
Female	0,94	0,89	0,99
Coloured	0,61	0,55	0,67
Indian/Asian	1,33	1,14	1,56
White	0,46	0,43	0,51
Satisfied with police	3,18	2,98	3,38
Feel safe when it is dark	1,21	1,14	1,29
Police visible more than once a month	1,07	0,95	1,22
Never see police officer in uniform	0,68	0,62	0,75
Police take between 60 and 120 minutes	1,16	1,06	1,28
Police never arrive	0,81	0,70	0,93
Experienced property crime	0,67	0,51	0,89

Table 27 shows the number of factors that are likely to influence satisfaction with the courts; this includes a combination of demographic, Living Standard Measure, location, satisfaction and visibility of the police variables. These response variables were modelled to predict the level of household satisfaction with the courts. The results depict all the variables that were found to be statistically significant in influencing household satisfaction with the courts and the odds of households being satisfied with the courts against the variable of influence. The model showed that demographic variables such as gender and population group were significant factors to explain satisfaction with the courts. Other variables such as the Living Standard Measure, metropolitan area, traditional area, feeling safe walking alone when it is dark, police visibility, time it took police to respond and experience of property crime were also likely to influence household satisfaction levels with the courts.

Furthermore, the results of the model show the following:

- Households with high a Living Standard Measure were more likely to be satisfied with courts than those with a low Living Standard Measure, while those in the intermediate Living Standard Measure were less likely to be satisfied with the courts.

- Households in the metropolitan areas were less likely to be satisfied with courts than households in the non-metropolitan areas.

- Households in traditional areas were most likely to be satisfied with courts than households in non-traditional areas.

- Households who were satisfied with the police were more likely to be satisfied with courts than those households who were dissatisfied with the police.

- Households where the gender of the household head was female were less likely to be satisfied with the courts than male-headed households.

- Households with an Indian/Asian household head were more likely to be satisfied with courts than those headed by black Africans.

- Those who felt safe walking alone in their area of residence when it was dark were more likely to be satisfied with the courts than those who did not feel safe walking alone when it was dark.

- Households who experienced property crime were less likely to be satisfied with the courts than those who did not experience property crime.

The tables above established the relationship between selected variables and the level of satisfaction with courts.

These results showed that variables such as being in a high Living Standard Measure grouping, being satisfied with police, households headed by females, population group, feeling safe while walking in the dark, people who did not experience property crime can be used to predict household's level of satisfaction with courts

5.6.4 Household perceptions about correctional services

It is important to understand that although each department is responsible for operating in a professional and efficient manner, departments within the Criminal Justice System are interconnected, and often the deliverables of one department may rely on processes within the others. This is a challenge that the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) faces perhaps more so than others, as factors such as "arrest trends, the management of investigation processes, case management and case backlogs and sentencing trends, impact directly on the service delivery environment of the DCS, and are beyond the direct control of the department" (DCS,2014/15: 8).

These factors inevitably have an impact on public perceptions about the services that the DCS provides. When conducting VOCS 2013/14, households were asked about their perceptions of how prisons are run, as well as their views about convicts. These two questions have been used in the analysis as a proxy to measure household satisfaction with correctional services. This section tests the hypothesis that a positive view about correctional services is an indication of a higher level of trust and confidence in the institution.

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Map 8 shows the distribution of household level of satisfaction with correctional services in all nine provinces of South Africa. Households in Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal were more satisfied with correctional services compared to other provinces.

