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Executive summary

To better understand crime and public perceptions of safety in Tanzania, victimisation surveys were carried out in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Mtwara. A fundamental requirement for the prevention and control of crime is the availability of reliable data. To this end the Arusha Municipal Council, the Dar es Salaam City Council (Safer Cities) and the Mtwara Spatial Development Initiative located within the National Development Corporation, in partnership with the Mtwara-Mikandani Town and Mtwara Rural Councils, requested that such a study to be undertaken in each of their constituencies.

The surveys consisted of 1,150 interviews in Arusha and 1,100 each in Dar es Salaam and Mtwara. The demographic component of the survey gathered information on 13,373 persons living in 3,256 households across the three areas. The average household size was 4.2 people in Arusha and 4.1 in both Mtwara and Dar es Salaam—figures that compare favourably with the 2002 Census. Over three quarters of all household members over the age of 19 were not engaged in any income earning activities. Indeed, only 11% enjoyed intermittent earnings and a miniscule 5% had a regular income from formal sector employment.

Public perceptions of crime and safety

People living in urban areas were more concerned about crime and safety than those in the rural areas surveyed. Reflecting this trend, people in Dar es Salaam and Arusha were more worried about crime and safety than those in Mtwara. More specifically, 40% of Tanzanians surveyed thought crime has increased in the past three years, with this view being far more common in Arusha and Dar es Salaam than in Mtwara. Similarly, around half the respondents living in urban neighbourhoods thought crime had increased, compared to only 28% in rural areas.

Perceptions about which crimes are most prevalent varied considerably between the three areas: in Arusha burglary was believed to be most common, while in Mtwara it was crop theft, and in Dar es Salaam, robbery. Fear

of crime was highest in Arusha. At night 60% in Arusha felt very unsafe walking alone, compared to 40% in Dar es Salaam and only 16% in Mtwara.

Perceptions about crime affected the activities and behaviour of people in all three towns, although safety issues were less of a concern for those living in Mtwara. Most respondents in Arusha (78%) and Dar es Salaam (77%) said their behaviour has changed in the last three years because of crime, compared to only 36% in Mtwara.

In all three areas, people were most likely to think the unemployed, followed by locals, and teenagers/youths commit crime. The motive for crime was largely perceived to be 'need' rather than 'greed'. In all three sites, respondents identified unemployment as the key reason for crime, followed by a lack of alternative means of survival, such as subsistence agriculture. Many also said criminals are lazy and "take the easy way out".

Opinions about the police and courts

Respondents believed that government's main response to the crime problem should be to increase visible policing. People were also prepared to take their own precautions to protect themselves—one example being the Sungusungu units. Residents rely on these units both to prevent crime and to apprehend suspects. Such non-state measures are generally considered an effective adjunct to law enforcement agencies. On the negative side however, some felt that Sungusungu units were too rough in their handling of suspects.

Respondents in urban settlements come into contact with uniformed police officers on a regular basis. Unsurprisingly, more than one third of those in rural areas had never seen a uniformed police officer in their area. Overall, those respondents who had visited a police station said the experience had improved their opinion of the police. Generally, the police were respected for their perceived commitment, and high levels of trust in the police were recorded. Those who thought the police were doing a poor job, indicated that corruption was the main problem.

Few people had actually been to court, and those who had were generally satisfied with the work being done. Of those few respondents who

were not satisfied, corruption and the length of time taken to resolve issues, were the reasons given.

Corruption

High levels of petty corruption were recorded by the survey: overall, one fifth of respondents had been asked for a bribe by a government official in the past year for delivery of a public service. The most common type of bribe requested was for money, followed by favours and then presents. This type of petty corruption was much more common in Dar es Salaam than in Arusha or Mtwara.

Officials working in the health, policing, courts, employment and school sectors were most likely to ask members of the public for bribes. In most cases, respondents said they paid the bribes “occasionally, depending on the circumstances”. Many of those who did not pay the bribe were refused services and threatened by the officials concerned.

Overall, respondents were only slightly more inclined to believe that corruption has increased rather than decreased in the past three years. Views differed markedly between the three towns however: most people in Mtwara thought bribery had decreased, while those in Arusha and Dar es Salaam were more likely to think it had increased.

Experience of crime

Theft of personal property and home burglaries were the most common crimes overall. Property crimes were more prevalent than violent crimes: five of the six most common crimes were against property, with robbery, the only violent crime, taking sixth place in the ranking.

Dar es Salaam had much higher crime rates than the other two towns surveyed, with the exception of bicycle theft, stock and crop theft which were highest in Mtwara.

Less than half of all crimes surveyed were reported to the police. This occurred in spite of the fact that on average, over a third of victims knew who had perpetrated the crimes against them. One of the most common reasons for not reporting to the police was that they were unavailable or

inaccessible. Many victims also said the crime was not important enough to warrant reporting to the authorities.

On average, nearly two thirds of victims reported the crime to a structure other than the police—mostly traditional authorities, local ward councillors and the Sungusungu.

Implications

The victim survey raises a number of points about crime and crime control in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Mtwara:

- Law enforcement officers need to increase their presence and interactions with the public in residential and business areas in all three of the towns surveyed.
- Interaction between the police and the Sungusungu should be improved and formalised. When members of the latter act as a vigilante group by punishing suspects, they must be brought to justice. Communities that create Sungusungu units should also be made aware of the rights, obligations and limitations of all stakeholders, including criminal suspects.
- Dealing with corruption must be a priority of both the Tanzania Police Force and the local authorities in the three areas researched.
- Crime and corruption reduction strategies should be accepted as priority items on the socio-economic development agendas of the three towns and regional councils within which the research was undertaken. Specifically, Safer Cities or similar initiatives could be initiated in Arusha and Mtwara.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Motivation for the study

Information on the nature of crime, its causes and its impact on society is essential for the planning, design and monitoring of strategies and policies to prevent and control crime. Facts concerning crime levels, resource availability and capacity are needed, together with information on people's views about crime in the area.

In Tanzania, crime has become a prominent national issue for several reasons. With an urbanisation rate averaging around 5% per annum,¹ Tanzanian cities are experiencing rapid growth of low-income peri-urban and informal settlements. These are not only found in the major urban centres of Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Zanzibar Town, Mwanza and Mbeya, but also in provincial towns such as Moshi, Tanga, Mtwara, Lindi and Iringa. A lack of job opportunities, non-existent infrastructure and a social system in flux in the rural areas, are the main causes of the exodus of people from rural areas to urban centres or urban satellite towns.

Tanzania is also still faced with large numbers of refugees who, particularly during the 1990s, came to the country from the Great Lakes region in significant numbers. Most foreign migrants arrive with few resources. After initially being hosted either by family or tribal communities, they move into informal settlements. A large proportion of these settlements are overcrowded, lacking even the most rudimentary services. Inadequate housing, lack of clean drinking water, uncollected waste and defective sewerage and sanitation facilities are the norm. To compound matters, local authorities often consider informal settlements illegal, hence residents are ineligible for tenure rights. Regulations and licensing rules often restrict their activities and urban planning takes little account of their needs. Often the relationship between local government and the urban poor in these neighbourhoods is antagonistic.

Social exclusion and a relative lack of support systems further characterise the environments within which many citizens live. Crime rates are

perceived to be high and to be increasing annually. The issues of private and public security have become the most identifiable criteria negatively impacting on quality of life, particularly for the poor. The interaction of social exclusion, institutional dynamics and the physical environment provide manifold causes for crime in these low-income areas.

Social exclusion is multi-faceted, including factors such as marginalisation, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of family integration and domestic violence. Institutional dynamics would include the challenges facing the criminal justice system—the police, courts, and prisons. Finally, the physical environment in terms of poor urban design and the weak management of the urbanisation process, inadequate urban services, and the failure to incorporate security related issues in urban management policies, has also contributed to crime levels. Although crime is an endemic feature of urban areas, it is not restricted to them.

Regardless of where crime is located, its main effect is to erode society’s physical and financial assets—particularly those of the urban poor. It also impacts on the psyche of the population, profoundly affecting all aspects of people’s lives. Although damaging in different ways, insecurity brought about by the perception of widespread crime and violence can be as destructive as the actual criminal act. Migratory ebbs and flows in many countries can be linked to prevailing perceptions about crime and safety. This almost always has a negative impact not only on present, but also future economic investment.

Over the past ten years crime prevention strategies have been implemented in many cities in developed countries with the result that a culture of prevention now prevails at local government level. The same cannot be said of developing countries. This is due to many factors, such as a lack of financial and human resources, a culture of repression instead of prevention of crime, lack of decentralisation, and lack of continuity of local institutions and leaders. At the same time, if strategies are to be successfully implemented in developing countries, they cannot be a simple replication of practices elsewhere, but must be formulated within the context of their individual settings. This requires accurate information on the local crime problem and the capacity of existing institutions—both

formal and informal—to respond. The most important challenge in the developing world is incorporating the urban poor into crime prevention strategies. This sector is not a marginalised minority as in developed countries, but a substantive part, and often the majority, of the constituents.

In Tanzania, crime prevention approaches were originally developed during the 1980s in Mwanza, Shinyanga and Tabora to limit cattle theft. The resultant entities were called Sungusungu or Wasalama. Local urban authorities were mandated to establish such organisations duty during the re-establishment of local authorities as governed by the 1982 Local Government Act. During the year 2000, a victimisation survey of Dar es Salaam helped to initiate a Safer Cities programme for the city.² By early 2003, five more towns (Arusha, Moshi, Iringa, Tanga and Mwanza) were tabling agendas for Safer Cities programmes and for the need to undertake victimisation surveys to provide information on local crime problems.

In light of this, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Pretoria secured funding to conduct a series of surveys on crime levels and public perceptions of policing, justice and safety, in selected towns and regions in Tanzania. Similar work was concurrently undertaken in Malawi and South Africa.

The overall project was motivated by the general shortage of policy-relevant data on crime trends. Without this data, developing appropriate responses to crime problems remains difficult.

Victimisation surveys

Victim surveys are often used to better understand crime and insecurity in a particular region. A fundamental requirement of a prevention-oriented approach to crime is the availability of reliable data. If crime is like a sickness, to be able "to say whether a nation is healthy, it is necessary to be able to take its temperature".³ But this is often easier said than done. Crime information—where it exists at all—usually consists of incidents recorded by the police and justice system. While these official crime statistics provide important information, particularly across time and geographic boundaries, they do not reflect the many crimes that the public chose not to report to the

authorities. The need for a more complete crime picture, particularly for the development of crime prevention policy, originally prompted the initiation of victimisation surveys.⁴

As noted above, official police crime statistics are restricted to those cases that the public consider worth reporting. Before reporting, citizens must first define the act as a criminal offence, and then decide that going to the police would be useful and worthwhile. Also, some victims may not report due to concerns that the police will not take their case seriously, or that the police cannot protect them. In addition to the role played by the public, official crime data are also limited by the fact that police officials are often able to decide whether or not to include crimes reported by the public in their records.

It is important to note that victim surveys are also limited by the public's decision about whether or not to talk about their experiences of crime. This is particularly the case with crimes that are regarded as sensitive (e.g. domestic violence or sexual assault), and less important (e.g. victims may discuss their experience of a serious armed assault with a survey fieldworker, but not an incident in which they were slapped by a friend in a drunken scuffle). People may also be reluctant to discuss crimes such as corruption and fraud in the survey context due to concerns about their own involvement in the offences, or for fear of recriminations. Finally, general victim surveys such as this one are limited by their inability to record information about crimes against young people and children (under the age of 16), due to ethical considerations that restrict the surveying of minors without consent from parents or guardians.

Despite these challenges, the strengths of victim surveys outweigh their limitations. The core strength of victimisation surveys is that victims themselves provide the information in a format that they best understand and to a level of detail that is specific to a well-defined spatial location. By using methodologies based on probability sampling, every person in an area has an equal chance of being selected. This means that respondents should be representative of all constituents of the survey area and should therefore provide an accurate assessment of crime levels.

Victimisation surveys are also better disposed to understanding the nature of particular crime types, especially those that are poorly recorded in official crime statistics. Analysing official police crime statistics for information on where and when crimes are most likely to occur and the circumstances that characterise them can be difficult if the necessary details are not recorded. For example, official databases do not always carry information on the relationship between victim and offender, the specific weapons used, the degree of violence and injury sustained, and what the victim was doing when the crime occurred. This information is particularly relevant for crimes such as mugging and assault that are infrequently reported to the police.

Another strength of surveys is their ability to measure levels of fear of crime. Feelings of insecurity can have social, economic and political consequences for society. By recording the perceptions of both victims and non-victims, the surveys illustrate the extent, nature and impact of fear of crime. Victim surveys also provide information on public perceptions of police effectiveness and service delivery. Finally, the surveys are useful for soliciting the opinions of victims and the general public about appropriate interventions to reduce crime.

Monograph outline

There are nine chapters in this monograph. Chapter 1 introduces the study, stating both its purposes and significance, and providing background to victimisation surveys. Chapter 2 outlines the research methodology and notes research limitations. Chapter 3 describes the demographic and household characteristics of the respondents and the households sampled. Chapter 4 presents respondents' general perceptions of crime and how it impacts on their lives and communities. Chapter 5 discusses individual and community responses to crime as interpreted by the respondents. Chapter 6 deals with respondents' perceptions of the police and courts. Chapter 7 covers respondents' experiences and perceptions of corruption. Chapter 8 reports on victimisation rates and discusses selected crimes in detail.

Chapter 9 concludes with an analysis of the implications of the survey results for decision-makers in Tanzania.

All the data in the monograph have been correlated by the three towns that were surveyed: Arusha, Mtwara and Dar es Salaam. When the sample of victims was too small, the results are presented as a total of the three towns. Wherever possible the data has been cross-tabulated by type of settlement, gender and age. In some instances the results did not offer any significant differences and were not included in the report.

Chapter 2

Survey methodology

Research setting and study population

In keeping with the principles of working co-operatively with national, sub-regional and regional organisations, the ISS collaborated with the Arusha Municipal Council, the Dar es Salaam City Council (Safer Cities) and the Mtwara Spatial Development Initiative (MtDI) located within the National Development Corporation (NDC) to conduct a victimisation study in each locality.

During March 2003, two representatives from the ISS and a consultant visited Dar es Salaam and met with representatives from Safer Cities–Dar es Salaam, and the Mtwara Spatial Development Initiative in the National Development Corporation. They also met with Mr R Musingi (President’s Office for Regional Administration and Local Authorities), Commissioner L Tibassana (Ministry of Home Affairs), Prof M Muya (Department of Politics, University of Dar es Salaam), Prof C Maina (Professor of Law, University of Dar es Salaam), Prof A Omari (Centre for Foreign Relations), Dr K Kamanga (Centre for Forced Migration), K Lameck (Legal and Human Rights Centre) and Mr J Ulanga (Economic and Social Research Foundation).

Although a victim survey was undertaken in Dar es Salaam in 2000, repeating the survey was thought necessary for several reasons.⁵ With a population of 2.5 million, the city records about 25% of all reported crimes in the country. In addition, the Safer Cities project in Dar es Salaam wanted to know whether their crime interventions had succeeded in reducing crime. Also, a repetition of the survey would provide comparative data between the two studies.⁶ For the 2003 survey, the same areas were covered as in the 2000 study, and the principal investigator and fieldteam manager were the same as those who worked in 2000.

Arusha, with a district population of 1.2 million, a town population of 516,000 and a population growth of 4%, has been touted as the town with the fastest growing crime problem in Tanzania. All the ideas on offer as to

why this might be true are based on anecdotal evidence. Suggestions include the combination of a lucrative tourism industry, a regional criminal justice system that was alleged by some to be corrupt, and the fact that Arusha sits on the corridor between Nairobi and Dar es Salaam and that crime is migrating down from the former to the latter. Whatever the causes, concerned authorities in Arusha requested that a victimisation survey with an additional business survey be included in the overall study.

Mtwara has a district population of 1.1 million, a town population of 93,000 and a population growth of 2%. It is situated on the coast on the northern border with Mozambique and is located in a very underdeveloped region of Tanzania. Part of the front-line during the Mozambique war of independence and later civil war, economic success has thus far evaded it. Two years ago the National Development Corporation (NDC) was granted the mandate to develop and frame investment opportunities in southern Tanzania—one of the least developed parts of the country—through the implementation of the Mtwara Spatial Development Initiative (MtDC), via targeted investments in agriculture, fisheries, forestry, mining, manufacturing, energy, tourism and transport. The NDC is linked to national ministries and their related departments, national agencies such as parastatal utility companies, and local government through the regional and district level administration. Acknowledging the link between investment promotion and safer environments, particularly with regard to promoting tourism, the NDC welcomed a collaborative agreement with the ISS to become involved in the region. The NDC proposed two nodal points as focal sites for the rural survey on crime, namely at Kilwa, three hours south of Dar es Salaam, in the Lindi region, and Mnazi Bay, one hour south of Mtwara town, in the Mtwara region.

Furthermore, it was agreed that a strong institutional base be provided to assist the research effort. This base would be uniquely placed, through the MtDC process, to mainstream the research findings and promote economic development in underdeveloped regions of the country. Logistically it was impossible to undertake the research in two areas and it was agreed therefore that only Mtwara and its rural environs would be

studied. In addition, the Regional Commissioner in the area requested that the team look at illegal border trade that was thought to be a problem.

Data sources

Both primary and secondary data were used in the study. Secondary data sources yielded information and statistical data on:

- theoretical dissertations on crime, criminology and safer cities;
- crime in Tanzania;
- types of interview schedules that could be used and the types of issues that should be included;
- national and local government policies in Tanzania;
- statistics from official sources of data, in particular the Census of 2002;
- general website information relating to victimisation studies.

Primary information was collected from a total of from 3,256 people who were interviewed in the three towns in Tanzania.

Sampling, sample size and methods

For the purposes of this survey, and following a similar methodology used in previous studies in South Africa and in 2000 in Dar es Salaam, all enumerator regions to be surveyed were plotted diagrammatically. Using the 2002 Household Census, a total of 20 such areas were randomly selected in Arusha, 20 in Mtwara, and 25 in Dar es Salaam. These areas were selected to serve as the Primary-stage Sampling Units (PSUs). They were then stratified into identifiable sub-areas using settlement patterns as the dominant criterion—namely formal, informal, and mixed suburbs (at least 40% formal or informal) and rural. The ensuing sample areas represented the Second-stage Sampling Units (SSUs).

