

CRIME IN CAPE TOWN: 2003 – 2011

An analysis of reported Violent, Commercial and Drug-related Crime in Cape Town (including a comparison with selected Metropolitan areas in South Africa)

September 2012

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Citation: City of Cape Town (September 2012), Crime in Cape Town: 2003 - 2011, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, Janet Gie, Crime data extracted by Alwyn Davids, Safety and Security and Nontembeko Poswa, layout of report by Monique Alexander from Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 68 pages

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1. CRIME

1.1 Introduction and Context

South Africa is currently experiencing very high levels of crime. Like many other developing countries and cities, Cape Town is contending with rising unemployment, and persistent poverty, together with a high incidence of HIV/Aids and crime.

The current levels of crime in South Africa and in Cape Town, impact negatively on the quality of life of its residents – as well as the economy in terms of tourism and attracting investment. Cape Town is currently experiencing very high levels of crime, especially violent crime with drug crimes and murder occurring most frequently – and these constitute one of the city's strategic challenges. Murders most often occur in the city's poorer districts and suburbs, demonstrating a link between crime and poverty. The current crime level in Cape Town has a detrimental effect on those living in close proximity to where crime occurs, and those who feel targeted by it. Furthermore, crime levels have consequences for the local economy and skills base, as it may inhibit both international and national investment as well as the ability to attract and retain skilled human capital (City of Cape Town, 2011).

There is a need to monitor and understand crime statistics and patterns, as well as the complexity of the issues in order to deal more effectively with the crime situation. These patterns of crime can assist in enhancing an understanding of the nature of violence in Cape Town with a view to strengthening government's response to this problem. If the City wants to win public and investor confidence, it needs to be proactive in its efforts to address crime and disorder (City of Cape Town, IDP 2007 - 2011).

The City's five-year Integrated Development Plan (IDP, 2012 - 2017) is a strategic – developmental plan, setting strategic and budget priorities. A SAFE CITY is one of the five pillars of the City's Integrated Development Plan. The vision of the Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department's Annual Police Plan 2010/11 is: 'Cape Town is the safest Metropolitan City in Africa, conducive to economic growth, rule of law and democratic governance'. Both these plans, Community Police Forums (CPFs) and other stakeholders require annual crime statistics, trends and patterns in order to inform decision-making and to ensure necessary planning is effective.

A cornerstone of the White Paper on Local Government are local entities which lead activities such as environmental design principles that would inform urban planning, public values, education and awareness and finally promote the principles of Social Crime Prevention. The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (11) (4) (i) obligates municipalities to foster a safe and healthy

environment. The White paper on Safety and Security (September, 1998) determines a multi-disciplinary approach to introduce crime prevention initiatives and curtail incidences of crime (Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department Annual Police Plan 2011/12).

Improved safety and security is crucial for economic growth and social inclusion. A socially inclusive society is defined as one where all people feel valued, their differences are respected, and their basic needs are met so they can live in dignity. Preventing Crime is the 2nd highest priority for residents as reported in the City of Cape Town's annual Community Satisfaction Survey (2011/12).

2. Aim and Focus of the Report

The aims of this report are to:

- Provide an update on selected types of Crime in Cape Town for 2010/11, using South African Police services (SAPS) data.
- Analyse crime trends in Cape Town from 2003 – 2011 and South Africa
- Compare the latest Cape Town crime statistics (2010/11) to selected other Metropolitan areas in South Africa and South Africa as a whole
- Identify “hot spots” precincts in Cape Town (2010/11) through spatial analysis (GIS) and distribution of the level of crime by police precinct in Cape Town

The report focuses on three categories of crime¹, namely

1. Violent Crime including:

- i. Murder
- ii. Attempted Murder
- iii. Total sexual crimes
- iv. Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm
- v. Robbery with aggravating circumstances

2. Commercial Crimes

3. Drug – related Crimes (including Driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs crimes)

¹ Previous Report published by City of Cape Town (June 2011), Crime in Cape Town: 2003 - 2010, available from Strategic Information Branch, Strategic Development Information and GIS Department.

The South African Police Services (SAPS) records 29 types of crime categories. The selected crimes in this report account for over 30% of the total number of incidences of reported crimes in 2010/11 and account for the more serious of types of crime² in Cape Town. The main focus of the report is to highlight headline statistics for Cape Town and to show crime trends from 2003 to 2011 for the above types of crime and for South Africa as a whole. In addition Cape Town's statistics have been compared with four other metropolitan cities in South Africa and to South Africa as a whole:

- i. Johannesburg
- ii. Tshwane (Pretoria)
- iii. Ekurhuleni
- iv. eThekweni Municipality (Durban)

3. Methodology

3.1 Crime Statistics

This report uses crime statistics obtained from the South African Police Services (SAPS) (www.saps.gov.za). This official source of crime statistics provides a basis on which to measure and monitor changes in crime rates over time. The South African Police Services (SAPS) records crime incidences by type of crime and by police precinct and releases these statistics annually in September. The crime reporting year is from 1st April to end March the following year. The current year, i.e. 1st April 2010 to 31st March 2011 is referred to as the 2011 crime statistics.

These crime statistics are made available per SAPS police precincts. There are 60 police precincts within Cape Town. This report has grouped the incidences of crime reported in these 60 police precincts within the City of Cape Town by the three categories of crime mentioned above, for the period 2003 – 2011. Crime data for the latest officially released crime statistics (2010/11) for the above crime categories was extracted for four other metropolitan areas in South Africa as per above. The crime data for the metropolitan areas were determined by adding up the relevant precincts that fall within the metropolitan area of jurisdiction. An official within the Safety and Security Directorate was assigned to the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department to assist with this aspect of the project. This is the first time that crime statistics in Cape Town have been compared with other metropolitan areas in South Africa that are similar in demographic

² The other types of crime not included are all property-related crimes, common robbery, common assault, arson, malicious damage to property, stock-theft, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, all theft not mentioned elsewhere, shoplifting, culpable homicide, public violence, crimen injuria, neglect and ill-treatment of children, kidnapping

size and form. The CCT Safety and Security Department were able to verify the police precincts in other Metropolitan areas through their colleagues in Metropolitan Police. Refer to Annexure 1 for a listing of police precincts in Cape Town and the four Metropolitan areas included in the report.

The SAPS statistics for the three broad categories of crime are further developed into *crime rates* for Cape Town and nationally over time, as well as for the four metropolitan areas. This is done to measure and monitor crime and to take into account increases in population. The level of crime activity is expressed as a rate per 100 000 people. By using the population in Cape Town and South Africa respectively for 2010/11, it is possible to calculate the respective crime rate per 100 000 people (Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year population estimates, 2003 - 2010).

Refer to Table 1 below for the population estimates for Cape Town and South Africa which were used in the calculation of the crime rates and 2003 - 2011 trends. Trends are more useful than data at just one point in time, as they can provide information and some measure of overall trends as well as the effectiveness of implementation of policy or other interventions.

Table 1: Population estimates for Cape Town and South Africa 2003-2011

	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	2010/11
Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington 2000	3311365	3389928	3468492	3547055	3601813	3656572	3711330	3766089
South Africa mid-year estimates	45801319	46347516	46892424	47391029	47850064	48687000	49320500	49991300

Source: Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 (City of Cape Town, 2011).

For the metropolitan comparative crime rates, Statistics South Africa (SSA), mid-year population estimates (2010) were used to calculate the crime rates for all metropolitan areas. The population estimates were lower than used in previous reporting on Cape Town and lower than the figures in Table 1 – this would result in the crime rates being slightly higher, although the general patterns of the comparisons should not change. Although the population estimates are lower, the same basis is used and therefore comparable, and allows for broad overall trends to be established. The 2011 Census information, which is expected to be available in 2013, will provide the next most accurate population estimates. Refer to Table 2 below for the 2010/11 population estimates of Cape Town and the four Metropolitan areas for comparative purposes. A document describing the methodology of the Stats SA projections can be downloaded from the Stats SA website (www.stats.gov.za).

Table 2: Population estimates for Cape Town and four other Metropolitan areas in South Africa 2010³

	Cape Town	Johannesburg	Tshwane	Ekurhuleni	eThekweni
Population 2010	3 409 077	3 775 228	2 364 866	3 027 131	3 499 254
Surface Area km ²	2,500	1,644	2,174	1.924	2,297

Source: Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2010

3.2 Limitations of SAPS Crime Statistics

There are a number of limitations when using SAPS official crime statistics and these should be borne in mind as caveats when using these statistics and derived information and analyses:

1. The official crime statistics measure only **reported** crimes. Not all offences are either reported or detected by police. Thousands go undetected, so using these crime statistics does not give an accurate picture of all the “crimes” committed. “The perpetrators of more than a million crimes a year are getting away free” Treasury documents tabled by Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan (Cape Argus 23rd February, 2012). Certain types of crimes, such as contact crimes, are under-reported by 1-20 and rape 1-36 to police because of social stigma (Paralumun, 2008). Domestic Violence remains one of the top under-reported crimes. Gang-related activities seem to fuel a large amount of crime in highly densely populated areas. Increases in the rate of reported crime may imply higher rates of reporting and/or more effective policing rather than increases in the actual incidence of crime. According to the Institute for Futures Research (IFR), 2010, incidences of murder is the crime type with the most accurate or reliable statistics and therefore is one of the best indicators for interpersonal violent crime.
2. Certain crimes, for example drunken driving and drug-related crimes, are dependent on **police action for detection**. The police may target certain offences during crime initiatives thereby reducing or increasing certain offences or a rise in police numbers may increase detection rates. An increase in crime rate with these types of crime therefore does not necessarily indicate an increase in the actual incidence of crime but rather better enforcement and in this sense a higher crime rate might be a positive indicator.
3. Crime statistics may be subject to changing definitions of **offences**. For example, due to the implementation on 16 December 2007⁴ of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related

³ This is the first time that Stats SA publishes projections on this low level and this might be seen as a Beta version. Users are invited to make use of the opportunity and to engage in a discussion of the population estimate results with Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). This will enable Stats SA to make changes, especially regarding migration assumptions on district council and metropolitan level, Stats SA Mid-year population estimates by Metropolitan area and Year, 2010).

Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, which changed the definitions of certain sexual offences (e.g. providing for male rape), rape statistics are no longer published separately, rather they now form part of the general category sexual offences. Data on this new category of sexual offences is only available from 2003/2004.

4. Only 51 out of the 60 police precincts for Cape Town are shown spatially when reporting on the actual incidences of crime for 2010/11 data (Refer to Section 6). However, the crime data is available from SAPS for all 60 police precincts for Cape Town and has been grouped appropriately into the 51 police precinct spatial boundaries. All the crime analyses in this report include the data for all 60 police precincts.

Despite these challenges, the SAPS crime statistics are the best and only official available crime information and, in the absence of any other information, form the basis of this report.

4. LEVELS OF CRIME IN CAPE TOWN AND SOUTH AFRICA – 2003-2011

4.1 All Reported Crimes

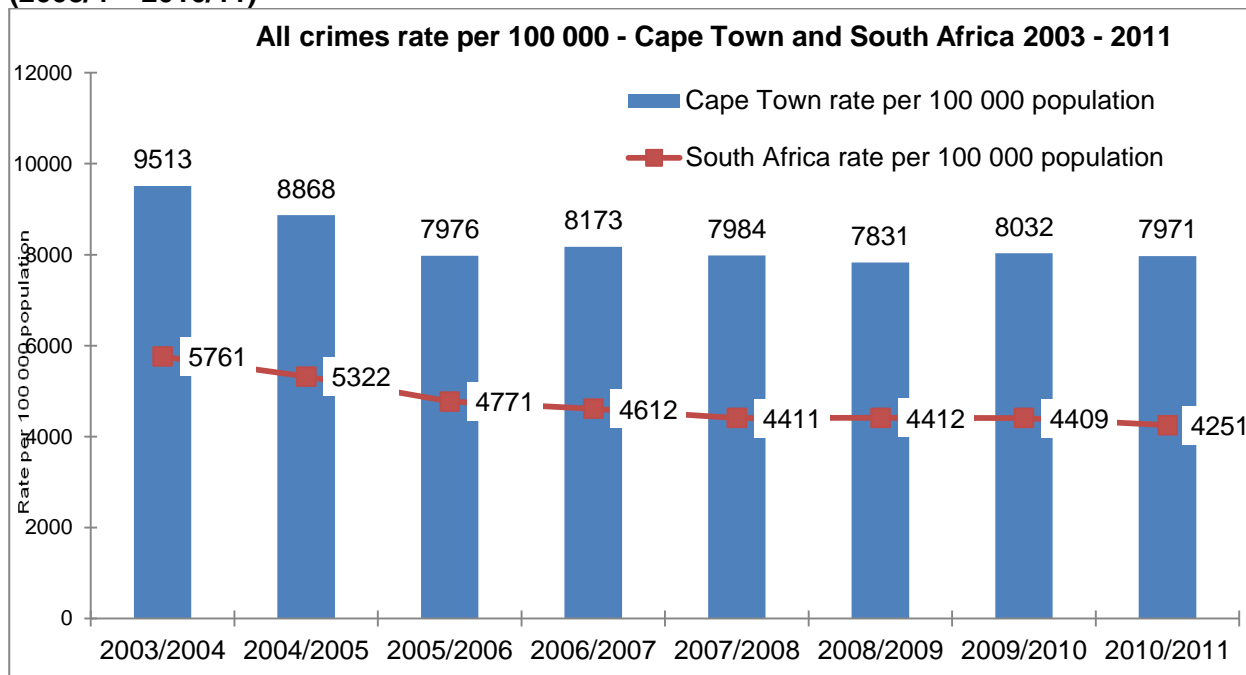
This section presents crime statistics for Cape Town and South Africa and identifies recent trends from 2003 to 2011 with regard to all reported crimes.

The latest crime statistics released by the South African Police Services (SAPS) in September 2011, underlines the concern that crime is at a serious level with 2.12⁵ million cases of crime recorded in South Africa in 2010/11, of which 300 207 cases (14%) were recorded in the Cape Town during the same reporting period. This means that on average, 5822 cases of crime were recorded on a daily basis in South Africa, 243 on an hourly basis and that 4 out of every 100 South Africans⁶ were victims of crime. In Cape Town, during 2010/11, 822 cases of crime were reported on a daily basis, 34 cases on an hourly basis and 8 out of every 100 Capetonians⁶ were victims of crime.

⁴ Certain sections of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, No. 32 of 2007, came into effect on the 16th of December 2007, which mainly deal with the creation of statutory sexual offences, special protection measures for children and persons who are mentally disabled, certain transitional arrangements and evidence related matters. The Act is expected to support and intensify South Africa's efforts to fight sexual crimes against all persons and, especially, sexual offences being committed against vulnerable groups, including women, children and people who are mentally disabled, Department: Justice and Constitutional Development, RSA, Government Gazette, Volume 510, 14th December 2007 No. 30599.

⁵ The police have targeted to drop reported crime cases by 100 000 cases in 2012/13 year, by a further 40 000 cases in 2013/14 and another 30 000 cases in the 2014/15 financial year (Cape Argus 23rd February, 2012).

⁶ The rate per 100 000 people was calculated using the population in Cape Town and South Africa for 2010/11, (Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year population estimates, 2003 - 2010 respectively). Refer Table 1

Figure 1: Crime Rate – All Reported Crimes in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)

Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrigton, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

The overall crime rate per 100 000 population in Cape Town are nearly double that compared to the national crime rate over the same reporting period 2003 to 2011⁷. Refer to figure 1. Cape Town showed an increase of 4% from 2008/9 to 2009/10, against an average annual decrease of nearly 2% per annum in the last six years (2003 to 2008/9). However, there has been a slight decrease of actual crime rate in Cape Town and nationally at less than 1% and 3% respectively in the last reporting period of 2010/11. This period coincided with the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, during June/ July 2010, hosted in Cape Town, together with other major cities in the country, and lower crime rates could possibly be attributed to all the preparations of the security forces including coordination, planning and operational responses. Safety and Security responses were unobtrusive and officers inconspicuous in their visibility (Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department Annual Police Plan 2011/12).

The 2011/12 results of the annual Community Satisfaction Survey commissioned by the City suggest that residents still feel unsafe in Cape Town and are concerned about high crime rates. High crime rates affect residents' quality of life and this is especially felt in the poorer areas and townships, where residents are not able to afford private security.

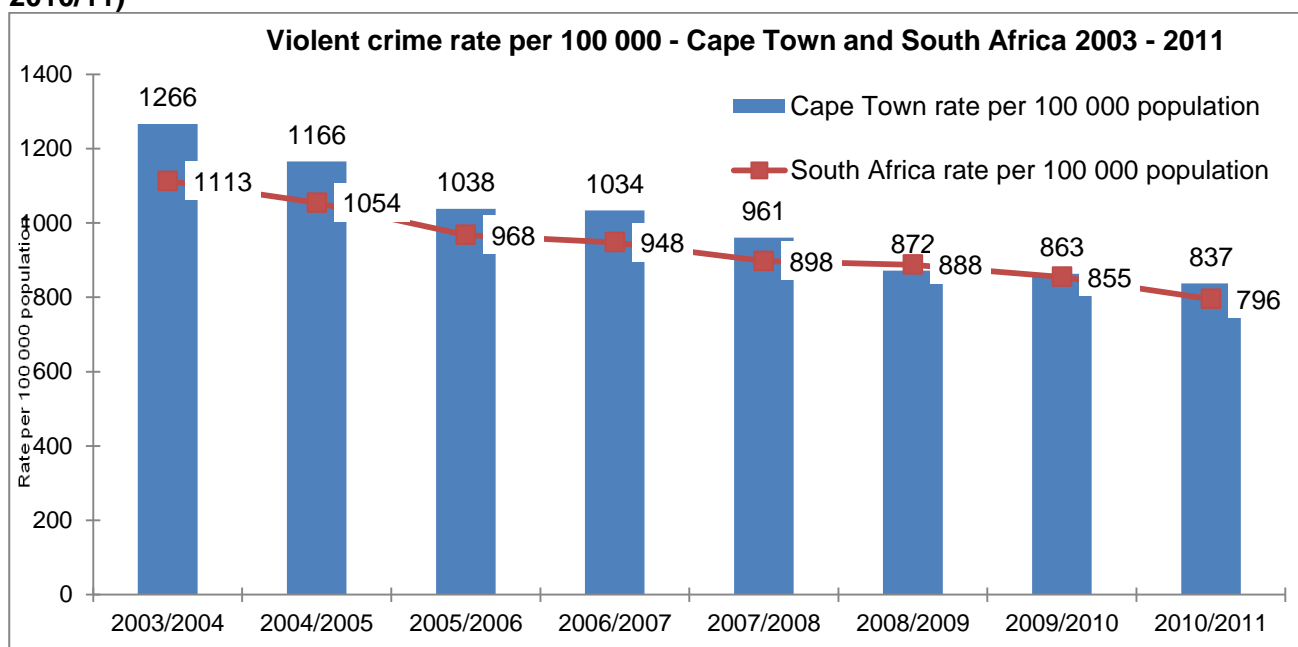
⁷ Overall the Cape Town crime rates each year have dropped slightly compared to when the 2008/9 crime data was previously analysed (City of Cape Town, 2009), as the Medium migration rate population estimates are being used currently as the best estimate for the City of Cape Town (Dorrigton, 1999) and are higher than previously estimated (Dorrigton, 2005)

4.2 Violent Crime

This category includes the following types of crime: murder, attempted murder, total sexual crimes, assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm (violent assault) and robbery with aggravating circumstances (violent robbery).

According to two leading crime researchers, Dr Johan Burger and Chandre Gould from the Institute of Security Studies, it is important for crime statistics to be disaggregated by crime type, in order to understand the information, patterns and trends and to assist an understanding of what possibly causes the increases and decreases in the levels of crime and to help crime prevention (Gould *et al*, 2010).

Figure 2: Violent Crime rate in Cape Town and Trend line for South Africa (2003/04 – 2010/11)

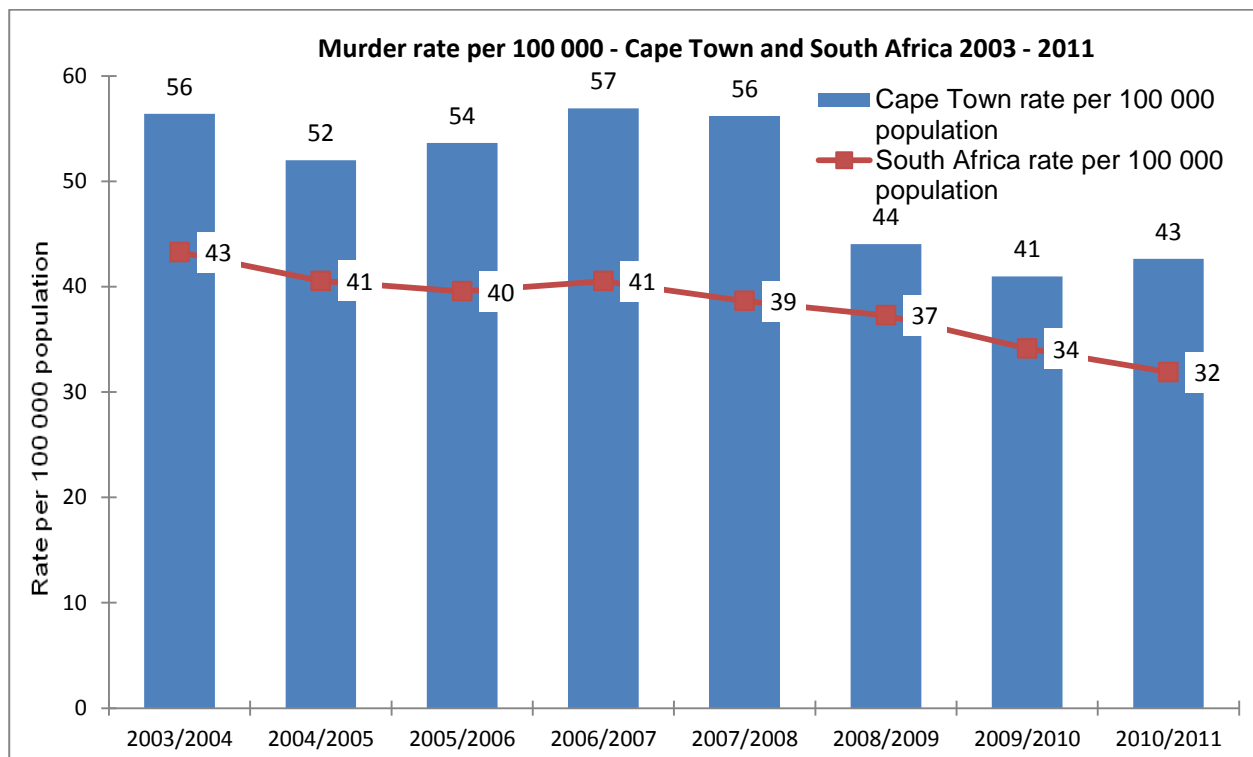


Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

Figure 2 shows a gradual decrease in levels of violent crime both in Cape Town and nationally, a decrease of an average of 4% per annum since 2003, consistent with National trends (3%). Nationally, of the over 2 million crimes reported in the 2010/11 reporting period, 683 000 were contact crimes as reported by SAPS, i.e. crimes against a person. The target is for the police to cut this by a third, around 200 000 violent crimes by 2014/15 (Cape Argus 23rd February, 2012). Reduction in these violent crimes (with the exception of attempted murder at a national level) is still lower than the target set by government in January 2004 to reduce each individual category of violent crime by 7 - 10% per annum over the 10 - year period 2004/5 to 2013/14.

South Africa has a high incidence of crime, particularly violent crime. Violent crime often leads to a tragic loss of life and injury and the loss of possessions and livelihood due to crime, is incalculable. Burger and Gould (2010), argue violent crimes are either decreasing or stabilizing. At a national level, although the murder rate is still uncomfortably high, it has reduced by 7% (refer to figure 3) and attempted murder at a national level, meeting the target set by Government by an average of 9% in the period 2003/4 to 2010/11 (refer to figure 4).

Figure 3: Murder rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

4.2.1 Murder

Murder is one of the predominant causes of all non-natural deaths in South Africa, Berg, J. and Schaerf, W. (2004) and while the murder rate has decreased in recent years, it remains relatively high (32 per 100,000 in 2010/11, down from 43 per 100 000 in 2003/4) (Refer to figure 3). At 43 per 100 000, South Africa's second largest city, Cape Town, has a murder rate higher than the national average (although it has decreased by 23% during the period 2003/4 to 2010/11). In 2010/11, the South African Police Services recorded 1,606 murders among the city's 3.8 million inhabitants – an average of 4.4 murders every day per annum.

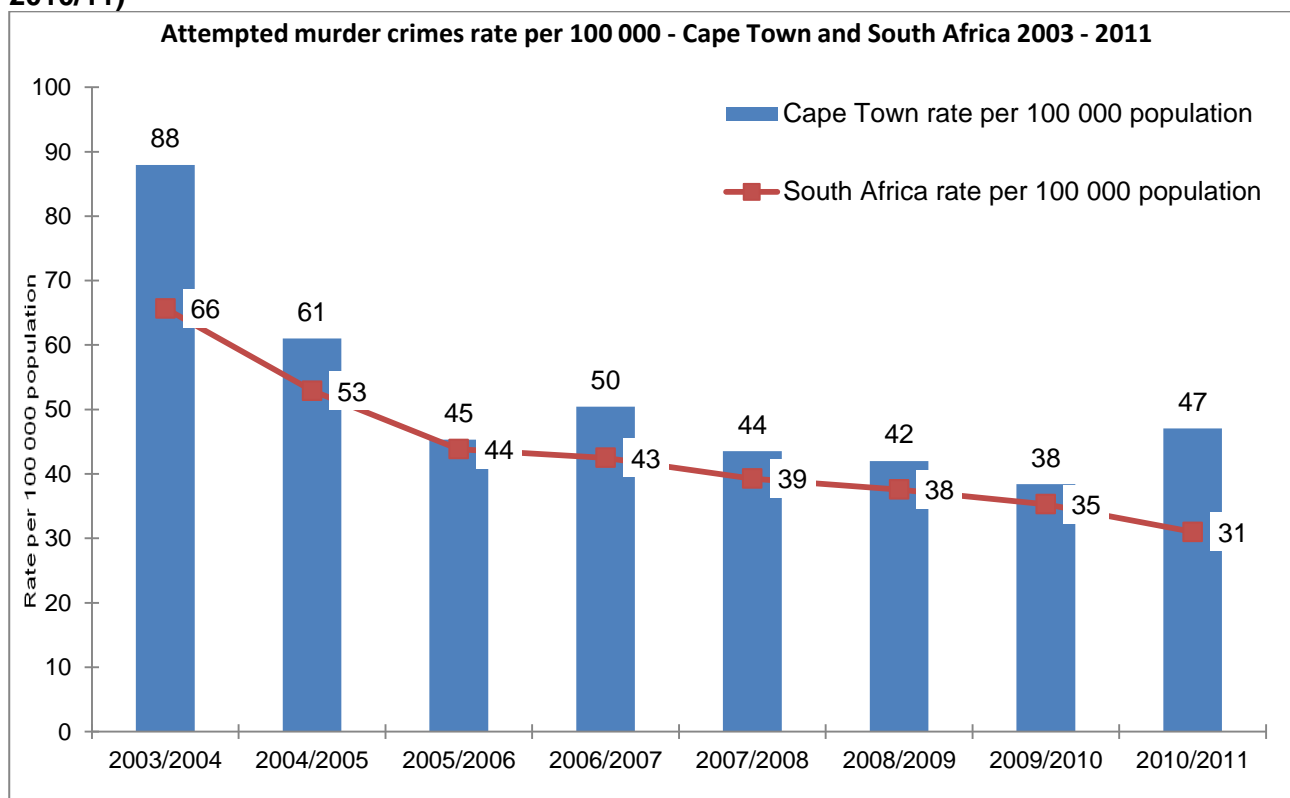
In terms of the law, murder is the unlawful killing of one person by another. In crime research, murder is understood both as a serious form of crime, and as an "indicator" of violent crime.

