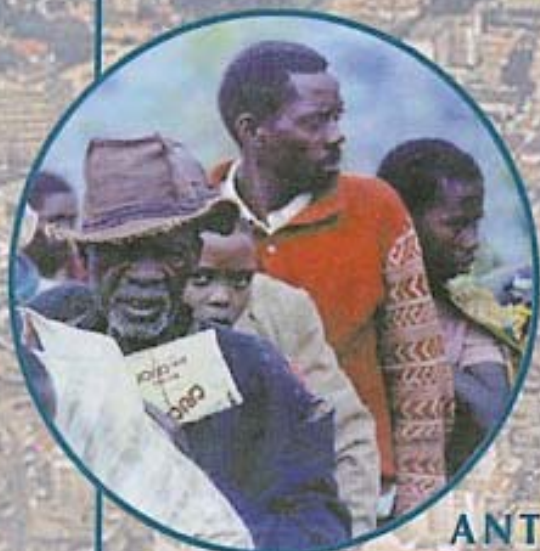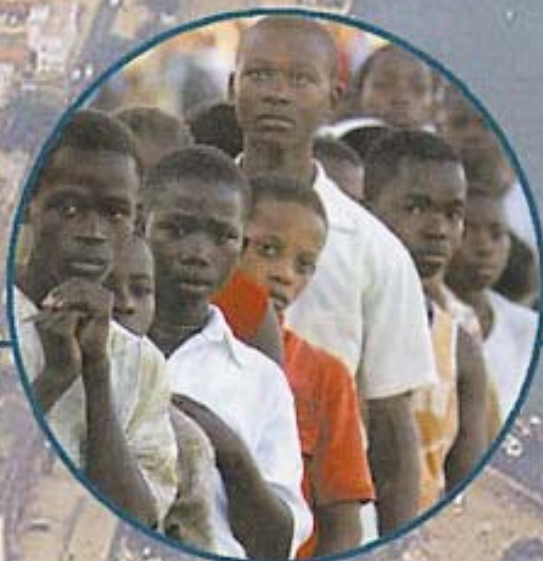# CRIME IN DAR ES SALAAM

RESULTS OF A CITY VICTIM SURVEY

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CRIME IN DAR ES SALAAM

Results from a city victim survey

and

in depth interviews on violence against women

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BACKGROUND

Information is essential for the planning, design and monitoring of a crime reduction strategy. Information is needed not only about crime levels but also about resource availability, capacity and the views of the people in the area about the issues. Victim surveys are one way of gathering some of this information. They supplement police statistics by providing data on unreported crimes. They also show who is more at risk of crime, some of the impacts of crime and most importantly, public perception about the priority issues in their area.

The Institute for Security Studies has conducted four city victim surveys in recent years in South Africa in order to provide city governments with data for designing crime reduction strategies. The ISS has also conducted specialised surveys – on crime in rural areas and on violence against women – to assist national and provincial government as well as non-state practitioners in planning for better crime reduction.

In February and March 2000 two surveys were conducted in Dar es Salaam for the Safer Cities project – a city victim survey and in depth inteviews on violence against women. The format of the ISS surveys was used as a framework and adapted to suit local conditions. The results of these surveys are presented below.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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 City 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 similar methodologies as 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 is burglary. High levels of burglary were recorded by the victim survey, with 43% of victims saying their household was burgled over the past five years. Simple theft is the second most common crime in the city with 32% of people having been victimised. Other categories of theft, namely crop and livestock theft, that occur 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 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. 16 % of people said they 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 the offences most likely to be reported to the police. Reporting rates for violent crimes were relatively low. Those crimes that occur mainly in the rural areas such as crop theft were the least likely to be reported. The need to claim insurance benefits does 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 influence reporting patterns.

BURGLARY

People living in new or established suburbs were more at risk of burglary than people living elsewhere in Dar es Salaam. Generally people with higher income and those owning houses were more at risk. Burglaries are 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 6h00. 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 and between 12h01 and 18h00 and accessories such as jewellery followed by money were the likely targets of these thefts. Victims tended to be alone when the thefts occurred. The likely location was streets outside shops and offices 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 7%. These crimes happened primarily in the rural parts of the city and to a limited extent in the new suburbs. Those most at risk are older people who own their homes, have little education and are employed in the informal sector. Seasonal distribution of crop theft follows the growing cycle of crops, whereas livestock and farm equipment theft were evenly distributed with end of year peaks. Farm equipment was usually stolen in the daytime and livestock at night. Crop thefts were more evenly distributed throughout the day. All three types of theft typically happened over the weekend and violence was infrequent.

THEFT OF VEHICLE PARTS

Men were more at risk of vehicle part theft than women as were home owners and wealthier, more educated people. Residents living in the inner city were more vunerable 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

Victim profiles showed, unusually, that people living in established suburbs and those with a secondary school education were most at risk of assault. Assault took two main forms – that which happened in the home (58%) and in places of entertainment (18%). Typically the offender was known to the victim. Offenders were most often partners (33%) or neighbours (36%). Assault occurred mostly on Fridays, Saturdays and in particular Sundays between midday and 06h00. The vast majority of assault resulted in injury. Physical strength was mostly used (as opposed to other weapons) and most victims were treated in a hospital for their injuries.

ROBBERY

People living in new or emerging suburbs and with a post high 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 robbery was in residential streets, while they were walking alone. Money was most likely to be taken during the robbery. Violence was used during 69% of 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 areas after dark – 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 least safe after dark in their areas of residence. Two thirds said crime had increased compared to previous years and people living in new suburbs and established suburbs were twice as likely to say this than residents from the inner city or rural settlements. Over half 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%) use some form of protection against crime, mostly burglar guards, fences/walls, a dog and a weapon. Although these measures are not sophisticated, 68% said they felt fairly safe as a result of using them.

Over half (56%) said 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 policing has stayed the same (44%), while 39% thought it had become worse. Access to the police is less of a problem than the lack of visible policing and patrols, with 36% saying they never see a police officer on duty and 17% reporting seeing an officer less than once a month. Visible policing should be targeted in the suburbs. In new suburbs 62% said they never see 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 display high levels of fear of crime.

When asked about how individuals can improve safety, 62% said they could co-operate with or join the police, security guards, Sungu Sungu or neighbourhood watch organisations. People seem more inclined to support Sungu Sungu type initiatives than the police. Despite this and the fact that 53% think these community initiatives improve safety, only 25% said they 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.

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.

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

The results confirm that abuse occurs in those environments in which women should be safest – the home – and is perpetrated by people who women know, trust, and often depend on, namely partners and spouses. This was confirmed by the fact that just over half the women said they felt unsafe in their own homes and as many thought their own homes are the most unsafe place to be in Dar es Salaam.

Although the vast majority of survivors of all types of abuse believed that what had happened to them was a crime, the nature of abuse suggests that it has become 'normalised'. Abuse is ongoing and is often witnessed by others (such as relatives and children). This raises

questions about how others present respond to the abuse and are affected by it. The ongoing nature of abuse also heightens its negative impact.

Abusers were 'ordinary' men with profiles unlike that of other violent offenders who are mostly young underemployed men between 15 and 25 years. Abusers were likely to be married, employed, of all ages, and to have abused others before. (The profile of sexual abusers more closely resembles that of other violent offenders than was the case for other abuse types. Most survivors of sexual abuse said the abuser was between 21 and 30 years.)

Survivors of all types of abuse were likely to have between aged 18 to 30 years when the abuse occurred, although sexual abuse survivors were likely to be younger than survivors of other types of abuse.

Most survivors of emotional, physical and sexual abuse described symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and many had considered suicide and had attempted suicide. The impact of this emotional distress on the ability of survivors 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 most popular with 62% of survivors turning to family and 48% to friends. Many survivors sought help from medical professional (44%) and police (39%) and were generally satisfied with the treatment they received. Only 15% went to a social worker and 14% to a counsellor. Although a majority of women were satisfied with treatment by the police, few said that standard police procedures for dealing with survivors of violence were followed. This suggests that knowledge about rights and the treatment that survivors should receive from the police was poor among the survivors interviewed.

PART 1: CITY VICTIM SURVEY

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

> Key point
> Victim surveys are generally needed for gathering information, which complements police crime statistics and may be of value for the city in the planning of crime prevention.

The Dar es Salaam victimisation survey was initiated to gain an understanding of the levels of crime and violence in different communities within the Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC). This entailed:
- The collection, collation and synthesis of all existing and available information on types of communities and residential areas located in the city area.
- The development of broad profiles of the identified ward areas within the city of Dar es Salaam.
- The development of the necessary sampling formulae and refinement and adaptation of the questionnaire to the Dar es Salaam environment/reality.

A street scan was initiated to identify the ratio of victims to non-victims of crime by residential area in randomly selected ward areas. Thereafter a household victimisation survey was carried out.

The survey included:
- street scan of 2,400 interviews
- household survey of 1000 interviews
- 42 in-depth interviews with abused women

STAGE 1: REFINEMENT/ADAPTATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE, SELECTION OF AREAS

A reference group was formed consisting of:
- Field manager
- Research advisor
- Gender representative from TAMWA
- Representative from the Police Crime Prevention Unit
- Dar es Salaam City Solicitor
- Co-ordinator for Safer Cities: Dar es Salaam
- Deputy co-ordinator for Safer Cities: Dar es Salaam

The questionnaires, refined through the experiences and results of the victimisation surveys conducted in South Africa, were adapted to the Dar es Salaam environment/reality.

It was decided that the research would represent the various area types within the city. Since there are very few areas within 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 suburbs or predominately rural areas. A quota was assigned to each and a sample of 20 randomly chosen. Interviews were only held with respondents over 18 years.

1. Survey Areas

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

2. Interviews per generic area

Area	Number of interviews
Inner city	480 scan interviews, 200 household interviews
Established suburb	960 scan interviews, 400 household interviews
Emerging suburb	480 scan interviews, 200 household interviews
Rural settlement	480 scan interview, 200 household interview
TOTAL	2,400 scan interviews, 1,000 household interviews

A street scan was initiated which provided a profile of both victims and non-victims in the city by age, gender, crime type, victimisation level, as well as repeat victimisation and multiple victimisation and for determining victim ratios (no sexual crimes were included).

STAGE 2: TRAINING AND PILOTING

Fieldworkers were selected from unemployed youth that had applied for university courses and were awaiting acceptance. A two-day in-house training course was held with the fieldworkers, followed by one-day of in-field training. Debriefing was held after each pilot. Although the questionnaires were in English, all the interviews were conducted in Kiswahili. Considerable time was spent during the in-house training assuring 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 for refining interview techniques and measuring the length of the questionnaire. During the household pilot study 22 questionnaires were administered (one per field worker). The length

of the survey was approximately 45 minutes, but if respondents had been victims of more than one crime the interviews could take as long as 1 and ½ hours. Fieldworkers often had difficulty in 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 sub-sample, was much higher among enumerators dressed in an identifiable "uniform". The field team was kitted out in a T-shirt bearing the logo of Safer Cities Dar es Salaam.

In this 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+), of which half were female and half male. 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 market, fruit and vegetable markets)
- Transport nodes (bus terminals and bus stands)
- Hospitals, health and welfare centres
- Industrial centres
- 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 (WEO) supplied each fieldworker with a list of the plot and flat numbers in their respective areas. The field worker was then able to randomly choose which households would be approached and In a block of flats only two households were to be interviewed.

In each ward area 50 respondents were interviewed in three age categories divided as in the table below:

3. Age and Gender breakdown

Age	Male	Female	Nr. of interviews
18 – 30 years	8	9	17
31 – 50 years	8	9	17
51 +	8	8	16
Total	24	26	50

A respondent selection technique ensuring that the selection process was both random and rigorously implemented was constructed. During the fieldwork stage, 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 was collected, including those working during the day

DAR ES SALAAM CITY COMMISSION
WARDS AND MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES-2000

NAMES OF WARDS BY MUNICIPALITIES

ILALA MUNICIPALITY **KINONDONI MUNICIPALITY**

1.Buguruni	23.Bunju	45.Mzimuni
2.Chanika	24.Goba	46.Mougumbi
3.Gerezani	25.Hanna hassu	47.Sinza
4.Ilala	26.Kawe	48.Tandale
5.Jangwani	27.Kibamba	49.ubungo
6.Kariako	28.Kigogo	
7.Kinyerezi	29.Kijitonyama	
8.Kipawa	30.Kimara	
9.Kisunga	31.Kinondoni	
10.Kisutu	32.Kunduchi	
11.Kivukoni	33.Mabibo	
12.Kiwalani	34.Magomeni	
13.Mchafukoge	35.Makuburi	
14.Mchikichini	36.Makumbusho	
15.Msongola	37.Makurumula	
16.Pugu	38.Manzese	
17.Segerea	39.Mbezi	
18.Tabata	40.Mburahad	
19.ukonga	41.Mbweni	
20.upanga East	42.Mikocheni	
21.upanga West	43.Msasani	
22.Vingungud	44.Mwananyamal	

TEMEKE MUNICIPALITY

50.Azimio	62.Mbagala
51.Chamazi	63.Miburani
52.Chang'ombe	64.Mjimwema
53.Charambe	65.Mtoni
54.Keko	66.Pemba Mnazi
55.Kigamboni	67.Sandali
56.Kibada	68.Somangira
57.Kimbiji	69.Tandika
58.Kisarawe	70.Temeke
59.Kurasini	71.Toangoma
60.Makangarawe	72.Vijibweni
61.Mbagala Kuu	73.Yombo Vituka

Legend

Regional Boundary
Municipal Boundary
Ward Boundary
Road
Railway Line
River

N

Kilometers

FEAR OF CRIME

Key points
- Nearly two thirds of people (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 suburbs' and 'established suburbs' felt least safe after dark in their areas of residence.
- Two thirds (62%) said crime had increased compared to previous years.
- People living in new suburbs and established suburbs were twice as likely to say crime had increased than were residents from the inner city or rural settlements. These perceptions probably provide an accurate picture of how crime levels in the city are changing.
- 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 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 provide safety and the extent to which people feel helpless against crime, determine public perception.

In order to assess 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 they think 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 in the city felt safe (94%) walking in their areas during the day. Only 6% said they felt unsafe. Unsurprisingly the opposite was true after dark: 61% felt unsafe walking in their neighbourhoods and 38% felt safe (Table 4).

4. *How safe people feel walking in their areas of residence (%)*

	During the day n=1012	After dark n=1012
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, fear of crime is low in Dar es Salaam. In Johannesburg where crime levels and fear of crime are the highest of all South African cities, as many as two thirds of people felt very unsafe walking in their neighbourhoods after dark[i]. Even in Cape Town – the city where South Africans felt most safe – anxiety about crime is higher than in Dar es Salaam (Graph 5)

5.   People who felt 'very unsafe' walking in their areas after dark in Dar es Salaam es and selected South African cities
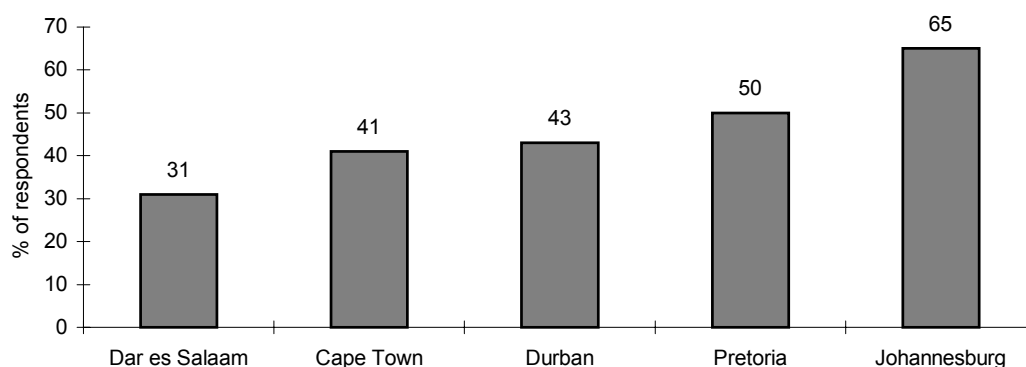
Fear of crime does not affect everyone to the same extent. It is likely to be highest among those people who think they have the greatest chance of victimisation, but also among those who worry most about the consequences of crime, whether psychological, social, physical or economic. Typically it is women, the aged and the poor who fear crime the most. These trends have been illustrated by similar victim surveys in South Africa and abroad. 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. 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 secondary school and 17% of respondents with a post high school qualification.

People living in suburbs were also much more likely to feel unsafe than those living in the inner city or rural settlements (Graph 6). 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 feel 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[ii]. 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 are much more at risk of violence than their wealthier counterparts. In addition, the capacity of the police is significantly 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.

6.   People who felt 'very unsafe' after dark in particular parts of the city (n= 1004)
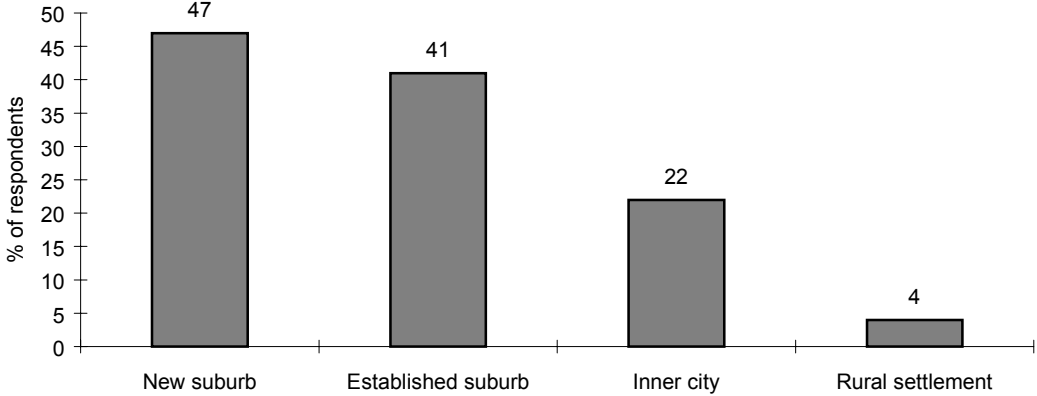
Although less significant than the variables outlined above, employment status also affected levels of anxiety about crime. People who are unemployed were most likely to feel very unsafe after dark (35%), followed by those dependent on other income (31%), those in formal employment (31%) and those in informal employment (29%). It is possible that the unemployed feel least safe because they are 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, places of recreation etc.

Also of interest is the fact that across all major crime categories except for robbery, repeat victims (people who had been a victim of a particular type of crime on more than one occasion) felt safer than those who had been victimised once only and even those who had never been a victim of crime. This may suggest resilience to the fear of crime that develops among repeat victims.

Key Points
Who fears crime 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
- People who have been a victim once only followed by those who have never been victimised

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT CHANGING CRIME LEVELS

The majority of people in Dar es Salaam believe that compared to previous years, the level of crime in their area 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[iii]. This type of trend has even been recorded in situations when the actual crime level has been declining.

This suggests that perceptions about crime may be shaped more by subjective judgements than by information about the actual situation. Without reliable information from 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 suburbs and established suburbs were twice as likely to say the crime level has increased compared to previous years than were residents from the inner city or rural settlements (Table 7). Those from rural settlements were much more likely than people from other parts of the city to believe that crime has decreased. These variations suggest that in Dar es Salaam public perception may well be an accurate indicator of changing crime levels in the city.

7.   Views from people living in different parts of the city about whether the crime level changed compared to previous years (%)

	Inner city n=196	Established suburb n=383	New suburb n=198	Rural settlement n=197
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 crimes (56%) followed by mugging (30%). Interestingly, these are according to the victimisation rate recorded by the survey indeed the two most prevalent crimes in Dar es Salaam (see later section). 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, which according to the actual victimisation rates are among the most prevalent crime types in the city. It is however possible 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 most prevalent, people probably fear those crimes they believe they have the greatest chance of becoming a victim of. However, the role of other factors such as anxiety about the consequences of crime, are 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 of murder is 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 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[iv]. Rather than accusing people of 'worrying too much' fears should be addressed where they occur.

PERCEPTIONS ON HOW TO IMPROVE SAFETY

Key points
- 80% of people use some form of protection against crime and violence, mostly burglar guards, fences/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 policing has stayed the same; 39% thought it has become worse.
- Access to the police is less of a problem (two thirds reach the police within half an hour) than the lack of visible policing and patrols: 36% never see a police officer on duty and 17% said they an officer less than once a month.
- Visible policing should be targeted in the suburbs. In new suburbs 62% said they never see 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 display 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, Sungu Sungu or neighbourhood watch organisations. This shows the inability of the police to fulfil this visible guarding role and that the need for some security presence is a priority.
- People seem more inclined to support Sungu Sungu type initiatives than the police. Despite this and the fact that 53% think these community initiatives improve safety, only 25% said they exist in their neighbourhoods. Further information is needed on why they are not more popular and whether they are indeed effective.
- 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 generally. This data provides an important guide for officials in their planning of 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 in this regard should be. These perceptions are important for a crime prevention strategy not only because they indicate what the public want 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
- what individuals can do to make Dar es Salaam safer

TYPES OF PROTECTION MEASURES USED

The vast majority of people in Dar es Salaam (80%) use 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 guards, followed by fences/walls, a dog and a weapon. These are cheaper than devices such as burglar alarms and services such as armed response which were used by comparatively few people (Graph 8).

