CHAPTER 4

RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY IN THE MACRO AND MESO-ENVIRONMENT

Given the motivation of an individual to commit an offence, the actual commission of an offence is the end result of a multi-staged decision process which seeks out and identifies, within the general environment, a target or victim positioned in time and space.

- Brantingham and Brantingham (1984:337)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the main focus of this study was to investigate the occurrence of residential burglary in the micro-environment, it was deemed necessary to provide an overview of the spatial patterns of residential burglary at a macro and meso-level (the general environment). For the purpose of this study, residential burglary at a macro-level referred to the Greater Pretoria area, and how it compared with other cities and the country as a whole, whereas the meso-level referred to the police station areas, with specific reference to the two case study areas, in the Greater Pretoria area.

The research on burglary patterns at the meso-level was directed by the conceptual framework (see par.2.6), and to answer to the research expectations as formulated in Paragraph 2.7, namely that it is expected that the following factors in the meso-environment will increase the risk for burglary:

- Neighbourhoods perceived as more affluent.
- Neighbourhoods that have good escape routes.
- Neighbourhoods where free (unrestricted) movement of people occur.
- Neighbourhoods that attract strangers, non-resident in the area.

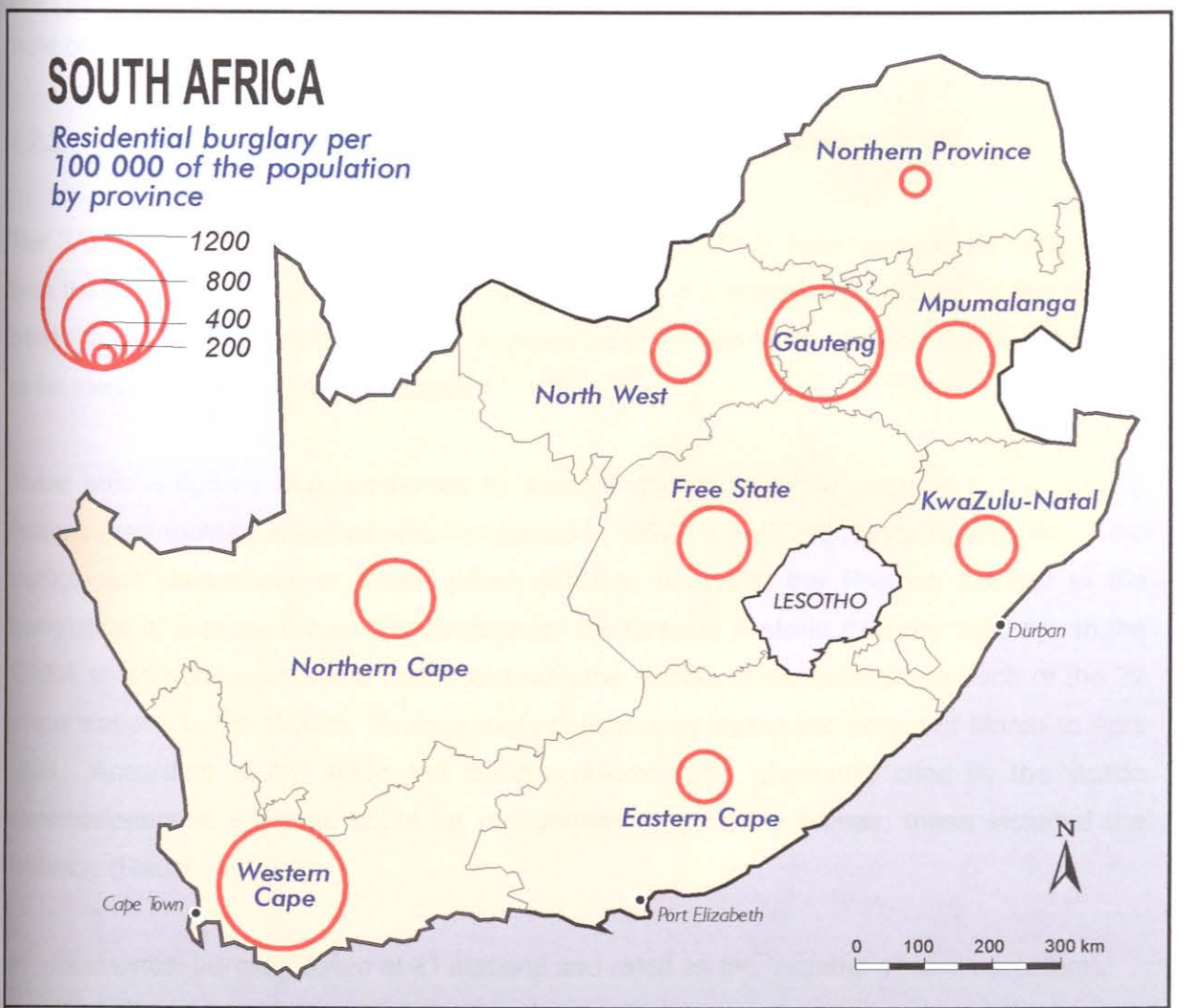
Burglary patterns at the macro-level, as explained in the following section, only provided an orientation to the study and therefore no research expectations were formulated in this regard. Furthermore, the research data that were collected and analysed in Chapter 4 were primarily obtained from secondary sources (see Table 3.2).

