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RECONCILIATION & DEVELOPMENT

Safety and perceptions of safety

IJR

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Safety and perceptions of safety

About the Reconciliation and Development series

The Reconciliation and Development Series is a multidisciplinary publication focused on the themes of peacebuilding and development. Peacebuilding research includes the study of the causes of armed violence and war, the processes of conflict, the preconditions for peaceful resolution and peacebuilding, and the processes and nature of social cohesion and reconciliation. Development research, in turn, is concerned with poverty, structural inequalities, the reasons for underdevelopment, issues of socio-economic justice, and the nature of inclusive development. This publication serves to build up a knowledge base of research topics in the fields of peacebuilding and development, and the nexus between them, by studying the relationship between conflict and poverty, and exclusion and inequality, as well as between peace and development, in positive terms.

Research in the publication follows a problem-driven methodology in which the scientific research problem decides the methodological approach. Geographically, the publication has a particular focus on post-conflict societies on the African continent.

About this paper

This paper captures information that was shared by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), drawing on the South African Reconciliation Barometer (SARB) and other sources, at a roundtable discussion during February 2019, hosted at the IJR, on 'Safety and safety perceptions in South Africa in the lead-up to the 2019 elections'. We also captured some of the sentiments that were shared during this roundtable as further input for the conversation. We are grateful to all those who attended and participated in the roundtable from various organisations and sectors – including community, civil society, public service, university and government structures.

This paper was compiled by Elnari Potgieter, Senior Project Leader in the Research and Policy Team of the IJR, and Eleanor du Plooy, Senior Project Leader in the Sustained Dialogues Team of the IJR.

The contributors to this publication write in their personal capacity. Their views do not necessarily reflect those of their employers or of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CRPD   Centre for Research on Peace and Development
EMS   Emergency Medical Services
GDP   gross domestic product
GPI   Global Peace Index
IEP   Institute for Economics and Peace
IJR   Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
LSM   Living Standard Measure
NDP   National Development Plan
SAPS   South African Police Service
SARB   South African Reconciliation Barometer
SASAS   South African Social Attitudes Survey
USD   United States dollar

Introduction

Perceptions of safety order our daily interactions. They dictate our movements, determine who we choose to engage with, and inform our actions. Perceptions of safety are also intimately linked to feelings of freedom. The challenge of safety, therefore, is not merely a nominal issue but rather an existential one. This is because the need for safety is a basic human need. Personal and community safety is directly linked to our common humanity. In the lead-up to the 2019 elections, it is important to reflect on safety and perceptions of safety, and what we need to think about in this regard in the months prior to South Africa's national elections. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) hosted an event on 4 February, bringing together various stakeholders to a discussion on safety and safety perceptions in the lead-up to the 2019 elections. The roundtable had the following objectives:

- To reflect on how safety perceptions inform attitudes to, and perceptions of, the political climate in South Africa;

- To explore why safety and safety perceptions matter in your/our work/ community spaces;

- To create space for the sharing of insights on, and ways of coping with, this lived reality; and

- To discuss what we need to think about with respect to safety in the lead-up to the 2019 elections.

The IJR presented perception data related to the topic from both the South African Reconciliation Barometer (SARB) and Afrobarometer. We also included insights from our Sustained Dialogue Programme. The initial, brief presentations were followed by a robust conversation. This paper captures some of the themes that were touched on during the conversation.

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1.   Background

Outcome 3 of the South African National Development Plan (NDP) 2030, launched in 2012, envisions a South Africa where all people are and feel safe. The outcome in particular envisions that, by 2030, '**people living in South Africa feel safe at home, at school and at work, and they enjoy a community life free of fear. Women walk freely in the street and children play safely outside.**'

The document furthermore outlines the constraints to achieving such a society, highlighting that:

> *unacceptably high levels of crime, especially serious and violent crime, result in people in South Africa, especially vulnerable groups such as women, children, older persons and people with disabilities, living in fear and feeling unsafe. It also impacts negatively on the country's economic development and undermines the wellbeing of people in the country and hinders their ability to achieve their potential.*[1]

Seven years since the launch of the NDP, and with 11 years to go until we reach 2030, we look at how far we are in achieving the NDP's Outcome 3. We focus mainly on findings from the most recent (2017) SARB relating to perceptions of safety, but also consider key crime statistics released in or around 2017, as well as insights from the IJR's Dialogue Team and the above-mentioned roundtable.

