

A survey of crime victims in Benin



Compiled by Dr Annie Barbara Chikwanha, Armande Gninanfon and Professor Leonard Wantchekon
August 2008



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Much appreciation goes to the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IERPE) in Benin, which carried out the survey. The AHSI appreciates the valuable time spent by the 1 200 respondents who participated in this survey and sincerely hopes that the information will be valuable to the law enforcement agencies and the criminal justice system as a whole in the country.

Part 1

Introduction

This crime victimisation survey was conducted in Benin. It formed part of a broader review of the empirical evidence on the state of crime and criminal justice, and its impact on the political processes, in five African countries that signed up for the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)¹: Zambia, Tanzania, Benin, Mali and Sierra Leone. The AHSI partnered with IEREP to carry out this nationwide survey to generate information on the prevalence of crime in Benin and to assess the criminal justice system. This report presents the survey's most important findings. The first part of the report briefly describes the methodology used. It is followed by the survey findings. Data was collected from 28 September 2007 to 8 October 2007.

Benin has been a stable democracy for some decades but economic development has remained elusive. The development indicators below are revealing of the dire poverty endured by Beninese citizens, and paint a rather sombre picture of the country's development prospects:

- The country's Human Development Index (HDI)² is ranked 163 out of 177 and the index is 0,437
- Life expectancy at birth is 55,4 years
- Adult literacy (age 15 and over) is 34,7%
- The combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio is 50,7%
- The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (PPS US\$) is 1 141
- The Human Poverty Index (HPI) is 47,6
- The probability of not surviving past age 40 is 27,9

Although some statistical data and indicators on Benin are already available, evidence needs to be gathered scientifically if crime and insecurity in the country is to be understood. To develop appropriate measures to contain

crime, adequate information on the various dimensions and prevalence of the phenomenon is required.

With many rural citizens, in particular, finding it difficult to access justice, it is essential to establish the extent to which Beninese citizens are victims of crime.

Crime victimisation surveys make it possible to fill in the gaps left by police statistics, which do not necessarily capture all crimes experienced by citizens. Surveys also help to reveal the crimes that the public does not report. Although the police are expected to keep records of crimes reported by victims, accessing this information is generally not easy. The police service is not obliged to release crime statistics. This forces officials and the public at large to make guesses on crime levels. In addition to this, definitions of crime on the continent vary from culture to culture. The police do tend to define what constitutes a crime, and whether it warrants being recorded. Part of the motivation for this study is to provide accurate information where, previously, none has been available.

However, as with all other methodologies, crime victim surveys do have their weaknesses. For instance, the methodology relies on the memory of the interviewees, and people tend to remember the more heinous acts than other milder incidents. Secondly, the public may not always be willing to reveal all their encounters with crime. As can be expected, people are also rarely willing to discuss their participation in corrupt acts. Nevertheless, surveys reveal information that is essential for harnessing the development potential of a region or country. Specifically, this survey reveals how citizens' fears of crime and insecurity feelings impact on the social, economic and political well-being of the public. It also provides valuable information on police effectiveness and indicates where policing efforts should be concentrated.

Table 1 Rural/urban split and sample allocation in each department

Department	Urbanisation rate	Department		Sample allocation		
		Urban %	Rural %	Urban	Rural	National
Alibori	0,217	4,3	9,8	20	72	92
Atacora	0,377	7,9	8,3	37	61	97
Atlantique	0,379	11,6	12,0	54	88	142
Borgou	0,434	12,0	9,9	56	73	128
Collines	0,22	4,5	10,1	21	74	95
Couffo	0,206	4,1	10,1	19	74	93
Donga	0,309	4,1	5,8	19	43	62
Littoral	1,000	25,3	0,0	118	0	118
Mono	0,214	2,9	6,8	14	50	64
Oueme	0,441	12,3	9,9	57	72	130
Plateau	0,299	4,6	6,9	22	51	72
Zou	0,283	6,5	10,4	30	76	106
Benin	0,388	100,0	100,0	466	734	1200

SECTION 1: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The sample for this survey was drawn in conjunction with the National Institute for Economic Statistics and Analysis (NIESA) in Benin. The Census Zones (CZ), that were created for the purpose of the 2002 General Census of the Population and Settlement, served as the sampling frame. The nationally representative survey was conducted in all the provinces (departments) and used a sample size of 1 200 individuals drawn from different households. The sample was stratified by the key variables in the country. The multistage sample (province, rural/urban location and gender) was selected according to probability proportionate to population size (Table 1).

There are 12 administrative departments in Benin (see the map of Benin on the following page). Each department is made up of various communes, and each commune is comprised of many districts. A CZ is a delineated geographical area. Each contains about 400 households. Of the 7 397 CZs in the census data, 2 639 are located in urban areas and 4 758 in rural areas. Table 1 shows how CZs are spread across Benin, according to department and residential area. In this survey, a total of 150 CZs were visited and eight interviews were conducted in each CZ (Table 2).

This sample size, (n=1 200) gives a margin of error of approximately two to three percentage points at a confidence level of 95%. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with all respondents and the questionnaire was translated from French into five indigenous languages that are representative of at least 5% of the population.

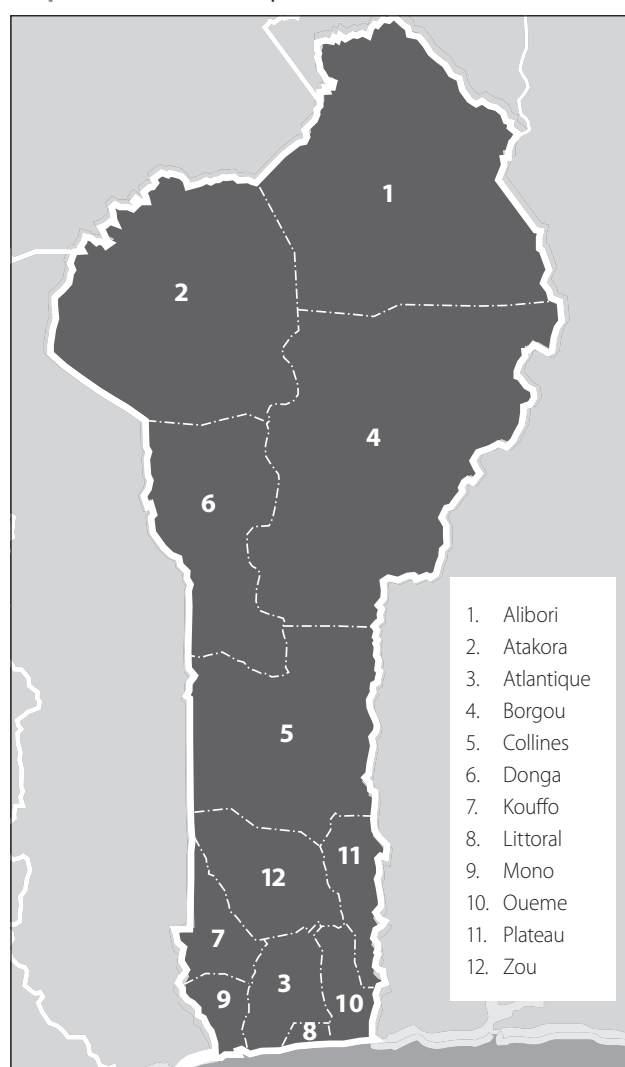
Map1 Administrative map of Benin

Table 2 CZ distribution per department

Department	Number of CZs		
	Urban	Rural	Overall
Alibori	3	9	12
Atacora	4	8	12
Atlantique	7	11	18
Borgou	7	9	16
Collines	3	9	12
Couffo	2	9	11
Donga	2	5	7
Littoral	15	0	15
Mono	2	6	8
Oueme	7	9	16
Plateau	3	6	9
Zou	4	10	14
Total	59	91	150