All the selections of the PSUs and SSUs were undertaken in conjunction with local stakeholders, that is, the sample was drawn in each of the three areas utilising local expertise and was not pre-determined. Indeed, it was

Table 2.1 Survey sample size, by area

Arusha		Mtwara		Dar es Salaam	
Arusha CBD	39	Chikongola	96	Azimio	49
Daraja Mbili	93	Chuno	37	Buguruni	51
Elerai	115	Dihimba	64	Kariakoo	57
Engutoto	21	Kagera	7	Kawe	39
Ilboriu/Moivo	25	Kisungure	9	Keko	54
Kaloleni	36	Kuanga	4	Kibuguno	5
Kati	15	Likombe	77	Kijitonyama	20
Kimandolu	113	Madimba	54	Kisarawe II	51
Kisongo	23	Magomeni	19	Kisutu	20
Levolosi	18	Mahurunga	68	Kitunda	60
Mianzini	11	Majengo	24	Manzese	39
Moshono	34	Mayanga	17	Mbezi	55
Oldadai	3	Mikindani	15	Mbweni	55
Oloirien	44	Mkwajuni	6	Mchikichini	52
Sanawari	42	Msijute	38	Mikocheni	49
Sekei	30	Mwembenigoje	1	Mji Mwema	39
Sinon	13	Nalingu	13	Mwananyamala	49
Sokon 1	197	Nambeleketela	7	Segerea	49
Sombetini	127	Nanguruwe	65	Somangira	30
Terai	21	Naumbu	58	Tabata	3
Themi	33	Ndumbwe	73	Tandika	49
Unga Ltd.	56	Railway	22	Temeke	20
	1,109	Shangani	86	Upanda Mgh	13
		Ufukoni	143	Upanga	27
		Ziwani	93	Upanga West	10
			1,096	Vananya	6
				Vijibweni	51
				Yombu Vituka	49
					1,051

the local stakeholders who designated the 'settlement type' category to each enumerator area.

A total of 1,150 interviews were undertaken each in Arusha and Mtwara, and 1,100 in Dar es Salaam. After being checked, however, a number of completed interviews were rejected, resulting in an overall sample of 3,256 interviews of which 1,109 were from Arusha, 1,096 from Mtwara and 1,051 from Dar es Salaam. Table 2.1 illustrates this breakdown by town and name of suburb.

It should be noted that during the research a number of interviews were undertaken on the peripheries of originally selected areas. When these were later checked against available maps or corroborated using local expertise, they were deemed to have fallen just outside the selected areas. Rather than include them as having been drawn from the selected areas, it was felt that they should be marked to represent the areas within which they are located. As a result, the number of interviews in some areas was very low. The final tally of areas within which respondents were interviewed was: 22 areas in Arusha, 25 in Mtwara and 28 in Dar es Salaam.

Table 2.2 illustrates the same sample at the SSUs stage, namely in terms of settlement type. As can be seen from the table, 39% of all the interviews were undertaken in planned formal suburbs, 28% in rural areas, and 17% in either mixed or unplanned suburbs.

Almost half (49%) of all the interviews undertaken within planned formal suburbs were in Dar es Salaam, three quarters (75%) of rural interviews were in Mtwara and two thirds of all unplanned (68%) and predominantly mixed suburb (63%) interviews in Arusha (Table 2.3). It should be noted that this distribution was not intended but is a result of the random selection of PSUs and SSUs in each of the three areas.

The selection criteria were multi-staged and although an interview was undertaken within each SSU, at least half of the respondents had to be household heads. These comprised the Third-stage Sampling Units (TSUs), to whom the administered interview schedule was delivered. Table 2.4 illustrates the sample within each town reflected by the relationship of the person interviewed, to the household head.

Table 2.2 Survey sample areas, by settlement type

Type of suburb	Town						Total	
	Arusha		Mtwara		Dar es Salaam			
Planned formal suburb	260	23.4%	387	35.3%	626	59.6%	1,273	39.1%
Unplanned suburb	367	33.1%	21	1.9%	150	14.3%	538	16.5%
Predominantly mixed suburb	346	31.2%	15	1.4%	190	18.1%	551	16.9%
Rural area	136	12.3%	673	61.4%	85	8.1%	894	27.5%
Total	1,109	100.0%	1,096	100.0%	1,051	100.0%	3,256	100.0%

Table 2.3 Survey sample by settlement type as a % of all areas

Type of suburb	Town			Total
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	
% within planned formal suburb	20.4%	30.4%	49.2%	100.0%
% within unplanned suburb	68.2%	3.9%	27.9%	100.0%
% within predominantly mixed suburb	62.8%	2.7%	34.5%	100.0%
% within rural area	15.2%	75.3%	9.5%	100.0%
% total by town	34.1%	33.7%	32.3%	100.0%

Table 2.4 Survey sample areas by relationship to household head

Relationship to household head	Town			Total
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	
Head	50.0%	86.6%	78.9%	71.7%
Spouse of head	23.0%	8.3%	13.5%	15.0%
Child of head	20.8%	1.9%	1.7%	8.3%
Other relative or tenant	6.1%	3.2%	5.9%	5.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Finally, a fourth selection criterion imposed upon the research team was that neither gender should comprise less than one-third of all respondents. In other words, given the patriarchal nature of most households, it was essential that every third interview had to have been conducted with a woman, regardless of her hierarchy within the household. Table 2.5 illustrates the sample by gender.

Table 2.5 Survey sample areas by gender of the respondent

Gender of respondent	Town			Total
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	
Male	62.6%	51.1%	65.2%	59.5%
Female	37.4%	48.9%	34.8%	40.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	1,091	1,120	1,045	3,256

Data collection techniques

The victim survey questionnaires were administered in a face-to-face setting. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. Primary data obtained through these questionnaires were prepared for data entry and then analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Research limitations

Despite the fact that efforts were made to reduce the limitations of the study, small research sub-samples nevertheless resulted in various weaknesses. In some instances the sub-sample size was too small for meaningful analysis (for example vehicle hijacking), but this simply reflects the low incidence of these crimes in Tanzania. In such instances the findings were considered to be illustrative rather than representative. A number of limitations, some of which are common to other victim surveys, are discussed below.

- It must be recognised that the viewpoints and background of the research team, both expatriate and locals, who were involved in the survey, inevitably shaped the research process and final findings.
- Although respondents were assured of confidentiality, in a report that covers sensitive matters it is impossible to eradicate the fear that the surveys may not be anonymous. Therefore it is likely that some participants were reserved in both the manner they responded and in the content of their responses. As such, there may have been instances in which respondents restricted their opinions on matters that might have given rise to either of these perceptions.
- In some tables the total number of respondents varies. This is due to self-weighting, non-applicability and non-responses. As such, in some tables the total number of respondents is less than the overall sample.
- Although it is common in some victimisation surveys to question people about both actual and attempted crimes, this survey only tested for actual victimisation.⁷

The research team

The ISS team

A reference team comprising a project leader and three country managers conceptualised the study and compiled the original interview tools. Antoinette Louw, head of the Crime and Justice Programme at the ISS at the time, was the overall team leader. During the process, Anton du Plessis took over from Antoinette. The team in Tanzania was led by Aki Stavrou, a senior researcher at the Centre for Sustainable Livelihoods at the National University of Ireland, Cork and assisted by Sibusiso Masuku, a senior researcher at the Crime and Justice Programme at the ISS, and Jennifer O’Riordan, a masters student at the Department of Food Business and Development, National University of Ireland, Cork.

The Tanzania research team

Three dedicated teams in each of the three areas undertook the fieldwork. However, a core team from Mtwara was drafted to assist in Arusha and in Dar es Salaam.

Mr Graham Smith of MtSDI and Mr Andrew Kitumbo, Director the Vocational, Education and Training Authority of Tanzania, South Eastern Region, assisted with premises and logistics in Mtwara. The Hon Isidore Shirma, Regional Commissioner, Mtwara Region; Mr Yusto Hengaeje, District Administrative Secretary, Mtwara Rural District; Mr APC Masomboko, Town Director, Mtwara-Mikandani Town Council; and Ms Esther Wakari, District Executive Director, Mtwara Rural Council, all met with the research team and through their offices facilitated the research.

The team in Mtwara was led by Wibard Otaru who also assisted the team in Dar es Salaam. A team of 26 fieldworkers comprising equally of men and women was selected from 153 applicants for training. Three of these fieldworkers later moved to Arusha to help the team there and a further nine joined the same three later in Dar es Salaam. Fieldwork was initiated in Mtwara on 27 May 2003 and was completed by 4 June 2003.

In Arusha the team was administered by Mr Benne of the Arusha Municipal Council, from whose premises the research team operated. A total of 12 fieldworkers were pre-selected by Mr Benne of whom nine were selected to be part of the team after the training was completed. Two-thirds of the team was male, which was then supplemented by a further three female enumerators from Mtwara. Two of the Arusha enumerators, one man and one woman, joined the team in Dar es Salaam. Fieldwork was initiated in Arusha on May 29th and was completed by June 14th.

The research team met with and were guided by the Hon Mr Saria, the District Commissioner; Mr Lotha, his worship the mayor of Arusha; Mr Kivuyo, esteemed councillor of the Arusha Municipality; Mr Muhume and Mr Marungia of the Tanzanian Police Force; Mr Benne and Mr Shuma of the Arusha Municipal Council; and other stakeholders from Arusha including Ms Lwoga of the Tanzania Tourist Board, and Mr Akunaay of the Tanzania Association of Tour Operators. In addition, Mr

Kitilla of the President’s Office for Regional Administration and Local Government and Ms Mtani of Safer Cities Dar es Salaam, also travelled to Arusha to make their contributions to the study.

The Dar es Salaam team met with the Hon Mr Kleist Sykes, the mayor of Dar es Salaam and Mr Wilson C Mukama, the City Director. The team was led by Mr John Mboya who also led the 2000 victim survey team. The team worked from the offices of Safer Cities. Ms Anna Mtani, head of Safer Cities Dar es Salaam, was responsible for the overall co-ordination of the study. She also assisted with fieldwork. A total of 12 enumerators were recruited in Dar es Salaam, equally represented by gender, of whom one had previously worked on the 2000 study. They were supplemented by the 12 Mtwara and two Arusha enumerators who joined them at the start of the fieldwork. Fieldwork was initiated in Dar es Salaam on June 16th and was completed by June 23rd. Sol Sojberg of the Safer Cities Dar es Salaam project assisted with the fieldwork and report of the Arusha Business Survey.

Debbie Sharp, an associate of Development Research Associates International Ltd based in Japan, undertook the analysis of data in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Sibusiso Masuku of the ISS assisted during the conceptual stage of the study, negotiating partnership agreements with the local Tanzanian counterparts, compiling the training manual and undertaking the training in Arusha. He was also on standby as a back-up, should assistance have been required at any stage during the study.

Jennifer O’Riordan assisted with fieldwork in Mtwara and Arusha and, after coding all the questionnaires with the assistance of Wilbard Otaru, set up a data capture team of nine data controllers in Dar es Salaam. She was also responsible for preparing the data for tabulation and analysis and assisted with the analysis of the individual crimes in chapters 7 and 8.

Aki Stavrou, who was responsible for study in Tanzania in 2000, is the main author of this report. The views expressed heret are his and do not necessarily reflect those of the ISS team or any partners in Tanzania.

Chapter 3

Demographics

This chapter presents an overview of the demographics of the households participating in the survey. The demographic section deals with household size, the composition of the household members in relation to the household head, gender, age, levels of education, vocation, earnings and sources of income. This is followed by a description of the ownership status of homes and whether any household members owned vehicles, either traction or motor-powered. Broad socio-economic indicators tend to be good predictors of vulnerability to crime.⁸ This section presents some of the key indicators that can be used to construct a socio-economic index or proxy of households, thus allowing a more detailed analysis of the different experiences of crime, and the identification of particularly vulnerable households or communities. Such indicators also suggest the resilience of households to crime and their ability to recover after victimisation.

Household size

With a population of 2.5 million and 596,264 households, the average household size in Dar es Salaam is 4.2 people, ranging from a low of 4.1 in the Temeka District, through to 4.2 in the Kinondoni District, and a high of 4.3 in Ilala. In the Mtwara District the population totalled 1.13 million, with 293,908 households, resulting in an average of 3.8 people per household. There was a small difference between rural and urban areas with the household sizes being 3.7 and 4.0 respectively. The total population of Arusha town is 516,814 and with 113,002 households, household size stands at 4.6 persons.⁹

In the Dar es Salaam sample, 4,241 household members were found in 1,051 homesteads surveyed, while in Mtwara 4,495 persons were recorded in 1,096 households and in Arusha 4,637 people in 1,109 households. As such the average household size of the sample in each of the three areas was 4.1 (Dar es Salaam) 4.1 (Mtwara) and 4.2 (Arusha). These are fractionally

lower than the findings of the 2002 Census. The composition of household members in relation to the household head is illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Composition of household members

Household members	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
Head	1,032	1,075	969	3,076
Spouse of head	902	887	808	2,597
Child of head	2,347	1,863	2,013	6,223
Grandchild of head	74	230	62	366
Child of a sibling	73	86	73	232
Child of another relative	44	62	61	167
Child of in-laws	10	9	4	23
Child of a neighbour of friend	7	13	9	29
Stepchild	2	33	17	52
Sibling of head	77	62	58	197
Parent of head	20	63	15	98
Tenant or lodger	36	85	134	255
In-laws	13	27	18	58
Total	4,637	4,495	4,241	13,373
Households per town	1,109	1,096	1,051	3,256

Table 3.1 shows that across all three areas, demographic information was collected on 13,373 persons living in 3,256 households. The fact that there were fewer household heads recorded than actual households can be explained by the fact that in 0.06% of all cases, the household head had either recently died, permanently left the home or was not living in the house. In all cases, a new household head had not yet been designated. In 20% of all cases the household head had no spouse, while on average there were 2.2 children in the surveyed households, 0.1 other members and 0.1 lodgers.

While regional differences did exist, these were generally not notable, with the only exceptions being that there were slightly more children in the Arusha households than in the other two areas, and more lodgers in Dar es

Salaam than elsewhere. Neither finding is surprising however, because Arusha has historically been an area where people send children for schooling. Likewise, being the employment magnet of Tanzania, it is more likely that single sex lodgers are to be found in homes in Dar es Salaam than elsewhere in Tanzania.

Gender, age and marital status

There were slightly more women than men in Mtwara (53% were women) and Dar es Salaam (52% were women). In the Arusha sample there was the same number of men as women (50%). This reflects the 2002 Census, which recorded 51% of women living on the mainland, 53% in Mtwara, 49% in Dar es Salaam and 51% in Arusha.

The average age of the respondents was 39 years and seven months, with 15% falling in the 18 to 25 year age group, and 20% being over 50 years old. The average age of all household members was about 25 years and six months, ranging from a high of 39 years and five months for single member households, down to 28 years and four months for four member households and levelling out to the overall average for greater than five member households.

Of all the respondents, 72% were married, ranging from a high of 82% in Mtwara, through 75% in Dar es Salaam and 61% in Arusha. An average of 13% had never married (this figure was highest in Arusha at 30% and in Mtwara it was 4%). A total of 7% of respondents were widowed, 5% separated and 2% divorced.

Education

All respondents were asked to document both their own and other household members' highest level of education (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 shows that 62% of the sample either had no formal education (10%) or had at best completed primary education (52%). Slightly over one quarter (26%) had completed four years of secondary school and 12% had completed at least five or six years of secondary school. There were

Table 3.2 Highest level of school education completed

Level of education	Town			Total
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	
Respondents				
Adult, no schooling	3.2%	23.9%	3.3%	10.2%
Standard 1–7	53.4%	60.6%	40.7%	51.7%
Form 1–4	37.7%	9.4%	30.4%	25.7%
Form 5–6	5.7%	6.1%	25.6%	12.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	1,093	1,090	1,041	3,224
Other household members (excl. respondents)				
School age, no school	0.4%	3.5%	1.2%	1.7%
Baby, pre-school going age	11.4%	15.8%	12.4%	13.2%
Adult, no schooling	2.8%	14.0%	1.5%	6.1%
Standard 1–7	59.4%	59.0%	51.3%	56.7%
Form 1–4	22.9%	5.9%	22.9%	17.3%
Form 5–6	3.1%	1.7%	10.8%	5.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	3,498	3,283	3,203	9,984

noticeable differences between Dar es Salaam and both Arusha and Mtwara in terms of levels of education, with the former being significantly higher. Notably, one quarter of the Mtwara respondents had not had any formal education.

Respondents were also asked what post-school education they had received. A total of 25% of all Dar es Salaam respondents claimed some form of tertiary education, of which 61% recorded vocational training or a one-year certificate. Sixteen percent of respondents in Arusha and 10% in Mtwara recorded post-school education. A total of 4% of all Dar es Salaam respondents had graduated from university, while graduates from Arusha and Mtwara numbered less than 1% of all respondents in each respective area.

Economic status

Respondents were asked to detail both their and their own household members’ present occupations. These were then recorded under vocational

categories, which were further collapsed into generic economic status categories. Table 3.3 illustrates this for respondents only.

Table 3.3 Economic status of respondents

Vocational category	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total	
Non-economically active	22.0%	6.1%	10.6%	408	13.0%
Unemployed	5.8%	1.8%	2.5%	106	3.4%
Retired/pensioner	1.2%	1.8%	0.0%	68	2.2%
Part-time economically active	26.2%	62.1%	22.2%	1,164	37.1%
Self-employed	21.7%	10.4%	22.5%	569	18.1%
Full-time employed (non-established)	11.8%	6.0%	17.3%	364	11.6%
Full-time employed (established)	11.3%	11.8%	21.3%	460	14.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	3,139	100.0%
Economic status category	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total	
Non-economically active	29.0%	9.7%	13.1%	582	18.5%
Part-time economically active	26.2%	62.1%	22.2%	1,164	37.1%
Informal sector economically active	33.5%	16.4%	39.8%	933	29.7%
Formal sector economically active	11.3%	11.8%	21.3%	460	14.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	96.4%	3,139	100.0%
N	1,077	1,062	1,000		

Part-time economic activity was most commonly recorded by respondents (37%), followed by self-employed (18%) and formally employed full-time (15%). There were definite regional differences, with respondents in Dar es Salaam more likely to be informally employed than part-time or formally employed, while unemployment in Arusha was twice as high as in Dar es Salaam and three times as high as in Mtwara. Not surprisingly, the rural nature of Mtwara meant that just fewer than three times as many respondents as the other two areas were employed in the part-time (in this case agrarian) sector.

In fact, 40% of all Mtwara respondents were involved in subsistence agriculture and 12% in commercial agriculture. The latter was the same for

Arusha, although only 6% were involved in subsistence agriculture. When collapsed into economic categories, 19% of all respondents earned no income at all, while 67% earned an intermittent income, being either part-time employed or employed in the informal sector.

Table 3.4 Economic status of household members over 20 years old

Economic status category	Household members 20 years and older
Not economically active	77.8%
Part-time economically active	11.0%
Informal sector economically active	6.5%
Formal sector economically active	4.7%
Total	100.0%
n	7,349

Table 3.4 illustrates the economic status of household members over the age of 20 years. Over three quarters of all household members 20 years and older were not engaged in any income earning activities. Indeed, only 11% of respondents aged 20 years and over had intermittent earnings and a mere 5% received regular earnings in the formal sector.

The dependency ratio of economically inactive to economically active incorporates all types of economically active household members in the latter category. When considering all household members (including those under 20 years), then the percentage of people earning some form of income is 12% and therefore the dependency ratio would be 8.2:1. However, it would be plausible to assume that at times, household members engaged in the informal sector or working part-time do not earn an income. This would mean that a mere 6% of all household members had a job with a regular income and in such a worst case scenario, the dependency ratio would rise to 38.8:1.

