The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities
REPORT

2022

urban safety
reference group

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ACRONYMS

BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
CAS	Crime Administration System
COJ	City of Johannesburg
CoCT	City of Cape Town
COE	City of Ekurhuleni
COT	City of Tshwane
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CSPS	Civilian Secretariat for Police Services
DOCS	Department of Community Safety
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
DSL	Department of Safety and Liaison
DWYPD	Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities
EMM	eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality
EMS	Emergency Management Services
GBH	Grievous Bodily Harm
GBVF	Gender-based Violence and Femicide
GDCS	Gauteng Department of Community Safety
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDS	Growth and Development Strategy
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GLT	Gunshot Location Technology
HDI	Human Development Index
ICDMS	Investigative Case Docket Management System
ICM	Intermediate City Municipalities
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
NMBM	Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality
MMM	Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality
MYPE	Mid-Year Population Estimates
NMBM	Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality
NSP on GBVF	Gender-based Violence and Femicide National Strategic Plan
NUA	New Urban Agenda
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
PSIRA	Private Security Industry Regulation Authority
SACN	South African Cities Network
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAPS	South African Police Service
SCODA	SA Cities Open Data Almanac
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
TMPD	Tshwane Metro Police Department
UN	United Nations
USRG	Urban Safety Reference Group
VCP	Violence and Crime Prevention
VCS	Victims of Crime Survey
VPUU	Violence Prevention and Urban Upgrade

FOREWORD

In its ninth year, the Urban Safety Reference Group has produced a critical longitudinal dataset of Crime Statistics aggregated to the City level (2005-2022). The dataset illustrates the changes and trends in Crime levels in South Africa's largest Cities. Unfortunately, the 2022 statistics demonstrate a challenging picture of Safety in our Cities, which reflects the post-pandemic local government social and economic landscape.

Within this complex context, the need for credible data to drive evidence-based decision-making by City administrations is ever more crucial. As such, this edition of the State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities further aggregates the six objective crime indicators, taken from the police station level, and represents this data spatially per City. It is intended that this further disaggregated data enables Cities to understand the level and rate of crime at the neighbourhood level and to make targeted safety interventions in collaboration with all-of-government and all-of-society actors. At this time, collective efforts are needed more than ever for Cities to become safer Cities. We have added a critical spatial lens to how we present crime trends per city. It is our hope that with this spatialized sub-categorization of data, we enable all functions in a city to see their role and come on board to drive the agenda of making our cities safer in a multidisciplinary way.

Sincerely,

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                                                          and Crime Prevention
                                                          Programme (VCP)

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This report analyses the state of crime and violence in nine of South Africa's major cities: Johannesburg, Cape Town, eThekwini, Ekurhuleni, Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay, Mangaung, Buffalo City and Msunduzi. As noted above, the analysis is based on data derived from SAPS' annual crime statistics for the financial year 1 April 2021 to 31 March 2022. While this data is released at national, provincial and police precinct levels, for this report, police precinct data has been aggregated to the city level to provide a better understanding of the public safety challenges at a more localised level. Through this, the intention is to provide meaningful data to support decision-making regarding the interventions needed. In addition, the continuous time series of city-level crime statistics spans 17 years, from 2005/06 to 2021/22, offering a view of longitudinal trends of selected crimes in these cities.

Interpreting Crime Statistics

The SAPS annually collects and disseminates statistics on crimes recorded at the 1,162 police stations within the borders of South Africa. The crimes recorded by the SAPS include those reported by victims, witnesses or third parties and those detected by police officials. The data collection process begins with an incident of an alleged crime being assessed for its unlawfulness. At this point, the incident is then classified. The incident is recorded in a case docket and entered into the SAPS Investigative Case Docket Management System (ICDMS) and the Crime Administration System (CAS). Crimes are grouped into various broad categories, as listed in Figure 1 below. These are the categories of crimes for which official figures are currently released for public use. This is, however, not an exhaustive list of all crimes recorded by the police.

COMMUNITY-REPORTED SERIOUS CRIMES

CONTACT CRIMES

Murder, attempted murder, assault with intent to inflict GBH, common assault, sexual offences

(rape, sexual assault, attempted sexual offences, contact sexual offences)

Contact-related crimes (arson, malicious damage to property)

Common robbery, robbery with aggravating circumstances

(including truck hijacking, bank robbery, cash-in-transit robbery, SAPS-designated priority crimes of carjacking, robbery at residential and at non-residential premises)

PROPERTY-RELATED CRIMES

Burglary at residential and non-residential premises

Stock theft

Theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles

Theft out of motor vehicles

OTHER SERIOUS CRIMES

All theft not mentioned elsewhere

Commercial crime

Shoplifting

CRIMES DEPENDENT ON POLICE ACTION FOR DETECTION

Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition

Driving under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs

Drug-related crimes

Sexual offences detected as a result of police action

Source: 2019 and 2020 State of Cities Report

'Contact crime' or 'serious violent crime' comprises about forty per cent of serious crimes reported to the police (also known as 'community-reported serious crimes'). Contact crimes include interpersonal violent crimes such as murder, attempted murder, and all forms of assault, including sexual offences.

Another type of violent crime is 'violent property-related crime', which in turn consists of two main crime categories:

- The first is 'common robbery', which is the violent removal of property from a person through force, harm, or the threat of harm.
- The 'second is robbery with aggravating circumstances', also known as 'armed robbery', because a weapon is used (most often a firearm or knife). This second category – armed robbery – is broken down into further sub-categories in terms of location. These include 'robbery at non-residential premises' (mainly small businesses), 'robbery at residential premises', and 'carjacking'. These three are the so-called 'trio crimes', which are prioritised by the police and the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA).

Other subcategories include 'truck hijackings', 'bank robberies' and 'cash-in-transit robberies'. Most armed robberies are thought to happen to civilians on the street or in other public spaces ('street robberies'), but the police do not expressly release figures for this crime category.

The police category of 'property-related crime' includes 'residential and non-residential burglary' and 'theft of and out of motor vehicles'. This makes up about a quarter of serious 'community-reported crime'.

'Other serious crime', mainly types of theft (such as 'stock theft', 'shoplifting' and 'commercial crime'), makes up roughly a quarter of crime. 'Contact-related crime' ('arson' and 'malicious damage to property') is the smallest sub-category, at around seven per cent.

'Crime detected as a result of police action' consists of cases stemming from roadblocks and other police operations, resulting in the detection of 'drug-related crimes', 'driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol', the discovery of 'illegal firearms and ammunition', and, since 2011/12, the detection of 'sexual offences'. These figures are thus determined by police action, as recorded by the police and not by community members. They are, therefore, not a measure of the actual incidence of the crime category.

Most crimes in the overall category of 'crime detected as a result of police action' are drug-related. This is because many police operations target those selling and buying drugs. However, the actual drug use and distribution levels are generally understood to be mostly unaffected by police action. As a result, changes in these figures should not be used to indicate the availability of drugs per se or the market size. Figures on 'driving under the influence' may also reflect levels of police action rather than the scale of the problem.

Reliability of the Crime Statistics

It is important to note that police statistics are not considered a scientific or objective measure of all the crimes that occurred in a given location and time period. Instead, they represent a data collection process designed to assist law enforcement organisations in the practical execution and evaluation of their duties. The SAPS' crime statistics should always be qualified as 'crime statistics as reported to and recorded by the police'. This is important to note, as many crimes are not reported to the police and, therefore, do appear in the crime statistics.

A range of factors influences whether a crime is reported to the police – for example:
- The understanding victims and witnesses hold of the types of incidents that are deemed to be appropriate for police attention versus those that are more appropriate for interpersonal, family, or community resolution
- Victim and witness interpretation of various parties' legal rights and responsibilities (i.e., whether or not they think that a crime or unlawful act has occurred)
- Victim and witness willingness or ability to initiate an official legal process following what may already have been a traumatic incident
- The ability of victims and witnesses to access police services and produce an accurate written record of the event

Generally, individuals who have relatively high levels of wealth and education, an expectation of personal safety, hold insurance policies on their goods, and have a sense of trust in the police, are more likely to report a criminal incident which they experienced as a victim or witness. The crimes experienced by poor, vulnerable or marginalised individuals are far less likely to be reported to or recorded by the police.

Consequently, different crime categories have different levels of reliability or validity as an indicator of actual crime levels. For example, surveys suggest that a vast majority (about 80%) of motor vehicle thefts in South Africa are reported to the police. The reason why this is so high is that victims need an official case number to be able to claim insurance on a stolen vehicle. However, only about half to 59% of residential burglaries are reported to the police, as most victims do not have household insurance. Moreover, many believe that the police will not or cannot do anything to help them.[1] Such differences in reporting rates can produce crime statistics presenting a distorted impression of crime prevalence, distribution, or trends.

Crime statistics should always be interpreted in the context of independent survey data on crime experiences and reporting, such as that provided by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) in its annual National Victims of Crime Survey (VoCS).

An additional difficulty in analysing crime statistics is that crime reporting rates are not evenly distributed across any country, city, neighbourhood, or even household. Moreover, statistics for crime categories do not provide sufficient insight into the nature of the crime risk or threat. For example, knowing the number of murders and the trends says nothing about the victims, perpetrators, specific locality, or causal factors driving murder. It is thus important to analyse crime levels and drivers at the smallest geographical scale possible. As discussed in previous reports, this is very difficult in the South African context. For one thing, despite recording a disproportionate share of many major crime types, South African cities do not have access to point-level crime data to better understand hotspots and respond to their unique crime situations.

The best that can be done with available SAPS crime data is to generate city-level crime statistics. This, in and of itself, requires specific technical work, given that the SAPS does not release crime statistics for individual cities.

Methodology

The methodology used when compiling the crime statistics at a city level is outlined below – with the same four steps used as in previous iterations of this report.

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[1] Statistics South Africa, Victims of Crime Survey 2019/2020, P0341, 2020, p. 15, 23. Statistics South Africa, Victims of Crime Survey 2021/2022, P0341, 2020, pp. 16.

Step 1: Determine which police station areas fall within the relevant municipal boundaries

- This step is necessary because the geographical boundaries that pertain to SAPS police precincts do not correspond with municipal boundaries or the boundaries of any other source of governance-relevant data, making it difficult to track and compare data at a city level.
- Geographic information system (GIS) technology is used to overlay the spatial boundaries of the police station areas (as provided by the SAPS) with the spatial boundaries of the municipalities (provided by Stats SA, as for Census 2011). In 2022, as in 2019, 2020 and 2021, the precinct boundaries were overlaid with the 2018 municipal boundaries (as updated by the Municipal Demarcation Board). Police stations with 50% or more of their geographical area falling within the relevant municipal boundaries are included in each city's list of stations.
- One exception is the Msunduzi police station in KwaZulu-Natal, which extends over three different municipalities (with the largest being eThekwini, with a 43% share of this precinct falling within its municipal boundary). Three new police station areas were included for Mangaung and one for eThekwini, as both these cities' boundaries were expanded during the 2016 demarcation process. At the same time, the area included under Mangaung increased substantially towards the south and now includes the police station precincts of Dewetsdorp, Van Stadensrus and Wepener. eThekwini's municipal boundary was also extended towards the southwest to include the Umbumbulu police precinct. In 2021, the SAPS added crime statistics for three new police stations in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape, with these additional stations built to provide additional resources to high-crime communities. In 2021/2022, no new stations were added, but new stations were formed in 2022/23.

Step 2: Sum the relevant stations' crime figures for each of the 20+ crime types for the last 17 years for each city

- The crime figures recorded at all the police stations allocated to each municipality (through Step 1 above) are added up to give the total number of crimes recorded at a municipal level for each of the last 17 years. This spans all the crime figures recorded between 1 April 2005 and 31 March 2022. Recent quarterly releases have not been included, as these figures are not certified as the official crime statistics by the Statistician General and cannot be compared for the same quarter over previous years. These represent a snapshot of crime on a specific date and are not directly comparable with the annual statistics.

Step 3: Determine an appropriate population estimate for each city for each of the last 17 years

- This step is necessary because the cities vary in population size, and many have changed significantly over the last 17 years. Stats SA releases annual mid-year population estimates (MYPE) based on census and other data using the 'cohort-component method'.[2] This method uses a model – including what has been determined from censuses about each area's demographics (such as age and sex) and levels of fertility, mortality, and international migration – to produce an estimate of the population in June of each year.

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[2] Statistics South Africa, Mid-Year Population Estimates 2021, 2022 https://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1854&PPN=P0302.

These population projections are provided for the country, provinces, and each of the country's metropolitan and district council areas. Ideally, the preferred population data should be at the mid-point for the period under review (i.e., September of the financial period) to allow for more accurate per capita rates. Still, these are not published by Stats SA.

The 2022 MYPE include updated estimates for 2021 and the previous years. These estimates are used unaltered for eight cities discussed in this report. However, Msunduzi is a local rather than a metropolitan municipality. Its population estimates for each year have been derived from the 2022 MYPE for local municipalities, which has Census 2011 as the base year, as adjusted by the annual percentage growth projected for its district (uMgungundlovu District Municipality). By far being the largest local municipality in this district with two-thirds of its population, it is reasonable to assume that projected growth in Msunduzi local municipality is in line with that of the larger district.

The population figures for 2012 to 2021 (based on the 2022 MYPE released by Stats SA) are in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1: Population estimates per city according to Stats SA 2020 mid-year population estimates (2012-2022)

City	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Growth rate
Buffalo City	800 239	801 542	802 602	803 215	803 476	803 293	802 966	802 506	800 874	800 981	-0,1%
Cape Town	3 890 505	3 980 132	4 069 606	4 158 178	4 246 670	4 333 921	4 423 834	4 514 918	4 604 986	4 682 755	2,1%
Ekurhuleni	3 266 954	3 351 924	3 439 884	3 530 064	3 622 885	3 715 613	3 805 825	3 894 969	3 982 223	4 076 421	2,5%
eThekwini	3 559 395	3 608 910	3 658 647	3 707 923	3 757 349	3 812 103	3 868 517	3 926 230	3 981 205	4 002 705	1,3%
Johannesburg	4 569 498	4 723 020	4 883 370	5 049 204	5 221 035	5 384 380	5 545 624	5 706 791	5 866 550	5 967 573	2,9%
Mangaung	798 394	807 345	816 660	826 154	835 900	844 920	853 893	862 732	870 920	835 917	0,0%
Msunduzi	630 985	640 100	649 326	658 730	668 365	677 692	687 179	696 689	715 154	724 998	1,7%
Nelson Mandela Bay	1 166 392	1 173 686	1 180 732	1 187 246	1 193 407	1 198 890	1 204 201	1 209 429	1 213 060	1 212 718	0,3%
Tshwane	2 998 929	3 084 142	3 173 484	3 266 231	3 362 806	3 455 310	3 546 798	3 638 328	3 729 104	4 679 483	7,8%
All Metro	*21 681 291*	*22 170 801*	*22 674 311*	*23 186 945*	*23 711 893*	*24 226 122*	*24 738 837*	*25 252 592*	*25 766 095*	*26 983 552*	*2,8%*
RSA	**52 814 824**	**53 636 678**	**54 477 990**	**55 327 828**	**56 189 972**	**57 056 765**	**57 924 791**	**58 793 276**	**59 622 350**	**59 964 917**	**1,3%**

Step 4: Divide the relevant crime figures by the relevant population estimate for each of the 20+ crime types for the last 17 years for each city

- This step is necessary because trends and differences in city populations must be considered when comparing their crime statistics. Dividing the raw number of crime figures recorded by the appropriate population estimate makes generating a crime rate per 100,000 people possible. On this basis, one can compare what official statistics say about the level of reported criminal victimisation or risk experienced by the people in those populations.

The following example illustrates the importance of accounting for each city's population: Mangaung has seen a count of 279 murders recorded in the 2021/22 year, three times less than the 822 murders recorded during the same period in Tshwane. This might lead one to conclude that Tshwane's residents face a higher risk of murder than those in Mangaung. However, once one has accounted for the fact that Tshwane has more than four times the population, it becomes clear that the average resident of Mangaung is 1.9 times more likely to be murdered than the average resident of Tshwane, despite the latter area recording a higher number of murders. Similarly, with 3 165 murders, Cape Town has three times the number of murders compared to the 970 of Nelson Mandela Bay. Yet Cape Town has nearly four times the population of Nelson Mandela Bay, resulting in these two cities holding murder rates of 68 and 80 per 100,000 population, respectively.

The figure below indicates that five cities (Buffalo City, Cape Town, eThekwini, Nelson Mandela Bay and Msunduzi) have a murder rate above the national average of 42 murders per 100,000 population. Johannesburg, Mangaung, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane all record murder rates below the national average.

FIGURE 2: Absolute number of murders compared to murder rates per 100 000 (2021/22)

National Crime Trends

Property Crimes

Non-violent property crimes (burglaries, thefts, and fraud) constitute more than half (51%) of all serious crimes recorded by the SAPS. These crimes have seen substantial and fairly steady declines over the long term. For example, the recorded rates of residential burglary and theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles have more than halved since 1994. [3] These long-term trends are confirmed by the results of surveys conducted with victims of crime, providing an important source of corroboration.[4]

Percentage changes over the past ten years alone (2010/21 to 2019/20) showed marked decreases of 45% in 'theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle', 'theft out of or from motor vehicle' and 'burglary at residential premises'. [5] Decreases for 'burglary at non-residential premises'(-23%) over this period were more muted.

Between 2020/21 and 2021/22, marginal decreases were again recorded in the categories of 'burglary at residential premises' (-6%), 'burglary at non-residential premises' (-3%), and 'theft out of or from motor vehicle' (-3%). However, theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles (6%) increased by six per cent.

TABLE 2: Non-violent property crime rates

Property Crime	Rate 2011/2012	Rate 2020/2021	Rate 2021/2022	Percentage change over 1 year	Percentage change over 10 years
Burglary at non-residential premises	134	110	104	-6%	-23%
Burglary at residential premises	470	268	260	-3%	-45%
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	113	59	62	6%	-45%
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	249	140	136	-3%	-45%

Violent property-related crime rates have seen increases over a ten-year period. The rate of total robbery with aggravating circumstances has risen by about 14% over ten years since 2011/12. During this period, the subcategory of robbery at residential premises has risen by 13%. Robbery at non-residential premises has risen 9% since 2011/12. Carjacking has seen a substantial 93% increase since 2011/12. However, these three priority crimes (known as the 'trio crimes') have shown substantive decreases in the last year, as illustrated in the table below. Carjacking decreased by 24%, non-residential robbery increased by 9% and residential robbery by 4%. Overall, aggravated robbery increased by 10% in the past year.

[3] A Kriegler & M Shaw, A Citizen's Guide to Crime Trends in South Africa, 2016, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Cape Town. The authors provide 1995 rates for residential burglary and theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles of 596 and 273, respectively, in the annexure page 187.

[4] Note that the Victims of Crime Survey 2017/18, 2018/19 and 2019/20 from Statistics South Africa showed increases in the victimisation rate of residential burglary. The 2020/21 survey showed a decrease in the number of housebreakings. The 2021/22 survey shows statistically insignificant increases with rates on par with 2017/18, 2018/19 and 2019/20 levels.

[5] These downward trends in non-violent property crimes are consistent with those in several other countries worldwide.

TABLE 3: Violent Property Crime Rates

Violent Property Crime	Rate 2011/2012	Rate 2020/2021	Rate 2021/2022	Percentage change over 1 year	Percentage change over 10 years
Carjacking	18	28	35	24%	93%
Robbery at residential premises	32	35	36	4%	13%
Robbery at non-residential premises	31	31	33	9%	9%
Aggravated Robbery	194	201	221	10%	14%

The risk of falling victim to violent property crime is two to seven times lower compared to non-violent property crime. [6] Yet violent property crime has a much bigger impact on the victims and on overall feelings of safety. This is because of the direct contact between the perpetrator and the victim during which violence or the threat of violence occurs. Victims of violent property crimes, therefore, tend to experience high levels of emotional trauma, irrespective of the physical harm and financial loss suffered.

Contributing factors that may influence changes in violent property crime trends include:

- Changes in security systems and technology. Improved security systems or products (e.g., burglar bars, alarm systems, cameras, and vehicle immobilisers) can make it more difficult and riskier for criminals to gain access to houses, businesses, and vehicles without a victim present. Improved barriers to entry of residences and businesses or access to vehicles may be driving increasing numbers of perpetrators to use violent measures to gain access to desired items. For example, obtaining goods secured in a safe in a building with burglar bars and electric fencing is easier and quicker with victim cooperation to facilitate access.
- Possession of high-value items. High-value items such as laptop computers, tablets, cell phones, expensive watches and jewellery have a large second-hand market. Individuals who carry these items on their person or possess them in their homes may be specifically targeted. The possible displacement effect from non-violent to violent property crimes requires further research in the South African context.
- ·Failures of policing. Robbery can be substantially reduced through effective policing. Robberies are perpetrated by relatively small groups of repeat offenders who are often networked. Effective police crime intelligence and detective work can result in significant arrests and prosecutions that will substantially disrupt these networks. Consequently, fewer robberies are committed as increasing numbers of perpetrators are sent to correctional facilities, and fewer perpetrators turn to this type of crime due to the increased risks of incarceration. Unfortunately, SAPS intelligence and investigative capability deteriorated notably from 2012 onwards. Consequently, perpetrators increasingly see robbery as a high-reward, low-risk crime.

Specific anti-robbery strategies are now required in high-robbery areas, targeting specific individuals and networks of perpetrators. During the Covid-19 lockdown restrictions since April 2020, organised and syndicated crime flourished while police resources and attention were diverted away from routine crime-combating operations

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[6] Seven times more residential burglaries were reported to the SAPS compared to residential robberies. Three times more non-residential burglaries were reported to the SAPS compared to non-residential robberies. Two times more theft of motor vehicles were reported to the SAPS compared to carjackings.