2.   Recent crime statistics

In 2017, South Africa was ranked 123 out of 163 countries on the Global Peace Index (GPI) compiled by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), placing the country on the lower end of the scale and rating us as one of the most unsafe and dangerous countries in the world. The index measures peacefulness according to three broad categories – militarisation, safety and security, and domestic and international conflict – based on various indicators. Among these indicators, South Africa performed poorly in six, with four of these being perceptions of criminality, easy access to weapons, relatively high levels of political terror, and high levels of violent demonstrations. However, the other two indicators on which the country performed very poorly were those of violent crime and homicide – both indicators where South Africa ranked among the worst in the world.[2] Three of South Africa's cities – Cape Town, Nelson Mandela Bay and Durban – featured on the world's 50 most violent cities list in 2017 Based on murder rates.[3]
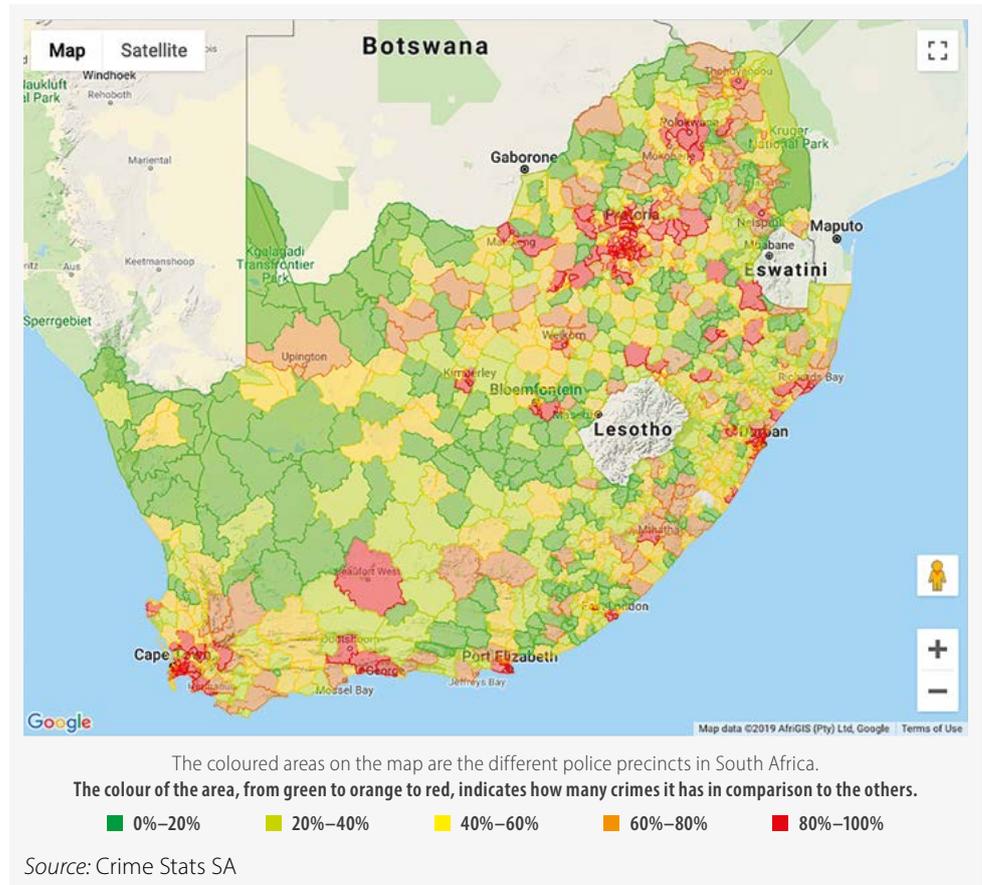
Crime levels in South Africa frequently rank as among the highest in the world, especially in terms of violent crimes (such as murder and rape).[4] Certain types of crimes may be under-reported – like rape and assault – and statistics for these crimes are not an accurate reflection of reality.[5] Of the crime statistics available, the most reliable are those with regard to murder rates, given that murder is independently verifiable.[6] Crime statistics released by the South African Police Service (SAPS) for the period 1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017 showed that, during this period, a total of 19 016 murders were recorded, with 52.1 people being murdered on average per day. This was an increase from 18 673 in the year 2015/2016.[7] The number increased further for the year 2017/2018 to 20 336 murders – on average, 56 people per day. Of those 56 on average per day, 46 were men, eight were women and two were children. Data shows a 17% increase in the murder rate over the last six years, after dropping 55% in the previous 18 years.[8]

High levels of violence and insecurity have an impact on the economy, with the IEP measuring the cost of violence to South Africa at 22.3% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) in its 2017 GPI report.[9] It is, however, not only the economy that is impacted. Such levels of violence and insecurity have implications for society and its perceived and lived safety.

