

**SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING CRIME – ARMED  
ROBBERY – IN WINDHOEK FROM 1997 - 2000**

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**BY**

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## **DECLARATIONS**

I, Rector Sandema hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and that to the best of my knowledge, it has never been submitted for any degree to this University and / or other Universities before.

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THIS IS TO CONFIRM THAT THIS THESIS HAS BEEN SUPERVISED BY ME, AND WAS PRESENTED FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS (SOCIOLOGY).

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## ABSTRACT

This study aimed at investigating the relationship between social factors and crime (armed robbery) in Windhoek from 1997-2000. More specifically it aimed at investigating ways socio-demographic and socio-economic factors such as age, sex, residential area, employment, education, etc influence armed robbery in Windhoek.

This study also reviewed literature and relevant biological, psychological and sociological theories pertinent to crime and armed robbery.

The study used qualitative and quantitative methods. About 243 police dockets on armed robbery provided quantitative data, while 20 key informant interviews with law enforcement and administration of justice officers provided the qualitative data. Among the major findings were: ethnicity and crime (armed robbery) are not significantly related. Pearson correlations showed very weak relationship  $r = 0.108$ ;  $P \geq 0.05$ . Key informant and the literature (e.g. Mann, 1993) also pointed out that one does not need to belong to any particular ethnic group to commit a crime, but that crime was a colorless phenomenon.

There was a significant relationship between age and armed robbery ( $r = 0.015$ ;  $P \leq 0.05$ ). Key informants also indicated that age was a real factor as most robbers were young people in the range of 18 - 30

years of age. The research results also found that employment was not a strong influence on armed robbery in Windhoek ( $r = 0.12$ ;  $P \geq 0.05$ ). As a matter of fact cross tabulations revealed that the least educated (those with less than secondary school education) and the very educated (post secondary school graduates) were less involved in armed robbery. Most robbers were secondary school leavers who have either dropped out of school from Grade 8 or have passed Grade 12 but cannot find a job or be admitted to any learning institution. The results showed a strong connection between residential area and crime ( $r = 0.216$ ;  $P \leq 0.01$ ). Area of residence in this case really a proxy for poverty as people who commit most armed robberies are from poorer areas. The study also showed that males committed all the robberies in Windhoek. The study results revealed foreigners were less involved in armed robbery in Windhoek.

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## Key Words

**AGE:** The length of time that a person has lived or a thing has existed.

**ANOMIE:** A situation in which social norms lose their hold over individual behavior.

**CRIME:** An action, which contravenes the laws established by a political authority.

**CRIMINALITY:** Criminal acts, or the state of being involved in crime.

**CRIMINOLOGY:** The scientific study of crime and criminals.

**DELINQUENCY:** Crimes usually not of serious nature committed by young people.

**EGO:** An individual's idea of himself or herself in relation to other people or the outside world.

**ETHNICITY:** Cultural values and norms which distinguish the members of a given group from others.

**EXPEDIENTS:** Means of achieving an aim which may not be fair or normal.

**FELONY:** A very serious crime, punishable for a period of time by the state.

**GENDER:** Social expectations about behavior regarded as appropriate for the members of each sex.

**ID:** The part of the mind relating to a person's unconscious instincts and impulses.

**MISDEMEANOR:** A minor offence or wrongdoing and less punishable.

**QUANTITATIVE:** Refers to counts and measures of things.

**RACE:** Differences in human physical stock regarded as categorizing large numbers of individuals together.

**RAPE:** The use of force to compel one individual to engage in a sexual act with another.

**RELATIVE DEPRIVATION:** Feelings of deprivation relative to a group with which an individual compares himself or herself.

**ROBBERY:** Consists in theft of property by unlawfully and intentionally using violence or threat of violence to take the property or induce submission to its taking.

**SEX:** The biological and anatomical differences distinguishing females from males.

**SOCIAL ROLE:** The expected behavior of an individual occupying a particular social position.

**SOCIALISATION:** The social processes through which children develop an awareness of social norms and values and achieve a distinct sense of self.

**SUBCULTURE:** The behavior and practices associated with a particular group in society.

**SUPEREGO:** The part of the mind that makes one aware of right and wrong and acts as a conscience to control one's behavior.

**THEORIES:** A set of properly argued ideas intended to explain facts or events. Principles on which a subject of study is based.

**UNEMPLOYMENT:** The state of being without a paid job in one's own life.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis provides a quantitative and qualitative basis for understanding both socio economic and socio demographic factors which influence crime (robberies) in Windhoek. The thesis examines crime around factors such as age, ethnicity, gender, education, employment and residential area of offenders and tries to establish which of these has the most influence on crime. In the introductory part the chapter gives an overview of what constitutes crime and robbery. The chapter ends with the main objectives of the thesis. As crime increases globally, predictability of crime and criminal behavior has become an area of growing concern amongst scholars and institutions that are tasked to deal with deviance.

Crime as an act defined by law implies that unless the elements specified by criminal law are present and proven beyond a reasonable doubt, a person should not be convicted of a crime.

By definition, crime is an intentional and unlawful act or omission in violation of criminal laws (statutory and case laws), committed without defense or justification and classified by the state as either a felony or misdemeanor (Sue, 1979: 220). Felony has been defined as a serious type of offence, such as murder, rape, or armed robbery punishable by a year or longer in prison or a more serious penalty such as capital punishment. Misdemeanor, on the other hand, is an offence less serious than a felony and generally has a short-term penalty and an offender can be given a fine or probation.

Henry and Milovanovic (1994) have defined crime as the exercise of power, the inflicting of pain and hurt on individuals caught in an unequal relationship at a particular moment. This power, Henry and Milovanovic argue, may be expressed by denying something to others, by inflicting real pain on the others or by making victims of those with less power. Robbery, the focus of this study, is defined as unlawful taking of, or attempted taking of by force or threat of force property that is in the immediate possession of another (Gernaro, 1994: 420). Sue (1979: 669) has defined robbery, as taking personal property from the possession of another against his or her will by the use of force or fear. Snyman (1991: 491) has defined robbery as the unlawful, intentional and violent removal and appropriation of movable corporeal property belonging to another.

He further argues that the resistance of the owner has to be neutralized, either through violence or threats of violence against the owner or person in control of the property. The intention to steal has to be present at the time of the violence or threat of violence. If this intention is formed at a later stage, the offender could be charged with having committed two separate offences, namely, theft and assault (Snyman, 1991: 492-493). The fact which needs to be present is that the violence or threats of violence caused fear in the mind of the victim, as a result of which he or she became incapacitated and relinquished the desired property to the attacker(s).

In other words, before the offence could constitute a robbery, there should be a causal relationship between the violence and the appropriation of the property. It is also required

that the violence must precede the appropriation. The violence employed must be calculated to overcome the victim's resistance or render such resistance impossible by intimidating the victim. Two basic forms of robbery generally occur. One is street robbery and is related to bag snatching. This requires little planning. Both the robbers and the victim are usually on foot and target mostly older men and women. The robber might use a weapon or threaten to use one but most rely on physical force. The victim might not identify the robber as the attack is done with speed and from the rear (Bennett et al., 1981: 244). The other is organized robbery, which is a properly organized crime. This one usually involves more violence and bigger losses to the victims.

Regardless of the nature of robbery, violence is always a distinct possibility. Most robbers carry a weapon, which could be in the form of a firearm, a sharp object such as a knife, or a bicycle spoke with sharpened end, or a club-like weapon. In most cases, the presence of the weapon is enough to prevent any resistance from the victim that might be why most robberies do not involve any injury to the victim (Bennett and Hess, 1981:242). They argue that some robberies involve an attack on the physical integrity of the victim from the outset, usually to evoke fear in the mind of the victim and prevent any resistance. The use of violence during robberies is increased and the behavior of the robber remains unpredictable in all cases.

It should be kept in mind that the robber is under severe emotional stress which could be heightened by the intake of alcohol or narcotics. If the target is a bank messenger or any other messenger carrying valuable items, the street robbery could necessitate planning

(Swanson et al., 1977:291). Bennett and Hess (1981: 244) further state that planned robberies could involve three kinds – vehicle-driver robberies, commercial robberies and residential robberies. Vehicle-driver robberies could be aimed at the drivers of almost any vehicle, but tend to involve taxis, buses and delivery vehicles. Although less common, private vehicles could also be involved (Bennett and Hess, 1981, 244-245, Swanson et al, 1977:294-295).

Taxis, they advance, are particularly vulnerable since customers cannot be properly screened before they board the vehicle. Delivery vehicles are robbed either of their merchandise upon arrival at the address of delivery, or of their cash soon after a delivery. Drivers of private vehicles are robbed, usually at red robots or in parking lots. Picking up hitchhikers could also lead to the robbery of a vehicle (Bennett and Hess, 1981: 244-245, Swanson et al, 1977: 294-295). Commercial robberies involve commercial establishments such as shops, filling stations and banks. Businesses with only a few staff members on duty and which are not visible from the street are prime targets. Banks are robbed by professional robbers as well as amateurs. The latter pose the greatest danger to the life, as they are normally very nervous and not well - acquainted with their weapons. The modus operandi could involve one operator in the bank and another outside and yet another waiting outside in either a stolen vehicle or one fitted with stolen registration plates (Bennett and Hess, 1981: 245-246).

The selection of a target is done according to preference and bigger branches of banks are at greater risk due to the larger number of employees and customers. Selecting the right establishment is done very carefully and could even take as long as six months. The bank is

kept under surveillance and plans of the interior and the times of posting guards is taken into account as well as when the robbers expect larger amounts of money to be handled by the cashier. Opening times, lunch times and closing times are usually selected for committing the robbery (O'Hara, 1976: 424). Groups involved in robberies of this nature usually include a driver who is responsible for supplying a vehicle for the operation. This vehicle is usually stolen shortly before the robbery and would be fast and inconspicuous and have false license plates. One member of the group would be responsible for providing weapons and for doing the shooting if it becomes necessary.

The third member enters the building and does the actual talking, accompanied by the firearm man. After the robbery, they leave the scene very quickly in a vehicle which is soon abandoned. Residential robbery takes place in houses, hotel rooms and even in elevators. There is usually a great amount of trauma involved as the attack usually involve the whole family and injuries are common. Entrances could be gained by first knocking at the door and then forcing entry when the occupant appears to open it (Bennett and Hess, 1981: 246, O'Hara, 1976:446, Swanson et al, 1977: 294). The employees often provide information, which is needed to successfully execute a robbery.

Another way of determining the movements and establishing the weaknesses of a possible victim is through surveillance of his/her daily operations, particularly regarding the movement of money or other variables. Taking hostages during a robbery is not unfamiliar, although it is a less common occurrence. Rape could also occur, but it happens reasonably seldom as it is usually not the main concern of the robber (Bennett and Hess, 1981:243,

O'Hara, 1976:445-446). Under such circumstances some members of the public in Namibia (Windhoek) in particular feel that crime has been on the increase for some time, and that institutions such as the criminal justice system have not managed to deal with it successfully.

This study aims at studying the crime pattern in Windhoek, with an emphasis on social factors that correlate to robberies. The relationship between social class, unemployment and poverty, on one hand, and robberies on the other will be established. The thesis will examine factors such as: ways demographic variables such as sex and age influence criminal activities such as armed robbery, the residential area of people involved in armed robbery, and lastly the employment status of people involved in armed robbery. It is hoped that by understanding how social factors that have a bearing on armed robbery will help in designing and implementing programs and policies that aim to reduce criminal activities.

### **1.1. Research Objectives**

The main objective of the study is to gain an understanding of how social factors influence robberies in Windhoek. This objective is complemented by the following sub-objectives:

- To investigate how socio-demographic factors such as ethnicity, age, sex, residential area, influence robbery in Windhoek.
- To investigate how socio-economic factors such as employment and education influence robberies in Windhoek. To suggest policy and recommendations aimed at addressing robberies in Windhoek.

## 1.2. Hypothesis

“Robberies in Windhoek are influenced by socio-economic and socio-demographic factors such as employment, education, age, and ethnicity.”

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework**

This chapter reviews the literature about crime from a general perspective. Special attention is given to the biological, psychological and sociological explanation of crime. Criticism of biological and psychological theories of crime are also provided. Since the thesis is of more sociological in nature, little criticism of the sociological theories is provided. This is based on the assumption that sociological theories are best in understanding the causes of crime. Stevens and Cloete (1996) regard causes of crime as the result of certain changes that take place in the social and natural environment in which human beings live and work. They argue that crime today is regarded as human behavior that deviates from the norms and values set out by society. Many factors can contribute to such deviant behavior. They further state that the approach to crime causation is that certain individuals might have a predisposition to crime and that the environment may activate the criminal act when the situation so demands (Stevens and Cloete, 1996). In other words, the crime situation of a particular place can be weighed by individual human factors over social milieu factors (Stevens and Cloete, 1996).

## **2.1. Biological Theories and Crime**

This section outlines the explanation of crime from a biological perspective. Broca (1878) has tried to explain crime in relation to biology. Biological or Physiological theorists as they may be referred to, explain crime and other forms of deviant behaviour as being biologically based. In other words, it is considered that some people are more inclined to become criminals because of their genetic background, often expressed in terms of faulty genes or “hereditary factors”. He claimed that the brains and skulls of convicted criminals differed from those of the more law-abiding members of society. Lombroso (1916:508) has also claimed that criminals had an innate tendency towards anti - social behaviour hence he proposed the idea of ‘il neo noto’ (meaning the born criminal).

Lombroso has argued that the neo noto is characterized by certain physical characteristics such as “enormous jaws, high cheek bones.” William Sheldon (1940) has also linked biological structure with criminal behaviour. He distinguished between three types of biological physiques. He identified people of one particular type, which he termed “mesomorphs.” These were well- developed, muscular and active. The mesomorphs were more likely to be aggressive and delinquent than those he referred to as “ectomorphs” who were of thin, fragile physique. The last type were “endomorphs” who were of a fat and weak physique. Mednic (1980) has also maintained that some inherited biological

characteristics could play a part in causing criminal activity. This he concluded after using EEGs (electro-encephalograms) to measure the level and pattern of electrical activity in the

brain. A number of Swedish boys and girls aged up to 17 were given EEGs several times while awake and while asleep. Twelve years later, Swedish police records were examined and it was found that offenders had had a distinctive EEGs pattern, even though over six years had elapsed between the test and the date of the crimes.

Eysenk,(1982) has argued that there is a link between genetically based personality characteristics and criminal behaviour, particularly extroversion or outgoing personality. Extroversion and introversion is inherited and based upon genetic make-up. Eysenk tested prisoners in the United Kingdom and found them more extroverted than the wider population (Eysenk, 1982:508).

Research by Mednick (1982) has suggested that XYY men are more likely to be involved in violent crimes. Moir and Jessel (1982:54) have maintained that biology is a controlling factor in crime. Their data suggests that men commit 89 to 95 % of all crimes because the male brain, according to their findings, has a lower level of neuro transmitter (brain chemical) serotonin, which is responsible for the control of impulsive behavior. They have suggested that higher levels of testosterone make men readier to engage in aggression.

## **2.2. Criticisms of the Biological or Physiological Theories**

The idea of a born criminal type not surprisingly causes considerable debate. This set of postulates tends to assume that the key factor in criminality is the innate or genetic background of the individual. It also underplays other important sociological factors such as social class, gender, age, and ethnicity (Taylor et al., 1973). Taylor et al., (1973) has suggested that lower working class males may appear more frequently in criminal statistics. This is because their manual forms of employment may produce the physical fitness and robustness associated with mesomorphs. Similarly, chromosome abnormality may lead to deviant physical appearance and hence the feeling of being apart from normal life. Such individuals may be drawn to deviant and even criminal activities (Taylor et al, 1973). Having looked at the criticisms of the biological theories of crime, the following section outlines the explanation of crime from a psychological viewpoint.

## **2.3. Psychological theories of crime**

Psychological explanations of crime are similar to those of the biological theorists, especially with the contribution of Eysenk and Mednick (1982). However, they differ in that psychological theorists consider the individual's background. Psychological theorists consider the person's early childhood and parent child relationships. In an analysis of the psychological theories of crime, the contributions made by Sigmund Freud (1939:510) and

John Bowlby (1963:510) are of great importance. They put forward a developmental theory of personality that stresses the importance of early childhood experience.

They argue that socialization occurs in psychosexual stages, which need to be worked through satisfactorily to avoid personality problems or abnormalities. For instance, Freud saw the first 12 months of life as an oral stage of development in which gratification was obtained mainly by the mouth: too little or too much gratification could lead to anxiety manifested in a fixation on sucking or biting which might later result in greed. Bohm (1997:16) has suggested that psychological damage can be caused by the separation of the mother from the infant. He found that some juvenile delinquency was linked to maternal deprivation in the early years of childhood. He thus stressed the need for an intimate mother-child relationship in order to prevent the development of a psychopathic personality characterised by an impulsive, emotionless, guiltless disregard for others, which could lead to violent criminal behaviour. In other words, a child's emotional experiences could cause deviant and criminal behaviour.

Bohm, (1997:20) has further argued that behavior is motivated by impulses of a fundamentally biological nature (the id), and modified by socialization experiences, which provide the individual with the capacity for thought and rational assessment (the ego), and internal restraints in the form of consciences (the superego). In this position, delinquent

behavior results when restraining forces are too weak to curb inherent aggressive and destructive tendencies. Halleck (1980:74) has observed that while some aggressive and some sexual activity is often correlated with a weakening of control mechanisms, the act of law violation is often a deliberately planned and complicated operation which might require a great deal of ego strength. He thus saw behaviour as adaptive problem solving, and more specifically saw crime as an adaptation to stress, best understood in terms of the manner in which the individual experiences the biological, psychological and socially determined situations of his existence.

#### **2.4. Criticisms of the Psychological Theories of Crime**

Central to the psychological theories are issues of child development which, it may be claimed, contain value judgments in terms of what is “normal “ or successful development and its consequences (Marcus, 1997:510). Due to inadequacies in Freud’s theories of personality and early experience in explaining crime, neo Freudians modified his theories as psychoanalysts. They emphasized social and cultural influences on personality. They criticized Freud’s psychosexual stage as arbitrary and misleading.

Any important development stage, for example walking, can be either gradual or sudden – the ages at which individuals enter stages are likely to vary (Markus, 1997:511). Clarke (1976:511), writing on the same debate stressed the importance of early childhood in forming adult personalities as having been overstated and the resilience of young children as having

been underestimated (Markus, 1997:510). Clarke (1976:512) has suggested that it does not matter to the infant whether its rearers are its biological parents or others. The child can form bonds, even multi-role bonds, to people other than its biological parents. Having considered the criticisms of the psychological theories in explaining crime, I will move to the last theory. It is important to mention that this study looks at social factors and therefore considers the last theory (sociological theories) to be central.

## **2.5. Sociological Theories and Crime**

This section introduces sociological explanations of crime. Special emphasis is placed on Durkheim's anomie explanation of crime, the Chicago school perspective on crime, the control and routine activity perspective and the labeling theories perspective on crime. Sociological theorists of crime argue that a satisfactory account of the nature of crime must be sociological, for what crime is depends on the social institutions of society. Sociological theories of crime emphasize the interconnections between conformity and deviance in different social contexts. Modern societies, they argue, contain many different subcultures, and behavior that conforms to the norms of a particular sub cultural setting may be regarded as deviant outside it (Box, 1983: 2).

### **2.5.1 Anomie and the contradiction of social order**

Theorists advocating the anomie theory take it that crime is a consequence of defective social regulation. People are said to deviate because the disciplines and authority of society are so flawed that they offer few restraints or moral direction. Durkheim has argued that a society without an elaborate division of labor rested on what he called the mechanical solidarity of people who did not only react much alike to problems, but also saw that everyone about them reacted alike to those problems, thereby lending objectivity, scale and solidarity to moral response, and bringing massive disapproval and repression to bear on the deviant. Durkheim has argued that such a state of affairs was seen as lying in pre-industrial society and that the future of society would then be distinguished by a state of organic solidarity, the solidarity, he argued, appropriate to a complex division of labor. People, Durkheim argued would then be allocated by merit and effort to very diverse positions and they would not only recognize the legitimacy of the manner in which rewards were distributed, but also acknowledge the indispensability of what each did in his or her work for the others and for the common good. Organic solidarity would thus have controls peculiar to itself (Giddens, 1972).

Durkheim's second argument of anomie touched on moral regulation that was not so much flawed as in a state of near collapse. People, he argued, are not endowed at birth with fixed appetites and ambitions. On the contrary, their purposes and aspirations are shaped by the generalized opinions and reactions of others, by a collective conscience, which can appear through social rituals and routine to be externally derived, solid and objective.