Interpersonal Violent Crimes

The rates for murder, as well as other recorded interpersonal violent crimes, have shown mixed results over the past ten years. Rates of murder (40%) and attempted murder (30%) have increased over the past ten years, whilst rates for sexual offences (-24%), assault with the intent to inflict Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) (-26%) and common assault (-18%) all recorded decreases over this period.

TABLE 4: Interpersonal violent crime rates

| Interpersonal violent crime	Rate 2010/2011	Rate 2019/2020	Rate 2020/21	Percentage change over 1 year	Percentage change over 10 years
Murder	30	33	42	25,4%	40%
Total Sexual Crimes	116	78	88	13,4%	-24%
Attempted murder	28	31	37	17%	30%
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	368	241	272	13%	-26%
Common assault	346	251	283	13%	-18%

All rates for interpersonal violence increased between 2020/21 and 2021/22. Rates of murder (24%) and attempted murder (17%), sexual offences (13%), assault with the intent to inflict Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) (13%) and common assault (13%) all recorded increases over this period.

Internationally, murder is considered a robust (although imperfect) comparative measure of violence. This is because murder incidents are considered one of the most reliable crime statistics, as the police record most incidents. South Africa's murder rate of 42 per 100,000 people is seven times higher than the international average and more than three times higher than the average for the African continent. Since the advent of democracy, murder and attempted murder have mostly declined. However, this changed in 2011/12, after which these crime types recorded a notable upward trend.

A longer-time perspective shows that South African murder levels nationally have not been below 30 per 100,000 since at least the 1970s.[7] This is considered very high by global standards. Only a handful of countries record murder rates at this level. Comparative global research shows that a very strong predictor of a country's level of crime and violence is its level of inequality as measured by its Gini coefficient. South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world, if not the most unequal. Addressing inequality must no longer be considered an abstract and long-term ideal.

[7] A Kriegler & M Shaw, A Citizen's Guide to Crime Trends in South Africa, 2016, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Cape Town

FIGURE 3: South Africa's murder rate per 100,000 (1994/95-2021/22)
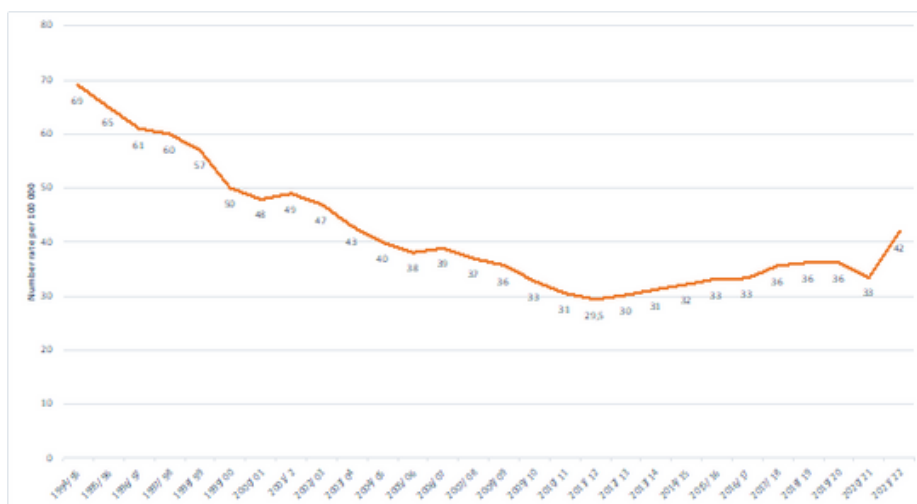
Although the murder rate more than halved between 1994/95 and 2011/12, it increased gradually to 42 murders per 100,000 population in 2021/22. The exception is in 2020/21, when the rate temporarily dropped to 33.5 murders per 100,000. As indicated below, the slight decrease in the 2020/21 year can be attributed to the restrictions placed on the country in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic. The 2021/22 increases will likely continue in the medium term because the drivers of violence (such as increasing food insecurity and growing inequality) have not been addressed – and may have been exacerbated by the pandemic. There is, however, a range of factors that could be driving the increases. These include socio-economic deterioration, increased inequality and food insecurity, increased political corruption resulting in deteriorating police and criminal justice performance, subsequent declines in public trust in the government, an influx of firearms into high-risk areas and increasing levels of inter-group conflict such as gang and taxi violence. Many of these are far more pronounced in urban settings experiencing rapid urbanisation.

Different factors are likely to drive increases in murders in different geographical localities. For example, in wealthier cities with high economic activity, murder is often driven by residential robbery or hijacking. In contrast, increased gang activity or conflict could be the leading cause in certain poorer urban areas. It is, therefore, essential to identify precisely what specific factors are at play in particular murder hotspots. For example, multiple murders (two or more victims) also drive the murder rate again, specifically in KZN, Gauteng, Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. Some of these murders relate to retaliations or revenge attacks as part of inter-group violence. In other cases, the motives may relate to vigilantism, taxi violence or gang violence.

As recommended in previous reports, crime prevention resources can be effective when they are very narrowly targeted to specific localities, populations, and crime factors. The USRG's hotspots research of 2017 was an attempt to encourage precisely this kind of highly localised problem-solving thinking.

Comparing the cities' trends in specific crime types to each other, to the average of the nine, and to the national levels reveals the unique challenges that each city needs to face. It is this that is addressed in the section that follows.

Latest City Trends in Key Crime Categories

This section examines the main crime types for 17 years since 2005/06 and compares the nine cities to national and average metro trends. It is not an exhaustive account of the crime trends in the relevant cities but points to some important features and trends observed in crime statistics.

Murder

While 45% of the South African population resides in these cities, half (50%) of all recorded murders happened in the nine cities in 2020/21. The average murder rate of 46.5 per 100,000 for the nine cities is well above the national murder rate (42). Most cities have followed the national trend – namely, an overall decline over the long-term period, with a subsequent increase from around 2011/12.

FIGURE 4: Murder per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
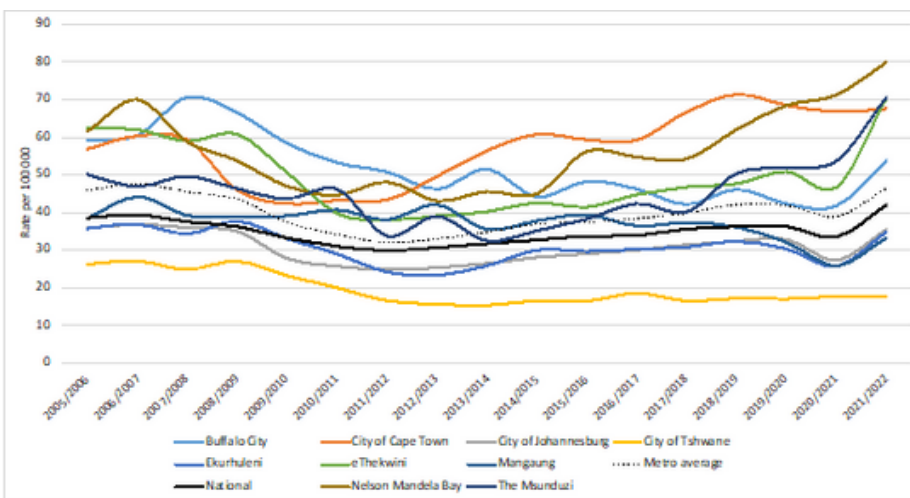
Five cities have seen an overall decrease in their murder rates over a 17-year period, namely Tshwane (-33%), Mangaung (-13%), Buffalo City (-9%), Ekurhuleni (-2%), and Johannesburg (-1%). The average recorded murder rate has, however, increased markedly over this period for four cities, namely Cape Town (19%), eThekwini (12%), Nelson Mandela Bay (30%) and Msunduzi (41%).

Since 2011/12, the combined cities' average murder rate has increased substantially by 45%, above the national increase of 40%. Most of these increases have been recorded in the past year. Only Mangaung (-12%) recorded decreases during this period. Alarmingly, Msunduzi (109%), eThekwini (85%), Nelson Mandela Bay (66%), and Cape Town (56%) saw increases well above the metro increase for this period. Ekurhuleni (45%), Johannesburg (43%), Tshwane (7%) and Buffalo City Municipality (6%) also saw increases. Each city should investigate the drivers of these substantial increases, focussing on the hotspots.

In the last year, only Tshwane (-1%) experienced decreased murder rates. Notable increases have been experienced in eThekwini (50%), Ekurhuleni (36%), Msunduzi (32%), Johannesburg (30%), Buffalo City (29%) and Nelson Mandela Bay (12%). Cape Town (1%) saw a marginal increase.

As indicated in Figure 4, the murder rate for Tshwane is the lowest (at 18 per 100 000), while the murder rates for Cape Town and Nelson Mandela Bay are now 68 and 80, respectively. The increase in the murder rates for these two cities began earlier and has been far more significant than the increases in any other city, suggesting that they are facing a far more complex set of challenges when compared to the other cities. The murder rate in Cape Town is starting to stabilise. The 2019 Western Cape Safety Plan aims to address some of the drivers of violence in its hotspots through data-led and evidence-based policing.[8]

The cities of eThekwini and Mzunduzi recorded murder rates of 70 and 71, respectively, for 2021/2022. This financial period coincides with the July 2021 unrest, which affected these two cities extensively and impacted the Gauteng metros. The unrest resulted in at least 354 deaths, 150,000 job losses and R50 billion in damage.[9] However, not all deaths can be attributed to the violence.

Cities and hotspots differ considerably in the various drivers of murder (e.g., gang-related violence is not a driver everywhere). However, they also share some common factors, such as GBVF and other forms of interpersonal violence, such as assaults due to arguments. Understanding each city's uniqueness is essential when planning a response. The implementation of the White Paper on Safety and Security seeks to address not only some of the drivers but also aims to enhance safety planning partnerships and processes.

Assault with Intent to Inflict Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH)

About 37% of all reported assaults with intent to inflict GBH take place in the nine cities. While murder rates have increased substantially since 2011/12, the trends for recorded rates of assault GBH have shown notable declines. Since 2005/6, cases of assault GBH recorded by the police have declined steadily in all cities. Tshwane has seen the most significant decline in assault rates (-67%), followed by Nelson Mandela Bay (-64%), Johannesburg (-57%) and Cape Town (-51%). Mangaung (-48%), eThekwini (-45%), Ekurhuleni (-41%), and Buffalo City (-34%) witnessed notable drops. Msunduzi had the lowest decrease (-21%).

Despite the overall declines, in 2021/22, Buffalo City had more than double the rate of the metro average (531, in contrast with the metro average of 222) and nearly double the national rate (272). Mangaung had assault rates of 379 – again above the national and metro rates. The average rates for Johannesburg (242), Nelson Mandela Bay (238), Msunduzi (237) and Ekurhuleni (224) were all above the metro average rate (222). The high rates may be linked to high levels of interpersonal or inter-group violence, where weapons such as knives and firearms are not used – as opposed to murder, attempted murder and armed robberies, where these weapons are present.

[8] Western Cape Government, WC Safety Plan, 2019,
https://www.westerncape.gov.za/sites/www.westerncape.gov.za/files/assets/departments/premier/western_cape_government_safety_plan.pdf
[9] News 24, July Unrest, 8 July 2022, https://www.news24.com/news24/investigations/july-unrest-one-year-later-sa-still-doesnt-know-who-masterminded-the-chaos-20220707-2

Sexual Offences

The sexual offences statistics released by the SAPS are problematic. Most victims and survivors of this crime do not report the offence because of a lack of trust in the police or concerns of stigmatisation of their families or themselves. In addition, the definition changed in 2008/09 with the introduction of the Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007, which replaced common law crimes with statutory crimes for various sexual offences. [11] As a result, sexual offences statistics before this change are incompatible with current figures. Since 2011/12, the SAPS have reported sexual offences detected due to police action (e.g., offences associated with sex work or public indecency) as a separate category.

FIGURE 6: Sexual offences per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
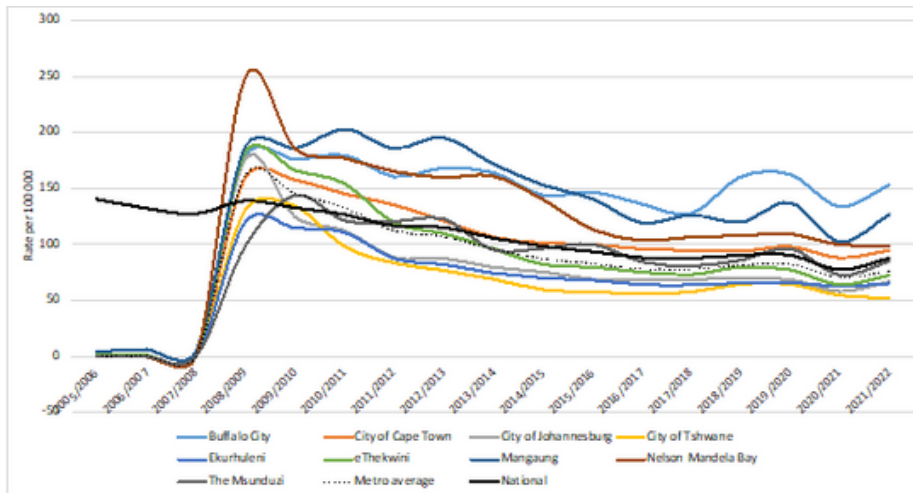
Similar to assault GBH, in 2021/22, nearly 39% of all reported sexual offences were recorded in the nine cities. Interestingly, the national rate of 88 is well above the metro rate of 76, indicating that sexual violence is not necessarily only an urban problem.

Over the past decade since 2011/12, all cities have seen a steady decline in this rate, with the most dramatic decline in Nelson Mandela Bay (-40%), eThekwini (-39%), Tshwane (-37%), Mangaung (-32%) and Cape Town (-30%), followed by Ekurhuleni (-25%) and Johannesburg (-24%). The decrease for Buffalo City (-5%).

Between 2020/21 and 2021/22, seven cities, except for Tshwane (-4%) and Nelson Mandela Bay (-1%), saw increases. Mangaung (24%) and Msunduzi (17%) experienced the sharpest rise, followed by Buffalo City and Johannesburg (both increasing by 15%). eThekwini (13%) also experienced double-digit increases. Cape Town (8%) and Ekurhuleni (4%) had the lowest increases over this year's period.

It is difficult to ascertain from the statistics alone whether the actual prevalence increased, reporting rates decreased, or the shift was due to a combination of both. It would be useful if Stats SA released reporting rates at a district level for the larger cities. Household surveys are also likely to have a significant underreporting rate because of the stigma and sensitivity often associated with sexual offences. The cities should fund supplementary specialised city-level victim surveys by expert organisations and academic institutions to understand victimisation rates better.

[11] Department of Justice, Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007, https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2007-032.pdf

FIGURE 5: Assault with the intent to inflict GBH per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
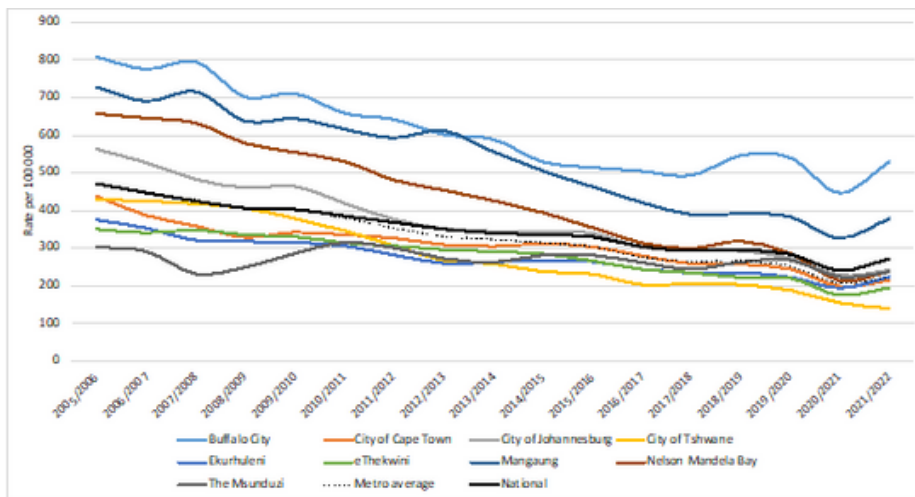
Before 2020/21, the assaults GBH showed an upward shift in the preceding three years, with five cities recording increases in 2018/19. That year, Buffalo City experienced the sharpest rise, with an 11% increase in assault GBH, followed by Msunduzi (8%) and Nelson Mandela Bay (7%). Mangaung and Ekurhuleni recorded slight increases of 1% each. However, in 2019/20, only Msunduzi experienced an increase of 2%. The other cities have seen decreases of between 1% (Buffalo City) and 10% (Nelson Mandela Bay).

In 2020/21, all nine cities saw a substantial decrease in assault GBH, in line with the overall trends. These decreases are substantiated by a -18% decrease in the metro average between 2019/20 and 2020/21.

In 2021/22, all nine cities, except for Tshwane (-9%), saw increases for the first time in decades. Buffalo City (19%) experienced the sharpest rise, followed by Ekhuruleni and Mangaung (both increasing by 16%). eThekwini (12%) and Nelson Mandela Bay (11%) also experienced double-digit increases. Cape Town (8%), Msunduzi (7%) and Johannesburg had the lowest increases this year.

It is unusual globally to have declining assault rates alongside increasing murder rates. It is, therefore, essential to remember that half of all assaults are not reported to the police (according to the 2019/20 National VoCS).[10] Moreover, it is important to note that there is some evidence that reporting rates for assault have been declining – with this, in turn, potentially overstating the declines reported by the police. Changes in police statistics may, therefore, reflect crime reporting trends rather than actual crime trends.

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[10] Statistics SA, P0341 Victims of Crime Survey, 2020, 21, http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412019.pdf. The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey puts this figure at 74% for the first time. This seems very high when compared to historical trends.

Robbery at Non-Residential Premises

In 2021/22, nearly half (48%) of all cases of robbery at non-residential premises were recorded in the nine cities. These robberies occur predominantly in small businesses and have a substantial financial impact on these businesses. All cities experienced steep increases in recorded rates of non-residential robbery in the first half of the 17-year period. The second half, from about 2011/12, saw the stabilisation or decline in this rate in four cities, albeit at notably high levels.

FIGURE 7: Robbery at non-residential premises per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
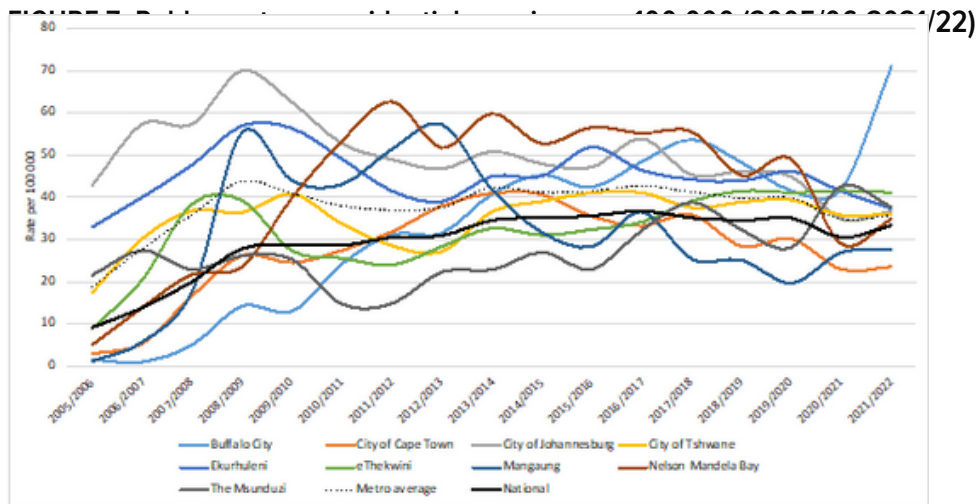
Of concern is the substantial three-digit increase in robberies at non-residential premises recorded in Msunduzi (155%) and Buffalo City (127%) over the past ten years, followed by a 71% increase in eThekwini and a 27% increase in Tshwane. The sharp increase in Buffalo City is driven by a 69% increase in the last year. These rates are well above the national average increase of 9%. Five of the nine cities experienced a decline in this rate at notably high levels. Mangaung recorded the most significant decrease (-46%), followed by Nelson Mandela (-44%), Cape Town (-26%) and Johannesburg (-25%). Ekurhuleni had the lowest decrease at 10%.

Some of these decreases have been driven by the substantial decreases in Ekurhuleni (10%) and Msuduzi (12%) in the past year. eThekwini also experienced a slight decrease of 1%. However, all other cities experienced increases. Buffalo City (69%) recorded a substantial increase, followed by Nelson Mandela Bay (20%). The remaining cities recorded slight increases of between 1% and 5%. The previous year's positive annual changes must be viewed cautiously because of the Covid-19 lockdown period.

Cities should investigate the drivers of robbery in their cities, and all robbery categories should be prioritised. Despite small decreases in most cities in the last year, the high levels still indicate that the police have not been able to address this crime despite it being classified as a priority crime and as one of the subcategories of the so-called 'trio crimes'.

Robbery at Residential Premises

Robbery at residential premises is also a police priority crime and a subcategory of the so-called 'trio crimes'. Robbery at residential premises is predominantly an urban problem. When reviewing the national records of robberies at residential premises for 2021/22, 56% were recorded in the nine cities. The residential robbery rate in Msunduzi (61 per 100,000 population), eThekwini (57 per 100,000 population), Nelson Mandela Bay (55 per 100,000 population), Johannesburg (51 per 100,000 population) and Cape Town (47 per 100,000 population) has been well above the metro residential robbery rate (45 per 100,000 population) and national rate (36 per 100,000 population).

