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AUTHORS

RORY ROBERTSHAW is an expert consultant for the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, working in various African cities. He has facilitated public-private partnerships at local government level, including operationalising the Metropolitan Trading Company where he filled the position of acting chief executive officer. He also worked for the STREETS Community Development Association in Cape Town, the Centre for Opportunity Development, the Safer Cities project in Greater Johannesburg, and Capital B Management. He has been a speaker and facilitator at international conferences and is a published author.

ANTOINETTE LOUW is head of the Crime and Justice Programme at the ISS. She joined the ISS in August 1997 as a senior researcher. She has been conducting research and has written extensively on issues of political violence and crime since joining the University of Natal's Centre for Social and Development Studies in 1991, where she was also the editor of the two quarterly publications, *Indicator SA* and *Crime and Conflict*. Antoinette has a Masters degree in Political Studies from the University of Natal.

ANNA W MTANI is the co-ordinator of the Safer Cities DSM Programme in Dar es Salaam since 1998. Her main focus is to strengthen the capacity of local authorities to reduce crime and violence in partnership with communities. Anna has an MSc. Human Settlements Analyst (Urban Surveys) from ITC Netherlands (1992). She joined the Ministry of Lands in 1980 where she focused on human settlement development. In 1993, she joined the Sustainable DSM Project (SDP) co-ordinating urban agriculture, open spaces, hazard lands & recreational areas. From 1997 to 1998, she co-ordinated the preparation of the DSM Strategic Urban Development Plan.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 1

THE CITY VICTIM SURVEY

Background

In March 2000, two studies were conducted into crime and violence in Dar es Salaam – a victim survey and a series of in-depth interviews on violence against women. The studies were initiated by the Safer Cities project in Dar es Salaam and UN Habitat in Nairobi to gain an understanding of crime levels in communities within the city council's area of jurisdiction to assist in the development of a crime reduction strategy for the city.

Based on methodologies similar to those used in South African cities for gathering crime information and supplementing police statistics, the study consisted of a household victim survey of 1 000 interviews and 42 in-depth interviews with women who had experienced violence and abuse. The questionnaires, refined through the experiences and results of surveys conducted in South Africa, were adapted to the Dar es Salaam environment.

Crime levels

The most prevalent crime in Dar es Salaam was burglary. High levels of burglary were recorded by the victim survey, with 43% of victims saying their households were burgled over the past five years. Simple theft was the second most common crime in the city, with 32% of people having been victimised. Other categories of theft, namely crop and livestock theft, which occurred largely in the city's rural districts, were reported by 20% of all respondents. Vehicle theft and car-hijacking rates were particularly low in Dar es Salaam, although the theft of vehicle parts was more common, with 19% of respondents saying they experienced this crime.

Violent crimes were less prevalent than the property crimes mentioned above. Sixteen per cent of people said they were assaulted and 14% reported being robbed in the past five years. Only 1% of respondents said a member of their household was murdered during this time. With the exception of assault, violent crime in Dar es Salaam was less prevalent than in South African cities where similar victim surveys have been conducted. The high levels of assault in Dar es Salaam are cause for concern.

Reporting to the police

Car theft followed by other serious property crimes were offences most likely to be reported to the police. Reporting rates for violent crimes were relatively low. Those crimes that occur mainly in rural areas such as crop theft were the least likely to be reported. The need to claim insurance benefits did not appear to be the main motivation for reporting crimes against property. Factors such as the perceived seriousness of the crime, the experience of violence and access to the police also influenced reporting patterns.

Burglary

People living in new or established suburbs were more at risk of burglary than those living elsewhere in Dar es Salaam. Generally people with higher incomes and those owning houses were more at risk. Burglaries were likely to happen during the times when people are usually at home. Half of all burglaries took place on Fridays and Saturdays and the majority of cases occurred between midnight and 06h00. In 78% of incidents, victims reported that someone was at home when the burglary was committed. Levels of violence experienced and subsequent injuries sustained were consequently high.

Simple theft

Young women were particularly at risk of simple theft as were residents living in the inner city. Simple theft occurred most often on Saturdays between 12h00 and 18h00 and accessories such as jewellery, followed by money were the likely targets of these thefts. Victims tended to be alone when thefts occurred. The likely location was streets outside shops and offices (in the central business district), or streets in residential areas.

Theft of livestock, crops and farm equipment

Of these predominantly rural crimes, livestock theft was experienced by 20% of respondents, crop theft by 19% and farm equipment theft by 7%. These crimes occurred primarily in the rural parts of the city and, to a limited extent, in the new suburbs. The seasonal distribution of crop theft followed the growing cycle of crops, whereas livestock and farm equipment theft were evenly distributed with peaks at the end of a year. Farm equipment was usually stolen during the day and livestock at night. Crop thefts were more evenly distributed throughout the day. All three types of theft typically happened over weekends and violence was infrequent.

Theft of vehicle parts

Home owners and residents living in the inner city were more vulnerable than those living elsewhere. These thefts occurred throughout the day, with the least likely time being the early hours of the morning. Residential streets and public parking lots were the areas most often cited as the place where thefts occurred.

Assault

People living in established suburbs and those with a secondary school education were most at risk of assault. Assault mainly occurred in two places – in the home (58%) and in places of entertainment (18%). The offender was most likely to be known to the victim. Offenders were most often neighbours (36%) or partners (33%). Assault occurred mostly on Fridays, Saturdays and, in particular, on Sundays between 12h00 and 06h00. The vast majority of assaults resulted in injury. Physical strength was mostly used (as opposed to weapons) and most victims were treated in a hospital for their injuries.

Robbery

People living in new or developing suburbs, with a post secondary school qualification and formal employment were most at risk of robbery. These crimes commonly occurred at night over the weekend. Victims reported that the likely location for a robbery was in residential streets, while they were walking alone. Money was most likely to be taken during the robbery. Violence was used in 69% of the attacks, with knives followed by physical strength being the most likely weapons. Injuries were nevertheless limited.

Fear of crime

Nearly two-thirds of people felt unsafe in their residential areas after dark. This finding shows lower levels of anxiety about crime compared to South African cities. Women, young people between 15-25 years, those with the least education and those living in 'new suburbs' and 'established suburbs' felt the least safe after dark in their areas of residence. Two-thirds said crime had increased compared to previous years and people living in both new and established suburbs were twice as likely to think crime had increased than residents from the inner city or rural settlements. Over half of the respondents accurately estimated that housebreaking and theft followed by mugging were the most common crimes in Dar es Salaam. These were also the two crime categories feared by most people in the city.

Perceptions on policing and safety

Most people (80%) said they used some form of protection against crime, mostly burglar-proofing, fences or walls, a dog and/or a weapon. Although these measures are not particularly sophisticated, 68% said they felt fairly safe as a result of these measures.

Over half of the respondents (56%) said that the government should provide more visible police and security guards and a better distribution of police posts to enhance safety. People were most likely to think that, compared to previous years, the quality of policing had stayed the same (44%), while 39% thought it had become worse. Access to the police was less of a problem than the lack of visible policing and patrols, with 36% saying they never saw a police officer on duty and 17% reporting that they saw an officer less than once a month. Visible policing should be targeted in the suburbs. In new suburbs, 62% said they never saw the police and 48% in established suburbs said the same. Moreover, these people were much more likely than those in other parts of the city to think crime had increased. They also displayed high levels of fear of crime.

When asked about how individuals can improve safety, 62% said they could cooperate with or join the police, security guards, SunguSungu or neighbourhood watch organisations. People seemed more inclined to support SunguSungu-type initiatives than the police. Despite this and the fact that 53% thought these community initiatives improve safety, only 25% said such initiatives exist in their neighbourhoods. Between 14% and a quarter said there was nothing they could do to improve safety. None mentioned taking precautions or being more alert, which suggests a limited knowledge about crime prevention and risk avoidance behaviour.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 2

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The survey covered economic, emotional, physical and sexual abuse and survivors were randomly selected by trained interviewers on the basis that they had experienced some form of abuse. Respondents were asked about the nature and consequences of the most serious incident of abuse, as well as details of abusers, the physical and emotional impact of abuse, experiences with professional and informal service providers, and their general perceptions of safety.

Survivors were asked how they would define the abuse of women. The largest proportion defined it as physical abuse (35%). Fewer described it as a combination of physical, sexual, emotional and economic abuse (18%), while a small percentage of women defined it as sexual abuse (3%). Some defined abuse in terms of its impact. Many of the women described abuse as ignoring women's basic human rights as people (23%), as disrespect and/or mistreatment (15%), or described abuse as being forced to do something against their will (5%).

Most of the 42 women interviewed said they had been economically abused (79%), with almost as many describing emotional abuse (76%) and physical abuse (71%). Nearly half of the women (45%) said they had been sexually abused at some point in their lives. These figures indicate that many of the women had experienced all four types of abuse.

Economic abuse

"My husband withdrew money from our joint account and built a house for his concubine."

40-year old woman, Dar es Salaam inner city

- Economic abuse mostly happened in a domestic or 'home' environment: most incidents were committed in a home (91%) – either that of the abuser (52%) or the woman (39%); most women were married (65%); 45% of abusers were spouses or partners.
- Most women said the worst incident happened when they were between 18 and 30 years old (58%) and that they were employed (56%) at the time.

- Most abusers were married, equally spread between 18 to 30 and 31 to 40 years old, and 59% were employed at the time they committed the abuse.
- Abuse rarely occurred on a once-off basis: 61% of women said it happened 'countless' times.
- Most women (56%) said the abuser had abused someone else in the same way before.
- Most women did not remain silent about economic abuse: 52% told someone immediately after the incident and 21% spoke about it a month or more later. Only 9% never told anyone about the most serious incident.
- It is also not true that women in any way condoned or accepted this type of abuse: 82% thought the worst incident of economic abuse that happened to them was a crime.

Emotional abuse

"He locked me inside the room and held a knife on me threatening to kill me."
26-year old woman, established suburb, Dar es Salaam

- 76% of women were emotionally abused.
- 55% said the worst incident was being humiliated, mostly in the company of others.
- Most incidents were committed in a home (76%) – either that of the woman (44%) or the abuser (32%).
- 79% of women said other people were present during the worst incident – 29% said these were children and 47% said they were family members.
- Fewer women were married (47%) than was the case for economic abuse, but more abusers in emotional incidents were partners or spouses than in the case of economic abuse (45%).
- Most women said the worst incident happened when they were between 18 and 30 years old (53%) and 52% were employed at the time, but only earned a small income.
- Most abusers were married, equally spread between 18 to 30 and 31 to 40 years old, and 56% were employed at the time they committed the abuse.
- 39% of survivors said emotional abuse happened countless times compared to 61% in the case of economic abuse.
- 46% of women said the abuser had abused someone else emotionally compared to 56% for economic abuse.
- Most survivors described symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. 39% had considered suicide and 21% had attempted suicide.
- 61% told someone immediately after the incident and 25% spoke about it a month or more later. Only 9% never told anyone about the most serious incident.
- 85% thought the worst incident of economic abuse that happened to them was a crime.

Physical abuse

"One morning when we were preparing ... to go to work there was a misunderstanding ... he hit me ... unconscious. I was ... in hospital for 30 days."

37-year old woman, established suburb, Dar es Salaam

- 71% of women were physically abused.
- 50% said the worst incident was being slapped, hit, punched and beaten.
- Most incidents were committed in a home (86%) – either that of the woman (43%) or the abuser (43%).
- 76% of women said other people were present during the worst incident – 29% said that they were children and 25% said they were other relatives.
- Fewer women were married (59%) than was the case for economic abuse, but more abusers in physical abuse cases were partners or spouses (66%) than in emotional or economic abuse.
- Most women said the worst incident happened when they were between 18 to 30 years old (57%), and 56% were employed at the time, but only earned a small income. 44% depended on the income of others.
- In these cases most abusers were married (65%), equally spread between 18 to 30 and 31 to 40 years old, and 72% were employed at the time of the abuse.
- 33% said the abuse happened countless times.
- 66% of women said the abuser had abused someone else physically.
- The vast majority of respondents believed that abusers required specific forms of assistance (90%).
- The impact of physical abuse was largely described in terms of physical injuries and negative emotions. In 45% of incidents, no weapon (only physical strength) was used. Lethal weapons were rarely used: knives were reported by 9% of women and guns by 6%.
- Most survivors described symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. 46% had considered suicide and 33% had attempted suicide.
- 72% told someone immediately after the incident and 21% spoke about it a month or more later. Only 7% never told anyone about the most serious incident.
- 97% thought the worst incident of physical abuse that they were subjected to was a crime.

Sexual abuse

"I was raped by six men from the Tanzania People's Defence Force after drinking with them and [I] refused to make love ... [with] their superior."

26-year old woman, Dar es Salaam inner city

- 45% of women were sexually abused.
- 40% said the worst incident was being raped.
- Most respondents (68%) said the assault happened in a home – either that of the abuser (42%) or the woman (32%). The remaining 32% of incidents happened in an outdoor public place.
- Only 26% of women said others were present during the incident.
- A minority of women were married (37%); 58% said they were single. Sexual abusers were less likely to be partners or spouses (54%) than in the case of physical abuse. Few sexual abusers were married at the time of the worst incident (32%).
- Victims of sexual abuse were mostly between 18 to 30 years old (68%). Few women who were sexually abused were employed (11%).
- Most victims of sexual abuse said the abuser was between 21 and 30 years old (59%), with only 13% between 31 to 40 years.
- 21% of respondents said the abuse happened countless times.
- According to the respondents, a startling number of sexual abusers had committed the crime before: 62% of women said this was the case.
- The impact of sexual abuse was largely described in terms of physical injuries (56%), although many respondents mentioned negative emotions (39%). Sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/Aids and pregnancy were also serious outcomes that respondents had to deal with.
- In 71% of incidents, no weapon (only physical strength) was used. Lethal weapons were rarely used: knives in two incidents and guns in one incident.
- Most respondents described symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. 44% had considered suicide and 37% had attempted suicide.
- Most women did not remain silent about sexual abuse: 65% told someone immediately after the incident and 18% spoke about it a month or more later. Only 12% never told anyone about the most serious incident.

Women's experiences with service providers

- When describing their experiences with service providers, 43% of women were referring to incidents of physical abuse, 23% to sexual abuse, 23% to emotional abuse and 10% to economic abuse.
- The most popular professionals consulted by respondents were medical professionals (44%) and the police (39%). Very few women (5%) received legal assistance.
- Only 15% consulted a social worker and 14% went to a counsellor.
- 5% had not sought any professional help for the incident they considered to be the worst.
- By far the most popular source of assistance for abused women was relatives: 62% went to their family for help and 48% turned to friends.

- The vast majority of women (80%) who sought help from doctors were satisfied with the treatment. Although 70% were examined two or more hours after the incident, most (71%) said the delays were caused by their own inability to reach the hospital, rather than by delays caused by medical personnel. The police played a key role in referring women to hospital: 46% were referred by the police and 36% by family or friends.
- Women were most likely to go to the police to report physical abuse (43%) and sexual abuse (21%).
- Although a majority of women were satisfied with their treatment by the police, said they felt comfortable with the police, thought the police believed them and were willing to help, few indicated that standard police procedures for dealing with survivors of violence were followed. This suggests that expectations of and knowledge about the type of treatment they should receive from the police, as well as their basic rights, are poor.
- Most women attended counselling sessions a few times (67%) and were satisfied with the treatment they received from counsellors. However, as many as 44% were not satisfied because they did not feel the counselling had helped them.
- Although non-professional sources of assistance were popular among abused women, only 52% were satisfied with the help they received from these sources.

Perceptions of safety

- Over half of the women (52%) said they felt unsafe in their own home and 47% said they always felt this way.
- These fears were probably associated with domestic violence rather than with the fear of being robbed or attacked by strangers. Most said they would feel safer at home if the abuser received treatment, they were divorced or separated from the abuser, they could move to their own home, or even if the abuser died.
- A startling number of women (51%) said they thought the most unsafe place in Dar es Salaam was their own home.

Main conclusions

The results of the interviews with women confirm that abuse occurs in those environments where women should be the safest – the home – and is perpetrated by people whom women know, trust and often depend on, like partners and spouses. This was confirmed by the fact that just over half of the women said they felt unsafe in their own homes and as many thought their own homes were the most unsafe place in the city.

Although the vast majority of victims of all types of abuse believed that what had happened to them was a crime, the prevalence of all four types of abuse suggests

that it has become 'normalised'. Abuse was ongoing and was often witnessed by others (such as relatives and children). This raises questions about how those who were present responded to the abuse and were affected by it. The ongoing nature of abuse also heightens its negative impact.

Abusers were 'ordinary' men with profiles unlike those of other violent offenders who are mostly young, underemployed men between 15 and 25 years old. Abusers in this study were likely to be married, employed, of all ages, with a history of abusive behaviour. (The profile of sexual abusers more closely resembles that of other violent offenders than was the case for other abuse types.)

Victims of all types of abuse were likely to have been between the ages of 18 to 30 years when the abuse occurred, although sexual abuse victims were likely to be younger than victims of other types of abuse.

Most victims of emotional, physical and sexual abuse described symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and many had considered or attempted suicide. The impact of this emotional distress on the ability of women to work, take care of their children and maintain relations with partners is likely to be negative.

Most of the women did tell someone about the abuse soon after it happened. Informal, personal sources of assistance were the most popular choice. Many victims sought help from medical professionals and the police and were generally satisfied with the treatment they received. Few went to a social worker or counsellor. Although a majority of women were satisfied with their treatment by the police, few indicated that standard police procedures for dealing with survivors of violence were followed. This suggests that knowledge about the rights and the treatment which survivors should receive from the police was poor among the women interviewed.

CHAPTER 1

THE SAFER CITIES DAR ES SALAAM PROJECT

Introduction

The city of Dar es Salaam is the economic capital of the United Republic of Tanzania. Founded in 1862 to make use of the natural harbour on the Indian Ocean, the city's population is estimated at more than 3 million inhabitants occupying some 1 350 square kilometres and including eight offshore islands.

Over the past three decades, Tanzania has faced a series of economic setbacks, aggravated by specific events such as the 1973 petroleum crisis, the 1974 drought that wreaked havoc in a mainly agricultural economy, the 1977 collapse of the East African Community and the 1978/79 war with Uganda. These economic problems exacerbated the already ailing economic performance of the post-Arusha Declaration era. Several efforts to salvage the economy included:

- the National Economic Survival Programme (NESP 1980/81);
- the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP 1982);
- the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP 1984); and
- the Economic and Social Action Plan (ESAP 1989), which is considered to have had a positive impact leading to five consecutive years of per capita growth in gross domestic product (GDP).

Despite these policies, the country's poor economic performance together with the high levels of corruption, the smuggling of goods and the embezzlement of public funds, have had a severe impact on the lives of ordinary people in Dar es Salaam. For those lucky enough to find employment in the public service, surviving on a minimum wage of less than US \$30 a month remains difficult. Despite a deliberate 'private sector thrust' involving economic liberalisation and recovery programmes, the weakening of controls and market-oriented policies, the Economic and Social Action Plan is unlikely to improve the livelihood of the majority due to the city's rapid population growth.

Policies to deal with the rapid growth of Dar es Salaam are contained in the city's master plans. The last City Master Plan was prepared in 1979 with an

envisaged lifespan of 20 years ending in 1999. However, due to mismanagement in its execution and other unforeseen problems, the plan has not achieved its goals. This is demonstrated by the growth of unplanned settlements from 40% when the plan was prepared in 1979 to 75% in 1999. Other problems include:

- the further densification of unplanned settlements;
- the growth of new unplanned settlements in peripheral villages and on hazardous lands;
- the development of newly planned suburbs without basic infrastructure and social amenities;
- the manifestation of urban sprawl and unco-ordinated city centre renewal; and
- city centre traffic congestion, air pollution and a lack of enough organised parking spaces, open spaces and recreational areas.

Crime in Dar es Salaam: 1990-1995

Urbanisation in Dar es Salaam has occurred against a backdrop of socio-economic and political change. This has included the liberalisation of the economy through trade, industrialisation and an upsurge in investments. Politically, the country has been moving towards multipartyism after 31 years of single-party rule and 25 years of a socialist economy.

The socio-economic, political and cultural environment has created, among others, increasing levels of urban criminality, delinquency and violence. Police statistics have shown that, by the end of 1995, Dar es Salaam accounted for 25% of all crime reported to the police throughout the country. In 1997, this figure rose marginally to 26%.

Between 1990 and 1995, a total of 573 668 crime incidents were reported to the police in Dar es Salaam. In 1995 alone, 126 401 crimes were reported to the police – the highest for the period under review. The figure represents an estimated 346 crimes reported daily and 14 crimes reported hourly.

The role of local authorities in safety and security

Institutional arrangements

Dar es Salaam is governed by a political structure consisting of three levels – region, district and division. The administrative structure has four levels – city, municipality, ward and subward.

The highest political level is headed by the regional commissioner who is appointed by and accountable to the president of the country on all matters related to the city/region including safety and security. The three districts (Kinondoni, Temeke and Ilala) are headed by commissioners who are also appointed by the president and account to him through the regional commissioner. The district commissioners are the chairpersons of the district development committees which include the defence and security committees. These committees are all accountable to the president.

The third and most decentralised political structure – the divisions – is headed by a divisional secretary. Four divisions are in Kinondoni district, three in Temeke, and three in Ilala. The secretaries report to the district commissioners on matters of safety and security and link with ward executive officers only on matters related to safety and security in their wards (see table 1).

Alongside the political structure is the administrative and executive structure. The highest level is the Dar es Salaam City Council headed by the city director who is appointed by the president and accounts through the minister for Regional Administration and Local Government. Below the city director are the three municipal directors who are appointed by and accountable to the minister through the city director. The ward and subward (*Mtaa*) leaders are below the municipal directors. In some areas, there are also villages (*vijiji*) and hamlets (*vitongoji*).

Subward leaders (*Mtaa* chairpersons) are elected, while ward executive officers are appointed by the city director through municipal directors, and are accountable to the city director.

Table 1: Dar es Salaam city administrative structure

District or municipal area	Divisions	Wards	Subwards <i>Mtaa</i>	Villages <i>Vijiji</i>	Hamlets <i>Vitongoji</i>	Population est 1998/99 (million)
Kinondoni 521 695 km ²	4	27	113	14	14	1.2
Temeke 786 515 km ²	3	24	97	15	62	1.0
Ilala 272 677 km ²	3	22	65	9	27	0.8
Total	10	73	275	38	103	3.0

Source: *Environmental profile for Dar es Salaam city (1998/99)*, SDP and CIP, 2000.

Through the system of wards and subwards, the administration of the city is brought closer to the people by involving them in decisionmaking processes and the prioritisation of development requirements. This participatory initiative is essential in making development activities substantive and sustainable. The *Mtaa* chairpersons are therefore required to be involved in the identification, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of safety and security issues in their jurisdiction.

The structure outlined above is meant to enable the City Council to fulfil its obligation of maintaining peace and order in its area of jurisdiction. According to the Act of 1982:

“It shall be the responsibility of each urban authority as a local government authority ... to maintain and facilitate the maintenance of peace, order and good governance within its area of jurisdiction. ... For the purpose of better executions of its functions, a local authority shall take all such measures as in its opinion are necessary, desirable, conducive and expedient ... for the suppression of crime, the maintenance of peace and good order and the protection of public and private property lawfully acquired.”¹

Local initiatives on crime and safety

As provided for by law, the Dar es Salaam City Council has initiated several projects to improve security in the city. The City Council has moved towards strengthening law enforcement and policing in the city, as well as facilitating crime prevention initiatives and supporting the residents and lower levels of administration in this respect.