8.   Types of protection measures used and whether they make people feel 'very safe'.
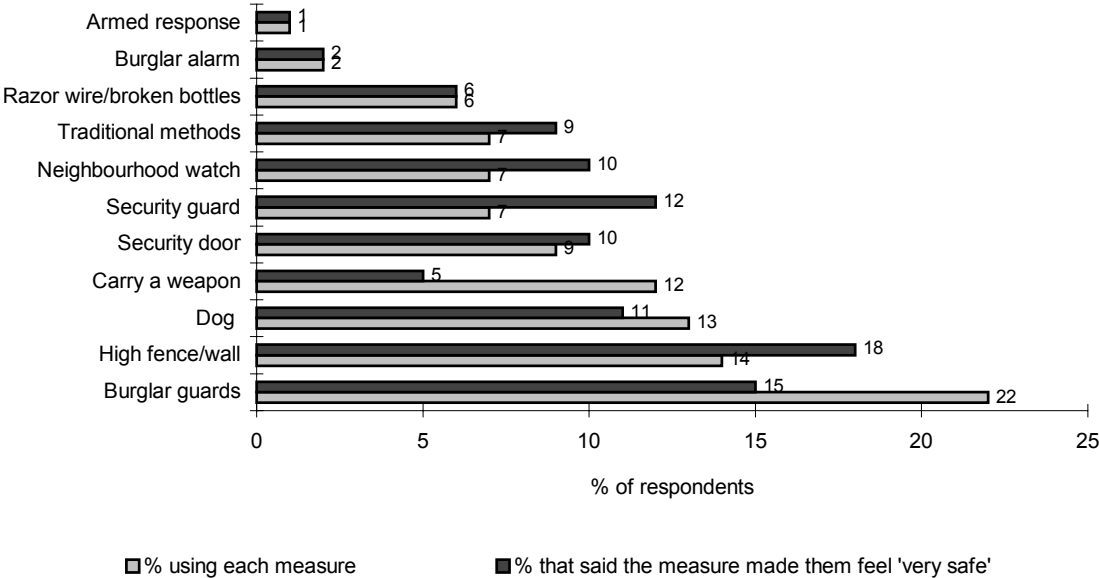
Over two thirds of respondents said the protection measures they used made them feel 'fairly safe' (68%). For the rest, 14% said they still felt 'a bit unsafe' and 5% felt 'very unsafe', while 13% felt 'very safe'. This suggests that the devices currently used – although fairly simple – enhance feelings of safety among the vast majority of people. The measures most likely to make people feel very safe were a high fence/wall, burglar guards, a security guard and a dog (graph 8). Interestingly although 12% of people 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 are 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. 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 unemployed (71%). Nevertheless affordability is 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 further enhance their safety, most said they could participate in community based initiatives such as Sungu Sungu, 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, installing better lighting and burglar guards.

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 (Graph 9). 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.

9.   *What government should do to make Dar es Salaam safer (n=1012)*
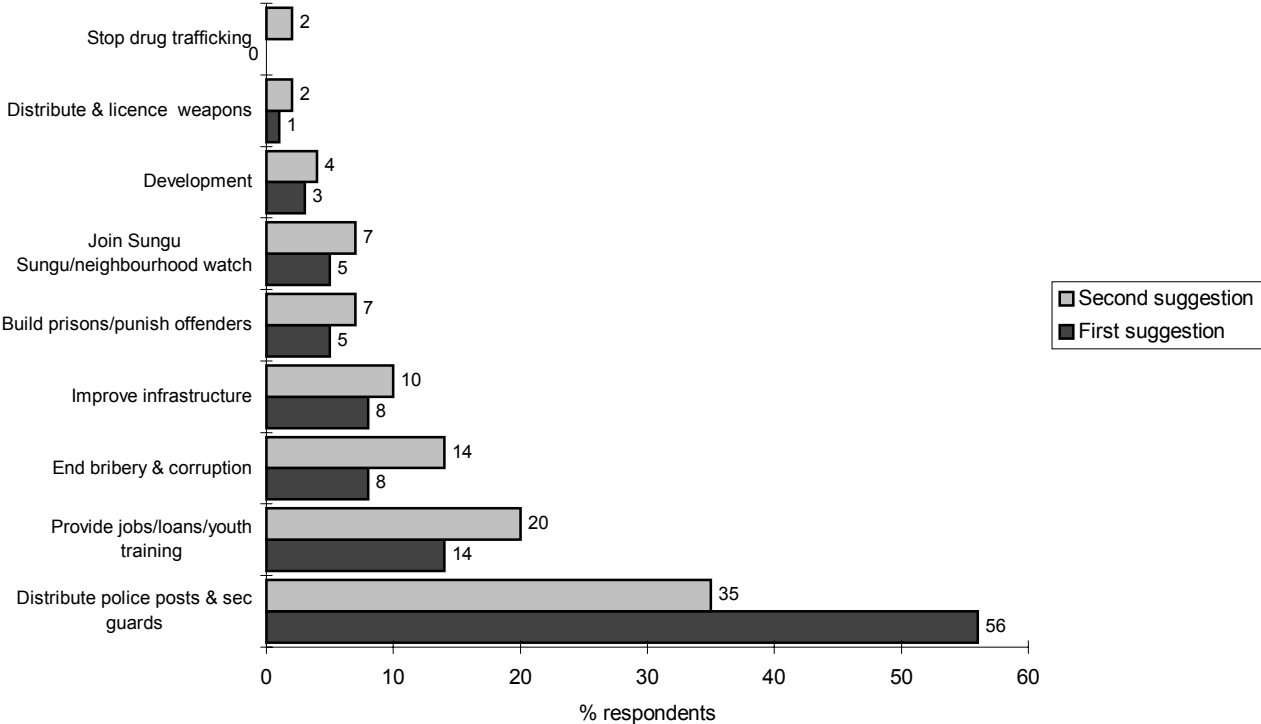
The results clearly indicate that people want better and more visible policing. Since a city level crime reduction strategy will need to focus on issues other than just policing, these views must be considered in the planning of the strategy and how it is 'marketed' to various constituencies.

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[v]. 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 is confirmed by the view of nearly half the respondents that compared to previous years policing in their areas of residence has stayed the same (Graph 10). Over a third, thought that the standard of policing had become worse and only 17% said it was better than in previous years. Bearing in mind that 62% of people 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 has not kept up with the increasing levels of crime.

These results however differ depending on the area of residence of the respondent. For rural and inner city resident they were much more likely to feel that policing had improved, with 33 % and 35 % respectively of these group indicating better policing. Alternatively, for established suburb and new suburb residents there was a much stronger tendency to feel policing had worsened with 62 % and 49 % respectively of these groups indicating this response. Likewise for these two groups only 5 % of respondents indicated that policing had improved. There is a close overlap with the finding presented here and the frequency of police seen on duty by respondents in their areas of residence (see below).

**10. Rating of the police service compared to previous years (n=1012)**
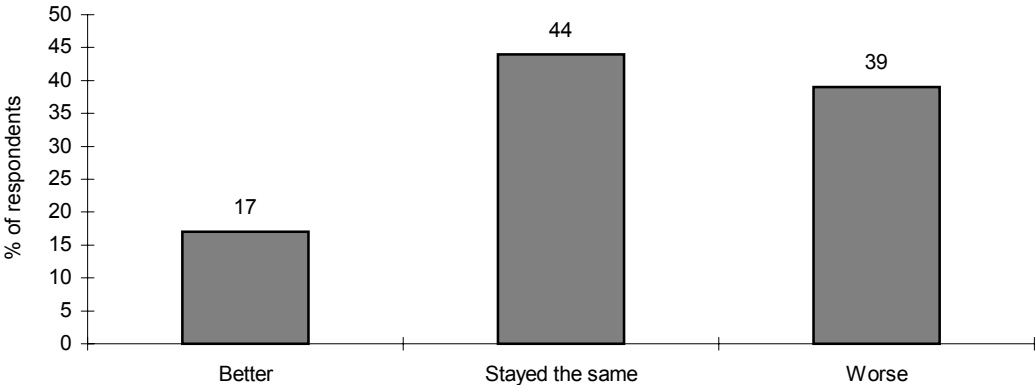
The aspect of policing that probably needs most attention in Dar es Salaam is visible policing and patrols. When asked what government should do to maker Dar es Salaam safer, most people mentioned a better distribution of police posts. However more detailed questions about the access that people currently have to a police station or post suggests 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%) live within 6km from the nearest police station or police post. Although most (68%) have to walk in order to reach the police, two thirds get there within half an hour with nearly half saying it takes them only 10 minutes (Graph 11).

11.
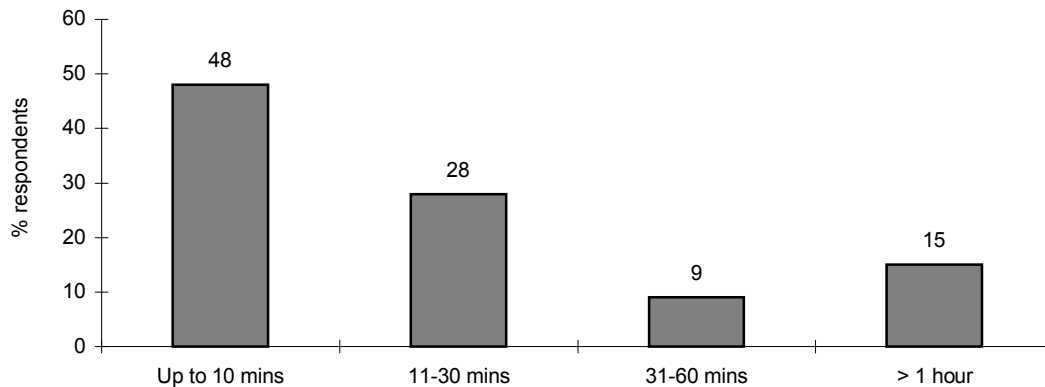
Access via telephone is limited, since only 36% of people have a phone in their home and only 32% said their phone was in working order. In addition, because some police stations and most police posts do not have telephones, whether or not members of the public have a telephone becomes irrelevant as a measure of access to the police. Despite poor telephonic access, the data suggests that people in Dar es Salaam can generally reach the police – at a police station or post – fairly quickly.

Of more concern is that many people living in Dar es Salaam rarely if ever see a police officer on duty in their neighbourhood. Over a third never see a police officer on duty and 17% said they saw an officer less than once a month. Thus for over half the respondents, seeing a police officer on duty is a rare occurrence (Graph 12).

13. How often a police officer is seen on duty in the neighbourhood
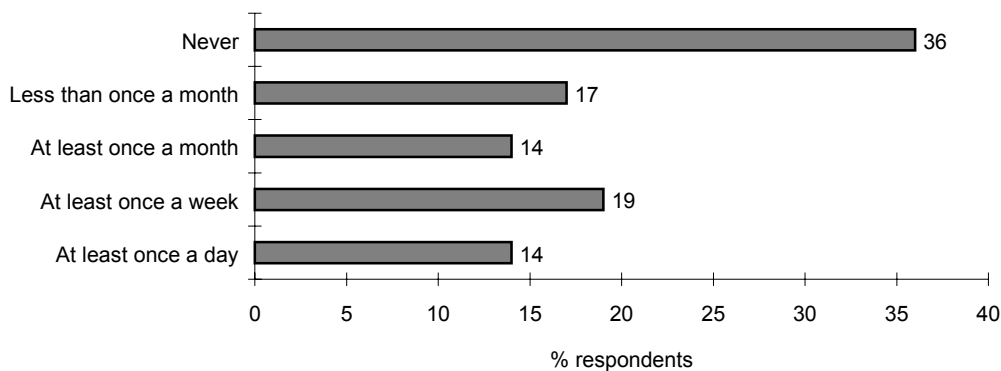
These findings suggest that, when asking government to improve policing, people in Dar es Salaam are referring more to the need for visible police patrols than for the building of more police stations or posts. A visible police presence may help to reduce some types of crime, but is more likely to reduce fear of crime. In Dar es Salaam the vast majority of people who said they never see a police officer on duty in their area felt unsafe (Table 13).

This being said there was considerable differences in responses depending on the area of residents of the respondents. Whereas 48 % of established suburb residents and 62 % of new suburb residents reported never seeing police on duty only 9 % of rural residents and 13 % of

inner city residents reported the same. On the contrary 50 % of inner city residents reported seeing police on duty on a daily basis and 22 % of rural residents seeing police on at least once a week.

14. How safe people feel after dark in their neighbourhoods in relation to how often they see a police officer on duty in their area (%)

	At least once a day (n=136)	At least once a week (n=196)	At least once a month (n=139)	Less than once a month (n=170)	Never (n=359)
Safe	43	34	42	59	28
Unsafe	57	66	58	41	72
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The problem does not however affect all parts of Dar es Salaam to the same degree. Those most likely to see a police officer on duty are people living in the inner city – half of whom who see a police officer on a daily basis – followed by residents of rural settlements. The latter are as likely as inner city residents to see on duty police members 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 14). Of most concern are people living in new suburbs – 62% of whom said they never see the police. Nearly half the residents of established suburbs (48%) said the same.

Efforts to increase visible policing should therefore be targeted in the suburbs. This is particularly the case 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 has increased compared to previous years. Suburban residents also displayed more pronounced fear of crime than those living in the inner city or rural settlements.

15. How often people living in different parts of the city see a police officer on duty in their neighbourhood (%)

	Inner city (n=205)	Established suburb (n=398)	New suburb (n=204)	Rural settlement (n=200)
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 INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES CAN DO TO ENHANCE SAFETY

Effective crime reduction depends on building partnerships and engaging in joint efforts between government actors and members of communities that are affected by crime. Respondents in the survey were therefore asked, not only about 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. Over half the respondents – using both their first and second suggestions – said they could cooperate with or join the police, security guards, Sungu Sungu or neighbourhood watch organisations to make the city safer (Graph 15). This illustrates on the one hand the inability of the local police to effectively fulfil this role. On the other, it shows that people believe it to be a priority, since in the absence of policing they are prepared to take on the task themselves.

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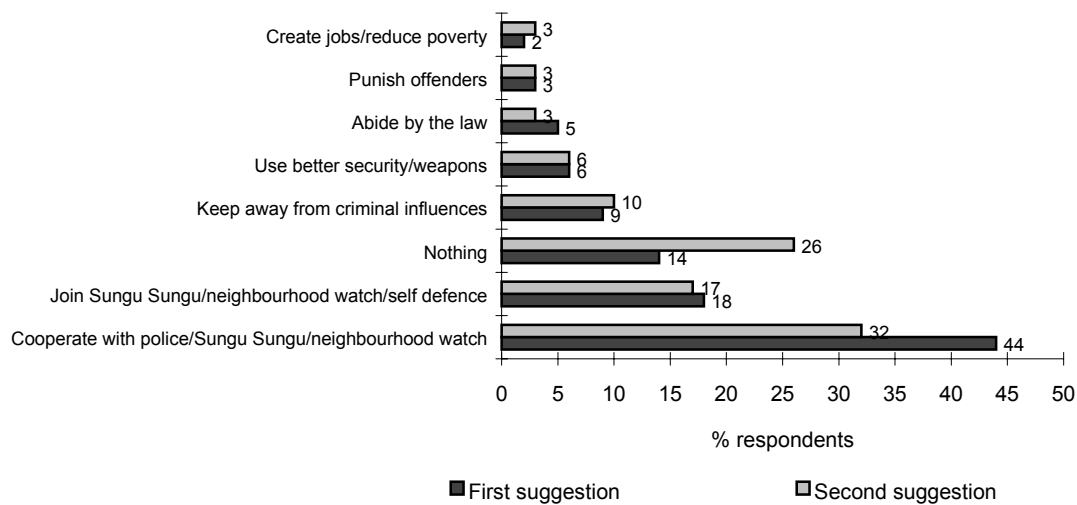
A concerning trend, also evident in results presented elsewhere ('Types of protection measures used'), is the number of people who said there was nothing they could do to improve safety in Dar es Salaam. In South Africa by comparison less people said there was nothing they could do to enhance safety.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

There are however 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 here a clearer distinction was made between the most popular choice – better cooperation with the police – and community based safety initiatives. In Pretoria for example, 34% said they could cooperate with the police and a further 25% mentioned participating in community based initiatives. (The latter refers to arange 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 are more inclined to cooperate 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 cooperating with Sungu Sungu, 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 make 'arrangements' to protect themselves. Virtually all (94%) those who mentioned such arrangements were referring to Sungu Sungu and

neighbourhood watch schemes. The remaining few said people joined community groups or made other ad hoc protection arrangements. Importantly, over half (53%) the respondents believed these initiatives were effective in securing their community. These findings suggest the need for further investigation into the issue of community initiatives to reduce crime. If these initiatives are deemed successful, why are they not more popular in Dar es Salaam? This in turn suggests that the effectiveness of these initiatives should be assessed more thoroughly. Although a majority believed they enhanced safety, the remaining 47% disagreed. It would be worth exploring these issues before deciding whether to endorse and develop these or other community initiatives.

REPORTING CRIME

Key Points
- Car theft was the crime most likely to be reported to the police, with 83% of victims reporting, followed by other forms of property crime.
- Reporting rates for violent crimes are relatively low (45 % of assault victims reported).
- Predominantly rural crimes such as crop 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 may play a role.
- The perception or experience of police corruption was one of the major reasons given for non-reporting among victims along with the perception that the police would not take the crime seriously, that goods would not be recovered as well as problems with police accessibility.
- For all crimes, with the exception of assault, victims who reported to the police were more likely to be dissatisfied with their response than satisfied.
- Victims of burglary were most likely to be dissatisfied with police, with only 19% indicating they were satisfied.
- Higher levels of satisfaction with police among assault victims that reported the crime (57%) can be explained by high rates of arrest for this crime.
- When explaining the reason for dissatisfaction when reporting the lack of police action and police not taking the crime seriously were the explanations given most often.
- Victims most commonly sought help from family and friends, however a significant number of victims did not seek help from anybody.

Although the general distribution of crime types in official statistics resembles that of the data presented in the city surveys, 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 statistics of crime levels is, in turn, largely determined by the influence of these factors. This is important since, if crime is to be reduced, as a result of policing or the action of the criminal justice system, it must be reported so that appropriate action can be instituted. Some of the factors affecting reporting are as follows:

- *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 to which the public view the police to be effective. Furthermore, the perceptions and experience of how the criminal justice system treat victims from the point of reporting and throughout the process in court 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, which 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 is often relative, determined by, among other factors, the overall level of crime in any area. That may mean that some crimes, such as for example housebreaking, viewed as serious in some areas where it is not common, may be taken less seriously in areas where it is more prevalent.

- *Reporting for purposes of claiming from insurance:* The likelihood that most serious property crimes – for example, car theft, burglary or aggravated robbery – will be reported is increased given that claiming from insurance requires a police case number.

- *Desire for a positive case outcome*: Reporting in the hope that stolen goods will be recovered and/or the offender is punished can be a strong motivating factor. Low recovery and conviction rates for crimes such as burglary and car theft suggest that this may often be unrealistic. However, the extent to which this reality is known or kept in mind 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, in case "it should happen to someone else".

- *Access to alternative justice mechanisms*: If victims believe they can resolve the incident in one way or another through 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 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 when the victim may rely on the offender as the breadwinner. However, it also applies to cases where the victim believes reporting to the police may mean re-victimisation by the offender, from which the police will provide little protection.

- *The crime is not recorded by the police:* In some cases the police may turn the victim away on the grounds that the case is not serious enough or that the police can do little under the circumstances. In some cases, while the police may record the particulars of the

case, its occurrence will not be recorded in the official police statistics, as the police believe no further action is necessary or likely to succeed.

▪ *Corruption:* High levels of corruption among the police may deter reporting since the victim may be "required to pay" for police assistance or alternatively the victim may fear that the offender will be able to go unpunished or goods will not be returned as a result of corrupt practices among officers.

RATES OF REPORTING

In recognition of the above, the survey attempted to determine the propensity of victims to report crimes to the police. Survey respondents were thus asked whether they, or somebody else, reported the crime they had experienced.