**FIGURE 8: Robbery at residential premises per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)**
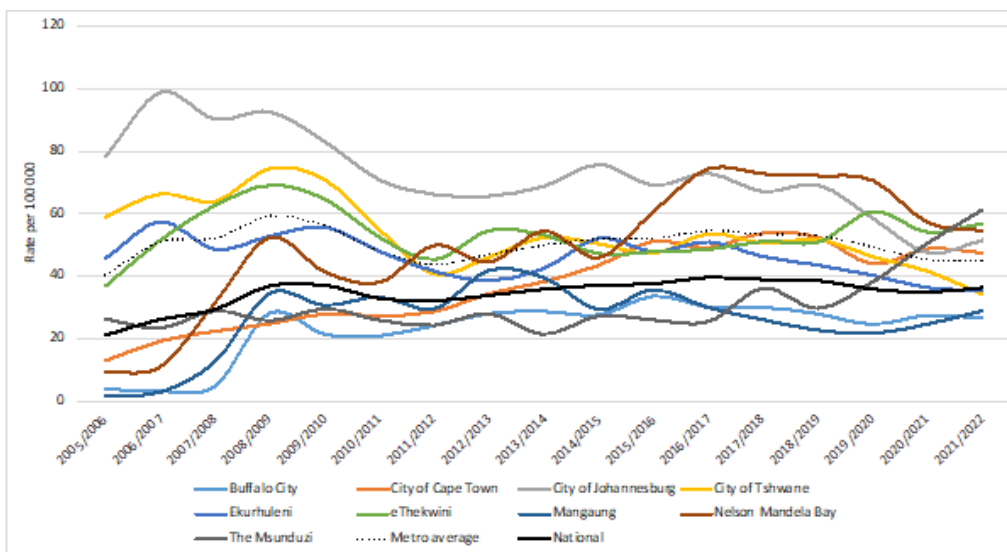
Of concern are the substantial increases experienced in three cities over the past ten years, namely Msunduzi (151%), Cape Town (65%), and eThekwini (25%), suggesting a cause for major concern in these cities. Both Nelson Mandela Bay and Buffalo City experienced a 9% increase. Significant reductions in residential robberies from 2011/12 have been recorded in Johannesburg (-22%), Tshwane (-16%), Ekurhuleni (-15%) and Mangaung (-2%), following a very rapid earlier increase. It may be worth investigating how these reductions were achieved (especially in Johannesburg).

Over the last year, a substantial reduction was recorded in Tshwane (-18%). Smaller reductions of between 2% and -5% have been seen in four cities, namely Nelson Mandela Bay (-5%), Buffalo City (-4%), Cape Town (-3%), and Ekurhuleni (-2%). The other four cities experienced substantial increases, namely Msunduzi (21%), Mangaung (17%), Johannesburg (9%) and eThekwini (5%). The spike in these cities requires urgent attention.

Burglary at Residential Premises

The picture of burglary at residential premises (non-violent, property crime) differs greatly from that of robbery on residential premises (violent, contact crime). It suggests a displacement effect from non-violent to violent property crimes.

FIGURE 9: Burglary at residential premises per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
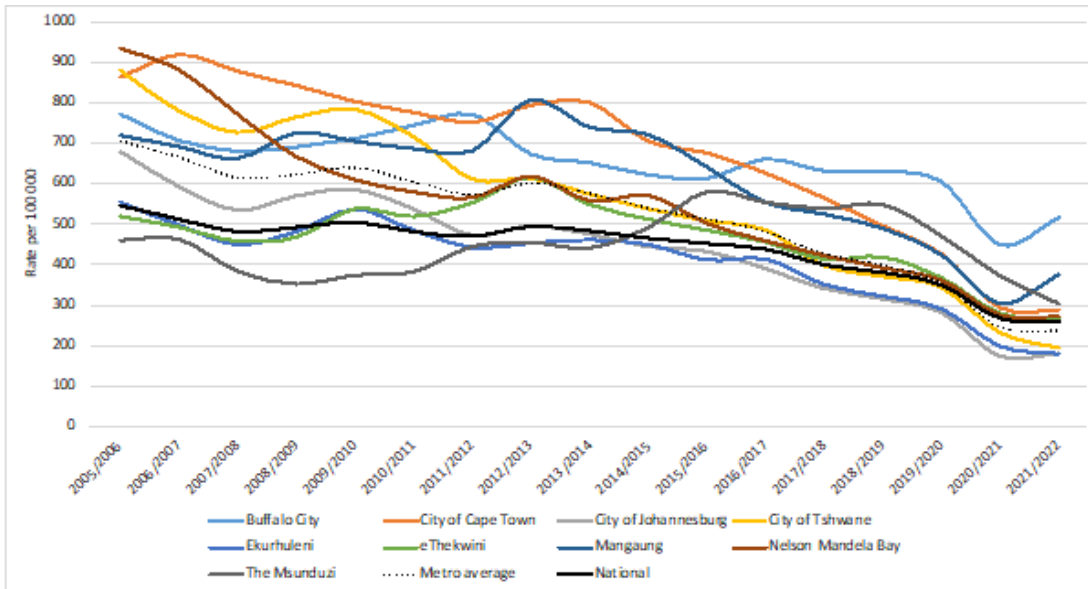
Overall, residential burglaries have steadily decreased in all cities since 2005/06. Significant reductions (between 33% and 78%) have been noted over a decade in all cities. For all cities other than Buffalo City (-33%), Msunduzi (-34%), Mangaung (-48%) and eThekwini (-49%), these reductions have been well above the national average of 52%. This trend continued over the last year for six cities, with all cities experiencing a reduction of 1% and 18%, respectively. Notable reductions were recorded in the Gauteng cities of Tshwane (-16%) and Msunduzi (-18%), followed by Ekurhuleni (-9%).

Despite these reductions, cities such as Mangaung (24%), Buffalo City (15%) and Johannesburg (4%) experienced substantial increases in residential burglaries. As suggested, this might result from the displacement effect from non-violent to violent property crimes. It is also important to keep in mind that, according to the 2019/20 National VoCS, only half of all residential burglaries are reported to the police.[12]

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[12] Statistics SA, P0341 Victims of Crime Survey, 2020, 9, http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412019.pdf. The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey puts this figure at 59% for the first time. This seems very high when compared to historical trends.

Theft of Vehicles and Motorcycles

The theft of vehicles and motorcycles is particularly an urban problem, with 74% of these thefts recorded in the nine cities. This is illustrated by how much higher the metro average rate is compared to the national rate (103 thefts per 100,000 within metros, in contrast with 62 thefts per 100,000 nationally). In addition, the rates for Tshwane (140 thefts per 100 000 population), eThekwini (117 thefts per 100 000 population), and Johannesburg (115 thefts per 100 000 population) have stayed well above the metro average for the past 17 years.

FIGURE 10: Recorded vehicle and motorcycle theft rates per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
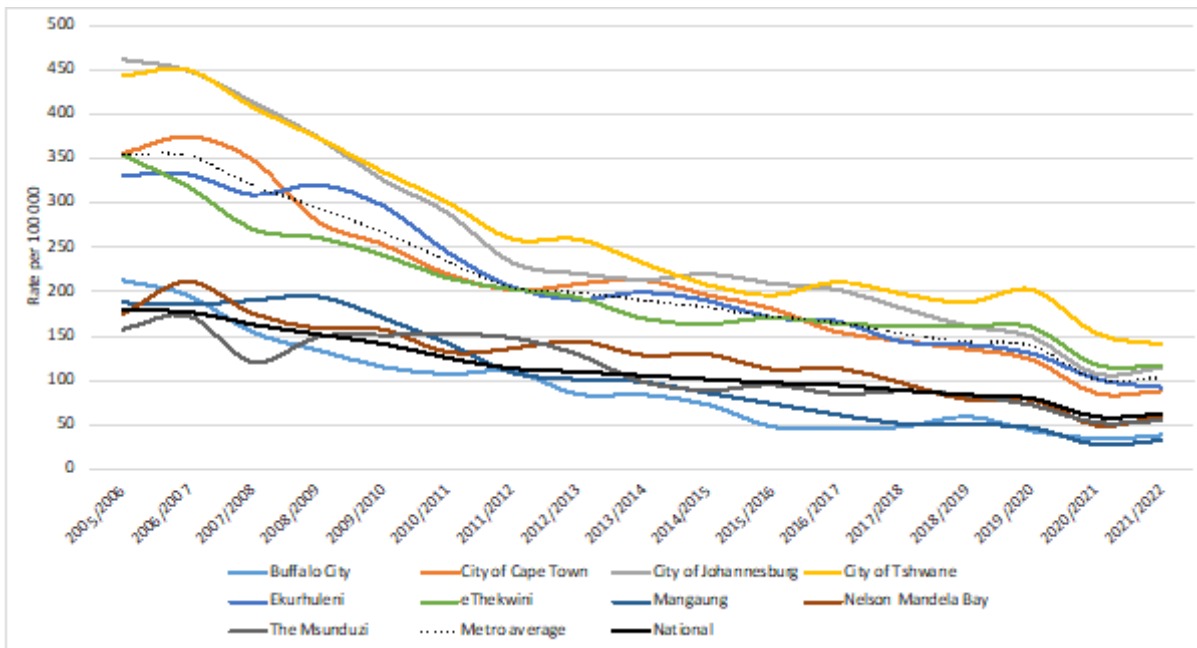
Vehicle theft rates show a general downward trend of between 65% and 83% in all cities from 2005/06 to 2021/22. In the past year, these decreases slowed or reversed with double-digit increases in three cities of between 13% and 20% between 2020/21 and 2021/22. These increases were recorded for Nelson Mandela Bay (20%), Mangaung (18%) and Buffalo City (13%). Smaller increases were recorded for Johannesburg (7%), Msundusi (6%) and Cape Town (4%). eThekwini recorded a zero change. Tshwane and Ekurhuleni recorded decreases of 8% and 9%, respectively.

Carjacking

Carjacking is also a priority crime for the SAPS, a subcategory of the so-called 'trio crimes'. Similarly to the theft of motor vehicles, three-quarters of all car hijackings (73%) occur in metro areas. The metro average of 57 carjackings per 100 000 population is nearly twice the national average of 35 per 100 000.

FIGURE 11: Carjacking per 100 000 (2005/06-2021/22)
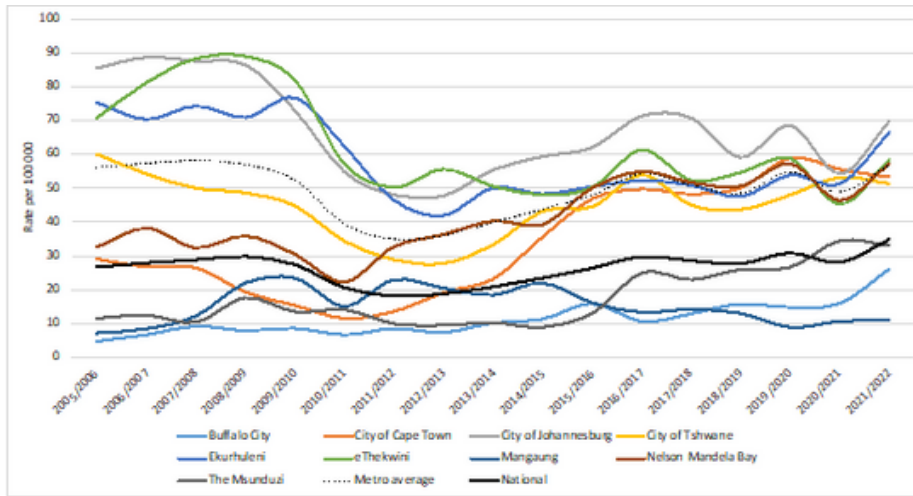
Johannesburg's rate in 2021/22 was the highest of all cities at 70 carjackings per 100 000 population, followed by Ekurhuleni (67 carjackings per 100 000 population) and eThekwini (59 carjackings per 100 000 population). For the 17 years under review, Johannesburg's, Ekurhuleni's, and eThekwini's carjacking rates have been consistently well above the national average. Buffalo City (452%) and Msunduzi (187%) have experienced exponential triple-digit growth in this crime since 2005/06. Over the same period, Cape Town (84%), Nelson Mandela Bay (77%) and Mangaung (54%) have experienced substantial double-digit increases. However, for this period, commendable decreases have been noted for the Gauteng metros of Johannesburg (-18%), Tshwane (-15%) and Ekurhuleni (-12%), and for eThekwini (-17%).

The picture has grown especially concerning over the past decade. Since 2011/12, sharp increases have been experienced in carjacking rates for Cape Town (294%), Msunduzi (232%), Buffalo City (208%), Tshwane (78%) and Nelson Mandela Bay (75%), suggesting a cause for concern in these cities. Johannesburg (46%), Ekurhuleni (43%) and eThekwini (16%) also experienced significant increases in a decade. Over the past ten years, Mangaung bucked the trend with a 52% decrease – despite a 3% increase in the past year. Nationally, a fifth of all car hijackings occur in Johannesburg.

Furthermore, between 2020/21 and 2021/22, increases in carjacking occurred in six of the nine cities, with Buffalo City (64%) recording the largest increase, followed by Ekurhuleni (30%), Johannesburg and eThekwini (both at 29%), Nelson Mandela Bay (24%) and Mangaung (3%). This situation needs to be closely monitored. Decreases were recorded for Tshwane (-3%), Cape Town and Msunduzi (both by -4%).

Carjackings, as with other robberies, often accompany other crimes. Although the likelihood of being murdered is relatively small during a hijacking or robbery, it does occur. In some cases, such a murder may mask an assassination or an attempted assassination, a dominant feature in the South African Landscape, especially in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. However, the actual figure is unknown. Another driver is kidnappings. In the past ten years, kidnappings rocketed by 183% from 3,832 in 2012/13 to 10,826 in 2021/22. This upsurge is related to the substantial growth of violent and organised crime.[13]

13] SAPS, 2023, Police Recorded Crime Statistics 2021/22, https://www.saps.gov.za/services/downloads/Annual-Crime-2021_2022-web.pdf, p17.

Crimes Detected as a Result of Police Action

For the past 17 years, Cape Town has had the highest crime rate detected due to police action. This measure is determined by police action and is not in any way a measure of the actual incidence of the crime category. The most significant contribution of crimes detected as a result of police action is made up of drug-related crimes. This is because many police operations target those selling and purchasing drugs. However, the actual levels of use and distribution of drugs are generally understood not to be affected by police action. Changes in these figures should, therefore, not be used as an indicator of this crime type or other crime statistics generated as a result of police action.

FIGURE 12: Total crime detected through police action per 100,000 (2005/06-2021/22)
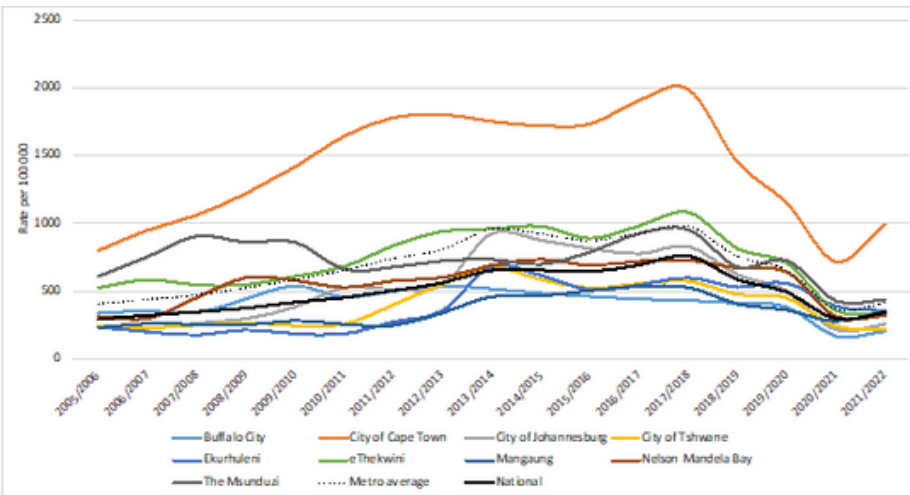
Despite a steep drop in the rate of drug-related crimes in Cape Town in the three years between 2017/18 and 2020/21, the city has shown a substantial 38% increase in the last year. Cape Town still contributes nearly one-quarter of the total national figures. Mangaung (54%) and Ekurhuleni (52%) have seen a significant rise in police action between 2005/06 to 2021/22, primarily due to increased policing of drug-related crimes.

Except for Mangaung and Ekurhuleni, all cities experienced a drop of between 36% and 59% over the past ten years, probably due to a shift in policing operational strategies away from drug-related crime. This is likely to result from the High Court judgement decriminalising the possession of marijuana for personal use. In the last year, police resources were diverted to enforcing the 'lockdown restrictions' under the regulations of the Disaster Management Act.

As policing operations refocused on crime prevention, between 2020/21 and 2021/22, six cities had an activity-related crime rate increase. In addition to Cape Town (38%), Mangaung (28%), Buffalo City (21%), Johannesburg (20%), Nelson Mandela Bay and Msunduzi (both with 2%) experienced increases. Decreases were recorded for Tshwane and Ekhuruleni (both by 8%) as well as eThekwini (-4%).

The data analysis set out above can be used for different data stories. The analysis can be summarised in the form of the following question-and-answer suggestions.:

- Why should we measure murder? Rates of murder are considered a generally robust comparative measure of violence internationally. As the police record most murder incidents, it is considered one of the most reliable crime statistics.

- What is our murder rate? South Africa's murder rate remains amongst the highest in the world. Yet, the national murder rate more than halved between 1994/95 and 2011/12, from a rate of 69 to 29.5 murders per 100,000 population. Since then, the rate increased by 40% to 42 murders per 100,000 population. This is cause for concern, as the rate is nearly seven times the international average.

- Why is our murder rate on the increase? There is arguably a range of factors that could be driving the increases. These include socio-economic deterioration, increased inequality, increased political corruption resulting in deteriorating police and criminal justice performance, subsequent declines in public trust in the government, an influx of firearms into high-risk areas and increasing levels of organised crime and inter-group conflicts such as gang and taxi violence. Many of these are far more pronounced in urban settings characterised by rapid urbanisation.

- Why should we focus on crime in our cities? A sizable proportion of the South African population (45%) resides in the nine cities. However, for many serious – and often violent crimes, the nine cities account for much larger proportions of what is recorded nationally – with the proportion of the following crimes that are recorded within these cities as follows:
  - 74% of reported vehicle thefts
  - 73% of reported carjackings
  - 62% of reported aggravated robberies overall
  - 56% of reported residential robberies
  - 50% of murders
  - 48% of reported business robberies
  - 39% of reported sexual offences
  - 41% of reported residential burglaries
  - 37% of reported serious assaults

- Why do we need to focus on crime research in the cities? Because of the urban character of many serious and violent crimes, more detailed research should be undertaken to determine when, where, how and why these crimes occur. Even within cities, crime is not evenly distributed. Different structural and socio-economic factors drive increases in murders and other crimes in different geographical localities such as neighbourhoods and even street blocks. City-level data could enable authorities to establish 'why' and develop responses according to place and time-specific drivers to address challenges sustainably.

City Trends in Key Crime Categories: Concluding Comments

Most types of serious crime and violence occur in South Africa's nine cities. These cities will continue to experience exponential growth. For this reason, sound city-level data and evidence are required to enhance planning and implementation to respond more effectively to the structural and socio-economic drivers of violence and crime. These cities can only achieve their potential as safe, inclusive, and prosperous places.

The Indicators Database

A database of 21 indicators has been identified and described in previous annual reports. These serve as critical tools to undertake comparative assessments of 'safety' for the nine major cities in South Africa. These indicators are reflected in the figure below.

FIGURE 13: The 21 indicators of crime and safety
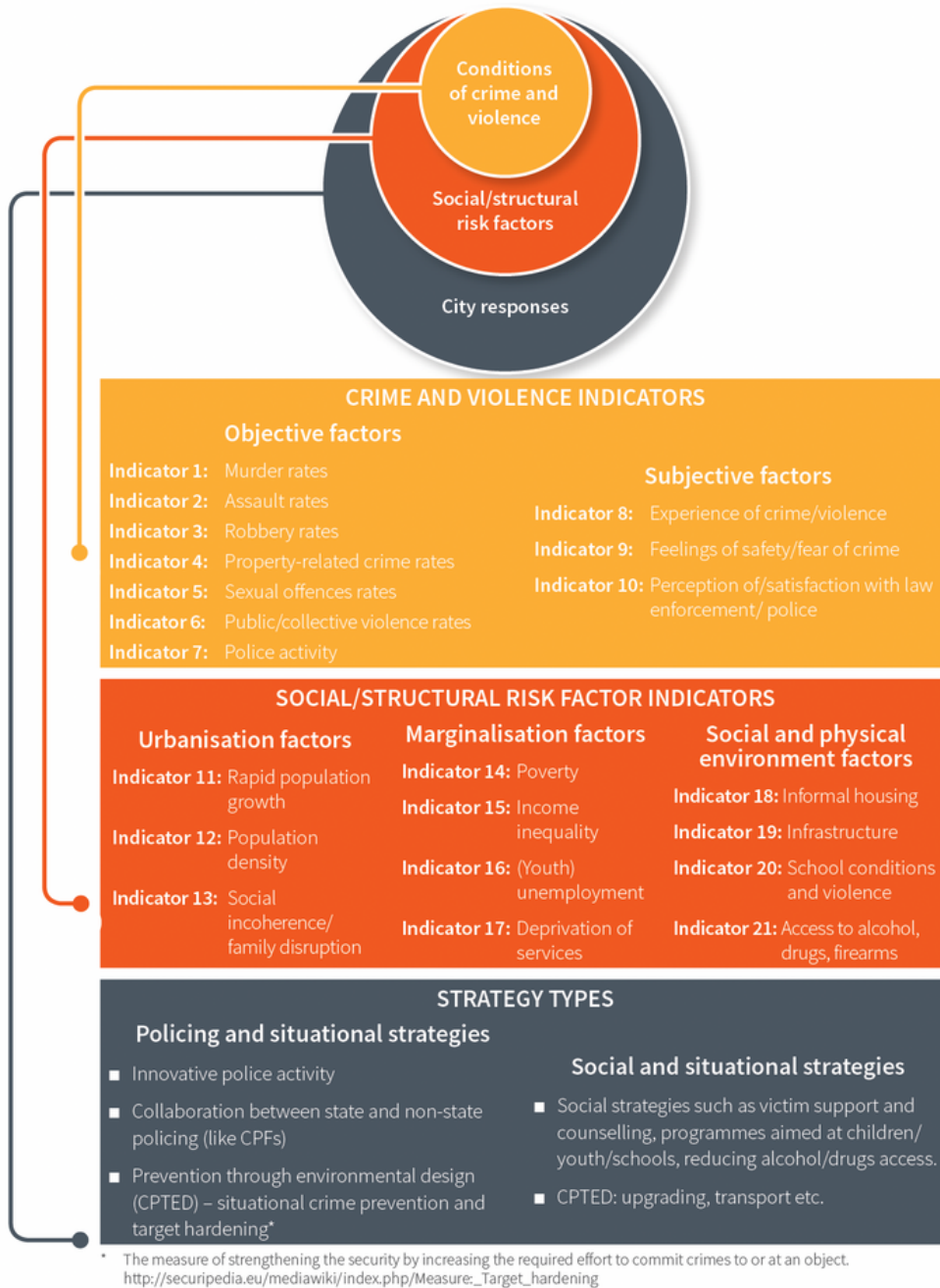
The first seven objective indicators aim to measure the state of crime and violence within cities based on data from crime statistics (such as murder, robbery, etc.). They have been selected based on the insights they provide about key violent and non-violent crime trends and the degree of violent protests experienced. They are derived from official police statistics released annually.