Households were also asked whether they received any monies from non-wage sources, to which 3% (5% in Dar es Salaam, 4% in Mtwara and 0.3% in Arusha) replied that they received child maintenance grants. A further 2% of all households had at least one pensioner and 1% had a

person collecting workman's compensation either from the government or a private insurance.

A total of 93% received no monies from non-wage sources. However, 3% said that they occasionally received money from other household members or families residing elsewhere: 3% each in Dar es Salaam and Arusha, and 2% in Mtwara. A further 2% said that they sometimes received clothes and 1% received food handouts. The averages were the same for all three areas.

Respondents were asked how much they and other members of their households earned every month. Those respondents and their family members who only worked part-time were asked to average out their income to a monthly equivalent. The average monthly household income across all three areas was calculated at Tzs 97,689. However the median (that is the amount that evenly divided the entire sample) was Tzs 45,000.

There were significant differences across all three areas, with the average household income in Dar es Salaam being Tzs 158,159; in Arusha, Tzs 77,987; and in Mtwara, Tzs 60,072. The average monthly income of the respondents was Tzs 65,528 and the median also Tzs 45,000.

As indicators of households' ability to recover from victimisation, individuals or households earning a regular income are arguably in a better position to cope financially with the effects of crime, such as medical bills in the case of violent crime, or the replacement of goods in the case of property crime, than those with no income. Yet in the survey areas, the number of households having a member with a regular income was low, just 11% in Arusha, 12% in Mtwara and 21% in Dar es Salaam.

Main religion in household

Respondents were asked what religion most household members practised. It should be noted that this was a difficult question to answer because of the diverse nature of sub-sects practised in the region and the data should therefore be taken as indicative only.

Table 3.5 Household religion

Main religion	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
Islam	24.6%	78.9%	50.5%	51.4%
Christian	67.2%	18.9%	45.5%	43.7%
Hindu	0.1%	0.0%	1.1%	0.4%
Buddhist	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Refused to answer	7.6%	2.2%	2.9%	4.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	1,109	1,096	1,051	3,256

The high incidence of Muslims in Mtwara (79% of all households) raised the total percentage of Muslim households across the entire sample to just over half (Table 3.5). Christians comprised the next largest group with 44% of the total, being highest in Arusha and lowest in Mtwara. The other religions practised were Hindu and Buddhist, but both were in the minority.

Home ownership

A total of 63% of all respondents (79% in Mtwara, 58% in Dar es Salaam and 52% in Arusha) owned their home. A total of 63% (77% in Arusha, 61% in Dar es Salaam and 37% in Mtwara) of those who did not own their home rented it and 13% (30% in Mtwara, 11% in Dar es Salaam and 7% in Arusha) occupied it on behalf of somebody else. A further 6% occupied their home through tribal tenure, and 18% (27% in Mtwara, 24% in Dar es Salaam and 7% in Arusha) were squatting on the land on which their home was constructed.

Ownership of vehicles

All respondents were asked if they were in possession of a vehicle that was in working order. Few households owned vehicles of any sort (Table 3.6). Only 11% owned a motor car, ranging from a high of 16% in Dar es Salaam to a low of 2% in Mtwara. Motorbike ownership was found in 7% of households while bicycle ownership was high at 28%. A further 2% and 1%

respectively of all households either owned or had shares in a taxi or truck. A total of 14 households in Mtwara and nine in Arusha owned a tractor.

Table 3.6 Household ownership of vehicles

Vehicle	Town			Total
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	
Motor car	14.1%	2.4%	15.5%	10.5%
Motorbike/scooter	5.9%	4.6%	9.4%	6.5%
Truck	1.2%	0.4%	1.9%	1.2%
Taxi/van/minibus	1.7%	0.9%	2.7%	2.1%
Bicycle	21.8%	36.5%	25.0%	27.8%
N	1,109	1,095	1,049	3,253

Chapter 4

General perceptions about crime and safety

Key findings

- People living in urban areas were more concerned about crime and safety than those in the rural areas surveyed. Reflecting this trend, people in Dar es Salaam and Arusha were more worried about crime and safety than those in Mtwara.
- Many Tanzanians thought crime had increased in the past three years, with this view being far more common in Arusha and Dar es Salaam than in Mtwara. Similarly, around half the respondents living in the various types of urban settlements thought crime had increased, compared to only 28% in rural areas.
- Perceptions about which crimes are most prevalent varied considerably between the three areas: in Arusha burglary was believed to be most common, while in Mtwara it was crop theft, and in Dar es Salaam, robbery.
- Fear of crime was highest in Arusha. At night 60% in Arusha felt very unsafe walking alone, compared to 40% in Dar es Salaam and only 16% in Mtwara.
- Perceptions about crime affect the activities and behaviour of people in all three sites, although safety issues were less of a concern for those living in Mtwara. Most respondents in Arusha (78%) and Dar es Salaam (77%) said their behaviour has changed in the last three years because of crime, compared to only 36% in Mtwara.
- In all three areas, people were most likely to think the unemployed, followed by locals, and teenagers/youths commit crime.
- The motive for crime is largely perceived to be 'need' rather than 'greed'. In all three sites, respondents identified unemployment as the key reason for crime, followed by a lack of alternative means of survival, such as subsistence agriculture. Many also said criminals are lazy and "take the easy way out".

Most victimisation surveys ask a standard set of questions about perceptions of safety and about both state and non-state responses to crime. This kind of opinion data is likely to be influenced by a range of recent events as well as media reports, rather than a considered analysis of fact. However, public opinion is important because people vote and invest with their opinions, however uninformed and prejudiced these views might be. In addition, negative public opinion of the performance of the criminal justice system can lead to problems such as vigilantism, underreporting of crime, and an unwillingness to co-operate with the police as witnesses or informants. Questions about perception are also valuable because they can be compared across jurisdictions and time periods.¹⁰

This chapter discusses the results on which types of crime people believed were most prevalent in their area, and how they thought crime levels had changed in the last three years. Views on the causes of crime and on who commits crime were also canvassed. Lastly, the chapter covers the extent to which people's behavioural patterns have changed as a result of their perceptions of crime and safety.

Crime types believed to be most common

Respondents were asked which single type of crime they thought was most common in their area. Overall, home burglaries were believed to be most prevalent, with almost one quarter of all respondents mentioning this offence. This was followed by theft of property, crop theft, and robbery. Crime types believed to be less prevalent included theft of livestock, and pick-pocketing or bag snatching.

There were significant differences across the three survey sites: in Arusha home burglaries were believed to be most common, while in Mtwara it was crop theft and in Dar es Salaam, robbery. There was no clear common trend across all three towns, with the exception of property theft, which was believed to be the second most prevalent crime in Mtwara and Dar es Salaam and third most prevalent in Arusha.

When analysed according to residential area type (namely formal planned, unplanned, predominantly mixed, and rural), home burglaries

were again viewed as most common in each area, except for rural areas where crop theft was overwhelmingly the crime type believed to be most prevalent.

Most feared crime types

Respondents were asked what one type of crime they fear most. Overall, people were most afraid of home burglaries (32%), followed by robbery (13%), crop theft (11%) and theft of property (10%). These trends follow, to some degree, the types of crime that respondents believed were most prevalent in their areas, as discussed above.

Trends were fairly similar in the three survey sites. In Arusha, home burglaries were most feared (by 46% of people), with 13% fearing robbery. In Dar es Salaam people were as fearful of home burglaries (22%) as of robbery (20%). Housebreaking was also the greatest worry for respondents in Mtwara (26%).

Many people in formal planned suburbs (31%), unplanned suburbs (40%), and predominantly mixed suburbs (39%) were afraid of home burglaries. This is understandable because, as is discussed later, burglaries were most prevalent in the suburbs. Similarly in rural areas where crop theft was found to be the most prevalent crime, it was also the type of crime people were most likely to fear (32%).

Views on crime trends

When asked how they thought crime levels had changed in their area in the past three years, many (40%) said crime had increased. Close to half of the respondents in Arusha (48%) and Dar es Salaam (47%) felt that crime had increased. In contrast, respondents in Mtwara were more positive: only 26% said crime had increased, with almost half (47%) saying that crime had decreased. In all three areas, approximately one quarter felt that crime levels had remained the same over the past three years.

More than two fifths of people in planned formal (44%) and unplanned (41%) suburbs believed crime had increased over the last

three years, with more than half in predominantly mixed suburbs saying the same (51%). In rural areas however, the picture was much more positive: only 28% felt that crime was increasing, and 39% said it was on the decline.

Violent crime

For the purposes of this study, violent crime included assault, sexual assault and rape, murder, hijacking and robbery. Following the trends above on overall crime levels, people in Dar es Salaam (46%) and Arusha (41%) tended to believe that violent crime increased in the past three years. However, nearly two thirds of Mtwara residents (62%) noted that violent crime had decreased and only 15% felt that it had increased.

The trends for violent crime in the various residential areas follow those described above for crime in general, with many people in planned formal, unplanned suburban and predominantly mixed suburbs saying that violence had increased. By comparison, over half (56%) of those in the rural areas felt that violent crime had decreased during the three year period.

Property crime

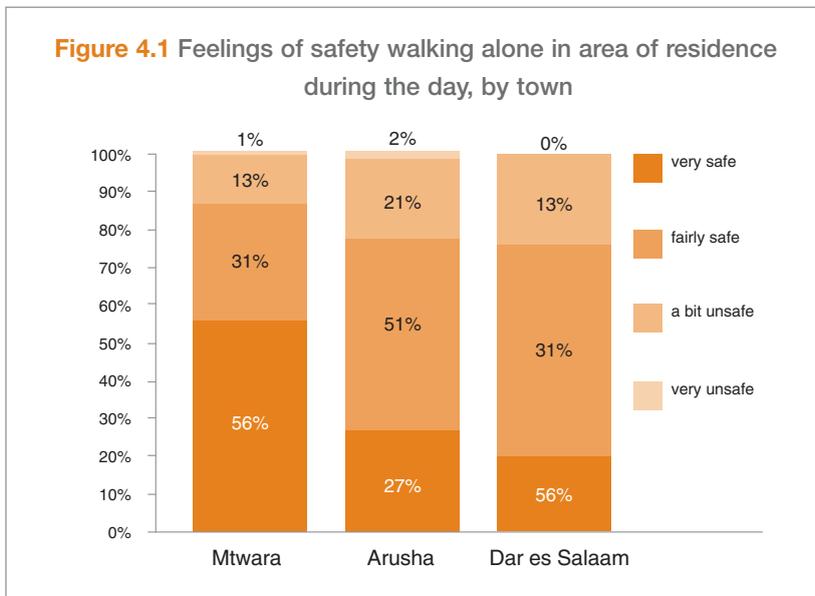
In the survey, property crime included home burglaries, theft of personal property, thefts of cars, bicycles, motorbikes and scooters, theft of livestock and of crops, theft out of motor vehicles, motor vehicle vandalism, and deliberate damage to household buildings.

People in Arusha (44%) and Dar es Salaam (38%) were most likely to say property crime had increased, compared to only 18% in Mtwara. In each area, approximately one fifth of respondents believed the level of property crime had remained the same over the past three years.

Those living in rural areas were again more positive about changing crime trends than urban residents: more than half (54%) in rural areas felt that property crime had decreased. Many of those in planned formal suburbs (44%) also thought this was the case. On the other hand, the largest portion of people in unplanned suburbs (41%) and predominantly mixed suburbs (48%) felt that property crime had increased in the last three years.

Perceptions of safety

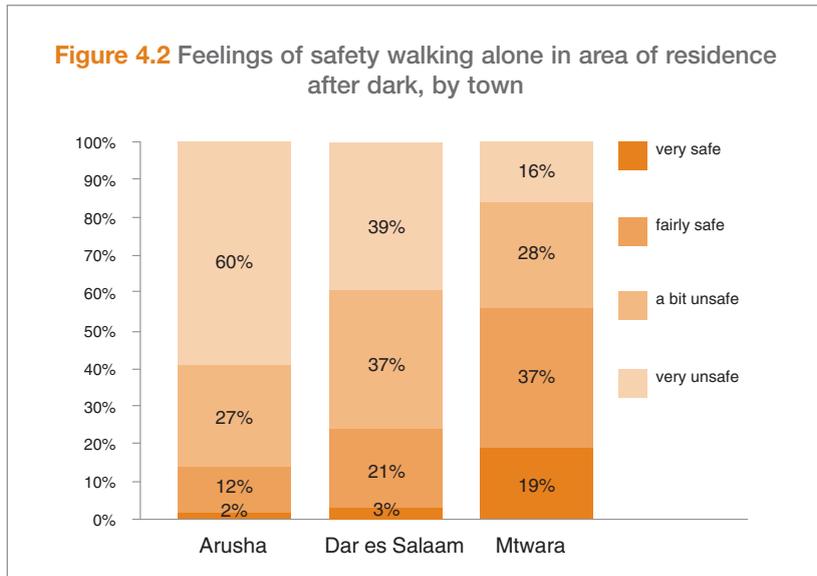
Respondents were asked how safe they feel walking alone in their area of residence during the day and after dark. Overall, at least one in five people felt very safe during the day, but up to 60% felt very unsafe at night. During the day, 87% of those in Mtwara and 77% in Arusha and Dar es Salaam felt very safe walking in their area, with the remainder feeling only a bit unsafe (and a negligible number feeling unsafe) (Figure 4.1).



At night however, 60% in Arusha felt very unsafe, as did almost 40% of people in Dar es Salaam (Figure 4.2). By comparison, the largest portion of people residing in Mtwara felt fairly safe (37%), with a mere 16% feeling very unsafe walking at night. These findings correspond with those above, in which people in Mtwara were more likely to believe that crime levels had decreased in the past three years than those in Arusha and Dar es Salaam.

Those in rural areas were most likely to feel safe (84%) walking in their areas in the day, followed by people in predominantly mixed (80%),

Figure 4.2 Feelings of safety walking alone in area of residence after dark, by town



planned formal (78%), and unplanned (77%) suburbs. When walking at night, however, more than half of residents in each type of suburb felt either a bit or very unsafe. Stark differences were recorded: 52% of residents in rural areas felt unsafe, compared to 85% in predominantly mixed suburbs.

Although more women felt very unsafe walking at night in their areas (43%) than men (35%), the difference was not as vast as might be expected. Perceptions of safety when walking at night were also similar across age groups, although younger people tended to feel more unsafe at night: 47% of 18-30 year olds compared to 32% of those over 60 years.

In Arusha (61%) and Dar es Salaam (67%), many people indicated that there are specific places that make them feel unsafe. In Mtwara however, 70% of residents said this was not the case in their town.

This trend was not entirely reflected in the data concerning residential areas. In planned suburbs, half the respondents felt particularly unsafe in a specific place and the other half did not. Only in unplanned suburbs was there a large proportion of people (78%) who felt unsafe in a specific place.

In all three cities, most respondents considered the marketplace to be

most unsafe. In Dar es Salaam and Arusha, many people felt unsafe on shortcuts and footpaths, but in Mtwara more people indicated bushy areas as being unsafe. Similar trends were recorded for those in different residential areas, with people in all types of suburbs feeling unsafe at the marketplace.

Impact of perceptions on behaviour

Respondents were asked a number of questions that related behaviour patterns to their perceptions of safety. They were also asked whether they would alter certain activities as a result of their concerns about crime, and whether their answer would still apply if these activities were undertaken when accompanied by people they know. Table 4.1 shows the number of people saying “yes” to the questions asked.

Crime has a limited impact on behavioural patterns in Arusha, Mtwara and Dar es Salaam, although with regard to some activities, people in each location were affected to different degrees. For example, 6% of people interviewed in Arusha said concerns about crime prevented them from walking alone to the shops, compared to 3% in Dar es Salaam and only 1% in Mtwara (Table 4.1). Significant differences in opinion were also found regarding whether people would play or rest in open spaces or parks in their area when alone: 13% in Arusha said concerns about crime would prevent them from doing this, compared to 11% in Dar es Salaam and only 3% in Mtwara. Similar trends were found with regard to whether crime prevents people in each town from investing in, or starting, a home business.

In Arusha (78%) and Dar es Salaam (77%), the majority of people said their behaviour has changed in the last three years because of crime. Only one third (36%) in Mtwara felt this, however. When analysed according to settlement types, 85% of people in unplanned suburbs, 78% in predominantly mixed suburbs and 64% in planned formal suburbs had changed their behaviour because of crime. By contrast, most respondents in rural areas had not changed their behaviour. Older people were much less likely to have changed their behaviour (48% of those over 60 years) as opposed to 70% of people between 18–30 years.

Table 4.1 How concerns about crime affected respondents' daily activities, by town

	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from using public transport when alone	4.7%	1.8%	5.6%	4.0%
If yes, those who would use public transport if accompanied by people they know	51.9%	73.7%	84.5%	69.8%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from walking alone to shops	6.0%	0.9%	2.9%	3.3%
If yes, those who would walk to shops if accompanied by people they know	61.2%	80.0%	90.0%	71.0%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from walking alone to work/town	4.9%	2.8%	3.7%	3.8%
If yes, those who would walk to work/town if accompanied by people they know	51.9%	83.9%	89.7%	71.8%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from walking alone to fetch water	3.8%	1.6%	2.4%	2.6%
If yes, those who would walk to fetch water if accompanied by people they know	47.6%	88.9%	80.0%	65.9%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from walking alone to fetch firewood	4.0%	2.5%	1.1%	2.5%
If yes, those who would walk to fetch firewood if accompanied by people they know	50.0%	77.8%	83.3%	63.9%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from playing/resting in parks when alone	13.2%	2.9%	11.1%	9.1%
If yes, those who would play/rest in parks if accompanied by people they know	76.9%	90.6%	60.3%	71.9%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from allowing their children to play in their area	4.4%	1.4%	2.4%	2.7%
If yes, those who would allow their children to play if accompanied by people they know	53.1%	66.7%	84.0%	64.0%

% saying concerns about crime prevent them from allowing their children to walk to school	3.8%	0.7%	1.1%	1.9%
If yes, those who would allow their children to walk to school if accompanied by people	45.2%	75.0%	50.0%	50.0%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from keeping livestock/poultry	11.4%	10.4%	12.0%	11.3%
% saying concerns about crime prevent them from investing/starting a business	11.2%	3.2%	10.5%	8.4%

A number of people were able to indicate specific behavioural changes. Most (around 60%) said they stopped walking at night, and this applied to people in all three cities and of all age groups. Several respondents in Mtwara (18%) and Dar es Salaam (14%) said they joined neighbourhood watch groups, while one in ten of those who changed their behaviour in Arusha were more careful about who they associated with.

Views on perpetrators of crime

Respondents were asked who they think is most likely to commit crime in their area, and were allowed to make one suggestion only. In Dar es Salaam, the largest portion of the city’s population (39%) said the unemployed are most likely to commit crime. A further 20% felt that crime was committed by locals rather than by people living outside the area. Echoing these sentiments, many people living in Arusha (31%) felt that unemployed people were the most likely source of crime in the area, followed closely by youths/teenagers (29%). In Mtwara, respondents were most likely to think that youths/teenagers (27%) were responsible for crime, followed by people living in the area (26%) and the unemployed (21%).