Levels of reporting vary according to crime type. Serious property crimes have a relatively high level of reporting. Thus the vast majority (83 %) of victims of motor vehicle theft reported to the police. A significant number of burglary victims and victims of vehicle part theft (61 %) reported the crime to the police. Robbery victims were more likely not to report their crimes to the police (47 %) than they were to report. For simple theft, 18% of victims reported the incident. Assault recorded quite low reporting rates with less than 50% of victims reporting. For the more rural based crimes: farm equipment theft, crop theft and theft of livestock the recorded reporting rates were some of the lowest - all falling below 20%

17. *Reporting Rates by Crime Type for Dar es Salaam and Durban, SA*
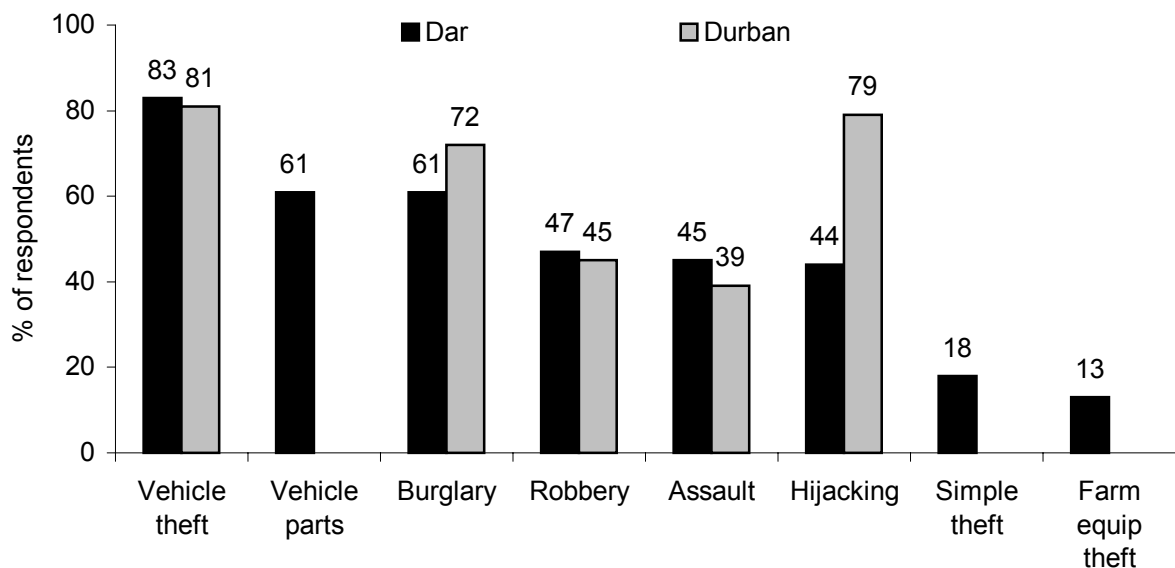

The general reporting trends were not dissimilar from levels reported in the Durban survey as can be seen from the comparative data presented above. This is not unexpected since the cities share certain similar characteristics such as significant urban population, areas with limited or difficult access to the police and large informal areas forming part of the cities.

UNDERSTANDING REPORTING IN DAR ES SALAAM

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 (see Graph 17). In the cases of crimes such as car theft and simple theft, reporting rates are consistent with levels of insurance coverage. The same does not however apply to instances of burglary or robbery. Indeed, in the case of both of the latter crimes a large proportion of those who reported the crimes to the police did not have any form of insurance.

18. Insurance Cover Held By Crime Victims in Dar es Salaam
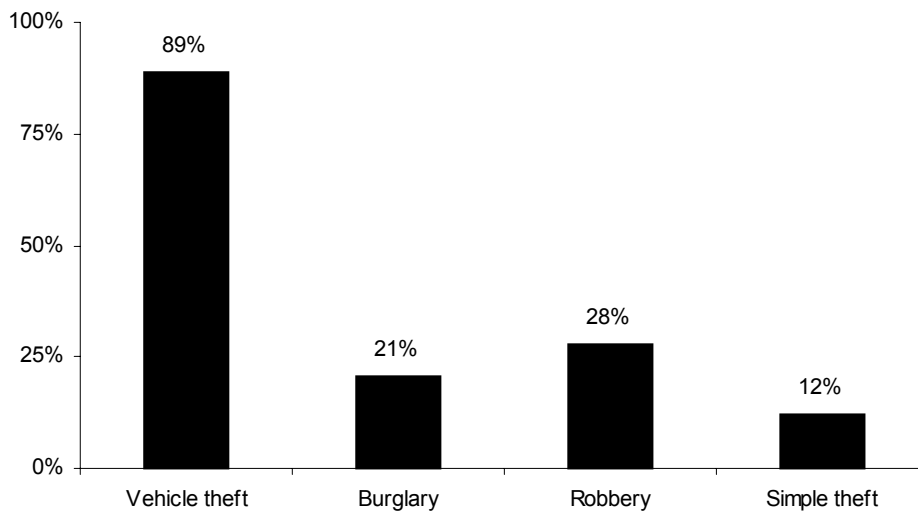
These findings provide some evidence that reporting is driven by a range of factors independent of insurance coverage. Indeed, the importance of insurance coverage may have been overestimated as the most significant variable in determining reporting patterns. Reporting, it seems, may be driven more by the victim's perception of the seriousness of the crime rather than by an immediate need to replace the lost property.

Reporting patterns are discussed in more detail later under the specific crime profile sections.

REPORTING AND SATISFACTION WITH POLICE

In order to understand the dynamics of reporting further, 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 the respondents 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. In follow-up to question 2, the same group of reporting victims were asked to give their reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

The responses provide insight to a number of factors influencing reporting in general, including the respondent's perceptions and experiences of policing.
For question 1, answers are more likely to reveal people's (negative) perceptions of policing since the question is asked of non-reporting victims whose answers are not based on a current experience or interaction with the police. However, it is possible that a number of the respondents may have had previous experience of the police and therefore the responses could reflect not only perceptions but also an evaluation of real experience.

For question 2 and 3 the answers are based on real experience and interaction and therefore are more indicative of police performance and service levels with the police.

Reasons for non-reporting vary according to crime type. However, there is a strong tendency in the overall responses for respondents to mention police corruption and to a lesser extent that the police consider certain crimes experienced by victims as not being serious. For corruption in particular, the levels indicated here as the reason for not reporting were considerably higher than in South African cities.

For vehicle part theft (see graph 18) the most common reason for not reporting was that the respondents felt it would be waste of time to report since it was unlikely that the parts would to be recovered. The second most common response was that corruption in the police dissuaded the victim from reporting.
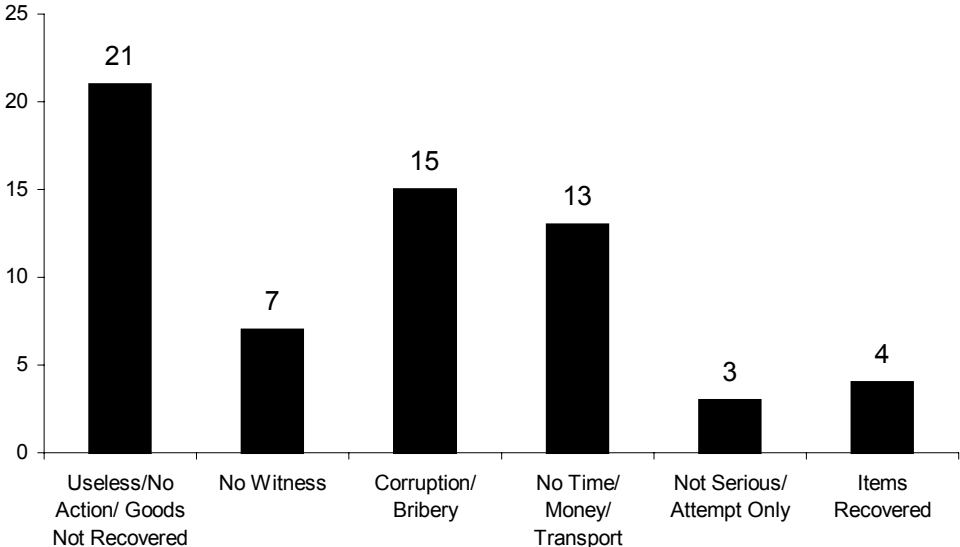
19. Reasons for Not Reporting the Theft of Vehicle Parts

For Burglary (see graph 19) corruption and bribery was the most common response being mentioned by 41.7 % of respondents. This was followed by responses expressing the sentiment that stolen items would not be recovered or had little value.
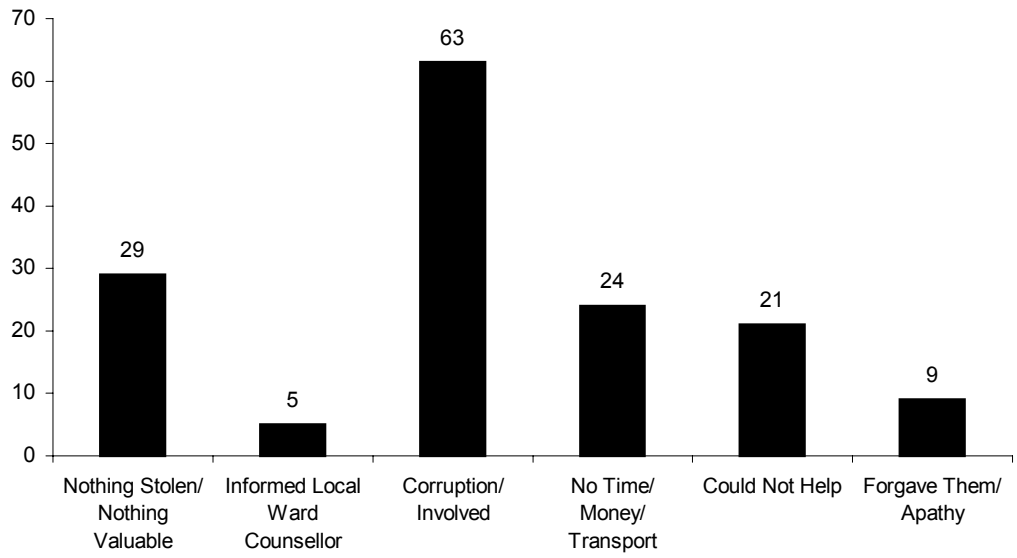
20. Reasons for Not Reporting Burglary

For simple theft (graph 20), victims mentioned the lack of money time and transport required to be able to report an incident as their primary reason for not reporting. A similar picture was seen for robbery (graph 21).
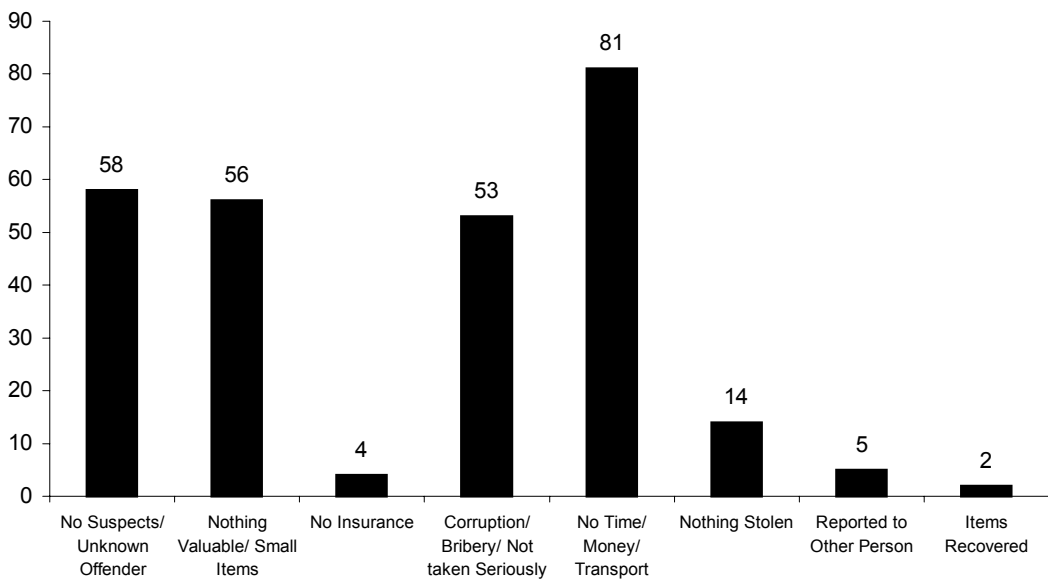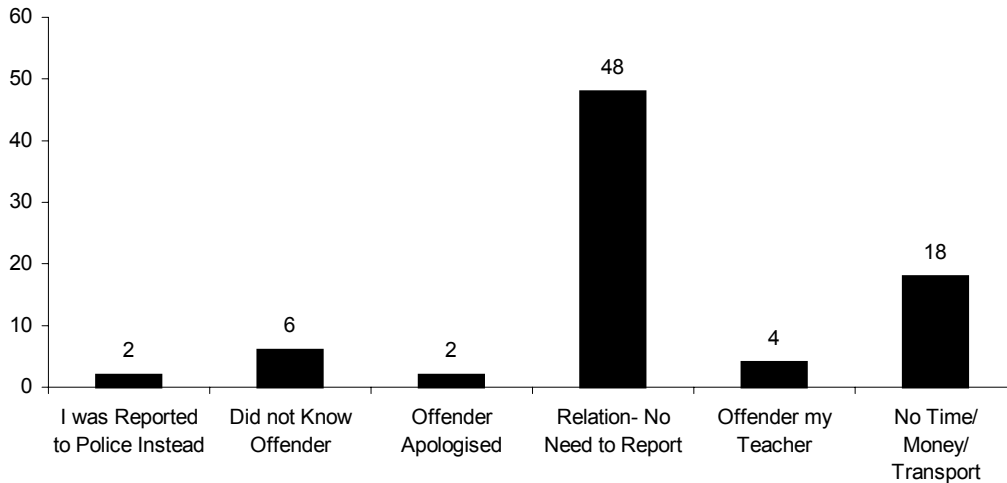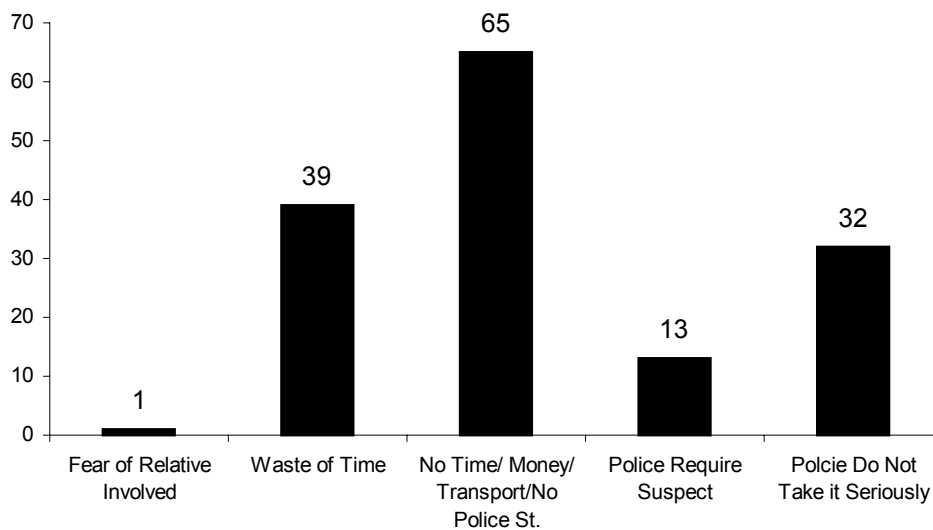

21. Reasons for Not Reporting Simple Theft
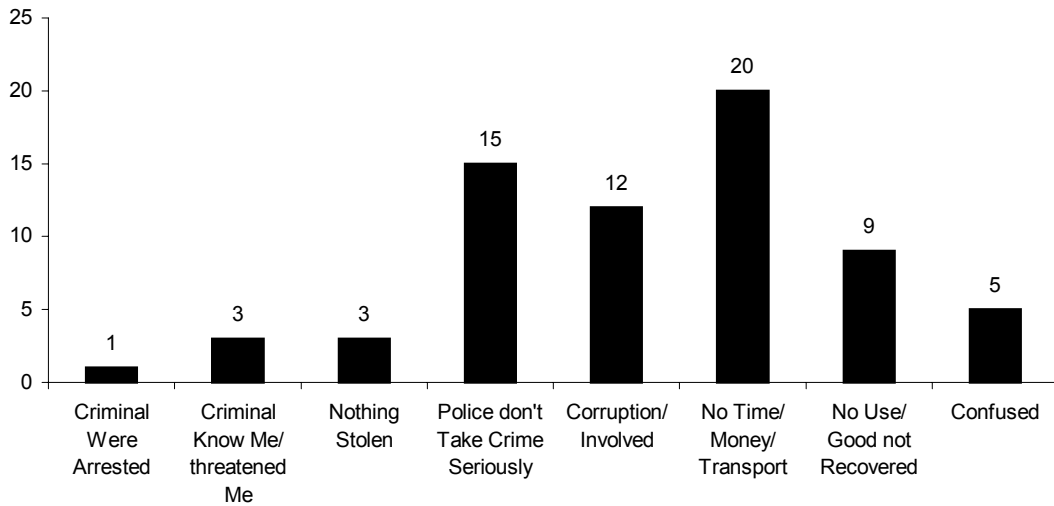
Assault (graph 22) provided a very different set of responses to the other crimes. In this case the most common reason given by victims for not reporting the crime was because of the involvement of partners and relatives, accounting for 48% of the responses. As is discussed in the later section, a large proportion of assault can be attributed to instances of domestic violence; as such these findings can be interpreted to mean that violence of this form is often treated as a household or family matter and not a matter for the police. Furthermore, where the offender is a relative or partner, fear of future reprisal may also discourage reporting.

Crop theft (graph 23) and livestock theft victims mentioned the lack of time, money and transport as the primary reasons for not reporting.

24. Reasons for Not Reporting Crop Theft
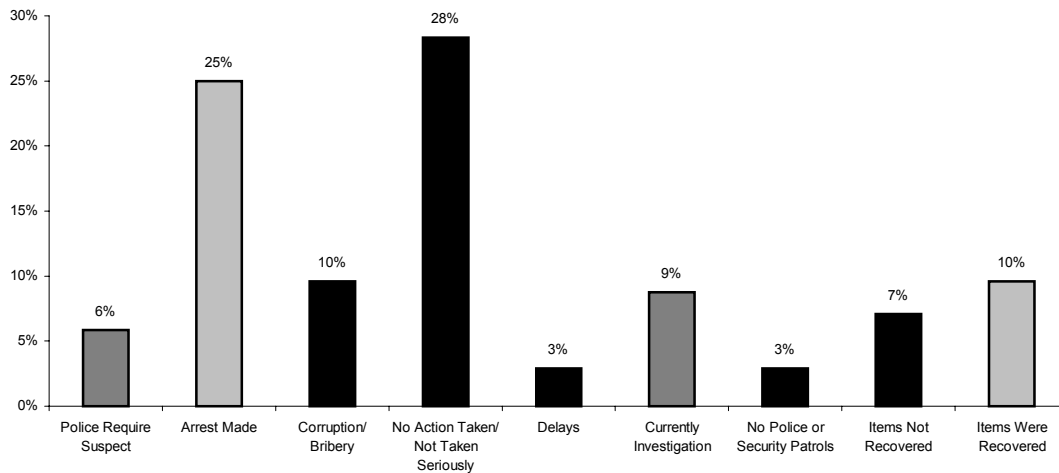
SATISFACTION AMONG REPORTING VICTIMS

Since relatively few victims reported crime, for some crime types the numbers of respondents answering the question regarding satisfaction with police were not sufficient for proper analysis. As such the predominantly rural crimes, vehicle theft, murder and hijack are excluded here.