4.2 RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY AT A MACRO-LEVEL

4.2.1 Nationally

Compared to all the types of crime that were reported to the SAPS, residential crime had the highest incidence nationally (see Table 1.1). At a provincial level, four provinces, namely; Western Province, Gauteng, Northern Cape and Mpumalanga, exceeded the average RSA burglary rate for 1999 (see Fig. 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1: RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION FOR THE PROVINCES DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1999



Source of raw data: SAPS Monthly Bulletin on Reported Crime in South Africa, 1/2000

From Figure 4.1 it was evident that the Gauteng Province, in which the research area was situated, had one of the highest residential burglary rates in South Africa. Gauteng could also be described as the richest province in South Africa with the highest Gross Geographical Product (GGP) per capita of all the provinces. Thus living in Gauteng or the

Western Cape constitute a greater risk of becoming a victim of residential burglary than in any other province in South Africa.

According to a crime victim survey done by the ISS in 1998 of the Greater Pretoria area, 54,6 per cent of the respondents (out of a sample of 2 547 people) indicated that they were victims of at least one crime between 1993 and April 1998 (Louw, 1998:12). Pretoria registered a higher overall victimisation rate than Cape Town, which recorded a 49 per cent rate in a similar study, but registered a lower victimisation rate than Durban (59 per cent) and Johannesburg (62 per cent) (Louw, 1998:15). In the study it was also found that burglary was the most common type of crime in Pretoria (27 per cent of all the crimes), followed by vehicle theft (19 per cent). This trend concurred with other metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town where burglary was also registered as the most common crime.

4.2.2 Residential burglary in the SAPS Pretoria Area

The SAPS Pretoria area consists of 28 police stations which encompasses an area larger than the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area. Figure 4.2 provides a ranking of the priority crimes in the SAPS Pretoria area, as recorded for 1998 and 1999. Residential burglary was by far the most common crime recorded.

These official figures were confirmed by another survey on crime patterns in the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area that was conducted in 1998 by the Community Safety Unit of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) to assist the Pretoria Council in the formulation of a crime prevention strategy for the Greater Pretoria (Rauch, 1998:1). In the IDASA study, interviews were conducted with the station commissioners at each of the 22 police stations in the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area during the period of March to April 1998. According to the study, the crime problems most commonly cited by the station commissioners in Pretoria, could be categorised as property crimes, these included the following (Rauch, 1998:5):

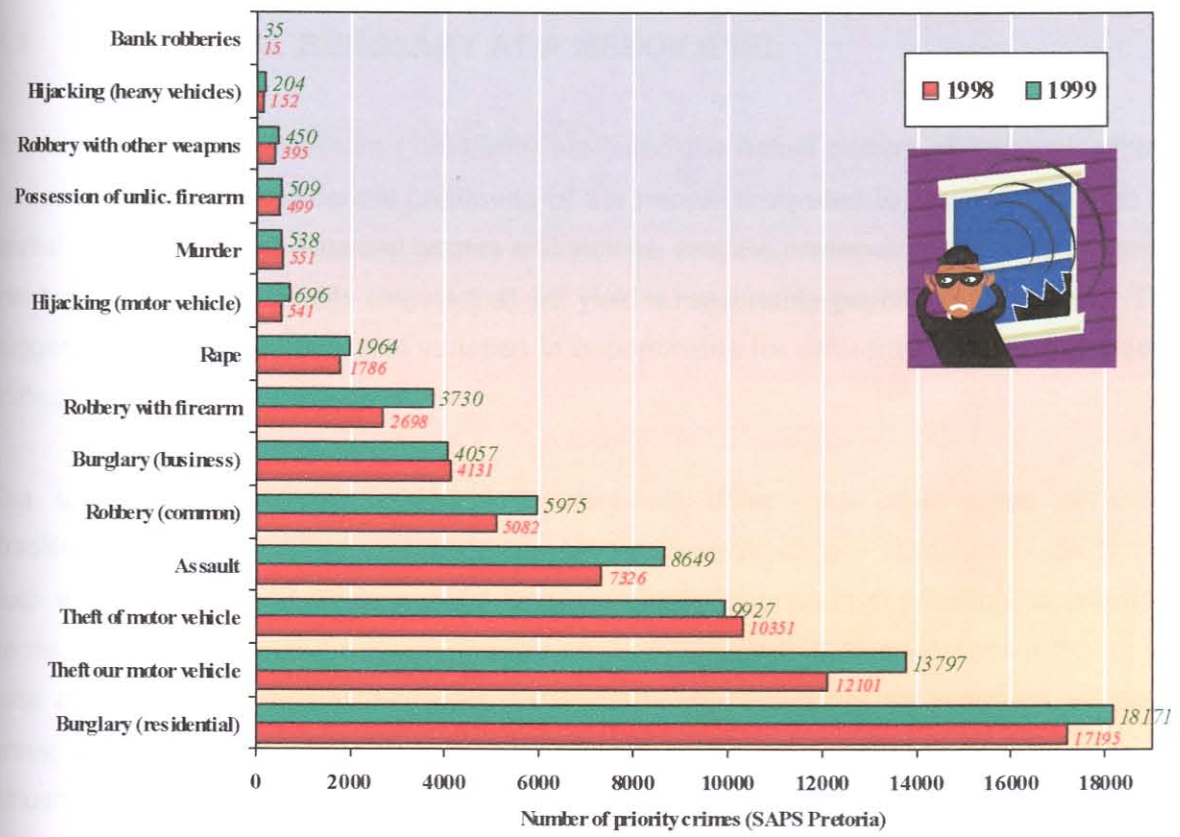
- Residential burglary (cited at 21 stations and rated as the "number 1" crime problem).
- Theft of motor vehicles (cited at 19 stations).
- Theft out of motor vehicles (cited at 17 stations).