According to Gould *et al* (2010), these social fabric crimes occur between people who know each other, so do not provide a true reflection of the extent of violent crime in an area – particularly relevant in South Africa, where violence between family members and friends is prevalent and police have little ability to affect and this type of crime does not respond to traditional forms of visible policing such as patrols, roadblocks or 'crackdown' operations. In South Africa, it is estimated that around 80% of South Africans who are murdered are killed by someone they know, often a family member (findings of 2011 Victims of Crime Survey released by SSA).

4.2.2 Attempted Murder

Figure 4 clearly shows there has been a sharp increase in attempted murder rate in Cape Town, with a significant increase of 24% in the last reporting year 2010/11 (27% in the Western Cape, the only Province where this has increased in the last reporting year). Previously, both at a national level and for Cape Town, the rates were decreasing and meeting the target set by the Government at 7 - 10% per annum. Docket analysis will be required to explore the reasons for this as well as determine the level of integrity of these statistics.

Figure 4: Attempted Murder rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)

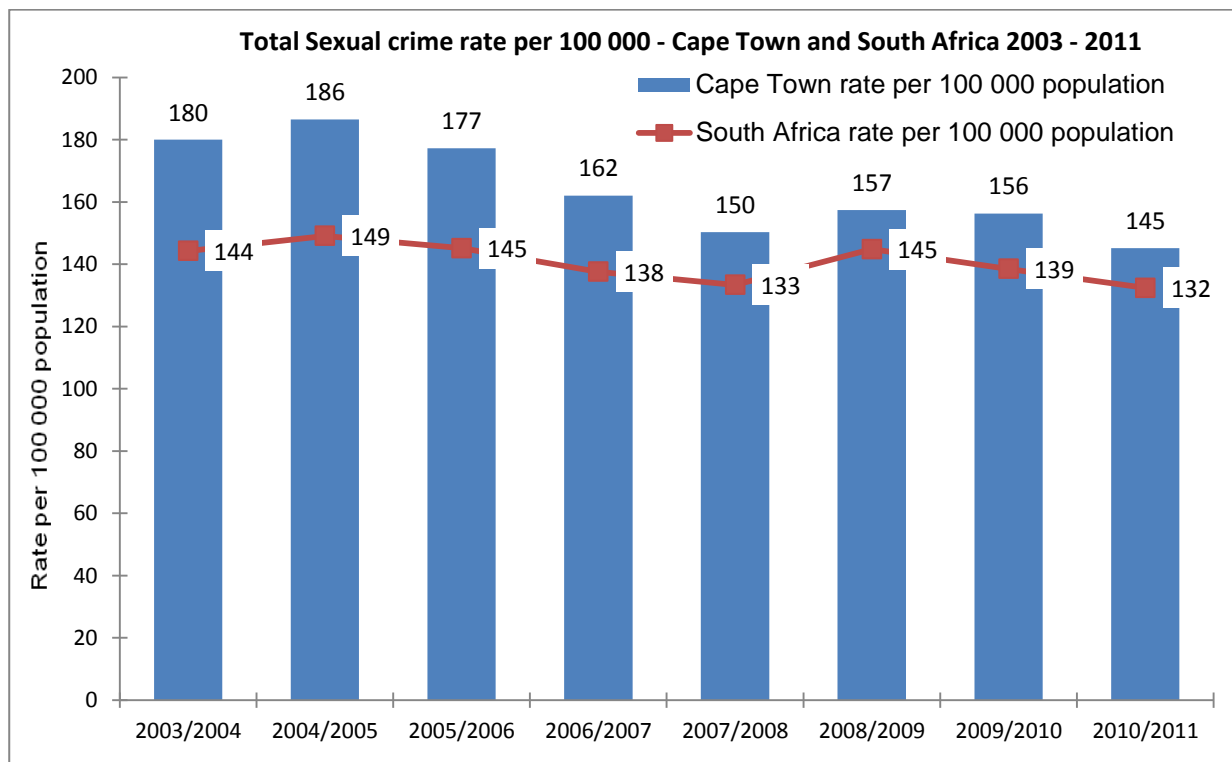


Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

4.2.3 Total Sexual Crimes (including rape and indecent assault)

Incidence of sexual crimes both in Cape Town and at a national level shows an overall decreasing trend (see figure 5), with a reduction from 180 reported sexual crimes per 100 000 population in 2003/4 to 145 per 100 000 in 2010/11 for Cape Town and 144 to 132 reported sexual crimes per 100 000 population nationally. Figure 5 indicates that the sexual crime rate is down by 7% in Cape Town and 4.4% at a national level in the 2010/11 reporting year. This still represents a concerning figure of 5 468 and 66 196 reported incidences of sexual crimes in 2010/11 reporting year for Cape Town and nationally respectively, although many cases go unreported and in some communities more so than others. Statistics are dependent on the reporting of such crimes and not on police action taken. So it is almost impossible to have complete information on such offences (Safety and Security, City of Cape Town, 2010).

Figure 5: Total Sexual crimes rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

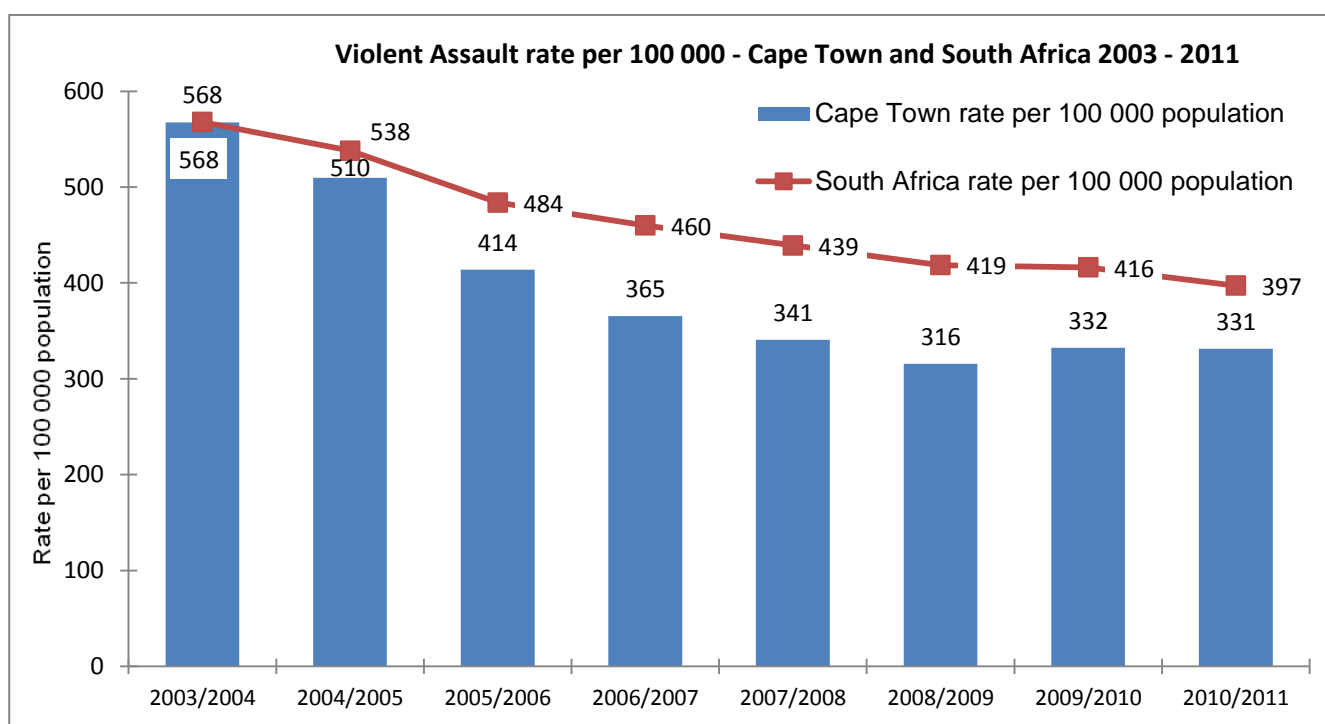
4.2.4 Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm

Violent assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm in Cape Town and South Africa has shown a steady decrease to year 2008/9, with slight increases of 6.92% and 1.12% respectively

over the last two reporting years in Cape Town (figure 6). These crime rates at a national level are higher than for Cape Town. This is the only type of crime that has been analysed in this report where this finding and trend occurs.

Of the actual reported violent assault crimes, there have been incidences of assault showing decreases by well over 20% between 2003/4 and 2008/9 in South Africa and nearly 40% in Cape Town for the same period. The figures have now stabilised, showing an average annual decrease of 3.7% and 5.4% per annum in South Africa and Cape Town respectively.

Figure 6: Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)



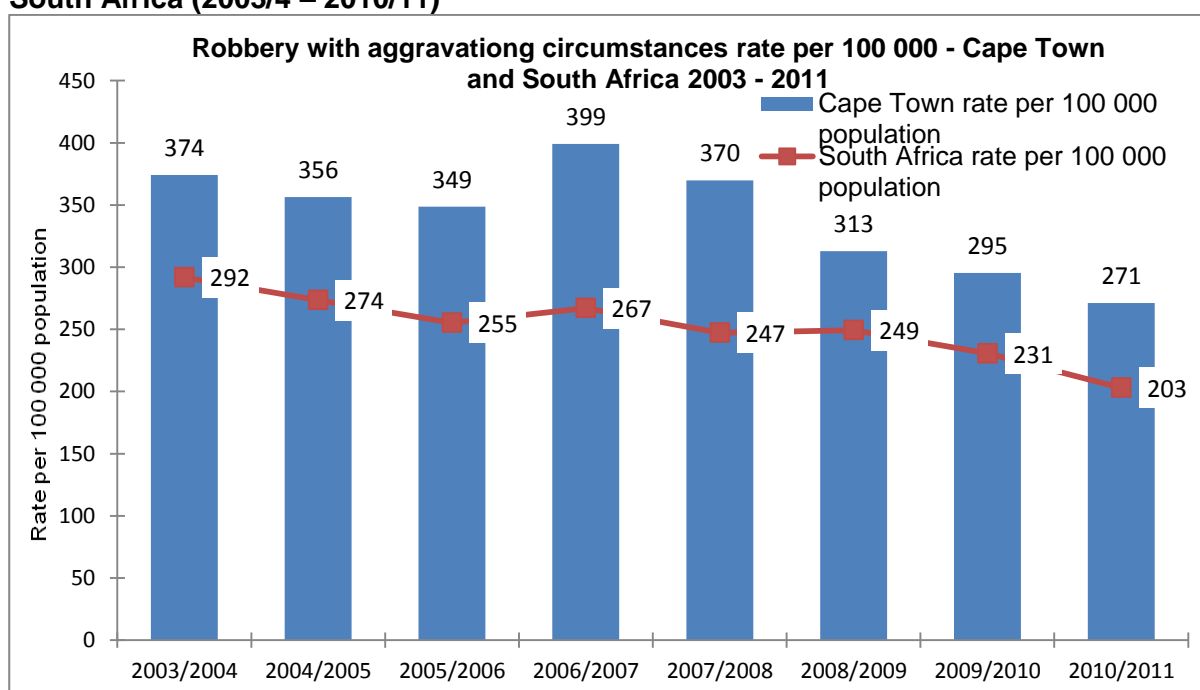
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

4.2.5 Robbery with aggravating circumstances

Robbery with aggravating circumstances includes the following types of crime viz. robbery at residential premises, robbery at business premises, cash-in-transit robbery, bank robbery, car and truck hijackings. Local crime experts have suggested that a more accurate indicator of crime levels and the risk of becoming a crime victim is the aggravated robbery rate in an area (Cape Argus, 24th January 2012). Aggravated robbery occurs mostly randomly by people unknown to the victim as it is not a social fabric crime, perpetrated by family members or friends of the victim. There is a perception of “feeling safer” if the rate of robbery with aggravating circumstances is low. This type of crime responds more effectively to policing.

However, according to the IFR (2010), incidences of murder is the crime type with the most accurate or reliable statistics and therefore is still one of the best indicators for interpersonal violent crime (i.e. a social fabric crime where the victims and perpetrators are known to each other). In most cases, a high incidence of murder and attempted murder signals the high prevalence of assaults, robberies and other types of violent crime, since both murder and attempted murder often start out as an assault (Gould *et al* (2010, page 3). Similarly, a low incidence of murder in a particular area also signals low levels of assault, robberies and other types of violent crime in that area. Cape Town is somewhat of an exception to this in that, while the high murder rate is matched by high sexual crimes and attempted murder – most of which are social fabric crimes – it has relatively low(er) rates of violent assault and violent robbery (which typically involve strangers).

Figure 7: Robbery with aggravating circumstances rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

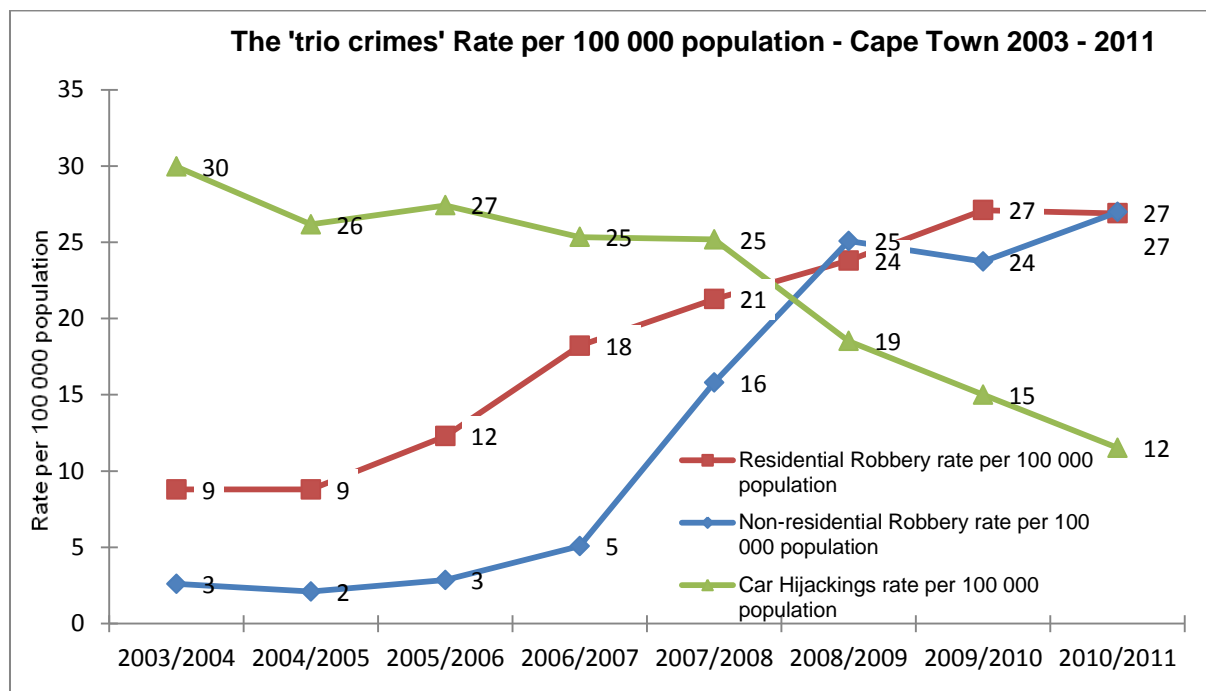
Robbery with aggravating circumstances (violent robbery) which has shown a decrease in Cape Town and South Africa of 8% and 12% respectively over the last reporting year. Refer to figure 7. In general, violent robbery has been declining at a national level and in Cape Town in steady steps since the peak year (2006/7). In Cape Town, in 2010/11, 10 209 cases of violent robbery were reported to the SAPS, down from 10 957 cases in 2009/10 – a 6.8% decline and down from 14 157 cases recorded in the peak year (2006/7) – a decline of nearly 28%. At a national level in 2010/11, 101 463 cases of violent robbery were reported to the police, down from 113 755 cases

in 2009/10 – a 10.8 % decline and down from 133 658 cases recorded in the peak year (2003/4) – a decline of 24.1%.

These are positive trends and can possibly be attributed to more police visibility and foot patrols, improved crime intelligence, partnerships between SAPS and communities and higher police morale. People need to become involved in their local communities' safety structures and play an active role in the prevention of home robberies.

With regard to the so-called 'trio-crimes' viz. Robbery at residential premises and robbery at non-residential (business) premises, have increased significantly over the past seven years in Cape Town, with an average annual increase of 21% and 56% respectively (figure 8). Good news is that car high jacking has decreased by 20% in the last reporting year and an average decrease of 10% per annum in the last seven years.

Figure 8: Trio of crimes rates in Cape Town (2003/4 – 2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2010). Crime Statistics 2009/ 2010 and City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department , City of Cape Town

There has been a smaller increase in residential or house robberies since 2007/8 reporting year of 14% and 16% respectively and remained constant in the last year. However, what is alarming that there has been an increase in the business robberies of 13% in last reporting year. Police had investigated the rise in business robberies, which started after 2010 FIFA World Cup™, and many of the victims were foreigners who had established spaza shops or were operating businesses from containers or from their homes. Many did not bank their takings and slept on the premises.

80% of business robberies involve these establishments. Only 33% of the victims are South Africans, the rest are foreign nationals (Cape Times, 9th February 2012).

An important implication for enforcement agencies such as the Metro Police should include security and safety in main business areas, as this has a direct impact on investors and investor decisions, indirectly affecting communities.

Overall at a national level, violent crimes are either decreasing or stabilizing. Cape Town is however, showing increasing rate in murder and attempted murder, with a slight reduction in sexual crimes and violent assault and a much larger reduction in violent robbery. The high murder rates in Cape Town could be attributed to the high rates of assault as well as a gang culture associated strongly with drug usage and trade.

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV 2008), at the University of Witwatersrand, with the collaboration of the Department of Safety and Security, conducted a comprehensive study to understand the violent nature of crime in South Africa. Published in 2008, the research focuses on murders committed in the years 2001 to 2005 and included the analysis of murder dockets for police stations in the research areas⁸ (CSV 2008). The study area comprised of case studies of murder in six townships across South Africa, two of which are located in Cape Town, specifically Kraaifontein and Nyanga⁹. This study looked at how murder predominantly happens in these areas, the circumstances surrounding these murders - such as whether alcohol was involved - and the weapons used.

The CSV conducted research on the violent nature of crime in South Africa shows. Root causes of crime are seen in localized cultures which are often characterized by high levels of male violence and are critical in contributing to the culture of violence. When young men perceive threats from other men often they are driven to firearms and other weapons to defend themselves. In turn, this often boils over to other forms of violence especially against women and strangers. Street robberies serve as a training ground for robbers who later advance to more sophisticated type of robberies targeted at the middle class and businesses. For the CSV, this pervasive violence consolidated itself especially in Cities and townships and must be addressed if we are to succeed in addressing violent crime. Other causes of crime identified by the CSV are:

- Inequality, poverty, unemployment, social exclusion and marginalization;
- Perceptions and values relating to violence and crime;

⁸ The number of dockets analysed in each area was linked to the number of murders in the area during the 2001–2005 period in order to ensure a consistent error rate at the 95%

⁹ The other areas are Thokoza (Gauteng); KwaMashu in the greater Durban area (KwaZulu-Natal); Montclair in the greater Durban area (KwaZulu-Natal); and Johannesburg Central (Gauteng).

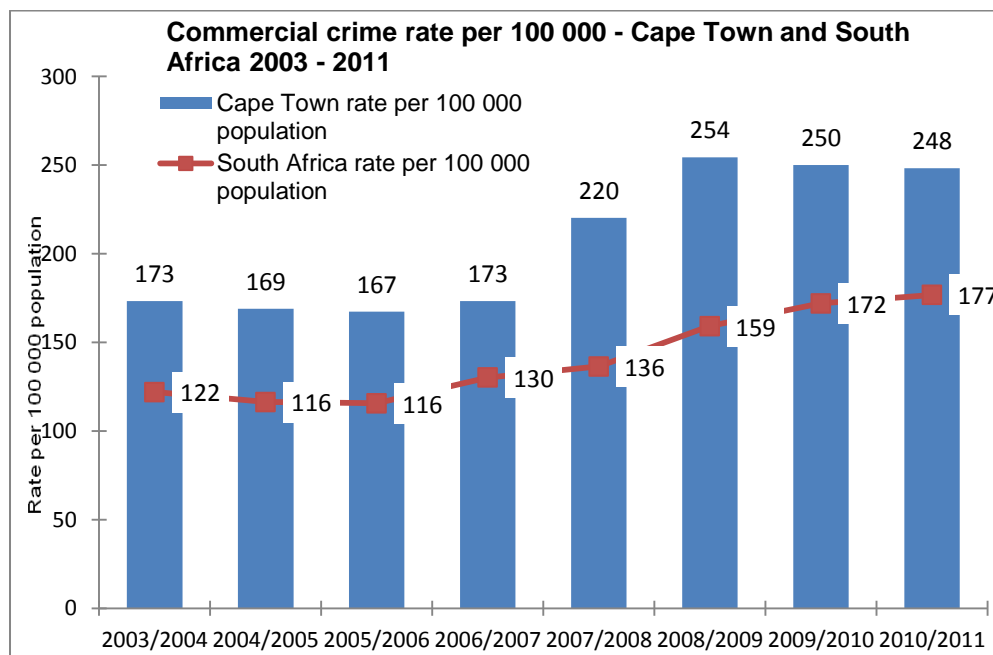
- Vulnerability of young people linked to inadequate child rearing and poor youth socialization;
- Weakness of the criminal justice system and aligned systems for dealing with perpetrators of violent crime (CSVR, 2007, 2008)

4.3 Commercial Crimes

Commercial crime or ‘white collar’ crime, which includes all types of fraud, forgery and embezzlement has been increasing significantly over the period 2005/6 to 2008/9 (an average annual increase of 13%), with a slight decline in 2009/10 and 2010/11 of 1.6% and 0.8% respectively for Cape Town. However, there has been an increase in absolute number of cases in 2010/11 of 9 352 compared to 9 280 in 2009/10 in Cape Town, resulting in a commercial crime rate of 248 per 100 000 population in 2010/11 (See figure 9).

At a national level in absolute numbers, commercial crime increased by 64 % from 53 931 recorded cases in 2004/5 to 88 388 cases in 2010/11, resulting in a crime rate of 177 per 100 000 in 2010/11 (See figure 9). According to Gould *et al* (2010, page 5), this rapid increase in commercial crimes ‘may be a sign of increasing financial pressure on the middle class as a result of the weaker economy over the past three years.’ Increases in the rate of commercial crime may also imply more effective policing and increased systems of controls in organisations and other anti-corruption initiatives e.g. “whistle blowing”.

Figure 9: Commercial Crime rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)

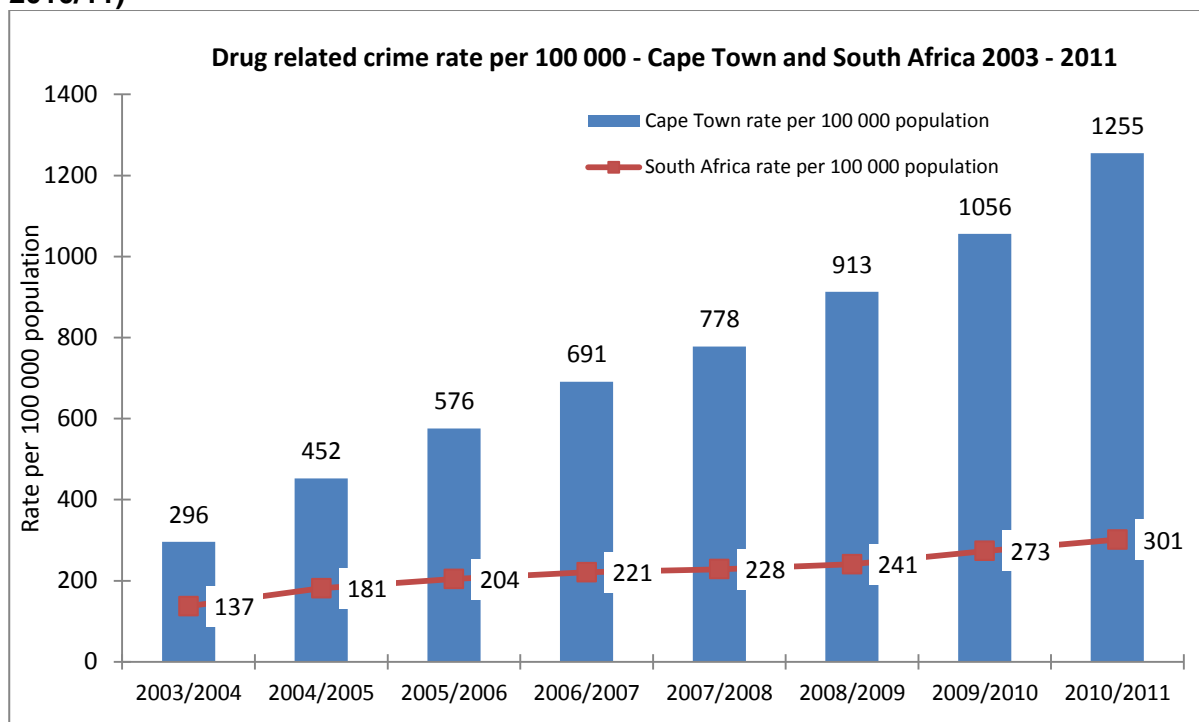


Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

4.4 Drug-related Crimes

This category of crime includes drug-related crime only, i.e. excluding driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Drug-related crimes cover both the use, possession and dealing in drugs. In 2010/11 Cape Town had a drug related crime rate four times higher relative to the drug related crime rate for the rest of South Africa (see figure 10).

Figure 10: Drug-related Crime¹⁰ rates in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrington, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

Considering drug-related crimes, there has been an increase in the rate of drug-related crime in Cape Town over the period 2003/4 to 2010/11 – a nearly 400% increase over the 7 year period and an average 26% increase per year in actual figures reported – from 9 789 in 2003/4 to 47 268 in 2010/11. These figures for Cape Town are of concern compared to the national figures over the same period which were substantially less at 137 per 100 000 in 2003/4 to 301 per 100 000 in 2010/11, an increase of 120% over the period and an annual increase of 17% (refer to figure 10).

