Western Cape Government

Community Safety

COMMUNITY SAFETY AUDIT REPORT (2018/2019)

Towards Community Safety Planning in three Western Cape sites

SAFETY AUDIT REPORT of Atlantis, Philippi East and Stellenbosch

September 2019

Western Cape Government

Community Safety

A NOTE ON THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY SAFETY

The principal research agent, the Western Cape Department of Community Safety's Directorate for Policy and Research, is a part of the Provincial Secretariat for Safety and Security. The directorate conducts research and publishes reports with the aim of influencing the allocation of policing and safety resources within the Western Cape through determining the policing needs and priorities of communities, thereby contributing towards improved safety, wellness and the reduction of social ills across the Province.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	Central Business District
CCTV	Closed-circuit Television
CDW	Catholic Welfare and Development
CCID	Central City Improvement District
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CoGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CPF	Community Police Forum
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
CSA	Community Safety Audit
CSF	Community Safety Forum
CSPS	Civilian Secretariat for Police Services
DoCS	Department of Community Safety
FBO	Faith-based Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
JCPS	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transsexual, Intersex, Queer
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
MURP	Mayoral Urban Renewal Programme
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHW	Neighbourhood Watch
PNPs	Policing Needs and Priorities
RSEP	Regional Socio-economic Programme
SAPS	South African Police Service
SSI	Stellenbosch Safety Initiative
TOD	Transport Oriented Development
URPs	Urban Regeneration Programmes
VAWG	Violence against Women and Girls
VoCS	Victims of Crimes Survey
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Urban Design
WoSA	Whole of Society Approach
WPSS	White Paper on Safety and Security

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Development Plan holds the vision that by 2030 all people living in South Africa will feel safe and have no fear of crime. In order to realise this vision, a Whole of Society Approach is required, which encompasses the efforts of all spheres of government, at local, provincial and national levels, as well as all communities, spanning across business and civil society. Such an effort requires a high level of planning and coordination, and the product of this effort should be evidence-based.

The Community Safety Audits undertaken by the Western Cape Department of Community Safety represents one of the mechanisms aimed at realising the NDP vision 2030. This study brings attention to key safety concerns raised by community members and service providers within the three police precincts involved in this study in 2018, namely Atlantis, Philippi East and Stellenbosch. The report highlights recommendations for the reduction or where possible, the elimination of identified risk factors that lead to the occurrence of violence in public spaces within these three areas. This information will shape the development of strategies and policies to promote and ensure community safety in the selected areas in the province.

The studies employed mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative methods) and comprises
- a literature/desk review
- safety audit focus groups
- in-depth interviews and
- crime mapping and hotspotting.

Research partnerships with the South African Police Service (SAPS), the City of Cape Town (CoCT) and Stellenbosch Municipality were endeavoured with the aim of providing the required information and intelligence which may be used in the effective development of responsive safety plans and local crime prevention strategies of these agencies.

The safety audits
- highlight the safety and crime concerns expressed by the members of the three participating communities
- generate a snapshot of safety perceptions and crime trends within the identified geographic areas
- provide a safety threat and risk analysis based on articulated safety concerns
- examine existing safety interventions within a crime prevention paradigm and
- provide recommendations for the enhancement of community safety initiatives.

They further:
- summarise identified current prevention initiatives
- examine identified available resources and capacities
- set out emerging priorities based on participant identification
- identify key partners for future action, and
- describe leadership and responsibilities.

For all three identified areas in this safety audit geographical and socio-economic information is provided to contextualise the research settings. The crime mapping and hotspotting analysis provides a community safety profile which includes perceptions of safety and crime in the various neighbourhoods in all three areas. Where participants indicated that they felt unsafe, the reasons for these perceptions were explored. Communities' perceptions were triangulated with SAPS statistical data on recorded crime. More importantly, the study identified risk factors and protective factors. Risk factors are those characteristics or conditions that increase the likelihood that an individual will become a victim or a perpetrator of violence, while protective factors are those factors that shield, reduce or eliminate these risks. Both are of crucial importance in an attempt to design effective violence prevention interventions. The Community Safety Audit provides the foundation for strategies and interventions that are effective in preventing crime and improving the quality of life for citizens. The study argues that the Community Safety Audit should be repeated periodically. It should be part of the tools used by the municipalities to inform their IDP process and their five-year development cycles.

Part B encapsulates the Atlantis Safety Audit. In Atlantis, gangsterism and gang-related crimes were raised as serious concerns. Volatile areas include all the Flats Areas (Dura Flats, Coral Place, etc.), Saxonsea, Old Protea Park and Sherwood Park. Witsand was raised as an area of concern due to the lack of services and distances travelled by commuters (often through bushy and unsafe areas), where risks of robberies were highlighted.

Schools and parks were highlighted as particularly dangerous places for children as a result of gang violence. Specific youth data is provided on trends associated with youth offending. Access to services by the youth is also explored in the audit.

Issues of job creation and substance misuse are highlighted and the need for rehabilitation and a mental health approach in dealing with offences relating to substance abuse is recommended, within the criminal justice system.

In assessing crime prevention services and resources in Atlantis, as identified by the community and also through further research, service coordination, collaboration and partnerships, as critical elements to effective service delivery are explored, highlighting challenges to these. Notably, SAPS, NWH, CPF and private security companies are the main structures that render crime prevention in the area. Some of the churches are reportedly rendering youth safety projects. Specific vulnerable groups in Atlantis were further identified, highlighting associated risks and vulnerabilities. In relation to these, protective factors which could be put in place to address these risks and vulnerabilities are recommended, as well as potential service providers for these interventions, as identified by communities, and also as mandated by existing legal frameworks.

Robberies and assaults were high crime categories according to SAPS and community reports. Robberies may be addressed through measures which include increased SAPS, Metro Police and Traffic Enforcement patrols during peak crime times, as well as through CPTED urban upgrades in malls and at ATMs, starting in the Atlantis CBD. Specific measures for easy and safe access must be developed for physically disabled persons and elderly people.

One of the programmatic recommendations for inclusion in a safety plan is the creation of a safety zone which encapsulates at least one school and one park (more if they fall within the defined and agreed upon radius), as well as roads within a small, defined geographic radius which can be expanded and scaled up if it is proven effective. This requires enhanced collaboration by role players including the City of Cape Town (Law Enforcement, Metro Police, SROs, Councillors, Transport, Recreation and Parks), the Department of Community Safety, NHWs, the SAPS, and importantly, the community. A recommended NGO partner is Gun-Free SA, who may assist in public education and awareness, including required signage designs.

Part C incorporates the Philippi East Safety Audit. The SAPS identified three police sectors and areas within these sectors where crimes occur frequently. The study highlights Marikana informal settlement in particular as an area where robberies, murders and burglaries are taking place frequently. The informal structures in the informal settlements in Philippi East and Marikana in particular were erected in a way that made it difficult for the police to access most of the areas. In addition, there is a lack of street lighting at night. Public amenities such as public toilets are remote and pose a threat to women and children at night. The narrow pathways in between the informal structures have made it inaccessible for vehicle patrols and dangerous to police officers who might patrol on foot.

The de-densification and re-designing of the area to incorporate CPTED principles (which would include installing more water and sanitation services at closer distances to homes, erecting street lights), and widening and constructing proper roads for vehicular access for patrols must be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Crimes such as murder, drug trafficking and trading, residential burglary and robberies are particular crime concerns for the area. Vigilantism is also a particular and growing concern.

One of the recommended safety interventions is the creation of gun-free zones at taverns and within a specific radius of these establishments. A social contract with community members and tavern owners should thus be explored. Attempts should be made to partner with Gun-Free SA for public education and awareness, seeing that the organisation is implementing these initiatives already, but consultation with the local community and tavern owners is essential in developing this programme.

Part D represents the Stellenbosch Community Safety Audit. This section takes on a different structure as Stellenbosch is a Category B local municipality on its ownand home to 173 419 people. On the other hand, Philippi East and Atlantis are two urban and peri-urban areas located within the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality (a category A municipality), which is home to an estimated 4 004 793 people. The City has 116 Wards. Atlantis comprises two of these wards and Philippi East comprises two wards in the City of Cape Town. Stellenbosch municipality, on the other hand, has 22 wards. In areas

which are primarily rural, like Stellenbosch, local government is divided into district municipalities and local municipalities. Stellenbosch municipality falls within the Cape Winelands District Municipality.

For Stellenbosch, a framework for integrated safety planning is provided which covers risk factors within certain wards and existing protective factors which may be enhanced through appropriate interventions and which combats identified risk factors. It also includes required services to address the identified risks, which have been identified by the participants in this audit, as well as through IDP consultations in the relevant wards for the 2017/2018 financial years. The budget allocations are set out and may be analysed with regard to whether and to what extent they address the service needs as articulated in the audit and the IDP.

Ward spending per population in the selected wards is further set out as well as areas flagged for consideration for future budget allocations to enhance safety in Stellenbosch.

Whereas robberies appear to be a primary concern in Stellenbosch, areas like Ida's Valley, Cloetesville, and the Kreefgat informal settlement hold particular risks in respect of drug trafficking and trading, as well as gun violence. Azania and Khayamandi are high risk areas because of unequal service distribution and resource allocations amongst other things, including within wards inside Khayamandi (compared also to the greater Stellenbosch area). Social unrest could therefore be mitigated with proper community consultation during the planning and implementation of services in these communities, especially if service provision is staggered across zones, as well as through enhanced service delivery.

Assault, domestic violence, theft out of motor vehicles, theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles and robberies were cited as the main concerns in the area. Domestic violence' particularly in Khayamandi was a major concern. Theft out of vehicles was cited as a concern in the CBD. Interventions to address these challenges should be part of the Stellenbosch safety plan.

The Stellenbosch Safety Initiative (SSI) represents the municipality's attempt to coordinate safety services especially in and around the Stellenbosch CBD. An integrated safety approach, which incorporates working with the psycho-social service agencies in the area, is required to enhance safety in the municipality and should include a particular focus on Khayamandi, Cloetesville, Ida's Valley and Kreefgat (inter alia). Better integration, resource distribution and capacitating existing state and community safety structures will be key to achieving optimal safety outcomes through the SSI.

In all three police precincts, the priority crimes identified by the community through the focus group discussions and community crime mapping exercise resonate with what has been reported to the SAPS. Such findings suggest that communities are knowledgeable about crime in their areas and should therefore be an integral part of a short-, medium- and long-term solution to crime. Participants identified risk factors and pointed out geographical areas that are prone to crime based on their experience and knowledge of the area. Such information should serve as a basis for the development of a community safety strategy premised on leveraging the different structures (government institutions, private institutions and community-based structures) that exist locally in each of these police precincts.

The study identified crime prevention organisations per area, but could not confirm the existence of a safety coordinating body for these organisations, except in Stellenbosch where the SSI exists.

