

University of Cape Town



Centre of Criminology

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**MTNTAR003**

**Foreign Fears? An Exploratory Study of Perceptions and Fear of Crime in South Africa amongst International Students at the University of Cape Town.**

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**DECLARATION.**

Research dissertation presented for the approval of Senate fulfillment of part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Criminal Justice in approved courses and a minor dissertation. The other part of the requirement for this qualification was the completion of a programme of courses. I hereby declare that I have read and understood the regulations governing the submission of Master of Philosophy dissertations, including those relating to length and plagiarism, as contained in the rules of this University, and that this dissertation conforms to those regulation. This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The following study is an exploration of international students at the University of Cape Town's perceptions and fear of crime in Cape Town. The study meets three research objectives: an analysis of the fear of crime and its key features; an exploration of international students' perceptions and levels of fear of crime in Cape Town (causes of fear and coping and protective mechanisms); and an assessment of how safety, where it is needed, can be improved.

The first objective of the study is met through a literature review. The main features of the fear of crime are reviewed, and the controversial issues surrounding the generators of fear, social profiles of individuals and their fear levels and the measurement of fear of crime are analysed. The literature review also explores fear of crime from a global and South African context. Victimization surveys in South Africa as well as efforts in which the curbing of fear has been attempted in the South African context and at the University of Cape Town are also discussed.

A questionnaire from a sample of 74 international students at the University of Cape Town meets the second and third objectives of the research. The questionnaire's findings reveal that all the participants considered South Africa to be a high crime society, although very few had actually experienced crime. The generators of fear were mainly from the media and others' victimisation experiences, where participants believed that the causes of crime mainly revolved around poverty and lack of education among the South African population. A greater but limited confidence in Campus Protection Services (CPS) than in the South African Police Services (SAPS) was observed and solutions to the perceived high crime problem on campus were mainly aimed at enclosing the campus and arming CPS.

Based on the findings, recommendations are offered to the University of Cape Town, particularly the International Academic Programmes Office (IAPO) and Campus Protection Services (CPS). A recommendation for further study into fear of crime on campuses, among all students and in different communities would also be beneficial for understanding particular group fears and concerns.

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## *Definitions and Acronyms:*

**Campus Protection Services (CPS)** - According to the University of Cape Town's Health and Safety Statement from the Principal, the CPS is:

The crime prevention and crime fighting organisation which operates within and around the university's precincts. Its main features and crime fighting is in the form of 157 staff available 24 hours a day who patrol and survey all buildings on campus. These personnel are also responsible for responding to distress calls, monitoring the safety of the preferred pedestrian route on campus known as the 'Blue Safe Walk' and ensuring the functionality of

the 215 CCTV cameras available on the UCT premises. There are six service hubs from which CPS operates.<sup>1</sup>

**International Academic Programmes Office (IAPO)** - This is the office responsible for the development of internationalisation at the University of Cape Town. This is mainly done through being 'the central coordinator and facilitator of all internationally related initiatives and activities'. IAPO is responsible for disseminating information to foreign students on life in Cape Town and at the University as well as creating programmes that are aimed at promoting the well-being of foreign students while they are at the University.<sup>2</sup>

IAPO states that an international student is any student who is not a South African citizen or permanent residents of South Africa. There are four classifications of international students which are defined as follows:

- i. International full degree students (IFDS) – these are international students studying towards a UCT qualification or degree. This category is further broken down into SADC<sup>3</sup> students and students from the rest of the world.
- ii. Semester Study Abroad students (SSAs) – these are students who are enrolled in the study abroad programme which is designed for international students who wish to spend one or two semesters at UCT taking mostly undergraduate courses for the purpose of transferring credits, on completion, to their home institution usually for undergraduate degrees. Incoming exchange students are also included in the SSA group.
- iii. International affiliates - these are typically postgraduate researchers, who do not take any UCT courses, but wish to be affiliated to UCT while pursuing their own research towards studies at their own university.
- iv. International occasional students - this group of international students usually comprises students wishing to take one or two courses only, for non-degree

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<sup>1</sup> Vice-Chancellor and Principal's statement on health and safety on campus at the University of Cape Town. Accessed from: [www.staff.uct.ac.za/health/safety/vcstatement/](http://www.staff.uct.ac.za/health/safety/vcstatement/) on 04 June 2008.

<sup>2</sup> International Academic Programmes Office. *Celebrating 10 years of Internationalisation at the University of Cape Town 1996 – 2006*. (2006) at 10.

<sup>3</sup> The Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries are Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Accessed on 02 July 2008 from: [http://www.sadc.int/about\\_sadc/index.php](http://www.sadc.int/about_sadc/index.php)

purposes.<sup>4</sup> (The research will be focusing on the first two groups of students i.e. IFDS and SSA, which will be referred to under the umbrella term of 'international students')

<b>ATSEs</b> -	Automated Socio-Technical Environments
<b>CCTV</b> -	Closed Circuit Television
<b>EORP</b> -	Equal Opportunity Research Project
<b>NVCS</b> -	National Victims Crime Survey
<b>SAPS</b> -	South African Police Services
<b>SSA</b> -	Semester Study Abroad student
<b>UCT</b> -	University of Cape Town

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<sup>4</sup> IAPO webpage. International student classification. Accessed from: [www.uct.ac.za/about/iapo/intstud/](http://www.uct.ac.za/about/iapo/intstud/) on 02 July 2008.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### *1.1 Introduction*

The high rates of crime in South Africa are an issue that is at the fore of both political and social debates as well as in everyday conversation among the residents of the country. Between April 2007 and March 2008 alone, 18 487 murders were recorded to have occurred in the country, a statistic that is among the highest in the world, although it is celebrated as a decline from the 19 202 recorded in the same time period from 2006 to 2007. The figures for attempted murder are slightly higher but are in the same range between 18 000 and 24 000.<sup>5</sup> Questions such as the extent to which South Africa can be dubbed a violent, xenophobic and high crime society are a few among the many which are raised when crime statistics are studied. The rates of violent crime in South Africa along with the attacks on foreigners of 1995,<sup>6</sup> 2006<sup>7</sup> and 2008<sup>8</sup> are examples of incidents that confirm this. The fear of crime and individuals' perceptions of crime are subjects which are gaining increased attention around the world and within South Africa. The high levels of criminal activity, particularly in the violent crimes category are causing great concern among the population and this is in turn creating a rise in the phenomenon of the fear of crime.

Amidst the high crime rates, South Africa is fortunate to be able to boast a number of features which make the country favourable and attractive not only to its own citizens but also to foreign nationals who come in and out of the country yearly as tourists,

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<sup>5</sup> Statistics accessed from The South African Police Service (SAPS) Department of Safety and Security website: [http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2008/march\\_april\\_2001\\_2008/catagory/att\\_murder.pdf](http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2008/march_april_2001_2008/catagory/att_murder.pdf) Accessed on 08 January 2009.

<sup>6</sup> J. Crush. 'South Africa: New Nation, New Migration Policy?' Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP). (2003).

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs- Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) Southern Africa Humanitarian Crisis- South Africa: Xenophobic Attacks Spreading'.

<sup>8</sup> South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) News reports that there have been widespread attacks on foreigners around South Africa, originating from the Alexandra Township in the Gauteng Province in May 2008. Accessed from: [www.sabcnews.com](http://www.sabcnews.com) on 24 August 2008.

immigrants, and students. What then are the perceptions of crime in South Africa of these foreign individuals, how are these perceptions shaped, and to what extent is this fear of crime a true reflection of crime?

## *1.2 Context of the Study*

As mentioned earlier, South Africa is a country which attracts many different nationalities from around the world, one of the main purposes for which foreigners visit South Africa is for studying. Since independence in 1994, the number of international students in South Africa has risen from 12 557 in 1994 to 53 733 in 2006.<sup>9</sup> The University of Cape Town (UCT) is one of the main ports of call for what can be described as ‘world-class’ education,<sup>10</sup> possessing many features which remain admirable and competitive in the rest of the world. UCT finds itself having a considerable population of the student body being foreign nationals and is itself situated in a country where crime rates are among the highest in the world. There are high levels of fear of crime within the population but figures show that property crime should not be of as great a concern among the South African public, as compared to violent crime.<sup>11</sup> A sense of fear exists among the people and this study seeks to examine perceptions and adaptations foreign students have whilst in South Africa. The position in which the research was carried out was therefore to explore the extent to which this fear of crime in South Africa is shaping behaviours among foreign students and to what extent these perceptions correlate with actual crime rates.

## *1.3 Rationale for the Study*

The following research is aimed at investigating the perceptions and fear of crime amongst a sample group of international students at the University of Cape Town. The rationale behind the interest in this research emanates from a mixture of general interest in

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<sup>9</sup> K. MacGregor. ‘South Africa: Huge Growth in Foreign Students’. University World News. December 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Statement from the University of Cape Town’s mission statement which can be accessed in the application prospectus.

<sup>11</sup> S. Masuku. ‘South Africa: World Crime Capital?’ in Nedbank Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Crime Index. Vol.5. No.1. 2001.

the subject of the fear of crime as well as curiosity of the opinions of individuals who voluntarily come to South Africa. There is furthermore a keenness to understand their levels of awareness of the actual crime situation, and the ways in which discrepancies which may exist in their perceptions and reality, may therefore possibly shape their behaviours. There is also an interest in recognizing whether being a foreigner has an effect on the way in which the crime situation in the country is perceived. Further, to what extent the crime situation has a direct impact on international students is also another factor which has motivated the study.

The foremost motivation for the study however, was to note the impact the fear of crime has on self-regulation, through the use of a sample of international students. There was a keenness to draw comparisons and note similarities between methods for protecting oneself that international students employ and those which are offered by the state and UCT. Furthermore, xenophobia in South Africa and its bearing on the international student body also sparked interest for this research. The governance of security in the midst of fear of crime among foreign nationals is a topic that emerged as worthwhile to study, especially under the broader context of the security governance at the peak of the era of self-regulation.

The university is currently home to over 4 320 international students which translates to 20 per cent of the total student body. International students come from 104 different countries<sup>12</sup> and, as reflected in figure 1 which follows, the number of international students and semester study abroad students has risen steadily over the past 12 years.

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<sup>12</sup> The 2008 academic year figures from the International Academic Programmes Office (IAPO) website <http://www.uct.ac.za/about/iapo/overview/welcome/> Accessed on 13 September 2008.

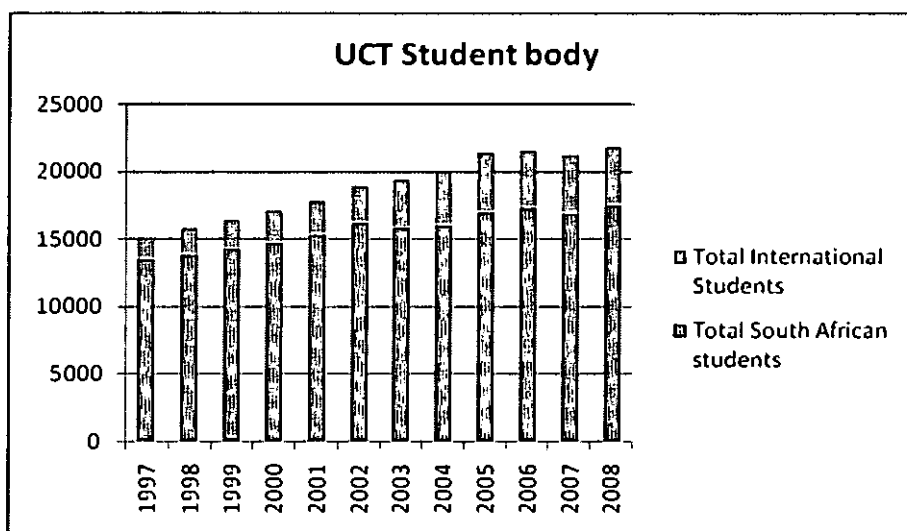


Figure 1<sup>13</sup>

Such an increase in the numbers of international students is a combination of many factors including, but not limited to, the attractive reputation UCT has which recruits more and more prospective students each year. In The Times Higher Education QS World University Rankings, UCT's position has improved considerably from being in position 257 in 2006, to 200<sup>th</sup> in 2007 and 179<sup>th</sup> place in 2008, (thus currently being the only university in Africa to be in the top 200).<sup>14</sup> The rising numbers can also be attributed to globalisation and the spread of the information age where travelling to a different country for tertiary education is now commonplace and application and enrollments are a straightforward processes. The economic standing of South Africa which attracts immense investment from all over the world as well as the countless tourist attractions and places of interest which are part of the country's history such as Robben Island and Table Mountain are other invitations for the foreigners who come to South Africa as students.

<sup>13</sup> The statistics were acquired from the IAPO offices on 23 January 2009.

<sup>14</sup> The *Times Higher Education* QS World University Rankings 2008 Accessed on 27 January 2009 from <http://www.uct.ac.za/mondaypaper/?id=7144>.

#### ***1.4 Research sub-questions and goals***

To understand the impact of fear of crime on the self-governance of security by international students there is a need to explore the topic through a set of sub-questions which are related to determining foreign students' prior views of the crime situation before coming to UCT and to gauge their perceptions of crime in South Africa having experienced life in South Africa. An exploration will be made of the demographic composition of international students at UCT and an analysis of the common threads present in the student body relating to the fear of crime.

The research will then hone in on international students' views of the crime situation in South Africa, particularly to find out this group's main perceptions of the causes, nature and extent of crime. Brief comparisons between South Africa and the sample group's home countries' crime trends will also be investigated. The perceptions of their safety, bearing in mind their views of crime trends and rates in South Africa will also be explored and again comparisons with perceived levels of safety in their home countries will be made.

Following this, the research will explore the victimisation experiences among the international students and their views of xenophobia in the South African context. In addition to this, the research will seek to explore ways in which international students attempt to avoid being victims of crime and how they have adapted to life in South Africa on the question of crime.

Lastly, the question to be posed by the research is aimed at understanding the international students' confidence in the bodies whose duties are to protect them. Firstly there will be an inquiry into the reporting behaviours of international students and a survey into whether or not crime on campus is reported and where it is reported, followed by an analysis of international students' views of the police and crime prevention bodies, particularly the Campus Protection Service (CPS).

The research sub-questions are as follows:

1. What are the main causes of crime in South Africa in the opinion of international students?
2. Have international students' perceptions and levels of fear of crime in South Africa changed from previous perceptions held prior to coming to South Africa and what influenced these changes, if any?
3. How do international students attempt avoiding being victims of crime?
4. Do international students have confidence in the crime prevention bodies when it comes to protection and reporting victimisation?
5. To what extent do international students view South Africa as a xenophobic country?
6. Are there differences in perceptions and levels of crime based on other demographic characteristics of international students such as race and gender?
7. And lastly, are international students' perceptions of crime in South Africa proportionate to actual crime levels?

Through this the research meets the goals of establishing the origins and links between the causes of fear of crime through the eyes of international students as well as the diverse views that may exist based on social profiles of the respondents. Also, fear levels and perceptions of vulnerability and their relation to the respondents' foreign status and victimisation experiences will be understood. International students' confidence in the crime prevention bodies and their adoptions of security governance mechanisms will inform the research on the extent to which self-regulation is important in order to counter fear and victimisation.

The research therefore seeks to examine the beliefs, opinions and attitudes towards crime in South Africa and the extent to which UCT students who are not South African or permanent residents of South Africa expect to be victims of crime in South Africa and how they attempt to avoid this.

## CHAPTER 2

### FEAR, VICTIMISATION AND XENOPHOBIA

#### *2.1 Introduction*

The following literature review will focus on the fear of crime, with a particular focus on its causes and the various determinants of its extent from one individual to another. The literature on the fear of crime engages with a number of issues. This section will focus on how fear of crime is understood and defined as well as how it affects different people. The discussion will start with an attempt to define the fear of crime, followed by an exploration of the development of the study of fear of crime from a global and local perspective. The wide assortment of fear generators will lead the discussion to xenophobia and the fear of crime.

#### *2.2 Defining the fear of crime*

Fear of crime is a multi-faceted<sup>15</sup> concept that has developed into what criminologists describe as involving an unpleasant emotion or thought when one is worried and anticipating the occurrence of a criminal event.<sup>16</sup> Such events may include harm, violation or loss. The definition frequently used in criminological discourse in referring to fear of crime is Ferraro's (1995) description of the fear of crime as 'an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime'.<sup>17</sup> The evoking of such emotions may be a result of a number of factors. Therefore, the two definitions of fear that have been put forward describing fear as either revolving around a particular dreaded event, whilst the other abstractly defines fear. The fear directed at particular events possibly results from stimuli associated with previous or threatening experiences,

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<sup>15</sup> T. Jefferson and W. Hollway. 'The role of anxiety in fear of crime', Chapter 2 in T. Hope and R. Sparks (eds) *Law and Order in Everyday Life and Political Discourse*. (2000) at 33.

<sup>16</sup> D. A. Lewis and G. Salem. *Fear of Crime: Incivility and the Production of a Social Problem*. (1986) at 4.

<sup>17</sup> K. Ferraro. 'Fear of Crime'. (1995) at 4, in M. Lee. 'The Genesis of 'Fear of Crime'', in *Theoretical Criminology*. Vol. 5. (4) (2001) at 468.

whereas in the latter, fear comes about from anxiety which is built up through associations with crime.

Although the fear of crime is a challenging issue to define, criminologists have highlighted that levels of fear of crime from individual to individual are dependent on a series of variables. As Ferraro (1995) observes, fear of crime comes about as a result of, and includes, a person's physical location and activities, actual crime prevalence, physical environment, and victimisation experiences and reports.<sup>18</sup> Siegel (2003) observes that the extent of the fear of crime within a society or to an individual is based on a few factors and can be a result of one or a combination of actual high levels of crime in society, victimisation experiences and even knowing about the victimisation stories of others. This fear based on others' experiences of previous victimisation is what is referred to as the 'spill-over' effects of crime.<sup>19</sup> Other contributors to increased levels of fear of crime may be attributed to the various and far-reaching prongs of the media as bad news tends to be more interesting than common everyday phenomena.<sup>20</sup>

While there is no single accepted definition of the fear of crime, there is a growing awareness and consensus that it is not a fixed trait that some people have and others do not, but that it is rather 'transitory and situational'<sup>21</sup> and that fear is a variable, not an attribute, thereby not a constant.<sup>22</sup> Topics such as crime always raise emotions within individuals; some emotions can be concealed and do not necessarily affect the individual unless a threat is posed.

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<sup>18</sup> K. Ferraro. *Fear of Crime: Interpreting Victimisation Risk*. (1995) at 9.

<sup>19</sup> L.J. Siegel. *Criminology*. (2003) at 85. In J. Prinsloo. 'The Impact of Victimisation on the Fear of Crime' *Acta Criminologica*. 19(2) (2006) at 1.

<sup>20</sup> P. Burton., A. du Plessis., T. Leggett., A. Louw., D. Mistry., and H. van Vuuren. 'Public Perceptions about Crime and Safety'. Chapter 4, from National Victims Crime Survey 2003. ISS Monograph No. 101. July 2004.

<sup>21</sup> E.A. Fattah., and V.F. Sacco., *Crime and victimisation of the elderly*. (1989) at 211.

<sup>22</sup> W.R. Smith and M. Torstensson. 'Gender differences in risk perception and neutralizing fear of crime: Toward resolving paradoxes'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 37 (4) (1997) at 609. The different variables that affect the degree of fear of crime from one individual to another will be discussed in greater detail in a later section of the review.

Warr (2000) observes that fear is a natural and commonplace emotion and that it is a beneficial and life-saving emotion under many conditions, however, under the wrong circumstances, it can ‘unnecessarily constrain behavior, restrict freedom and personal opportunity, and threaten the foundation of communities.’<sup>23</sup> Roberts (2008) has noted that in the United States and Europe the fear of crime is actually viewed as a more pressing issue than crime itself. The fears of individuals are receiving far more attention than actual crimes which have occurred,<sup>24</sup> accordingly, assertions have been made that the fear of crime is a more serious problem than the crime problem itself.<sup>25</sup>

A number of reasons exist to explain why the fears of possible threats have emerged into such a great cause of concern and Miller (1973) is noted to have observed that the increase in the fear of crime emanates from the fear of the ‘cost of crime’. This fear of what might be lost as a result of being a victim of crime is what reinforces the existing fears individuals might have and the possibility of losing whatever the crime threatens to violate.<sup>26</sup> A perception is a belief or opinion one may have of a certain subject, these views are often based on appearances or experiences.<sup>27</sup> Perceptions, in some instances, are not based on or related to facts but one’s opinion may be created as a result of what may appear to be the most logical and apparent to the individual. The fear of crime and some of the effects that come about from irrational fears are testament of the impending threats that individuals believe to be present. It is these threats that are the source of fear of crime and the extent to which these threats pose real danger to the individuals overwhelmed by fear is where the research’s interests lie.

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

<sup>24</sup> B. Roberts. *Age of hope or anxiety? Dynamics of the fear of crime in South Africa*. HSRC Policy Brief. March 2008 at 2.

<sup>25</sup> N. Semmens. ‘Towards an understanding of ‘fear’ as an intangible cost of crime.’ *International Review of Victimology*. (14) (2007) at 221.

<sup>26</sup> Miller’s 1973 work on the ‘Cost of Crime’ was cited by D. A. Lewis and G. Salem. *Fear of Crime: Incivility and the Production of a Social Problem*. (1986) at 3.

<sup>27</sup> *The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*. (2005).

### ***2.3 Fear and victimisation as an object of criminological study***

A number of developments within criminology were taking place in the 1960s through to the 1970s and these were spurred on by the development of the victim survey which aided in the revealing of the 'dark' figure of crime. The fear of crime levels which could not be explained based on crime statistics showed that more victimisation was taking place than was being reported and this created a need for in-depth studies on victims, leading to victimology gaining more research interest under the umbrella study of criminology. Victimology did not only concern victimisation itself but the victims' experiences holistically including the advocating for victims' rights, and putting victims at the centre of criminal justice policies. Erez (2000) observes that the victims' rights movement gained momentum in the 1970s, particularly in the USA and this spread through many parts of the world leading to the 1985 when the United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power was brought into the picture and ratified by many countries, this brought about more pressure on governments to give more rights to victims.<sup>28</sup> Zedner (2002) and Fattah (2000) add that there was a necessity to give the victim a voice so as to show that justice was being done when it came to criminal trials as this would encourage the reporting of future victimisation so as to have a better picture of the actual crime situation and to assist victims.<sup>29</sup> The fear of crime levels were believed to be largely close to true figures and giving victims more support would facilitate revealing some connections between fear of crime and actual victimisation.

Official crime statistics have always been considered as an underrepresentation of 'true' crime figures as they show only the 'iceberg' effect of crime where a larger 'dark figure' is hidden under the surface. Although being very costly to conduct and analyse, victimisation surveys used since the 1970s reveal the nature and extent of crime, circumstances around victimisation and the incident and the relationship between victim

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<sup>28</sup> E. Erez, 'Integrating a Victim Perspective Through Victim Impact Statements', in A. Crawford and J. Goodey (eds) *Integrating a Victim Perspective within Criminal Justice* (2000).

<sup>29</sup> E. Fattah, 'Victimology: Past, Present and Future' in *Criminologie*, 33 (1) (2000), and L. Zedner. 'Victims', in M. Maguire., R. Morgan & R. Reiner (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (2002).

and offender.<sup>30</sup> The first victimisation surveys to be conducted sought to establish a universal measure that would test individuals' levels of fear through asking questions such as 'how safe do you feel or would you feel walking alone at night in your neighbourhood'<sup>31</sup> Lee (2001) observes that the genealogy of the fear of crime and the study of the subject is a result of the development of the use of crime statistics. The development and use of statistical knowledge led to many disciplines receiving more attention and initiated the extensive studying of many subjects, the fear of crime being one of them.<sup>32</sup>

Despite revealing the hidden 'dark' figure of crime through interviewing individuals the main findings of the South African 1998 and 2003 victim surveys revealed through the representative samples that the South African public's fears are concentrated around murder, housebreaking, sexual assault/ rape, robbery and assault. The results also revealed that respondents felt that most crimes were motivated by greed and non-financial motives rather than real need. There were also high levels of lack of confidence in the police and the court system. The most interesting finding of these main surveys was that although crime rates have dropped notably from 1998 to 2003, the levels of fear discovered in 2003 are substantially higher than those recorded in 1998. This reveals to us that the fear of crime is in some cases not based on crime levels and that some fears are irrational and a result of threats which are not imminent. On the other hand, the fear of crime reveals that crime statistics which show a decrease in crime may not be reliable since many crimes are unreported. Therefore, it is essential to study the fear of crime in order to reveal the 'dark' figure of crime and address people's concerns.

Victimology, coupled with the ability to develop and use crime statistics led to the study of the fear of crime. To conduct victim studies effectively and develop methods for victim assistance and mitigating the effects of victimisation there was a need to measure the perceptions and fears of individuals. Phipps (1986) points out that this is what gave

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<sup>30</sup> L. Glanz. *Crime in South Africa: Perceptions, fear and victimisation*, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). (1994) at 39.

<sup>31</sup> K. Ferraro and R. LeGrange. 'The Measurement of Fear of Crime.' *Sociological Inquiry* (57) (1987) at 77.

<sup>32</sup> M. Lee. "The Genesis of 'Fear of Crime'" in *Theoretical Criminology*. Vol. 5. (2001) at 472.

rise to the study of the fear of crime in the 1960s.<sup>33</sup> Lee (2001) supports Hale (1996) who identifies the fear of crime as a 'sub-discipline' of criminology.<sup>34</sup> This sub-discipline only gained momentum after Harris' 1969 book entitled 'The Fear of Crime' was published, being the first publication to take the fear of crime as an issue of paramount importance.<sup>35</sup> Studying people's concerns and fears also came about as a result of human rights movements which were advocated for widely in the United States of America (USA) in the 1960s.