Subjective indicators eight to ten are derived from victimisation, governance surveys or other official surveys such as the Census – all administered and released by Statistics South Africa.

In 2021, the SACN USRG agreed to review the 21 metro-level indicators. This was deemed necessary as a review process was started in 2015 but was not finalised. The main reason for this was that some of the indicators were not available for all cities. The 2021 indicator review process was undertaken by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and its partners. The review aimed to build on the original research and focused mainly on indicators 11 to 21. The indicator review process started in September 2020 and was finalised in October 2021. During this process, 95 experts were consulted. A summary of the review was submitted to the SACN in December 2021. The discussion below is based on the revised indicators.

Indicator 1: The murder rate is considered a good indicator and a proxy for general levels of violence, as it is readily measured and relatively well-reported. Data from mortuary reports can supplement it should there be accuracy concerns. However, currently, these databases are incompatible. The rate is measured by calculating the number of incidents per 100,000 people in the residential population.

Indicator 2: This is the rate of assault with intent to inflict GBH. Victim surveys suggest that only about half of the assaults in South Africa are ever reported to the police (Stats SA, 2015: 62; Stats SA, 2019: 48), and no city-level data is available on the proportion of crimes reported, so this indicator should be interpreted with some caution. The rate is measured by calculating the number of incidents per 100,000 people in the residential population.

Indicator 3: This is the aggravated robbery rate involving a weapon such as a firearm or a knife in direct contact with a victim. Not all robberies are reported to the police, so this indicator should be interpreted carefully. The robbery of insured articles (such as a vehicle during a carjacking) is more likely to be reported to the police. However, fewer than half of victims of street robbery report the incident to the police. The rate is measured by calculating the number of incidents per 100,000 people in the residential population.

Indicator 4: Property-related crime includes burglaries and thefts of, for example, motor vehicles or stock. Again, reporting of this crime varies considerably, depending on whether or not the household is insured. The rate is measured by calculating the number of incidents per 100,000 people in the residential population.

Indicator 5: The rate of sexual offences is particularly poorly reflected in official police statistics. Data remains limited, although there has been some improvement in differentiating the types of sexual offences. To make sense of the officially recorded rates of sexual offences, large-scale specialised surveys are needed (Vetten, 2014). Patterns and trends in recorded rates of sexual offences should, therefore, be interpreted with extreme care. The rate is measured by calculating the number of incidents per 100,000 people in the residential population.

Indicator 6: This is the rate of public violence. Comprehensive data for this indicator was made available by the SAPS at the national, provincial and station levels in 2019/2020. The rate is measured by calculating the number of incidents per 100,000 people in the residential population. However, since then, the indicator has not been released. Personal communication with the Registrar's office in 2023 indicates that this data is unverified as it is from sources outside the crime statistics collection protests. The incidents of public violence reflect the number of cases opened rather than the actual number of violent protests. The nature of public or collective violence is also context-sensitive, with further research necessary at a city level. For these reasons, the rates were omitted.

Indicator 7: Police-detected crimes include the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, drug-related crime and driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Traditionally, the indicator covers driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs per 100,000 people in the residential population. Police activity rates are related to police capacity and motivation, and (unlike the other objective indicators of crime) lower numbers signal that police are failing to get out on the streets and prioritise these crimes. Nevertheless, this indicator is not a perfect measure of police activity levels, as it does not reflect, for example, the quality of investigations and station-level performance. This indicator overlaps somewhat with Indicator 21 (access to alcohol, drugs and firearms), which also reflects the extent to which people drive under the influence. For the 2021/22 period, the indicator was changed to overall police-detected crimes to distinguish it from indicator 21.

Indicator 8: Residents' experience of crime/violence, as measured by the proportion of those sampled in the 2016 Community Survey who reported having been a victim of any crime in the past 12 months. Updated victimisation rates for metros can now be calculated with the data released by Stats SA's annual Governance, Public Safety and Justice Survey. The 2021/22 National VoCS data contain victimisation levels of victims for specific but limited crimes. The data received contained victimisation rates for metros for housebreaking, home robbery, murder, damage to property, assault and sexual offences. The compatibility of a possible composite indicator using these crimes was investigated. Stats SA shared this information for each of the metros. Unfortunately, only the crime of housebreaking provides a percentage representative at a metro level. No data was available for the municipality of Msunduzi.

Indicator 9: This indicates feelings of safety, as measured by the proportion of respondents in each municipality who said they would feel either "a bit unsafe" or "very unsafe" walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day or at night. The previous data is from the 2019 National VoCS Survey. The current indicator is populated with data from the 2021/22 National VoCS indicator relating to the perception of safety at night. This indicator is the most compatible and has been used in this report. Updated data was not available for Msunduzi.

Indicator 10: Residents' perception of or satisfaction with law enforcement, as measured by the proportion of those sampled in Stats SA's National VoCS who answered "yes" to whether they were satisfied with the police services in their area. However, it is impossible to determine from the data whether respondents were referring to SAPS, the Metro Police, or both. From 2015/16, Stats SA opted to provide its VoCS data at the district level, which was an important improvement in city-level data on subjective experiences of crime and safety. This improvement can be attributed to the USRG's persistent advocacy for Stats SA. Stats SA provided this information for the 2019 National VoCS to the team in December 2020. However, this data provides satisfaction measured only against those who used police services, yielding a higher satisfaction rate compared to the previous surveys. From 2023 communication with Stats SA, this indicator forms part of the 2022/23 survey and will be released in October 2023.

Indicator 11: This is the projected annual population growth rate based on the 2022 Stats SA MYPE for 2021, as contained in the 2022 Stats SA district council tables (expressed as a percentage of the base population, which is an average for the period 2017–2022).

Indicator 12: The population density is the average number of people per square kilometre living in the city, as recorded in the 2022 Stats SA MYPE for 2021 (contained in the 2022 Stats SA district council tables) and the square kilometre of the cities updated for the new 2018 boundaries by the Municipal Demarcation Board (as contained in www.municipalities.co.za). This indicator can be strengthened once the ward-level data become available based on the next Census.

Indicator 13: Social incoherence/family disruption is a composite of the following variables from Census 2011: (i) the percentage of households in the municipality who had moved to their current address within the last five years; (ii) the percentage of child-headed households; (iii) the percentage of female-headed households. The percentage of households who rent rather than own or are paying off their property was removed from the composite indicator. Experts interviewed for this review indicated that this is an outdated method of measuring the movement of houses, especially in more informal areas. There is a possibility of redeveloping this indicator based on the information available in the next Census to be released by March 2024 (as indicated by personal correspondence with Statistics SA).

Indicator 14: Poverty is measured by the city Human Development Index (HDI), a composite of life expectancy, literacy and gross value added per capita (data from 2018). The values range between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most developed. The team captured the 2019 HDI for each district in the Department of Cooperative Governance (DCoG) DDM municipal profiles. This points to the importance of ensuring that socio-economic indicators in the current Safety Indicator Matrix align with the socio-economic indicators DCoG uses for the DDM profiles. No updates could be allocated for the 2021/22 reference period.

Indicator 15: Income inequality is measured by the city's Gini coefficient (as contained in SACN SCODA). It is reflected as a value between 0 and 1, where 0 is perfectly equal, and 1 is perfectly unequal. The 2020/21 indicator source is the 2019 HDI for each district contained in the DCoG DDM municipal profiles, again highlighting the importance of adopting the socio-economic indicators DCoG uses for the DDM profiles for this current Safety Indicator Matrix. No updates could be allocated for the 2021/22 reference period.

Indicator 16: The city's youth unemployment rate is from the Census 2011. The recent Quarterly Labour Force Surveys do not provide city-level or youth-specific data. A youth unemployment rate figure will be available at the metro, district and municipal levels when the next Census data is released. Until then, only total unemployment is available for inclusion. The most complete source is the Quantec data derived from the Stats SA data, but it was freely available for the pre-covid period only at the time of the review.

Indicator 17: Deprivation of services is measured by the average percentage of city residents without piped water inside their dwelling, a flush toilet in their house or yard, or access to electricity. This was calculated using the 2021 Household Survey data. This was updated for the current reference period.

Indicator 18: Informal housing is measured by the proportion of city residents not living in formal dwellings. This was calculated using the 2021 Household Survey data. The indicator is derived from those living in an informal settlement and in 'backyard shacks'.

Indicator 19: Infrastructure includes adequate lighting and accessible roads. However, no comparable city-level data is currently available. Based on the review and consultations, the CSIR Green Book Physical Vulnerability Index is suggested. The Green Book is designed as an online tool that 'supports municipal planning with the development of resilient climate settlements'.[14] The aim is 'mainstreaming of climate change adaptation into local government planning instruments and processes'. One of its indicators is the physical vulnerability index of municipalities. This index looks at the 'physical fabric and connectedness of the settlements in the municipality'. The more remote and/or structurally vulnerable, the higher the physical vulnerability score (1=low and 10=high vulnerability).

It contains a composite of the following variables from the 2011 Census:
- Road infrastructure (road density)
- Housing type (combining informal structures, government subsidised housing and illegal occupation, when available)
- Housing density
- Accessibility within the local municipality
- Maintenance of infrastructure (not yet available)

South Africa's provincial government departments recorded a decrease in infrastructure spending ('capital expenditure') of R1,88 billion in 2018/19. This represents a decrease of 5.4% compared with 2017/18. However, no comparable city-level data is currently available.

Indicator 20: School conditions and violence are a good indication of the level of urban violence. However, comparable city-level data on this indicator has yet to be available. Possible indicators are still being investigated.

Indicator 21: As there is no comparable city-level data available to measure access to alcohol, drugs and firearms, a rough proxy is proposed in the form of SAPS category 'police-detected crimes', i.e. Drug-related crimes, driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, sexual offences as a result of police action and illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. (Note: SAPS now also includes sexual offences detected as a result of police action in the category, but these offences are not included in the calculation of the indicator.) The Urban Safety Indicators Expert Workshop in Cape Town on 24 July 2018 recommended that this indicator be split into its three components in future reports. This was done. For the 2021/22 period, indicator 7 was changed from driving under the influence to overall police-detected crimes to distinguish it from indicator 21.

Rapid Diagnostic

The table below reflects the 21 indicators for the nine cities, grouped into objective, subjective and social/ structural indicators. It should be noted that indicators 1 to 7 (except for 6) and 21 have been updated with new data from SAPS (2021/22). Indicators 8 and 9 have been updated with Stats SA's 2021/22 VoCS data. Indicator 10 was unavailable, but Stats SA indicated it would be collected for 2022/23. As set out above, new data was formulated for all indicators and, where possible, for indicators 11 to 19. These include indicators 11, 12, 17 and 18, while the others remain unchanged because updates were unavailable. Only indicator 20 still does not have data available, but the Department of Basic Education plan to develop such an indicator.

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[14] CSIR, The Green Book, available online at https://greenbook.co.za/.

A relative comparison of city performance is illustrated below through vertical intensity graphs (in the form of a horizontal orange bar graph) indicated together with the indicator value in the table below. The comparisons are not an assessment of the significance of the indicator in driving crime in each city. Just because a city has a good showing compared to the other cities, this does not mean the indicator is acceptable. For instance, all cities have high Gini coefficients (Indicator 15: income inequality), so the fact that a city is doing relatively well compared to the other cities for Indicator 15 does not mean that the measure is at an acceptable level. This diagnostic is instead aimed at providing some guidance on the specific challenges that each city should focus on.

TABLE 5: Comparison of cities across the 21 indicators (2021/22)

Category		Indicator	BCM	CPT	JHB	TSH	EKU	ETH	MAN	NMB	MSU
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	54	68	36	18	35	70	33	80	71
		2 Assault rate	531	215	242	140	224	195	379	238	237
		3 Robbery rate	270	341	325	262	265	337	187	357	254
		4 Property-related crime rate	1 011	776	518	571	469	687	767	687	635
		5 Sexual offences rate	153	95	67	52	65	73	127	99	85
		6 Public/collective violence rate									
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	205	994	260	220	357	340	354	320	436
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	6,9%	5,3%	2,7%	3,7%	4,0%	9,2%	7,5%	9,4%	7%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	51%	56%	58%	38%	40%	44%	46%	42%	40%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	55%	78%	77%	72%	80%	59%	75%	73%	77%
The social/structural indicators	Urbanisation	11 Rapid population growth	-0,4%	2,0%	2,1%	1,6%	1,7%	0,9%	0,3%	0,0%	1,5%
		12 Population density	290	1952	3705	755	2099	1581	85	620	980
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	16%	14%	14%	14%	12%	14%	15%	14%	18%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,68	0,75	0,73	0,73	0,71	0,67	0,68	0,70	0,66
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,63	0,62	0,62	0,62	0,63	0,62	0,62	0,63	0,63
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	34%	21%	25%	24%	27%	28%	24%	31%	32%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	21%	10%	23%	14%	15%	18%	22%	4%	31%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	19%	17%	17%	16%	16%	10%	15%	6%	2%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	6,6	3,1	1,0	4,5	2,6	6,4	5,5	3,9	4,9
		20 School conditions and violence									
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms									
		Access to alcohol	81	61	85	57	152	22	74	41	72
		Access to drugs	105	886	147	149	180	260	209	250	323
		Access to firearms	19	47	24	12	22	27	15	30	31

Legend
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities
City is about average compared to the other cities
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities

The objective indicators show selected violent and other crime rates per city. Compared to the previous year, most cities experienced increased rates for these seven indicators. The exception is property-related crime, where five cities experienced decreases. The murder rate is a good proxy for violence and is the most reliable crime statistic. The murder rate is exceptionally high for the coastal cities and Msunduzi, with rates higher than the national rate of 42 murders per 100,000 population. The inland cities have lower rates, below the national and metro average of 46 murders per 100,000 population. The murder rate in Nelson Mandela Bay is especially concerning at 80 murders per 100,000, followed by Msunduzi and eThekwini. Msunduzi and eThekwini had a significant spike in murder related to the 2021 July unrest, explaining a proportion of the spike but not all.

Johannesburg's third-highest robbery rate increased by 10% last year. Of concern is a growing murder rate. While the city has the fourth lowest murder rate, this rate increased by 30% in a year. The city has continued to hold the third-highest assault rate and the second-lowest property-related crime rate. The city's unemployment rate is among the lowest, but this information is still from the 2011 Census. The 2022 Census information will be released in 2024. The city has the highest percentage of persons feeling unsafe after dark (indicator for the district). However, it suffers from the highest population growth recorded for all the cities at 2.1% in 2021. Due to rapid urbanisation, 17% of residents residing in informal housing in 2021 – on par with Cape Town – second only to Buffalo City. This gives rise to the second-highest rate of deprivation of services (after Msunduzi).

Cape Town continues to see high rates in almost all crime types, although most recent increases have been lower than in other cities. Despite this, the city has held the third lowest assault rate. The city has the highest rate of crime detected as a result of police action, indicating the prioritisation of police action during the reference period. The city has the second highest percentage of persons feeling unsafe after dark (indicator for the district). The city has the highest poverty index, while its income inequality gap is on par with the other cities. This should be closely monitored. The city's rapid population growth (second only to Johannesburg) and percentage of residents living in informal housing in 2021 is the second highest on par with Johannesburg, second only to Buffalo City.

eThekwini increased its position for murder from fourth to third place, and robbery remained at third place overall. The city has continued to hold the second-lowest assault rate. The city has the second-highest victim-reported experience of housebreaking. In previous years, the city's social and structural indicators appear to be improving, with a reduction in marginalisation factors through an improvement where deprivation of services is concerned and an improvement in social/ physical environment factors. However, it scores quite highly (second only to Buffalo City) on the physical vulnerability index (6.4). Once an updated score is available, the 2021 July violence and 2022 floods may exasperate this score. The more remote and/ or structurally vulnerable, the higher the physical vulnerability score (1=low and 10=high vulnerability).

Ekurhuleni has the third lowest murder rate, just above Tshwane and Mangaung, but has surpassed Tshwane to now have the fourth lowest robbery rate, up from a third lowest ranking. Ekurhuleni continues to face challenges relating to the social/ structural indicators, ranking third for rapid population growth. However, in recent years, it has managed to perform better than in previous years where income inequality is concerned. As with Tswane, 16% of residents living in informal housing in 2021 – just behind Buffalo City, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Tshwane continues to record relatively low rates of interpersonal violent crimes, with the lowest rates of murder, assault and sexual offences. The city enjoys the lowest murder rate out of all nine cities by a large margin. Despite recent increases in its robbery rate, it has the third lowest ranking, ranking above Msunduzi and Mangaung, with Ekurhuleni and Buffalo City now surpassing Tshwane. Urbanisation continues to be challenging – with rapid population growth ranking third highest after Johannesburg and Cape Town. As with Ekurhuleni, 16% of Tshwane residents living in informal housing in 2021 – just behind Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Nelson Mandela Bay has ranked first in the indicators for murder and robbery. Still, the city has improved its police activity to be ranked fifth highest from the lowest for police activities (indicating the lowest police rate of police operations). The city has the highest victim-reported experience of housebreaking. The city's social and structural rankings perform significantly better than other cities despite marginalisation factors reflecting a third ranking for unemployment. Population growth has stagnated. This may be the result of the city's continued water woes. Furthermore, the city is ranked third highest for deprivation of services after Msunduzi and Johannesburg.

Mangaung ranks second lowest in terms of the murder rate while ranking lowest in terms of rates of robbery. Mangaung's murder rate has improved – now ranking second to Tshwane, just lower than Ekurhuleni. However, the city ranks second in terms of sexual offences. The city also has the lowest illegal firearms rate when looking at police activity after Tshwane. The city, however, continues to have somewhat middling property-related crime rates compared to other cities. Mangaung's social and structural indicators suggest that urbanisation factors are less likely to be key drivers of crime than in most other cities, as population density and social incoherence remain relatively low. However, most other indicators, such as poverty, income inequality and deprivation of services, are relatively high even though lower than in some cities.

Buffalo City experiences a serious assault rate double the national rate and 2.4 times the metro average. Their sexual offence rate is also the highest. Buffalo City has the highest property-related crime rate, more than 1.6 times the national and metro rates. Many of the objective and subjective indicators for Buffalo City compare unfavourably to most other cities, especially concerning unemployment, infrastructure vulnerability, and the percentage living in informal housing in 2021.

Msunduzi has had fairly middling to low crime rates compared to the larger cities. However, its murder rate is now the second highest, second only to Nelson Mandela Bay. There is a need for the city to focus on addressing its pattern of interpersonal violence crimes. Msunduzi's social and structural indicators clearly point to challenges with marginalisation, particularly in poverty, unemployment, and deprivation of services.

A more detailed analysis of each city's position in terms of the 21 indicators is provided in Annexure A of this report.

INDIVIDUAL CITY REPORTS
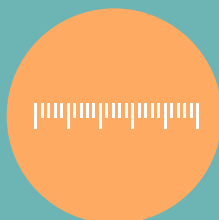
Each city-specific crime profile is provided below, including the 21 indicators set out in Section 2. A relative comparison of city performance is illustrated below through vertical intensity graphs (in the form of a horizontal orange bar graph) indicated together with the indicator value in the table below. Of the 21 indicators, indicators 10 and 13 through 16 remained unchanged because updated indicators were not available

In addition, each City report includes a set of six maps where the objective crime indicators have been spatialised to illustrate where these crimes occur within our Cities spatialised context. It is hoped that these maps can assist Cities in targeting interventions.