The study supports an approach to safety that incorporates spatial targeting in state safety interventions. Overall the value of the study and the realisation of safety in these three communities depends on the willingness of the different institutions and the municipalities to work together to render the required services in an attempt to improve people's lives and by extension, improve safety for all.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the Community Safety Audits, the following general recommendations are made:

- The City of Cape Town and Stellenbosch Municipality should incorporate key safety concerns raised by the participants in this study from all three geographical areas, as well as consider the relevant recommendations in their five-year IDP review document. Mechanisms to address these concerns should be established, the implementation of any activities aimed at addressing these issues should be monitored, and communities should receive feedback at significant milestones in the implementation process. Challenges to such implementation should be discussed with communities and joint strategies should be developed in partnership with the affected communities for the remedy thereof. Relevant ward councillors should be mobilised to facilitate the feedback and reporting process.
- Spatially targeted inter-departmental joint interventions, including social crime prevention and mental health rehabilitative and re-integrative interventions, should be developed from within each police precinct in partnership with the affected communities in all the geographic areas identified as unsafe crime hotspots by the participants in this study.

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY SAFETY AUDIT REPORT

The Western Cape Community Safety Audit Report contains four parts.

Part A sets out the foundation for all three audits, with regard to the adopted conceptual and analytical framework for the safety audit studies. It also highlights key legal and procedural considerations which guided the studies and which will aid in the development and implementation of the resulting safety plans across the spheres of government.

Part B comprises the ATLANTIS community safety audit findings, discussion and analysis. It also includes relevant key recommendations.

Part C comprises the PHILIPPI EAST community safety audit findings, discussion and analysis. It also includes relevant key recommendations.

Part D comprises the STELLENBOSCH community safety audit findings, discussion and analysis. It also includes relevant key recommendations.

Part E constitutes procedural guidelines for the way forward, notably, for the Safety Planning process.

The Conceptual and Legal Framework:

Rationale for Safety Auditing

CHAPTER 1

COMMUNITY SAFETY AUDITS: A VITAL PART OF THE PREVENTION PROCESS

Community safety is recognised globally as an essential ingredient of community development. It is a key component for realising livable, productive, inclusive and sustainable neighbourhoods and municipalities, and therefore, must be prioritised.[1] The 'security of individuals and their living environment' is fundamental to the creation of the 'Inclusive City' where 'everyone, regardless of wealth, gender, age, race or religion, is enabled to participate productively and positively in the opportunities cities have to offer'.

Crime and violence are fueled by factors such as extreme inequality, unemployment, inadequate services and health provisions, social exclusion and overcrowding. Addressing these drivers of violence and crime requires integrated approaches that go beyond conventional security and policing approaches. The equitable and adequate allocation of resources within and between communities is essential to the success of such approaches and a greater focus is therefore needed on how state fiscal arrangements can and should enable safety. A more spatially differentiated policy response is needed that takes into account the concentration of violence and crime in the country's cities and towns and directs and prioritises the allocation of financial resources and technical capacity development support accordingly.[2]

Crime and violence, however, are not static, and social and structural factors that contribute to crime and violence are likely to change over time.[3] The need for improved municipal-level crime data is increasingly being recognised.[4] This is because national crime statistics obscure the immensely skewed distribution of crime and violence within a country, communities, neighbourhoods, and even households.[5] It is therefore important for role players to know the distribution of crime within municipalities.

The ongoing collection and utilisation of accurate data,[6] and concomitant strategic development to accommodate these changes, must be strived for to ensure needs-responsive and, at the same time, proactive crime prevention policies and programmes. Community safety audits are recognised to contribute to this wider agenda.

Community safety audits have been ascribed various names, including crime profiles, environmental scans and security diagnoses. In general terms, a safety audit is 'a systematic analysis undertaken
- to gain an understanding of the crime and victimisation-related problems in a city
- to identify assets and resources for preventative activity
- to enable priorities to be identified and
- to help shape a strategy that will enable those priorities to be tackled.'[7]

A community safety audit needs to examine not just crime and victimisation within a geographic locality, but also their linkages with socio-economic factors and existing services, as well as the wider political and institutional context in which problems occur. The potential benefits of safety audits are increasingly being recognised and their use has become widespread. Notably, their usefulness at different spatial scales has been documented.[8]

Community safety audits are useful and indeed indispensable tools in the safety and policing policy environment. Community safety audits may be used to help address the continued vulnerability of people to violence and crime. Most countries' response to crime are based on policing, security agencies and the criminal justice system. While these are key components in any strategy, they are costly, often do not address the motivation to offend and may discriminate against the poor and vulnerable. For these reasons, the gains of implementing strategies that give a high priority to prevention are widely recognised.[9]

Policies and programmes that are aimed at preventing offending and victimisation have been argued to be the most cost effective way to create safer communities. It has further been argued that crime prevention is a critical component in creating safer communities, along with policing and law enforcement, judicial

responses and corrections.[10] Prevention involves 'reducing the risk of crime and its harmful effects, including fear, through interventions directed at the underlying conditions (or 'risk factors') linked with its occurrence'.[11]

A clear picture of crime and victimisation is the foundation for targeted action to reduce crime and increase individual and collective security. The safety audit is a tool to acquire the necessary knowledge and to build commitment from the range of partners whose collaboration is necessary to achieve results.[12] Indeed, the safety audit is an integral part of the process for developing a (joint) prevention strategy.

A strategic approach is vital to any effective and successful policy initiative, whether it be in the development, monitoring or evaluation thereof. Such an approach generates outputs and outcomes that are effective, sustainable and which make good use of scarce resources. A strategic approach involves developing a long-term plan that is based on a situational analysis, influenced by values and perspectives, and that is directed at the achievement of agreed goals.[13] The process should be initiated by the mobilisation of the key stakeholders whose support is essential to achieving concrete results.[14]

Safety audits are instrumental in educating partners and creating a shared understanding of municipal problems and current responses. This may assist in fostering political will and strengthening their resolve to work towards a common goal.[15] The aim of the process would be to use the safety audit's findings to formulate the vision and develop strategies with clear objectives (ideally contained in a safety plan). Such a strategy may indicate how priorities may be addressed. This facilitates and provides guidance for the implementation of measures that may bring about the desired change. [16]

Throughout the process, review and evaluation may ensure that future action is informed by past experience.[17] The process, from start to finish, should be inclusive and underpinned by participation by community members and partners alike. This would ensure that relevant interests are properly considered and that municipalities and other stakeholders may benefit from the active involvement of stakeholders and communities, in a manner which fulfils their statutory mandates.[18]

Figure 1: Safety Audits and the Design of the Crime Prevention Process
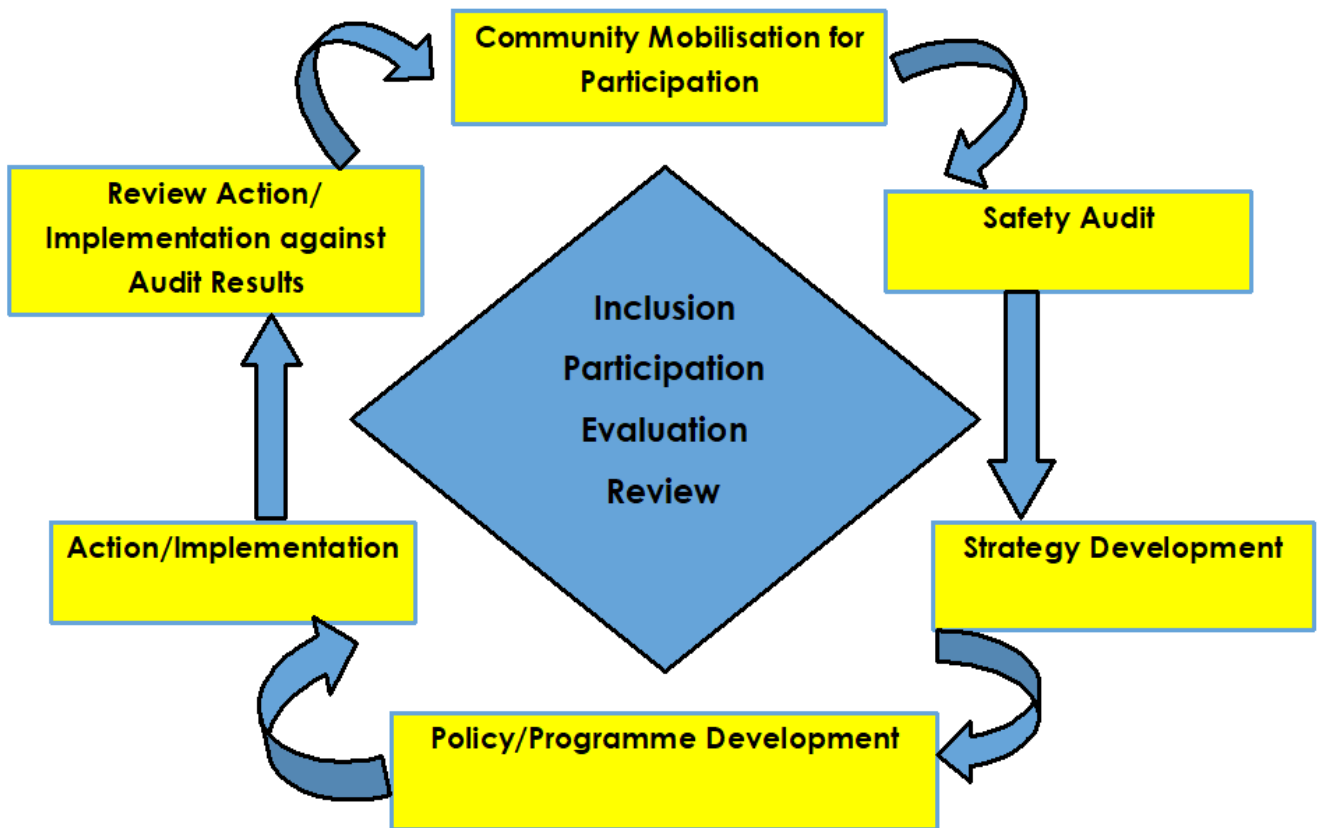
It needs to be recognised that this is an ongoing process. The audit and strategy need to be updated periodically and even repeated, as issues and priorities change in local communities.[19] In the case of municipalities, this may easily be facilitated through the incorporation of the process in their IDPs, their annual updates and five-year development cycles.

