



**Effect of police integrity,
government performance in fighting crime,
and accessibility of police stations
on reporting of crime in Tanzania**

By Rose Aiko



Introduction

Reporting a crime is an essential first step toward securing justice for the aggrieved. As Skogan (1977) notes, crime reports are also a basis for authorities to allocate limited resources for public protection. Not reporting crimes may therefore doubly disadvantage communities. It makes investigations of crime and access to justice difficult, which in turn can create room for perpetrators to continue victimizing others. It can also lead to skewed allocation of resources to the detriment of communities where crime experiences are high but incidents are not systematically reported. When they have reliable reports of victimization events, the authorities can more reliably identify places that suffer insecurity and that, as a result, need to be prioritized in resource allocation.

Despite the Tanzanian police force's efforts during the past decade to encourage citizens to report crime, Afrobarometer survey data indicates that a majority of Tanzanians who are victims of crime do not make reports to the authorities. This is not unusual; crime reporting rates are low in many countries around the world (Baumer, 2002; Gouldriaan, 2005; Fishman, 1979). Studies in other parts of the world show that people's perceptions of police conduct and of how well the justice mechanism works can influence decisions on whether to report crimes. Fishman (1979), Baumer (2002), and Bennett and Wiegand (1994), for example, show that when the police are perceived to be inefficient, unhelpful, or uncaring, the chances of crime being reported decline. Azfar and Gurgur (2008) show that police corruption discourages crime reporting.

In the 2012 Afrobarometer survey, Tanzanian respondents attributed victims' failure to report crimes to several factors, most importantly to inaccessibility of police stations, unresponsiveness of the police, and police corruption. But people's beliefs about the motives and likely behaviours of others may not always be accurate. Moreover, there may be other factors, not mentioned by survey respondents, that also influence whether or not victims will choose to report a crime. This analysis uses 2012 Afrobarometer survey data from Tanzania to examine to what extent crime victims' decision to report or not report crime is influenced by views regarding police integrity, government performance in fighting crime, and accessibility of police services. The paper also offers some pointers about problem areas that may need attention in ongoing efforts to encourage crime reporting and ultimately improve security and safety.

Afrobarometer survey

Afrobarometer is an African-led, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues across more than 30 countries in Africa. Five rounds of surveys were conducted between 1999 and 2013, and Round 6 surveys are currently under way (2014-2015). Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in Kiswahili with nationally representative samples of between 1,200 and 2,400 respondents.

The Afrobarometer team in Tanzania, led by REPOA, interviewed 2,400 adult Tanzanians between May and June 2012. A sample of this size yields results with a margin of error of +/-2% at a 95% confidence level. Previous surveys were conducted in Tanzania in 2001, 2003, 2005, and 2008.

Key findings

- Despite high levels of perceived corruption among the police, a majority of Tanzanians say they trust the police and want them to enforce the law.
- Almost six of 10 victims of theft in their homes or physical assaults did not report the incidents to the authorities.

- This analysis confirms that inaccessibility of police services reduces the likelihood that a crime will be reported, but it finds no statistically significant evidence that perceived corruption discourages victims from reporting crime.
- Contrary to expectation, people who say that they trust the police or that police help is easy to obtain are *less* likely to report a crime when they experience it, while those who say criminals often or always go unpunished are *more* likely to report a crime. These results may suggest that rather than prior perceptions of the police informing the decision to report or not report, it is instead the victims' negative experience in reporting crime that shapes their perceptions of the police.

What Tanzanians say about the police and the reporting of crime

Corruption among the police

Throughout the past decade, the police have ranked as the most corrupt among government institutions in the perceptions of Tanzanian citizens surveyed by Afrobarometer (Table 1). While the proportion of Tanzanians who say that “most” or “all” of the police are corrupt declined between 2003 and 2005 (Msami, 2009), it rose sharply between 2008 and 2012. This poor assessment of police integrity is shared by Transparency International, whose East African Bribery Index (2013) ranked the Tanzanian police as the most corrupt in the region (Africa Review, 2013).

Table 1: Citizens’ perceptions of corruption in government institutions
| Tanzania | 2003-2012

	2003	2005	2008	2012
Police	44	34	37	56
Tax officials*	34	20	28	38
Judges and magistrates	28	25	24	32
Civil servants/government officials	23	9	18	31
Elected leaders**	17	9	13	22
Office of the president	10	5	12	13

Respondents were asked: *How many of the following do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? (% who said “most of them” or “all of them”)*

* *In 2003, Afrobarometer asked about “customs agents” rather than “tax officials.”*

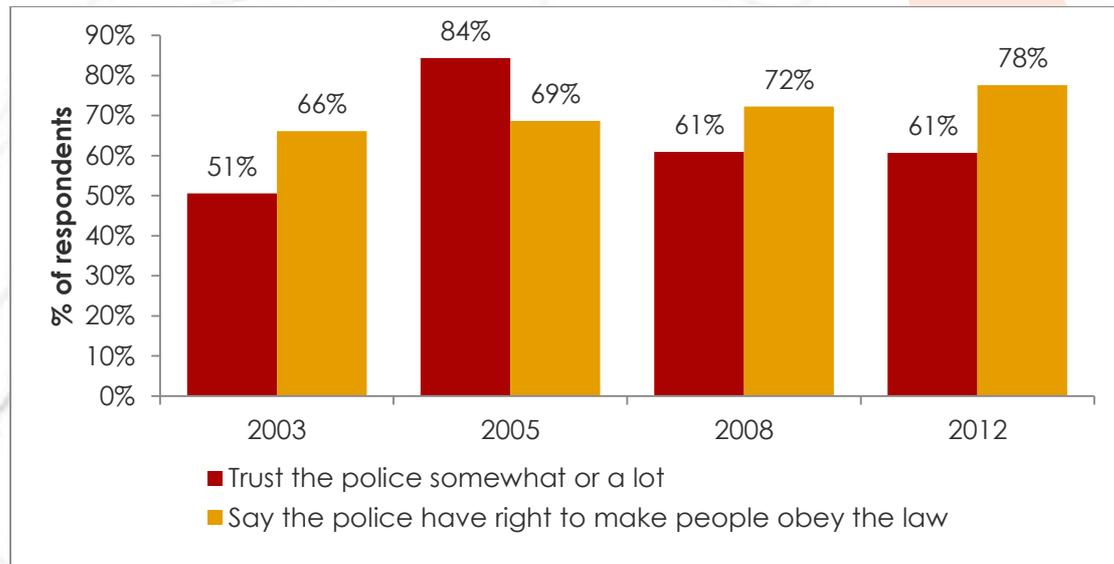
** *Before 2005, Afrobarometer asked about elected leaders as a single category. Since 2005, perceptions of members of Parliament and local government councillors have been collected separately. Starting in 2005, therefore, the figure reported is an average for local government councillors and parliamentarians.*

Trust and support for police mandate

Despite a growing perception of police corruption, 61% of Tanzanians say they trust the police “somewhat” or “a lot.” This proportion has stayed constant since 2008 but is 23 percentage points lower than in 2005 (Figure 1).