BUFFALO CITY METRO MUNICIPALITY

TABLE 14: City-specific crime profile – Buffalo City

| Category			Indicator	BCM
Objective indicators			1 Murder rate	54
			2 Assault rate	531
			3 Robbery rate	270
			4 Property-related crime rate	1 011
			5 Sexual offences rate	153
			6 Public/collective violence rate	
			7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	205
Subjective indicators			8 Experience of crime/violence	6,9%
			9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	51%
			10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	55%
The social/structural indicators	**Urbanisation**		11 Rapid population growth	-0,4%
			12 Population density	290
			13 Social incoherence / family disruption	16%
	Marginalisation		14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,68
			15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,63
			16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	34%
			17 Deprivation of services (% without)	21%
	Social/physical environment		18 Informal housing (% informal)	19%
			19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	6,6
			20 School conditions and violence	
			21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
			Access to alcohol	81
			Access to drugs	105
			Access to firearms	19

Legend
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities
City is about average compared to the other cities
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities

Buffalo City continues to display high levels of violent interpersonal crime, ranking worst among the cities in recorded rates of both assault and sexual offences and average in its rate of murder. Buffalo City experiences a serious assault rate double the national rate and 2.4 times the metro average. Their sexual offence rate is also the highest. Buffalo City has the highest property-related crime rate, more than 1.6 times the national and metro rates, second only to Cape Town. Its indicator of robbery is middling, while police activity (as measured by all crimes detected as a result of police actions, including recorded rates of driving while under the influence) ranks the lowest for this reporting period.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for two subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime and perceptions of safety. Buffalo City had the fifth highest ranking for experiences of housebreaking but third highest for perceptions of unsafety. For Buffalo City, in 2019, the city ranked the lowest at 55% for satisfaction with law enforcement.

Buffalo City's social and structural indicators remain overwhelmingly related to marginalisation factors such as the deprivation of services, youth unemployment, income inequality and poverty as its major challenges. The city continues to rank worst in terms of informal housing. Its crime reduction planning should aim to ameliorate these conditions. The new vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Buffalo City at the top of the vulnerability spectrum.

FIGURE 21: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Buffalo City (2005/06-2021/22)
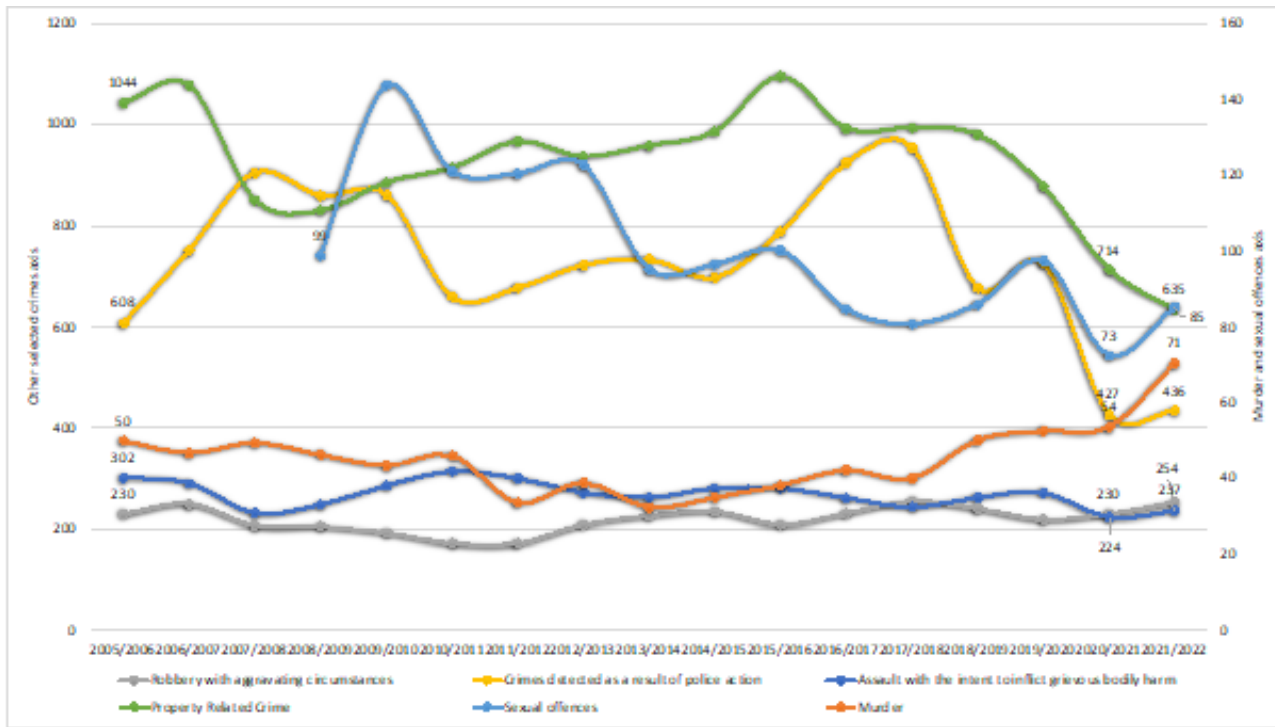
Buffalo City has shown dramatic increases in all crime in the past year. This includes a 29% increase in the murder rate since last year (driving a 17% increase in the past five years). Assault with the intent to inflict GBH increased by 19% in the last year (driving a 5% increase in the last five years). Sexual offences increased by 15% last year, driving 13% in the last five years. Its disproportionally high recorded rate of property crimes has increased by 9% in the past year, which has generally declined more unsteadily and slowly than most other cities (down 18% over the last five years. The city saw a 13% increase in robbery rates in the past year. Its recorded rates of police action have been increasing by 21% despite trending downward since 2015/16 (down 54%), suggesting that police have prioritised routine roadblock activities.
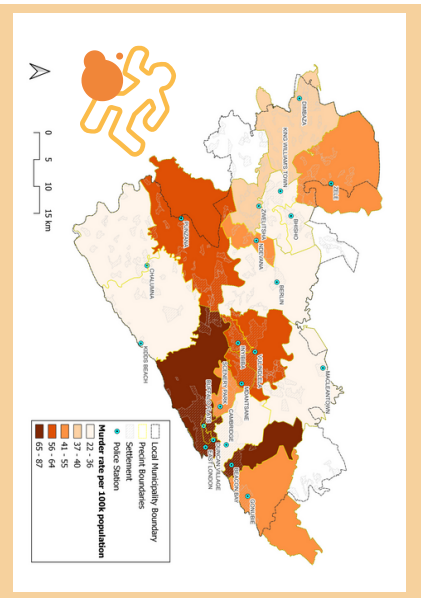
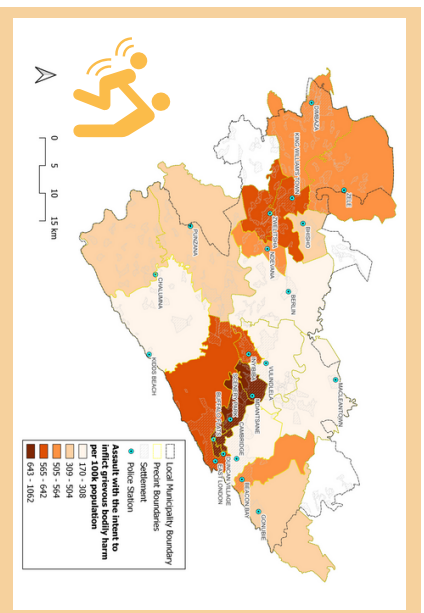# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: BUFFALO CITY 2022

INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectoral transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
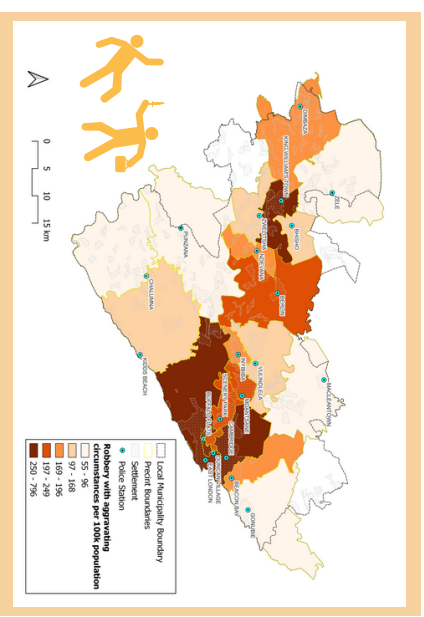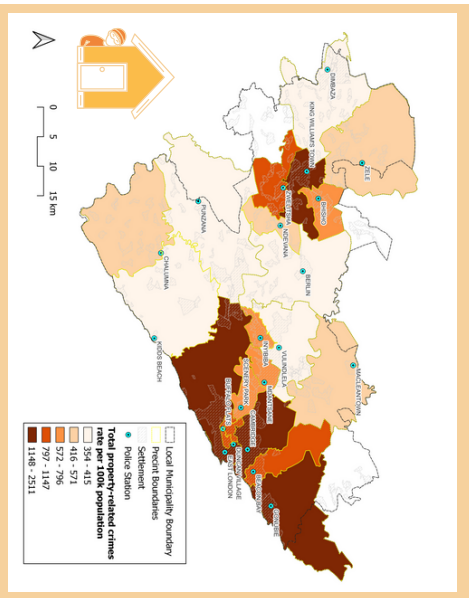
MURDER RATE

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

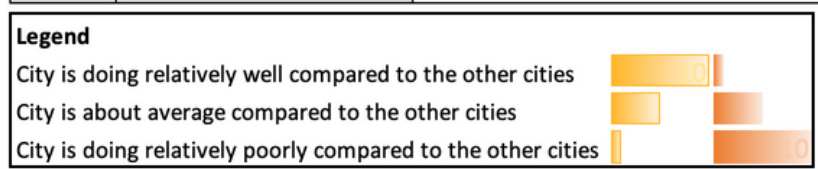## ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

CITY OF CAPE TOWN

TABLE 8: City-specific crime profile – Cape Town

Category		Indicator	CPT
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	68
		2 Assault rate	215
		3 Robbery rate	341
		4 Property-related crime rate	776
		5 Sexual offences rate	95
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	994
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	5,3%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	56%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	78%
The social/structural indicators	Urbanisation	11 Rapid population growth	2,0%
		12 Population density	1952
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	14%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,75
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,62
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	21%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	10%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	17%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	3,1
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	61
		Access to drugs	886
		Access to firearms	47

| Legend	
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities	
City is about average compared to the other cities	
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities	

Although Cape Town continues to experience very high crime rates, there have been some reductions in the past few years, resulting in the city moving from being the highest ranked to second in respect of property-related crimes and third in terms of robbery rates. The city has managed to maintain its fourth-place ranking for sexual offences. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the city experienced a sharp decrease in police activity (measured by recorded rates of driving while under the influence). As with other cities, the sharp reduction can be explained by reprioritising police activities to police lockdown restrictions and implementing alcohol bans. However, in the reference period, police activity increased substantially by 2308% to rates well above the other cities.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey provides an assessment of experiences of crime, perceptions of safety and satisfaction with police. The city's satisfaction with law enforcement is among the highest of the cities - second only to Ekurhuleni. However, the city has had substantial increases in its ranking of feeling unsafe at night compared to the other cities, ranking second only to Joburg. It has the fourth lowest ranking of experiences of housebreaking.

The city has the highest poverty index, and its income inequality gap is on par with the other cities at very high levels. This should be closely monitored.

The city's rapid population growth (second only to Johannesburg) and percentage of residents living in informal housing in 2021 is the second highest on par with Johannesburg, second only to Buffalo City. The city's urbanisation factors appear relatively high, but its unemployment rate is the lowest compared to other cities. The infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Cape Town at the lower end of the vulnerability spectrum, with only Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni having slightly lower scores.

FIGURE 15: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Cape Town (2005/06-2020/22)
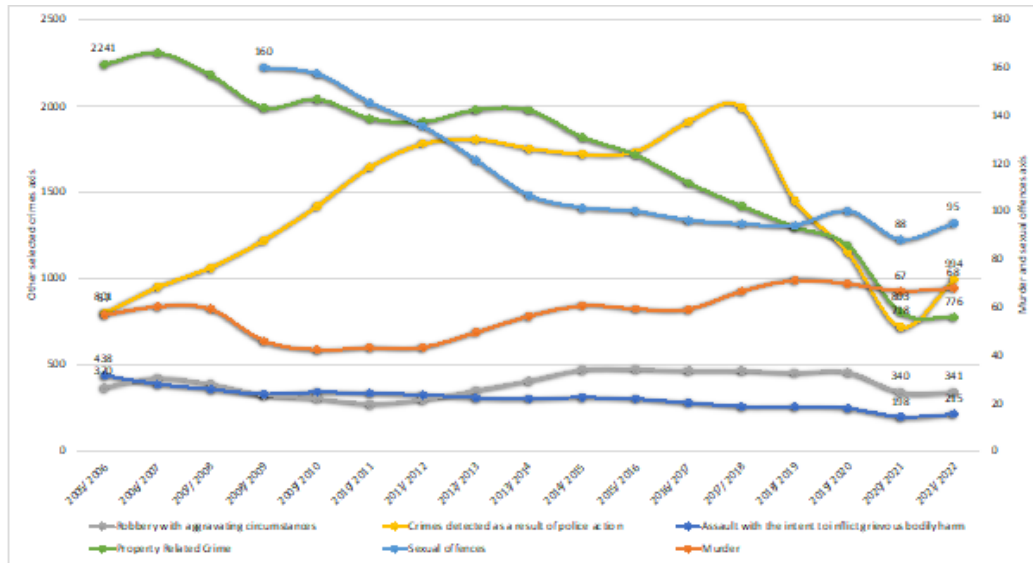
Cape Town has managed to go from the highest murder rate to the fourth highest, showing a nominal increase since 2021/22 – lower than most cities. However, there is still a concern as the five-year increase remains high at 16% since the 2016/17 reporting period. The city equally shows a continued decline in the rate of armed robbery and assault with intent to inflict GBH, which shows a decline of 30% and 20%, respectively, over the past five years. Similar to most other cities, Cape Town displays a continued decline in property-related crimes, with a 3% reduction in the past year and a 52% downward trend since 2016/17. Although there had been a substantive reduction in robbery with aggravating circumstances of 30% in the past five years, a 0% stabilisation was reported in the past year. A similarly distinct reduction is recorded in the rate of driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, decreasing by up to 71% in the past five years but increasing sharply by 48% in the past year. Overall, police action increased by 38% in the past year despite 48% in the past five years. This heavy increase may be correlated with the commencement of routine police operations away from policing lockdown restrictions.
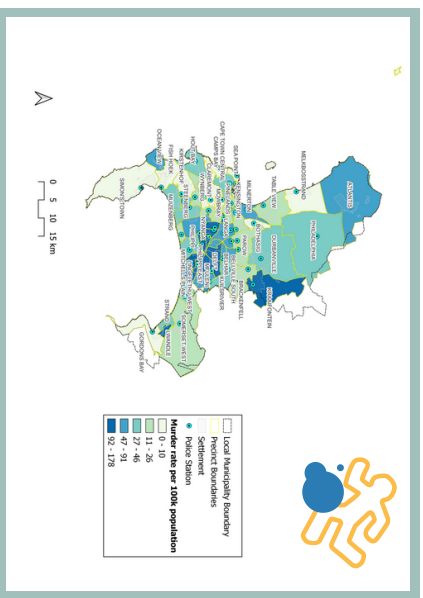
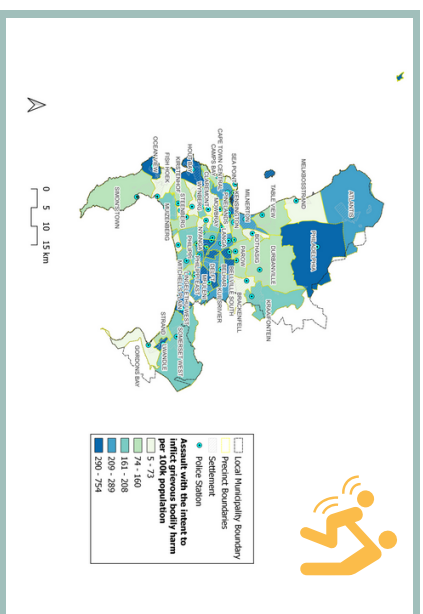# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: CITY OF CAPE TOWN 2022

INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectoral transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
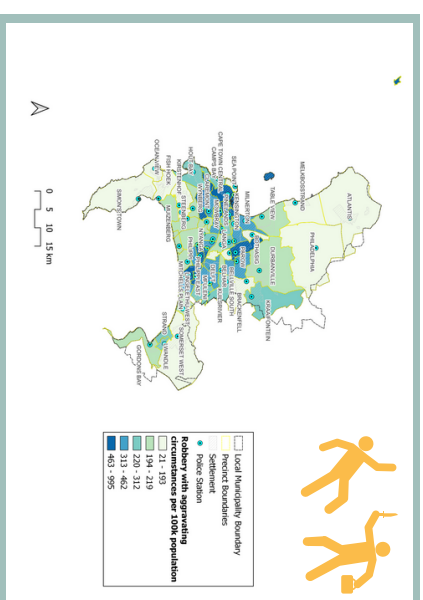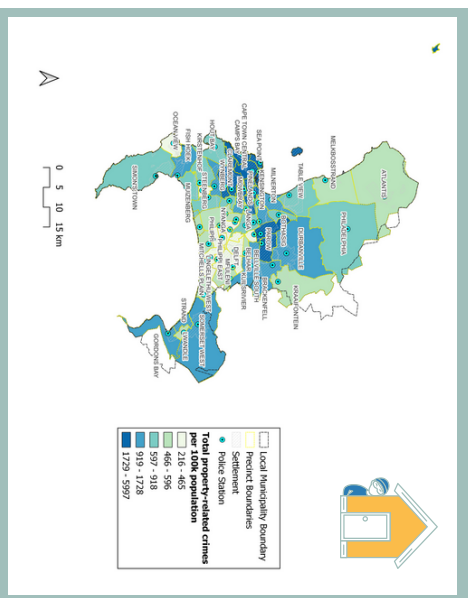
MURDER RATE

Murder rate per 100k population
- 0 - 10
- 11 - 26
- 27 - 46
- 47 - 91
- 92 - 178

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
- 5 - 73
- 74 - 160
- 161 - 208
- 209 - 289
- 290 - 754

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
- 21 - 193
- 194 - 219
- 220 - 312
- 313 - 462
- 463 - 995

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Total property-related crimes per 100k population
- 216 - 465
- 466 - 596
- 597 - 918
- 919 - 1728
- 1729 - 5997

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total crime detected as a result of police action
- 9 - 123
- 124 - 300
- 301 - 666
- 667 - 1212
- 1213 - 4532

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total sexual crimes
- 2 - 16
- 17 - 43
- 44 - 63
- 64 - 113
- 114 - 355

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

The methodology, full details of the data as reported per police station can be found in the State of Crime and Safety Report 2022.

CITY OF EKURHULENI

TABLE 10: City-specific crime profile – Ekurhuleni

| Category		Indicator	EKU
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	35
		2 Assault rate	224
		3 Robbery rate	265
		4 Property-related crime rate	469
		5 Sexual offences rate	65
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	357
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	4,0%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	40%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	80%
The social/structural indicators	Urbanisation	11 Rapid population growth	1,7%
		12 Population density	2099
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	12%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,71
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,63
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	27%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	15%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	16%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	2,6
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	152
		Access to drugs	180
		Access to firearms	22

Legend	
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities	
City is about average compared to the other cities	
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities	

Ekurhuleni's crime rates remain relatively low compared to other cities. The city now has the lowest property-related crime, surpassing eThekwini. The city has the fourth lowest assault rate and second lowest sexual offences rate – although this should be read as the reflective rate and not necessarily the true extent of assault and sexual offence events. Ekurhuleni, after Mangaung, ranks second lowest in terms of the murder rate. The city's robbery rate ranks fourth lowest. As with other cities, public/collective violence data is unavailable for this reporting period. Its police activity indicator (as measured by recorded rates of driving while under the influence), much like other cities, has increased significantly. Commencing routine police operations can explain the sharp increase after stopping with the reprioritisation of police activities to police the lockdown restrictions and the implementation of alcohol bans.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for the three subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime, perceptions of safety and satisfaction with police. For Ekurhuleni, satisfaction with law enforcement ranks the highest at 80%. Experiences of housebreaking rank third lowest, and perceptions of unsafety are the second lowest of all cities

The city continues to face some challenges insofar as the social/structural indicators by ranking third once more in rapid population growth and second in population density. As with Ekurhuleni, 16% of residents had lived in informal housing in 2021 – just behind Buffalo City, Johannesburg and Cape Town. The new infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places the city second lowest of the vulnerability spectrum, with only Johannesburg having a slightly lower score.

FIGURE 17: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Ekurhuleni (2005/06-2021/22)
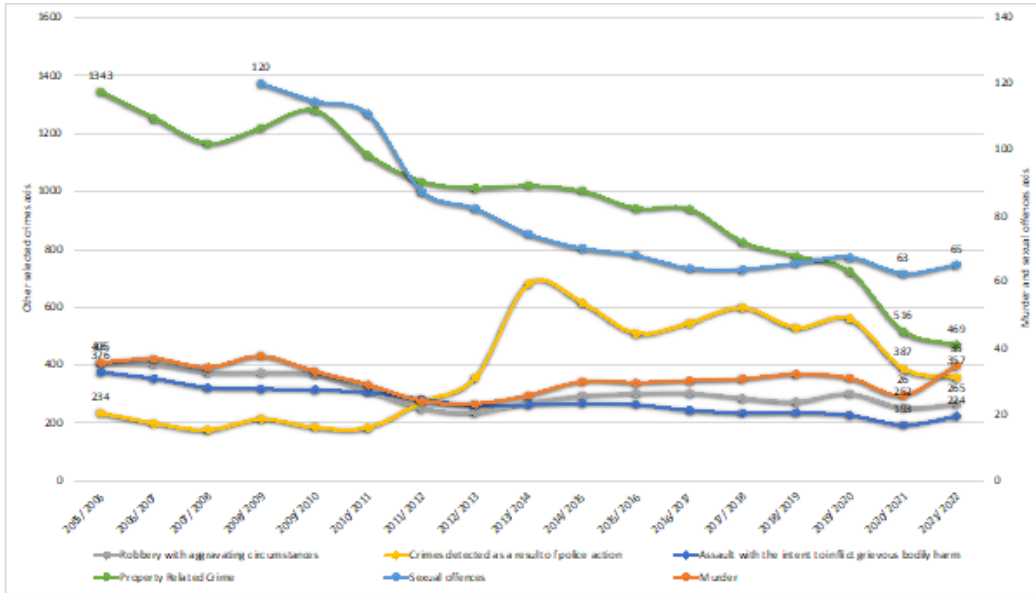
Ekurhuleni reported increased violent crime rates since 2020/21, which now contributes to an increase in this murder rate and sexual offences rate over the five years. The rate of sexual offences has shown a 4% increase, and murder has a 36% increase in a year since 2020/21. Reported property-related crimes decreased by 50% since 2016/17 but increased by 9% in the past year.