The next most commonly cited category of crimes was violent crimes, which include armed robbery, rape, street robbery and assault.

The responses from the station commissioners suggested that property crime could be

regarded as more prevalent and more serious than crimes involving inter-personal violence in Pretoria. A possible explanation can be that violent crimes are less visible and generally more concentrated in the black townships, which have traditionally been neglected by the police in respect of crime prevention activities and criminal investigations (Rauch, 1998:6).

FIGURE 4.2: PRIORITY CRIMES IN THE SAPS PRETORIA AREA: 1998 AND 1999



Source of raw data: Crime statistics provided by the office of the SAPS Pretoria area Commissioner, 2000

4.2.3 Impact of residential burglary

As a result of the non-violent nature of most residential burglaries, there may be a tendency to underestimate the effect of residential burglary on people's lives. The high occurrence rate of this type of crime has a significant impact on the number of people experiencing financial losses and their feelings of safety. Despite the possible psychological effects on burglary victims, it can also have a ripple effect on the insurance as well as the private security industries.

In the SAPS Pretoria area alone, 18 171 households were affected by residential burglaries during 1999. Taking into account that a conservative estimate of the average damage

experienced during a single residential burglary event in the Pretoria area, amounts to R10 000 (confirmed by the Pretoria West and Garsfontein police stations, and two independent insurance companies), then the annual financial loss experienced by households in Pretoria during 1999 amounted to approximately R180 million. This figure does not include the cost of the replacement of goods, medical costs as a result of traumatisation, nor increased insurance fees, or expenses with regard to improved security measures.

4.3 RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY AT A MESO-LEVEL

Brantingham and Brantingham (1984:365) attributed the actual pattern of burglary within a particular city to "the residential patterning of the people motivated to commit offences; the spatial patterning of the potential targets and victims; and the presence or absence of factors that help criminals to identify targets that will yield a reasonable payoff with little risk". This suggests the presence of spatial variation in opportunities for different crimes in the greater metropolitan areas.

The spatial patterning of residential burglary will differ from other types of crime. Traditionally, high crime areas (where crimes are committed) are associated with factors such as neighbourhood decay, social disorganisation, economic deprivation, sub-cultural norms, social ecology and the vulnerability of places (Harrell & Gouvis, 1994:4-7). In the case of residential burglary, however, all neighbourhoods should be regarded as target areas, although the nature and extent of the burglaries would differ from area to area. Affluent areas, for example, may be targeted by burglars for the valuable goods, whilst less-affluent areas on the other hand may be targeted due to the absence of appropriate security measures. Even the poorest households could have goods that are in high demand for burglary, for example, a radio or a Hi Fi.

4.3.1 Distribution of residential burglary in the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area

Of the 28 police stations in the SAPS Pretoria area, 22 stations fall within the boundaries of the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area. Table 4.1 provides a list of the police stations in the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area, as well as the estimated populations within each of the areas under its jurisdiction. The following six police stations were excluded as are outside the metropolitan area boundary: Boschkop, Bronkhorstspruit, Cullinan, Hammanskraal, Kameeldrift and Welbekend.

The Greater Pretoria metropolitan area constituted three metropolitan local councils, namely

the City Council of Pretoria, the Northern Pretoria Metropolitan Sub-Structure, and the Centurion Town Council. From the estimated population (see Table 4.1), it was evident that the police stations that served former black "townships", such as Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Akasia, Rietgat, and Soshanguve, had a higher population density.

TABLE 4.1: POLICE STATIONS IN THE GREATER PRETORIA METROPOLITAN AREA

POLICE STATIONS IN THE THREE METROPOLITAN LOCAL COUNCILS OF THE GREATER PRETORIA METROPOLITAN AREA, PLUS ESTIMATED POPULATIONS		
CITY COUNCIL OF PRETORIA	**NORTHERN PRETORIA METROPOLITAN SUB-STRUCTURE**	**CENTURION TOWN COUNCIL**
Atteridgeville (280 000) Brooklyn (110 000) Eersterust (80 000) Garsfontein (80 000) Hercules (42 000) Mamelodi (300 000) Pretoria Central (45 000) Pretoria-Moot (30 000) Pretoria North (24 000) Pretoria West (65 000) Silverton (180 000) Sinoville (102 000) Sunnyside (75 000) Villieria (48 000) Wonderboompoort (24 000)	Akasia (310 000) Rietgat (339 000) Soshanguve (201 000)	Erasmia (60 000) Laudium (45 000) Lyttelton (106 000) Wierdabrug (141 000)

Source: Population estimates per police station area were provided by the SAPS Pretoria area, 2000

The distribution of residential burglaries per police station area in the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area in the period 1995 to 1999 is given in Table 4.2. Burglaries per 100 000 were based on the population estimates as provided by the office of the SAPS Pretoria area (see Table 4.1).