In addition, the SARB's findings pertaining to non-metro and metro spaces, as well as provincial perceptions of (un)safety (see Tables 5 and 6), are interesting when we compare those with a map showing reported crimes for the year 2017. The map broadly shows that metro areas – where more people report feeling unsafe – are also where the most crimes were reported in 2017. What determines whether people feel safe or not extends well beyond only reported crimes, but crimes probably form part of whether or not people feel safe in various public and private spaces.

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Figure 1: Crime statistics by area[10]

The coloured areas on the map are the different police precincts in South Africa.
The colour of the area, from green to orange to red, indicates how many crimes it has in comparison to the others.

■ 0%–20%　　■ 20%–40%　　■ 40%–60%　　■ 60%–80%　　■ 80%–100%

Source: Crime Stats SA

3.   Safety, perceptions of safety and fear of crime

Previous research on perceptions of safety and fear of crime in 2005 – which made use of data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) – showed that fear of crime was expressed by both male and female respondents at the time.[11] [12] The survey revealed that fear of crime did not only have a female face, but that men also experienced vulnerabilities – thus portraying men not only as perpetrators. In addition, the study showed that Indian and black African respondents reported greater levels of fear than Coloured and white respondents. The study indicated that, over time, perceptions of safety improved for all race groups, except black African respondents, and that fear of crime was not only of concern to white South Africans. Back then, the author, Benjamin Roberts, wrote that the findings showed that the popular notion of fear of crime in the country as being predominantly 'white fear' was lamentable in that it was misleading and neglected the needs of a majority who could not voice their concerns.[13] The study furthermore produced some findings in terms of socio-economic status and fear, mainly that fear of crime was higher among middle-class households and that fear of crime was related to employment status. In addition, the study demonstrated that the character of the place that respondents lived in affected fear of crime. Respondents living in rural areas reported lower levels of fear, while those in urban areas reported higher levels. Fear of crime was particularly high among respondents living in informal settlements. In addition, respondents' levels of social integration – in neighbourhoods or communities – also had an impact on the fear of crime reported.[14]

4.   Trust, identity, inequality, social cohesion and feeling safe

One aspect of feeling safe or unsafe may be related to fear about crime, but another may relate to other socio-economic dynamics such as inequality, social ties and social cohesion, as well as further dynamics that exist.

One aspect of feeling safe or unsafe may be related to fear about crime, but another may relate to other socio-economic dynamics such as inequality, social ties and social cohesion, as well as further dynamics that exist. For present research purposes, we often make use of the conceptualisation of social cohesion by Langer et al.[15] with constitutive dimensions: perceived inequalities and social exclusion, societal trust and shared identities. These dimensions can also help us understand the dynamics impacting on crime, fear of crime and perceptions of safety – as much as these may also impact on social cohesion and its dimensions.

In terms of trust, we look at both interpersonal and institutional trust. Trust serves as an important indicator of the glue that binds a society together, acting as the foundation of the relationships needed to overcome tensions and create an environment favourable to sustainable ties within a society.[16]

Three types of relationships/connections that impact a society's overall cohesiveness can be differentiated: relationships of individuals within the same group (referred to as bonds), relationships of individuals across groups (referred to as bridges), and the relationship of a society (and its respective groups) with the state (referred to as linkages).[17] When we look, in Figure 2, at the various levels of interpersonal trust that South Africans report in groups, the SARB findings demonstrate significantly low levels of bridging-level (between-group) trust across South African society.