Since the development of the victimisation survey in the late 1960s in the USA the issue of investigating fear of crime has received substantial attention. Prior to this development, crime statistics, which are normally compiled annually by the police, were the only source of a rough estimation of crime levels, types and frequency.<sup>36</sup> However, Mistry (2004) points out that although the victim survey has been commended for its greater ability to reveal victimisation which remains unreported to the police, it is controversial in that some of the responses given are not based on actual crime trends but perceptions and fears play into the figures arrived at. In addition to this, responses given in victimisation surveys may also suffer the flaw of being unreliable based on the poor memory of the respondents as well as a lack of disclosure of victimisation such as rape, domestic violence and corruption.<sup>37</sup> This data collected from victim surveys, which is not reported to the police works both to the advantage and disadvantage of the society in that policy makers have an idea of the concerns of the public which are not revealed in police statistics, but in some instances these concerns are disproportionate to actual threats.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, stemming from the difficulty of defining the abstract nature of the fear of

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<sup>33</sup> A. Phipps. 'Radical Criminology and criminal victimisation: Proposals for the development of theory and innovation.' In R. Matthews and J. Young (eds.) *Confronting Crime*. (1986) at 97.

<sup>34</sup> C. Hale. 1996, cited in M. Lee. 'The Genesis of 'Fear of Crime'' in *Theoretical Criminology*. Vol. 5. (2001) at 467 to 468.

<sup>35</sup> R. Harris' book 'The Fear of Crime' is cited in M Lee. 'The Genesis of 'Fear of Crime'' in *Theoretical Criminology*. Vol. 5. (2001) at 476.

<sup>36</sup> L. Zedner. 'Victims' in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (1994) at 421.

<sup>37</sup> D. Mistry. 'Falling Crime, Rising Fear: 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey' in *SA Crime Quarterly*. No. 8. June 2004 at 17.

<sup>38</sup> J. Prinsloo. 'The Impact of Victimisation on the Fear of Crime' *Acta Criminologica*, 19(2) (2006) at 1.

crime, the measurement of fear in relation to real threats is challenging. The intangible nature of the fear of crime creates an obstruction for its measurement.

Studying the fear of crime has brought about several issues and this subject has generated debate and even furthered the interests of some groups such as private security providers while attracting more scorn towards governments who have populations which are highly insecure. This point can be linked to Lemanski's (2004) assertions that because states cannot cope with the insecurities of the people, what is known as the 'architecture of fear' is developing whereby the fear of crime is influencing the physical architecture of surroundings where high walls, electric fencing and gates, closed-circuit television (CCTV), private security and fortified neighbourhoods are commonplace.<sup>39</sup> However, perhaps what is interesting is that the fear of crime and the study of it has a reciprocal relationship with environmental modifications that are linked to fear and not that the fear of crime one-sidedly influences the different types of social control and fortification.

Therefore, the study of the fear of crime developed from many settings, mainly through victim studies which came about as a result of statistical innovations, and more importantly the desire to support victims and prepare communities to respond better to crime or threats, such as through modifying environments and creating exclusions to access in some areas. The academic debate about the extents of the rationality of the fear of crime was further developed from questions that were a product of the feminist movement which was also prominent in the 1970s.<sup>40</sup> The fear of crime therefore proves that it is influenced and in turn influences various developments. These fears which in some cases influence policy and in other instances create excessive fears which are somewhat curbed by enclosing spaces and modifying behaviours and stifling freedom of movement are important features of criminological enquiry and where these fears emanate from will now be discussed.

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<sup>39</sup> C. Lemanski. 'A new apartheid? The spatial implications of the fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa'. *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 16. No. 2. October 2004 at 106.

<sup>40</sup> S. Walklate and G. Mythen. 'How scared are we?' *British Journal of Criminology*, 48 (2008).

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<sup>40</sup> S. Walklate and G. Mythen. 'How scared are we?' *British Journal of Criminology*, 48 (2008).

## 2.4 Factors impacting fear of crime

Fears are the results of threats of some sort and many responses come about as to the causes of the fear of crime. The most plausible generator of fear of crime would be an existing threat that is either imminent or that has previously come to being and the same conditions for it to return are still present.<sup>41</sup> However, as mentioned earlier, this is not the case in all instances where there is a widespread fear of crime as some individuals tend to place great value on the threats others have experienced, thus heightening their fears. Other agents for increasing fear range from the media<sup>42</sup> to unfounded fears which are predicted to have the potential to occur although no real threat exists. On the question of possible generators of fear of crime in South Africa, the 1998 and 2003 victim surveys<sup>43</sup> shed some light on the most common fears of the public and possible causes of this fear. However, Taylor and Hale (1986) outlined three models of fear of crime which explain where fear could develop. They explained that fear could result from either the 'indirect victimisation', 'perceived disorder' or from the 'community concern model'.

The indirect victimisation model suggests that those more vulnerable and likely to be victims of crime based on their socio-demographic characteristics tend to have higher levels of fear of crime. Therefore, in this instance, fear is generated by one's recognition or perception that they are more vulnerable than others.

The perceived disorder model proposes that fear increases when people perceive physical or social disorder in their community. Incivility is considered to represent ineffective social control by the government and the police and types of social disorder are divided into 'social' and 'physical' disorder where 'social' order involves things such as drinking, prostitution, loitering, and disruptive neighbours, with 'physical' disorder

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<sup>41</sup> P. Burton., A. du Plessis., T. Leggett., A. Louw., D. Mistry., and H. van Vuuren. 'Public Perceptions about Crime and Safety'. Chapter 4, from National Victims Crime Survey 2003. ISS Monograph No. 101. July 2004.

<sup>42</sup> M. Lee. *Inventing Fear of Crime: Criminology and the politics of anxiety.* (2007) at 188.

<sup>43</sup> The 1998 victim survey was the first in South Africa and was conducted by Statistics South Africa (STASTSA) for the Department of Safety and Security and the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI). The 2003 victim survey was conducted by the Institute of Security Studies (ISS).

including 'pollution, graffiti, abandoned houses and broken streetlights.'<sup>44</sup> This model builds on Wilson and Kelling's 1982 'broken windows' theory which proves a causal relationship between disorder, fear, and crime.<sup>45</sup> The physical and social withdrawal of residents from the community has been argued to contribute substantially to an environment where deviance thrives.<sup>46</sup>

Thirdly, the community concern model posits that fear of crime increases when people have heightened concerns about problems within their community. Individuals with high levels of fear tend to be those concerned about neighbourhood decline and are displeased with the quality of life in the neighbourhood. Therefore, community members' fear of crime is related to their perception of quality of life in their neighbourhood. Those in the neighbourhood with low levels of quality of life and high crime rates have a high fear of crime as a result of their beliefs that there are no social control mechanisms in place or existing ones are not effective.<sup>47</sup> The risk that individuals associate with the neighbourhood causes them to perceive themselves to be more at risk.<sup>48</sup>

These three models are what have been accepted as the main sites from where fear of crime develops. And although previous victimisation experiences are related to fear of crime,<sup>49</sup> Whitrod (1982) observes that fear of crime is more related to biased perceptions of personal safety rather than actual victimisation experience,<sup>50</sup> which are outlined in the indirect victimisation model.

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<sup>44</sup> R. B. Taylor, and M. Hale. 'Testing alternative models of fear of crime', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 77 (1) (1986), and S. Roh and W. M. Oliver. 'Effects of community policing upon fear of crime: understanding the causal linkage'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. (28) 4, (2005) at 671-672.

<sup>45</sup> J.Q. Wilson, and G.L. Kelling. 'The police and neighbourhood safety: Broken windows'. *The Atlantic Monthly* (1982) at 29-38.

<sup>46</sup> B.J. Doran, and B.G. Lees. 'Investigating the spatiotemporal links between disorder, crime. and the fear of crime. *The Professional Geographer*. (57) 1, (2005) at 1.

<sup>47</sup> S. Roh., and W. M. Oliver. 'Effects of community policing upon fear of crime: understanding the causal linkage'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. (28) 4, (2005) at 671-673.

<sup>48</sup> T. Ho., and J. McKean. 'Confidence in the police and perceptions of risk' *Western Criminology Review*, 5 (2) (2004) at 109.

<sup>49</sup> W.G. Skogan, and M.G. Maxfield, *Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions*. (1981) and J. Garofalo. 'Victimisation and the fear of crime', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, (16), 1 (1979).

<sup>50</sup> R. Whitrod. 'Problems in the Measurement of the Fear of Crime'. (1982).

Although there are some irrational fears which are recorded in victim surveys as well as some well founded fears which are prevalent and pose a threat to individuals, the South African question, with regards to the causes of fears tends to have a unique position. The apartheid legacy not only left a deep wound on society but it also left a feeling of insecurity and distrust for one another among the people.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, in the South African context the fear of crime is partially caused by the previous lack of security which was present in the apartheid era where one group was at war with the other. Furthermore, there are other factors which determine fear levels such as an individual's social and demographic characteristics and the significance a loss encountered through victimisation has on an individual. The following section will discuss such factors which have been identified as common generators of fear amongst individuals.

#### 2.4.1 Fear of loss

Criminologists have put forward the notion that it is not crime itself that is feared but its effects which have been described by Miller (1973) and others as the 'cost' of crime.<sup>52</sup> These costs have been divided into two categories, namely 'tangible' and 'intangible' costs. Dolan and Peasgood (2007) describe tangible costs as those involving costs such as those needed to provide security measures, health and insurance expenditures, as well as the cost accumulated from the use of and by the criminal justice system. Tangible costs are more economically oriented whereas intangible costs include emotional and physical prices that the fear of crime makes individuals pay. Changes in behaviour and in the way individuals view society are what intangible costs of crime involve.<sup>53</sup>

It is therefore what individuals risk experiencing and losing that they are afraid of. However, the costs are not static and may vary depending on the instrument or method of

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<sup>51</sup> C. Lemanski. 'A new apartheid? The spatial implications of the fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa'. *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 16. No. 2. October 2004 at 102.

<sup>52</sup> Miller's 1973 work on the 'Cost of Crime' was cited by D. A. Lewis and G. Salem. *Fear of Crime: Incivility and the Production of a Social Problem*. (1986) at 3.

<sup>53</sup> S. Brand, and N. Price. 'The economic costs of crime', Home Office Research Study, 217. (2000) and P. Dolan, and T. Peasgood. 'Estimating the economic and social costs of the fear of crime'. *British Journal of Criminology*, (47) (2007) at 121- 122.

measuring them.<sup>54</sup> The measurement of costs may differ based on political circumstances, as well as the media, the focus of the police and their actions and other factors such as the work of private and community policing.<sup>55</sup> What is agreed upon is that the costs vary across individuals based on a group of factors which include but are not limited to age, gender, race and one's economic standing in society. Exploring the ways in which fear emanates or eases as a result of one's social profile is worthwhile.

#### **2.4.2 Demographic and social profile**

Fear levels are determined in some instances by individuals' social profiles and their fear levels may not always correspond with actual degrees of risk. Variations in levels of fear of crime include gender, age, race, income status, victimisation status and environmental context.<sup>56</sup> In a 1994 study conducted in South Africa involving 1 981 respondents, the results showed that crime had different ratings based on the race, gender and age of the respondents. Crime was rated as the second greatest problem by Asians and whites, third by blacks and sixth by coloureds. When it came to responses based on the gender of the respondent, males viewed crime as the community's second greatest problem and females put housing as their second greatest problem with crime in fourth position. The youngest and oldest respondents rated crime as the second greatest problem while it ranked lower with middle aged respondents.

The main perceptions of the causes of high crime included the economic recession, an ineffective police system, poor and low education as well as frustrated blacks in a bid to revenge whites and create fear among whites after apartheid.<sup>57</sup> These results may not only be unique to South Africa but may be distinctive based on the time and environment they were generated. As discussed earlier and illustrated in these results, the fear of crime is not a constant and it is dependent on many variables such as gender and race and also on the context and political atmosphere.

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<sup>54</sup> S. Farrall, J. Bannister, J. Ditton, and E. Gilchrist, 'Questioning the Measurement of the 'Fear of Crime': Findings from a Major Methodological Study', *British Journal of Criminology*, 37, (1997).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid* at 128.

<sup>56</sup> N.E. Rader, D.C. May, and S. Goodrum. 'An empirical assessment of the 'threat of victimisation:' considering fear of crime, perceived risk, avoidance and defensive behaviours'. *Sociological Spectrum*, (27) (2007) at 477.

<sup>57</sup> L. Glanz. *Crime in South Africa: Perceptions, fear and victimisation*. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (1994) at 7.

Let us briefly look into each variable and observe what scholars have noted as the main determinants of the variations in fear levels which as noted by the indirect victimisation model, are not a product of actual victimisation but come about as a result of interactions with others which influence perceptions of vulnerability. To begin, let us start with age, which is one of the most argued determinants of fear.

- **Age**

Gender and age are the most prominent fear determinants where females are noted to be considerably more fearful than males and the elderly exhibit greater levels of fear compared to younger individuals. Numerous studies have revealed that the elderly fear crime mainly because of the constraints that exist for their recovery once they have experienced crime. The extent to which the elderly can defend themselves if threats are to materialize into real experiences is also limited,<sup>58</sup> therefore these are the validations behind why the elderly are more prone to fear.

- **Gender**

Similar reasons exist for women's fears just like the elderly whose ability to defend themselves particularly from violent crime are limited. The intangible costs of crime which were discussed earlier affect women and the elderly more. While some attribute gender difference in fear to be based on women's irrationality, the premise has been put forward that the reason for women's high fear levels and their perceptions of being more vulnerable stem from the fear that any altercation will result in rape. However, this concept disregards men and in so doing reinforces male behaviour as the standard.<sup>59</sup> Some theorists however put forward the notion that the high levels of fear that women report are not unfounded and false, but that women tend to report crime less,<sup>60</sup> therefore creating a great statistic of crimes that are male directed but a fearful female population because of the 'dark', unreported statistic. Contrary to this assertion, although still arguing

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<sup>58</sup> L. Glanz. *Crime in South Africa: Perceptions, fear and victimisation*. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). (1994) at 15.

<sup>59</sup> L. Williams Reid., and M. Konrad. 'The gender gap in fear: Assessing the interactive effects of gender and perceived risk on fear of crime', *Sociological Spectrum* (24) (2004) at 401.

<sup>60</sup> W.R. Smith and M. Torstensson. 'Gender differences in risk perception and neutralizing fear of crime: toward resolving paradoxes'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 37 (4) (1997) at 610.

for women's fears not being higher than men's, Newburn and Stanko (1994) put forward the notion that males are believed to be more reserved about their feelings of vulnerability and fear,<sup>61</sup> thereby making females seem more worried about crime. Through the many studies that have been conducted to investigate gender and fear, the results have suggested that indeed it is the cost of the crime that women fear,<sup>62</sup> and Hyde (2005) points out that because of their physical strength women are generally more vulnerable to physical harm, therefore they would tend to be more fearful and threatened by physical harm.<sup>63</sup> Researchers also highlight that because of their higher levels of fear; more precautionary measures are taken by women in everyday life to protect themselves from crime.<sup>64</sup>

These higher levels of fear reported by the elderly and women although crime statistics testify to the risk profiles of these groups of individuals being low is what has come to be termed as the fear of crime 'paradox'. This paradox spells out that those who fear crime the most are actually least likely to be victimised and are not at risk of experiencing the direct impact of crime.<sup>65</sup> The importance of the victimisation survey becomes apparent when crime statistics do not correspond with fear levels and other reasons for which women report high levels of crime need to be investigated.

- **Race**

Yet another main determinant of fear levels that has been noted by researchers is race. In every victimisation survey race plays a considerable role in the explanation of fear levels. For instance, a great deal of research, including a 1983 study revealed that in the USA blacks were considerably more fearful than whites. This higher level of fear has been attributed to economic inequality since blacks would have experienced greater difficulties recovering from crime-related losses and also had more obstructions preventing them from

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<sup>61</sup> T. Newburn., and E.A. Stanko, 'When Men Are Victims', in T. Newburn and E. A. Stanko, *Just Boys Doing Business? Men, Masculinities and Crime*, (1994).

<sup>62</sup> S.C. Moore., and J. Shepherd, 'Gender specific emotional responses to anticipated crime', *International Review of Victimology* (14) (2007) at 349.

<sup>63</sup> J.S. Hyde, J. 'The Gender Similarities Hypothesis'. *American Psychologist*, 60 (6) (2005).

<sup>64</sup> P. Wilcox., C.E. Jordan and A.J. Pritchard. 'A Multidimensional Examination of Campus Safety: Victimization, Perceptions of Danger, Worry About Crime, and Precautionary Behavior Among College Women in the Post-Clery Era', *Crime and Delinquency* (53) 2, (2007) at 244.

<sup>65</sup> E. Stanko, in T. Hope, and R. Sparks, (eds) *Crime, risk and insecurity: Law and order in everyday life and political discourse* (2000) at 21.

moving to less risky neighbourhoods.<sup>66</sup> However, this point begs the question whether the contrary would be the case, whether whites would not be more fearful since they would have a lot to lose if they fall prey to crime. On the question of actual victimisation, research has shown that there is a considerable correlation between fear of crime and actual victimisation among whites.<sup>67</sup> A substantial amount of research has also revealed that white people's fears frequently focus on other ethnic groups.<sup>68</sup> The race and fear relationship exists and the way and circumstances in which it develops requires further scholarship, the research was interested in gauging whether this variable was a great determinant of fear in the current study.

### 2.4.3 Environmental factors

A number of factors within the community are also contributors to one's fear levels. As discussed earlier, the perceived disorder and community concern models play a vital role in individuals' perceptions of safety. Carach *et al* (1995) point out that people with higher levels of education tend to be less fearful since it is assumed that automatically education provides for more favourable standards of living.<sup>69</sup> However, the actual environment only becomes more fearsome depending on the way the community views it and communicates. The main motivators behind criminal behaviour which heightened fear levels according to the respondents of both the 1998 and 2003 National Victims Crime Survey (NVCS) were 'greed' and 'non-financial motives' for both property and violent crime, real need was cited as the least likely cause of engaging in crime.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, in the 1994 household survey focusing on victimisation experiences conducted among 1981

<sup>66</sup> K. D. Parker. 'Black-White Differences in Perceptions of Fear of Crime', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 128, (4) (2001) at 492.

<sup>67</sup> T. Chiricos., K. Padgett., and M. Gertz. 'Fear, TV News and the reality of crime', *Criminology*, 38, (3) (2000).

<sup>68</sup> Studies conducted and cited in T. Chiricos., M. Hogan, and M. Gertz, (1997), S. E. Merry, (1981), S. J. Smith, (1986), and R. Taub, D. G. Taylor, and J.D. Dunham, (1984), in R. Pain, 'Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City', *Urban Studies* 38, (5, 6) (2001) at 906.

<sup>69</sup> C. Carcach., P. Frampton., K. Thomas., and M. Cranich. 'Explaining fear of crime in Queensland', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 11 (3) (1995).

<sup>70</sup> P. Burton., A. du Plessis., T. Leggett., A. Louw., D. Mistry., and H. van Vuuren, 'Public Perceptions about Crime and Safety'. Chapter 4. 'National Victims Crime Survey 2003', ISS Monograph No. 101. July (2004) at 62, and A. Louw 'Crime and Perceptions after a decade of democracy', *Social Indicators Research* (81) (2007) at 246.

respondents, results revealed that respondents believed that the greatest problems in their communities were firstly unemployment, followed by housing and crime came third. Other problems that were cited were poverty, debt, alcoholism, low levels of education and pollution.

Additionally, Sibley (1995) observes that most individuals tend to fear those who are stereotypically labelled as 'others' and those who have a presence that is seen to be threatening to the community order and norms.<sup>71</sup> Contrary to beliefs, the individuals, groups and places that are often seen as threatening to order in the community and to law and order are in some instances at a greater risk of violence. Pain (2001) adds that these social 'others' which include children, young men, some ethnic minority groups and people who are homeless may be feared, but are also fearful.<sup>72</sup> Also, the British Crime Survey (BCS) of 2000 revealed that people living in high-risk crime areas as being more likely to predict their victimisation than those in low risk areas,<sup>73</sup> thereby showing that previous victimisation and one's environment do play a significant role in one's fear levels.

#### **2.4.4 Low trust in state security**

Another consolidator of underlying fears which was unearthed in the 1998 and 2003 surveys was that the fears of individuals are increased by the people's general lack of confidence in the police. Mistry (2004) revealed that there are low levels of confidence in the police as participants in the 2003 victim survey expressed that they felt that the South African police failed to do their jobs up to standard because they do not respond to distress calls on time, tend to be corrupt, in some cases do not go to the scenes where they are called upon and are lazy.<sup>74</sup> The lack of faith in the police increases the already existing levels of fear.

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<sup>71</sup> D.Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion*. (1995).

<sup>72</sup> R. Pain, 'Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City', *Urban Studies*, 38 (5, 6) (2001) at 902.

<sup>73</sup> L. Johnston, 'Crime, fear and civil policing', *Urban Studies* (38) (2001) at 960.

<sup>74</sup> D. Mistry. 'Falling Crime, Rising Fear, 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey'. *SA Crime Quarterly*, No. 8. June 2004 at 21.

### 2.4.5 The media

Another generator of fear which is outside the ambit of social demographics is the media. Some of the stereotypes that individuals have of crime and others are transmitted through the media and its role in heightening fears requires discussion.

The media plays a great role in the development and propagation of fears among people, particularly through the extensive and repeated broadcasting of those stories which include the portrayal of an innocent victim who suffered under an inhumane perpetrator.<sup>75</sup> The media stimulates irrational fears, exaggerates and sensationalises risks and the seriousness of crime.<sup>76</sup> In addition to this the media cunningly changes stories to fit into current debates that are newsworthy where there is the depiction of 'innocent victims' whose stories are in some instances removed from their original history and context in order to attract the public's attention.<sup>77</sup>

The potent effect that the media has on individuals' fear of crime has been detected by criminologists to be a result of three factors. The first factor being, people do not personally experience serious crime directly. Secondly, that the information sources people mainly rely on are the mass media, and the third factor ensuring the influence of the media is that contemporary media is full of information on crime related news;<sup>78</sup> therefore the audience is persuaded into believing that high crime rates exist regardless of the environment and context. The indirect victimisation model here proves to be at play in the generation of fear through media representations that perpetuate fear since many who report high levels of fear do not have direct experiences with crime but read about it and

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<sup>75</sup> E. Stanko 'Victims R US' Chapter 1, p.21, and R. Sparks (1992) in R. Reiner., S. Livingstone and J. Allen. Chapter 6, 'No more Happy Endings' in T. Hope and R. Sparks (eds) *Crime, Risk and Insecurity: Law and order in everyday life and political discourse*, (2000).

<sup>76</sup> R. Sparks, Television and the Drama of Crime: Moral Tales and the Place of Crime in Public Life. (1992) at 113.

<sup>77</sup> M. Lee. *Inventing Fear of Crime: Criminology and the politics of anxiety*. (2007) at 188.

<sup>78</sup> V. Sacco, 'The Effects of Mass Media on Perceptions of Crime: A Reanalysis of the Issues', *Pacific Sociological Review* 25(4) (1982) at 476.

learn of others' experiences and high crime levels through television and radio broadcasts.<sup>79</sup>

The well known media statement –‘if it bleeds it leads’<sup>80</sup> is an accurate profile of stories that make it to the public eye based on their shocking natures that the media cultivates into real life fears. A number of studies have observed that these terrifying and leading stories are not necessarily the average crimes that take place and in most cases they are not common. A 1981 Scottish study of one newspaper and three television stations over a period of time revealed that crimes involving violence received 22 times more reports than any other story and stories involving sexual assault received 14 times more attention in reporting than other stories.<sup>81</sup> Smith's 1984 study in England showed that newspaper space was mainly allocated to stories involving personal offences committed yet they made up 6 per cent of crime but received 52 per cent of newspaper space.<sup>82</sup> Yet another study in the USA whereby 25 editions of each of the leading papers in 26 American cities were analysed, revealed that the homicide rate was 0.02 per cent of recorded cases but made 29.9 per cent of crime stories.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Baker *et al* (1983); Garofalo (1981) and Heath (1984) revealed in their studies that the images the media portrays of crimes which involve random choices of victims and overly deviant criminals and the staging of events contribute greatly to the escalation of fear for the audience.<sup>84</sup>

These studies have proved that the media indulges in crime stories to a large extent and when the media is relied on it is likely that this information source will influence individuals' perceptions of their surroundings and their safety levels. The way in which

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<sup>79</sup> D. Chadee., and J. Ditton, 'Fear of crime and the media: Assessing the lack of relationship', *Crime, Media and Culture*, 1 (3) (2005) at 324.

<sup>80</sup> R. Weitzer., and C.E. Kubrin, 'Breaking news: How local TV news and real-world conditions affect fear of crime', *Justice Quarterly*, 21 (3) (2004) at 503.

<sup>81</sup> J. Sheley., and C. Ashkins, 'Crime, Crime News, and Crime Views', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45,(1981) at 492–506.

<sup>82</sup> S. Smith, 'Crime in the News', *British Journal of Criminology* 24(3) (1984) at 289- 295.

<sup>83</sup> A. Liska., and W. Baccaglioni. 'Feeling Safe by Comparison: Crime in the Newspapers', *Social Problems* 37(3) (1990) at 360- 374.