The Benefits of Safety Auditing

Safety audits make limited demands on the time and resources of crime prevention partners, but this investment can generate multiple benefits. Specifically, safety audits can

- enable the information, energy and resources of different organisations and communities to be pooled to build a comprehensive composite picture
- help organisations with differing perspectives to reach agreement about which problems should be given the highest priority
- reveal the complex linkages between social, economic and other factors and mobilise agencies to participate in preventive action
- provide the basis for effective problem solving, enabling the right balance to be struck between alternative approaches and activities
- promote partnership working and community involvement, so contributing to good urban governance
- build the capacity of local stakeholders through development of skills and knowledge
- reveal the distinctive characteristics of crime problems in a particular area, enabling solutions to be tailored to local needs
- highlight which measures and services have previously worked well and provide a baseline against which change and achievement can be measured; and
- provide the foundation for strategies that are effective in preventing crime and improving the quality of life for citizens. [20]

Community safety audit processes address and operationalise the key system level requirements expressed in the WPSS, which are necessary to facilitate the implementation of the White Paper and the delivery of programmes and interventions. These include

- the allocation of sufficient budgets and resources to safety, crime and violence prevention
- the alignment of legislation and policies to the White Paper
- the development and alignment of strategies to the White Paper by all government departments and spheres of government and incorporation of these into strategic plans, annual performance plans/norms and standards
- the establishment and resourcing of permanent implementation structures
- the institutionalisation of inter-governmental co-operation systems and mechanisms (horizontal and vertical)
- evidence-based planning and implementation
- the alignment of programmes and interventions to the approach and themes advocated in the White Paper; and
- active public and community participation.[21]

Importantly, it may also provide more nuanced information. The WPSS therefore recognises that '…even though statistics are important for purposes of measuring the prevalence of crime and violence, the lack of available disaggregated statistics (i.e. information relating to gender, race, age, nationality, relationship etc. of victims and perpetrators), makes it difficult to understand trends in crime, specifically the impact of certain crimes on different risk groups and the influence of certain factors on incidents of crime and violence.'[22]

Due to the spatial character of crime, violence and insecurity, safety audits are integral to municipal initiatives which address these factors, such as their urban regeneration programme. The objectives are certainly complementary. The methodology is similar, especially in the essential role of the community. Many outcomes of urban regeneration are essential interim objectives for safer communities and offer important mid-term indicators of success, something which crime prevention needs. Moreover, a safer community is a powerful shared objective for all residents. It can provide a clear focus for building social strength and community self-management.[23] Urban regeneration cannot take place in a vacuum, without the required contextual information. Safety Audits therefore constitute a vital part of the information gathering processes which should form the scaffolding for these initiatives.

In conclusion, implementing safety audits is reliant on certain key factors. They include the following:

- Community participation in the data collection processes are important. Participation can provide transparency and build trust in the process, which will subsequently include the Safety Planning process. This will result in improved data gathering processes and better data. Participation also builds the resilience of residents and allows them to take ownership of the process, as key safety stakeholders.[24]
- Data on informal settlements are needed to enable better urban management, which includes enabling municipalities to plan for the provision of infrastructure and services, to redevelop/upgrade slums, to guide housing improvement, land readjustment and land allocation.[25]
- Safety audits are a necessary antecedent for effective safety planning and both these processes should constitute a necessary part of urban planning and design.[26]
- In environmental design terms, effective policing is part of the management of urban spaces and facilities. Recognising the importance of collaboration between municipalities and the police in this regard is an integral part of any crime prevention strategy and the design recommendations outlined should enhance good policing.[27] Cooperation between the police, local government and other role players to improve local level crime prevention through the design of safer environments is imperative.
- Practitioners responsible for shaping the built environment (including urban planners and designers, architects, landscape architects and engineers) have a pivotal role in creating safer communities.[28]
- Little can be achieved without a coordinated crime prevention strategy. Changes to the physical environment will, in most cases, have a limited impact on the level of crime if carried out in isolation. The implementation of any crime prevention and safety strategy and plan needs to incorporate a multifaceted approach that involves many stakeholders, including the full range of urban decision-makers. Not least of these would be the residential and business communities in which the design interventions are to be effected.[29]
- Lastly, the degree of violent crime in South Africa necessitates a more holistic approach to crime reduction where environmental design is supported by other measures. The crime prevention potential through remodeling the physical environment can only be effective when used in conjunction with the other crime reduction approaches – law enforcement, social crime prevention and a functioning criminal justice system.[30]

LEGISLATIVE, POLICY AND PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORK AND APPROACHES

The Legal Framework

International Commitments and Guidelines

On a global level, being able to live free from violence, crime, intimidation and fear is a basic right embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[31] These Internationally recognised rights are given domestic force through national constitutions. Such freedom is not only important for enhancing the quality of life of individual citizens, but it is also essential for the sustainable development of cities and countries. Safety and security help create an environment in which economic growth can occur, where effective services can be provided and where these improvements contribute to the reduction of poverty and social exclusion. This applies equally to developed, developing and transitional countries. It is fundamental to achievement of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.[32]

Sustainable Development Goals

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs),[33] which replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in September 2015, provide a framework for the global development agenda 2015–2030 and establish a useful guideline for the monitoring and evaluation of state obligations in respect of the SDGs.[34] The SDGs take a holistic approach to sustainable development by promoting the need to address the root causes of poverty and illustrating the connection between peace, security, justice and sustainable development. They mark a critical shift in the global discussion on sustainable development and create a platform to transform crime and violence prevention initiatives.[35]

Goal 16 (Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels) recognises peace, justice and security as developmental issues, as well as state accountability to communities.[36]

The SDGs set key targets relevant to crime and violence prevention, at all levels of the state. It therefore enables monitoring and evaluating the impact of safety promotion at local, provincial and national spheres, which also facilitates reporting of progress against the SDGs.[37]

Goal 11 (Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable) has particular relevance for local governments. Key targets relevant to crime and violence prevention under Goal 11 include the following:

Table 1: SDG Goals and Applicable Municipal Service Areas

SDG: Goal 11 Target	Applicable Municipal Service Areas
Target 11.1	Safe and affordable housing
Target 11.2	Safe and reliable public transport
Target 11.3	Urban planning
Target 11.7	Access to safe public spaces
Target 11. A	Strengthened development planning
Target 11. B	Disaster risk management

The achievement of Goal 11 requires multi-sectoral support, within which a role for local government, police and safety practitioners is suggested in terms of the following: [38]

Table 2: SDG Goals and Required Roles per Sphere and Department of Government

SDG	Required Role/Activity	Responsible Sphere	Relevant Department(s)
Goal 11 - Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	Adoption of evidence-based methods for crime prevention safety partnerships	Local, Provincial and National	SAPS; Local Government; Community Safety; Department of Social Development; Department of Correctional Services; Arts and Culture; Education
	Coordination with other relevant safety and development agencies	Local, Provincial and National	SAPS; Local Government; Community Safety; Department of Social Development; Department of Correctional Services; Department of Economic Development and Tourism
	Participation by policing role players and safety practitioners in urban planning to ensure that urban design and planning promote safety	Local, Provincial and National	MURP; IDP Offices; Urban Planning; Rural Planning; SAPS; Community Safety; Law enforcement; Metro Police; Local Government Councillors;
	Evidence-based allocation of resources directed at ensuring that informal settlements and slum areas, transit points and public spaces are provided with adequate services.	Local	MURP; IDP Offices; Urban Planning; Rural Planning; Local Government Councillors;

SDG	Required Role/Activity	Responsible Sphere	Relevant Department(s)
Goal 16 – Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.[39]	Local, Provincial and National	DSD; Health; Education; SAPS; Community Safety; Correctional Services; Local Government Councillors; Law Enforcement; Metro Police
	End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children.[40]	Local, Provincial and National	DoJ; SAPS; DSD; Education; Local Government Councillors; Law Enforcement; Metro Police
	By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flow, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organised crime.[41]	National, Local	SAPS, Law Enforcement; Metro Police; NPA, DoJ; NHWs; CPFs
	Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.[42]	Local, Provincial and National	DSD; Health; Education; SAPS; Community Safety; Correctional Services; Local Government Councillors; Law Enforcement; Metro Police
	Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels.[43]	Local, Provincial and National	DSD; Health; Education; SAPS; Community Safety; Correctional Services; Local Government Councillors; Law Enforcement; Metro Police
	Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.[44]	Local, Provincial and National	SAPS, Law Enforcement; Metro Police NPA, DoJ; NHWs; CPFs; Local Government Councillors; Community Safety;
	Strengthen relevant institutions to prevent violence.[45]	Local, Provincial and National	SAPS, Community Safety; Local Government Councillors
	Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development.[46]	Local, Provincial and National	SAPS, Local Government Counsellors; Community Safety; Municipalities

In terms of the implementation of Target 16.1, safety actors should take into account the following:

- Cooperation and collaboration between sectors involved in crime and violence prevention, integrated service delivery and the important role of health systems, social development structures and education systems in addressing the risk factors that contribute to crime and violence.
- A developmental approach which considers multiple influences on the risk of experiencing and perpetrating violence. This approach will promote interventions designed to address the risk factors in respect of crime, while also identifying how contributions can be made to building the resilience of individuals, families and communities.
- An evidence-based approach that draws on what has worked in preventing crime and violence, particularly in a development context; in other words, strengthening information and data management systems in the region with a focus on promoting reliable data to enable member states to effectively plan, monitor and implement crime- and violence-prevention strategies.[47]

This approach is supported and promoted through this safety audit.

The SDGs outline a three-level reporting architecture known as Follow-Up and Review (FUR), which is structured at national, regional and international levels. At the regional level, member states are encouraged to undertake voluntary reviews of national efforts to implement the SDGs and to identify a suitable forum for peer learning and an exchange of best practices to take place. Each region is responsible for establishing an arrangement to facilitate this process.[48]

The National Framework

Safety and security is a fundamental responsibility of the state, as provided in Chapter 11 of the South African Constitution.[49] It is also a fundamental human right in terms of Chapter 2 of the Constitution (which binds all spheres of government), and 'a necessary condition for human development, improved quality of life and enhanced productivity'. The Bill of Rights affirms the democratic values of human dignity and equality and recognises the right of every person to freedom and security of the person and the right of every child to be protected from neglect, abuse, degradation and exploitation. Furthermore, the right to safety is articulated in Section 24 of the Constitution with regard to the right to a safe environment that is not harmful to health or well-being.[50] These provisions bind all spheres of government and all state entities and agents.

National Development Plan: Vision 2030

Safety is an essential human right and the state is constitutionally obliged to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights of the population. Consequently, the National Development Plan (NDP) puts forth a vision of ensuring the absolute safety of all people in South Africa, which makes the reduction of contact crimes one of the key priorities of the criminal justice system. It envisages that:

> 'In 2030, people living in South Africa feel safe and have no fear of crime. They are safe at home, at school, at work and they enjoy active community life free of fear. Women can walk freely in the streets and children can play safely outside. Safety and security are directly related to socioeconomic development and equity, affecting the development objectives of economic growth and transformation, employment creation, improved education and health outcomes, and strengthened social cohesion.'[51]

The National Development Plan – a government document presenting a bold vision of South Africa in 2030 – includes building safer communities as a core area. The plan states that safety is a core human right. Even more than that, as the above quote highlights, safety is understood to be more than the absence of violence and crime. The concept of safety in South Africa encompasses physical security and important social dimensions such as employment, education and health.