Figure 2: Interpersonal trust, SARB 2017[18]
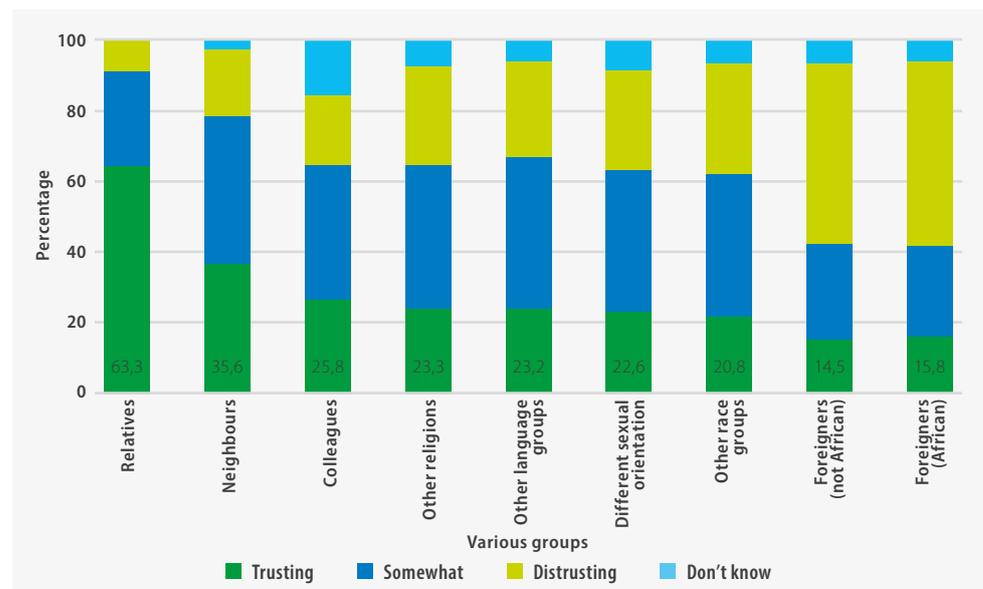
In addition, the confidence recorded in public institutions and national leadership in SARB surveys over time shows that the confidence recorded in 2017 was low. Moreover, a comparison over time points to a process of systemic erosion.[19] Of particular interest is confidence in: (a) the police, which, in 2017, 36% of South Africans reported as having 'a lot' or 'a great deal' of confidence in; (b) the legal system in general, in which, 2017, 31% of South Africans had 'quite a lot' or 'a great deal' of confidence in; and (c) the various levels of government – which from 28.1 to 29.8% of respondents had 'quite a lot' or 'a great deal' of confidence in.[20] This shows that not only bridging trust, but also bonding trust is of concern.

As regards inequality, the SARB's findings are quite informative. Inequality is the aspect of society that respondents indicated had changed the least since 1994, as well as being ranked as the primary source of division in society. This shows the enduring and divisive nature of inequality in South Africa, not only in terms of objective measures – such as the GINI coefficient – but also in the minds of South Africans.

Finally, with respect to identity, we understand that social identity refers to group belonging, as well as the way in which we associate and connect with others on the basis of this belonging. We may hold and subscribe to many identities at the same time, based on our social, political and economic interactions. They may also serve to single us out from a group, or exclude us from groups. The assumption is made that South Africans who prefer a more inclusive identity would be more open to the notion of reconciliation than those who hold singular, exclusive identities. The SARB shows that, in terms of primary identity association, mother-tongue language, race and economic class ranked first, second and third in 2017, respectively, followed by being South African in fourth place, with most South Africans reporting their primary identity as being very important to them. However, most South Africans reported feeling proud of being South African and would like their children to think of themselves as South African too. This is indicative of the complexity of the intersection of multiple identities.

5. The South African Reconciliation Barometer and perceptions of safety

It is against this background of fear of crime, inequality, and distrust that we now consider perceptions of safety. The 2017 SARB posed two sets of questions related to perceptions of safety. The first pertained to perceptions of change since 1994, asking respondents whether they thought that, among other aspects of society, safety had improved or not. The second asked whether respondents felt safe or unsafe in various public and private spaces.

Perceived change in safety since 1994

[F]or reconciliation processes to be evaluated in a positive light, citizens should perceive positive change to have occurred within the social, economic and political spheres and to foresee such positive change in the future. One such aspect of society is that of personal safety. [M]ore South Africans felt their safety had worsened since 1994 than those who reported that it had improved.

The SARB posits that, for reconciliation to advance, it is important for citizens to perceive positive change within society in terms of the past and the future. A first step in this regard is to understand public perceptions of what has, and has not, changed since the advent of democracy in 1994. It goes without saying that, for reconciliation processes to be evaluated in a positive light, citizens should perceive positive change to have occurred within the social, economic and political spheres and to foresee such positive change in the future. One such aspect of society is that of personal safety.

Figure 3: **Perceptions of change in personal safety since 1994, SARB 2017**[21]
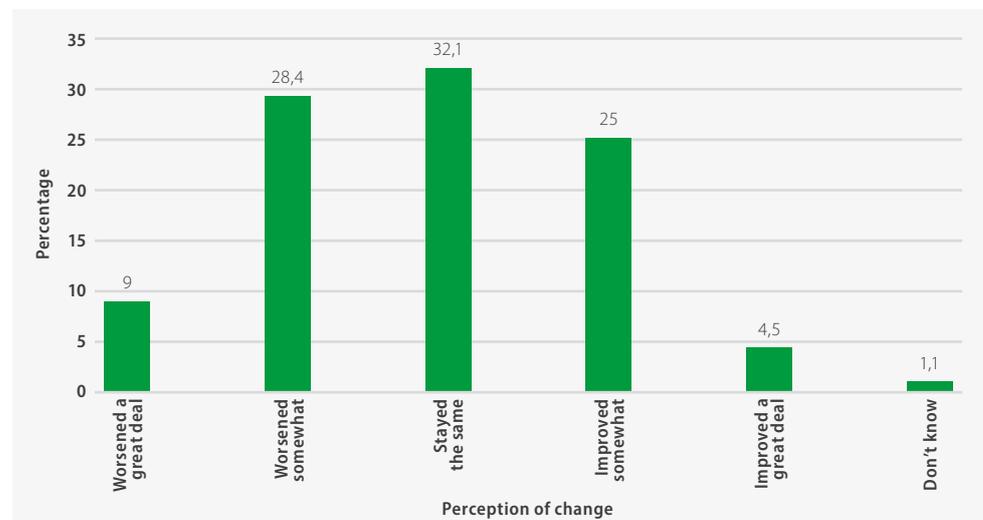