Notwithstanding concerns about corruption and stagnating trust, a growing majority of Tanzanians support the mandate of the police to enforce the law. In 2012, 78% agreed that the police “always have the right to make people obey the law,” up from 66% who supported this assertion in 2003.

Figure 1: Trust in the police and support for police mandate to enforce the law
| Tanzania | 2003-2012



Respondents were asked:

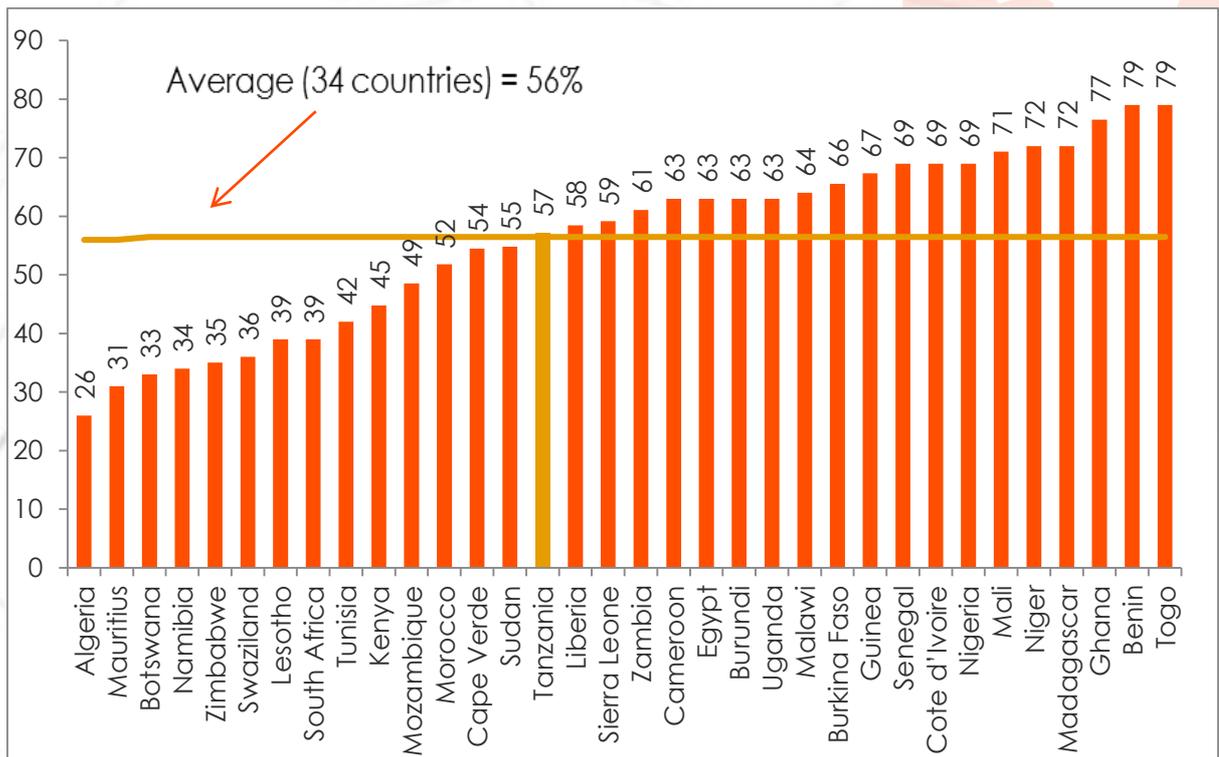
- 1) How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The police? (% who trust the police "somewhat" or "a lot")
- 2) Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with the following statement: The police always have the right to make people obey the law? (% who "agree" or "strongly agree")

Non-reporting of crime

While a majority of Tanzanians say they trust the police and support the idea that the police should enforce law and order, 57% of survey respondents who experienced theft in their homes or physical attacks during the 12 months before the 2012 survey did not report the incidents to the police.

Low crime-reporting rates are not unique to Tanzania. Among 34 countries surveyed in Afrobarometer Round 5 (2011-2013), Tanzania's 57% non-reporting rate matches the average (56%) and, among countries in the East Africa region, is lower than non-reporting rates in Uganda and Burundi (Figure 2). Even so, growing insecurity in the East Africa region and recent crime and violence in Tanzania highlight the need to increase victims' motivation to engage with law enforcement organs. Compared with countries such as Algeria and Mauritius (where 74% and 69%, respectively, of crime incidents are reported to the police), Tanzania clearly has considerable room for improvement.

Figure 2: Crime not reported to authorities | 34 countries | 2012



Respondents were asked: *If you or anyone in your family had something stolen from your house, or was physically attacked: Was any such incident reported to the police? (% who did not report crime to the police)*

Reasons for non-reporting of crime

People may decide not to report crimes they experience for many and complex reasons. In order to understand what may be hindering victims from reporting, the survey asked respondents what they think is “the main reason that many people do not report crimes to the police.” With a single response recorded per survey participant, Tanzanians cite the following factors most frequently as possible explanations: that there are no police stations or police stations are too far away (cited by 18% of respondents); that police don’t listen or don’t care (15%) or would not have been able to do anything (5%); and that police would have demanded money or a bribe (14%) (Table 2). Tanzanians are nearly three times as likely as the 34-country average to attribute victims’ failure to report crime to the absence or inaccessibility of police stations, and to say that crime was reported to other authorities.

Table 2: Top 10 reasons people don't report crimes to the police
| 34 countries | 2012

	Tanzania	34-country average
No police station/police station is too far	18	7
Police don't listen/care	15	14
Police would have demanded money/bribe	14	10
Crime was reported to other authority	12	4
People don't have enough time to report	7	4
Victim feared reprisal from attacker	6	12
Police wouldn't have been able to do anything	5	9
Victim too ashamed or embarrassed	1	4
Criminals were relatives or friends	1	1
People fear police/don't trust police	1	2

Respondents were asked: *Some people say that many crimes are never reported to the police. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason that many people do not report crimes like thefts or attacks to the police when they occur? (%)*

These perceptions raise important issues for crime-mitigation efforts. First, while Tanzania has been making efforts to bring police services closer to the people by building police posts, it appears that logistics are still seen as a challenge for victims. Second, as concerns police integrity and government performance in fighting crime, the ability of the police to carry out its mandate effectively depends in part on the extent to which citizens view them as reliable and impartial partners in addressing crime. Corruption presents several dangers in this regard: It can lead to partiality in the exercise of justice, for example in favour of the powerful or at the expense of the weak; can result in loss of public trust in the legitimacy of justice channels; and is often a reflection of and contributor to ineptitude. In effect, people who believe that the police force is corrupt, unresponsive, or ineffective may opt out of using formal law enforcement mechanisms to secure justice, further aggravating the problem of poor performance in fighting crime.