The robbery rate has declined by 12.5% in the last five years but increased by 5% in the past year. Assault decreased by 8% in five years but increased by 16% in the past year. The recorded crime detected due to police action rate has presented a further 8% decrease in the past year. This, however, should be read cautiously against the 52% increase recorded in the long term (2005/06).
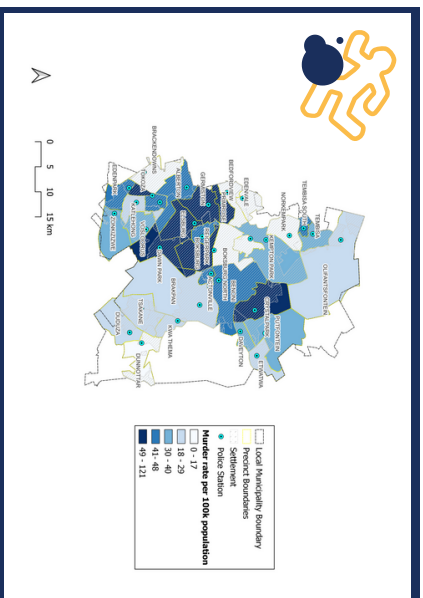
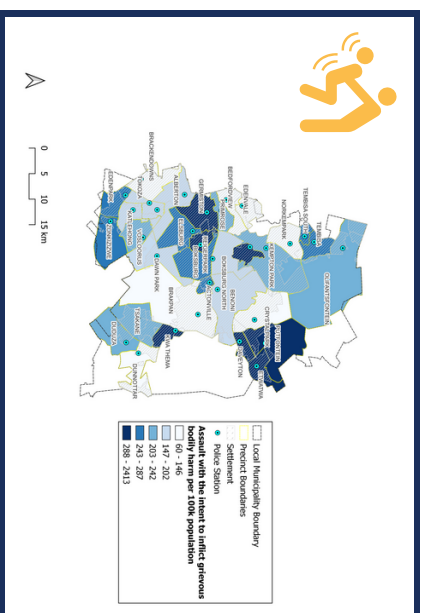# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: CITY OF EKURHULENI 2022

INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectorial transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
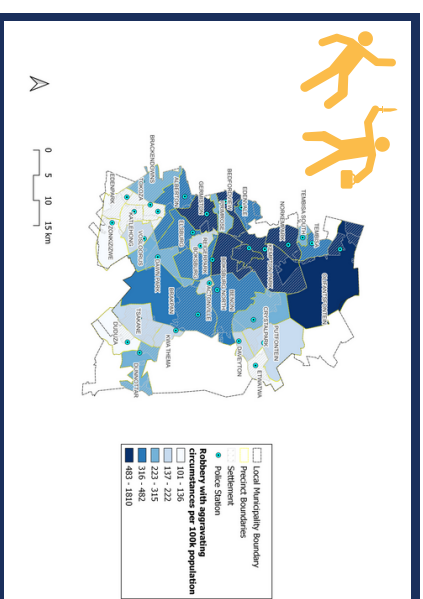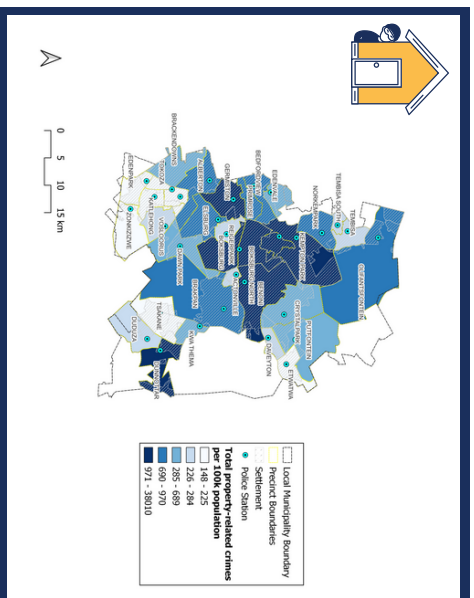
MURDER RATE

Murder rate per 100k population
- 0 - 17
- 18 - 29
- 30 - 40
- 41 - 48
- 49 - 121

- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
- 60 - 146
- 147 - 202
- 203 - 242
- 243 - 287
- 288 - 2413

- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
- 101 - 136
- 137 - 222
- 223 - 315
- 316 - 482
- 483 - 1810

- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Total property-related crimes per 100k population
- 148 - 225
- 226 - 284
- 285 - 689
- 690 - 970
- 971 - 38010

- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total crime detected as a result of police action
- 13 - 195
- 196 - 297
- 298 - 396
- 397 - 565
- 566 - 1512

- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total sexual crimes
- 6 - 36
- 37 - 57
- 58 - 85
- 86 - 101
- 102 - 194

- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

TABLE 7: City-specific crime profile – Johannesburg

Category		Indicator	JHB
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	36
		2 Assault rate	242
		3 Robbery rate	325
		4 Property-related crime rate	518
		5 Sexual offences rate	67
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	260
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	2,7%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	58%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	77%
The social/structural indicators	**Urbanisation**	11 Rapid population growth	2,1%
		12 Population density	3705
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	14%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,73
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,62
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	25%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	23%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	17%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	1,0
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	85
		Access to drugs	147
		Access to firearms	24

Legend
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities
City is about average compared to the other cities
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities

Johannesburg's rankings appear to have deteriorated in terms of most objective indicators. The city's violent interpersonal crime rates remain low compared to other cities. Johannesburg has maintained a relatively low murder rate compared to its coastal counterparts. Johannesburg has recorded relatively low levels of police activity (as measured by recorded rates of all police activity, including driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs).

Using the available data for the subjective indicators on perceptions and experiences of crime and violence, Johannesburg appears to be outperforming other cities with the lowest levels recorded for experiences of housebreaking. However, perceptions of safety indicate that residents of Joburg feel more unsafe than in any other city. The data represented reflects the 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey, as represented at the provincial and district or metro level for 2021, assessing perceptions of safety and experiences of housebreaking. The next Survey for 2022/23 will include satisfaction with police in the area.

Johannesburg ranks the highest for rapid population growth with 2.7% - a substantially lower rate than the previous year's levels of 3.7%. While the covid-pandemic may have slowed urbanisation rates, this factor has been central to crime and safety challenges in the city. The city has the highest population density, with a density rate nearly twice that of its neighbour Ekurhuleni (with the second highest density levels) or five times the rate of Tshwane.

The 2021 Household survey puts Joburg's informal housing percentage at 17%, a significant increase from the percentage mentioned in 2018[15], on par with Cape Town and second only to Buffalo City. This gives rise to the second-highest rate of deprivation of services (after Msunduzi).

This reflects the importance of combating the negative consequences of rapid urbanisation and inequality in pursuit of progressive safety planning for the city. The new infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Johannesburg at the lowest end of the vulnerability spectrum.

FIGURE 14: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Johannesburg (2005/06-2021/22)
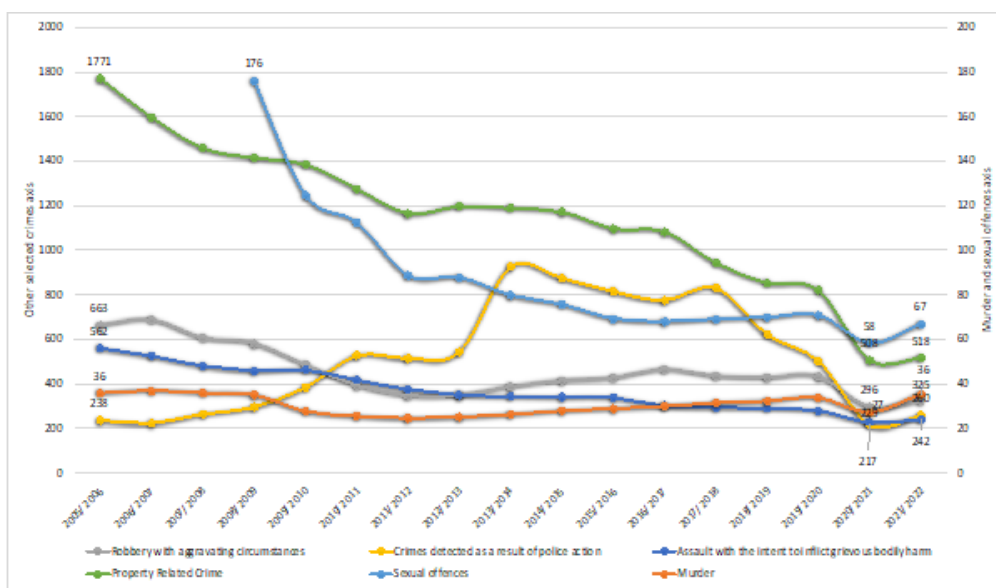
All crime rates displayed increased over the past year after the easing of lockdown restrictions. The murder rate has increased by more than 30% after a previous year-on-year decrease of 16%. This previous decline in the murder rate was lower than anticipated, considering limitations on movement and other restrictions brought about by the lockdown regulations of the Disaster Management Act. This continues the trend over the past ten years of an increase in the murder rate at 43%. However, the notable increase in a single year must be investigated as it shows a sustained increase despite the slight lowering in 2020/21 during COVID-19.

Most cities have seen increased recorded police action since 2018/19, except for a dip in the previous year during Covid-19. This sharp reduction of 67% over the past five years can be explained in terms of the reprioritisation of police activities to police the lockdown restrictions, the implementation of alcohol bans, and fewer arrests for cannabis possession. For the current year, police action has increased by 20%, indicating that routine police actions have commenced as lockdown restrictions have been eased. Driving under the influence increased by 66% in the last year, motivating increased police action.

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[15] The 2018 General Household Survey data differs substantively from the 2021 figures. The reasons are uncertain.

Property-related crimes show a significant decrease of up to 56% in the past decade, an impressive improvement accompanied by a sharp reduction in robberies with aggravating circumstances, which declined by 7% in the same period. However, in the last year, armed robberies increased by 10% and property-related crime by 2%.

Both assault with the intent to inflict grievous body harm (GBH) and sexual offences have steadily declined, by 57% and 62%, respectively, since 2005/6. This trend can, however, represent a continuously declining confidence in reporting such crimes to the police. However, in the last year, reported sexual offences increased by 15% and assaults by 6%.
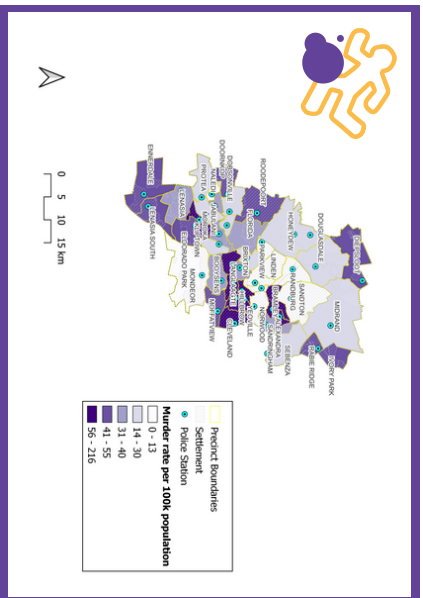
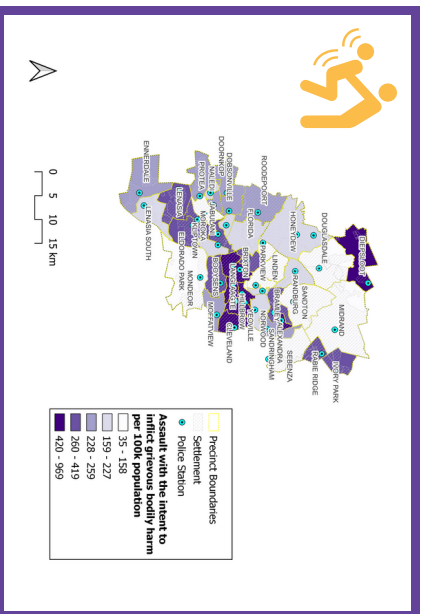# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: CITY OF JOHANNESBURG 2022

INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectorial transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
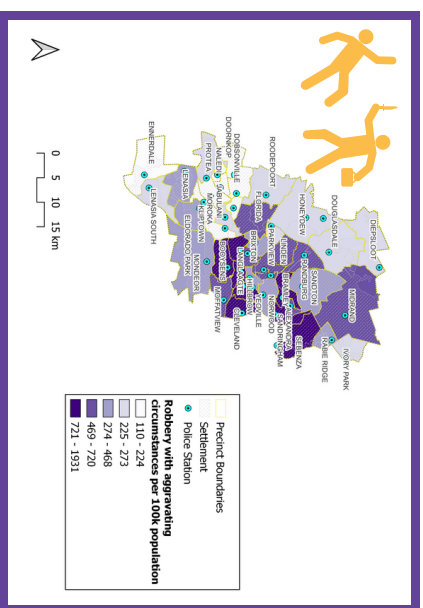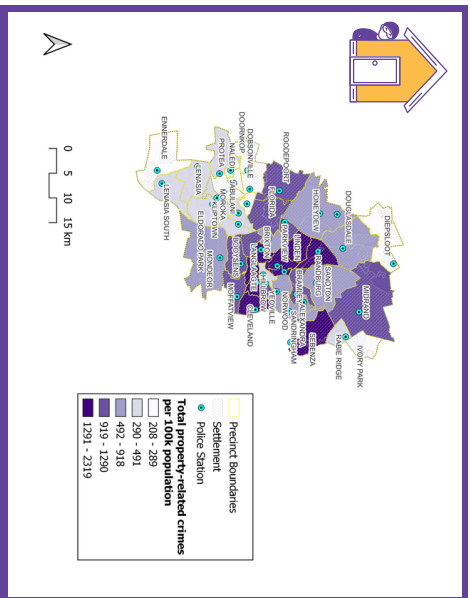
MURDER RATE

Legend:
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Murder rate per 100k population
- 0 - 13
- 14 - 30
- 31 - 40
- 41 - 55
- 56 - 216

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Legend:
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
- 35 - 158
- 159 - 227
- 228 - 259
- 260 - 419
- 420 - 969

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Legend:
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
- 110 - 224
- 225 - 273
- 274 - 468
- 469 - 720
- 721 - 1931

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Legend:
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Total property-related crimes per 100k population
- 208 - 289
- 290 - 491
- 492 - 918
- 919 - 1290
- 1291 - 2319

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Legend:
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Total crime detected as a result of police action
- 20 - 299
- 300 - 578
- 579 - 856
- 857 - 1135
- 1136 - 1414

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Legend:
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Total Sexual Crimes
- 9 - 52
- 53 - 94
- 95 - 137
- 138 - 179
- 180 - 222

CITY OF TSHWANE

TABLE 11: City-specific crime profile – Tshwane

Category		Indicator	TSH
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	18
		2 Assault rate	140
		3 Robbery rate	262
		4 Property-related crime rate	571
		5 Sexual offences rate	52
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	220
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	3,7%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	38%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	72%
The social/structural indicators	**Urbanisation**	11 Rapid population growth	1,6%
		12 Population density	755
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	14%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,73
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,62
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	24%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	14%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	16%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	4,5
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	57
		Access to drugs	149
		Access to firearms	12

Legend

|	
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities	
City is about average compared to the other cities	
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities	

Tshwane continues to record relatively low rates of interpersonal violent crimes, with the lowest rates of murder, assault and sexual offences out of all nine cities. The city's murder rate is more than half that of the national average. Its robbery rate remains the second lowest, being outperformed by Mangaung. The city has maintained a middling ranking for property-related crimes despite a considerable improvement in the rate since the previous year. As with other cities, the indicator of police activity (as measured by all recorded rates of crime detected as a result of police action, including driving while under the influence of alcohol or drugs) has decreased in the past year. The commencement of routine police operations can explain the previous sharp increase after stopping with the re-prioritisation of police activities to police the lockdown restrictions and the implementation of alcohol bans.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for the three subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime, perceptions of safety and satisfaction with police. Tshwane For Ekurhuleni, satisfaction with law enforcement ranks the highest at 80%. Experiences of housebreaking rank second lowest, and perceptions of unsafety are the lowest of all cities. The city continues to face some challenges insofar as the social/structural indicators by ranking fourth highest in rapid population growth but relatively low in population density.

Tshwane continues to record relatively low rates of interpersonal violent crimes, with the lowest rates of murder, assault and sexual offences. The city enjoys the lowest murder rate out of all nine cities by a large margin. Despite recent increases in its robbery rate, it has the third lowest ranking, ranking above Msunduzi and Mangaung, with Ekurhuleni and Buffalo City now surpassing Tshwane. Urbanisation continues to be challenging – with rapid population growth ranking third highest after Johannesburg and Cape Town. As with Ekurhuleni, 16% of Tshwane residents living in informal housing in 2021 – just behind Johannesburg and Cape Town. Furthermore, the new infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Tshwane in the middle of the vulnerability spectrum.

FIGURE 18: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Tshwane (2005/06-2021/22)
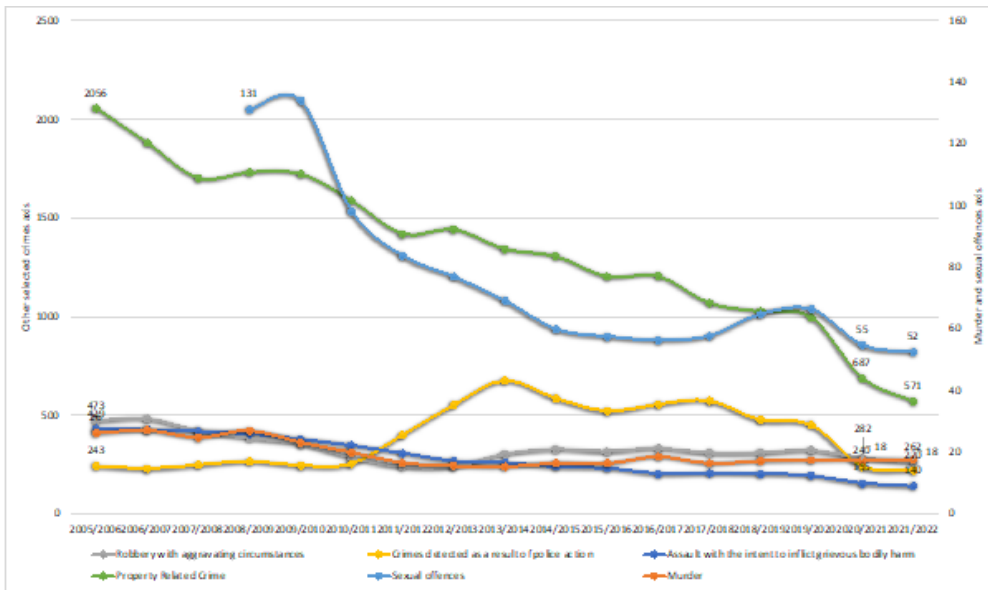
Unlike other cities, Tshwane has reported a decline in all crime events in the past year from a relatively low baseline. Even the murder rate showed a nearly one per cent decrease in the past year, feeding into a 7% decrease in the last five years. Tshwane's murder rate remains the lowest of the nine cities.