Figure 3 shows that 37.4% of South Africans reported that they felt their personal safety had worsened since 1994, with 32% reporting that they felt it had stayed the same and 29.5% reporting that they felt it had improved (only 1.1% reported that they did not know). This means more South Africans felt their safety had worsened since 1994 than those who reported that it had improved.

Perceptions of safety in public and private spaces

The SARB posits that unjust/unequal power relations between different social groups (e.g. race/class) hinder progress towards reconciliation. More just and equitable power relations would create a more fertile environment for reconciliation. Limited to perceptual data, we have chosen to measure this by asking about access to economic, social, cultural and spatial resources within society. This concept is measured through certain sub-indicators, each of which demonstrates differential perceptions of access to realms of power in society. This includes perceptions of safety in various private and public spaces.

Tables 1 to 6 show the proportion of respondents who indicated that they felt safe or unsafe in the various spaces asked about in SARB's most recent survey round (2017). The spaces in which the greatest proportion of South Africans felt unsafe in were public transport spaces, followed by recreational spaces, commercial spaces, their own neighbourhoods, work/study spaces, and, lastly, their own homes.[22]

Disaggregations according to sex, historically defined race group, area classification (metro/non-metro), province, age group and Living Standard Measure (LSM) show further nuances.[23] Tables 1 to 6 show these findings, as well as indicate how these compare with the South African figures (lower or higher than the South African proportion).

Findings: Index

	% of South Africans feeling unsafe in particular space
	Lower than South Africa figure
	Higher than South Africa figure

Demography of feeling unsafe

Findings by sex

Table 1 shows that more female respondents felt unsafe in all spaces than the proportion of male respondents, and the South African figures overall. More female and male respondents felt unsafe in public spaces (public transport, and recreational and commercial spaces) than was the case for more private or local spaces such as their own neighbourhoods, work/study spaces or their own homes. Notably, almost six in every ten (58%) of female respondents felt unsafe in public transport spaces – 9% more than the proportion of male respondents that felt the same, as well as the 43% of female respondents that felt unsafe in their own homes. The latter finding is of particular concern given that trust in 'relatives' was the highest in terms of interpersonal trust in 2017 (see Figure 2). Although the proportion of female respondents feeling unsafe in the respective spaces was the highest for all spaces, it should not be discounted that a proportion of male respondents also did not feel safe in various spaces. Interestingly, the space with the highest proportion of male respondents feeling unsafe was 'recreational spaces'.

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Table 1: Percentage feeling unsafe, by sex			
	Male	**Female**	**RSA**
Home	36	43	40
Work/study	38	43	41
Neighbourhood	45	51	48
Commercial	47	51	49
Recreational	50	55	53
Public transport	49	58	54

Findings by historically defined race groups

Disaggregation by historically defined race groups[24] also reveals nuances, as shown by Table 2. The proportion of white respondents feeling unsafe was lower than the overall South African figures for all spaces, except public transport. Black African respondents feeling unsafe in homes, neighbourhoods and places of work/study was higher than the South African figures. However, black African responses showed a lower percentage of respondents feeling unsafe on public transport compared with the South African figure. The proportions of Indian/Asian respondents feeling unsafe in neighbourhoods, commercial spaces, recreational spaces, and on public transport were all higher than the South African figures, as well as showing the highest percentage of respondents feeling unsafe in recreational and public transport spaces compared with other race groups. The proportions of Coloured respondents feeling unsafe in neighbourhoods, commercial spaces, recreational spaces and on public transport were all higher than the overall South African figures, and showed the highest percentage of respondents feeling unsafe in neighbourhoods when compared with other race groups.