For most crimes, with the exception of assault, dissatisfaction levels with the police were very high. Ranging from 83 % of respondents for simple theft, through 73 % for vehicle part theft and 66 % for robbery to 61 % of reporting victims of burglary (graph 24).
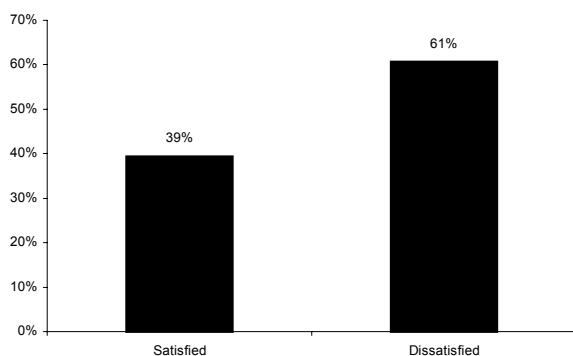
25. Satisfaction with Police among Reporting Victims of Burglary

Furthermore, when explaining the reason for their dissatisfaction, respondents, identified the lack of police action and police not taking the crime seriously most often (with the exception of robbery). In the case of burglary (graph 1) this was mentioned by 28 % of respondents. Reasons for satisfaction, not surprisingly were linked to whether arrests were made. Regarding corruption this variable did not come through as strongly as in the previous question asked among non-reporting victims with the exception of robbery were it was mentioned most often. For example among burglary victims 10 % mentioned this factor. This may suggest, to some degree, that police corruption may be less prevalent than generally perceived.
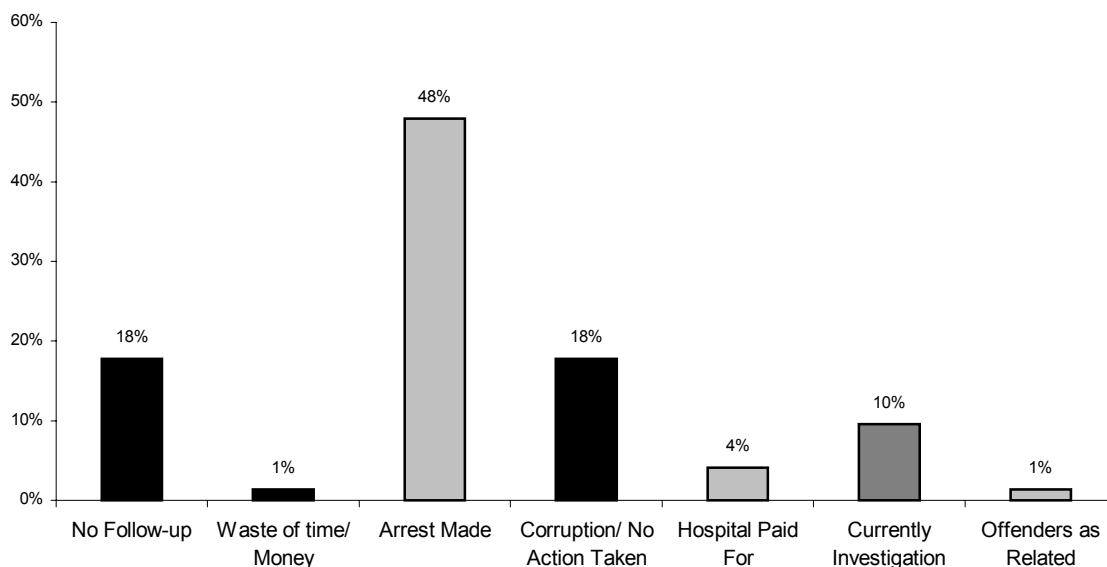
26.   Reasons for Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction among Burglary Victims

However, for assault victims (see graph 26) who reported more respondents were satisfied with the police than were dissatisfied.
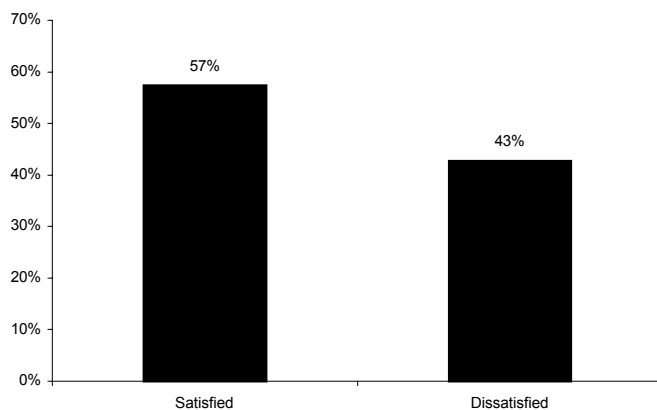
27.   Satisfaction with Police among Reporting Victims of Assault

In explaining their responses 48 % of assault victims mentioned the fact that arrests were made. This suggests that a high arrest rate in cases of assault could be expected given that the majority of offenders are known to their victims (see later). As such, if more people were prepared to report cases of assault to the police, the impact on this crime through policing could be enhanced.

28. Reasons for Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction among Assault Victims

HELP SEEKING BEHAVIOUR AMONG CRIME VICTIMS

The survey asked victims of specific crime to say whom 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 crime victims in the city, information regarding who victims sought help may be from useful for crime prevention practitioners wanting to identify or reach victims through their programmes.

The most striking finding from this section of the survey was the high level of respondents who did not seek help from anyone (graphs 28 –31). For serious crimes such as burglary and 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.
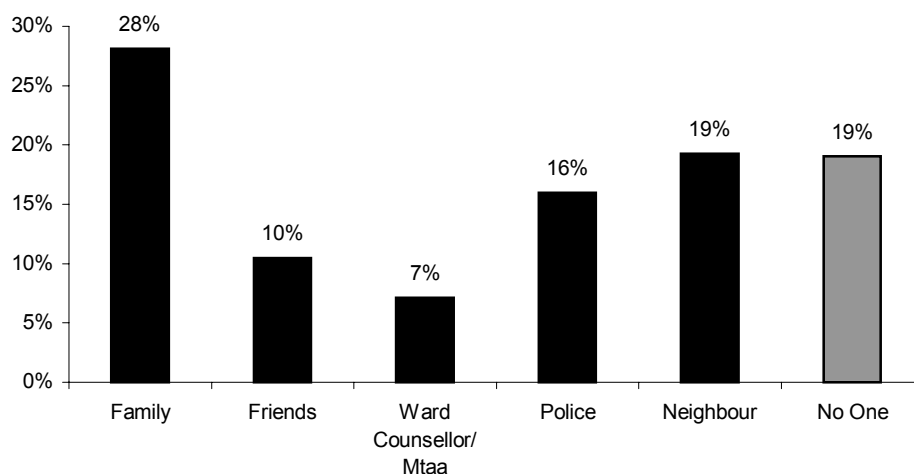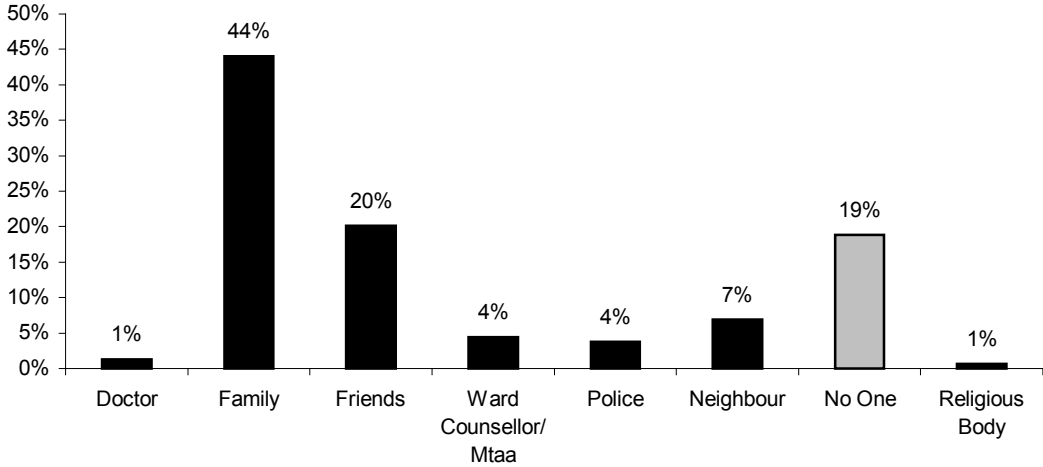

29. Who Victims of Burglary Sought Help from

Family, friends and neighbours were the most common groups chosen by victims to seek help from. Some victims sought their help from local ward counsellor, for example 7 % of burglary and victims 4% of assault choosing this avenue.
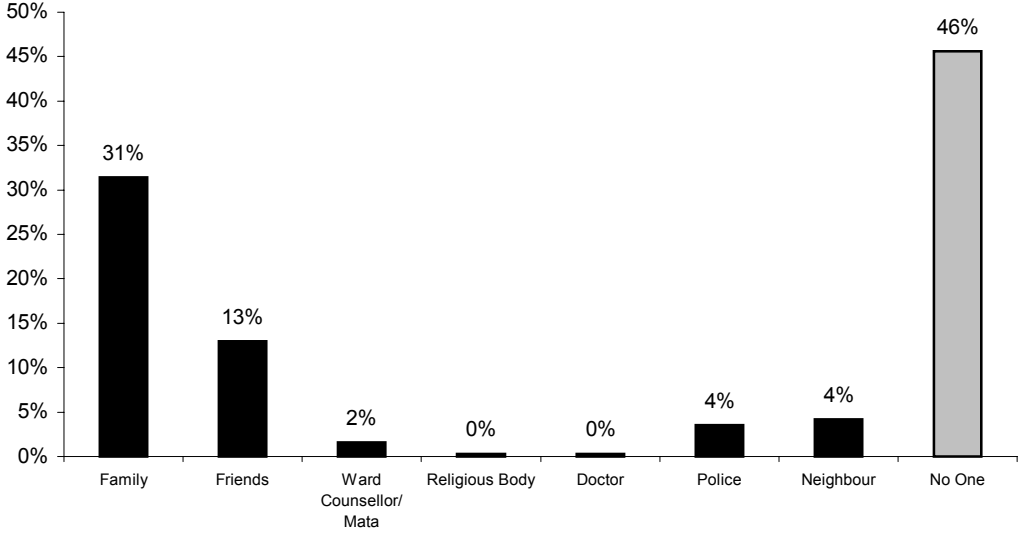
30. Who Victims of Simple Theft Sought Help from


31. Who Victims of Assault Sought Help from

LEVELS OF CRIME IN DAR ES SALAAM

Key points
- Dar es Salaam residents experienced very high levels of burglary, with 43 % of victims' households being burgled over a five-year period.
- Simple theft was the second most commonly occurring crime with 32 % of respondents, having been victimised.
- Predominantly rural crimes were fairly common, with around 20 % of all respondents (not only residents of rural areas) having been victims of crop and livestock theft.
- Vehicle theft and hijacking rates were very low, but vehicle part theft was common being experienced by 18.6 % of the respondents.
- Only 2 % of respondents had experienced murder of a member of their household over the five-year period.
- Comparatively high levels of assault (16 %) are a reason for concern.
- With the exception of assault, violent crime in Dar es Salaam was typically less prevalent compared with South African cities.

32. Percentage of Respondents who were Victims of Different Crimes at least Once over past 5 years
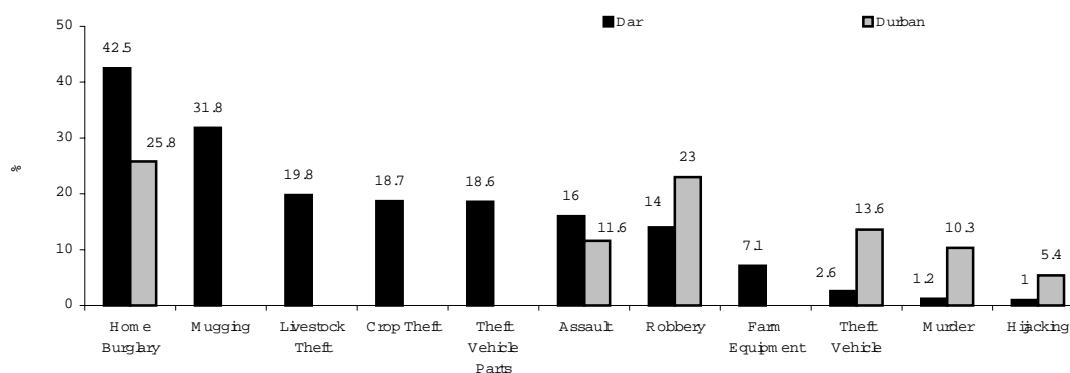
(The Durban victim survey asked people about serious crimes only. This explains why no victims were recorded for some crimes in graph 31. The graph should not therefore be interpreted as saying that these crimes do not occur in Durban.)

Graph 31 indicates that the most common crime experienced by the city's residents over the five-year period was burglary. Surveys conducted by the ICVS typically show high prevalence of burglary compared to other crimes in African cities. What is maybe more surprising is the very high levels recorded in Dar es Salaam - clearly burglary is a major problem in the city. For example, in a similar survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies in Durban, South Africa, it was also found that burglary was the most prevalent crime but at a much lower rate, 25.8 % of respondents in Durban reported this form of victimisation.

Simple theft, (which, involves property being stolen from an individual but excludes the use of violence), recorded the second highest response at 31.8 %, substantially higher than other violent property crimes recorded by the survey, which carry stiffer sentences according to the

Tanzanian penal code. Robbery, for example, recorded a victimisation rate of 14 % among the respondents.

In South Africa where crime is disproportionately violent in nature higher levels of violent crime were recorded, for example 23 % of Durban respondents reported being victims of robbery over a five-year period. The one exception is assault that was experienced by 16 % of respondents in Dar es Salaam compared with only 11.6 % in Durban. As such assault appears to be a considerable problem in Dar es Salaam.

Those crimes which are predominantly rural in nature livestock theft, crop theft and farm equipment theft recorded relatively high levels of victims given that the majority of citizens live within urban centres. Specifically, livestock theft was recorded by 19.8 % of respondents, crop theft by 18.7 % and farm equipment theft by 7.1 %.

Theft of vehicles, vehicle hijacking and murder recorded very low victimisation rates of 2.6 %, 1.0 % and 1.2 % respectively. Interestingly, the relatively high levels of vehicle part theft (particularly given low car ownership levels in the city) of 18.6 % raises questions regarding the sophistication and organisation of offenders given their preference to steal parts rather than cars per se. For example, South Africa's high levels of vehicle theft are facilitated by organised criminal networks penetrating police and vehicle licensing departments ,weak boarder 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, (compared to Durban ,South Africa) particularly for the predominantly rural crimes.
- Assault victims are probably more likely to be victimised repeatedly if the assault takes 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 crime more than once, this phenomenon is known as repeat victimisation. Repeat victimisation, is an important record, since it raises a number of questions about the effectiveness of crime 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 impact.

Several factors play a role in where and when victimisation occurs, among them 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 in which to intervene.

As a point of comparison, levels of repeat victimisation in Durban are very low (see graph 31) with only 7.1 % of people having been victims of the same crime more than once. However,

levels of repeat victimisation in Durban are much lower than other South African cities. Although the time periods for measurement are slightly different, surveys in Cape Town and Johannesburg illustrate this point. For example, incidents of crime in Cape Town between 1993 and 1995 indicate that 17% of victims had been victims of the same crime more than once. Levels of repeat victimisation in Johannesburg were extremely high and 60% of mugging/robbery victims experience this crime more than once. High levels of repeat victimisation were similarly recorded for car theft, sexual assault, burglary, assault and car hijacking.

33. Rates of Repeat Victimisation for Different Crimes in Durban (1993-7)

Repeat victimisation rates in Dar es Salaam are relatively high, although significantly lower than Johannesburg. The following set of graphs (32-36) shows variations in repeat victimisation of a number of different crimes. Repeat victimisation among burglary victims were relatively low compared to other crime types, with 22 % of victims being victimised more than once in the five-year period. Since there is a, one in five chance of being burgled a second time, suggests that it may be worthwhile investigating the benefits of target hardening, neighbourhood watch and other programmes focusing on first time burglary victims. In order to use resources effectively such programmes should target individuals with high-risk victim profiles (see later) with their first time experience of burglary.
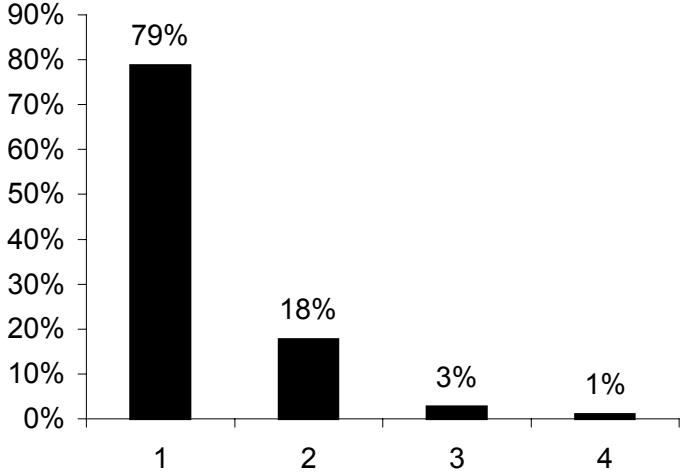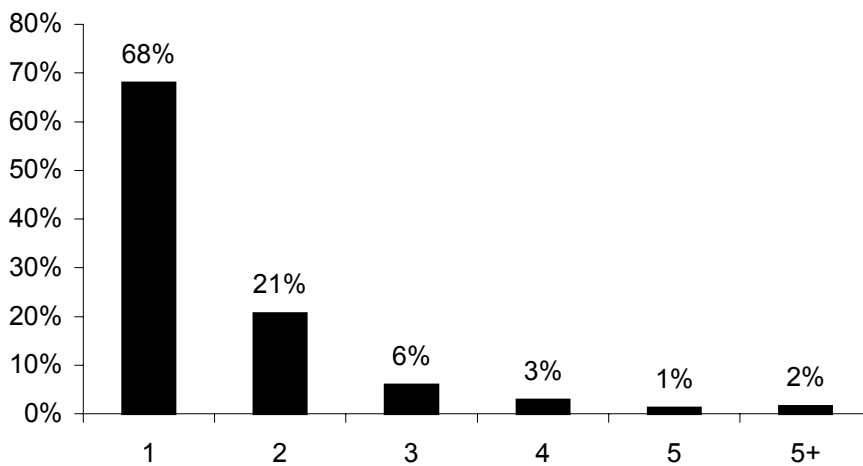

34. Repeat Victimisation Rates for Burglary over a five year period

For simple theft, repeat victimisation happens to a quarter of victims. 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 the levels of repeat victimisation relate more to individual risk profiles (that is to say young, low-income females on their own in the inner city).
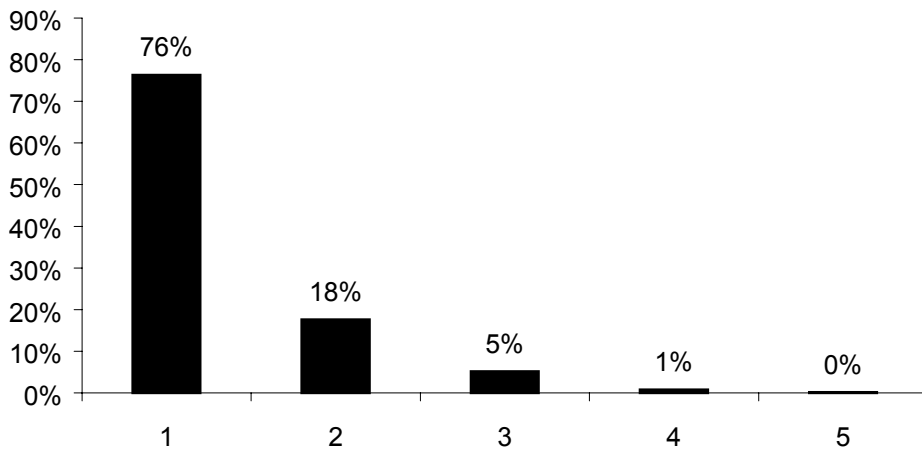
35. Repeat Victimisation Rates for Simple Theft over a five year period

For vehicle parts theft, repeat victimisation is even higher with a third of victims reporting having parts stolen more than once.


36. Repeat Victimisation Rates for Vehicle Part Theft over a five year period

The predominantly rural based crimes showed the highest rates of repeat victimisation amongst the crimes surveyed.

37. Repeat Victimisation Rates for Crop Theft over a five year period
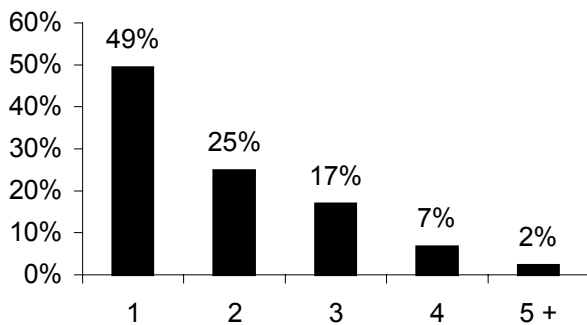
One third of farm equipment victims were victimised more than once in the five-year period (34 % of the time), as were victims of livestock theft (graph 36). Crop theft victims were as likely to be victimised more than once, as they were to be victimised once only (graph 35)
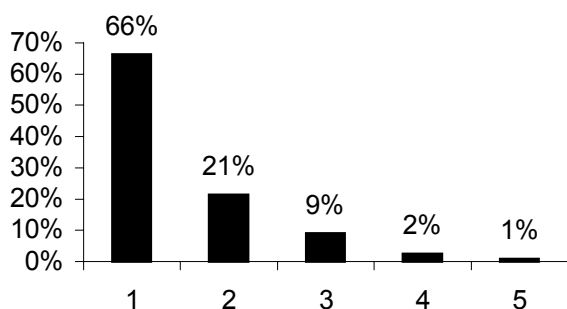
Various interpretations can be forwarded to explain high levels of repeat victimisation among this group of crime including the ease of offending, lack of policing and the difficulties in taking measures against these types of incidents. However, the most consistent explanation probably lies in the likelihood that perpetrators,

38. Repeat Victimisation Rates for Livestock Theft over a five year period

To prevent these types of incidents, however, the most consistent explanation probably lies in the likelihood that perpetrators, motivated by their desire to satisfy immediate needs, take only what they can carry and do so repeatedly.