<sup>84</sup> M.H. Baker., B.C. Nienstedt., R.S. Everett., and R. McClery, 'The Impact of A Crime Wave: Perceptions, Fear and Confidence in the Police' *Law and Society Review*, 17, (1983), J. Garofalo, 'The Fear of Crime: Causes and Consequences'. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 72, (1981), and L. Heath, 'Impact of Newspaper Crime Reports on Fear of Crime', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47, (1984).

the media influences people's perceptions has been drafted into a theory by Gerbner and Gross (1976) known as 'cultivation hypothesis'. This theory puts forward the idea that television shapes and misshapes people's views of reality. They argue that regular exposure to television tends to 'cultivate' reality into distorted and imagined realities brought about by television.<sup>85</sup> Bauman (2000) adds that the media dramatises crime, especially on television, thereby intensifying people's concerns about crime. However, the media is useful for reducing the people's dismay associated with the high expectations they have of the state through showing diligent police work in the form of serious investigations and crackdowns on criminals. Although such broadcasts reduce society's doubts of the police, this creates more fear among the people, leading to fortification of premises, exclusions and fears of sometimes unlikely events.<sup>86</sup>

## ***2.5 Responding to fear and victimisation***

One consequence of fear of crime is that it can cause individuals to alter and modify their daily living patterns in order to avoid threats. Criminologists observe that actual experiences with crime and perceptions of risk may lead some people to reduce or even eliminate their participation in social activities. Individuals who have high fear of crime levels may opt to modify their behaviour in ways such as not travelling at night and avoiding certain areas they consider to pose threats and they may engage in a multitude of avoidance behaviours and strategies to adapt to the fear.<sup>87</sup> Some avoidance and adaptive behaviours which individuals make use of because of their fears are what this research sought to uncover. Furthermore, scholars point out that fear may constrain behaviours,

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<sup>85</sup> G. Gerbner., and L. Gross, 'Living with television: The violence profile', *Journal of Communication*, 26, (1976) at 173-199.

<sup>86</sup> Z. Bauman, 'Social Issues of Law and Order.' *British Journal of Criminology*, 40(2) (2000).

<sup>87</sup> N. E. Rader., D.C. May, and S. Goodrum. 'An empirical assessment of the 'threat of victimisation:' considering fear of crime, perceived risk, avoidance and defensive behaviours'. *Sociological Spectrum*, (27) (2007) at 476-477.

which in turn accentuates fear;<sup>88</sup> it is this initial restriction of movements and activities that leads to individuals' fears rising.

A great development that has come about as a result of rational and irrational fear of crime is the boom in the private security industry. This industry came with various elements of a 'multi-lateralised' form of policing which includes features such as CCTV, gated-communities as well as community interventions to prevent and combat crime such as neighbourhood watch systems.<sup>89</sup> However, the argument stands that some interventions, such as the closing off of communities aids in the raising of fear levels rather than alleviating them.<sup>90</sup> The developments in extensive security measures such as those mentioned earlier which are characteristic of the concept called 'dangerisation'. Dangerisation is the inclination to identify and evaluate things through the degree to which they pose a threat to an individual. It involves the constant investigation of possible dangers and this leads to the adoption of defensive behaviours. The information is largely influenced by dangerisation which led to the development of Automated Socio-Technical Environments (ATSEs) which involve technological innovation which standardises, manages and monitors individuals' behaviour through assimilating it into a uniformly arranged atmosphere where all those who are part of the environment are expected to comply and conform to certain behaviours that govern that particular setting. Examples of ATSEs include access control for entry into buildings, ATMs and ticket-holders in parking lots.<sup>91</sup> The heavy reliance on the use of ATSEs supports the paradox which Bauman (2006) puts forward that the wealthiest and most technologically advanced generation in human history is also the most affected by insecurities and vulnerability,<sup>92</sup> a substantial percentage of these feelings are attributable to the technology which society is investing in to reduce the fear it is actually reinforcing.

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<sup>88</sup> A. E. Liska., A. Sanchirico, and M. D. Reed. 'Fear of Crime and Constrained Behaviors Specifying and Estimating a Reciprocal Effects Model.' *Social Forces* (66) (1988).

<sup>89</sup> D.H. Bayley, and C. Shearing. *The New Structure of Policing: Description, Conceptualisation, and Research agenda*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice. (2001) at 1.

<sup>90</sup> J. Bannister., and N. Fyfe. 'Introduction: Fear and the city', *Urban Studies*, (38) 5 and 6. (2001) at 810.

<sup>91</sup> M. Lianos., and M. Douglas 'Dangerisation and the End of Deviance: The Institutional Environment.' *British Journal of Criminology*, 40(2) (2000).

<sup>92</sup> Z. Bauman. *Liquid Fear*, (2006).

Environmental design, which seeks to minimise and manage risks, is commonplace in communities as one method for reducing fears as in attempt to prevent victimisation. This focus on reducing risks through enclosures, fortification, surveillance and movement control is referred to as the 'risk society'.<sup>93</sup> The risk society involves styles of control that increase surveillance and monitoring through compliance systems. Its places its focus on altering the physical and social structure in which individuals and communities behave, rather than on altering individual behaviour.<sup>94</sup> This main theme of social control is what is known as 'actuarialism' which is the movement to a society that is less concerned with justice but the reduction of the possibility of harm is the focal point as in dangerisation. Risks are therefore calculated and the causes are not offered much attention, but rather, the possible ways for avoiding such threats and limiting the damage is taken into consideration.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the prevention of victimisation and the minimising of its effects creates a platform for the 'commodification' of security since a great percentage of populations invest in reducing risks.<sup>96</sup> This picture of security as something that can be bought has turned the security provider realm to be one that Furedi (2005) describes as profit seeking from 'fear entrepreneurs' since security is a business that is profiting from fear.<sup>97</sup> The fear of crime therefore may be heightened by the structures in place that are aimed at reducing victimisation but conversely create fear and exclusion, these developments have created other facets of the fear of crime which similarly deserve more scholarship.

Although such developments are somewhat defeating to the purpose of alleviating fears, the fear of crime has been observed to be a first step in a positive feedback chain<sup>98</sup> since fears inform individuals and communities on how they can protect themselves and improve security in their shared public spaces. The modification of behaviour and

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<sup>93</sup> R.V. Ericson, *Crime in and Insecure World* (2007).

<sup>94</sup> S. Cohen, 'Social Control and the Politics of Reconstruction'. In D. Nelken (ed) *The Futures of Criminology*. (1998).

<sup>95</sup> J. Young. 'The exclusive society: Social exclusion, crime and difference in late modernity', (1999), in E. McLaughlin., J. Muncie., and G. Hughes, (eds) *Criminological Perspectives: Essential readings* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed) (2004).

<sup>96</sup> T. Newburn. 'The Commodification of Policing: Security Networks in the Late Modern City.' *Urban Studies*, 38(5-6) (2001).

<sup>97</sup> Furedi, F. *The Politics of Fear*. ( 2005 ).

<sup>98</sup> B.J. Doran, and B.G. Lees. 'Investigating the spatiotemporal links between disorder, crime. and the fear of crime. *The Professional Geographer*. (57) 1, (2005) at 1.

adaptive mechanisms that individuals develop in certain environments are also useful for identifying hotspots where people fear the most and this information helps in the creation of suitable strategies for managing fear levels.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, if used appropriately, information gathered from fear of crime studies can be useful for mapping crime hotspots as well as for developing mechanisms to prevent and fight crime.

Any social issue which gathers debate and perturbs society consequently receives some recognition through policy. The fear of crime has created debate all over the world and governments are seeking to protect their citizens from threats but at the same time avoid responding to tenuous concerns which are costly and may not be necessary. However, Conklin (1975) points out that a basic sense of personal security is a fundamental element for an individual's well-being<sup>100</sup> and a lack of a feeling of security may hamper one's ability to exist well in society as modifying movements and activities can lead to discontent.<sup>101</sup> Governments therefore have a mandate to provide for this basic sense of security, and in instances where governments cannot provide this which is a common feature of many societies around the world,<sup>102</sup> the private security industry steps in and attempts to curb the fears of the people, although at a costly price.<sup>103</sup>

Since the study of the fear of crime is still relatively undeveloped in the South African context and most fears are considered to be irrational and not imminent threats, the state has mainly allowed individuals and communities to take control of their own policing. The state has taken a step back and is allowing communities to freely employ private security companies and set up community safety interventions to provide security while it oversees these operations. There are also other security initiatives which communities find the need to develop for themselves as a result of the state police being unavailable to provide the necessary protection.<sup>104</sup> Although Johnston (2001) points out that it is believed that any

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid at 9.

<sup>100</sup> J.E. Conklin. *The impact of crime*. 1975.

<sup>101</sup> J. Prinsloo. 'The Impact of Victimisation on the Fear of Crime' *Acta Criminologica*. 19(2) (2006) at 1.

<sup>102</sup> Garland, D. 'The Limits of the Sovereign State: Strategies of Crime Control in Contemporary Society' *British Journal of Criminology*, 36 (4): (1996) at 449.

<sup>103</sup> J.Berg. 'Private Policing in South Africa: The Cape Town City Improvement District- Pluralisation in Practice', *Society in Transition*, 35 (2) (2004) at 225.

<sup>104</sup> B. Baker. 'Multi-choice policing in Africa: Is the continent following the South African pattern'. *Society in Transition*, 35:2 (2004) at 204.

solution to the governance of crime and the fear of it will inevitably be state-led,<sup>105</sup> in the South African situation this does not follow. The fear of crime has therefore created the need for individuals to be more vigilant for the purposes of their own safety. Furthermore, in some cases the fear of crime has spurred new developments in security where communities come together and create security initiatives which are not only tailored for that community's specific needs, but to also curb whatever fears the community may have which are unique from other communities. Such exclusions of others however possibly encourages hostility and creates platforms for 'us versus them' conflicts, which also compound fears. An example of exclusions which create fear is the issue of xenophobia, which for the current study, is an important aspect to explore.

## ***2.6 Xenophobia and the fear of crime***

Threats on population groups such as intolerant and xenophobic attitudes in society are other generators of fear of crime, xenophobia causes fear of crime for both the locals and foreigners. Waller (2002) defines xenophobia as a dislike for genetically dissimilar groups and nepotistic favouritism towards those who are genetically similar.<sup>106</sup> Arguments have been put forward that this kind of feeling of inclination towards one's kind is innate and inborn.<sup>107</sup> In addition to this fundamental definition of xenophobia, Neocosmos (2006) puts forward the concept of four theses which explain xenophobia, depending on the particular setting and other factors such as the state and the prevailing political climate. The first argument states that xenophobia is a discourse concerned with social and political exclusion of some groups from the population, the exclusion of some groups is in this instance seen as essential for the survival of the community or the nation, where it is crucial for the 'outsiders' to be excluded in order for the in-group to exist. The second hypothesis explains that exclusion is a political process in which the state plays a pivotal role, be it overt or not. Here, politically marginalised groups, usually minorities, are excluded. Thesis three is a fusion of the first and second arguments; in this case exclusion

<sup>105</sup> L. Johnston, 'Crime, fear and civil policing', *Urban Studies* (38) (2001) at 959.

<sup>106</sup> J. Waller (2002) *In Becoming Evil: How ordinary people commit genocide and mass killing*.

<sup>107</sup> A.A. Osuntokun, 'A panoramic historic discourse on xenophobia' Chapter 2 in *Xenophobia: A contemporary issue in psychology* (2007) at 23.

from community extends to the exclusion from the rights and duties associated with being a community member. Finally, the fourth position on xenophobia stipulates that it is the consequence of the relation between two groups of politics, which are the state and popular politics where groups find themselves excluded as a result of the political atmosphere.<sup>108</sup>

A number of incidents exposing xenophobic attitudes have occurred in South Africa and are noted by Steinberg (2005) to date back as far as the 1980s.<sup>109</sup> Additionally, 1995, 2006 and 2008 are other notable episodes where extreme xenophobic attacks were recorded<sup>110</sup> and these incidents prove the lack of tolerance for foreigners. Locating the theoretical standpoint of xenophobia within the South African context can be a cumbersome process since South Africa has a unique history which greatly influences the present environment. However, the second thesis is perhaps the one that is most convincingly applicable to the South African situation where the nature of the state, particularly prior to 1994 was bent on the segregation and exclusion of some groups,<sup>111</sup> and this feature unfortunately contaminated the independent South Africa. The state has thereby failed to control this situation where others are excluded, since the initial causes of such exclusions are now vague. Popular politics, which are mainly the beliefs of the citizens, as a result of such an atmosphere adopt ideas from thesis one and three where the exclusion of foreigners is seen as a necessary measure for the betterment of South Africa and foreigners are stripped of rights and duties thereof- owing to their foreigner status.

Xenophobic sentiment is said to be 'growing alarmingly' in South Africa<sup>112</sup> and perhaps intolerant attitudes are a result of the fear of crime as Pretorius (2004) notes that there is a general assumption among South Africans that foreigners are responsible for the increase in crime rates.<sup>113</sup> Xenophobia is noted to be most common among black South

<sup>108</sup> M. Neocosmos. *From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners' Explaining Xenophobia in Post-apartheid South Africa: Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics*. (2006).

<sup>109</sup> J. Steinberg. 'A Mixed Reception: Mozambican and Congolese Refugees in South Africa' ISS Monograph No. 117. June 2005.

<sup>110</sup> See footnotes 4, 5, and 6.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid* footnote 109.

<sup>112</sup> J. Crush., and B. Mattes, 'Xenophobia: Hostility growing alarmingly', *Crossings*, 2 (3) (1998).

<sup>113</sup> R. Pretorius. 'Political Refugees as Victims of Prejudice, Discrimination and Abuse'. *Acta Criminalologica*, 17(2) (2004) at 131.

Africans towards black foreigners.<sup>114</sup> This suspicion of foreigners is another generator of fear and it is twofold in that firstly, South Africans are threatened as they feel that foreigners are invading their territory and being involved in crime which makes them insecure and fearful of foreigners. Secondly, because foreigners fear the reactions of the locals, more fear is generated among foreigners, as demonstrated by incidents such as the 2008 attacks on foreigners. Ethnic conflicts as discussed earlier, are an extension of apartheid, and Bekker (1996) points out that such ethnic extremism is a feature that emanated from apartheid which drew boundaries between ethnicities thus creating class struggles which exist in contemporary South Africa,<sup>115</sup> with the exception being that it is mainly directed at foreign, weak minorities.

Not only are citizens suspicious of and prejudiced against foreigners but a survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVr) in 2004 revealed that even police officers are aversive towards foreigners and the majority of officers involved in the study believed that immigrants, particularly undocumented ones are involved in most of the crime taking place in Johannesburg. Also, when asked whether they had received training on race and discrimination issues only 38.9 per cent of males and 31.7 per cent of female officers reported that they had received such training. There was a notable decrease in the suspicion of foreigners being involved in crime with an increase of the ranking of the police officers. Masuku (2006) adds that there has also been the documenting of various abuses of foreigners by the police, particularly in the police cells and at the Lindela Repatriation camp where undocumented immigrants are held before deportation.<sup>116</sup> Identifying foreigners for deportation to their home countries after detention is usually conducted through apartheid-type practices such as comparing suspected illegal immigrants' complexions with those of South Africans, language tests or checking for inoculation marks. Failure to produce identification documentation during random police checks can result in being taken into custody and being deported. The

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<sup>114</sup> D. MacDonald, *The lives and times of African migrants and immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa*. Migration Policy Series, 13 (2000).

<sup>115</sup> S. Bekker, 'Conflict, ethnicity and democratisation in contemporary South Africa' in S. Bekker and D. Carlton (eds) *Racism, Xenophobia and Ethnic Conflict*, (1996).

<sup>116</sup> T. Masuku. 'Targeting Foreigners: Xenophobia among Johannesburg's Police'. *SA Crime Quarterly*. No. 15. March 2006. The survey involved 580 uniformed officers from a sample of 3 660 officers in the 21 police stations around Johannesburg.

South African Human Rights Commission (1999) identifies such practices as mimicking the apartheid regime and likens the need to supply the police with an identification document on the spot to pass laws characteristic of apartheid.<sup>117</sup> Assaults, verbal abuse, exploitation and rape have been reported and the Human Rights Watch in 1998 reported that at least one asylum seeker had died as a result of beatings by police officers whilst in detention. Other reports state that the bribing of police officers in order to be released is common.<sup>118</sup>

Social networks are responsible for the diffusion of ideas about others who may be considered as outsiders and this generates fear.<sup>119</sup> The fear of crime and fear of becoming a victim that results from this can lead to xenophobia and to negative prejudices against the categories of people who are thought to be criminal<sup>120</sup> however, it is not only the social networks that disseminate information on the threats certain categories of people may pose to others but again the media plays a great role in influencing the persistence of some problems. An example of this can be noted in the way the xenophobic attacks of 2008 spread in South Africa from Alexandra in Gauteng to Cape Town. The media's role in disseminating information on the attacks negatively impacted on the affected communities since instead of creating awareness that would prevent them from spreading, the media's impact instead spurred on the frustrated locals who for a long time had lived in peace with large numbers of foreigners in the low income areas of South Africa. Questions such as those posed by Bernstein (2008) arise such as who instigated the violence and most importantly, how it spread from one place to another as well as how some communities were involved in the attacks and others were not.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> South African Human Rights Commission, 'Report into the arrest and detention of Persons in terms of the Aliens Control Act' (1999).

<sup>118</sup> Human Rights Watch. 'Prohibited Persons: Abuse of Undocumented Migrants, Asylum-Seekers, and Refugees in South Africa'. March 1998. Accessed on 26 May 2008 from <http://www.hrw.org/reports98/sareport/>

<sup>119</sup> R. Pretorius, 'Armed robbery, violent assault and perceptions of personal insecurity and society at risk', *Acta Criminologica*, 21 (2) (2008) at 81

<sup>120</sup> South African Human Rights Commission. 2000. National plan of action: roll back xenophobia campaign: Accessed on 28 May 2008 from [http://www.sahr.org/national\\_plan\\_of\\_action.htm](http://www.sahr.org/national_plan_of_action.htm)

<sup>121</sup> 'Xeno attacks 'complicated'' *News 24*, statement by A. Bernstein, executive director of The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE): 17 July 2008.

Among students, the issue of foreigners has been identified by Ramphele (1999) as a source of hostility between a segment of black South African students and black students from the rest of Africa, particularly from neighbouring countries. South African students are noted to experience sentiments of deprivation and they believe that their sense of citizenship is somewhat lost through competition they are faced with from foreign students as they compete for local resources, particularly educational bursaries and scholarships. As a result of this local students blame the perceived deprivation on foreign students who are not entitled to such benefits.<sup>122</sup>

This reveals that there is a feeling of xenophobia within South African society and studying this in relation to the research that was conducted was a worthwhile intervention, especially since the fears of foreign students were investigated after such revelations were made through the existing literature. Investigating whether the xenophobic attitudes affect international students and increase their fears of crime in South Africa is relevant and an attempt to establish what individuals' views of the causes of xenophobia in this context proved to be a worthwhile undertaking.

The review of literature has explored the fear of crime, its facets and highlighted its controversies. An understanding of the fear of crime has been established and the generators of the fear of crime from one's social profile to the media have been looked into. Previous studies on the fear of crime and how individuals cope with it either through devising their own mechanisms to protect themselves or modifying their behaviour as well as the way fears may lead to one group of people threatening another group's safety and resulting in xenophobia were all topics that build a clear picture of the features and effects of the fear of crime.

However, for the current study, the aims of the research are to establish international students' perceptions and fear of crime in South Africa, based on their social profiles as well as to investigate factors (such as fear levels compared to their home country, protection mechanisms and reporting behaviours as well as their views of xenophobia) in a

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<sup>122</sup> M. Ramphele, *Immigration and Education: International students at South African Universities and Technikons*. Migration Policy Series, 12 (1999).

way that is feasible and representative of the international student population. There is a need to describe how the research took form and how the points raised and challenged on the fear of crime are related to this research. Furthermore, it is necessary to outline the way in which this research was conducted in order to answer the research questions posed which aimed to fulfill the research objectives. A detailed outline of the research process follows in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The way in which the research was carried out was in the form of a mainly quantitative study. The research made use of a survey in the form of a questionnaire.<sup>123</sup> The type of research is both descriptive and exploratory. Exploratory research is that which expert researchers Babbie and Mouton (2006) describe as research which brings out the 'precise measurement and reporting of the characteristics of some population or phenomenon under study'.<sup>124</sup> This indeed is what the research seeks to do as only a sample of a segment of the population was explored to reveal the views and behaviours related to the reactions that come about as a result of the fear of crime.

The research provides information on a situation and phenomenon and as pointed out by Bless and Higson-Smith (1995), this would fall under the ambit of exploratory research. The rationale for conducting exploratory research is either to gain insight or to acquire information on a current issue of interest.<sup>125</sup> Neuman (2000) adds to this assertion stating that exploratory research is conducted in an area that has not been studied in which the researcher intends to expand on the initial ideas and focus more on a research question.<sup>126</sup> The field of fear of crime is an area that has considerable amounts of literature around it following the victimisation survey's development in the 1970s. There is

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<sup>123</sup>The tool in question, which is the questionnaire, was modified from an existing questionnaire which was crafted by a group of second year students and lecturers from the University of Cape Town who were part of a course administered by the Centre of Criminology. Professor. E. van der Spuy and Ms. J. Berg lectured the course in which the original questionnaire was crafted and they oversaw the process of developing the questionnaire. The course is entitled 'Crime and Deviance in South African Cities'. The questionnaire had questions ranging from comparisons between crime trends in South Africa to those in respondents' home countries to their views on causes of crime in South Africa and their individual crime prevention strategies. The content and structure of the existing questionnaire which was developed and only filled out by students within the course is very similar to issues of interest in relation to the current research. Supervision and permission were granted from the Centre of Criminology to revise and tailor the questionnaire to suit this research.

<sup>124</sup> E. Babbie., and J. Mouton. *The practice of social research*. (2006).

<sup>125</sup> C. Bless. And C. Higson-Smith. 'Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective'. *Research at grass roots. For the social sciences and human service professions*. (1995).

<sup>126</sup> W.L. Neuman. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. (2000).

however, a limited amount of literature on other variables outside of age, gender, race, environment and economic status on whether the fear of crime is affected by others such as foreign status, which the research sought to explore.

### ***3.1 Design***

The research design and methodology include the sampling method, data collection method and tool as well as the data analysis methods used in the study. The data collection took different forms and was conducted in phases. The first phase was the review of literature in the field of fear of crime so as to outline the key features of the fear of crime and the second phase involved fieldwork.

The method in which the research was conducted started by recruiting a sample for the research which represented the main areas under investigation, followed by collecting the data through the use of the aforementioned questionnaire and finally the analysis of the data which was gathered. The data collection method was similar to previous studies on perceptions and fear of crime conducted by Glanz in 1994<sup>127</sup> and Moller in 2005 which involved different social groups responding to the same sets of questions and reporting results based on the respondent's social categories.<sup>128</sup> To begin understanding this process it is necessary that we look at these sections individually and clarify what each entailed.

### ***3.2 Methodology***

The questionnaire was self-administered by each respondent in the sample of 74 international students who met the international students criteria as recognised by IAPO which has been stated previously as falling within either the IFDS or SSA categories. Surveys have always been the tool of choice when conducting fear of crime research.

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<sup>127</sup> L. Glanz. *Crime in South Africa: Perceptions, fear and victimisation*. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). (1994).

<sup>128</sup> V. Moller. 'Resilient or resigned? Criminal Victimisation and Quality of Life in South Africa'. (2005).

Questionnaires are the dominant research instrument in the study of the fear of crime and have provided academic researchers and policy makers at international level with ‘empirical evidence of both the existence of and causal factors relating to fear’.<sup>129</sup>

Most of the questions had options to which the respondent was expected to identify the response that best matched his or her views and a few open-ended questions were also included. The open-ended questions were included in instances where the options for responding varied or were unpredictable. Open-ended questions were also utilised in the questionnaire for issues which had views that could not be stated in a single phrase and required more explanation in order for more knowledge to be obtained. Although a minimum of such questions were present in the questionnaire since this was mainly a quantitative study, qualitative research designs tend to project great amounts of information which may be missed by quantitative work. When investigating matters such as perceptions and views rather than facts it is worthwhile to include qualitative research designs as perceptions are not usually encapsulated in a few options but vary, sometimes largely from one individual and situation to another.

- **Sampling**

The type of initial sampling method that was used in the study is referred to as ‘quota’ sampling. It is described as a method for selecting participants in an effort to yield information on a particular segment of that population.<sup>130</sup> The section of the population which was under study was international students; therefore they represented the quota which needed to be met. As a secondary step to this sampling method there was the need to divide this group (international students) into further segments so as to satisfy the research questions. This categorising was done to understand whether there were different perceptions and levels of fear of crime among international students based on characteristics such as gender, age, race and country of origin. This too was being investigated, thus, what is referred to as ‘stratified’ sampling was also employed. Stratified sampling involves selecting participants in research when the population under study is

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<sup>129</sup> N. Semmens. ‘Towards an understanding of ‘fear’ as an intangible cost of crime.’ *International Review of Victimology*. (14) (2007) at 229.

<sup>130</sup> E. Babbie & J. Mouton. *The Practice of Social Research*. (2006) at 191.

comprised of several diverse categories, these different groupings can then be classified into different 'strata' and a sample will then be selected from each strata consequently providing the researcher with a stratified sample.<sup>131</sup> Although the sample was stratified, this was only analyzed to uncover the similarities and differences that existed in the data collected, however, the whole sample was referred to as 'international students'.

The study involved five different strata in the collective sample group of international students. These were selected based on the most prominent characteristics which are used both in the classification of people in society, as well as on classifications relating to the fear of crime and how it is prominent or less apparent among social groups. The different strata which were chosen to be most relevant for the study were:

1. **Gender:** male and female.
2. **Race:** Asian, black, mixed race and white.
3. **Origin:** African students and students from the rest of the world.
4. **Place of residence:** those living in UCT residence and those living off-campus, either in 'digs'<sup>132</sup> or with family.
5. **Length of stay in Cape Town:** those in Cape Town for less than six months, more than six months but less than a year, and those in Cape Town for over a year.

These were the dominant strata which were most likely to reveal interesting trends on the issue of the fear of crime as well as strata which individuals could straightforwardly be identified using. A brief explanation on why these strata were selected to be those demarcating between samples within the international student sample group will now be conducted and in this section the different demographics are highlighted as part of the methodology whereas the previous section was outlining theoretical understandings around the dynamics of fear linked to individuals' social profiles.