Map 8: Distribution of level of satisfaction with correctional services, VOCS 2013/14
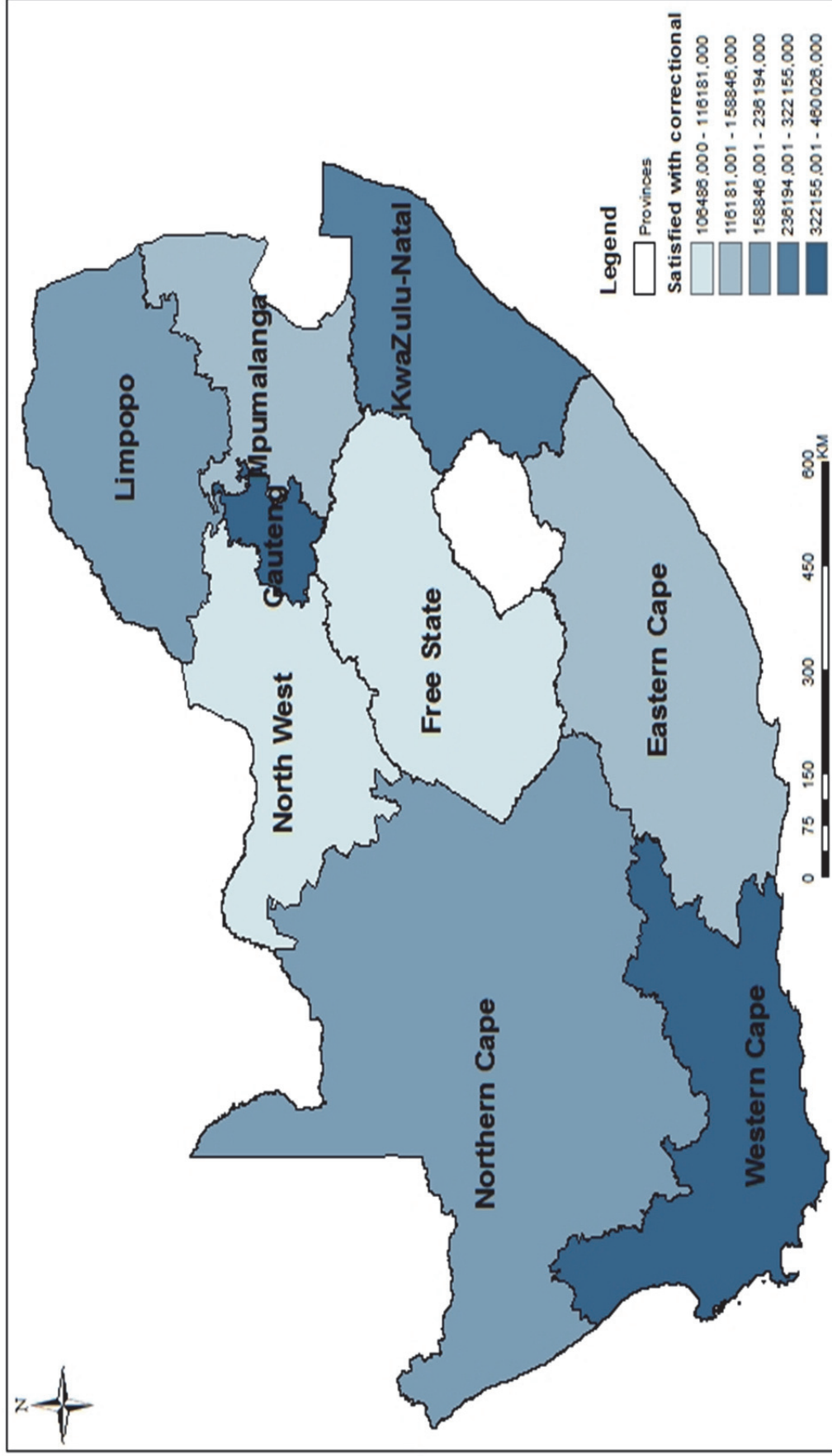
Figure 37: Percentage distribution of households who were satisfied with correctional services, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
2011	40,2	47,3	61,6	67,5	55,2	62,5	42,9	66,1	58,5	52,0
2012	42,1	53,1	52,8	57,7	55,6	48,9	46,6	61,0	53,7	51,3