Assessment of performance in fighting crime

Indicators such as satisfaction with government performance in reducing crime, faith that offenders will be punished, and belief in the impartial treatment of citizens before the law offer insight into how people view the performance of the law enforcement system and its most visible component, the police.

Whereas in the past, two-thirds of citizens said the government was performing “fairly well” or “very well” in reducing crime, the 2012 survey shows a sharp decline in the proportion of Tanzanians who approve of the government's performance (Table 3). Tanzanians are now evenly divided in their assessment of the government's performance in this area.

At the same time, there has been a growing concern among Tanzanians that criminals “often” or “always” go unpunished; 20% of respondents express this view in 2012, compared to 13% in 2003. With regard to impartiality of the law, about two out of five people have consistently expressed worry that the law is not enforced impartially.

Table 3: Assessment of performance in fighting crime | Tanzania | 2003-2012

	2003	2005	2008	2012
Government is performing well/very well in reducing crime	57	69	67	50
Criminals often/always go unpunished	13	4	12	20
People are often/always treated unequally before the law	34	41	45	43

Respondents were asked:

- 1) How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say: Reducing crime?
- 2) In your opinion, how often, in this country, do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?
- 3) In your opinion, how often, in this country, are people treated unequally under the law? (%)

Accessibility of police services

Afrobarometer interviewers gather observational data about the availability of public services, including the presence of police stations and police officers, in communities where they conduct surveys. Data collected in 2012 show that only 16% of surveyed communities had police stations within walking distance, and police officers or vehicles were observed in only 10% of surveyed communities.

Another indicator of the accessibility of police services is citizens' assessment of how easily they can obtain police help when they need it. This indicator has shown little change (less than the survey margin of error) over the past decade, from 34% in 2005 to 37% in 2012 who said it is "easy" or "very easy" to get police help (Table 4).

Table 4: Accessibility of police services | Tanzania | 2003-2012

	2003	2005	2008	2012
Police station in the enumeration area or in walking distance ^a	..	14	25	16
Police seen in the enumeration area ^a	..	6	16	10
It is easy/very easy to obtain police help ^b	..	34	..	37

^a This data reflects observations in communities where Afrobarometer surveys were undertaken in Tanzania. It should not be interpreted as trend data on the actual distribution of police stations in the country.

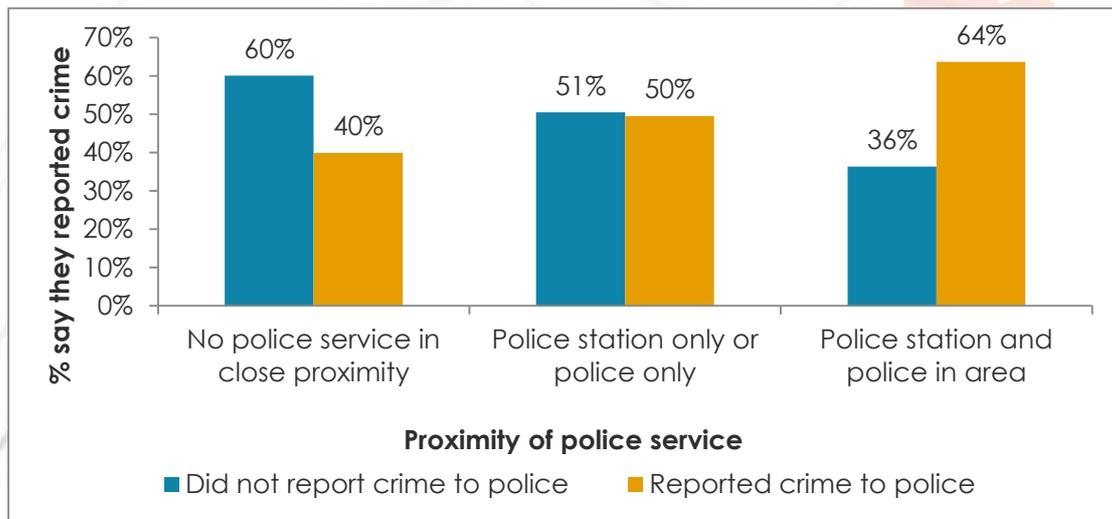
^b Respondents were asked: Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services from government, or do you never try to get these services from government: Help from the police?

Victims' perceptions of the police, accessibility of police services, and crime reporting – bivariate correlation analysis

Are crime victims' reporting behaviours in fact related to factors that people believe reduce the likelihood of crime reporting? To answer this question, we start by examining correlations between victims' decisions to report or not report a crime and some of the key factors that popular opinion suggests hinder crime reporting.

Results show that there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between the presence of police services within easy reach and crime reporting (Figure 3). We find a weak though statistically significant negative correlation between perceived ease of obtaining police help and reporting (Figure 4).

Figure 3: Crime reporting | by proximity of police services | Tanzania | 2012



Interviewers were asked to observe and record:

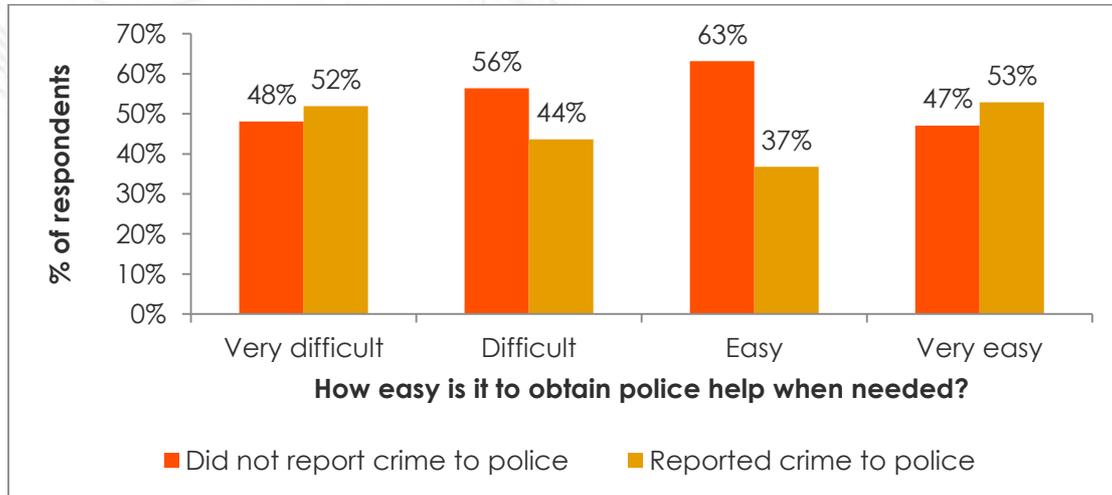
1) Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit / enumeration area or in easy walking distance: Police station?