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> 'Digs' is the common term used by the UCT community to refer to any off-campus rented accommodation.

## 1. Gender

Studies on the fear of crime reflect that there are considerable differences in levels of fear of crime and perceptions of crime with regards to gender. One of the many unique features of the fear of crime is that it has different meanings to different people. It has been noted that for instance the fear of assault may mean the fear of a sexual assault for a woman and the fear of being physically assaulted for a man.<sup>133</sup> The existence and extent of such differences in perceptions between male and female international students is what this research sought to examine.

## 2. Race

In a study on perceptions on crime, fear and victimisation conducted in South Africa by Glanz in association with the Human Sciences Research Council in South Africa in 1994, as well as various studies particularly in the USA, there was substantial evidence on differing levels of fear of crime and perceptions on the basis of race.<sup>134</sup> There were various disparities in views on crime, and perceptions of risk and fears were largely dissimilar among the different respondents who were stratified according to race. The point of different or similar perceptions of crime according to race was a worthy point to investigate in relation to international students.

## 3. Origin

Another feature which was identified as possibly influencing the respondents' perceptions on crime in South Africa was their place of origin. Some individuals may have had strong opinions on the South African crime situation depending on the way in which the picture of South Africa had been painted to them by influential instruments such as the media. Lee (2007) observes that the media has a great role to play in the creation of fear in individuals.<sup>135</sup> Some foreigners' knowledge of South Africa prior to their arrival is only shaped by the media as it is the only readily available information source for them and the

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<sup>133</sup> T. Jefferson and W. Hollway. 'The role of anxiety in Fear of Crime' Chapter 2 in T. Hope and Sparks, R. (eds) *Law and Order in Everyday Life and Political Discourse*. (2000) at 33.

<sup>134</sup> L. Glanz. *Crime in South Africa: Perceptions, fear and victimisation*. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). 1994.

<sup>135</sup> M. Lee. *Inventing Fear of Crime: Criminology and the politics of anxiety*. (2007) at 188.

perceptions built by the media are in some cases without real grounds but are an amplification of everyday phenomenon. The issue of origin, therefore, was a necessary feature to explore, in that there was a need to examine how different individuals from various parts of the world view the South African crime situation.

#### **4. Place of residence**

This segment was selected mainly as it was necessary to investigate perceptions based on place of residence in Cape Town as there was a need to establish whether one's environmental setting impacted on fear. The use of this strata group was to gauge whether those staying in residence provided by the university felt safer than those living off-campus and vice versa. This segment assisted the researcher in finding out which crime prevention organisations international students had more confidence in and whether the university itself was, in the opinion of the respondents, doing a satisfactory job at providing students with security. Other issues such as whether UCT's crime policies and prevention strategies as well as the levels of crime within the university were similar to those in the country at large were also investigated through the use of responses from this sample.

#### **5. Length of stay in Cape Town**

Criminological evidence shows that the more one is part of a certain community the more they are accustomed and may discount the unfavorable conditions present in that area as is seen in urban areas, particularly over-crowded inner cities.<sup>136</sup> Perhaps this decreased sense of fear is a result of developing useful crime prevention and combating strategies tailored for that community that leads longer staying residents to be more relaxed about crime although in some cases they may still have great levels of fear. This assumption was also tested in the case of international students at UCT to note whether there was a correlation between being in Cape Town for a shorter period and increased levels of fear of crime.

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<sup>136</sup> S. Walklate. 'Trust and the problem of community in the inner city' in T. Hope and Sparks, R. (eds) *Law and Order in Everyday Life and Political Discourse*. (2000) at 50.

These five strata were used to make up a representative sample of UCT's whole international student body. Each group was identified as the most important social strata for the study and each had a certain number of individuals selected for participation in the research. Bearing in mind that there were over 4 000 international students at UCT at the time of the research, including part time, non-degree and semester study abroad students, there was a need to recruit a sample of respondents which could qualify as a representative sample for the whole international student body. For this study an approximation of five respondents for each sub-category (segment within a stratum) were considered to be a sufficient representative sample. However, the categories of origin and place of residence, since having multiple segments within the category did not have a limit on the number that was recruited as there was a need to satisfy the category with as many different places of origin and places of residence as possible.

The origin category was divided into two sections; these sections comprised students from foreign African countries and from countries from the rest of the world. The race category's segments were be as follows; Asian, Black, mixed race, and white, it was necessary to recruit a significant number of participants to represent each segment of the category. While there were concerns over the size of the representative sample, in that there is a need for a substantial number of participants for the study to be valid, it must be remembered that the research was for a minor dissertation therefore not all international students could participate but the sample of between 60 and 100 participants sufficed in this instance, as it was general trends and characteristics of perceptions that were being sought.

In addition to this, it must be noted that one respondent selected perhaps for the female group also fell into other categories or segments within categories such as being female, living in student residence, being Asian and having lived in Cape Town for a year. This overlapping of categories was found in all respondents as all international students fitted into all categories but were then selected to represent a certain segment under research by the researcher. An increase in the number of respondents for the study was necessary in order to capture the perceptions based on the different categories more effectively.

- **Data collection**

The collection of data for the research started with identifying the origin of international students. The use of existing contacts to identify potential respondents was used but could not be relied upon to recruit the representative sample of respondents for this piece of academic research. However, these contacts were useful as the international student community is well-connected and one link lead to another and so a snowball technique for recruiting participants was be employed. IAPO staff had agreed to offer assistance through disseminating the questionnaire in the university's accommodations which are reserved for semester study abroad students as well as to notify students who visited the IAPO offices of the questionnaire. This assistance was immensely helpful but since there was no immediate and visible incentive for participating in the research coupled with the fact that the questionnaire was ten pages in length, IAPO's assistance did not yield any success at recruiting respondents. There was therefore a need to form links with SSA students and encourage them to participate, and a link with one student led to various other networks. IAPO is not permitted to disclose any student's information, be it personal or contact details, therefore, the assistance they offered was through informing the students of about the research and disseminating the questionnaire, which was nonetheless a very valuable contribution.

After the questionnaire was constructed and approved, the researcher conducted a pilot interview a few days before the actual fieldwork commenced. This was conducted with three international students which resulted in a few changes being made to the questionnaire so as to simplify the participation of respondents. Data was thus collected through dissemination of the questionnaire by the researcher in two ways. Firstly, this was done through approaching existing contacts and requesting referrals to other international students, and secondly through randomly approaching students and selecting international students who were then asked to participate in the research. Through these two methods, data collection was done simultaneously in different places thereby giving the researcher more flexibility and allowing respondents to take their time in completing the questionnaire, thus hopefully reducing the levels of possible anxiety associated with the

overwhelming length of the questionnaire. The questionnaire had straightforward questions but was relatively lengthy because of the nine sections which were all equally important in gauging the views of the respondents.

- **Data analysis**

Since the research was designed to collect data through the use of two methods, quantitative (the questionnaire) and qualitative (the few open-ended questions) the data was analysed in two stages. The quantitative data was analysed in the first stage; this involved entering the possible responses into a Microsoft excel worksheet and sorting the data then taking note of the frequency of each response and then tabulating the frequencies against the categories of respondents which have been discussed. In doing this there was the elucidation of the responses given and where they came from and how frequent they come about, thus revealing the visible trends and main perceptions.

The second stage involved analysing the qualitative data; this was done through analysing the statements given and coding them according to the main themes present in the responses. The main themes were then interpreted as the main ideas and views of the sample in question and these too, like the quantitative data, were put against the respondents so as to find out which themes were most or least present among which group of people.

### ***3.3 Limitations***

- **Sample size**

The greatest limitation this research encountered is on the issue of the sample. The 74 students who participated in the research may not be a sample that represents the entire international student body of over 4 000. Although the 74 perceptions serve to reflect a considerable representation of the whole population, a larger sample would have been more beneficial.

Another limitation related to the sample which hampered the efficient running of the research was access to the SSA students. Since they are only at UCT for a maximum of two semesters but usually only for one semester, it was a challenge to establish contact with them; however, the links that exist in the student community helped to somewhat overcome this limitation.

- **Data collection methods and tool**

The questionnaire was selected as the data collection instrument because the population under study would respond better to a questionnaire rather than sitting down to an interview. The questionnaire was also easily circulated among the student body but it lacked in-depth questions and is not as sufficient as qualitative methods for jobs such as investigating intricate issues such as perceptions and victimisation. The limitations of the questionnaire were hopefully overcome by the inclusion of open-ended questions.

- **Data analysis**

Data analysis is a slow and complex process which required a great deal of attention and precision. The main limitation associated with this analysis method was that all responses had to be coded in a specific way so as to be analysed, thus the substance of some responses may have been lost since some words had to be transformed in order to fit into a particular theme.

- **The researcher's limitations**

The limitations encountered as a researcher were that this was the researcher's second time conducting field research. The first experience with conducting fieldwork was during Honours studies and it was not an extensive study. In addition to this, the researcher did not have any experience with quantitative methods. Although the methods of data analysis for questionnaires proved to be understandable with time and practice, performing them was a challenge initially.

Reflexivity presented another challenge to the research. Reflexivity involves issues revolving around the researcher's own assumptions and perceptions, as well as what the researcher identifies with and does not relate to and these views' potential influence on the research.<sup>137</sup> As an international student, the researcher held personal views of the South African crime situation, therefore, it was necessary for the researcher to constantly monitor and remind herself that the research was about the international student body and should not have been personalised.

### ***3.4 Ethical considerations***

The main ethical issue revolved around the questionnaire and the section which focused on victimisation (Section 4). It is not easy for individuals to disclose their victimisation experiences and so there was a need to highlight in both the consent form and at the beginning of Section 4 that participation was voluntary and that they had the option to leave this section out or withdraw from the research. This posed a threat to the knowledge generated by the research but to be socially principled involves respecting other individuals. The well-being of other individuals far out-weighs the magnitude of any research. Confidentiality must also be promoted as breaching this would amount to corrupt research practices.

In some instances the researcher waited for respondents to complete the questionnaire in order to ensure the acceptable response rate necessary for the research and at times she waited at the request of the respondent. The researcher's presence for those who chose to instantly complete the questionnaire and return it to the researcher may have influenced the way in which those respondents responded to the questions, which is an ethical consideration. Since anonymity was less with respondents whom the researcher recruited as compared to those who responded to the questionnaire away from the researcher, this may have possibly generated some bias in responses given. To minimise this, the

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<sup>137</sup> M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter, (eds) *Research in Practice. Applied methods for the Social Sciences*. (2006) at 482.

researcher tried by all means to distance herself from the participants while they were completing the questionnaire in an attempt to reduce the occurrence of this. The researcher also ensured the participants of their right to confidentiality and anonymity.

Bearing in mind that the research was based on a very emotive subject there was the possibility of responses from the respondents being critical of IAPO, CPS or UCT as a whole. Persistent and common trends found in critical responses were noted and reported in the findings section of this study, this reporting was by all means done respectfully in the recommendations section of the paper. The research was seeking the perceptions of individuals therefore, there was the need to allow respondents to express themselves but the report conveys these results with as much respect as possible to all parties involved. These considerations, along with understanding that some individuals were not interested in being part of the research, are issues which needed to be respected and worked around.

### ***3.5 Conclusion***

The research design and methodology for the current study were established in order to ensure their suitability for the research conducted. The pilot interview and the changes made to the questionnaire thereafter assisted the researcher in gauging the possible challenges which would be faced. In retrospect, the researcher encountered some challenges such as identifying and recruiting participants which culminated in a smaller than hoped for sample being used as well as the demographics of the sample being comprised mainly of individuals who were easier for the researcher to approach thereby not representing all races and genders equally. The following chapter presents the findings of the study.

## CHAPTER 4

### PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

#### *4.1 Introduction*

This chapter presents the findings of the survey that was carried out among 74 international students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) on perceptions and fear of crime in South Africa. The survey sought to meet the third research objective set out which was to explore the nature and extent of the fear of crime amongst international students at UCT. The data collection tool that was used was a questionnaire comprised of nine sections each dedicated to a different facet of fear of crime in relation to international students.

#### *4.2 The survey findings*

The findings are presented in nine parts to match the nine sections in the questionnaire that was used to gather the data. Section A begins by introducing the demographic properties of the sample used, Section B presents the crime trends that respondents perceived to be common in South Africa and a comparison with their home country is made in a bid to understand where they place South Africa. Section C deals with the actual perceptions of safety and respondents' fear of crime; followed by Section D which investigates respondent's victimisation experiences. Section E looks at respondent's crime prevention strategies while Section F attempts to understand how respondents view victimisation risks of other individuals and themselves. Section G explores crime and xenophobia, followed by Section H which looks at reporting behaviours and finally, Section I investigates the respondent's views of the SAPS, CPS and crime prevention strategies.

#### 4.2.1 Section A: The social profiles of the respondents

There were 74 participants in the study, 39 of the respondents were female and 35 were male. The racial composition of the sample was: four Asians, 11 mixed race individuals, 21 whites and 38 black respondents. The figure below serves as an illustration of the participants based on race and gender.

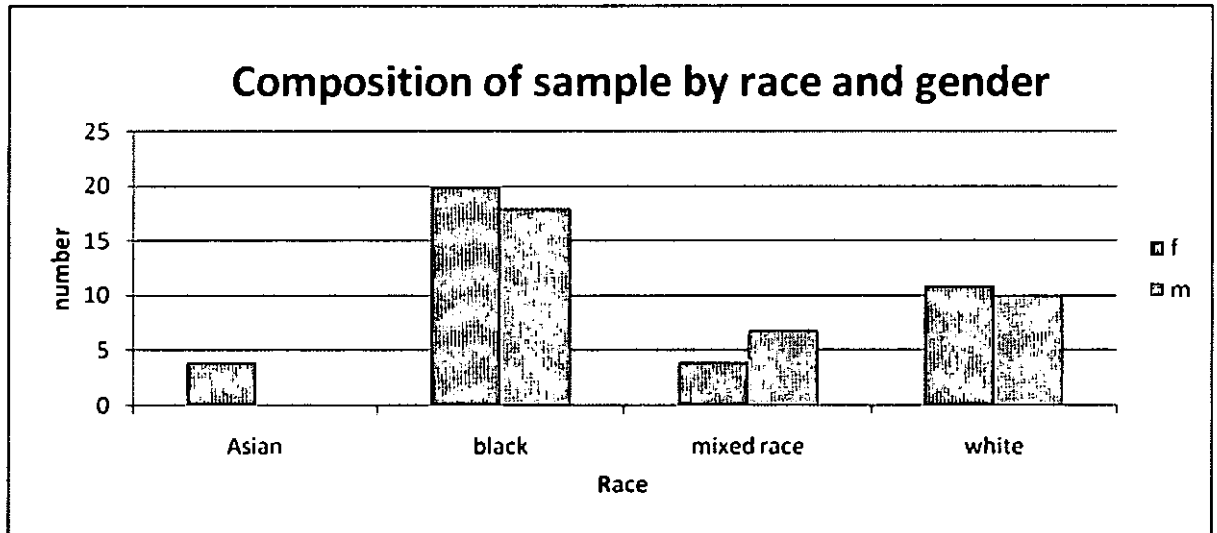


Figure 3.

Of the 74 respondents, these 13 had been in Cape Town for less than six months, 20 had been in Cape Town for more than six months but less than a year and the majority of the respondents (41) had been in Cape Town for over a year. The respondents came from a host of 31 different countries within and outside of Africa, the following diagram shows all the countries represented and the number of respondents from each country respectively.

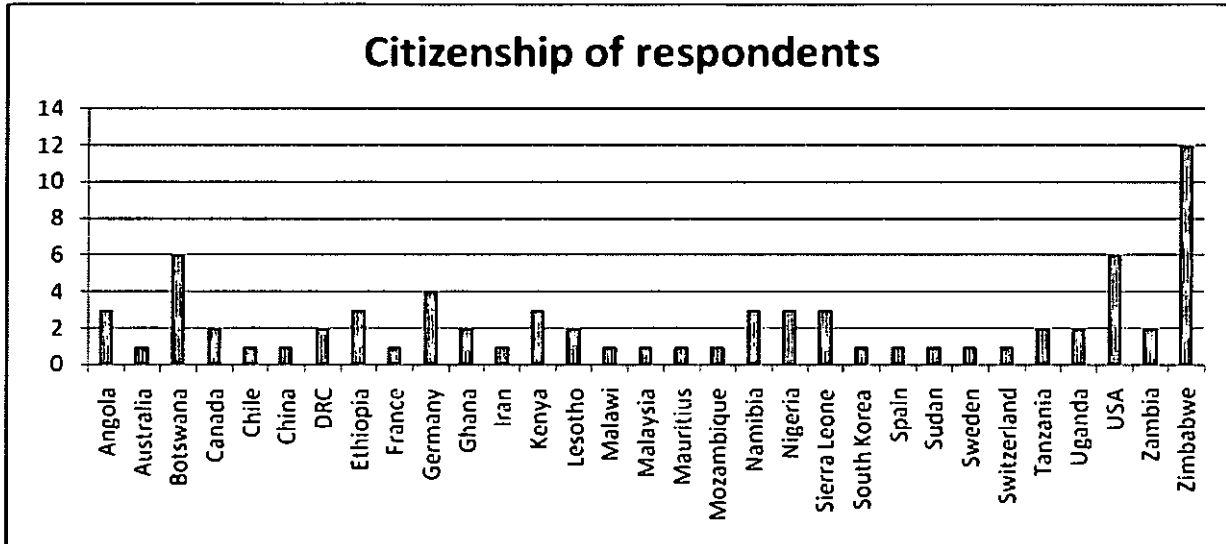


Figure 4.

The respondents' year of study at UCT ranged from first to seventh year, while others were studying towards postgraduate qualifications such as masters and doctorate degrees. Of the 74 respondents, 29 lived in student residence while the remaining 45 lived either with family or in rented accommodation off-campus. The residential neighbourhoods where the participants lived, either in UCT student accommodations or in private off-campus accommodation were mainly in the UCT surrounding areas such as Mowbray, Rosebank, Rondebosch and Observatory. A number of respondents also lived in areas further away from UCT such as Sea Point, Century City and Tamboerskloof. The following graph reflects the neighbourhoods respondents lived in.

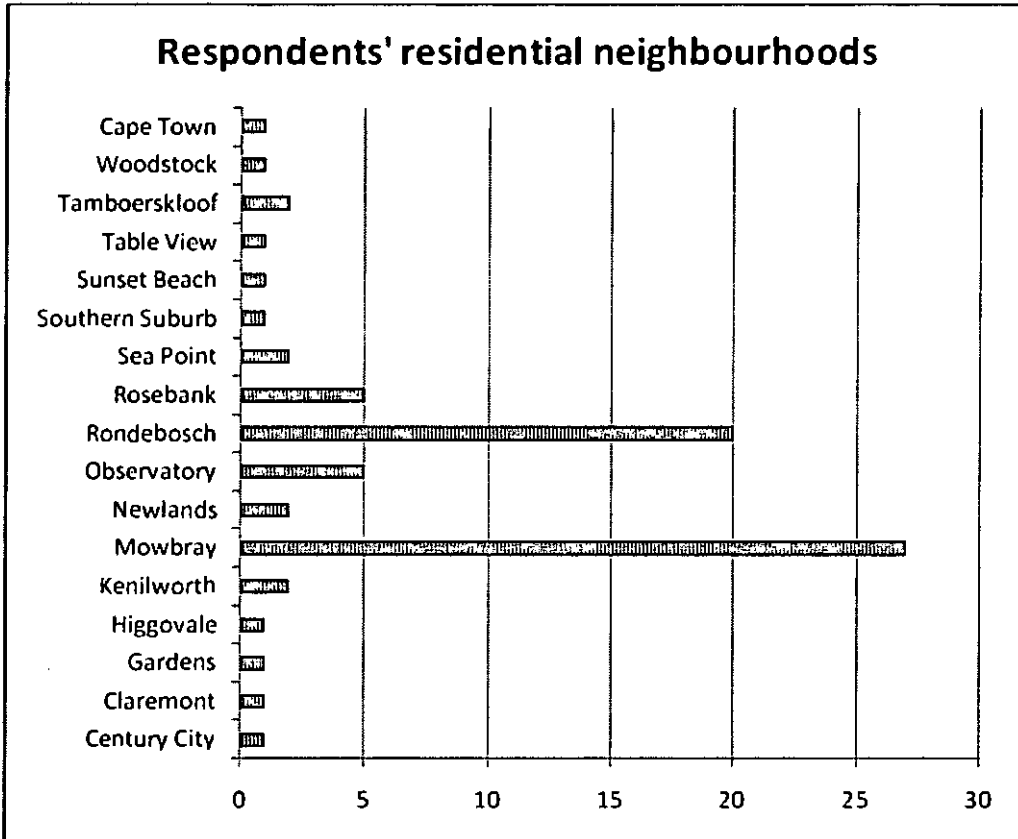


Figure 5.

As illustrated in the three diagrams the sample was diverse and represented a wide range of social profiles. A picture of the profile of the respondents has been established making it possible to move into the remaining eight sections which reveal the respondents' perceptions of, and responses to crime in Cape Town.

#### **4.2.2 Section B: Crime trends**

This section was aimed at investigating respondents' views of the levels, types and causes of crime in Cape Town and South Africa. Questions involved what the respondents perceived as the main causes of violent and property crime as well as comparisons of crime rates in South Africa and in the respondents' home countries. Interesting results

were gathered from this section particularly on the question of what the main causes of property and violent crime were.

On the question of whether or not respondents considered South Africa a high crime society 89 per cent (66 participants) believed South Africa had high crime levels while 9 per cent (seven) said they were not sure and only one said South Africa was not a high crime society. Interestingly, six of the seven respondents had been in Cape Town for less than six months; therefore, there was a correlation between length of stay and perceptions of crime levels. Nine of the respondents (12 per cent) believed that violent and property crime have the same causes, 15 (20 per cent) said that they were not sure and the majority 50 (68 per cent) responded by saying that violent and property crime had different causes. The main factors that were raised as the causes of violent crime were poverty, which were cited by the greatest number of participants were poverty, substance abuse, economic and social inequality, apartheid, unemployment and a culture of violence were also mentioned. Other factors contributing to violent crime that were mentioned but less frequently included gangs, broken homes, frustration and criminals' laziness thereby turning to crime as an easier route to earning a living.

The results for the causes of property crime were largely similar to those cited for violent crime despite the majority of the respondents (68 per cent) saying that there were different causes for the two. For property crime, the responses for the main causes that came up included poverty, unemployment, economic and social inequalities, and the 'ease' of entering into criminal behaviour, need, and low education levels. Interestingly, the responses given differ largely from those mentioned earlier which were generated in the 1998 and 2003 victimisation surveys among the South African public. In the victimisation surveys the main motivators for the engagement in criminal conduct were 'greed' and non-financial motives,<sup>138</sup> while in the current study poor socio-economic conditions were identified as the main causes of crime with greed ranking lower. This

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<sup>138</sup> P. Burton., A. du Plessis., T. Leggett., A. Louw., D. Mistry., and H. van Vuuren, 'Public Perceptions about Crime and Safety'. Chapter 4. 'National Victims Crime Survey 2003', ISS Monograph No. 101. July (2004) at 62, and A. Louw, 'Crime and Perceptions after a decade of democracy', *Social Indicators Research* (81) (2007) at 246.

result is perhaps closely linked to the fact that the respondents from the current study have high education levels and so tend to be knowledgeable of possible broader causes of crime rather than linking high crime levels directly to factors such as greed and revenge but rather citing economic conditions more frequently. When placed against race, gender and citizenship, the responses given do not show any considerable differences but were similar to each other.

When asked to compare crime trends of one's home country to those in South Africa results revealed that most of the respondents viewed South African crime trends as significantly higher than in their home countries. The majority of the respondents viewed crime rates as lower in their home countries and some of the respondents cited crime as lower in their home countries but added that crime trends were completely different thereby making it challenging to compare the rates. The synonymous perceptions among participants of lower crime levels in their home countries can perhaps in some cases be attributed to the possibility of individual's being more acquainted with their home countries, thereby having internalised defense mechanisms for avoiding victimisation, thus viewing their home country to be safer. Nevertheless, the results revealed that South Africa is perceived to be a high crime society, even without comparison to one's home country. The following graph illustrates the responses given on crime trends based on the respondent's race.

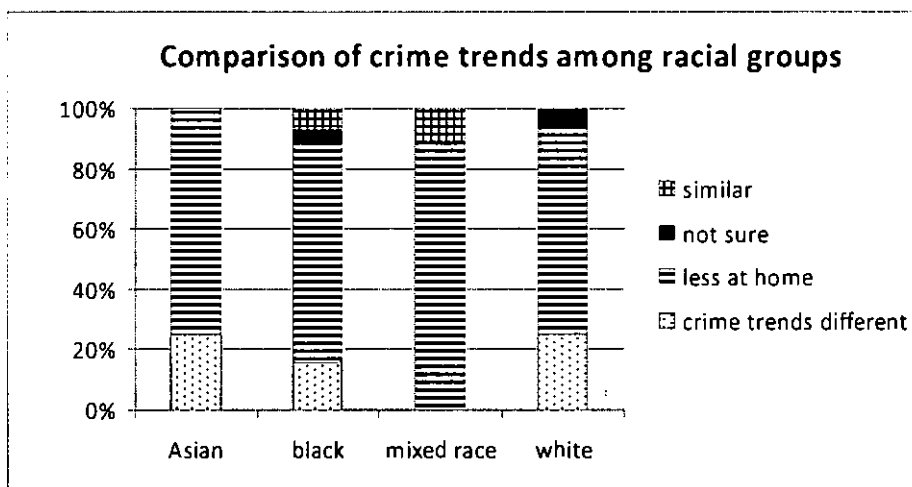


Figure 6.