Table 3 Sample demographics³

Language	%	Education	%	Head of household	%
Fon	39,0	Informal education	47,9	Yes	80,6
French	18,3	Primary school completed	20,0	No	19,4
Adja	10,2	Secondary school completed	14,2	Location	
Bariba	16,7	Some secondary schooling/high school completed	20,0	Rural	62,0
Dendi	7,9	Some primary schooling/high school completed	24,2	Urban	38,0
Ditamari	1,8	University completed	3,5		
Yoruba	5,3	Qualification post-secondary	1,3	Gender	
Other	0,8	Other	3,2	Male	50,0
				Female	50,0

Most of the respondents (62%) were resident in rural areas and 38% resided in urban areas. Half of the respondents were females. The majority of the respondents (39%) spoke the dominant vernacular language, Fon, followed by French speakers (18,3%). Another 16,7% spoke Bariba,

and 10,2% spoke Adja. Close to half of the citizens (47,9%) had had informal education and 20% had completed primary school. An abnormally high number of respondents (80,6%) were heads of households.

Part 2

Perceptions on crime and policing in Benin – October 2007

This section, divided into seven sub-sections, presents the perceptions of crime⁴ in the survey respondents' regions. Perceptions provide valuable insights into the experiences and expectations of citizens with regards to security services. They make it possible to compare across jurisdictions and different time periods. It is, however, always important to remember that perceptions can be shaped by many factors, such as new policy environments, demographic shifts or, for those who do not always interact directly with some of the institutions, hearsay. The critical point is that perceptions indicate where to channel policing resources.

SECTION 1: CHANGES IN CRIME FROM 2005 TO 2007

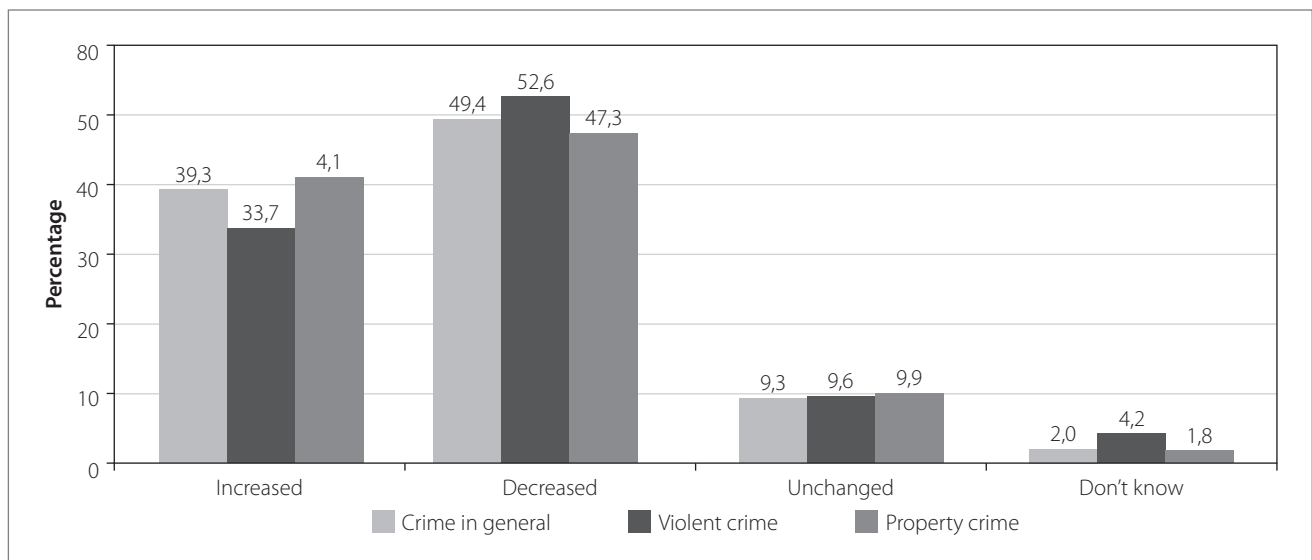
A significant proportion of the respondents (52,6%) expressed that there has been a decrease in the overall level

of general crime in the three years preceding the survey. On the other hand, well over one third (39,3%) of the respondents, believe there has been an increase in crime in general in their regions. Only a small proportion (9,3%) think that the level of crime has remained the same over the last three years. The pattern is more or less the same for violent crime and property crime, but the increase in property crimes tops the list at 41%, 7 points more than violent crimes.

The most recurrent crimes in Benin

Regardless of their residential areas, the majority of the respondents (39,4%) rank cattle rustling as the most recurrent type of crime (category mean of 39,78%). This is six-and-a-half times above the mean (6,98%) for all the crimes listed in Table 5. However, the statistics must be

Graph 1 Change across crime categories from 2005 to 2007



interpreted cautiously, as some crimes are not mentioned in some provinces. Cattle rustling is followed by property crime,⁵ which is cited by almost 18% of respondents. Crop theft comes third on the list (mentioned by about 10% of respondents). Car theft and armed robbery follow closely at 5,2% and 5,1% respectively. Assault was mentioned by just 4% of the respondents. The rest of the other crimes have low frequencies (below 2%).

In order to better understand each department’s peculiarities, it is essential to examine the top most recurrent crimes in each of the twelve departments in Benin (Table 6). The prevalence of crime is similar across the provinces, with only Zou falling below the mean at 6,89% (mean is 6,98%). The three crimes that are mentioned across all the 12 provinces mirror the national pattern: cattle rustling, property theft and crop theft (means of 39,78%, 17,85% and 9,74%, respectively) (Table 5).

There are wide variations in the provinces’ experiences of the three crimes vary widely. Couffo experiences the worst of the three crimes combined (28,80%), followed by Mono (25,53%), and Atacora and Borgou (24,63 and 24,33% respectively) (Table 5). The mean for the 12 provinces is 22,46%. Three provinces fall below this mean: Littoral (11,67%), Donga (19,07%) and Oueme (19,83%). Property theft pushes up the figures of these three departments.

Of the three most recurrent crimes, cattle rustling is almost double the mean for all three crimes (category mean 22,46%). This is a stark contradiction to the general

perception that petty crime and other common crimes such as armed robbery, murder and carjacking are common throughout the entire country. Except for the more urban provinces of Oueme and Littoral, and Donga (which is an anomaly as it is a largely rural province that would be expected to report a high number of cattle-rustling incidents), all provinces report cattle rustling as the most frequent crime. This is to be expected, since these are largely rural provinces where subsistence farming is dominant. The provinces of Zou (59,8%), Couffo (59,1%), Mono (54,7%) and Borgou (51,6%) reported the highest incidences of the crime, pointing partly to policing weaknesses in these regions (Table 5). In the Francophone Africa, rural areas are policed by the *gendarmerie* and urban areas by the police. The two institutions have different resources and the quality of training differs. Unfortunately for the *gendarmerie*, the poor road networks make both security presence and response-time a problem.