When society is disturbed by rapid change or major disorder, people may no longer find their ambitions subject to effective social discipline. It is accordingly hard to live outside the reassuring structures of social life and as a result the condition of anomie may be experienced as a malady of infinite aspiration that is accompanied by “weariness”, “disillusionment”, disturbance, agitation and discontent. Durkheim (1858-1917) considered that deviance was universal and normal, relative and functional. “Universal” which refers to the presences of deviants in all societies who act against norms and shared values. Deviance may hence be considered universal (i.e. found in every country across the world).

“Relative” refers to different social groups possessing different ideas about norms and shared values; hence deviance is relative to particular groups, localities and countries. “Functional” refers to deviant acts, which receive widespread disapproval, thereby serving to support socially acceptable behaviors. Hence, if deviant acts do not become excessive, such acts can serve a functional purpose and reinforce norms and shared values (Marcus et al., 1998:508). Durkheim (1858-1917) has argued that society is not a direct reflection of the characteristics of its individual members because individuals cannot choose. Social laws and institutions are “social facts” that dominate individuals and all people can expect is to discover the direction or the cause of social laws so that they can adapt to them with the least amount of pain (Bohm, 1997:66). For Durkheim (1858-1917) crime, too, is a social fact. It is a normal aspect of society, because it is found in all societies.

He believed that crime is functional for society because it marks the boundaries of morality. In other words, people would not know what acceptable behaviour was if it were not for unacceptable behaviour such as crime. Crime also functions to promote social solidarity by uniting people against crime. In a sense, the punishment of criminals is the payoff to citizens who obey the law. For Durkheim, the social solidarity function of crime is so important that crime would have to be created if it did not already exist. Additionally, crime is functional because it provides a means of achieving necessary social change through civil disobedience and under certain circumstances, directly contributes to social change, as, for example, in the repeal of prohibition.

Merton (1938) too has argued that anomie became a socially - fostered state of discontent and deregulation that generated crime and deviance as part of the routine functioning of society which promised much to everyone but actually denied them equal access to its attainment. People, he argue might have been motivated to achieve, but confronted class, race, and other social differences that manifestly contradicted the myth of openness. This made it difficult for poor people to be considered for sponsorship for jobs, achieve academic success or even acquire capital. In a society where failure was interpreted as a sign of personal rather than social weakness, where failure led to guilt rather than to political anger, the pressure to succeed, Merton argued could be so powerful that it impelled people thus disadvantaged to bypass legitimate careers and take to illegitimate careers instead (Merton 1957).

Merton referred to the strain put on individual's behavior when accepted norms conflicted with social reality. Merton argued that in most industrialized societies, generally - held values emphasized getting ahead, making money etc. The means of achieving these are supposed to be self-discipline and hard work. Holding this belief, he argued people who worked hard could succeed, no matter what their starting points in life. This is in fact not valid, because most of the disadvantaged had very limited opportunities for advancement. Yet those who did not succeed found themselves condemned for their apparent inability to make material progress. When this happened there was great pressure to try to get on by any means, legitimate or illegitimate.

Merton then identified five possible reactions to the tensions that arise between socially endorsed values and the limited means of achieving them. Conformists, as Merton argued, accept both generally held values and the conventional means of trying to realize them, no matter whether or not they meet with success. Merton argued that the majority of the population fell into this category. Innovators are those who continue to accept socially approved values but use illegitimate or illegal means to try to follow them. Criminals concerned with acquiring wealth through illegal activities, exemplify this type of response. Ritualism characterized those who went on confirming to socially- accepted standards although they had lost sight of the values that originally prompted their activity. In this group, rules were followed for their own sake, without a wider end in view, in a compulsive way. Then there were what Merton called "Retreats" , the people who had abandoned the

competitive outlook altogether, thus rejecting both the dominant values and the approved means of achievement. Merton finally identified rebellion, which he referred to as the reaction of individuals who rejected both the existing values and the normative means, but who wished actively to substitute new ones and reconstruct the social system.

### **2.5.2. The Chicago School Perspective**

The Chicago school critics held that as cities grow, there would be a progressive and largely spontaneous differentiation of space, population and function that concentrated different groupings in different areas. The Chicago sociologists identified five zones that shaped the city: the central business district at the very core, the zone in transition, they argued, was marked by the greatest volatility of its residents. It was an area of comparatively cheap rents, weak social control, internal social differentiation, and rapid physical change. It was to the zone in transition that new immigrants groupings most frequently came, and it was there that they settled into what were called “natural areas”, small communal enclaves that were relatively homogenous in composition and culture. Chicago sociologists also plotted the incidences of social problems on to census maps of the city, and it was the zone in transition that was found repeatedly to house the largest proportions of the poor, the illegitimate, the illiterate, the mentally ill (Faris and Dunham, 1939). The zone in transition was virtually co-extensive with what was then described as social pathology.

Not only were formal social controls held to be at their weakest there (the zone in transition was, as it were, socially dislocated from the formal institutions and main body of society, but informal social controls were checked by moral and social diversity, rapid population movement and a lack of strong and pervasive local institutions: contracts are extended, heterogeneous groups, mingle, neighborhoods disappears, and people deprived of local and family ties, are forced to live under-loose, transient and impersonal relations (Wirth, 1964: 236).

Shaw and Mckay (1971: 260) found that whilst there may well have been a measure of social and moral dislocation between the zone in transition itself, those natural areas they argued, could also manifest a remarkable coherence and continuity of culture and behavior that were reproduced from generation to generation and from immigrant group to immigrant group within the same terrain over time. Delinquency was, in effect, not disorganized at all, but a stable attribute of social life, an example of persistence in change. Traditions of delinquency were said to be preserved and transmitted through the medium of social contact with the unsupervised play groups and the more highly organized delinquent and criminal gangs (Shaw and Mckay 1971: 260).

In what he referred to as differential association Sutherland (1949), posited that in a society, which contains many different subcultures, some social environments tend to encourage illegal activities, whereas others do not. Individuals, he argued, become delinquent or

criminal through associating with others who are the embodiments of criminal norms. For the most part, Sutherland has argued criminal behavior is learned within primary groups, particularly peer groups. Sutherland's differential association theory sees criminal activities as learned in much the same way as law-abiding ones, and in general as directed towards the same needs and values (Sutherland, 1949).

### **2.5.3. Control Theory Perspective**

Control theorists have argued that people commit crime because it is profitable, useful or enjoyable for them to do so, and that they will almost certainly break the law if they can. Travis Hirsch, (1969:16), claimed that acts of delinquency result when the individual's bond to society is weakened or broken. Hirsch held that four elements induce people to comply with rules: i.e. attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. Attachment, Hirsch argued, reflected a person's sensitivity to the opinions of others, while commitment flowed from a person's investment of time, energy and reputation to conformity. Involvement, according to Hirsch, stemmed from a person's engrossment in conventional activity, while belief mirrored a person's conviction that he/she should obey legal rules. Together with Gottfredson, Hirsch have advanced the control theory and have emphasized self-control and impulse in the explanation of crime. Crime, they maintain, flows from low self-control. It provides a direct and simple gratification of desires that is attractive to those who cannot postpone pleasure. Crime, they argued, requires little skill or planning, it could be enjoyable because it involves the exercise of cunning, agility, deception or power. It requires a lack of sympathy for the

victim, but also does not provide medium or long-term benefits equivalent to those that may flow from more orthodox careers (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1990:90). Matza (1969) advancing on the control theory, argued that delinquents are conventional enough in belief and conduct, and it is difficult to predict who would conform and who would not. But there were occasions, when the grip of control loosened, and then adolescents experienced themselves as if they were object and effect rather than as subject and cause, and as if they were no longer morally responsible for their actions. They found themselves released to drift in and out of delinquency (1969).

#### **2.5.4. Routine Activities Theory and Crime**

Two of the most important theorists of routine activities theory are perhaps Ron Clarke and Marcus Felson (1993) who examined what prevented specific criminal incidents from occurring in specific situations. Felson and his colleagues argued that most criminals are unremarkable, unskilled, petty and non-violent people much like anyone of us. In their contribution to the understanding of crime, routine activities theorists adopted a series of presuppositions about basic human frailty, the importance of temptation and provocation and the part played by idleness (Felson, 1994: 20) The routine activities criminologists argued that the analysis of predatory crime does not necessarily require urgently causes. Neither does it demand that the theorists commit the “like-causes like” fallacy which covertly insists that a pathological phenomenon such as crime must, according to them, be explained by pathological conditions such as alienations, poverty, family dysfunctions, or oppression. Crime, they posit, is taken to be embedded in the very architecture of everyday life, more

precisely, it was to be found in the convergence in space of what could be regarded as motivated offenders, suitable targets and capable guardians (Cohen and Felson, 1979).

### **2.5.5 Labeling Theory and Crime**

Labeling theory can be seen as one of the most important approaches to understanding criminality. Labeling theorists interpret deviance not as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants. In their view, we have to see why some people become tagged with a deviant label in order to understand the nature of deviance itself. Those who represent the forces of law and order are able to impose definitions of conventional morality upon others; provide the main sources of labeling. Labeling theorists argue that the label is applied to create categories of deviance, which expresses the power structure of society. By and large, they argue, the rules in terms of which deviance is defined, and the contexts in which they are applied, are framed by the wealthy for the poor, by men for women, by older people for younger people and by ethnic majorities for minority groups.

Labeling theorists posit that once a child, for example, is labeled as a delinquent, he or she is stigmatized as a criminal and is likely to be considered and treated as untrustworthy by those around him. The individual then relapses into further criminal behavior, widening the gap with orthodox social conventions (Lamert, 1972). He stresses that for one to understand delinquency, the motivation to commit such offence is more important than the actions of the delinquents themselves. Lemert (1972) has argued that social control actually leads to

deviance. The deviance lies not in the act, but responds to other people's reaction (Marcus et al., 1998:177).

Contributing to the labeling theory in the understanding of deviance, Becker, (1960:520), claimed that in objective terms, there is no such thing as deviance.

An act only becomes deviant when it is so labeled. In other words, society produces a sense of order in social relations. He summarized the labeling theory by giving the following propositions. Those who observe an act of deviance may view it one way, whereas those who commit the act may view it differently. If individuals are labeled as deviant by those who have the power and are socially sanctioned to do so (the police, for example), then those individuals are said to become deviants. Deviance is not the direct behaviour of a person; rather it depends upon the intersection between the person and the observer. The attachment of a deviant label has important effects on how individuals are seen by society and on how they see themselves, as well as on the resulting patterns of interaction between the supposed deviant and others.

#### **2.5.6. Sub - cultural Explanation of Crime**

A society may be seen as a homogeneous group with its own dominant culture in terms of its norms and shared values. However, there may exist within a society many smaller groups, which, while subscribing to the dominant culture, may have their own sub-cultures and their own norms and values. Sub-cultures, according to Cohen, (1957) arise when the mainstream culture sets goals but does not provide the means for such goals to be achieved. He termed this 'status frustration'. For Cohen, lower class youth possess a distinct subculture within

which delinquent behavior has special meaning. Feeling unfairly discriminated against by middle-class society these youths suffer from status frustration, which they act out in delinquent forms. He continued by stating that delinquency is related to a discrepancy between cultural goals and the availability of legitimate means for achieving them.

One way of coping with this problem, according to Cohen (1957: 522) is to come together with others who have the same problems, to reject the middle-class culture and their middle-class world, through sympathetic interaction thereby collectively developing a new subculture (Merton, 1976:126). Steffensmeier, (2000:54) has added that delinquent subcultures are jointly contrived solutions to problems arising out of thwarted aspirations, or, in Merton's terms, disjunctions between cultural goals and the structure of legitimate opportunities. Not only does the social structure provide differential access to legitimate opportunities, it also provides differential access to illegitimate opportunities and the availability of illegitimate opportunities is an important determinate of the solutions people adopt (Steffensmeier, 2000:55).

### **2.5.7 Media and Crime**

There is a concern in many societies about the possible impact of the global modern mass media on human behavior and in particular, the negative influence of on screen violence on crime and aggression. Many studies have tried to measure and assess the effects of exposure to high and regular levels of violence on television. Media such as television, newspapers,

magazines and films play an important role in the transfer of morals and values. The amount of violence portrayed by these agents stimulates juveniles accordingly. Of importance is that exposure to media violence has a negative effect on the viewer (Stevens and Cloete, 1996:30). Belson (1978) examined this aspect, based on large-scale interviewing of young American males aged between 12 and 17 years. Belson's result generally concluded that groups who tended to watch a lot of violent television programmes were involved in 49% more violent acts, such as fighting assaults or crime, than low exposure groups. Persistent watching of television violence, whether real simulated or even in cartoon format, increases the degree to which boys engage in violence.

Belson also pointed to the dangers of desensitization that arise from regular exposure to imaginary screen violence. The concluding inference is that one loses the ability to be shocked, or even of being capable of forming proper social evaluation of aggressive acts, whether real or simulated. After studying children's programmes for a month in December 1996, Winston and Woolf (2000) concluded that unsafe behaviors were depicted in 47% of programmes, unsafe behaviors being defined as actions and incidents that would normally lead to injury or death in everyday life. They observed that children were not being socialized sufficiently about the real consequences of violent behaviors or unsafe behavior. It appears that television violence alone does not affect behavior, but the general framework of attitudes and value in which violence occurs, does (Hodge and Tripp: 1986). Children tend to interpret what they see contextually. For example, if simulated violence is portrayed critically within a moral storyline, this may prove a deterrent and could be educational. However, if the

violence is gratuitous, the child or adult may negatively read “approval” for violent actions in television programmes. Hodge and Trip concluded that the violent act was in itself less significant than how it was presented.

In 1998, the Legal Assistance Center carried out a survey of violent content in television programming by the NBC in October of that year using standard coding or content analysis to count the number of violent acts including murder, which were portrayed or described. The report estimated that 224 acts of violence were shown to the public. Between the hours of 14:00 and 16:00 on weekdays, and all day at the weekends, 24 murders, 30 violent assaults and 5 sexual assaults were portrayed. The report estimated that on average, a child would be exposed to 288 murders and 2600 acts of general violence annually, and that adults would experience a higher figure (Hubbard in *The Namibian*, 17 March 2000).

A central rationale of the research was to raise concern regarding the dangers of exposure of young children and teenager to violent television entertainment. LAC reports cites a number of studies from the US that claim a positive correlation between television violence and real violence in society. The American Medical Association (AMA), for example indicates that 22% to 34% of young males convicted of violent acts claim to have been directly influenced by what they had seen on television (*The Namibian* 17, March 2000). Resisting aggressive actions diminishes when the juvenile watches the aggressive behavior of people on television. This leads to an even more profound effect when the viewer evaluates the

portrayal of aggression as being realistic, when the context in which the violence takes place makes it seem justifiable and when violence is rewarded through the success it brings the aggressor (Stevens and Cloete, 1996: 30). Secondly, exposure to media violence provides the viewer with new examples of aggressive behavior. This becomes part of his or her personal repertoire of aggressive actions and when confronted with strong provocation, there is a temptation to put the new “weapons” into action. From the above one finds it clear that the violent content of the media agents can influence one’s emotional, psychological and mental state in such a way that it finds expression in one’s actions and delinquency and criminal behavior may result (Steven and Cloete, 1996:31).

#### **2.5.8. Gender and crime**

Men are more likely to engage in criminal behavior than women (Grasmick, 1990:6). In most crime statistics, the proportion of men engaged in criminal activities has been higher than their female counterparts. This study recognizes the notion of shame and embarrassment as described by Grasmick (1990:6), as forms of informal sanctions. Shame is a self-imposed sanction that occurs when actors violate norms that the actor has internalized. Individuals considering the commission of an illegal act weigh the potential cost of feeling shame or guilt, should they decide to engage in a given behavior. Embarrassment is described as a socially imposed sanction that occurs when actors violate norms that have been endorsed by others whose opinions are of value to them. This is experienced as a loss of respect from others or as a social stigma in the community (Grasmick, 1990:7).

They argue that women would consider the combination of perceived threats of shame and embarrassment with the perceived threat of legal sanctions in a more inclusive array of cost factors such as being sent to jail or paying a penalty before choosing to engage in crime. Silverman (1976) attempted to determine why females commit significantly fewer criminal and delinquent acts than males. He posited that females are more likely than males to perceive high sanction threats, asserting that girls are more controlled than boys in early childhood and therefore perceive greater formal and informal sanctions. Secondly, he propose that perceived sanction threats serve as an intervening variable between gender and delinquency. (Silverman, 1976,).

In other words, the gender differences in delinquency are the result of gender differences in the perceived threats of sanctions. More significantly, girls learn to internalize guilt and feel ashamed when contemplating norm violations, whereas boys are encouraged to be aggressive, independent and self-assertive. As a result, females are likely to perceive greater threats of shame than males when considering deviant behavior. Women have more to lose, particularly in the arena of social relationships and reputation, if they are caught committing a crime. Because of the controls and their socialization experienced as children, females are expected to perceive greater costs of embarrassment than males when they consider status-threatening behavior. Evidence indicates that females are, indeed, more concerned than males about people's impressions of them (Gilligan, 1977:7).

Corley (1989:9) observed that girls are more likely than boys to believe their parents would be upset if they engaged in criminal acts. It is also put forward by other theorists that females are more passive and less aggressive than males and therefore commit fewer violent crimes . Hence females are more likely to be convicted of crimes associated with their traditional gender roles such as shoplifting and prostitution. Tighter controls also exist for females both in the family and in their public lives. In spite of the clear and persistent differences in rates of male and female criminality, it is only recently that sociological and criminological attention has turned to the issue of female delinquency. Explanations focused on the biological and psychological make- up of women. These studies, which were often written by men, argued that female biology determines their personality and makes them more passive and timid and therefore less likely to commit crimes in an aggressive manner. (Heidensohn, 1989).

The relatively few female criminals were seen as suffering from some sort of physical or mental pathology. Lombroso (1895:4), argued that women were naturally less inclined to crime than men, and that those who did commit crimes were not “really” feminine. The different role expectations for women and men lead to different patterns of socialization. Men, rather than women, learn the skills that are usually connected with certain types of criminal activities. For example, boys play with guns, learn how to fight and are more likely to be socialized for active and aggressive behavior (Hart, 1985:290). Furthermore, it has been argued that women and girls, in particular, are subject to stronger social controls than are men and boys. Girls are taught law - abiding behavior and are expected to conform to a stricter morality by their parents and their peers (for example, girls are supposed to be non-

violent, cooperative and docile). Adolescent girls are likely to be allowed less freedom to go out of the house and stay out than are their male counterparts.

This limits the opportunities girls have to become involved in criminal and delinquent behavior (Hart, 1985:300). Furthermore, the correlates of gender and crime has been described by feminists who argue that female violence may be statistically small, but daily experience shows that female aggression abounds within society. They hold that women may commit violence for many reasons, such as poverty, boredom, isolation, fear and greed, just as do men. Such feminists consider two important questions, which they feel have been unanswered for quite sometime: Why do so few women commit criminal acts? and For what reasons do such women commit these acts?. Feminists have come to emphasize patriarchy and oppression in suggesting answers to the above questions.

They believe that men, both inside the home and in the employment market, control women. They argue that women have been pushed to the sidelines and have become virtually invisible because of certain human beliefs that underplay female involvement in criminal and deviant activities. Feminists challenge the myths about the nature and extent of female participation in crime and deviance by putting emphasis on the following: socialization processes that from an early age lead to different values being developed between the sexes. Furthermore, feminists who argue that female violence may be statistically small have described the correlates of gender and crime, but daily experience shows that female aggression abounds within society.

Other critics (Naffine, 1988, Sampson, 1989) claim that power control is limited specifically because it does not take into account the degree to which females are rational and calculating in their assessment of personal costs of illegal behavior as well as the costs. Naffine, one of the chief critics, asserts that the female is typified by Hagan and his colleagues as “a manipulated thing, is passive, compliant, and dependent” (1988:68). She further states that the idea that official criminal labeling is reserved for men because women can be kept conformist in this sort of informal and subtle way, underpins the thinking of Hagan et al. who maintain that the stigma of the criminal label is used in the public sphere to deal only with the criminality of men. Females she argue, are kept in line by informal mechanisms, in particular the exhortions of family members.

Naffine (1988) have argued that the image of women in this theory, as in traditional control theories, does not portray women as rational decision makers asserting the personal costs of delinquency or crime. Consequently, the theory does not consider the degree to which females are tied to the conventional order, particularly as they protect their relationships with others. Naffine’s criticism draws heavily from the work of Gilligan (1977), who maintained that girls and boys develop differently, primarily because women fill the role of principal child rearers. The instrument-object relationship between mothers and daughters leads to develop an “ethic care”, a central concern with the welfare of others and with maintaining

relationships with others. Boys, on the other hand, learn to cast morality by more universal principles, referred to as an “ethic rights”. He argued that the focus of females on relationships and the well-being of others does not render them necessarily as passive and compliant. Rather, they actively and rationally make decisions to minimize the personal costs of their behavior. The difference between males and females, then, is how they conceptualize these costs.