The council is currently finalising the process of employing city auxiliary police to replace the locally recruited city *Askari*. The city auxiliary police will complement the police in the areas of:

- enforcement of city by-laws;
- targeted patrols;
- guard duties;
- crackdown on violators of prioritised city by-laws on trading licences, environmental violations, violations of building regulations, traffic and parking violations, and others; and
- enforce crime prevention through visible policing (with a focus on the security of juveniles and women and on social security), provide crime prevention advice and education to the public, and co-operate with the police, and private and community-based security groups (like the local SunguSungu group).

Since 1998, the Dar es Salaam City Council through with the support of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) Habitat Safer Cities programme, has also embarked on a project to build public awareness and sensitise communities on safety and security issues. This external support has been key in overcoming the lack of resources and expertise facing the council. Perhaps more importantly, this support has helped to ease the difficulties in daily operations faced by the council (and other local authorities).

The Safer Cities Dar es Salaam project

The safer cities approach encourages partnerships between national governments, city governments, neighbourhoods and citizens. The approach was launched by UNCHS (Habitat) in 1996. It aims to provide local authorities (cities, municipalities and towns) with technical support to develop sustainable ways of preventing violence and crime in the context of reducing or preventing the occurrence of crime or the fear of crime. Dar es Salaam is among a few cities already successfully implementing this initiative.

The Safer Cities Dar es Salaam project was initiated by UNCHS in co-operation with the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) in Montreal, Canada. Financial support was provided by the Dutch government. The project was launched in August 1998 by the Dar es Salaam City Council.

The project began with a strategy development phase, which consisted of a comprehensive participatory analysis of the crime situation in the city and an analysis of police crime data.

The opinions of ward and subward leaders on crime in the city, gathered during seminars in March 1999, were that offences against property, drug-related crime and alcoholism are the most prevalent crimes in Dar es Salaam. Although not supported by statistics, the opinion survey provided some information on how people perceive the crime situation. Information on perceptions was useful for the Safer Cities project to assist the wards in prioritising their crime prevention strategies in relation to the most prevalent crimes. Despite differences of opinion, all leaders agreed that crime was on the increase and that local initiatives for crime prevention should be strengthened.

Police crime statistics were also used to highlight trends and patterns associated with the spatial distribution of crime. The project was aware that police statistics only provided part of the crime picture. These statistics, throughout the world, are

limited to those incidents that the public choose to report to the police, and that the police, in turn, choose to record. Dar es Salaam is no exception in this regard and as a result of these limitations and the general lack of information about the victims of crime, the Safer Cities project decided to conduct a victim survey to help inform the development of local action plans.

Victim surveys not only help practitioners and the public to understand who is most affected by crime, but also which areas are affected, what assistance is required by victims and what the public think should be done to reduce and prevent crime. A victim survey was thus commissioned that included a street scan, household questionnaires, a mini-survey of female survivors of violence and a qualitative study on youth offenders. The surveys were conducted between March and May 2000. The methodology of the survey, as well as the results (with the exception of the youth offender study) are presented here.

The results of the survey were initially disseminated in Dar es Salaam during a two-day workshop. City residents were represented in the workshop by about 150 delegates from central and local (ward and subward) authorities, civil society organisations, private sector organisations, private security firms, residents' associations, educational and religious organisations. The international community was also represented and the workshop was chaired by the regional commissioner of Dar es Salaam.

On the first day of the workshop, summarised results of the victim survey, the survey on violence against women and the youth offender study were presented. Participants discussed the research results and suggested recommendations on the way forward. The presentations were enriched by inputs from organisations already working on crime prevention projects in the city. These included Mtoni Sokoni, Kijitonyama Youth Project, the Manzese (CHAWAMATA) initiative and Timex private security company (block security system).

On the second day, workshop participants discussed what should be done and by whom to create an effective crime prevention partnership. The following resolutions were presented:

- Generally, workshop participants agreed that the crime survey results reflect the current situation in society.
- The report on the abuse of women was received with mixed feelings. Most reacted positively and called for more co-ordinated efforts to create awareness and support capacity-building initiatives to reduce violence against women.
- Participants agreed that each actor in society should play its role and drew up a list of tasks for each of the stakeholders involved at the level of the family,

subward, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), central government and the international sector. Among these tasks were:

- Safety and security and crime prevention should be a permanent item on the agenda in *Mtaa* meetings. Resolutions in respect of these issues should be endorsed by the ward and municipal development committee.
- All ward executive officers should use the research results to guide their communities to prepare crime prevention plans in the next two months. The ward executive officers are currently preparing these plans with the technical support of Safer Cities. These will be consolidated into municipal action plans.
- Legislation in support of crime prevention should be formulated and approved at central and local level. This should include the revision of regulations that conflict with crime prevention initiatives (such as child labour and laws that discriminate against women).
- The central government should improve the capacity of the police through communication and training.

It was agreed to and emphasised by the deputy minister for Home Affairs that the resolutions should be implemented through the local authorities and that Safer Cities should take the lead. The regional commissioner, who is also the chairperson for safety and security issues at regional level, will follow up on this resolution.

CHAPTER 2

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Victim surveys are generally utilised to gather information that complements police crime statistics. Their findings may be of value for cities in the planning of crime prevention strategies.

The Dar es Salaam victim survey was undertaken to gain an understanding of the levels of crime and violence in different communities within the City Council's jurisdiction. This entailed:

- the collection, collation and synthesis of the available information on the types of communities and residential areas located in the city area;
- the development of broad profiles of the identified ward areas in Dar es Salaam; and
- the development of the necessary sampling formulae and the refinement and adaptation of the questionnaire to suit the Dar es Salaam environment and reality.

The survey included:

- a street scan of 2 400 interviews
- a household survey of 1 000 interviews; and
- 42 in-depth interviews with abused women.

The street scan was undertaken to identify the ratio of victims to non-victims of crime by residential area in randomly selected ward areas. A household victim survey followed. The survey among a limited sample of female survivors of violence was administered to cover issues relating to violence against women in more depth, as these would not necessarily emerge in the responses to the general victims of crime survey.

Stage 1: Refinement and adaptation of the questionnaire and the selection of areas

A reference group was formed consisting of a:

- field manager;
- research advisor;

- gender representative from the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA);
- representative from the Police Crime Prevention Unit;
- Dar es Salaam City solicitor;
- co-ordinator of Safer Cities Dar es Salaam; and
- deputy co-ordinator of Safer Cities Dar es Salaam.

The questionnaires, refined through the experiences and results of the victim surveys conducted in South Africa by the Institute for Security Studies and DRA Development, were adapted to suit the Dar es Salaam environment and reality.

The Institute for Security Studies has conducted four city victim surveys, one survey of crime in rural areas, two victim surveys in small towns and one national survey of violence against women in South Africa. These surveys were conducted with the aim of providing city, regional and national government officials with data to utilise in the design and improvement of crime reduction strategies. The questionnaires for the victim surveys were developed on the basis of those used by the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) conducted by United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI).

In the Dar es Salaam survey, it was decided that the research would represent the different area types within the city. Since there are very few areas in Dar es Salaam that do not have a residential population, all geographic localities were included in the sample framework. The reference group divided Dar es Salaam's 73 wards according to whether they were in the city centre, established suburbs, emerging or new suburbs or predominantly rural settlement areas. A quota was assigned to each and a sample of 20 was randomly chosen. Interviews were only held with respondents over 18 years of age.

Stage 2: Training and piloting

Fieldworkers were selected from unemployed youth who had applied for admission to university courses and were awaiting a response. A two-day inhouse training course was held with fieldworkers, followed by one day of field training. Debriefing was held after each pilot. Although the questionnaires were in English, all interviews were conducted in Kiswahili. Considerable time was spent during the inhouse training to ensure uniformity across all team members. These sessions were led by the Safer Cities Dar es Salaam project team.

The pilot study of the street scan and household survey functioned as a training tool to refine interview techniques and to measure the length of the questionnaire. During the household pilot study, 22 questionnaires were administered (one per fieldworker). The length of the survey was approximately 45 minutes, but the

Table 2: Survey areas

#	Generic area category	Municipality	Ward
1	<i>inner city</i>	Ilala	Kariakoo (Kivukoni – fish market, street scan)
2	<i>inner city</i>	Ilala	Kisutu (Gerezani – industrial centre, street scan)
3	<i>inner city</i>	Ilala	Mchafukoge
4	<i>inner city</i>	Ilala	Upanga West
5	<i>established suburb</i>	Ilala	Buguruni
6	<i>established suburb</i>	Temeke	Keko
7	<i>established suburb</i>	Temeke	Azimio
8	<i>established suburb</i>	Temeke	Tandika
9	<i>established suburb</i>	Kinondoni	Mikocheni
10	<i>established suburb</i>	Kinondoni	Kawe
11	<i>established suburb</i>	Kinondoni	Kijitonyama
12	<i>established suburb</i>	Kinondoni	Manzese
13	<i>new suburb</i>	Ilala	Segerea
14	<i>new suburb</i>	Temeke	Mjimwema
15	<i>new suburb</i>	Temeke	Yombo Vituka
16	<i>new suburb</i>	Kinondoni	Mbezi
17	<i>rural settlement</i>	Ilala	Kitunda
18	<i>rural settlement</i>	Temeke	Somangira
19	<i>rural settlement</i>	Temeke	Kisarawe
20	<i>rural settlement</i>	Kinondoni	Mbweni

quantity of different crimes that the respondent had experienced could lengthen the interview to one and a half hours. Fieldworkers often had difficulty terminating the interviews.

In South Africa, it was shown that the success rate, both in terms of selecting respondents and the time taken to execute the subsample, was much higher among enumerators dressed in an identifiable 'uniform'. Fieldworkers were therefore dressed in T-shirts bearing the logo of Safer Cities Dar es Salaam.

Area	Number of interviews	
	Street scan	Household interviews
Inner city	480	200
Established suburb	960	400
Emerging suburb	480	200
Rural settlement	480	200
Total	2 400	1 000

In the scan survey, 2 400 people were approached in the 20 selected wards in Dar es Salaam. At each sampling node, 120 respondents were approached in two age categories (18-35, 35+), equally divided between female and male respondents. Prior to approaching the respondents, no distinction was made between victims and non-victims. The only screening criterion was age. In each ward, a sample point was chosen:

- markets (fish markets, second-hand clothing markets, fruit and vegetable markets);
- transport nodes (bus terminals and bus stands);
- hospitals, health and welfare centres;
- industrial centres; and
- education centres.

In the more detailed household survey on the experience and perception of crime, 1 000 respondents were approached. In this survey, the same 20 ward areas were selected, with the exception of two areas which were replaced in the household survey by other areas as they were not residential areas (Kivukoni was replaced by Kariakoo and Gerezani was replaced by Kisutu). The ward executive officer supplied each fieldworker with a list of the plot and flat numbers in their respective areas. The fieldworker was then able to choose randomly which households would be approached and respondents interviewed in their homes. In a block of flats, only two households were to be interviewed.

In each ward area, 50 respondents were interviewed in three age categories (table 4).

A respondent selection technique to ensure that the selection process was both random and rigorously implemented was constructed. During the fieldwork stage,

Age	Male	Female	Number of interviews
18-30 years	8	9	17
31-50 years	8	9	17
51+	8	8	16
Total	24	26	50

visits were made to 117 (11%) of the interviewed respondents to ensure that standards were being adhered to.

Household interviews were conducted during the day and in the evening, including weekends, to ensure that the views of a broad cross-section of people were collected, including those who worked during the day.

CHAPTER 3

LEVELS OF CRIME IN DAR ES SALAAM

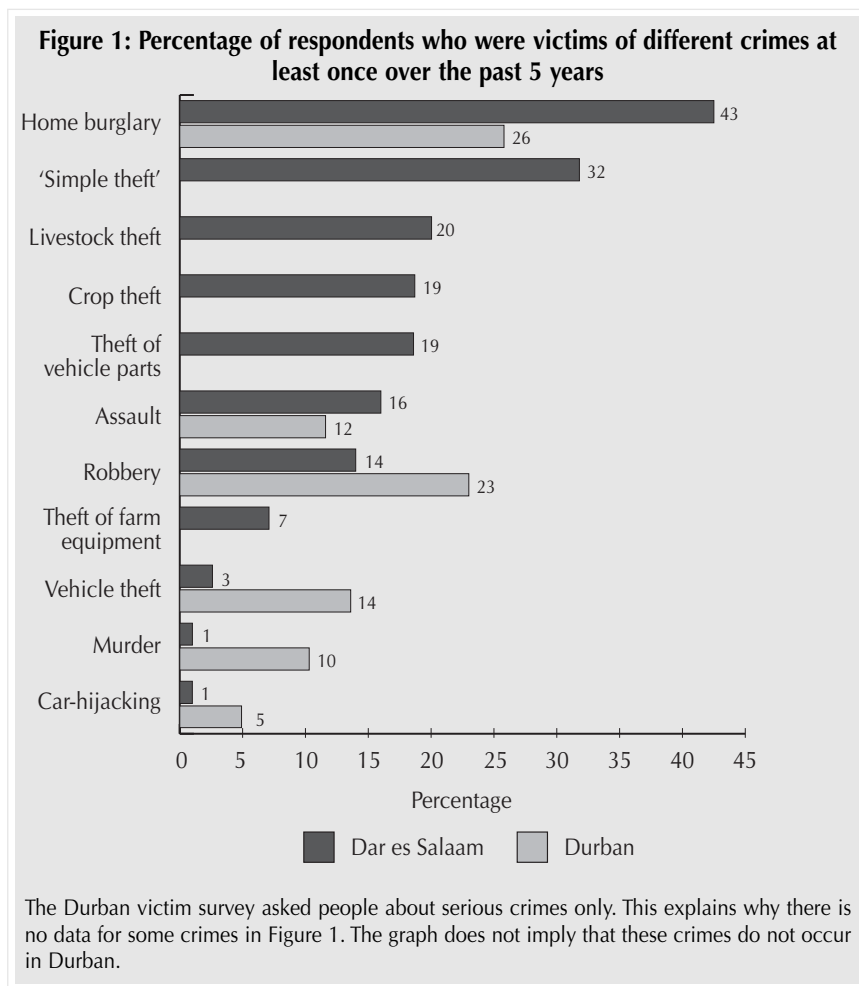
Key points

- Residents of Dar es Salaam reported very high levels of burglary to the survey, with 43% of households being burgled over a five-year period.
- Simple theft was the second most common crime with 32% of people reporting victimisation.
- The theft of livestock and crops, which occurred mainly in the rural parts of the city, were also common.
- Although vehicle theft and hijacking rates were very low, the theft of external motor vehicle fittings (or 'vehicle parts theft') was common, being experienced by 19% of respondents.
- Comparatively high levels of assault (16%) are a reason for concern.
- Only 2% of respondents said that a member of their household had been murdered over the five-year period.
- With the exception of assault, rates of violent crime in Dar es Salaam were lower than in South African cities where similar surveys were conducted.

The most common crime experienced by the city's residents over the five-year period was burglary (figure 1). Surveys conducted as part of the International Crime Victims Survey of UNICRI typically show a high prevalence of burglary compared to other crimes in African cities. What is surprising is the very high levels of this crime type in Dar es Salaam. In a similar survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies in Durban, South Africa, burglary was also found to be the most prevalent crime, but at a much lower rate. In Durban, a quarter (26%) of respondents reported this form of victimisation.

Simple theft (which involves property being stolen from an individual, but excludes the use of violence) was the second most prevalent crime recorded by the survey. The rate of robbery, which is a similar type of crime to simple theft except for the fact that it involves the use of force or violence, was much lower at 14%.

In South Africa by comparison, 23% of people surveyed in Durban reported being victimised by robbery over a five-year period. However, not all rates of violent



crimes were higher in South African cities than in Dar es Salaam. In Durban and Johannesburg, respectively, 12% and 16% of people reported being assaulted over a five-year period. In Dar es Salaam, the assault rate was similar at 16%.

Given that the majority of citizens live within the urban areas of Dar es Salaam, the relatively high rate of the theft of livestock and crops, for example, is surprising.

The rates of vehicle theft, vehicle hijacking and murder were very low over the five-year period. The relatively high rate of vehicle parts theft (particularly given the low

levels of car ownership in the city) raises questions regarding the sophistication and organisation of offenders based on their preference to steal parts rather than cars. In South Africa, for example, high levels of vehicle theft are facilitated by: organised criminal networks penetrating police and vehicle licencing departments, weak border controls, an ability to override complex vehicle anti-theft measures and an elaborate system for the sale of stolen parts and vehicles.

Repeat victimisation

Key points

- Repeat victimisation is fairly common in Dar es Salaam with the highest rates being reported by victims of vehicle parts theft and thefts of crops, livestock and farm equipment.
- Assault victims were more likely to be victimised repeatedly if the assault took place in the home, concurrent with patterns of domestic abuse.
- Patterns of repeat victimisation in Dar es Salaam for crimes such as burglary and robbery present opportunities to target preventive programmes more effectively.

When the same person is the victim of the same type of crime more than once, this phenomenon is known as repeat victimisation. It is important to track repeat victimisation, since it raises a number of questions about the effectiveness of prevention and how limited resources can be effectively targeted. Where repeat victimisation is common, prevention strategies can focus on improving the protection of first time victims of a particular crime in order to maximise the impact of the strategy.

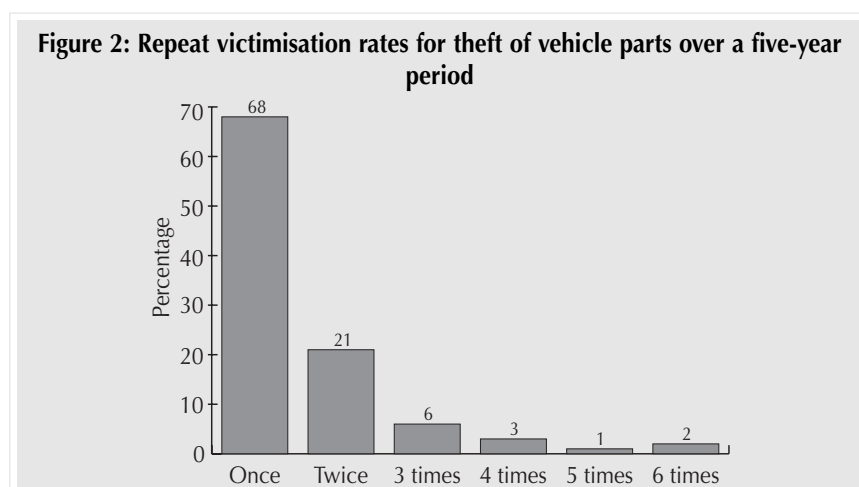
Several factors play a role in where and when victimisation occurs. Among these are issues relating to behavioural and environmental factors surrounding the criminal events. By isolating those most at risk, policy makers are pointed towards priority areas where intervention should occur.

In comparison, levels of repeat victimisation in Durban were low with only 7% of people having been victims of the same crime more than once. However, levels of repeat victimisation in Durban were lower than in other South African cities that were surveyed by the ISS. Although the time periods for measurement were slightly different, victim surveys in Cape Town and Johannesburg illustrate this point. For example, between 1993 and 1995, in Cape Town 17% of respondents had been victims of the same crime more than once. Levels of repeat victimisation in

Johannesburg were extremely high – 60% of mugging/robbery victims experienced this crime more than once. High levels of repeat victimisation were similarly recorded for car theft, sexual assault, burglary, assault and car-hijacking in Johannesburg.² Although significantly lower than in Johannesburg, repeat victimisation rates in Dar es Salaam were relatively high, ranging from 35% among victims of vehicle parts theft to 51% for crop theft.

Theft of vehicle parts

In the case of theft of vehicle parts, repeat victimisation was more likely than for burglary or simple theft. A third of victims (33%) reported having vehicle parts stolen more than once. The remaining 68% experienced vehicle parts theft only once (figure 2).



Theft of crops, livestock and farm equipment

High rates of repeat victimisation were also recorded among the predominantly rural-based crimes. One-third of victims of theft of farm equipment were victimised more than once in the five-year period (34%), as were victims of livestock theft (33%). Crop theft victims were equally likely to be victimised more than once (51%), or once only (49%).

Various interpretations can be forwarded to explain the high levels of repeat victimisation among this group of crime victims, including the ease of offending, the lack of policing and the difficulties in taking measures against these types of incidents. The most likely explanation is probably that perpetrators, motivated by their desire to satisfy immediate needs, take only what they can carry and do so repeatedly.

Simple theft

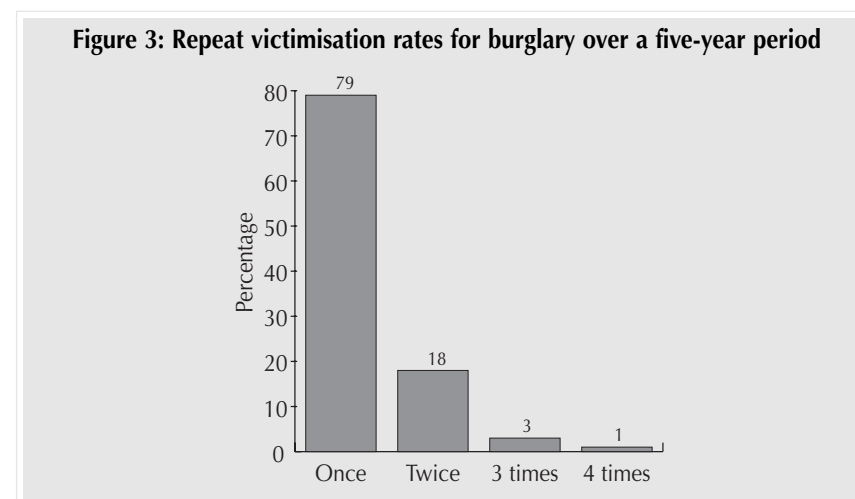
For simple theft, repeat victimisation was reported by a quarter of victims (24%). The remaining 76% of victims experienced simple theft only once. Given that this form of crime is typically opportunistic in nature, it can be assumed that the same victim is not specifically sought out a second time, but rather that the levels of repeat victimisation relate more to individual risk profiles.

Assault

Levels of repeat victimisation for assault were similar to those for simple theft and burglary, with 24% of victims having experienced the crime more than once over the five-year period. Since domestic assault is often ongoing, it is possible that these kinds of assaults account for the experiences of repeat victimisation recorded by the survey.

Burglary

Repeat victimisation among burglary victims was low compared to other crime types, with 22% of victims being victimised more than once in the five-year period (figure 3). Since people who have been burgled once have a one in five chance of being burgled a second time, it may be worthwhile to investigate the benefits of target-hardening, neighbourhood watch and other programmes that focus on first time burglary victims. In order to use resources effectively, such programmes should target individuals with high-risk victim profiles (see Chapter 6 below).



CHAPTER 4

REPORTING CRIME TO THE POLICE

Key points

- Car theft was the crime most likely to be reported to the police, with 83% of victims reporting.
- Reporting rates for violent crimes are comparatively low.
- Crop theft and simple theft were the least likely to be reported.
- Having insurance does not appear to be the only motivation for reporting. Factors such as the perceived seriousness of the crime, the experience of violence and access to policing also play a role.
- The perception or experience of police corruption was one of the major reasons given for not reporting crime to the police. The belief that the police would not take the crime seriously, or that goods would not be recovered were also factors affecting reporting.
- For all crimes with the exception of assault, victims who reported to the police were more likely to be dissatisfied than satisfied with the way the police treated them.
- Higher levels of satisfaction with the police among assault victims who reported the crime might be explained by the reportedly high rates of arrest for this crime in Dar es Salaam.
- Victims of burglary were the most likely to be dissatisfied with police, with only 19% saying they were satisfied.
- When explaining the reason for dissatisfaction when reporting crime, the lack of police action and the police not taking the crime seriously were the most common explanations.