With regard to property theft, the coastal provinces top the list in experiencing the highest incidences: Oueme 31,3%, Donga 30,4%, Atlantique 27,1% and Littoral 26,7%. Again, Donga does not share the same characteristics as the other two provinces (it is a rural province) but it still reports high incidences of property theft.

Atacora (19,8%), Donga, Borgou, Plateau and Couffo (all four at 12,5%) all report crop theft as the third most frequent crime.

Car theft comes in at fifth position, with the Plateau region reporting the highest incidences across the provinces (13,9%) (Table 6). The province shares a long stretch of border with Nigeria, where many car stealing rackets are believed to operate. The urban province of Littoral and Oueme come in second at (9,2% and 9,4% respectively). Both provinces are close to the busy Seme port that borders Nigeria and has been reported to be a major route for contraband and stolen cars.

Atacora (15,6%) and Donga (16,1%) experience the highest incidences of armed robbery. Travellers in the region to Ghana have to take long detours to avoid these two provinces, where armed attacks on the highway are almost always certain to take place. In fact, the police are known to divert drivers to safer routes and the crime remains unchecked.

Littoral, which has the commercial capital, Cotonou, experiences the most assaults (11,7%). A high population and competition for access to opportunities likely trigger conflicts that result in physical combat. Collines, the only province that shares borders with two countries, Togo and Nigeria, comes in second with 8,3%. The cross-border movement of traders could be a contributing factor to the relatively high level of assaults reported by the province.

Pick-pocketing is reported by just 7,5% of respondents in Littoral and Collines. The high levels of vigilante justice

Table 4 The most recurrent crimes in the country – national results

What type of crime occurs most in your area?	
Crime	%
Cattle rustling	39,4
Property theft	17,8
Crop theft	9,5
Car theft	5,2
Armed robbery	5,1
House burglaries	4,8
Assault	3,9
Murder	2,3
Pick-pocketing	2,2
Land seizure	1,6
Sexual assault	0,6
Embezzlement	0,3
Kidnapping	0,1
Others	5,3
Don't know	2,0
Total	100,0

Table 5 The three most recurrent crimes across provinces %

	What one type of crime occurs most in your area?											Category	
	Allibori	Atacora	Atlantique	Borgou	Collines	Couffo	Donga	Littoral	Mono	Oueme	Plateau	Zou	Mean
Cattle rustling	39,6	45,8	39,6	51,6	44,8	59,1	14,3	7,5	54,7	18,8	41,7	59,8	39,78
Property theft	19,8	8,3	27,1	6,3	9,4	14,8	30,4	26,7	20,3	31,3	15,3	4,5	17,85
Crop theft	10,4	19,8	6,3	12,5	11,5	12,5	12,5	0,8	1,6	9,4	12,5	7,1	9,74
Mean	23,27	24,63	24,33	23,47	21,90	28,80	19,07	11,67	25,53	19,83	23,17	23,80	22,46

Table 6 The most recurrent crimes across provinces %

	What one type of crime occurs most in your area											Category	
	Allibori	Atacora	Atlantique	Borgou	Collines	Couffo	Donga	Littoral	Mono	Oueme	Plateau	Zou	Mean
Cattle rustling	39,6	45,8	39,6	51,6	44,8	59,1	14,3	7,5	54,7	18,8	41,7	59,8	39,78
Property theft	19,8	8,3	27,1	6,3	9,4	14,8	30,4	26,7	20,3	31,3	15,3	4,5	17,85
Crop theft	10,4	19,8	6,3	12,5	11,5	12,5	12,5	0,8	1,6	9,4	12,5	7,1	9,74
Car theft	1,0	1,0	6,9	2,3	1,0	-	8,9	9,2	4,7	9,4	13,9	4,5	5,23
Armed robbery	-	15,6	2,0	6,3	3,1	-	16,1	8,3	-	3,9	2,8	4,5	5,22
House breaking	-	3,1	3,5	7,0	3,1	2,3	5,4	10,0	3,1	4,7	4,2	8,0	4,53
Assault	4,2	1,0	5,6	2,3	8,3	1,1	-	11,7	-	3,1	-	-	3,11
Pick-pocketing	2,1	-	2,1	-	7,3	-	-	7,5	-	2,3	1,4	0,9	1,97
Murder	1,0	-	2,0	-	3,1	2,3	1,8	5,0	4,7	0,8	1,4	1,8	1,99
Land seizure	4,2	-	2,1	-	2,1	3,4	-	1,7	-	0,8	1,4	2,7	1,53
Sexual assault	1,0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,8	1,6	-	2,8	1,8	0,67
Embezzlement	1,0	-	0,7	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,8	1,4	-	0,33
Others	11,5	4,2	2,1	11,7	1,0	-	10,7	6,7	6,3	12,5	1,4	0,9	5,75
Don't know	4,2	1,0	1,4	-	5,2	2,3	-	4,2	3,1	2,3	-	-	-
Province mean	7,14	7,13	7,24	7,14	7,14	6,99	7,15	7,15	7,15	7,15	7,16	6,89	6,98

are obviously a deterrent to many petty criminals engaging in activities that involve physical contact with victims.

An interesting angle to explore is the ‘quality’ of each province’s neighbours and how this affects crime patterns in that region. Porous borders will always pose a security problem to many African countries and Benin is surrounded by rather grave threats. Except for Littoral, all of Benin’s provinces share a border with a neighbouring country: either Togo in the west, Burkina Faso in the north, Niger in the north east and Nigeria in the west. Cattle raiders are often reported to have entered Benin from neighbouring countries (livestock theft is rife in Togo, Burkina Faso and Niger) and once they retreat it is difficult to pursue them into their countries.

On the other hand, Mono, Atlantique, Littoral and Oume all have a coastline which requires different methods of policing to that of the other provinces. This presents quite a challenge to the government. In the past, sophisticated Nigerian drug and car-jacking cartels have caused tension between the governments of the two countries.

Map 2 Benin’s neighbours



Feared crimes in Benin

Even though cattle rustling is considered the most frequent crime, murder is reported as the most feared crime in Benin (28,9%) (Table 7). Voodoo is still practised by a significant proportion of the population and ritual murders are accordingly feared by many Beninese. Cattle rustling comes in second at 13,1% and is followed by property theft (10,4%). Armed robbery (9,8%) and assault (7,6%) are also ranked as feared crimes. These, like murder, both involve physical contact.

Fear of crime does not prevent 53% of Beninese from discussing crime (Table 8). Over a quarter of these (27,03%) discuss the most prevalent crime, cattle rustling. General robbery comes next on the discussion list and is mentioned by just 15,31%. Over 10% discuss armed robbery and murder. It is quite clear from the table below that the crimes discussed the most involve physical contact.

Who are the perpetrators?

Of the respondents, 55,1% believe that perpetrators of property crime live in the regions where they commit crime and 48,6% believe that these perpetrators are natives of the regions (Table 9). ‘Natives’ refers to those who were born in the area. ‘People living in the area’ refers to migrants into the area. A relatively high proportion of respondents, 30,4%, think these criminals live outside the area and are from other regions of the country.