2013/14	36,8	53,8	55,2	64,2	54,3	49,8	42,8	56,0	53,4	49,8
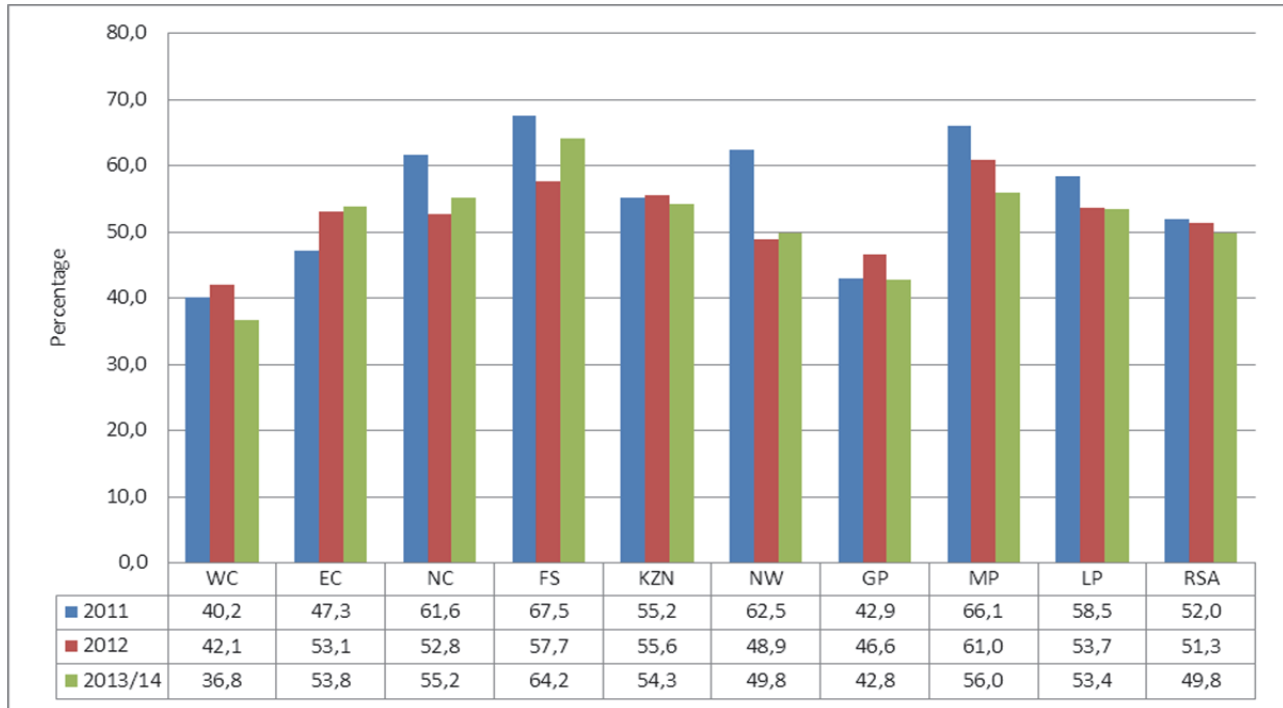
Figure 37 above shows that between 2011 and 2013/14, approximately five in every ten households were of the view that prisons were well run. However, the percentage of households who shared this sentiment decreased through the years.