In keeping with the decrease in the annual rate in the past year, all the crimes showed decreases in the past five years. For the robbery rate, Tshwane has the third lowest ranking, ranking above Msunduzi and Mangaung, with Ekurhuleni and Buffalo City now surpassing Tshwane. Property-related crime continued downward, with a 53% decrease in the past five years. As noted above, the city has experienced a decrease of 8% in the past year and a 60.5% decrease across five years in crimes detected due to police action cases. Routine roadblocks and other standard police operations in the city have not replaced a focus on policing lockdown restrictions.
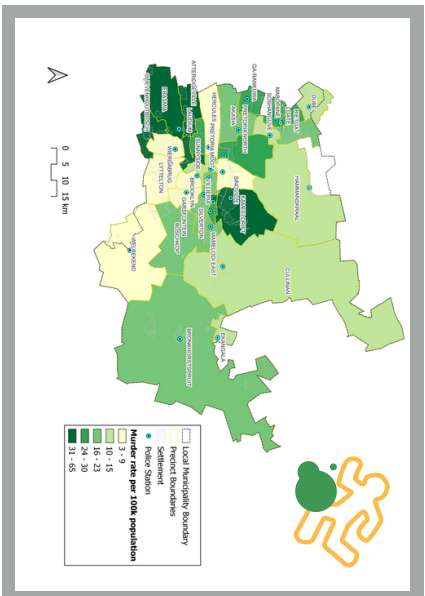
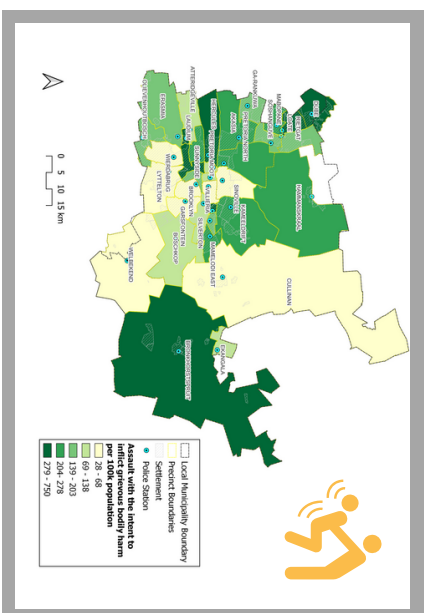# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: CITY OF TSHWANE 2022

INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectoral transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
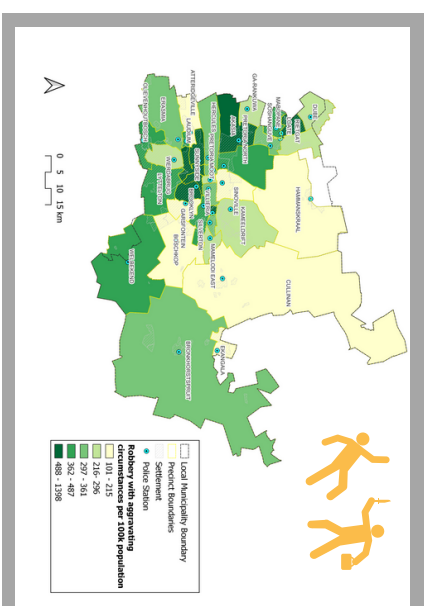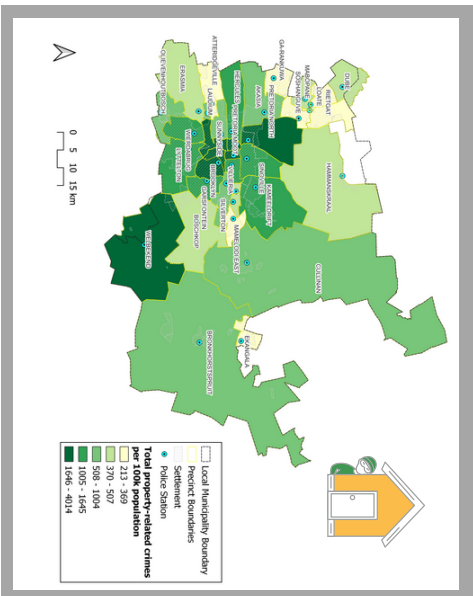
MURDER RATE

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station
Murder rate per 100k population
3 - 9
10 - 15
16 - 23
24 - 30
31 - 65

0 5 10 15 km

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station
Total property-related crimes per 100k population
213 - 369
370 - 507
508 - 1004
1005 - 1645
1646 - 4014

0 5 10 15 km

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
28 - 68
69 - 138
139 - 203
204 - 278
279 - 750

0 5 10 15 km

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station
Total crime detected as a result of police action
38 - 110
111 - 192
193 - 259
260 - 420
421 - 912

0 5 10 15 km

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station
Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
101 - 215
216 - 296
297 - 361
362 - 487
488 - 1398

0 5 10 15 km

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station
Total sexual crimes
12 - 28
29 - 47
48 - 71
72 - 109
110 - 187

0 5 10 15 km

ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

Category		Indicator	ETH
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	70
		2 Assault rate	195
		3 Robbery rate	337
		4 Property-related crime rate	687
		5 Sexual offences rate	73
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	340
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	9,2%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	44%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	59%
The social/structural indicators	Urbanisation	11 Rapid population growth	0,9%
		12 Population density	1581
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	14%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,67
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,62
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	28%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	18%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	10%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	6,4
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	22
		Access to drugs	260
		Access to firearms	27

| Legend	
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities	
City is about average compared to the other cities	
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities	

In previous reports, eThekwini has managed to maintain a consistent position across the 21 indicators. However, in the reference year, eThekwini, together with Msunduzi, had a significant spike in murder, with the rate increasing by 50.5%. Although some of the murders can be related to the 2021 July unrest, the unrest does not account for the 954 more murders compared to the previous year or the 818 more murders compared to the 2019/20 figures before the COVID-19 lockdown restrictions.

The city is now ranked third for murder and robbery, moving up a spot. Unfortunately, an updated measure for public violence cannot be made because updated data is not available for this indicator. eThekwini continues to hold a somewhat middle ranking for its sexual offences rate – however, it shows a significant increase in the reported rate. The city shows a significant reduction in recorded police action. However, drug access remains exceptionally high, placed third compared to other cities.

The 2019 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for the three subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime, perceptions of safety and satisfaction with police. eThekwini is now placed second for housebreaking experience with relatively low feelings of unsafety in the reporting period.

In previous years, the city's social and structural indicators appear to be improving, with a reduction in marginalisation factors through an improvement where deprivation of services is concerned and an improvement in social/ physical environment factors. However, it scores quite highly (second only to Buffalo City) on the physical vulnerability index (6.4). Once an updated score is available, the 2021 July violence and 2022 floods may exasperate this score. The more remote and/ or structurally vulnerable, the higher the physical vulnerability score (1=low and 10=high vulnerability).

FIGURE 16: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in eThekwini (2005/06-2021/22)
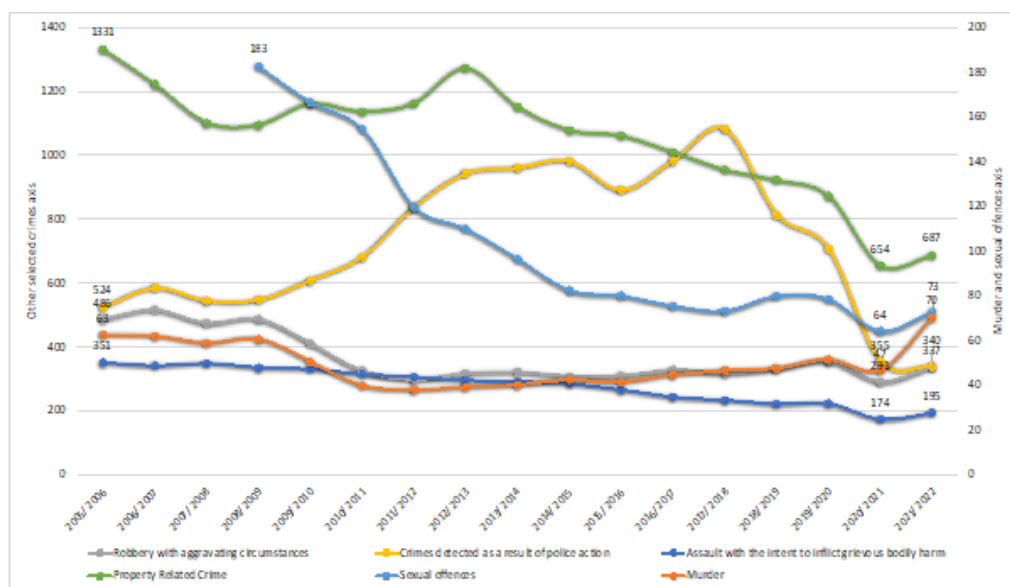
Over five years, eThekwini showed significant declines in the rate of assault with the intent to inflict GBH of 20% but had a year-on-year increase of 12%. Previously, together with Ekurhuleni, the city displayed the lowest reported rates of property-related crimes. However, in the past year, this rate increased by 5%, feeding into and increasing the ranking now to the fifth highest together with Nelson Mandela Bay. Unfortunately, robbery rates have increased by about 16% in the past year. Unfortunately, the murder rate has increased by 57% in the past five years and 50.5% year on year. This requires urgent attention. Unlike other cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, the city still displays a decrease in reported police action, now 4.3% lower than the previous year. eThekwini shows a five-year decline of 65% in police action since the 2016/17 reporting period.
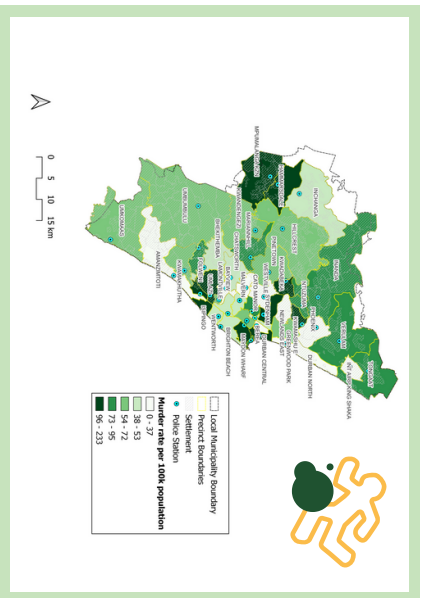
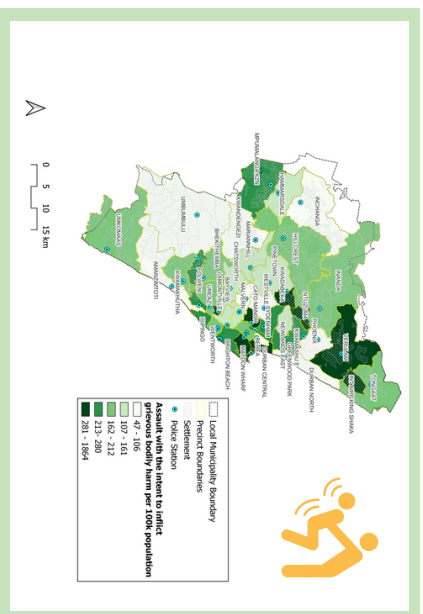# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY 2022

INTRODUCTION

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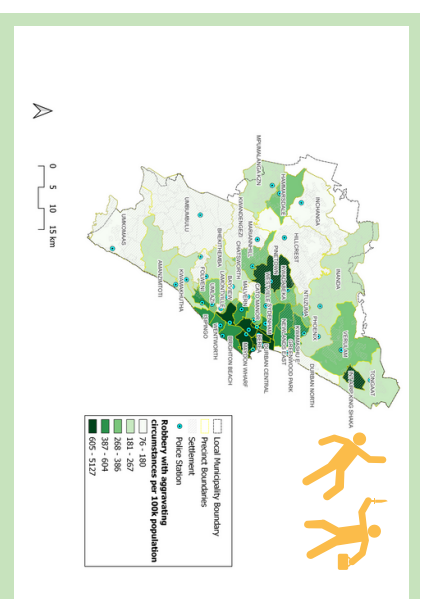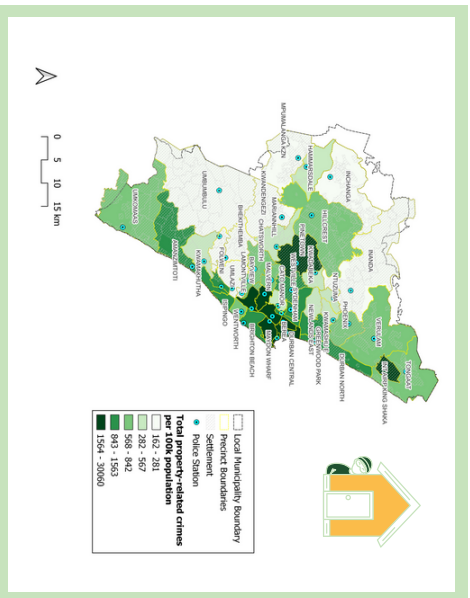
MURDER RATE

Legend:
- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Murder rate per 100k population
- 0 - 37
- 38 - 53
- 54 - 72
- 73 - 95
- 96 - 233

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Legend:
- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
- 47 - 106
- 107 - 161
- 162 - 212
- 213 - 280
- 281 - 1864

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Legend:
- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
- 76 - 180
- 181 - 267
- 268 - 386
- 387 - 604
- 605 - 5127

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Legend:
- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Total property-related crimes per 100k population
- 162 - 281
- 282 - 567
- 568 - 842
- 843 - 1563
- 1564 - 30060

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Legend:
- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Total crime detected as a result of police action
- 2 - 56
- 57 - 77
- 78 - 204
- 205 - 614
- 615 - 2079

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Legend:
- Local Municipality Boundary
- Precinct Boundaries
- Settlement
- Police Station

Total sexual crimes
- 1 - 22
- 23 - 37
- 38 - 63
- 64 - 90
- 91 - 350

MANGAUNG METRO MUNICIPALITY

TABLE 13: City-specific crime profile – Mangaung

| Category		Indicator	MAN
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	33
		2 Assault rate	379
		3 Robbery rate	187
		4 Property-related crime rate	767
		5 Sexual offences rate	127
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	354
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	7,5%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	46%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	75%
The social/structural indicators	**Urbanisation**	11 Rapid population growth	0,3%
		12 Population density	85
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	15%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,68
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,62
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	24%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	22%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	15%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	5,5
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	74
		Access to drugs	209
		Access to firearms	15

Legend

City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities

City is about average compared to the other cities

City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities

Mangaung's murder rate is the second lowest compared to the nine cities. This ranking improved to second place, surpassing Ekurhuleni but still far higher than Tshwane. The city also ranks second for serious assault and third for sexual offences and assault. The city remains at the lowest ranking for robbery rates among the nine cities. However, the city has continued to have somewhat middling property-related crimes. Its police activity, as measured by recorded rates of driving while under the influence, is relatively high. However, it decreased the previous year significantly, suggesting a substantive drop in police activity.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for the three subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime and perceptions of safety. Mangaung is ranked third highest for experiences of housebreaking and fourth highest ranking for feelings of unsafety at night time. Mangaung's satisfaction with law enforcement in 2019 ranks relatively high at 75%.

Mangaung's social and structural indicators suggest that urbanisation factors are less likely to be key drivers of crime than in most other cities. Compared to other cities, the city ranks third lowest for rapid population growth and the lowest for population density. The percentage of informal housing for 2021 is the fifth lowest of the cities. Its general unemployment rate is the third lowest at 24%. The infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Mangaung as relatively high on the vulnerability spectrum.

FIGURE 20: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Mangaung (2005/06-2020/21)
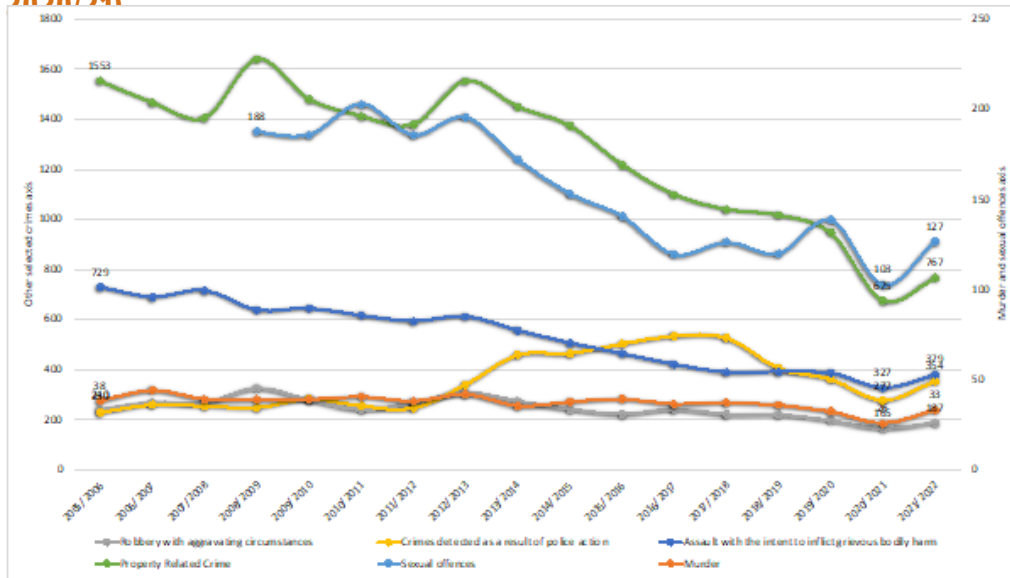
Mangaung, akin to other cities, has shown a long-term decrease in its recorded rates of violent crime. Assault with the intent to inflict GBH is down 10% over the last five years but with a 16% in the last year. Sexual offences in the past year have increased by 24% in the past year and 6% over the past five years. been countered by a continued downward trajectory of 26% in the past year (turning the medium trend downward by 27%). Its downward trend in property-related crime has been revered in the past year with a 13.5% decrease (and a 30% decrease in the last five years).

Mangaung's murder rate has shown a 29% increase in the past year and a decrease of 8.5% since 2015/16. Its recorded rates of aggravated robbery have fluctuated mostly downwards, decreasing by 22% in the last five years, despite a 13% increase in the last year. The city's recorded rate of police action has significantly increased by 28% over the last year and a 34% reduction in the last five years. This past year's increase may be correlated with the commencement of routine police operations away from policing lockdown restrictions.
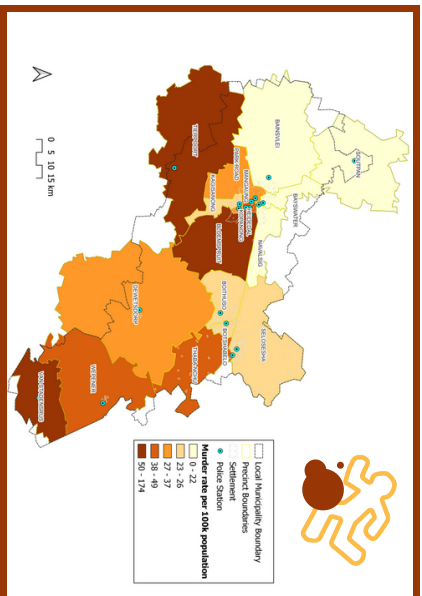
SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: MANGAUNG 2022
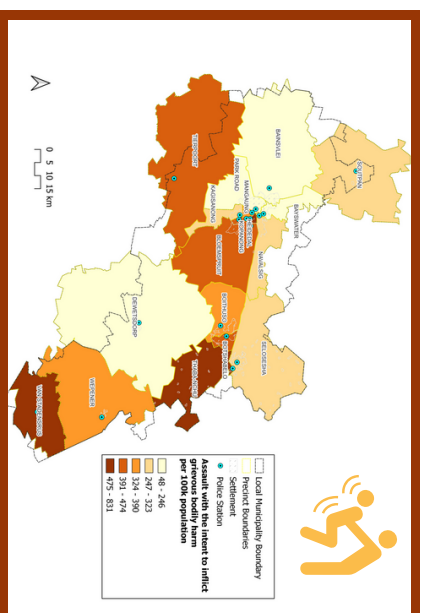
INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectorial transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
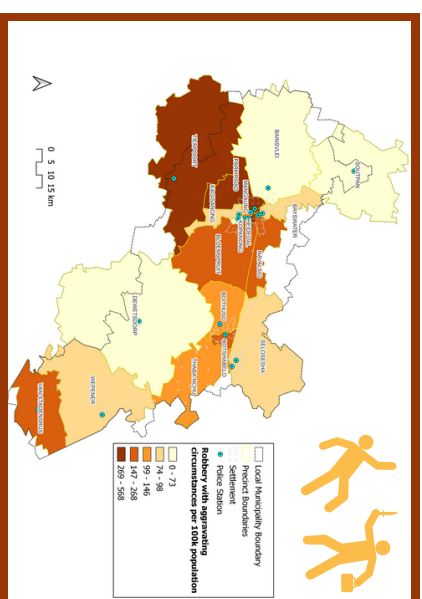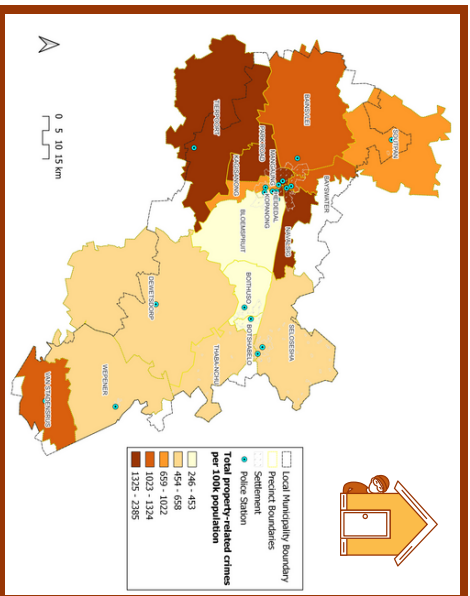
MURDER RATE

Murder rate per 100k population
- 0 - 22
- 23 - 26
- 27 - 37
- 38 - 49
- 50 - 174

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
- 48 - 246
- 247 - 323
- 324 - 390
- 391 - 474
- 475 - 831

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
- 0 - 73
- 74 - 98
- 99 - 146
- 147 - 268
- 269 - 568

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Total property-related crimes per 100k population
- 246 - 453
- 454 - 658
- 659 - 1022
- 1023 - 1324
- 1325 - 2385

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total crime detected as a result of police action
- 2 - 13
- 14 - 34
- 35 - 114
- 115 - 198
- 199 - 1026

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total sexual crimes
- 3 - 10
- 11 - 22
- 23 - 70
- 71 - 104
- 105 - 198

MSUNDUZI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

| Category		Indicator	MSU
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	71
		2 Assault rate	237
		3 Robbery rate	254
		4 Property-related crime rate	635
		5 Sexual offences rate	85
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	436
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	7%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	40%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	77%
The social/structural indicators	**Urbanisation**	11 Rapid population growth	1,5%
		12 Population density	980
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	18%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,66
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,63
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	32%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	31%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	2%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	4,9
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	72
		Access to drugs	323
		Access to firearms	31

Legend
City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities
City is about average compared to the other cities
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities

Msunduzi has had a 31.5% increase in its murder rate in the past year to now ranking second highest for murder. Despite this spike, it has continued to display middling to low recorded rates of most crime types, as previously reported. Although it has the second lowest robbery rate after Mangaung, the city maintains the fourth highest ranking in the assault with intent to inflict GBH. Despite being outperformed by all the Gauteng cities this year, the city has had fairly middling to low rates of property-related crimes. There is, however, still a need for the city to focus on addressing its pattern of interpersonal violence crimes, such as sexual offences; it has maintained its fifth position in this period.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for two subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime and perceptions of safety. For Msunduzi, using district data, the district has the second highest ranking in persons feeling unsafe at night. The 2019 survey shows that satisfaction with law enforcement is the third highest, with a ranking of 77%.