At first inspection, the figures for repeat victimisation for assault are not overly striking, with 76 % of victims being victim only once over the five year period. However, (as discussed later) recorded assault within the survey has two distinct patterns. The first relating to assault that is linked to entertainment activities and the second relating to forms of domestic violence. It is common for domestic assault to happen on a habitual basis whereas assault occurring at places of entertainment is more likely to be random and therefore less likely to be repeated. As such, disaggregation of the data across these variables should show an increased risk of repeat victimisation for victims of assault that occur in the home.
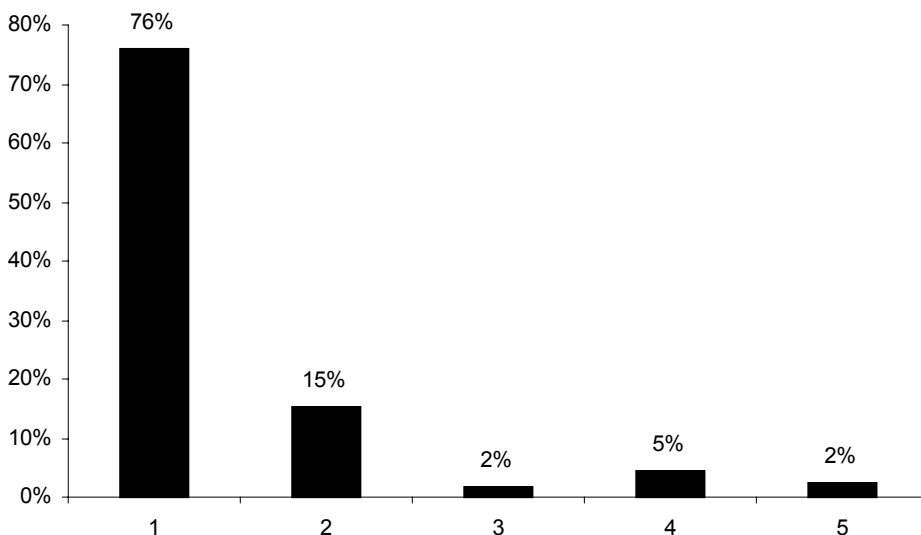
39. Repeat Victimisation Rates for Assault over a five year period

45

CRIME PROFILES

The survey recorded a great deal of detail on the nature of victimisation. While there are some common factors across crime types, particular circumstances are often specific to the particular crimes. The following section draws out some of the specific detail of victimisation for different crime types.

HOME BURGLARY

With more than 42 % of Dar es Salaam residents reporting to the survey that they had been victims of burglary over the past five years, the crime is clearly of great concern to the city's residents. In summary, the victim survey data suggests the following:

Key points
- 42.5 % of respondents reported their households being burgled over a five-year period.
- People living in new or established suburbs were more at risk than people living elsewhere.
- Generally people with higher income and owning houses were more at risk.
- The vast majority of burglaries were successful (83 %).
- Cases of burglary were evenly distributed across the year.
- Half of all burglaries took place on Fridays and Saturdays.
- The majority of burglary cases occurred between midnight and 6h00.
- In a high number of cases (78%), victims reported that someone was at home during the incident.
- Levels of violence experienced during burglary and subsequent injuries sustained were high.

VICTIM PROFILE:

Victim profiles indicate the degree of risk to particular crime types facing people according to their economic status, gender, level of education, age and place of residence.

These factors may have a direct relationship with the opportunity to commit a crime. For example people who live in rural areas are more likely to own crops or wealthier people are more likely to own a car that may be stolen. Alternatively, the relationship may be more indirect, for example people with lower income are more likely to use public transport facilities and are therefore more likely to be exposed to the risk of simple theft that occurs at transport nodes, or the lifestyle of young people is more likely to expose them to the possibilities of assault linked to drinking patterns at places of entertainment.

When interpreting victim profile data, it is important to note that the risk is calculated within particular variables. As such, it is possible to say women have greater risk than men. However the relative risks across characteristic or across crime types are not simply implied (although they can be determined from the comparison of particular victimisation rates), in this way it is not the direct intention to present the data for the purpose of comparing the risk of women in comparison to the risk of young people of experiencing a particular crime.

Victim Characteristics	High risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Home Ownership	Home Owners (47.2 %)	Non-home Owners (35.3 %)
Age	Over 40 (45.5 %)	15-25 (31.6 %)
Employment Status	Informal employ. (45.8 %)	Income Depend. (38.7 %)
Educational Status	Post High School (48.3 %)	Secondary (39.4 %)
Area of Residence	Established Sub. (53.7 %) New Suburb (51.0 %)	Rural Area (26.0 %) Inner City (28.2 %)

40.   Victim profile for home burglary

The table above show that's older, qualified, economically active people who live in their own homes in new or established suburbs are most at risk of burglary in Dar es Salaam. Risk decreases significantly when the person resides in rural areas or in the inner city.

The profile of burglary victims reflects a fairly classical picture of burglary where victims of the crime tend to be wealthier and as such have possessions that attract more offenders. However it should be remembered that the overall levels of burglary in the city are extremely high. As such levels of burglary experienced by, for example, people under the age of 25 (31.6 %) or the unemployed (38.7 %) remain high in relation to many African cities. As such, although the wealthy are more likely to be victims, a significant number of lower income people are also victimised. It is also worth noting that the impact of property crime on the poor may be disproportionate, since they may, for example, not be able to replace stolen goods.

**PROPORTION OF BURGLARIES WHERE ITEMS WERE STOLEN**

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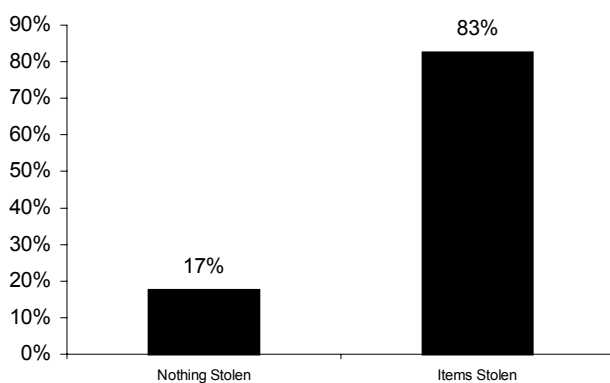


41.   Percentage of Burglaries were items were Stolen

WHEN BURGLARIES OCCURRED

The victim survey also attempted to determine the month during which the burglary occurred. Over the five-year period, monthly reports of burglary were fairly consistent. There were slightly more reports of burglary occurring in December (see graph 40).
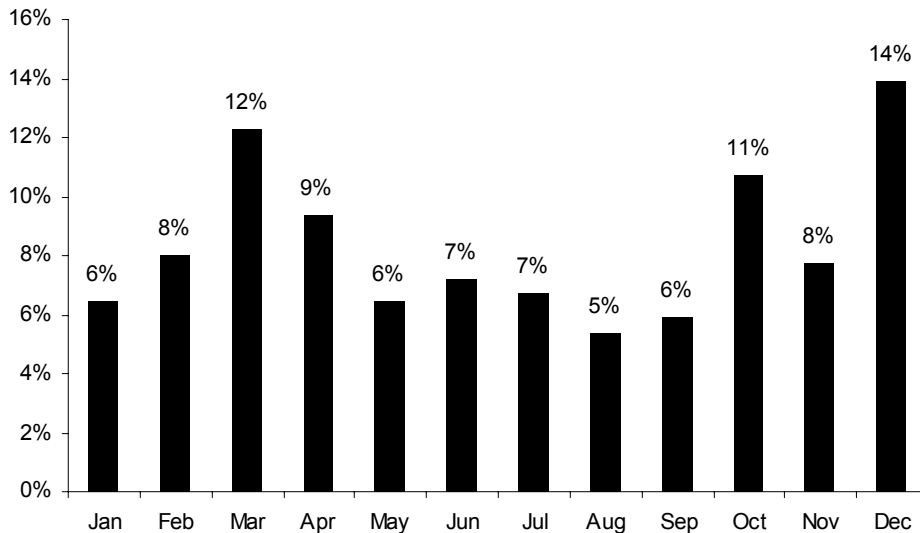
**42. Month of the Year during which Burglary Took Place**

Of greater interest is the reported spread of burglary over the week. The victim survey suggests that most cases of burglary occur on Fridays and Saturdays. These two days account for close to half of all burglaries happening across the week (Graph 41).
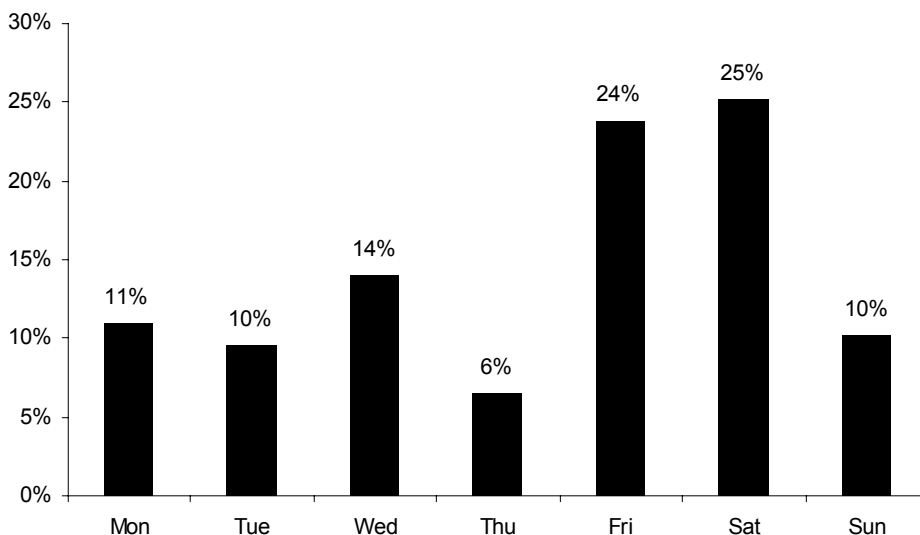
43. Day of the Week during which Burglary Took Place

The victim survey also sought to determine the time of day which victimisation occurred (Graph 42). In this regard very different results were found from the examples of South African cities. Whereas in Durban only 14,8 % of cases were reported as occurring between midnight and six in the morning ,in Dar es Salaam almost half the reported incidents happen during this period.
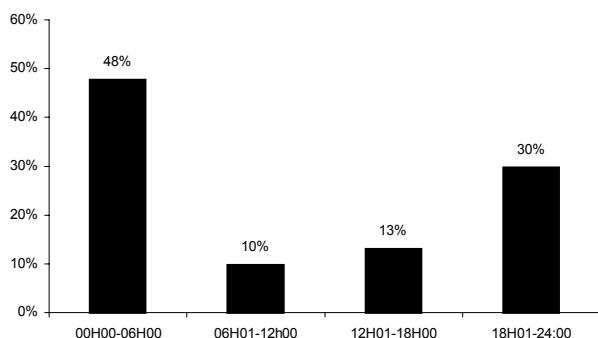
This distribution is important since it is more likely during these hours that somebody would be home and probably sleeping. In confirming this, the victim survey sought to determine whether or not anybody was home at the time the burglary occurred. In the majority of cases (78 %) it was reported that somebody was at home when the crime occurred (see graph 43).

This data raises a number of important considerations. Firstly, the possibility of confrontation if the burglar/s are disturbed should be high. Also the need for preventive solutions to focus on night-time rather than day time activity, particularly in the case of neighbourhood watch schemes or SunguSungu. Finally, it suggests that burglars use stealth to enter premises since forced entry would likely wake household members. This may suggest that target hardening devises such as heavy duty locks and window grills are often absent. This latter conclusion is supported by the data presented in the chapter detailing the use of protection measures.
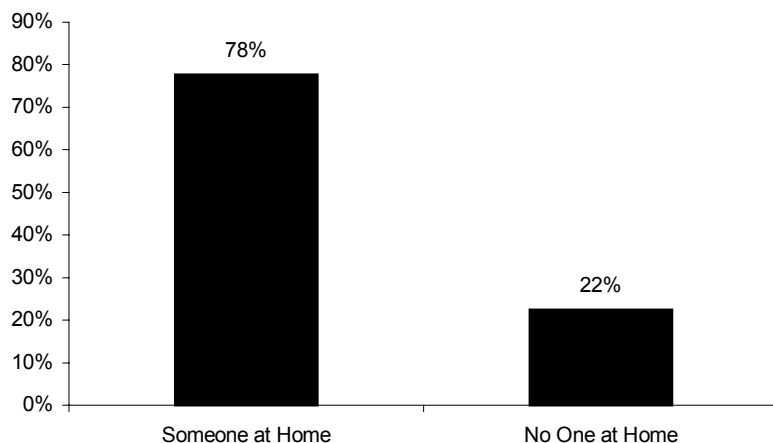
45. Percentage of burgled households which had household members present at the time of the burglary

## USE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE COURSE OF THE BURGLARY

The findings outlined above, are likely to have some 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.
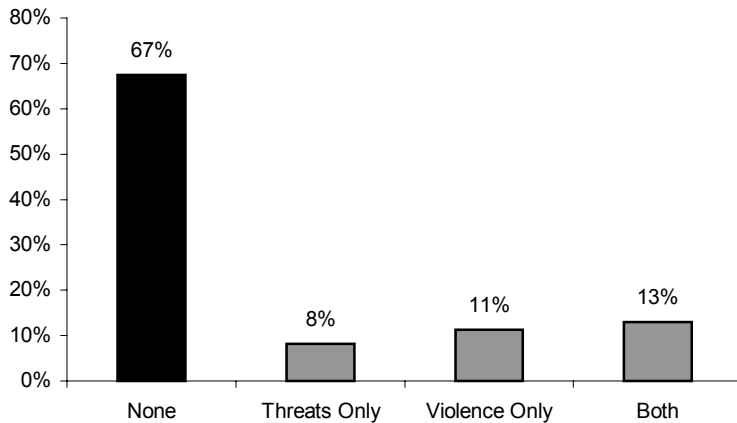
46. Use of Violence during Burglary

As graph 44 above shows, violence or threats of violence were used in approximately a third of burglaries. Levels of violence used in the course of burglary are high, the impact of which is multiplied by the generally high levels of burglary in the city and the fact that household sizes are large and often more than one person may be exposed to violence or at the least the trauma of seeing other members of the household hurt.

The levels of violence recorded here are high even in comparison to South African cities. However, the use of weapons as opposed to just physical strength is slightly less common in Dar es Salaam. To this extent, where 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 accounted for only 4 % of violent incidents (graph 45). In Durban, a gun was the most common weapon used in burglaries (22,3 % of cases).
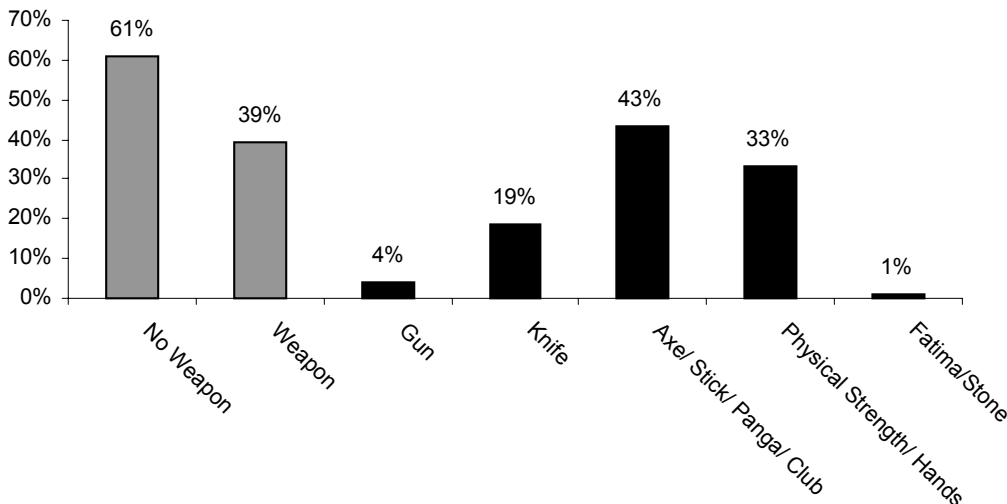
47. Type and Occurrence of Weapon Use during Burglary

INJURIES SUSTAINED

8 % of respondents reported injuries being sustained during the burglary, with an additional 23 % reporting injuries to other members of the household. Of the injured people 73% were treated in hospital for their injuries. As such, given the prevalence of burglary, the cost to the state in providing medical care to the injured is likely to be considerable.

VEHICLE CRIME

The victim survey captured information on three forms of vehicle crime: vehicle theft, vehicle part theft and hijacking. The rates recorded for vehicle theft and hijacking were very low, 2.6 % and 1.0 % respectively, which limits statistical analysis. Vehicle part theft however was common, with 18.6 % of all respondents reporting this form of crime.

Key points

- 18.6 % of all respondents were victims of car part theft over the five year period.
- Men are more at risk of vehicle part theft than women as are home owners and wealthier more educated people. These findings are persumably linked to ownership patterns.
- Risk profiles for vehicle part theft indicate inner city residents as the most vunerable group to this form of theft.
- Theft of this nature happened least often in the early hours of the morning. For the rest of the day vehicle part theft was fairly evenly spread.
- Residential streets and public parking lots were the areas most commonly mentioned as the place where part thefts occurred.

VICTIM PROFILE: VEHICLE PART THEFT

The survey did not capture significant numbers of vehicle theft or hijack victims to build reliable victim profiles. However, in the case of vehicle part theft the following profile was determined.

Victim Characteristics	High risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Gender	Male (24.3 %)	Female (13.0 %)
Home Ownership	Non-home Owners (22.5 %)	Home Owners (16.1 %)
Age	Over 40 (23.0 %)	26-40 (15.8 %) 15-25 (13.7 %)
Employment Status	Formal employment (34.9 %)	Informal emp. (6.9 %)
Educational Status	Post High School (46.2 %)	Nothing/Prim. (3.9 %)
Area of Residence	Inner City (41.3 %)	Rural Area (3.5 %)

48. Victim profile for vehicle part theft

As the table above indicates, high-risk victims of vehicle part theft are typically males over the age of 40. They are also in formal employment and have post-high school qualifications and are resident in the inner city. Whereas most of these characteristics have more to do with car ownership patterns rather than risk per se, the predominance of risk amongst inner city residents is perhaps more significant and may point to the lack of secure parking facilities in the central areas of the city.

WHAT WAS STOLEN

For vehicle theft, of the seventeen vehicles recorded stolen by the survey 12 were cars, 4 were motorbikes and 1 was a pick-up. For car part theft, where more reliable data was gathered 68 % of the victims reported that parts were stolen from cars followed by 19 % stolen from pick-ups. (Graph 47)
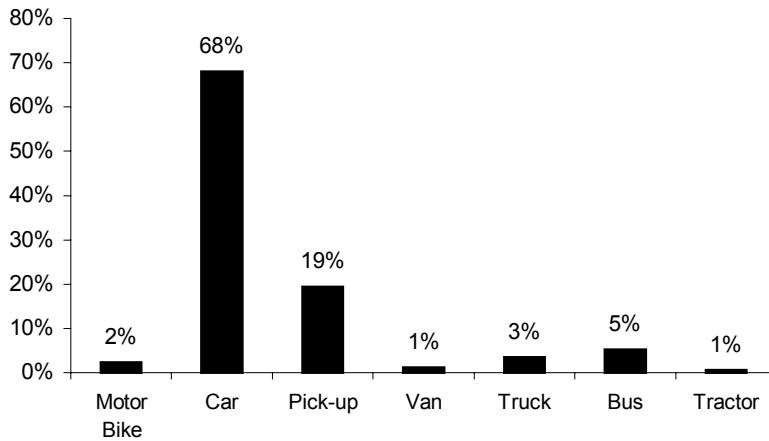

49. Types of Vehicles Targeted for Vehicle Part Theft

Of the of twenty-six respondents reporting attempted vehicle thefts or hijacks to the survey 14 were successful compared with 12 which were unsuccessful.