Section B established that the sample viewed crime rates in South Africa as high as and considerably higher than those in their home countries. This section's responses are an indication of the results that were gathered from the rest of the research as the trend of South Africa being a high crime society where poverty, inequality and a lack of opportunities influence criminal behaviour.

#### ***4.2.3 Section C: Perceptions of safety and fear of crime***

This section delves into the crux of the research as it draws out the main perceptions respondents have of the crime situation in South Africa. It explores responses revealing various sources where respondents received information with which these perceptions were developed and which crimes they feel they are most likely to be victims of at different times and in different places. Section C also surveys the rates at which respondents would place crime in Cape Town and again a comparison will be drawn with safety rates in participants' home countries.

The research revealed that most of the respondents viewed crime in South Africa to be very high before arriving in the country, 67 of the 74 respondents (91 per cent) saw crime as ranging between high and very high prior to coming to South Africa, 5 per cent of the remaining 9 per cent saw the crime situation as moderate and one respondent did not have a perception of the crime situation prior to arriving in South Africa and the remaining 3 per cent was not sure of where exactly to place their perception of the South African crime situation before coming to South Africa. The next question that is automatically asked when issues of perceptions are raised is where such perceptions developed. This question revealed interesting results as the majority of respondents named the media as their main source of information that influenced their perception of the crime situation in South Africa. The other main sources were friends, UCT and respondents' home universities, travel guides were also mentioned, although infrequently. Whether the international students' perceptions have changed since arriving was a question that yielded 47 per cent of the respondents stating that their perceptions had changed and likewise, 47 per cent maintaining that their perceptions had not been changed with the remaining 6 per cent

saying they were not sure. The remarkable point is that among those who responded by saying their perceptions had changed, the statistic remained slightly close, with 43 per cent responding that the crime situation was less threatening than their initial perception and 57 per cent saying that crime was worse than they had imagined at the outset. However, in a later part of the survey, 18 per cent of the respondents said that they were less afraid of crime since arriving in Cape Town, 50 per cent reported higher levels of fear and 32 per cent said there was no difference in their fear levels.

Of the reasons behind the change in the perceptions, personal reasons topped the list with UCT, friends and the media also supporting the change in perceptions. The extent of the media's role in influencing perceptions was less than is reported in other studies although the media was reported as an influence. Feelings of safety on campus proved to be moderately high, where 14 per cent felt very safe on campus, whilst 62 per cent felt fairly safe and 24 per cent said they felt a bit unsafe. Although no one reported feeling very unsafe on campus, the statistics changed noticeably when the level of safety question was posed regarding respondents' places of residence in Cape Town. The majority of the sample felt safe with a total of 69 per cent feeling between fairly and very safe and 22 per cent felt a bit unsafe while 9 per cent said that they considered themselves very unsafe while in their places of residence. The interesting result here was that those who lived in UCT residences felt considerably safer than those who lived off-campus, particularly in neighbourhoods such as Mowbray and Observatory.

Theft was the crime 70 respondents mentioned as the crime likely to take place on campus. Robbery, car-jacking, assault and rape were also responses that came out. Again, theft featured frequently in the crimes likely to take place in the respondents' neighbourhoods. Robbery, assault, car-jacking, rape and murder were also mentioned, although rape only appeared among responses given by female respondents and the frequency of murder being mentioned was significantly lower than the other crimes. The comparison between worrying about crime in Cape Town and in one's home country again revealed a great level of fear of crime in Cape Town. Both males and females were somewhat afraid of crime in their home countries and 63 per cent of males and 62 per cent of females said they were not afraid of crime at all in their home countries. A meager 6 per

cent of males and 5 per cent of females showed high levels of fear of crime in their home countries and a single female respondent reported uncertainty of fear levels in her home country. The results shifted dramatically when the question was posed regarding concerns about crime in Cape Town. Among the males, 33 per cent reported being somewhat worried while 38 per cent of females said the same. Only 5 per cent of males said they were not anxious about crime in Cape Town at all and 3 per cent said they were not sure where they would place their concerns. The astounding statistic came with the respondents who were very anxious about crime where 49 per cent of males and 62 per cent of females fell into this category. The following diagrams offer a visual aide of the comparison between levels of fear in Cape Town and in respondents' home countries based on gender.

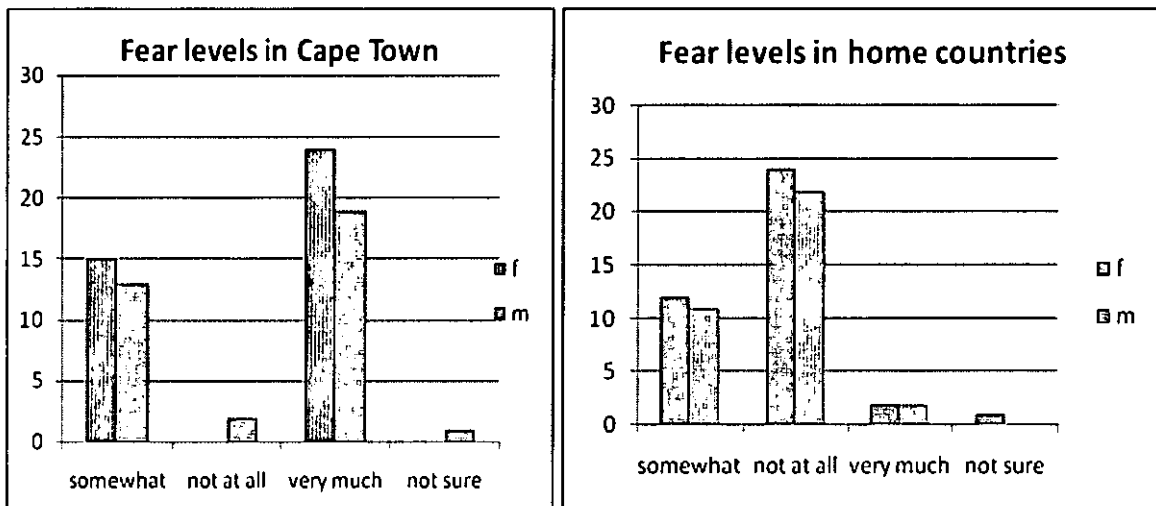


Figure 7.

The reasons mentioned for the high levels of fear of crime in Cape Town included personal experiences as well as the belief that crime was 'everywhere' and hearing about others' experiences triggered the fear.

Fear levels do not subside for some as a considerable percentage (16 per cent) of the sample said that they felt unsafe at all times of the day. The main time of day that insecure feelings were reported to be present were nights, evenings, while early mornings and afternoons were cited as well.

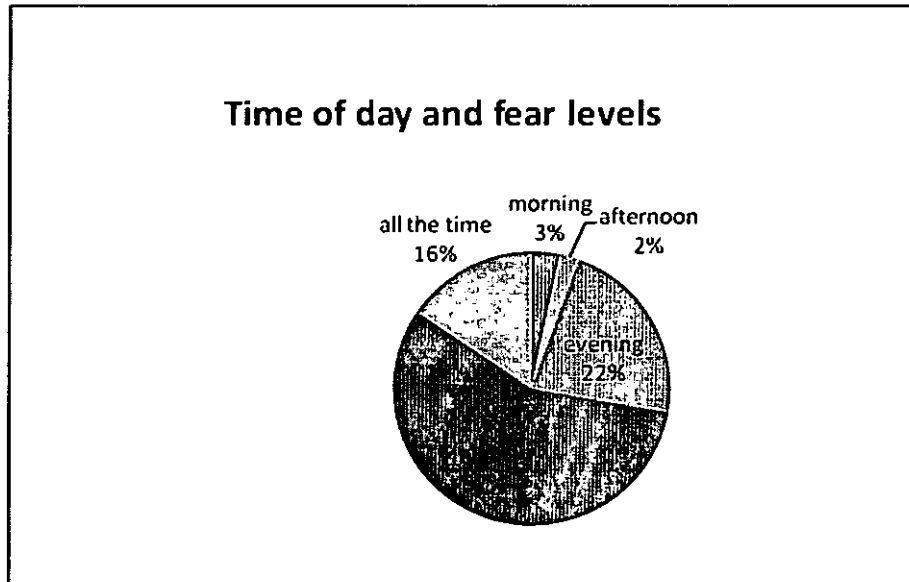


Figure 8.

Respondents' fear levels compared to others were also investigated and this revealed that 24 per cent considered themselves less worried than others, 9 per cent perceived themselves to be much more worried, 12 per cent were not sure and the remaining 54 per cent identified their fear levels to be similar with others. Assault, theft, robbery and car-jacking are the crimes participants feared they were likely to be victims of. Among the females, 51 per cent felt that the threat of rape was high.

Another comparison was made between the levels of safety in Cape Town and in respondents' home countries and only one respondent rated South Africa as very safe, 3 per cent viewed South Africa as fairly safe while 22 per cent responded by saying South Africa is safe and the remaining 75 per cent placed South Africa in the dangerous to very dangerous category. However, in their home countries the antithesis is presented where only one respondent viewed their home country as very dangerous and 5 per cent placed their home country in the dangerous category. In the fairly safe range is where 9 per cent found their home countries and the remaining 84 per cent placed their home country's safety levels in the safe to very safe range.

This section not only revealed what international students perceive to be the most threatening crimes in different places but the comparisons are useful for reflecting on

South Africa and placing it in a global perspective. Section D sheds more light into some of the reasons behind these perceptions, particularly their development and the consolidation of those which were acquired prior to the participants arriving in Cape Town.

#### ***4.2.4 Section D: Victimisation experiences***

Individuals' victimisation experiences are perhaps the greatest contributor to their perceptions and levels of fear. As the literature pointed out, the experiences of others similarly have an effect on those who come to know of these experiences particularly if the social profiles of the individuals are similar. Section D surveyed the respondents' victimisation experiences and the perceptions developed thereof. Participation in the research was optional but special mention was made to caution respondents who may have been previously victimised so as to avoid possible re-victimisation and a recollection of negative lived experiences. Although this was the case, only five participants opted not to respond to the victimisation, the response rate was very beneficial to the research since a great number of responses were gathered.

Although previous sections have revealed that the respondents generally have high levels of fear of crime and perceive South Africa to be a high crime society, the victimisation experiences in the past recent months revealed that 15 per cent of the participants had been victimised once, another 15 per cent had been victimised two or more times, 3 per cent responded by saying they had not been in South Africa long enough to respond to that question while 7 per cent chose not to respond and the remaining greater part of the respondents of 61 per cent reported of never having been victimised in South Africa. Although Section C's results state that the changes in individual's perceptions of crime in South Africa and viewing the crime situation as worse was attributed to personal experiences, Section D reveals that among those who chose to respond, only a meager percentage of the participants had ever been victimised. This irregularity may be a result of either the unwillingness to reveal true victimisation experiences, which is a common feature of victimisation studies, or a reflection of the fear of crime hypothesis that posits

that levels which are reported are unsubstantiated- which is an accepted belief associated with the fear of crime. The victimisation levels elicit clearly the indirect victimisation model's assertions and prove that the experiences of others greatly influence individual's perceptions of possible threats,<sup>139</sup> which is a theory that was highlighted throughout the discussions in Chapter 2 when victimisation and fear levels were put forward.

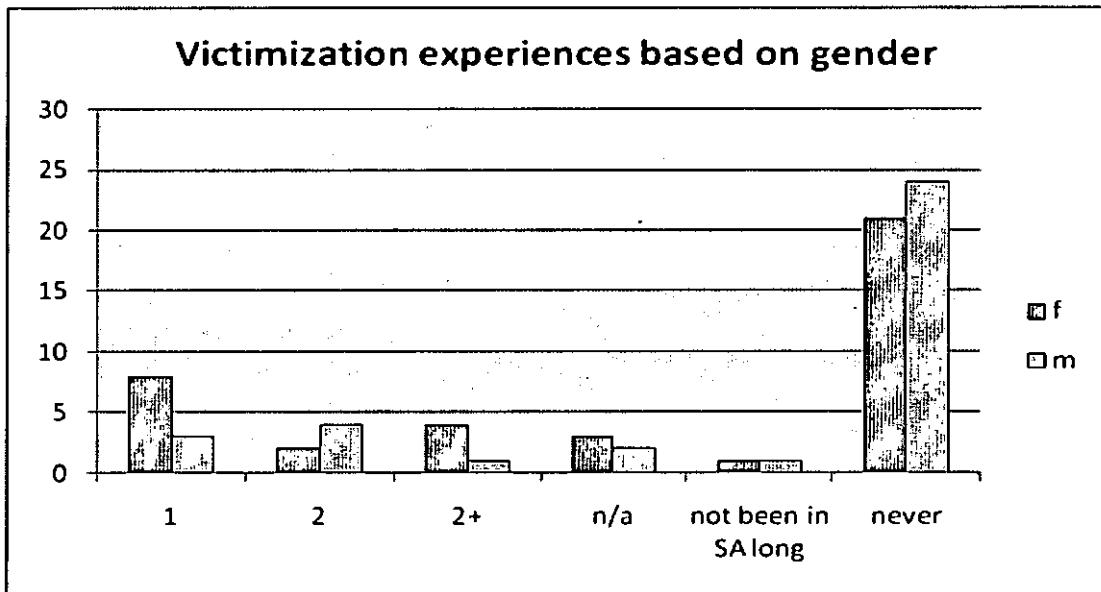


Figure 9.

The diagram shows the experiences of victimisation encountered by the respondents based on their gender. The main types of crimes the victims suffered included being mugged of possessions such as wallets, handbags and cell phones, house break-ins and theft of valuables such as laptops and vehicles, armed robbery using weapons such as knives, and guns and car break-ins were also mentioned. One respondent reported being abducted and robbed. Police harassment, bank fraud and hit-and-run offences were also experienced, although not cited frequently.

<sup>139</sup> R. B. Taylor and M. Hale. 'Testing alternative models of fear of crime', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, (77) 1(1986), and S. Roh., and W. M. Oliver. 'Effects of community policing upon fear of crime: understanding the causal linkage'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. (28) 4, (2005) at 671-672.

Only three respondents said they had not heard about actual victimisation experiences from friends and acquaintances since their arrival and among the majority who had heard of others' experiences, the most common form of victimisation that participants mentioned was theft, followed closely by robbery and assault. Car-jacking, rape and murder were also mentioned by participants as crimes they had heard of being experienced by others in the past few months. The impact of learning of others' experiences led mainly to behaviour changes by the participants. Others said hearing of these experiences proved that South Africa was a dangerous place and caused them to heighten their caution levels. The various ways in which respondents enhanced their security levels will be explored in the following section.

#### ***4.2.5 Section E: Crime prevention strategies***

Respondents were asked questions investigating how they protect themselves in different settings whilst in Cape Town. Among the locations were places of entertainment, on campus at different times of day, while driving, while using public transport and at places of residence. The results showed that to a very large extent, crime prevention measures are being taken so as to avoid victimisation.

While in their homes the majority of the respondents lock doors and keep valuables hidden, females also reported to have placed some of their trust in alarm systems. However, other measures were reported, although not as frequent, and these included having the police on speed dial, the use of security guards and gates, electric fencing, praying for protection, and a few male respondents cited 'doing nothing' as their responses. In previous studies of the fear of crime, results based on gender comparisons revealed that women tend to restrict their lives as a result of the perceived threat of criminal victimisation. Females are depicted as feeling unsafe and insecure walking in the street and in some cases, even whilst they are at home. However, in cases that men are mentioned they are presented as far less fearful and sometimes only remotely concerned

about possible victimisation.<sup>140</sup> The results of the current study to a large extent concur with previous works and the different protective measures and extents to which they are employed by males and females vary widely.

The diagram below shows the comparison between males and females for protective behaviours employed while in their homes.

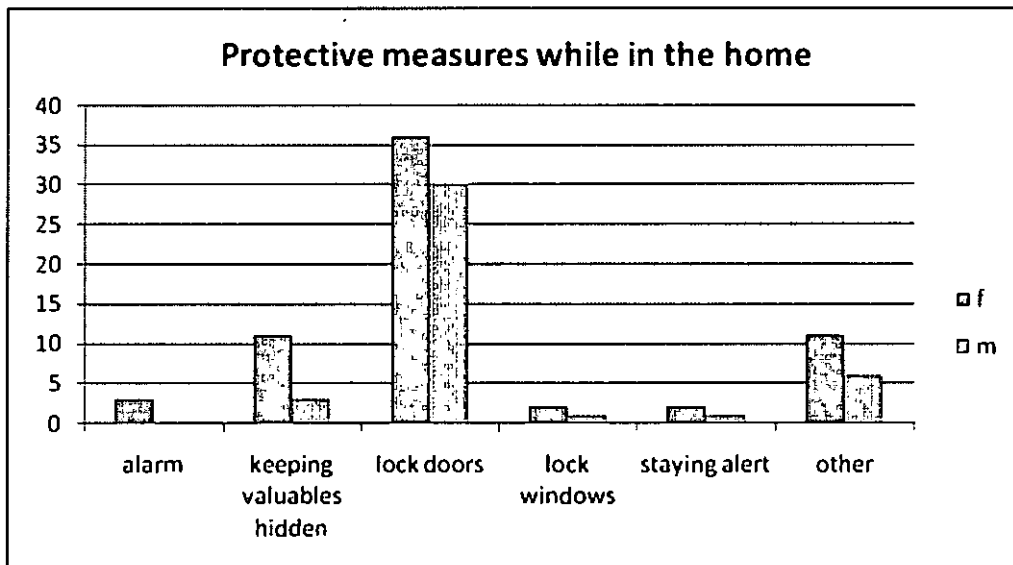


Figure 10.

Similar results were generated for the question regarding crime prevention measures taken when driving. Locking doors and staying alert alone took up 67 per cent of the responses while other measures such as limiting movements, travelling at safe hours and going to safe neighbourhoods only were common responses. A few respondents said they slowed down at red traffic lights at night and two respondents said they do not stop at red traffic lights after midnight.

The question of protective measures while using public transport yielded interesting results where most individuals who used this mode of transport said they protect

<sup>140</sup> E. Gilchrist., J. Bannister., J. Ditton., and S. Farrall. 'Women and the 'Fear of Crime': Challenging the accepted stereotype'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 38 (2) (1998).

themselves in ways that involve staying alert, keeping valuable items hidden, using such transport only during the day and making sure that there are other passengers in the vehicle before boarding. The following graph serves as an illustration of the crime prevention mechanisms used, with race as a variable.

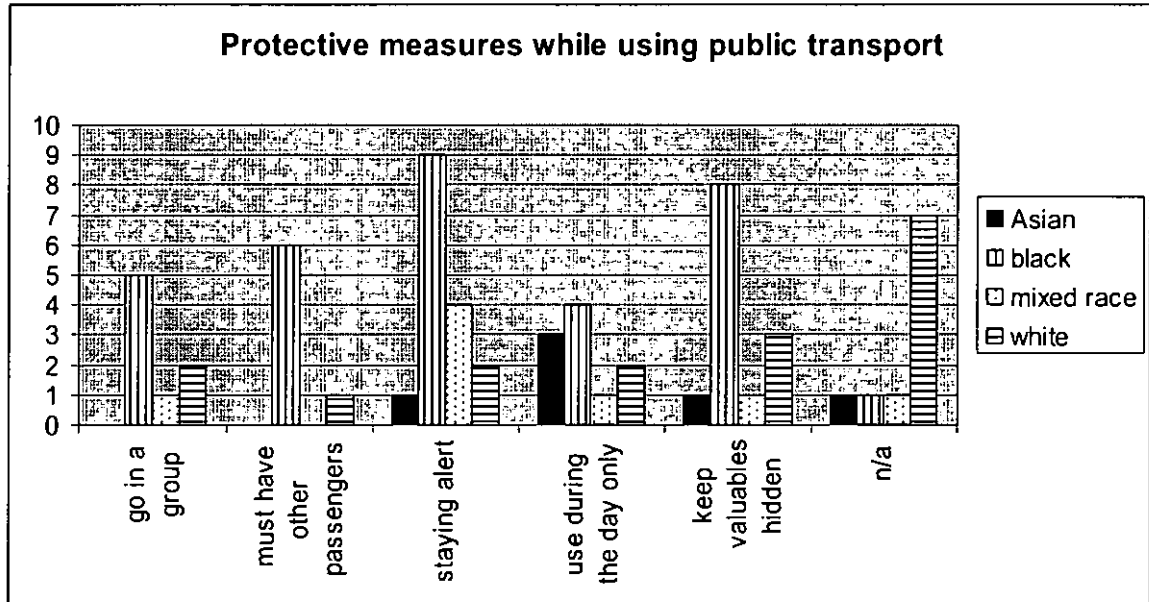


Figure 11.

Other responses that were given on protective measures while using public transport included notifying someone of where they were going before using public transport, carrying pocket-knives and pepper spray as well as not answering cell phones and avoiding conversations with other passengers. For going out to places of entertainment respondents mainly said they preferred to go out in groups and leave valuables at home whilst out. The fear of victimisation tends to modify behaviours and the results gathered from the current study correspond to those from previous studies. Garofalo (1981), and Krahn and Kennedy's (1985) observations are alluded to and they state that individuals tend to stay at home more, since homes are usually the places they feel safer through the use of 'locks, chains, bars and alarms', behaviour which was noted in the responses to an earlier part of this section. Nevertheless, when individuals do go out, they avoid activities which pose threats to them and which are perceived as dangerous, such activities include

using risky streets and routes, associating with certain groups and types of people and behaving in a specific fashion when in a particular area.<sup>141</sup>

Nine (12 per cent) of the respondents said they did not go out to places of entertainment at all and the remainder said they stay alert and keep valuables hidden through measures such as avoiding bar fights and hiding wallets in front rather than back pockets of trousers.

Measures taken for walking during the day on campus and in one's neighbourhood were largely similar where the main precautions taken were walking fast or with someone, keeping valuables hidden or leaving them at home, staying alert, and a fraction of the respondents preferred to carry pepper spray.

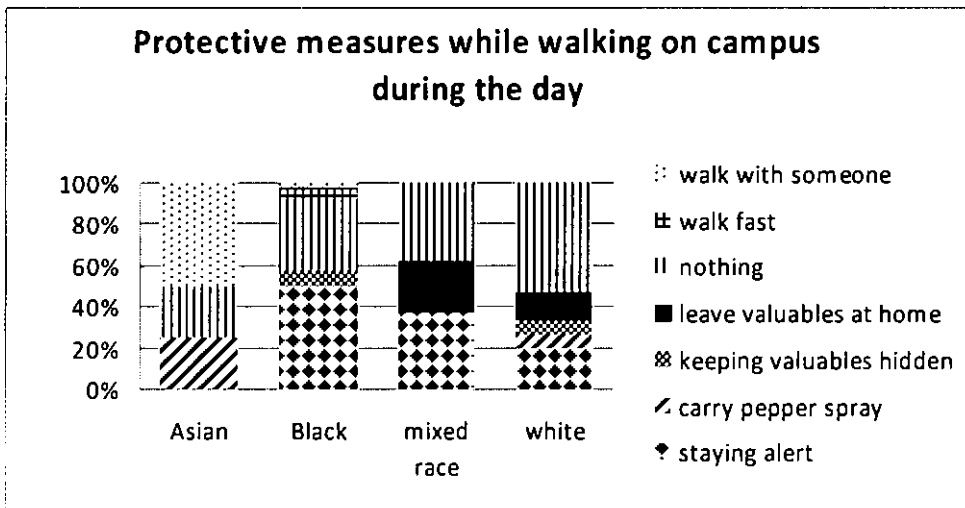


Figure 12.

The graph shows another comparison of protective measures taken by different races.

When the question of walking alone at night both in one's neighbourhood and on campus was asked, 8 per cent of the respondents said they would not walk alone on

<sup>141</sup> S. Box., C. Hale., and G. Andrews. 'Explaining Fear of Crime'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 28 (3) (1988) at 341.

campus at night while 19 per cent said they would not do so in their neighbourhood. Among the total 20 responses gathered from respondents who said they would not walk alone at night either on campus or in their neighbourhood, three were male. However, there was a correlation between length of stay in Cape Town and the willingness to walk alone at night since respondents who had been in South Africa for less than a year made up 65 per cent of those who said they would not walk alone at night. This again supports the theory that familiarity with a certain area may lead to individuals being accustomed to the crime rates and know which precautions to take when in certain environments.

Using CPS escorts late at night and CPS footpath/ route (blue safe walk) as well as the shuttle service and carrying pepper spray are other responses that came up frequently in this section regarding safety on campus. Furthermore, 77 per cent of the respondents said they had changed some of their patterns of movement and modified some of their behaviours so as to avoid crime in Cape Town. While 18 per cent said they had not changed their movement patterns and 5 per cent said they were not sure if they had.

Respondents said they had received advice on crime prevention strategies mainly from friends, while the rest said they got advice from IAPO, CPS and the media. However, some cited personal experiences as those that made them more aware of their surroundings and raised their levels of vigilance. The next graph gives an indication of respondents' responses on whether they received crime prevention advice and awareness information during UCT's orientation period.