People in planned formal, unplanned, and predominantly mixed suburbs had similar ideas about who commits crime, whereas those in rural areas had different views. Those in the urban areas pointed to the unemployed as likely sources of crime, while in rural areas people indicated that youths/teenagers (32%) and people living in the area (32%) were responsible.

To explore how people understand the crime problem, respondents were asked why they thought people commit crime, and again were allowed to give one reason only. In Arusha, more than half (56%) said unemployment was the key reason followed by a lack of alternative means of survival, such as subsistence agriculture (13%). Unemployment was also given as the main reason why people commit crime in Mtwara (31%) and in Dar es Salaam (44%). In both areas, people said that laziness or “taking the easy way out” was a secondary but important reason (19% in Mtwara and 17% in Dar es Salaam).

Respondents were also asked whether they personally know someone in their area who makes a living from crime. Regardless of the town in which they live, most people (74%) did not know anyone in the area who makes a living from crime. Those living in mixed suburbs were more likely to know of such suspected criminals (33%) than people in other residential areas. This ratio was lowest in planned formal (23%) and unplanned suburbs (24%), with only three in ten residents in rural areas knowing such people personally.

Chapter 5

Individual and community response to crime

Key findings

- In all three towns, the precautions taken by respondents to protect themselves and their homes from crime and violence mostly took the form of building high walls or fences, using witchcraft, and employing a security guard. Having taken these precautions, however, only slightly more than half the respondents indicated that they felt much safer than before.
- The vast majority of those surveyed in all three towns had heard of the Sungusungu. However, people in Dar es Salaam were much less likely than those in Mtwara and Arusha to say the Sungusungu exists in their area, and that they participated in the group's activities. Most in Arusha and Dar es Salaam said the organisation metes out physical punishment to suspects, and most in both towns had personally seen this happen. Although most respondents in all three towns thought the Sungusungu is effective, those in Dar es Salaam were least likely to say so.
- Very few people in all three survey sites were aware of victim support services. However, the vast majority thought that such services should be available.
- Levels of social cohesion would appear to be high, which could increase the likelihood that crime prevention efforts will succeed. However, public participation in such projects would first need to be encouraged: the results indicate that participation in community-based initiatives was relatively low in all three areas.

This chapter describes how people said they would respond to crime, both as individuals and within their community. The survey investigated specific individual responses to crime and whether or not these increased

respondents' feelings of personal security. The Sungusungu, a state-permitted community 'vigilante' group, plays a key role in managing and reducing crime. As such, people were asked about their knowledge and opinions of the Sungusungu. Finally respondents were asked about victim support as well as a range of questions aimed at assessing levels of community interaction and cohesion.

Individual response to crime

Respondents were asked what one measure they had taken to protect themselves from crime and violence. In Dar es Salaam (28%) and Arusha (24%), people's efforts have largely gone into building high walls or fences, witchcraft (25% and 24% respectively), and installing burglar bars (13% and 24% respectively). The response in Mtwara was slightly different: many people used witchcraft as a method of self-protection (34%), employed a security guard (19%) or built high walls and fences (17%).

Having taken these precautions, just more than half the respondents said they felt much safer than before. However, the effect varied according to the specific precaution taken. For those who had used witchcraft, 55% said they felt no change, or did not feel much safer as a result, as did 57% of those who built high walls and fences.

In the cities of Arusha and Dar es Salaam, people's actions had not positively affected their feelings of security, with more than half (58% and 59% respectively) saying there was no change or that they were not much safer.

Overall, men appeared to feel safer as a result of precautions taken, with just under half (48%) feeling safer or much safer. By contrast, only 37% of women felt the same.

The Sungusungu

More than nine out of every ten people in Arusha (95%) and Dar es Salaam (92%) knew what the Sungusungu was. Although comparatively lower, most in Mtwara (85%) also knew about the Sungusungu.

Those who had heard of the Sungusungu were asked what activities the group was involved in. Residents in all three areas tended to think that the Sungusungu help police deal with crime (22%–23%). This was the prevailing opinion in Arusha and Mtwara, with slightly more people in Dar es Salaam (28%) saying the Sungusungu actually co-ordinate community crime programmes. More than one in ten residents from each town (approximately 13%–16%) indicated that they associated the Sungusungu with the arrest of criminals. More people in Arusha and Mtwara than in Dar es Salaam emphasised that the Sungusungu protect the community and facilitate communication between the community and the police.

Those who knew about the Sungusungu were asked whether there is one in their area. People living in Arusha were much more likely to say “yes” (40%) than those in the other two towns: under one third in Mtwara (27%) and less than one-fifth in Dar es Salaam (18%) said the Sungusungu existed in their area.

Participation in the Sungusungu

Regardless of where they lived, people were most likely to say they had not participated in the Sungusungu's activities: 48% in Mtwara and 40% in both Arusha and Dar es Salaam said this was the case. Almost two fifths of Arusha respondents (38%) and one quarter in Mtwara (25%) said they regularly participated in the activities. It is notable that in a big city like Dar es Salaam, only 17% regularly participated in Sungusungu activities. The remainder in each area said they participated “sometimes”.

Men tended to become more involved than women: six in ten women had never participated in such activities and 22% said they participated regularly. Men, on the other hand, were divided equally between those who had participated regularly, sometimes, and never.

In rural areas, people were less likely to participate in Sungusungu activities, with 58% having never participated. Regular involvement was the highest in unplanned suburbs (34%), followed closely by planned formal suburbs (32%), and predominantly mixed suburbs (30%).

Functioning of the Sungusungu

Most of those who knew about the Sungusungu thought its services were provided free of charge: 93% in Mtwara, 90% in Arusha, and 76% in Dar es Salaam were of this view. A quarter (24%) of respondents in Dar es Salaam, 10% in Arusha, and 7% in Mtwara believed that one had to pay for the Sungusungu's services. The balance of the respondents did not know whether fees were payable or not.

Delving further into the activities of the Sungusungu, a majority of respondents in Arusha (68%) and Dar es Salaam (54%) said they thought the group metes out physical punishment. Less than one third (31%) of Mtwara respondents, however, felt this way. Across the whole sample, more than two thirds of the women interviewed said the Sungusungu mete out physical punishment (69%), compared to less than half of the men (46%).

To gather more accurate information on the activities of the Sungusungu, respondents were asked if they had personally seen the group apprehending and punishing a suspect. As many as eight out of ten people in Dar es Salaam said they had seen the group arrest a suspect, with just under two thirds in Arusha (65%) and over half in Mtwara (58%) saying the same. Three quarters of people in planned formal suburbs (76%) reported seeing the Sungusungu apprehending a suspect, as did more than two thirds (67%) of those in unplanned suburbs, 62% from predominantly mixed suburbs, and 57% in the rural areas.

On the question on punishment, more than half of Arusha residents (56%) had personally seen the Sungusungu punish a suspect. Half the respondents in Dar es Salaam (50%) and under one third (29%) in Mtwara reported the same. Surprisingly, more female respondents had personally seen the Sungusungu administer physical punishment (58%) than had males (41%).

As has been the trend, comparatively few rural respondents had seen the Sungusungu administer physical punishment to suspects (31%). This percentage was much less than those in unplanned (57%), planned formal (50%) or predominantly mixed (46%) suburbs who had seen punishment administered.

Effectiveness of the Sungusungu

People in all three towns surveyed had an overwhelmingly positive impression of the Sungusungu's effectiveness. Nine out of ten in Arusha (93%) thought the Sungusungu was effective, followed by those in Mtwara (85%) and Dar es Salaam (75%).

The small group of respondents who thought the Sungusungu is not working well gave a number of reasons for this view. In all three towns, a lack of commitment to the community was the most common reason, with 88% of Dar es Salaam respondents and 65% of those in Mtwara saying so. People in Arusha also pointed to a lack of awareness about the Sungusungu (28%), poor organisation (22%) and corruption (13%) as reasons for the organisation not working.

All respondents, regardless of whether they thought the Sungusungu was working or not, were asked what could be done to increase its effectiveness. People from different towns had very divergent opinions. Dar es Salaam respondents mainly wanted members to be paid (44%) or for regular meetings to be held (33%). In Arusha however, people focused more on the need for greater public awareness about the Sungusungu (36%) and information sharing (32%). Those from Mtwara also favoured public awareness (45%), with others wanting regular meetings (21%), information sharing (19%) and payment for members (15%).

Victim support

Regardless of where they lived, people were overwhelmingly unaware of support services for victims of crime (82%–89%). Of those few respondents who were aware of the services, most (59%) had made use of them (bearing in mind that this question was asked of the general public, and not just of victims of crime). This was highest in Mtwara (69%), falling to just over half (56%) in Arusha and less than half in Dar es Salaam (48%). More women (50%) than men (36%) reported using victim support services.

Those who had visited support services were asked what type of services were available. Respondents mentioned first aid, counselling, medical

services, financial support and “moral” services, which was interpreted to mean religious counselling.

All the survey respondents were asked whether they thought victim support should be available, and the vast majority responded in the affirmative. The main reason given in all three towns was that it is necessary to help victims cope (50%). This was followed by the idea that support will restore victims’ faith in the state (24% in Arusha and 16% in Dar es Salaam). People in Mtwara also favoured support because it can reassure victims (15%).

There was general consensus across the different towns about other types of support for crime victims. For example, Dar es Salaam residents suggested community support (24%), teaching people self defence strategies (21%), and moral support (19%). In Mtwara, people advocated community support (27%) and moral support (25%). Almost one quarter of people in Arusha thought that teaching defensive techniques was a good idea (25%), followed by 23% who suggested community support and moral support (22%).

Citizen interaction and community cohesion

Social capital and social cohesion

Due to the limited success of individually focused models of measuring behaviour change resulting from the implementation of social policy, increased attention is being turned towards social network models and theories. Unlike individually focused models, these theories focus primarily on social relationships and the interactive dynamics of individual behaviour within a given social, cultural, and economic environment or context. The importance of social and community factors on an individual’s decision-making and their ability to increase their predictive capacity is now being recognised.¹¹

Furthermore, if the concept of social capital is to be used as a means of understanding why and how social policy, including crime prevention, law enforcement and justice, impacts on people, it is first necessary

to understand the community. Social capital has a range of definitions determined in part by the discipline from which it stems. Putman's definition of social capital as consisting of the norms, values, networking and groupings in a community provides a sufficiently broad definition for the purposes of exploring the possible role of social capital in crime prevention at a city level.¹²

Two more key concepts related to empowering communities are those of bonding and bridging capital. Bonding refers to the necessary social support and cohesion within a community that provides the basis for an individual or group to be able to access other resources, known as bridging capital. In some circumstances, those with potential to achieve more are constrained by their involvement in ongoing community activities, which limits their capacity to realise other linking/bridging social and economic opportunities. It is therefore important to establish not only the groups to which community members belong, but also the functions that each group performs. Some groups, while being very important in providing bonding capital, may constrain others from reaching out.

The social context is also vital because the extent of civic involvement, the role of civic leaders, and the local and national political climate will also determine the extent of community cohesiveness. In theory therefore, it makes sense that a community should be defined according to its unique social dimensions since, ultimately, it is the interaction between these and an individual that will produce differences in behaviours and thus the ability of individual households to react to crises. It is these individual and household dynamics that create social capital within communities, which itself becomes a necessary ingredient in the successful implementation of social policy.

Almost all of the respondents (97%) said they know the name of their neighbour, giving an initial indication of close community cohesion. In line with this is the fact that approximately nine out of ten people interviewed would ask their neighbour to watch their house while they were away. This tendency was particularly high in Mtwara (93%) and Dar es

Salaam (92%) and only slightly lower in Arusha (83%). People in rural areas were most likely to ask a neighbour to watch their house while they were away (94%), although those in planned formal (89%) and unplanned (89%) suburbs were also very likely to do so.

While asking a neighbour to watch property may be an easy task, not as many people would ask a neighbour to watch their children. Even so, nine out of ten Mtwara respondents said they would (93%), followed by 90% in Dar es Salaam, and 76% in Arusha.

Continuing the trend of high social cohesion, eight out of ten people in all towns said they know the name of their ward councillor. This was particularly high in Dar es Salaam (90%), and remained high at 70% for people in Arusha. Awareness of the name of the respondents' Member of Parliament was also high, with more than 80% of people from each town answering in the affirmative.

Although knowledge of neighbours and figures in government was high, a relatively small proportion of people participated in community-based initiatives. Participation was highest in Dar es Salaam (44%), with less than one third of Mtwara residents taking part (29%). Those who did participate were asked what type of initiative they were involved with (Table 5.1). Women's groups topped the list in Arusha and school committees in Mtwara and Dar es Salaam. Food distribution committees and self-help activity groups were also prominent, as were church, political, business and youth groups.

In rural areas, community participation took the form of women's groups (33%) and school committees (27%). Women's groups were also noted by those in mixed suburbs (25%), followed by self-help activities (18%). In planned formal (32%) and unplanned (34%) suburbs, however, more people participated in school committees, followed by women's groups (21% and 26% respectively)

Women concentrated their community involvement on women's groups (37%), school committees (23%) and self-help activities (12%). Men tended to be involved with school committees (31%), women's groups (18%), and self-help activities (18%).

Respondents who participated in community-based initiatives were

Table 5.1 Types of community support initiatives that people currently participate in (multiple response allowed)

Initiatives	Number of responses			
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
School committee	94	155	254	503
Women's group	190	149	119	458
Food distribution committee	135	49	113	297
Self help activity groups	118	65	58	241
Church group	49	38	107	194
Political group	59	21	82	162
Youth group	46	31	45	122
Business group	38	19	63	120
Sports group	14	10	26	50
r	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.75

asked whether they would participate in similar activities to help make their area safer, if requested to do so. The vast majority (approximately 88%) from all three towns said they would. Their reasons for doing so were that it would contribute to the development of the community (50%) and out of a sense of duty (23%). Of the 12% who said they would not participate in community activities to improve safety, those in Dar es Salaam (66%) and Mtwara (41%) said they felt no responsibility to do so. A large portion of people in Arusha noted that the threat of danger would prevent them from participating (44%).

Chapter 6

Views of the police and courts

Key findings

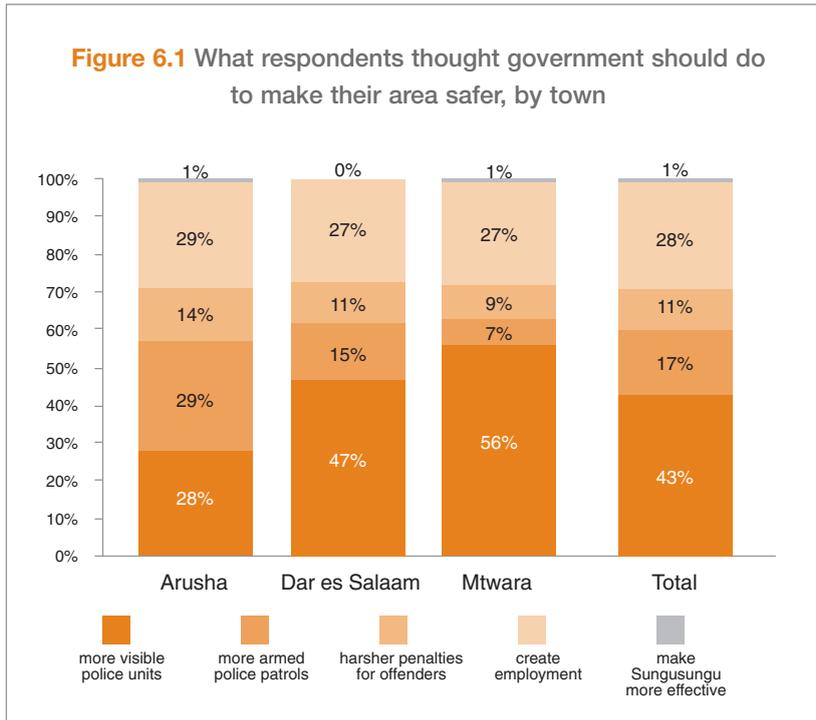
- Most respondents knew the location of their local police station. Unsurprisingly, those living in rural areas have to walk further to reach their local police station, but this does not dissuade them from doing so if the need arises. Those who had visited a police station generally said the experience improved their opinion of the police.
- The more urbanised the settlement, the more likely it is that people come into contact with uniformed police officers on a regular basis. More than one third of those in rural areas said they never see a uniformed police officer in their area.
- Most thought the police were performing well, particularly those living in Mtwara. The main reason for this was that the police are committed. Those who did not think the police are doing a good job overwhelmingly indicated corruption as the reason for saying so.
- Levels of trust in the police were high, with most respondents saying they would instruct their children to seek help from the police in times of need.
- The location of the magistrate's court was well known, even though only half of the respondents had actually been to court.
- People were generally satisfied with the courts' performance, with higher levels of satisfaction reported in rural areas and in Mtwara than urban areas and in Dar es Salaam and Arusha.
- Satisfaction with the courts stems mainly from the perception that cases are handled in a fair way. Reasons for dissatisfaction were that courts are perceived as corrupt and that they take too long to resolve issues.
- When asked what government should do to improve safety, the majority cited improving law enforcement and criminal justice rather than job creation.

Perceptions of law enforcement and the criminal justice system underlie the manner in which people relate to both. If the public feel positive about the ability of the police and courts to undertake their task in a professional and transparent manner, interaction is likely to increase, as are levels of trust. In many cases, however, views about the justice system range from apathy to antagonism. This often results in people creating parallel non-state mechanisms to deliver 'justice'. This chapter presents the survey results on physical access to the police and courts, as well as perceptions about the performance of both institutions. In order to contextualise the role of the justice system in reducing crime, people were asked what they thought government should do to make their area safer.

What government should do to increase safety

Respondents were asked, in an open-ended question, what government should do to make their area safer. Most (58%) said that policing should be improved. More specifically, 43% said the police needed to be more visible, and a further 17% said more armed police patrols were needed. The next most likely response was that government should create employment (Figure 6.1). Just over one in ten people thought that harsher penalties for offenders were needed, and only 1% mentioned measures to improve the effectiveness of the Sungusungu. Thus, if the various responses that relate to the criminal justice system are added together, as many as 71% of people believed that making their area safer would require criminal justice solutions as opposed to developmental ones (like job creation).

There was little difference in the numbers of people in each town who suggested solutions relating to development (job creation), courts (harsher penalties) and policing (more visible units and armed patrols) (Figure 6.1). However, views did differ on the type of policing intervention that was needed. Respondents in Mtwara (56%) and Dar es Salaam (47%) were much more likely to cite more visible police units as the solution government should pursue than those in Arusha. In the latter town, more armed police patrols were believed to be as important as visible police units.



Respondents from most of the different residential areas focused on increasing visible police units, but to differing extents. Half of those in the rural areas (51%) suggested this as a solution, while a further 22% said employment was needed. Similar views were expressed by people in planned formal suburbs, with 39% focusing on increasing visible police units and just under one in three (29%) calling for more employment. Predominantly mixed suburbs were the one exception, with more people looking to employment creation (34%) than to more police units (31%), while more than a quarter of respondents (26%) emphasised increasing armed police patrols. Opinions of people in unplanned suburbs were similarly evenly spread, with 38% focusing on increasing visible police units, 26% requesting more armed police patrols, and 22% citing the need for employment.