Table 2: Percentage feeling unsafe, by historical race group					
	Black	**White**	**Indian/Asian**	**Coloured**	**RSA**
Home	41	28	36	39	39
Work/study	43	28	31	34	41
Neighbourhood	50	30	50	52	48
Commercial	49	44	57	52	49
Recreational	51	52	68	60	53
Public transport	51	58	68	66	54

Perceptions of safety by age groups

As Table 3 shows, the proportions of younger respondents aged 18 to 34 years feeling unsafe in the various spaces were lower or the same as the overall South African figures, while the proportions of respondents 35 to 54 years of age feeling unsafe were higher or similar to the overall South African figures. The percentage of respondents 55 years and older feeling unsafe was higher than

the South African figures for all spaces, except in neighbourhoods and work/study spaces (with lower percentages feeling unsafe in those spaces than the South African figures).

Table 3: Percentage feeling unsafe, by age groups				
	18–34 years	35–54 years	55 years plus	RSA
Home	38	40	42	40
Work/study	41	43	37	41
Neighbourhood	47	51	46	48
Commercial	48	49	53	49
Recreational	49	54	61	53
Public transport	51	54	59	54

Perceptions of safety by LSM groups

Table 4 shows that the percentages of respondents in LSM groups 1 to 5 feeling unsafe in various spaces were lower or the same as the South African figures for all spaces, while the percentages of respondents in LSM groups 6 to 7 feeling unsafe were higher than the South African figures in all spaces. The proportions of respondents in LSM groups 8 to 10 feeling unsafe were lower than the South African figures for all spaces, except in recreational or public transport spaces.

Table 4: Percentage feeling unsafe, by LSM groups				
	LSM 1–5	LSM 6–7	LSM 8–10	RSA
Home	38	44	30	40
Work/study	41	46	28	41
Neighbourhood	45	56	35	48
Commercial	43	55	46	49
Recreational	44	59	55	53
Public transport	44	61	59	54

Geography of feeling unsafe

Perceptions of safety by area classification (metro vs non-metro)

Table 5 shows that the proportions of metro respondents feeling unsafe in the various spaces assessed were higher than the South African figures for all spaces, with the differences between metro and non-metro responses being 10% or more for some spaces (neighbourhoods, recreational spaces and public transport spaces). Notably, six in ten respondents in metro spaces felt unsafe in public transport spaces (62%) and recreational spaces (58%). This may perhaps relate to the earlier-mentioned map that shows that most crimes that were reported took place in metro spaces.

Table 5 shows that the proportions of metro respondents feeling unsafe in the various spaces assessed were higher than the South African figures for all spaces

Table 5: Percentage feeling unsafe, by area classification			
	Metro	**Non-metro**	**RSA**
Home	41	38	40
Work/study	42	40	41
Neighbourhood	54	44	48
Commercial	53	46	49
Recreational	59	48	53
Public transport	62	47	54

Perceptions of safety by province

Table 6 shows that the proportions of respondents feeling unsafe in the Free State, Northern Cape and Limpopo were lower than the overall South African figures for all spaces, while the proportions of respondents feeling unsafe in the Eastern Cape were lower than the South African figures for all spaces, except in recreational spaces. The proportions of respondents feeling unsafe in KwaZulu-Natal were higher than the overall South African figures for all spaces, while the proportions of respondents feeling unsafe in Gauteng were higher than the overall South African figures for all spaces, except for in their own homes. The percentages of respondents feeling unsafe in the Western Cape were higher than the South African figures for all spaces, except for in their homes and at places of work/study, while the percentages of respondents feeling unsafe in the North West were higher than the South African figures for all spaces, except for in their homes and at places of work/study. Lastly, the proportions of respondents feeling unsafe in Mpumalanga were higher than the South African figures for all spaces, except for in their homes and in their neighbourhoods.

Table 6: Percentage feeling unsafe, by province										
	WC	**EC**	**FS**	**KZN**	**GP**	**NC**	**NW**	**MP**	**Limp**	**SA**
Home	39	39	34	48	39	25	38	39	32	40
Work/study	35	39	35	52	44	30	38	47	23	41
Neighbourhood	50	39	46	57	53	28	55	45	27	48
Commercial	55	43	41	56	50	39	59	51	30	49
Recreational	63	56	42	59	54	43	48	54	32	53
Public transport	69	48	44	60	55	43	49	55	32	54

Demographics and geography of (un)safety

In summary, Tables 1 to 6 show that more female respondents reported feeling unsafe in *all* spaces than male respondents. Disaggregation by race group reveals a variety of findings, but, notably, that more white South Africans feel safe in all spaces except in public transport spaces, while black respondents feel more unsafe than other groups in most places, but this is not the case in recreational or public transport spaces. More young South Africans aged 18 to

34 feel safe in all spaces than is the case for older South Africans. In addition, more respondents in non-metro spaces feel unsafe than in metro spaces. Disaggregation by province also reveals a variety of findings, but, notably, that more respondents from provinces with some of the larger metros – such as Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape – report feeling unsafe in spaces.