2) In the primary sampling unit / enumeration area, did you (or any of your colleagues) see: Any policemen or police vehicles?

Respondents who experienced theft or attack were asked: Was any such incident reported to the police?

Notes: Kendall's tau-b=0.112 ($p=0.000$), indicating significant at 0.01 level; $N=1,082$

Figure 4: Crime reporting | by perceived ease of obtaining police help | Tanzania | 2012



Respondents who experienced theft or attack were asked:

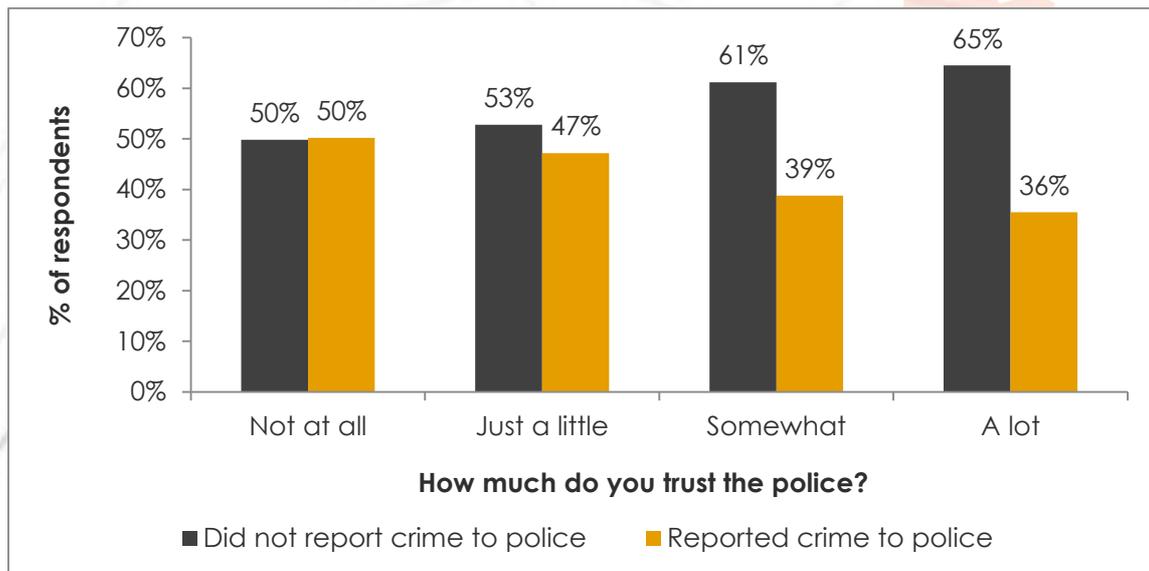
Was any such incident reported to the police?

Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services from government? Or do you never try and get these services from government: Help from the police?

Notes: Kendall's tau-b=-0.063 ($p=0.027$), indicating significant at 0.05 level; $N=1,075$.

On the other hand, the analysis reveals no statistically significant correlation between perceptions of police corruption and victims' decision to report a crime (Kendall's tau-b=0.010; $p=0.739$). The correlation between level of trust in the police and crime reporting is negative, i.e. crime victims who trust the police are less likely to report a crime than those who do not trust the police (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Crime reporting | by level of trust in the police | Tanzania | 2012



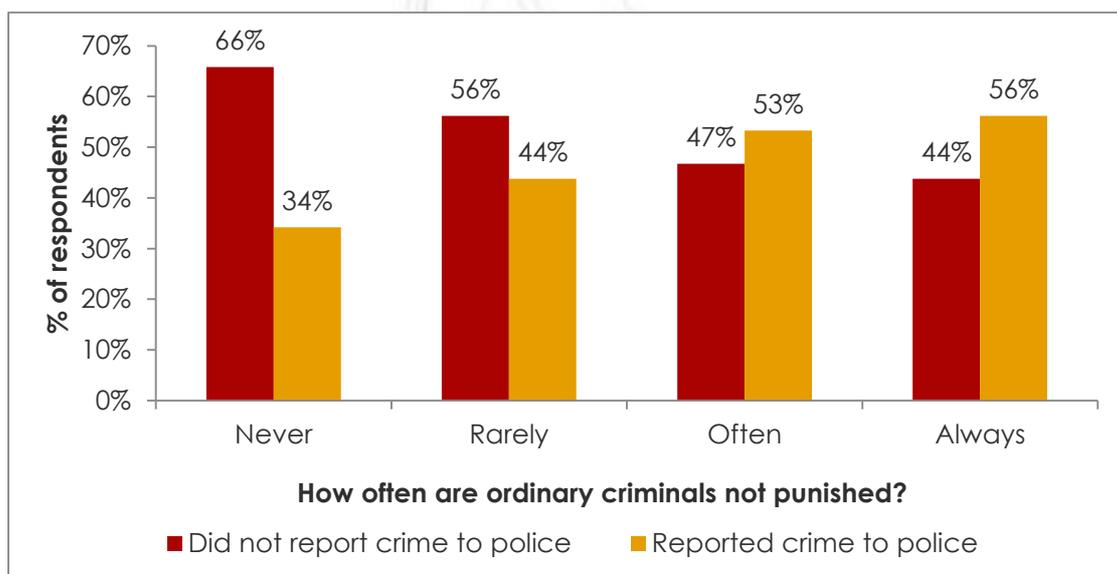
Respondents who experienced theft or attack were asked:

- 1) Was any such incident reported to the police?
- 2) How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The police?

Notes: Kendall's tau-b=-0.103 (p=0.000), indicating significant at 0.01 level; N=1,078.

As regards performance in enforcing justice, results show a positive correlation between the perception that ordinary criminals "often" or "always" go unpunished and the likelihood that crime will be reported. That is, it appears that people who think ordinary criminals are never punished are more likely to report crime than those who believe criminals rarely or never go unpunished.