The police

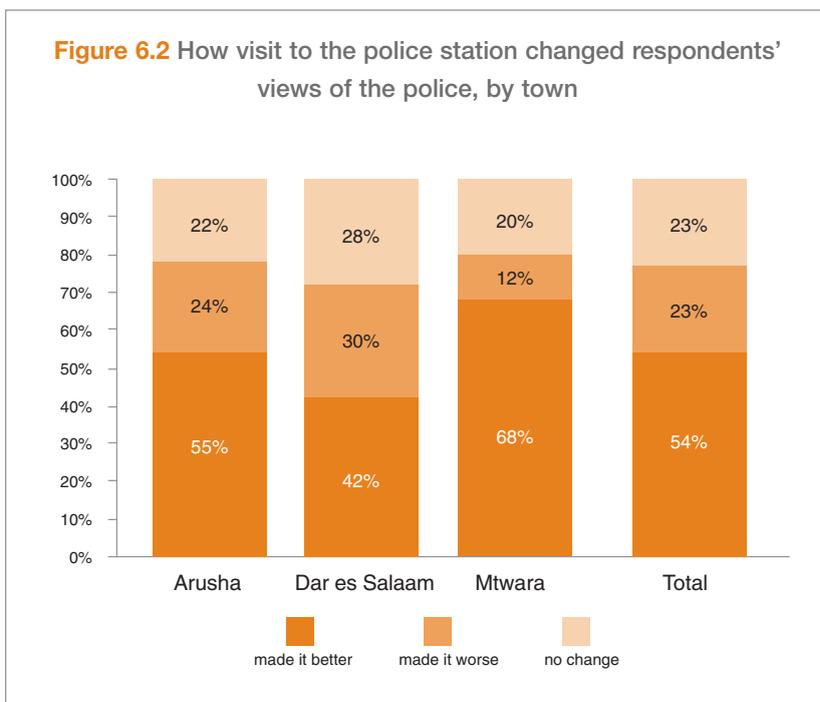
Access to the police

The issue of public access to the agencies of criminal justice is key to any discussion about the effectiveness of these institutions. The survey asked people if they know the location of the nearest police station in their area and how long it takes to walk to this station. The vast majority did know where the nearest station was: more than nine out of ten people in Dar es Salaam (95%) and Arusha (91%) and three quarters in Mtwara (75%). These results are consistent with the fact that three quarters of respondents in rural areas (74%) knew where the nearest police station was, rising to 92% in planned formal areas, 93% in unplanned suburbs, and 92% in predominantly mixed suburbs.

The majority of people in Arusha (59%) and Dar es Salaam (52%) said they live within a 30 minute walk of the nearest police station, with a further third in each group living between 30 and 60 minutes walk away. In Mtwara by comparison, only 30% lived within a 30 minute walk from the nearest police station. Of the remaining 70% of respondents in Mtwara who had to walk more than 30 minutes to reach the closest station, 29% had to walk more than two hours. In keeping with this trend (Mtwara being predominantly rural compared to the other two more urbanised sites), at least half of the people in planned formal, unplanned and predominantly mixed suburbs were within 30 minutes walk of the nearest police station, as opposed to only 25% of residents in rural areas.

Despite the long walk for many residents, particularly those in Mtwara, over half the respondents in each town said they had visited the nearest police station. The vast majority in Dar es Salaam (71%) and Arusha (69%) had been to the police station, but even in Mtwara as many as 54% had also made the trip. This suggests that even if the distance is great, people who need to reach the police will make the effort to do so. Similarly, despite the distance, more than half of the people interviewed in rural areas had been to a police station (54%). As may be expected, a higher proportion in unplanned (70%), mixed (68%) and planned formal suburbs (68%) said this was the case.

Of those who had been to a police station, most (54%) said the visit had improved their opinion of the police. Just over one fifth (23%), however, indicated that their opinion of the police had worsened since going to the police station. A fair proportion (23%) also noted that their visit to the police station had not changed their previous impression. More people in Mtwara (68%) were positively affected by their visit to the police station, than in Arusha (55%) and Dar es Salaam (42%) (Figure 6.2).

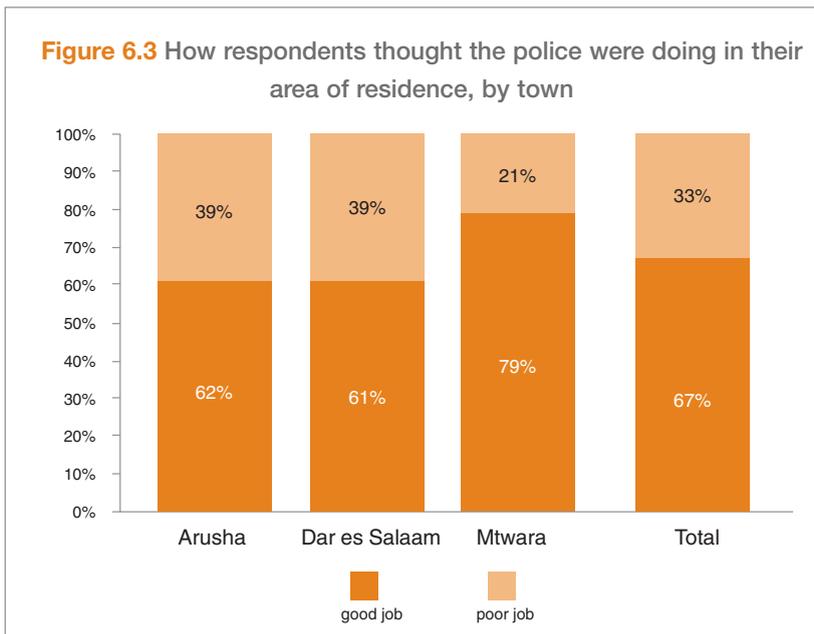


Views of police performance

Opinion of the police is often influenced by how visible their members are to the public, as illustrated by the results above on what people thought government should do to make their area safer. Survey respondents were asked how often they see a police officer on duty and in uniform in their

area. Police visibility was highest in Arusha, where more than one third (38%) saw a uniformed police officer every day. By comparison, one quarter of people in Dar es Salaam (26%) reported this, and only 13% said the same in Mtwara. In Mtwara, people were most likely to see a police officer in uniform only once a month (32%). As can be expected given the above trends for the three towns, rural and mixed suburbs reported lower police visibility than more urban areas.

Despite these relatively low levels of police visibility, particularly in Mtwara, most people in all three towns thought the police were doing “a good job” in their area. In fact, respondents in Mtwara—who were least likely to see the police or to have visited a police station—were most positive about their performance (Figure 6.3). This finding raises questions about the basis upon which people in Mtwara evaluated police performance. It is also possible that people living in the more urbanised towns have higher expectations of the police, and thus assess their performance more critically than those in Mtwara.



High approval ratings of the police applied regardless of residential suburb, with more than three quarters of the people in rural areas thinking that the police were doing a good job. Two thirds in planned formal and unplanned suburbs said the same, as did six out of ten people living in predominantly mixed suburbs.

A large proportion of people in all three towns (45%–51%) agreed that the main reason the police were doing a good job was because they are committed. One quarter of respondents in Arusha and one in five in Dar es Salaam noted that the police always respond on time. One fifth of those in Mtwara thought that the police are trustworthy.

Those who said the police are doing a bad job attributed this mainly to corruption. As many as three in five people in Arusha (61%), half in Mtwara and just under that in Dar es Salaam (47%) pointed to corruption as the reason police were doing a bad job. Other factors included the fact that criminals are released early (12% in Arusha), a lack of resources (15% in Mtwara), and collaborating with criminals (11% in Dar es Salaam).

Trust in the police

In order to gauge levels of trust in the police, respondents were asked if they would report a crime that they knew had been committed against someone, to the police. The vast majority said they would, with only 11% of people (across all three towns) indicating that they would not. In Dar es Salaam, the main reason for saying they would report was a sense of duty (43%), while in Arusha people emphasised that it would help to make their area safe (31%). The main reasons for not reporting crime to the police included that “it is none of my business” (35% in Mtwara), and fear of reprisals (31% in Arusha and 36% in Dar es Salaam).

Another question aimed at testing trust in the police was whether people would teach their children to approach a police officer for help if they were lost or in trouble. Again, levels of trust appear to be high, with almost all respondents saying they would instruct their children to approach a police officer for help (95% or more in each town).

The courts

Access to the courts

There was a relatively high awareness of the location of the magistrate’s court in each area, with 82% of people in Dar es Salaam, and 78% in Arusha and Mtwara, saying they knew its location. More than four out of five respondents in predominantly mixed (80%) or planned formal (83%) suburbs knew where their local magistrate’s court was. People in unplanned suburbs (79%) or rural areas (75%) also knew the location, but to a lesser extent. Regarding how long it takes to reach the court, 60%–70% of people in all three towns said they could walk to the court within an hour.

More than half of those interviewed had ever been to the magistrate’s court: two thirds in Dar es Salaam and just over half in Arusha and Mtwara. As in the case of the police, despite the distance to the court, as many as 49% of respondents in rural areas had been to court. Of those who had visited a court, people in Dar es Salaam (43%) mostly went as witnesses, while those in Mtwara (45%) and Arusha (37%) mostly went simply to observe the proceedings.

Views of court performance

All respondents, regardless of whether they had been to court or not, were asked whether they think the courts are performing their duties adequately. People from Mtwara were most satisfied, with more than four fifths (84%) saying they were satisfied with the courts’ performance. Just under three quarters from Dar es Salaam felt this way (73%), leaving people from Arusha the least satisfied comparatively, with 67% saying the courts performed adequately.

In Dar es Salaam (67%) and Mtwara (58%), people felt that courts performed adequately mainly due to the perception that fair decisions were being made, and that the judgment was impartial (31% and 37% respectively). This trend was similar in Arusha, with 44% of people saying the courts were impartial and 58% saying decisions were fair.

Of those who expressed dissatisfaction with the courts’ performance, this was, in all three towns, mainly because of the length of time taken to

complete a case (51% overall). In Arusha, a number of people also felt that the courts showed favouritism to people involved (30%). Respondents in Mtwara (32%) and Dar es Salaam (21%) also noted that there were inconsistencies in case handling which led them to assess the courts' performance as inadequate.

All respondents were also asked whether they were satisfied with the way the courts sentence perpetrators of crime. In all three towns most people were satisfied, with those in Mtwara being most satisfied (80%), followed by respondents in Dar es Salaam (67%) and Arusha (63%). The reasons for being satisfied were that the courts are fair when handling cases, with a majority (54%) from all three towns noting this. Another popular reason for the high rate of satisfaction was that the punishments meted out are appropriate for the crime, a position held across all the towns (29% overall).

Most of those who were dissatisfied with sentences handed down to perpetrators, explained that the courts are corrupt: 58% in Arusha, 55% in Mtwara, and 42% in Dar es Salaam felt this way. In Dar es Salaam however, corruption was not the main complaint: 51% of people said that "matters drag on too long"—a reason for dissatisfaction that was second most common in Arusha and Mtwara.

Chapter 7

Corruption

Key findings

- Overall, one fifth of respondents had been asked to pay a bribe by a government official in the past year.
- The most common type of bribe requested was for money, followed by favours and then presents.
- Requests for bribes were much more common in Dar es Salaam than in Arusha or Mtwara.
- Officials working in the health, policing, courts, employment and school sectors were most likely to ask members of the public for bribes.
- In most cases, respondents said they paid the bribes occasionally, depending on the circumstances. Many of those who did not pay the bribe were refused services and threatened by the officials concerned.
- Overall, respondents were only slightly more inclined to believe that corruption has increased in the past three years. Views differed markedly between the towns however: most people in Mtwara thought bribery had decreased, while those in Arusha and Dar es Salaam were more likely to think it had increased.

This chapter covers experiences of petty corruption as well as public perceptions about how levels of corruption may have changed over the past three years. The survey investigated the incidence of corruption by asking respondents if, during the past year, any government official asked for, or said they should provide either money, a favour or a present, in return for a service the official was legally required to perform. Those who answered 'yes' to this question were then asked about the specific sector in which they had experienced bribery. Although respondents could discuss corruption in any sector, the following options were provided: social services, education, traffic, customs and excise, local government, land and housing, the criminal justice system, utilities, and the employment sector.

Extent and nature of corruption

Government officials were much more likely to ask for a bribe in the form of money, rather than a favour or a present. Overall, just over a fifth of respondents said they had, in the past year, been asked by a government official to pay money for services. People in Dar es Salaam were most likely to have experienced corruption, with almost three out of ten people having been asked to pay a bribe (Figure 7.1). One in five had a similar experience in Arusha, compared to only 15% in Mtwara. In keeping with this trend, people living in rural areas (15%) were least likely to have been asked to pay a bribe, compared to 24% in unplanned, and 26% in planned formal suburbs.

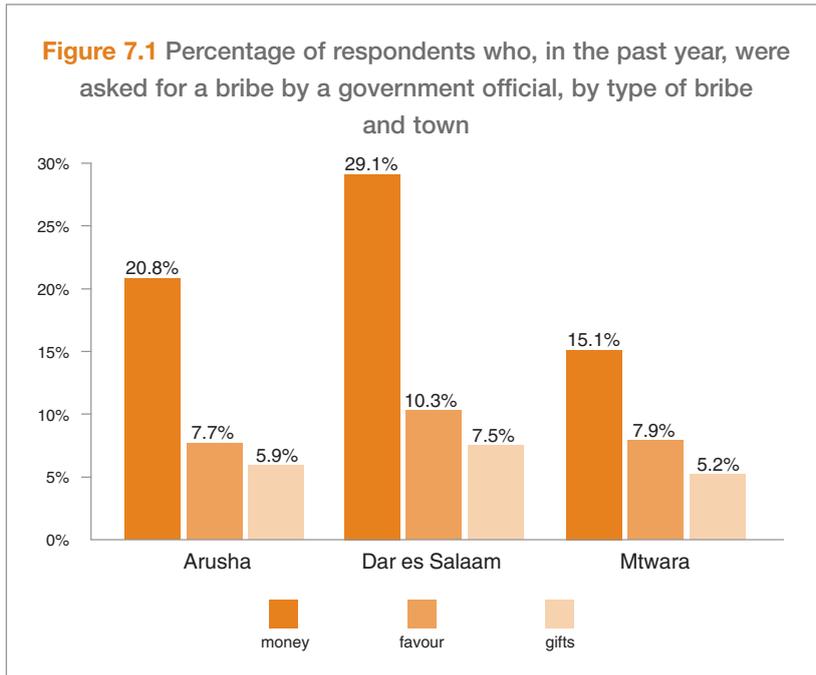
Fewer respondents had been asked for a favour in return for delivery of a public service, with only 8.6% reporting this experience in the past year. This form of bribery was slightly more prevalent in Dar es Salaam (10.3%) than in Mtwara (7.9%) and Arusha (7.7%).

The type of bribe that was least likely to be reported by respondents was being asked for a gift by a government official in return for delivery of a public service (Figure 7.1). Overall only 6.2% of people had experienced this kind of bribe, with those in Dar es Salaam more likely to report this than in Arusha and Mtwara.

Those respondents who said they had experienced corruption in the past year, were then asked a range of questions about the type of service, and how they, as well as the official involved, responded to the request. Only those sectors in which 3% or more respondents reported bribery are discussed below, given that too few responses were recorded for the others to allow for sound analysis (Figure 7.2).

Health services

A total of 9.1% of all respondents had, during the past year, been asked to pay bribes to ensure better access to medical care. When asked how they responded to the request, most (67%) said they paid the bribe occasionally, depending on the situation. A further 19% said they always paid the bribe, while only 14% said they never paid the bribe. In almost half of the cases (48%) in which the bribe was not paid, the government officials threatened the respondents and refused to deliver the services in question.



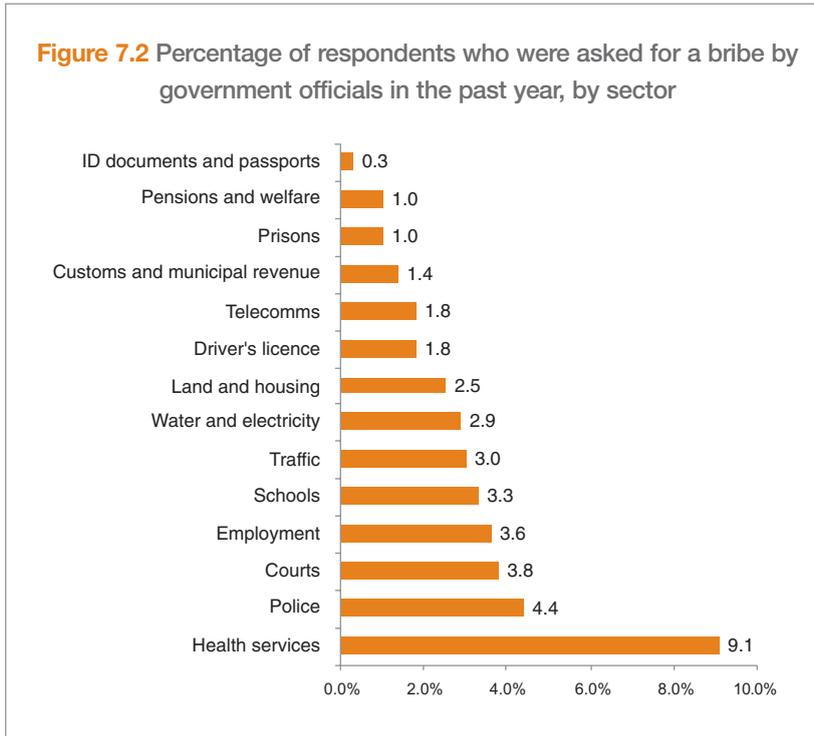
Police

A total of 4.4% of all respondents across all three towns were asked for a bribe by a police officer during the past year, with two thirds of the cases being on a regular basis. When asked how they responded to the request, over two thirds said they occasionally paid the bribe depending on the situation. Among those few who refused to pay, most (83%) were met with threats and refusals of assistance by the official concerned, with the rest (15%) simply being denied assistance.

Court related services

A total of 3.8% of all respondents were asked to pay a bribe for court related services, mainly in order to get documents certified, to find (or lose) dockets and to try and limit or waive a sentence passed on an accused. Half of the respondents who were asked to pay a bribe said this happened at least once a month in the past year. In response to the request, most said they paid the bribe occasion-

Figure 7.2 Percentage of respondents who were asked for a bribe by government officials in the past year, by sector



ally, depending on the situation. A little under one fifth of all respondents always paid the bribes. Refusal to pay bribes resulted in threats and a lack of service.

The employment sector

A total of 3.6% of all respondents had, during the past year, been asked to pay a bribe in order to either secure new employment or improve on their current status. For one fifth, this was at least a monthly occurrence. In response to the request, a little over half occasionally paid the bribe with just over one third always refusing. Failure to pay almost always ended in a negative situation for the victim.

Schools

A total of 3.3% of all respondents were asked to pay bribes during the past year by officials in the education sector. The overwhelming majority said they

were asked for a bribe only once during the year. Less than one fifth of the respondents refused to pay the bribe, with three quarters doing so only on occasion. Failure to pay meant both threats and refusals to provide the service required for three quarters of all respondents.