6.   What we have learnt from the roundtable

Knowing who feels unsafe, and where, can help us in understanding how perceptions of safety intersect with identity and space, and, in turn, with societal goals such as social cohesion processes.

1. *Lived realities and memories of the past.* The issue of safety is a common feature raised by community members in the dialogues hosted by the IJR's Sustained Dialogues Programme and is often used to reflect on the past and the present. In more than one dialogue in different South African provinces, the sentiment that 'life was better under apartheid' was expressed. What is particularly interesting, however, is that these were sentiments expressed by young people who had no lived experience of our apartheid past. When unpacked, it becomes clear that these statements are not a desire for the return of white rule but rather an expression of a desire for certain securities they perceive apartheid offered, which includes a guarantee of some type of employment – however menial – and safer communities.

2. *Inequality corrodes trust and informs safety perceptions.* Individual perceptions of safety are shaped and informed by limits on personal freedom, social isolation, and lack of trust. Persistent levels of inequality in communities, compounded by rising levels of corruption, further break down trust within communities and corrode common values. Although factors that inform levels of trust are varied, inequality within and between South African communities affects trust by creating perceptions of injustice.

3. *Constitutional values as a source of agency in creating safer communities.* The point was raised in the discussion that the Constitution should become a 'living' document for all South African citizens. Common values as enshrined in the Constitution and efforts to promote social cohesion can be centred on the values enshrined in the Constitution. There is a need to have shared, common values that we can all rally around.

4. *Transparency informs safety perceptions.* We need transparency when dealing with safety and safety perceptions. But does greater transparency negatively influence people's perceptions?

5. *Arrests vs prosecutions.* We need to focus not only on the arrest of criminals, or the responsibilities of the police, but also on the legal system and how that may fail communities. Here, specific mention was made about the low rate of cases that are actually prosecuted – the question, then, is how to think about the consequences of crimes, and whether people are held accountable. Part of what fuels frustration and anger in communities that are buckling under the weight of crime is that victims do not know what happens to criminals after they have been arrested.
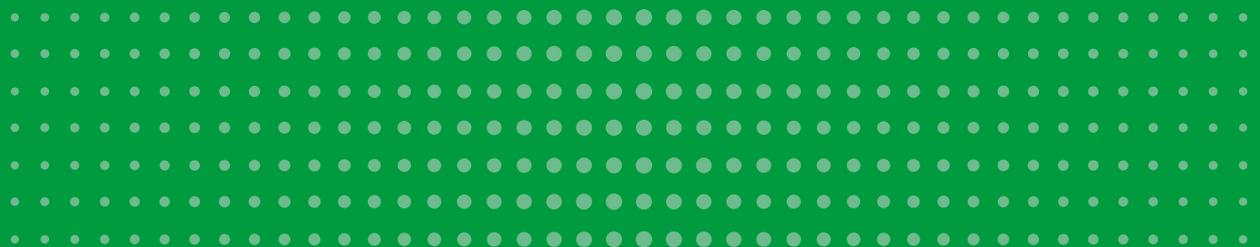
6. *Misinformation and fear of crime.* Concerns were raised over misinformation spread about crime. In addition, questions were raised as to how to empower communities to take responsibility both for their own safety and their own actions. We have to ask what will make people feel safe and what will make them safe – not only whether they feel safe. Here, we need to include marginalised voices, and voices in all languages. We should focus on the ideals that people have for their communities rather than only on their fears.

7. *The value of services.* Representatives from the Emergency Medical Services (EMS) in the Western Cape highlighted the plight of EMS workers who are being attacked (robbed, raped and killed) whilst on duty. The rescuer has now become the victim of crime and violence.

Endnotes

1   NDP. Available online at: https://www.gov.za/issues/outcomes-approach.

2   BusinessTech. 2017. South Africa ranks among the most dangerous countries in the world – and it's costing us. Available online at: https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/200044/south-africa-ranks-among-the-most-dangerous-countries-in-the-world-and-its-costing-us/.

3   Woody, C. 2018. The 50 most violent cities in the world. *Business Insider*. Available online at: https://www.businessinsider.co.za/most-violent-cities-in-the-world-2018-3.

4   BusinessTech (n 2 above).

5   Africa Check. 2018. FACTSHEET: South Africa's crime statistics for 2017/18. Available online at: https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-south-africas-crime-statistics-for-2017-18/.

6   Ibid.

7   Africa Check. 2017. FACTSHEET: South Africa's crime statistics for 2016/17. Available online at: https://africacheck.org/factsheets/south-africas-crime-statistics-201617/.