WHEN VEHICLE RELATED CRIME OCCURRED

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

No clear pattern was evident for the monthly or weekly variation in vehicle crimes. Graph 48 below for example shows the monthly distribution of vehicle part theft.
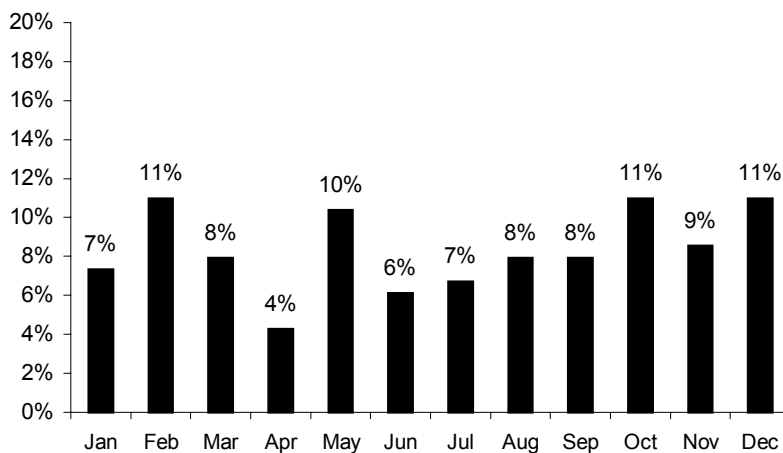
50. Month of the Year during which Vehicle Part Theft Took Place

Vehicle related crimes happened more often after dark, which is between 6pm and 6am and rarely in the mornings between 6 am and 12pm. For vehicle part theft, for example, only 14 % of parts stolen happened in the mornings (graph 49).
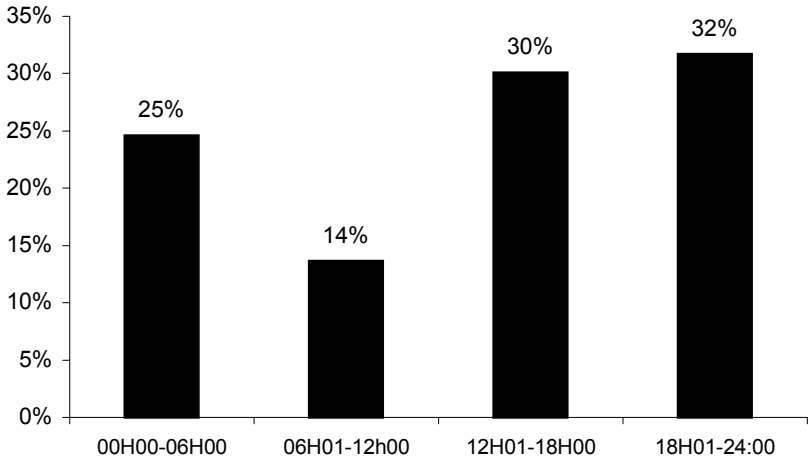
51.   Hour of the Day during which Vehicle Part Theft Took Place

WHERE VEHICLE RELATED CRIME OCCURRED

The survey sought to record generic categories of where car related crimes occurred. For car theft, half of the eighteen-recorded responses indicated cars were stolen from streets in residential areas. Likewise, for vehicle part theft the (37 %) most common location for these crimes in the streets of residential areas (graph 49). For both these crime types the second most common place where the thefts took place was public parking lots.
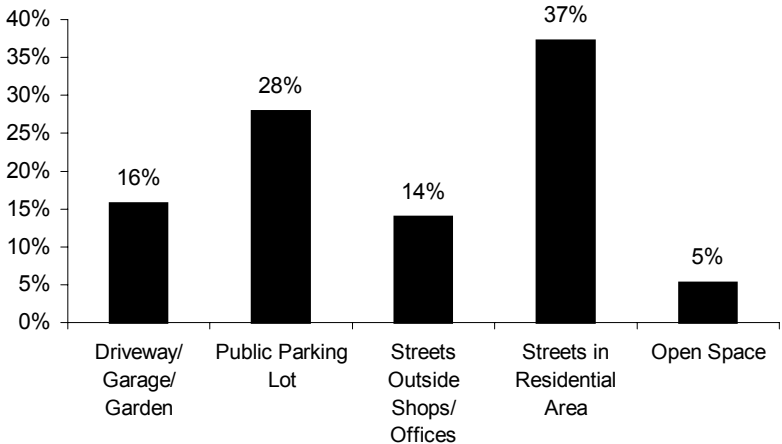
52.   Place Where Vehicle Part Theft Took Place From

ASSAULT

Assault, entailing an attack on the victim's person, either through the use of physical force, violence or by aggressive and threatening behaviour, may include a wide spectrum of incidents. The overall levels of assault recorded by the survey in Dar es Salaam were high (16.0 %). These levels are similar to or higher than in South African cities; the survey in

Johannesburg showed an assault rate of 16% % and in Durban the level was 11.6 %. As such, assault should be viewed as one of the most serious crimes taking place in Dar es Salaam.

The victim survey provided a large amount of detail on the nature of assault and its impact upon victims. The following are the main characteristics as they apply to Dar es Salaam:

Key points
- 16% of people in Dar es Salaam were assaulted over a five-year period. This rate is similar to that recorded in Johannesburg.
- Victim profiles identify two unusual risk factors: residence in established suburbs and the completion of secondary school education.
- Assault is most common at the end of the week with high levels of the crime occurring on Fridays, Saturdays and in particular Sundays.
- Most cases of assault were recorded by the survey as occurring between midday and 06H00.
- Two main types of assault can be extrapolated from the data: that which happened in the home (58 %) and that happened in places of entertainment (18 %).
- In the majority of cases (67 %) victims knew the offenders by sight or name.
- Typically known offenders were either partners (33 %) or neighbours (36%).
- 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.
- Physical strength – for example, hitting or punching – was the most common form of violence accounting for 87 % of incidents.
- Where injuries were sustained 87 % of the victims visited hospital.

VICTIM PROFILE:

As stated in the introduction, the broad definition used for assault means that it may incorporate a range of violent acts that differ considerably in their nature, cause and impact. As the data for assault is presented it becomes clearer that there are two broad categories of incidents taking place in the city: those relating to domestic violence and those linked to lifestyle patterns and in particular patterns of entertainment and in all likelihood the consumption of alcohol.

Illustrating this point, the following table details the risk profile for victims of assault. Gender does not appear here as a defining characteristic, however once the data is disaggregated according to whether assaults took place in the home or in other places the picture is likely to change. In this respect, women are predominantly at risk of assault happening in the home and men are predominantly the victims of assault that happens outside of the domestic setting.

Otherwise, risk of assault increases among younger people, the unemployed, people with secondary education and those people who are resident in established suburbs. These latter two indicators are very unusual and suggest patterns of assault that are peculiar to Dar es Salaam.

| Victim Characteristics	High risk (%age people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (%age people in each category that were victimised)
Age	15-25 (26.8 %)	Over 40 (9.4 %)
Employment Status	Unemployed (32.5 %)	Formal employment. (9.4 %)
Educational Status	Secondary (19.6 %)	Post High School (11.7 %)
Area of Residence	Established Sub. (20.9 %)	Inner City (10.2 %)

53. Victim profile of assault

WHEN ASSAULT OCCURRED

As in the case of other crimes, the victim survey sought to determine the month, day of the week and time of day that assault occurred. The monthly breakdown for assault (graph 52) suggests a fairly constant level though the year with two peaks occurring around June (15 %) and December (16%). Whereas these peaks could relate to the impact of holiday seasons they may also be distortions caused by memory effects whereby respondents who cannot remember the exact date of the incident indicate dates at the year end or middle point of the year.
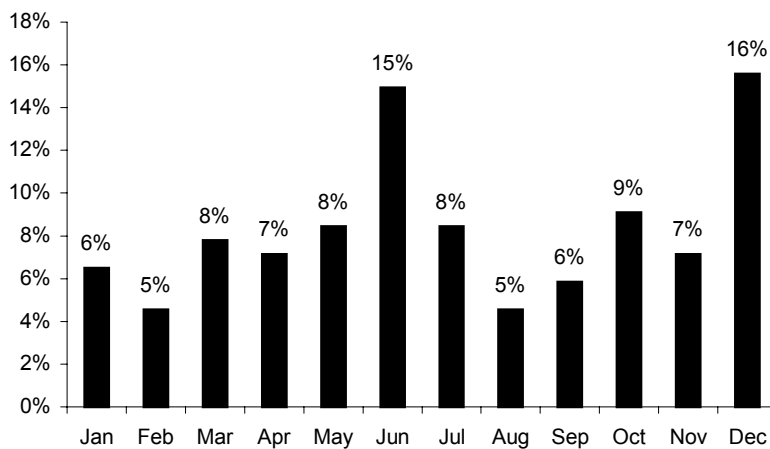
54. Month of the Year during which Assault Took Place

The weekly spread of assault cases also follows a similar pattern to some of the other crimes considered by the survey. The early part of the week from Monday through to Thursday is characterised by comparatively few instances of assault. From the start of the weekend assault increases through Friday and Saturday, peaking on Sunday, which alone accounts for more than a quarter of all incidents.
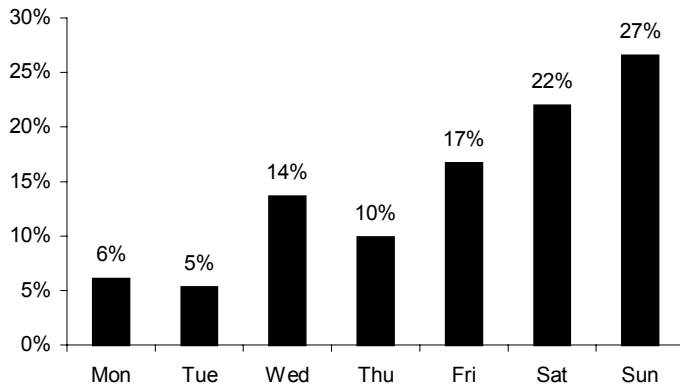
55. *Day of the Week during which Took Place*

The victim survey data suggests that the majority of cases of assault are concentrated from midday to 18h00, accounting for 57 % of incidents (see graph 54). Indeed, relatively few cases appear to occur during other periods of the day.
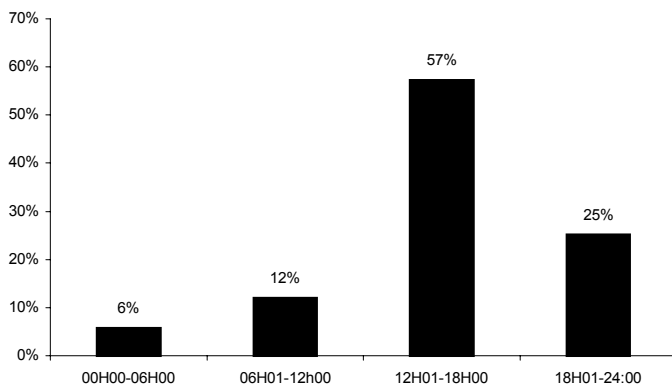
56. *Time of Day during which Assault Took Place*

WHERE DID THE ASSAULT OCCUR

As in the case of other crime types, the victim survey sought to determine where assault occurred (graph 55). Respondents identifying both a generic place – for example, in your workplace – as well the specific location where the assault occurred.

The most common place for assaults to have taken place was in the home of the respondent, accounting for 53 % of incidents recorded by the survey, with another 5 % taking place 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 people may not consider family or partner violence to be a form of assault, it can be assumed that the actual figures are even higher. As such, recorded levels of violence taking place in the home can be considered to be significant. These findings were the opposite of 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 were found in the home. In addition, given the disproportionate victimisation of women in relation to assault happening in the home, it can be strongly argued that domestic violence is endemic in Dar es Salaam.

The second most common place for assault to occur in Dar es Salaam was in places of entertainment (18 %). The third highest peak of 9 % was recorded for assaults happened at the work place. Relatively few people were assaulted or in open space or in public areas such as in the streets. In comparison, for Durban this was the most common response.

The limited occurrence of assault in public spaces suggested that for Dar es Salaam assault is not typically a random or spontaneous event. Instead it arises out of the domestic environment or has to do with patterns of entertainment and probably the consumption of alcohol.
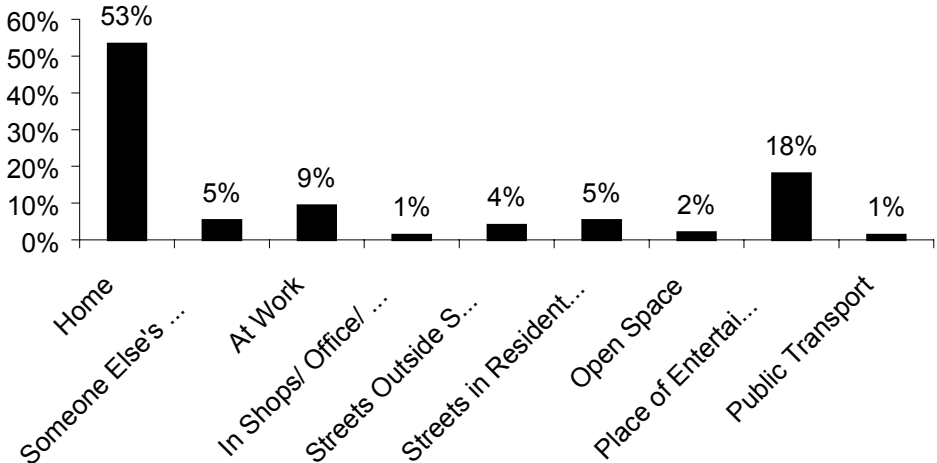
57.   Place where Assault Occurred

The victim survey also requested victims to identify what they had been doing at the time of the assault. This serves as a useful way to check of the conclusions reached above as to the generic location where assault occurred. The majority of victims (52 %) were at home when the incident happened. Followed by 20 % who were engaged in recreational activity or entertainment (graph 56).
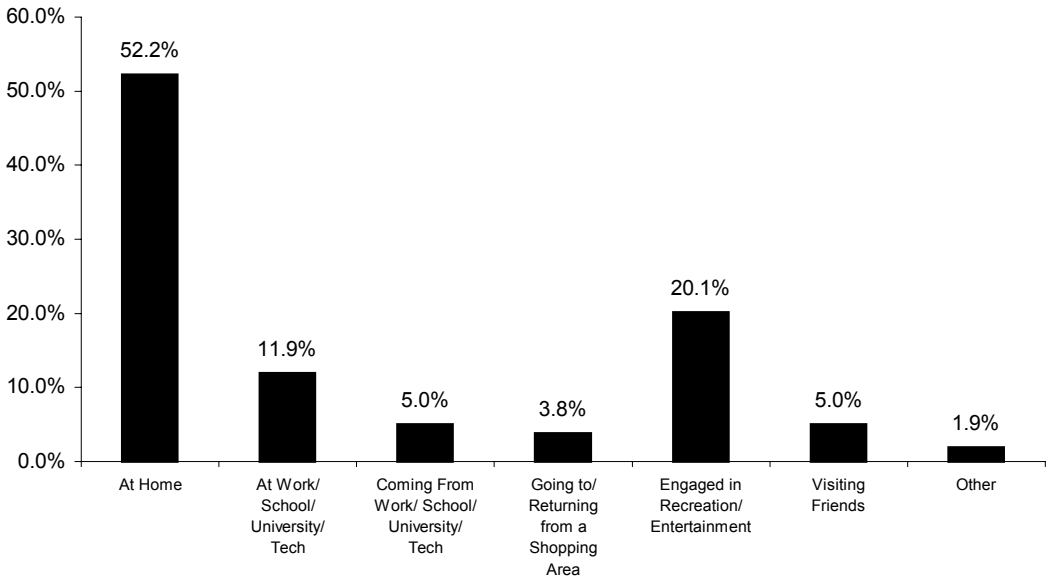
58.   What Respondents were doing at the Time of the Assault

USE OF VIOLENCE AND DEGREE OF INJURY

The victim survey ascertained whether violence was used during the assault and what form it took. Also, it sought to determine if injuries had occurred and how serious these were.

Unsurprisingly, violence was used in the vast majority (81 %) of assaults. In the remainder of cases victims claimed to only have experienced threats but no physical violence. When violence was used, this mostly involved the use of physical strength as opposed to the overt use of a weapon. If a weapon was used it was most likely to be a knife (10 % of cases). See graph 57.
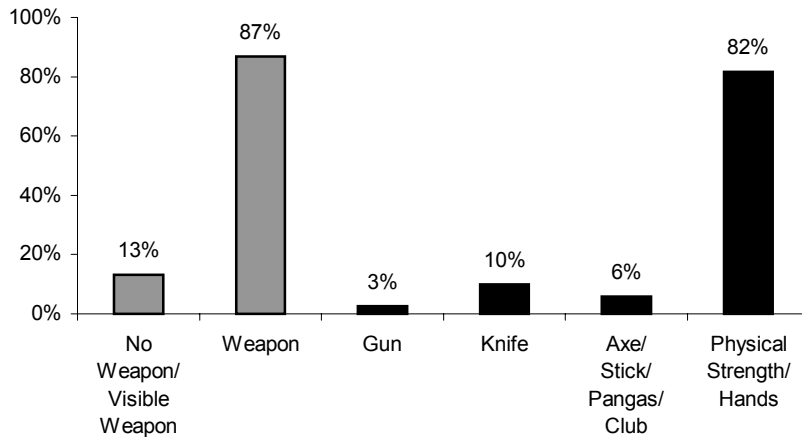
59.   Use of Weapons during Assaults

Victims of assault claimed to have been injured in 40 % of the reported incidents. In 87 % of the incidents the respondent sustained injuries only with no one else having been injured. 62 % of the assaults recorded by the survey were serious enough to warrant hospital treatment – again suggesting, as in the case of burglary, 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. Two-thirds of victims new the offender by name with another 19.0 % knowing the offender. by sight only. A smaller balance of 13.9 % did not know the offender (graph 58). In Durban by comparison as usually as 55,8% of the offenders were not known to the victim.
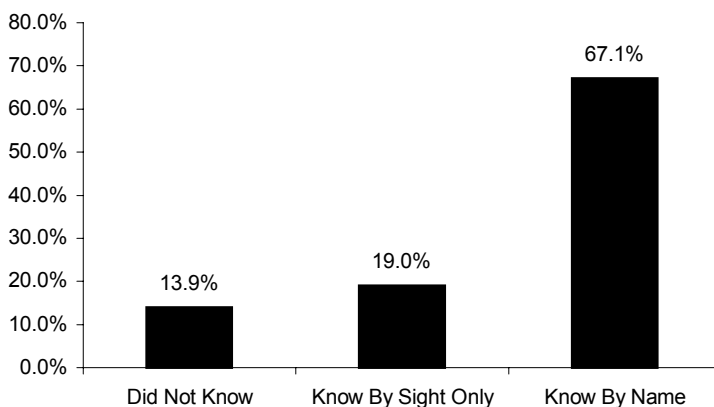
60.   Were the Offenders Known to the Victims of Assault

Where the victims knew offenders, the respondent was asked to identify their relationship if any. In 32.8 % of the reported incidents the offender was the spouse, partner or lover. The second and third most common categories of known offenders were neighbours (36.1 %) and friends (11.8 %).
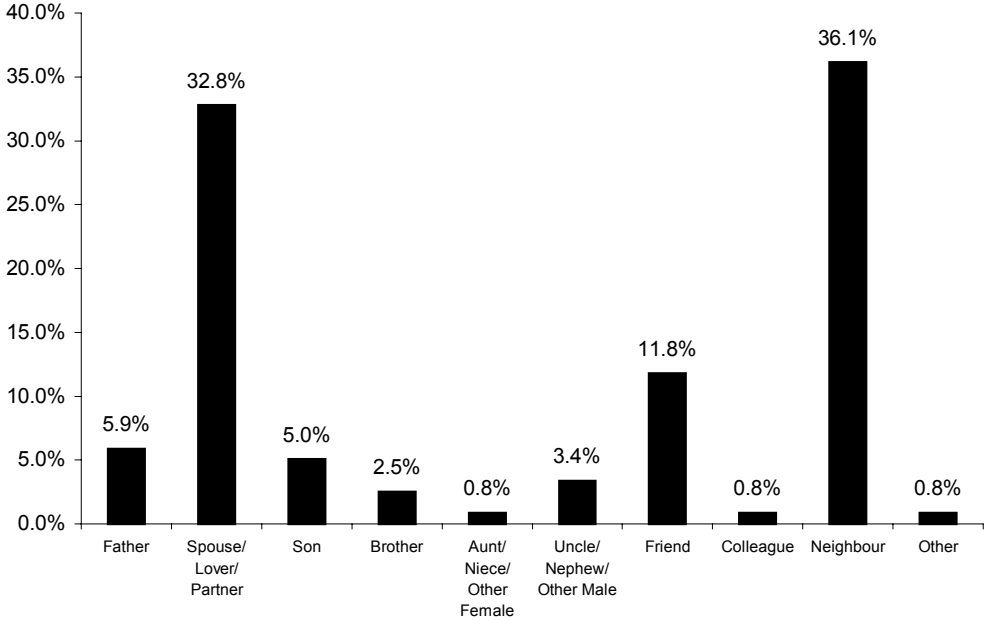
61. Relationship of Offender to Victim in Assaults were Victim knew Offender

NUMBER OF OFFENDERS

Assault can take the form of one person or a number of people attacking a single victim or a number of offenders attacking a number of victims. Of course, in such encounters the line between victims and offenders may become blurred with some individuals being both victims and offenders. Despite these potential definitional problems, the survey asked respondents how many offenders had assaulted them.

In the majority of cases (70.3 %), the victim was assaulted by only one offender. In 13.5 % of all assault cases the victim claimed to be attacked by two offenders. In 16,1 % of cases three or more offenders assaulted the victim.

CROP THEFT, LIVESTOCK THEFT & FARM EQUIPMENT THEFT

This group of crimes is related predominantly to areas where land availability, lifestyle and economic factors create the potential for small scale and other forms of farming activity. Whereas victimisation in terms of these crimes was fairly common among the general Dar es Salaam population- livestock theft being experienced by 19.8 % of the respondents, crop theft by 18.7% and farm equipment theft 7.1% - when respondents resident in the rural areas of the city are isolated the victimisation rate becomes very significant. Specifically, more than half (51.5 %) of rural residents were victims of crop theft, 45.5 % were victims of livestock theft and a fifth were victims of farm equipment theft.

Key points
- Livestock theft was experienced by 20% of all respondents, crop theft by 18.7% and farm equipment theft 7.1%.
- Crop theft, farm equipment theft and livestock theft happen primarily in the rural parts of the city and, to a limited extent, in the new suburbs.
- People most at risk of these crimes are older people who own homes, have little education and are employed in the informal sector.
- Seasonal distribution of crop theft follows the growing cycle of crops, whereas livestock and farm equipment theft are generally evenly distributed with end of year peaks.
- Farm equipment is usually stolen in the daytime, livestock at night and crop theft is more evenly distributed across the day.
- For all three crimes, thefts typically happened over the weekend.
- Violence was not used with any frequency during these crimes.

VICTIM PROFILES:

The following tables (60 – 62) provide profiles of victims of each of the crimes being considered here. For crop theft, victims are homeowners and resident in rural areas or new suburbs (these being linked to landownership). Additionally, victims are usually over 40 years old, with no education or only primary schooling and employed within the informal sector (including small scale farming).