The main reason for the dramatic increase is the fact that the police are addressing the problem and statistics are therefore not “reported” crimes but rather cases opened by the police as a result of law enforcement action being taken i.e. Stop and Searches of Suspects, Drug Raids and

¹⁰ Drug related crimes cover both the use, possession and dealing in drugs (excluding driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs)

Roadblocks. 'This state of affairs can be attributed to the former Mayor driving the issue and demanding a sharper focus on drug related crime by all law enforcement agencies' (Safety and Security, City of Cape Town, 2010).

As contained in the City of Cape Town IDP 2012 - 2017, the Safety and Security Directorate has accordingly stepped up its alcohol and drug enforcement operations with the introduction of the successful Operation "Razor", which targets illegal liquor outlets and drug houses throughout the City, which are either directly or indirectly major contributors to crime within an area. In the same vein, the grave issue of drug abuse and dealing in narcotics will be addressed through information-driven operations aimed at suspected drug houses and drug dealers. This will involve both integrated operations carried out with other internal and external agencies as well as autonomous operations conducted by Metropolitan Police (Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department Annual Police Plan 2011/12).

A number of short-term and long-term interventions have been introduced in the Western Cape since 2009 and include the following:

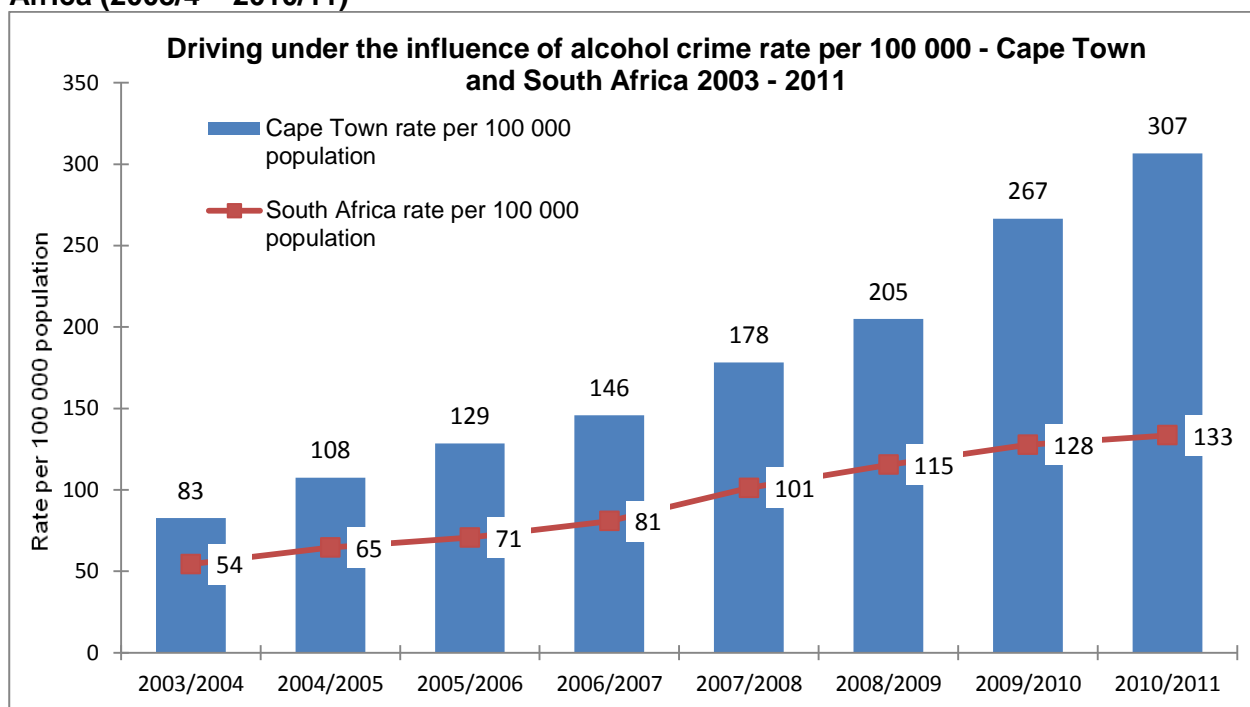
- Police Commissioner, Western Cape Arno Lamoer, said police had since April 1st 2010, confiscated drugs with a street value of over R12 billion. The police, together with their traffic counterparts, were working to block the entrance of drugs into the province (Cape Times, 9th February 2012).
- A comprehensive strategy to reduce substance abuse was launched in 2010, including increasing the number of drug treatment spaces in drug treatment programmes by 1300. The first rehabilitation centre in the province was opened that specifically targets young people between 13 and 18.
- The number of patients receiving after-care and recovery services was increased from 500 (in 2009/10) to 2 460 in 2010/11.
- Courses in drug and alcohol treatment intervention services in conjunction with three Western Cape universities, and enabled schools to introduce drug testing on the basis of reasonable suspicion"
- A number of youth development programmes have been run that have targeted more than 400 youths at risk to steer them away from gangs and drugs.
- The Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport runs over 100 after school centres across the province which aim to provide activities, increase adult supervision and provide skills in sports and dance to pupils. This helps children from falling prey to substance abuse, crime and gangs (Cape Argus, 24th January 2012).

Many of these initiatives are the first of their kind in the country and are focused on prevention, particularly among our youth, rather than simply dealing with the consequences once people have already started abusing alcohol and drugs (Cape Argus, 24th January 2012).

4.4.1 Driving under the influence (Driving with Influence)

Driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs (DWI) has shown a gradual increase of an average year to year of 23% from 2003/4 to 2010/11, with a dramatic increase of 32% and 17% in the last two years respectively in Cape Town. However, in 2010/11 Cape Town had a driving under the influence of alcohol crime rate nearly three times higher relative to the rest of South Africa (Refer to figure 11). At a national level the increase has been more gradual over the seven years with an average of 15% per annum.

Figure 11: Driving under the influence of Alcohol in Cape Town and trend line for South Africa (2003/4 – 2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011, City of Cape Town population estimates (using medium migration rate), Dorrigton, 2000 and Statistics South Africa mid-year estimates, 2003 – 2010 compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

Alcohol-related offences are of particular concern here, as the high levels of alcohol abuse in Cape Town contribute not only to violent crime but also to road deaths, due to drunk drivers and inebriated pedestrians. The City of Cape Town has embarked upon a process for the development of a draft by-law relating to the control of undertakings which sell liquor to the public. All of the operational areas within Metropolitan Police were involved in operations aimed at addressing

alcohol and drug related offences, it is commonly known that a vast majority of your day to day criminal activity stems from alcohol and drug abuse, these include but are not limited to:

- Domestic violence
- Sexual Offences
- Robbery
- Theft
- Assault

In order to combat the scourge of drug and alcohol related offences, numerous Joint Operations, Integrated Operations, Autonomous Operations and Road blocks were conducted throughout Cape Town during the 2009 / 2010 period, and this resulted in an increase of drug related arrests in excess of 35% and an increase of alcohol related arrests in excess of 20%. The general enforcement initiatives around by-laws in alignment to the “broken windows” approach to policing culminated in a more than 30% increase in by-law infringement being addressed (Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department Annual Police Plan 2011/12).

A number of short-term and long-term interventions have been introduced in the Western Cape since 2009 and include the following:

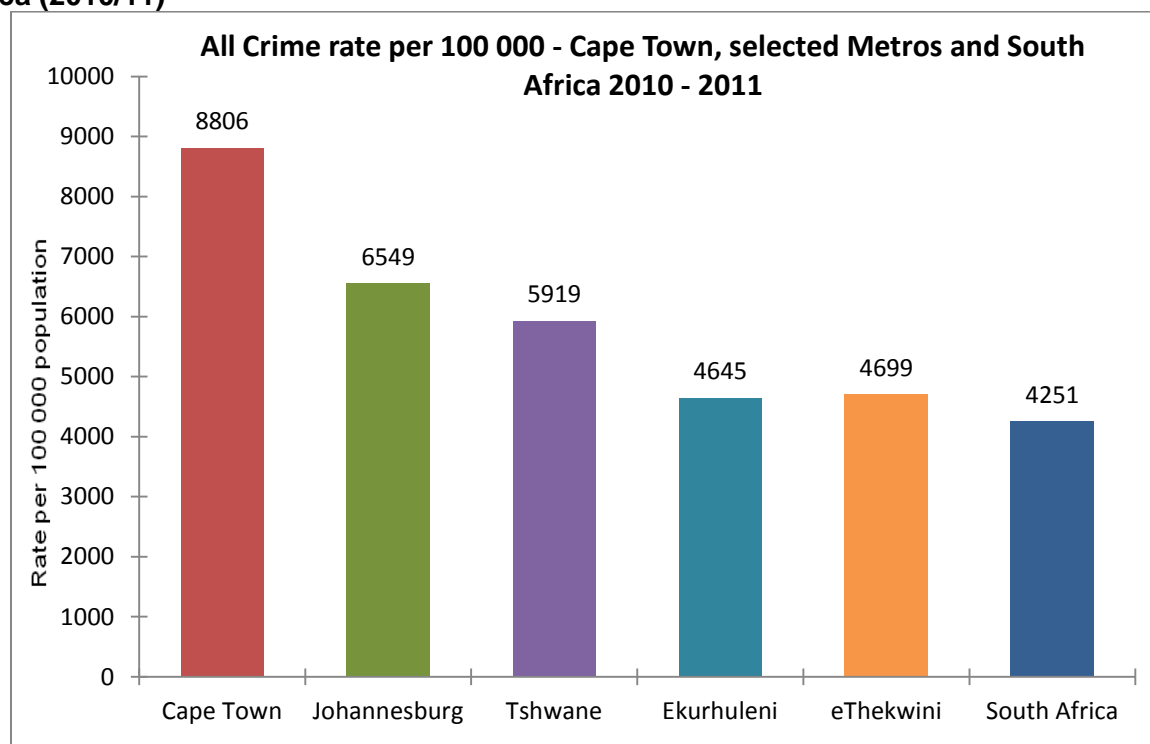
- Passing of the Western Cape Liquor Act, viewed as the toughest liquor legislation in South Africa, which was implemented in April 2012. It seeks to restrict drinking in residential areas, clamp down on supply of alcohol in to illegal liquor outlets, including shebeens and to create safer drinking environments
- The Safely Home Campaign has focused on stopping drunk driving, and has significantly increased the number of drivers arrested for drinking under the influence. The Western Cape conducts integrated alcohol blitz roadblocks every weekend across the province. Safely Home was established by Robin Carlisle, Minister for Transport and Public Works. Safely Home’s goal is to halve the death rate on Western Cape roads by the end of 2014. As of December 2011, fatalities on Western Cape roads were down more than 20%.
- “Name and Shame” initiative established in September 2010, which forms part of the Safely Home initiative with the Cape Argus, has also served to increase the stigma around drunk driving and has been replicated by other provincial governments
- The Western Cape Department of Health launched the province-wide Booza TV campaign to address society’s views on alcohol use and to reduce alcohol-related harm (Cape Argus, January 24th, 2012).

5. COMPARISON OF SELECTED CRIME TYPES WITH OTHER METROS IN SOUTH AFRICA (2010/ 2011)

It is important to consider Cape Town in context with other Metropolitan areas in South Africa, using similar definitions of crime and SAPS data, and South Africa as a whole. In this section Cape Town crime rates have been compared to the following metropolitan areas, Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni and eThekweni, which are broadly similar in size and form. As outlined in section 3 of the report under Methodology, Statistics South Africa (SSA) mid-year population estimates (2010) were used to calculate the crime rates for all metropolitan areas for comparative purposes.

Figure 12 show when comparing the overall reported crime rates of the Metropolitan areas (and South Africa as a whole), that Cape Town had the highest estimated overall crime rate in 2010/11.

Figure 12: Comparison of All Reported Crimes in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

However, when one does an analysis by crime category, very different patterns and trends emerge. These patterns and trends can assist to inform an understanding of what possibly causes the increases and decreases in the levels of crime and to assist crime prevention and measure the effectiveness of the implementation of policy or other interventions.

This report analyses only the more serious categories of crime type which account for between 26% and 36% of all categories of reported crime¹¹ across the selected metropolitan areas as follows: Cape Town (33%), Johannesburg (32%), Tshwane (26%), Ekurhuleni (29%) and eThekweni (36%). Refer to Table 3 below.

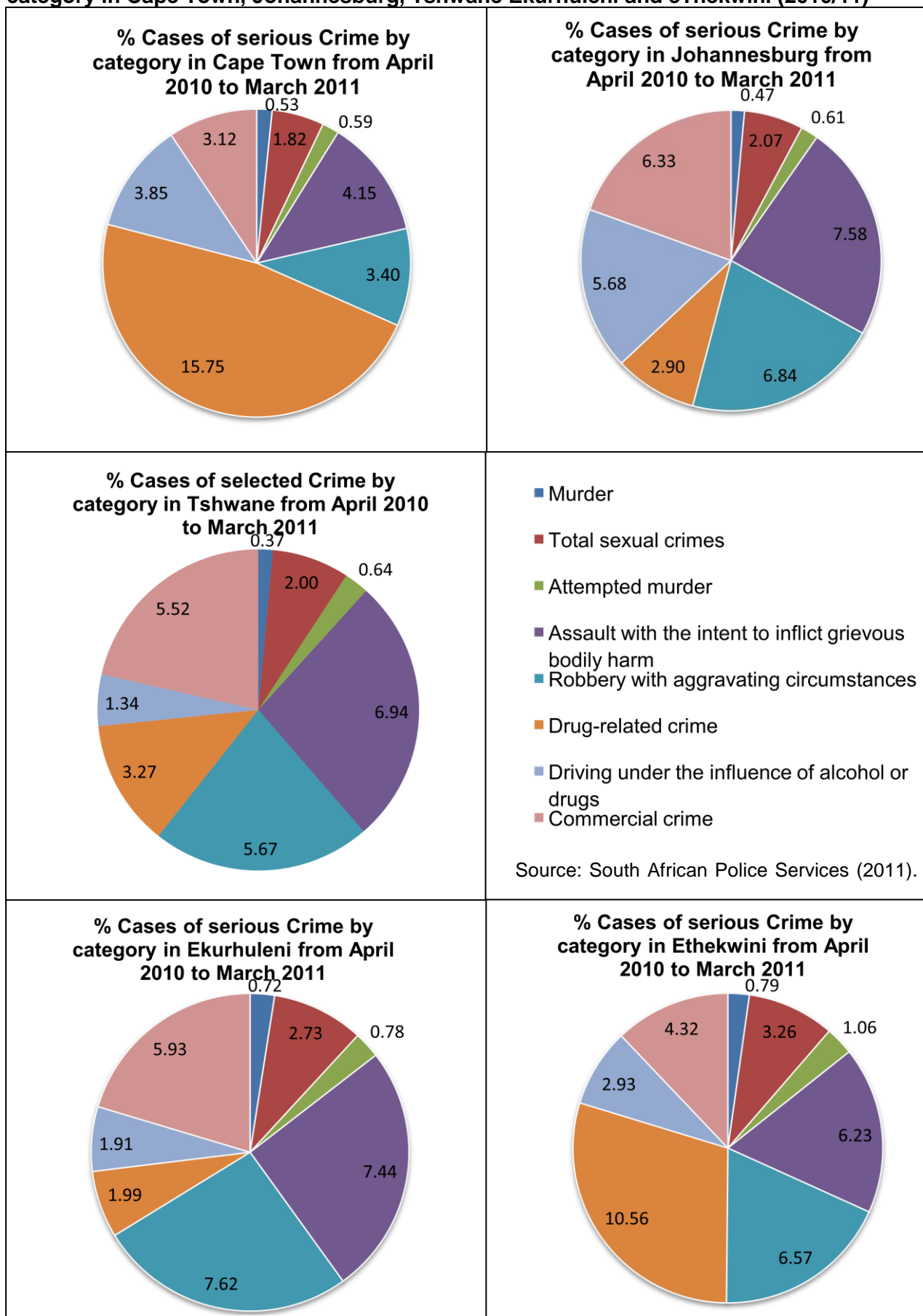
Table 3: Comparison of actual reported cases of serious crime categories for selected metropolitan areas and South Africa for April 2010 to March 2011

	Cape Town	Johannesburg	Tshwane	Ekurhuleni	eThekweni	South Africa
Murders	1 606	1 158	522	1 015	1 273	15 940
Total Sexual Crimes	5 468	5 108	2 802	3 838	5 224	66 196
Attempted Murder	1 773	1 517	891	1 098	1 690	15 493
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	12 473	18 742	9 712	10 458	9 985	198 602
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	10 209	16 922	7 935	10 720	10 522	101 463
Commercial Crime	9 352	15 650	7 726	8 341	6 918	88 388
Drug Related	47 268	7 160	4 584	2 800	16 920	150 673
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	11 544	14 041	1 870	2 691	4 686	66 697
All Crimes	300 207	247 220	139 973	140 598	160 182	2 125 072
% of Serious Crimes of all reported crimes	33%	32%	26%	29%	36%	33%

Looking at figure 13, the percentage distribution of actual reported cases of the categories of serious crime for the selected metros, it is clear that very different patterns of actual incidences emerge across the different metropolitan areas. In most cases, a high incidence of murder signals the high prevalence of assaults, robberies and other types of violent crime. Similarly, a low incidence of murder in a particular area also signals low levels of assault, robberies and other types of violent crime in that area. Cape Town is however, an exception to this in that the high murder rate is not matched by an equally high prevalence of other types of violent crime. This analysis gives clear indication of which categories of crime type have the highest incidences of reported crime in the metros.

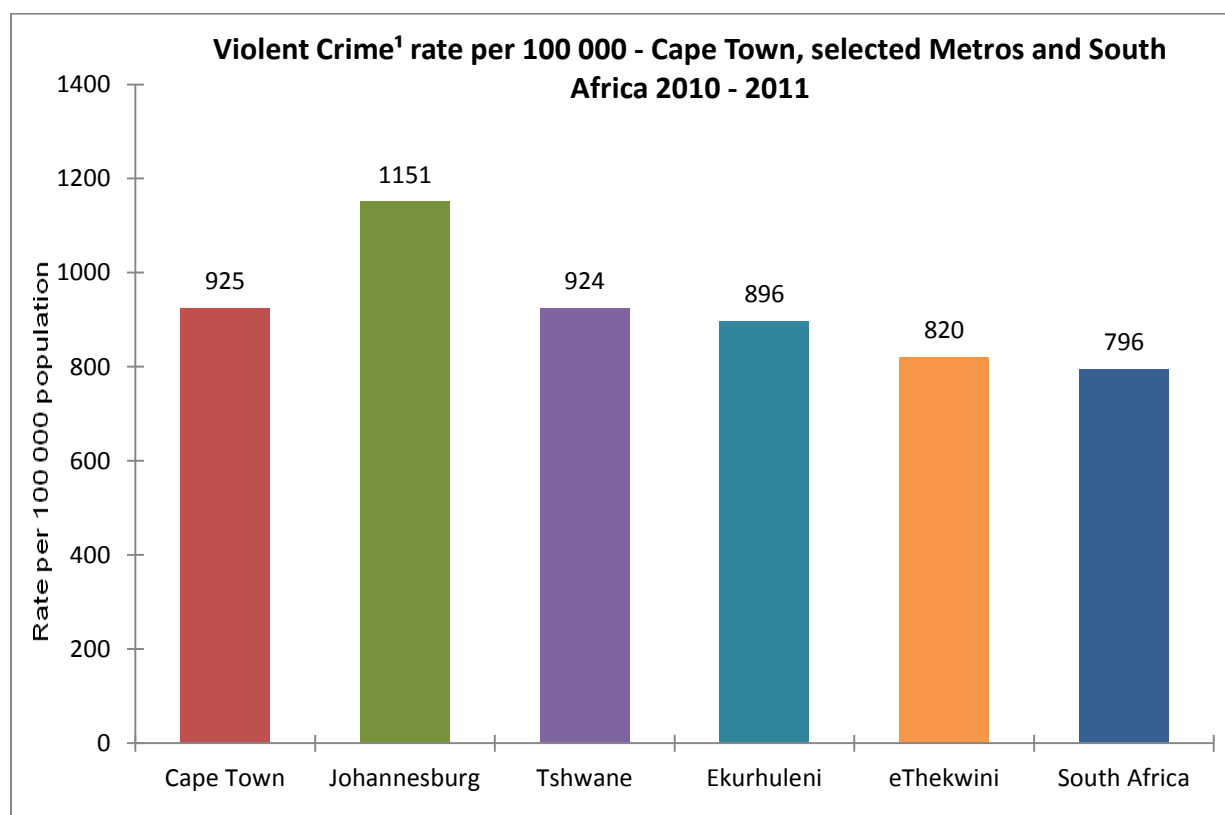
¹¹ The other types of crime not included are all property-related crimes, common robbery, common assault, arson, malicious damage to property, stock-theft, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, all theft not mentioned elsewhere, shoplifting, culpable homicide, public violence, crimen injuria, neglect and ill-treatment of children, kidnapping

Figure 13: Comparison of percentage of actual incidences of reported serious crimes by category in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Tshwane Ekurhuleni and eThekweni (2010/11)



It is also important to look at the crime rates expressed as a rate per 100 000 by crime type for each of the metropolitan areas. This is done to measure and monitor crime incidents relative to the population size in each of the metropolitan areas. The mid-year population estimates (2010) from Statistics South Africa (SSA), were used to calculate the crime rates for all metropolitan areas for comparative purposes. Figure 14 shows the comparison across the five metropolitan areas and South Africa as a whole of violent crimes (including the following types of crime: murder, attempted murder, total sexual crimes, assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm and robbery with aggravating circumstances).

Figure 14: Comparison of Violent Crime Rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



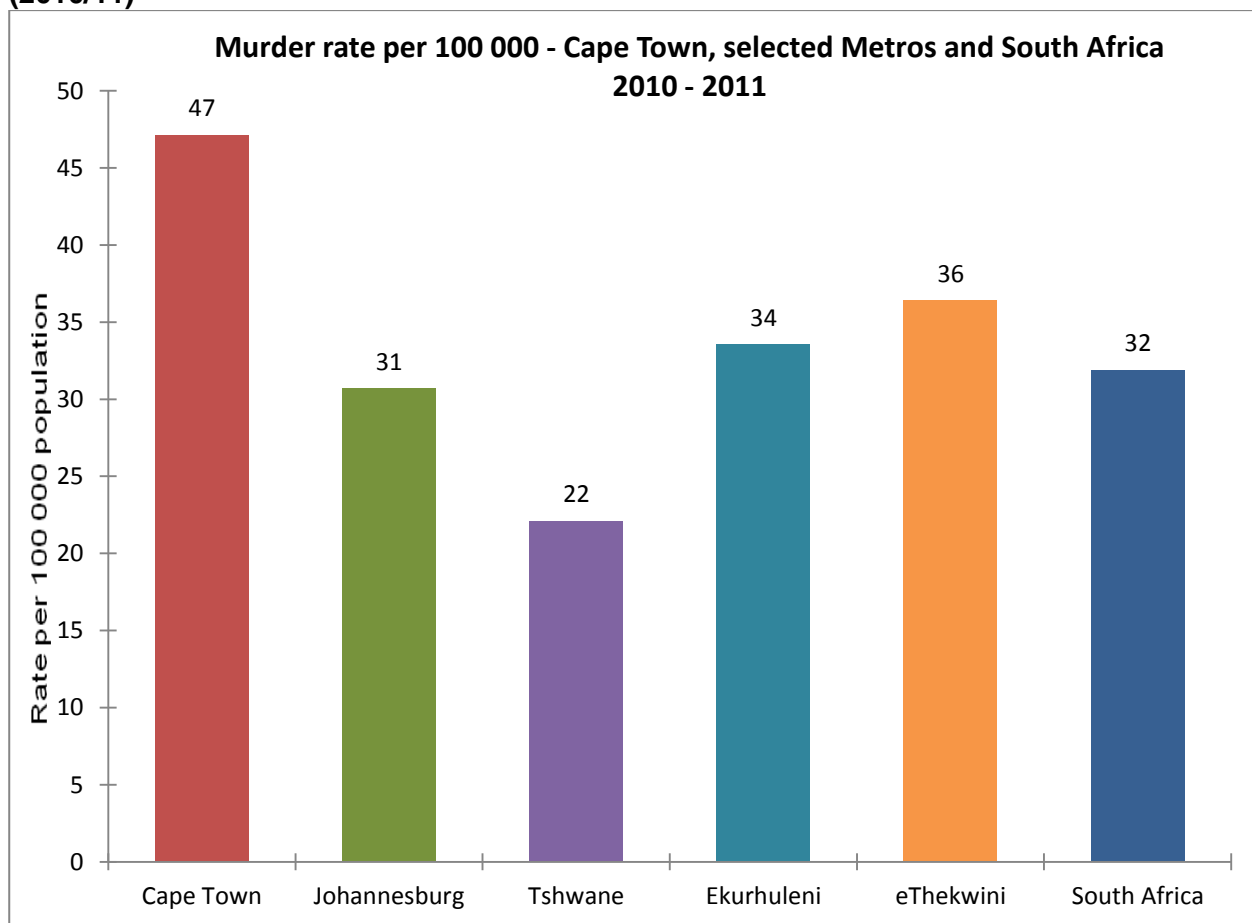
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

When looking at the different types of violent crime rates across the metropolitan areas in 2010/11, again different patterns emerge. Cape Town has the 2nd highest violent crime rate of 925 violent crimes per 100 000 population, and Tshwane very close behind at a 3rd highest rate of 924 violent crimes per 100 000 population. Johannesburg has the highest violent crime rate (1,115) and eThekweni the lowest (820). What is encouraging is that although Cape Town is the 2nd highest, there are decreasing trends for violent crime in Cape Town and South Africa for the period 2003 to 2011 (Refer to figure 2).

Of the violent crimes across the four metropolitan areas, Cape Town has the highest rate for murder, attempted murder and total sexual crimes. Refer to figures 15, 16 and 17 respectively. Figure 15 shows that in 2010/11, Cape Town has the highest murder rate of 47 murders per 100 000 population, followed by eThekweni (36) and Ekurhuleni (34). Cape Town has been labelled as the “murder capital of South Africa”. According to the Urban Titan, 2012 (an online magazine), Cape Town was regarded as one of the 10 most dangerous cities in the World in 2012, together with Guatemala, Rio de Janeiro and Mogadishu (Somalia). These cities have murder rates of more than 40 per 100 000 people (United Nations, 2006), compared to London, Paris, Rome, Madrid, which have rates below 2 murders per 100 000 (Tourism Review, 2008).

Further research is necessary to develop a deeper understanding of why Cape Town has the highest murder rate in South Africa and what are the possible underlying causes, contributing factors, geographical, social, economic factors and potential avenues for intervention.