The Department of Correctional Services Annual Performance Plan (2014/15) states the following amongst the duties that they are mandated to carry out: "…services to remand detainees and incarcerated offenders, increasing the number of parolees who do not violate their parole conditions, the number of victims who are involved in parole sittings, and the number of offenders who participate in rehabilitation programmes" (DCS, 2014/15: 9). The VOCS 2013/14 results show that households in South Africa lack confidence in correctional services, as about 64% indicated that they believed that people who have been in prison will commit crime again. The provinces that showed a strong lack of confidence in correctional services were Western Cape, Limpopo and Gauteng. More than 40% of households in Free State, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga believed that people who were in prison will never commit crime again.

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Figure 38: Percentage distribution of household views about correctional services, VOCS 2013/14
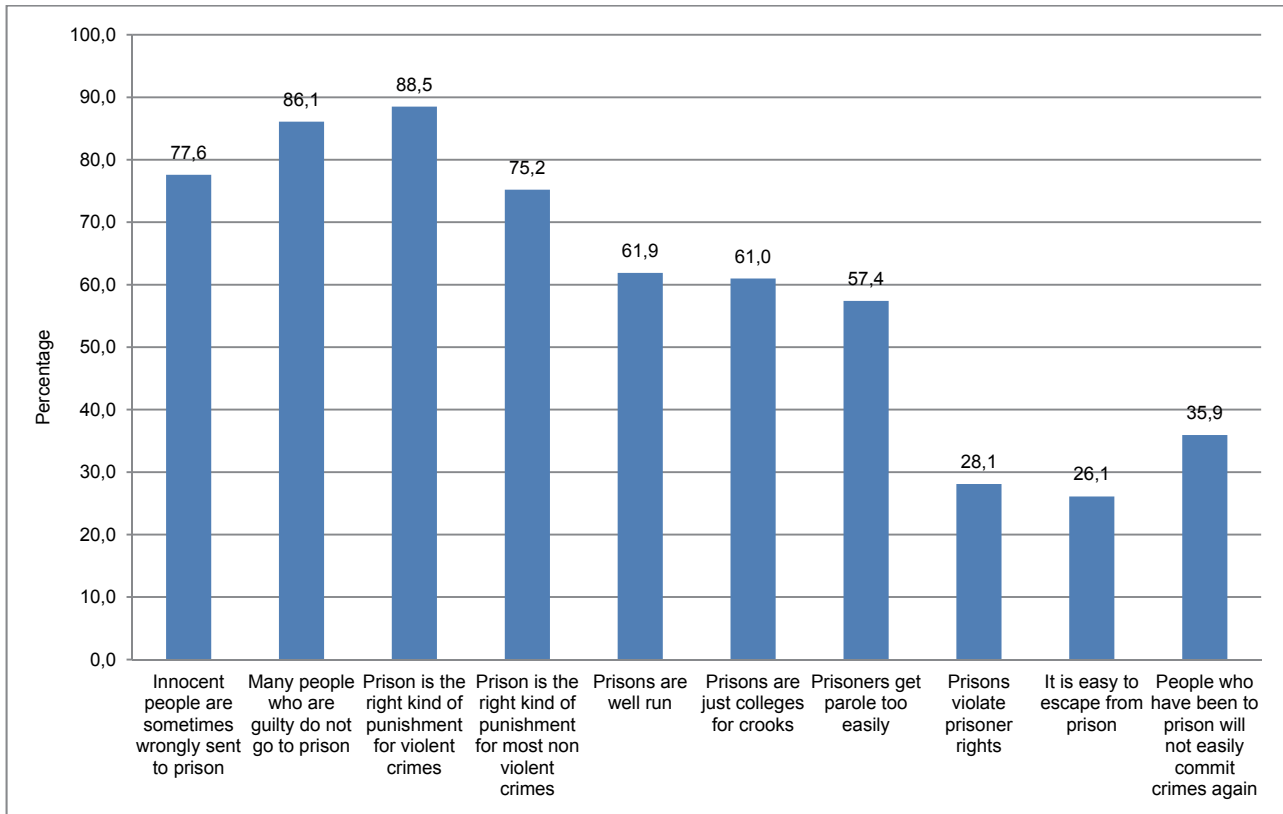

Figure 38 above presents household views on matters related to correctional services. The VOCS 2013/14 findings show than more than 60% of households were of the view that prison is just a college for crooks. More than a quarter of the households were of the opinion that 'it is easy to escape from prison' (26,1%). These perceptions may have negative implications for public confidence in the CJS, as one of the DCS priorities is to rehabilitate and successfully reintegrate offenders into society (DCS, 2014/15).