According to Table 4.2, Garsfontein police station area registered by far the highest average residential burglary rate per 100 000 population. Of the 22 police station areas, 12 stations had an average burglary rate above the RSA 1999 burglary rate, of which nine stations were above the Gauteng 1999 burglary rate (see Fig. 4.1). If the actual (crude) burglary figures were taken into account, the four police station areas of Garsfontein, Wierdabrug, Lyttelton, and Brooklyn accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the total residential burglaries committed in 1999 in Greater Pretoria metropolitan area.

Taking the analysis further, police stations were grouped together according to their burglary rates per 100 000 to create four categories, ranging from below 500 burglaries per 100 000 to above 1500 burglaries per 100 000 (see Table 4.3). Most of the police stations that registered a burglary rate below 1000 are located in formerly black areas, or included areas

of informal settlements. Exceptions were Pretoria Central, which included the CBD, and Erasmia, which included farming areas and smallholdings. On the contrary, the police stations that registered a burglary rate above 1000 are located in former white only suburbs, classified as middle to high income areas. Factors that could influence people's decisions to report or not to report a burglary, are explained in Paragraph 4.3.2.

TABLE 4.2: RESIDENTIAL BURGLARIES PER POLICE STATION AREA IN THE GREATER PRETORIA METROPOLITAN AREA: 1995-1999

Police station areas	Actual burglaries: 1995-1999					Burglaries per 100 000 population					
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	AV
1. Garsfontein	1905	1903	1882	1537	1943	2381	2379	2353	1921	2429	2293
2. Pretoria North	359	399	340	328	362	1496	1663	1417	1367	1508	1490
3. Lyttelton	1329	1459	1350	1323	1564	1253	1376	1273	1248	1475	1325
4. Sunnyside	1098	1126	850	836	1046	1464	1501	1133	1114	1394	1321
5. Wierdabrug	1537	1670	2036	2057	1689	1090	1184	1444	1458	1198	1275
6. Wonderboompoort	297	328	326	307	246	1238	1367	1358	1279	1025	1253
7. Villieria	542	617	640	557	643	1129	1285	1333	1160	1339	1249
8. Brooklyn	1441	1319	1438	1243	1258	1310	1199	1307	1130	1144	1218
9. Hercules	481	586	466	446	465	1145	1395	1110	1062	1107	1164
10. Pretoria-Moot	313	279	299	279	379	1043	930	997	930	1263	1033
11. Pretoria West	519	704	572	571	762	799	1084	881	879	1173	963
12. Pretoria Central	419	458	375	332	504	931	1018	833	738	1120	928
13. Sinoville	808	884	819	834	712	792	866	803	817	698	795
14. Erasmia	366	369	332	301	309	610	615	553	502	515	559
15. Eersterust	355	374	363	332	361	444	468	454	415	451	446
16. Silverton	653	722	681	769	641	363	401	379	428	356	385
17. Laudium	148	183	169	127	146	329	407	376	282	324	344
18. Mamelodi	800	871	923	870	806	266	290	307	290	268	284
19. Akasia	712	731	712	862	867	230	236	290	278	280	263
20. Soshanguve	369	380	424	384	373	184	189	211	191	186	192
21. Rietgat	666	631	669	534	634	197	186	197	158	187	185
22. Atteridgeville	352	481	505	572	548	126	172	180	204	196	176
Total:	15469	16474	16356	15401	16258						

Source of raw data: Burglary statistics provided by the office of the Pretoria SAPS area Commissioner, 2000

4.3.2 Accuracy of residential burglary rates

When using police crime statistics in a study, it should be recognised that the reported number of burglaries does not necessarily reflect the real levels of burglaries, due to the possibility of under-reporting of crime in general. The reporting and recording of crime events may also vary from one neighbourhood to another. In this study, police crime

statistics for the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area were used to determine crime tendencies and not to provide an accurate measure of crime levels. When the burglary rates per 100 000 of the population are interpreted, cognisance should be taken of the possible effect of the following factors:

TABLE 4.3: CATEGORIES OF POLICE STATIONS IN THE GREATER PRETORIA METROPOLITAN AREA ACCORDING TO RESIDENTIAL BURGLARIES

GROUPING OF POLICE STATIONS IN THE GREATER PRETORIA METROPOLITAN AREA ACCORDING TO THE AVERAGE RATIO OF RESIDENTIAL BURGLARIES PER 100 000 POPULATION: 1995-1999			
≤ 500	500 - 1000	1000 - 1500	≥ 1500
Akasia Atteridgeville Eersterust Laudium Mamelodi Rietgat Silverton Soshanguwe	Erasmia Pretoria Central Pretoria West Sinoville	Brooklyn Hercules Lyttelton Pretoria-Moot Pretoria North Sunnyside Villieria Wierdabrug Wonderboompoort	Garsfontein