The White Paper for Safety and Security, 2016

The vision for 2030, as contained in the White Paper for Safety and Security, includes that South Africa will be a society in which all people:
- Live in safe environments;
- Play a role in creating and maintaining a safe environment;
- Feel and are safe from crime and violence and conditions that contribute to it; and
- Have equal access and recourse to high quality services when affected by crime and violence.[52]

The vision of the White Paper resonates with the country's National Development Plan (NDP), as well as with the rights and values enshrined in the Constitution. The White Paper aims to promote an integrated and holistic approach to safety and security, and to provide substance and direction to achieving the NDP's objectives of 'Building Safer Communities'.[53] It recognises that 'reactive policing approaches to crime are only partially effective in the prevention of crime and violence.'[54] It further espouses a pro-active approach to crime prevention, stating that:

> '...an over-reliance on criminal justice approaches risks prioritisation of increasingly repressive and punitive responses to crime that are ultimately reactive and limited in their ability to achieve longer term results. The reactive nature of the criminal justice system needs to be complemented by long-term developmental strategies to reduce incidents of people in conflict with the law and to increase levels of safety in communities...' [55]

The White Paper recognises the centrality of crime and violence prevention and is informed by six key themes, among which is the achievement of 'Safety through environmental design', which espouses the 'integration of safety, crime and violence prevention principles into urban and rural planning and design that promotes safety and facilitates feeling safe.'[56]

Therefore, in line with international thinking, as described above, South African legislation is geared towards local level crime prevention. It acknowledges that crime needs to be addressed through targeted, locally developed interventions that are based on an understanding of the local conditions where the crimes occur. Environmental design interventions, in particular, should be developed at a local level. In the majority of cases, the local authority will be in the best position to take the lead in this regard. A number of policy documents frame the role of local government in supporting the SAPS with the development and implementation of crime prevention initiatives. In particular, the White Paper on Safety and Security.[57]

On a national level, legislation and policy that facilitate, promote and oblige the state to ensure citizens' safety include
- the South African Constitution of 1996
- the National Development Plan 2030: Our future – make it work (2012)
- the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy (2011)
- the White Paper on Safety and Security (2016)
- the White Paper on Policing (2016)
- the SAPS Amendment Act No 83 of 1998 (including amendments)
- the Western Cape Provincial Strategic Plan 2014 – 2019
- the Western Cape Community Safety Act 3 of 2013
- Provincial Department of Community Safety policies

Local Government

The mandate of local government to provide safety and security stems from various forms of legislation that indicate that local government should promote integrated spatial and socio-economic development for all communities and to form partnerships in the field of crime prevention. The Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) ('the Systems' Act) stipulates that local governments must promote a safe and healthy environment in the municipality. The Systems' Act together with the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) require municipalities to develop five-year integrated development plans (IDPs), which provide a framework for all development activities in the area of the municipality.

The Systems' Act stipulates that local government must consult with communities and use municipal resources in the best interests of the local community. Communities should be involved in the IDPs, budgeting and specific strategies for service delivery, e.g. the development of safety plans.

Mechanisms such as Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and Land Development Objectives (LDOs) compel local authorities to respond to the needs of their communities. Crime is often identified by communities as a priority problem, which places a particular responsibility on local authorities to provide safer living environments.[58] South Africa has thus developed a rich and progressive policy framework to guide efforts in crime and violence prevention. These frameworks and policies acknowledge that policing, suppression and law enforcement alone cannot reduce violence and crime.[59]

In the local government sphere, the Integrated Urban Development Framework attempts, albeit weakly, to mainstream crime and violence prevention initiatives in urban planning. The WPSS mechanisms support a legislative framework that will ultimately allow funds from the fiscus to be expropriated to support crime and violence prevention. This would be supported by a proposed National Crime Prevention Centre, the first in South Africa's history, to assist local initiatives.[60]

Local Government statutory obligations to promote resident participation in the development of policy and programmes that ensure a safe environment (directly and indirectly) include
- the Municipal Systems Act (2000)
- the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (2013)
- the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF).

The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) (MSA)

The mandate of local government to provide safety and security further stems from various statutes and policies that indicate that local government should promote integrated spatial and socio-economic development for all communities and to form partnerships in the field of crime prevention.[61]

The policy provisions which elevate the role of municipalities in ensuring the safety of communities are given further impetus through the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) (MSA). Specifically, section 23 of the MSA states that a municipality must undertake developmentally orientated planning to ensure the realisation of the objects of local government provided by Section 152 of the Constitution, which includes the promotion of a safe and healthy environment. It also obliges municipalities, together with other organs of state, to contribute to the progressive realisation of the fundamental rights of individuals, including the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.

The MSA together with the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) require municipalities to develop five-year integrated development plans (IDPs), which provide a framework for all development activities in the area of the municipality.[62] The MSA stipulates that local government must consult with communities and use municipal resources in the best interests of the local community.

Section 152(e) of the Constitution states that one of the objects of local government is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government. In terms of Section 16(1) of the MSA, all municipalities are obliged to develop 'a culture of municipal governance' that espouses public participation in their affairs. The section specifically mentions municipal obligations to ensure such public participations in the review of its integrated development plans. This obligation is further concretised by Section 29 of the MSA which provides that its process in developing its IDP must allow for the local community to be consulted on its development needs and priorities. As a national and community priority, communities should therefore be involved in specific strategies for safety and crime prevention, such as the development of local level safety plans.[63]

Involvement in local government processes is difficult for disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. It is for this reason that the MSA specifies that community participation must be encouraged through capacity building of the community with the assistance of local councillors and staff and that municipalities must allocate funding to ensure that these activities take place effectively.[64]

In terms of the above therefore, one of the priorities of a municipality is to ensure a safe environment. A municipality must strive to achieve this through public participation using its IDP processes as a vehicle to achieve this object.

Equally important, Section 24 of the MSA obliges local government to undertake its planning in a manner that is aligned with and that complements the plans and strategies of other affected organs of state so as to give effect to the principles of co-operative government contained in section 41 of the Constitution. This carries particular importance for safety and crime prevention, which straddles across all spheres of government.

Local Government and Crime Prevention

In this context, local government assumes a particularly important role, as the sphere of government closest to the citizens. It is in an ideal position to lead the coordination and integration of local efforts towards creating safer communities.[65]

Important for local government is the long-term sustainability of cities. A sustainable urban environment is one where the inhabitants 'should not have cause for fear for their personal safety and the safety of possessions'.[66] Clearly, the level of crime and violence are powerful indicators of social sustainability and an 'unsustainable' community is commonly characterised by notions of poverty, homelessness and increased levels of crime. Research also indicates that safety and security are primary and immediate concerns for the urban poor in both developed and developing countries.[67]

Not only is local government ideally placed, being at the coalface of communities, but its constitutional and legislative mandate facilitates the mobilisation of a multi-sectoral vehicle which fosters agency, implementation and strategic support to other departments and civic bodies. Importantly, its constitutional and legislative mandate gives it the unique power to leverage and direct resources towards these ends.[68] Furthermore, a local government coordinated crime prevention strategy may provide a useful framework to support the development and implementation of crime prevention initiatives at the community level.[69]

Urban Regeneration

Urban regeneration has been described as a process where 'the state or local community is seeking to bring back investment, employment and consumption and enhance the quality of life within an urban area'.[70] It is carried out when there is an absence of spontaneous growth and regeneration and goes beyond the limited approach of physical redevelopment to one which addresses wider social and economic issues.[71]

Urban regeneration programmes in high crime areas have increasingly taken the form of partnerships between local authorities, police, community and resident groups and others with vested interests in the community as a whole.[72] In this way, the regeneration process involves consultation with those who use and intend to use the identified environment.[73]

However, a number of authors have criticised urban regeneration partnerships, not necessarily in terms of their theoretical manifestation, but in how they are executed in actuality. It was contended that funds allocated to CPTED programmes are often spent on activities with little potential to reduce crime because bureaucratic and commercial agencies tend to prefer focusing on activities that present immediate rewards. It was claimed that investing in families and young people was viewed to offer no prospects for easy gains.[74]

Some studies of previous urban regeneration projects in the UK produce similarly bleak viewpoints. Raco (2003) examined an urban regeneration partnership in Reading Borough Council which took place in the late 1990s/early 2000s, and found that the desire to see Reading promoted as a place that was safe for business meant that consumption spaces tended to be geared to the needs of investors and visitors, and not towards residents and community groups. Locals found themselves marginalised from the decision-making process.[75]

Hancock's (2001) review of the Safer Merseyside Programme highlights similar issues with urban regeneration partnerships. The author suggests that such vehicles are overwhelmingly short-term in their scope and lack focus on the underlying causes of crime and disorder. Money is often spent on cosmetic changes without consultation between local authorities and community groups and there is rarely an appreciation of the issues particular to each community. The author found that residents and community groups did not believe senior police and local authorities to be acting in the areas' best interests.[76]

In other projects, partnerships simply served to formalise the strategic alliances between key local elites in the community while leaving the relatively powerless on the margins of the crime prevention debate.[77]

The findings from these studies serve to reinforce the challenges for those involved in urban regeneration partnerships, namely that the problems facing high-crime urban neighbourhoods are complex, they are rarely influenced by single factors and they cannot be solved through simple solutions. It was averred that the best way to approach these issues is through cohesive, targeted and flexible strategies which take into account the sensitivities and intricacies of each particular neighbourhood and which benefit those actually living in and working in the community.[78]

In the Western Cape, crime, disorder and insecurity are not evenly distributed and every community has commercial and residential areas which experience higher levels of offending and victimisation, while others remain relatively safe. Communities with higher levels of crime and victimisation have higher levels of disadvantage and deprivation, suffering a range of social, economic and environmental problems. Special attention must therefore be paid to these communities in the development of the province's, city's and local municipality's crime prevention strategies and in the allocation of safety and basic services budgets and resources.[79] The perpetuation of pockets of insecurity and deprivation threatens the security of the entire province, creates inefficiency in reducing the functional workforce and threatens productivity in the province.

Crime Prevention and Urban Design

The concept of situational crime prevention has significant implications for urban design in high crime areas. Studies show that layout of the built environment has a direct impact on the opportunity to commit crime.[80] Research has also established that opportunities for crime could be reduced by creating defensible space. This involved manipulating the built environment and bringing it under the control of its residents by improving an area's territoriality, surveillance and image.[81] By delineating between private and public space and by increasing the natural surveillance over an area, potential criminals faced decreased opportunities to commit crime and an increased risk of being caught. This is the basis of the concept of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED).