Although the general distribution of crime types in official statistics resembles that of the data presented in the city survey, it can be safely assumed that actual crime levels may be higher than police figures suggest, since many incidents are not reported to the authorities. The propensity to report crime is determined by a range of factors and, as such, the accuracy of official crime statistics is, in turn, largely determined by the influence of these factors. Some of the factors affecting reporting are:

- *Public perceptions of police and criminal justice effectiveness:* Reporting is less likely if citizens believe that going to the police will make little difference. Thus, in some – although not all – instances, the extent of reporting to the police provides an indication of the degree of police effectiveness as perceived by the public. Furthermore, the perceptions and experience of how the criminal justice system treats victims from the point of reporting and throughout the court proceedings can influence reporting. In the case of violent crime, this has been found to be quite significant.
- *The accessibility of the police:* The likelihood of reporting is often determined by factors that impact upon the accessibility of the police such as the distance to the nearest police station. Equally, factors that are likely to improve the accessibility of the police – such as telephones or the availability of public transport – may increase the rate of reporting.
- *The perceived seriousness of the crime:* Citizens are unlikely to report those crimes – for example, cases of petty theft or minor assault – which they do not view as serious or even regard as criminal. Influencing factors include the value of goods stolen and the degree of injury and trauma experienced. However, perceptions of the degree of seriousness of any criminal offence are often relative, determined by, among others, the overall level of crime in any area. This means that some crimes, for example housebreaking, which are viewed as serious in areas where they are not common, may be taken less seriously in areas where they are more prevalent.
- *Reporting for insurance claim purposes:* The likelihood that most serious property crimes – for example, car theft, burglary or car-hijacking – will be reported, is increased by the fact that insurance claims require a police case number.
- *Desire for a positive case outcome:* Reporting in the hope that stolen goods will be recovered and/or the offender punished can be a strong motivating factor. Low recovery and conviction rates for crimes such as burglary and ‘simple theft’ suggest that this may often be unrealistic. However, the extent to which this is known is doubtful, particularly when the victim is not insured and recovery is the only option, or where the victim feels a moral obligation to report.
- *Access to alternative justice mechanisms:* If victims believe they can resolve the incident in one way or another with the assistance of family, friends, SunguSungu, victim support agencies, private security, ward counsellors, alternative dispute mechanisms, self-help activities (including vigilantism), they will be less inclined to report it to the police.

- *Fear of the consequences of reporting:* In the case of particular violent crimes, reporting may be undermined when the victim fears the consequences of approaching the police. This applies particularly to cases of domestic violence where the victim may rely on the perpetrator as the breadwinner or fear that the perpetrator will take revenge on them for reporting an incident to the police.
- *Corruption:* High levels of corruption among the police or perceptions of corruption may deter reporting, since the victim may be required to pay for police assistance or, alternatively, the victim may fear that the offender will go unpunished or goods will not be returned as a result of corrupt practices among officers.

Reporting rates

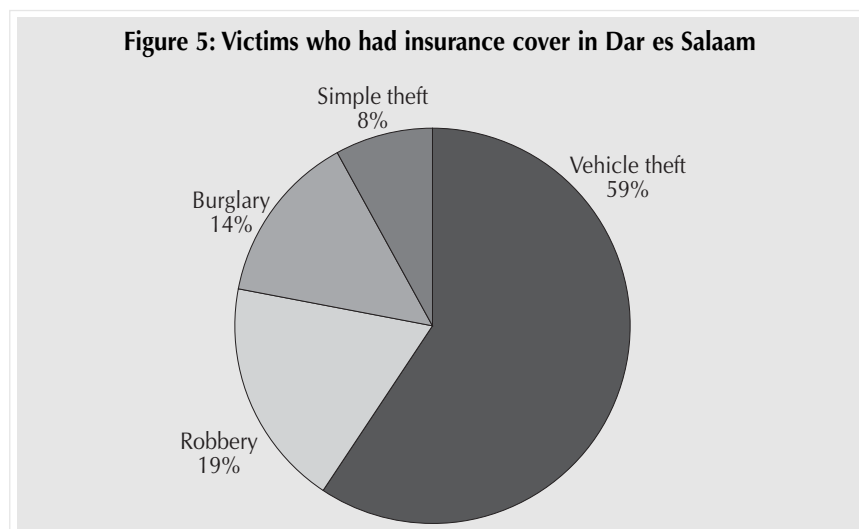
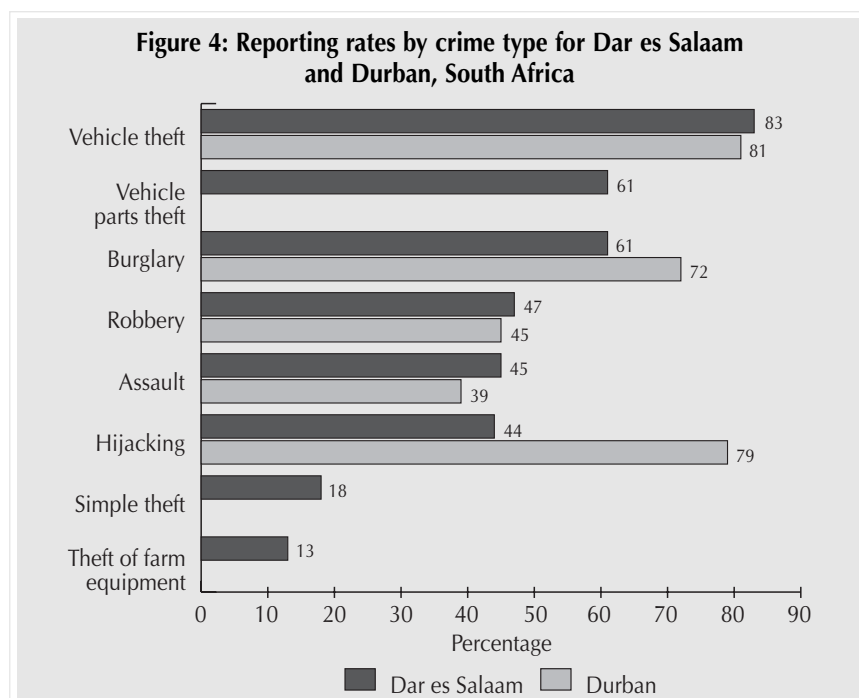
Recognising the limitations of police crime statistics, the survey attempted to determine the propensity of victims to report crimes to the police. For each of the crimes, respondents were asked whether they, or somebody else had reported the most recent incident to the police.

Levels of reporting varied according to crime type. Serious property crimes had a relatively high level of reporting (figure 4). The vast majority of victims of motor vehicle theft reported the crime to the police. Nearly two-thirds of burglary victims and victims of vehicle part theft reported the crime to the police. Just under half of robbery and assault victims reported the offence. For simple theft and farm equipment theft, the reporting rates were low – all less than 20%. The general levels of reporting were not very different from those recorded in the Durban victim survey (figure 4).

The victim survey attempted to ascertain the degree to which the reporting of property crimes such as those outlined above could be linked to insurance coverage (figure 5). In the cases of crimes such as car theft, simple theft, burglary and robbery, the proportion of victims who reported the offence to the police was substantially higher than the percentage who had insurance coverage (figure 5).

These findings provide some evidence that reporting of property-related crimes is not driven primarily by the need to make an insurance claim. Reporting, it seems, may be driven more by the victim’s perception of the seriousness of the crime rather than by an immediate need to replace the lost property.

In order to understand the dynamics of reporting, the survey asked three additional questions in relation to each crime type:



- 1 For those victims of a crime who did not report the crime to the police, the survey asked respondents to provide reasons for not reporting the crime.
- 2 For those victims of a crime who did report the crime to the police, the survey asked if the respondent was satisfied or dissatisfied with the response received.
- 3 As a follow-up to the previous question, the same group of reporting victims were asked to give their reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

The responses provide insight into a number of factors influencing reporting including the respondent's perceptions and experiences of policing.

Question 1 asking why people did not report, was more likely to reveal their negative perceptions of policing. The question is asked of non-reporting victims whose answers would not be based on a specific experience of interaction with the police. However, it is possible that a number of the respondents may have had some previous experience of the police.

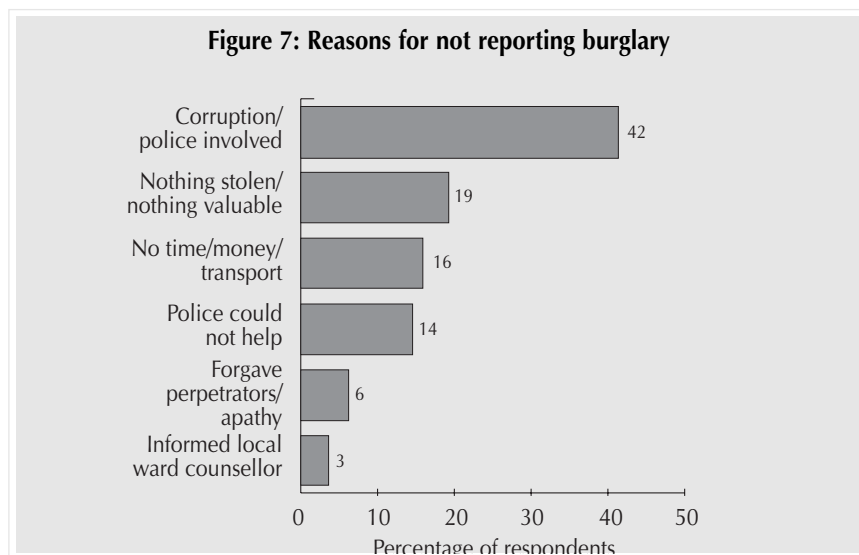
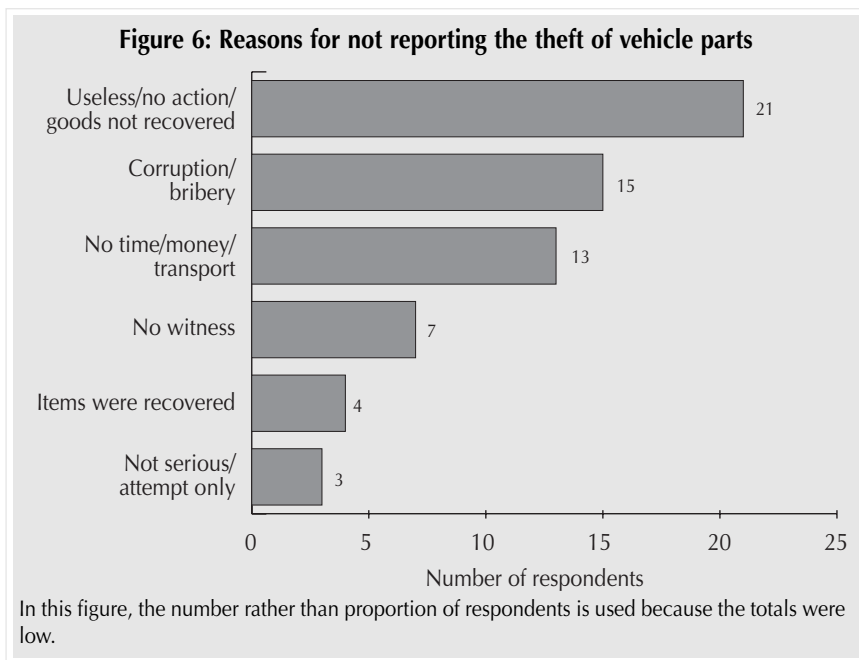
Questions 2 and 3 were asked of those who did actually report crimes and answers are therefore based on real experience and interaction. These responses are therefore more indicative of police performance and levels of service.

Reasons for not reporting

Reasons for not reporting varied according to crime type. However, there was a strong tendency in the overall responses to mention police corruption and, to a lesser extent, that the police consider certain crimes as trivial. For corruption, in particular, the number of victims who gave this as the reason for not reporting was considerably higher in Dar es Salaam than in South African cities.

For victims of vehicle parts theft, the most common reason for not reporting was that it would be a waste of time since it was unlikely that the parts would be recovered (figure 6). The second most common response was that police corruption dissuaded the victim from reporting.

The most common reason given by burglary victims for not reporting the crime was police corruption and bribery – mentioned by 42% of respondents. This was followed by the fact that nothing was stolen or that stolen items had little value (figure 7). As was the case for most of the other crime types, the problem of not having enough money to reach the police station was also mentioned by several respondents.



The lack of time, money or transport was the main reason given by victims of simple theft for not reporting the crime to the police (figure 8). The trends for robbery were similar (figure 9). In both cases, police corruption and the perception that the police do not take these crimes seriously were also noted by many respondents.

Victims of crop theft and livestock theft mentioned the lack of time, money and transport as the primary reasons for not reporting (figure 10).

The trends for assault were quite different from the other crimes. In this case, the most common reason given by victims for not reporting was that the offender was a partner and relative and that there was thus no reason to report the crime (figure 11). As many as 60% of assault victims said this was the case. As discussed later, a large proportion of assaults can be attributed to domestic violence. These findings suggest that violence of this form is often treated as a household or family matter and not a matter for the police. Furthermore, when the offender is a relative or partner, fear of reprisals may also discourage reporting.

Satisfaction among victims who reported crime

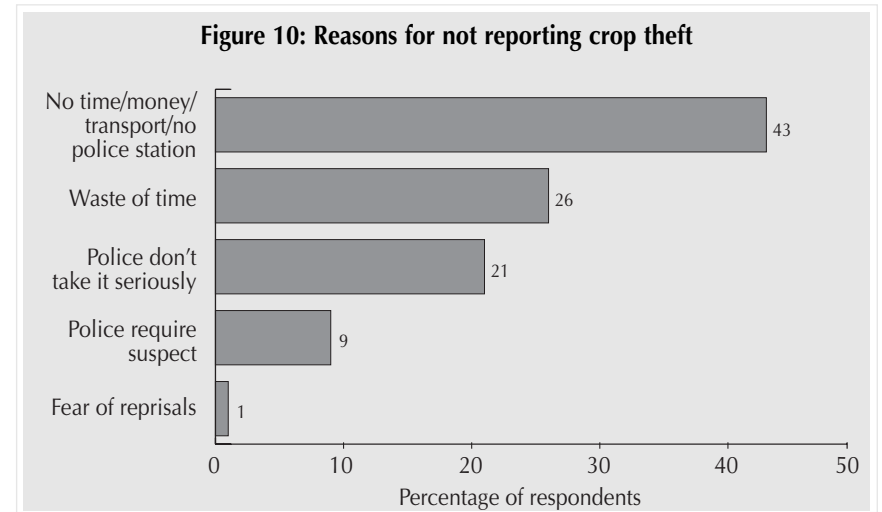
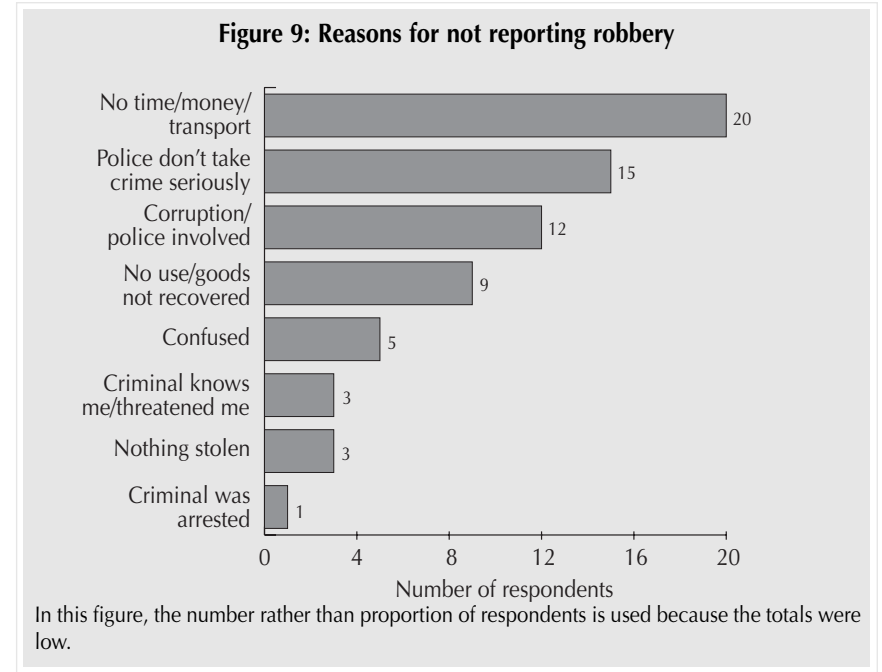
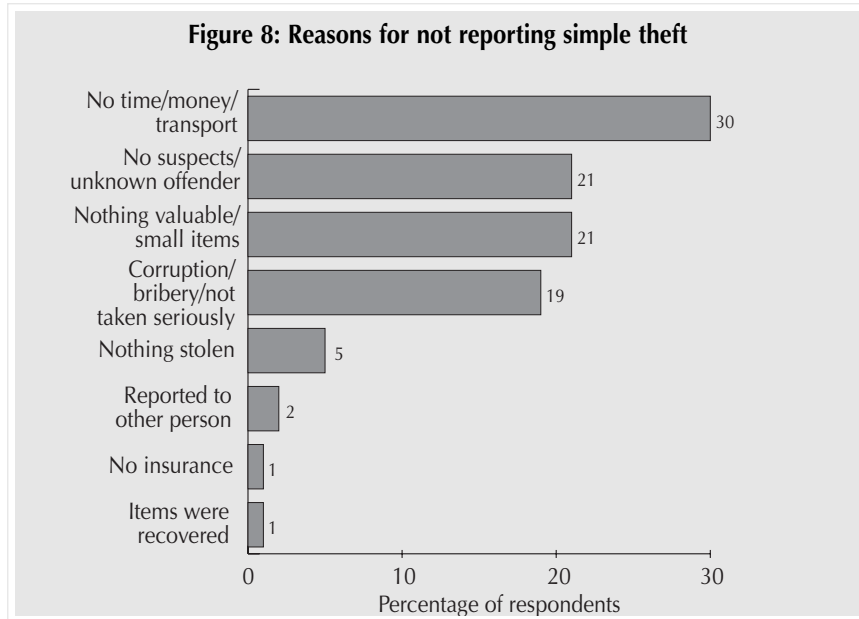
Since relatively few victims reported crime, the number of respondents answering the question regarding satisfaction with the police for some crime types was not sufficient for statistical analysis. As a result, the theft of stock, crops and farm equipment, vehicle theft, murder and car-hijacking are excluded here.

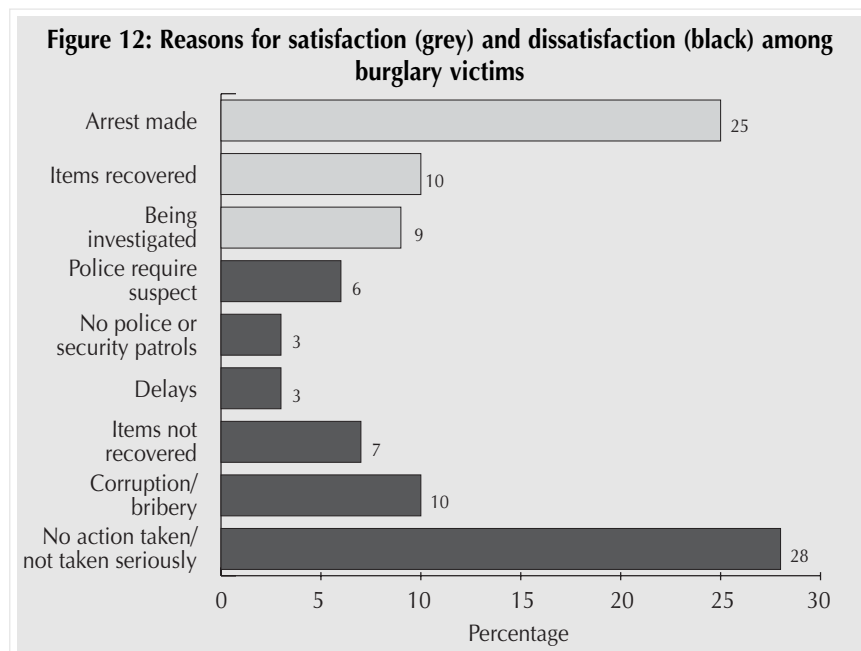
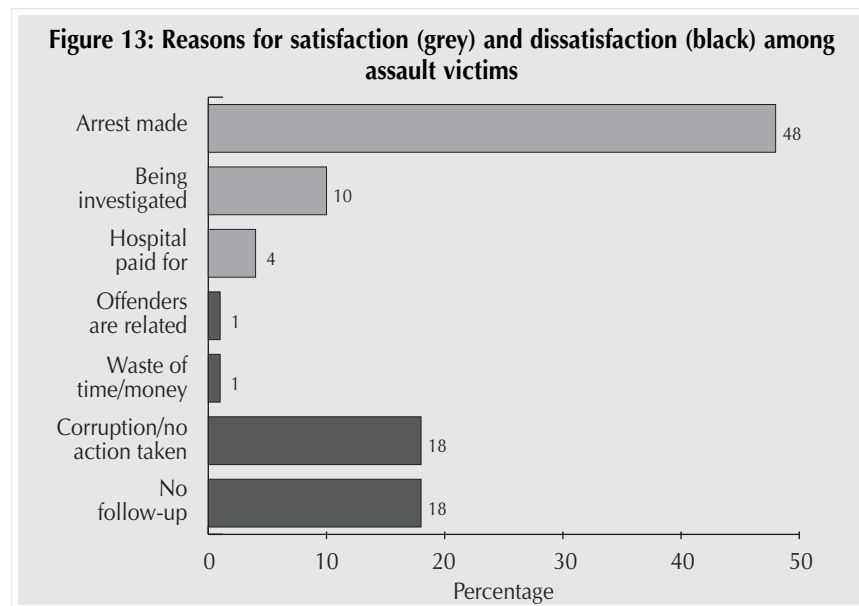
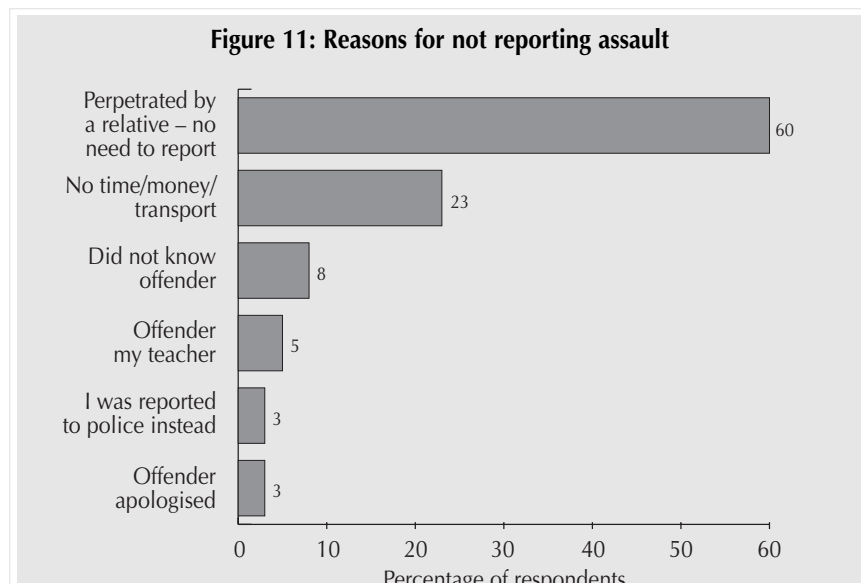
For most crimes, with the exception of assault, levels of dissatisfaction with the police were high, ranging from 83% for simple theft, to 73% for vehicle part theft, 66% for robbery and 61% for burglary.