### **2.5.9. Ethnicity and Crime**

The racial differences in criminal behavior have been somewhat politicized in recent times, especially considering the political background that many countries have undergone (Stevens and Cloete, 1996:24). With this situation at hand, it is obvious that the sociological evidence on the relationship between age and ethnicity on one hand, and crime on the other, are to an extent conflicting. Only relatively recently have scholars of social deviance turned their attention to ethnicity in relation to crime and deviance. In an attempt to explain the relationship between crime and ethnicity, the following approach called left realist explanation has been put forward. Although there is limited research evidence to judge this explanation, some sociologists consider racism and discrimination in key spheres such as employment as factors leading many people to crime.

Elements in understanding attitudes towards crime and ethnicity include the following: Relative deprivation – minority youths feel deprived of, and blocked off from, the financial and material benefits they see around them (Martin et al., 1997:66) and sub-culture, which becomes a collective solution to group problems. Criminals form a group cultural response to feelings of oppression, and marginalization: minority youths are pushed to the edge of society and towards criminal activities because of low academic success and higher levels of unemployment. The activities of young minorities are a form of rebellion, a form of organized resistance (Stevens and Cloete, 1996:42). However, there is little evidence that minority group commit crimes as a form of political resistance. Minority youths appear to be as much conformists to the values of the wider society as other young people. Steven and Cloete (1996:44) argued that one must be suspicious when ‘experts’ read meaning into behavior that the actual participants are unaware of. They argued that young minority people lack opportunities to achieve financial success and this encourages them to turn to crime.

#### **2.5.10. Unemployment and Crime**

Unemployment in the urban areas of Namibia and in Windhoek, in particular, has increased rapidly in the post-independence era. This trend, which is set to continue for some years to come, is a result of both declining productivity in the rural areas and the fact that employment opportunities are perceived to be located in the urban areas (NISER, 1991:14). The rate of formal employment creation in Windhoek especially has fallen way behind demand (NISER, 1991). Unemployment disrupts the lives of both individuals and families. The most obvious result of job loss is financial uncertainty. Financial loss alone is sufficient

to cause family stress, but financial deprivation also generates a psychological impact. Unemployed persons report high levels of anxiety, depression and hostility (Clark, 1978:69).

Those people who are unemployed develop feelings of hopelessness, despair, and some even reach such depths of depression and disillusionment that they may decide to commit crime. He further observes that a long spell of unemployment ruins a person's self-respect. Unemployment creates a sense of frustration, which sometimes leads to feelings of uselessness. It leaves a person apathetic to ordinary activities and duties or can even make a person ready to lend a willing ear to violent expedients for regaining status and a sense of purpose (Clark, 1978:74). Unemployment has come to mean very severe material hardship for children, particularly in terms of diet, health, clothing and housing conditions . Although people are exposed to similar levels of deprivation, it remains true that the unemployed and their families tend to have low incomes (Clark, 1978:75). Clark (1978:77) further argued that families with an unemployed head are particularly likely to be living in overcrowded conditions and to be poorly clothed.

A survey done by the Namibian Institute of Socio-economic Research in 1991 (NISER) revealed that economic factors were fundamentally important in the causation of crime. The report cited the view that a person was not born an enemy to the society but rather circumstances such as poverty and unemployment combined with adversity made people behave in an antisocial way. Considering all of the above factors, it is clear that unemployed people are more likely to commit delinquent activities. Lastly, employers are more reluctant to employ people with criminal records, so that the unemployment rate for those with a

criminal record is higher than among those without, creating an incentive to return to crime if legal employment is blocked (NISER, 1991:15).

### **2.5.11. Alcohol and Drug abuse and crime**

Crime and disorderly behavior are strongly associated with alcohol and places that sell alcohol. Violent crime is not uncommon at alcohol outlets both in Namibia and in other parts of the world. Bars, shebeens and cuca shops are well-known problem spots, according to the Namibian police. One of the dis-inhibiting affects of drinking is the propensity on the part of the individuals to express aggression. This will particularly arise in a social situation where tension or rivalry develops. Drinking venues provide settings for lack of inhibition and aggression. Many studies show that intoxication is associated with sudden or impulsive violence. For example, drunken violence at soccer matches (such as the alcohol related outbreak in Namibia's game against South Africa in September 1999), and other sport events may provide a context for such aggression (Human Development Report, 1999:43).

However Coggans and Mckellar (1995) have argued that aggression and violence arising from heavy drinking may have less to do with alcohol consumption than the predisposition of certain individuals towards violent behavior. Coggans and Mckellar have argued that certain persons may have come from a social background where violence and aggressive behavior are normal. Such an aggressive predisposition may well arise from family as well as that particular part of society where they grew up or where they currently live, and alcohol may not in itself be the main cause of violence. Yet, while an individual may be prone to aggression, studies tend to show that alcohol and intoxication can be an important contributory factor in violent outbreaks.

Alcohol may weaken the already limited social restraint on that person with the result that violence might occur more than is usual while under the influence of alcohol. Alcohol can, therefore, not be excluded as an important factor in spontaneous outbreaks of illegality, including violence against other person, even though it should not be seen as the sole factor involved. While there is a positive correlation between alcohol and crime, this relationship should be accepted cautiously. A direct causal relationship has not been established. Many criminals are not alcoholics, and the majority of alcoholics have never committed a serious crime. The relationship between alcohol and crime may be confounded with age and sex. This means that males are more likely to abuse alcohol and more likely to be arrested for a crime (Namibia Human Development Report, 1999: 44).

Alcohol has been regarded as a trigger or motivator for an outbreak of a violent act of law breaking and it has been assumed to be an important factor behind much recorded crime. The United Nation Human Development Report 1998 indicates that 40% of the adults in Namibia abuse alcohol over the weekends. The Windhoek police revealed that this major indulgence tended to coincide with abnormally high levels of crime at weekends. Strijdom (1995) has estimated that up to 90% of violent crime in Namibia are alcohol and drug related. In addition to alcohol, dagga is the most common drug involved in violent crimes, but is used much less than alcohol. An interview with Windhoek police (1999) suggests a slightly lower figure of 60% to 70% of crimes related to alcohol, but related mainly to the Windhoek region. Hospital admission records provide further evidence of the role of alcohol in violent crimes in Namibia.

Windhoek State Hospital receives a high number of patients with knife wounds, wounds from broken bottles and lacerations and bruising which result from fights. The number increases over weekends and at the end of the month. In many cases, the victims, usually young males in their teens and twenties, were themselves drunk. Medical staff indicated that at least one person dies each week as a result of injuries sustained in these cases and a larger proportion of assaults were quite serious. Such information is provided by LeBeau (1997), who has shown that 42% of medical personnel and 25% of community workers regarded drunkenness and drug abuse as some factors that lead to violence (Human Development Report 1999: 46).

Considering the above literature, we may deduce that indeed alcohol has a causal link to crimes committed but that this will depend mainly on what type of crime is to be committed. For example, a person planning to engage in armed robbery may not necessarily consider doing it while under the influence of alcohol whereas the person engaging in committing rape may definitely be under the influence of alcohol.

## **Chapter 3: Crime in Namibia**

This chapter explores the incidences of crime in Namibia from 1997 to 2000. The chapter presents tables in the form of statistics by age and gender regarding offenders admitted to local prisons. It also outlines specific crimes those offenders are being held for. At the end of the tables, a discussion of each of these tables is given. The chapter ends with examples of armed robbery cases as recorded and dealt with by courts, an overview of public perceptions regarding the prevalence of crime and a brief insert of the proposed introduction of a new bill on the prevention of crime in the country.

Despite difficulties in measuring the extent of crime in Namibia, which can be attributed to lack of reports and publications especially on armed robbery, some members of the public feel that crime has been on an increase. Crimes reported to the police are said to be only a partial reflection and a limited indicator of what is otherwise a wider social problem. For one to understand the state of crime and criminality in post-independent Namibia, it is important to locate such within the context of Namibia's social structures and institutions, including its history. Studies conducted before independence predicted that crime was likely to increase. This is because stiffer colonial social control mechanisms were going to be relaxed (Bukurura, 2000:2).

The researcher is not aware of a scientific study that has been conducted to establish the extent of armed robbery in Namibia since independence, but there are sufficient indications from which deductions may be made that such crime may be on the increase. In the first two years of independence (1991-1992), economic crimes were said to be on the increase and urbanisation and unemployment were given as possible causes (Tapscott, 1992: 78). He argued that a sudden upsurge of crime against property is attributable to a number of factors including a reduction in overall levels of policing during the period of transition and the absence of a well-defined sense of social responsibility. For example, in 1997 alone 70,655 crimes in the country were recorded. This figure fell slightly to 65,920 in 1998, and rose to 70,298 in 1999. By the year 2000, the total crime figure for the whole country was 75,658. See Figure 1 below (Nampol, 08, 01:1).

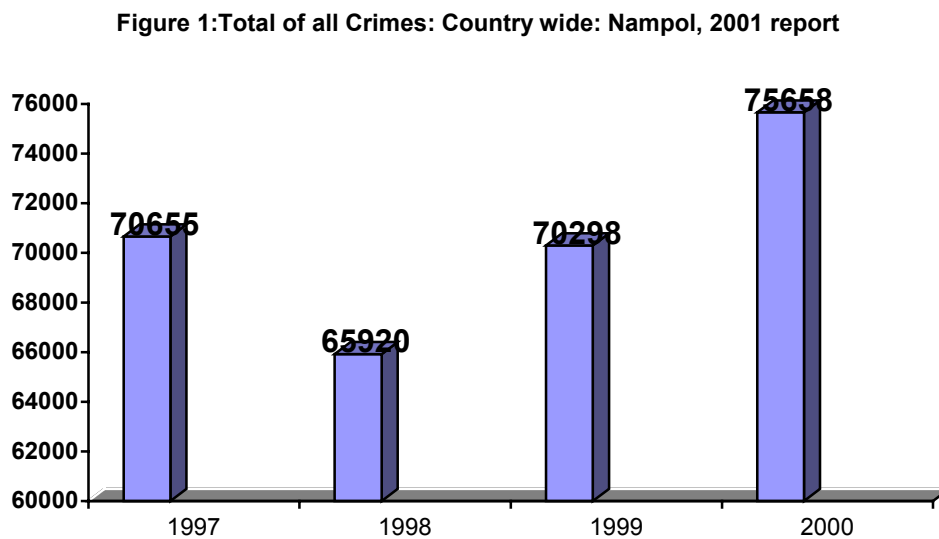


Table 1 Statistical Report for Namibian Prison Services: 1999

Name of Prison	Total number of person committed	Save custody awaiting trial	For Imprisonment	First Offender	Second Offender	Recidivists	15-20 yrs	23- 30 yrs	30-50 yrs	Over 50yr s
Windhoek	1644	177	1467	1455	5	7	220	840	400	7
Hardap	193	6	187	131	42	14	34	95	58	0
Oluno	1198	16	1182	1179	3	0	304	578	300	0
Walvis Bay	619	63	556	495	37	24	96	340	115	2
Omaruru	846	0	846	528	196	122	195	358	282	7
Grootfontein	414	128	286	213	66	7	60	140	80	5
Swakopmund	219	2	217	185	28	4	40	116	56	2
Keetmanhoop	729	109	620	200	195	225	115	310	185	9
Luderitz	130	10	120	94	26	-	17	57	45	1
Gobabis	231	0	231	227	4	-	54	113	63	-

Divundu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elizabeth Nepanda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	6223	511	5712	4707	602	403	1135	2947	1584	36
Men	5903	503	5400	4410	589	401	1006	2927	1425	32
Women	320	8	312	297	13	2	129	20	159	4

Source: MPCS, Annual Report 199

Table 2: Statistical Report for Namibian Prison Services: 2000

<b>Name of Prison</b>	<b>Total number of person committed</b>	<b>Save custody awaiting trial</b>	<b>For Imprisonment</b>	<b>First Offender</b>	<b>Second Offender</b>	<b>Recidivists</b>	<b>15-20 yrs</b>	<b>23 – 30 yrs</b>	<b>30- 50 yrs</b>	<b>Over 50yrs</b>
Windhoek	1594	311	1283	1455	0	0	148	745	379	11
Hardap	216	6	210	131	59	15	29	111	62	8
Oluno	1277	9	1268	1179	12	0	225	690	299	38
Walvis Bay	488	40	448	495	62	45	91	255	101	1
Omaruru	692	2	690	528	211	75	142	306	221	15
Grootfontein	64	31	33	213	6	3	0	14	16	3
Swakopmund	195	2	193	185	29	25	53	95	39	4
Keetmanhoop	854	236	618	200	214	214	70	336	204	8
Luderitz	138	14	124	94	28	2	18	69	36	1
Gobabis	365	0	565	227	18	0	138	264	152	8

<b>Name of Prison</b>	<b>Total number of person committed</b>	<b>Save custody awaiting trial</b>	<b>For Imprisonment</b>	<b>First Offender</b>	<b>Second Offender</b>	<b>Recidivists</b>	<b>15-20 yrs</b>	<b>23 – 30 yrs</b>	<b>30- 50 yrs</b>	<b>Over 50yrs</b>
Divundu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth Nepanda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	6083	651	5432	4707	639	379	915	2883	1511	97
Men	5779	617	5162	4410	625	379	859	2740	1446	92
Women	304	34	270	297	14	0	56	143	1565	5

Source: MPCs, Annual Report 2000

Table 3: Crime distribution from the total convictions 2000

<b>Institutions</b>	<b>Total conviction</b>	<b>Rape</b>	<b>Murder</b>	<b>C/Homicide</b>	<b>Robbery</b>	<b>Stock Theft</b>	<b>Drug Traffic</b>	<b>Fraud</b>	<b>H/Break</b>	<b>C/theft</b>
Windhoek	1283	37	27	9	45	101	51	19	149	16
Hardap	210	17	2	-	6	50	6	-	20	-
Oluno	1268	48	16	20	28	154	22	11	212	3
Walvis	448	11	5	1	10	1	11	-	32	-
Omaruru	690	22	23	5	9	184	23	4	98	13
G/fontein	33	-	1	-	2	1	8	-	5	
Swakop	193	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	21	-
Keetmans	618	18	6	6	3	46	42	7	125	4
Luderitz	138	-	-	-	-	-	10	1	17	-
Gobabis	565	10	8	4	18	188	21	2	87	4
Total	5432	163	88	45	122	725	194	45	766	40

Men	5162	163	86	42	119	722	185	37	759	40
Women	270	-	2	3	3	3	9	8	7	-

Where there is dash it means no figures were recorded

Source: MPCs, Annual Report 2000

Figure. 2. Non-Namibian Composition in Custody

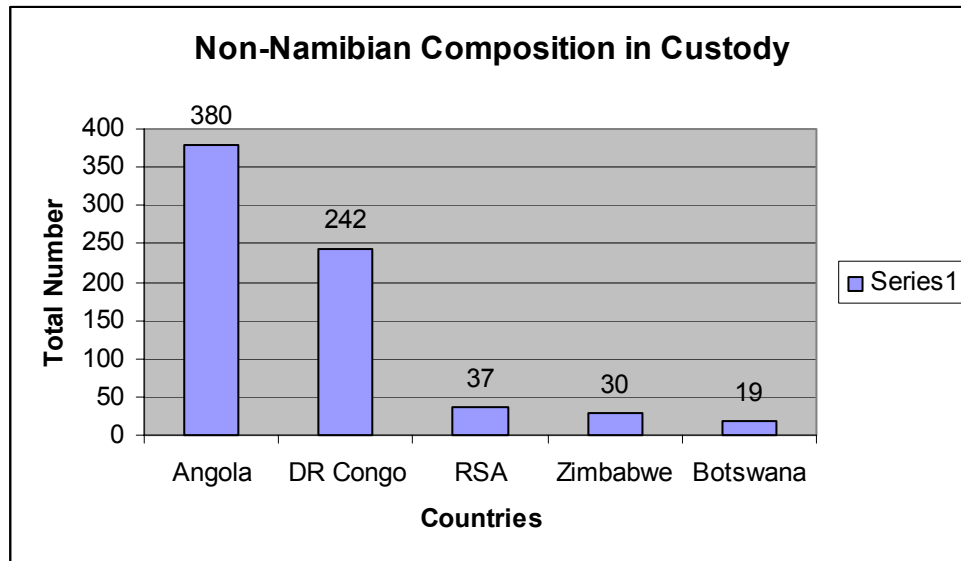


Figure.3. Admission of Offenders per Country in 2001(shown in percentages)

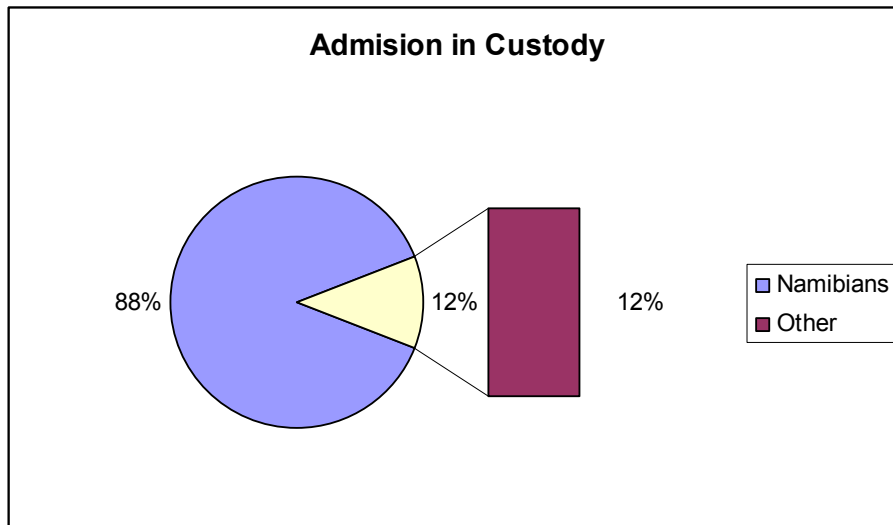


Figure 3 shows the composition of Namibians and foreigners in the Namibian Prisons. As can be observed from Figure 3, only 12 % of offenders in prison were foreigners. This is an indication that most of the offences were committed by Namibians.

**3.1. Age and Crime:** It can be observed that the majority of offenders that were in prison fall in the age group of between 20 and 30 years (i.e. 840) offenders in Windhoek prison and 2947 prisoners countrywide. It can also be seen that few offenders above the age of 30 were in prison, an indication that people refrain from criminal activities, as they grow older (Table 1). Table 2 indicates that 859 offenders between 30 and 40 years of age were in prison in the year 2000. This indicates that the majority of offenders were among this age group category.

**3.2 Gender and Crime:** Table 1 shows 5,712 offenders being in prison in year 1999. Of these, 4,707 offenders were first offenders (meaning they were considered to have committed crime for the first time). Of these, 5,400 were men and only 312 of them were women. This shows an unequal gender distribution of criminals in our local prisons with 4,410 of first offenders being men and only 297 women. From the above crime distribution, it can be held that women committed fewer crimes than men. The scenario in Table 2 remains similar to that of Table 1. For example, of 5,432 offenders in prison in the year 2000, 5,162 were men and only 270 were women. The first offenders category shows that out of 4,707 offenders in that category, 4,410 were men and only 297 were women. This also supports the notion that females commit fewer crimes than their male counterparts. The analysis of specific crimes in the same year (2000) Table 3, shows 5,432 convicted offenders were being held by different prisons in the country. Of this number, 5,162 were men and only 270 were women. Looking at the above scenario, it can be observed that the highest figure for convictions was for armed robbery (i.e. 45 cases for Windhoek) compared to other prison institutions.

This is an indication that robbery was more prevalent in Windhoek than other places in the country. It can therefore be inferred from the above information that men in general committed crime more often than women. This inference can be drawn from Table 3 especially, where 119 offenders were convicted of robbery and of this number only 3 of them were women.

### **3.3. Incidences of Robbery in Namibia**

Violent crimes such as armed robberies are on the increase. Statistics in a recent police report (2001) reveal that the number of reported cases went up by 30% between

1999 and 2000 (The Namibian, 11, 01:2). The police annual report for 2000, shows that armed robbery went up by 23 %. This is in comparison to other types of crimes such as housebreaking (nine percent), vehicle theft (sixteen percent). In essence 373 cases were reported in 1999 while in 2000, this figure rose to 458. Some of these cases have often involved huge sums of money. Examples of such cases dealt with by the police and handled by local courts are:

**3.3.1. The Karibib Robbery Case:** security company was contracted to carry N\$5 million from Windhoek for distribution to several banks and financial institutions in the Erongo region in the western part of the country. A small aeroplane was used for the purpose. Upon arrival at the Karibib airstrip, a small and infrequently used landing strip located in a remote area, the crews were accosted by several armed men who robbed them of all the money.