Figure 6: Crime reporting | by perceived performance in enforcing justice | Tanzania | 2012



Respondents who experienced theft or attack were asked:

- 1) Was any such incident reported to the police?
- 2) In your opinion, how often, in this country, do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?

Notes: Kendall's tau-b=0.139 (p=0.000), indicating significant at 0.01 level; N=1,072.



Effect of perceived police integrity, perceived performance in fighting crime, and accessibility of police stations on crime reporting

We have seen that a majority of Tanzanians do not report crimes that befall them and that people associate this failure to report crimes mainly with inaccessibility of police services and perceptions of police corruption and poor performance in fighting crime. The preceding analysis shows statistically significant correlations between some of these factors and victims' reporting behaviour.

Yet even as public opinion provides some clues to what may be demotivating crime reporting, experience and literature indicate that beliefs about other people's motives and likely behaviour may not always be accurate (Eveland & Glynn, 2008; Moy, 2008). Moreover, correlations are not sufficient reason to assume causality between the factors and the crime-reporting behaviour. Furthermore, these explanatory factors often co-occur with others, so it is useful to be able to isolate the relative strength of influence each one has on crime victims' decisions.

This section uses victim data available from the Afrobarometer Round 5 survey to examine to what extent individual beliefs about police integrity, assessment of government performance in fighting crime, and accessibility of police services differentiate those who report crimes from those who do not.

Measurement and hypotheses

Police integrity: This analysis assumes that individuals' assessment of police integrity will be reflected in their perception of how corrupt the police are, their trust in the police, their experience of having paid or not having paid a bribe, and the extent of support they declare for the police mandate to enforce the law. In examining the effect that perceptions of police integrity have on decisions to report crime, this analysis hypothesized that people who hold favourable opinions about the police will be more likely to report a crime, whereas those who view the police in a negative light will be less likely to report.

Government performance in fighting crime: The proxy measures used in this analysis are based on Afrobarometer questions assessing citizens' satisfaction with government performance in reducing crime, faith in the ability of the justice mechanism to ensure that offenders are punished, and belief in the impartiality of treatment. Our second hypothesis was that the more satisfied an individual is with government performance in reducing crime, justice for criminals, and impartiality in application of the law, the more likely s/he will be to report crime to the police.

Accessibility of police services: The measure of accessibility of police services in this analysis is based on 1) observational data collected by Afrobarometer interviewers showing whether police stations and/or officers are present in surveyed communities and 2) survey respondents' assessment of how easy or difficult it is to obtain police assistance. Our hypothesis was that individuals who have easier access to police services (have police stations in close proximity and say that it is easy to obtain police services) are more likely to report crimes than those facing difficulty in accessing police services.

Other possible explanatory factors: While the interest of this analysis is in integrity, performance, and accessibility of police services, many other factors might affect an individual's decision on whether to report a crime. For example, it is possible that a victim's gender, socioeconomic circumstances, and degree of exposure to information from the media, as well as the nature of the crime experienced, might also influence the decision. To account for the possible influence of such alternative explanations, the analysis includes the following variables in the estimation equation: personal characteristics (age, gender, level of education, and lived poverty index score – a measure of the experience of poverty), degree of exposure to information



media (a composite of how often the respondent uses radio, television, newspaper, and the Internet to access news), nature and frequency of experienced crime, fear of crime, and interpersonal trust.

Regression models: The regressions to examine the relative strength of the influence of the various factors on reporting behavior uses as independent variables 1) responses to individual survey questions and 2) indices created using responses to questions that are measures of related concepts. (See Annex Table 1 for a complete description of variables and the data recoding scheme.) For indices, factor analysis (maximum likelihood method) was used to determine the reliability of pooling the responses to these questions. Annex Table 2 provides detailed results of the factor analysis.¹ All indices have been calculated as simple mathematical averages of the questions drawn together to formulate the latent variable.

The sample for the regression analysis consists of survey respondents who said they had experienced a theft from their home or a physical attack in the 12 months prior to the interview date (N=1,115; due to missing responses in some of the variables, the number of cases included in the analysis is reduced slightly to 1,069). The dependent variable is the response to the Afrobarometer question asking whether they reported the theft or attack to the police.

The first regression analysis tests the three hypotheses concurrently on the entire sample of victims of crime in the Afrobarometer survey data. To examine how the effects of perceived police integrity and government performance in fighting crime vary with accessibility of police services, the sample is split further to estimate two other regression equations: Model 2 shows the effect of perceived integrity and performance on the decision to report crime in areas that do not have police stations within easy reach, while Model 3 tests the effect of these variables on crime reporting in areas that do have police service stations within easy reach. All data were weighted before performing logistic equation estimations.

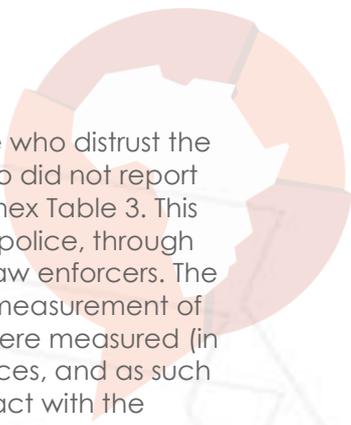
Results

Table 5 presents results of a logistic regression model that concurrently estimates the effects of perceived police integrity, perceived government performance in fighting crime, and accessibility of police services on the likelihood that a crime is reported by the victim.² The analysis is based on the entire sample of victims, regardless of whether they have good or poor access to police stations.

Of the four measures of perceived police integrity (trust in the police, perception of police corruption, prior experience of bribing a police officer, and personal view of the legitimacy of the police mandate to enforce the law), only trust in the police has a statistically significant relationship with victims' crime-reporting behaviour. However, instead of trust encouraging crime reporting, as was hypothesized, this analysis finds that victims who say they trust the police are 14% *less likely* to report a crime (odds ratio (OR) = 0.863).

¹Although reliability test (Cronbach's alpha) statistics for the composite measures of lived poverty and ease of accessibility of police services are below 0.7, this analysis uses them because they are the nearest measures of the respective concepts available in the data.

²Regression results tables present the coefficients of the independent variables alongside the odds ratio. When the coefficient of the independent variable is negative, the odds ratio is less than 1 ($\text{Exp}(B) < 1$), indicating that a unit increase in the predictor variable will decrease the likelihood of the outcome variable occurring by a factor equivalent to the magnitude of the odds ratio. On the other hand, when the coefficient of the predictor variable is positive, the odds ratio is greater than 1 ($\text{Exp}(B) > 1$), indicating that the likelihood of the expected outcome, in this case crime reporting, increases by a factor the size of the odds ratio for each unit increase in the independent variable.