Table 7 The most feared crimes in Benin

What one crime are you most afraid of in this area?	
Crime	%
Murder	28,9
Cattle rustling	13,1
Property theft	10,4
Armed robbery	9,8
Assault	7,6
Housebreaking	6,2
Car theft	4,9
Crop theft	4,5
Sexual assault	3,1
Pick-pocketing	1,8
Land seizure	1,6
Kidnapping	0,7
Embezzlement	0,1
Others	5,2
Don't know	2,3
Total	100,0

Table 8 Types of crime discussed most

What is the crime you most often discuss?	
Cattle rustling	27,03
Robbery of other personal belongings	15,31
Armed robbery	11,72
Murder	11,41
Assault	6,72
Pick-pocketing	5,47
Bike theft	2,66
Car theft	2,81
Spousal abuse	1,25
Sexual violence	1,09
Corruption	0,47
Others	14,06
Not Applicable	46,70

Only 6,3% of the population attribute these crimes to foreigners. In other words, a large segment of the respondents believe that perpetrators commit crimes in their areas of residence. This highlights the need to rally community efforts to combat crime

Perpetrators of violent crime

Contrary to the general trend in which the majority of respondents concur that perpetrators of property crime operate in the region in which they reside, fewer respondents (47,7%) believe that individuals from other regions are to blame for the violent crimes in their region (Table 10). Just under a third (32,7%) think violent crime is committed by people living in the region. The majority of respondents (37,6%) agree that violent crime is committed by natives from outside the region where such crimes have been committed. Ten percent less (27%)

Table 9 Property crime offenders %

Do you think that property crimes in this area are more likely to be committed by... ?	
People living in the region	55,1
People living outside the area	30,4
Don't know	14,5
Total	100,0
Natives of the region	48,6
People from other regions	30,5
Foreign nationals	6,3
Don't know	14,7
Total	100,0

believe these crimes are committed by natives of the region. Foreign nationals are identified as the perpetrators by 16% of the respondents.

What motivates criminals?

The majority of the citizens (47,8%) agree that criminals do what they do to meet a real need (Table 11). This is not surprising considering the appalling levels of poverty endured in the country. Life expectancy is low (52 years) and one third of the population is illiterate and lives below the poverty line. The high levels of poverty and poor economic conditions are likely to contribute to high levels of crimes of need. This does not mean that criminal behaviour should be condoned, but it does indicate that the relationship between poverty and crime requires more research. Almost 18% of respondents attribute criminal behaviour to greed, and another 15,3% to unspecified non-financial motives (Table 11). Over one third of the respondents (34,9%) indicate that they have knowledge of people involved in criminal activities.

Corruption

This section reports on respondents' experiences of petty corruption and public perceptions of levels of corruption in general. Only those who reported experiencing an encounter with a corrupt official were questioned further on the nature of the incident. As mentioned earlier, it is only logical that respondents would shy away from revealing their participation in corrupt acts. This implies that figures of those reporting their participation in bribery should be higher than those reported by respondents.

In the previous year, from October 2006 to October 2007, 11,1% of the respondents dealt with a civil servant willing to take money from them, 2,9% came into contact with a civil servant who was willing to take any gift, and 2,6% reported encountering officials who were willing to accept kickbacks (Table 12).

Table 10 Violent crime perpetrators %

Do you think that violent crimes in this area are more likely to be committed by... ?	
People living in the region	32,7
People living in other regions	47,7
Don't know	19,5
Total	100,0
Natives of the region	27,0
Natives of other regions	37,6
Foreign nationals	15,9
Don't know	19,5
Total	100,0

Table 11 Likely causes of property crime %

Do you think that most of the people committing property crimes in this area are more likely to be motivated by... ?	
Meeting a real need	47,8
Avarice	17,8
Non-financial motivations	15,3
Don't know	19,1
Total	100,0

Table 12 Experiences of corruption %

During the past year, has any government official asked you for a bribe or indicated to you that they would be receptive to the following: money, a favour or a present in return for a service?			
	Yes	No	Don't know
Receptive to money	11,1	88,9	0,0
Receptive to kickbacks	2,6	97,4	0,0
Receptive to gifts	2,9	97,1	0,0

Four out of ten times, an individual who applies for an identity document is requested to give a bribe before receiving it. The department of education accounted for 20,41% of cases of corruption. The Beninese are confronted with a scourge of corruption when it comes to seeking accommodation or accessing land (12,24%),

accessing medical care (10,81%), seeking essential services such as water and power (9,5%) and avoiding traffic fines (9,59%) (Table 13).

In most cases, the individuals grant the officials their requests. When it comes to essential services, such as water and electricity, the victim gives a bribe in most cases. Of those who have succumbed to bribe requests, the following percentages of respondents made payments for: medical care (70,59%), education (66,67%), accommodation (66,67%) and avoiding traffic fines (71,43%) (Table 13).

In the accommodation- and property loan-related services industry, the civil servant will often simply not provide the service without a bribe (57,14%). In education, officials will attend to the applicant in about three out of ten cases. However, the department of education officials are as intimidating as any other civil servant. With regard to identity documents, 57,14% of service seekers report coming face to face with civil servants who were either unwilling to help or who bullied them.

According to 13,62% of the respondents, bribe-taking has increased over the past three years. However, 54,64% consider the situation to have improved and 9,36% feel that things have remained the same. Unfortunately, over 20% decline to comment on the issue. Even then, one fifth of the respondents believe that anyone could ask them or their family members for a bribe to expedite the process

Table 13 Corruption levels in the previous year, service seekers' responses and civil servants' attitudes

	Yes*	No *	Gave bribe**	Didn't give bribe **	Bullied me ***	Refused to help***	Helped me anyway***	Threatened me and refused to help***
Pension or social grants	4,44	95,56	50,00	50,00	0,00	50,00	50,00	0,00
Essential services(water and electricity)	9,59	90,41	73,33	26,67	0,00	0,00	100,00	0,00
Set up of a telephone line	4,73	95,27	50,00	50,00	0,00	0,00	100,00	0,00
Medical care	10,81	89,19	70,59	29,41	50,00	50,00	0,00	0,00
Law enforcement	6,12	93,88	50,00	50,00	0,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
Court-related services	3,42	96,58	0,00	100,00	50,00	25,00	25,00	0,00
Education	20,41	79,59	66,67	33,33	28,57	21,43	28,57	21,43
Land and accommodation	12,24	87,76	66,67	33,33	14,29	57,14	14,29	14,29
Identity documents	37,84	62,16	69,23	30,77	28,57	28,57	21,43	21,43
Driving license	6,87	93,13	60,00	40,00	0,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
Traffic fines	9,59	90,41	71,43	28,57	50,00	50,00	0,00	0,00
Jobs/assignments	9,52	90,48	60,00	40,00	25,00	25,00	25,00	25,00
Visiting a prison	4,08	95,92	37,50	62,50	0,00	0,00	0,00	100,00
Custom/traditions	3,45	96,55	50,00	50,00	0,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
Others	5,15	94,85	50,00	50,00	0,00	0,00	100,00	0,00

* Did it happen in the past year? ** When this incident occurred, how did you respond? *** If you refused to give a bribe, how did the public official respond?