Many contemporary situational crime prevention studies point to success and the implementation of such techniques has therefore been widespread in many jurisdictions. Studies have found that improved street lighting led to significant reductions in crime; the authors concluded that this measure should be an integral element in any situational crime reduction programme.[82] Similarly, studies examining the effect of CCTV in public areas point to significant decreases in crime and anti-social behaviour where the strategies have been implemented.[83]

A review of a CPTED scheme in Portland, Oregon found that through enacting techniques of CPTED, commercial burglaries were significantly decreased in the area, and in another study, it was found that while a combination of changes in physical design, police operations and community responses to crime were essential to produce positive criminogenic results in an area under renewal, it was the physical element that was the catalyst for making the other crime prevention strategies work.[84]

It was also suggested that towns "laid out by planners with a special concern for crime prevention" are likely to have lower crime rates than comparable towns where similar concepts have not been considered.[85]

Procedural Considerations

An important consideration during the research was that safety audits, and indeed, safety planning, were not new to the province and that these had been conducted by the department for a number of years prior to the initiation of this project.

Community fatigue, the duplication of initiatives and incoherence in policy and programmatic development (both within the department and in respect of municipal initiatives) were threats which the project attempted to avoid.

A further consideration was making the project relevant to and aligned with municipal priorities, programmes and procedures. This was endeavoured to ensure the uptake and implementation of the safety planning by municipalities, to the extent that the priorities fell within the jurisdiction of the partnering municipalities. Finding the most feasible and effective landing space for the project within the municipalities was thus crucial. Towards this end, the project engaged with the City of Cape Town's Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP) for research in the Philippi East and Atlantis precincts, and with the Stellenbosch Municipality's SSI (Stellenbosch Safety Initiative) and IDP office, for the research in the Stellenbosch police precinct.

Building Rapport

In highly politicised communities (such as in Philippi East) it is important to have sufficient time dedicated to build rapport with communities. This is best done through meeting with community leaders first and then having them introduce the study to the rest of the community with the research teams.

In Philippi East the absence of this step impacted the research process when participants stalled the focus groups through their refusal to participate. They displayed a stark lack of trust and value in public officials. Even though this hurdle was overcome and participants eventually acceded to participate, this problem could have been averted.

Public Participation: Promoting Ownership, Building Community Resilience

Crime prevention has been proven to be most successful when it forms part of a strategic and inclusive process that is supported by civic leaders who have taken on the responsibility for safety at the communal level.[86] This is one of the reasons for the recognition of public participation in crime prevention strategies and programmes in the WPSS. The WPSS recognises the importance of active public and community participation, through

- sustainable forums for coordinated and collaborative action on community safety
- public and community participation in the development, planning and implementation of crime and violence prevention programmes and interventions and
- public and private partnerships to support safety, crime and violence prevention programmes and interventions.[87]

Espousing a Whole-of-Society Approach (WoSA): The Western Cape Provincial Approach to the Community Safety Audit Project

The Western Cape Government has adopted the Whole-of-Society Approach (WoSA) to realise its constitutional, statutory and strategic imperatives. The WoSA is a reinvigorated way of addressing the challenges we face within communities.[88] Forming the basis of Provincial Strategic Goal (PSG) 3, that is, to provide safe, socially connected, resilient and empowered communities, this approach serves as a forum to coordinate service delivery across relevant intersecting spheres and departments of government (lateral and vertical integration) and municipal service providers.[89] It strives to ensure that communities are provided with equitable access to services and opportunities through the alignment and pooling of resources and capabilities.[90] More than that, the WoSA promotes fostering partnerships between municipalitiesand citizens, civil society and business.[91] The WoSA provides a platform to facilitate that individuals, families and communities take ownership and control of processes, services and opportunities available to improve the quality of their lives. It further allows people to participate in the social and economic mainstream in a meaningful way.[92]

The Department of Community Safety (DoCS) has been gearing its systems to integrate this approach in all its work. It maintains a strategic focus on promoting safe public spaces and buildings, establishing and maintaining viable safety partnerships and promoting professional policing through effective oversight.[93]

Strengthening Intergovernmental Relations and Partnerships

The Community Safety Audit, through its adoption of the WoSA approach, facilitates integrated planning and service delivery coordination between the various research partners on national, provincial and local government levels, in the area of safety promotion and crime prevention. It reduces the risk of fragmentation, wastage and the duplication of efforts. This approach, if maintained, could potentially greatly enhance the impact of the efforts of these role players in implementing their statutory mandates. Importantly, it could potentially significantly enhance the quality of the lives of all the people they are meant to serve.[94] A move away from doing research for the sake of research, the Community Safety Audit Research Project allows its research partners to realise their Constitutional obligation to ensure citizen participation in policy-making and to be responsive to their needs.[95] For DoCS, it further amounts to its fulfilment of key principles of the Provincial Strategic Plan of the Provincial Government of the Western Cape for 2014 – 2019 and beyond.[96]

The Partnerships between the Department of Community Safety, the City of Cape Town and the Stellenbosch Municipality

The WoSA holds that municipalities are at the heart of efforts to build inclusivity, quality and sustainability in every service delivery area.[97]

The Community Safety Audit has leveraged the experiences and gains made through the various vehicles that already exist for provincial-municipal partnerships. These include the Provincial Policing Needs and Priorities (PNP) processes, the Regional Socio-Economic Programme (RSEP) and Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) Programmes.[98]

These projects are aimed towards specific purposes, which include:
- improving quality of life through urban, social and spatial upgrading and
- building safe and sustainable neighbourhoods.[99]

These common purposes solidified the partnership with the City of Cape Town's Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP) in conducting the Community Safety Audit in the two areas which fall within their jurisdiction, namely Atlantis and Philippi East.

The MURP is locally driven and follows an area-based approach to addressing poverty and underdevelopment in specifically identified areas. A key focus of the programme is to deconstruct the effects of apartheid spatial engineering which excludes poor townships along racial lines. These townships continue to be typified by high levels of unemployment, poverty and crime. Commentators have pointed out that it is in the undoing of these malaises that Urban Regeneration Programmes (URPs) at national and local levels have anchored themselves on the policy agenda. Whereas the MURP initially focused on eight urban townships in Cape Town, including Atlantis, as pilot projects, the areas were increased over the years to 15, and in 2018/2019, the National Treasury and the City of Cape Town's MURP further identified Philippi East for implementation of the programme. One of the goals of the programme was to improve joint government planning and implementation.

Through this resonance, the department's Community Safety Audit found a landing space within the City of Cape Town's MURP. The MURP adopted the audit as a baseline study to initiate their two-year integrated safety planning process.

The Community Safety Audit found an equally welcoming and conducive home in the Stellenbosch Municipality. There are two key drivers which support the Stellenbosch Municipality's adoption of the Community Safety Audit. These are (1) its statutory imperatives enshrined in the Municipal Systems' Act (No. 32 of 2000) ('the Systems' Act') and (2), its integrated development planning process.

Section 23 of the System's Act states that a municipality must undertake developmentally orientated planning to ensure the realisation of the objects of local government provided by Section 152 of the Constitution, which includes the promotion of a safe and healthy environment. It also obliges municipalities, together with other organs of state, to contribute to the progressive realisation of the fundamental rights, including, the right to an environment that is not harmful to residents' health or well-being.

Section 152(e) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 ("the Constitution") states that one of the objects of local government is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

Section 16(1) of the Systems' Act obliges all municipalities to develop 'a culture of municipal governance' that espouses public participation in their affairs. The section specifically mentions municipal obligations to ensure such public participations in the review of its integrated development plans. This obligation is made concrete by Section 29 of the Act which provides that its process in developing its IDP must allow for the local community to be consulted on its development needs and priorities.

In terms of the above, therefore, one of the priorities of a municipality is to ensure a safe environment and

it must strive to achieve this through public participation, using its IDP processes as a vehicle, to achieve this object. Equally important, Section 24 of the System's Act obliges local government to undertake its planning in a manner that is aligned with and that complements the plans and strategies of other affected organs of state so as to give effect to the principles of co-operative government contained in section 41 of the Constitution.

The above represents the facilitative statutory platform for the department's partnership with the Stellenbosch Municipality in this particular project.

CHAPTER 2

ABOUT THE COMMUNITY SAFETY AUDITS

Vision and Objectives of the Safety Audits

This community safety audit potentially constitutes the first leg of the municipal safety planning process. Also referred to as a 'rapid participatory appraisal', it involves communities in identifying their own safety-related needs and challenges, and makes further reliance on police crime statistics and crime reports to present a crime analysis of each of the three areas targeted in the safety audit, namely, Atlantis and Philippi East police precincts, which fall within the jurisdiction of in the City of Cape Town, and Stellenbosch police precinct, which lies within the boundaries of the Stellenbosch Municipality.

The community safety audit provides a snapshot of the crime trends and safety environment of communities within each of the three areas mentioned above, and provides critical information for policy and strategic planning, and programmatic development for the promotion of safety and the prevention of crime.

The safety audit will be used as a tool to
- bring attention to key safety concerns of communities, and
- highlight recommendations for the reduction or, where possible, the elimination of identified risk factors that lead to the occurrence of violence in public spaces.

This information will further input into the development of strategies, policies and programmes to promote and ensure safety in communities, using the municipal IDPs and Urban Regeneration Programme (in the City of Cape Town) as vehicles for implementation and to inform further research towards the development of a local level safety plan (as in the case of the City of Cape Town).

The objectives of the community safety audit are:
- to assess safety and crime concerns, as expressed by the communities, through the research process, as well as those identified through the IDPs
- to generate a snapshot of crime trends within the identified geographic areas
- to conduct a safety threat and risk analysis based on articulated safety concerns
- to examine existing safety interventions
- to conduct a synoptic evaluation of their outcomes, with a focus on levels of perceived safety within the community and
- to provide recommendations for the enhancement of community safety initiatives.

Draft research tools were provided by the National Secretariat, although each province was encouraged to augment the research tools and methodology to suit the unique contexts of their research environments.

Research Organisation

The national Civilian Secretariat for Police Services (CSPS) and the nine Provincial Secretariats for Safety and Security embarked on Community Safety Audits as a way to determine community safety needs and concerns and to promote and foster the development of safer communities.

In the Western Cape, the Department of Community Safety in leading and coordinating the research in the province identified three areas based on the recent crime statistics for each of the 150 police precincts in the province. Further consideration of the need to compare and contrast the diverse provincial urban, peri-urban and rural environments were made and informed by these factors. The Department approached the two relevant municipalities, in whose jurisdiction the three target areas are located, as described below.

The municipalities provided research assistance and support in the safety auditing process and participated in the approval of the research framework.

RESEARCH SETTINGS

The safety audit aimed to include areas from urban, peri-urban and rural settings. The study is therefore situated within three police precincts, namely

- the Philippi East police precinct
- the Atlantis police precinct; and
- the Stellenbosch police precinct.