4.3.2.1 Population estimates

In order to be able to compare burglary rates between police station areas, it was necessary to express the burglary rate as per 100 000 of the population in a specific police station area. To obtain accurate population statistics per police station area was difficult, because the boundaries of the police station areas did not coincide with the population census enumeration areas. Another factor was that the census data of 1996 generally underestimated the true population figures for the Pretoria area, and in some of the police station areas informal settlements have sprung up since the 1996 census. The population estimates per police station area that were used in the study were provided by the SAPS Pretoria area. Although the SAPS population estimates might not be accurate, and this could influence the calculation of the burglary rates per 100 000, it nonetheless provided a basis for comparison between police station areas.

4.3.2.2 Reporting of crime

The under-reporting of crimes is a worldwide phenomenon and should be acknowledged when interpreting crime statistics. According to the ISS crime victim survey in Pretoria in 1998, 69 per cent of the victims indicated that they did report the crime incident to the police. This represented a higher reporting rate than other South African cities, for example in Johannesburg, where 61,5 per cent of the respondents said they reported their most recent experiences of crime to the police (Louw, 1998:18). Crime reporting rates for Pretoria are in

line with those of other countries such as Britain and the United States. The most recent British Crime Survey, for example, recorded a reporting rate of 67 per cent for serious offences (Louw, 1998:18).

A racial breakdown of reporting patterns in Pretoria revealed that 73 per cent of the white victims reported crime incidents in which they were involved, in comparison to 69 per cent of black victims, and 47 per cent of coloured victims (Louw, 1998:18). In the ISS Pretoria crime victim survey (Louw, 1998:23), various explanations were given by the victims of crime for not reporting crimes (all types) to the police, of which the following were the most common:

- The crime was not regarded as serious enough (30 per cent).
- The police were regarded as inefficient (25 per cent).
- Thought it was of no use, since the culprit could not be identified (19 per cent).
- Fear of reprisals (11 per cent).
- Dealt with in another way, for example, to report the incident to a private security company, or to take the law into their own hands (11 per cent).
- Felt ashamed (6 per cent).

4.3.2.3 Insurance

The two crime types in Pretoria that were most often reported to the police were car theft and hijacking (89 per cent), and burglary (81 per cent) (Louw, 1998:20). One important reason for this could be that victims could then make insurance claims, although only 45 per cent of the victims of property crimes in the ISS Pretoria survey said they had insurance cover. Only 15 per cent of the respondents living in the townships in Pretoria said they had insurance cover for their property, compared to 63 per cent of respondents living in traditional white suburbs. From these figures it could be concluded that a significant proportion of people who did not have insurance cover also reported crime incidents. According to Louw (1998:23), an analysis of the International Crime Victim Survey data of fifty nations in 1992 had shown that higher income level was the most important factor related to the reporting of crime, followed by the perceived seriousness of the event.

4.3.3 Relationship between site values and burglary rates

In order to investigate the relationship between reported residential burglary and the affluence of an area, it was decided to take the average site value of a police station area as an indicator of affluence. Although other measures of affluence also existed, for example, the average income per household, the site values were regarded as an appropriate measure to describe the physical appearance of affluence. In this regard the municipal site

values were a good indicator of the market value of land in a specific residential area. The site values as determined by the Property Valuation Directorate of the City Council of Pretoria were used in this study. The method of calculating the site values is prescribed in the Local Authorities Rating Ordinance of 1977 (Ordinance 11of 1977) of Gauteng, which states that "the site value of land or the site value of the right in land which shall be the amount which such land or right in land would have realised if sold on the date of valuation in the open market by a willing seller to a willing buyer, but on the assumption that the improvements, if any, had not been made". In practice the site value reflects the market price of sites in a specific residential area. It is thus justified to assume that the higher the average site value in a specific residential area is, the more affluent that specific area will be.

Each police station area (see Table 4.4) comprises a number of neighbourhoods, of which some have quite different site values. The Garsfontein police station area, for example, comprises of 12 neighbourhoods, with site values that vary from R45 000 to R110 000. A few police station areas are representative of a more homogeneous residential area, such as Wonderdoompoort, Pretoria-Moot, Sinoville, Eersterust, and Mamelodi, with less varying site values.