Table 14 Growth of corruption from 2005 to 2007 %

Current bribe level as opposed to three years ago	Increased	13,62
	Decreased	54,64
	Unchanged	9,36
	Don't know	22,39
Bribe-giving to expedite the process of a job application in the private sector	Yes	20,59
	No	78,15
	Don't know	1,26
Would you report a corrupt civil servant?	Yes	6,61
	No	93,39
	Don't know	0,00
If yes to whom?	Police station	23,08
	Hot line	0,00
	Another civil servant	26,92
	Other	50,00
	Don't know	0,00
If not, why?	Would not make a difference	46,03
	Scared of victimisation	14,25
	Do not know where to file a complaint	29,91
	Don't know	9,81

of a job application in the private sector. It is worth mentioning that only a few respondents (6,61%) would report a civil servant for soliciting and accepting bribes in return for services (Table 14). But if they were to do so, they would report the case to a police station (23,08%) or approach another civil servant (26,92%). Unfortunately, a significant proportion (46,03%) would not complain at all because they believe it would not make a difference. Others just do not know where to file such a complaint (29,91%).

SECTION 2: PERSONAL SAFETY

According to the survey findings, crime levels in Benin prevent between 10% to 35% of the population from conducting solitary activities (Table 15). Just over a third (34,91%) report fearing attending to livestock single-handedly. This is followed by going to the market, which is usually a crowded place and where one is likely to become a target since shopping is often a sign one is carrying money. That over one in five of respondents (21,38%) fear making private investments signals mistrust in the financial sector, where only rigorous policing can restore confidence. Even leisure activities are affected, as almost two in five of the respondents believe that the level of general crime is a major obstacle to conducting certain activities, both alone and in a group.

Many respondents would consider undertaking certain activities if they were accompanied by someone

they knew. The proportion of those rearing livestock would double to 65,50%. The percentage of those going to the market would almost quadruple to 80,29%.

Table 15 Level of fear in conducting a solitary activity given the prevailing crime levels

	Do the levels of crime prevent you from doing any of the following in your area? % reporting 'yes'	
	Alone %	Would go ahead if accompanied by someone %
Rearing livestock	34,91	65,50
Going to the market	22,80	80,29
Making a private or joint investment	21,38	58,68
Letting the children play	18,89	82,16
Going to work	17,60	80,09
Taking a solitary walk	17,40	79,13
Going to fetch firewood	17,36	82,69
Going to fetch water	10,67	85,16
Letting the children go to school	10,01	73,45

SECTION 3: INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO CRIME

Crime-fighting measure

In order to reduce the level of property and violent crime, the majority of the respondents suggest that the government invests in local development. Such a proposition dovetails with a belief shared by a significant proportion (over 40%) of the population that people commit these crimes to meet a real need. Concurrently, about 35% of the respondents believe the government should invest in crime prevention and law enforcement to reduce the crime levels in Benin. Less than 25% of the respondents find legal reforms necessary to reduce the crime levels in the country. Even though the respondents propose measures that could be taken by the government to fight crime, less than 50% report taking measures to protect themselves against crime. Of those who take some measures, a large majority (just less than 25%) have increased security around their houses. Measures to ensure personal safety are considered the most essential. Those who have taken specific measures to protect themselves against crime (62%) feel safer while 39% do not feel safe at all.

Policing by groups other than the police

Almost 34% of the respondents report the existence of a few groups, other than the police, that actively fight crime in their area (Table 16). At the provincial level, there is great variation in the activity of these groups. Borgou, Collines, Zou, Plateau and Atlantique report higher levels of the presence of such groups. The majority (82,6%) of these active groups are comprised of volunteers who do not get any remuneration for their work. Reports are that one in two of these groups catch crime suspects and punish offenders. More than a third of the citizens (33,8%) reported knowing active groups that have caught suspects and another 52,56% knew of punishments meted out by these groups.

Community policing

Almost 22% of the respondents report being aware of what community policing is (Table 19) and 68% of those

Table 16 Responses on the presence of organisations or active groups operating at the national level %

Is there an active organisation or group, other than the police, that provides protection against crime in your community?	
Yes	33,8
No	64,2
Don't know	2,1
Total	100,0

Table 17 Existing organisations or active groups per department

Is there an active organisation or group, other than the police, that provides protection against crime in your community?	
Departments	%
Borgou	52,3
Collines	51,0
Zou	50,9
Plateau	44,4
Atlantique	44,4
Ouémé	31,3
Mono	29,7
Couffo	27,3
Littotal	21,7
Alibori	15,6
Donga	12,5
Atacora	5,2

who are aware of it have confirmed its existence in their region (Table 20). The discrepancies between those who know of a community policing forum and those who confirm its existence is evidence of the lack of adequate knowledge of what a community policing forum (CPF) is. It appears that vigilante groups are probably thought of in the same manner as CPFs.

SECTION 4: ASSISTANCE TO VICTIMS

Knowledge of where to take victims of crime is equally scarce, even though 65% of the respondents know where to find medical assistance after an incident of rape. At the same time, 51% affirm knowing where to take a victim of violent crime for counselling. However, 89% of the population do not know any safe havens for victims of spousal violence.

Table 18 Responses on the presence of active groups of volunteers imposing punishments %

Does this group give out or administer physical punishment to suspects?	
Yes	52,56
No	36,05
Don't know	11,40
Not Applicable	64,2
Total	100,0

Table 19 Responses on awareness of a community police forum %

Do you know what a community policing forum is?	
Yes	21,86
No	72,79
Don't know	5,35
Not Applicable	64,20
Total	100,00

Table 20 Knowledge of existence of community policing forums %

Is there a community policing forum in your area?	
Yes	67,50
No	10,83
Don't know	21,67
Not Applicable	90,00
Total	100,00

Table 21 Beninese participation in community-based initiatives %

Are you currently involved in any of the following community-based initiatives?	
Religious groups	62,1
Associations/loan-providing groups	27,1
Funeral societies	13,9
Sporting associations	13,9
Other groups	26,3

SECTION 5: INTERACTION AMONGST RESIDENTS—COMMUNITY COHESION

Community cohesion/social capital

The value generated by associational behaviour (social capital) has implications for active citizenship and community policing in particular. Table 21 shows a low level of community cohesion in Benin. Apart from their membership in religious groups, one in four citizens, at most, report belonging to a different kind of association. Beninese get together mainly for cultural or religious reasons. Other types of associations are not considered to be that important.

Interaction amongst residents

Quite different to associational behaviour, Table 22 indicates a high residential interaction level in Benin, with a

minimum value of 83% for all headings. This is suggestive of Beninese' high levels of horizontal trust extended to people living in their neighbourhood. Provincial-based analyses reveal a balanced picture of the situation. Tables 22 and 23 show the situations at both national and department levels. Opinion is strongly divided on the subject of funeral attendance in the village. On this issue, the department of Alibori records 54,2% while the department of Zou records a score of 99%. Only Littoral, the mostly urban province, has relatively low scores throughout. This is not surprising and is in line with patterns in many other big cities where lifestyles are more detached, individualistic and impersonal.

SECTION 6: LAW ENFORCEMENT

More than eight in ten respondents know the closest police station to their residential area. Less than three in ten (28,8%), report having direct contact with the police in the last three years (Table 24). Another one in five (17,8%) report having official contact with the police either in or outside the premises of the police station. This contact with the police has changed more than 10% of such respondents' opinions of them (12,7%). Of those who had contact with the police, more than eight in ten (82,26%) feel their opinion changed for the better while (15,32%) report that their opinion of policemen changed for the worse.

At least just more than one third (33,4%) claim to live an hour or more away from the police station in their area. This makes the Beninese population somewhat vulnerable to criminals, as both reporting and response rates are slowed down by distance.