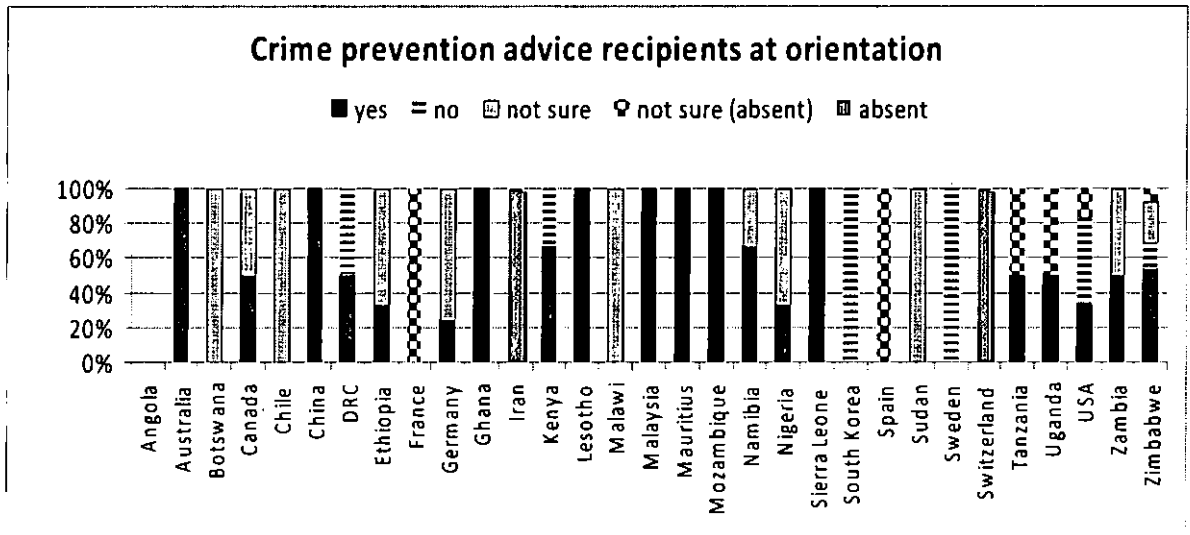


Figure 13.

Among the 33 participants who received crime prevention and protection advice, 54 per cent said it was moderately sufficient advice, 13 per cent thought it was not adequate, while 33 per cent felt that the advice was very helpful.

Therefore, this section reveals that there is a wide array of preventative behaviours that individuals adopt in order to protect themselves. Acquaintances and the media continue to play a role in informing individuals of crime issues and patterns of movement may change in order to avoid victimisation. The next section looks at victimisation risks of particular groups and the focus on international students begins to take place in this section.

#### 4.2.6 Section F: *Victimisation risks*

The literature pointed out that theories that explore the paradoxes that exist regarding fear of crime reveal that those who are least at risk are likely to have the highest levels of fear. Females, particularly white women, the elderly and minority groups have higher levels of fear compared to their counterparts. Section D sought to investigate these assertions further and pose questions to respondents which would reveal who they felt was most at risk and explore perceptions of particular groups' risk profiles. Among the three

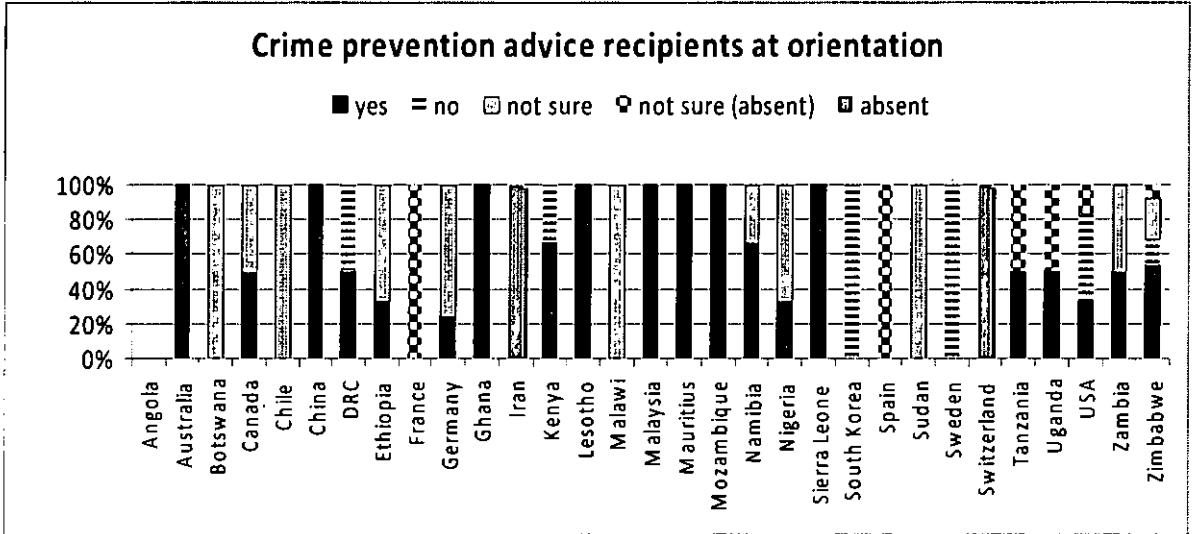


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categories of people thought to be most at risk, women were pointed out by most respondents to be threatened by crime the most, followed closely by young people, the wealthy, whites, and the elderly. However, a considerable part of the sample (23 per cent) cited anyone as being most vulnerable to crime depending on the crime. Both males and females, almost equally in proportion, cited women as the most vulnerable, although it was mostly males who raised the response of anyone being at risk of victimisation.

Reasons to explain the risk profiles of the most mentioned groups were mainly because respondents believed women and the elderly are vulnerable, while young people were mentioned based mainly on the reasoning that they are not vigilant whereas the wealthy and whites were cited because they were believed to be perceived by perpetrators to be wealthy and provide benefits for criminals as they would have more to offer than poor people. When the question of whether young people were more at risk compared to other groups was posed independently, 41 per cent believed they were, while another 41 per cent said they were not sure, 13 per cent believed that young people were not at a greater risk and the remaining 5 per cent believed the victimisation of young people was not a higher probability but that it depended on the crime. Reasons raised by respondents for saying that young people were vulnerable were mainly that they were perceived by criminals to be less vigilant and easier to victimise. Respondents also believed that criminals may target young people because they present criminals with the opportunity to do so since they tend to go out more and flaunt their valuables.

The question that was then posed was whether international students were considered to be a vulnerable group. The majority of the respondents (70 per cent) believed that international students were at risk while 12 per cent said they were not at risk, and 18 per cent were not sure. The respondents perceived that the reasons for foreign students being at risk were that they were unaware of their surroundings as well as societal values, were perceived by criminals to have a lot of money, naïve and are affected by language barriers and the xenophobic atmosphere in South Africa. Three respondents said that international students were at risk since perpetrators feel less concerned about victimizing foreigners since they cannot relate to them, and to counter those responses, two respondents said that it is difficult to tell if someone is foreign, therefore international students were not at a

greater risk. Another three said xenophobia would actually influence perpetrators to target foreigners.

Section G will delve deeper into international students as victims of crime as it explores crime and xenophobia which is a pertinent although controversial issue in South Africa.

#### 4.2.7 Section G: Crime and xenophobia

The research was conducted at a time when the effects of the May to June 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners which originated in Alexandra (a township in the Gauteng Province) still had fresh effects and reports were flooding the media and everyday conversation. Respondents perceived the levels of xenophobia in South Africa to be ranging between very high and high where 80 per cent placed levels in this range. Moderate levels were reported by 9 per cent, 7 per cent were not sure, while 3 per cent reported low levels and a single respondent said the rates of xenophobia were very low.

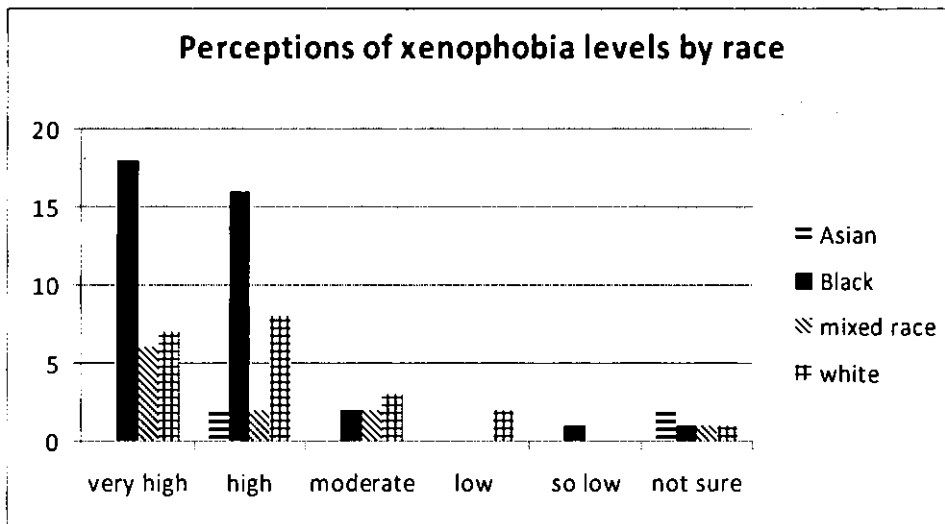


Figure 14.

Figure 14 reflects the perceptions the different racial groups gave of the levels of xenophobia in South Africa. There were various reasons which respondents mentioned as influencing such perceptions where the main basis for these points of view was attributed

to the media reports on the xenophobic atmosphere in South Africa, mainly from the 2008 violence. The potency of the media in broadcasting crime information is proved in this instance. While 54 per cent of the respondents based their responses on the media reports, 20 per cent cited their personal experiences as their point of reference and others said they sense xenophobic attitudes from the way South Africans behave towards foreigners and others said general conversations had influenced their responses.

The extent to which the 2008 attacks and xenophobic atmosphere had on respondents was questioned and this revealed interesting responses. Respondents mainly said that the high xenophobia levels make South Africa an even more dangerous country, while others said that poor black foreigners were not safe but that the threat of xenophobia did not pose any imminent danger to them. This point ties in with Ramphela's (1999) discussion on the tension between black locals and foreigners.<sup>142</sup> The recurrence of this idea is possibly based on the effects of the second thesis of the development of xenophobia which highlighted that weak and marginalised groups tend to be excluded from society, a process in which the state may have a role.<sup>143</sup> The friction between the black South Africans and foreigners may be a result of the feelings black locals have of being excluded, thereby venting towards a weaker group which although being marginalised, is still threatening to the former's rights and privileges.

However, the respondents felt that the causes for the attacks and the xenophobic atmosphere were not directly linked to feelings of foreigner intolerance or ill feelings towards foreigners but rather socio-economic factors were the main factors that were identified such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, a competition for scarce resources, weak government policies and social and economic frustration. On the other hand, others cited apartheid which bred a culture of violence, laziness, frustration, and greed as other reasons.

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<sup>142</sup> M. Ramphela, *Immigration and Education: International students at South African Universities and Technikons*. Migration Policy Series, 12 (1999).

<sup>143</sup> M. Neocosmos. *From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners' Explaining Xenophobia in Post-apartheid South Africa: Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics*. (2006).

What was most apparent in the responses is the respondents' reliance on the media for information relating to the extent of xenophobia in South Africa. Unlike other victimisation which almost all of the respondents reported to have occurred to them directly or to their close friends and acquaintances, xenophobic victimisation was revealed to have been experienced by the respondents more than other crimes. There was a greater reliance on the media and personal experiences as the reasons for viewing South African as a xenophobic society.

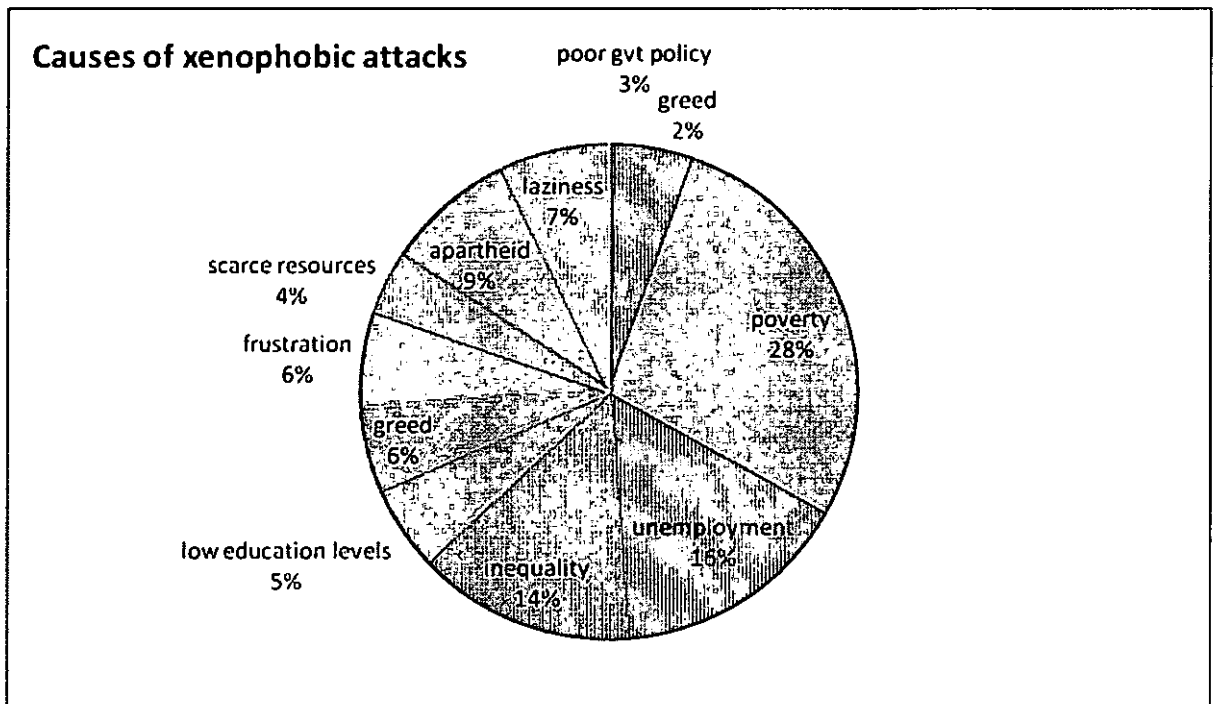


Figure 15.

The nature of the responses reveals that the reasons behind the perceived high levels of xenophobia are not considered to be mainly Machiavellian (whereby the ends justify the means), but are thought to have underlying foundations.

As explored earlier in the literature, levels of safety are also affected by the reporting mechanisms that are available to victims and the extent to which these are reliable and effective. Section H investigates international students' perceptions of reporting

behaviours and questions their levels of trust in the systems in place that deal with victims' cases.

#### 4.2.8 Section H: Reporting behaviours

As mentioned previously, five respondents opted not to respond to the victimisation experiences section. Among the 69 who responded to the victimisation question and the 16 who had been victimized in the past few months, 62 per cent reported the crime and the remaining 38 per cent did not. The greater number of respondents who reported crimes were female and for non-reporting, males were the greater percentage.

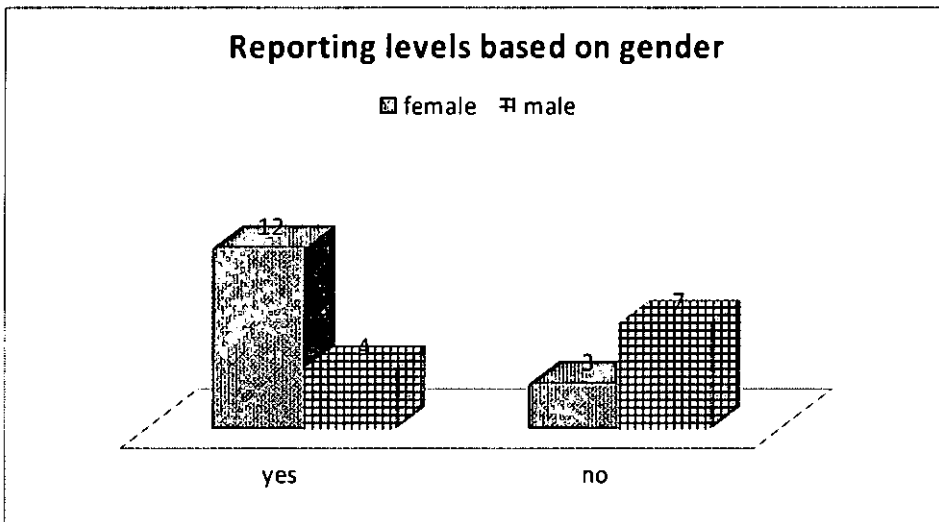


Figure 16.

All of those who did report the crimes did so to the SAPS and the main reasons for reporting were for the purpose of insurance claims and creating awareness. Only one respondent said they reported the crime hoping that something would be done about it. The experiences when reporting that respondents had were divided equally between commenting that the SAPS officers were helpful and somewhat organised and in some cases were friendly and responded rapidly to distress calls and cases, the other half said that the police were slow, disorganised and nothing significant was done about their

reports. Those who did not report their victimisation experiences said they avoided doing so because the police would not be able to do anything about it and that they were not effective.

Respondents had varying feelings about whether victims in South Africa report crimes, a mixed bag of responses was elicited on this question where 32 per cent believed that victims do not report crimes, 44 per cent were unsure, and the remaining 24 per cent believed that victims do report crimes. The majority 85 per cent said if a crime took place on campus they would report it and 10 per cent said they were not sure if they would report it or not and the remaining 5 per cent said they would not report it. Among those who would report the crime 89 per cent said they would report the crime to CPS because it would be the most appropriate place to report it as well as to create awareness as they were the responsible authority. As a second resort, 19 per cent said they would alert the SAPS and a few others (7 per cent) said they would notify other staff such as residence wardens and faculty staff.

These reporting behaviours show moderate to high levels of confidence in the CPS and SAPS, however, many reservations exist in the perceptions international students have of the effectiveness of these structures. The final section presents findings of the respondents' views of these crime prevention bodies and their visions of what could be done to improve services where necessary.

#### ***4.2.9 Section I: Views of the police, Campus Protection Services and crime prevention strategies***

One of the ways to investigate the work of the police or other crime prevention and combating body is to observe their levels of visibility in the community. The different security agencies namely the SAPS, CPS, private security and other community organisations' visibility rates were fairly good considering that most participants mainly saw security personnel either on a daily basis or a few times a week.

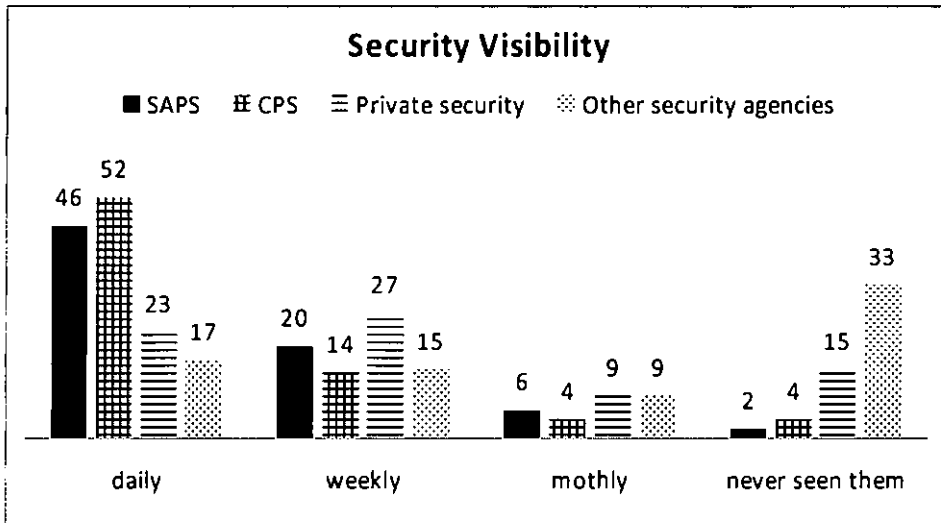


Figure 17.

The diagram illustrates the levels of visibility as reported by the participants. Among these 15 per cent did not know where the nearest police station in their community was and 35 per cent did not know where to find or how to contact CPS.

The perceptions that the respondents had of the SAPS, CPS and private security were not as favourable as the visibility levels. Only 22 per cent of the respondents felt that the SAPS were moderately efficient and that they were trying hard to do their best despite being overwhelmed and under resourced. However, the remaining 78 per cent used words such as 'useless', 'lazy' and 'corrupt' to describe the SAPS. Overall the perception respondents had of the SAPS were negative. CPS on the other hand has a slightly more positive impact on the respondents as 41 per cent felt this body is active, helpful and friendly. Nevertheless, 20 per cent of respondents added that they would be more efficient if they were armed. CPS did not escape criticisms as they too were referred to as 'lazy' and 'passive' by some. A great proportion of the respondents said they could not comment on other security off-campus, perhaps because there is no direct contact with those who live in UCT residences. The majority of the 61 per cent who do not live in UCT student residences had positive comments about private security and some said that they respond significantly quicker than SAPS and that they are doing their best although being very costly.

Whether the presence of CPS increased feelings of safety was a question that revealed that the international students have a great deal of confidence in CPS. Only nine respondents said that there was no change in their feelings of safety with the presence of CPS. The remaining respondents said they felt safer, and some added that they would feel even safer if patrols and visibility were increased and if the personnel were armed. Box, Hale and Andrews (1988) point out that if people believe that the police are effective and efficient at responding to calls quickly, as well as dealing with cases promptly and apprehending criminals, there is likely to be less fear. They add that even recent victims are likely to have reduced levels of fear if they believe that the police are physically present and have the capacity to arrest criminals.<sup>144</sup> As a result, confidence in the police is a crucial factor for the influencing or reduction of fear of crime. The results revealed this point to be valid as all respondents who said that the CPS and the police were doing a satisfactory job also reported feeling safer because of these personnel's presence.

Views of the South African government's work in fighting crime were also investigated and 24 per cent said they felt the government was trying in one way or the other to combat crime and others could not comment. The remaining 76 per cent viewed the government of taking crime too lightly and some recommendations that were made included changing policy, increasing the police: people ratio, improving social services, reducing inequalities and unemployment, equipping the police better and targeting the causes of crime rather than focusing on fighting it. Some strategies were also raised for combating crime in the respondents' neighbourhoods and the main responses that came up were addressing inequalities, better lighting in the streets, crime awareness programmes and vigilance from individuals as well as installing CCTV. Additionally, neighbourhood cohesion and community policing with the reporting of suspicious occurrences and more patrols by security personnel in partnerships with the community members were cited as crime fighting strategies.

The respondents' views of whether crime on campus is a great issue of concern revealed that only 11 per cent felt crime was not a threat to people's daily lives on

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<sup>144</sup>S. Box., C. Hale., and G. Andrews. 'Explaining Fear of Crime'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 28 (3) (1988).

campus. A greater part of the sample (26 per cent) were not sure whether crime on campus posed a great threat to staff and students and 64 per cent felt that crime on campus was a problem. The results of a study conducted by the Equal Opportunities Research Project (EORP) in 1995 at UCT proved that there was a great deal of fear and mistrust especially among black students on campus, perhaps this was linked to the politics of security in South Africa in the 1980s and early the 1990s. Most of the cases reported to the university court (91 per cent) involved men and 4 per cent of all prosecutions at the university court involved black students, and female students felt considerably more fearful and threatened by crime than did males. This result is similar to the current study and to those reported by Wilcox, Jordan and Pritchard (2007) whose study on female students and their fear of victimisation reported that college women report higher levels of fear compared to men regardless of the time of day.<sup>145</sup>

Some solutions that respondents posed to this problem were that students and staff should be vigilant and crime awareness should be increased. The university was given the responsibility of targeting crime hotspots, increasing CPS personnel and CCTV as well as random student and staff card checks. The policing of hotspots had been observed by researchers to be a worthwhile intervention into crime control, particularly in enclosed spaces. Studies have shown that this approach has favourable empirical endorsement.<sup>146</sup> The patrolling of hotspots and increased patrols by CPS personnel were popular responses among the participants; however, the standard practice of preventive patrol does not reduce crime, disorder, or fear of crime as pointed out by Kelling *et al* (1974). Although this recommendation is commonly cited as a factor that could reduce fear levels, arguments have been put forward to refute the effectiveness of patrols.<sup>147</sup> A significant portion of the respondents also suggested increasing access points into buildings in the university, arming CPS and more importantly informing students of crime levels on campus and preventative measures before and upon their arrival at UCT.

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<sup>145</sup> P. Wilcox., C.E. Jordan., and A.J. Pritchard. 'A Multidimensional Examination of Campus Safety: Victimisation, Perceptions of Danger, Worry About Crime, and Precautionary Behavior Among College Women in the Post-Clery Era', *Crime and Delinquency*, (53) 2, (2007) at 226.

<sup>146</sup> W. Lawrence., and D. Weisburd. 'General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime "hot spots": A randomized, controlled trial'. *Justice Quarterly* 12 (4) (1995).

<sup>147</sup> G. Kelling., T. Pate., D. Dieckman., and C. Brown. *The Kansas City preventive patrol experiment: Technical report*. Washington, DC: Police Foundation (1974).

#### ***4.2.10 Conclusion***

The nine sections have presented the findings of the survey that was carried out. Each section attempted to clearly show what respondents' perceptions were and how they correlate to the relevant social profiles in instances that they did. The research generally revealed a picture of perceptions of South Africa as a high crime society that has levels that are amplified to an even greater extent by the media and fears generated from others' experiences. There is a battery of crime prevention strategies individuals engage in to protect themselves and reporting behaviours are affected by people's perceptions of the effectiveness of the police and policing structures. The confidence in the policing structures has been revealed to be low although the responses given on the recommendations show that the respondents see potential in them. The next chapter will briefly look at ways in which the results generated from this study can be utilised to provide recommendations for all stakeholders of student safety at UCT as well as conclude the discussion on the fear of crime in this instance.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The final chapter draws conclusions and offers recommendations based on the findings presented by the study. The conclusions are made according to the objectives of the study which were: to gauge international students' perceptions of the crime situation in South Africa, observe how these perceptions develop, and note their crime prevention strategies while taking into account the levels of risk they perceive themselves to have. The other research objectives involved investigating the extent to which international students view South Africa as a xenophobic society and again what influences their perceptions. The levels of confidence in crime prevention bodies and protection they offer were also aims the study sought to uncover.

#### *5.1 Conclusions*

The university, as an institution requires its own crime policies on which to rely on to accompany the greater policies present for the South African society. Through the employment of CPS and measures taken to inform and empower students on the crime situation and on how to protect oneself, and from partnerships with staff and students to create and maintain a safe environment, UCT manages to create a basis for the development of a safer campus. However, whether these policies are sufficient for combating the threats of crime and existing crime on and around campus is questionable. The partnerships between staff and students and CPS remains limited and the extent to which students feel the university is a safe environment is part of what the research began to uncover.