Figure 15: Comparison of Murder rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



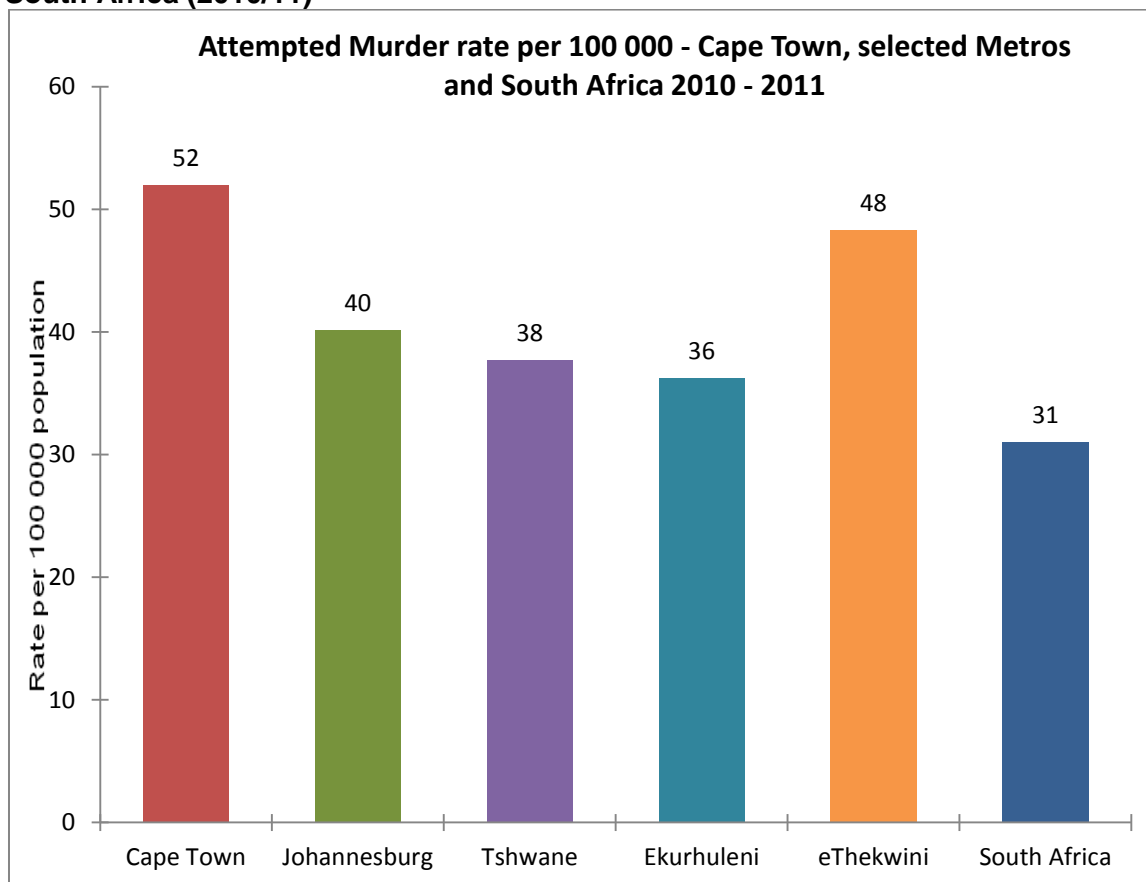
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

The existing and past research have either focussed on high level analyses of the high incidence of violent crime across the nation, or have tried to analyse and understand violent crime in the major metropolitan areas of South Africa. There is limited research focus on violent crime, and particularly on murder in South Africa broadly and Cape Town in particular.

National level studies have mainly focussed on trying to understand:

- the high levels of violent crime in SA, the high incidence of acquaintance violence - where the victim is known to the attacker - and the high degree of violence in crime (CSVR, 2008)
- the prevalence of sexual violence in SA, including against children (CSVR, 2007)
- the relationship between inequality and violence (CSVR, 2007);
- the role of police in serious and violent crimes (February, 2011, South African Institute of Race Relations, A research paper by the Unit for Risk Analysis) ; and
- the roots of the 2008 xenophobic violence, (Holborn, July 2010) Institute for Race Relations).

Figure 16: Comparison of Attempted murder crime rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)

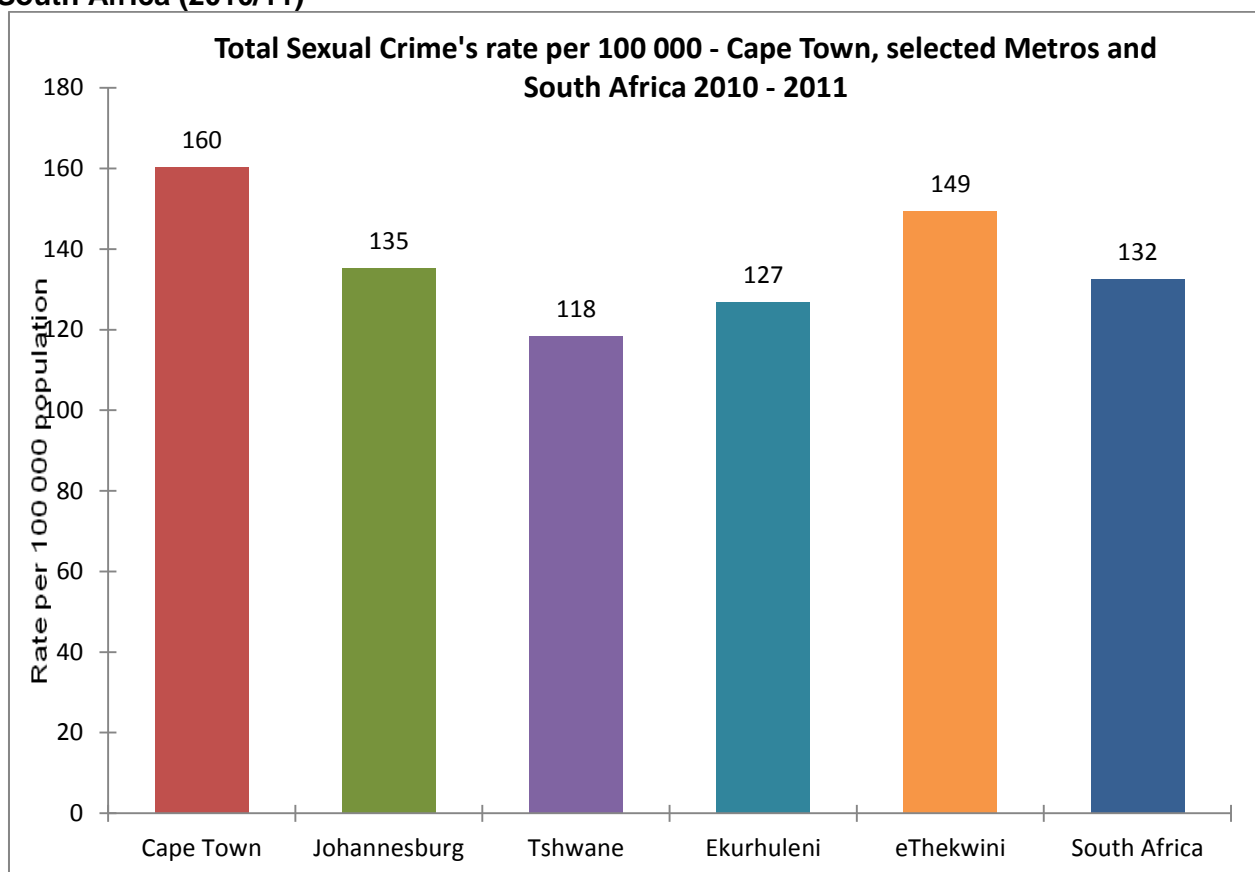


Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

The comparison for attempted murders and sexual crimes figures across the five metropolitan areas, refer to figures 16 and 17 respectively, follow similar patterns to number of reported murders. These are all known as social fabric crimes and similar patterns would be expected as these types of crimes occurs mostly by people who are known to each other and would be in situations with similar social factors.

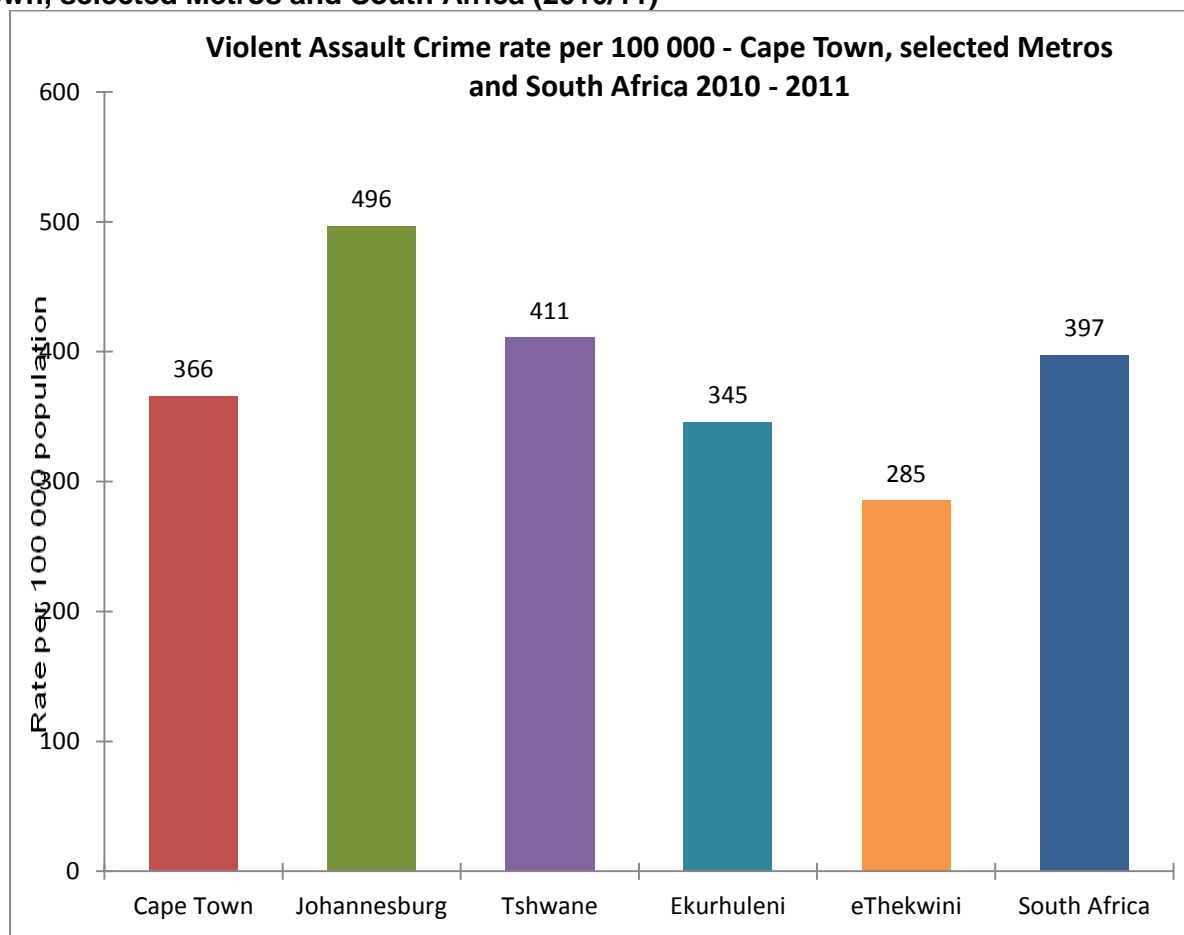
Referring to the comparison of violent assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm in 2010/ 11, (figure18), Cape Town emerged as the metropolitan area with the 3rd highest rate of violent assault (366 per 100 000), with Johannesburg with the highest (496), followed by Tshwane (411). This is unusual as one would expect a similar pattern to the murder and attempted murder rates, since both murder and attempted murder often start out as an assault.

Figure 17: Comparison of Total Sexual crimes rate in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

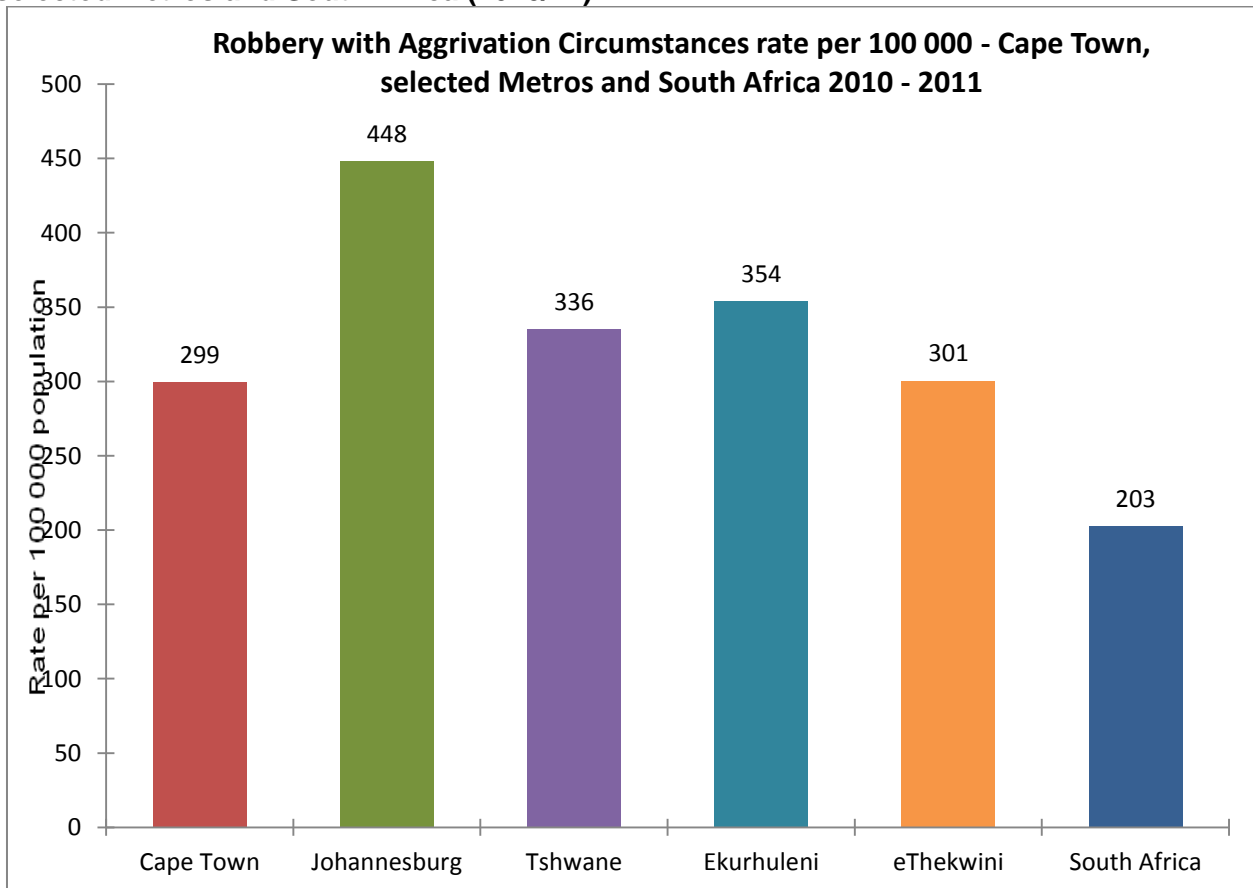
Figure 18: Comparison of Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

Looking at robbery with aggravating circumstances crime rates in figure 19, (including robbery at residential premises, robbery at business premises, cash-in-transit robbery, bank robbery, car and truck hijackings), it is clear that Johannesburg with a rate of 448 violent robberies per 100 000 population, is the metropolitan area with the highest rate, followed by Ekurhuleni (354), and Tshwane third (336). Cape Town has the lowest robbery with aggravating circumstances (299). It has been argued that robbery with aggravating circumstances is the more accurate indicator of crime levels and the risk of becoming a crime victim, as it occurs mostly randomly by people unknown to the victim. It is not a social fabric crime, perpetrated by family members or friends of the victim and responds more effectively to policing (Cape Argus, 24th January 2012).

Figure 19: Comparison of Robbery with aggravating circumstances rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

Referring to the so-called 'trio-crimes', which are subcategories forming part of aggravated robbery viz. Robbery at residential premises, robbery at non-residential (business) premises and car high jacking, Cape Town is emerging as the metropolitan area with the lowest rate for robbery at residential premises (30) and car high jacking (13) and the second lowest area for robbery at non-residential (business) premises (30) (Refer to figures 20, 21 and 22 respectively). This is not surprising considering that there has been an increase in the business robberies of 13% in 2010/11 reporting year in Cape Town (refer to figure 8).

Johannesburg has the highest rate for robberies at residential premises (figure 20) and non-residential premises (figure 21) and Ekurhuleni the highest rate for car hi-jacking (figure 22).

Figure 20: Comparison of Robbery at residential premises rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)

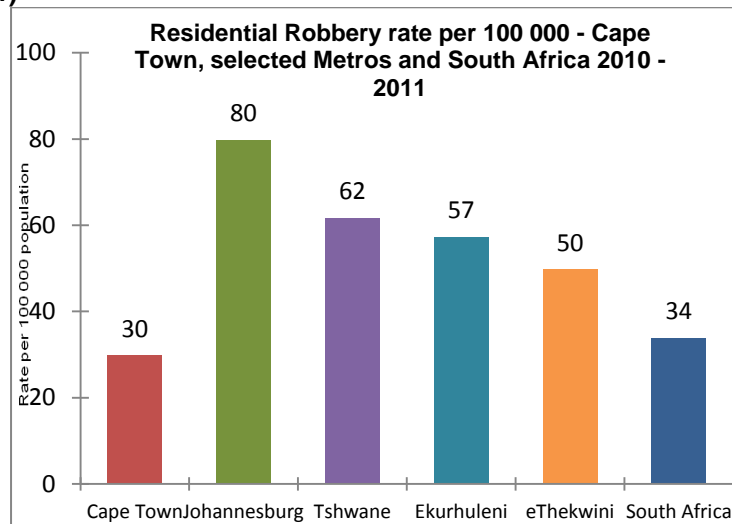


Figure 21: Comparison of Robbery at Non-residential premises rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)

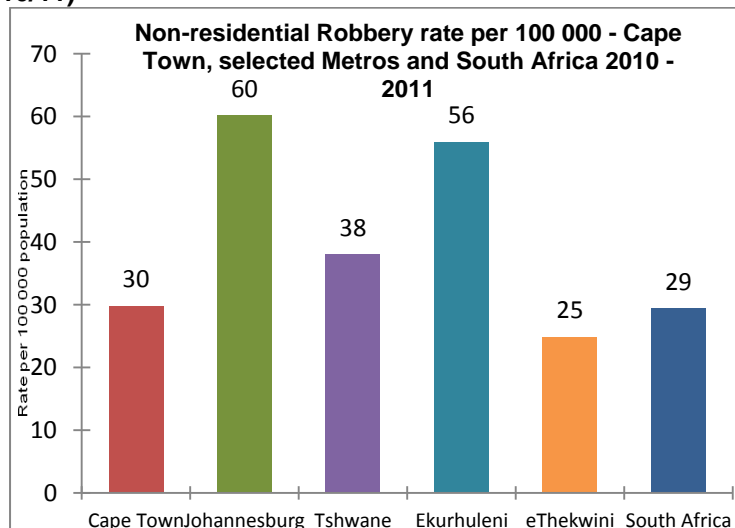
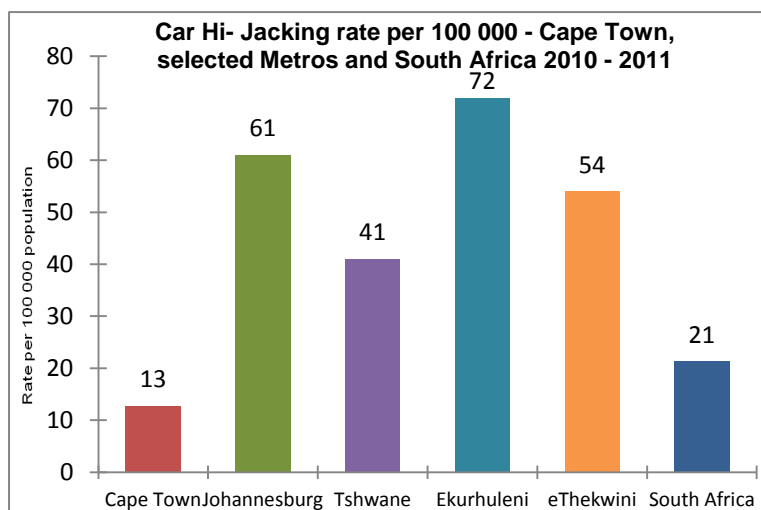
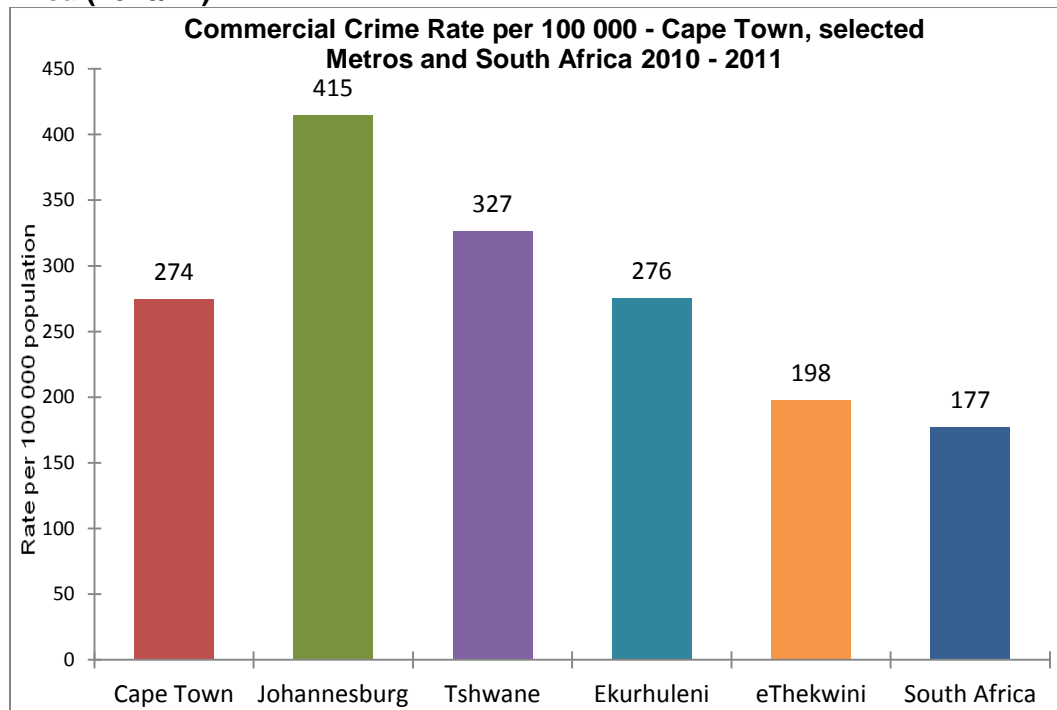


Figure 22: Comparison of Car Hi-jacking rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



With regard to the commercial crime rate or 'white collar crime', Cape Town has the 2nd lowest rate (274), with Johannesburg the highest (415) and eThekweni the lowest (198). Refer to figure 23 below.

Figure 23: Comparison of Commercial Crime Rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

The fact that Cape Town has the highest rate, relative to the other selected metropolitan areas, for drug-related crime (nearly three times higher than 2nd highest metro of eThekweni) and the 2nd highest rate for driving with influence are also significant, and is a serious and growing concern. Refer to figures 24 and 25 respectively.

Overall, the crime types¹² that are contributing to Cape Town having the highest overall estimated crime rate relative to the four selected Metropolitan areas in South Africa, are murder, attempted murder, total sexual crimes, drug-related, and driving under the influence of alcohol. Cape Town has the 2nd highest violent crime rate and is showing decreasing trends. Of the violent crimes, Cape Town has the highest rate for murder, attempted murder and total sexual crimes and the 3rd highest for assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm (violent assault). Cape Town has the lowest rate for robbery with aggravating circumstances (violent robbery) and the 2nd lowest commercial crime rate in all the metros. Both are showing decreasing trends for Cape Town.

¹² Burglary at residential premises and theft out of motor vehicles, which were not analysed in this report, are also high contributing towards Cape Town having the highest overall estimated crime rate.