Traffic fines

During the past year, 3% of all respondents were asked for a bribe to avoid having to pay traffic fines. Exactly one fifth refused to pay a bribe. They were then refused any further service and were harassed into paying a larger traffic fine than was originally imposed.

Perceptions about corruption trends

Respondents were asked if they thought requests by public officials for bribes, in the form of money, favours or presents, had increased, decreased or stayed the same in the past three years. Overall, marginally more respondents thought corruption had increased than those who said it had decreased (Table 7.1). This was not the case in Arusha and Mtwara however. Respondents in Arusha were much more likely to think corruption had increased over the past three years, while a majority in Mtwara said levels had dropped.

In keeping with this trend, approximately 44% of people in more urban areas thought public sector corruption had increased in the past three years, compared to 47% in rural areas who said bribery had decreased.

Table 7.1 Views on how levels of corruption have changed in the past three years, by town

	Town			Total
	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	
Increased	45.7%	28.5%	45.3%	40.8%
Decreased	26.7%	53.8%	35.4%	37.5%
Stayed the same	27.7%	17.7%	19.3%	21.6%
Total	100.%	100.%	100.%	100.%
n	694	571	824	2,089

Chapter 8

Victimisation rates and discussion of selected crimes

Key findings

- Property crimes were more prevalent than violent crimes: five of the six most common crimes were against property, with robbery, the only violent crime, taking sixth place in the ranking.
- Theft of personal property and home burglaries were the most common crimes overall.
- Dar es Salaam had much higher crime rates than the other two towns surveyed, with the exception of bicycle theft, stock and crop theft which were highest in Mtwara.
- Less than half of all crimes recorded in the survey were reported to the police. This in spite of the fact that on average, over a third of victims knew who had perpetrated the crimes against them. One of the most common reasons for not reporting to the police was that they were unavailable or inaccessible. Many victims also said the crime was not important enough to warrant reporting to the authorities.
- On average, nearly two thirds of victims reported the crime to a structure other than the police—mostly traditional authorities, local ward councillors and the Sungusungu.

All respondents were asked whether they had experienced any crime in the 12 months preceding the survey. Based on those who said they had, the victimisation rates for a range of crime types was calculated (Figure 8.1). Those who had been victims were then asked a series of questions about the type of crime in question, including where the crime happened, how it was committed and whether the offence was reported to the police or to someone else. They were also asked what the most important thing for them was after victimisation, and how their behaviour might have changed. These results are discussed in this chapter.

Victimisation rates

The most common crime across the three towns surveyed, was theft of personal property: 18.7% of all respondents said they had experienced this crime in the 12 months preceeding the survey (Figure 8.1). The rate of theft was significantly higher than that of any other crime. The next most prevalent crime was burglary, followed by crop and stock theft.

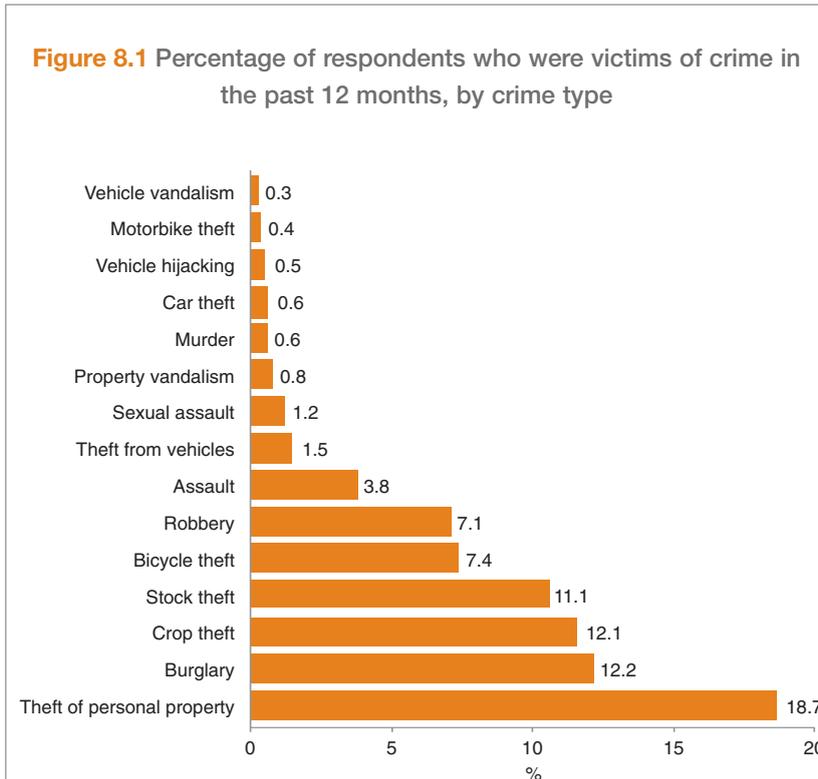
Of the six most prevalent crime types recorded in the survey, five were property crimes. Robbery was the only violent crime among the 'top six' crimes, ranked according to prevalence. Although the rate of robbery was low compared to that of theft of personal property and burglary, the 7.1% of respondents who said they were robbed represents a significant proportion of the population.

Levels of other violent crimes were comparatively low: only 3.8% of respondents said they were victims of assault, and only 1.2% reported experiencing sexual assault (bearing in mind that these types of crime are rarely reported in a victim survey). Only 0.6% of respondents said a member of their household had been murdered in the past year, and only 0.5% reported experiencing a car hijacking.

Rates of reporting to the police

Victims are asked whether they reported the crime to the police for several reasons. The 'reporting rate' reflects, to some degree, levels of public confidence in the police and the extent to which they make use of the formal justice system to deal with criminal matters. It also provides a useful basis for estimating the so-called 'dark figure' of crime which is a term used to describe the crimes that are not documented in police records because the victims chose not to report them to the authorities. The reporting rate thus helps to assess whether the available police crime statistics provide an accurate picture of the levels of crime in the country.

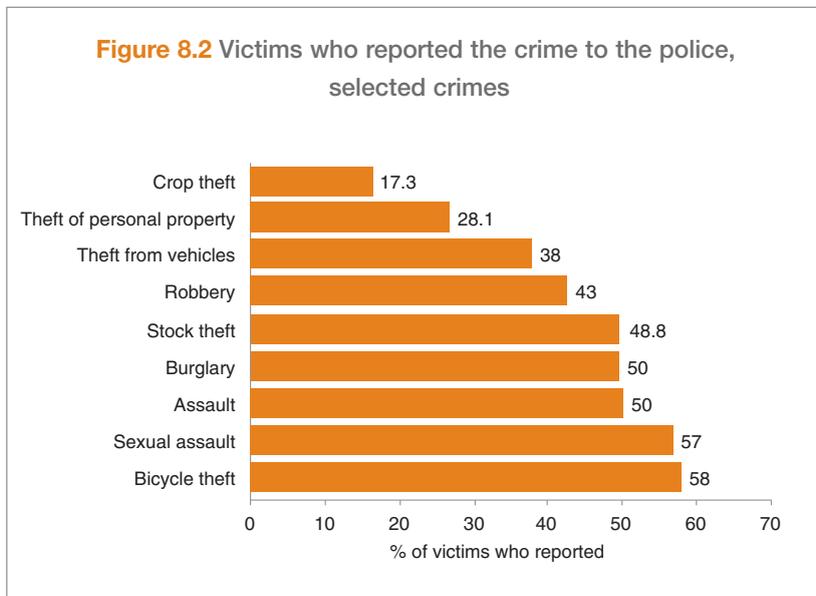
A victim's decision about whether or not to report to the police is based on a range of factors, many of which have nothing to do with the police or justice system. There are nevertheless distinct trends in reporting rates, and these often vary according to the nature of the crime experienced. For example, serious property crimes such as car theft, car hijacking and house



breaking are usually well reported, often in order to make an insurance claim on the stolen goods. This trend is, however, premised on people being able to afford vehicle and household insurance.

Less serious property crimes such as theft of personal property are seldom reported to the police because the stolen goods are hard to recover, are rarely insured, and the crime is regarded as 'petty'. Victims see little point in going through the bureaucratic motions of reporting when there is little chance of either an arrest or of recovering the stolen goods. Finally crimes like assault and domestic violence are also seldom reported because the offences are regarded as too personal, and as a matter to be dealt with between the parties concerned rather than the formal justice system.

Overall, in the three towns surveyed, reporting rates were fairly low compared to those that have been recorded in victim surveys in other countries. Figure 8.2 shows only those crimes for which the victimisation rates were over 1%. In only two categories did a majority of victims reported to the police: bicycle theft and sexual assault. Only half the victims of burglary and assault reported to the police. While this is unsurprising in the case of assault (because victims often regard assaults as non-police business or not important enough to report), a higher reporting rate might be expected for burglary given that housebreaking is usually considered a serious crime.

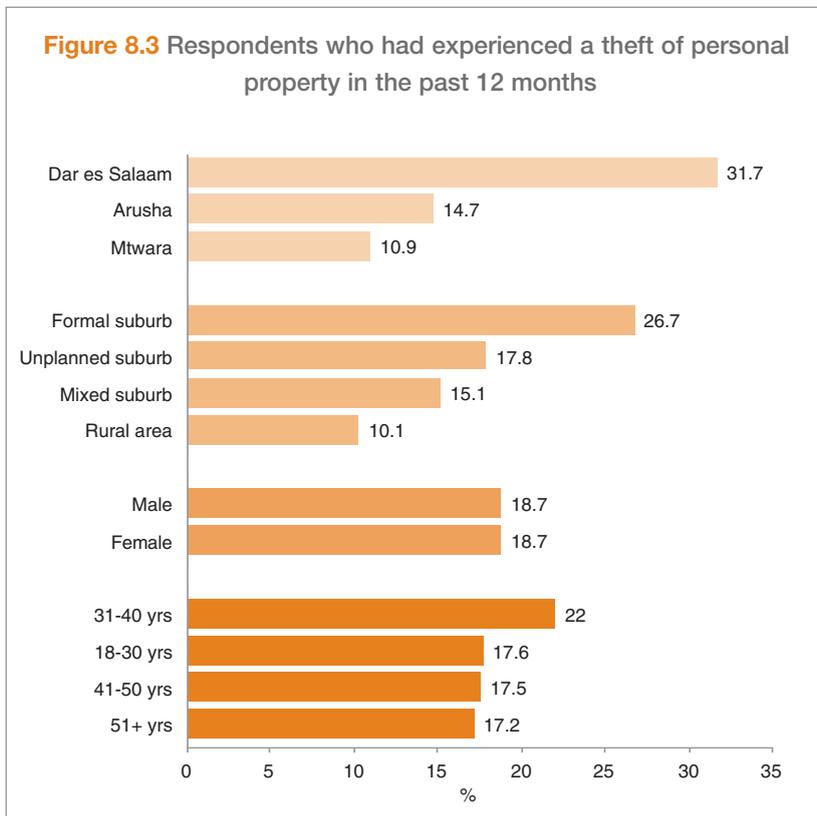


Theft of personal property

Definition: Theft of personal property includes the theft of any item from the person without the use of threats or force.

Rate of theft

In the 12-month period prior to the survey, 18.7% of respondents overall experienced theft of personal property. The highest victimisation rate was recorded in Dar es Salaam (31.7%), where almost three times as many respondents were victims than in Arusha (14.7%) or Mtwara (10.9%). Analysed by area type, the highest rate of personal property theft was recorded among respondents living in formal suburbs (26.7%), with the lowest in rural areas (10.1%). Men and women were equally likely to be victims of this crime (18.7% each). Those aged between 31 and 40 were more likely to have personal property stolen than respondents of any other age (Figure 8.3).



Nature of theft

Overall, most respondents said the theft occurred in the street or in and around the home (Table 8.1). The most likely location for theft among those in Mtwara and Arusha was in and around the home, followed by streets. In Dar es Salaam, streets were the most common location, followed by a bus station or taxi rank.

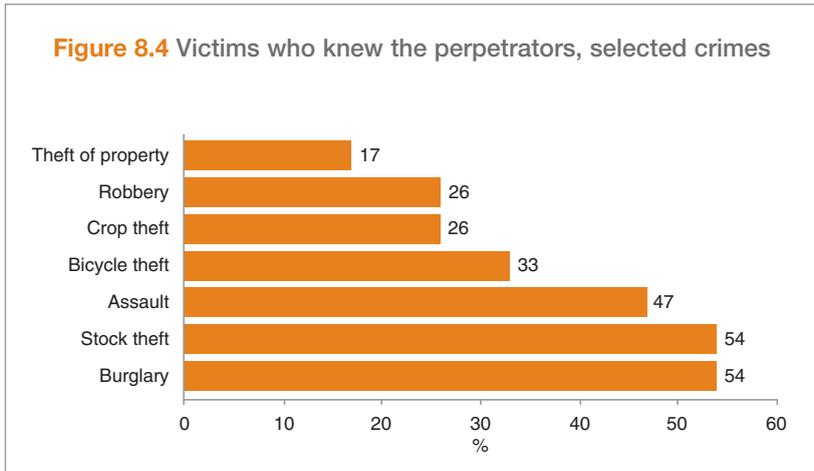
Table 8.1 Place where theft occurred

Place	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
In the street	27.0%	21.2%	31.8%	28.5%
In and around the home	31.3%	49.2%	10.1%	23.4%
Market place	22.1%	16.1%	19.0%	19.2%
Bus station/taxi rank	6.7%	4.2%	24.5%	15.8%
While travelling	8.6%	8.5%	13.8%	11.3%
At the office	4.3%	0.8%	0.9%	1.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	163	118	327	608

Arusha was the only town where most victims were alone at the time of the theft (51%). This was the case for 41% of victims in Dar es Salaam and 37% in Mtwara.

The likelihood of the victim knowing the person who stole from them was low, with only 17% of respondents overall saying so. Victims of property theft were least likely of all crime types to have known the perpetrators (Figure 8.4). Victims in Mtwara were more likely than those in other towns to know the perpetrator: 27% said this was the case, compared to 16% in Arusha and 13% in Dar es Salaam. Of those who knew the perpetrator, 30% overall knew him or her by name or face. The likelihood of knowing the victim by name or face was highest in Dar es Salaam (35%), followed by Arusha (28%) and Mtwara (24%).

Overall, money was most likely to be stolen, followed by cellphones, and then bags and travelling documents (Table 8.2). These were also the main items stolen in both Arusha and Dar es Salaam, whereas in Mtwara, elec-

Figure 8.4 Victims who knew the perpetrators, selected crimes

tronic equipment such as radios, televisions or cameras, together with money, were most likely to have been taken.

Table 8.2 What was stolen in the theft

Goods stolen	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
Money	40.3%	39.5%	47.8%	44.2%
Cell phone	31.2%	4.6%	28.6%	24.8%
Travelling documents and bag	6.4%	11.9%	12.4%	10.7%
Radio, television, camera	12.3%	25.7%	2.2%	9.3%
Bank books	2.6%	7.3%	2.2%	3.2%
Shoes/sandals	1.3%	0.0%	1.6%	1.2%
Kitchenware	1.9%	2.7%	0.9%	1.6%
Jewellery	1.9%	0.9%	1.8%	1.8%
Household materials	1.3%	3.6%	0.9%	1.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	154	109	322	585

Reporting to the police and case outcome

Overall 28% of victims reported the theft to the police. Those living in Mtwara were most likely to have reported (47%), compared to 27% in Arusha and 22% in Dar es Salaam. The two main reasons for not reporting the crime to the police were because it was considered unnecessary or unimportant (31%) or because the police were either unavailable or inaccessible (23%). Victims who did report to the police were mostly satisfied with their response, although levels of satisfaction were lowest in Dar es Salaam (49%), compared to 69% in Mtwara and 74% in Arusha. Of those who reported the theft to the police, just over one quarter (26%) said an arrest was made.

All those who reported the crime were asked if they were satisfied with how the authorities handled the case. Overall, the majority (61%) were, with the highest levels of satisfaction recorded in Mtwara (71%), followed by Arusha (60%) and lastly Dar es Salaam (54%).

Who else was notified about the theft

Victims were asked whether they reported the crime to anyone other than the police. Unlike the other crimes covered in the survey, a minority of victims (46%) said they did (see Figure 8.6 below). Victims in Arusha (66%) were most likely to do so, followed by those in Mtwara (57%) and then Dar es Salaam (32%).

Overall, victims were most likely to report to the Sungusungu, followed by a traditional authority, and then the local ward councillor (Table 8.3). Although a similar trend was recorded among victims in Dar es Salaam and Arusha, very few in Mtwara reported to the Sungusungu, favouring traditional authorities and local ward councillors instead.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

Victims were asked a range of questions about how they reacted after the crime. Nearly half overall (48%), said the most important thing for them after the theft was to avoid being victimised again. Respondents in Dar es Salaam were most likely to say this (52%), followed by those in Mtwara (47%) and then Arusha (40%).

Table 8.3 Who victims reported theft to, other than the police, by town

Place	Arusha	Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	Total
Sungusungu	28.4%	4.9%	41.7%	27.8%
Traditional authority (chief)	14.7%	36.1%	19.8%	21.6%
Local ward councillor	16.7%	32.8%	15.6%	20.1%
Family, friends and neighbours	25.6%	13.1%	13.5%	18.1%
Local gang	10.8%	11.5%	8.3%	10.0%
Strangers where the incident occurred	4.0%	1.6%	1.0%	2.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	102	61	96	259

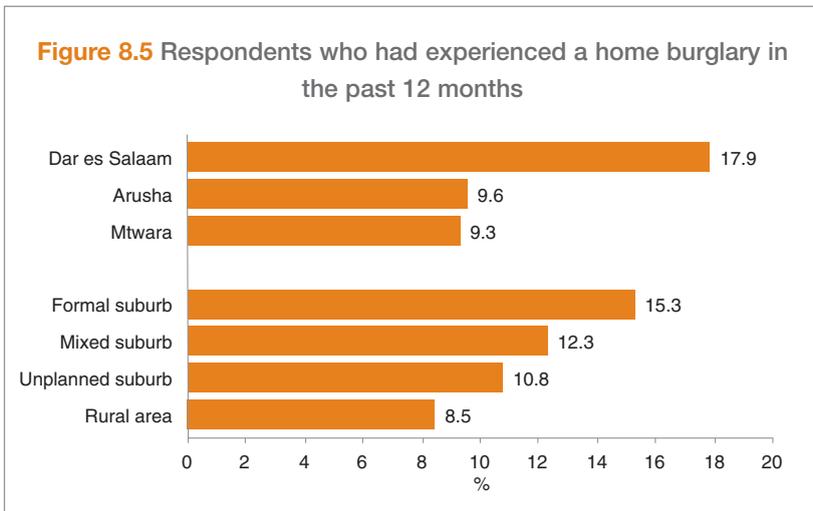
Victims were also asked whether they changed their behaviour as a result of the crime. Overall, the vast majority (79%) said they did, with those in Arusha (86%) most likely to have changed their behaviour, followed by 80% of the victims in Dar es Salaam, and 70% in Mtwara. Behaviour changes were most likely to take the form of becoming more aware and alert. A majority (55%) in Arusha described this course of action, followed by 44% in Mtwara and 43% in Dar es Salaam. The next most common type of change was for victims to take additional measures to protect themselves. Most victims overall (88%) said these behaviour changes made them feel safer. This was particularly true of respondents in Mtwara (93%) and Arusha (90%), with 85% in Dar es Salaam saying the same.