This finding indicates the presence of a higher percentage of people who distrust the police among victims who reported crimes, compared to victims who did not report the crime they experienced, as is confirmed in the data shown in Annex Table 3. This might suggest that victims' experiences of being in contact with the police, through crime reporting, are important in shaping their attitudes toward the law enforcers. The order of occurrence of events, in this case reporting behaviour and measurement of trust attitudes, is crucial. Attitudes of those who experienced crime were measured (in Afrobarometer data) after their experience of accessing police services, and as such it might be that attitudes evolved differently for those who had contact with the police compared to those who did not.

As regards government performance in fighting crime, two of the variables (faith in the ability of the justice mechanism to ensure that offenders are punished and belief in the impartiality of treatment before the law) have statistically significant effects on crime reporting. For the latter, the sign of the coefficient shows that those who believe people are treated unequally under the law are 25% less likely to report a crime to the police than those who think there is equal treatment. In other words, faith in impartial treatment before the law, as was expected, does encourage crime reporting.

However, while it was hypothesized that victims who think criminals go unpunished would be less likely to report, we find instead that those who are concerned that criminals go unpunished are 46% *more likely* to report a crime (OR=1.456). There are two possible but competing explanations for this finding. First, it may be that a desire to see that justice is served is an especially strong reporting motivator for people who think that many criminals go unpunished. Alternatively, as with the trust attitudes, it may mean that rather than generally held opinions shaping reporting behaviour, it is victims' prior experience in accessing police help that shapes their attitudes negatively. As Annex Table 4 shows, victims who reported the crime are indeed more likely to believe that criminals go unpunished. This suggests the existence of performance problems in the police machinery, a finding that is further supported by the fact that a significantly higher proportion of victims who have reported a crime say it is "difficult" or "very difficult" to obtain police help when needed (Annex Figure 1).

Table 5: Factors influencing choice to report or not report crime | Tanzania
| 2012

	Coefficient, B	Odds ratio, Exp(B)
Dependent variable: Whether a victim reported crime (1) or did not report (0)		
H1. Police integrity		
<i>Police can be trusted</i>	-.147***	.863
<i>Police corruption</i>	-.094	.911
<i>Have bribed police in the past</i>	-.125	.883
<i>Police have right to make people obey the law</i>	-.034	.967
H2. Police performance		
<i>Government performance in reducing crime</i>	-.080	.923
<i>Ordinary criminals go unpunished</i>	.376***	1.456
<i>People are treated unequally under the law</i>	-.277***	.758
H3. Logistical factors		
<i>Police services in close proximity</i>	.610**	1.841
<i>It is easy to obtain police help</i>	-.039	.962
H4. Respondents individual characteristics		
<i>Age</i>	.050	1.051
<i>Gender (Male =1)</i>	.256*	1.292
<i>Level of education</i>	.005	1.005
<i>Lived poverty</i>	.228**	1.256
H5. Exposure to information media	.313***	1.368
H6. Interpersonal trust	.065	1.067
H7. Nature and frequency of crime experience		
<i>Theft in home</i>	.367***	1.444
<i>Physical assault</i>	-.077	.926
H8. Fear of crime	-.008	.992
H9. Police service * ease of obtaining police help^a	-.060	.941
Constant	-.843*	.430
Number of cases included in analysis (N)	1,069	
<i>Model's -2Log likelihood</i>	1361.297	
R²		
<i>Cox & Snell R-square</i>	.102	
<i>Nagelkerke R-square</i>	.137	
Hosmer & Lameshow test of model fit: Chi² (df=8)	12.173	

*** significant at 0.01; ** significant at 0.05; * significant at 0.1.

^aThe model considers whether police were seen in the area and/or police station is within easy reach of the community.

Among the measures of accessibility of police services (presence of police services in close proximity and ease of obtaining police help), only proximity of police services has an expected (positive) and statistically significant effect on crime reporting. The likelihood that a victim will report a crime increases by 84% (OR=1.841) when police



services are within easy reach compared to when police stations are not within easy reach. Of all the variables of interest included in the regression, the presence of police services has the strongest and most straightforward effect on crime-reporting decisions.

As for the other explanatory variables included in the main estimation equation, results in Table 5 show that men are more likely to report a crime they experienced than women and that the poorer a person is, the more likely s/he is to report a crime. In addition, exposure to information media is a strong predictor of crime reporting. People who are exposed to information are 37% more likely to report a crime compared to those who lack information (OR=1.368).

Concerning the nature and frequency of experienced crime, this analysis shows that when a person is a victim of theft, s/he is 44% more likely to report the incident than if the crime is a physical assault. Other studies (e.g. Fishman, 1979; Zhang, Messner, & Liu, 2007) have found similar results in analysing data from Israel and Chinese cities. One possible explanation is that crimes against property are more likely to be reported than crimes against persons because there is some hope of recovering what was stolen and because insurers would require a police report before they process insurance claims for the lost assets. In addition, stigma concerning physical assaults may tend to discourage people from reporting.

Table 6 shows the effect of perceived police integrity and perceived government performance in fighting crime on the likelihood of crime reporting in different situations of accessibility of police stations. In performing this analysis, the sample of victims is split according to whether (i) there are no police stations within easy reach of victims (Model 2) and (ii) police stations are within easy reach (Model 3).

With regard to measures of perceived police integrity, trust in the police loses statistical significance when there are police stations within easy reach (Model 3), suggesting that having police services nearby is a more powerful consideration in crime-reporting decisions than how much the victim trusts the police. As in the main model, perception of police corruption, prior experience of bribing police, and individual view of the legitimacy of the police's mandate do not have statistically significant effects on the likelihood that a crime is reported. Given the small proportion of survey enumeration areas that have police services nearby (Table 4), this finding suggests that Tanzania might be able to significantly increase the rates of crime reporting by increasing its emphasis on making police services more accessible to communities where access remains a problem.

With respect to measures of perceived performance in fighting crime, satisfaction with government performance in reducing crime becomes a statistically significant predictor when there are police stations in close proximity. However, the sign of the coefficient is negative, suggesting that people expressing approval of government performance in reducing crime are 21% *less likely* to report an incident to the police (OR=0.790). Furthermore, the likelihood that a person who thinks criminals often go unpunished will report a crime also increases to 53% (OR=1.536) when there are police stations nearby, compared to 45% when there are no police stations nearby. Concern about partiality of treatment under the law, on the other hand, loses statistical significance in explaining crime-reporting behaviour when there are police stations within easy reach of the victims. This again suggests that having police services nearby is a more powerful consideration in crime-reporting decisions than concerns about partial treatment under the law.