TABLE 4.4: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SITE VALUE AND BURGLARY RATES

POLICE STATIONS IN THE AREA OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF PRETORIA	AVERAGE BURGLARY RATE PER 100 000 (1995-1999)	RANKING	RANGE IN SITE VALUES IN POLICE STATION AREAS (IN RAND)	RANKING
1. Garsfontein	2619	1	45 000 - 110 000	3
2. Pretoria North	1490	2	30 000 - 65 000	5
3. Sunnyside	1321	3	115 000 - 140 000	1
4. Wonderboompoort	1253	4	70 000	4
5. Villieria	1249	5	38 000 - 65 000	6
6. Brooklyn	1218	6	65 000 - 140 000	2
7. Hercules	1164	7	18 000 - 25 000	12
8. Pretoria-Moot	1033	8	45 000	9
9. Pretoria Central	928	9	18 000 - 45 000	10
10. Sinoville	795	10	60 000	7
11. Pretoria West	569	11	20 000 - 30 000	11
12. Eersterust	446	12	8 000	14
13. Silverton	385	13	8 000 - 88 000	8
14. Mamelodi	284	14	6 000	15
15. Atteridgeville	176	15	10 000 - 20 000	13

The figures in Table 4.4 confirm the tendency that higher site values correlate with higher levels in residential burglary. Only in our of the cases, namely; Pretoria North, Brooklyn, Hercules and Silverton was a substantial difference between the rankings in the burglary rates and the rankings in the site values noted. These differences could be exaggerated by factors such as inaccurate population figures or the residential composition of the police station areas. The Brooklyn Police station area, for example, includes the University of Pretoria with student residences, as well as affluent neighbourhoods such as Waterkloof that probably enjoy a high degree of security protection, and the presence of many security protected embassies situated in this area.

This tendency corresponds with the findings of the National Victims of Crime Survey (South Africa, 1998:iii), which found that the wealthiest households were at greater risk of falling victim to household-related property crimes than the less wealthy households. According to Schönteich (2001:6), residents in the wealthiest areas are the most likely victims of individual property crimes but the least likely victims of violent crimes.

4.4 RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY IN THE CASE STUDY AREAS

Within the meso-environment of the Pretoria two police station areas were selected as case study areas, namely, Garsfontein and Pretoria West. In this section attention will be given to the relative importance of residential burglary in relation to other crime types and the interpretation of spatial patterns. For this purpose crime statistics from Mamelodi, a former black residential areas, was included in the research as a basis of comparison with the two case study areas. In Chapter 5 the individual cases will be analysed and interpreted in the micro-environment.