These three police precincts fall within two municipalities, namely the City of Cape Town (Atlantis police precinct and Philippi East police precinct) and Stellenbosch Municipality (Stellenbosch police precinct, which includes Khayamandi). The three sites are respectively peri-urban, urban and rural in character and have been identified with consideration of the following criteria:

- the comparative rate of murders (precincts with some of the highest murder rates in the province were selected)
- diversity and representativity in spatial, geographic and demographic character and
- the inclusion of at least one priority station, such as the Atlantis precinct, as a gang-station.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: A MIXED METHODS STUDY

Qualitative Data

This exploratory study employed mixed methods including qualitative methods to determine key safety concerns and considerations in the study sample. This methodology is best used to explore aspects relating to people's lives and lived experiences, social behaviour, perceptions, ideologies and emotions, organisational or social functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena and interactions between individuals or groups. Qualitative research is not statistical and incorporates multiple realities. It produces a detailed description of participants' feelings, opinions, and experiences and generates explanations for and meanings of their actions. Qualitative approaches are employed to achieve deeper insights into issues. [100] The main limitation of qualitative approaches is that their findings cannot be generalised. This is largely due to the smaller research sample, which affords a better dissection of issues.

Safety Audit Focus Groups

Focus groups were used as a tool to garner community participation and views in the auditing process. Focus groups are a useful method to

- investigate complex behaviour
- discover how different groups think and feel about the topic and why they hold certain opinions
- identify changes in trends or behaviour
- investigate the use, effectiveness and usefulness of particular services
- explore bottom-up solutions to problems identified, and to
- inform decision-making, strategic planning and resource allocation.

In each sample community, four (4) focus group sessions were held, each of which focused on

- victimisation trends
- perpetration trends
- crime mapping and hotspot analyses and
- gathering qualitative, nuanced data through brainstorming and discussing pertinent issues.

Specific tools were developed by the Department of Community Safety to facilitate the data collection process. Picture 1 below depicts the tool developed for the community identification of trends in victimisation.

Picture 1: Tool to identify victimisation trends (Focus Groups)
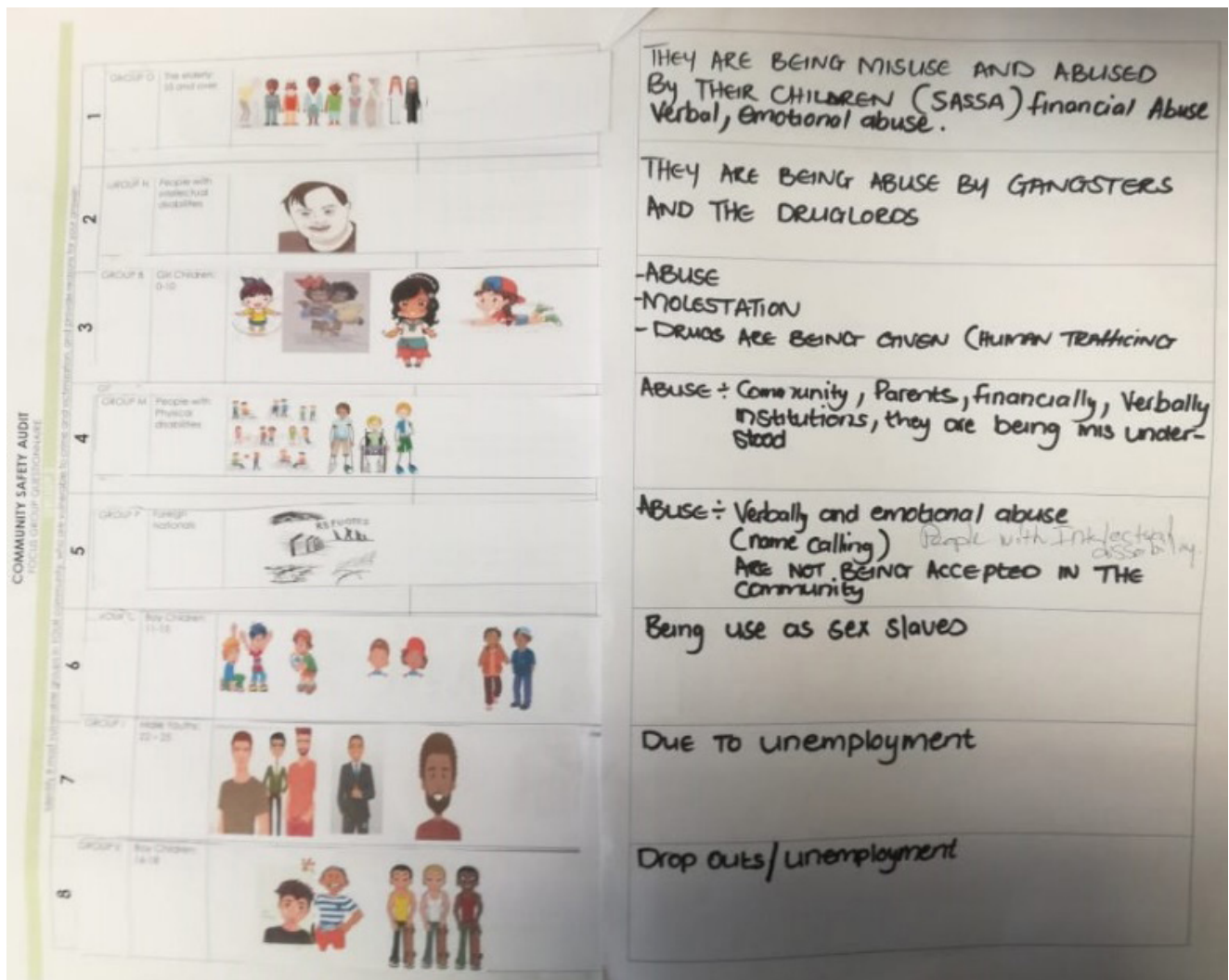
Overall, there were 212 participants in the Community Safety Audit focus group discussions in the three police precincts. Atlantis had 72 participants in total who came together for the report back and plenary sessions, Philippi East had 90 participants and Stellenbosch had 50. The plenary was divided into four focus group sessions with participants ranging from an average of 12 to 22 participants. To accord with proper research ethics, specifically to protect the anomymity of participants, they were not identified by name and precinct, but rather, random numbers were allocated to each interview completed.

All attempts were made to ensure representativity, considering the diverse ethnicities, physical abilities, income levels and languages prevalence in the area.

In-depth Interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews were held with key members from state institutions and organisations in each sampled community to explore key safety issues to greater depth. The interviews were between 45 minutes and 1 hour in length.

The in-depth interview is a qualitative data collection method that involves direct, one-on-one engagement with individual participants. A key feature of the semi-structured interview is that it includes the partial pre-planning of the questions. Semi-structured interviews therefore allow for replication of the interview with others, but are less controlled, allowing a greater degree of exploration of issues.[101] In this study, it allowed researchers to probe main themes and elicit further information thereon.

Interviews were conducted with members from the municipalities, government departments, the South African Police Service, the Community Police Forum, multi-stakeholder safety structures, ward councillors, non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations and community members. Of paramount importance is the participation of the local municipality in the development of the Community Safety Audit.

As with the focus groups, in order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, a numeric code is used for participants from each area, rather than providing any form of identification and coding which could reveal the identities of the research participants. This accords with accepted standards of research ethics.

This method allowed interviewers to establish rapport with participants to make them feel more comfortable and at-ease, which generated more insightful responses, especially regarding sensitive topics such as victimisation and crime. Interviewers also had a greater opportunity to ask follow-up questions, probe for additional information, and circle back to key questions later on in the interview to generate a rich understanding of attitudes, perceptions and motivations, and experiences.

Crime Mapping and Hotspot Analyses

Crime mapping is an essential tool in the examination of criminal activity. In this study, crime mapping involved the identification by participants of crime hotspots in their communities, the areas where they feel safe and where they feel at risk (or "unsafe"). Pictures 2 to 4, below, show community and organisational members participating in the community crime mapping exercise in the Atlantis, Philippi East and Stellenbosch police precincts, respectively. This process allowed them to generate a spatial snapshot of their lived realities with regard to crime, safety and security. Some of the limitations of crime maps are that they may have weighted anecdotal information. This may result in crime mapping having a bias on historical problems as opposed to emergent patterns. The information available in crime maps may also focus on very limited facts. This is problematic because it may only reflect a few facts about a small area and not necessarily a large area. Sometimes, people do not consider more than a few issues and this could result in the omission of critical information.[102]

Picture 2: Atlantis Police Precinct Community Crime Mapping ands Hotspotting Process

Picture 3: Philippi East Police Precinct Community Crime Mapping and Hotspotting Process

Picture 4: Stellenbosch Police Precinct Community Crime Mapping and Hotspotting Process

Quantitative Data

This community safety audit also produced findings which were arrived at by statistical procedures and other means of quantification. A statistical analysis of crime trends in each area was conducted using quantitative research methods.

The Desk Review

Through the desk review, key safety documents from relevant international, national and local role-players in the safety sector were consulted.

Documents included
- UN frameworks on safety promotion and sustainable development
- National governmental policy
- SAPS Station Profiles
- Provincial Policing Needs and Priorities (PNP) Reports
- Crime Analysis reports for the selected communities
- Relevant quarterly statistics for the relevant police precincts
- Reports on Victims of Crime Reports
- IDP Reports.

SAMPLING

Non-probability purposive multiple respondent-driven methods were used to recruit community-based participants for the focus group research.

Participants in the in-depth interviews were selected through expert purposive sampling methods. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample, selected on the basis of the characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. This type of sampling can be very useful in situations where one needs to reach a targeted sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern (it is therefore suited to qualitative, rather than quantitative research). Further, expert sampling is a form of purposive sampling used when one of the primary research aims is to capture knowledge rooted in a particular form of expertise. This form of sampling was used to recruit members of organisations and departments which provided specific niched services in the area of policing, crime prevention and safety promotion.

Table 3: Study Samples[103]

ATLANTIS	
	In-depth Interviews
SAPS members	2
Councillors	2
Faith-based Organisations	2
Community Organisations	4
Other State Services (Social Development)	1
CPF and Neighbourhood Watch	2
Business	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	14
PHILIPPI EAST	
	In-depth Interviews
SAPS members	5
Councillors	2
Faith-based Organisations	
Community Organisations	
Other State Services	
CPF and Neighbourhood Watch	
Business	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	8
STELLENBOSCH	
	In-depth Interviews
SAPS members	4
Councillors	3
Faith-based Organisations	
Community Organisations	1
Other State Services (Education)	1
CPF and Neighbourhood Watch	1
Business	
TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	10
GRAND TOTAL	32

The study sample included participants from SAPS, municipal councillors, faith-based organisations, community organisations, CPFs and NHWs and business and other state departments. Thirty-two (32) in-depth interviews were held in total in this safety audit.

CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION

Violence and Crime in South Africa

Western Cape communities, much like the rest of South Africa, originate from a past riddled with violence and oppression, primarily due to the legacy of the apartheid system, which has had, and continues to have, a profound impact on the ways in which local communities navigate their daily socio-economic, political and geographic choices and movements.[104]

The cost of violence to our national, provincial and local economies is amongst the highest in the world.