When explaining their dissatisfaction, respondents were most likely to identify the lack of police action and police not taking the crime seriously (with the exception of robbery). In the case of burglary, this was mentioned by 28% of respondents (figure 12). Reasons for satisfaction, not surprisingly, were linked to whether arrests were made. The problem of corruption was not mentioned as often as in the previous question asked of non-reporting victims. This may suggest that police corruption is less prevalent than is generally perceived, since the victims responding to this question had actually interacted with the police. The one exception was robbery. Victims of robbery who reported the offence mentioned corruption more than any other problem as the reason for their dissatisfaction.

The trends for assault were again quite different from those of other crime types (figure 13). Most assault victims who reported the crime to the police were satisfied

with the way the police responded (58%). The remaining 42% were not satisfied with the treatment they received. In explaining their responses, 48% of assault victims said the reason they were satisfied was that an arrest was made. This suggests that reporting of assault cases to the police should be encouraged, because the police respond positively to reports by arresting perpetrators and investigating cases.





CHAPTER 5

HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOUR

Key points

- Victims most commonly sought help from family and friends, however, a significant number of victims did not seek help from anybody.
- Substantially fewer victims in Dar es Salaam turned to the police for help than did those in South African cities.
- Victim support should be an important area of intervention for Safer Cities Dar es Salaam.

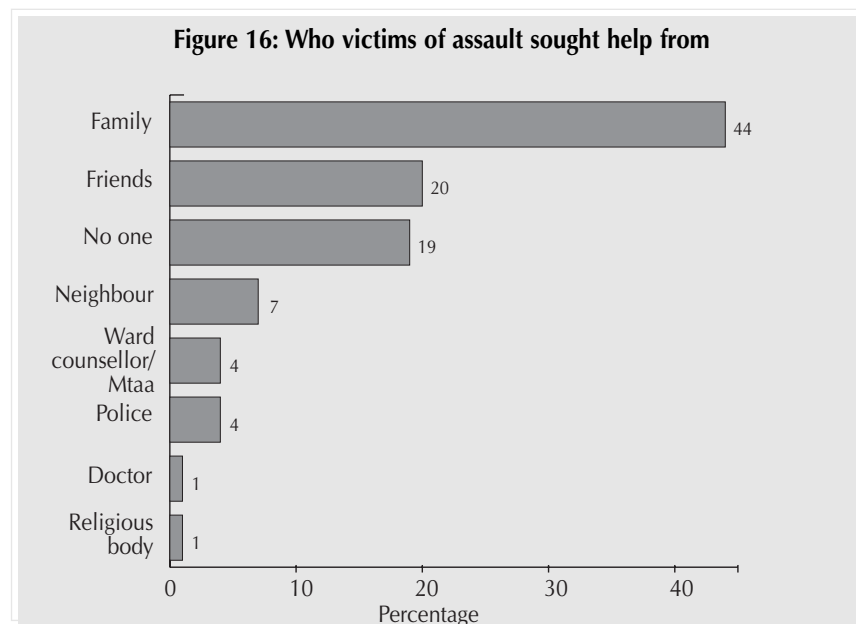
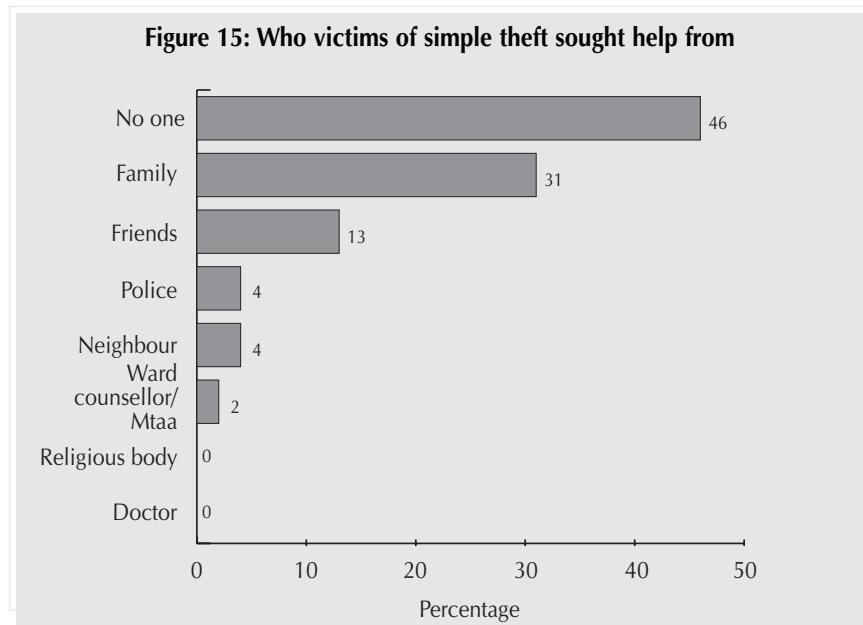
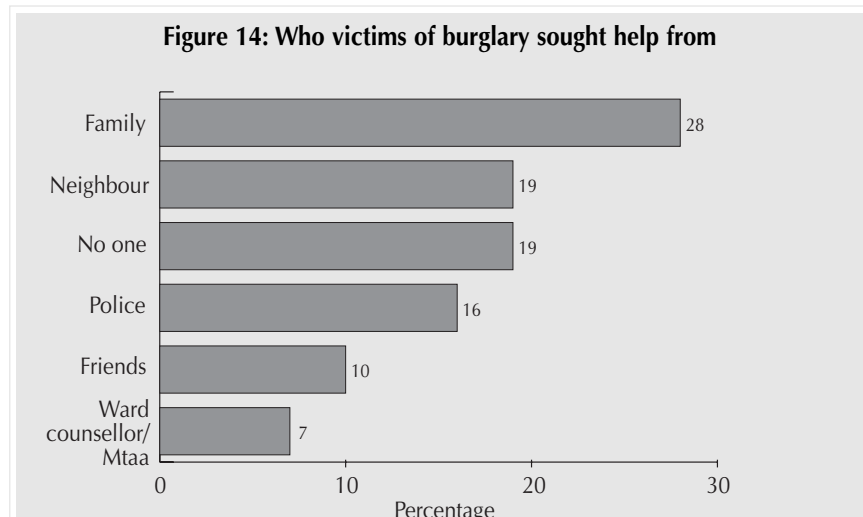
Who victims turned to for help

Victims of specific crimes were asked in the survey who they turned to for help after the incident. Given the low police reporting rates among victims of violent crime in Dar es Salaam, as well as the limited number of specialised services available to victims in the city, information regarding victims' help-seeking behaviour may be useful for crime prevention practitioners wanting to identify or reach victims through their programmes.

The most significant finding was the high number of respondents who did not seek help from anyone (figures 14-16). For serious crimes such as assault, a fifth of victims did not seek help from anyone. For less serious crimes, such as simple theft, almost half of the victims sought no help. In addition, less than 1% of victims reported seeking help from a professional agency.

Family, friends and neighbours were the most common sources of assistance for victims. Some sought help from official sources such as their local ward counsellor or the police. Substantially fewer victims in Dar es Salaam turned to the police for help than those in South African cities. In Pretoria, for example, one-third of victims of car-hijacking, burglary and murder sought assistance from the police, and around 20% of the victims of other crimes covered in the survey said the same.³

The results indicate that victim support, whether through formal or informal sources, is uncommon in Dar es Salaam. This is a key area of intervention for crime reduction practitioners in the city.



CHAPTER 6

CRIME PROFILE: HOME BURGLARY

Key points

- 43% of respondents said their households were burgled at least once in the past five years.
- People living in new or established suburbs were more at risk than people living elsewhere.
- The vast majority of burglaries were successful (83%).
- Burglaries were committed throughout the year.
- Half of all burglaries took place on Fridays and Saturdays.
- The majority of burglaries occurred between 00h00 and 06h00.
- In most cases (78%), victims reported that someone was at home during the incident.
- Levels of violence experienced during burglaries and the subsequent injuries sustained were high.

Victim profile

Victim profiles indicate how the risk of crime varies according to people's economic status, gender, level of education, age and place of residence.

These factors may be directly associated with the opportunity to commit a crime. For example, people who live in rural areas are more likely to own crops and thus are more at risk of crop theft. Similarly, wealthier people are more likely to own a car and are thus more likely to become victims of car theft. Alternatively, the relationship may be more indirect. For example, people with lower incomes are more likely to use public transport facilities and are therefore more at risk of simple theft that occurs at transport nodes. The lifestyle of young people may expose them to assault linked to alcohol abuse at places of entertainment.

When interpreting victim profile data, it is important to note that the risk is calculated within particular variables. For example, if the age variable is considered, the risk of teenagers becoming victims is compared with the risk facing the elderly. The risk for

teenagers cannot be compared with that for women or people in formal employment, for example.

Table 5 shows that homes owned by their inhabitants and those in new or established suburbs were most at risk of burglary in Dar es Salaam. Risk decreased significantly for people residing in rural areas or in the inner city.

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)
Home ownership	Home owners (47%)	Non-home owners (35%)
Area of residence	Established suburbs (54%) New suburb (51%)	Rural area (26%) Inner city (28%)

The profile of burglary victims reflects a fairly standard picture of burglary in which victims tend to be wealthier. However, it should be remembered that the overall levels of burglary in the city were extremely high. Although the wealthy were more likely to be victims, a significant number of people in the lower income category were also victimised. It is also worth noting that the impact of property crime on the poor is particularly severe, since they may, for example, not be able to replace stolen goods.⁴

Goods stolen during burglaries

In the vast majority of burglaries (83%), property was stolen. In the remainder of cases (17%), burglary attempts were unsuccessful. The survey does not provide data on whether burglars were interrupted during the course of the crime, or could not gain access to the premises on account of security measures.

When burglaries occurred

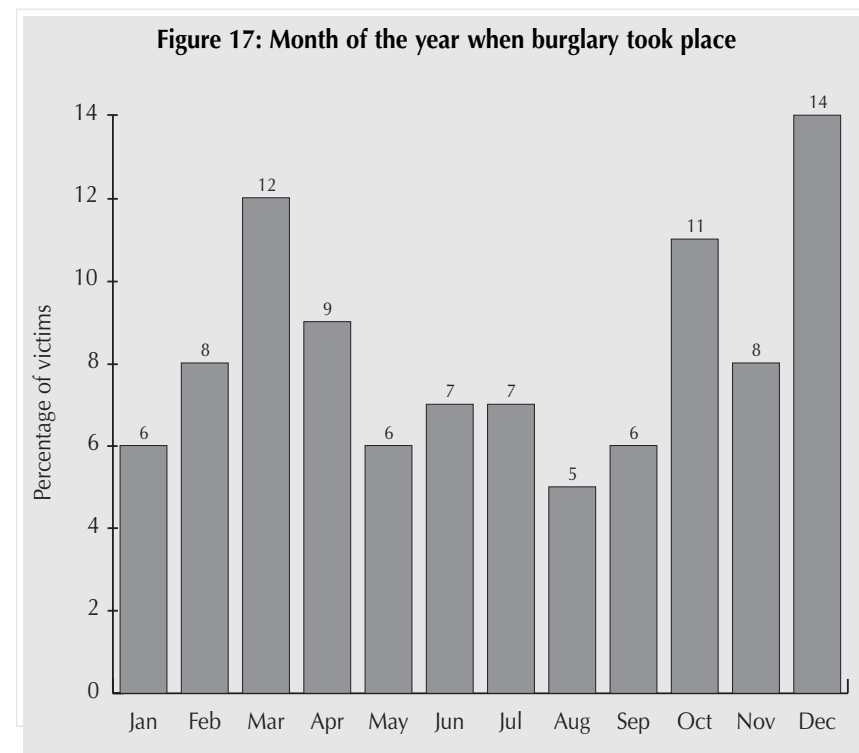
The victim survey attempted to determine the month during which the burglary occurred. Over the five-year period, monthly reports of burglaries were fairly

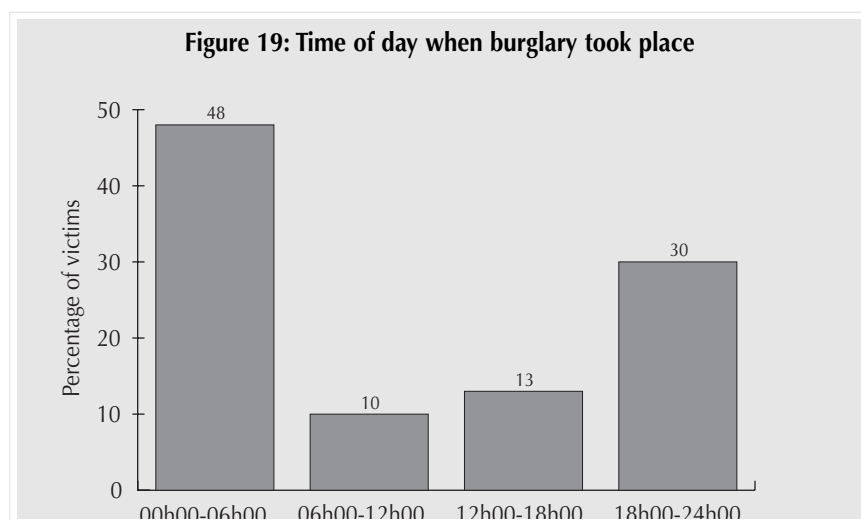
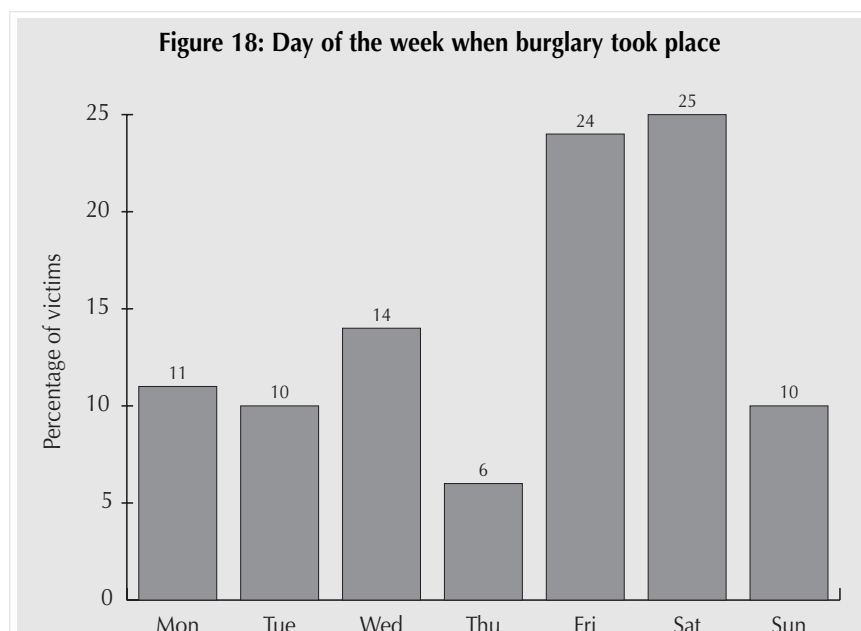
consistent. There were slightly more reports of burglaries occurring in December and March (figure 17).

Equally important is when during the week burglaries were committed. The victim survey suggests that most cases of burglary occurred on Fridays and Saturdays. These two days accounted for half of all burglaries throughout the week (figure 18).

The survey also sought to determine the time of day when burglaries occurred (figure 19). In this regard, very different results were found from those recorded in South African cities. Whereas in Durban only 15% of cases were reported as occurring between 00h00 and 06h00, almost half of the reported incidents in Dar es Salaam happened during this time.

This distribution is important since it is more likely that somebody would be home and probably sleeping during these hours. The survey asked whether or not anybody was at home at the time of the burglary. In the majority of cases (78%), somebody was at home when the crime occurred.





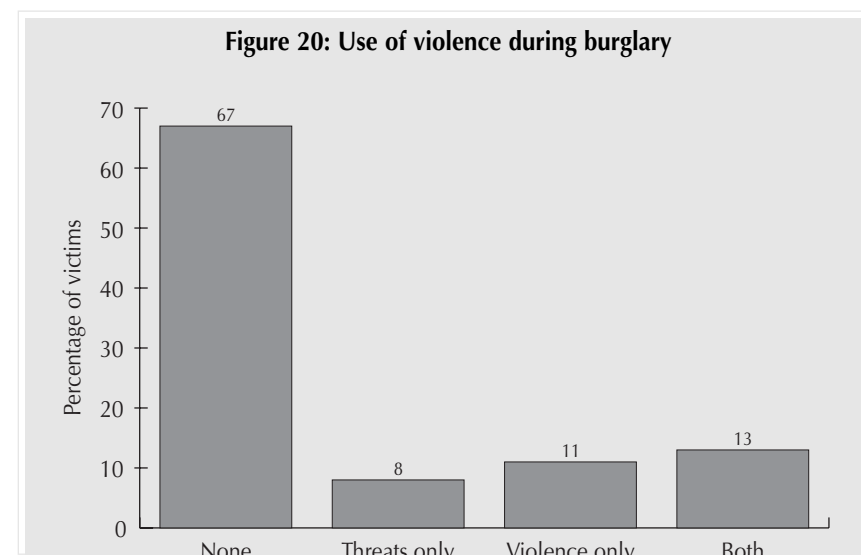
This data means that the possibility of confrontation with the burglar/s would be high. Also preventive solutions would need to focus on nighttime rather than daytime activity, particularly in the case of neighbourhood watch schemes or

SunguSungu. Finally, burglars probably use stealth to enter premises, since forced entry would wake household members. This may suggest that target-hardening devices such as heavy duty locks and window grills are often absent. This latter conclusion is supported by the data presented in chapter 13 on the use of protection measures.

Use of violence

The findings outlined above are likely to impact on whether violence was used in the course of burglaries. If someone is at home when the crime occurs, there is the added possibility that violence can be used against that person.

As figure 20 shows, violence or threats of violence were used in approximately a third of burglaries. Given that levels of burglary in the city are high and that household sizes are large, it is likely that more than one person may be exposed to violence, or at the least to the trauma of seeing other members of the household hurt.



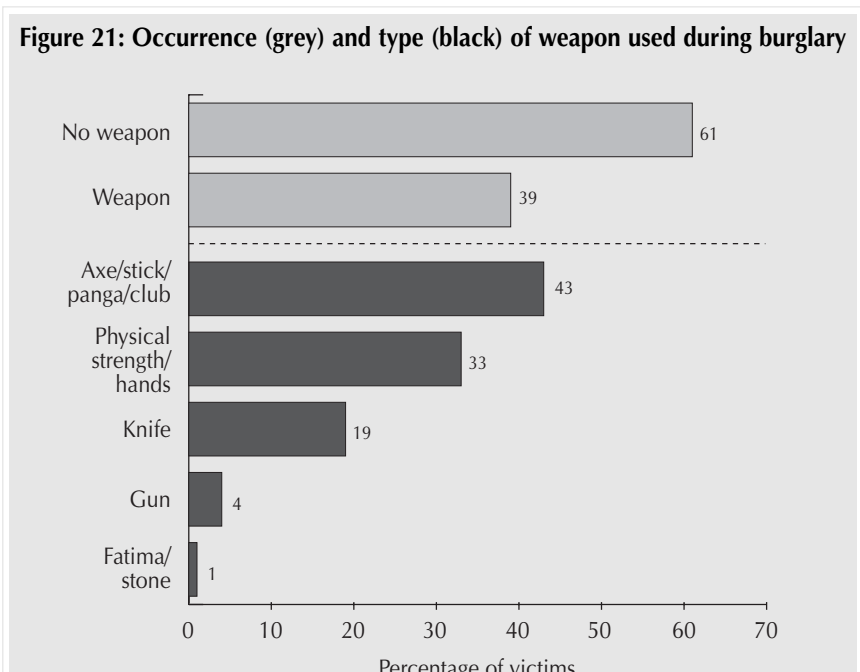
The levels of violence recorded in Dar es Salaam were lower, however, than in South African cities. In Pretoria, for example, 33% of victims said only violence was used, compared to only 11% in Dar es Salaam.⁵ In addition, the use of weapons as opposed to just physical strength was slightly less common in Dar es Salaam. When weapons were used, these were most commonly sticks, pangas and clubs,

accounting for 43% of incidents, followed by physical strength and hands accounting for 33% of incidents. Guns were used in only 4% of violent incidents (figure 21). In Pretoria, by comparison, 21% of victims said a gun was used. Similar figures were recorded in the Durban victim survey.

Injuries sustained

Few victims (8%) reported that injuries were sustained during the burglary, with an additional 23% reporting injuries to other members of the household. Given that the weapons used to commit burglaries in South African cities were more lethal than in Dar es Salaam, it is not surprising that many more victims reported injuries in Pretoria (24%).⁶

Nevertheless, of the injured victims in Dar es Salaam, 73% were treated in hospital. Given the prevalence of burglary, the cost to the state of providing medical care to the injured is likely to be considerable.



CHAPTER 7

CRIME PROFILE: SIMPLE THEFT

Key points

- Simple theft was experienced by 32% of respondents and was the second most common crime in the city.
- Young people were particularly at risk of simple theft as were residents of the inner city.
- Simple theft occurred most often on Saturdays (28%) and between 12h00 and 18h00 (46%).
- Victims were more likely to have accessories stolen such as jewellery, followed by money.
- Victims tended to be alone when the theft occurred.
- Simple theft happened most often on the street outside shops and offices, or in the streets in residential areas while victims were going to or returning from work, studying or shopping.

Simple theft was defined in the survey as an incident where an item was taken from someone without using threats or force. Simple theft would therefore include crimes like pick-pocketing and bag-snatching. When such thefts involved the use of force, the details were recorded under the robbery section.

Who is most at risk

Table 6 shows who was at risk of simple theft in Dar es Salaam. Those who were most clearly in the high-risk category included young people between 15 and 25 years and people living in the inner city.

What was stolen

The items most likely to be stolen during a simple theft were accessories such as jewellery and sunglasses, followed by money (figure 22).

When simple theft occurred

Levels of simple theft peaked in June and again in December (figure 23). In terms of the days of the week, more than a quarter of victims said the theft occurred on a Saturday (figure 24). Most simple thefts occurred during the day, with nearly half being reported as happening between 12h00 and 18h00 and a third between 06h00 and 12h00 (figure 25).