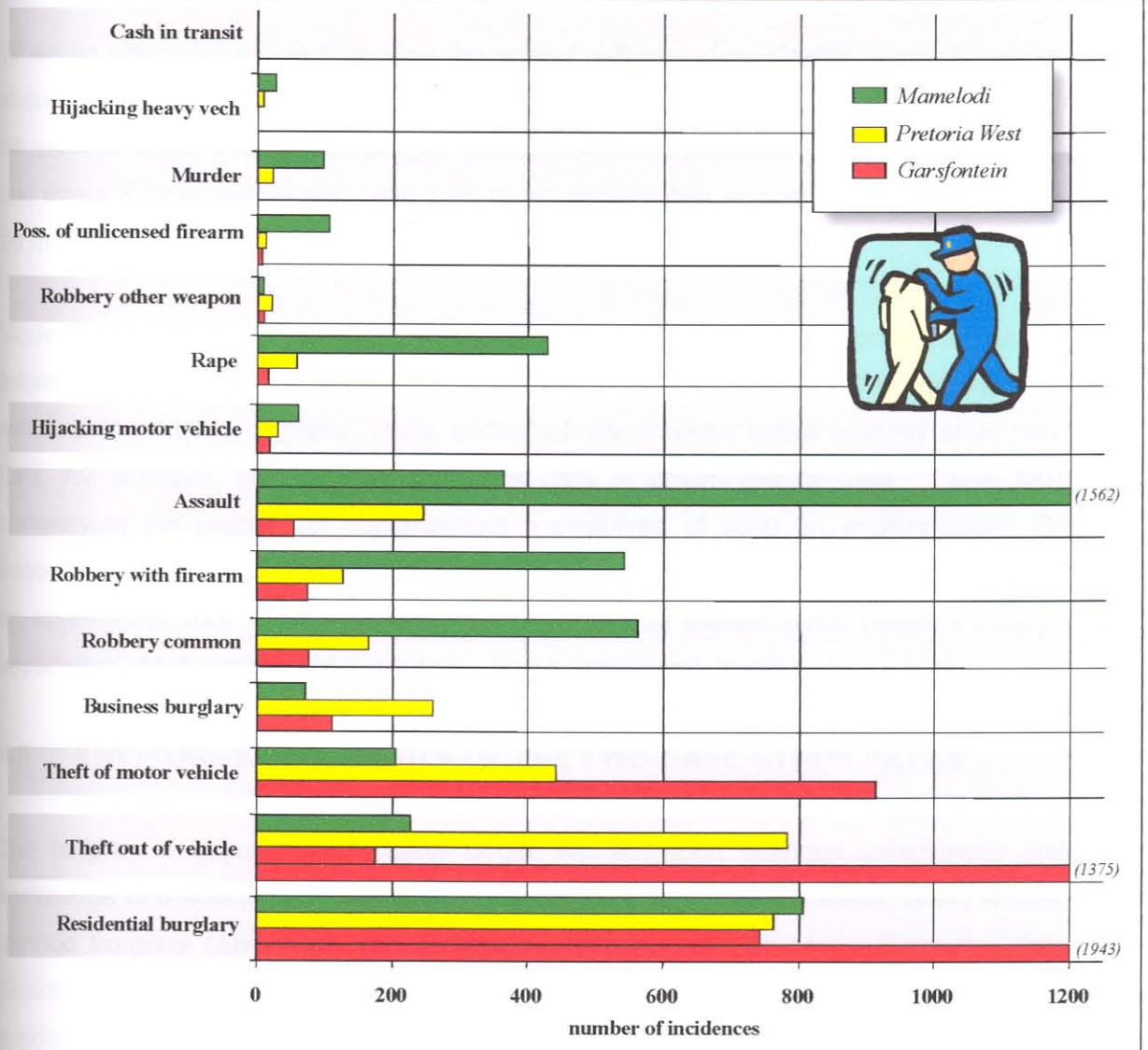
4.4.1 Crime statistics

Figure 4.3 provides a comparison of the dominant crimes in the three police station areas. It is evident from Figure 4.3 that the Garsfontein police station area was burdened by property crimes, ranging from residential burglary, theft out of motor vehicles, theft of motor vehicles, to the burglary of businesses. Relative to property crimes other types of crime were less prevalent in the Garsfontein area. In the Pretoria West police station area, property crimes also ranked first, with residential burglary as the second most common crime in the area. In the Pretoria West area, however, there was a much smaller gap between the number of property crimes and violent crimes, such as assault, robbery and rape, than in the case of the Garsfontein area. In the case of Mamelodi, violent crimes, such as assault, could be regarded as having the higher incidence rate, although residential burglary also constituted a problem, ranking in second position. Mamelodi also experienced other crime problems, such as the possession of unlicenced firearms and the hijacking of vehicles, when compared

to the case study areas. A similar crime pattern emerged in Atteridgeville, another former black area.

From these figures it could be concluded that residential burglary constituted a grave problem for the three police stations, in fact for most other police stations in the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area, yet, when compared to other crimes, residential burglary had a very high profile in the Garsfontein area.

FIGURE 4.3: RANKING OF PRIORITY CRIMES IN CASE STUDY AREAS: 1999



Source of raw data: Crime statistics provided by the office of the SAPS Pretoria area Commissioner, 2000

4.4.2 Spatial patterns

The plotting of the location of residential burglaries in the two case study areas of Garsfontein and Pretoria West, for the year 1998, displayed a fairly evenly distribution

pattern. Without additional information associated with the location of burglaries, the mere mapping of the burglary incidents did not provide a satisfactorily explanation of the spatial patterns. It was, for example, not possible to link the distribution of burglaries to specific physical features, such as the closeness of main roads. This confirms the researcher's view that the spatial distribution of residential burglary in a specific area can only be explained if the situational factors at the micro-level are also taken into account, particularly the vulnerability of a residence at the time of the burglary. The vulnerability of a residence refers to factors such as the physical accessibility, security protection, occupancy, visibility, and the social interaction of the immediate neighbours.

When an attempt is made to explain the spatial patterns of residential burglary, cognisance should be taken of the "criminal opportunities" in the micro-environment. This implies a situation in which a motivated burglar comes across an attractive or vulnerable target, or is told about it by someone else, and then to act immediately or sometime later when it would be more appropriate.

Modern day computer technology makes it possible to develop powerful Geographic Information Systems (GIS) that can be applied to the spatial mapping of any phenomenon or event, at the macro- or meso- scale, and which can then be linked to many other layers of data, for example, census data, business data or environmental data. The SAPS is currently in the process of implementing a prototype of such an encompassing GIS at various police stations in the Johannesburg area. In future these initiatives may develop into an appropriate 'tool' for the mapping of crimes and to explain crime patterns through the application of link-analysis at the marco-, meso-, and micro-levels.

4.5 ENVIRONMENTAL TRAITS OF THE TWO CASE STUDY AREAS

The burglar, in search of a suitable target, will act upon previous experiences and his knowledge of a specific residential area. Cognitive mapping of the environment is thus one method burglars can apply to improve their knowledge of an area. From the literature (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981:338) it is evident that burglars who are interested in residential burglary will use environmental markers in their search for suitable targets, what routes to follow, and to identify targets that seem favourable in terms of possible risks and rewards.

From a risk analysis perspective, four factors have been identified in the conceptual framework (see par. 2.6.2.1) that may serve as indicators of vulnerability, and which could be observed in the meso-environment, namely: visible signs of affluence, access and escape routes, free or restricted movement of vehicles and people and the presence of