There is no set crime policy that UCT follows but there are however a number of interventions which have been set forth that the university seeks to use in order to promote and maintain safety. There are 215 cameras which are used to record and monitor movement around the campus, this number is reported to be far more than those available

in Cape Town's central business district. The 'Blue Safe Walk' is also a measure which UCT uses to promote safety on campus. Staff and students are urged to use this route when walking on campus as it is monitored by the CPS officers (who are 157 in total). The 'Blue Safe Walk' also has intercoms which are directly linked to the CPS offices which the university community may use to contact CPS in the case of an emergency. Access control is also available in all residences where staff and student cards are necessary for entrance into and exit from buildings.<sup>148</sup>

Violent crimes on campus which range from common assault to assault- GBH (grievous bodily harm), arson, armed and unarmed robbery have decreased from 40 in 2001 to seven in 2006 but rose to 13 in 2008, but there has been a steady decrease between 2001 and 2008.<sup>149</sup> Although crimes do occur within the university establishments the crimes are far lower than those occurring in the surrounding areas such as Rondebosch, Rosebank and Mowbray.<sup>150</sup> The university provides tips for students to protect themselves whilst on campus on the university website and there are information talks conducted by CPS during orientation week for new students. The CPS offices are also open 24 hours a day and seven days a week for all students and staff to make use of if the need arises. The contact numbers for the six CPS service centres are also available on the UCT website.<sup>151</sup>

In the past 15 years there has only been a single intervention conducted by UCT with all crime prevention and combating stakeholders and students aimed at reducing crime on campus which was held in 1995. This study was carried out by the EORP which was inspired by the USA and Canadian studies conducted in 1992 which investigated equity in tertiary institutions and held discussions with student organisations on campus safety so as to promote it. The study may have also been influenced in part by the Report on the Committee of Enquiry into Sexual Harassment Act of 1991 which found the occurrence of sexual harassment, community tolerance for anti-social and violent behaviour, alcohol

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<sup>148</sup> Vice-Chancellor & Principal's statement on health and safety on campus at the University of Cape Town. Accessed from: [www.staff.uct.ac.za/health/safety/vcstatement/](http://www.staff.uct.ac.za/health/safety/vcstatement/) on 04 June 2008.

<sup>149</sup> University of Cape Town Crime Report. Total Number of Crimes from January 2000 to June 2006. Accessed from: [www.crimecouncilreport.uct.ac.za.pdf](http://www.crimecouncilreport.uct.ac.za.pdf) on 13 September 2008.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid 43.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid 42.

abuse and high mistrust between students and university authorities responsible for safety, security and disciplinary matters. As a result the EORP sought to find solutions to the high crime problem in the UCT and surrounding areas and methods to limit students feeling unsafe. The EORP did six things in order to set up a starting point for the improvement of campus safety through engaging all stakeholders, these were:

1. To conduct meetings with important people on campus, such as CPS and student and administration heads;
2. A study tour to the USA and UK by the campus control head in order to learn from their systems;
3. Research was conducted into student's perceptions of crime and safety on campus;<sup>152</sup>
4. A foreign expert on crime prevention from Spelman College visited UCT for three weeks in October 1994 and assessed the current CPS system;
5. A survey was conducted on crime at UCT and surrounding areas; and finally,
6. UCT was invited to the Southern African Conference Campus Protection Association of Southern Africa (CAMPROSA) annual conference and the EORP co-hosted the conference in 1994.<sup>153</sup>

Despite the high crime rates within the UCT community at this time, the campus was likened to an idyllic community, free from the violence and dangers of the outside world.<sup>154</sup> The peaceful nature of UCT can at times be unrepresentative of the actual crime situation and since 1995 when the EORP study was conducted there have been numerous changes that have taken place such as a greater selection of student residences is available for students. A shuttle service operating from 6.30 am to 1.30 am as well as more access points at buildings and residences. Moreover, CPS personnel and patrols have been increased and emails are circulated among staff and students to send alerts on mugging and robbery hotspots and to warn students of and staff of suspicious persons.

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<sup>152</sup> A copy of the 1995 questionnaire is available in the appendix section of this report (Appendix C).

<sup>153</sup> W. Rex. *Partnerships for protection: A research report on campus safety and protection at the University of Cape Town*. Equal Opportunities Research project. (1995) at 5.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid footnote 112 at 7, 11 and 15.

### 5.1.1 The levels of fear of crime and the development of perceptions

The literature had highlighted the common existence of high degrees of fear regardless of actual threat levels. Women were observed to have high levels of fear and in the current study the correlation was present. Race and environment also proved to be factors that somewhat influence fears as those who lived in the neighbourhoods that are considered less safe such as Mowbray and Observatory feared walking alone at night in their neighbourhood more than those living in the more affluent suburbs while different races tended to respond in varying ways particularly on issues involving crime prevention strategies and behaviours. The perceptions of crime in South Africa did not correspond with actual victimisation levels and this goes back to the literature where the indirect victimisation model<sup>155</sup> and the media were pointed out as sites where fears develop. The study consolidated the point that others' experiences have a great impact on fears and that the media is a powerful source of information especially when crime stories are involved.<sup>156</sup>

Socio-economic problems were the main responses for high crime rates and this is a trend that carries on even in the suggestions that international students make on reducing crime rates in South Africa. The comparison of crime rates with home countries was a useful exercise especially since international students voluntarily come to South Africa to study therefore the high crime rates they report assist in revealing that possibly the crime rates in South Africa are actually very high. What would be useful would be to conduct a similar study with local South African students so as to note whether the rates found among the international students were exaggerated or not.

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<sup>155</sup> R.B.Taylor, and M. Hale. 'Testing alternative models of fear of crime', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, (77) 1(1986), and S. Roh., and W. M. Oliver. 'Effects of community policing upon fear of crime: understanding the causal linkage'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. (28) 4, (2005) at 671-672.

<sup>156</sup> M. Lee. *Inventing Fear of Crime: Criminology and the politics of anxiety*. (2007) at 188.

### 5.1.2 Victimization and crime prevention strategies

The levels of victimisation and fears were not parallel. This leads to the conclusion that fears are inspired by others' experiences as well as the media and there is the possibility of the theory that was mentioned in the literature that women are victimised but most of the experiences are not reported explaining the high fear levels and low statistics.<sup>157</sup> The five individuals who opted not to respond to the victimisation section prove that there are crimes that are not reported and if a mere questionnaire that is anonymous can cause a victim to recoil, what more an under resourced police station where the police are labeled as 'useless'. The levels of xenophobia also reflect that it is not only physical crime that international students may feel threatened by but also hate crimes which may escalate to physical injuries and losses such as in the May to June 2008 incidents. However, the sample revealed that xenophobia is not as great a threat to this group of foreigners as much as the other crimes which also affect local students. International students do not consider themselves to be at a great risk of crime as compared to other students and only when the question was asked concerning international students alone did some affirmative responses come about on the vulnerability of international students, otherwise other groups such as the elderly, women and whites were mentioned before foreign students as more vulnerable to victimisation.

### 5.1.3 Confidence in crime prevention bodies

The researcher concluded that the low levels of confidence exuded by international students in both the SAPS and CPS are not unique as the literature revealed that in previous victimisation and household surveys there were low levels of trust and confidence in the police. The lack of confidence in the CPS reflects that students do not feel connected to the personnel and the recommendations section will deal with possible interventions to alleviate this problem. The suggestions made to arm CPS show that the

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<sup>157</sup> W.R. Smith and M. Torstensson. 'Gender differences in risk perception and neutralizing fear of crime: toward resolving paradoxes'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 37 (4) (1997) at 610.

international student body feels there is a need for a more forceful and equipped service, perhaps this is because the student body feels unsafe and that there is a need for more vigorous measures. It is apparent from the responses, particularly those from Section E and H that individuals are taking security into their own hands and making their safety their responsibility with less reliance on the police and policing structures, except for insurance purposes and when more serious crimes take place. However, the presence of the SAPS, CPS and private security is proving to be useful as a calming effect for students. The government's attempts to curb crime are not being felt enough by the international students and the recommendations that were made to the different bodies, and that can be drawn from the results will now be outlined.

## ***5.2 Recommendations***

The following recommendations have roots in the experiences of carrying out the study, the main findings of the study and the conclusions that were made. These recommendations are being offered to UCT and two of its branches, namely IAPO and CPS and recommendations are offered to international students.

### **5.2.1 Recommendations for UCT management**

The chief recommendation to be made to UCT is to take on the responsibility of managing the partnerships that need to be created between IAPO, CPS and the students. Further research into the main crimes that affect students and how they can be prevented is essential and it is UCT's obligation to ensure that the setting up of systems, preferably by students engaging with CPS, IAPO and all other stakeholders is carried out. There is the need for students to be given the leeway to develop crime awareness workshops and crime prevention interventions that address matters that affect them and the suggestion is made that UCT starts up that system by inviting students to do so and providing the vital resources for such.

### **5.2.2 Recommendations for IAPO**

The main recommendation for IAPO would be to expand their orientation programme in such a way that those who miss it during the first weeks of the semester can always receive a package of some sort which gives information on safety issues and emergency contact numbers as well as information on how and where to find CPS. In addition to this orientation leaders can hold informal talks with new students on common techniques for ensuring one's safety while in Cape Town such as the safe routes to use in the UCT surrounding areas, using public transport with other passengers, moving around in groups and avoiding using cell phones in public. IAPO could also take advantage of correspondence between the admissions office and new students and mail safety tips and safety orientation programmes to students so they are made aware of the safety orientation programme before they arrive. Since a sizeable number of students miss orientation week it would be useful to hold awareness workshops in partnership with CPS in order to impart information on Cape Town and crime prevention tips.

### **5.2.3 Recommendations for CPS**

The orientation programme would benefit students' safety if CPS were more involved especially since the results from the study prove that not all students are familiar with CPS. Crime awareness workshops would also be advantageous for students and they would also give students the platform to engage more openly with CPS and other stakeholders on their concerns.

It is also necessary for CPS to establish closer relationships with students as currently CPS and the student body seem alienated from each other. More patrols would increase their visibility and workshops where students and CPS engage in discussions would improve the feelings of safety among students and also assist CPS in knowing what students expect from them. Currently a void exists between these two bodies thereby making it difficult for any constructive dialogue to take place. A number of isolated incidents of crime take place throughout the academic year but students are only notified of the armed robberies through email and it is important that awareness of crime hotspots

and previous crimes be made known so as to avoid more incidents. CPS and the students may devise a way of sending alerts of crimes that persist and areas that are prone to criminal activity. However, the actual patrol of hotspots is also recommended but not to excess since such an approach would simply displace crime to other nearby places and not actually eradicate it.<sup>158</sup>

A study similar to the EORP study that was conducted in 1995 is long overdue. It would be useful for another such study to be conducted in order to ascertain the points where CPS is failing to deliver its services sufficiently to students. It is possible that the reason why there are low levels of confidence is because CPS has lost track of their responsibilities and is not operating on students' concerns.

#### **5.2.4 Recommendations for students**

Finally, it is necessary to offer recommendations to those who are affected by the crime, in some cases as a result of their lack of information and protection. Student leaders are encouraged to take the reins on leading security interventions on campus where partnerships with IAPO and CPS are created for students to discuss their concerns with all stakeholders of security. It is also advised that systems that are already in place and working such as CPS's 'blue safe walk' and the escort service be taken advantage of. Students therefore need to create awareness so that the whole campus takes necessary precautions and is aware of their risks and the mechanisms in place to support them if crime befalls them.

Students have revealed from the current study that there is a movement to self-regulation and protection is not the business of the police and security agencies but that individuals need to and have taken responsibility for their security. The array of protection measures brought out in the responses proves that students are governing their own security, but it is necessary that they receive support from UCT security agencies.

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<sup>158</sup> W. Lawrence., and D. Weisburd. 'General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime "hot spots:" A randomized, controlled trial'. *Justice Quarterly* 12 (4) (1995).

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## *Appendices*

### *Appendix A: International Students' Questionnaire*

#### **INFORMATION SHEET**

The research is being conducted by Tariro Mutongwizo a Master of Philosophy student in the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of Cape Town is supervised by Ms. J. Berg, and titled:

'Foreign Fear? An exploratory study of Perceptions and Fear of Crime in South Africa amongst International Students at the University of Cape Town.'

- The researcher is interested in the topic of the fear of crime and has chosen to explore this phenomenon among a section of the UCT student body. IAPO and Campus Protection Services (CPS) are also interested in the results that will be generated by the research as students' concerns are of great importance to their work.
- The research will be conducted through the use of a questionnaire consisting of ten (10) pages with mostly quantitative questions requiring respondents to tick an option, as well as a few qualitative open-ended questions requesting more in-depth responses.

The questionnaire consists of nine sections which cover the research questions being explored. The questionnaire is aimed at a sample group of 100 to 130 international students from different groups within the University of Cape Town student body.

- The different groups relate to demographic differences among the students which could influence perceptions with regards to the research question these have been identified as: gender, race, place of residence in Cape Town, length of stay in Cape Town and the respondents' country of origin. The nine sections of the research are aimed at exploring international students' perceptions of crime trends in South Africa, perceptions of safety and their fear of crime, their victimisation experiences, if any, as well as their individual crime prevention strategies. Furthermore, the questionnaire will investigate the participants' perceptions of their victimisation risks, their reporting behaviours and also the participants'

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views of crime and xenophobia in South Africa. Lastly, the participants' views of the police, Campus Protection Services and other crime prevention bodies will be explored by the questionnaire.

- Section 4 of the questionnaire may induce re-traumatisation for participants who may have been victimised before, therefore, although participants may withdraw from the research at any time, individual mention has been made to caution participants on this section and re-emphasize that they have the choice to withdraw from the research.
- The questionnaire may be collected from the researcher or the IAPO offices, completed and returned to either the researcher or the IAPO offices as there is no need for the researcher or an IAPO representative to oversee the process. Anonymity and confidentiality will be assured as there is no identifiable data to be collected and the questionnaire will be completed and returned without the involvement of the researcher or IAPO.
- The IAPO offices will be a communication station between the researcher and the participants for the collection and depositing of questionnaires and to address any queries if they arise.
- The results of the research will be compiled into a report which will be available at the IAPO offices.
- You are invited to participate in the research and your participation would be sincerely appreciated as your perceptions and views are of great importance and central to the research. It may take approximately 30 minutes to complete the entire questionnaire. The promotion of confidentiality and anonymity is assured to each participant and there is no identifiable information required from the participant. Participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time and must not feel in any way obliged to continue participating if they feel it necessary to retire from the research.

For any additional information and if you have any queries please contact the researcher on either: [mtntar003@uct.ac.za](mailto:mtntar003@uct.ac.za) or on: 078 513 5135.

## CONSENT FORM

**Title of Research Project: Foreign Fears? An Exploratory Study of Perceptions and Fear of Crime in South Africa amongst International Students at the University of Cape Town.**

**Name of Researcher: Tariro Mutongwizo.**

**Name of Supervisor: Ms. J. Berg.**

**Nature of Research:** Survey in the form of a questionnaire which seeks to explore the perceptions of the crime situation and levels of fear of crime in South Africa amongst international students at the University of Cape Town. The survey is comprised of 10 pages with mostly questions requiring the respondent to tick the most suitable option a few open-ended questions. Anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed as there is no identifiable information necessary for the research.

**Risks:** There is the possible risk of trauma in the event that the participant has been a victim of crime, this may be set off by section 4 of the questionnaire. Participation in the research is fully voluntary and a participant may withdraw at any time but special attention has been highlighted in the consent process to alert participants of this section.

**Benefits:** Although there are no immediate benefits, participating in the research will be used to compile results which will provide for important information which may be useful for bodies such as CPS and IAPO in the interests of students.

**Costs:** There is no cost for participating in the research except the time spent filling out the questionnaire.

**Payment:** There will be no payment for participating in the research.

**Duration:** The estimated time it will take to complete the questionnaire is 30 minutes.

- I agree to participate in this research project
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected subject to the following:

- I understand that my personal details may be included in the research will be used in aggregate form only, so that I will not be personally identifiable.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

Signature of Participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Person who sought consent: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Person who sought consent: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

MINOR DISSERTATION SURVEY ON VIEWS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME IN  
SOUTH AFRICA AMONGST A SAMPLE GROUP OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AT  
UCT, 2008.

**SECTION 1. Social Profile of Respondent: (Please tick)**

1.1. What is your sex?

Female  Male

---

1.2. What is your race? (OPTIONAL)

Asian  black  mixed race  white

---

1.3. Approximately how long have you been in South Africa?

<6 months  6-12 months  1 year +

---

1.4. Approximately how long have you been in Cape Town?

<6 months  6-12 months  1 year +

1.5. What is your country of citizenship (origin)?

---



---

1.6. What is your current year of study at UCT?

---

1.7. What is the nature of your residence in Cape Town?

UCT Residence  Off-campus (digs)  Live with family  Other

---

1.8. Where is your place of residence in Cape Town i.e. suburb name?

---



---

**SECTION 2. Crime Trends:**

2.1. Would you describe South Africa as a high- crime society?

Yes  no  not sure

---

2.2. Do you think there are different causes for violent crime as compared to property crime?

Yes  no  not sure

---

2.3. What do you think are the main causes of VIOLENT crime in South Africa?

---



---

2.4. What do you think are the main causes of PROPERTY crime in South Africa?

---



---

2.5. How do South African crime trends compare to crime trends in your own country?

Crime is more prevalent in my country  Crime is less prevalent in my country

Crime trends in South Africa and my country are similar

Crime trends are completely different  Not sure

---

**SECTION 3. Perceptions of Safety and Fear of Crime:**

3.1. What were your perceptions of crime in South Africa before arriving in the country?

Very high  high  moderate  low  very low  not sure

---

3.2. From where did you develop this perception of crime in South Africa?

The Media  Friends  Your home university  UCT

Other  (elaborate)

---

3.3. Did your perception of crime change after you arrived?

Yes  no  not sure

3.4. If your answer is 'yes' to question 3.3., has your perception changed from viewing crime in South Africa as better  or worse ?

3.5. If your answer is 'yes' to question 3.3., who or what made you change your perception of crime in South Africa?

Personal Experiences  UCT  Friends  the Media

Other  (elaborate)

---

3.6. How safe do you feel on campus?

Very safe  fairly safe  a bit unsafe  very unsafe

3.7. How safe do you feel in your place of residence in Cape Town?

Very safe  fairly safe  a bit unsafe  very unsafe

3.8. What crime(s) do you think is/ are most likely to take place on campus?

Theft  Rape  Assault  Robbery  Car-jacking  Murder

Other

---

3.9. What crime(s) do you think is/ are most likely to take place in your area of residence in Cape Town?

Theft  Rape  Assault  Robbery  Car-jacking  Murder

Other

---

3.10. Do you worry about being a victim of crime in your own country?

Very much  Somewhat  Not at all  Not sure

---

Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.11. Do you worry about being a victim of crime in Cape Town?

Very much       Somewhat       Not at all       Not sure

Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.12. If you do worry about crime in Cape Town, at what time of the day do you feel most unsafe?

Mornings       Afternoon       Evening       Night       All the time

3.13. How would you compare your worry about crime to those around you? Do you think you are more or less afraid / aware/worried about crime than those around you?

Much more worried       Similar with others       Less worried       Not sure

3.14. What type(s) of crime do you feel are most worrying and pose a threat to you becoming a victim of at UCT?

Theft  Rape  Assault       Robbery       Car-jacking       Murder

Other  (elaborate) \_\_\_\_\_

3.15. Since arriving in South Africa, have you become more or less afraid / worried about crime?

Less Afraid       More Afraid       No Difference

3.16. How would you rate the general level of safety in **SOUTH AFRICA** on a scale of 1- 5, with 1 being 'very safe' and 5 being 'very dangerous'?

1       2       3       4       5

3.17. How would you rate the level of safety in **YOUR HOME COUNTRY** on a scale of 1- 5, with 1 being 'very safe' and 5 being 'very dangerous'?

1       2       3       4       5

---

**SECTION 4. Victimization Experiences: \*OPTIONAL- YOU MAY SKIP THIS SECTION IF YOU FEEL THE NEED TO AS THERE ARE RISKS OF POSSIBLE TRAUMA IF YOU HAVE BEEN A VICTIM OF CRIME.**

4.1. Have you been a victim of crime in South Africa in recent months?

Never  Once  Twice  More than two times

Not been in SA for long  Not Sure

4.2. If 'yes' to question 4.1., please describe what happened during the incident(s) (include what type of crime (s) as well as details such as where and when it took place).

---



---



---

4.3. While in South Africa have you heard about actual experiences of crime in South Africa from your circle of friends, acquaintances, family etc?

Yes  No  Not sure

4.4. If 'yes' to question 4.3., what crime(s) did they experience in recent months?

Theft  Rape  Assault  Robbery  Car-jacking  Murder

Other  (elaborate)

---

4.5. If 'yes' to question 4.3., did hearing about other people's victimisation experiences have an impact on your perceptions or attitudes about crime in South Africa? Please explain:

---



---

**SECTION 5. Individual Crime Prevention Strategies:**

---

5.1. Whilst in Cape Town what do you do, if anything, to protect yourself from crime at present: (e.g. Locking doors, carrying pepper spray, staying alert while driving/ walking alone, keeping valuables hidden, going out in groups only etc.)

i) At your home/ residence: \_\_\_\_\_

ii) While driving (if you do not drive then if you re a passenger):  
\_\_\_\_\_

iii) When using public transport (if you make use of this type of transport):  
\_\_\_\_\_

iv) While at a place of entertainment: \_\_\_\_\_

v) While walking alone during the day in your neighbourhood/ area of residence:  
\_\_\_\_\_

vi) When walking alone during the night in your neighbourhood/ area of residence:  
\_\_\_\_\_

vii) When walking alone on campus during the day \_\_\_\_\_

viii) When walking alone on campus during the night (if you do not walk alone during the night on campus, what would you do to reduce the possibility of becoming a victim of crime if you were to walk alone at night):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5.2. Have you changed your patterns of movement while in South Africa as compared to your home country so as to avoid victimisation?  
\_\_\_\_\_

Yes       No       Not sure

5.3. If 'yes' to question 5.2., what patterns of movement have you changed in order to avoid victimisation whilst in South Africa?

---

5.4. Where or from whom did you get advice from (if anything) in terms of protecting yourself from crime here in South Africa?

IAPO       CPS       Friends       Other  (elaborate)

---

5.5. Were safety issues addressed during Orientation Week at UCT?

Yes       No       Not sure

5.6. If 'yes' to question 5.5., do you think that it was sufficient to inform you about safety issues at UCT?

Very Sufficient       Moderately       Not sufficient       Barely Sufficient

### **SECTION 6. Victimisation Risks:**

6.1. Which categories of people do you think are more at risk of being victims of crime?

women       men       the aged       young people       whites       Blacks   
 mixed race       Asians       the poor       the wealthy       children   
 minority groups

6.2. Please explain your answer to question 6.1.

---

6.3. Do you think young people are more at risk of being victims of crime?

---

Yes       No       Not sure

6.4. Please explain your answer to question 6.3 if answer is 'yes' or 'no'.

---

6.5. Do you think international students are more at risk of being victims of crime?

Yes       No       Not sure

6.6. Please explain your answer to question 6.5. if answer is 'yes' or 'no'.

---

**SECTION 7. Crime and xenophobia:**

7.1. At what rate would you place the levels of xenophobia in South Africa?

Very High       High       Moderate       Low   
 Very Low      Not sure

7.2. What motivated your response to question 7.1.?

---

7.3. How have the recent xenophobic attacks on foreigners impacted on your perceptions of safety in South Africa?

---

---

7.4. What do you think motivated these attacks?

---

---

**SECTION 8. Reporting Behaviours:**

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8.1. If you have been a victim of crime in South Africa, did you report the incident to the police or any other security agency such as campus security?

Yes       No       Not applicable

8.2. If 'yes' to question 8.1. , who did you report this incident to and why did you report this incident to this particular agency?

---

---

8.3. If 'yes' to question 8.1. , what were your experiences when reporting?

---

---

8.4. If 'yes' or 'no' to question 8.1. , why did you report or not report the crime?

---

---

8.5. Do you think that victims of crime in South Africa generally report crimes to the police or other security agencies?