It emerged during investigations that one of the security guards on board was involved in organizing this robbery. Other people involved in the conspiracy to rob and the actual robbery included a retired policeman as well as a serving policeman. The robbers were mostly Namibians, but included South African nationals. When leaving the scene, the robbers left behind a marked belt belonging to one South African national. The robbers failed to find a mobile phone belonging to one of the victims and this helped the victims to immediately contact the police. With evidence from the belt and the calls made from the mobile phone, many of the robbers were arrested, convicted and sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

**3.3.2. The Brakwater Robbery Case:** Another incident of armed robbery took place in the same year between Brakwater (a small place situated 20 kilometres to the northwest of Windhoek). It emanated from cash in transit-armed robbery of the largest amount of money in Namibian criminal history (over N\$ 6 million). Again, it appeared to have been an inside job involving Namibians and South African nationals. A security guard at the scene shot one of the alleged suspects. During follow-up investigations, some of the other suspects were arrested in Cape Town a few days later and a small amount of money and property were recovered.

It is important to mention that these two are not only the major cases of armed robbery in the country. There have been previous reported cash-in-transit robberies, including robberies at business and residential premises. A common thread running through all is the collusion between employees of security companies or business companies and outsiders. In a number of instances, some of the outsiders have been criminals from South Africa.

One might perhaps ask why these cases occurred and why locals colluded with foreign robbers. The answer to this could be that crimes such as armed robberies have become more sophisticated than before. Where robbers feel their mode of operation is being discovered by the police, there is always a tendency to ally themselves with foreign robbers and try to use that group's mode of operation in order to achieve success. The other reason here could be the market for stolen goods. For example, if a vehicle has been robbed, it is difficult for the robbers to sell it locally and the only way to sell such a vehicle is to involve foreign nationals who will try to market such vehicle in their own country.

### **3.2.6. Public Perceptions and Crime**

There have been enormous public perceptions at the level of criminality in the country. In response to this public outcry, President Sam Nujoma appointed a commission in March 1996, with a mandate to inquire into a wide range of issues related to crime and criminal justice in the country. In a parliamentary report on crime in the country, the Minister of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, Helmut Angula urged the country's leaders to work in close consultation with traditional leaders to combat crime. Speaking during debate on the report of the implications of crime on the Namibian economy, the Minister urged parliament to draw on the wisdom of traditional leaders in the present effort to reduce crime in the country (The Namibian, 07, 98:5). "The country is heading for an economic disaster if drastic measures are not taken now to combat the ever-increasing crime".

In a statement read on behalf of the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Fisheries and Marine Resources Dr Abraham Iyambo said: "To be effective, there is also a need to amend the law to place more emphasis on protecting victims of the crime rather than protecting the rights and freedoms of the crime perpetrators." The Minister stressed that crime is a national problem, which requires concerted efforts from all of us to eliminate it from our society. The Minister concluded by stating that the Defence Force and Police Force should be seen as partners in combating crime and ensuring peace and stability in the country (The Namibian, 07,98:6). Another parliamentarian from the opposition echoed the Minister, who pointed out that "crime

in itself is like cancer which destroys the foundation of the economy and the wellbeing of the nation”.

The parliamentarian noted that criminal activities had increased dramatically in the past eight years, and that a proposed number of recruits into the Namibian Defence Force be diverted to the Namibian Police in order to address the problem of insufficient staff. The member of parliament concluded by stressing that the Ministry of Justice be upgraded to meet the challenges, and that members of the public should be encouraged to participate in what he called “neighborhood watches.” (The Namibian, 07/ 07/ 98).

At a conference held to discuss the problem of crime in the country, the President further observed that “through public demonstrations, chat show programs on radios and television, letters to the editors in newspapers, as well as written presentations, many Namibians, acting either individually or jointly, through civic and religious organizations, have unrelentlessly petitioned the government to act firmly against crime.” (Bukurura, 2000:3). In November 1997, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Economics held a public hearing focusing on the implications of crime on the economy of Namibia.

Several presentations were made in which the nature of crime and its consequences to the economy were discussed. It was commonly discussed in all presentations that crime in Namibia was on the increase and that there was urgent need for action. In an effort to show the seriousness of crime and its impact on their lives, close to 300 residents of Katutura, a black township situated to the north west of Windhoek and where crime is believed to be on the increase, gathered together and declared war

against criminals who infiltrated their premises (The Namibian, 04/ 06/96). At the same time, the Urban Trust of Namibia (an urban planning agency) stated that urban growth and violence in towns especially Windhoek sparked a call for action (The Namibian, 04/06/96).

The Urban Trust of Namibia's article further argued that the increase in violence and lawlessness in Namibian towns affected poor neighborhoods, which experienced vulnerability to violence and loss of security. The article concluded that there was a clear breakdown of social cohesion in Namibia. Crime was one of the issues that were discussed by delegates at a meeting where President Sam Nujoma addressed German business leaders (The Namibian, 20/06/96). The Umbrella Association of German

Chambers of Industry and Commerce, which works to promote foreign investment, organized this meeting. Despite statements made by the minister of Trade and Industry that the country did not rank among countries listed as having high crime rates, one businessman contended that crime was being considered a big concern for investment.

Many delegates at this conference generally argued that crime, especially armed robbery, is an issue that discouraged investment in the country. These general observations on the levels of criminality in the country, notwithstanding, certain indications, are clear that armed robbery, is one of the country's serious crimes is on the increase. For example, in 1996 there were 195 cases of armed robbery. This figure rose to 249 in 1997 and 339 in 1998 respectively (Nampol, 2000). In the absence of a

scientific and objective assessment of the real situation of crime in the country, some of these perceptions could be only mere unsubstantiated generalizations and difficult to use to guide policy formulation. Indeed, one government prevention policy cannot successfully combat all kinds of crime in all areas in the country. It is for this reason that the government of the day declared what can be described as war against criminals through the introduction of the Criminal Procedure Bill. This was a tactic of the government to combat crime and to improve the criminal justice system as a whole. It should be stated that during the writing of this study, the whole criminal justice system was based on South African law and as such operated within the framework of such laws. It was only as recently as 2004 that the new Criminal Procedure Bill was introduced by the Minister of Justice in parliament. “This bill, if passed will enable us to declare perpetual war against criminals.

We should never think of cease-fire because this is one of those wars where a cease-fire is neither recognized nor allowed.” (Dr Albert Kawana, in *The New Era*, 23/09/04). The Minister of Justice told the House that the government was fully aware of the fact that with a high crime rate there cannot be economic prosperity. “ We must grow the economy so that we do not adversely affect other Namibian citizens. All these goals can only be achieved in an atmosphere of peace, security and stability. The security needs of our nation should logically include fighting crime.” (Dr Albert Kawana, *New Era*, 23/09/04). According to the Minister of Justice, the government has put several measures in place aimed at addressing the crime situation. “Currently our lower courts are in a very sorry state due to the shortage of manpower, the backlog of cases and additional functions magistrates have to perform as part of their

duties.” The Minister was referring to the 156,297 criminal cases recorded for the year 2002 alone. “This state of affairs requires adopting comprehensive and decisive measures aimed at rescuing the situation. These measures should include a new legislative framework and special societal measures to help build respect for life and human dignity.”

The Minister further advised communities not to tolerate crime by being willing buyers of stolen goods from house burglaries and robberies but instead to report crimes to the police. “People should come forward to assist law enforcement agencies. Our businesses and communities must develop greater crime intolerance and actively assist in the prevention and combating of crime”. By his own admission he said

elements in the criminal justice system chain must continue to receive urgent attention and refinement. “ I fully sympathize with the public perception that in our criminal justice system the rights of accused persons seem to receive more attention than the rights of the victims.” In his opinion the judiciary should serve the interests of society because it is part of the society and not outside it. “What I can tell the nation is that once the bill is passed into law, it will bring about the most radical reform in the criminal justice system in Namibia’s history. Heavy sentences, ranging from life imprisonment to 25 year jail sentences, are provided for in the Bill for crimes such as treason, murder and robbery.”

The Minister further explained the rights of the victims of crime as taken from the draft Bill. He indicated that the victims of crime deserve better treatment than is the case today. There must, according to the Minister be a fair balance between the human rights of the accused person and the human rights of the victims of crime. Such victims of crime will be entitled to compensation from convicted persons and will be also entitled to private prosecution in the new law.

## **Chapter 4: Research Methodology**

This chapter begins with a brief outline of the research design, which is exploratory. This is followed by a discussion of population and sampling, data collection and analysis. In conclusion, the chapter presents the ethical considerations and discusses the validity and reliability of the study.

### **4.1. Quantitative Methods**

Quantitative methods accentuate the creation of exact and generalizable statistical findings. Ruben and Babbie (1993:30) regard quantitative methods as most often used to confirm whether a cause offers an outcome. Quantitative methods refer to counts and measures of things. It refers to data that can be analyzed numerically. Qualitative methods give prominence to the understanding that attempts to obtain a deeper interpretation of human experiences and intends to produce theoretically rich findings which cannot easily be reduced to numbers (Ruben and Babbie, 1993: 30).

## **4.2. Variables**

Weiten (1994:7) regards a variable as “an attribute of individuals, or of conditions to which they are exposed, which are not the same for all persons. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:30) have defined a variable as an empirical property that is likely to take two or more values. They differentiate an independent variable from a dependent variable. An independent variables is defined as that factor which is measured, manipulated or selected by the researcher to determine its relationship to an observed phenomenon which constitutes the dependent variable. They define dependent variables as “factors that are observed and measured to determine the effect in it of the independent variable.” In this study, the independent variables are the social factors (i.e. age, sex, ethnicity etc) and the dependent variable is crime- robberies. In other words, the researcher argues that crimes such as robberies are influenced by these social factors.

## **4.3. Research Design**

In order to achieve the research objectives and answer the research questions, the research design chosen was an exploratory one. An exploratory design is employed to explore an unknown field in order to gain new insight into research problems (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995:42).

The fact that little research has been undertaken in the field of crime in Namibia justifies the design chosen. Babbie (1998:36) differentiates between two approaches in social research, the quantitative and the qualitative. This study combined both

quantitative and qualitative approaches. Data collected from survey questionnaires, can be more easily quantified and analyzed than qualitative data and quantitative data enable the researcher with relatively few funds and little time to study large numbers of peoples (LeBeau 1996: 39-40). However, some sociologists especially, interactionists and phenomenologists, are critical of quantitative survey methods.

Their main critique is on the inadequacy of statistical data for generating sociological explanations of human behaviour and on the artificial nature of quantitative data. Criticisms include the fact that usually respondents are allowed to answer only the questions asked, which gives the respondents little opportunity to answer in their own words (Haralambos and Holborn 2000: 1002). Questions are generally close-ended and are designed to draw information that the researcher thinks is important. Therefore, the data can be questionable (LeBeau 1996: 39, Giddens 2000: 546). On the other hand, a qualitative approach has the problem of generalization because only small numbers of people or groups can be studied (Giddens 2000: 546).

Qualitative data also provides richer information about social life than quantitative data thereby giving the researcher a better understanding of the study population (LeBeau 1996: 51-52). It can be said that qualitative research methods are the best way to obtain the insider's knowledge and perspective on a specific topic while quantitative data give a wider view of the population. It can be argued that the reason for combining quantitative and qualitative methods is to capitalize on the strengths of the two approaches, and to compensate for the weakness of each approach. Considering this point of view on the combination of the methods, a combination of

quantitative and qualitative methods were selected for the research upon which this thesis is based. Qualitative methods were chosen to collect detailed ideas in the form of key informants interviews, and quantitative in the form of police docket about armed robbery. Qualitative research provides background information on the context and subjects of the study population.

**4.4. Literature Review:** Available literature regarding crime in especially the southern African region, and the African continent as well as globally was emphasized.

#### **4.5. Population and Sampling**

The study population for the research were members of the Namibian Police Force, members of the Prison Service and members of the judicial system in Windhoek. The purposive or judgmental sampling method was employed. This sampling method is based on the judgment of the researcher regarding the characteristics of a representative sample. This method involves selecting units that are believed to be typical of the study population (Bless and Higson - Smith, 1995: 95).

The people or institutions mentioned herein are referral and serve almost all Namibian communities in the field of the criminal justice system. The research focused upon key informants working in Windhoek for the Namibian Police, the Namibian Prison Service, the Windhoek Magistrate Court and the Katutura Magistrate Court. The key informants were all involved in one way or another in the administration of justice. Twenty (20) people, as well as 243 police dockets, made up the study population.

#### **4.6. Data collection Methods**

As an instrument for capturing data, the researcher prepared an interview schedule consisting of open – ended questions. The content of the literature study formed a valuable background for the drafting of these questions. The interview schedule was prepared in English. Another research instrument prepared was the data collection tool. This was a table that the researcher developed as an aid in the collection of data from police dockets (see Appendix 3).

#### **4.7. The Pilot Study**

A pilot survey involves the testing of the instruments of data collection. The pilot study might identify any difficulties with the method or materials and will investigate the accuracy and appropriateness of the research instruments (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995:50). They argue that unstructured and semi- structured interviews may be used with the pilot study since this will help the researcher in establishing a list of possible answers or solutions in the construction of multiple-choice questions.

Through the pilot study, questions are formulated and this allows the researchers to discover new aspects of the problem by investigating in detail some explanations that are given by the key informants. A pilot study (as indicated earlier) was carried out with a small sample of the researcher's colleagues who are mostly investigators of different types of crimes in the country. This was aimed at checking specifically whether all the key informants could understand the qualitative questions and amendments were subsequently made. The researcher also tried this in order to establish through the pilot study, the average time that was going to be spent to complete an interview schedule. This was useful since the researcher was able to plan the time needed to be spent on each interview.

#### **4.8. The Research Interview**

The interview is based on questions being prepared and executed in a systematic way. The interview is controlled by the researcher to avoid bias and distortion and is related to a specific research question and a specific purpose (Sarankantos 1993:177). The researcher made use of a scheduled interview, which was based on open-ended questions to acquire data from selected key informants. The interviews were conducted at the offices of the informants. As a result, privacy was not guaranteed as telephone calls or another officer visiting a colleague could interrupt interviews. This in a way might have disturbed the answers, which an informant might have given. Field notes were made despite the interviews being recorded. The time-span for the actual data collection took place over a period of seven weeks between April and May months 2002.

#### **4.9. Documentary Method**

The reviewing of existing documents is another method of data gathering. The disadvantages of this method, according to Forrester Jones and Grant (1997: 20-21) is that information might sometimes be missing, contradictory or both. He argues that the process of recording information on most documentaries involves various decisions that may lead to the exclusion or inclusion of valuable information. Therefore documents exclude a large number of information and in that regard fail to present an accurate picture of the extent of what one might be interested in.

Thus, official documents are said to be socially constructed (Morrison, 1995), for example, they are the final product of a complex process of decision making by those involved. Despite all these deficiencies, documentary methods have many advantages. One important advantage is their extensiveness. They tend to cover entire populations rather than small samples and long time periods rather than short ones. The research relied on police files (dockets). Just like any other documents, police case dockets have both advantages and disadvantages. These are outlined and discussed below.

#### **4.10 Description of the Case Docket**

Although police case dockets are comprised of six different parts, this study only considered three, necessary to the study. A police case docket is a hardback file that is designed to register criminal offences. The study considered part two of the police docket which is meant to register the 'first information of the crime'. This part is where the first account of what happened appears in the form of a statement and is

supplied by the complainant. If there are witnesses, their statements of what happened are also kept in this part. The top cover of part two contains information of the station to which the crime was reported, the particulars and details of the alleged offence, the particulars and details of the complainant, including his or her residential address or work address and a section indicating the value of the items stolen.

The third part of the docket, better known as clip B, is where all of the relevant information related to the crime, and which does not form part of the previous parts, is stored. Such documentation as the copies of reports, replies from other police stations regarding the case in the form of letters or investigation diary etc occur here. The last part, known as clip C, is where the investigating officer records all the work that has been done regarding the case.

The reverse of this part has a section on where details of the accused are recorded. It includes his names in full, his sex, ethnicity, educational attainment, and his/her residential address at the time of the crime. It is because of the above features that the case docket was considered relevant to this study. These case dockets were chosen because of their extensiveness and were thought to give a more reliable set of data as all the variables mentioned above were thought to be recorded on the docket. It is from these case dockets that official crime statistics are normally drawn. The case dockets, in the form of official statistics, serve the following purposes:

- They provide some idea of crime levels for different offences and for different categories of crime, in relation to age, gender, ethnicity and social class of the perpetrators.
- These police dockets allow comparisons to be made for both indictable (serious) offences and non-indictable (less serious) offences and comparisons from one year to the next over time. Through the mass media, in particular television and newspapers, these dockets give the public information on the circumstances relating to criminal activities.

These police dockets still assist in determining policy in terms of allocating funds and other human and technological resources to attempt to control criminal activities. Stevens and Cloete (1996: 9), argue that crime statistics are not only of great value to the police, the courts and the prisons, but also to students of criminology and of those doing research on crime.

Stevens and Cloete (1996:10) observed that a high official crime figure is an indication that there is a crime problem and that research should be done in an attempt to understand this problem. They argued that crime statistics not only describe the extent of crime in a particular country, but also indicate fluctuations of crime over time. This makes it possible to go back to any time in the past to ascertain the extent of crime at that particular time. Lastly, they argue that crime statistics make it possible to keep a nation informed about its crime problem. It was essential that the public should be aware of matters such as the extent and geographic distribution of crime because they needed to know how their tax money was spent (Stevens and Cloete,

1996:12). Knowledge of changing rates is also of practical importance to officials interested in evaluating the effectiveness of efforts to prevent or control crime.

The public wants to know whether the taxes they pay for law enforcement are being used wisely. Crime statistics are also used as barometers of quality of life in the community. Crime statistics have value in many instances; they also have deficiencies and shortcomings. However crime statistics are only indications of those cases known to the police. Not all crimes are reported to the police, and courts provide information on those that appear in courts only. They also fail to take into account the relationship between crimes and criminals. Therefore, one criminal may be responsible for more than one crime, and therefore may not provide a true picture of the crime problem.

Stevens and Cloete (1996:14) further posit that some people try to compare crime figures that cannot be compared. What is regarded as a crime in one country may not necessarily be regarded as a crime in another country. Crimes may often be decriminalized in a country, causing difficulties regarding the comparison of annual crime rates, such as the concept 'serious crimes' that has changed over time, meaning that crimes that were once regarded as serious may now no longer even be classified as crimes (Steven and Cloete, 1996:15). Crime statistics are of questionable accuracy in that other crimes are not reported to law enforcement agencies. This is because the victim knows the perpetrator and want to handle the problem informally. People may feel that a crime is not worth reporting because it is unlikely that the police will handle it satisfactorily or solve it. In addition, victims may fear revenge if they report offences to the police. Official crime statistics are also subject to distortion by the actions of the police. Police departments differ in their vigilance and in the degree to

which they are actively concerned with particular categories of crime. Attention to public complaints and police reaction to law violations may vary between police departments and individual officers have considerable discretion in making arrests. This means that if police choose to avoid arresting individuals, the incidence of crime will look lower than it actually is. Alternatively, if police act to arrest people, this may create the appearance of statistical increases in criminal behavior (Steven and Cloete, 1996: 16).

#### **4.11. Operational definitions connected to the case docket**

- Nature of offence in this study means the method used to commit a robbery e.g. gun pointing and knife pointing.
- Types of weapons in this study refers to all sorts of weapons that were assumed to have been used to commit robberies e.g. gun or knife.
- Gun pointing means using a firearm to commit robbery.
- Ethnicity in this study refers to people belonging to one particular group that shares culture such as language and customs e.g. Owambos, Herero, and Afrikaner.
- Age in this study refers to the age of the perpetrators of robberies.
- Unemployment in this study refers to a situation of joblessness. To be able to measure employment as a variable, the researcher ranked it into six parts. The unemployed were represented by unit zero (0), on the docket data collection tool, (a table that a researcher devised to help in recording data from the dockets), the laborers were ranked as 1, temporary laborers as 2, unskilled as 3, while the professionals as 4 and the last category of other jobs were ranked as 5 on the docket data collection tool.
- Education in this study refers to the number of years spent in formal

schooling. Measures for education started from zero for no schooling, to 4 for higher training (see appendix 3).

#### **4.12. Permission for the Study**

The permission to review police docket and interview police personnel was obtained from the Inspector General of the National Police force. The Inspector General is the overall commander of the police. This was verbally granted.

#### **4.13. Ethical Consideration**

Informed consent was also obtained verbally from the respondents before getting their voices tape-recorded. The purpose of the study was explained to respondents before the interview and could withdraw if ever they felt uneasy with the interview. All the respondents were assured of anonymity and confidentiality.

#### **4.14. Data Analysis**

Observations and field notes were transcribed. The qualitative data was subjected to content analysis and was interpreted. Quantitative data was manipulated by using computer software called Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) and was integrated with the qualitative method. This process of using more than one research method in social research is referred to as triangulation of methods.