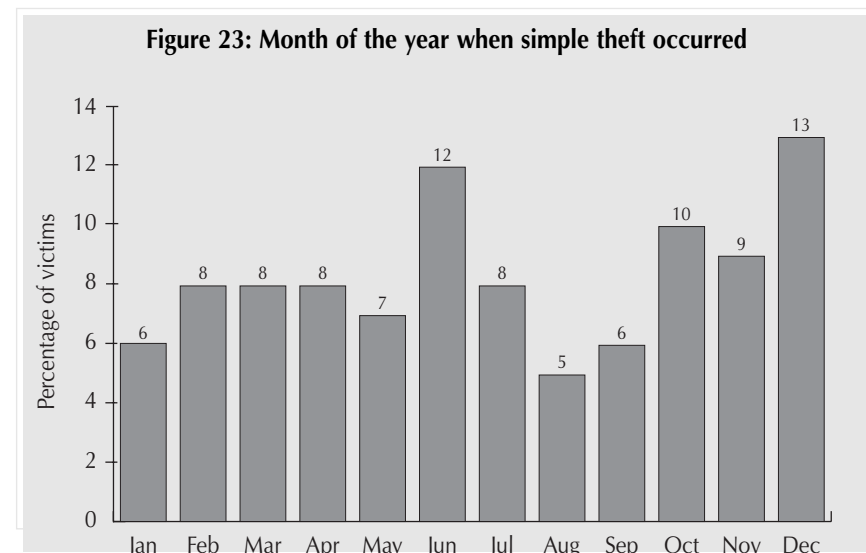
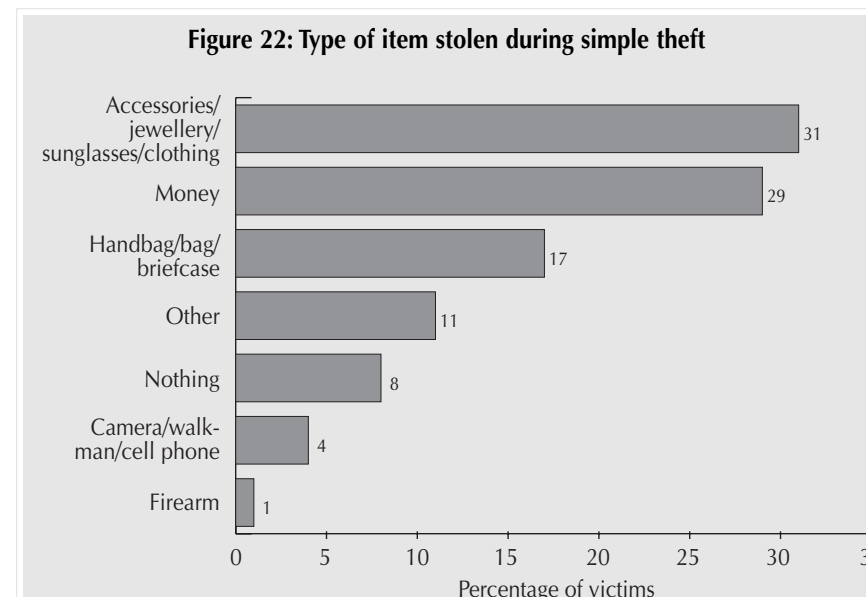
Where incidents occurred

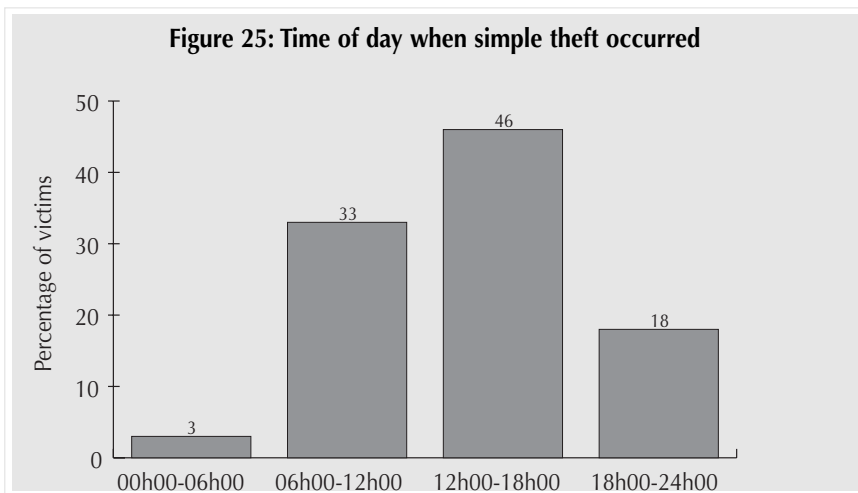
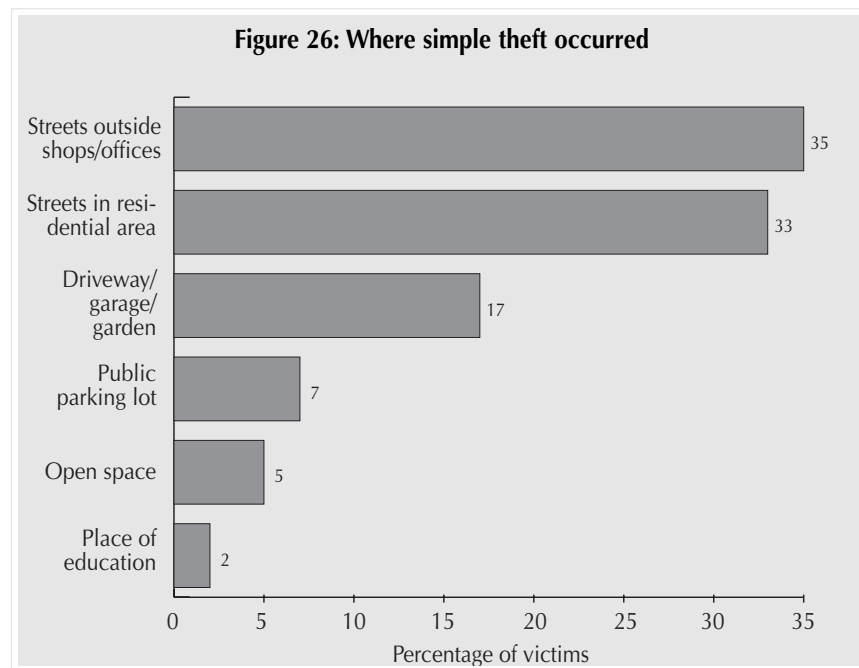
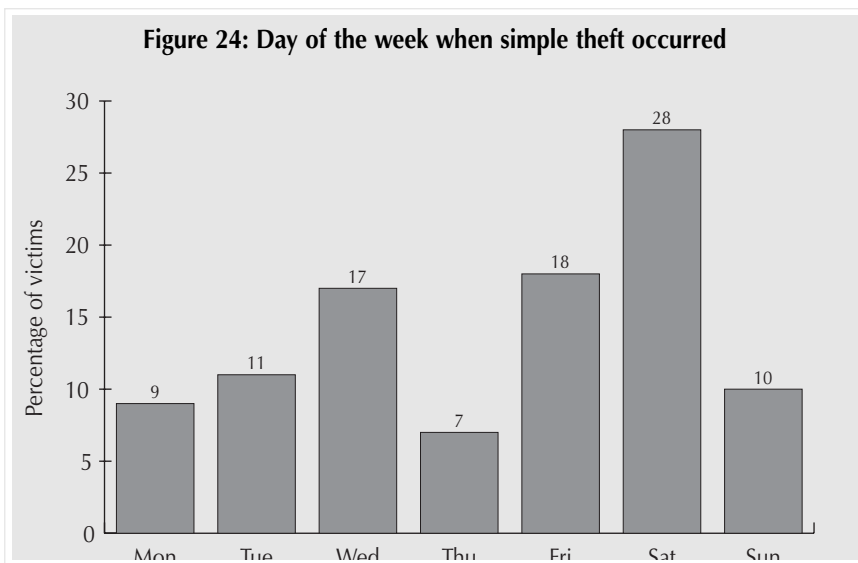
Victims were asked where they were when the incident occurred and what they were doing at the time. Victims were almost as likely to have been in the streets outside shops or offices (probably the central business district) as in streets in residential areas (figure 26).

Victims were most likely to have been going to or returning from shopping (mentioned by 31% of victims) or returning from work or school (30%). Thirteen per

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Gender	Female (38%)	Male (25%)
Age	15-25 (44%)	Over 40 (25%)
Employment status	Income dependent (37%) Formal employment (35%)	Informal employment (22%)
Educational status	Post-secondary school (37%) Secondary (37%)	Nothing/Primary (26%)
Area of residence	Inner city (52%)	Rural area (6%)

cent said they were visiting friends when the theft occurred. Almost equal proportions of victims said they were going to work, school or college (8%), engaged in recreational activity (7%), at home (6%), or at work, school or college (4%). The vast majority of victims (71%) were alone when the simple theft was committed.





CHAPTER 8

CRIME PROFILE: THEFT OF CROPS, LIVESTOCK AND FARM EQUIPMENT

Key points

- Livestock theft was experienced by 20% of all respondents, crop theft by 19% and theft of farm equipment by 7%.
- Crop theft, farm equipment theft and livestock theft occurred primarily in the 'rural' parts of the city and, to a limited extent, in the new suburbs.
- Households most at risk of these crimes were those where residents owned the house.
- The monthly distribution of incidents of crop theft followed the growth cycle of crops. Theft of livestock and farm equipment generally occurred throughout the year with a peak in December.
- Farm equipment was usually stolen in the daytime, livestock at night and crops throughout the day.
- All three types of theft typically happened over the weekend.
- Violence was not used when these crimes were committed.

This group of crimes occurred mainly in those parts of Dar es Salaam where land availability, lifestyle and economic factors create the potential for small-scale and other forms of farming activity. Victimization rates – especially in the case of theft of livestock and crops – were fairly high among the general Dar es Salaam population. However, when people living in the rural areas of the city were separated from the general population, the victimisation rate increased significantly: just over half (52%) of rural residents were victims of crop theft, 46% were victims of livestock theft and a fifth were victims of farm equipment theft.

Victim profiles

Tables 7 to 9 provide victim profiles for each of the three types of theft. In the case of crop theft, the households most at risk were those where residents owned their home and those in rural areas and new suburbs. The risk profiles for theft of livestock and farm equipment were similar to that of victims of crop theft.

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)
Home ownership	Home owners (26%)	Non-home owners (6%)
Area of residence	Rural area (52%) New Suburb (27%)	Inner city (3%)

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)
Home ownership	Home owners (29%)	Non-home owners (6%)
Area of residence	Rural area (46%) New suburb (26%)	Inner city (2%)

When rural-based crimes occurred

The victim survey sought to determine what month, day of the week and time of day these thefts occurred. For livestock and farm equipment theft, the distribution of incidents throughout the year was fairly constant, with peaks in December.

The monthly trend for crop theft was more distinctive, with peaks in June and September (figure 27). This pattern seems to coincide with the growth seasons, since the majority of fields lie fallow between November and February.

For all three types of theft, Fridays and Saturdays were the days when these crimes were most likely to be committed. The time of day, however, varied between the crime types. For theft of crops and livestock, the pattern was similar, with a peak

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)
Home ownership	Home owners (10%)	Non-home owners (2%)
Area of residence	Rural area (22%)	New suburb (5%) Inner city (1%) Established suburb (4%)

between 18h00 and 24h00 (figure 28). Farm equipment theft, in contrast, was primarily a daytime activity with most of these crimes reported as occurring between 06h00 and 18h00 (figure 29).

What was stolen

The survey asked victims of livestock theft about the number of animals that were stolen (figure 30). Results show that only a few cattle, pigs and goats were stolen at a time: between one and five of these animals were commonly taken during a single incident of theft. For poultry theft, it was more common for 11 or more to be stolen at one time.

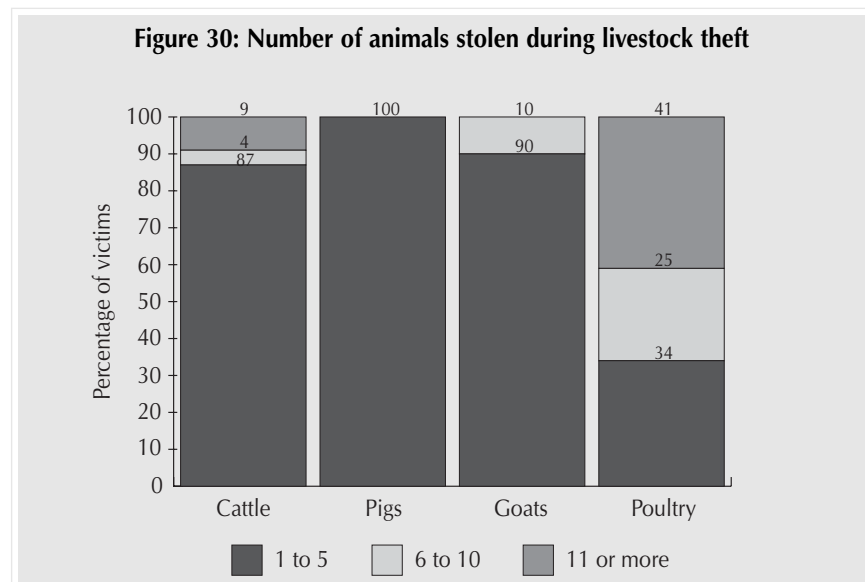
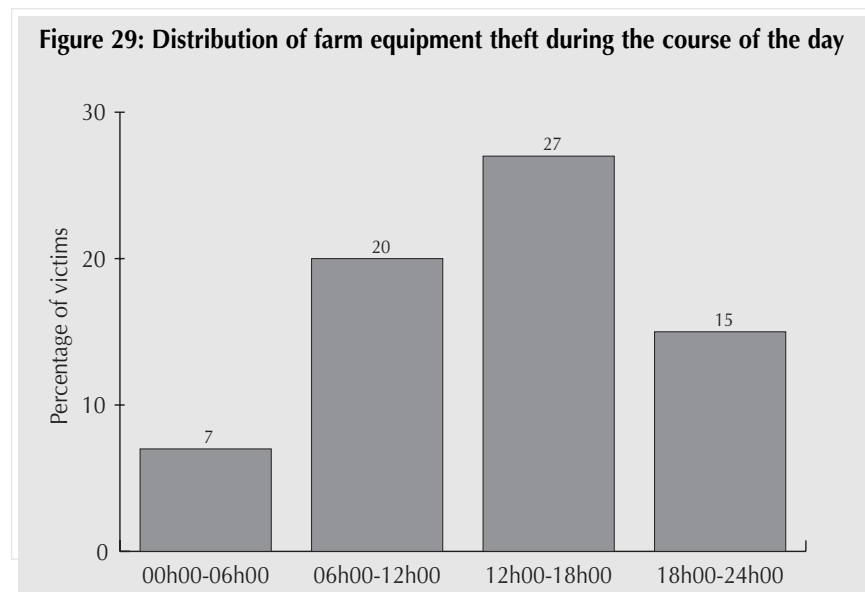
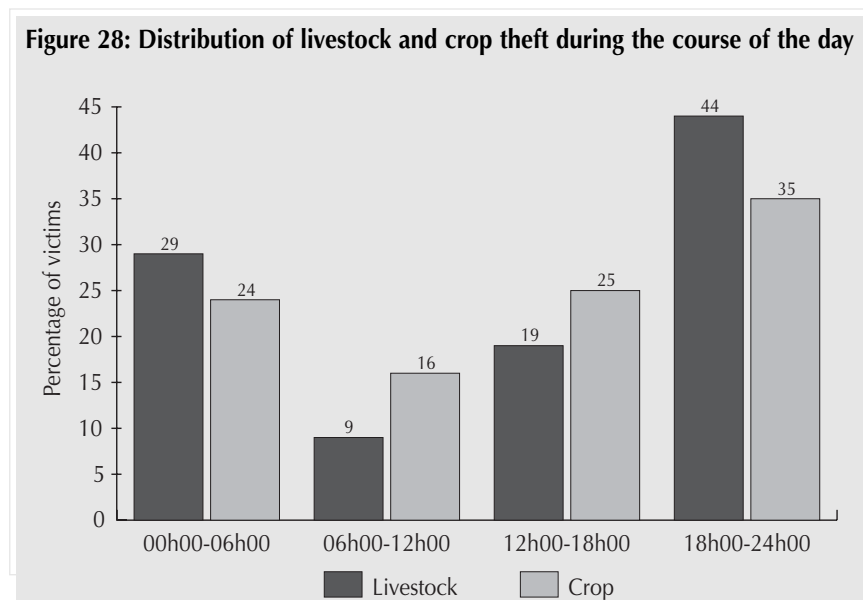
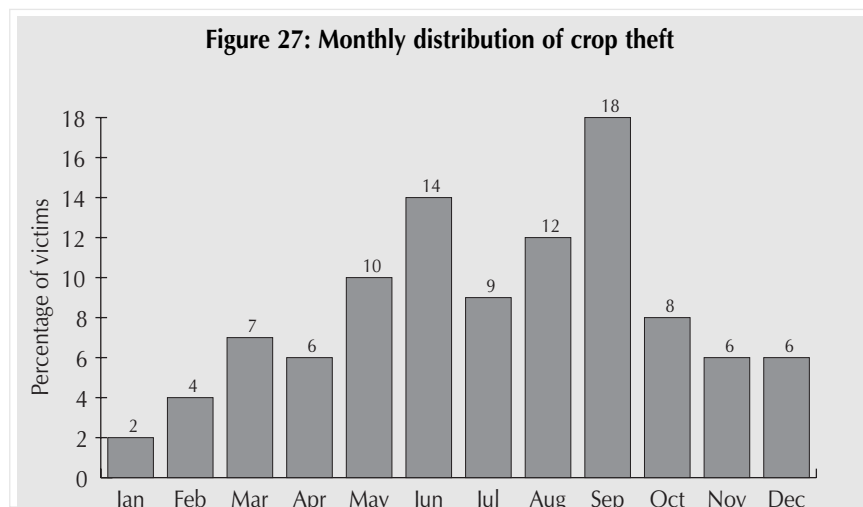
In the case of the theft of farm equipment, the vast majority of victims (84%) reported that a hoe was taken. Between 3% and 4% each said that axes, rakes, pangas and wheelbarrows were stolen. One per cent of victims reported losing a plough and another 1% said a hose pipe was stolen.

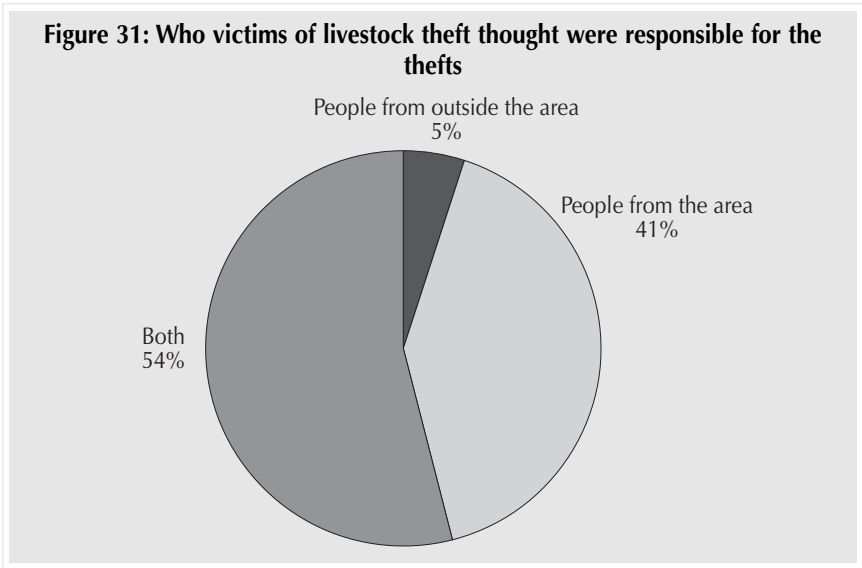
Use of violence

Respondents were asked whether violence had been used during the crime. In the case of these crimes, violence was very rare, happening in only 1% of crop thefts and in 7% of livestock thefts.

Who was thought to have committed the crime

In the case of crop and livestock theft, victims were asked who they thought had committed the crime. For both types of theft, most respondents said that locals and outsiders together were responsible for these crimes (figure 31).





CHAPTER 9

CRIME PROFILE: VEHICLE PARTS THEFT

Key points

- 19% of all respondents said they or a member of their households were victims of vehicle parts theft over the five-year period.
- Vehicle parts theft was defined in the survey as theft of external motor vehicle fittings such as headlights, hubcaps and windscreenwipers.
- Inner city residents were most at risk of having parts of their vehicles stolen, as were home owners.
- Vehicle parts theft happened least often in the early hours of the morning and was fairly evenly spread throughout the rest of the day.
- Residential streets and public parking lots were the areas most commonly mentioned as the place where vehicle parts theft occurred.

The victim survey gathered information on three forms of vehicle crime: vehicle theft, theft of vehicle parts and car-hijacking. The rates recorded for vehicle theft and hijacking were very low – 3% and 1%, respectively. Vehicle parts theft was common, with 19% of all respondents reporting this form of crime. The section below includes data on vehicle parts theft only. Vehicle parts theft was defined in the survey as the theft of external motor vehicle fittings such as headlights, hubcaps and windscreenwipers.

Victim profile

Those households most at risk of vehicle parts theft were typically located in the inner city (table 10). The predominance of risk among inner city residents may point to the lack of secure parking facilities in the central areas of the city.

When theft occurred

The victim survey recorded the month, day and time when vehicle parts theft occurred in Dar es Salaam over the five-year period.

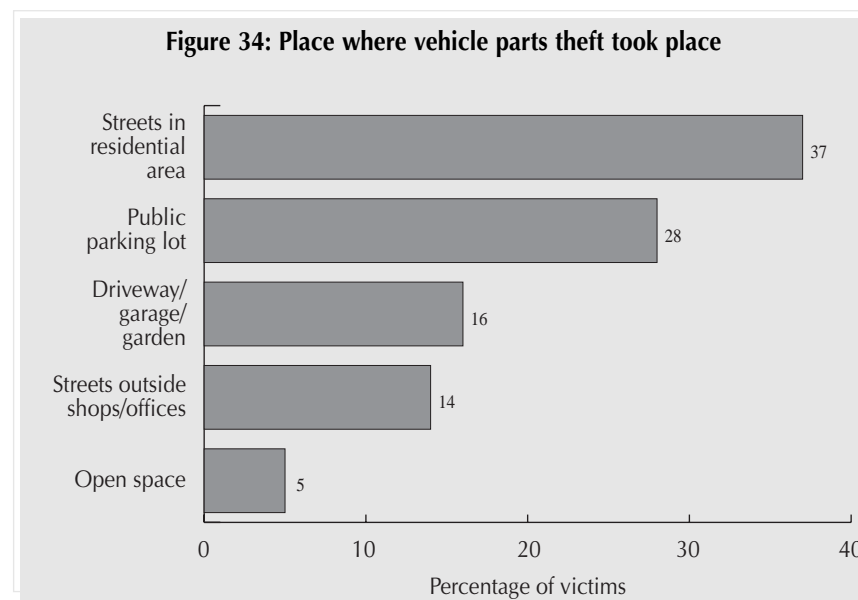
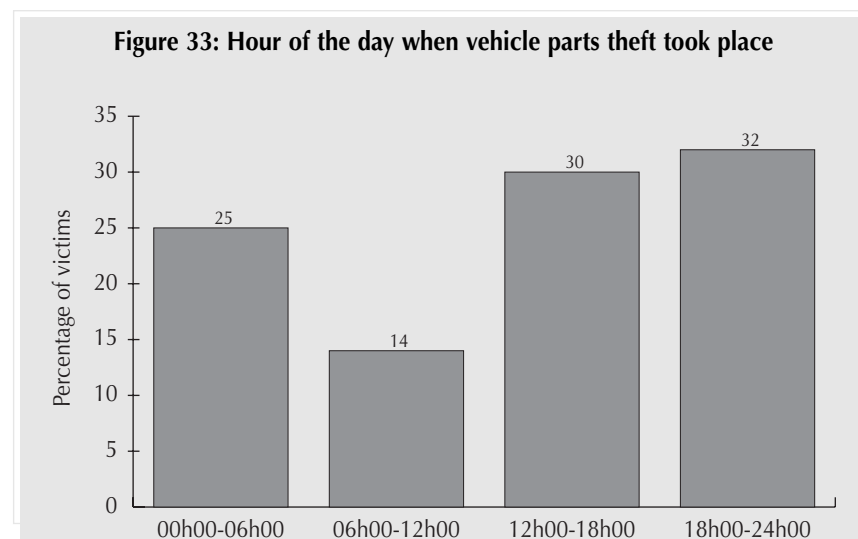
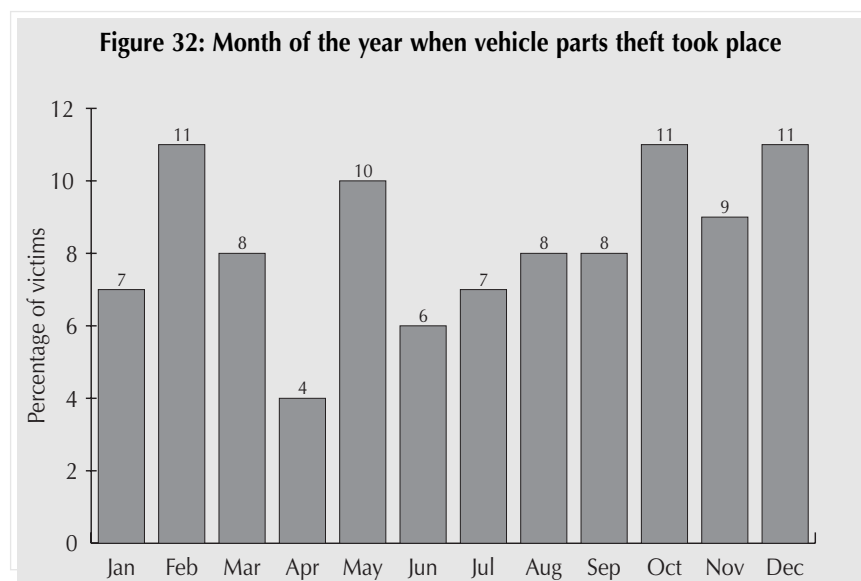
Table 10: Victim profile for vehicle parts theft

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% households in each category that were victimised)
Home ownership	Non-home owners (23%)	Home owners (16%)
Area of residence	Inner city (41%)	Rural area (4%)

No clear pattern was evident for the monthly or weekly distribution of vehicle parts theft (figure 32). Vehicle parts theft was almost as likely to happen in the evening as in the afternoon (figure 33). Few were reported as occurring in the morning.