South Africa ranks among the top ten countries with the highest cost of homicide as percentage of its GDP (13%).[105] Total violence containment spending in the country amounted to around R1.84 trillion (roughly R34 160 per person in the country),[106] (bearing in mind that these initiatives largely constituted secondary and tertiary violence prevention, rather than primary prevention.) South Africa ranked high in five main categories of violence, namely
- the number of violent crimes
- the number of violent protests
- the number of murders
- easy access to weapons and
- an overall perception of criminality. [107]

The rates of crime and levels of violence indicate that the government's goal of ensuring that all South Africans should be and feel safe is a long way from being realised. Despite the measures put in place to combat violent crime, South African Police Service (SAPS) crime statistics, as well as the Victims of Crime Survey (VoCS) results, indicate that levels of violence remain high.[108] Furthermore, aggregate crime levels have increased in 2017/18, compared to 2016/17.[109]

In the 2016 Community Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa, households were asked what they perceived as their main challenge or difficulty in their municipality. Violence and crime were cited as one of the main concerns. [110] The current levels of crime contribute significantly towards a climate of fear among people living in South Africa. As revealed by previous studies, many people do not feel safe enough to walk alone in parks or to allow their children to play freely in their neighbourhoods. Two thirds of South African households do not feel safe while walking in the dark. [111] Perceptions of safety within public spaces and in communities in general, impact profoundly on the mobility and quality of life of citizens. It further impacts their access to opportunities to participate in public life and developmental processes. [112]

Each year, the number of South Africans who have experienced and witnessed violence and crime increases, and so does the extent of national trauma. This has serious consequences for the health system, our ability to build a cohesive national identity and our ability to raise a new generation of safe and healthy children. [113]

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Revival of the Crime Prevention Paradigm

Crime prevention is an important component of community safety. The achievement of community safety and the reduction and prevention of crime is linked to identifying and addressing risk factors and introducing or strengthening protective factors.

Risk Factors may increase the likelihood that individuals engage in crime or become victims, or the likelihood of the perpetration of crime and victimisation. Risk factors include age, gender, social exclusion, inequality, unemployment, domestic violence, negative parenting, negative peer influence, low or inadequate education and literacy levels and illicit drug and alcohol use. These risk factors point to the importance of prevention and early intervention in the lives of our children, within and in respect of families, and in communities. Prevention and early intervention activities must form part of any comprehensive community safety and crime prevention agenda.

Protective Factors are those which build the resilience of individuals, families and communities against vulnerabilities to victimisation or the perpetration of crime and violence. Building on existing protective factors makes individuals and communities stronger and better able to counteract risk factors. An effective crime prevention strategy is one which addresses the factors known to contribute directly to crime. Through targeted programming, the aim should be to reduce risk factors and promote protective factors by engaging community groups, grassroots groups, police officers and other stakeholders to create safe and thriving communities. A growing body of evidence exists which shows that properly focused and well-designed prevention initiatives can reduce levels of crime and victimisation and increase the safety and well-being of our communities.

Evidence-based crime prevention (EBCP) supports using programmes that have been successful and not using programmes that have been found to be unsuccessful. Overall, an evidence-based approach typically refers to programmes and practices that are proven to be effective through sound research methodology and have produced consistently positive patterns of results. From this perspective, EBCP ensures that the best available evidence is considered in the decision to develop and implement a programme or policy designed to prevent or reduce crime. It also ensures that public funds are spent on programmes that actually work and allows decision makers to determine where funding should be allocated. Evaluation is a key component that should be built into all programmes so that effectiveness can be assessed. Actions should be targeted and based on a problem-solving approach. Innovation and creativity in new programme development should consider lessons learned from successful programming.

Turning the Focus on Risk and Protective Factors

Risk Factors

Risk factors are those characteristics or conditions that increase the likelihood that an individual will become a victim or a perpetrator of violence, while protective factors are shields that reduce or eliminate these risks.[114] Understanding risk factors and protective factors plays a crucial role in effective violence prevention efforts. The evidence shows that reducing risk factors and/or strengthening protective factors leads to the prevention of violence and crime.[115] It is important to note that risk factors do not cause violence; but they increase the likelihood of violent behaviour. For example, poverty is one risk factor for violence. But most people living in poverty do not resort to violence. However, they are definitely more vulnerable to violence, for a multitude of reasons: e.g. they have less means to protect themselves and to avoid dangerous places and situations. Furthermore, it has been asserted that addressing some of the social determinants of violence, which are further up the causal chain, such as income inequality, unemployment, and access to housing, education and other public infrastructure, through policies directed at these macro-level social factors, is essential in reducing the inequities which fuel interpersonal and collective violence.[116]

While the risk factors which may perpetuate violent and criminal behaviour are intricate and multifaceted, there are many contextual factors that put people at greater risk of engaging in violent behaviour. [117] The following section sets out key risk factors to be considered in any safety or violence prevention strategy or plan.

Violent Crime, Poverty and Exposure to Economic Inequality

The analysis of violence, poverty and socio-economic inequality across South Africa reveals the continued uneven distribution of violent crime, poverty and inequality as a result of continued spatial and social segregation. Research further points out that while absolute poverty is highest in the rural areas, the highest levels of exposure to inequality occur in the metropolitan areas, which are characterised by a mix of affluent and poor areas.[118] South Africa's economy thus has one of the highest inequality rates in the world, perpetuating marginalisation and exclusion. Our Gini Coefficient ranges from between 0.66 and 0.70 (close to one).[119] This is because the top most privileged and affluent members of South African society (approximately 10% of the population) accounts for 58% of the country's entire income; while the bottom half accounts for less than 8% of the country's entire income. Resultantly, South Africa is viewed as one of the most consistently unequal countries in the world. Evidence suggests that violence occurs at higher rates in societies with high levels of economic inequality (as opposed to high levels of poverty, where all share a similar socio-economic experience).[120] Studies thus show that violent crime in South Africa is not committed only for material gain. Structural forms of inequality and exclusion may drive violent crime.[121]

A Brazilian study showed that incidence of homicide is strongly associated with demographic and socioeconomic variables, especially income distribution and access to quality education. The research revealed that these variables often have a lag effect i.e. their impact on homicide rates is only felt after a significant amount of time. For example, the income of the poorest quintile of the population in 1991 was correlated with municipal homicide rates in 2010.[122]

> **The way in which we intervene now to address socio-economic deprivation, will have a significant dividend later. [123]**

Such structural primary level violence prevention interventions are designed for impact over the long term, but it is essential to address and include them in safety planning due to strong risk correlations.

Lack of School Safety

Many South African schools are in disarray,[124] and over 50% of children reported in previous studies that corporal punishment was used for discipline, despite its prohibition.[125] This is incongruous with promoting non-violence and pro-social behaviour. School-based violence prevention programmes and policies must form part of the violence prevention agenda.[126]

Gender-based Violence

For women and girls across the world, sexual harassment and sexual violence in public spaces is an everyday occurrence. It happens on streets, public transport and parks, in and around schools and workplaces, in public sanitation facilities and water and food distribution sites, or in their own neighbourhoods.[127] The experience and fear of violence acts to undermine the human rights of women and girls as it reduces freedom and the ability to participate in economic, social and political life and may limit access to basic, communal and public services such as transport. Yet, there is a lack of reliable, specific and comparable data that contributes to the development of policies and programmes aimed at addressing VAWG in public spaces.[128]

According to the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Western Cape accounts for 32.6% of the country's crimes that are related to domestic violence. The province also battles a high percentage of sexual offences.[129] It is acknowledged that sexual violence and domestic violence is common in communities, but that these are

not always reported to the police.[130] One of the reasons for this may be because, as per the 2017 PNP report on the State of Policing in the Province, it was found that there is still a significant amount of non-compliance with the Domestic Violence Act by the SAPS.[131] GBV has consistently been raised and recorded as a concern at Provincial PNP workshops which were conducted by the Department since 2015. Furthermore, according to the South African Police Service (SAPS) reports, the Western Cape accounts for 32.6% of the country's crimes that are related to domestic violence, as well as a high percentage of sexual offences and other assaults.[132] Evidence suggests that sexual violence and domestic violence is common in communities but these are not always reported to the police.

Finally, there are an increasing number of studies that show that violence against women places significant burdens on individuals, governments and economies, where costing studies estimated losses to include loss of productivity, out-of-pocket expenditures and foregone income for households which constitute notable losses to the countries' GDPs. [133]

Domestic Violence and Child Maltreatment

Domestic violence and child maltreatment are prevalent in South African households. At the same time,

South African communities are becoming some of the most dangerous places for children. These contextual factors may ultimately result in aggression and increase the possibility of delinquent behaviour amongst children, and later, in their adulthood. [134]

Studies have repeatedly shown links between childhood experiences of violence and adult criminal behaviors. These studies show that men who witnessed their mother suffering domestic violence during childhood are more likely to have used violence in interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, exposure to domestic violence during childhood and adolescence is shown to be significantly associated with the physical use of urban violence, the perpetration of sexual violence and the perpetration of domestic violence.[135]

Violence and Masculinities

In studies involving 2 603 male participants, 84% of these participants reported that they had been physically abused or neglected in their childhood. [136] 39% of them reported that they had been sexually abused. [137] 60% of them reported that they had been exposed to some sort of trauma as an adult as a result of assaults, robberies or other violent crimes.[138]

Furthermore, 74.7% of the men had reported levels of drinking which were considered problematic, 49.8% of the men reported depression and 50.3% of the men reported symptoms that were consistent with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). [139]

It has long been asserted that versions of masculinities, created and reinforced by both men and women, can produce insecurities and vulnerabilities in the lives of others and men themselves and they can also promote non-violence. [140] Gender norms are a factor to consider in relation to GBV: masculine gender identities that promote the use of violence are still prominent, and are reinforced by a lack of employment opportunities and historical factors. On a social level, using violence generally, such as in conflict situations and to build status, is often seen as acceptable by much of society today.[141] Studies in comparable neighbourhoods suggest risk factors to include
- violence in low-income neighbourhoods being highly present in childhood. Such violence includes witnessing crossfire in the neighbourhood
- walking by drug traffickers' headquarters, which is often the selling point
- having drug trafficking at one's doorstep (i.e., seeing trafficker's attractive vehicles, wives, girlfriends, and money and
- experiencing violence in the household. Fights among children and in the family are considered a normal part of growing up.[142]

Protective factors identified through research, which promotes non-violent trajectories among boys and men, include

- replacing the intergenerational transfer of violence with caregiving
- men having a positive father or male-mentor figure.[143]

Participation in active caregiving and household tasks, higher levels of education, and engagement in social groups are also among the factors supporting non-violence. [144]

Men's resilience, or resistance to violent influences and experiences, can be understood as stemming in part from widening conceptions around masculinities. This shift can be understood as departing from a more singular view of what it means to be a 'real man' toward a concept of multiple masculinities,

understanding of complex power dynamics between groups of men and an emphasis on change and fluidity.[145]

Sexual Violence

The Optimus Study SA shows that sexual abuse of children and adolescents is widespread: 36.8% of boys and 33.9% of girls reported some form of sexual abuse. Overall, 35.4%, or one in every three adolescents reported having experienced some form of sexual abuse at some point in their lives. [146]

Recommendations include the regular and systematic monitoring of the implementation of laws, including the Domestic Violence Act, the Sexual Offences Act and the Children's Act, must be conducted by the relevant departments, in order to improve services.