#### **4.15. Validity and Reliability**

Sarankantos (1993) has described validity as “ the ability to produce findings that are in agreement with theoretical or conceptual values.” In other words, to produce accurate results and to measure what is supposed to be measured. Babbie (1998) refers to reliability as “the likelihood that a given measurement will yield the

description of a given phenomenon if that measurement is repeated.” Validity and reliability therefore, was assured by conducting a literature review, which was helpful to develop the instruments for data collection. Preliminary instruments for data collection were submitted to the supervisors of the researcher and necessary amendments were made. A pilot study was carried out with colleagues to assess the relevance and comprehensiveness of each instrument and the necessary adjustments were made as an aid to enhance validity and reliability.

#### **4.16. Limitations of the Study**

The lack of Namibian studies on robbery is one factor that might have limited this work. It is difficult to establish whether the data collected from police dockets and key informants regarding armed robbery is representative of the population concerned. Thus there is no way of comparing the information obtained through secondary means to that which could be obtained by personally talking to armed robbers themselves. Another drawback of this study is related to the use of police dockets. Although the quality and robustness of the variables as indicated on the dockets are adequate, some data may not be optimal, for example, some of the variables may not be available on the dockets due either to omissions when statements were taken or to unavailable data. These factors could have affected the level of information required. Lastly, some other aspects of criminality might have been inadvertently left out due to time constraints. This research is restricted to Windhoek only, and will not reflect the crime situation in the whole country.

#### **4.17. Problems encountered in the field**

The following were some of the problems encountered during the research period.

- Some of the key informants declined to be interviewed. Others on the other hand were constrained by time because they were too busy.
- The gender of perpetrators could not be found on all the dockets. All of those alleged perpetrators who appeared in the dockets studied were males. In addition, some of the information on the dockets was missing due to omission during the completion of the dockets.
- The information on some dockets was omitted due to the offender lacking knowledge (such as not knowing the last grade of schooling).
- Armed robbery suspects or perpetrators could not be contacted due to the sensitivity of the subject as well as time constraints. There was also little likelihood that police and prison officials would grant permission to interview them.
- There were difficulties in tracing higher rank police officials for the interviews because of seniority and because of their lack of time to attend to the interviews. Some of these officials had to be interviewed in two sessions. At times interviews had to be stopped and rescheduled. This process hindered the concentration of both the researcher and the key informant, thus limiting the scope of answers.
- Some key informants did not trust that the information provided would remain confidential and this resulted in time being wasted. The key informants were also widely spread and the distance between different

offices was great. This limited the time available for the researcher to explain some of the terms of the research. These limitations did not allow the researcher to spend time with key informants to observe and have informal discussions, which might have generated more information on some of the questions.

## Chapter 5: Results

William (1940:21) has said that crime is anything forbidden or punishable by the criminal justice system. “A crime is an act that is capable of being followed by criminal proceedings, having one of the types of outcome i.e. punishment. This chapter explains the relationship between the variables studied in relation to armed robbery in Windhoek. Table 4 depicts correlation matrix involving various variables.

**Table 4: Pearson Correlations of the various variables**

	Nature of offence	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Employment	Education	Residence	Weapon Used
Nature of offence	1.00**							
Age	.015*	1.00**						
Gender	.a	.a	.a					
Ethnicity	.0108	.063	.a	1.00*				
Employment	.125	.070	.a	.044	1.00**			
Education	.087	-.152*	.a	.287**	.118	1.00**		
Residence	.216**	.010	.a	.15*	.101	.062	1.00**	
Weapon Used	.748**	.042	.a	.123	.122	.061	.180*	1.00**

\*  $P \leq 0.05$  or

\*\*  $P \leq 0.01$  level.

a = cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Table 4 was designed to show the strength of relationships among variables influencing crime. As can be clearly seen from Table 4, age is significantly related to commission of crime ( $r = 0.015$ ;  $P \leq 0.05$ ). Gender, on the other hand, does not reveal any significant results. This is because of the fact that the entire sample of those who committed robberies was male in this study. Ethnicity did not show any significant relationship to nature of offence. Both the variables of employment and education do not show significant relationships to nature of offence. However, the variable of residence shows a very strong relationship to the nature of offence. This relationship is significant at  $P \leq 0.01$  ( $r = 0.216$ ).

Table5 shows the types of weapons used in various offences. Initially the study population was 243 but only 239 cases were valid on offence and weapon used. It is important to indicate that four cases were missing due to omission during the completion of the case.

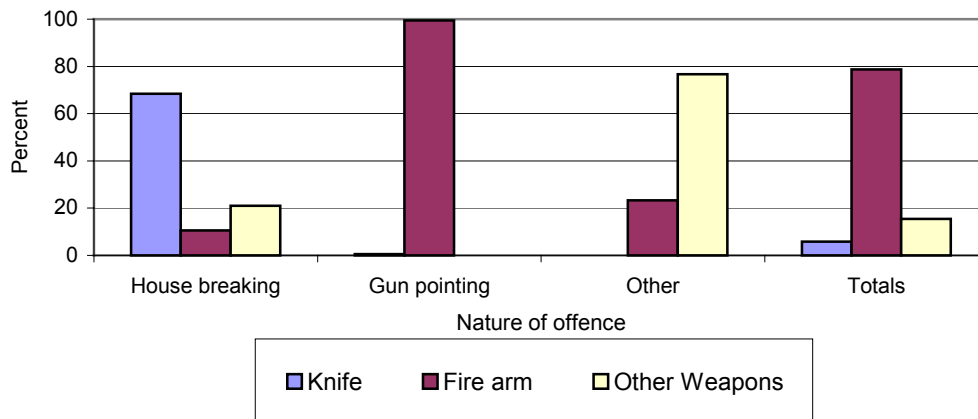
Table 5: Relationship between Nature of Offence and Weapon Used

Offence	Weapon used			
	Knife	Fire arm	Other Weapons	Total
House breaking	13 (65%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	19 (8%)
Gun pointing	1(1%)	176(99%)	-	177 (74%)
Other	-	10 (23%)	33(77%)	43 (18%)
<b>Totals</b>	14 (6%)	188 (78%)	37(15%)	239 (100%)

The numbers in brackets represents percentages

Overall, 6% of armed robberies involved the use of a knife, 78% of armed robberies involved the use of a firearm, while 15% involved the use of other weapons.

Figure 4: Percentage distribution of nature of offences by weapon used



One can deduce from this that although robbers use other weapons including knives, firearms were mostly used, especially in major robberies. Figure 4 shows that 80% of the total offences of robberies were committed with a firearm. The reason could be that firearms are more convenient and easily accessible because of the war of liberation that had been fought in Namibia and her neighboring countries. For example, for the price of a 25-kilogram of maize meal, one could own a rifle. This information was obtained from key informants during interviews. One key informant noted “with only a bag of maize meal you may own your own rifle from Unita soldiers coming to Namibia looking for food.” The people who guard banks and other business places are always armed with firearms and robbers would find it hard to approach such places without the use of firearms. From the above data, it is clear that most of the robberies committed in Windhoek involve the use of a firearm. However, it is important to state that firearms are mostly used in instances where security seemed tight and when the use of a knife would not make robbers succeed. On the other hand, a knife was mostly used especially in instances where security did not seem tight and where robbers were not likely to face any difficulties. This is

demonstrated by the instances of robbery in the housebreaking categories where a knife has a high representation.

### 5.1. Ethnicity and Type of Offence

The ethnic difference in criminal behavior has been somewhat politicized in recent times, especially considering the historical background of discrimination based on ethnicity that many.

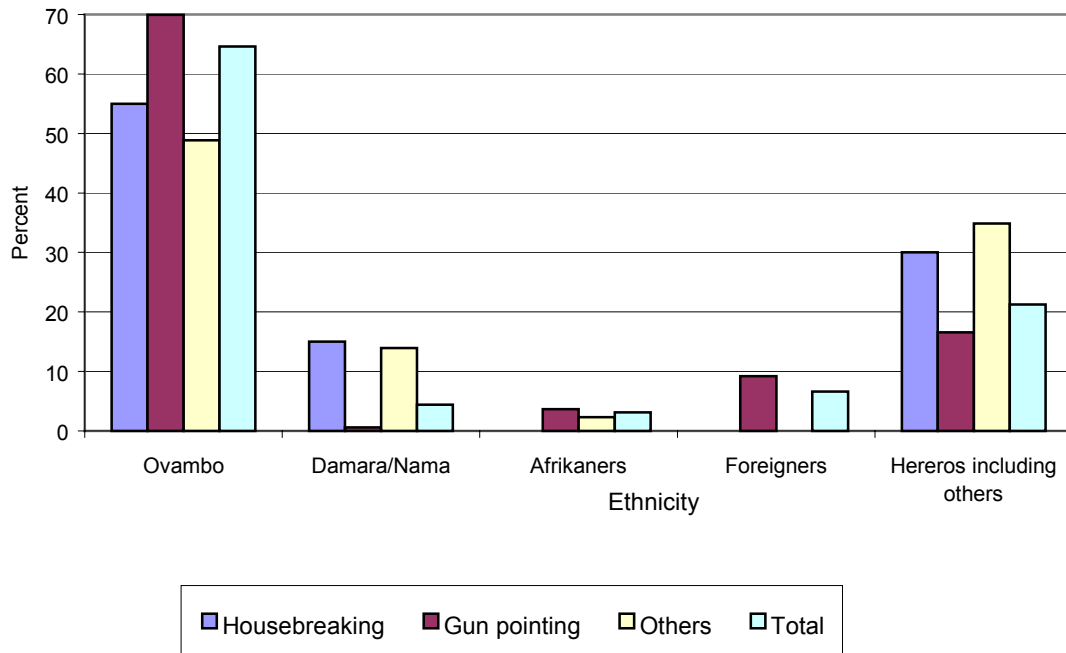
Table. 6. Relationship between Ethnicity and Type of Offence

Offence	Ethnicity					Totals
	Ovambo	Damara/ Namas	Afrikaners	Foreigners	Hereros including others	
Housebreaking	11 (55%)	3 (15%)	-	-	6 (30%)	20 (9%)
Gun pointing	114(65%)	1 (5%)	6 (3.4%)	15 (9%)	27 (15%)	163 (72%)
Others	21(49%)	6 (14%)	1 (2.3%)	-	15 (35%)	43 (19%)
<b>Totals</b>	146(61%)	10 (4%)	7 (3%)	15 (6%)	48 (20%)	226 (100%)

countries have undergone (Stevens and Cloete, 1996:11). Members of some disadvantaged groups in many countries are disproportionately likely to be arrested, convicted and imprisoned for violent, property and drug crimes (Tonry, 1997:2914). Sociological evidence on the relationship between ethnicity and crime are, to an extent, conflicting. For example, in one country, minority groups can have a high representation in that country crime records while in another country the majority of a certain ethnic group may be over represented. In an attempt to explain the

relationship between crime and ethnicity, the following table has been used.

Figure5: Percentage distribution of nature of offences by ethnicity



➤ **Ethnicity and Housebreaking**

Although there has been much conceptual confusions in sociology with respect to the distinctiveness of such terms as ethnicity and race, ethnicity for the purpose of this study will refer to people who share the same culture, such as language, customs etc. This part of the study relates ethnicity and housebreaking offences. Housebreaking is defined as the unlawful and intentional shifting or displacing of any obstruction by which access to a building or premises suitable for human habitation or storage of goods is obtained with actual entering or intruding into that building or premises with intention to commit a crime. Table 6 above indicates that 11 (55%) robbers studied in relation to ethnicity and housebreaking were Oshiwambo speaking. Three (15%) were

Damara>Nama speaking while 6 (30%) were Herero, including other ethnic groups. From the information above, one can conclude that more Oshiwambo-speaking robbers committed housebreaking related robberies than any other ethnic groups. However, it must be pointed out that in the Namibian population Owambos constitute more than 50% of the population. We believe that the Pearson correlation involving this variable is not significant for this reason.

➤ **Ethnicity and gun pointing**

Gun pointing in this study referred to when a robber used a gun on the victim with intent to threaten him or her to submit to a demand from that robber. A gun in this study is referred to as any type of weapon that fires bullets or shells from a small metal tube- Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby, 1995). Firearms and gun in this study are interchangeably used and will refer to the same thing. Table 6 shows that 114 robbers representing 65% who committed robbery used a firearm and were from the Oshiwambo- speaking group. The Herero-speaking group (including other ethnic groups) were second with 27 cases of robberies, representing 15%, all being committed with the use of a firearm. The foreigners, Afrikaners, and Damara>Nama come last in the use of a firearm to commit robbery with 15 cases representing (9%), 6 cases (3.4%) and 1 case (5%) respectively.

➤ **Ethnicity and other offences**

Other offences in this study refer to offences other than the abovementioned. These include robberies, in which other unmotivated offences were committed. From Table 6, one can clearly observe that the Oshiwambo-speaking robbers (49%), dominate this type of offence category. The Hereros (including other ethnic groups) totaled 35% while the Damara>Nama were 14% and Afrikaners at 2.3% came last respectively. Table 6, also indicates that Owambos were involved in over 65% of all offences being committed. This again may be due to the fact that they are the overwhelming majority in the population. It is also interesting to note that the majority of key informants felt that, crime had nothing to do with one's ethnic background, but people with criminal minds are distributed more or less evenly across all ethnic groups and that committing armed robbery depends on circumstances. Opportunities to commit a crime as well as economic factors were of prime importance in determining a person's criminal life. For example, a chief inspector said, "Race is not really a factor in crime committing, perhaps one should say that certain racial groups have been deprived of certain means economically or social upliftment and as a result such people are forced by economic and social hardship in committing crimes."

Another chief inspector explained, "Crime commission does not confine to certain attributes such as a race." However, it was argued by many key informants that most those people who commit robbery were blacks who were previously disadvantaged. It was argued by other key informants that people of a particular race were more likely

to be involved in criminal activities and more likely to be in prison, because speaking the same language made it easier for these people to plan a crime.

### 5.1.2. Age and Type of Offence

Teenagers and young adults have sustained higher crime rates than any other age groups for as long as studies have been conducted in Namibia (NISER, 1991:25). Young people lack opportunities to achieve financial success and this encourages them to turn to crime (Cashmore, 1979: 22). Cashmore (1979) argued that young people are drawn into criminality when faced with a situation where their aspirations for consumer goods are not matched by the reality of their economic situation.

Table. 7. Relationship between Age and Type of Offence

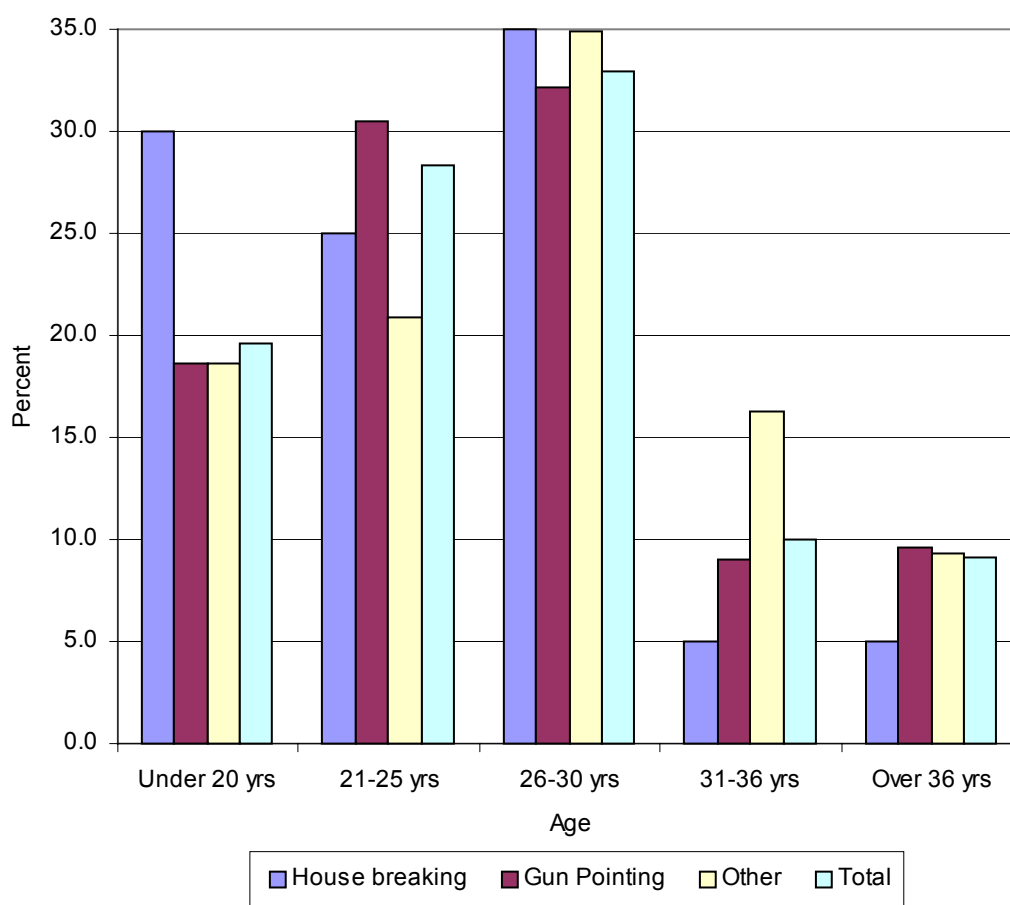
Offence	Age					Totals
	Younger than 20 yrs	21-25 yrs	26-30 yrs	31-36 yrs	37 and above	
House breaking	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	7 (35%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	20 (8%)
Gun Pointing	33 (19%)	54 (31%)	57 (32%)	16 (9%)	17 (10%)	177 (74)
Other	8 (19%)	9 (21%)	15 (35%)	7 (16%)	4 (9%)	43 (18%)
<b>Totals</b>	47 (20%)	68 (28%)	79 (33%)	24 (10%)	22 (9%)	240 (100%)

*Note: Out of 243 cases studies only 240 were valid on age and crime and 3 cases were missing*

➤ **Age and Housebreaking**

The above table indicates that 20 housebreaking cases were studied, 6 cases (30%) of the housebreaking related robberies were committed by people younger than 20 years of age, 5 cases (25%) were committed by those between 21-25 years of age while 7 cases (35%) of housebreaking were committed by those in the age of 26-30 years respectively. The remaining 2 (10%) cases, 1(5%) in each age group, were committed by those between 31-36 years of age and 37 and above years of age respectively. It can be submitted that housebreaking relates to age. This means that the younger the offenders were, the more they committed housebreaking related robberies. However, this trend declined as they became older.

Figure. 6. Percentage distribution of offences by age group



➤ **Age and gun pointing**

It can be observed that 177 cases of gun pointing related robberies were studied. Of these 33 (19%), were committed by people in the age group younger than 20 years, 54 (31%) of the cases were committed by people of between 21-25 years of age. 57 (32%) of the cases were committed by people in the age group of 26-30 years while 16 (9%), and 17 (10%) were committed by people in the age group categories of 31-36 years and 37 and above years respectively.

It can be submitted that although the use of a firearm is evenly distributed in all age group categories, there is a dominant tendency by those in the age group category of 21-25 years (31%) and 26-30 years (32%) respectively. The argument for such tendency could be perhaps the technicality and courage that one will require to be able to use or handle a firearm. The two given age groups can be regarded as mature enough to handle such weapons. Key informants indicated that age is a factor in crime commission, especially violent crimes. One commissioner said, "Peer group may influence another person to commit a crime so that individuals can be in the same position as their friends." In other words according to the commissioner, one robber will not like to be in prison alone and therefore would try by all means to get the friend involved.

This, the commissioner concluded, is important because when both of them are in prison, they can still cooperate and plan on what will be the next step they will take while still in prison or in prison. This can be related to the argument by Stevens and Cloete (1996: 23) who maintained that a person might not exist in isolation but needed the presence of social others. These social others might exert strong influence on the behaviors of the person.

It was stated by many of the informants that age plays a crucial role in armed robbery in Windhoek. Those involved are young men between 18 and 25 years old. This age group, according to informants, is where you find a high rate of unemployment and this forces them to commit robbery in order to better themselves.

Another deputy commissioner said, “Young people and energetic school leavers were more involved in committing robbery in Windhoek as compared to elderly people. The reason is that, they are more active and they have high hopes for luxurious life and they want to be seen different from others as compared to our elderly group.” It was also interesting to note that, a few of the informants indicated that poverty may not really be a factor influencing people to commit crimes. They cited greediness as a major factor because people want more than what they have and will use any means to obtain it. O’Hara (1976: 422-423) stated that suspect of robberies are twofold, i.e. the professionals and the amateurs. He classified the amateurs as usually motivated by greed, looking for excitement, or simply wish to test their nerves. The professionals liked to operate in small groups, were competent and usually dangerous. The concentration of offenders according to Table 8 is in these age group categories.