Home burglary

Definition: The unlawful or forcible entry of a residential property, which usually, but not always, involves a theft. Force may or may not have been used to open the door or window. As long as the person entering had no legal right to be present in the structure, a burglary occurred.

Rate of burglary

Overall, 12.2% of all households surveyed had experienced a home burglary in the 12 months preceding the survey. The burglary rate was almost twice as high in Dar es Salaam as in Arusha and Mtwara (Figure 8.5). The risk of victimisation was highest in formal suburbs, followed by mixed suburbs, unplanned suburbs and lowest in rural areas.



Nature of burglary

Overall, three quarters of home burglaries (75%) were carried out during the night. This was true in both Arusha (79%) and Dar es Salaam (84%), although in Mtwara the crime was almost as likely to occur at night (55%) as during the day (46%). In keeping with this trend, rural areas were more likely to experience home burglaries during the day (51%) than the more urban types of settlement. By comparison, only 10% happened during daylight hours in formal suburbs, 27% in mixed suburbs, and 36% in unplanned suburbs.

Given that most burglaries happened at night, it is unsurprising that in most cases (59%), somebody was at home at the time of the burglary.

However, in rural areas and in Mtwara where burglaries were as likely to happen during the day, the opposite trend applied: people were at home in 38% of cases in Mtwara, and 33% of cases in rural areas.

The most common way that burglars gained entry to the house was to smash the door (46%). This trend applied across the three towns, although in 30% of cases in Arusha and 26% in Dar es Salaam, burglars used a duplicate key to gain entry to the victim's house. Another common means of breaking in was by climbing through a window, with 32% of victims reporting this in Dar es Salaam and 29% in Mtwara.

In more than two thirds (68%) of the incidents recorded, a weapon was used. This was most likely to be the case in Arusha, although a majority of victims in Dar es Salaam (66%) and Mtwara (60%) also reported the presence of weapons. The use of weapons was high in mixed suburbs (72%) and formal suburbs (72%), with lower rates recorded in rural areas (57%) and unplanned suburbs (56%). Overall, the most common type of weapons used in burglaries were metal bars (27%) and pangas (or machetes) (26%). A third of burglars in Dar es Salaam (33%) and 39% in Mtwara carried metal bars, while pangas were most likely to be used in Arusha. As many as 28% of burglars carried guns in Arusha, compared to only 9% in Dar es Salaam and 2% in Mtwara.¹³

Considering that most burglaries occurred at night when people were at home, the level of injuries sustained was fortunately low. Overall, only 19% of respondents said anyone sustained injuries as a result of the crime. This suggests that weapons are used to intimidate rather than to inflict harm on victims. Of those who were injured, the majority (87%) required medical attention, and just over half (53%) were admitted to hospital.

Overall, most victims (81%) reported losing some property during the burglary, mostly money (35%) or electronic equipment (31%). Interestingly, only 10% of burglaries in Mtwara resulted in the loss of electronic equipment, compared to 19% in Arusha and 32% in Dar es Salaam. After money (41%), personal effects such as watches and jewellery (20%) were likely to be stolen in Mtwara, followed by food-stuffs (19%). In Arusha, electronic equipment was most likely to be stolen (49%), followed by money (35%), while in Dar es Salaam 32% of burglaries resulted in the loss

of money and 32% in the loss of electronic equipment. In the majority of cases in all three towns, the items were not insured.

Most victims overall, knew who had burgled them (54%), with those in Arusha most likely to say so (70%), compared to 64% in Mtwara and 63% in Dar es Salaam. These perpetrators were most likely to be known by name or face (32%), suggesting that they come from the victim’s community.

Reporting to the police and case outcome

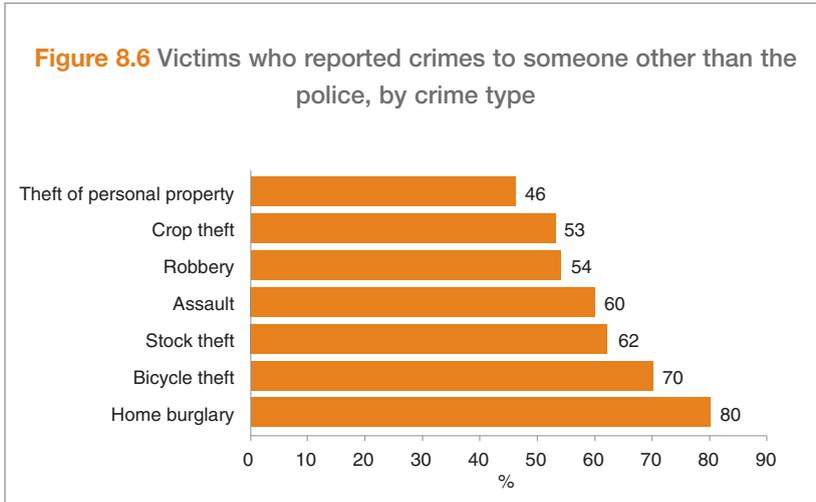
Overall, half the victims (50%) reported the home burglary to the police. Victims in Arusha (62%) were considerably more likely to report than those in either Mtwara (48%) or Dar es Salaam (43%).

The most common reason for not reporting the crime was because it was thought to be unnecessary or unimportant (45%). While this was the reason given by most victims in Dar es Salaam (53%) and many in Mtwara (48%), those in Arusha were most likely to have used other means to resolve the problem (32%). One quarter of victims overall said that the police were not available or accessible (25%). Over half the respondents overall (52%) were dissatisfied with the police response when they reported the crime. However, this was least likely to be the case in Mtwara (38%), compared to victims who reported in Arusha (54%) and in Dar es Salaam (59%).

In the majority of cases (85%), victims said that no arrest was made following their report to police. In cases where an arrest was made, most victims had attended court (75%), and in just under two thirds of these instances a conviction was secured (64%). When asked about their satisfaction with the way the authorities handled the case, most victims overall were satisfied (75%).

Who else was notified about the burglary

Overall, more than three quarters of victims (80%) told someone other than the police about the crime. Victims of home burglaries were more likely than any other crime victims to have done so (Figure 8.6). For the most part, victims reported to the Sungusungu or another local gang (41%). Half of the respondents in Dar es Salaam went to the Sungusungu or another local gang, with 48% in Mtwara doing the same. In Arusha, the trend differed with victims looking to traditional authorities (29%) or local ward councillors (26%).



Behaviour changes after victimisation

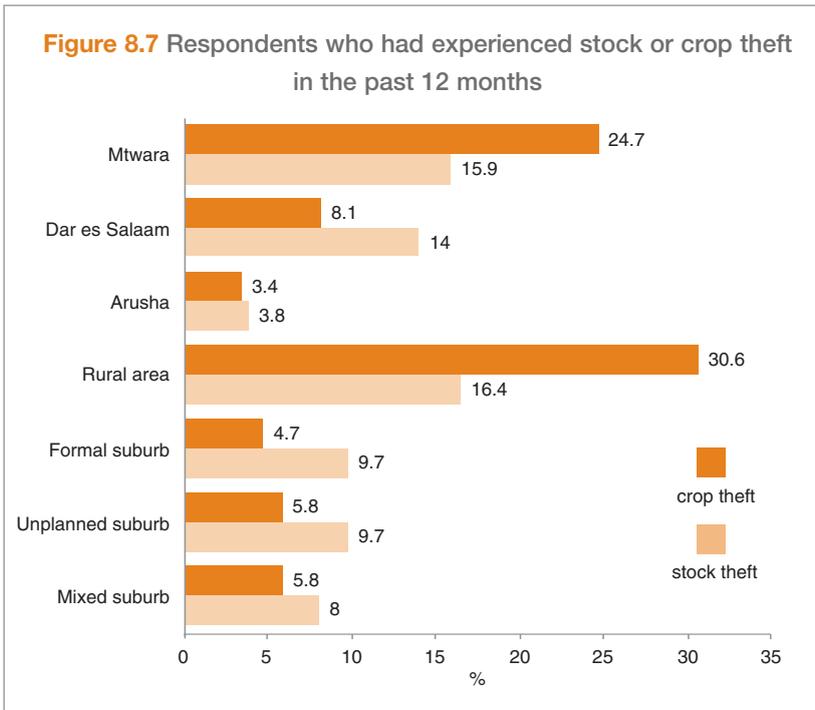
Almost all burglary victims (93%) wanted to 'get their life back to normal' after the crime. Most had attempted to make their house more secure, with those in Dar es Salaam (81%) most likely to have taken this course of action, followed by victims in Arusha (71%) and then Mtwara (58%). The next most common type of behaviour change after victimisation was to become more aware and alert. Overall, these changes made most victims (77%) feel safer.

Livestock and crop theft

Definition: Theft of livestock, poultry and other animals was defined as the stealing of animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, chickens and dogs from within the premises, gardens or fields of property owned, leased or used by the respondent and his or her family. Theft of crops was defined as the stealing of crops and plants such as maize, cassava, rice, bananas, cashews, papayas, etc.

Rate of livestock and crop theft

Overall, 12.1% of respondents said their household experienced crop theft and 11.1% stock theft in the 12 months preceding the survey. Mtwara and Dar es Salaam had much higher rates of stock theft than Arusha (Figure 8.7).



Nature of livestock and crop theft

Incidents of livestock theft mainly occurred in the vicinity of the house (42%) or in a kraal outside the house (32%). A similar trend was recorded in each of the towns surveyed. The most common type of stock that was stolen was poultry, followed by cattle, and then goats. In respect of crops, maize was most likely to be taken, followed by cassava, then rice.

Most victims in both Dar es Salaam (60%) and Arusha (56%) knew who had stolen their livestock, while only 46% in Mtwara said this was the case.

The same did not apply for crop theft: in all three towns, the majority of respondents did not know who had stolen their crops (81% in Mtwara, 74% in Arusha, and 67% in Dar es Salaam). In Arusha (55%) and Mtwara (55%), most of those who knew the identity of the livestock thieves, knew them by name, while 64% in Dar es Salaam recognised their face.

Reporting to the police and case outcome

Overall, 17% of victims reported crop theft and 49% reported stock theft to the police. Most victims of stock theft in Arusha (64%) reported the incident, whereas only 48% in Dar es Salaam and 46% in Mtwara did so. In the case of crop theft, the vast majority of respondents in all three towns did not report the crime: 88% in Dar es Salaam, 82% in Arusha, 81% in Mtwara.

When asked why they did not report the police, a quarter of the stock theft victims said that they felt threatened by the perpetrators, while a further 23% said the police were not available or were not accessible. With regard to crop theft, most victims in Arusha (55%) were too embarrassed to report the crime, while in Mtwara, one third (33%) said the police were unavailable or inaccessible and a further 26% said it was not necessary or important enough. The main reasons provided in Dar es Salaam for not reporting were that it was not necessary or important (24%), that victims were too embarrassed (23%), or they used other means to resolve the issue (20%).

Of those few victims who did report livestock and crop theft, most were dissatisfied with the police response. When asked if they knew about an arrest being made, 78% of stock theft victims overall said no arrest was made by the police. Similar low arrest rates were recorded for crop theft. Most respondents who reported stock theft in Arusha and Dar es Salaam were not satisfied with the authorities' handling of their case. In Mtwara however, the opposite was true, with most being satisfied.

Who else was notified about stock and crop theft

Overall, 62% of stock theft victims notified someone other than the police about the crime. Those in Arusha (83%) were most likely to have done so, followed by victims in Dar es Salaam (62%) and then in Mtwara (54%). In

the case of crop theft, most victims in Arusha (67%) reported to somebody other than the police, although only 49% of crop theft victims in Mtwara and 44% in Dar es Salaam turned to alternative sources to deal with the crime.

In all three towns, victims of livestock theft mostly reported to a traditional authority: 53% in Arusha, 45% in Dar es Salaam and 40% in Mtwara. The majority of those in Dar es Salaam who had crops stolen also turned to a traditional authority, while most people in Arusha looked either to the local ward councillor (36%) or a traditional authority (33%). In Mtwara, 32% of crop theft victims reported the crime to a neighbour, while 28% told the Sungusungu and 20% told a traditional authority.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

Victims of stock theft in Arusha were most likely to want to ‘get their life back to normal’ after victimisation (34%), and to avoid being victimised again, and to recover their property (32% each). In Dar es Salaam (55%) and Mtwara (52%), the majority of respondents wanted to avoid being victimised again. In Arusha, the majority who experienced crop theft said they wanted to avoid being victimised again, as did 48% in Mtwara. A further 40% of victims in Mtwara wanted to ‘get their lives back to normal’. In Dar es Salaam, 49% wanted to ‘get their life back to normal’, with 38% wanting to avoid being victimised again.

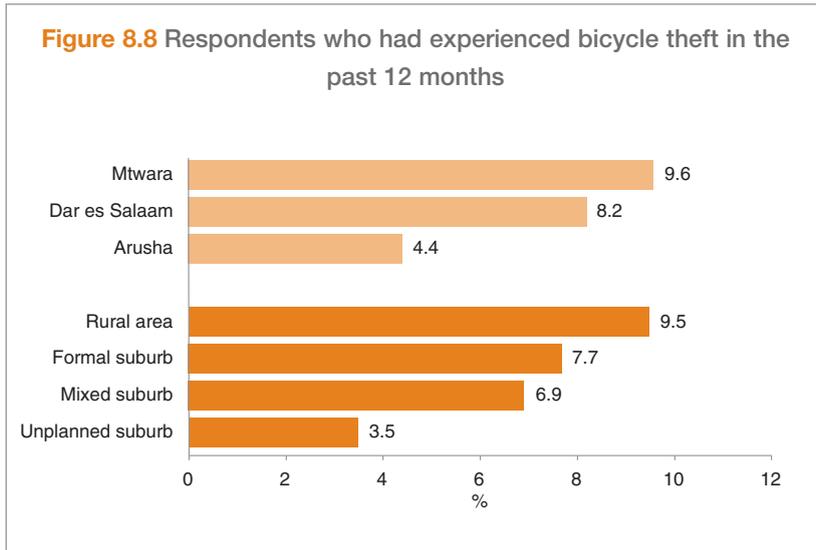
Behaviour changes after victimisation included changing the manner of grazing, transporting or keeping livestock among 73% of victims in Dar es Salaam and 55% in Arusha. In Mtwara however, most stock theft victims (51%) did not make such changes. A similar pattern of behaviour was followed by crop theft victims. Other behaviour changes made by stock theft victims included increasing their awareness and becoming more alert, and protecting their property.

Bicycle theft

Definition: Bicycle theft was defined as the stealing of a bicycle without the use of threats or force.

Rate of bicycle theft

Overall, 7.4% of respondents had experienced the theft of a bicycle from their household in the 12 months preceding the survey. The rate of bicycle theft was highest in Mtwara, and lowest in Arusha (Figure 8.8).



Nature of bicycle theft

Bicycles were most likely to be stolen from around the victims' homes (41%), followed by the market place (23%). Most victims (67%) did not know who stole their bike.

Reporting to the police and case outcome

Overall, most victims (58%) did report the theft to the police. The main reasons for not reporting were that the police were not available or accessible, that it was not necessary or important, and that other means were used to resolve the issue. Over half of those who reported (55%) were satisfied with the service provided by the police. This was in spite of the fact that

most (63%) said that no arrest was made. Overall, respondents were happy with the way the authorities handled the case.

Who else was notified about bicycle theft

Overall, the vast majority of victims (70%) did report the incident to someone other than the police. The most likely sources of assistance were traditional authorities and local ward councillors.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

Just over half the victims (52%) said the most important thing for them after the crime was to avoid being victimised again. Consequently, most had made efforts to secure their bicycles, and had become more aware and alert—measures that increased most victims’ feelings of security.

Robbery

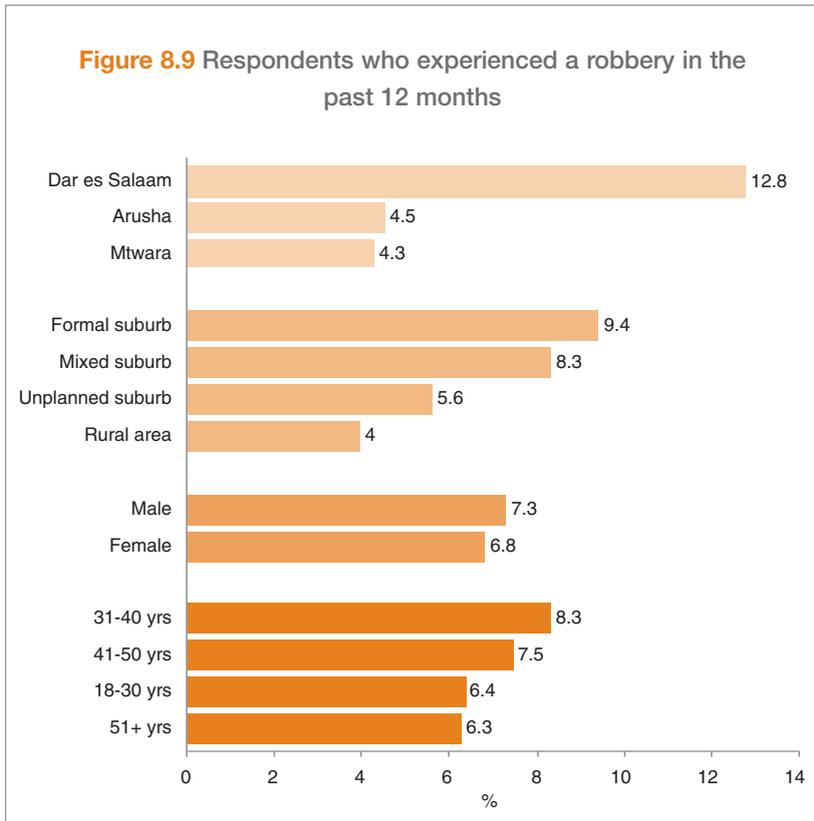
Definition: Robbery was defined as having personal property taken from someone using force or threats. A weapon could have been used to threaten the victim, but this was not a necessary requirement.

Rate of robbery

In the 12 months preceding the survey, overall 7.1% of respondents were victims of a robbery. The rate was much higher in Dar es Salaam than in Arusha and Mtwara (Figure 8.9). Those living in formal suburbs were most likely to have been victims of a robbery, followed by those in mixed suburbs. Men were slightly more at risk of robbery than women, and those aged between 31–40 years were more at risk than respondents in other age groups.