Where thefts occurred

The survey recorded generic areas where vehicle parts theft occurred. The two most likely locations were in the streets of residential areas, followed by public parking lots (figure 34).



CHAPTER 10

CRIME PROFILE: ASSAULT

Key points

- 16% of people in Dar es Salaam said they were assaulted over the five-year period.
- The risk of assault was much higher for young people (15-25 years) and the unemployed.
- Assault was most common at the end of the week with high levels occurring on Fridays, Saturdays and, in particular, on Sundays.
- Most assault victims said the crime was committed between 12h00 and 06h00.
- Most assaults happened in the home (58%) and in places of entertainment (18%).
- In the majority of cases (67%), victims knew the offenders by sight or by name.
- Typically, known offenders were either neighbours (36%) or partners (33%).
- Violence as opposed to just threats was used in over three-quarters of all assault cases, with injuries being sustained in 81% of these cases.
- The use of physical strength – for example, hitting or punching – was the most common form of violence accounting for 87% of incidents.
- When injuries were sustained, 87% of the victims visited a hospital.

Assault was defined in the survey as an attack on the victim's person, where physical force or aggressive and threatening behaviour is used. As such, it may have included a wide spectrum of incidents. The overall levels of assault recorded by the survey in Dar es Salaam, at 16%, were similar to or higher than those recorded in South African cities. The Johannesburg victim survey recorded an assault rate of 16% and in Durban, the level was 12%. Assault should be viewed as one of the most serious crimes in Dar es Salaam.

Victim profile

The broad definition used for assault in the survey means that it may have included a range of violent acts that differ considerably in nature, cause and impact. As the

data for assault is presented, it becomes clear that there were two broad categories of incidents taking place in the city: those relating to domestic violence and those linked to lifestyle patterns, entertainment activities and, in all likelihood, the consumption of alcohol. Table 11 below, which details the risk profile for victims of assault, illustrates this point.

The risk of assault was much higher for younger people and the unemployed and to a lesser extent for people with secondary education and those who are resident in established suburbs. These latter two indicators are unusual and suggest patterns of assault that are peculiar to Dar es Salaam. The risk of assault was not significantly different for men and women. It is difficult to tell, however, whether this reflects the true picture, since rates of reporting for crimes like assault (domestic violence) to victim surveys is low among women.⁷

Table 11: Victim profile of assault

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Age	15-25 (27%)	Over 40 (9%)
Employment status	Unemployed (33%)	Formal employment (9%)
Educational status	Secondary (20%)	Post-secondary (12%)
Area of residence	Established suburb (21%)	Inner city (10%)

When assault occurred

The victim survey sought to determine the month, day of the week and time of day when assault occurred. The monthly breakdown for assault (figure 35) suggests a fairly constant level throughout the year with two peaks around June and December. These peaks could relate to the impact of holiday seasons (with the increased consumption of alcohol and people not being at work). However, this trend could also be a distortion caused when respondents who cannot remember the exact date of the incident simply indicate the midpoint and year end.



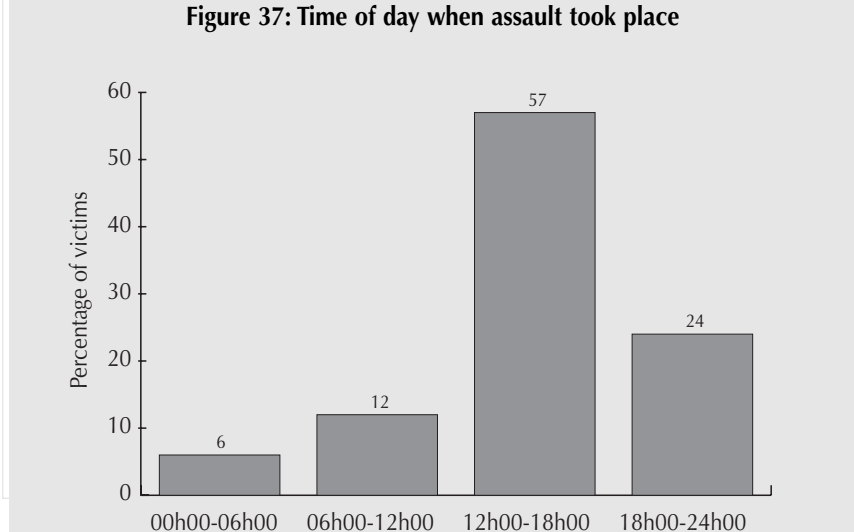
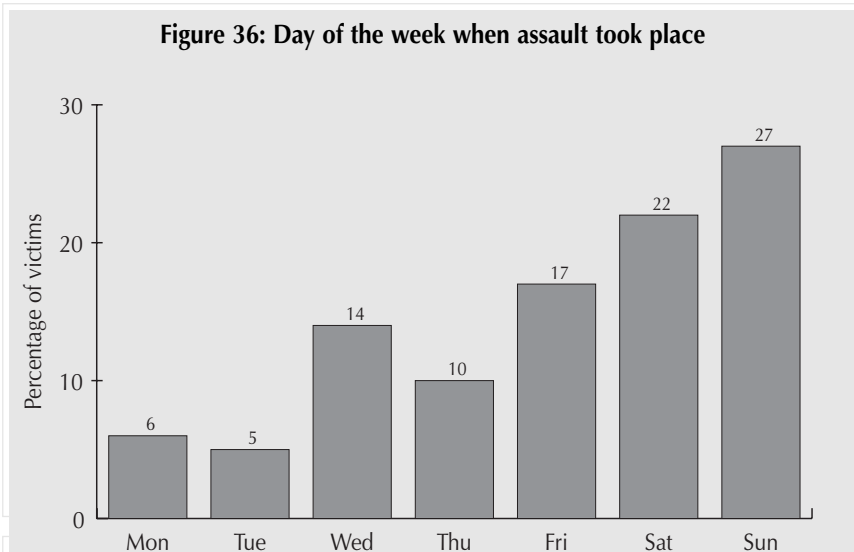
The weekly spread of assault cases also followed a similar pattern to some of the other crimes considered in the survey. The early part of the week from Monday to Thursday was characterised by comparatively few incidents of assault (figure 36). From the start of the weekend (Friday), assaults increased, peaking on Sunday, which alone accounted for more than a quarter of all incidents.

The survey data shows that the majority of assaults were committed between 12h00 and 18h00 (figure 37). Indeed, relatively few victims said they were assaulted during other periods of the day.

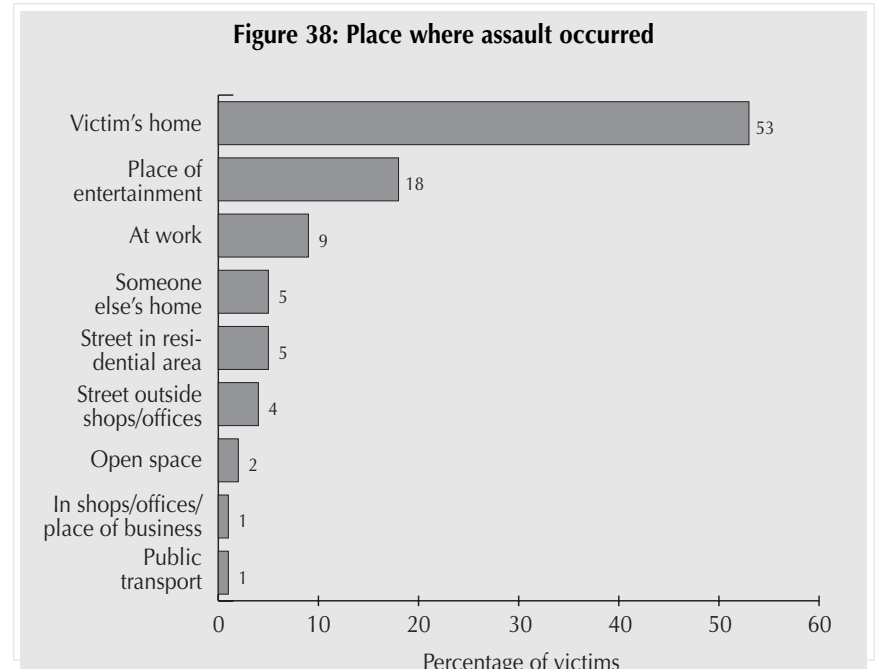
Where did the assault occur

Respondents identified both a generic place where the assault occurred – for example, in the workplace – as well as the specific location.

The most common place where assaults took place was in the respondent's home (53%) (figure 38). A further 5% of victims said they were assaulted in someone else's home. This total of 58% of assaults occurring in the domestic environment can safely be equated with family violence or partner violence. Given that family or partner violence is not always considered to be a crime such as assault, it can be assumed that the actual figures are even higher. These findings contrasted with those gathered in South African cities. In Durban, for example, higher levels of assault



were recorded in the street or in places of entertainment than in the home. The second most common place for assault to occur in Dar es Salaam was in places of entertainment (18%). Almost one in ten victims (9%) said they were assaulted in the workplace. Relatively few people were assaulted in an open space or in public areas such as in the street.



Victims were also asked to describe what they were doing at the time of the assault. This serves as a useful check on the findings above as to the generic location where assault occurred. The majority of victims (52%) were at home when the incident happened. A further 20% were engaged in recreational activity or entertainment (figure 39). These trends thus correspond with those in figure 38 above.

Use of violence and degree of injury

The victim survey ascertained whether violence was used during the assault and in what form. Information was also gathered on injuries sustained and their seriousness.

Not surprisingly, violence was used in the vast majority (81%) of assaults. In the remainder of cases, victims claimed only to have been threatened. When violence was used, it mostly involved the use of physical strength as opposed to the use of a weapon. If a weapon was used, it was most likely to be a knife (figure 40).

Victims of assault claimed to have been injured in 40% of the incidents and most

Figure 39: What victims were doing at the time of the assault

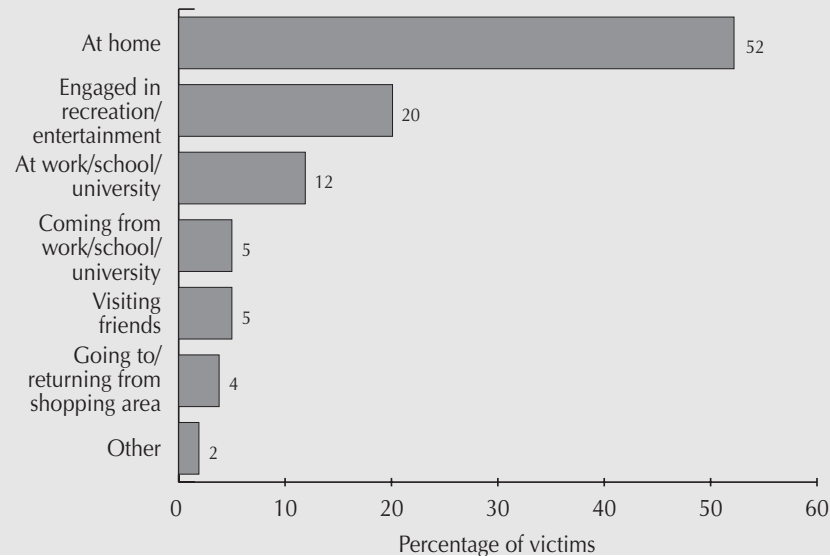
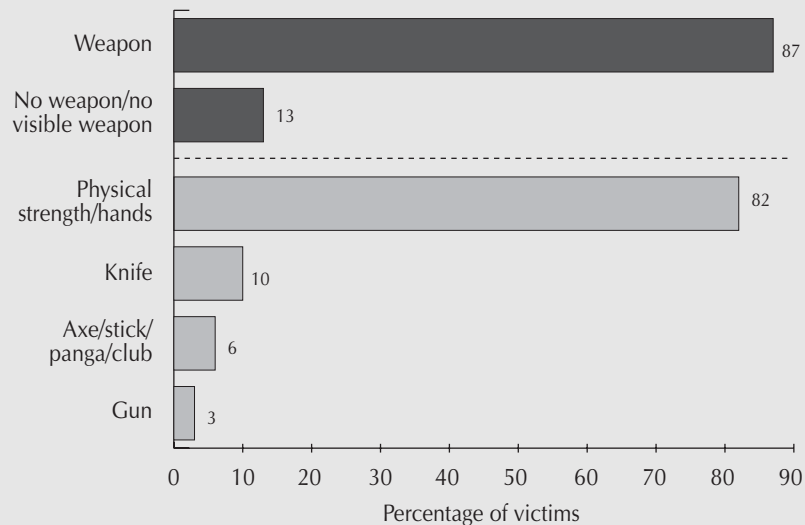


Figure 40: Use of weapons (black) and type of weapons (grey) used during assaults



(62%) said the injuries were serious enough to warrant hospital treatment. As in the case of burglary, this implies a significant burden on the public health system.

Was the offender known to the victim

The victim survey sought to determine whether or not the victim was known in some way to the offender. The vast majority of victims were acquainted with the offenders. Two-thirds knew the offender by name and 19% knew the offender by sight (figure 41). In Durban, by contrast, a majority of victims (56%) said they did *not* know the offenders.

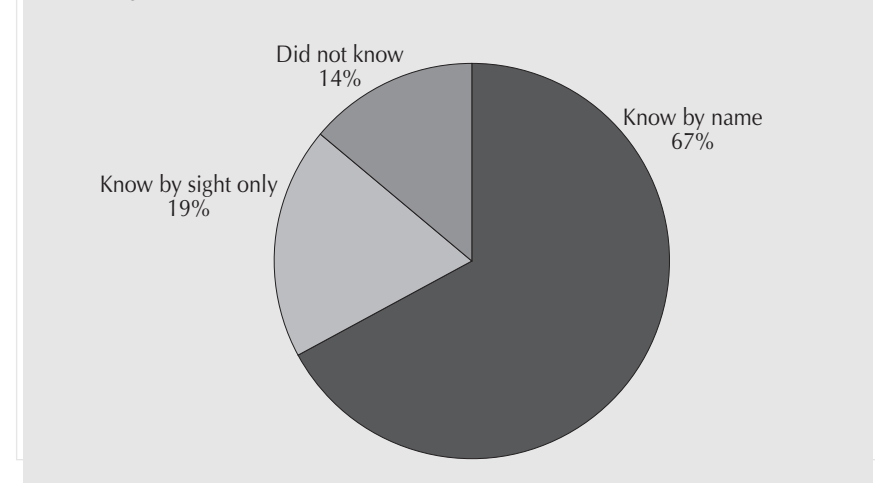
Of those victims who knew the offenders, 36% said it was a neighbour and 33% identified their spouse, partner or lover. Many victims were also assaulted by their friends (figure 42).

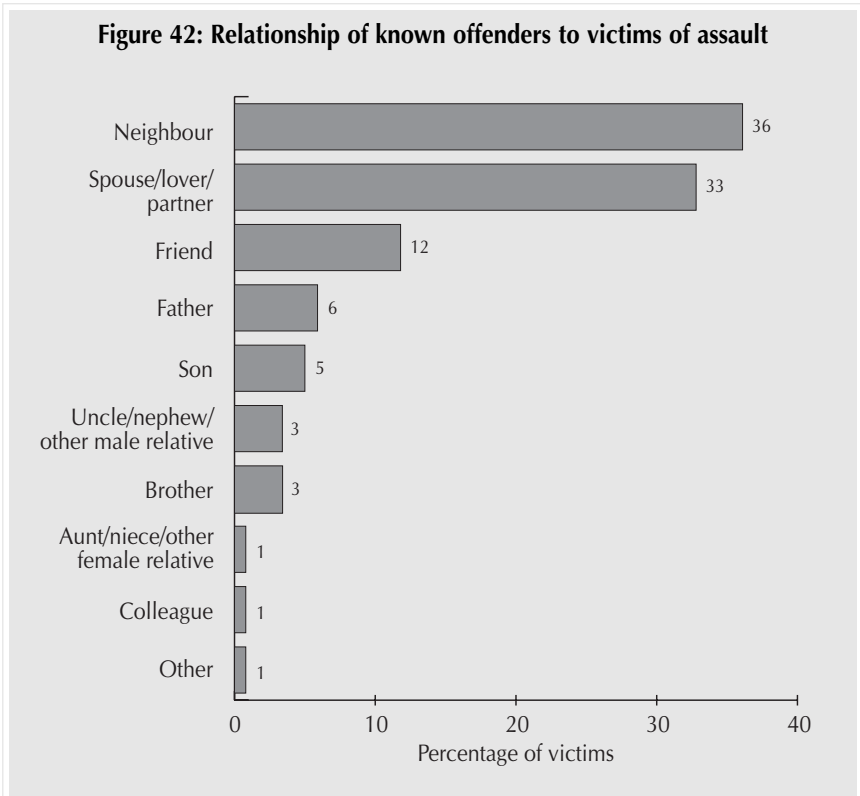
Number of offenders

Assault can take the form of one or more people attacking a single victim, or a number of offenders attacking a number of victims. With regard to the latter, the line between victims and offenders may become blurred with some individuals being both victims and offenders. The survey asked respondents how many offenders had assaulted them.

In the majority of cases (70%), the victim was assaulted by only one offender. Of

Figure 41: Extent to which victims of assault knew the offenders





the remaining cases, almost as many victims said they were assaulted by three or more offenders (16%), as those who were attacked by two offenders (14%).

CHAPTER 11

CRIME PROFILE: ROBBERY

Key points

- Robbery was experienced by 14% of respondents over the five-year period.
- People living in new and established suburbs were significantly more at risk of robbery than those living in rural parts of Dar es Salaam.
- People with post-secondary school qualifications and those in formal employment were also in the high-risk category.
- Most robberies took place on Fridays and Saturdays and at night.
- The most common place for robbery to occur was on the streets in residential areas.
- More than two-thirds of incidents involved actual violence as opposed to threats only.

Robbery was defined in the survey as an incident in which property is taken from a person by force or threat of force. The vast majority of incidents described below were actual rather than attempted robberies, in other words, the majority of victims (83%) said that something was stolen during the incident.

Who is most at risk

Table 12 details the risk profile for people living in Dar es Salaam with regard to robbery. Probably because of their higher incomes, people employed in the formal sector and those with high school qualifications were most at risk of victimisation. However, the most significant indicator of risk was where people live in the city. Those in new and established suburbs were much more likely to be robbed than those living in other areas of the city.

What was stolen

Unlike simple theft, money was most likely to be taken in the case of robbery. Accessories and bags were the second and third most likely items to be stolen (figure 43).

Table 12: Victim profile of robbery

Victim characteristics	Highest risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Lowest risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Employment status	Formal employment (20%)	Unemployed (10%) Income dependent (10%)
Education status	Post-secondary (23%)	Nothing/Primary (10%)
Area of residence	Established suburb (17%) New suburb (21%)	Rural area (6%)

When robberies took place

The incidence of robbery was evenly spread throughout the year with a peak in December when a third of victims said they were robbed. Robberies were most likely to have occurred over the weekend with Friday and Saturday together accounting for 55% of all incidents (figure 44). Robbery in Dar es Salaam was as likely to occur in the afternoon and evening as late at night, with 37% of incidents occurring between 12h00 and 06h00 and 38% between 18h00 and 24h00 (figure 45).

Where robberies took place

Two-thirds of robberies took place in residential areas, mostly in the streets or in people’s driveways, garages and gardens (figure 46).

More than three-quarters of victims said they were alone at the time of the incident (77%). Victims were typically engaged in after-hours activities such as returning from work, school or university (31%), visiting friends (23%), and going to or returning from shopping (20%). Some were engaged in recreational activity (9%) or were at home (8%). A few were going to work, school or college (4%) or were at work, school or college (1%).