Figure 24: Comparison of Drug-related crime¹³ rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)

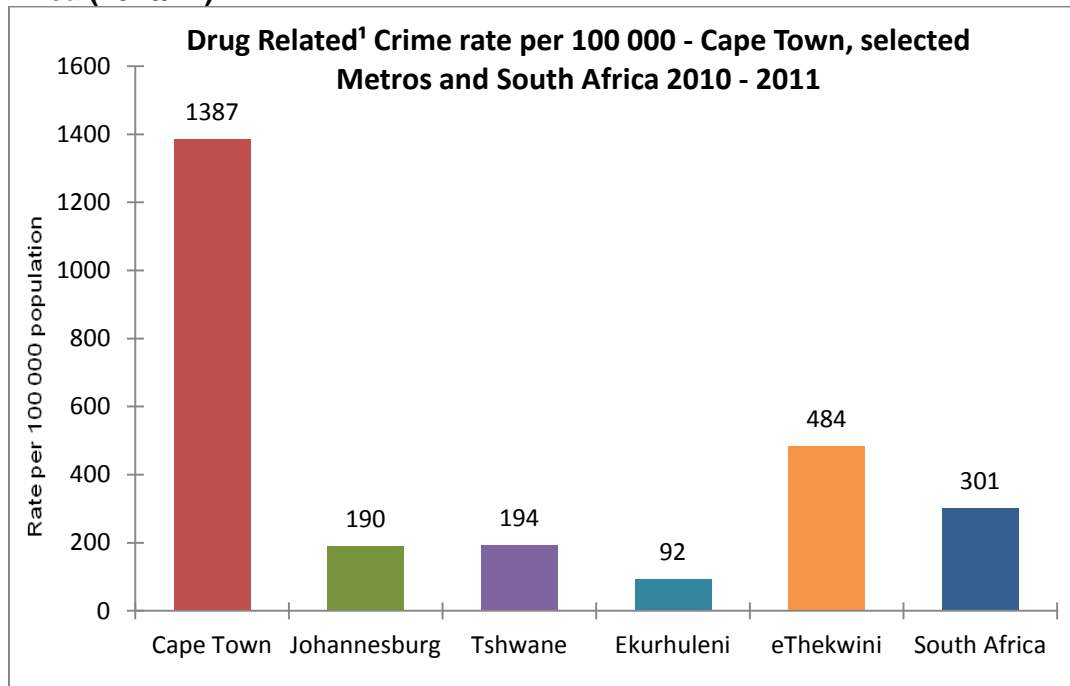
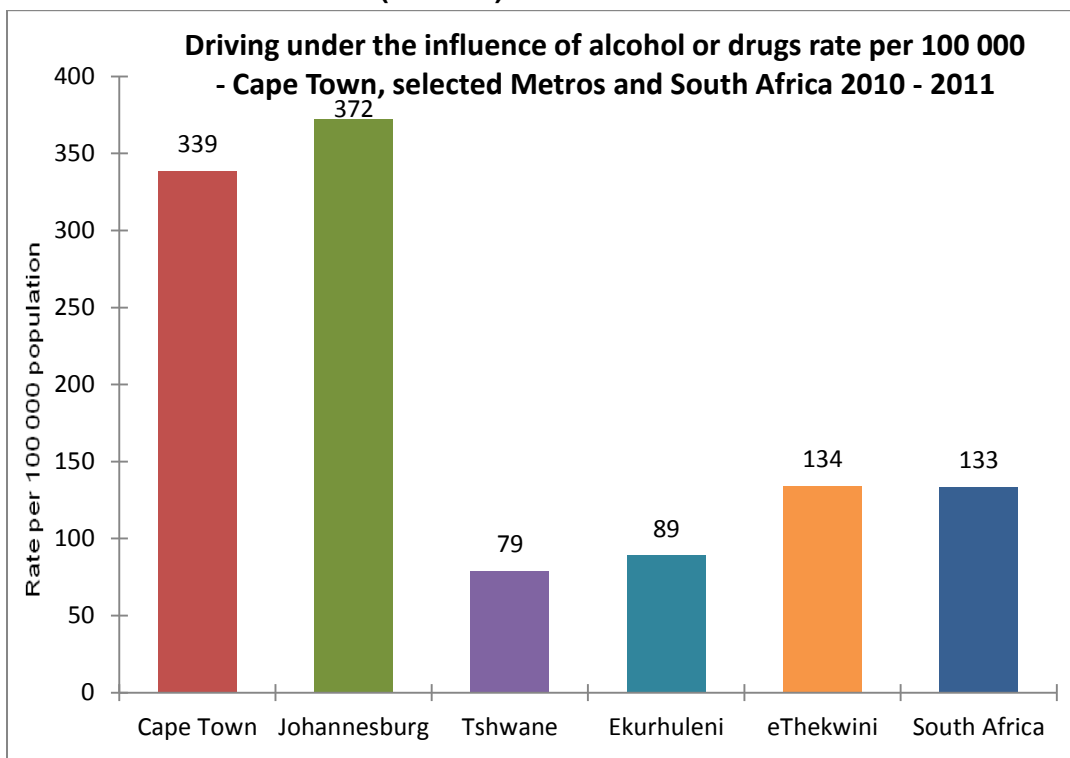


Figure 25: Comparison of Driving under the influence of Alcohol rates in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



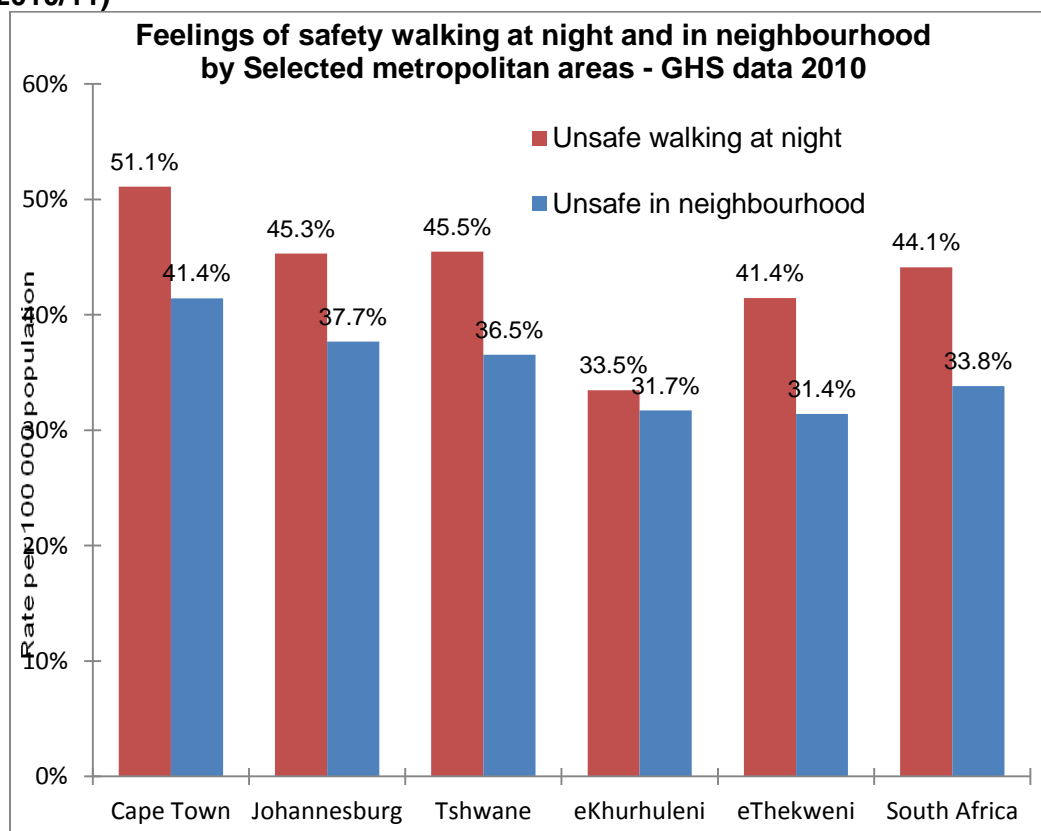
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, population estimates mid-year estimates, 2010, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

¹³ Drug related crimes cover both the use, possession and dealing in drugs (excluding driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs)

It is also interesting to look at an important and often neglected related social phenomenon, namely the *fear* of crime and not the actual levels of victimisation in South Africa. Why is it important to focus on people's anxieties about their personal safety rather than on the hard numbers related to levels of violent and property crimes? The answer lies in the complex and detrimental effects that fear of criminal violence imparts on quality of life at the individual, community and societal levels. Such anxieties may also diminish the sense of trust and cohesion within communities. Since the 1960s, the fear of crime in its own right has been the focus of increasing attention of researchers and policymakers. Countless studies have been conducted, with many concluding that fear continues to adversely affect the well-being of the population (Roberts, 2008).

Other surveys provide insights to the perception of safety in South African cities. One of these studies is the annual General Household Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa. The results of the 2010 survey indicate respondents' perceptions of safety walking at night and feelings of being unsafe in the neighbourhood across the four metropolitan areas. What is concerning is that in Cape Town respondents have the highest of both feelings of not being safe walking at night and in the neighbourhood, as well as being above the national average for South Africa (figure 26).

Figure 26: Comparison of Feelings of Safety in Cape Town, selected Metros and South Africa (2010/11)



Source: General Household Survey (2010), Statistics South Africa, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

6 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME WITHIN CAPE TOWN (2010/ 2011)

It is possible to show the spatial distribution of crime across Cape Town as the SAPS crime data is available by police precinct of which there are 60 in Cape Town.¹⁴ The maps in figures 27, 29, 32, 34, 36, 45, 47 and 49, show the spatial distribution of police precincts, spatial distribution of actual incidences of crime by all crimes, murder, attempted murder, total sexual crimes, commercial crimes, drug-related crime and driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs in Cape Town respectively, have only 51 of these police precincts spatially shown. The reason for this is that the latest geographical boundaries of the police precincts in Cape Town are not available from SAPS, despite considerable efforts and formal requests to obtain the information during 2010/11.

Figure 27 shows the boundaries in different colours of the latest police precincts (51) available from SAPS (SAPS, 2000). However, the crime data is available from SAPS for all 60 police in Cape Town precincts and has been grouped appropriately into the 51 police precinct spatial boundaries. All the crime analyses in this report include the data for all 60 police precincts.

In addition, by expressing the incidence of a type of crime in a particular police precinct as a percentage of the total incidences of that type of crime in Cape Town, one is able to compare the distribution of level of crime across the 51 police precincts.

6.1 Distribution of All Crime reported in Cape Town 2010/2011

Figure 28 shows the percentage distribution of all reported crimes in a particular police precinct as a percentage of the total incidences in Cape Town and figure 29 show the spatial distribution of actual cases of all total reported crimes by Police precinct (51).

Out of the 60 police precincts, the top four police precincts that account for over 20% of all reported crimes in Cape Town are Mitchell's Plain (9.31%), Cape Town Central (5.55%), Bellville (3.25%) and Kraaifontein (2.84%). Mitchell's Plain has a high percentage of attempted murders (9.53%) sexual crimes (8.17%), robbery with aggravating circumstances (9.59%) as well as drug-related crimes (13.24%). As Cape Town Central is the main police station, several crimes are reported there when they possibly did not occur in the area. It also accounts for a fairly high percentage of commercial crimes (11.21%) as does Bellville (7.32%). The rest of all reported crimes are spread relatively evenly from between 2.67% to 0.19% across the remaining 56 police precincts.

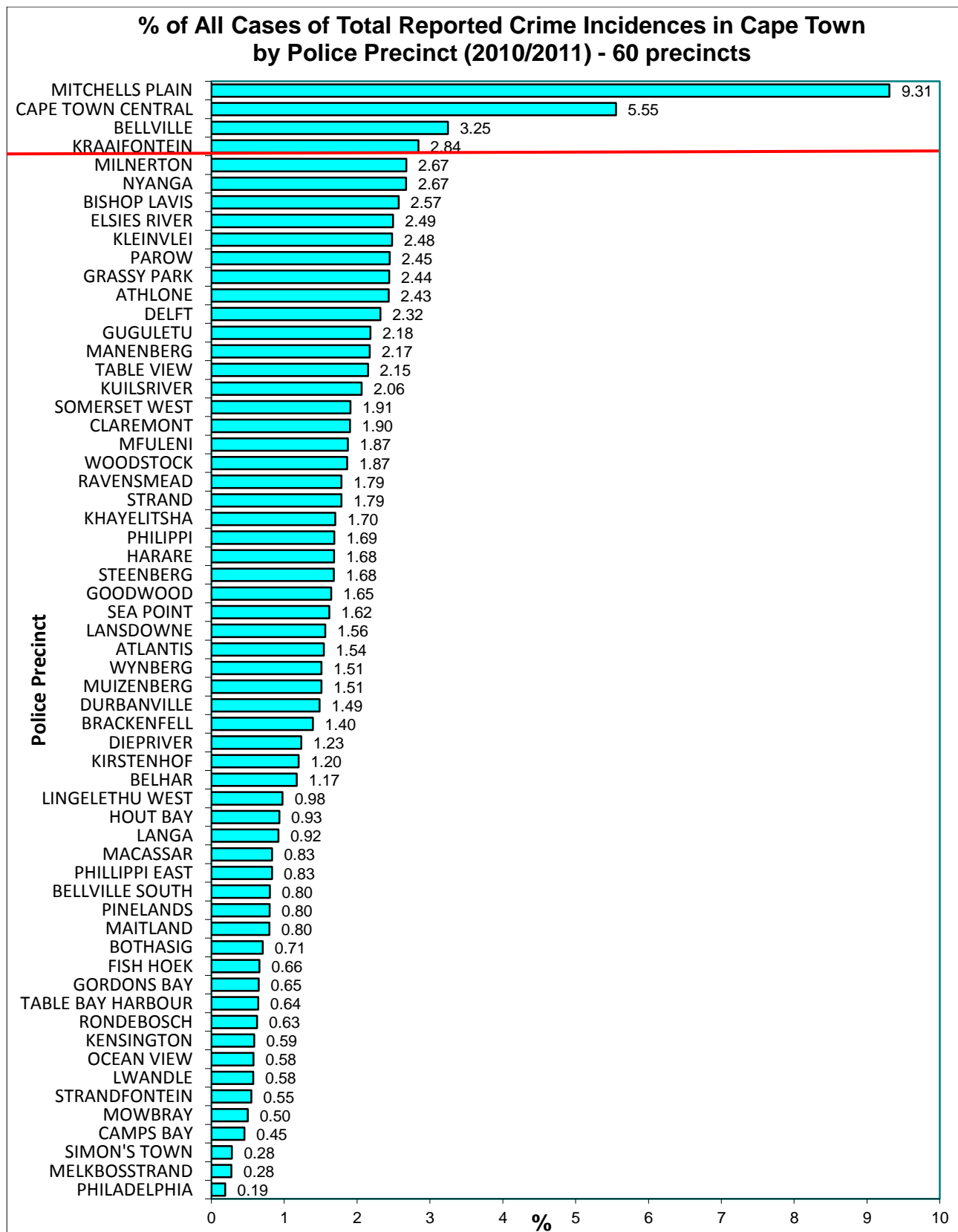
¹⁴ The latest police precincts were established as follows: Strandfontein established from Mitchell's Plain in July 2000, Phillippi East from Nyanga, Lingeletu West and Harare from Khayelitsha, Kleinvlei from Kuilsrivier all in July 2004, Mfuleni from Kleinvlei in July 2005, Belhar from Delft in December 2007 and most recently, Lwandle from Strand in October 2008. Robben Island is excluded (www.saps.gov.za).

Figure 27: 51 Police Precincts in Cape Town as at January 2000 ¹⁵



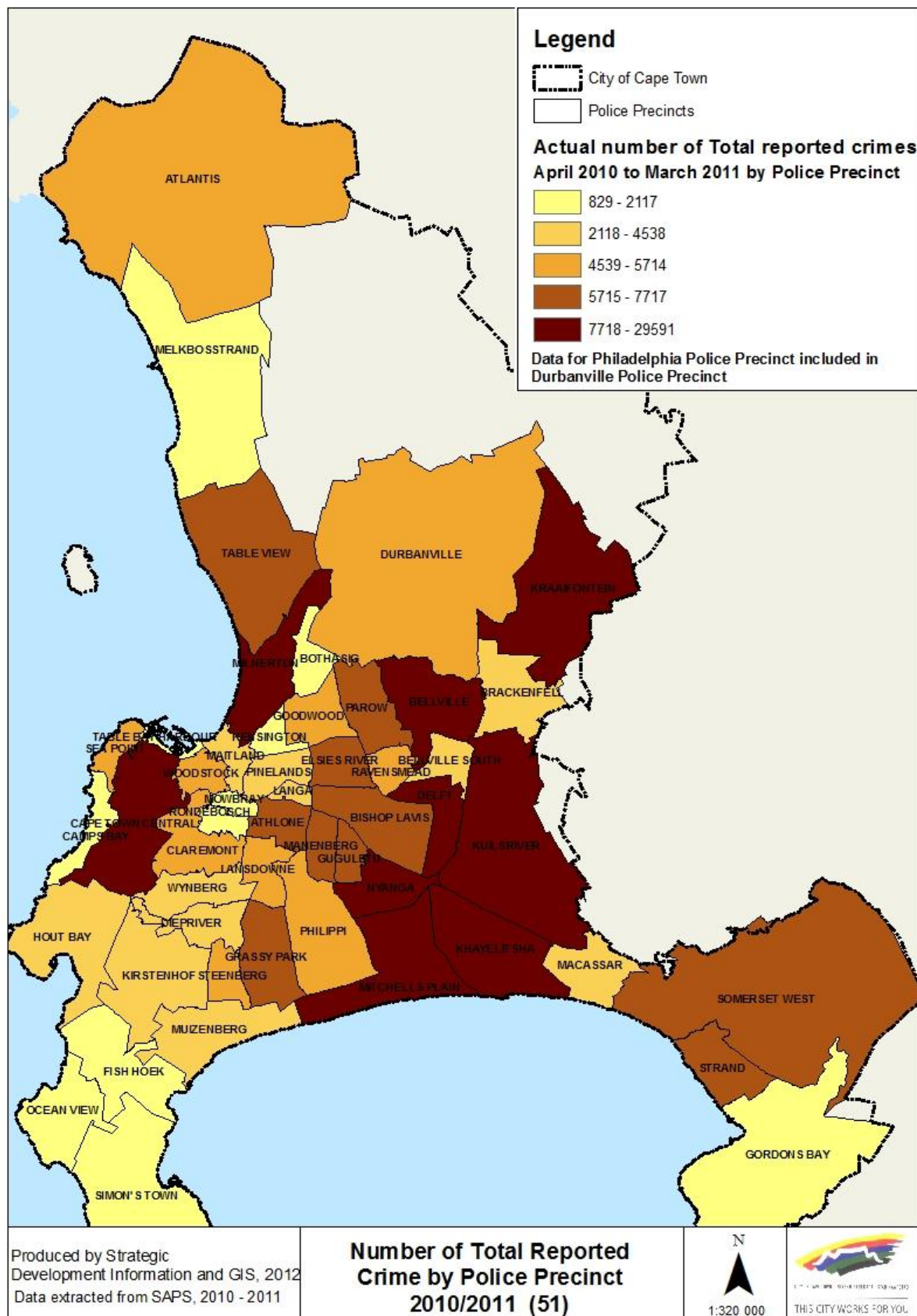
¹⁵ Analysis in the report has included data for all 60 Police Precincts

Figure 28: Percentage distribution of cases of Reported All Crimes in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11, compiled by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, City of Cape Town

Figure 29: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of all reported crimes by Police Precincts in Cape Town (2010/11) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)

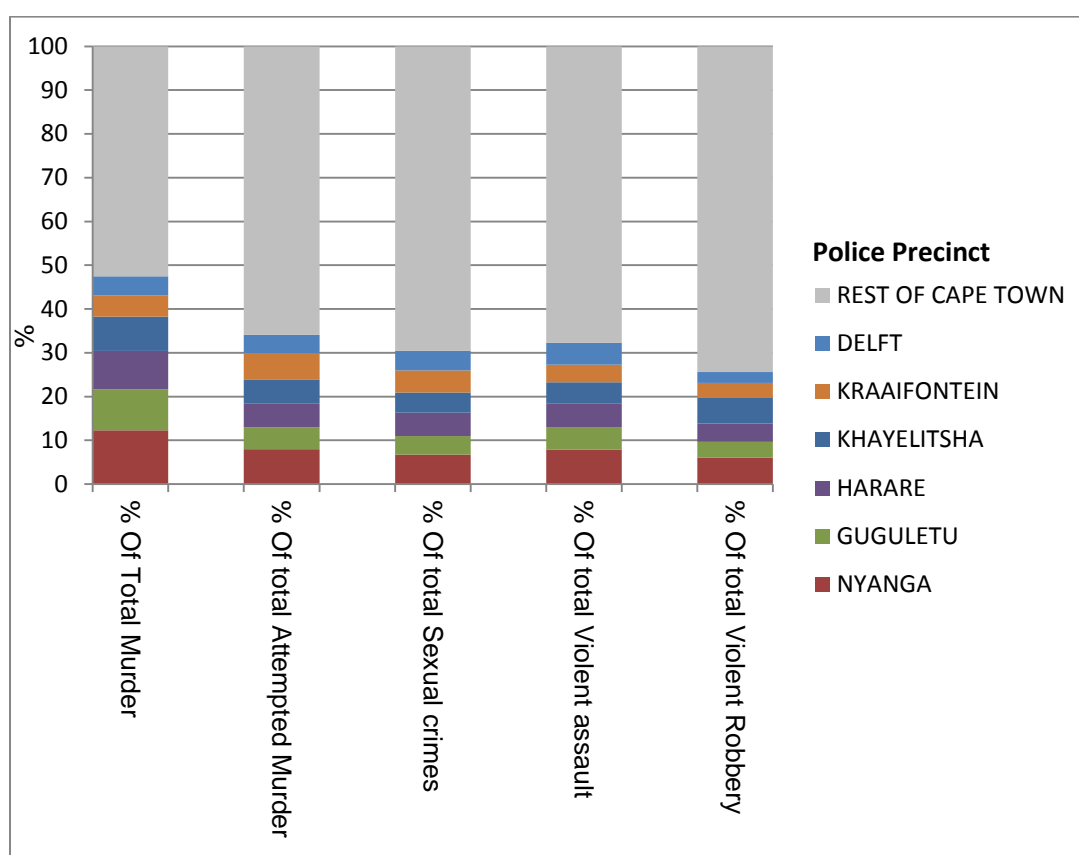


The distribution of all reported crimes - the top 10 police precincts in 2010/ 11, is similar to that reported in 2009/10, with the exception of Nyanga police precinct which has now 2.67% of all reported crimes in Cape Town, compared to 2.24% in 2009/10.

6.2 Distribution of Violent Crime in Cape Town in 2010/2011

An analysis of the 2010/11 violent crime data by Police Precinct in Cape Town indicates that violent crime tends to be concentrated in the poorer parts of the city with a small number of police precincts accounting for a disproportionate amount of reported crime (Refer to figure 30 below). This figure presents violent crime data for the six police precincts with the highest murder rates¹⁶.

Figure 30: Distribution of reported violent crime by Police Precinct with the highest reported murder rates in Cape Town (2010/11)



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

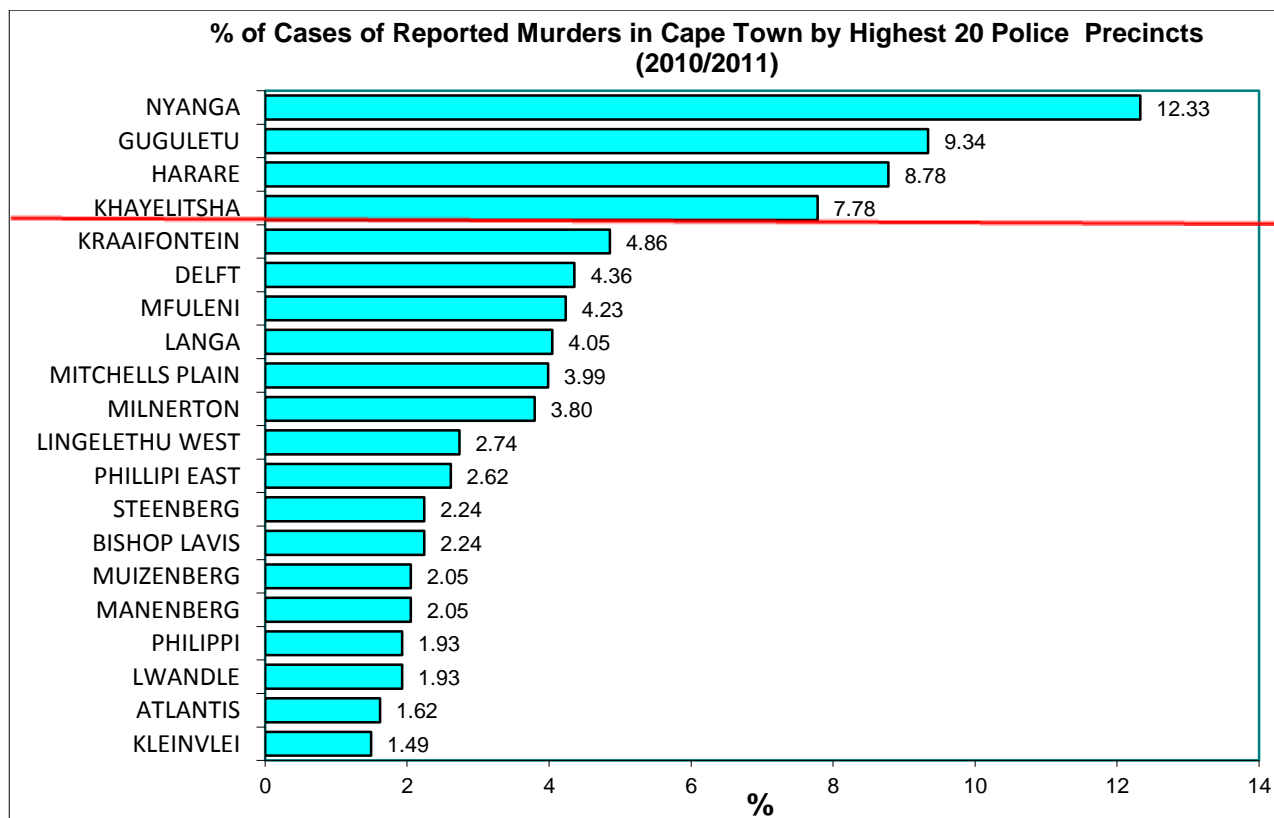
6.2.1 Distribution of Reported Murder in Cape Town in 2010/2011

Murders in Cape Town appear to occur in situations of social segregation and poverty that can easily spark violence. This is confirmed when comparing the geographical distribution of murders with those of other types of violent crimes: murders show a pattern very similar to the distribution

¹⁶ Incidences of murder is the crime type with the most accurate or reliable statistics and therefore is one of the best indicators for interpersonal violent crime (IFR, 2010).

of other violent crimes, namely attempted murder, sexual crimes (including rape and indecent assault) and violent assault (refer to figure 30).

Figure 31: Percentage distribution of cases of reported Murder in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)¹⁷



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

As shown in figures 31 and 32, murders are not evenly distributed across Cape Town's police precincts. An analysis of the 2010/11 murder data by police precinct shows that the incidents of murder tend to be concentrated in the poorer parts of the city, such as Khayelitsha (comprised of the three police precincts of Harare (8.78%), Khayelitsha (7.78%), and Lingeletu West (2.74%)), Nyanga (12.33%) and Gugulethu (9.34%), where more than 40 per cent of Cape Town's reported murders took place in 2010/2011.