Table 6: Impact of presence of police stations on other determinants of crime reporting | Tanzania | 2012

	Model 2: No police station in easy reach		Model 3: Police station within easy reach	
	Coefficient, B	Exp(B)	Coefficient, B	Exp(B)
Dependent variable: Whether a victim reported crime (1) or did not report (0)				
H1. Police integrity				
<i>Police can be trusted</i>	-.154***	.857	-.137	.872
<i>Police corruption</i>	-.142	.868	.169	1.184
<i>Have bribed police in the past</i>	-.086	.917	-.288	.749
<i>Police have right to make people obey the law</i>	-.009	.991	-.231	.794
H2. Police performance				
<i>Government performance in reducing crime</i>	-.051	.950	-.236*	.790
<i>Ordinary criminals go unpunished</i>	.371***	1.449	.429*	1.536
<i>People are treated unequally under the law</i>	-.307***	.736	-.243	.785
H3. Logistical factors				
<i>Police seen in the area^b</i>	.909	2.483	.146	1.157
<i>It is easy to obtain police help</i>	-.033	.968	-.192	.825
H4. Individual characteristics				
<i>Age</i>	.031	1.031	.279	1.322
<i>Gender (Male =1)</i>	.267*	1.306	.088	1.092
<i>Level of education</i>	-.036	.965	.106	1.112
<i>Lived poverty</i>	.249**	1.285	.250	1.284
H5. Exposure to information media	.348***	1.417	.203	1.225
H6. Interpersonal trust	.112	1.118	-.149	.862
H7. Nature and frequency of crime experienced				
<i>Theft in home</i>	.321***	1.378	.588***	1.801
<i>Physical assault</i>	-.012	.988	-.440*	.644
H8. Fear of crime	-.024	.976	.064	1.066
H9. Police seen in area* ease of obtaining police help	-.223	.800	.167	1.182
Constant	-.939	.391*	.705	2.024
Number of cases included in regression (N)	894		175	
Model's -2Log likelihood	1129.733		218.841	
R²				
Cox & Snell R-square	.089		.183	
Nagelkerke R-square	.120		.244	
Hosmer & Lameshow test of model fit Chi²(df=8)	10.801		15.768*	

*** Significant at 0.01; **significant at 0.05; * significant at 0/1

^b The model only considers whether police was seen in the area.



Regarding the other explanatory variables, both gender and lived poverty lose statistical significance in explaining crime-reporting behaviour when police stations are within easy reach. That is, women become as likely as men and the affluent as likely as the poor to report a crime. Perhaps an indication that police stations tend to be in places with easy access to information, exposure to information media also loses its effect on crime-reporting behaviour when police stations are within easy reach.

The only one of these variables that retains its statistical significance in all three models is theft in homes: The likelihood that a crime will be reported the more often the crime is experienced increases by 80% (OR=1.801) when there are police stations within easy reach and by 37% (OR=1.374) when there are no police stations within easy reach. The effect of physical assaults becomes statistically significant when there are police stations nearby, but the sign of the coefficient is negative, indicating that the more frequent a victim experiences assault, the less likely s/he is to report the incidents. The sign of the constant in Model 3 also changes; it becomes positive, indicating that even when all other variables have no effect, the presence of police stations alone would be enough to motivate some victims to report crimes.

Conclusion

Besides being a first step in helping the aggrieved secure justice, reporting crime is important in improving the effectiveness of governments' crime control and mitigation efforts. A majority of victims of theft in homes and physical assaults in Tanzania, however, do not report the incidents to the police, a situation that Tanzanians attribute mainly to inaccessibility of police stations, low police responsiveness, and lack of police integrity. This analysis of Afrobarometer data on crime victims shows there is validity to some but not all of these beliefs regarding reasons for low crime reporting.

Having police stations within easy reach is the factor with the strongest positive effect on crime reporting in this analysis. Bringing police stations closer to communities can thus be an effective way of improving crime reporting. In addition, victims who believe that people are treated equally under the law are more likely to report a crime to the police than those who think the law is not enforced impartially. In other words, faith in impartial treatment before the law can encourage crime reporting.

Furthermore, exposure to information improves the chances of crimes being reported and has a particularly powerful effect when police stations are not easily accessible. As such, it is important to sustain investment in public education about the importance of not keeping silent when victimized.

As regards police integrity, the analysis finds no statistically significant relationship between perceptions of police corruption and crime reporting. Thus, even though people believe that police corruption discourages crime victims from reporting, those who say the police are corrupt are just as likely to report a crime as those who believe the police are not corrupt. This finding should not be taken as a suggestion that concerns about police integrity and performance are unfounded. This analysis demonstrates that even though a majority of Tanzanians retain some trust in the police, this proportion has dwindled in recent years, and concerns about police integrity are growing. Furthermore, citizens say that police assistance remains largely difficult/very difficult to obtain when needed. Taken together, these results indicate that it is essential for the government to address police integrity and performance issues. Investments to make police stations accessible should therefore go hand in hand with reforms to improve police integrity, efficiency, and responsiveness.

Two findings challenge our expectations: that crime victims who say they trust the police are 14% *less likely* to report a crime, and that crime victims who express concern that offenders often go unpunished are 46% *more likely* to report a crime.



Our analysis suggests that one possible explanation may be that instead of generally held perceptions of the police shaping victims' choice of whether to report a crime or not, in these cases it may be that victims' prior experience in accessing police help (by reporting a crime) is negatively affecting victims' perceptions of the police, i.e. people who have had prior experience with the police, through crime reporting, are more likely to say that they distrust the police, that criminals often go unpunished, and that it is difficult to obtain police help.

This paper has focused on Tanzania. Further research might examine experiences in other parts of Africa concerning the effects of perceived police integrity, perceived government performance in fighting crime, and accessibility of police services on crime reporting. Preliminary analysis suggests a possible link between experience with the police and perceptions of the police; further analysis might examine in detail how actual experiences with the police and the justice system are shaping people's attitudes toward law enforcement agents. In the context of limited accessibility of police services, which citizens in many developing countries face, this might be helpful for policy makers looking to improve their performance in delivering public services.