The VOCS 2013/14 findings further indicate that about 86,1% of households held the opinion that many people who are guilty do not go to prison and 77,8% believed that innocent people were sometimes wrongly sent to prison. Half of the households felt that prisoners got parole very easily.

This goes back to the earlier discussion that although correctional services has the responsibility to detain and rehabilitate prisoners, they have no jurisdiction over who are sent to prison; they merely implement the mandate provided by courts. However, public opinion on such matters is vital, as the Criminal Justice System is there to serve the public. Thus, there needs to be targeted interventions that educate the public about the systems and processes within the Criminal Justice System. This is important as it will allow the Criminal Justice System as a whole to be informed, and to provide honest feedback from the public, which will allow them to improve on their services in the relevant departments.

5.6.4.1 Expectation of the behaviour of prison officials

VOCS 2013/14 results found that 28,1% of households in South Africa agreed with the statement that 'prisons violate prisoner rights'. Although this is not an overwhelmingly high percentage, it is concerning. One of the commitments by the Department of Correctional Services lies in "providing humane correctional services to all inmates and offenders with full consideration of the rights of victims and their families" (DCS, 2014/15:8).

Therefore, there has to be a balance between allowing justice to take its course by detaining prisoners as per the conditions provided by the courts, and being sensitive to prisoners' human rights.

5.7 Section summary

A lack of proper understanding about the functioning of the Criminal Justice System can create public misperceptions about the various actors in the system.

While court proceedings may involve multiple actors within the CJS, what goes on in court may negatively affect people's trust in the SAPS more than it does any other CJS entities. Views about households should be known and examined when shaping the CJS. In this way, questions on the legitimacy of the system may be limited, and trust towards the system could be restored.

Figure 39: Percentage distribution of household perceptions about sentencing, VOCS 2011 – VOCS 2013/14

Innocent people are wrongly sent to prison

	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
2011	71,7	70,3	68,7	67,1	70,4	58,4	78,3	77,1	62,3	71,2
2012	73,0	72,5	68,5	74,1	74,0	62,3	76,5	68,4	74,9	73,2
2013/14	68,6	74,0	74,4	71,0	73,2	65,7	82,2	67,9	75,7	74,4

People who are guilty do not go to prison

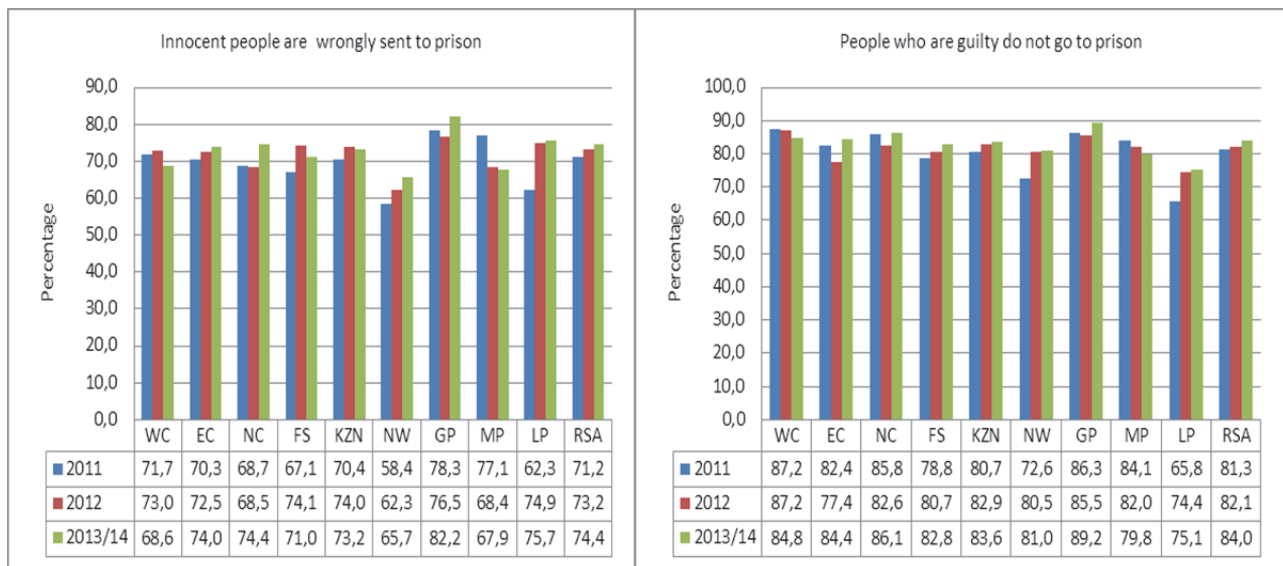|	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	RSA
2011	87,2	82,4	85,8	78,8	80,7	72,6	86,3	84,1	65,8	81,3
2012	87,2	77,4	82,6	80,7	82,9	80,5	85,5	82,0	74,4	82,1
2013/14	84,8	84,4	86,1	82,8	83,6	81,0	89,2	79,8	75,1	84,0