Yes       No       Not sure

8.6. If a crime took place on campus, would you report it?

Yes       No       Not sure

8.7. If 'yes' to question 8.6. , who would you report the crime to and why?

---

---

8.8. If 'no' to question 8.6. , why wouldn't you report the crime?

---

---



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**SECTION 9. Views of the Police and Crime Prevention Strategies:**

9.1. How visible in the community are members of the South African Police Service (SAPS)?

Seen everyday       seen a few times a week       seen a few times a month   
 never seen them       don't know what they look like

---

9.2. How visible are Campus Security?

Seen everyday       seen a few times a week       seen a few times a month   
 never seen them       don't know what they look like

---

9.3. How often do you see private security companies off- campus?

Seen everyday       seen a few times a week       seen a few times a month   
 never seen them       don't know what they look like

---

9.4. How often do you see other security agencies? (Stipulate which agency)

Seen everyday       seen a few times a week       seen a few times a month   
 never seen them       don't know what they look like

---

9.5. Do you know where the nearest police station to you is?

Yes       No       Not sure

---

9.6. Do you know where to find and how to contact Campus Security?

Yes     No       Not sure

9.7. What is your general perception and pre-conception, if any, of:

---

The SAPS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Campus Security: \_\_\_\_\_

Private Security off-campus: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Any other security agency (state type of agency, you may include community organizations, municipal police etc.) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9.8. Does the presence of Campus Security and/ or the SAPS make you feel safer or more vulnerable? Or, if you do not see these security agencies would their increased presence make you feel safer or more vulnerable? What are your reasons for this?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9.9. What is your opinion on whether the South African government in general is doing enough about crime in South Africa? Explain your point of view.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9.10. What do you think can be done to reduce crime in your neighbourhood/ area of residence?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

---

9.11. In your opinion, is crime on campus an issue?

Yes  no  not sure

9.12. What do you think can be done to reduce crime on campus?

---

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**Thank you for your time and participation!**

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
Department of Student Affairs  
STUDENT WELLNESS SERVICE

COUNSELLING REGISTRATION FORM  
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE: MR/MRS/MS \_\_\_\_\_ STUDENT NO \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_

FIRST NAME \_\_\_\_\_ SURNAME \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_

POPULATION GROUP: (Circle) African / Coloured / Indian / White / Other

Do you belong to a Medical Aid Scheme that covers psychological sessions?: (Circle) YES NO

SCHEME NAME \_\_\_\_\_ MEMBERSHIP NO \_\_\_\_\_

Do you receive Financial Aid from the UCT Financial Aid Office? (Circle) YES NO

FACULTY \_\_\_\_\_ DEGREE/COURSE \_\_\_\_\_

YEAR OF STUDY \_\_\_\_\_ FIRST YEAR OF REGISTRATION \_\_\_\_\_

TERM TEL NO \_\_\_\_\_ TERM EMAIL ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

TERM ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS FOR ACCOUNT \_\_\_\_\_

HOME TEL NO: \_\_\_\_\_

NEXT OF KIN \_\_\_\_\_ TEL NO \_\_\_\_\_

WHO REFERRED YOU HOW DID YOU FIND OUT ABOUT US?

Website [ ] Student Handbook 5 [ ] Friends [ ] Medical staff [ ]

Notice board [ ] Lecturer [ ] Staff [ ] Other [ ] \_\_\_\_\_

We continually strive to improve our service to students by way of research and to contribute to generally improving campus life by way of advocating student needs within the university. To this end we might need to use some of the information you give us in a confidential and anonymous way.

Do you consent to this? (circle) YES NO

We may also need to track your academic progress from time to time.

Do you consent to this? (circle) YES NO

**I UNDERSTAND THAT I AM PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL CONSULTATION COSTS INCURRED AT THE STUDENT WELLNESS SERVICE. FEES WILL BE DISCUSSED DURING THE FIRST CONSULTATION WITH YOUR COUNSELLOR.**

**I UNDERSTAND THAT CLINICAL HEALTH AND COUNSELLING STAFF SHARE ESSENTIAL RECORDS FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROVIDING HOLISTIC CARE.**

SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Original International Students' Survey

**CRJ2000F: CRIME AND DEVIANCE IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES**  
**Survey: Views and Perceptions of Crime Amongst a Sample Group of UCT**  
**Students, 2006**

Interviewer name: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Questionnaire no.: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Time of interview: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Location of interview: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Respondent name (optional): \_\_\_\_\_

**QUESTION 1: Social profile of respondent:**

- 1.1 Approximately how long have you been in South Africa?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.2 Approximately how long have you been in Cape Town?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.3 What is your country of origin? (citizenship)  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.4 When do you plan to return to your home country?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.5 Why did you come to Cape Town/South Africa?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.6 How old are you?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.7 What is your home language?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.8 How would you describe your cultural background / ethnic origins?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.9 Gender of the respondent  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.10 What is your current year of study at UCT?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.11 Where is your place of residence in Cape Town? [What suburb?]  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.12 What is the nature of your residence? In other words do you live with your family, in digs or in residence etc?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**QUESTION 2: Crime Trends**

- 2.1 Would you describe South Africa as a high-crime society?  
 yes     no     not sure
- 2.2 In your view, which are the major causes of crime in South Africa today?  
 You can choose from the following:
- (a) Too lenient sentencing
  - (b) Poverty
  - (c) Lack of discipline at school / from parents

- (d) Drugs
- (e) Alcohol
- (f) Unemployment
- (g) Family background
- (h) Too few police
- (i) Apartheid
- (j) Lack of education
- (k) None of these
- (l) All of these
- (m) More/other reasons:

---



---

2.3 Do you think there are different causes for violent crime as compared to property crime?

- yes    no    not sure

2.4 What do you think are the main causes of *violent crime* in South Africa?

---



---

2.5 What do you think are the main causes of *property crime* in South Africa?

---



---

2.6 Do you think violent or property crime is more prevalent in South Africa?

- violent crime    property crime    neither    don't know

---

2.7 How do South African crime trends compare to crime trends in your own country?

---



---

**QUESTION 3: Perceptions of safety and fear of crime**

3.1 What were your perceptions of crime and safety in South Africa before arriving to the country?

---



---

3.2 From whom or how did you develop this perception of South Africa?

---



---

3.3 Did your perception of crime change now that you are here?

- yes    no    not sure

3.4 If yes to question 3.3, for better or for worse?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
3.5 If yes to question 3.3, what or who made you change your perception of crime in South Africa?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.6 How safe do you feel on campus?  
 very safe    fairly safe    a bit unsafe    very unsafe

3.7 How safe do you feel in your place of residence?  
 very safe    fairly safe    a bit unsafe    very unsafe

3.8 What crime(s) do you think is most likely to take place on campus?  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.9 What crime(s) do you think is most likely to take place in your area of residence?  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.10 Do you *worry* at all about being a victim of crime *at home in your own country*?  
 yes    no    not sure

Explain your answer.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.11 Do you worry at all about being a victim of crime in Cape Town?  
 yes    no    not sure

Explain your answer.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.12 If you do worry about crime *at present*, at what time of day do you feel the safest? Or at what time of day do you worry *the least* about being a victim of crime?

3.13 If you do worry about crime, what time of day do you feel the most unsafe? Or at what time of day do you worry *the most* about being a victim of crime?

3.14 Describe a situation in which you would feel (the most) worried about crime or feel most unsafe?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.15 How would you know if you were in an 'unsafe' neighbourhood?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3.16 Do you think you are more or less afraid/ aware/ worried about crime than those around you?

---



---

3.17 What type(s) of crime are you the most afraid of becoming a victim? (For example, murder, rape, robbery, theft, hijacking etc)

---



---

3.18 Why are you most afraid of becoming a victim of this type of crime?

---



---

3.19 Have you become more or less afraid / worried about crime since you've been in South Africa compared to when you were in your home country?

---



---

3.20 How would you rate the level of safety in SOUTH AFRICA on a scale from 1-10, with 1 being 'very safe' and 10 being 'very dangerous'?

3.21 How would you rate the level of safety in YOUR HOME COUNTRY on a scale from 1-10, with 1 being 'very safe' and 10 being 'very dangerous'?

---



---

**QUESTION 4: Victimization experiences**

4.1 Have you been a victim of crime while in South Africa in recent months?

- yes    no    not sure

4.2 If yes to question 4.1, describe what happened during the incident(s). (Including, what crime, how, where and when it took place).

---



---

4.3 Have you heard about actual experiences of crime in South Africa from your circle of friends, acquaintances, family etc?

- yes    no    not sure

4.4 If yes to question 4.3, what crime(s) did they experience in recent months?

---



---

4.5 If yes to question 4.3, did hearing about other people's victimisation experiences have an impact on your perceptions or attitudes about crime in South Africa?

Explain:

---



---

---



---

**QUESTION 5: Individual crime prevention strategies and quality of life**

**5.1 What do you do, if anything, to protect yourself from crime at present:**  
 (Prompts: lock your doors at night, carry pepper spray, stay alert while driving / walking alone, keep valuables hidden, go out in a group only etc).

(a) at your residence/home:

---



---

(b) while driving (if you do not drive then if you are a passenger):

---



---

(c) when using public transport (if you make use of this type of transport):

---



---

(d) while at a place of entertainment:

---



---

(e) walking alone during the day in your neighbourhood / area of residence

---



---

(f) walking alone during the night in your neighbourhood / area of residence

---



---

(g) walking alone on campus during the day

---



---

(h) walking alone on campus during the night (if you do not walk alone during the night on campus, what would you do to reduce the possibility of becoming a victim of crime if you were to walk alone at night):

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**5.2 What type of things do those closest to you do to protect themselves from crime?**

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**5.3 Where or who did you get advice from, if anything, in terms of protecting yourself from crime here in South Africa?**

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5.4 Were safety issues addressed during Orientation Week at UCT?

yes    no    not sure

5.5 If yes to question 5.4, do you think that this was sufficient to inform you about safety issues at UCT?

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5.6 Are any of your crime prevention behaviours (if any) different in South Africa than to your home country?

yes    no    not sure

5.7 If yes to question 5.6, what crime prevention behaviours/routines have you changed since coming to South Africa?

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5.8 In particular have you changed you patterns of movement – like going to places of entertainment, only going with a group of friends, avoiding certain areas – because you feel more or less at risk of being a victim of crime? For instance are there things you would do at your home country for entertainment that you would not do here for fear of being victimised?

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**QUESTION 6: Risk of victimisation**

6.1 Do you think women are more at risk of being victims of crime?

yes    no    not sure

6.2 If yes or no to question 6.1, why do you think this?

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6.3 Do you think young people are more at risk of being victims of crime?

yes    no    not sure

6.4 If yes or no to question 6.3, why do you think this?

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6.5 Do you think you are more at risk of being a victim of crime because of your status as an international student?

yes    no    not sure

6.6 If yes or no to question 6.5, why do you think this?

6.7 Do you think you personally are vulnerable to being a victim of crime in South Africa?

- yes  no  not sure

6.8 If yes or no to question 6.7, why do you think this?

6.9 Do you think you are most likely to be victimised by someone you know or by a stranger?

6.10 What type of person do you think is most likely to be victimised in South Africa and why do you think this? (Prompts: male or female; young or old; white or black; physically small or big; poor or wealthy etc)

**QUESTION 7: Offender profile**

7.1 If you have been a victim of crime in South Africa did you know or see the person who offended against you?

- yes  no  not sure  not applicable

7.2 If yes to question 7.1, what did the offender look like? (Prompts: approximate age, race, gender, physical build, means used to hide characteristics etc).

7.3 What is your perception of what a typical perpetrator looks like in South Africa? Or what characteristics in a person do you feel most threatened by? (Prompts: are you suspicious of people of different genders/races/age groups etc)

7.4 Have your perceptions of what a typical offender looks like in South Africa been shaped by other people's perceptions, the media or anything else?

- yes  no  not sure

7.5 If yes to question 7.4, explain how your perceptions have been shaped by other influences.

**QUESTION 8: Reporting behaviours**

8.1 If you have been a victim of crime in South Africa, did you report the incident to the police or any other security agency such as campus security?

yes    no    not sure

8.2 If yes to question 8.1, who did you report to and why did you report to this particular security agency?

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8.3 If yes to question 8.1, what were your experiences when reporting?

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8.4 If yes or no to question 8.1, why did you report or not report the crime?

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8.5 Do you think that victims of crime in South Africa generally report crimes to the police or other security agency?

yes    no    not sure

8.6 If a crime took place on campus, would you report it and who would you be most likely to report it to and why?

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**QUESTION 9: Views of the police and crime prevention strategies**

9.1 How often do you see members of the South African Police Service?

everyday or more often    a few times a week    a few times a month  
 never see them    don't know what they look like

9.2 How often do you see campus security?

everyday or more often    a few times a week    a few times a month  
 never see them    don't know what they look like

9.3 How often do you see private security off campus?

everyday or more often    a few times a week    a few times a month  
 never see them    don't know what they look like

9.4 How often do you see other security agencies? (stipulate which agency)

everyday or more often    a few times a week    a few times a month  
 never see them    don't know what they look like

9.5 Do you know where your nearest police station is?

yes    no    not sure

9.6 Do you know where to find or how to contact campus security?

yes    no    not sure

9.7 Do you know about campus security's cell phone panic button system?

yes    no    not sure

9.8 If yes to question 9.7, do you have it and if so have you ever used it?

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9.9 What is your general perception or pre-conception, if any, of:  
the South African Police Service:

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campus security:

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private security off campus:

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any other security agency (state type of agency, include community organisations,  
municipal police etc):

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9.10 Besides seeing the police have you had any interaction with the police,  
campus security or any other security agency in South Africa in terms of, for  
instance, speaking with them? (including reporting)

yes    no    not sure

9.11 If yes to question 9.10, which agency(ies) did you interact with and describe  
the nature of the interaction.

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9.12 Even if you have never interacted with any security agency, do you feel that:  
Campus security is doing enough to secure campus life?

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The police are doing enough to secure your neighbourhood and / or the city of Cape  
Town?

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9.13 Does the presence of campus security and / or the police make you feel safer  
or more vulnerable? Or if you do not see these security agencies would their  
increased presence make you feel safer or more vulnerable? What are your  
reasons for this?

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9.14 Are you aware of any of the city of Cape Town's crime prevention  
strategies?

yes    no    not sure

9.15 If yes to question 9.14, do you think these are effective at reducing crime?  
Why or why not?

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9.16 Do you have an opinion on whether the South African government in general is doing enough about crime in South Africa? If so, explain your point of view.

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9.17 What do you think can be done to reduce crime in your neighbourhood / area of residence?

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9.18 Are you familiar with UCT's crime policy?

yes  no  not sure

9.19 What do you think can be done to reduce crime on campus?

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#### QUESTION 10: Recreational activities

10.1 Thinking about an average weekday how many hours do you spend away from your home during the night?

none  under 1 hour  1 to 2 hours  3 to 4 hours  5 to 6 hours  7 hours or more

10.2 In the last month, how many times did you visit a restaurant, pub, nightclub or disco in the evening?

none  less than once a week  once to twice a week  about 3 times a week  almost every day

10.3 How often do you consume alcoholic beverages?

once or more a day  5 or 6 days a week  3 or 4 days a week  1 or 2 days a week  2 or 3 times a month  about once a month  less than once a month  less than once a year  never

10.4 Do you smoke cigarettes, cigars or a pipe?

yes  no

10.5 Have you been offered a substance – whether pills or powder, something to be smoked (besides tobacco) or anything else you thought was a drug – and taken it without knowing what it was?

yes  no  not sure

---

**10.6 How would you rate UCT students' patterns of consumption of legal and illegal substances compared to students at your home university?**

---

**10.7 Since you've been in Cape Town, have you taken amphetamines, cannabis, cocaine, heroin, ecstasy, LSD, methadone, magic mushrooms or any other illicit drug?**

yes    no    not sure

**10.8 If yes to question 10.7, in what context did you take the substance (for example, at home, at a place of entertainment, while on campus, while travelling etc)**

---

**10.9 Would you describe South Africa as a highly racialized society?**

yes    no    not sure

**10.10 Explain your answer**

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**Thank you for your time and participation.**

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**10.6 How would you rate UCT students' patterns of consumption of legal and illegal substances compared to students at your home university?**

---

**10.7 Since you've been in Cape Town, have you taken amphetamines, cannabis, cocaine, heroin, ecstasy, LSD, methadone, magic mushrooms or any other illicit drug?**

yes    no    not sure

**10.8 If yes to question 10.7, in what context did you take the substance (for example, at home, at a place of entertainment, while on campus, while travelling etc)**

---

**10.9 Would you describe South Africa as a highly racialized society?**

yes    no    not sure

**10.10 Explain your answer**

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**Thank you for your time and participation.**

QUESTIONNAIRE ON CAMPUS SAFETY AND PROTECTION

Equal Opportunity Research Project

Instructions for responses:

Most of the questions should be answered by circling the appropriate number.

e.g. Do you think we have sufficient security at the university?

NOT SUFFICIENT 1 2 3 4 5 SUFFICIENT

For questions not asked in this way, please read the specific instructions for answering.

1. How concerned are you about the following issues of safety and security while you are at UCT:

a) Your personal safety during the day  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

b) Your personal safety at night  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

c) Security of your personal belongings  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

d) Being verbally abused or harassed  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

e) Racial Harassment  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

f) Sexual Harassment  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

g) Political demonstrations  
NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

APPENDIX 4: The Questionnaire

g) Other (please specify)

NOT CONCERNED 1 2 3 4 5 VERY CONCERNED

2. Please indicate whether you often use the following university facilities: (please circle either "OFTEN" or "SOMETIMES"; if you never use these facilities at the times mentioned, please leave the space blank)

	After 5:30pm	After dark
a) Library	OFTEN / SOMETIMES	OFTEN / SOMETIMES
b) Computer room	OFTEN / SOMETIMES	OFTEN / SOMETIMES
c) Laboratories	OFTEN / SOMETIMES	OFTEN / SOMETIMES
d) Studios	OFTEN / SOMETIMES	OFTEN / SOMETIMES
e) Seminar rooms & lecture theatres	OFTEN / SOMETIMES	OFTEN / SOMETIMES
f) Sports facilities	OFTEN / SOMETIMES	OFTEN / SOMETIMES

3. If you do not use these facilities after hours, is it because you are concerned about your safety?

YES / NO

4. Have you ever been the victim of a crime on this campus?

YES / NO

5. If yes, could you please indicate the type of crime:

.....  
.....

6. University crime statistics indicate that alcohol plays some role in a significant proportion of crimes that are committed at UCT. Please indicate whether you would support any of the following measures that attempt to decrease the level of alcohol-related crime:
- a) Banning alcohol at social events  
WOULD SUPPORT 1 2 3 4 5 WOULD NOT SUPPORT
- b) Opening a pub on campus  
WOULD SUPPORT 1 2 3 4 5 WOULD NOT SUPPORT
- c) Increasing the price of alcohol at social events  
WOULD SUPPORT 1 2 3 4 5 WOULD NOT SUPPORT
- d) Limiting the amount of alcohol sold at social events  
WOULD SUPPORT 1 2 3 4 5 WOULD NOT SUPPORT
- e) Using a service such as the Gender initiative or the Buddy system to promote responsible drinking  
WOULD SUPPORT 1 2 3 4 5 WOULD NOT SUPPORT
7. Have you memorized the campus control telephone number?  
YES / NO
8. Have you ever had any individual contact with Campus Control staff?  
YES / NO  
If so, what was the reason for the contact: (Please tick)
- a) To report or assist in reporting a crime ...
- b) To act as a witness ...
- c) Campus control wished to question you ...
- d) On the course of a patrol (e.g. to ask for help) ...
- e) Traffic Issues ...
- f) To help you gain access to a building ...
9. Do you feel that Campus Control are a deterrent to crime on campus?  
YES / NO
10. Please evaluate Campus Control according to the following:
- a) Approachability  
UNSATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY
- b) Competence in the way they handle your problems  
UNSATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY
- c) Sensitivity to your concerns  
UNSATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY
- d) Assistance rendered  
UNSATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY
- e) Frequency of patrols  
UNSATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY
- f) Responding quickly to requests for help  
UNSATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY
11. What do you think has most influenced your judgement of Campus Control? (please tick the appropriate response)
- a) Individual contact ...
- b) What you have heard from other students ...
- c) The student press ...
- d) Your general attitude to security personnel ...

12. Do you feel that there is sufficient communication between the administration, staff, Campus Control and students about campus protection? Please indicate whether you think more information about the following would be useful:

a) How to prevent different crimes in the university context.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

b) The procedures to be followed in the reporting of crime on campus.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

c) The way the UCT student disciplinary process works.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

d) The level and nature of crime on campus.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

e) The mission and operating procedures of Campus Control.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

13. If you were a victim of the following crimes would you report it to Campus Control?

- a) Theft YES / NO / MAYBE
- b) Assault YES / NO / MAYBE
- c) Sexual harassment YES / NO / MAYBE
- d) Racial Harassment YES / NO / MAYBE
- e) Rape/sexual assault YES / NO / MAYBE

14. If you are unlikely to report one of the above crimes to Campus Control, would it be because: (please tick as many as relevant)

- a) You do not think it would be necessary ...
- b) You do not think you would be taken seriously ...
- c) The issue is too personal ...

d) You do not want to get involved in the UCT disciplinary process ...

e) You did not think that the personnel you reported to would be sufficiently sensitive to your needs ...

f) Other (Please Specify)  
 .....  
 .....

15. If you witnessed any of the following crimes would you report it to a university authority? (tick as many as appropriate)

- a) Theft ...
- b) Assault ...
- c) Sexual Harassment ...
- d) Racial Harassment ...
- e) Drug related crimes ...

16. To which of the following structures would you report the crime? (tick as many as appropriate)

- a) Wardens ...
- b) Students Affairs / Advice office staff ...
- c) Student Government ...
- d) South African Police Service ...
- e) Campus Control ...

17. If you did not report the crime to any of the above listed authorities, please indicate whether it was because: (tick as many as relevant)

- a) The perpetrator was someone you knew ...
- b) You were intimidated or threatened by the perpetrator ...
- c) You were unsure whether to get involved or not ...
- d) You did not think that it was your responsibility ...

12. Do you feel that there is sufficient communication between the administration, staff, Campus Control and students about campus protection? Please indicate whether you think more information about the following would be useful:

a) How to prevent different crimes in the university context.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

b) The procedures to be followed in the reporting of crime on campus.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

c) The way the UCT student disciplinary process works.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

d) The level and nature of crime on campus.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

e) The mission and operating procedures of Campus Control.  
 NOT USEFUL 1 2 3 4 5 USEFUL

13. If you were a victim of the following crimes would you report it to Campus Control?

a) Theft YES / NO / MAYBE  
 b) Assault YES / NO / MAYBE  
 c) Sexual harassment YES / NO / MAYBE  
 d) Racial Harassment YES / NO / MAYBE  
 e) Rape/sexual assault YES / NO / MAYBE

14. If you are unlikely to report one of the above crimes to Campus Control, would it be because: (please tick as many as relevant)

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 c) The issue is too personal ...

d) You do not want to get involved in the UCT disciplinary process ...

e) You did not think that the personnel you reported to would be sufficiently sensitive to your needs ...

f) Other (Please Specify)

.....

.....

15. If you witnessed any of the following crimes would you report it to a university authority? (tick as many as appropriate)

a) Theft ...  
 b) Assault ...  
 c) Sexual Harassment ...  
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a) The perpetrator was someone you knew ...  
 b) You were intimidated or threatened by the perpetrator ...  
 c) You were unsure whether to get involved or not ...  
 d) You did not think that it was your responsibility ...

e) Other (please indicate)

.....

.....

IF YOU DO NOT LIVE IN A UCT RESIDENCE PLEASE IGNORE QUESTIONS 18 TO 24 AND GO STRAIGHT TO QUESTION 25.

18. Which residence do you live in: (Please circle)

- |                     |                      |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| a) Fuller           | b) Woolseck          | c) Groote Schuur     |
| d) Tuqwell          | e) Kopano            | f) Leo Marquard      |
| g) Varietas         | h) Smuts             | i) Liesbeeck Gardens |
| j) College          | k) Baxter            | l) Clarendon         |
| m) Glenres          | n) Kilindini         | o) Wolmunster        |
| p) University House | q) Rosebank Hall     |                      |
| r) Forest Hill      | s) Medical Residence |                      |

19. Do you want access to your residence to be effectively controlled?

YES / NO

20. If you answered yes to question 19, what type of access control would you choose? (Please tick the relevant answer)

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| a) An ordinary lock and key system     | ... |
| b) A card based system                 | ... |
| c) An identity code and key-pad system | ... |
| d) Security guards at the entrance     | ... |

21. How would you evaluate the access control system currently being used in your residence?

NOT SATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY

22. Do you feel that your residence room provides you and your possessions with satisfactory security and protection?

NOT SATISFACTORY 1 2 3 4 5 VERY SATISFACTORY

23. Our research shows that almost all student residences at universities in the United States are mixed by gender, and that one of the major reasons for this is that they believe this increases the security level, particularly for women students. Do you think that such a system would play a meaningful role in improving safety and protection at UCT?

YES / NO / MAYBE

24. If you stay in one of the mixed gender residences at UCT, do you think that this has a positive or negative effect on your security / safety?

POSITIVE / NEGATIVE / UNSURE

25. Do you think that student representatives should have an active say in how safety and protection should be provided at UCT?

YES / NO / MAYBE

26. Do you think that there could be a role for students, if appropriately trained and rewarded, to assist in providing safety and security services:

a) At student social events

YES / NO / MAYBE

b) In the residences

YES / NO / MAYBE

c) For walk-safe programmes on campus at night and escort services

YES / NO / MAYBE

d) Regular university patrols

YES / NO / MAYBE

e) The police should have no role on campus at all

YES / NO / MAYBE

g) For front desk duties in Campus Control offices

YES / NO / MAYBE

h) To staff telephone hotline services for the university community

YES / NO / MAYBE

27. Please indicate whether you think the South African Police Service should be playing the following roles at UCT:

a) Providing a support function to campus control when requested by university authorities

YES / NO / MAYBE

b) Doing foot patrols on campus during the day

YES / NO / MAYBE

c) Doing foot patrols on campus during the night

YES / NO / MAYBE

d) Doing vehicle patrols on campus during the day

YES / NO / MAYBE

e) Doing vehicle patrols on campus during the night

YES / NO / MAYBE

f) The police should have no role on campus at all

YES / NO / MAYBE

h) The same role as in any other community in South Africa

YES / NO / MAYBE

IN ORDER TO ANALYSE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE EFFECTIVELY, WE REQUIRE THE FOLLOWING BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION. PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE DETAILS.

28. MALE / FEMALE

29. AFRICAN / COLOURED / INDIAN / WHITE

(This information is required in order to ensure that the recommendations that we make are sufficiently sensitive to the perceptions of all UCT students)

30. Age: 17 - 18 / 19 - 21 / 22 AND OVER

31. Please indicate the area of UCT where you spend most of your academic time:

UPPER CAMPUS / MIDDLE CAMPUS / LOWER CAMPUS /

MEDICAL SCHOOL / HIDDINGH HALL

32. Please indicate the degree you are studying at the moment:

.....

33. Are you UNDERGRADUTE / POST-GRADUATE