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Annex

Annex Table 1: Measurement and hypotheses

	Independent variable concept and indicator	Variable coding description	Relationship with dependent variable
H1	Integrity of the police		
A	<i>Police can be trusted</i> Perceived extent to which police can be relied upon	0=Does not trust at all, to 3=Trusts a lot	Positive
B	<i>Police corruption</i> Perceived extent of corruption in the police force	0=None of them is corrupt, to 3=All are corrupt	Negative
C	<i>Have bribed police in the past</i> Experiential measure of police corruption	0=Never paid a bribe, to 3=Often paid a bribe. "Don't know" and "No experience" are treated as "Never paid a bribe"=0.	Negative
D	Police have right to make people obey the law	1=Strongly disagrees, to 5=Strongly agree. "Don't know" is treated as Neutral=3.	Positive
H2	Police performance (efficiency and effectiveness)		
A	<i>Government performance in reducing crime</i>	1=Very badly, to 5=Very well. "Don't know" is treated as Neutral=3.	Positive
B	<i>Ordinary criminals go unpunished</i>	0=They never go unpunished, to 3=They always go unpunished. "Don't know" is treated as "Never go unpunished"=0.	Negative
C	<i>People are treated unequally under the law</i>	0=People are treated equally to 3=People are always treated unequally. "Don't know" is recoded 0=Treated equally.	Negative
H3	Logistical factors—ease of accessing police help		
A	<i>Police service is in close proximity:</i> A composite of presence of (i) police station and (ii) police in the enumeration area	Index of availability of police service, 0=Police and police station not available, to 2=Police and police station in close proximity.	Positive
B	<i>It is easy to obtain help from police</i>	Recoded 1=Very difficult to 5=Very easy. "No opinion" is treated as Neutral=3.	Positive
H4	Individual characteristics		
A	<i>Age</i>	Years since birth (condensed): 1=18-35 to 3=Over 51	Positive
B	<i>Gender</i>	Dummy: 0 if female, 1 if male	Positive
C	<i>Education</i>	Level of schooling attained (condensed into categories), 0=No	Positive

	Independent variable concept and indicator	Variable coding description	Relationship with dependent variable
		formal schooling to 3=Post-secondary education	
D	Poverty	Index of deprivation of basic needs: 0=Have not lacked, to 4=Always experienced lack. "Don't know" is treated as 0=Never lacked.	Positive
H5	Exposure to information media Composite of frequency of use of radio, TV, newspaper, and Internet to access news	Index of exposure to news: 0=Never to 4=Access news every day using all media. "Don't know" is treated as 0= Never	Positive
H6	Interpersonal trust: Most people can be trusted	Index of trust: 0= Must be very careful, 2= People can be trusted. "Don't know" is placed in between=1.	Positive
H7	Nature and frequency of victimization		
	Theft in home	0=Not experienced theft, to 3= Three or more times	Positive
	Physical assault	0=Not experienced physical assault, to 3=Three or more times	Positive
H8	Fear of crime	0=Never feared crime, to 4=Always feared crime	Positive
H9	Interaction: Presence of police service and ease of access of police help	Interaction variable	Positive

Annex Table 2: Factor analysis results for composite variables

	Independent variable concept and indicator	Relevant survey questions	Eigen values total	% of variance explained	Reliability Cronbach's alpha
H3	Logistical factors				
A	Police service is in close proximity	EA-FAC-C & EA-SEC-A	1.220	60.987	0.354
H4	Individual characteristics				
D	Poverty	Q8A-Q8E	2.061	41.227	.638
H5	Exposure to information media	Q13A-Q13D	2.072	51.810	.676
H8	Fear of crime	Q9A & 9B	1.704	85.220	.825

Annex Table 3: Trust in the police | by experience accessing police help (reporting or not reporting a crime) | Tanzania | 2012

		Reported crime to the police?		
		No	Yes	Total
How much do you trust the police?	Not at all	18%	24%	21%
	Just a little	26%	31%	28%
	Somewhat	35%	30%	33%
	A lot	21%	15%	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%	

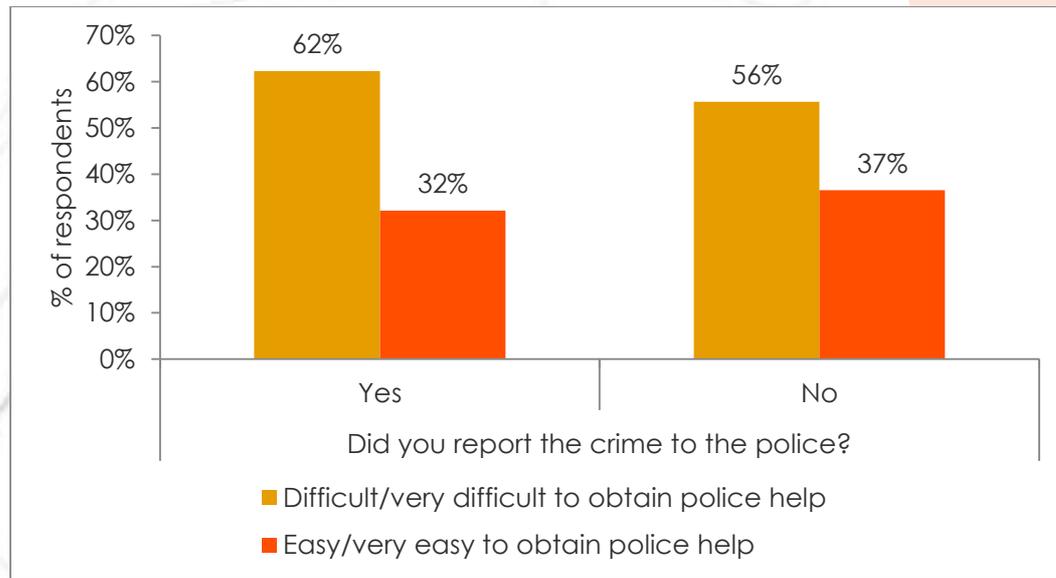
Notes: χ^2 (df=3)=13.970 ($p=0.003$); Kendall's tau-b=-0.103 ($p=0.000$), indicating significant at 0.01 level.

Annex Table 4: Perception of justice system's ability to punish criminals | by experience accessing police help (reporting or not reporting a crime) | Tanzania | 2012

		Reported crime to the police?		
		No	Yes	Total
How often do ordinary criminals go unpunished?	Never	37%	25%	32%
	Rarely	42%	43%	42%
	Often	20%	30%	24%
	Always	1%	2%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	

Notes: χ^2 (df=3)=23.267 ($p=0.000$); Kendall's tau-b=0.139 ($p=0.000$), indicating results are significant at 0.01 level

Annex Figure 1: Perceived ease of obtaining police services | by experience accessing police help (reporting or not reporting a crime) | Tanzania | 2012



Chi² (df=4)=13.591 (p=0.009, which is significant at 0.01 level). Chi² test was performed on the full range of responses (very difficult, difficult, never tried, easy, very easy); the figure combines the sub-categories. Kendall's tau-b=-0.063 (p=0.027), indicating significant at 0.05 level).



AFRO BAROMETER

LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY

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