¹⁷ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

Figure 32: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of reported Murders by Police Precinct in Cape Town (2010/11) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)

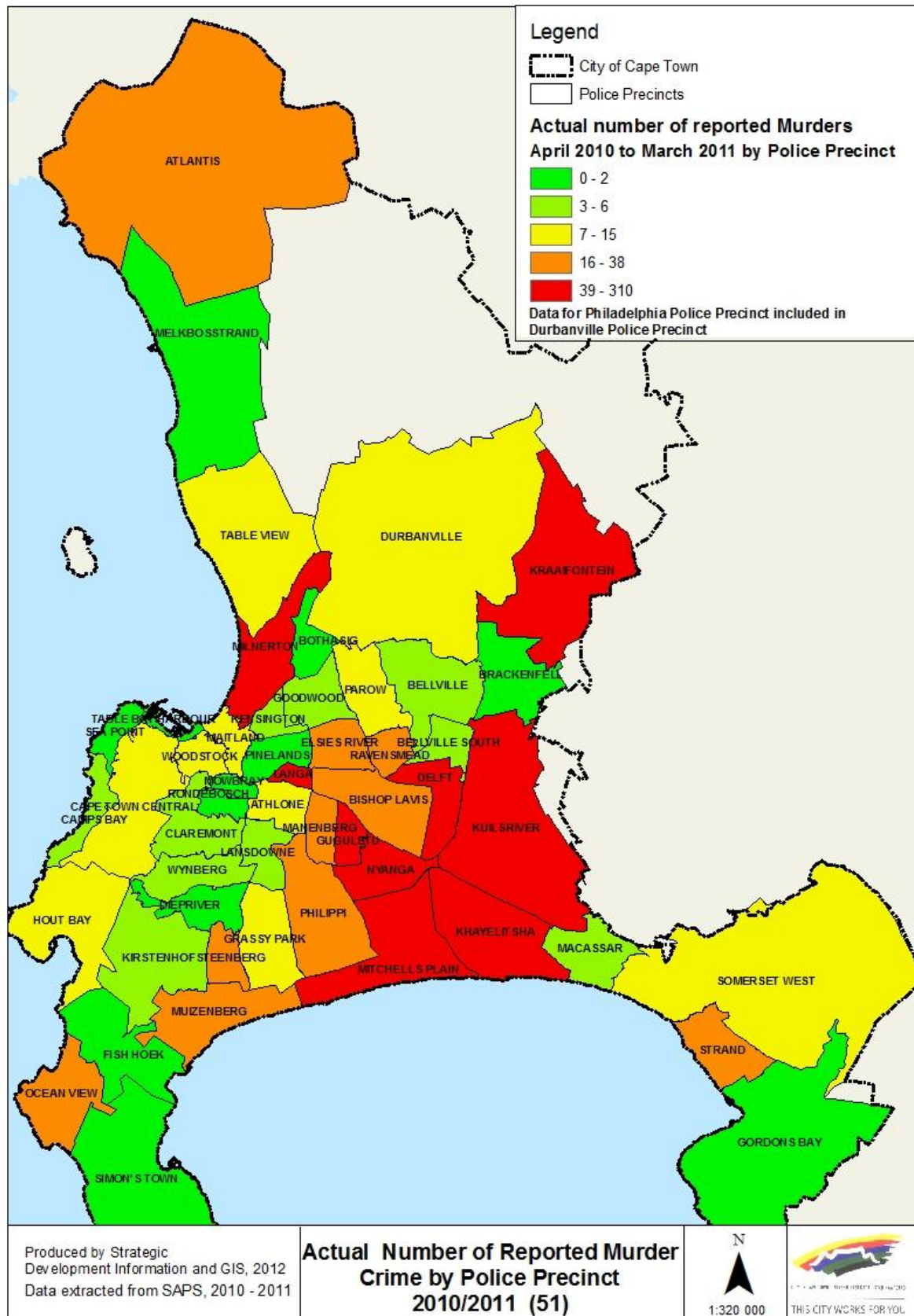
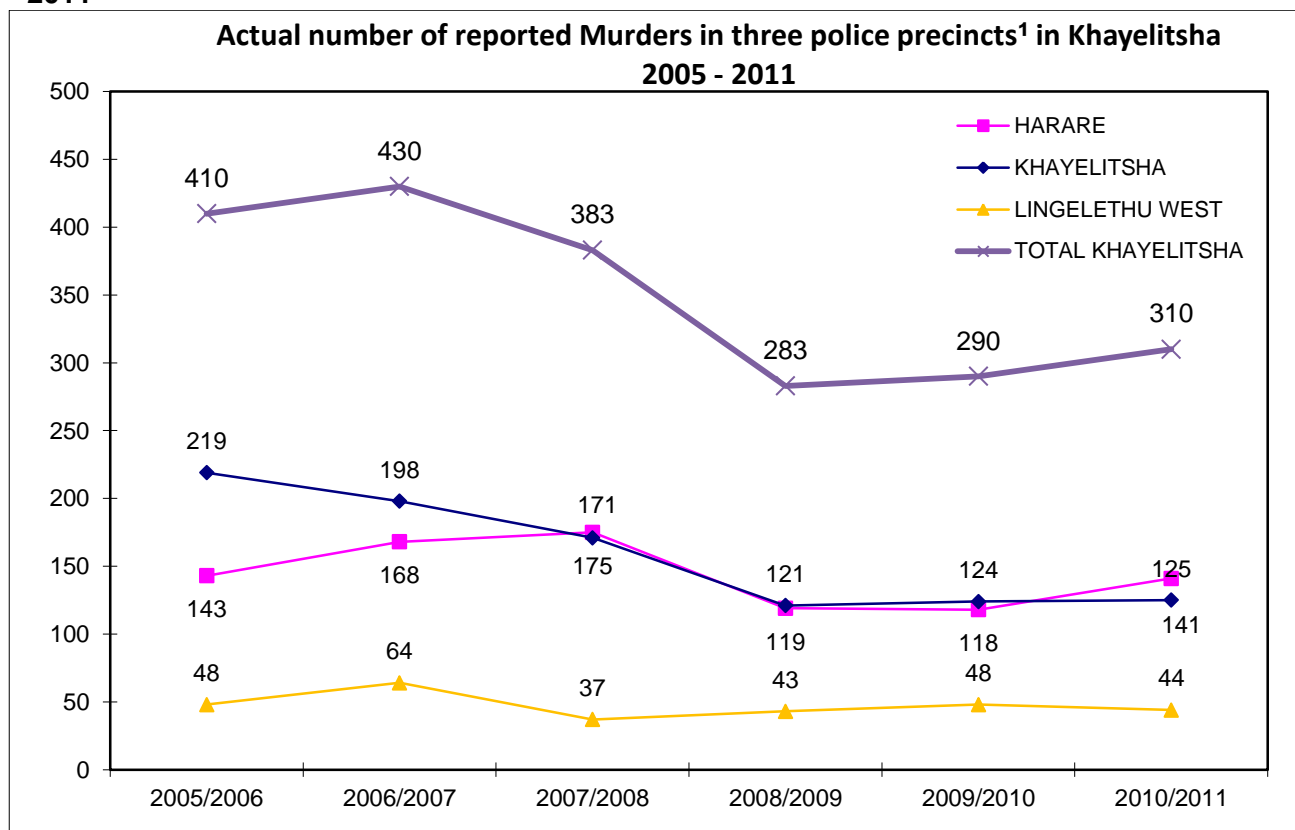


Figure 33 shows the actual number of reported murders in the three police precincts of Khayelitsha, over the period 2005 to 2011. Overall there is a trend of a decreasing number of reported murders in these three police precincts by 24%. However, what is of concern is that there has been an increase in the actual number of reported murders since the 2008/9 reporting year of 9.5% and more noticeably in the Harare police precinct of nearly 20%.

Figure 33: Actual number of reported Murder in three police precincts in Khayelitsha 2005¹⁸ - 2011



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2003 – 2011

6.2.2 Distribution of Reported Attempted Murder in Cape Town in 2010/2011

The 10 police precincts with the highest cases of reported attempted murders accounted for nearly 60% of Cape Town's attempted murders in 2010/2011 (Refer to figures 34 and 35). It can be seen that the areas of highest concentration of the actual number of reported attempted murders (between 66 and 225) tend to cluster in the south east sector of the City (red areas), followed by between 22 and 65 murders in the police precincts of Atlantis, Milnerton, Kensington, Elsies River, Langa, Cape Flats and Muizenberg (burnt orange areas). Mitchell's Plain accounts for the highest distribution (9.53%), followed by Nyanga (8.01%), Bishop Lavis (6.82%) and Kraaifontein (6.03%).

¹⁸ Data only shown from 2005/6 as the Lingeletu West and Harare police precincts were established from Khayelitsha in July 2004

Figure 34: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of reported Attempted Murder by Police Precinct in Cape Town (2010/11) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)

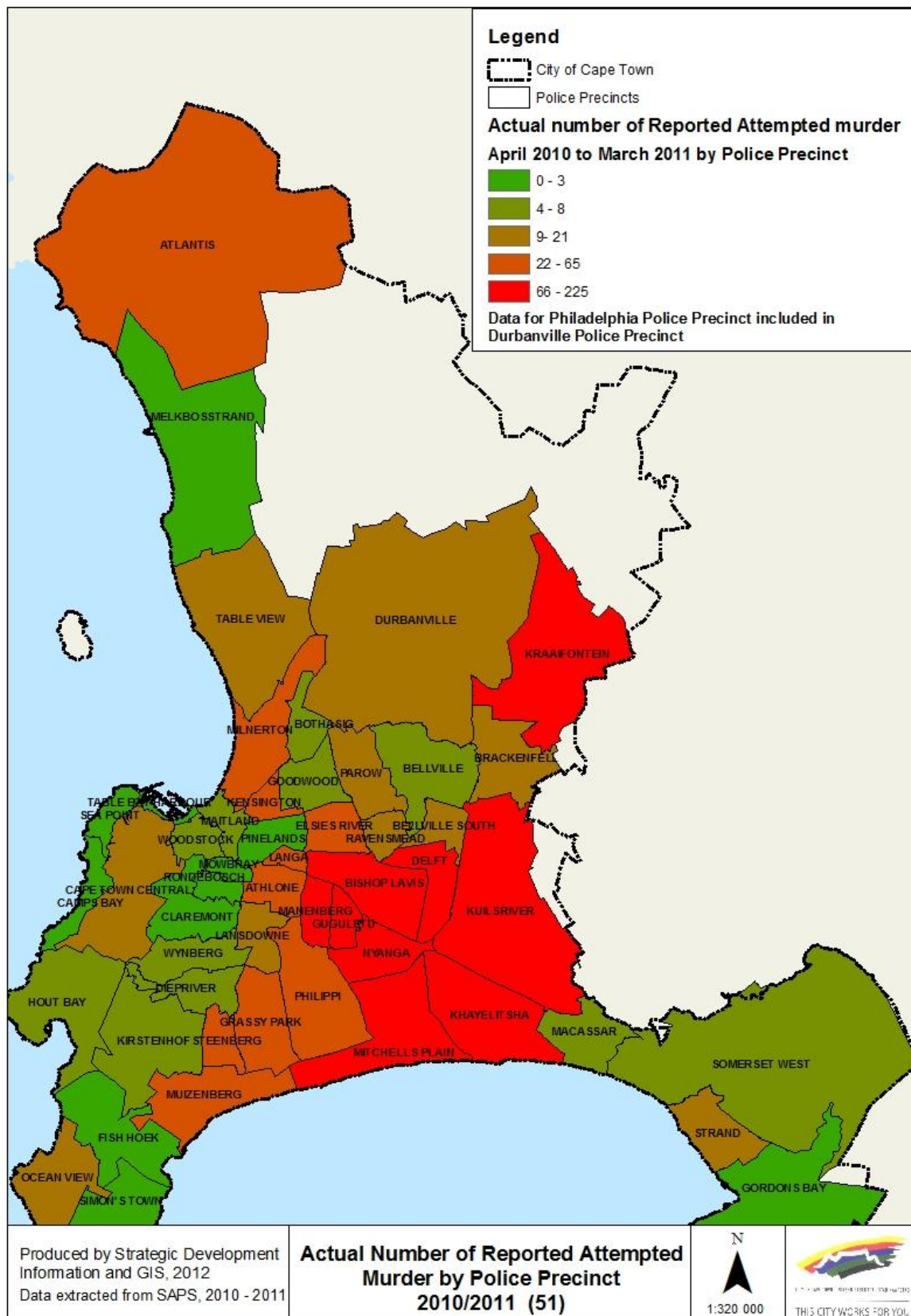
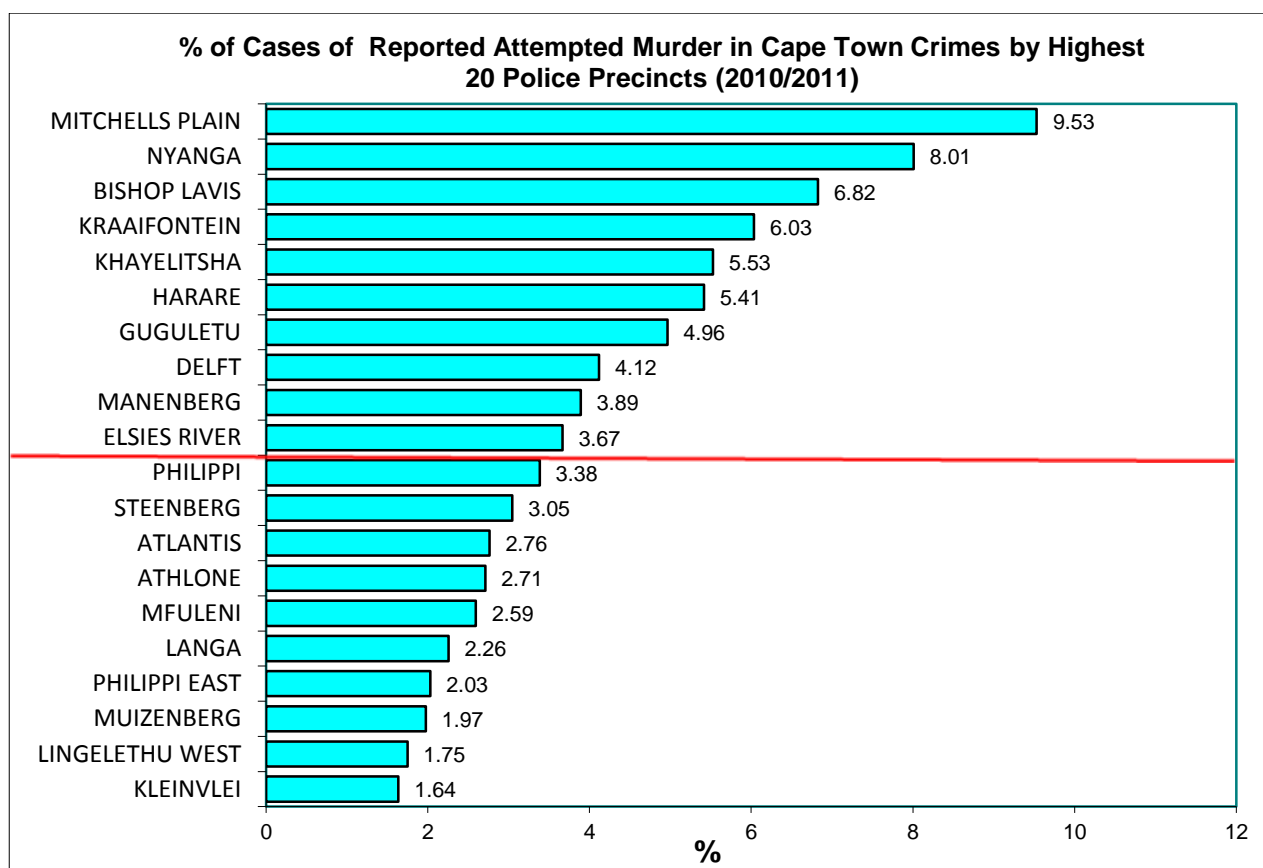


Figure 35: Percentage distribution of cases of reported Attempted Murder in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)¹⁹



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

6.2.3 Distribution of Reported Sexual Crimes (including rape and indecent assault) in Cape Town in 2010/2011

Figure 36 shows the spatial distribution of the actual number total reported sexual crimes by Police Precinct (51). The highest percentage distribution of total cases of sexual crimes in Cape Town is shown in figure 37, with the 20 police precincts with the highest percentage of reported cases listed.

Six out of the 60 police precincts accounted for over one third of the total sexual crimes in Cape Town in 2010/11 (35%). Mitchell's Plain police precinct (excluding Strandfontein) had the highest reported sex crime figures in Cape Town in 2010/11 with 480 incidents reported, accounting for 8.78% of the city's reported sexual crimes (see figure 37), followed by Nyanga (6.73%). 11.76% of sexual crimes occurred in the suburb of Khayelitsha (comprised of the three police precincts of Harare (5.36), Khayelitsha (4.61%) and Lingeletu West (1.79%)). Kraaifontein (5.03%) and Delft (4.44%) police precincts constituted the 4th and 6th highest distribution of sexual crimes respectively.

¹⁹ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

Figure 36: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of reported Total Sexual Crimes by Police Precinct in Cape Town (2010/11) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)

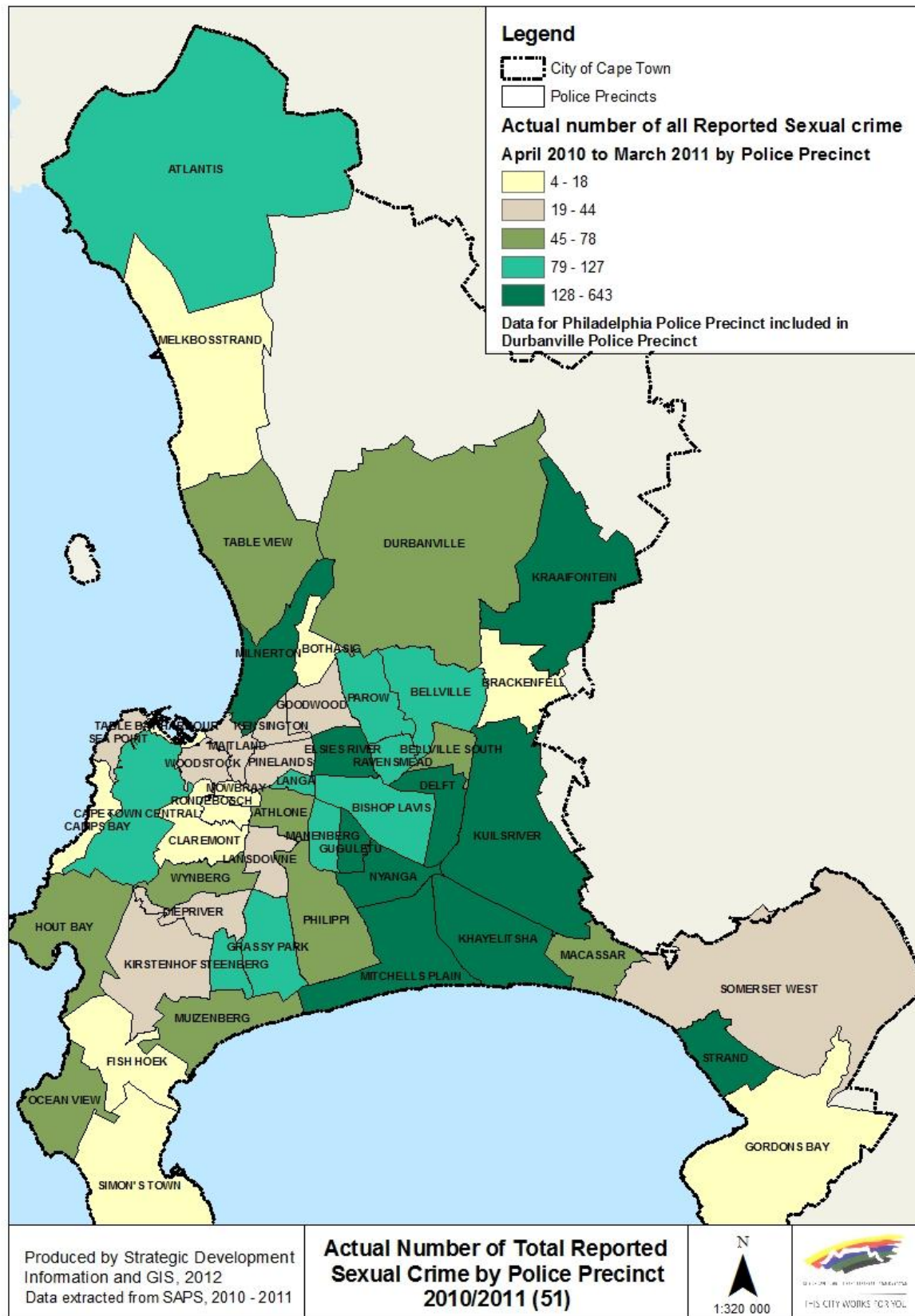
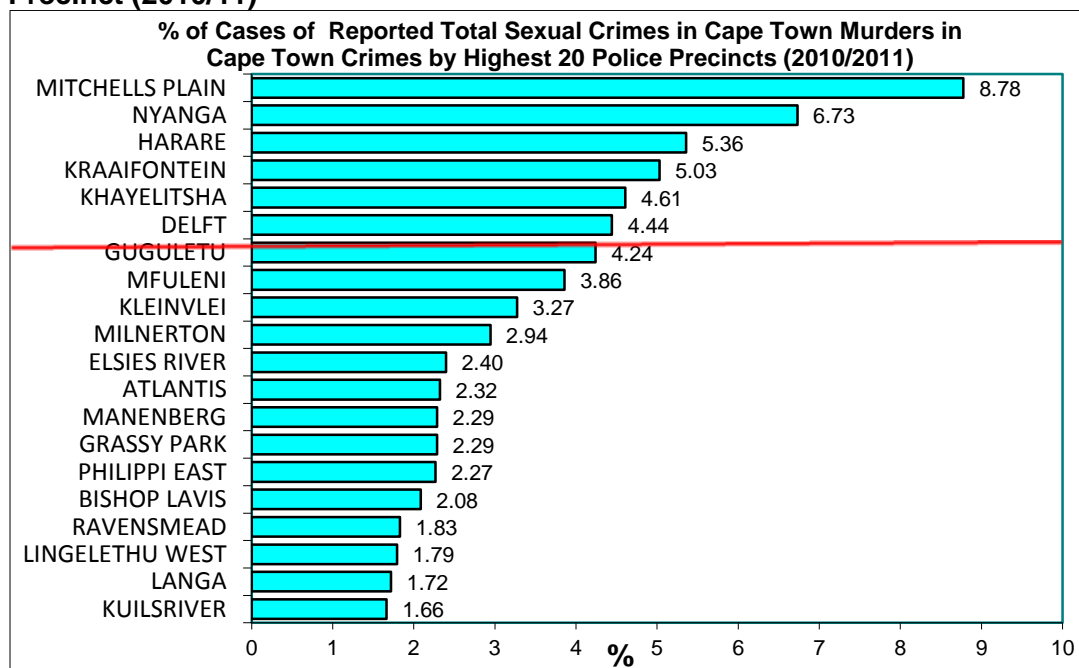


Figure 37: Percentage distribution of cases of Reported Sexual Crimes in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁰

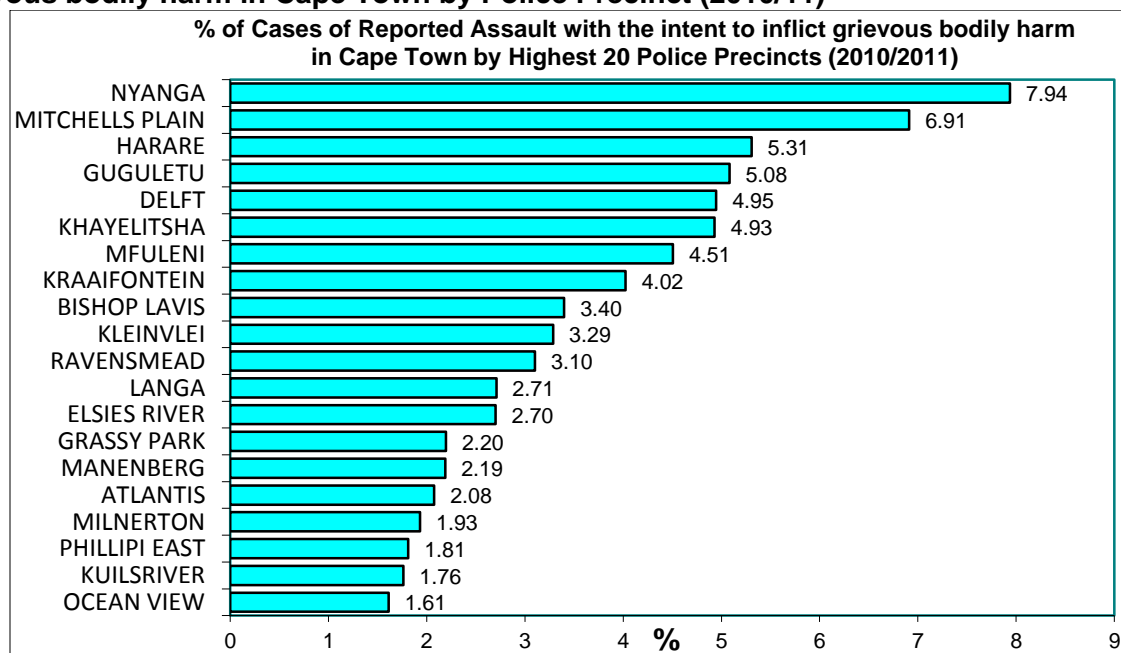


Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

6.2.4 Distribution of Reported Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm in Cape Town in 2010/11

Figure 38 shows the highest percentage distribution of total cases of reported violent assault crimes in Cape Town, with the 20 police precincts with the highest percentage of reported cases.

Figure 38: Percentage distribution of cases of Reported Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁰

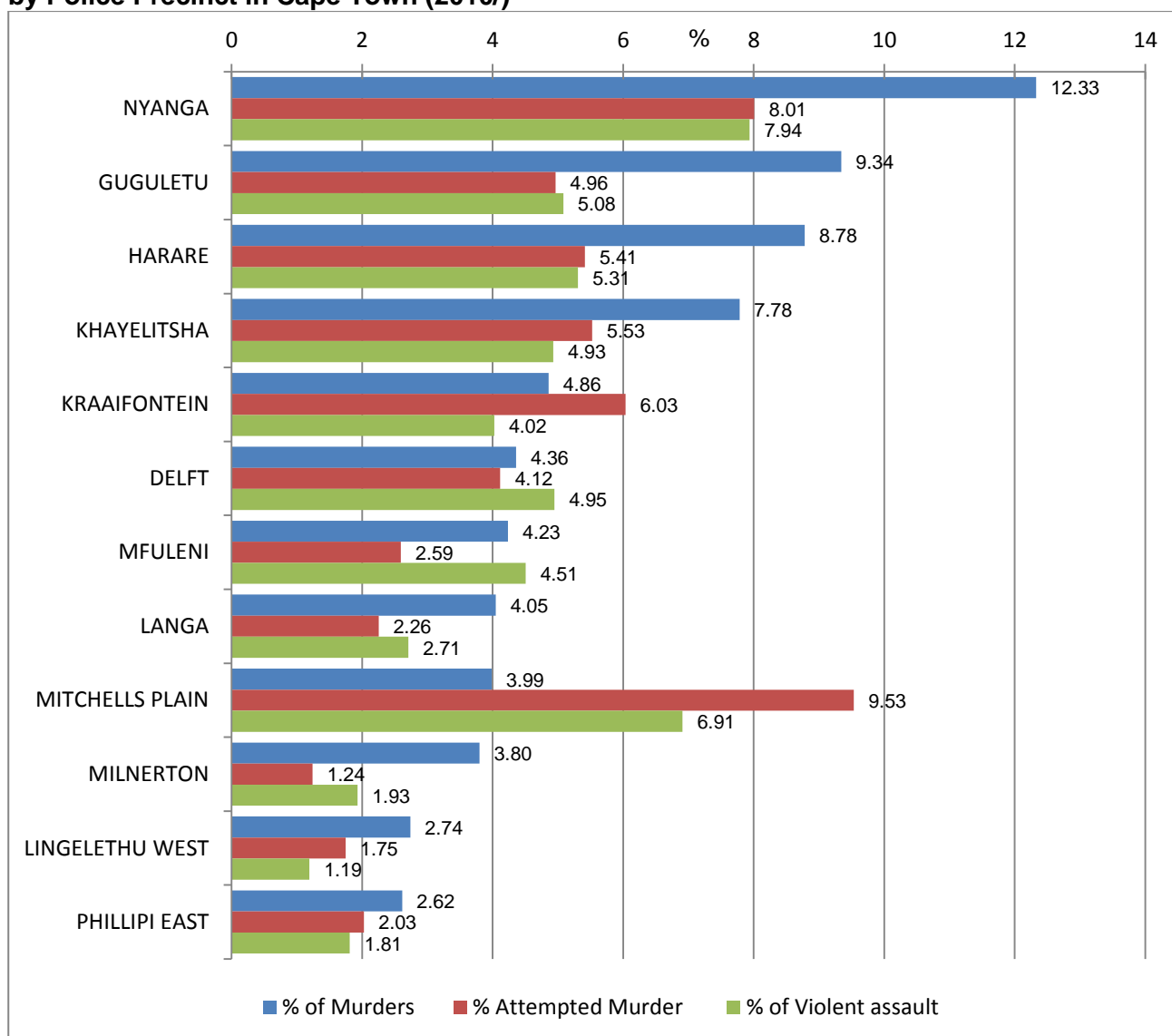


Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

²⁰ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

Figure 38 also shows a similar pattern as the distribution of reported murders (figure 32), with Nyanga police precinct showing the highest percentage of all reported violent assault cases (7.94%) in Cape Town. However, there is a much higher distribution of violent assault cases reported in Mitchell's Plain police precinct (6.91%), than reported murders in Mitchell's Plain (3.99%). This is more consistent with the patterns of attempted murder, with Mitchell's Plain police precinct having the highest percentage reported, viz. 9.53%. (Refer to figure 39). This figure presents the 12 police precincts in Cape Town with the highest murder rates²¹, as well as attempted murder and violent assault.