Police performance

With regard to the efficiency of the police, 66,1% of respondents rate them as doing a good job and another 30,7% assess them as doing a bad job (Table 26). Beninese who are appreciative of the work that the police do, judge them in terms of their ability to catch criminals. Those who believe the police do a bad job blame it on corruption. They also draw attention to a lack of resources and

Table 22 Residents' interaction in Benin %

Do you know the name of your next-door neighbour?	92,1
Would you ask your neighbour to watch your house if you were going away?	87,4
Would you let your next door neighbour watch your children for an evening?	85,0
Would you attend a funeral of a community member in the neighbourhood?	83,5

Table 23 Residents' interaction by department %

Departments	Knowledge of neighbour's name	Neighbour to watch house	Neighbour to watch children	Funeral attendance in neighbourhood
Alibori	96,9	100,0	96,9	54,2
Atacora	99,0	99,0	99,0	97,9
Atlantique	87,5	86,1	84,0	72,9
Borgou	98,4	89,8	89,1	70,3
Collines	95,8	88,5	82,3	95,8
Couffo	97,7	88,6	92,0	92,0
Donga	100,0	92,9	91,1	92,9
Littoral	79,2	73,3	62,5	77,5
Mono	81,3	75,0	75,0	90,6
Oueme	82,0	76,6	74,2	85,2
Plateau	93,1	84,7	84,7	90,3
Zou	100,0	97,3	95,5	99,1

the detention of criminals for a longer period of time than they think is necessary.

Despite these negative perceptions, the respondents do show a strong commitment to cooperating with the police. Close to eight in ten (79,3%) assert that they would report a case of car theft to the police if they were witness to an incident.

Police visibility appears to be rather infrequent and this contributes to negative perceptions of police performance. Table 29 shows that less than 50% of Beninese see the police in their area at least once a month.

Table 24 Contact with the police %

Do you know where the nearest police station is?	88,3
Have you been in contact with the police over the last three years?	28,8
Have you been in official contact with the police outside the police station premises?	17,8
Did this contact with the police affect your opinion about the police?	12,7

Table 25 Proximity of living area to the police station %

How long does it take, on average, to get to the police station by your usual means of transport?	
Less than 30 min	43,6
Less than an hour	23,1
Less than two hours	12,1
More than two hours	9,4
Not applicable	11,7
Total	100,0

At least 33,4% of Beninese parents play a role in educating their children on the role of the police and on the need to contact the police when necessary.

SECTION 7: COURTS AND TRIBUNALS

Access to justice is a problem that plagues many African states and Benin is no exception. Three in five respondents reported knowing the location of the nearest tribunal and 26,03% of these take less than thirty minutes to reach the facility whilst another 22,21% take less than an hour (Table 30). However, almost a third of the respondents (32,81%) take more than two hours to get to the nearest tribunal centre.

Table 26 Assessments of police performance %

How do you think the police are doing in your area?	
Good job	66,1
Bad job	30,7
Don't know	3,3
Total	100,0

Table 27 Reasons for the positive assessments of the police %

Why do you think they are doing a good job?	
The police are committed	43,8
They are trustworthy	22,2
They respond in a timely manner to situations	28,8
They come to the crime scene	20,8
They catch criminals	44,5
They get stolen goods back	7,3

Table 28 Reasons for the negative assessments of the police %

Why do you think they are doing a poor job?	
They do not have enough resources	8,8
They are lazy	6,7
They are corrupt	11,7
They do not police the region	9,6
They release criminals too soon	8,2
They work hand-in-hand with thieves	2,8
They treat victims harshly	2,3
They never get stolen goods back	1,9
They are always late	6,8

More than half of the respondents believe that the courts live up to expectations sufficiently. Over the past three years, about one in five respondents went to a court of law. The highest number, 46,3%, reported going to court to settle a dispute, 12,04% went to court to appear as witness in a case, whilst 21,76% went there for no specific reason

Table 31 Views on courts of law %

	Yes	No	Don't know
Do you think courts of law perform their duties?	53,78	42,31	3,91
Did you go to a court of law during the past three years?	18,03	81,97	0,00
Reasons for going to a court of law			
Went for a case	46,30	53,70	0,00
Went to a court for no reason	21,76	78,24	0,00
For administrative reasons	16,67	83,33	0,00
Specify any others	13,89	86,11	0,00
As a witness	12,04	87,96	0,00
Satisfaction level after services rendered			
Were you satisfied with the prosecutor's services?	61,65	32,52	5,83
Were you satisfied with the magistrate's services?	62,31	36,68	1,01
Were you pleased with the court's treatment of crime offenders?	39,25	39,08	21,67
Reasons behind service satisfaction			
Appropriate sentences	49,45	14,93	35,62
They are not corrupt	10,41	53,97	35,62
High conviction rates	9,86	54,52	35,62
Specify any others	8,34	56,09	35,57
Reasons behind dissatisfaction			
Delays in case solving	34,02	30,32	35,67
Court leniency	31,37	33,01	35,62
Offenders' unconditional release	22,63	41,70	35,67
They are not convincing enough	14,81	49,52	35,67
No house arrests	5,08	59,26	35,67

Table 29 Frequency of police patrols %

How often do you see a police officer in uniform/on duty in your area?	
Once a day on average	13,7
Once a week on average	22,7
Once a month on average	18,8
Less than once in a month	27,1
Never	17,6
Total	100,0

Table 30 Accessibility of the nearest tribunal

How long does it take, on average, to get to the magistrates' court by means of your usual mode of transport?		
Time needed to get to the tribunal	Less than 30 min	26,03
	Less than an hour	22,21
	Less than 2 hours	18,81
	More than 2 hours	32,81
	Do not know	0,14

(Table 31). In over three in five cases, the respondents who have been to a court of law claim to be satisfied with the prosecutor's general services. They express the same sentiments about the magistrate's services. On the other hand, respondents disapprove of the sentences the courts give to perpetrators. In fact, only two in five respondents report being contented with the offenders' sentences. This contradicts the fact that over 50% believe that the courts live up to their expectations. It is not, however, specified what these expectations are.

Appropriate sentences to offenders (49,45%) account mostly for the satisfied respondents, along with the range

of services offered by prosecutors, magistrates and courts of law, and 9,86% of respondents claim to be satisfied with the high conviction rates. A small proportion of respondents (10,41%) believe the courts are not corrupt. Dissatisfaction is attributed to the long delays in solving cases (34,02%) and court leniency (31,37%). More than a fifth of the respondents denounce the unconditional release of criminals. About 15% attribute their dissatisfaction to civil servants' unsatisfactory performance. A disturbing fact is that over one third of the respondents were sceptical of police performance as they simply said they don't know [don't know about police performance so they could not rate it].