TABLE 4.5: COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY AREAS

CATEGORY	GARSFONTEIN POLICE STATION AREA	PRETORIA WEST POLICE STATION AREA
1. Visible signs of affluence (see par. 4.3.3)	The designs, styles and sizes of residences are a reflection of a higher income residential area. The majority of residences are surrounded by high walls or fences, and have visible alarm or reaction unit billboards.	The designs, styles and sizes of residences are a reflection of a lower income residential area. Residences are more open to the streets with low walls or fences, and very few residences have visible alarm or reaction unit billboards.
2. Access routes, as well as open spaces, parks, and streams (see Fig. 3.3 & Fig. 3.4)	The area has a well developed road network, linking the neighbourhoods and provides easy access to the N1 and N4 freeways. Important main roads are: Rossouw, Meiring Naude, Simon Vermooten, Lynnwood, Louis Botha, Atterbury, Garsfontein, and Hans Strijdom. No railway line exists in the area. The Moreleta-, Garskloof-, and Faerie Glen-streams are running through the residential areas. The presence of open spaces, parks and open zones along the main roads are a common feature.	The area has a fairly well developed road network, although the neighbourhoods are more isolated between the main roads. Important main roads are: Church, Von Hagen (N4 Toll Road), D.F. Malan, Mitchell, Soutter, Quagga, Roger Dyason, and Transoranje. A railway line is running through the southern and eastern parts of the area. The Skinner-, Kwagga- and Yskor-streams running next to the neighbourhoods and not through them. The presence of open spaces, parks and open zones along the main roads are a common feature.
3. Free movement of people and vehicles within the public domain	At the time of the research in 1998, the case study area had no security villages* or security enclosed neighbourhoods** within its policing district, although some neighbourhoods were in the planning to close off their neighbourhoods. Residential complexes, with security fences and access control, however, were a common feature.	No security villages, enclosed neighbourhoods or residential complexes existed in the case study area at the time of the research in 1998. No restrictions were placed on the movement of people and vehicles in public places and on public roads.
4. Presence of strangers in area. (providing an alibi for intended burglars)	Strangers, non-resident in the area, could be linked to activities such as: - Job-seeking, begging, charity work and selling of goods. - Workers at new building projects in the Woodhill, Moreletapark, Pretoriuspark, Garsfontein, Faerie Glen and Wapadrand areas. - Gathering at large shopping centres in the residential areas of which at least 17 could be identified in the case study area.	According to the SAPS many strangers in the area are illegal immigrants from countries such as Nigeria, resident in flats in the area. Non-resident strangers could also be linked to: - Job-seeking, begging, charity. - New building projects in the Elandspoort, Lotus Gardens and Philip Nel Park areas. Contrary to Pretoria East, only three large shopping centres could be identified in the neighbourhoods.

** According to Landman (2000:3), security villages are private developments from the outset and the management and maintenance is done by a private management body. These areas are physically walled or fenced off and have a controlled access gate with a security guard.*

*** Enclosed neighbourhoods refer to existing neighbourhoods that have controlled access through gates or booms across existing roads. Many are fenced or walled off as well, with a limited number of controlled entrances/exits and security guards at these points in some cases.*

strangers in the area. The two case study areas are compared and described in terms of visible environmental traits that could have had an influence on the burglar's decision-making process (see Table 4.5). In terms of the four categories of description of vulnerability, it is evident that both the case study areas were ideal targets for burglary, but that the conditions in the Garsfontein police area were perhaps more favourable than those in the Pretoria West police area on account of the more affluent lifestyle people experienced. The convicted burglars, interviewed during the study, also indicated that the residential areas best suited for burglaries were located in the east of Pretoria (Waterkloof, Garsfontein, Moreletapark), as well as in the Centurion area.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this Chapter was to give an overview of residential burglary patterns at the macro- and meso-levels, especially with regard to the frequency and spatial distribution of burglary incidents. In conclusion the following observations are made:

- Residential burglary is the most common crime reported to the SAPS in South Africa. The Western Cape and the Gauteng Provinces, including the Greater Pretoria metropolitan area, experience high levels of residential burglary when compared to the other provinces.

- In the conceptual framework (see par. 2.6.2.1) the assumption was made that a positive correlation exists between the levels of affluence and the levels of residential burglary experienced in the same areas. This tendency was confirmed in the police station areas of the City Council of Pretoria (see Table 4.3), where a positive relationship was observed between the average site values and the residential burglary rates registered.

- Less-affluent areas, such as Pretoria West, also experienced relative high rates in reported residential burglary cases, although significantly lower than in the affluent areas in Pretoria East. Former black residential areas, such as Mamelodi, experienced a higher crime incidence rate in violent crimes than in residential burglary.

- The conceptual framework (see par. 2.6.2.1) also stipulated three conditions that could serve as ameliorating factors as far as the commission of residential burglaries is concerned: free access to and easy movement within the residential area and frequent presence of strangers. Through personal observation by studying of the street maps of the case study areas, as well as inquiries regarding the presence and movement of strangers in these areas, the researcher came to the conclusion (as summarised in Table 4.5) that both case study areas were relatively accessible to potential burglars, that they could move around freely, and that the presence of strangers was common in

these areas. Thus, the macro and meso-environment can be described as public space in which people have the constitutional right to move around freely.

The spatial pattern of residential burglary in the macro- and meso-environments cannot be properly explained without taking into account the local and situational conditions in the micro-environment that created the opportunity to commit the burglary. Consequently, the spatial plotting of residential burglary has little value if not interpreted alongside the factors that cause or influence the spatial pattern.

n Chapter 5, the focus shifts from the macro- and meso-level to the micro-level, in order to escribe and explain the local and situational conditions that created the opportunity for the ommission of a residential burglary, how the burglary was executed, and how the victims nd burglars responded to the burglary.