Figure 39: Distribution of reported murders, attempted murders and violent assault cases by Police Precinct in Cape Town (2010/)²²



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

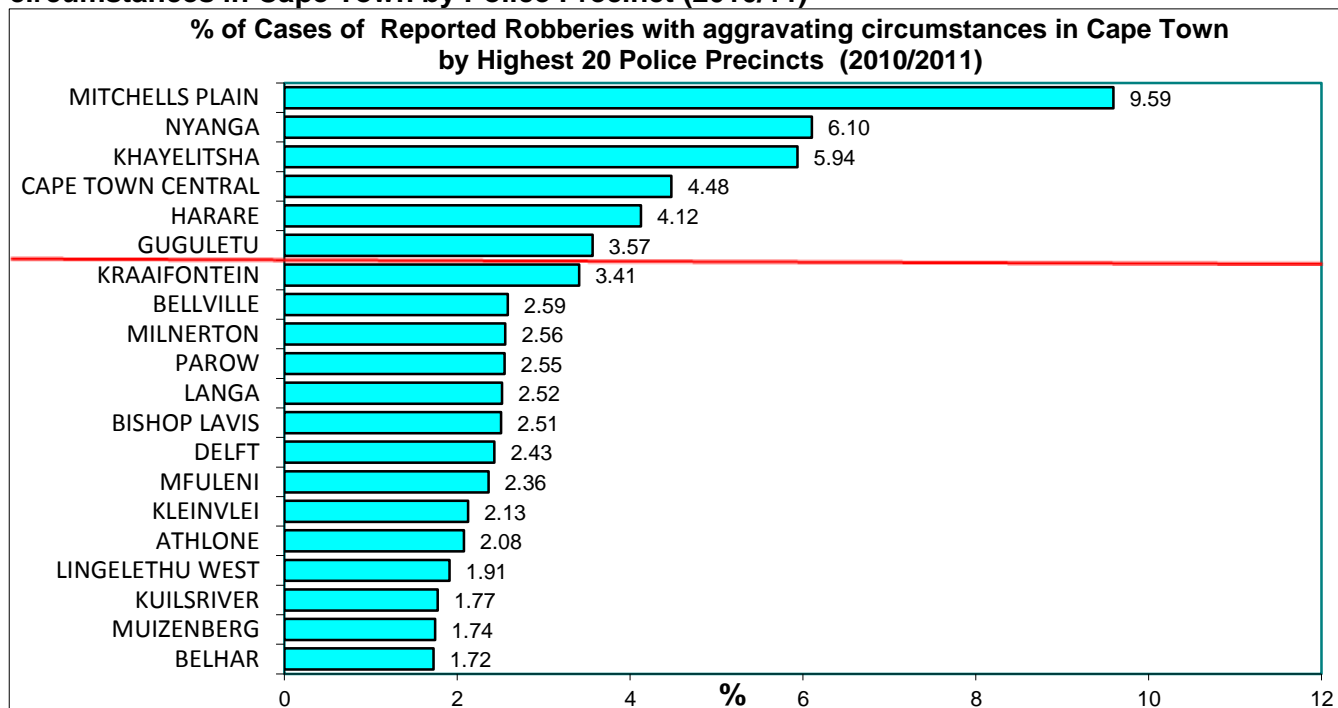
²¹ Incidences of murder is the crime type with the most accurate or reliable statistics and therefore is one of the best indicators for interpersonal violent crime (IFR, 2010).

²² The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

6.2.5 Distribution of Reported Robberies with aggravating circumstances in Cape Town in 2010/11

The distribution of robbery with aggravating circumstances (robbery at residential premises, robbery at business premises, cash-in-transit robbery, bank robbery, car and truck hijackings) although showing decreasing trends and the lowest rate across the metropolitan areas, accounted for 10 209 incidences reported in 2010/11 across the city.

Figure 40: Percentage distribution of cases of Reported Robberies with aggravating circumstances in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²³



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

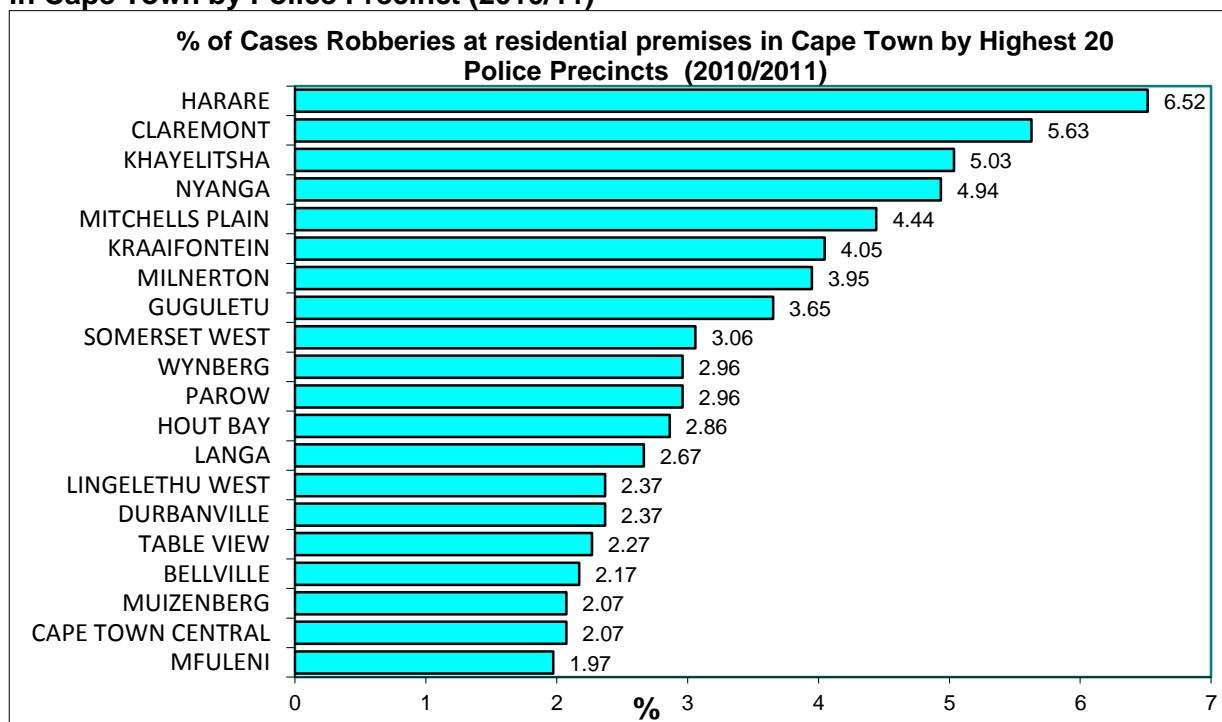
Mitchell's Plain police precinct recorded 979 of these incidences (9.59%), followed by Nyanga (6.10%) and the three police precincts of Khayelitsha viz. Khayelitsha (5.94%), Harare (4.12%) and Lingeletu West (1.91%). Cape Town Central Police precinct accounts for 4.48% of Reported robberies with aggravating circumstances. This pattern indicates a disproportionate amount of violent robberies occurred in a small number of police precincts, viz. six out of the 60 police precincts in the city, accounted for 34% of the total cases of reported robberies with aggravating circumstances in 2010/11 (Refer to figure 40).

With regard to the so-called 'trio-crimes' viz. Robbery at residential premises (Refer to figure 41), the crime pattern seems to be more evenly spread across the city and including the more affluent suburbs, viz. Claremont (5.63%), Somerset West (3.06%), Durbanville (2.37%) and Table View

²³ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

(2.27%). Higher-income areas may tend to attract house robberies, but at the same time may have increased security and protection measures, resulting in target hardening. Low-income areas frequently remain vulnerable to robbery, but residents may have fewer incentives (such as insurance coverage) to report crime to the police.

Figure 41: Percentage distribution of cases of Reported Robberies at residential premises in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁴



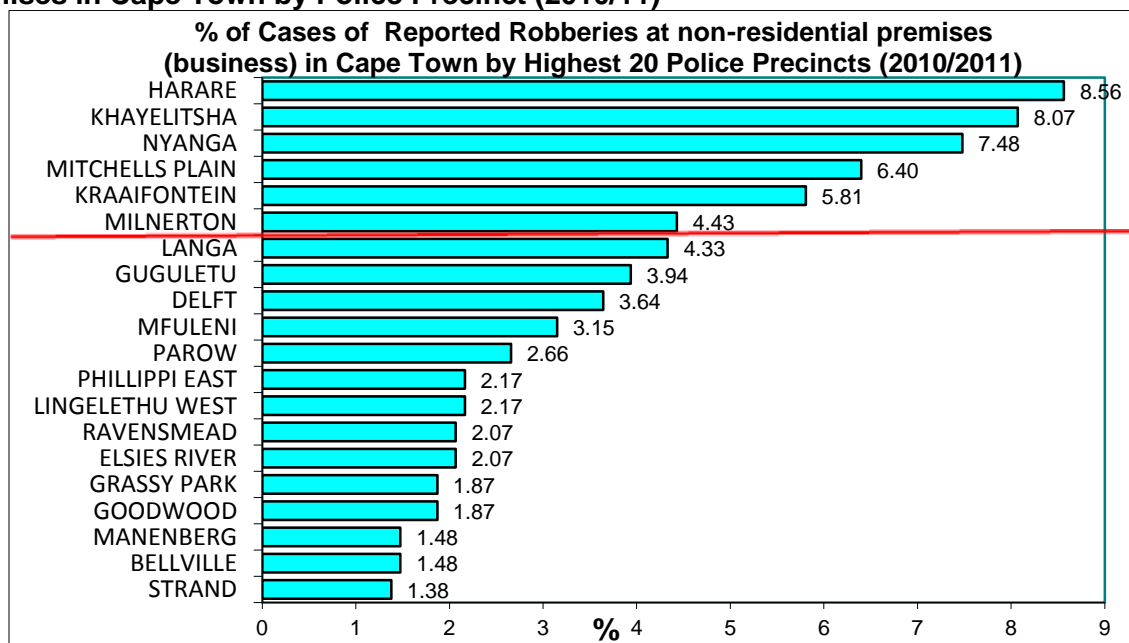
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

Robberies at non-residential premises (Refer to figure 42) in 2010/11 were characterized by a different pattern with over 40% of the robberies occurring in six of the police precincts, with Khayelitsha accounting for 19% of these reported non-residential robberies (viz. Harare (8.56%), Khayelitsha (8.07%) and Lingeletu West (2.17%).

If business premises are perceived to be unsafe and insecure by local, national and international companies these businesses are less likely to invest their business in the city (City of Cape Town, 2005). This has the most impact in less affluent areas like Khayelitsha. If crime and the perception of crime are not brought under control, there is likely to be less investment in these areas, thus not fully realising economic opportunities in the city and ensuring development in undeveloped areas.

²⁴ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

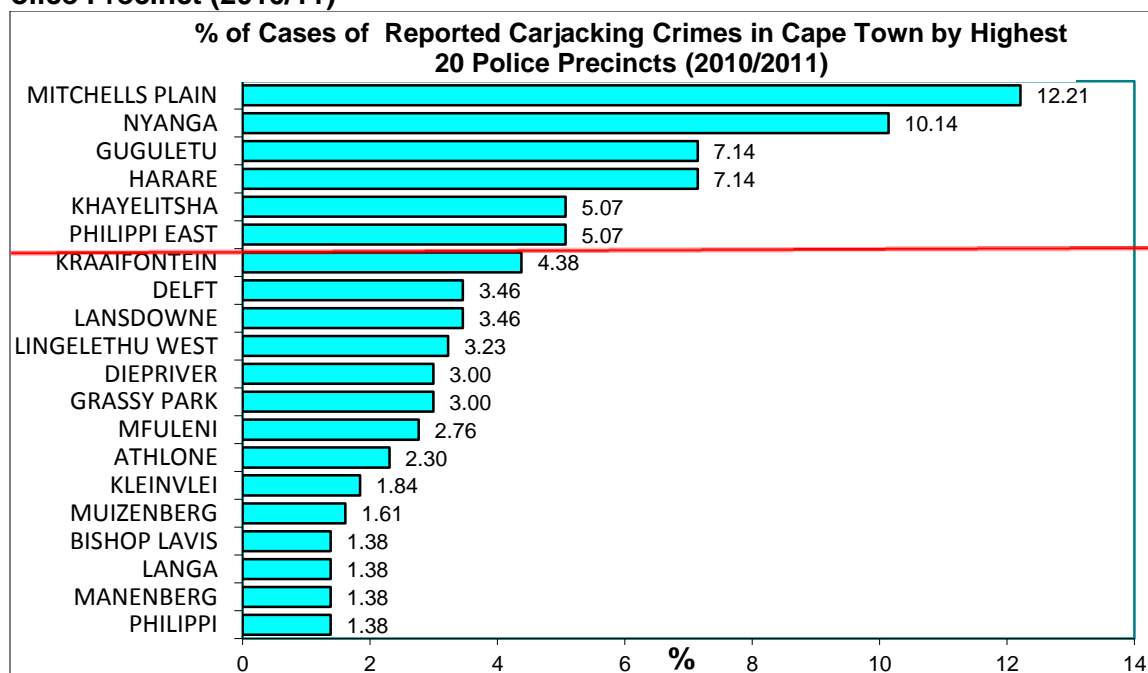
Figure 42: Percentage distribution of cases of Reported Robberies at non-residential premises in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²³



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

In figure 43, again a small number of police precincts account for high percentage of reported car hi-jackings in Cape Town, viz. six out of the 60 police precincts accounting for nearly half the number of car hi-jackings in Cape Town (47%). Car hi-jackings have decreased by 20% in the last reporting year.

Figure 43: Percentage distribution of cases of reported Car Hi-jacking Crimes in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁵



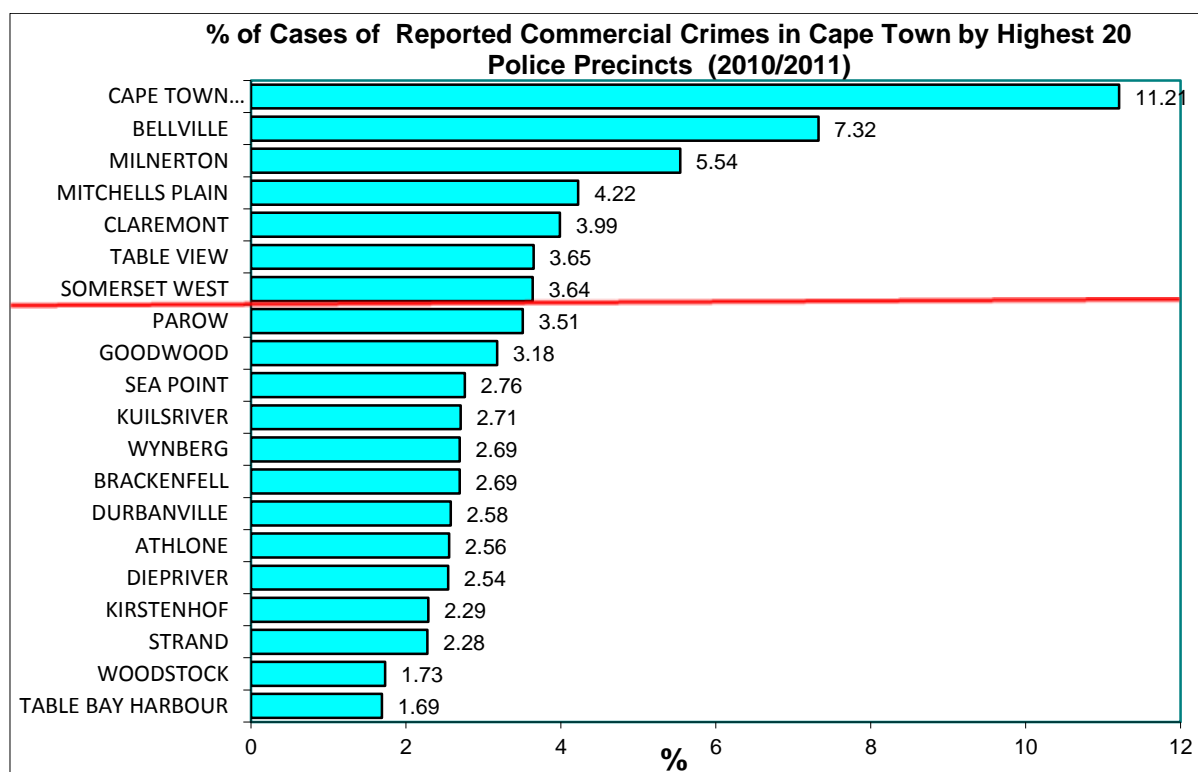
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

²⁵ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

6.3 Distribution of Commercial Crime

Figure 44 shows the highest percentage distribution of total cases of reported commercial crimes²⁶ in Cape Town, with the 20 police precincts with the highest percentage of reported commercial cases listed.

Figure 44: Percentage distribution of cases of reported Commercial Crimes in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁷



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

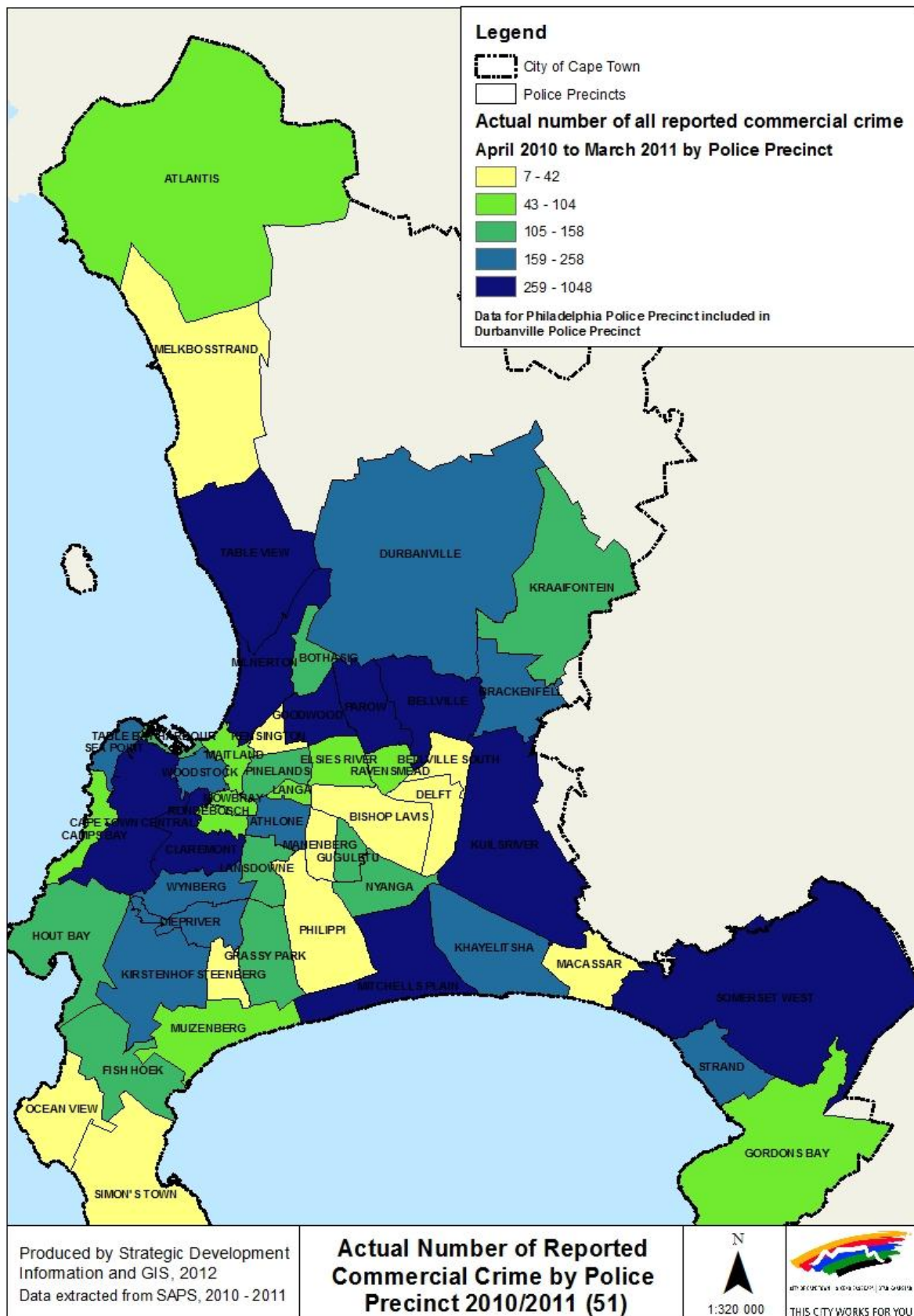
These seven police precincts, which account for almost 40% of the reported commercial crimes, are characterised by advanced social and economic conditions and contain major economic hubs viz. City Business District (CBD) in Cape Town Central, Tygervalley in Bellville, Mitchell's Plain CBD, Cavendish Centre and commercial area in Claremont, Table View Mall in Table View and Somerset West Mall.

Figure 45 shows the spatial distribution of commercial crimes by Police precinct (51).

²⁶ Commercial crimes include all types of fraud, forgery and embezzlement

²⁷ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

Figure 45: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of reported Commercial Crimes by Police Precinct (2010/2011) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)



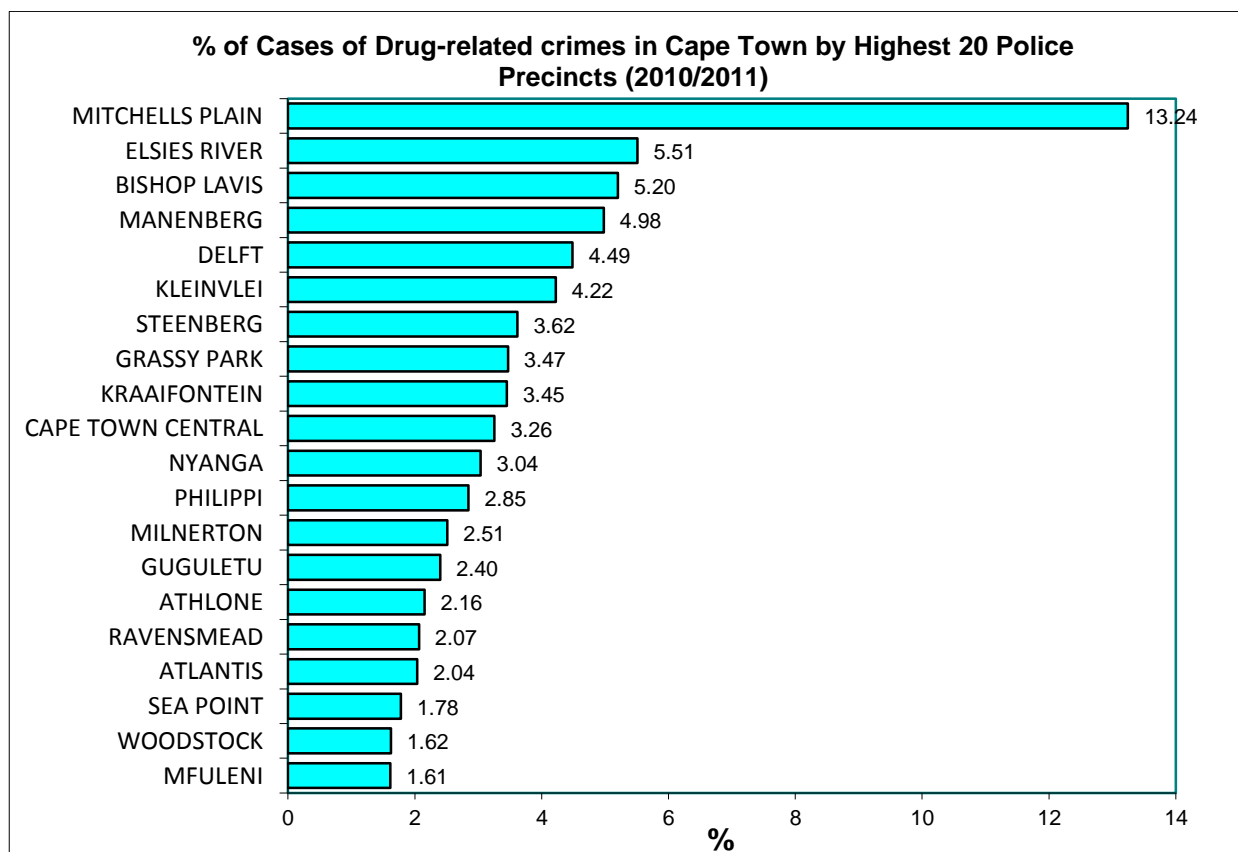
6.4 Distribution of Drug-related Crime in Cape Town in 2010/2011

Reported drug-related crime in Cape Town, i.e. excluding driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs has increased dramatically in recent years, which is one of the most concerning aspects of the Cape Town crime analysis, with an overall 20% increase since 2009/10.

The highest percentage distribution of cases of drug-related crime is shown in Figure 46, with the 20 Police Precincts listed where the highest percentage of reported drug-related crime occurs. The police precinct with by far the most reported cases in Cape Town is Mitchell's Plain (13.24%), which recorded 6 260 incidents in 2010/11, down by nearly 5% from 6 572 in 2009/2010. However, the suburb of Mitchell's Plain has one of the highest populations in Cape Town. This needs to be taken into account when analysing the area's high drug crime rate.

Figure 47 shows the spatial distribution of the actual number of drug-related crime by Police Precinct (51).