The risk profiles for livestock theft and farm equipment theft are very similar to those of victims of crop theft.

| Victim Characteristics	High risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Home Ownership	Home Owners (26.0 %)	Non-home Owners (6.3 %)
Age	Over 40 (23.7 %)	15-25 (7.4 %)
Employment Status	Informal emp. (30.2 %)	Formal employment (8.5 %)
Educational Status	Nothing/Prim. (26.7 %)	Secondary (10.6 %)
Area of Residence	Rural Area (51.5 %) New Suburb (26.5 %)	Inner City (3.4 %)

62. Victim profile of crop theft

Victim Characteristics	High risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Home Ownership	Home Owners (28.7 %)	Non-home Owners (5.5 %)
Age	Over 40 (23.2 %)	15-25 (13.2 %)
Employment Status	Informal emp. (26.5 %)	Formal employment (13.4 %)
Educational Status	Nothing/Prim. (24.9 %)	Secondary (14.3 %)
Area of Residence	Rural Area (45.5 %) New Suburb (26.0 %)	Inner City (1.9 %)

63. Victim profile of livestock theft

Victim Characteristics	High risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Home Ownership	Home Owners (10.3 %)	Non-home Owners (1.8 %)
Age	Over 40 (8.9 %) 26-40 (7.0 %)	15-25 (3.2 %)
Employment Status	Informal emp. (15.3 %)	Formal employment (2.6 %)
Educational Status	Nothing/Prim. (10.0 %)	Secondary (4.8 %) Post High School (3.4%)
Area of Residence	Rural Area (22.0 %)	New Suburb (5.4 %) Inner City (1.0 %) Established Sub. (3.7 %)

64. Victim profile of farm equipment theft

WHEN RURAL BASED CRIMES OCCURRED

As in the case of other crimes, the victim survey sought to determine what month, day of the week and time of day the rural based crimes occurred. For livestock (graph 63) and farm equipment theft, the distribution of incidents across the year was fairly constant, with peaks occurring in December.
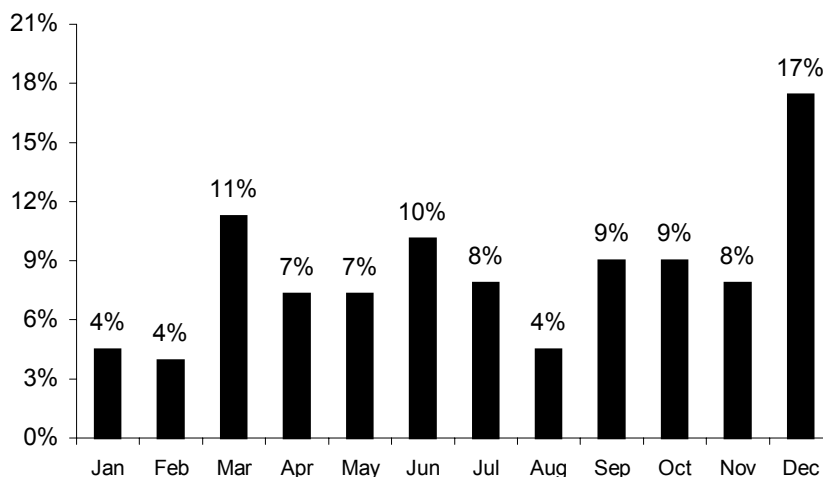
65. Monthly Distribution of Livestock Theft

Crop theft however showed a more distinct monthly distribution pattern with peaks in June and September. This pattern can be explained by the growing seasons whereby the majority of fields lie fallow between November and February.
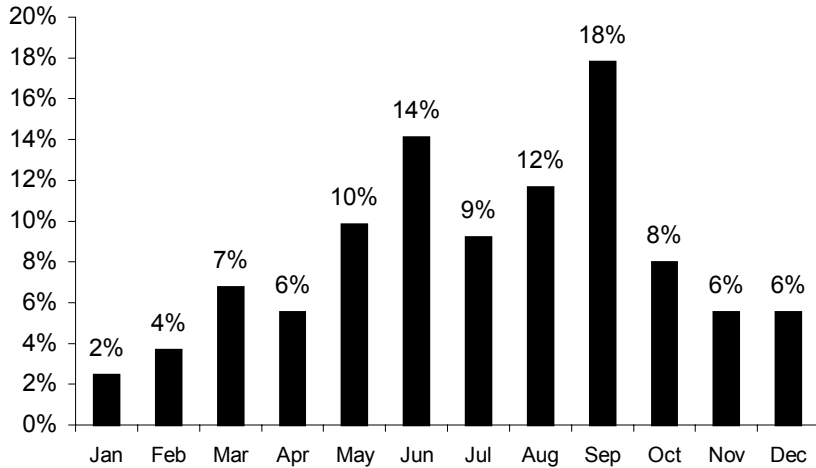

66. Month of the Year during which Livestock Theft Took Place

For all three crimes, Fridays and Saturdays were the days most crimes took place. See graph 65 below.
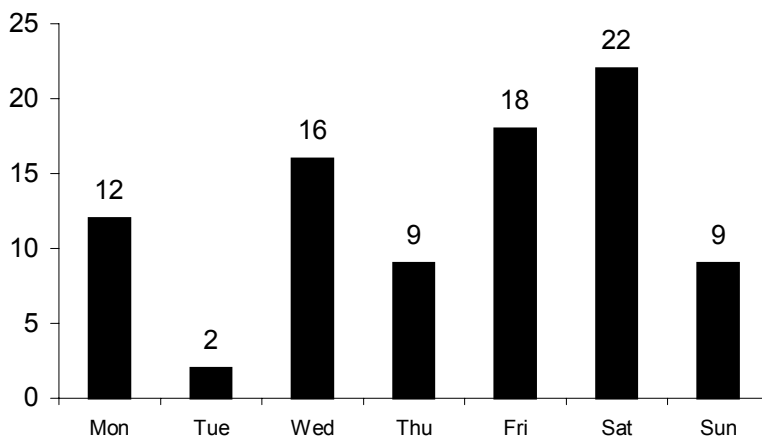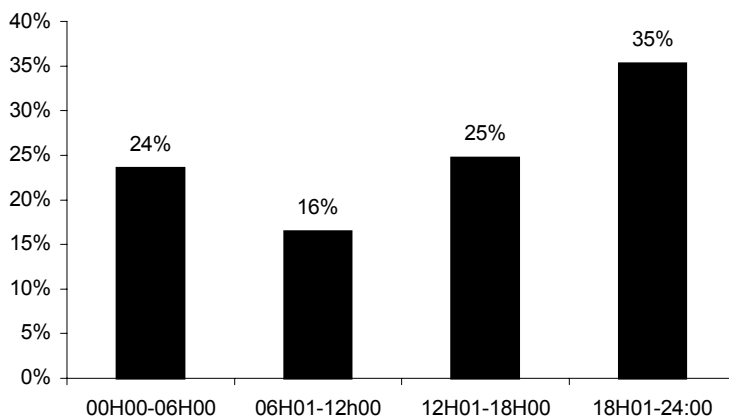

67. Weekly Distribution of Livestock Theft

For the three crimes, the time of day those incidents took place varied. For crop theft and livestock theft the pattern was similar, wit a peak between 18h00 – 24h00 followed by 00h00 – 6h00 (graph 68) the distribution was flatter with a slight peak of 35% between the hours of 18h01 and 24H00. Whereas farm equipment theft was primarily a daytime activity with 47 of the 69 incidents happening between 06H01 and 18H00 (graph 67).
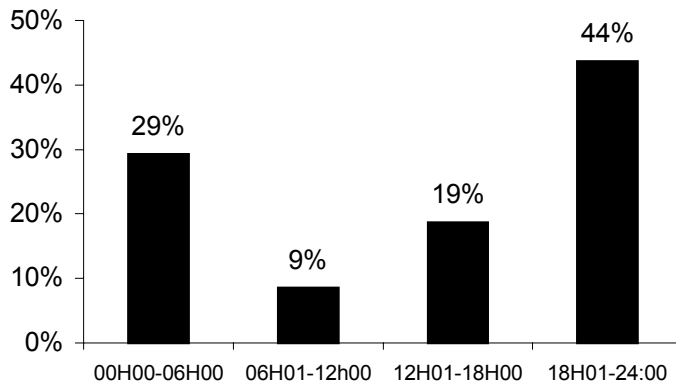
68. Distribution of Livestock Theft over the course of the Day
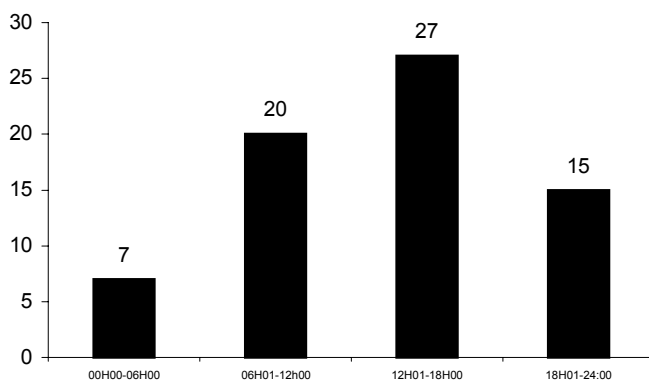
69. Distribution of Farm Equipment Theft over the course of the Day

70. Distribution of Crop Theft over the course of the Day

WHAT WAS STOLEN DURING LIVESTOCK THEFT AND FARM EQUIPMENT THEFT

The survey asked victims of livestock theft about the number of animals that were stolen (graph 69). Results show that for theft of cattle, pigs and goats it was usual for between 1 to 50 animals to be taken, and for poultry theft it was more common for 11 or more to be stolen.
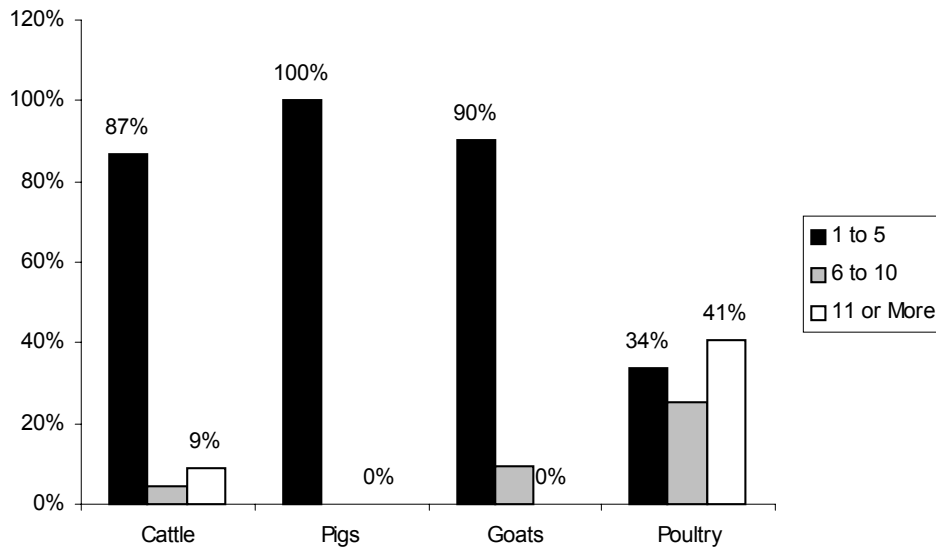
71. Number of animals stolen during livestock thefts.

For farm equipment theft, victims were asked to indicate what was stolen during the most recent incident. The graph below indicates that hoe theft was predominant:
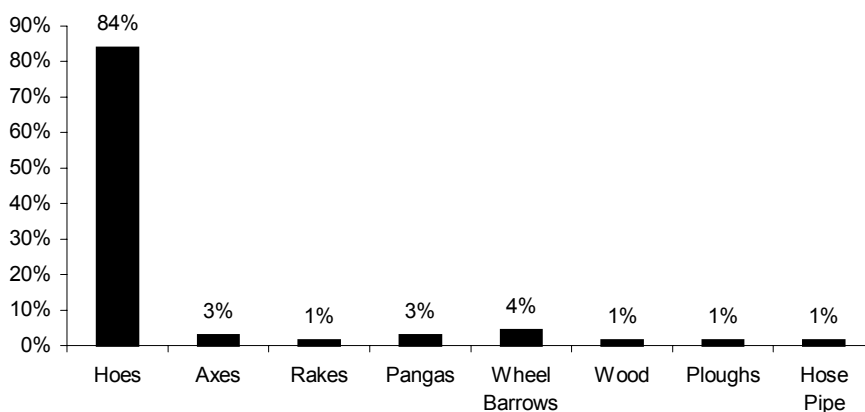
72. Type of Equipment of Stolen During Farm Equipment Theft

USE OF VIOLENCE DURING INCIDENTS OF RURAL BASED CRIMES

Respondents were asked, whether violence had been used during the crime. Violence was a very rare occurrence happening in only 1 % of crop theft incidents and in 7 % of livestock thefts.

WHO RESPONDENT THOUGHT COMMITTED RURAL BASED CRIMES

Respondents were asked, when victims of crop or livestock theft, who they thought had committed the crime. For both types of crime respondents were most likely to say that locals and outsiders together were responsible for crime. For crop theft, respondents indicated people from outside the area in only 7 % of incidents (graph 71) and in the case of livestock theft, in only 5 % of cases.
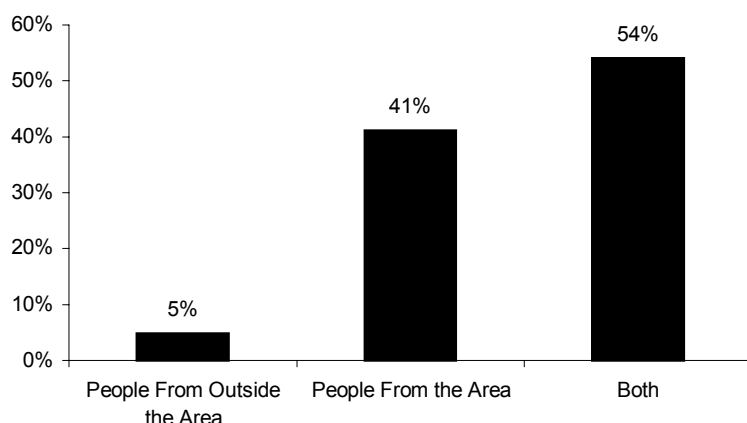
73. Who Victims of Livestock Theft felt were Responsible for the Thefts

MURDER

The victim survey attempted to ascertain details about murder from members of households where somebody had been a victim of the crime. However, given the extremely low rate of murder reported (1.2 %), the data is not sufficient to draw any meaningful trends outside of the overall rate.

One factor worth bearing in mind when comparing the Dar es Salaam murder rate with that found in other cities is that household sizes in Dar es Salaam are typically large. This means that the figures expressed in the city, relatively speaking, are even lower than they appear at first glance.

SIMPLE THEFT

Respondents were asked about incidents of simple theft, defined as an incident where an item was taken without threat or use of force. Simple theft wou therefore include occasions of pick pocketing, bag snatching, etc. When such thefts included the use of force this data was gathered under the robbery section.

Simple theft was the second most common crimes after burglary to take place in Dar es Salaam. 31.8 % of respondents had experienced this crime over the five-year period.

Key Points

- Simple theft was experienced by 31.8 % of respondents, and as such was the second most common crime in the city.
- Young women were particularly at risk of simple theft as were residents of the inner city.
- Simple theft occurred most often on Saturdays (28 % of the time) and between the hours of 12h01 and 18h00 (46 % of the time).
- Victims were more likely to have accessories such as jewellery stolen, 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 else on the streets in residential areas whilst victims were going to or returning from work, studying or shopping.

VICTIM PROFILE:

The following table presents the risk profile of victims of simple theft. As can be seen, victims tend to be young females; income dependant or else in formal employment with post high school or secondary school qualifications. Additionally, living in the inner city was a strong risk factor; to this extent more than 50 % of inner city residents were victims of simple theft.

Victim Characteristics	High risk (% people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (% people in each category that were victimised)
Gender	Female (38.1 %)	Male (25.3 %)
Age	15-25 (44.2 %)	Over 40 (25.4 %)
Employment Status	Income Depend. (37.0 %) Formal employment (35.2 %)	Informal employ. (21.8 %)
Educational Status	Post High School (36.6 %) Secondary (36.9 %)	Nothing/Prim. (26.0 %)
Area of Residence	Inner City (51.9 %)	Rural Area (6.2 %)

74. Victim profile of simple theft

WHAT WAS STOLEN DURING SIMPLE THEFT INCIDENTS
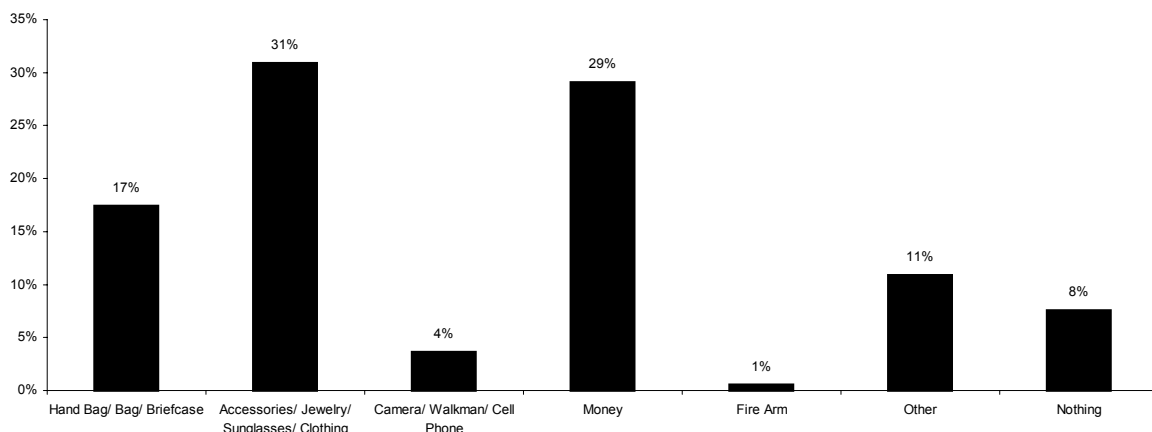
75. Graph Type of Item Stolen during Simple Thefts

As graph 73 above indicates, accessories such as jewellery and sunglasses were stolen most often (31 %). Money was the second most likely item to be stolen, accounting for 29 % of the

incidents. The 8 % of incidents in which nothing was stolen should be read as attempted thefts.
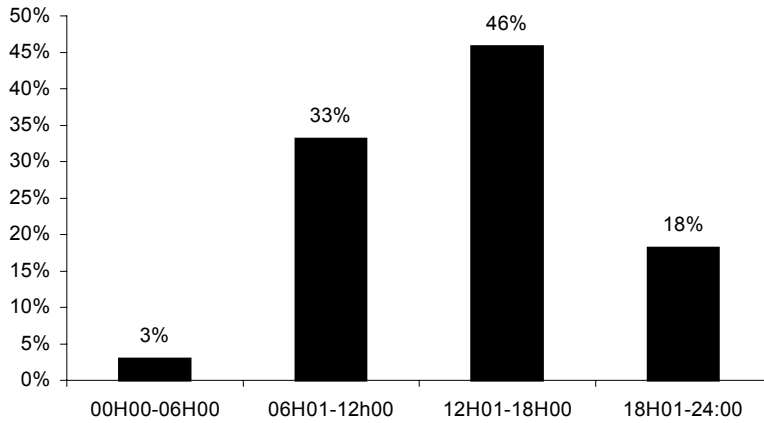
WHEN SIMPLE THEFT OCCURRED

Simple theft levels peak in June and again towards the end of the year, with October, November and December months accounting for close to a third of all incidents. Likewise, more than a quarter of simple thefts occurred on Saturdays alone. As far as the time of day during which the incident took place was concerned 46.5 % of simple thefts occurred between 12h01 and 18h00. See graphs 74 to 76.
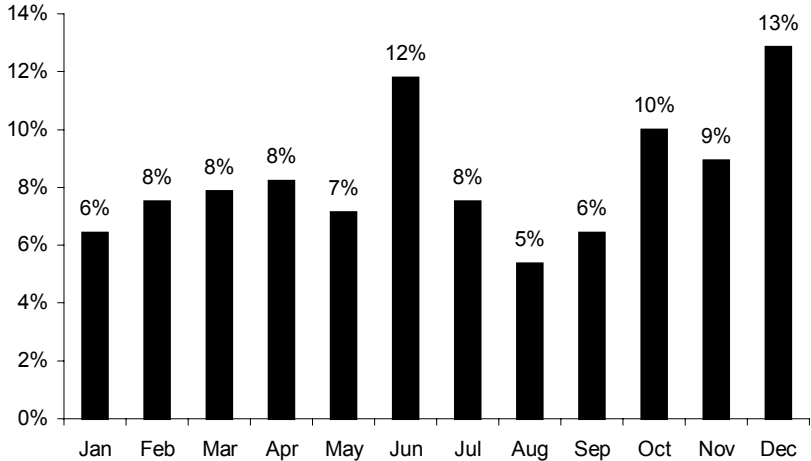
76. Month of the Year during which Simple Theft Occurred
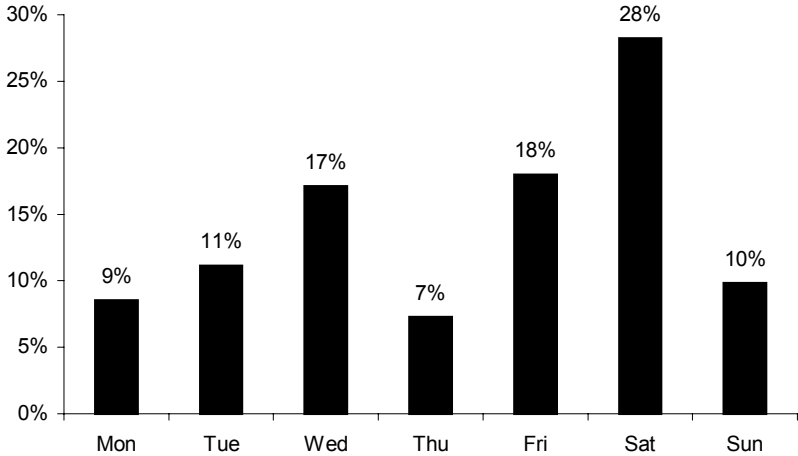
77. Day of the Week during which Simple Theft Occurred