### **5.1.3. Unemployment and Type of Offence**

Unemployment has been steadily rising over the past few years and it has been estimated that the father in perhaps one in six families is without a job at some stage (NISER, 1991:311).

Table. 8. Relationship between Unemployment and Type of Offence

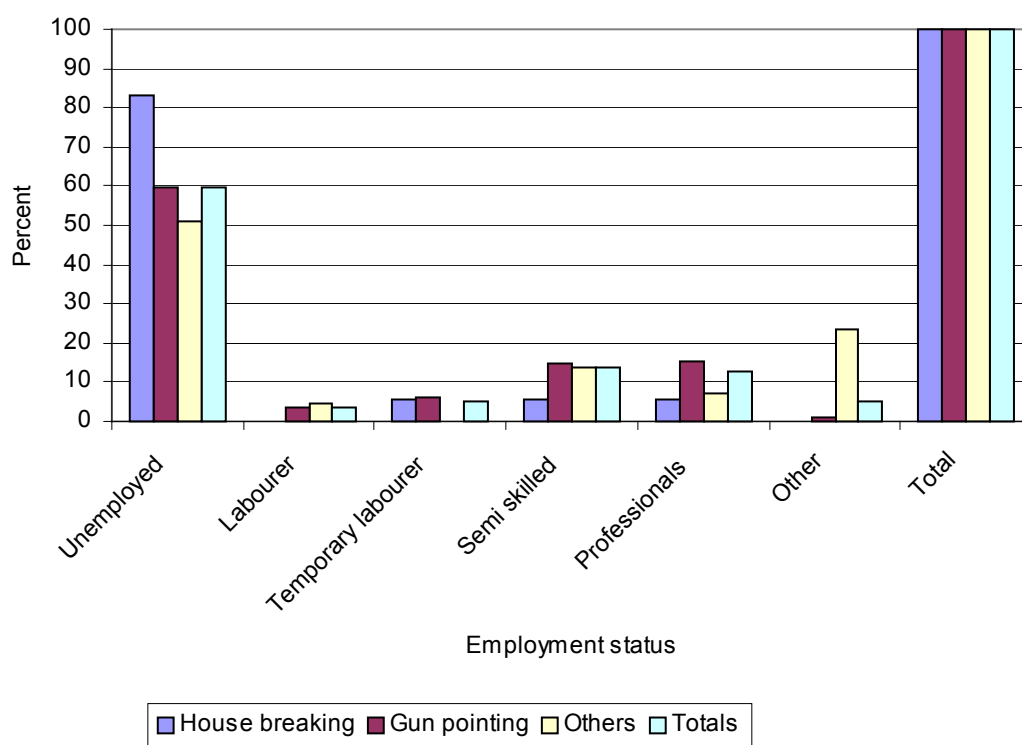
<b>Offence</b>	<b>Unemployment</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>Temporary laborer</b>	<b>Semi-skilled</b>	<b>Professionals</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
House breaking	15 (83%)	-	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	-	18 (8%)
Gun pointing	106 (60%)	6 (3%)	11 (6%)	26 (15%)	27 (15%)	2 (1%)	176 (74%)
Others	22 (51%)	2 (5%)	-	6 (14%)	3 (7%)	10 (23%)	43 (18%)
<b>Totals</b>	143 (60%)	8 (3%)	12 (5%)	33 (14%)	31 (13%)	12 (5%)	237 (100%)

This increase in the rate of unemployment in Windhoek especially, has been due to the declining productivity in rural areas and the high influx of people from rural to urban areas (NISER, 1991: 14). Unemployment disrupts lives of both individuals and families. In order to explain the relationship between employment and crime in Windhoek, the following table is used. The above scenario is also true if one looks at the current figure of unemployment, which is said to be at nearly 30% in the country according to the 2001 National Population and Housing Census. If translated, the 30% unemployed means that of the 132,055 total labor force of Windhoek, only 93,223 are employed. The total numbers of 38,832 people in Windhoek were unemployed during the time of the writing (NPHC, 2001).

➤ **Employment and Housebreaking**

Table 8 shows the relationship between employment and housebreaking related offences. Eighteen (18) cases on employment were recorded in relation to housebreaking. 15 (83%) of those who committed robbery related to housebreaking were unemployed, while the remaining three 3 (6%) in each employment category were employed as a temporary laborer, semi skilled laborer or a professional. It is clear from Table 9 that the majority of those who committed robbery through housebreaking were unemployed (83%).

Figure 7: Percentage distribution of offences by employment status



➤ **Employment and gun pointing**

Table 9 reveals that 176 cases of gun pointing related robberies were recorded. Of these, 106 (60%) were unemployed. Of 6 cases (3%) were laborers, 11 cases (6%) were temporary laborers while 26 cases (15%) and 27 cases representing (15%) were either semi skilled or professionals. The remaining 2 (1%) were from other job categories. Other offences related robberies registered 22 (51%) in the unemployed job categories, 2 (5%) in the laborer job category, 6 (14%) in the semi skilled job category while the professional and other job categories recorded 3 (7%) and 10 (23%) respectively. From the analysis of the above information, it is clear that

unemployment dominated all offence categories studied. This means that although all people from different employment categories may commit robbery, the situation is mostly serious among those who are unemployed. Key informants interviewed on whether or not employment was a factor influencing crime indicated the following. The prison deputy commissioner said, “Employment is really a factor in crime commission as people are frustrated when they are without jobs and they seek and cannot find one, they commit crimes such as robberies.”

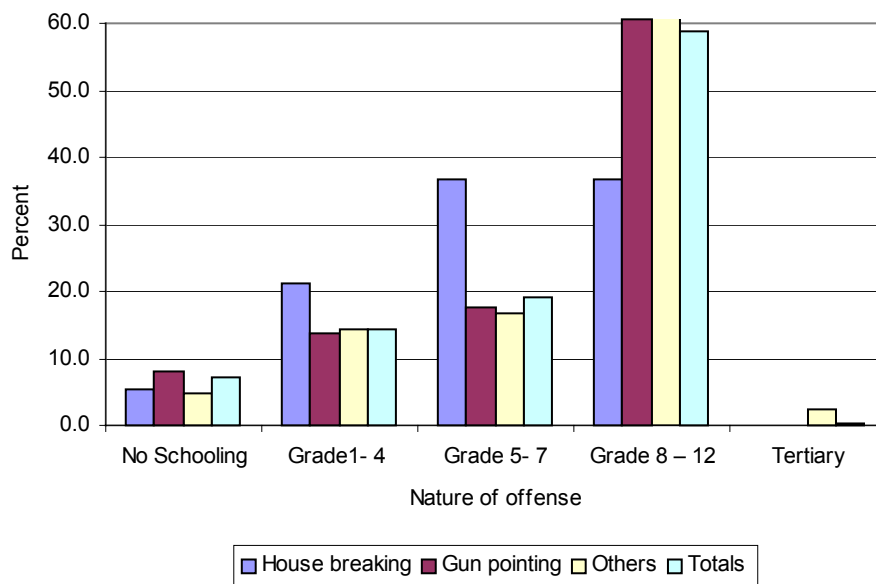
Another informant noted that people had come in high number to Windhoek in search of jobs and when this fails, they resort to any means even if such means are against the law. “People come to Windhoek in order to look for jobs but if they fail to get one, they engage in crime”. The above is evident if one looks at Figure 7 above, which shows 60% of the overall offences, being committed by the unemployed.

Table. 9. Relationship between Education and Type of Offence

<b>Offence</b>	<b>No Schooling</b>	<b>Grade1- 4 (junior primary)</b>	<b>Grade 5- 7(senior primary)</b>	<b>Grade 8 – 12(secondary)</b>	<b>Higher (post secondary)</b>	<b>Total</b>
House breaking	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	-	19 (8%)
Gun pointing	14 (8%)	24 (14%)	31(18%)	103 + 3 (61%)	-	175 (74%)
Others	2 (5%)	6 (14%)	7 (17%)	26 (62%)	1 (3%)	42 (18%)
<b>Totals</b>	17 (7%)	34 (14%)	45 (19%)	139 (59%)	1 (0.42%)	237 (100%)

*Note:* Out of 243 cases studied only 237 were valid and the other 6 were missing.

Figure 8: Percentage distribution of offenses by level of education



➤ **Education and Housebreaking**

In Namibia, education is measured according to grades. Grade 1 to Grade 4 being junior primary, Grade 5 to 7 being the senior primary and Grade 8 to 12 being the secondary while post-secondary refers to higher learning institutions. In this study, higher refers to colleges, universities or any other institutions of higher learning. Table 10 shows that 20 cases of education in relation to robbery were recorded. One (5%) who committed robbery had no schooling at all, 4 (20%) had schooling from Grades 1-4 while 7 (35%) of the robberies committed through housebreaking had schooling from Grades 8-12.

This can be interpreted that housebreaking offences increased with standard of education. One may argue that although a robber may not necessarily need to have a certain educational level as cited by some key informants, education played an

advantageous role to those who had it. It can be put that the more education one has, the better such a person becomes in terms of handling crime situations even though this would depend on the type of crime to be committed.

➤ **Education and gun pointing**

There were 175 cases studied in relation to education and gun pointing (Table 10). Of these, 14 (8%), who used a gun to commit a robbery, had no education, 24 (14%) had completed Grades 1-4, 31 (18%) had completed Grades 5-7 while 106 (60%) of them had completed high school (Grades 8-12). It can thus be maintained that although gun pointing is distributed across people of all educational categories, those with education between Grades 8-12 were more involved.

This is a mature age group in terms of knowledge on how to handle any sophisticated weapons. Another factor could be that this educational category is where you will find people who qualify to own or possess a firearm. For example, Chapter one, number 3 (1) of the Arms and Ammunitions Act, 1996, provides that on application in the prescribed manner and payment of the prescribed application fee by any person other than a person younger than 18 years or disqualified person, a license to possess the firearm will be issued to such person. In other words, any person from 18 years and above who is the age group more likely to have completed schooling may on application be allowed to own a firearm (Arms and Ammunitions Act, 1996). Other offences related to robberies were also dominated by the same educational category (i.e. 62%) for Grade 8-12.

The other grades in this offence category were grade 5-7 (17%), Grades 1-4 (14%), no schooling Grades (5%). Key informants say that education is not a factor in committing armed robbery. One public prosecutor noted, "It appear that most of them are secondary school leavers who appear very clever in defending themselves in courts." This, according to the prosecutor was evident in the way robbers answered questions put to them in court. "Many of them become difficult when asked what motivated them to commit robbery" (the prosecutor said). Another prosecutor said, "They are mostly having secondary education but use those with lower educational level to do gun pointing." "This is because if they are caught committing robbery, the better educated ones can help in terms of advising them how to respond to questions in court" (the prosecutor said). Another key informant noted that education was real a factor when planning how and where a robbery was going to be carried out.

The inspector general of the police said," You do not need to have a certain education to commit a crime, but, robbery requires some form of planning and thus education was important to be able to plan and influence others to defend themselves when caught."

#### **5.1.4. Residential Area and Type of Offence**

Members of the lower class in any society have fewer resources and less influence than other members of society. It is generally believed that those involved in committing crime are often residents of the poor neighborhoods (Bonger, 1976: 165).

In an attempt to understand the relationship between crime and residential area, the following table is presented.

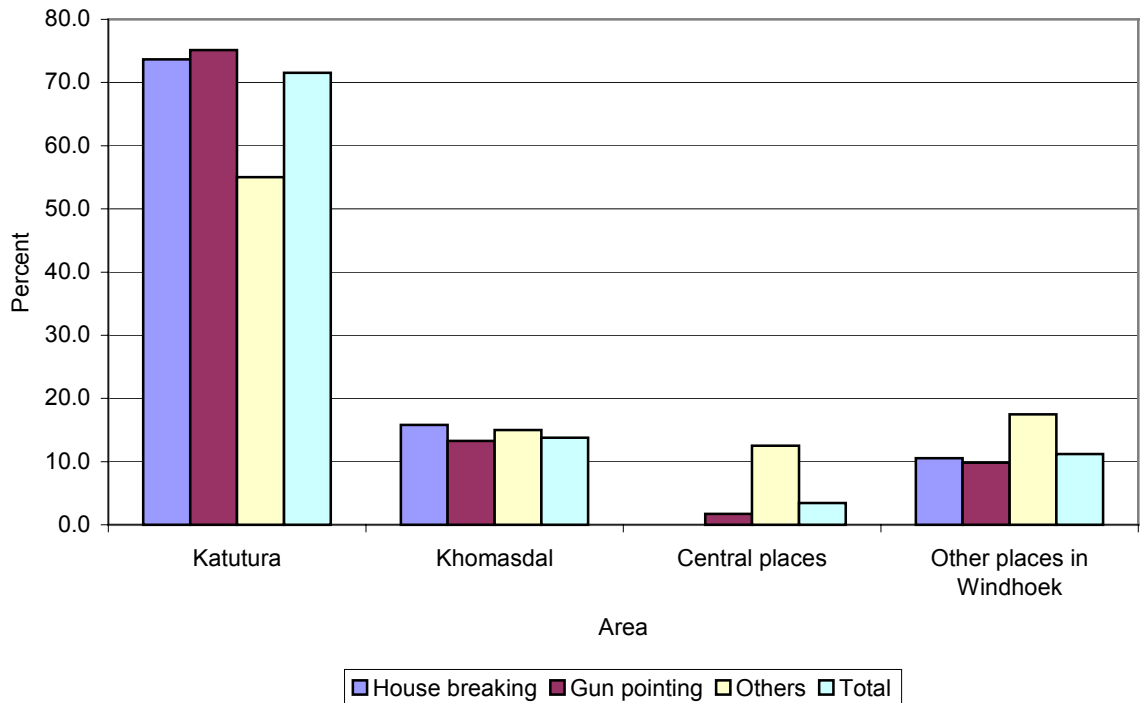
Table. 10. Relationship between Residence and Type of Offence

Offence	Katutura	Khomasdal	Central	Other places in Windhoek	Total
House breaking	14 (74%)	3 (16%)	-	2(11%)	19 (8%)
Gun pointing	128 +2(75%)	22 + 1(13%)	3(2%)	17(10%)	173 (75%)
Others	22 (55%)	6 (15%)	5(13%)	7(18)%	40 (17%)
<b>Totals</b>	166 (72%)	32 (14%)	8(3%)	26(11%)	232 (100%)

➤ **Residence and Housebreaking**

Table 11 above shows 19 cases of robbery through housebreaking. Of these, 14 (74%) who committed robbery related to housebreaking resided in Katutura. This is followed by 3 (16%) who resided in Khomasdal while 2 (11%) of the robbers resided in other places in Windhoek. Although housebreakers resided anywhere in places around Windhoek, the majority of them resided in Katutura (74%). One can link this unequal distribution to the socio-economic situation of Katutura compared to other places in Windhoek. This should however not be interpreted as Katutura not having well off people, but mean that the majority of Katutura residents live in torments of poverty.

Figure 9: Percentage distribution of offences by area



➤ **Residence and gun pointing**

It is also observed from the same table that 176 cases of robberies in relation to place of residence were committed using firearms. Of these, 130 (75%) of robbers using a firearm resided in Katutura, 23 (13%), resided in Khomasdal, while 3 (2%) and 17 (10%) of them resided in either Central or other places around Windhoek. One can argue that the high representation of Katutura as having more gun pointers is attributed perhaps to the high population number here which is due to rural urban migration. This could also be attributed to poor gun control as social control in such area might not be adequate enough to cover the whole area.

Key informants contacted said that one's residential area could influence one towards committing armed robbery. It was reported that most offenders resided in informal settlements of Windhoek where it is difficult for police to trace them. One sergeant said, "Most armed robbery offenders stay in informal places of Katutura where they can be hardly found when sought." Another deputy inspector general said, "They are staying in Katutura but this is not to say they have only one house. Some of them may have bigger places in affluent places of Windhoek. "However, few of the key informants said that residential area is not a factor influencing one to commit armed robbery. One of the key informants said that, "One does not need to be staying in a particular place to be a criminal but crime commission will depend on many factors such as unemployment and poverty."

#### **5.1.5. Alcohol and Drug Abuse and Crime**

Key informants speculated that offenders of armed robbery in Windhoek could use illegal substances such as drugs in order to be brave enough to commit crimes. "Some of the crimes committed were difficult and therefore required some form of bravery". However, some of the informants did not agree with this position. They indicated that illegal substances played a lesser role in a crime being committed, as a crime such as robbery required some form of planning. "Potential criminals need to be focused and concentrated to be able to execute it." (The chief inspector). The chief inspector further stated that, "Alcohol and drug abuse was a factor but to a lesser extent as robbery requires some great deal of planning and concentration." "Factors such as greediness, the economic situation of an offender, and even an opportunity to commit a crime are significant in crime commission."

This is also evident and is in line with the argument from the Human Development Report of 1999 that, while there is a positive relationship between alcohol and crime, this relationship should be accepted cautiously. A direct causal relationship has not been established. Many criminals are not alcoholics, and the majority of alcoholics have never committed a serious crime. The relationship between alcohol and crime may be confounded with socio demographic and socio economic factors. This means that young males who were unemployed and poor were more likely to abuse alcohol and more likely to be arrested for a crime (Human Development Report, 1999: 44).

#### **5.1.6. Gender and crime**

Of the informants asked whether or not gender was a factor in determining one's criminal life, the majority felt gender was not really a factor, although crimes such as armed robbery, involved more men than women due to the nature of the crime itself. "The majority of those committing robbery are men, and this is due to the fact that men are physically strong and have ambition of becoming rich"(the chief inspector said). However, women were or could be involved at the planning stage where information gathering regarding the place to be targeted and even the time to rob was decided.

A constable said that, "Gender is not really a factor, but you will find that in most of the cases of armed robbery, men seem to be engineers of such crimes because they are interested in bettering themselves, yet on other occasions women are involved directly or indirectly." Another prosecutor said, "Women are used for information gathering, so that the real criminals get loopholes and go easy with such activities." While another key informant said, "The majority of those committing robbery were men,

this is due to the factor that they are physically strong and have ambitions of becoming rich.” However, a few of these informants argued that, the large number of male involved affected how children would be brought up because children are socialized differently and this shapes their behavior as they progress in life. From all the dockets studied, there were no women who were involved in committing armed robbery. This is also evident when looking at the number of robbery cases reported in the whole country (Tables 1, 2 and 3).

This is also in line with the argument presented in the literature review by Grasmick (1990:6) that men were more likely to engage in criminal behavior than women. Grasmick (1990) like the key informants, further state that women would consider the combination of perceived threats of shame and embarrassment with the perceived threats of legal sanctions in a more inclusive array of cost such as being sent to jail or paying penalties before choosing to engage in crime.

Hagan et.al, (1985), using control theory, asserted that mothers are more likely than fathers to be instruments of control, and daughters, more than sons, are expected to be the objects of that control. This instrument-object relationship is predicted to be more pronounced in more, compared with less patriarchal families. In more patriarchal families, daughters are socialized into roles that are more feminine and boys are socialized to take risks. The gender difference in delinquency is the result of this more intense control of daughters, as sons are encouraged to take risks but daughters are discouraged from doing so. Thus, gender differences in social control experiences, and subsequent differences in risk preferences and perceptions, lead to greater

involvement in delinquency among sons compared with daughters (Hagan et.al., 1985). This means that armed robbery in the area under study was committed by men rather than women.

#### **5.1.7. Migrants and Foreigners and Crime**

The question of migrants and foreigners was asked in order to know whether their presence in Windhoek contributed to the increase in crimes such as armed robbery. When asked whether or not migrants (people from other towns or villages) and foreigners (people coming from other countries) contributed to crime in Windhoek, most of the key informants indicated that migrants posed a threat for Windhoek, not only in terms of increased crime, but also in creating economic and social problems in the city.

The chief inspector said, “Windhoek’s population has increased drastically because of the migration process.” The chief inspector further stated that people come in anticipation of a better life, which involves finding a job, but once life gets tough, they are forced into criminal activities. Another key informant noted, “Migrants have had an impact on the rate of crime in the sense that jobless migrants turn to crime as a means of survival.” “The trend of migration has been on the increase ever since independence, people have been drawn to the city with high hopes of finding employment, when chances of getting jobs narrow, these people might be tempted to commit a crime so as to survive,” (Inspector General). Some of the key informants cited independence as part of the problem of crime because independence has created a situation where everyone is free to move and settle anywhere.

One social worker elaborated, “ With independence, many people have decided to live in cities due to impoverished living conditions in rural areas and this has resulted in many social problems, some of which are unemployment, squatting and of course crime.” A warrant officer added, “Independent Namibian towns have seen a great increase in population due to migration.” According to many key informants, people have come to Windhoek in search of better economic opportunities, but with few chances of meeting those expectations.