The city faces many challenges as measured by the social/structural indicators. Compared to other cities, the city ranks second highest for unemployment and highest for social incoherence, poverty and deprivation of service. The infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Mzunduzi relatively high on the vulnerability spectrum.

FIGURE 22: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Msunduzi (2005/06-2020/21)
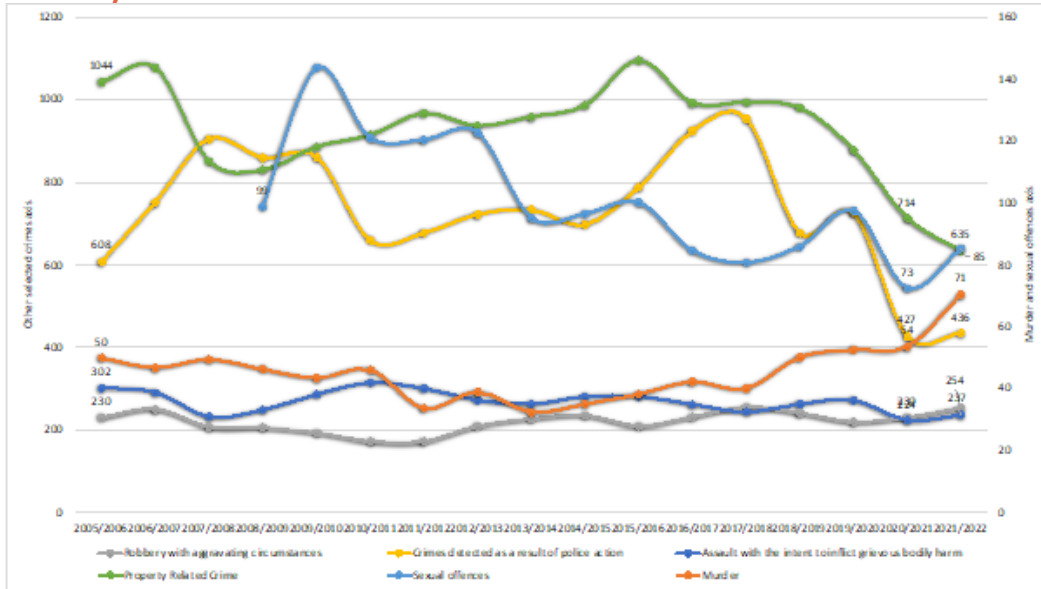
Msunduzi continues to show notable crime trends, being the smallest of the cities (and the only non-metro). Msunduzi has had fairly middling to low crime rates compared to the larger cities. However, its murder rate of 71 murders per 100,000 population is now the second highest, second only to Nelson Mandela Bay. There is a need for the city to focus on addressing its pattern of interpersonal violence crimes. As is the case with eThekwini, although some of the murders can be related to the 2021 July unrest, the unrest does not account for the 128 additional murders recorded in 2021/22 when compared to 2020/21 or the additional 150 murders when compared to 2019/20 financial year.

The city's property-related crime trend has shown a substantial decline in the last five years of 36% and a decrease in the last year of 11%. Its long-term trend of assault with the intent to inflict GBH has decreased by 10% over the last five years, after a 6% increase in the last year. Similarly, its recorded rates of sexual offences have declined by less than 1% since 2015/16 after a 17.5% increase in the last year.

Of concern is the 67% increase in the murder rate in the past five years, with a more marginal 31.5% increase in the last year alone. The robbery rate has increased by nearly 10% in five years, driven by more than 10% in the last year. Its recorded rates of police action increased by nearly 2% over the year. Still, they decreased by 53% in the last five years, perhaps suggesting that the police have substantially deprioritised roadblocks and other policing operations.
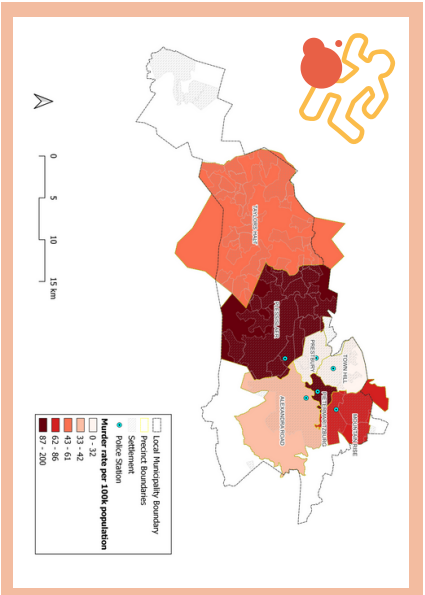
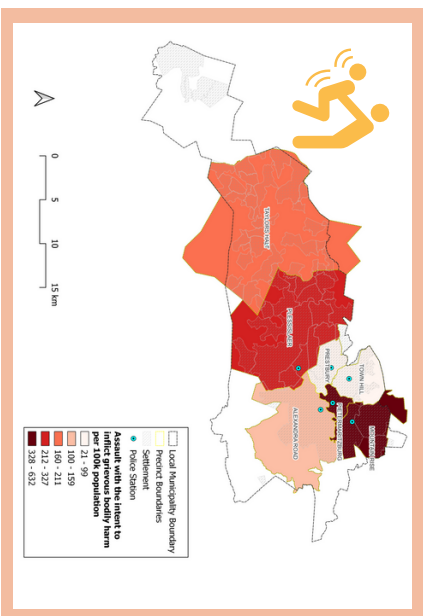# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: MSUNDUZI 2022

INTRODUCTION

The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities provides a critical longitudinal view of crime and its associated risk factors for a 17-year period (2005-2022). This longitudinal view is unique and is able to explore the impact of actions by safety actors, and environmental and economic changes in Cities. Cities have over time requested a further sub-categorisation of indicators spatially. This is to enable an exploration of the inter-relationship between crime and the Spatial development of South African Cities, given the legacy of Spatial segregation. The spatial illustration of crime data is also intended to enable Cities to explore targeted multi-sectorial transversal interventions to target hotspots. With this in mind, the Urban Safety Reference Group has piloted the development of the following illustrating the 2022 objective crime indicators per police station boundaries.
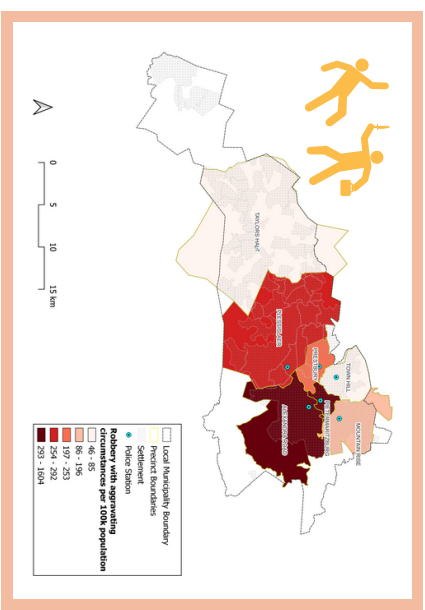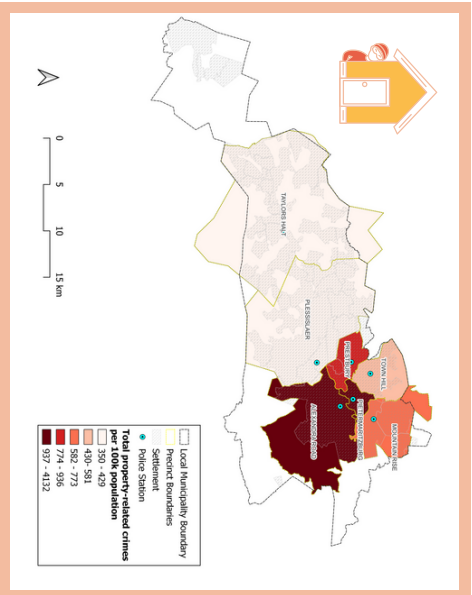
MURDER RATE

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

NELSON MANDELA BAY

TABLE 12: City-specific crime profile – Nelson Mandela Bay

| Category		Indicator	NMB
Objective indicators		1 Murder rate	80
		2 Assault rate	238
		3 Robbery rate	357
		4 Property-related crime rate	687
		5 Sexual offences rate	99
		6 Public/collective violence rate	
		7 Police activity (Higher is positive)	320
Subjective indicators		8 Experience of crime/violence	9,4%
		9 Feelings of safety/fear of crime	42%
		10 Perception/satisfaction with law enforcement	73%
The social/structural indicators	Urbanisation	11 Rapid population growth	0,0%
		12 Population density	620
		13 Social incoherence / family disruption	14%
	Marginalisation	14 Poverty (1 = most developed)	0,70
		15 Income inequality (0= perfectly equal)	0,63
		16 Unemployment (% unemployed)	31%
		17 Deprivation of services (% without)	4%
	Social/physical environment	18 Informal housing (% informal)	6%
		19 Infrastructure (10= high vulnerability)	3,9
		20 School conditions and violence	
		21 Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms	
		Access to alcohol	41
		Access to drugs	250
		Access to firearms	30

Legend

City is doing relatively well compared to the other cities	
City is about average compared to the other cities	
City is doing relatively poorly compared to the other cities	

Nelson Mandela Bay has a growing problem with violence, with the city recording the highest murder and robbery rate of all cities. The murder rate in Nelson Mandela Bay is especially concerning at 80 murders per 100,000, followed by Msunduzi and eThekwini. Their property-related crime rates are the fourth highest in the cities. The city also recorded the fourth lowest rate of police activities (measured by recorded crimes detected as a result of police action), substantially increasing routine policing activities in the past year up from the lowest rates.

The 2021/22 Victims of Crime Survey results are available at a provincial and district level for the first two of three subjective indicators. This includes experiences of crime and perceptions of safety. Nelson Mandela Bay recorded the highest housebreaking experience with the third lowest feelings of unsafety in the reporting period. For satisfaction with the police, the indicators from the 2019 survey put the city ranking relatively well at 73%.

The city's social and structural rankings perform significantly better than other cities despite marginalisation factors reflecting a third ranking for unemployment. Population growth has stagnated. This may be the result of the city's continued water woes. Furthermore, the city is ranked third highest for deprivation of services after Msunduzi and Johannesburg. The infrastructure vulnerability indicator (indicator 19) places Nelson Mandela Bay in the middle of the vulnerability spectrum.

FIGURE 19: Long-term trends in selected crimes recorded per 100,000 people in Nelson Mandela Bay (2005/06-2021/22)
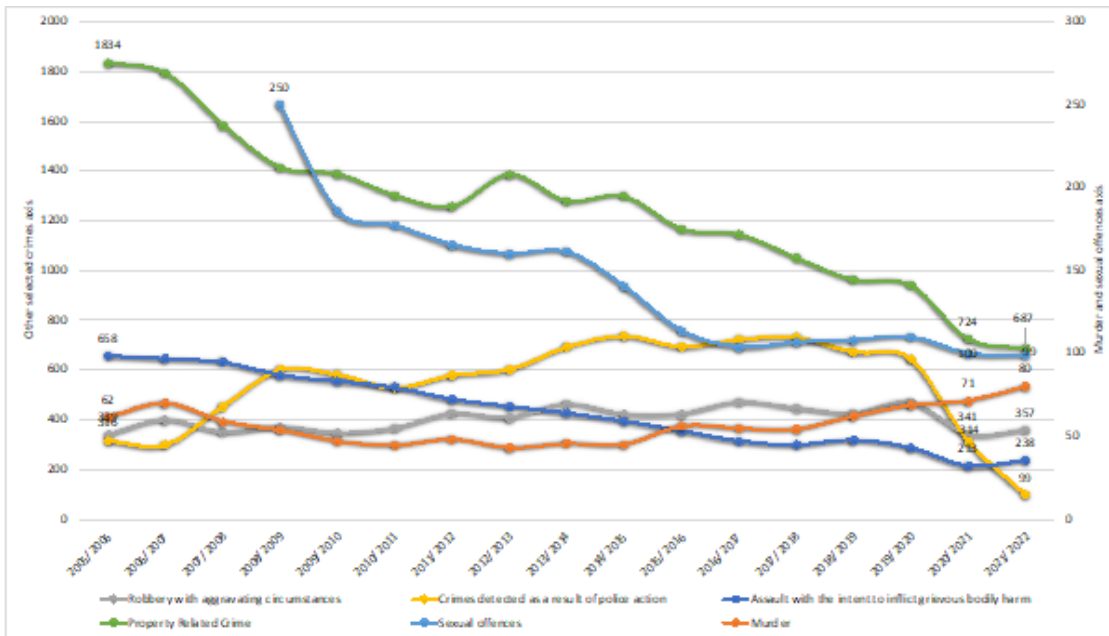
In the past year, Nelson Mandela Bay experienced increases in most violent crime. As with all the other cities, Nelson Mandela Bay continues to report a long-term decrease in the assault with intent to inflict GBH rates as well as sexual offences – reporting 24% and 5% in the last five years. However, this long trend has slowed due to the year-on-year increase of 11% for assault with intent to inflict GBH, while sexual offences increased by 1%. Property-related crimes remain on a downward trend, with a 5% decrease since the last reporting period, contributing to a five-year decline of 40%. Despite this significant decline, the city has recorded the fifth-highest property-related crime rate for this period.

Nelson Mandela Bay holds the highest ranking for murder and robbery rates. Concerningly, the city has shown a 12% increase in murder and a 5% increase in robbery rates in the last year and a decline of 19% since 2015/16. Of great concern, the murder rate increased by 4% in the past year. The murder rate has increased by 47% in the past five years. This continued increase requires urgent attention to determine where, when, how and by whom these murders are committed.

The rates for crimes detected as a result of police action have decreased by a significant 68% in the past year and 86% in the last five years. This may indicate a substantive decrease in roadblocks as routine roadblocks despite policing efforts now being away from a focus on policing lockdown restrictions.
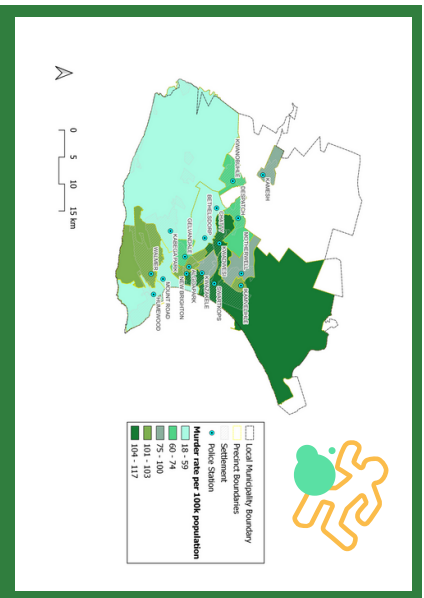
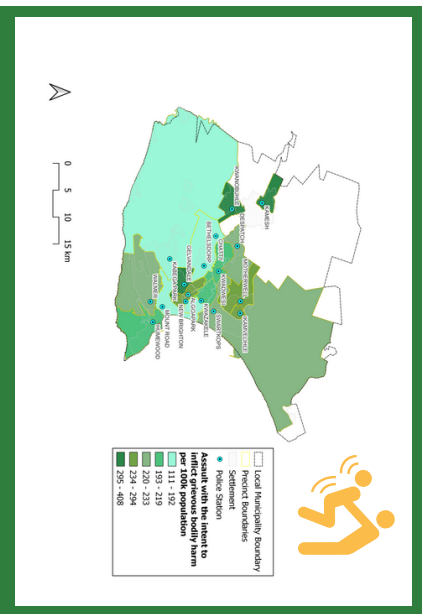# SPATIAL MAPPING OF CRIME STATISTICS: NELSON MANDELA BAY 2022

INTRODUCTION

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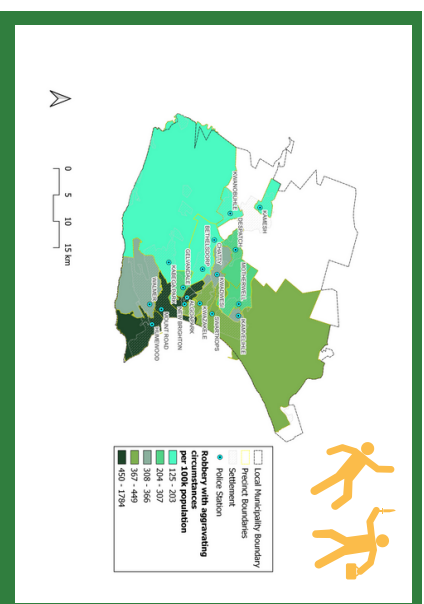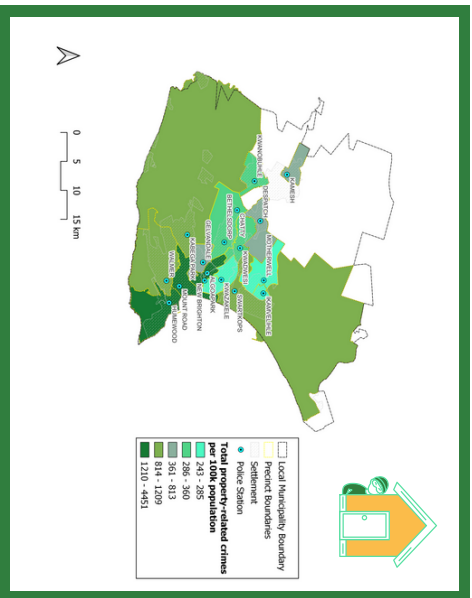
MURDER RATE

Murder rate per 100k population
- 18 - 59
- 60 - 74
- 75 - 100
- 101 - 103
- 104 - 117

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

ASSAULT WITH THE INTENT TO INFLICT GRIEVOUS BODILY HARM

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm per 100k population
- 111 - 192
- 193 - 219
- 220 - 233
- 234 - 294
- 295 - 408

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

ROBBERY WITH AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Robbery with aggravating circumstances per 100k population
- 125 - 203
- 204 - 307
- 308 - 366
- 367 - 449
- 450 - 1784

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

PROPERTY RELATED-CRIMES

Total property-related crimes per 100k population
- 243 - 285
- 286 - 360
- 361 - 813
- 814 - 1209
- 1210 - 4451

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total crime detected as a result of police action
- 59 - 95
- 96 - 164
- 165 - 243
- 244 - 360
- 361 - 623

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

SEXUAL OFFENCES DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION

Total sexual crimes
- 29 - 47
- 48 - 64
- 65 - 73
- 74 - 103
- 104 - 138

Local Municipality Boundary
Precinct Boundaries
Settlement
Police Station

USRG MEMBERS

Participating Cities

Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality	Ms Sopna Kumar-Nair Mr Shaun Petzer	Office of the City Manager Special Programmes
City of Ekurhuleni	Mr Puleng Lekgoathi Mr Julius Mkhwanazi Mr Goodman Mzolo	Metro Police Department Metro Police Department Metro Police Department
City of Johannesburg	Ms Nazira Cachalia Ms Joy Lynn Jacobs Ms Margo Weimers Ms Ayanda Roji	Public Safety Department Public Safety Department Public Safety Department City Parks and Zoo
City of Tshwane	Ms Charmaine Sutil Mr Joseph Mabunda Dr Ernst Van Biljoen	Metro Police Department Metro Police Department Metro Police Department
eThekiwni Municipality	Ms Nomusa Shembe Mr Bongumusa Zondo	Safer Cities Unit Office of Strategy Management
Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality	Mr Bennet Comakae	Office of the City Manager
Msunduzi Local Municipalty	Mr Chandrallal Parbhoo	Public Safety Enforcement and Disaster Management
Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality	Ms Thandile Matshikwe Ms Thabisa Mandla	Safety and Security Department Special Programmes

National Partner Institutions

Civilian Secretariat for Police Service	Ms Lillian Mashele Ms Martha Molepo	Policy Development Unit Policy Development Unit
National Department of Cooperative Governance	Mr Prabin Govender	Spatial and Urban Development Planning
National Treasury	Ms Samantha Govender-Hlahatsi	Neighbourhood Development Programme
SALGA	Ms Ugeshni Naidoo	Community Safety & Asset Protection

USRG Secretariat

GIZ	Mr Terence Smith Ms Tlholohelo Mokgere Mr Thomas Hellmann Ms Johanna Tyrakowski	Inclusive Violence & Crime Prevention Programme (VCP) Inclusive Violence & Crime Prevention Programme (VCP) Inclusive Violence & Crime Prevention Programme (VCP) Inclusive Violence & Crime Prevention Programme (VCP)
SACN	Ms Nicolette Pingo Ms Siphelele Ngobese Ms Sadhna Bhana	Programmes Unit Programmes Unit Programmes Unit

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The State of Crime And Safety in South African Cities Report 2022

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The State of Crime and Safety in South African Cities Report 2022 is an interim update on city-level crime statistics. The interim report is to enable continuity in evidence-based planning and implementation by city administrations and other actors with a role in promoting safer cities. It comes in the lead to the fully-fledged State of Urban Safety in South Africa Report, planned for 2024.

These are flagship products of the Urban Safety Reference Group (USRG). The USRG constitutes the first institutionalised forum in South Africa that enables practice-based learning on urban safety and violence prevention to inform urban policy, planning, implementation and management.

It has proven to be a valuable platform for peer-to-peer learning and knowledge sharing among practitioners from the SACN participating cities, as well as other key government role-players, on urban safety and violence prevention.

The USRG was established in 2014. It is convened by the South African Cities Network (SACN) with the support of the Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention (VCP) Programme. The VCP Programme is a joint South African-German intervention, with co-financing from Global Affairs Canada. It is steered by the South African Department of Cooperative Governance (DCOG), and other departments, and implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).