Figure 43: Items stolen during robbery

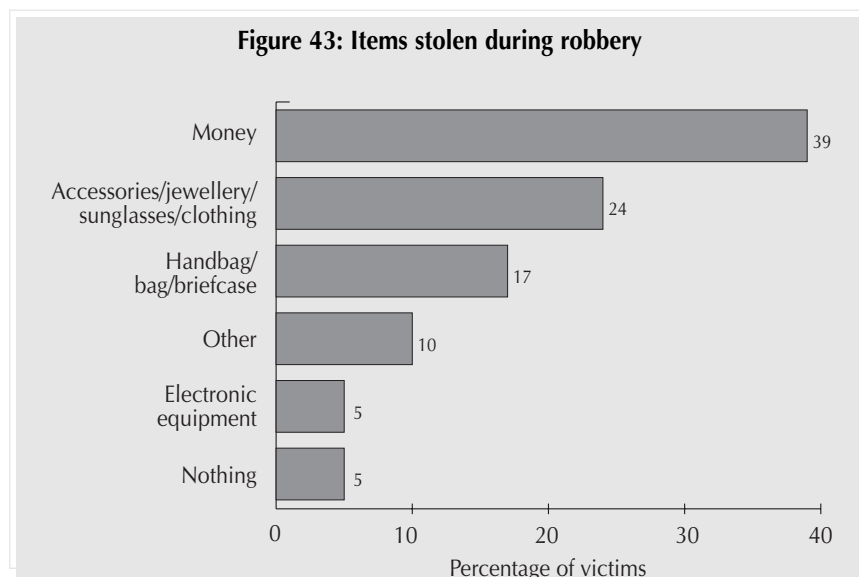
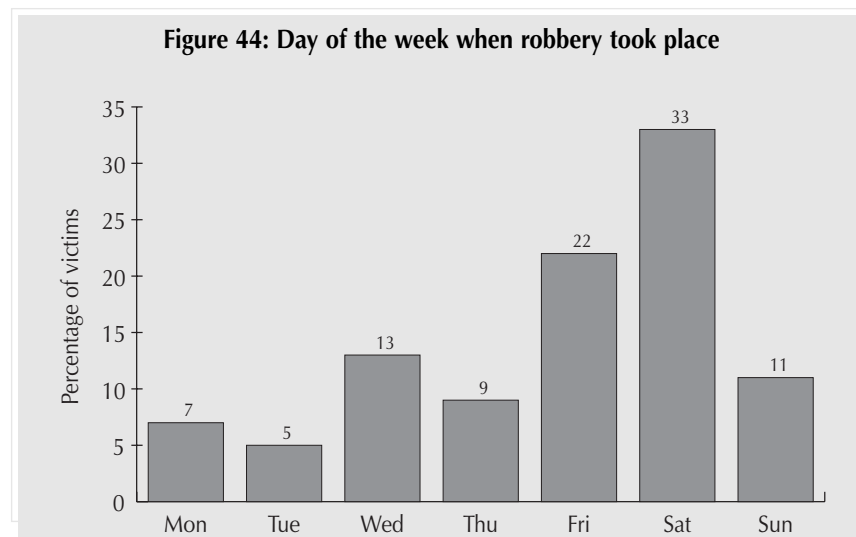
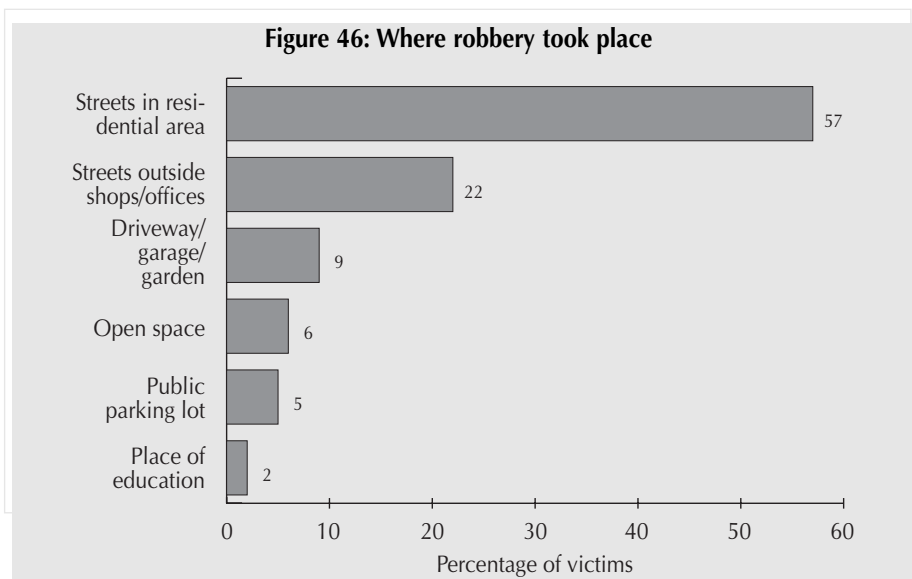
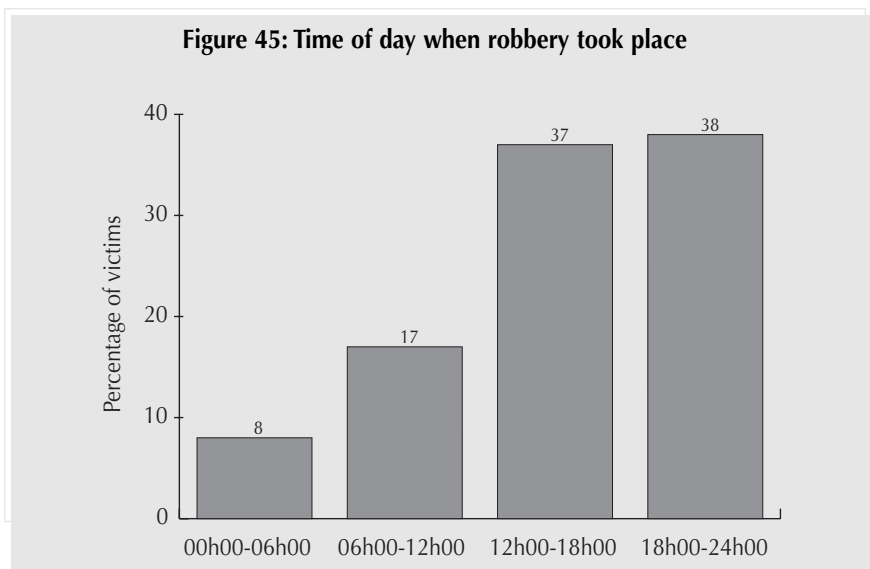


Figure 44: Day of the week when robbery took place



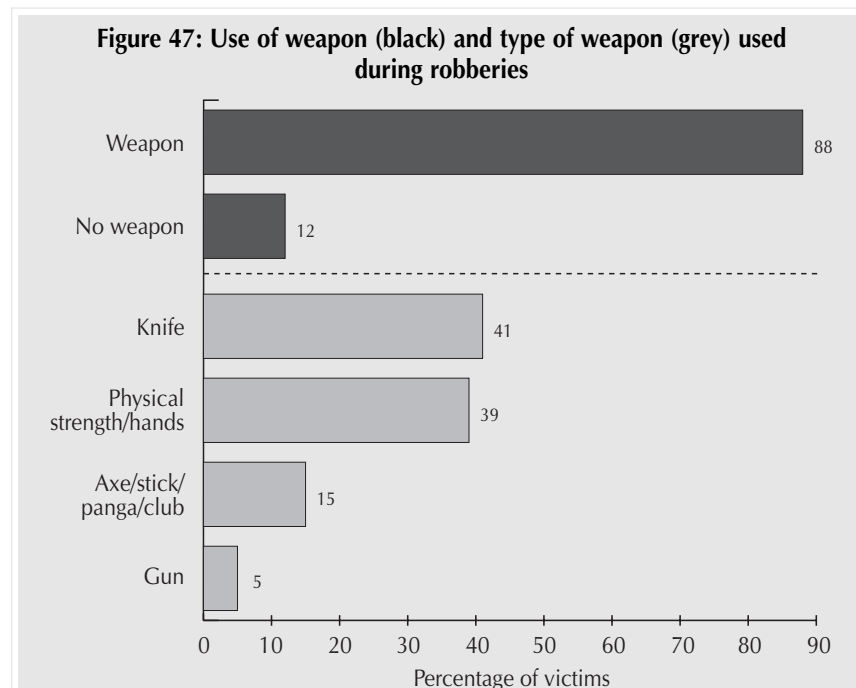


Use of violence and weapons

Although robbery is by definition violent, it can involve either the threat of violence or the actual use of violence. Most incidents (71%) involved violence. Twenty nine per cent of victims said only threats were used.

Most victims said a weapon was used to commit the robbery (figure 47). Among the weapons seen by the victims, knives were most common. Few said that a gun was used.

Less than a third of robbery victims (29%) sustained injuries. Of those who were injured, 53% were treated in a hospital for the injury.



CHAPTER 12

FEAR OF CRIME

Key points

- Nearly two-thirds of respondents (61%) felt unsafe in their areas after dark.
- Fear of crime is low in Dar es Salaam compared to South African cities.
- Women, young people between 15-25 years, those with the least education and those living in new and established suburbs felt least safe after dark in their areas of residence.
- Two-thirds (62%) said they thought crime had increased compared to previous years.
- People living in new and established suburbs were twice as likely to say they thought crime had increased than residents in the inner city or rural settlements. These perceptions may indicate how crime levels are changing in the city.
- 56% of people accurately estimated that housebreaking and theft followed by mugging (30%) were the most common crimes in Dar es Salaam. These were also the two types of crime feared by most people in the city.

Dealing with perceptions of crime, particularly anxiety and fear of crime, is as important as reducing crime levels. Fear of crime affects people's quality of life and can also have negative economic and political consequences. It can also affect people's willingness to interact and work with government, particularly the police, but also with local government crime prevention practitioners.

Public perceptions of crime are rarely based on statistical information about crime levels or the risk of crime. Instead, factors like actual victimisation, general impressions of the city environment, the media, interaction with colleagues, friends and family, perceptions about government's ability to protect people and the extent to which people feel helpless against crime, determine public perceptions.

In order to assess the fear of crime, both victims and non-victims in Dar es Salaam were asked:

- how safe they felt walking in their area during the day and after dark;
- which crimes occur most often in their area; and
- which crimes they fear the most.

Feelings of safety in areas of residence

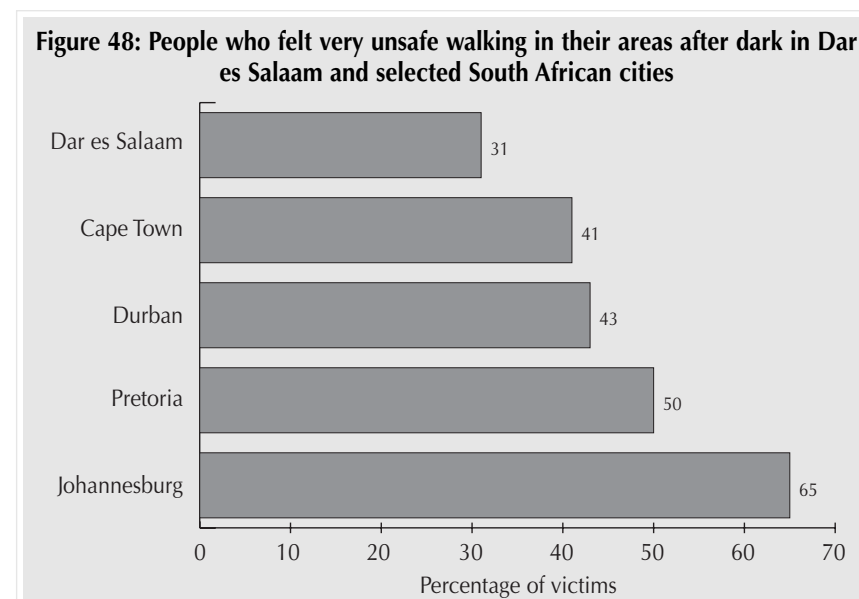
The vast majority of people (94%) in the city felt safe walking in their areas during the day. Only 6% said they felt unsafe. Not surprisingly, the opposite was true after dark: 61% felt unsafe walking in their neighbourhoods and 38% felt safe (table 13).

	During the day (%)	After dark (%)
Very safe	54	9
Fairly safe	40	29
A bit unsafe	4	30
Very unsafe	2	31
Total	100	100

This trend – for people to feel safer during the day than after dark – is common throughout the world. Compared to South African cities, the fear of crime is low in Dar es Salaam. In Johannesburg where crime levels and the fear of crime were the highest of all South African cities, as many as two-thirds of people felt very unsafe walking in their neighbourhoods after dark.⁸ This can be compared to 31% in Dar es Salaam. Even in Cape Town – the city where South Africans felt most safe – anxiety about crime was higher than in Dar es Salaam (figure 48).

Fear of crime does not affect everyone to the same extent. It is likely to be the highest among those people who think they have the greatest chance of victimisation, but also among those who worry the most about the consequences of crime, whether psychological, social, physical or economic. Typically, women, the aged and the poor fear crime the most. These trends have been illustrated by similar victim surveys in South Africa and abroad.⁹ In Dar es Salaam, this trend is clearly evident for gender only.

A quarter of men (25%) said they felt very unsafe in their area after dark, compared to 37% of women. When compared across age categories, it was surprising that

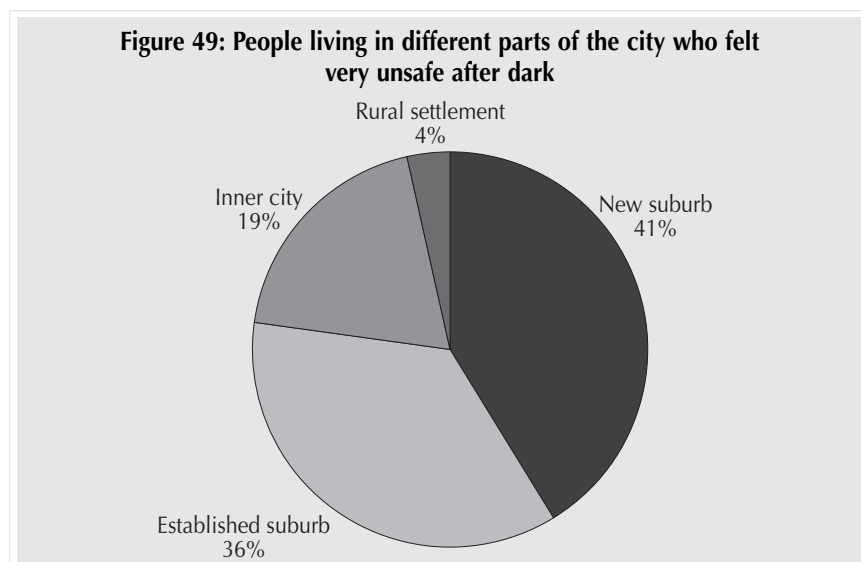


those over 40 years of age were least likely to feel very unsafe after dark: 29% said this was the case compared to 30% of those between 26-40 years and 37% of people aged between 15-25 years. Thus, contrary to the trend elsewhere, the youngest people in Dar es Salaam fear crime the most.

Other demographic variables were also significant. Those with no education or very little education tended to feel less safe than those with more education: 35% with no schooling or primary schooling only felt very unsafe after dark compared to 32% with a secondary school qualification and 17% of respondents with a post-secondary school qualification.

People living in suburbs were also much more likely to feel unsafe than those living in the inner city or rural settlements (figure 49). This is probably because people in suburbs are wealthier and thus more at risk of property crime than those living in other parts of the city. In addition, the survey also shows that these residents were much more likely than those in other parts of the city to believe that crime in their area had increased compared to previous years. This perception would fuel the fear of crime.

In South African cities, by comparison, people living in suburbs often felt more safe than other city residents. In Pretoria, for example, 70% of informal settlement



residents and 64% of township residents felt very unsafe after dark, compared to only 42% of those living in the suburbs.¹⁰ This can be attributed to the high levels of violent crime in South African cities and the fact that people living in the poorer parts of the city were much more at risk of violence than their wealthier counterparts. In addition, the capacity of the police was greater in wealthier areas where residents also have the added benefit of being able to afford elaborate private security systems to protect themselves and their property.

Although less significant than the variables outlined above, employment status also affected levels of anxiety about crime in Dar es Salaam. People who were unemployed were most likely to feel very unsafe after dark (35%), followed by those dependent on other income (31%), those in formal employment (31%) and those in informal employment (29%). The unemployed may feel least safe because they are

Who fears crime the most?

- Women
- The youth (aged between 15-25 years)
- Those with the least education
- Those living in new suburbs followed by those in established suburbs
- The unemployed

least able to protect themselves from crime, either through physical measures to safeguard their property, or the ability to choose safer transport routes, places to live or places of recreation.

Perceptions about changing crime levels

The majority of people in Dar es Salaam believed that, compared to previous years, the level of crime in their area had increased (62%). Only 19% said they thought crime had decreased and 15% said levels had remained the same. A few people (4%) were unsure. It is a common trend that most people interviewed in victim surveys believe that crime has increased compared to previous years. In South Africa, for example, 76% of people in Pretoria thought that crime had increased compared to previous years.¹¹ This trend has even been recorded in places where the actual crime level has been declining.

This suggests that perceptions about crime may be shaped more by subjective judgements than by factual information. Without reliable information on crime levels over the past few years in Dar es Salaam, however, it is difficult to establish whether or not this applies to the city. One indication that public perception here indeed reflects real changes in crime levels is the significant difference in views between residents living in different parts of the city. People living in new and established suburbs were twice as likely to say that the crime level had increased compared to previous years than were residents from the inner city or rural settlements (table 14). Those from rural settlements were much more likely than people from other parts of the city to believe that crime had decreased.

Table 14: Views of people living in different parts of the city about how crime levels have changed compared to previous years

	Inner city (%)	Established suburb (%)	New suburb (%)	Rural settlement (%)
Crime increased	42	79	81	40
Crime decreased	28	11	15	37
Stayed the same	30	10	4	23
Total	100	100	100	100

What people fear

Respondents were first asked what type of crime they thought occurred most often in their area. Over half identified housebreaking and theft as the most common crime (56%), followed by mugging (30%). Interestingly, according to the victimisation rate recorded by the survey, these are indeed the two most prevalent crimes in Dar es Salaam (see chapter 3). This suggests that, even in the absence of widely publicised crime statistics, people are able to identify the most common crime types.

Of the few remaining respondents, 5% said they did not know which crimes occurred most often, 3% mentioned gang-related crime, 2% robbery and 1% each for rape, murder, child abuse, assault and car-hijacking. No respondents mentioned other property crimes such as theft of livestock, crop theft or theft of vehicle parts. According to the actual victimisation rates, these are among the most prevalent crime types in the city. It is possible, however, that this is the result of the way in which this particular question was administered in the interview process.

When asked which crime types they feared the most in the area where they live, respondents were most likely to say housebreaking and theft (37%), followed by mugging (23%). Since these are the two crimes also identified as the most prevalent, people probably fear those crimes they believe are the most likely to be perpetrated. The influence of other factors such as anxiety about the consequences of crime, is also demonstrated by the data: 9% of people said the crime they feared the most was murder and 5% said it was rape. Although the actual risk of victimisation through murder was very low in Dar es Salaam (only 1% of people reported a murder in their immediate family in the past five years), nearly one in ten people fear this crime more than any other.

Although anxiety about crime does not always match the actual risk of crime, fears should not be regarded as irrational. In the United Kingdom where crime levels are comparatively low, the Home Office has concluded that fears are usually the highest among those living in areas where the chances of victimisation are the greatest, and among those with the most direct and indirect experience of crime.¹² Rather than accusing people of excessive concern, fears should be addressed when they become evident.

CHAPTER 13

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING AND HOW TO IMPROVE SAFETY

Key points

- 80% of people said they used some form of protection against crime and violence, mostly burglar-proofing, fences or walls, a dog and a weapon.
- Although these measures are relatively simple, 68% said they felt fairly safe as a result of using them.
- 56% thought government should provide more visible police and security guards and a better distribution of police posts.
- 44% said that, compared to previous years, the quality of policing has stayed the same; 39% thought it had declined.
- Access to the police was less of a problem (two-thirds reached the police within half an hour) than the lack of visible policing and patrols: 36% never saw a police officer on duty and 17% said they saw an officer less than once a month.
- Visible policing should be targeted in the suburbs. In new suburbs, 62% said they never saw the police and 48% in established suburbs said the same. These people were much more likely than those in other parts of the city to think crime has increased. They also displayed high levels of fear of crime.
- When asked how individuals can improve safety, 62% said they could co-operate with or join the police, security guards, SunguSungu or neighbourhood watch organisations. This shows the inability of the police to fulfil this role and the need for some security presence as a priority.
- People seemed more inclined to support SunguSungu-type initiatives than the police. Despite this and the fact that 53% thought these community initiatives improve safety, only 25% of all respondents said that community initiatives actually exist in their neighbourhoods.
- Between 14% and a quarter said there was nothing they could do to improve safety. None mentioned taking precautions or being more alert, which suggests a limited knowledge about crime prevention and risk avoidance behaviour.

All respondents, victims and non-victims, were asked a range of questions about possible measures to improve their personal safety, as well as that of the city in general. This data provides an important guide for officials when planning crime reduction strategies. It reveals what people are currently doing to enhance their safety, as well as what they believe the city government's priorities should be in this regard. These perceptions are important for a crime prevention strategy, not only because they indicate what the public want the most, but also because they assist in the management of public relations around the strategy.

The following issues are covered in this section:

- what people do to protect themselves from crime and violence, whether these measures make their users feel safer and how they could be improved;
- what government should do to make Dar es Salaam safer;
- access to, and attitudes about, policing in the city; and
- what individuals thought they could do to make Dar es Salaam safer.

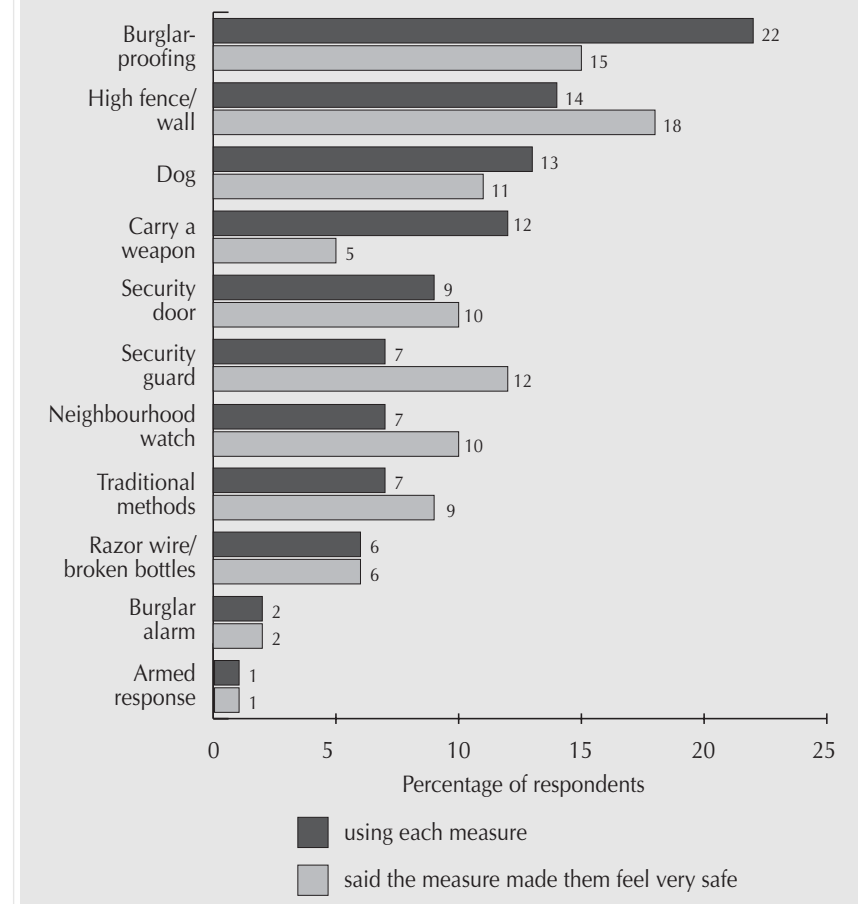
Type of protection measures used

The vast majority of people in Dar es Salaam (80%) used some form of protection against crime and violence. The remaining 20% – a significant minority – had no means of protection. A wide variety of measures were used. The most common type of protection was burglar-proofing, followed by fences or walls, a dog and a weapon. These are cheaper than devices such as burglar alarms and armed response services which were used by comparatively few people (figure 50).

Over two-thirds of respondents said the protection measures they used made them feel fairly safe (68%). For the rest, 14% said they still felt a bit unsafe and 5% felt very unsafe, while 13% felt very safe. This suggests that the devices currently used – although fairly simple – enhanced feelings of safety among the vast majority of people. The measures most likely to make people feel very safe were a high fence or wall, burglar-proofing, a security guard and a dog (figure 50). Interestingly, although 12% of respondents said they carried a weapon, only 5% said this made them feel very safe.

The overall level of safety provided by these measures may partly explain why, when asked what else they could do to improve their own safety, most respondents (66%) said there was nothing else they could do. Alternatively, it may also be true that people were unaware of how else to become involved in crime reduction, or that they believe it is government's job rather than their own to provide security.