Once they fail, those people turn to other ways of making a living and some of these ways such as armed robbery have not been approved by society. In addition to the above, key informants indicated that migrants also added pressure on local municipalities that provide services such as electricity, sanitation and water. As the population has increased, providing such services has not been an easy task. Likewise, foreigners have also contributed to the increase in crime rate according to many informants. People from other countries may come as on the pretext of being good citizens. “Foreigners (especially criminals) have had impact on Windhoek with regards to the increase in our crime statistics, this has been observed in the mode of operation as it tends to differ in some ways to that of local criminals, at most times foreign criminals have collaborated with local criminals since they are the ones who know the place” (said the inspector). However, due to the situation in the host country, these people might be tempted to rob in order to make a living. A number of the informants argued that foreigners were not that involved in local crimes. “Those that are involved in criminal activities do so by collaborating with local criminals.” “Namibians are familiar with the situation in terms of police operation, places to target and even who should be targeted” (said an inspector). According to other key

informants teaming up works because if utilized modes of operation work successfully in one country, they can also be used in the country to which foreigners move.

This mode is imported by these foreigners and as such may work even better in Namibia where the mode is new. The inspector general said, "Foreign nationals have contributed to the rate of crime in the city and these are mostly from neighboring countries such as South Africa, Angola, and even from as far as the central and west African countries like Democratic Republic of the Congo and Nigeria." "The perpetrators of these criminal activities may come as refugees due to wars and other social problems taking place in their countries, hence, they come and team up with local criminals resulting in what is called "organized gangs."

"These criminals target business firms and individuals and the proceeds of their theft are being sold either locally or outside the country where it is difficult to trace stolen items" (a sergeant said). One informant noted that in recent cases of robbery, organized criminals have been involved in car hijacking and drug trafficking through what he referred to as "cross-border criminal activities". Through these activities, certain types of items are stolen from one country and are sold in another country. The above can be said to be true considering the inflow of migrants, which the city of Windhoek estimates to be at 4% (Windhoek Resident survey, 1995). With regard to foreigners, it can be argued that they too had an influence on the crime statistics of Windhoek considering the number of inmates held by the Namibian prison institutions (see Figures 2 and 3) regarding the composition of non-Namibians in custody). This can also be seen in the case studies of robbery cases that took place at Brakwater and

the Karibib area. In both cases foreigners, especially South Africans were mostly involved.

#### **5.1.8. Increases and Decreases of robberies**

This section deals with whether robberies have increased or decreased over the period under study. The section also examines the financial implications of robberies and gives an overview of changes in laws of the country and how these changes influence the crime situation in the country. Key informants thoughts on what both government and private sector could do in combating robberies in Windhoek are also reported. It should be stated here that this section does not rely on empirical argument but centers only on what key informants felt about the crime situation in Windhoek.

Informants were asked whether they had perceived an increase in robbery activities over the past four years. The Chief Inspector had the following to say, “ It is difficult to ascertain an increase or decrease in robberies, as we cannot entirely rely on statistics. This is because robbers of Windhoek have a trend of operating differently. The time police think that robbery activities are under control, robbers shift from one mode of crime operation to another.” (Chief inspector).

“Yes, robberies have increased over the past four years because of the regular attendance of robbers in court. It does not take you long from attending to one robbery case before attending to the one, this is an indication that it is on the increase” (said a prosecutor). “It seems robbery is on the increase due to the number of incidences being attended to, and even from the number of cases in our statistics” (a

warrant officer stated). One social worker said, “ It is difficult for me to say whether it has increased or not, because I do not investigate cases, but from what it seems, from television shows it has increased.” Another constable stated that, “Robbery has increased because everyone wants to get richer quickly and robbery involves a large amount of money in most cases.”

However, other informants said that it appears that armed robbery cases have been on an increase, especially against the business communities. An example cited by a few informants involved Chinese business people who are said to be easy targets of armed robbers in that they have a tendency not to use local banking facilities. They instead prefer keeping their money at home and are thus easily robbed. “ Armed robbery has been on an increase especially to Chinese business men, because they like to keep money in either the roofs of their business premises or in their homes and robbers will easily discover this by forcing them to show them where they keep their money”, (a warrant officer said). On the other hand, some informants felt that the crime situation in Windhoek had not escalated and that crime rates are low compared to other cities.

The commissioner said, “The crime situation of Windhoek has seen a great variation over the past two years, and although it was picking up in early 1999 and 2000, it seems to have decreased due to major operations conducted by the police.” These, the commissioner said, included encouraging employers to ensure that their employees are persons of good conduct, by obtaining certificates of conduct from the police prior to their employment, use of informers to penetrate syndicates (criminals who operate in groups) as well as ensuring publication of techniques for prevention of robbery in

an effort to prevent loss of property, injuries and death to the victims of robberies. While the above was what key informants felt was the crime situation in Windhoek, the 1999 robbery figures, according to the police report showed 239 cases, which rose to 257 in the year 2000 (Nampol Report, 08, 2001:4) From the above figure one can speculate that crimes such as armed robberies might have been on an increase for the period under study.

#### **5.1.9. Financial Implications of Armed Robberies**

With regard to what financial implications armed robbery poses for Windhoek and Namibia as a whole, most of the informants felt armed robbery was a great strain financially on the city. The prosecutor stated, “Armed robbery has a tremendous financial impact on the victim himself or herself first and the economy of a country later.” Insurance companies, for example, according to the Prosecutor, tend to raise their premiums where certain types of luxury items such as cars are stolen. “Such a state of affair will have a negative impact on the victim in paying such premiums,” (he said).

Investors also do not invest in a country or town where they feel their business may be at risk of armed robbery, and this may lead to a decline in the economy of the country. Consequently, this may lead to a fall in people’s standard of living. Employment cannot be created if companies that should have invested in the country and in job creation are threatened by the incidents of crime in a particular city. “Socially speaking, armed robbery has caused insecurity and instability,” (said a social worker). The social worker continued by saying that people were no longer free to interact

because they were afraid, as they did not know who might be a criminal and who might not. The inspector also explained, " Robbery has had a negative impact on Windhoek especially the police force in terms of resources because the lesser resources allocated to the police for example must be directed to street patrol in an effort to curb crime than to training of members in other fields of law enforcement."

#### **5.1.10. Changes in laws**

Informants were asked whether there were some changes in the country's mechanisms of control and how these have affected the crime situation. Most of the informants felt that there were changes made to some of our legal clauses and these were made to suit the interests of local people. "Changes in laws were made to suit or have positive influence on the lives of locals in that they were the ones who were affected by previous laws. For example, people in the past were not allowed to be in other places or enter into business places due to the color of their skin, however, this was changed and everyone can visit or go to any place of his her choice," (said a warrant officer).

These changes, as stated by one informant, have promoted human rights. These rights are a fundamental part of Namibia's laws (Constitution). For example, The warrant officer referred to Article 12(1)(d) of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia which states that all persons charged with an offence shall be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law, after having had the opportunity of calling witnesses and cross examining those called against them. This makes criminals feel their rights are protected by the above clause and as such take advantage of the situation and commit certain criminal activities. "The time before independence was characterized by stiffer laws and with independence changes were made to our laws to

accommodate the Namibian situation, however this can not be attributed to the crime situation of our country, “(said an inspector).

However, it must be stated that these were the views of law enforcement officers who were interviewed. It could be argued that they felt this because the human rights stipulations somewhat impeded their work and people could have felt differently in a different sphere of work. Concerning the public outcry against crime, and how this had influenced the courts in passing sentences, it was noted that protests had had a very serious influence on our local courts. Some key informants said that while freedom was given, this could not be a platform on which criminal activities could be committed. “We have to allow our people to have a certain freedom as opposed to previous system, but yet we cannot have a lawless society, instead law and order have to be maintained in every corner of our country,” (said a major general). “Public outcry has been taken into account when judges pass sentence, however, our courts have sets of regulations, which they follow when passing sentences,” (stated a public prosecutor).

#### **5.1.11. Prevention of Armed Robbery**

The question of prevention was in line with the research objective of what people thought the government could do to prevent crime in general and armed robbery in particular. Informants were asked how the government could prevent crime (armed robbery) in Windhoek in particular and Namibia at large. This question was in line with the objectives of the thesis (i.e. to suggest policies and pass recommendations on

how best to prevent crimes such as armed robbery). Key informants felt that prevention needed a coordinated effort from both the public and the police.

“Members of the public should refrain from harboring criminals and should not buy goods from criminals as this process encourages further theft,” (said an inspector).

“Members of the police on the other hand, should be allowed to interrogate those suspected to have been involved in criminal activities, so that their financial status and belonging are known by the police. This will help the police in allocating and identifying those who were without certain items and call them to be held accountable for such items,” (said an inspector general). It was also suggested by many informants that business people in Windhoek should employ security to look after their premises. “Employers should employ security and these must be scrutinized to find out about their previous criminal record,”(a seargent said). This would, according to the seargent, help the employer as previous robbers could be prevented from being employed, thus limiting the risk of robbery.

Employers, according to many key informants, should avoid keeping money in their business places, but instead use banking facilities, as keeping money on their premises makes them targets of robbers. “Employers should see whether their workers are reliable and report any suspected movement to the police and co-ordinate with other law enforcers by giving information regarding criminals,”(said a commissioner). Other informants suggested that government increases its budget allocation to the judicial institutions of which the police form part. This, according to the informants, could allow them to train more manpower and obtain the logistics necessary to prevent crime. Possibly, government should put in laws or amend some of the policies

to suit the current situation. It was asserted by one deputy Inspector General, “Some of these policies especially on how to handle suspects of crimes were outdated and hindering law enforcement officers in their execution of their duties.” This alone, according to the General renders them less effective.

A culture of crime consciousness, which the Chief Inspector defined as, “A situation where every citizen of the country know and is aware of the danger and seriousness of crime”, needed to be developed among all concerned parties who needed to stand together in fighting crime. Business communities needed to be more active in fighting robbery by organizing what was referred to as business against crime (Chief Inspector). Business against crime, according to the chief inspector referred to, “When all business people come together to form a committee that could unite them all in fighting crime such as robbery.”

This could make it difficult for robbers, as something stolen could not be sold to another businessperson including the general public. Some of the informants suggested that education was needed for people to know the circumstances surrounding planned robbery, vigilance in the form of detecting suspicious persons and irregular movements and organization in the form of establishing a platform on which crime prevention strategies were going to be discussed.

## **Chapter 6: Discussion of Results**

This chapter provides a discussion of all factors studied in relation to crime in Windhoek. The chapter begins with gender and how gender as a factor correlates to armed robbery. Various social control theories are referred to in explaining how these factors relate to armed robbery. In addressing the relationship between gender and crime, this study recognizes Hagan's use of the perceived threats of sanctions in the power control model as provided for in the literature review. Hagan et. al. (1985) contends that the type of household in which individuals are reared structures the effect of gender on risk perceptions. Hagan et. al. have asserted that, compared with males, females perceive greater risks of being caught and punished when contemplating deviant or criminal behavior and suggest that these gender differences in perceived threats of legal actions are greater for those individuals reared in more, compared with less patriarchal households.

To begin with, the research data indicate that gender differences exists in the perceived threats of legal sanctions as posited by Hagan at al. and more importantly, that these differences vary by household types (see literature review). It is worth mentioning that the hypothesis that gender is a factor influencing armed robbery in Windhoek and is therefore in line with the power-control theory on gender and crime. Although it was difficult to identify and measure the extent of female involvement in armed robbery, careful analysis of the data collected from dockets and key informants suggested that women were not arrested or recorded as having committed a robbery.

Data from key informants revealed that women were involved but to a lesser extent and that was only in the early stages of a robbery, as asserted by one key informant “Men are mostly involved, but women could be used to gather information with regard to places to be robbed, securities around the place and so on.”

The power control theory of Hagan et al, (1985) applies to Windhoek’s lower involvement of females in armed robbery as revealed by Key informants interviews and local literature reviews. Even studies from other countries suggest that women are less likely to be involved in crime.

Of the utmost importance is Windhoek’s family structure, which considers a man to be head of the family. The patriarchal dominance in many families will influence the way both girls and boys are brought up, allowing boys more open time to be with peers as compared to girls (Hagan et al, (1985): 22). The theory finds support in these data.

### **6.1. Ethnicity and Type of Offence**

One of the most sensitive but important issues in criminology is the disproportionate involvement of ethnic groups regarding crime. For example, the number of blacks comprises about 12% of the entire U.S population, but one may find that they commit the majority of all crimes. Ethnicity in this study was defined as belonging to any indigenous tribes of the country and was meant to clarify whether belonging to certain ethnic group predisposed members to committing armed robbery.

Although members of the Owambos tribe apparently committed most offences, the results do not support the hypothesis that crime (armed robbery) in Windhoek was related to ethnicity. This is so because of the population of ethnic groups in Namibia. Blacks comprised 88%, while whites and other mixed groups accounted for about 12% only. Of the 88% black population 50% belong to the Owambos tribe, 9% to the Okavango tribe, 7% to the Herero, 7% to the Damara, 5% to the Nama, 4% Caprivians, 3% San, 2% Baster, 1% Tswana. By description the Owambos is by far the largest population group in the country, comprising of about one third of the country's population.

The same holds true as expressed by many key informants that crime had nothing to do with one's ethnic background, but people with a criminal mind are distributed more or less evenly across all ethnic groups and that committing armed robbery depends on circumstances. Opportunities to commit a crime, as well as economic factors, according to other key informants, were of prime importance in determining a person's criminal life.

Although the correctional findings cannot be interpreted as an indication that ethnicity influences armed robbery in Windhoek, we must not shy away from acknowledging and explaining armed robbery or any form of crime as having been dominated or committed by one ethnic group more than the other. This however, does not mean one wants to contribute to negative attributes towards one particular ethnic group. This can be seen in the work of Russell (1983: 281), who argued that the problem of race and crime must be faced with objectivity.

## **6.2. Age and Crime**

The number of young people globally is about to become the largest in history relative to the adult population. At present, more than 50% of the population is under the age of 25 or just over three billion individuals are youth or children. In terms of youth alone (15 – 24), there are over 1.3 billion youth in the world today. This means that approximately one person in five is between the ages of 15 and 24, or 17% of the world's population are youth. As the majority of these youth live in conditions of poverty, they have limited, and, in some cases, no access to basic necessities such as water and sanitation, health care facilities and schools (YESS, 2002). Even in Namibia which forms part of the developing world, with a population of nearly 2 million people, the majority or nearly half of the population are youth. For example, in 1997 above 43% Namibia's population fell between zero – fourteen years.

The view that involvement in crime decreases with age is one of the oldest and most widely accepted in criminology (Steffensmeier, 2000). Simply put, most crimes are committed by people under 30. Crime peaks at age 18 and declines thereafter, especially beyond young adulthood (Farrington et al, 1986). Despite minor variations depending on the type of crime, this pattern holds true if one looks at the prison admissions by age data (Table 1 and 2) provided by The Ministry of Prisons and Correctional Services (MPCS) for 2001, the 1999 and 2000 statistics show the total number of prisoners admitted per prison institute (Table 1 and 2) in relation to the age group of offenders.

It also generally holds true regardless of gender as posited by Steffensmeier, (2000). Perhaps the most important question not addressed could be why crime in general is a young person's phenomenon, and why it declines after adolescence and young adulthood. Several factors seem to be at work as argued by Farrington et al., (1986). First, adolescence is a time when peers influences and the desire for friendships are especially strong, to the extent that peers influence one's own delinquent behavior. It is not surprising therefore that adolescence is a prime time for offending. As one move into adulthood, the peer influences diminishes, and the peers become more law-abiding than they used to be. As a result, one becomes more law abiding as well (Farrington et. al., 1986).

This change to more law abiding peers might be more marked in youths than in any age group which may be one reason for the higher rates of offenders found in the young age group category. Secondly the young age group, as one may see from Figure 3 and Table 1 and 2 may be assumed to have an increasing need for money that part-time jobs or parental allowances may not satisfy. For at least some young people, crime provides a means to obtain financial resources (Farrington et. al., 1986). If this is true, one reason crime declines after moving into adulthood might be full time employment and greater financial resources ensue.

The particularly bleak prospects for good employment in young adulthood that young people face may be one reason for their relatively high crime rates (Steffensmeier, 2000). Thirdly, one's ties to society rise as one moves into early adulthood. One acquires a full-time job, usually gets married and has children, and in other aspects

starts becoming a full-fledged member of society. These bonds to society gives one an increasingly sense of responsibility and stake in conformity and thus reduce one's likelihood of community crime (Sampson, 1993). One also becomes more mature as one leaves the young age group. One is no longer a youthful rebel who thinks that everything the parents say and do is conformist.

With the above argument, it can be stated that an understanding of the age- crime relationship helps understand shifts in a nation's crime rate. An increased birth rate for example, will some fifteen years later, begin to lead to an increased number of people in the 15 to 24 crime-prone age group. From the literature, Key informants and police cases reviewed, there is a significant correlation between age and crime. Crime (armed robbery) committed in Windhoek strongly correlated with age. It seems that the increase in crime committed in Windhoek is worsened by the number of young people we have in the country. The research hypothesis on age-crime relationship can be accepted in its entirety, owing to the findings on Table 2 that depicts age – crime relationships.

The findings of the study do indicate a tendency in support of the argument by other theorists (Farrington, 1986, Hirsch and Gottfredson, 1983, Sampson, 1993), that people under 30 commit crime and that most crimes peaks at 18 and decline thereafter especially beyond young adulthood. This is supported by some key informants who stated that young men between 18 and 25 years of age committed crime such as armed robbery in Windhoek. This means that age is associated with armed robbery in Windhoek. The supported age group, according to key informants is where you

would find a high rate of unemployment and this is why young people commit robbery in order to better themselves. The above sentiments can be linked to the argument provided by Steffensmeier (2000), that this age group of young people have an increasing need for money, and young people may use any means to get this money.

It is suggested that educational programmes which focus on crime and its impacts on society be introduced in Namibian schools. This would engender more enlightened and objective attitudes towards people's lives and property. Young people would be required to do research on crime and the knowledge gained would attack prejudices against crime as well as provide information to those uninformed regarding crime as a problem. Other key informants interviewed suggested that schools incorporate crime prevention related topics into their school curricula so that young people be educated about the seriousness and consequences of crime.

### **6.3. Unemployment and Crime**

This section outlines debate about unemployment and crime. For the purpose of this study, issues relating to unemployment and crime are linked to youth, as the youth group in many instances seems to be affected by unemployment. The problem of unemployed youth is rapidly assuming dangerous proportions in many countries as their economies and educational systems are unable to accommodate the numbers of youth. In many developing countries even low levels of economic growth are uncertain and this limits the capacity of their economies to absorb labor. Indeed shrinkage of their economies and loss of related livelihood opportunities are expected.

Economists advise that the current system will not meet the supply of labor available. Thus, youth unemployment is an urgent global issue that has repercussions in demographic, social, and economic, health and environmental spheres. These impacts will be felt at individual, familial, national and global levels if not addressed, and this is a prescription for disaster (YESS, 2002).

The result of the study shows that there was a relationship between unemployment and crime. The overall percentage of the unemployed offenders who committed armed robbery for the period under study is 60%. In other words, of the 240 cases studied and the missing cases, 143 cases related to offenders who were unemployed at the time of offending. The remaining 94 offenders were either laborers or at least did not have a formal employment. Table 6 also indicates a higher percentage of the unemployed in the all offence category, 83% for housebreaking, 60% for gun pointing and 51% for other robbery, including that one where a vehicle was stolen.

Many informants interviewed also supported the above argument, and pointed out that crime; especially armed robbery in Windhoek was due to unemployment. One informant argued that people had come to Windhoek in their numbers in recent years in search of jobs and when they had failed to find them had resorted to any means even if such means are against the law. From the above-mentioned information, it can be concluded that unemployment had an influence on armed robbery in Windhoek for the period studied. For future research it is recommended that the influence of unemployment on crime be evaluated over a large sample and different kinds of crimes be investigated and different major centers of the country be compared. As

regards to the youth, providing an enabling environment and opportunities by providing sustainable and decent employment and livelihoods opportunities which will improve their conditions is recommended.

#### **6.4. Education and Type of Offence**

Socio economic standing, social class and education as socio economic factors have been linked or studied together. Most people arrested and imprisoned for general crimes were poorly educated and with low incomes. Almost two thirds of new prisoners each year lack even a high school diploma, and only 8% have been to college (Maguire et al, 1997).

In terms of this study, social class and education were combined as the researcher thought to bring the two variables together due to their meaning measurement. The most common measures derive from the status attainment and involve prestige and educational achievement. In other words, people are ranked on whether they are in more or less distinguished occupations and or have more or fewer years of education. Studies measuring the social class or education offenders in this way usually find no relationships with crime (Maguire et al, 199).