78. Hour of the Day during which Simple Theft Occurred

WHERE INCIDENTS OCCURRED AND WHAT VICTIMS WERE DOING AT THE TIME

Victims were asked where they were when the incident occurred. The most typical response (35 %) was in the streets outside shops or offices, followed by 32 % who were in the streets in residential areas (graph 77).
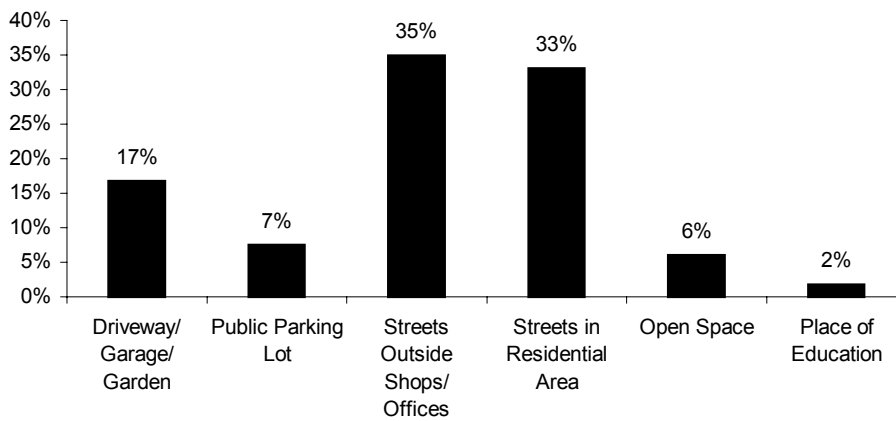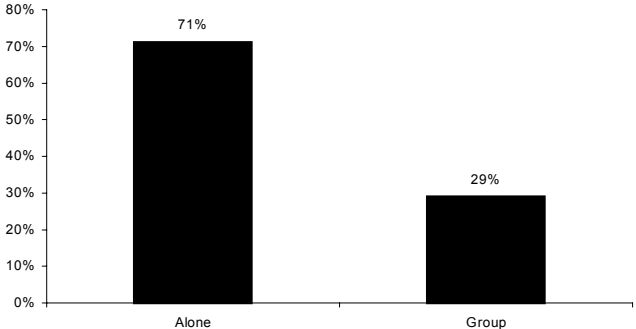

79. Where Simple Theft occurred
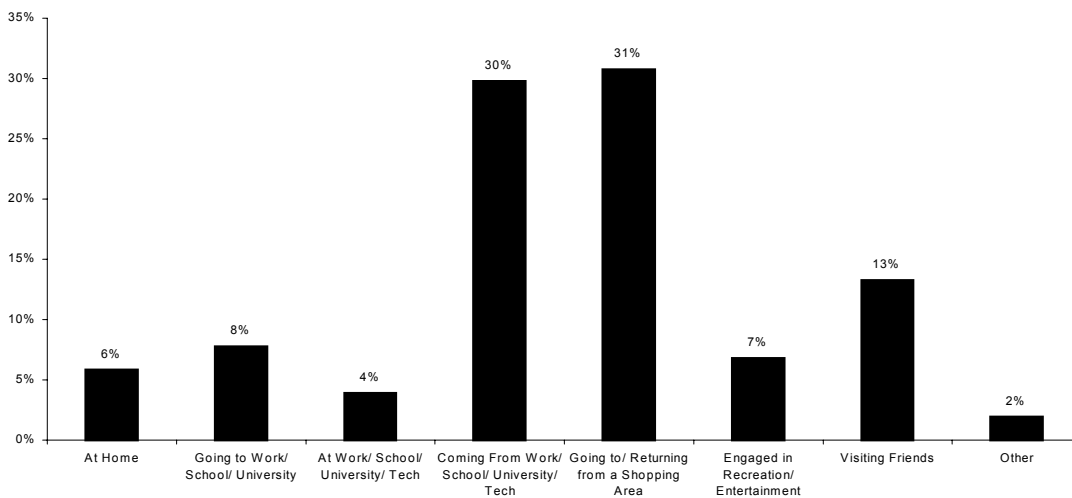
80. What were Simple Theft Victims doing at the Time of the Theft

When most were either asked what they were doing at the time of the theft (graph 78). Going to or returning from work, school or university Going to or returning from shopping, being mentioned by a little less than a third of respondents.

As graph 79 shows, 71 % of the respondents were alone at the time of the incident.

81. Whether Simple Theft Victims were Alone when the Incident Occurred

ROBBERY

Respondents were asked about incidents of robbery over the five-year period. The following table summarises the nature of simple theft in the city:

Key points

- Robbery was experienced by 14% of respondents over the five –year period.
- Robbery victims typically were people with post high school qualifications in formal employment.
- Robbery victims were more likely to live in new or emerging suburbs,
- Most robberies took place Fridays and Saturdays (55%) and during the night (65%).
- The most common place for robbery to occur was on the streets in residential areas (57%).
- 71% of incidents involved actual violence as opposed to threats only.

The table below details the risk profile of Dar es Salaam residents in relation to robbery. As a likely result of their higher incomes, formally employed people with high school qualifications were most likely to be victimised. Additionally, people resident in new and established suburbs were more likely to be victimised than those living in other areas of the city.

VICTIM PROFILE: ROBBERY

Victim Characteristics	High risk (%age people in each category that were victimised)	Low risk (%age people in each category that were victimised)
Employment Status	Formal employment (20.2%)	Unemployed (10.3 %) Income Depend (9.8%)
Education Status	Post High School (23.4%)	Nothing/Prim. (10.0%)
Area of Residence	Established Sub. (16.9%) New Suburb (20.6%)	Rural Area (6.0%)

*82. Victim profile of robbery*

WHETHER ROBBERIES WERE SUCCESSFUL
As graph 8.3 shows, 83 % of all attempted robberies were successful.
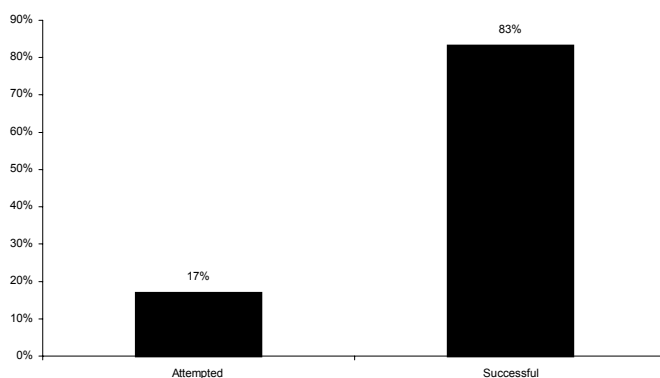
83. Percentage of Robberies which were successful

WHEN ROBBERIES TOOK PLACE

Robberies were evenly spread through the year with a slight peak occurring in December (19%). In addition, robberies often took place over the weekend with Friday and Saturday accounting for 55% of all incidents (graph 83). Finally robberies were much more likely to take place during the night-time, with three quarters of the incident occurring between 18.01 and 06h00 (graph 84).
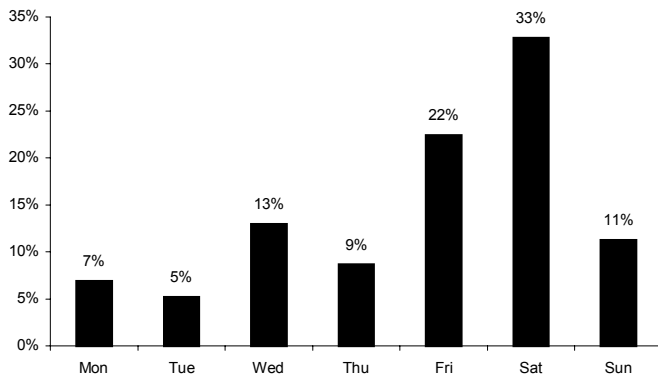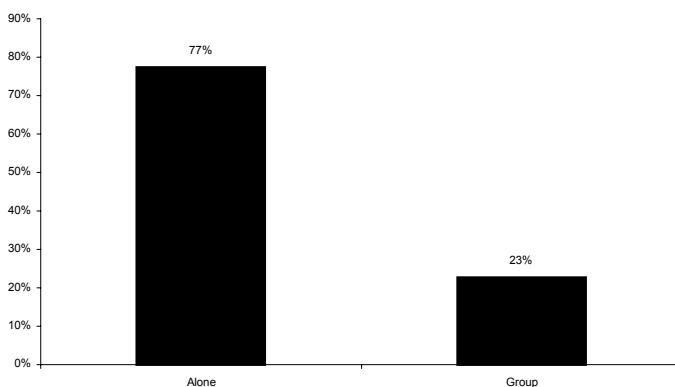

84. Day of the Week on which Robbery Took Place
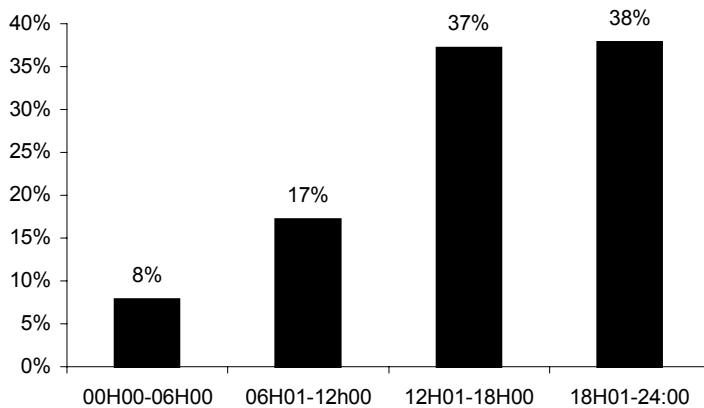
85. Time of Day which Robbery Took Place

For almost three quarters of robberies, the victims were alone at the time of the incident. See graph below.

*86. Percentage of Victims who were Alone when Robbery Took Place*

WHERE ROBBERIES TOOK PLACE

Two thirds of robberies took place in residential areas, either in the streets (57 %) or in people's driveways, garages and gardens (9 %).
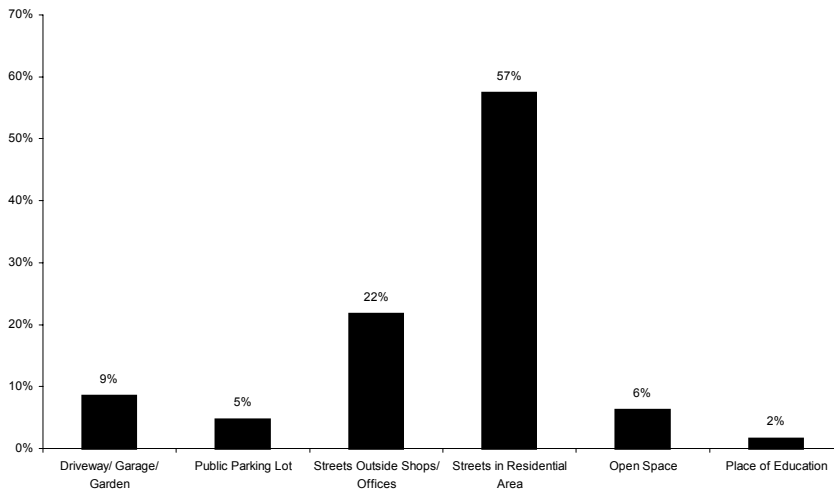
87. Where Robbery Took Place

Victims were typically engaged in after-hours activities when robberies took place. For example, 3.1% were returning from work, school or university. Just under a quarter were visiting friends when the incident occurred, whilst a fifth were going to or returning from shopping (graph 87).
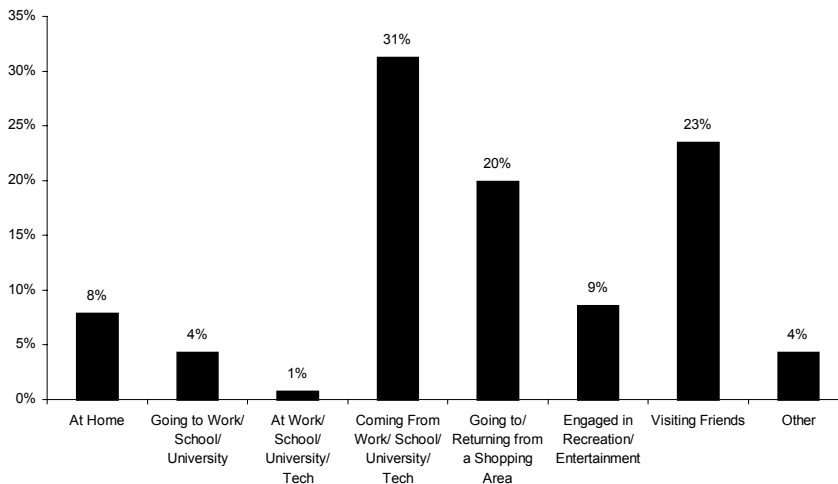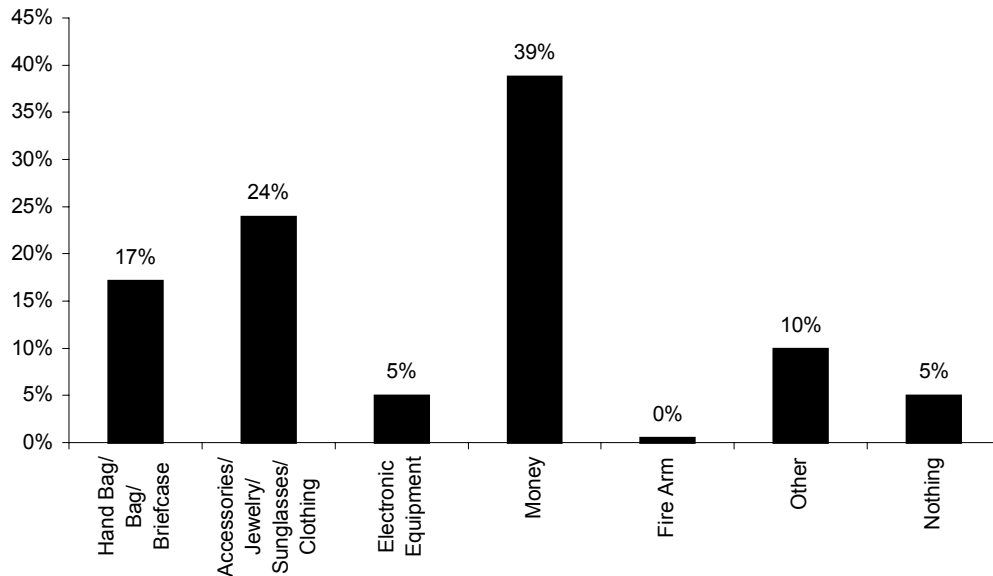

88. What Victims was doing When Robbery Took Place

WHAT WAS STOLEN DURING ROBBERIES

Unlike simple theft, money was the most likely item to be stolen during a robbery, accounting for 39 % of incidents. Accessories and bags were the second and third most likely items to be stolen, being taken in 24 % and 17 % of incidents respectively (graph 88).
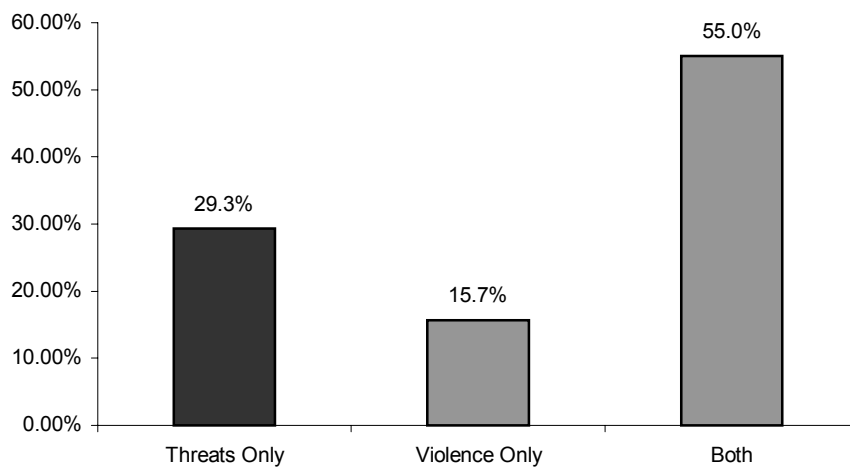
**89. What was Stolen During Robbery**

USE OF VIOLENCE DURING ROBBERIES

Robberies by definition are violent, however they include either the threat or actual use of violence. In this regards, as the graph below indicates, 71 % of incident involved actual violence whereas 29 % involved threats only.


90. Use of Violence and Threats During Robberies

Only 12 % of victims reported having not seen a weapon in the course of the crime. Of weapons seen or used, knives were the most common and were used in 41 % of the incident involving weapons. Physical strength was used in 39 % of the incidents involving weapons.
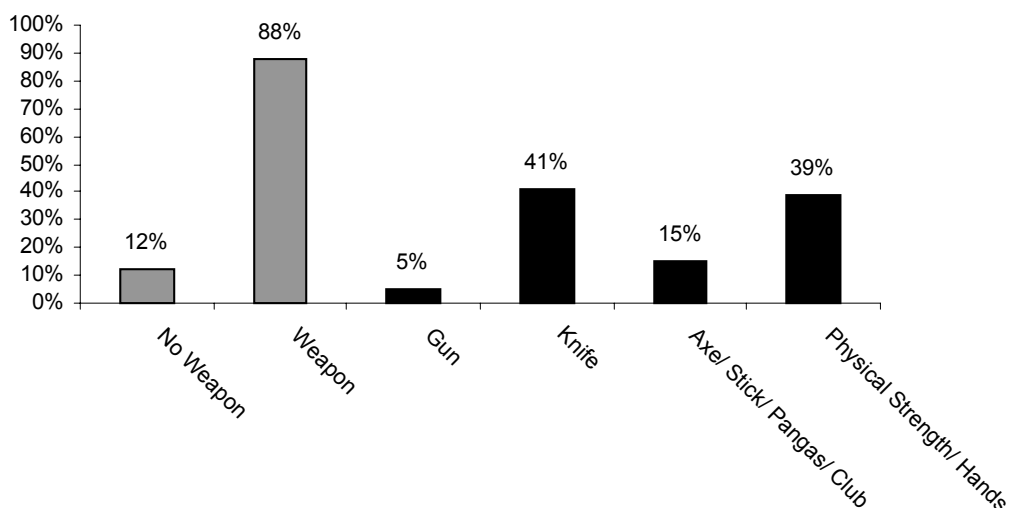
91. Use and Type of Weapon during Robberies

As a result of the violence, less than a third of robbery victims sustained injuries. In 70% of the incidents only the respondent was injured and nobody else that may have been with them.
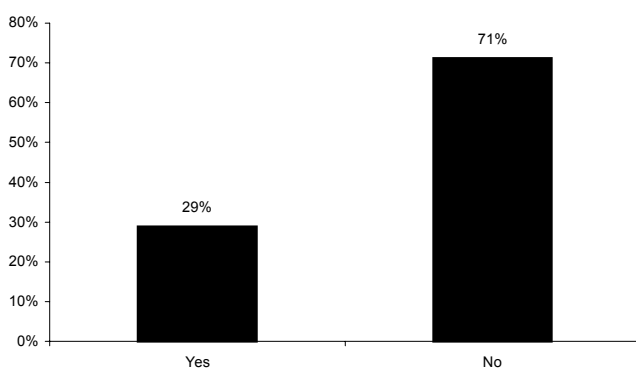
92. Percentage of Victims Sustaining Injuries During Robberies

Of those victims who were injured, 53 % were treated in hospital for the injury.

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[i] See A Louw 'Comparing crime in South Africa's cities', *African Security Review* Vol 8(1) 1999, Institute for Security Studies.
[ii] Ibid.
[iii] Ibid.
[iv] C Mirrlees-Black, P Mayhew & A Percy, *The 1996 British Crime Survey: England and Wales*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin, 19/96, Research and Statistics Directorate, London, 24 September 1996.
[v] See A Louw 'Comparing crime in South Africa's cities', *African Security Review* Vol 8(1) 1999, Institute for Security Studies.