Part 3

Crimes experienced in Benin from October 2002 to October 2007

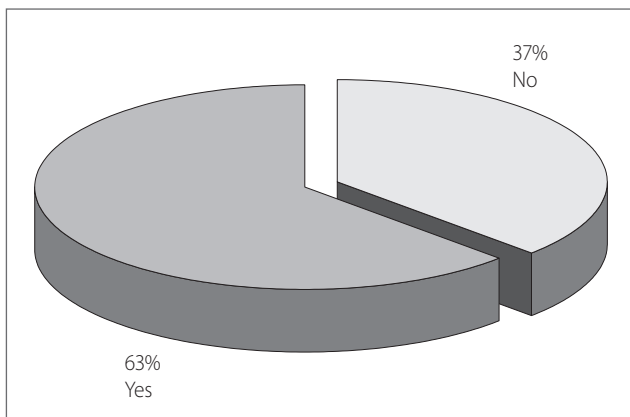
SECTION 1: DOCUMENTED CRIME EXPERIENCES

Crimes experienced from October 2002 to October 2007

About two in three respondents have been affected by crime because either they or a close relation have been a victim. Based on these facts, we can assume that the crime level in Benin is worrisome. The departments of Atlantique (81,1%), of Borgou (73%), Alibori (70%), Mono (69%) and Collines (69%) were the hardest hit by crime during this period. Over 50% of the citizens in the rest of the provinces also experienced crime: Donga (50%), Oueme (53%), Couffo (56%) and Plateau (57%). Only Littoral (42%) experienced less crime.

From the respondents' answers, it is evident that most of the crimes over the five years preceding the survey were committed in rural areas. The findings reflect a 66% to 34% ratio in the rural and urban areas respectively. The

Graph 2 Proportion of respondents who have experienced crime over the last five years



heavy police presence in urban areas may account for such figures.

Crime experienced over the 12 months preceding the survey

A bit less than half (45%) of the respondents recall experiencing a crime during the 12 months preceding the survey. The departments of Atlantique (60%), Borgou (57%), Mono (53%), Collines (52%) and Alibori (51%) recorded the highest number of crimes during this period. The department of Littoral recorded the least experiences. Again, more than two thirds of these crime occurred in the more rural areas.

A study of the different categories of crime commonly experienced reveals that cattle rustling (35,6%) and crop theft (16,7%) top the list of crimes experienced over the past five years (Table 32). The pattern appears to have persisted, as reports for the past 12 months show (46,2% and 17,2% respectively). These types of crime are the least brutal as they do not always involve physical contact between perpetrators and victims.

Apart from Littoral (42%) and Alibori (46%), all the other departments in Benin were hit hard by cattle rustling. The same trend is applicable to cases of crop theft that were not listed by the population sampled in the urban province of Littoral. Based on the findings, the high incidence of crop and cattle rustling in most departments in Benin poses a security threat. Yet these crimes are less violent and one could believe that they are a direct result of crime offenders' appalling socioeconomic conditions.

Types of crime experienced over the twelve months preceding the survey

This section focuses on the incidences of specific crime-solving attempts over the twelve months preceding

Table 32 Crime experiences of respondents

	Last 5 years %	Last 12 months %
Sexual assault	1,0	0,3
Consumer defrauding	2,0	1,3
Assault	4,3	3,9
Armed robbery	4,3	3,9
Bike theft	4,4	2,4
Car theft	4,5	5,3
Housebreaking	12,8	9,1
Property theft	14,4	10,3
Crop theft	16,7	17,2
Cattle rustling	35,6	46,2

the survey. For each type of crime experienced, we analyse the following issues:

- Setting of the crime
- Damage assessment
- Complaint mechanism in place
- Feedback on the mechanism

1.3.1 Housebreaking

Most cases of housebreaking reported occurred at night (76,8%), and many cases occurred in the presence of the house occupants (55,4%). House burglars usually broke into the main entrance and then robbed people of money, food, personal belongings, etc. Criminals seldom use guns in housebreaking situations.

Most victims (81,2%) did not report the incidences to the police because they did not see the point in doing so. Only two in five complainants who had gone to the police station indicate that they are satisfied with the response of law enforcement forces. The population mostly turns to other administrative authorities as an alternative.

1.3.2 Property theft

Half the cases of reported property theft (cash) take place at automated teller machines. This type of theft also occurs on the street and in the immediate vicinity

Table 33 Crime area in cattle rustling cases %

Where did this incident occur?	
On the farm	16,6
At home	56,6
In the backyard	11,5
In the neighbourhood	12,9
Others	2,4

of shops. Victims of this type of crime complain about money loss (50% of cases), loss of a cellphone (21,2% of cases) and loss of clothing (16,7% of cases).

Victims report being aware of their loss/losses on the spot. Many do not report the crime to the police because they do not deem it necessary (49,1% of cases) and some believe that the police are not willing to hear about their complaints (12,7% of cases). With regard to the few statements made to the police, 83,3% of interviewees blame their dissatisfaction with the attending police officers on the fact that just 12,3% of stolen goods are recovered. None of the property robbery cases were taken to court during the course of the survey.

Experiencing this type of crime does not change the victims' attitudes in any significant way. Some victims have become conscious of the importance of avoiding some high-risk spots (31,5%); others (27,8%) simply choose to keep their valuables in safer places.

1.3.3 Armed robbery

Armed robbery occurs mostly in the home, on the street and while travelling on public transport. According to respondents, 40% of armed robberies are experienced whilst travelling by public transport. The victims do not indicate whether they put up any form of resistance while being robbed. About 36% of armed robbery cases result in the deaths of a number of the victims. In many of the cases, victims of armed robberies are not injured. When they are injured, about 66,7% of the injured are admitted to hospital. Two thirds of armed robbery cases were reported to the police during this period and just over a third (35,3%) of the complainants were satisfied with the police's response.

Graph 3 Types of rustled domestic stock

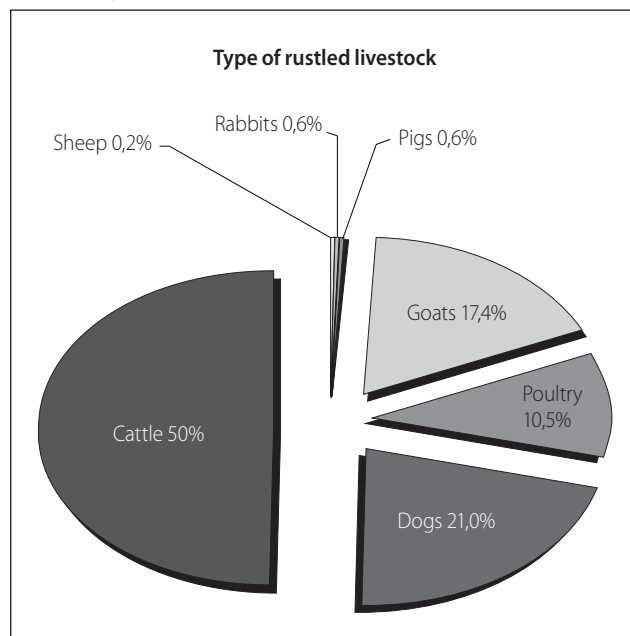


Table 34 Stolen crops %

Please indicate what was stolen	
Corn	42,9
Rice	1,4
Beans	6,4
Yam	32,9
Vegetables	7,1
Fruits	9,3
Total	100,0

Table 35 Other structures dealing with crop and cattle theft %

	Crop	Cattle rustling
Traditional authority	53,3	52,1
Local gang	17,1	21,6
CPF	-	1,8
Local vigilante groups	16,2	10,3
Local ward councillor	10,5	11,0
Private security	2,9	3,2
Total	100,0	100,0

1.3.4 Cattle rustling

Cattle rustling is considered the most common crime of all.