With the above argument as a base, this section set to investigate whether education really mattered in the commitment of armed robbery in Windhoek. As appears from Table 8, information from key informants and literature, there is only one significant argument, namely, that there was a high percentage or representation of those who had completed secondary school (Grades 8-12) for different offences. Crime, such as

armed robbery relates quite weakly with education. It seems that these two variables are not connected intimately.

Therefore, the research hypothesis that armed robbery in Windhoek positively correlates with education cannot be accepted in its entirety, owing to the absence of a strong connection between the two variables. The findings in Table 7, do indicate a tendency towards a weak connection between the two variables. In the case of this group of offenders (Grades 8-12), the findings are in line with the argument raised by key informants that crime had nothing to do with one's education, but armed robbery, especially in Windhoek, required some form of planning and thus a certain literacy level could be an advantage in the execution of robbery.

These findings also correspond to assumptions made by researchers that professional robberies required some form of education which helped robbers to plan for a robbery and that there could be a high number of Grade 8-12 offenders compared to those of other educational levels (Bennett and Hess, 1981: O'Hara, 1976: Swanson et.al., 1977). This holds true if one considers the literacy level of the country. The 2001 Population and Housing Census shows that over 4 out of 5 persons aged 15 and above are literate. Of the entire population of nearly 2 million aged above 15, 69% of males and 31% of females can read and write. The same holds true considering the explanation by other authors positing that the over representation of the uneducated in the criminal justice system in the United States for example, resulted more from a class base than from real differences in offenders' educational standards.

## **6.5. Residential Area and Type of Offence**

Criminologists would admit, by common observation, that members of the lower classes and poor neighborhoods are more liable to be acted upon by the police than members of the better neighborhoods or the class of greater influence (Bonger, 1976). This section outlines arguments mounted in studying whether one's residential area has an influence on one's criminal behavior. From the results of the study, it seems that Katutura as compared to other residential areas has a high record of armed robbery offenders. Table 4 shows that there is a significantly high correlation between the two variables. This means that one's environment shapes one's behavior.

Therefore, the result supports the hypothesis that armed robbery in Windhoek positively correlates with residential area for the period under study. This holds true that one's residential area could influence one towards committing armed robbery. Most offenders, according to key informants, resided in informal settlements of Windhoek, that are difficult to trace by the police. The other interpretation could be that informal settlements (Katutura) is where many of the less privileged people resided. This does not however mean that other residential areas cannot record high numbers of offenders.

The results of the previous research (Bonger, 1976, Warner, 1941) indicated that police activities were more concentrated in poor and lower class neighborhoods, and that some part of the lower and poor neighborhoods' higher crime risk can be attributed to the fact that such people are exposed to the more demoralizing and disorganizing conditions of living characterizing such neighborhoods. They are for

example, more exposed to unemployment, overcrowding, bad housing, disease and underworld traditions and institutions. Considering the relatively small sample size used, the significant results presented above becomes more noteworthy. However, because the research was limited to armed robbery in a specific geographic region (Windhoek), the sample could have been biased. Replication of these findings is nonetheless needed and future research will have to use a more representative sample in order to increase the validity of such a study.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations**

Chapter seven contains a detailed statement of the findings of the empirical research from the individual interviews and documentary review. It also contains supplementary data from the literature review, the researcher's observations and discussions with key informants. It reviews the findings of the research, discusses the conclusions that were drawn and ends with the recommendations for future research in this field.

### **7.1. Restatement of the objectives**

Before concluding this research report, the objectives of the study are restated. These objectives were, 1) To gain an understanding of how social factors affect armed robbery in Windhoek, 2) To investigate how socio - demographic factors such ethnicity, age, sex and residential area affect armed robbery in Windhoek, 3) To investigate how socio-economic factors such as unemployment and education affect armed robbery in Windhoek, 4) To discover some variations in armed robbery cases for the years 1997-2000 in the Windhoek area.

## 7.2. General findings

It must be stated that although crime in general might be due to other factors such as one's background or the socialization process, crime such as armed robbery in Windhoek can be explained in the following way:

- Ethnicity and crime (armed robberies) especially in Namibia does not point to significant relationship. The higher representation of certain ethnic groups over other groups is attributed to both the socio political and socio demographic characteristics of that particular group as compared to others.

This holds true as supported by Table 4 dealing with the correlation matrix of variables by Pearson who showed no significant relationship between ethnicity and the nature of the offence. Other author (Mann, 1993) also argued that any race or ethnic group was capable of committing any form of crime. Crime was a colorless phenomenon and that one did not need to belong to any specific ethnic group to commit crime. The higher representation of the Oshiwambo tribe is mainly due to its demographic figure that shows it is the majority.

- Regarding age, the result of the study shows that age was real a factor contributing to crime (armed robbery) in Windhoek. This can be seen in the work of other authors (Farrington, 1986: Hirsch and Gottfredson, 1983: Sampson, 1993) who maintained that crime peaks at age 18 and declines, thereafter especially beyond young adulthood. This holds true according to

Table 4 which showed a strong connection between education and nature of offence i.e. ( $r = 0.108$ ) and the information in the literature review (Tables 1, 2 and 3) regarding both the imprisonment and received offenders for the years 1999 and 2000, which showed a high number of offenders between 16 – 20 years and 21 – 30 years and a decline in figures of those offenders 30 years of age and above.

- The research results also found that employment wasn't really a factor influencing armed robbery in Windhoek. This holds true considering the information from key informants who argued that opportunity to commit a crime was important than the employment factor; together with results from table 4 that showed employment – offence relationship to be ( $r = 0.112$ ). However, cross-tabulation of the two variables revealed that most of those who committed robbery were unemployed (i.e. 60% according to figure 7). The research results with regard to education and crime showed that many of those who committed armed robbery were high school graduates representing a high percentage among those having completed Grades 8 –12, (59%) overall as compared to other grades (Figure 8).
  
- Walt, (1977) regarded the education crime relationship as a myth but the information from key informants maintained that one did not need to be of a certain educational level to commit armed robbery. The results showed that although one did not need to have a certain level of education to commit crime, education level was a real factor in armed robbery. The high representation among those having completed Grades 8 – 12 could

substantiate the assumption made by many key informants that robbery was a complicated form of crime and that some form of planning was necessary to execute it.

- Residential area of offenders according to the results of the study is a factor contributing to armed robbery. Most of the offenders were from Katutura, a neighborhood believed to be characterized by socio economic hardships. This holds true as accounted in key informant answers who maintained that crime, especially armed robbery, was committed by those who resided in informal settlement of Windhoek, where it was difficult to be traced by the police. “This is where most poor people live and are without work” (Prosecutor).
- As indicated in Table 4, there is a significant relationship between residential area and type of offence. This is true considering the work of other authors who suggested that the neighborhood, itself, in terms of having limited social and economic resources, increased risks of crimes and victimization (Farrington et al., 1986). The neighborhoods in which these people resided were highly related with early initiation into violent offending. If people are initiated into criminal violence early in their childhood, they are more likely to have grown up in neighborhoods characterized by a high concentration of poverty (Sampson et al., 1987).
- With regard to gender, the results of the study showed that most offenders who committed armed robbery in Windhoek were men. All the cases

reviewed showed men as having committed robbery. This holds true owing to the lower representation of women in 1999 and 2000 prison statistics in terms of both the offending and imprisonment (Tables 1, 2 and 3) and the correlation results according to table 4.

- The same holds true considering the work of author (Lombroso, 1985: 09), who attributed women's less offending to their natural, biological induced passivity. Most key informants interviewed expressed similar sentiments stating that women were less involved as robbing is a dangerous activity. Where women were involved, according to other key informants, they were used in the early planning of the robbery by supplying information about target places and the right time to commit such activities.
  
- The results of the study indicate that foreigners were less involved in criminal activities in Windhoek. This is accounted for in the literature regarding the percentage of the offenders admitted to prison in the country for the year 2001. According to Figure, 2 and 3 in the literature review regarding admission of offender to prison per country, 88% of those in prison were Namibians and only 12% were from other countries.

The situation above is also motivated by key informants who cited Namibians to be more involved in armed robbery and who only team up with foreigners in small numbers to commit such criminal activities. Of the above percentage, the majority of them were from Angola with a figure of 380. These are followed by people from the Democratic Republic of Congo with a total number of 242

people, thirty seven (37) South Africans, thirty (30) Zimbabweans and nineteen (19) Botswana. From the above scenario, one can link the prevalence of other nationals in the Namibian prisons to the political situations prevailing in these countries with an assumption that the more people flocking to Namibia from a particular country, the more unstable their country of origin is. It can also be argued that the political instability of any given country may have an adverse effect on the entire economy of such country, thus making it difficult for the people to survive.

- The study results show that armed robbery increased over the study period. This is recounted in the key informants' information, in which many argued armed robbery had increased especially concerning the business community. The 2000 crime statistics for example, recorded 122 offenders as having been convicted of armed robbery countrywide and were admitted to different prison institutions of the country (Table 3). Most interesting however, 45 offenders were imprisoned in Windhoek prison which represented the highest figure compared to other towns. Different prison institutions imprisoned the rest with Oluno in the northern part of the country having the second highest prisoner intake. Taking this information and looking at police cases, one can therefore conclude that armed robbery was on the increase in Windhoek.

Based on the above research findings, the following conclusions are made: (1) that armed robbery in Windhoek had weak relationships with employment, ethnicity and gender but significantly strong relationship with residential area, age and education.

The interpretation of crime regarding the two variables should be taken into account with other factors such as demographic profile of one's ethnic group over others and the current state of young people in the country as they comprise the largest age group and have a high rate of unemployment which is estimated to be at nearly above 30% (National Population and Housing Census Report, 2003).

Based on the above conclusion, the following recommendations are made:

- Understanding crime - ethnicity relationships should not be drawn from an analysis of a small sample size but rather be expanded upon. Focus in this regard should not come from a preconceived assumption that one particular ethnic group may commit more crime than the other, but it should be borne in mind that any particular ethnic group is capable of committing any form of crime as accounted in both the literature review, correlation results and by key informants. Future studies therefore should take the above into account if adequate understanding or conclusions are to be made.
- In understanding gender - crime relationships, future research should expand the population size and investigate not only armed robberies but gender in relation to different crime types being committed in our towns.

- Education programs in schools should encompass crime related topics to educate children about the consequences of crime in our societies. This is important considering the fact that the majority of cases studied represent a high figure among school leavers and those among the youth compared to other age group offenders.
- Educational campaigns regarding this type of crime and other crimes in general should be organized to educate the broader community. This will bring about some attitude change among the people. Educating the broader community could also serve as a preventative programmes.
- These educational campaigns should include but not limited to the following:
  - Information brochures containing the severity and consequences of each crime and how this can be avoided. These brochures could be printed in all different local languages to allow accessibility and flow of such information to every person.
  - Debates over radios and televisions in different local languages regarding crime in general and armed robbery in particular should be held.
  - Crime prevention is a specialized field; therefore crime prevention professionals (detectives) need additional and updated training or workshops. In-service training should be emphasized on an ongoing basis in order to ensure quality service delivery.
  - Existing policies such as Chapter 3, Article 11 and 12 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia and some clauses in the current Criminal Procedure Act, Act no 51 of 1977 need to be

reviewed, and where possible, amended. This will not only be effective, but will also give law enforcers unlimited power to handle those involved in criminal activities.

Furthermore, progressive strategies on crime prevention need to be formulated in order to improve the policing service delivered and to mitigate the trauma undergone by crime victims.

- The establishment of a crime prevention co-coordinating group which will enable government departments, non-governmental organizations and members of the public to contribute to crime prevention policy formulation and programme implementation. Should be effected.
- The formation of a crime prevention association of Namibia should be established. The social workers, crime prevention professionals, as well as the broader public, may be part of such a body. The crime prevention professionals such as the abovementioned ones may initiate programmes for the benefit of the broader community.
- Support groups for victims of crime are still an unknown concept, but very useful tool to provide support to those traumatized by crime. These would also ensure that those victimized by crime of any kind received adequate counselling at these centers.
- Business people as targets of armed robbers should unite and fight armed robbery. Therefore, committees (forums) at which crime and its impact on their businesses should be debated were encouraged by many key informants. This is recommended, as another businessperson could then not buy items stolen from one business, as is the case now. Those that do

not use local banking facilities should be encouraged to use these facilities to avoid the danger of falling victims to armed robbery.

- Lastly, individuals must take serious measures either at work, home or when driving or travelling. This would make everyone crime conscious and thus reduce the risk of being traumatized in the process. The public should also work hand-in-hand with the whole criminal justice system like the police, prisons and courts in fighting crime.

# Appendix 1

Key informant interview schedule: (People interviewed include the Police, courts, Legal Aid and prison officials.)

This interview schedule consists of the following parts:

Section A: Demographic profile of informants

Section B: General questions regarding crime in Windhoek

Section C: Specific questions to various institutions of social control

Section D: Preventive measure questions (policy focus)

In an attempt to know and understand the extent of armed robbery in Windhoek the capital city of Namibia during the period of 1997 to 2000, and the social factors contributing to its continuation, the following questions have been designed. Please be kind and feel free to respond to the following questions. In addition, take note that this research is purely for academic purpose and as such all the information supplied will be treated as confidential as possible. The information tape-recorded as a means of data collection will be destroyed before the end of this research to allow anonymity of respondents.

## **1. Demographic profile of informants**

1.1 To which of the following age group category do you belong?

- (a) 10-15
- (b) 16- 25
- (c) 26- 35
- (d) 36- 45
- (e) 46- 55
- (f) 56+

1.2 How long have you been working in this job?

1.3 What professional qualification do you have, if any?

1.4 From which part of Namibia do you come?\

## **2. General questions regarding crime in Windhoek**

2.1 Please explain to me how you think socio- demographic factors such as race, influence one's action towards a criminal life?

2.2. Please explain to me how you think socio- demographic factors such as age influence one's action towards a criminal life?

2.3. Please explain to me how you think socio- demographic factors such as gender influence one's action towards a criminal life?

2.4 Please explain to me how you think socio- demographic factors such as residential area influence one's action towards a criminal life?

2.5 Please explain to me what social factors in general you think affect crime (armed robbery) in Windhoek.

2.6 Please explain to me how you think alcohol or drug use contribute to the occurrences of armed robberies?

2.7 Please explain to me what influence do you think shebeens or cuca-shops pose on the escalation of armed robbery crime in Windhoek?

2.8 How does migrants (people who leave the area and return from time to time) have on the escalation of crime (armed robbery) in Windhoek? How do migrants from your own experience turn to crime? Would you please explain to me as to what impact migrants has on the escalation of crime and what other social problems are related to the influence of migrants in Windhoek?

2.9 How much of an impact do foreigners (people who are not from this country) have on the escalation of armed robbery in Windhoek? How do foreigners get involved in armed robbery crime and what other social problems are associated to the influence of foreigners in Windhoek?

2.10 What are some of the financial and social problems that have been caused by the effects of armed robberies on Windhoek?

2.11 Please explain to me whether or not you think crime (armed robbery) has increased over the last two years?) Why do you believe this?

### **3. Specific questions to various institutions of social control**

#### 3.1 The Police

3.1.1 Please explain to me whether or not you think there are some variations in armed robbery cases for 1999 and 2000 in Windhoek? Has armed robbery increased or decreased over the past two years?

3.1.2 In an average month, how many men or women do you arrest for armed robberies (crime)? Do you notice a pattern in the incidences of alcohol and drug related armed robbery cases? For example would you say that you at times arrested people engaging in armed robbery are regular drugs or alcohol users?

3.1.3 Please explain to me how drinking or drug use pattern of people committing armed robbery influence their criminal acts? How does drinking or drug use affect these people's life such as roles, families and other people in the society?

3.1.4 Have you ever talked to any non- governmental organization about crime causes in Windhoek and its prevention thereof? Could you give me the names of those non-governmental organizations? Did you discuss with them how such organizations could be involved in crime prevention? Please explain how such organizations can help prevent crime.

3.1.5 Have you ever spoken to people in Windhoek about crime (armed robbery) which could have an impact on their lives? What did you tell them about crime issues

and its prevention in Windhoek in particular and Namibia in general, please explain?

What did they tell you?

3.1.6 Based on your knowledge and experience with people in Windhoek area, how likely are they to listen to people who might talk to them about crime issues and its prevention. For Example, would they come to a meeting where crime issues were being discussed? To whom do you think people in this area would listen to when talking about crime issues?

3.1.7 Based on your experience with people in Windhoek, how well informed are they about crime (armed robbery)? For example, are people afraid of those who commit armed robbery?

3.1.8 Please explain to me whether or not you think the weapons used in armed robbery in Windhoek over the past two years are the same as those that are being used now? Did armed robbers use guns, knives, physical threat, etc. in the past two years? Where did they obtain these weapons from? How has the weapons changed

## **3.2 The courts**

3.2.1 Please explain to me whether or not you think there are governmental policies that are in place to curb the increase of crime in general and armed robbery in particular?

3.2.2 Please explain to me whether you think these policies are effective, considering the rate at which armed robbery cases are occurring.

#### **4. Preventive measure questions (policy focus)**

4.1 If you could make suggestions to people who make laws, what would you tell them so that armed robbery is prevented?

4.2 What, in your own words can the government do to help Windhoek in particular and Namibia in general deal with this type of crime

## Appendix 2

**The following are some of the key informants interviewed and why they were considered relevant for the study**

1. Inspector General of the Namibian police: As the overall head of the Police Force, it was considered that the general coordinates all the activities of the police force and it was for this reason that he was interviewed for the study.
2. Deputy Inspector General of the police: The Major General (operations) also co-ordinates the daily operation of the police force and it was for this reason that he was included in the study.
3. Commissioner of Crime Investigation Department (CID). The Commissioner commands all the specialized units tasked to investigate all alleged offences and it was for this reason that he was selected for the study.
4. Deputy Commissioner of Windhoek Station: The Deputy Commissioner is the regional crime coordinator for the Khomas Region and oversees the crime situation of the Khomas Region. It was for this reason that he was included in the study.
5. Chief Inspector in the Public Liaison Division is the commanding officer of the division. As a commander, the chief liaises with the public to update them on the day-to-day activities of the police and the crime situation around the country. It was for this reason that the chief was selected for the study.
6. Chief Inspector in the Public Liaison Division is the second in command and

relieves the commanding officer when needed. The chief, like the commanding officer, liaises with members of the public regarding crime not only in Windhoek but also in the entire country when information relating to crime is received. It was for this reason that the Chief was chosen for the study.

7. Seargent in the Public Liaison Division: The seargent also works for the Public Liaison Division and always corresponds and responds to queries raised by the public regarding crime in the country. It was for this reason that he was regarded relevant to the study.
8. Another officer, an investigator of armed robbery cases and who works for the serious crime unit has had a vast experience in dealing with robbers in that line. It was for the above reasons that he was contacted.
9. The Unit Commander of the Crime Intelligence Unit, who has been involved in the analysis of the profiles of armed robbery offenders and has extensive knowledge in this line, was also included.
10. The Unit Commander of the Crime Information Unit who manages or commands the unit which computerizes and gives reports regarding the number of reported crimes in the whole country was chosen because of her expertise.
11. Another officer for Crime Intelligence who has been involved in tracing armed robbery offenders was chosen because of his knowledge.
12. Deputy Commissioner of Prisons for the Khomas Region who oversees the day-to-day administration of the prison services was selected for the study because of his experience with the robbers of Windhoek.
13. The social worker at the Windhoek Central Prison has been involved in the

counselling of prisoners (some of whom are serving sentences for armed robbery) was chosen for the study because she has knowledge regarding the offenders.

14. An Advocate in the Regional Prosecutor's Office for the Khomas Region who has been involved in the prosecution of armed robbery offenders, was selected for the study because of his expertise.
15. Another officer is an advocate in the Regional Prosecutor's Office for Khomas and has wide knowledge and experience in dealing with criminals some of whom are armed robbers.
16. Detective Constable who is an investigator for the Serious Crime Unit and has been investigating some of the cases reviewed by the researcher. He was selected because of the knowledge he possesses regarding the investigation of crimes with aggravating circumstances.
17. An advocate in the Windhoek High Court who is a prosecutor was also interviewed. Much of his work has been to prosecute offenders of armed robbery, and it was for this reason that he was selected for the study.
18. The Social Worker in the Ministry of Prisons and Correctional Service counsels offenders in the prisons and armed robbers are some of those counselled. It was for this reason that she was considered for the study.
19. An advocate working for the Masters of the High Court who has been involved in the prosecution of offenders some of whom are armed robbers, was also chosen to be interviewed.
20. Another key informant is an investigator of general crimes at Katutura's Criminal Investigation Department and has comprehensive knowledge regarding the crime situation of Windhoek. All the above-mentioned personnel

have worked in their respective professions for a minimum of five years and a maximum of 15 years, thus they have grounds to believe that they are experienced in their line of duty.



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