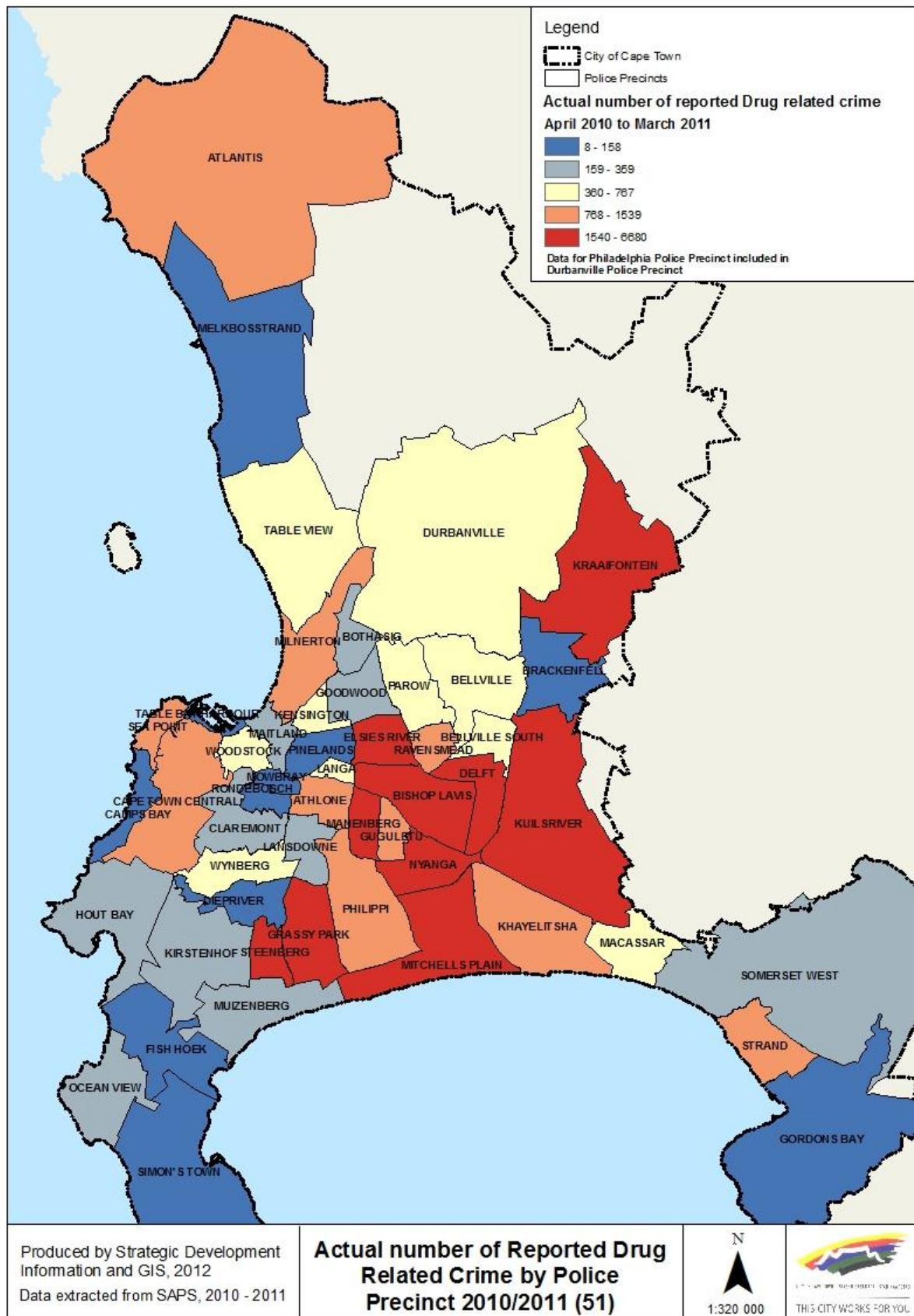
Figure 46: Percentage distribution of cases of reported Drug-related Crimes in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁸



Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

²⁸ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

Figure 47: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of reported Drug-related Crime by Police Precinct (2010/2011) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)



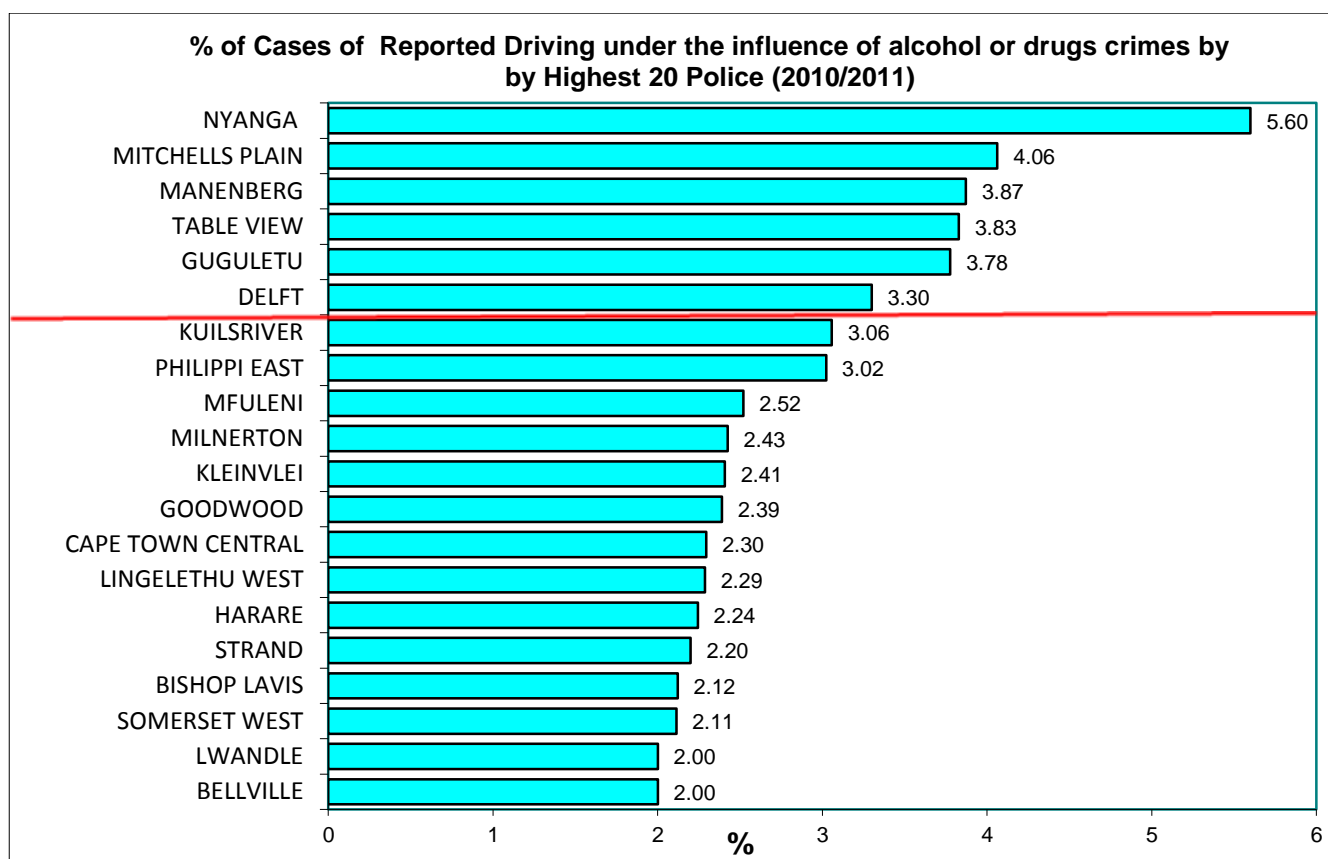
According to figure 46, Nyanga Police Precinct accounts for 3% of drug-related crimes in Cape Town in 2010/11 reporting year, compared to less than 1% in 2009/10. A major four-day operation in Nyanga in 2010, where 400 shebeens were closed across seven policing districts over the festive season, could account for more of these drug-related crimes not “reported” crimes, but rather cases opened by the police as a result of law enforcement action being taken (Cape Argus, 7th February, 2012). Wider docket research might be of significant value if it can point to underlying causes and/or determine the level of integrity of these statistics. Kleinvelei Police Precinct now accounts for 4% of drug-related crimes in Cape Town in 2010/11, compared to nearly 5% in 2009/10 reporting year.

Both figures 46 and 47 indicate that the Cape Flats had the highest concentration of drug-related crime in Cape Town in 2010/ 2011. Drug usage and trade is closely linked to the gang culture and associated gang violence in Cape Town’s Cape Flats. The increase in murders in the 2010/11 reporting year, could be largely attributed to increase in gang-related deaths. These patterns are specifically evident in traditional gang areas, viz. Elsies River, Bishop Lavis, Manenberg, Steenberg, Lavender Hill, Hanover Park, Elsie’s River and Kraaifontein. Gang violence is cyclical in nature and the situation should be closely monitored and further researched, as the increase in murder may indicate unresolved issues of turf wars and possible concentration of gangs on income-earning activities such as the drug trade, vehicle theft and robberies

6.3.1 Distribution of Driving under the Influence of Alcohol or Drugs Crimes in Cape Town in 2010/2011

The highest percentage distribution of cases of driving under the influence alcohol or drugs is shown in Figure 48, with the 20 Police Precincts listed where the highest percentage of these reported crimes occur. Referring to figure 48, six police precincts out of 60 accounted for 25% of reported driving under the influence alcohol or drugs cases in Cape Town in 2010/11. Nyanga police precinct had the highest number of driving under the influence alcohol or drugs incidences reported in 2010/11 (5.6%), followed by Mitchell’s Plain (4.06%) and Manenberg and Table View accounting for 3.87% and 3.83% respectively.

Figure 48: Percentage distribution of cases of reported Driving under the influence of Alcohol or Drugs Crimes in Cape Town by Police Precinct (2010/11)²⁹



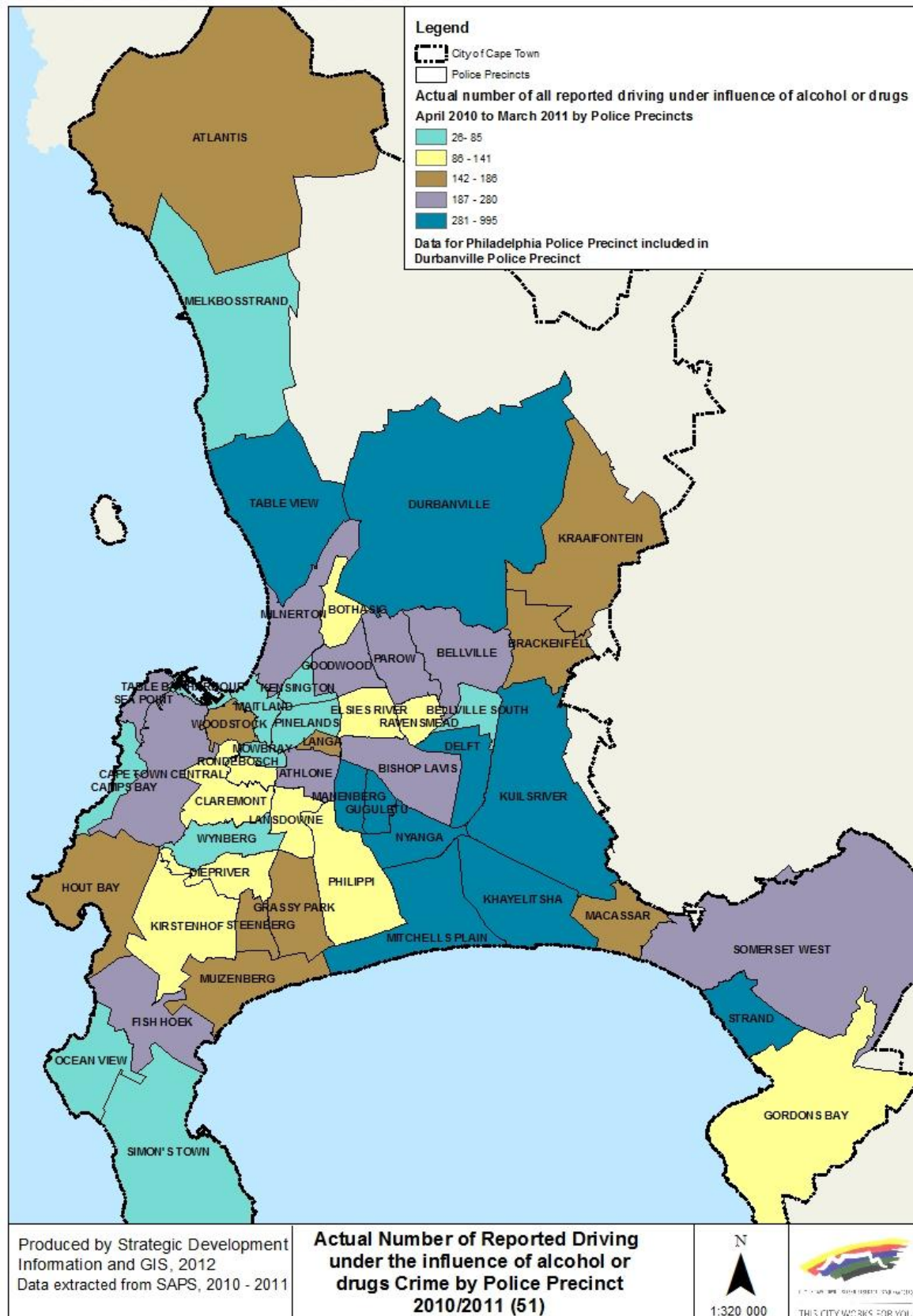
Source: South African Police Services (2011). Crime Statistics 2010/11

In order to combat drunken driving, the Provincial Transport Department has requested that SAPS issue case numbers at roadblocks. A motorist's blood cannot be tested unless a case of drunken driving has been opened and a case number has been issued by the SAPS. At present, cases are not being opened on the scene, as motorists are taken to a police station for a case to be opened. In addition, a nurse has to do a blood test for over the legal limit. If both the issuing of case numbers and testing of blood could be done at the roadblocks, all staff would remain at the roadblocks and more people could be arrested, based on more accurate information. Another benefit would be that roadblocks could be set up anywhere on the province's roads and not necessarily near a police station or hospital (Cape Times, 17th July 2012).

Figure 49 below shows the spatial distribution of the actual number reported of driving under the influence of alcohol crimes by Police Precinct (51).

²⁹ The percentage will not add up to 100% as not all 60 police precincts are displayed

Figure 49: Spatial Distribution of Actual Number of reported Driving under the Influence of alcohol or drugs crime by Police Precinct (2010/11) (51 Police Precincts and data included for all 60 precincts)



7. REVIEW AND IMPLICATIONS

This report presents reported crime statistics and crime trends for Cape Town and South Africa for the period 2003 to 2011. Cape Town's recent statistics (2010/11) have been compared with four selected metropolitan cities, similar in size and form in South Africa, and to South Africa as a whole. In addition the crime statistics (2010/11) for Cape Town have been analysed showing the "hot spot" precincts using spatial analysis (GIS) and the distribution of the level of reported crime by police precinct in Cape Town.

The head line crime statistics (2010/11) on Cape Town have been reported on comparatively with the four selected metropolitan areas for the most serious types of crime in Cape Town, namely violent crime, commercial crime and drug-related crime. The crime trends from 2003 to 2011 for Cape Town and South Africa as a whole have been presented for each of these crime categories.

Overall, crime levels in Cape Town and across South Africa remain high³⁰. However, there has been a slight decrease of the actual reported crime rate in Cape Town and nationally at less than 1% and 3% respectively in the last reporting period 2010/11. The overall crime rate per 100 000 population in Cape Town is nearly double that compared to the national crime rate over the same reporting period 2003 to 2011, with Cape Town's overall estimated crime rates of all reported crimes in 2010/11, the highest relative to other selected Metropolitan areas in South Africa.

Of the three categories of crime analysed, for Cape Town and South Africa, reported violent crimes are either decreasing or stabilizing. Although the reported murder rate is still uncomfortably high, it has reduced by nearly 6% at a national level in 2010/11. Cape Town's reported murder rate has increased by 4% and has the highest rates for murder, attempted murder and total sexual crimes out of the four selected metropolitan cities in 2010/11. Sexual crimes, violent assault and robbery with aggravating circumstances are all showing decreasing trends both for Cape Town and at a national level. Cape Town has the lowest rate for robbery with aggravating circumstances in all the Metropolitan areas. There is no dramatic increase in absolute number of cases of house robberies and reported violent assault figures have shown decreasing trends in Cape Town since 2004. Business robberies in Cape Town have increased by 16% in the last reporting year. Good news is that car hi-jacking has decreased by 7% nationally and 20% in Cape Town in the last reporting year (2010/11).

³⁰ It must be noted that increases in certain crime type incidences e.g. drunken driving, drug-related crimes, may be a result of improved reporting and law enforcement, and are not necessarily a result of higher crime levels

Commercial crime or 'white collar' crime, at a national level has been increasing significantly over the period 2005/6 to 2008/9, with a slight decline in 2009/10 and 2010/11 of 1.6% and 0.8% respectively for Cape Town. Cape Town has the second lowest commercial crime rate of all the selected metropolitan areas.

In 2010/11, Cape Town had a drug related crime rate four times higher than the rest of South Africa. The fact that Cape Town has the highest rate relative to the other selected metropolitan areas for drug-related crime and the 2nd highest rate for driving under the influence alcohol or drugs is also significant, and is a serious and growing concern for all spheres of government and other stakeholders.

In Cape Town, a disproportionate amount of crime is found in a relatively small number of police precincts. The city's social fabric is undermined by social marginalisation and high levels of social criminality, especially drug and murder-related crimes. This requires concerted interdisciplinary, multi-sectoral interventions to build social equity, foster a sense of community, and encourage residents (especially youth) to engage in (re)building their communities. Concerted efforts need to focus on youth, social and economic development and education support programming in order to develop and integrate young people between the ages of 15 and 25 (of whom approximately 50% are currently unemployed) (QLFS 2011), into the economy, and to reduce the pull of young people into social and other forms of crime (City of Cape Town, 2011).

Addressing youth unemployment and youth development across all communities and areas in Cape Town are key components of a strategy to prevent disaffected and unemployed youth from being pulled into an rampant drug-crime environment, and could potentially enhance social development and inclusion. A focus on youth is likely to have positive medium-term to longer term spin-offs, such as a reduction in youth uptake of drug and gangster lifestyles, as well as a skills and energy injection into the economy (City of Cape Town, 2011).

The continuous gang violence and related territorial battles in Cape Town which have been playing out for decades, suggests the need for a dedicated gang and drug specialised police unit in the Western Cape. According to Provincial Police Commissioner, Lieutenant General Arno Lamoer, any decision to reintroduce a gang unit could only be taken by the SAPS National Commissioner (Sunday Times, 1st July 2012). He also went on to say that SA Police Service was guided by patterns of gang-related incidents and crime and based on these trends, "resources are deployed which entail a higher police presence in areas with greater requirements." His argument

was as “gangs do not live and operate in isolation of communities, we need to have the community involvement and a more integrated approach”.

Cape Town Mayor Patricia de Lille said the City of Cape Town had formed its own “gang unit” of six metro police officers, with eight to be added later. They have made 143 gang and drug related arrests. Community Safety MEC, Dan Plato said “Specialised units have proved to be an effective strategy...to investigate, detect arrest and ensure successful conviction”. (Cape Times, 6th September 2012). The City had also managed to close down 10 drug houses and employed metropolitan police in crime hot spots” (Sunday Times, 1st July 2012).

This report and the patterns and trends outlined, will assist various City of Cape Town and other spheres of government departments with detailed planning and areas that need additional attention and/or targeted police initiatives. In particular, the information and analysis can contribute to the Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department’s Annual Police Plan.

8. CONCLUSION

Crime and causes and solutions are complex matters and crime is often the manifestation of other underlying challenges or issues, mainly socio-economic. The key question the government must ask is: what are the most effective interventions we can undertake to manage crime and bring down the crime rate, especially to address underlying social and economic issues, including social and interpersonal family issues.

A National Crime Prevention Strategy has been prepared and is based on a new approach by government. In particular, it requires the development of wider responsibility for crime prevention and a shift in emphasis from reactive "crime control"; which deploys most resources towards responding after crimes have already been committed, towards proactive "crime prevention" aimed at preventing crime from occurring at all. A multi-agency approach to crime prevention remains the root of this strategy and recognizes the myriad of stakeholders that collectively contribute towards safety and security in a region (Safety and Security, National Government, 1996).

Existing crime data in South Africa is largely unreliable and can be misleading. This places a priority on gathering reliable crime information so as to facilitate the effective deployment of resources and dynamic and responsive strategic planning. The National Crime Prevention Strategy further advocates localised solutions for crime prevention through reliable data

management and information. SAPS only releases statistics once a year, and does not provide any other statistics unless they have been released by the National Minister. Western Cape MEC for Safety and Security, Dan Plato, said the Western Cape Community Safety Bill would go a long way to reducing dependence on annual statistics. “Provision is made in the Bill to establish, administer and maintain an Integrated Safety Information System, which aims to reduce the dependency on crime statistics alone, so that limited resources can be deployed where most needed” (Sunday Times, 1st July 2012). According to Western Cape Premier, Helen Zille, there is an urgent need to introduce the Bill. However, the national Minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, had discussed this with Western Cape Provincial Commissioner, Lieutenant – General Lamoer, who said that police in the Western Cape have a plan on dealing with crime in general, including the gang violence (Sunday Times, 1st July 2012).

According to a report in the Cape Argus newspaper (7th February 2012), the reason for crime rates falling in traditionally violent cities, such as New York (where there was a 77% drop in crime over 16 years) and Los Angeles is due, in large measure, to a management information system adopted by the police called Compstat. It is a GIS based system that is transparent to the public as well as law enforcement and management agencies. This system and process is centred on using crime data to determine police strategies and to hold precinct commanders accountable for their performance. As the police have access to the relevant information, they can correlate crime statistics with a range of factors – including alcohol and drug abuse – which in New York, turned out to be one of the most significant variables. This system reveals that the most effective way to drive down crime is policy interventions, based on detailed and relevant information, as well as accountability in the policing system. A number of short-term and long-term interventions have been introduced in the Western Cape since 2009, with the priority of tackling high levels of alcohol and drug abuse in the province (Cape Argus, February 7th 2012).

Development issues are interrelated, multifaceted and crime solutions demand a holistic, integrated approach across a wide spectrum of communities (Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department Annual Police Plan 2010/11). ‘Finding a solution to crime goes beyond law enforcement alone and it is therefore essential that everyone works together to solve crime – law enforcement can only deal with the symptoms of crime’ – Commissioner Mzwandile Petros, Former Provincial Commissioner of the South African Police Service, Western Cape, 2008.

Fundamental is the involvement of all relevant stakeholders i.e. communities, Community Police Forums (CPF’s), law enforcement agencies, the legal system and SAPS.

The Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department Annual Police Plan should outline the focus areas, outcomes and objectives of the local government related to crime prevention and crime reaction, in close collaboration with SAPS as far as these relate to crime prevention. Other mechanisms, such as the interventions in and implementation of the City's Integrated Development Plan (IDP), as well as Community Police Forums (CPFs) and other stakeholders, also influence the objectives, outcomes and success of the plan. The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN – Habitat) through its Safer Cities Programme, also supports the notion of local government taking action, through Mayors as per the outcome of the International Conference on Sustainable Safety (Durban, 2003).

Analysing, reporting and tracking of the crime statistics and data over the last eight years, specifically for Cape Town metropolitan area, and continuing to improve data sources is important to obtain crime and trend patterns. This report contributes to the process.

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10. ANNEXURE 1 Listing of Police Precincts in Cape Town and four Metropolitan Cities in South Africa.

City of Cape Town	Johannesburg	Tshwane	Ekurhuleni	eThekweni
Police Precincts	Police Precincts	Police Precincts	Police Precincts	Police Precincts
1 Athlone	1 Alexandra	1 Akasia	1 Actonville	1 Amanzimtoti
2 Atlantis	2 Booysens	2 Atteridgeville	2 Alberton	2 Bayview
3 Belhar	3 Bramley	3 Brooklyn	3 Bedfordview	3 Bellair
4 Bellville	4 Brixton	4 Dube	4 Benoni	4 Berea
5 Bellville South	5 Cleveland	5 eersterust	5 Boksburg	5 Bhekithemba
6 Bishop Lavis	6 Diepkloof	6 Erasmia	6 BoksburgNorth	6 Brightonbeach
7 Bothasig	7 Diepsloot	7 Garankuwa	7 Brackendowns	7 Catomanor
8 Brackenfel	8 Dopsonville	8 Garsfontein	8 Brakpan	8 Chatsworth
9 Camps Bay	9 Douglasdale	9 Hammanskraal	9 CrystalPark	9 DBN Central
10 Cape Town Central	10 Dube	10 Hercules	10 Daveyton	10 DBN INT Airport
11 Claremont	11 Eldoradopark	11 Klipgat	11 Dawnpark	11 Durban North
12 Delft	12 Ennerdale	12 Laudiam	12 Duduza	12 Folweni
13 Diepriver	13 Fairland	13 Loate	13 Dunnottar	13 Greenwoodpark
14 Durbanville	14 Florida	14 Lyttelton	14 Edenpark	14 Hammersdale
15 Elsies River	15 Hillbrow	15 Mabopane	15 Edenvale	15 Hillcrest
16 Fishhoek	16 Honeydew	16 Mamelodi	16 Elsburg	16 Inanda
17 Goodwood	17 Ivorypark	17 PTA Cenral	17 Etwatwa	17 Inchanga
18 Gordon's Bay	18 Jabulani	18 PTA North	18 Ivory Park	18 Isipingo
19 Grassy Park	19 Jeppe	19 PTA West	19 Germistion	19 Kwadabeka
20 Guguletu	20 JHB Central	20 Rietgat	20 Katlehong	20 Kwamakhuta
21 Harare	21 Kliptown	21 Siverton	21 Kempton Park	21 Kwamashu
22 Houtbay	22 Langlaagte	22 Sinoville	22 Klipriver	22 Kwandengezi
23 Kensington	23 Lenasia	23 Shoshanguve	23 Kwathema	23 Lamontville
24 Khayelitsha	24 Lenasia South	24 Sunnyside	24 Nigel	24 Malvern
25 Kirstenhof	25 Lindin	25 Temba	25 Norkempark	25 Marianhill
26 KleinVei	26 Meadowlands	26 Villeria	26 Olifantsfontein	26 Maydonwharf
27 Kraaifontein	27 Midrand	27 Wierdabrug	27 ORT International	27 Mayville
28 Kuilsriver	28 Mondeor	28 Wonderboompoort	28 Primrose	28 Montclair
29 Langa	29 Moroka		29 Putfontein	29 Mpumalanga
30 Lansdowne	30 Naledi		30 Reigerpark	30 Newlandseast
31 Lingeletu West	31 Norwood		31 Sebenza	31 Phoenix
32 Lwandle	32 Orangefarms		32 Springs	32 Pinetown
33 Macassar	33 Orlando		33 Tembisa	33 Point
34 Maitland	34 Parkview		34 Tokoza	34 Sydenham
35 Maneberg	35 Proteaglen		35 Tsakane	35 Tongaat
36 Melkbostrand	36 Rabie Ridge		36 Vosloorus	36 Umbilo
37 Mfuleni	37 Randburg		37 Welbekend	37 Umbumbulu
38 Milnerton	38 Roodepoort		38 Zonkizizwe	38 Umkomaas
39 Mitchell Plain	39 Rosebank			39 Umlazi
40 Mowbray	40 Sandringham			40 Umsundizi
41 Muizenberg	41 Sandton			41 Verulam
42 Nyanga	42 Sophiatown			42 Wentworth
43 Ocean View	43 Yeoville			43 Westville
44 Parow				
45 Philadelphia				
46 Philippi				
47 Philippi East				
48 Pinelands				
49 Ravensmead				
50 Rondebosch				
51 Seapoint				
52 Simonstown				
53 Somerset West				
54 Steenberg				
55 Strand				
56 Strandfontein				
57 Tablebay Harbour				
58 Tableview				
59 Woodstock				
60 Wynberg				

Source: South African Police Services (2011), compiled by the Metropolitan Police Department, Safety and Security, City of Cape Town