Figure 39 depicts the distribution of household perceptions about sentencing. More than seventy per cent of households were of the view that innocent people are wrongly sent to prison, while slightly above eighty per cent indicated that many people who are guilty do not go to prison. In 2011, about 71,2% of households indicated that innocent people are wrongly sent to prison. This represents a 3,2% percentage point increase when compared to April 2013–March 2014. Household perceptions about sentencing were consistent over time with respect to geographical area.

Views held by households that police are lazy, that they are not visible in their areas of residence and that they do not come on time, were generally related to higher levels of negative perceptions about sentencing. Collectively, not dealing with cases promptly or efficiently can be regarded as a lack of confidence in the ability of the police and the courts to deal with matters in a timely and effective manner.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

In an attempt to investigate the extent to which all people in South Africa are and feel safe, this report has explored public perceptions about crime prevention and the Criminal Justice System (CJS). Victims of crime remain the most important stakeholders of the CJS. Therefore, public confidence in the CJS should never be ignored or underestimated, as it serves as an important tool in evaluating the quality of the services that it provides. The findings of this report strongly emphasise the importance of maintaining and, where necessary, restoring public confidence in these institutions. Overall household feelings of safety; crime victimisation and reporting rates, protection measures that households acquired as a result of victimisation and the extent to which the public was satisfied following contact with the CJS ,were used as proxys to measure the quality of the services provided by the CJS.

This study has shown that crime remains a problem, despite the efforts of the government in prioritising safety and security for its inhabitants, as clearly outlined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. A decrease in the number of crimes is an essential prerequisite for ensuring a safer living environment for all who live in the country. However, a high prevalence of housebreaking/burglary, home robbery, street robbery, assault and murder, mirrors public perceptions about overall crime in the country, because most households view it as having increased in the three years prior to the survey. About four in ten households in South Africa felt that both violent and property crime had increased. Even though crime statistics from the SAPS indicated a decline in the 2013/14 financial year in some categories of crime, it is still insignificant compared to the extent of crime experienced by households, especially when under-reporting rates are brought into consideration. The results indicated that over the years, about eight in ten households felt safe walking alone during the day, while only three in ten felt safe walking alone when it is dark.

Geographic location can influence the incidence of certain types of crime. Metropolitan municipalities often have high incidences of crime, due to economic activities and high-income levels in those municipalities. Households living in rural areas are significantly less likely than households living in urban metropolitan and urban non-metropolitan areas to be victims of crime. Therefore, protection measures are more likely to be acquired by those in urban areas or areas within metropolitan municipalities. In 2013/14, about 50% of households put measures in place to protect their homes. The results indicated that 12,1% hired private security firms. The latter is most common in Western Cape and Gauteng. Only about 5% of households indicated that they carry weapons.