Most cattle theft occurs in close proximity to residential premises and takes place during the rainy season. This crime is common in August (25,3%), in October (14%) and in September (11,6%). The low value of the stolen goods may partly explain why the victims do not resort to violence to defend their property. In the final analysis of this type of crime, one could wonder whether or not these criminals do not steal to make ends meet. This implies the need to test for a correlation between crime patterns and criminals' socioeconomic conditions.

Just like in most other crime cases mentioned in this report, more than half of the victims did not find it necessary to report livestock theft to the police. They opted to take the matter to traditional authorities (52,1%). Given that this type of crime mostly occurs in rural environments, traditional authorities are often more appealing to cattle rustling victims. This preference can be further explained by the respondents' lack of trust in the police. Lack of police visibility is also a problem in rural areas. Over one in five respondents (21,6%) report to other local groups rather than the police, and another 10,3% rely on vigilante groups.

Of the cattle rustling victims, 71,1% take some measures to protect their cattle and report feeling reassured as a result. But just under a third of the victims (32,9%),

do not take any preventive measures following incidents of cattle rustling, and 36% of the victims report that they were mostly concerned about getting their life back to normal.

1.3.5 Crop theft

As far as crop theft is concerned, the backyard, the garden and the granary are considered high-risk spots (40,9%, 24,5% and 16,4% respectively). Corn is the crop stolen the most, followed by yams.

August and October are the high crop-theft months when most cases are reported. Theft cases have been reported respectively by 23,6% and 12,7% of respondents. Only 4,6% of these crop theft cases were reported to the police. The victims did not report for similar reasons given for other crimes. As a matter of fact, 65,7% did not think it necessary to report and just 10,8% give police unavailability as a reason for failing to report. Nevertheless, all the victims who have reported their losses to the police claim to have been satisfied with their response. Equally positive is the fact that 77,3% of the victims who reported their loss are satisfied with the way the authorities dealt with the issue.

Victims mostly lodge complaints of theft with traditional authorities and other local groups. This approach could serve as an efficient way of beefing up the security of communities who are struggling to get on with their life peacefully.

1.3.6 Bike and car theft

Based on the respondents' statements, bike and car thefts are the crimes committed least frequently in Benin. These incidents mostly occur at home (40%) and reports are at their peak in August (33,5%).

As previously observed in other crime categories, despite experiencing these crimes, there is no change in the victims' attitude towards dealing with the incidents. Victims do not go to the police and certainly not to the formal justice system. Rather, they lodge their complaints with traditional authorities.

1.3.7 Assault and sexual assault

Cases of assault and sexual assault are not very common in Benin. Out of 4,4% of respondents who report being assaulted over the last five years, roughly half of that group (42,4%) fell victim to the crime during the 12 months preceding the survey. Criminals reportedly use guns in about two in three assault cases in Benin.

Just 1,1% of respondents report having been victims of sexual assault over the past five years. Nevertheless, there is still a need to take appropriate measures to keep the situation in check to protect women and children in particular.

1.3.8 Consumer defrauding

Incidents of consumer fraud are rather low and only 25 cases were reported over the past five years. Eight of these were reported during the past twelve last months. Salesmen were blamed in most cases (71,4% of reported

cases). Only 37,5% of cases were reported to the police. The majority of respondents (80%) do not think it necessary to involve the police in consumer fraud claims since the victims usually know the culprit by name (71,4%).

Part 4

Conclusion

This victim survey raises a number of issues about crime-control strategies in the country. The government should improve its crime-fighting strategies, in both rural and urban areas in order to ensure the security of citizens. Such measures should go hand in hand with the formulation of socioeconomic upliftment policies. The country's urbanisation rate averages about 2% per annum and this slow pace implies more challenges for policing rural areas, as well as for bringing justice institutions closer to the rural citizens. Law enforcement agents need to increase their presence in all provinces, especially in the rural provinces that experience higher levels of livestock and property theft, as this high prevalence is partly due to a deficit in policing. The fact that the crime rates differ wildly from one region to the other (for example, in Donga and Zou) highlights the need to create policing mechanisms at the community level that are mindful of the communities' social realities.

NOTES

- 1 To date, 28 African countries have signed up for the APRM.
- 2 The HDI provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy), being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels) and experiencing a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity (PPP) and income). Though it is not a comprehensive measure of human development, it does provide a broadened prism for viewing human progress and the complex relationship between income and well-being.
- 3 Figures may exceed 100 due to rounding off.
- 4 See Appendix 1 for definitions of crime.
- 5 Property crime does not indicate what property was actually taken but indicates the incidence of burglary.

Appendix 1

Term	Definition
Assault or threat of assault (including domestic violence)	Include being attacked, physically beaten or threatened by an attacker in a frightening way without the attacker taking any property from the victim. Assault is the unlawful and intentional direct or indirect application of force to the body of another person, as well as threat of application of immediate personal violence to another.
Consumer fraud	Occurs when someone selling something or delivering a service cheats the customer in terms of quantity or quality of the goods or service.
Deliberate damage, burning or destruction of dwellings	Includes deliberately setting fire to, or damaging a household's dwelling, but excludes forced removals. This also includes outbuildings that might be used for household functions or for agricultural purposes, and household buildings or part of buildings that may be used by any member of the household for commercial purposes.
Hijacking of motor vehicles	Occurs when someone uses force to steal or attempt to steal a car, truck, van or pick-up belonging to the household when a member or members of the household are inside, or just outside, the vehicle.
Housebreaking and burglary	Occurs when someone breaks into a dwelling without permission and steals or attempts to steal something.
Murder	According to some definitions, murder consists of the unlawful and intentional killing of another human being. Murder is a deliberately inflicted death, which could result from housebreaking, hijacking, assault (including domestic violence, rape and sexual assault) or as a result of any number of circumstances. Included in this are ritual or mutilated murders or killings. Murder is treated as a household crime because the victim cannot report its occurrence.
Robbery (including aggravating circumstance)	Involves forcefully taking property from a person. May include the threat of force, for example, pointing a knife at someone and demanding that they hand over their jewellery.
Sexual assault or rape	Sexual offences (including rape and domestic sexual abuse) include, amongst others, grabbing, touching, or raping someone.
Theft	Consists in the unlawful and intentional appropriation of another's movable corporeal property which is available in commerce, or of such property belonging to the perpetrator himself but in respect of which somebody else has a particular right of possession. NOTE: Only moveable property can be stolen under the definition of theft.
Theft of bicycles	Occurs when somebody steals a bicycle.
Theft of crops	Involves the theft of produce that belongs to another person.
Theft out of a motor vehicle and theft from a motor vehicle	Theft from a motor vehicle consists of the unlawful and intentional removal of parts, accessories or equipment, that form part of a motor vehicle or articles in or on the vehicle from the vehicle, with the intention of permanently depriving the owner thereof of control over such parts, accessories or equipment or over the articles taken from the vehicle. This includes theft of car radios or goods left in the car or parts of the car, such as a car mirror or spare tyre.
Theft of livestock, poultry and other animals	Involves the theft of animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, chickens and dogs.
Theft of motorcycles and scooters	Excludes theft of bicycles.
Theft of motor vehicle	Theft of a motor vehicle consists of the unlawful and intentional removal of a motor vehicle belonging to another person. If force is used during the theft, it is classified as car hijacking.
Theft of personal property	Includes pick-pocketing or theft of a purse, wallet, clothing, jewellery or sports equipment, without the use of or threat of force.

NB: Any theft that involves the use of any force is classified as robbery