8   SAPS Crime Statistics 2017/2018 at ISS Africa Crime Hub. Available online at: https://issafrica.org/crimehub/multimedia/murder-in-sa-still-on-the-rise.

9   Global Peace Index (GPI). 2017. Measuring Peace in a Complex World. Institute for Economics and Peace. Available online at: http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/06/GPI-2017-Report-1.pdf..

10   See http://www.crimestatssa.com/. The Heatmap displays all the precincts in South Africa. Each precinct is colour-coded. The number of total crimes for the category or categories chosen are sorted numerically and then divided into five blocks, called quintiles. The first quintile contains the precincts in the bottom 20%; so these precincts have the least crimes. They are shown in green. The fifth quintile contains the precincts that are in the top 20% in terms of number of crimes; in other words, such precincts have the most crimes. They are shown in red. Therefore, the colour of the precinct, from green to orange to red, indicates how many crimes it has in comparison with the others.

11   Roberts, B. 2010. Fear factor: Perceptions of safety in South Africa. In B. Roberts, M. wa Kivilu and Y.D. Davids (eds). *South African Social Attitudes. 2nd Report: Reflections on the Age of Hope*. South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS). Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. 250–275.

12   The IJR works with the understanding that gender is intersectional, and that people experience their identity through intersections of race, class and gender. Where people are classified along the lines of a gender binary of either male or female, it does not mean everyone in society conforms to such strict separation. The use of such categories here is for analytical purposes only.

13   Ibid.

14   Ibid.

15   See Langer, A., Stewart, F., Smedts, K. and Demarest, L. 2015. Conceptualising and measuring social cohesion in Africa: Towards a perceptions-based index. Centre for Research on Peace and Development (CRPD), Working Paper No. 21. Available at http://soc.kuleuven.be/crpd/files/ working-papers/wp21.pdf in Meiring, T. and Potgieter, E. 2017. Towards a social cohesion index for South Africa using SARB data. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

16   Harell, A. and Stolle, D. 2011. Reconciling diversity and community? Defining social cohesion in developed democracies. In Hooghe, M. (ed.). *Contemporary Theoretical Perspectives on the Study of Social Cohesion and Social Capital*. Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, pp. 15–46; Rohstein, B. and Uslaner, E.M. 2005. All for all: Equality, corruption, and social trust. *World Politics*, 58(1): 51–53.

17   See Meiring and Potgieter (n 14 above).

18   For the exact phrasing of questions and the methodology of the SARB, see Potgieter, E. 2017. *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey 2017*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

19   See Potgieter, E. 2017. *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey 2017*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, pp. 43–48.

20   Ibid.

21   The question read: 'How would you say the following has changed since 1994, when the country became a democracy? Has it … .' The statements read: 'Your personal safety and that of your family (Safety)'; 'Economic circumstances for you and your family (Economic circumstances)'; 'Employment opportunities for you and your family (Employment)'; 'Relations between members of different race groups (Race relations)'; and 'The gap between rich and poor (Inequality)'. Response categories were: 'Worsened a great deal' and 'Worsened somewhat' (which were combined to form 'Worse'), 'Stayed the same', and 'Improved somewhat' and 'Improved a great deal' (which were combined to form 'Better').

22   The question read: 'How safe do you feel at present in the following places?' Statements read: 'In your home'; In the neighbourhood where you live'; 'In commercial areas (such as shops and malls)'; In public recreational places (such as parks, stadiums and beaches)'; 'At work/place of study'; and 'In public transportation (taxi/bus ranks, train stations, etc.)'. Response categories included: 'Very unsafe' and 'Somewhat unsafe' (which were combined to form 'Unsafe'), and 'Very safe' and 'Somewhat safe' (which were combined to form 'Safe').

23   All tables and figures present findings from weighted data. All 'Don't know' responses were rendered as missing for disaggregations.

24   It is not the intent of the IJR to endorse the continued use of apartheid racial categories in South Africa. The use of such categories here is for analytical purposes only. In the report, survey responses are presented for race categories where this is analytically meaningful and deemed relevant to the tracking of public opinion.

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) was launched in 2000 by officials who worked in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, with the aim of ensuring that lessons learnt from South Africa′s transition from apartheid to democracy are taken into account and utilised in advancing the interests of national reconciliation across Africa. The IJR works with partner organisations across Africa to promote reconciliation and socio-economic justice in countries emerging from conflict or undergoing democratic transition. The IJR is based in Cape Town, South Africa. For more information, visit http://www.ijr.org.za, and for comments or enquiries contact info@ijr.org.za.