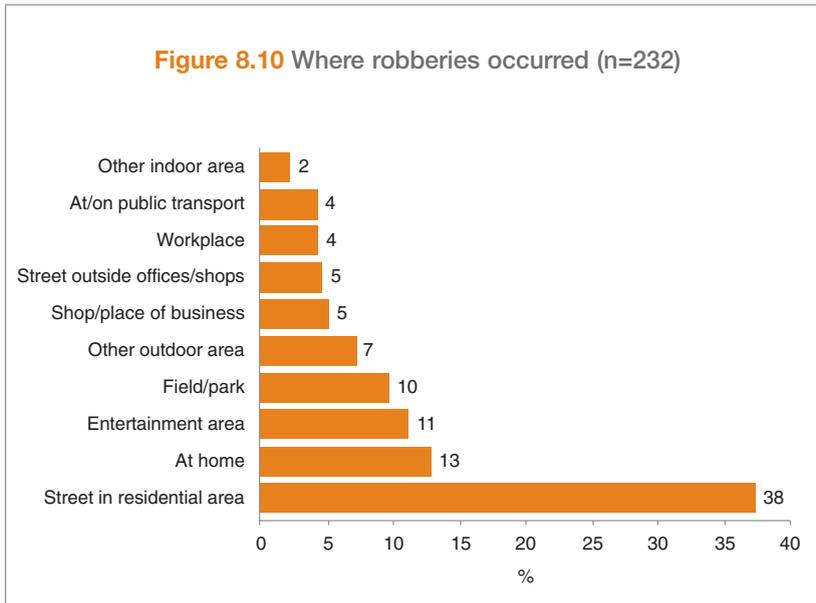
Nature of robbery

In all three towns, robberies were most likely to occur in public places such as streets in residential areas (Figure 8.10). While the second most likely



location for robbery was in the home in Arusha, in Mtwara it was a field or park, and in Dar es Salaam an entertainment area.

Overall, just under two thirds of victims (65%) were alone when the crime was committed. This was most likely to be the case in Mtwara (79%), followed by Dar es Salaam (62%) and then Arusha (58%). Most victims said they did try to resist the robbers' attempts to steal their belongings (72%). Those in Arusha (76%) and Dar es Salaam (72%) were more likely to resist than those in Mtwara (68%).



It is unsurprising that most victims resisted the robbery considering that few perpetrators used weapons. Only 36% used a knife, with this weapon being most common in robberies in Arusha (48%), followed by Mtwara (44%) and then Dar es Salaam (30%). Physical strength was used in 26% of all the robberies, with this being the most common situation in Dar es Salaam (34%). Only 6% of all robberies were committed with a firearm, although perpetrators in Arusha (12%) were much more likely to have used a gun than in Dar es Salaam (4%) or Mtwara (2%). As many as half of all victims (50%) sustained injuries as a result of the robbery, no doubt because so many resisted the attack. Victims in Mtwara (63%) were most likely to be injured, followed by those in Arusha (56%) and then in Dar es Salaam (44%). In the majority of cases (76%) medical attention was required to treat the injuries.

Most of the robberies (78%) resulted in the loss of property—mostly money, with a few cases of cell phone robbery also reported. These trends

were similar in all three towns surveyed, although in Mtwara, victims were more likely to be robbed of bicycles than any other item apart from money.

More than one quarter of all victims (26%) knew the identity of the robber, with those in Mtwara most likely to say this (39%), followed by victims in Arusha (25%), and then in Dar es Salaam (22%). Respondents were most likely to know their assailant by name (38%). Over half in Arusha (54%) said this was the case, followed by 37% in Dar es Salaam and 28% in Mtwara.

Reporting to the police and case outcome

Overall, 43% of victims reported the robbery to the police. Those in Mtwara were much more likely to have reported: 72% said they did, compared to only 44% in Arusha and 32% in Dar es Salaam. The most common reason for not reporting the crime to the police was because they were not available or accessible (34%). While this was the main reason given in Dar es Salaam (40%) and Arusha (25%), it was not the main reason for victims in Mtwara. In the latter region, respondents were most likely to say that they used other means to resolve the situation (33%).

More than half (54%) of those who reported the crime in all three regions said they were happy with the police response. Victims were most satisfied with the police in Mtwara (74%), compared to only 46% in Dar es Salaam and 36% in Arusha. Very few of those who reported their case to the police knew of an arrest being made (10%). Despite this, most (82%) overall, said they were satisfied with the way the authorities handled the case.

Who else was notified about the robbery

More than half of all robbery victims (54%) said they reported the crime to someone other than the police. The most likely alternative source of assistance was a traditional authority (39%), with more than half of victims in Arusha (55%) reporting to traditional authorities, followed by 50% in Mtwara and only 19% in Dar es Salaam. The second most likely source of assistance was the Sungusungu, with 22% of robbery victims overall saying they reported to their local branch. Respondents in Dar es Salaam were

most likely to say so (64%), followed by those in Mtwara (32%) and only 5% in Arusha.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

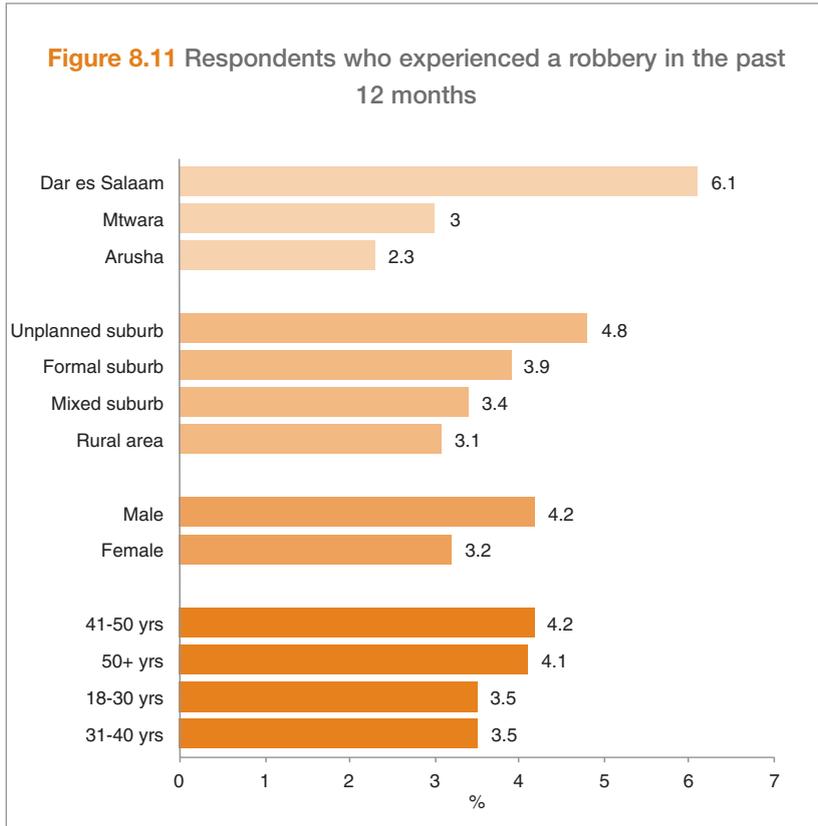
For a majority of victims, the most important issue after being robbed was to avoid being victimised again (57%), and to get life back to normal (25%). The vast majority of victims (84%) said they changed their behaviour as a result of the robbery, mostly in the form of avoiding certain places (31%) that are perceived as dangerous. Also high on the list of preventive measures was to protect property and to increase awareness and be more alert. Most victims who changed their behaviour in these ways, said that it made them feel safer.

Assault

Definition: Assault was defined as an incident in which the victim was attacked or hurt. Weapons may have been used, but no items would have been stolen. Assaults could have happened anywhere, including the respondent’s own home or someone else’s home, in a public place either indoors or outdoors, at school or at work, on public transport or at a shopping centre. The perpetrator could have been known to the respondent, such as a relative, friend or family member, or unknown.

Rate of assault

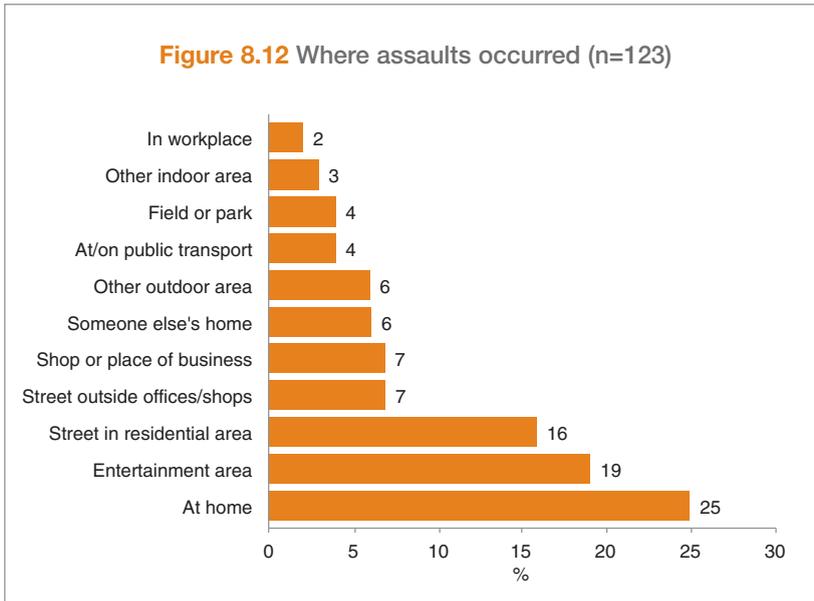
In the 12 months preceding the survey, 3.8% of respondents overall were assaulted. Those living in Dar es Salaam were much more likely to have been assaulted than respondents in Mtwara or Arusha. Residents of unplanned suburbs were more likely to be assaulted than those living in any other area type, while those in rural areas were least at risk of assault (Figure 8.11). Men were slightly more likely to be assaulted than women. There was little variance in the risk of assault among the different age groups.



Nature of assault

Overall, one quarter of assaults took place in the home, indicating incidents of domestic violence (Figure 8.12). The likelihood of being assaulted at home was higher in Mtwara than in Arusha or Dar es Salaam. The most common location for assaults in Dar es Salaam was at entertainment areas such as bars or taverns, while a further one fifth occurred in the street in residential areas.

With regard to the use of weapons during the assault, most victims (72%) said weapons were used. Assaults in Arusha (81%) were most likely to involve a weapon, followed by those in Dar es Salaam (72%) and then



Mtwara (66%). Almost one third of victims said that physical strength was used during the assault. This was more prevalent in Dar es Salaam (41%) than in Mtwara (31%) and Arusha (12%). Knives were most likely to be used during the assaults in Arusha (35%), compared to 22% of cases in Dar es Salaam and 16% in Mtwara. While the use of guns was very low overall (4%), it is disturbing that firearms were used in 15% of assaults in Arusha, compared to only 2% in Dar es Salaam. In Mtwara, none of the assault victims said a gun was used. Considering that most assaults involved a weapon, it is unsurprising that most victims (66%), in all three survey sites, sustained injuries. Most of those injured required medical attention, with 42% having to be admitted to hospital.

Overall, most assaults were carried out by people unknown to the victim. This was most likely in Arusha (65%), followed by Dar es Salaam (55%). In Mtwara however, most assault victims knew the perpetrator (61%). In all three areas, the motive for the assault was mostly thought to be financial. Alcohol played a significant role in the assaults: 39% of victims

said that the attacker was under the influence of alcohol, and 22% admitted to having been under the influence themselves when the assault occurred.

Reporting to the police and case outcome

Half of the victims overall (50%) reported the assault to the police. Of those who did not report, the most common reasons were that the victim was too embarrassed (24%), or because they used other means to resolve the issue (24%). Overall, more than two thirds of victims (67%) who reported were satisfied with the police response. Levels of satisfaction were highest in Mtwara (94%), followed by Arusha (73%), and lowest in Dar es Salaam (57%). Forty percent of victims who reported said that an arrest was made in their case. Just over half the victims (54%) were satisfied with the way the authorities handled their case. Satisfaction levels were highest in Arusha (80%), followed by Mtwara (72%), and lowest in Dar es Salaam (37%).

Who else was notified about the robbery

Most assault victims (60%) reported the crime to someone other than the police. Victims in Arusha (77%) were most likely to have done so, followed by those in Mtwara (70%) and Dar es Salaam (48%). The most common source of assistance overall was the local ward councillor (35%) or a traditional authority (32%). In Arusha (40%) and Mtwara (52%) victims were most likely to have reported to a traditional authority, while in Dar es Salaam victims were more likely to have reported to Sungusungu (26%) or a local gang (26%). Only 13% in Dar es Salaam reported to a traditional authority.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

After the assault took place, the most important thing for victims in all three research areas was to avoid being victimised again (54%) and to 'get life back to normal' (31%). In Mtwara, respondents also placed greater importance on getting the criminals off the street and punishing them (24%) than in Dar es Salaam (9%) or Arusha (8%).

Most victims had changed their behaviour following the assault (85%), with those in Arusha more likely to have done so (96%), than in Dar es Salaam (86%) or Mtwara (76%). These changes were most likely to have taken

the form avoiding certain places (36%) or becoming more aware and being more alert (35%). The majority of respondents overall (82%) said they felt safer as a result of these behaviour changes. Victims in Mtwara (92%) were more likely to feel safer than those in Dar es Salaam (89%) or Arusha (58%).

Theft out of a vehicle

Definition: Theft from a vehicle would include theft of car radios or goods left in the car or parts of the car such as a car mirror or spare tyre. No threats or force would have been used to commit this crime.

Rate of theft out of a vehicle

In the 12 months preceding the survey, 1.5% of all households experienced a theft from their vehicle. The rate of theft from a vehicle was highest in Dar es Salaam, followed by Arusha and then Mtwara. In keeping with this trend, those living in formal suburbs were more at risk of this type of theft, while those living in rural areas were least likely to be victimised.

Nature of theft out of a vehicle

Goods were most likely to have been taken from vehicles while they were parked at victims’ homes: 19 of the 50 victims reported that this was the case.¹⁴ The next most likely location for this crime was in a street in town (13 incidents). These offences generally took place after dark, either at dawn (20) or in the evening (16). In half of the cases, perpetrators stole car parts or radios, rather than items left in the car. Most victims (37) did not know who stole from them.

Reporting to the police and case outcome

Most of the victims (31) reported the theft to the police. Eleven of those who did not report felt it was either unnecessary or not important. The rest said the police were not available or accessible. Of those who did report the crime, the majority were satisfied with the police’s response (12 cases).

Who else was notified about the robbery

Just more than half the victims (26) reported the theft to someone other than the police. In nine of these instances, victims looked to the local ward councillor for assistance, while six sought help from a local gang.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

As with many of the other crimes covered above, just over half the victims said their main concern was to avoid being victimised again (26 cases). The vast majority said they had changed their behaviour in some way (46). In almost half of these instances, it meant taking measures to protect their car (21). These measures helped the victims to feel safer and more confident that they would not experience theft from their vehicles again.

Sexual assault

Definition: Sexual offences, including rape and domestic sexual abuse, may include grabbing, touching or sexually assaulting or raping someone.

Gathering data on sexual assault through victimisation surveys is always difficult, which means the results must be treated with extreme caution. Respondents are highly unlikely to discuss such crimes during a 'once off' contact with their interviewer. Also, the definition of a sexual crime might vary across communities and across intra-generational groups, with the result that some respondents may not recognise an incident as sexual assault and thus not report it to the survey.

Rate of sexual assault

Overall, 42 people (or 1.3% of all respondents) experienced sexual assault during the 12 months preceding the survey.¹⁵ All but three of these assaults were experienced by women.

Nature of sexual assault

Most of the sexual assaults reported to the survey occurred in a public place such as a street in a residential area (12), in the bush (9), and at a place of entertainment (8). Six victims said the assault occurred at work, four said it occurred at their home, and the remaining three said they were assaulted at someone else's home. Although most of the assaults were not in the home environment, most of the victims said they knew who had attacked them. Most of the victims (36) were alone when they were sexually assaulted. Weapons were used in a minority of assaults (16), most of which were knives. Most victims (29) sustained injuries, 24 of whom required medical attention. In less than half the cases (17), the attacker was under the influence of alcohol. The majority of victims (36) however, had not used alcohol when the attack happened.

Reporting to the police and outcome of the case

Most victims (24) reported the assault to the police. However, this reporting rate is unlikely to reflect the reality for these crimes, as those respondents who were prepared to discuss sexual assault with fieldworkers in the survey were no doubt also prepared to report it to the police. Those who are not inclined to report such crimes remain hidden from both victim surveys and police records. Of the 24 victims who did report, most (15) said an arrest was made in their case. Most victims who reported (14) were satisfied with how the authorities handled their case.

Who else was notified about the sexual assault

Most of the victims of sexual assault (25) reported the crime to someone other than the police. The source of assistance tended to be either a traditional authority or a local ward councillor.

Behaviour changes after victimisation

Over half of the victims (25) felt that the most important thing following the attack was to avoid being sexually assaulted again. The vast majority (41) said they changed their behaviour as a result of the crime, mostly by not travelling or going out alone, by avoiding certain places, and by becoming more aware and alert. Most who did so (35) said they felt safer as a result.

Chapter 9

Implications for law enforcement and crime prevention

The results of the victim survey raise a number of points about crime prevention and control in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Mtwara.

- Although the general public thought the police were performing well, perceptions were less positive among crime victims. Levels of reporting to the police by victims were low according to the survey. One of the most common reasons for not reporting was that the police were unavailable or inaccessible. This resonates with other survey results on what government should do to make respondents' areas safer. Most said that policing should be improved, and specifically that the police needed to be more visible, and should conduct more patrols. These views, together with concerns among the public that crime, and particularly violent crime, is increasing, suggest that attention needs to be given to public-police relations and interactions.

Law enforcement officers need to increase their presence and interactions with the public in residential and business areas in all three of the towns surveyed.

- Awareness of, and to a lesser extent participation in, alternative means of law enforcement and 'justice' appears to be high. This refers to the survey findings regarding the Sungusungu, as well as the fact that most victims reported crimes to structures other than the police. Notwithstanding the fact that such interactions no doubt happen out of necessity, it suggests that confidence in community initiatives is high. Respondents' ratings of the Sungusungu's effectiveness were substantially better than that of their local police. Nevertheless,

people did express some concern about the Sungusungu's harsh treatment of suspects.

Interaction between the police and the Sungusungu should be improved and formalised. When members of the latter act as a vigilante group by punishing suspects, they must be brought to justice. Communities that create Sungusungu units should also be made aware of what the rights, obligations and limitations of all stakeholders, including criminal suspects.

- High levels of petty corruption were recorded by the survey. After the health sector, bribery was most common among officials in the police and courts. For many people, bribery has probably become an entrenched means of interaction necessary to ensure the delivery of public services. Combating petty corruption of this nature is crucial because it reduces public access to resources that can enhance safety and security, and if unchecked, could become more endemic.

Dealing with corruption must be a priority of both the Tanzania Police Force and the local authorities in the three areas researched.

- In Dar es Salaam, a Safer Cities Programme located within the Town Council was set up and has been functioning for a couple of years. Arusha and Mtwara, however, have no similar strategies to deal with crime. If attempts are not made to reduce the levels of crime and corruption, there is a danger that these problems will become an accepted part of life, which in turn could lead to a degree of social 'paralysis' which could limit any future attempts to participate in crime reduction initiatives.

Crime and corruption reduction strategies should be accepted as priority items on the socio-economic development agendas of the three towns and regional councils within which the research was undertaken. Specifically, Safer Cities or similar initiatives could be initiated in Arusha and Mtwara.