The reporting rate is an objective, behavioural measure of public confidence in the police. Households were asked to rate the police's general efficiency in controlling crime. Reporting rates of incidents of crime generally fluctuated over the years across most crime types. Inability of the public to report crime to the police shows a lack of confidence in the institution. Although incidents of murder, car theft and sexual offences were largely reported to the police, there was a noticeable decline in reporting rates overall. The results indicated that most property related crimes were not reported to the police. Households cited several reasons for not reporting crime to the police including that police could or would not do anything, or that they would solve it themselves, whilst others preferred to report to other authorities instead.

Factors impacting on negative and positive perceptions about the CJS were also explored. A higher level of satisfaction among households with courts (about 65%), and police (about 60%), than with correctional services (about 50%), was found. On average, about six in ten households were satisfied with the performance of the police between 2011 and March 2014. Households in North West, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal were less

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likely to be satisfied with police as compared to households in Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Free State. Higher levels of confidence in the police were associated with high percentages of households who indicated that the police come to the scene of the crime (78,0%); they are committed (73,7%); they arrest criminals (66,3%); and they are trustworthy (65,1%). On the other hand, those who did not think the police were effective, were more likely to indicate that the police did not respond on time, or that they felt that the level of violent crime had increased.

More than two-thirds of households in South Africa expressed high levels of satisfaction with the performance of the courts. The main reason provided for their satisfaction with courts was the high level of sentencing carried out by the courts; this sentiment was shared especially amongst households living in Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and North West. The lowest levels of satisfaction were found in Gauteng and Western Cape. At least 35% of households were dissatisfied with the performance of the courts. They were of the view that courts were too lenient on criminals, guilty people were not sent to prison and perpetrators were released unconditionally. Dealing with cases without delay was another main reason for concern.

Households who were satisfied with the police were less likely to be satisfied with courts, but those households who were satisfied with courts were highly likely to be satisfied with police. It was indicated throughout this report that exposure to these institutions influences the level of trust the public has in them. It is more likely that when people were exposed to the system, especially attending courts or being in contact with the police, they tend to have a positive attitude towards them.

Amongst those who appreciated the work done by correctional services, the fact that the institutions were well run and rehabilitated criminals in such a way that they would not commit crime again, played an important part in their ratings. Provinces that were more likely to express such views were Free State, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal. These views were contradicted by more than 70% of households who said that prisons are 'colleges of crooks', and that prisoners get parole very easily.

Knowledge on how the public perceives the CJS and understanding the reasons behind these perceptions are paramount. The results of this report seek to inform government, especially the SAPS, the DJ&CD and DCS on areas in which they need to improve in order to provide relevant, quality services and increase public confidence in their services.

6.2 Recommendations

The findings of this study have proven that it is critical to reiterate the importance of understanding public perceptions about the Criminal Justice System and take them into account when formulating policy on crime prevention and management. These perceptions include the ones measured by the VOCS as well as those highlighted by the media, as these are the main information sources that serve as a barometer of how the work of the CJS is viewed by the public. Although the various departments within the CJS have strategies in place to monitor and evaluate their performance, it is crucial that they monitor not only their actual performance, but also how they are perceived, and to strive to improve public relations.

While the study acknowledges the developments that have been made in relation to producing accurate, relevant and timely crime and safety statistics; the shortfalls that victimisation surveys and police data have, need to be prioritised when formulating strategies to fight crime. These shortfalls include the inability to entirely incorporate socio-economic factors in crime prevention strategies, which inevitably influence the level of crime. Acknowledging that crime is a multifaceted phenomenon will assist in managing it. As such, efforts in addressing crime should encompass participation from various role players within the Criminal Justice System, as well as the public, in order to ensure that solutions that are provided to address all aspects of crime.

The measurement of certain types of crime is complex, and although they are within the scope of victimisation surveys and in the jurisdiction of police work, it is possible that information relating to these crimes may be subject to bias. These crimes include those that are inherently sensitive, such as sexual offences (including rape). Because it may be very difficult to give these crime types extra special attention at all times, it is recommended that a specialised survey measuring incidents of sexual offences be instituted. This will afford policymakers an opportunity to prepare policies that are based on estimates that are acquired in a focused and thorough manner, taking into consideration the sensitive nature of the subject.