Figure 50: Types of protection measures used and whether they made people feel very safe



Those with formal and informal employment were less likely to say there was nothing they could do (60% and 63%, respectively) than those dependent on other income (70%) and the unemployed (71%). Nevertheless, affordability was not the key determinant since a majority of employed respondents still maintained there was nothing they could do to improve their safety.

Among the 34% who did have ideas about how to enhance their safety, most said they could participate in community-based initiatives such as SunguSungu,

neighbourhood watches or police patrols. The remainder mentioned carrying a gun or other weapon, followed by more conventional target-hardening measures such as building high walls, better lighting and burglar-proofing.

Government interventions and the need for better policing

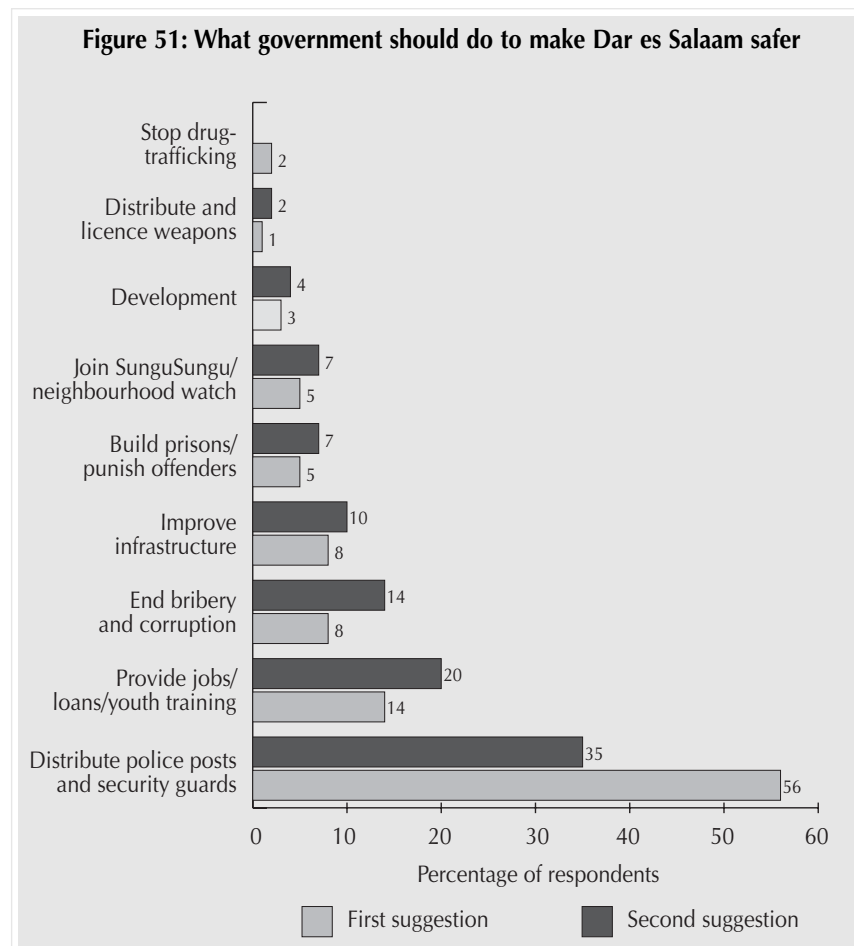
In response to an open-ended question about what government should do to make Dar es Salaam a safer city – in which two suggestions were allowed – most respondents called for more visible police (and security guards) and a better distribution of police posts. Associated with this call for improved policing was the need for government to end bribery and corruption among police members (figure 51). After more visible law enforcement, a common request was for better economic support from government in the form of job creation and the provision of loans and training for the youth.

The results clearly indicate that people want better and more visible policing. Since a city-level crime reduction strategy will need to focus on issues other than just policing, these views must be considered in the planning of the strategy and how it is marketed to various constituencies.

Victim surveys conducted in South African cities revealed similar tendencies, with the vast majority of residents in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Pretoria calling for better policing and law enforcement and more resources for the police.¹³ One significant difference between the South African cities and Dar es Salaam, however, is that residents in the former were much more likely than those in Dar es Salaam to say that harsher punishment for offenders was required. In South Africa, these views are probably more symptomatic of the need for speedier and more effective processing of offenders by the criminal justice system than about actual sentencing policy.

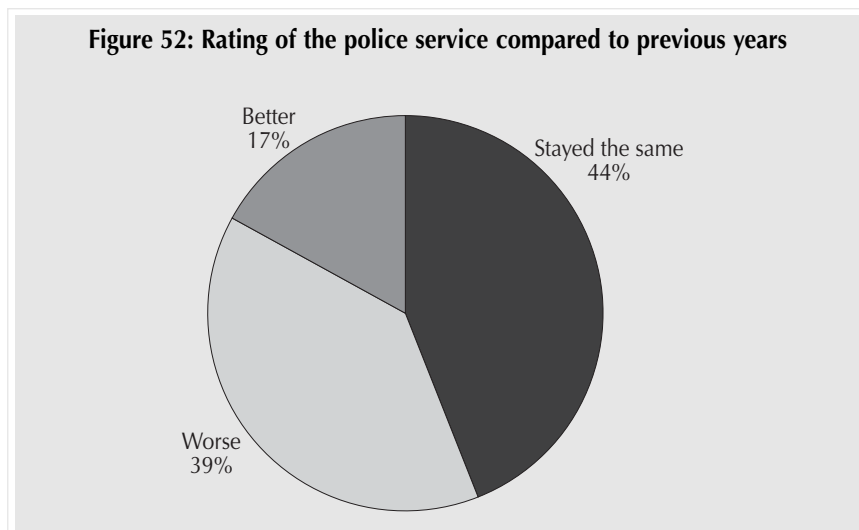
In Dar es Salaam, the need for government to improve policing was confirmed by the view of nearly half of the respondents that compared to previous years, policing in their areas of residence has stayed the same (figure 52). More than a third thought that the standard of policing had declined and only 17% said it was better than in previous years. Bearing in mind that 62% of respondents in the city estimated that crime in their area had increased compared to previous years, it is possible that people believe the level and effectiveness of the police have not kept up with the increasing levels of crime.

The aspect of policing that probably needs the most attention in Dar es Salaam is visible policing and patrols. When asked what government should do to make Dar



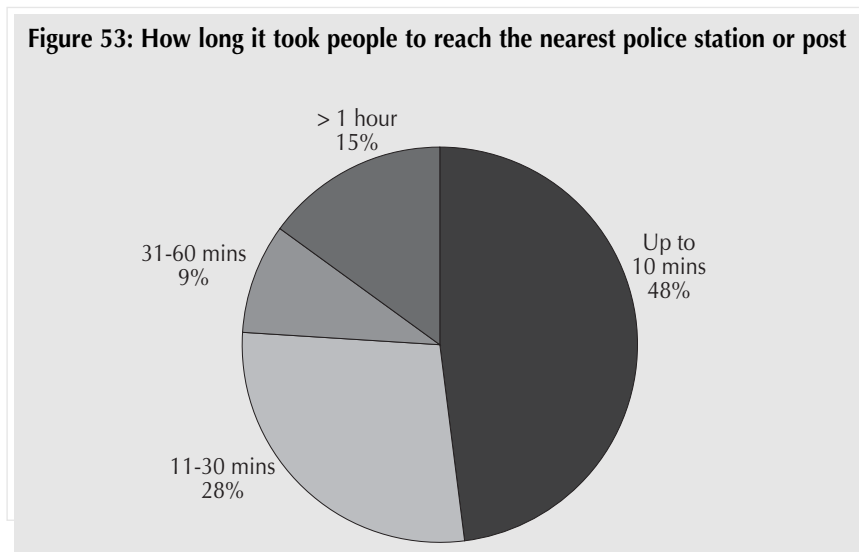
es Salaam safer, most people mentioned a better distribution of police posts. However, more detailed questions about people’s current access to a police station or post suggested that it is the visibility of the police rather than public access to the police that is the problem.

Access to the police was assessed through several questions about the distance to the nearest police station or post, how people get there, how long it takes them and whether they have a working telephone in their home. The vast majority of respondents (87%) said they live within six kilometres of the nearest police station or police post. Although most (68%) had to walk in order to reach the police, two-



thirds arrived there within half an hour with nearly half saying it took them only 10 minutes (figure 53).

Access via telephone was limited, since only 36% of people had a phone in their home and only 32% said their phone was in working order. In addition, because some police stations and most police posts do not have telephones, whether or not



members of the public have a telephone becomes irrelevant as a measure of access to the police. Despite poor telephonic access, the data suggests that people in Dar es Salaam could generally reach the police – at a police station or post – fairly quickly and easily.

Of more concern is that, according to the survey, many people living in Dar es Salaam rarely if ever saw a police officer on duty in their neighbourhood. More than a third never saw a police officer on duty and 17% said they saw an officer less than once a month. Thus, for over half of the respondents, seeing a police officer on duty was a rare occurrence (figure 54).

These findings suggest that, when asking government to improve policing, people in Dar es Salaam were referring more to the need for visible police patrols than for the building of more police stations or posts. A visible police presence may help to reduce some types of crime, but is more likely to reduce the fear of crime. In Dar es Salaam, the vast majority of people who said they never saw a police officer on duty in their area, felt unsafe after dark (table 15).

However, the problem did not affect all parts of Dar es Salaam to the same extent. Those most likely to see a police officer on duty were people living in the inner city – half of whom saw a police officer on a daily basis – followed by residents of rural settlements. The latter were as likely as inner city residents to see police officers on

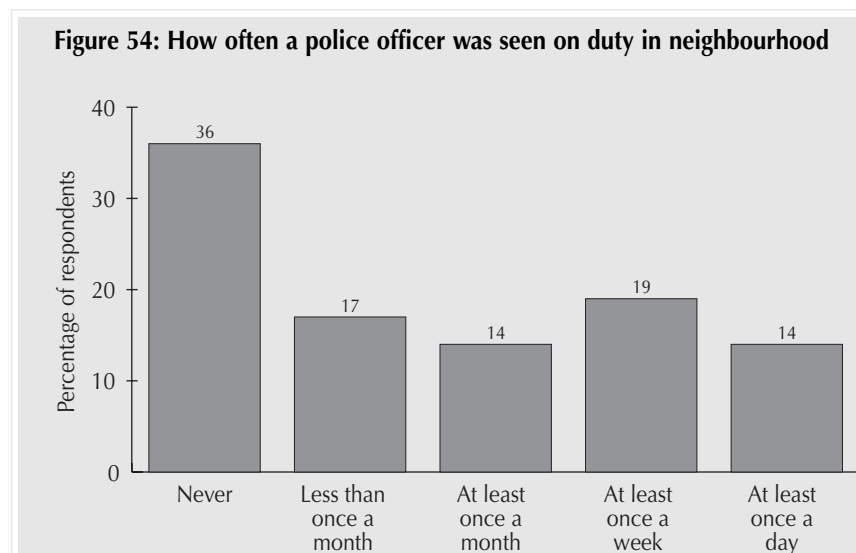


Table 15: How safe people felt after dark in their neighbourhoods in relation to how often they saw a police officer on duty in their area

Feelings of safety	At least once a day (%)	At least once a week (%)	At least once a month (%)	Less than once a month (%)	Never (%)
Safe	43	34	42	59	28
Unsafe	57	66	58	41	72
Total	100	100	100	100	100

duty at least once a week, and more likely than people from any other part of the city to see the police once a month or less than once a month (table 16). Of most concern were people living in new suburbs – 62% said they never saw the police. Nearly half of the residents of established suburbs (48%) said the same.

Efforts to increase visible policing should therefore be targeted in the suburbs. This is particularly important given that people living in these areas were much more likely than those in other parts of the city to believe that crime in their neighbourhood had increased compared to previous years. Suburban residents also displayed a more pronounced fear of crime than those living in the inner city or rural settlements.

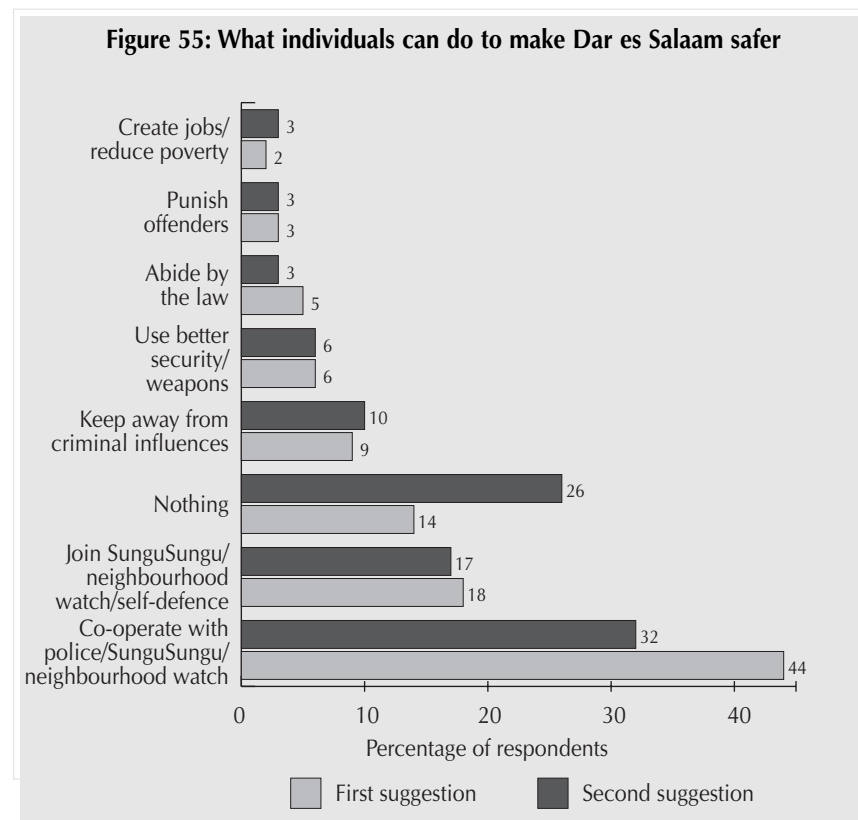
Table 16: How often people living in different parts of the city saw a police officer on duty in their neighbourhood

	Inner city (%)	Established suburb (%)	New suburb (%)	Rural settlement (%)
At least once a day	51	6	4	1
At least once a week	22	18	17	21
At least once a month	7	16	12	19
Less than once a month	7	12	5	50
Never	13	48	62	9
Total	100	100	100	100

What people can do to improve their safety

Effective crime reduction depends on building partnerships and engaging in joint efforts between government actors and members of those communities that are affected by crime. Respondents in the survey were therefore asked, not only what they think government should do to make the city safer, but also what they could do.

The findings confirm the need illustrated by the results above for a more visible presence of guards, either in the form of police officials or non-state agencies such as security guards or neighbourhood watch patrols. More than half of the respondents – using both their first and second suggestions – said they could co-operate with or join the police, security guards, SunguSungu or neighbourhood watch organisations to make the city safer (figure 55). This illustrates the inability of the local police to fulfil this role effectively. On the other hand, it shows that people



believe it to be a priority, since they are prepared to take on the task themselves in the absence of policing.

A concerning trend, also evident in results presented elsewhere (types of protection measures used), is the number of people who said there was nothing they could do to improve safety in Dar es Salaam. In South Africa, by comparison, less people said there was nothing they could do to enhance safety. In the latter, significant proportions said they could take precautions against crime and be more alert (30% in Pretoria, for example). This suggests that knowledge about alternative means of preventing crime or changing behaviour to reduce the risk of victimisation is limited in Dar es Salaam.

However, there are some similarities in the responses of people in Dar es Salaam and South African cities. Policing-type solutions were also most popular in South Africa, although a clearer distinction was made between the most popular choice – better co-operation with the police – and community-based safety initiatives. In Pretoria, for example, 34% said they could co-operate with the police and a further 25% mentioned participating in community-based initiatives. (The latter refers to a range of activities that would include measures alluded to by the Dar es Salaam respondents, such as neighbourhood watches.) This suggests that, in South Africa, people were more inclined to co-operate with the police than in Dar es Salaam. In Dar es Salaam, by comparison, the majority of people described non-state policing options, such as joining and co-operating with SunguSungu, security guards, neighbourhood watches and community groups.

When asked about these non-state policing activities in more detail, only 24% of respondents said that people in their community made arrangements to protect themselves. Virtually all (94%) those who mentioned such arrangements were referring to SunguSungu and neighbourhood watch schemes. The remaining few said people joined community groups or made other *ad hoc* protection arrangements. Importantly, more than half (53%) of the respondents who said their community made arrangements to protect itself believed these initiatives were effective in securing their community.

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSION

The most prevalent crime in Dar es Salaam was burglary, followed by other categories of theft such as 'simple theft', theft of livestock, crops and vehicle parts. Although violent crimes were reported less often to the victim survey than property crimes, the rate of assault in Dar es Salaam was high compared to South African cities. In the case of other violent crimes such as robbery, murder and vehicle hijacking, rates were comparatively low in Dar es Salaam.

The survey data suggests that a crime reduction strategy in Dar es Salaam should focus on burglary, simple theft, theft of livestock, vehicle parts and assault. Strategies against assault should be part of a broader focus on reducing violence against women in the city. Interventions should target specific parts of the city and specific groups of people who were most at risk of victimisation.

The risk profiles indicate that burglary projects should target the new or established suburbs where residents were most at risk. Attempts should also be made to raise awareness about safety precautions and target-hardening measures. When asked what they could do to improve their safety, no survey respondents mentioned taking precautions or being more alert, which suggests a limited awareness about risk avoidance. In addition, nearly a quarter of respondents said they had no means of protecting their homes against theft. Most burglaries happened during the time when people were at home. This suggests that there is ample scope for reducing the chances of burglaries being committed. The same applies for the other types of theft.

Projects to reduce simple theft should focus on young people and those living in the inner city. Other key indicators for the design of interventions are that most thefts happened in the afternoons and in the streets outside shops and offices followed by streets in residential areas.

Those living in the rural parts of the city were most at risk of theft of livestock, crops and farm equipment. Projects aimed at reducing these offences should therefore target these parts of Dar es Salaam. Interventions should take into consideration that farm equipment and crops were likely to be stolen during the day, while livestock was largely stolen at night. All three types of theft typically happened over the weekend.

Attempts to reduce vehicle parts theft should focus on the inner city where people were most at risk of this crime. The survey results suggest that there is currently little to deter would-be thieves of car parts. Victims reported that the thefts happened throughout the day with most occurring in public – in residential streets and public parking lots.

Projects to reduce assault should focus on young people between the ages of 15 and 25 years, the unemployed and those living in or visiting established suburbs. Interventions aimed at reducing domestic and ‘social’ violence (between friends) would have to be important components of a strategy against assault, since most were perpetrated in the home, during the weekend, and by partners or neighbours. Risk factors related to places of entertainment should also be investigated.

These survey results can guide the Dar es Salaam Safer Cities project in identifying the crime types, parts of the city and people on which a crime reduction strategy should focus. The findings about the fear of crime are also useful in this regard. Residents of the new and established suburbs felt least safe in their areas after dark. They were also the people most likely to say that they thought crime had increased in recent years. Attention should therefore be directed towards these parts of the city, particularly in the provision of high profile, short-term measures that are designed to make people feel safer.

It is also significant, however, that women, young people between 15 and 25 years and those with the least education also reported high levels of anxiety about crime. It is possible that these fears relate to the high levels of domestic and social violence. The Safer Cities project would need to investigate these trends further and endeavour to reduce not only crime levels but also the high levels of anxiety among certain of the city’s residents.

One of the factors that is undoubtedly related to the fear of crime in Dar es Salaam is the lack of visible policing. The majority of people who said they never saw a police officer on duty in their area felt unsafe after dark in their neighbourhoods. Over half of the survey respondents said government should provide more visible police and security guards and a better distribution of police posts. Access to the police, however, was not the main problem: two-thirds of Dar es Salaam’s residents said they could reach the police within half an hour. Of more concern is the lack of visible police and patrols: more than a third said they never saw a police officer on duty in their area. It is also significant that most people living in the new suburbs and nearly half in the established suburbs – where the fear of crime was highest – said they never saw the police on duty in their areas.

Levels of confidence in the police were low in Dar es Salaam. Nearly a half of survey respondents believed that, compared to previous years, the quality of policing had stayed the same in their area. Over a third said the standard of policing had deteriorated and only 17% believed it had improved. According to the public, the key to making Dar es Salaam safer lies with improved policing. Over half called for more police and security guards and a further 14% said government should end bribery and corruption in the police. Concerns about police corruption, the failure of the police to take crime seriously or to take action against perpetrators, were the main reasons given by victims for not reporting crimes and for being dissatisfied with the way police dealt with victims who did report crime.

Low levels of public confidence in the police’s ability to respond to reports of crime were also recorded in South Africa cities. However, substantially fewer victims in Dar es Salaam said they sought ‘help’ from the police after a crime had occurred than did those in South African cities. Most victims in Dar es Salaam turned to family and friends after victimisation. However, many did not seek help from anyone at all. Interventions in the form of victim support, whether through formal or informal means, should therefore be considered as part of a crime reduction strategy for the city.

An important part of any crime reduction strategy is building partnerships between those affected by crime and those responsible for its prevention. The survey findings indicate that there is a willingness among the public in Dar es Salaam to work with the police and to boost the visible presence of the police in the city. When asked what they could do to make the city safer, more than half of the respondents said they could co-operate with the police or join *SunguSungu* or a similar neighbourhood watch scheme. Further questioning revealed that a quarter of the city’s residents said that people in their community had made arrangements to protect themselves. Most of these arrangements took the form of neighbourhood watch schemes.

Despite these positive attitudes, a quarter of respondents said there was nothing they could do to make the city safer. In South African cities by comparison, people were less inclined to feel helpless against crime, with many suggesting that they could take precautions and be more alert. While these views hardly invoke an image of sophisticated crime reduction, the South African survey results indicate higher levels of awareness about crime and the need to take some responsibility for personal safety than do those in Dar es Salaam.

An important component of a crime reduction strategy would therefore be raising public awareness about how individuals can reduce their risk of victimisation. It

would be difficult, however, to win public support for a safer city strategy that focuses on individual and community-based interventions but neglects the issue of policing. Innovative projects are needed that would enhance the visibility of law enforcement in various parts of the city. This does not have to depend solely on increasing the number of police officers on the streets. It could take the form of increased and/or joint patrols by police officials, security guards or neighbourhood watch volunteers in carefully selected target areas where the need for a visible police presence is the greatest.

NOTES

- 1 Section 54(2)(a).
- 2 A Louw, M Shaw, L Camerer, R Robertshaw, *Crime in Johannesburg: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS Monograph 18, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, February 1998; L Camerer, A Louw, M Shaw, L Artz & W Scharf, *Crime in Cape Town: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS Monograph 23, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, April 1998; R Robertshaw & A Louw, *Crime in Durban: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS Monograph (forthcoming).
- 3 A Louw, *Crime in Pretoria: Results of a city victim survey*, ISS and Idasa, 1998.
- 4 M Shaw & A Louw, *Stolen opportunities: The impact of crime on the poor*, ISS Monograph 14, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, July 1997.
- 5 Louw, August 1998, op cit.
- 6 Ibid
- 7 See ibid; S Bollen, L Artz, L Vetten & A Louw, *Violence against women in metropolitan South Africa: A study of impact and service delivery*, ISS Monograph 41, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, September 1999.
- 8 See A Louw, Comparing crime in South Africa's cities, *African Security Review* 8(1), 1999.
- 9 See Louw, August 1998, op cit.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 C Mirrlees-Black, P Mayhew & A Percy, The 1996 British crime survey: England and Wales, *Home Office Statistical Bulletin* 19/96, 24 September 1996.
- 13 See Louw, 1999, op cit.