While the efforts to increase the number of police stations in the country are appreciated and the fact that the police-to-population ratio falls within the United Nations standards, the VOCS results show that most households who were dissatisfied with services cited the fact that they do not respond on time. This may be a sign of lack of capacity and resources. Furthermore, the VOCS found that provinces in metropolitan areas had more police stations compared to provinces with non-metropolitan areas. Thus, an effort needs to be made to increase police accessibility in non-metropolitan areas. More efforts need to be made in increasing police visibility and accessibility in rural areas.

Results show that a significant number of households who were dissatisfied with courts indicated that they felt that way because sentences that were imposed on offenders were too lenient. This view implies that the public does not have confidence in the sentencing procedures of the institution. It could further be an indication of a lack of knowledge or understanding of the steps that are taken when determining the type of corrective measures applied. Therefore, it is essential to advance and strengthen public awareness on sentencing procedures in order to manage their expectations and allow them to comment on proceedings from an informed perspective.

Misconceptions about how the Criminal Justice System operates impacts negatively on public perceptions about the various departments within the Criminal Justice System. It is therefore important that targeted interventions that seek to educate the public about the systems and processes within the Criminal Justice System are implemented. This will empower members of the public in terms of knowing which department to hold accountable as well as assist the relevant departments to improve on their services.

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Annexure

Annexure 1: List of variables

Variable	Code	Descriptors
Province	1	Western Cape
	2	Eastern Cape
	3	Northern Cape
	4	Free State
	5	KwaZulu-Natal
	6	North West
	7	Gauteng
	8	Mpumalanga
	9	Limpopo
Population group	1	Black African
	2	Coloured
	3	Indian/Asian
	4	White
Household size	1	Household with 1 to 2 members
	2	Household with 3 to 4 members
	3	Household with 5 to 9 members
	4	Household with 10 to 17 members
Main source of income	1	Salary/income from business
	2	Grants/pensions
	3	Other source of income
	4	No income
Satisfied with police	1	Yes
	2	No
Police visibility	1	At least once a day
	2	At least once a week
	3	At least once a month
	4	Less than once a month
	5	Never
Municipality type	1	Metropolitan municipality
	2	Non-metropolitan municipality
Gender	1	Male
	2	Female
Age group	1	Age less than 25 years
	2	Age between 25 and 34 years
	3	Age between 35 and 44 years
	4	Age between 45 and 54 years
	5	Age greater than 54
Marital status	1	Married
	2	Divorced
	3	Single, but still legally married
	4	Widowed
	5	Single
Living Standard Measure	1	Low
	2	Intermediate
	3	High
Resistance	1	Yes
	2	No
Physical injury	1	Yes
	2	No
Knife	1	Yes

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Variable	Code	Descriptors
	2	No
Gun	1	Yes
	2	No
Settlement type	1	Rural formal
	2	Tribal area
	3	Urban formal
	4	Urban informal
Satisfied with courts	1	Yes
	2	No
Feelings of safety when it is dark	1	Yes
	2	No
Feelings of safety during the day	1	Yes
	2	No
Crime experienced at least once	1	Yes
	2	No
Perceived level of crime	1	Increased
	2	Decreased
	3	Stayed the same
Protection measures	1	Yes
	2	No
Educational background	1	Primary
	2	Secondary
	3	Tertiary
Satisfied with correctional services	1	Yes
	2	No
Living Standard Measure	1	Low LSM
	2	Intermediate LSM
	3	High LSM
Experienced property crime	1	Yes
	2	No
Experienced violent crime	1	Yes
	2	No
Average police response time	1	Less than 30 minutes
	2	Less than 1 hour (but more than 30 minutes)
	3	Less than 2 hours (but more than 1 hour)
	4	More than 2 hours

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