There is still no functional protocol between the SAPS, Department of Health (DoH) and DSD around the management of sexual offences cases.[147] This should be addressed and a protocol should be developed to ensure the seamless implementation of legislative mandates, particularly in relation to intersecting services.

When perpetrators 'have a sense that they can use violence and face no negative consequences, that increases the likelihood that they will use violence and use it repeatedly.'[148] Matters reported to the police should therefore be treated with due seriousness and there should be appropriate sanctions imposed where violence is found to have been committed.

Parenting programmes must be targeted towards benefitting identified at-risk children. These programmes should address normalisation of violence in the home.[149]

Informal Settlements

"An 'Informal Settlement' exists where housing has been created in an urban or peri-urban location without official approval. Informal settlements may contain a few dwellings or thousands of them and are generally characterised by inadequate infrastructure, poor access to basic services, unsuitable   environments, uncontrolled and unhealthy population densities, inadequate dwellings, poor access to health and education facilities and lack of effective administration by the municipality."[150]

Research suggests a strong association between slums or informal settlements and the risk of homicide.[151]

> **Informal settlements are characterised by a lack of land tenure and security. The three most significant threats to safety and security in cities are crime and violence, insecurity of tenure and forced evictions and natural and human-made disasters. All of these factors apply to South Africa's informal settlements.[152]**

Foreign National and Domestic Migrants

For the period 2016–2021, the Western Cape, of which Cape Town is a preferred destination, is projected to experience the largest inflow of migrants of approximately 485 560 people.[153]

Referring to what is termed as 'the age of migration', the World Migration Report by the International Organisation of Migration points out that since 1990, most countries in the world have witnessed an increase in the number of migrants.[154] However, since 2000, the number of migrants in the global South has been growing more rapidly than in the North. Moreover, in terms of development, major cities of the global South are positioning themselves to compete in a rapidly globalising world. Since this suggests that global migration will intensify rather than reverse, it was stated that it is pivotal for cities to manage the continued influx of migrants well. Cities need to have strategies in place that minimise the challenges and maximise benefits that can be drawn from the more fluid movement of persons, goods and services. Against this backdrop, xenophobia poses a direct risk to our cities' growth and development aspirations. It exposes the failure of policies and plans to resonate with the urban poor. [155]

For this reason, the business case against xenophobia, citing the success of South African businesses on the continent, is unconvincing to South Africans neither able to meet their own basic needs nor to directly access essential services like water and energy, which South Africa depends on parts of the African continent for. The narrative's failure to resonate compounds the need to 'manage migration for the political and socio-economic benefit' of South African cities. Apart from influencing national policies, cities need to invest more intensely in local level strategies and responses. This is because the local level is not only vested with implementation, it is also the government sphere most directly affected by migration. Cities are significant receivers of migration inflows. This makes issues of migration a critical aspect of thinking and creating safer cities. [156]

There is a role for, inter alia, planners, social development and safety and security practitioners in thinking about how best to include migrant communities in social crime prevention strategies. This requires sensitivity to the psycho-social well-being of foreigners who often find themselves in South African cities with an unclear immigration status and suffering from traumatic experiences in their home countries. As a result, it is important for the approach to urban vulnerabilities to encompass the aspect of humanitarian immigrants, and domestic and foreign migration for economic reasons. Furthermore, preventive interventions should be aimed at the political, social and economic drivers of community instability. [157]

Protective Factors

Protective factors are positive influences that may decrease the likelihood that individuals engage in crime or become victims. Building on existing protective factors makes individuals and communities stronger and better able to counteract risk factors, and in doing so, can improve the lives of individuals or the safety of a community.[158] It is widely recognised that we need to develop a better understanding of the protective factors that can mitigate risk factors on all levels and build resilience.[159] Indeed, studies have found that protective factors appear to reduce violence in late adolescence even among youth from low income families and youth exposed to high levels of cumulative risk.[160]

Familial Protective Factors

Not all children who grow up in risky environments have poor outcomes. It is therefore important to understand the protective factors that allow children to thrive. Supporting the development of secure parent–child attachments early in life, and a promoting a nurturing family environment build resilience and create a foundation for children to survive and thrive even in unsafe environments.[161]

Social Cohesion as a Community Level Protective Factor for Violence Prevention

Social cohesion has frequently been used in government policy documents in South Africa since the late 1990s. Both the 1998 and 2016 versions of the White Paper on Safety and Security identified the promotion and strengthening of social cohesion as a key crime and violence prevention strategy. The National Development Plan (2012) linked inadequate safety in communities to 'a lack of social cohesion' and the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy (2011) prioritised the strengthening and building of social cohesion in terms of families and society in general. In 2016, the Integrated Urban Development Framework envisaged that the 'coordinated investments in people, the economy and places' would 'encourage inclusive growth, social cohesion and good governance…'.[162]

In examining social cohesion as a community level protective factor for violence prevention, it was postulated that cohesive societies may be able to work together and intervene on behalf of the common good. In these instances, individuals could act to prevent transgressions and to curb criminal or violent behaviour before it escalates. However, research also indicates that in environments of actual or perceived institutionally driven or systemic deprivation and perceived injustice or prejudice against the collective, this may result in negative collective action.[163] Research on xenophobic violence in South Africa, for example, points to its similarities to the vigilantism and violent protest incidences. Episodes of widespread xenophobic violence against migrants (mainly from other African countries) in 2008 and 2015 in economically marginalised communities has been linked to a collective resentment by South African residents towards foreign nationals. Such antipathy has been informed by perceptions that foreign nationals are 'outsiders' and are responsible for crime, 'taking jobs away' from South Africans and fraudulently accessing government resources (such as housing).[164]

Policing and Prevention

There is a growing body of evidence which suggests police have a very limited range of tactics for effective crime prevention (like targeted enforcement) and are not necessarily the most appropriate agents for prevention in many situations.[165]

Improving Community-Police Relations

Strong neighbourhood relationships may influence the rates of crime.[166] In turn, neighbourhood crime prevention may be strengthened through improving police-community relations. Patterns of violence within communities often differ, e.g. within low-income, high-violence neighbourhoods, the victims frequently know the perpetrators,[167] unlike in affluent communities. Policing strategies and programmes must be tailored to meet the challenges of specific communities. This can only be done effectively if there is a strong community-police relationship. The following section expands on the basic principles that should underlie such a relationship and how these principles tie in to facilitate effective crime prevention programming and implementation:

Inclusive, Participatory and Community-driven Programming

Implementation of crime and violence prevention policies, programmes, strategies and interventions should be community-driven. Community-driven implementation relies on the decisions made by community members, in partnership with government and other stakeholders, with regard to
- assessing the relevance and feasibility of programmes and interventions in their communities
- identifying mechanisms for sustainability and
- developing measures for the growth and expansion of successful programmes and interventions.[168]

All crime and violence prevention programmes, interventions, strategies and policies should be informed by the experiences, perspectives and insights of people living in the community where a particular intervention is being planned. The process of planning interventions must be inclusive and participatory and must involve meaningful contributions by a wide range of stakeholders living in the community. These people should be central to the safety-planning process and should be treated as key sources of information. A primary aim

of these policies, programmes, strategies and interventions should be to increase community awareness of, and access to, mechanisms and protocols for facilitating local ownership of crime and violence prevention initiatives. [169]

Crime Prevention through Urban Design

'The place in which you are born and live as a young child, can determine the course of your life in multiple ways: physical and mental health status, educational achievement, lifetime earnings, exposure to violence and involvement in crime, social connections and the number of years of life you get to enjoy…'[170]

In South Africa, uneven spatial distribution of safety affects the overall inclusivity, efficiency and functioning of cities.[171] It is increasingly recognised that a sustainable community is one that is both safe and perceived by its residents to be safe from crime. As a potential tool for delivering such outcomes, crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) strategies, guidance and policies have been increasingly adopted throughout countries in the developed world and in many developing countries. It has therefore been argued that planners need a broader understanding of environmental criminology and patterns and trends in crime as they relate to the built environment.[172] Despite this, commentators have pointed out that 'most planning proceeds with little knowledge of crime patterns, crime attractors, crime generators, the importance of edges, paths and nodes or the site specific solutions that facilitate or even encourage crime'.[173] Safety audits are therefore of fundamental importance to ensuring functional and safe urban environments, as it bridges the gaps in building the knowledge of practitioners and the evidence-base for the development of effective strategies and plans. It does so in a manner that fosters public participation and builds the resilience of communities in the process.

Furthermore, spatial planning has done nothing more than to follow racially segregated patterns, exacerbating inequalities within vulnerable communities and perpetuating their marginalisation. This may, however, potentially be addressed through reconstructing police and ward boundaries and operationalising the IDPs to effect better integrated development.

Crime Mapping

Crime prevention requires policing and criminal justice agencies to be proactive rather than reactive, and proactivity requires the ability to predict crime hotspots and concentrations. Prediction is rarely possible from individual events, thus there is a direct link between prevention and patterns of criminality. Simply put:

'prevention requires proactivity requires predictability requires patterns…'.[174]

To be proactive means that agencies need to heed the evidence-base provided by research and research consistently reveals that crime is not randomly distributed across urban space, but rather different types of crime cluster at certain locations and at certain times. Following consistent research findings, it has been observed that the proposition that crime is concentrated in space is now universally accepted.[175] Crime mapping has an inherent ability to identify patterns and hotspots.[176]

These patterns and hotspots are indicative of the spatial distribution of offences and offenders throughout the city. They indicate that some places experience a disproportionate amount of crime. These 'hotspots' of crime have received increasing attention with some suggesting that the potential impact of crime and fear of crime on our towns and cities 'deserve the full attention of planners'.[177]

Crime opportunities are neither uniformly nor randomly organised in space and time. Crime mapping potentially articulates a model for the interaction of offenders with crime opportunities, opportunities that are of varying attractiveness and distributed in a non-random manner across both place and time. These findings all have potential policy implications; for example, with the timing of police directed patrol strategies, improvements to street lighting and whether cities invest in surveillance cameras with night vision capability.[178] As a result, crime mappers can unlock these spatial patterns and strive for a better insight into the role of geography and opportunity, as well as enabling practical crime prevention solutions that are tailored to specific places.[179]

INTEGRATING PREVENTION ON PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND TERTIARY LEVELS

The prevalence of crime and violence in South Africa cannot merely be ascribed to the lack of adequate resources available within the South African Police Services (SAPS), or within other departments which play a direct role in crime prevention, such as Justice and Corrections. The cost of government's attempts to control the crime situation adds up to a substantial sum, with an allocated budget of over R93 billion for 2017/18 for the SAPS,[180] and R44 billion for 2017/18 for the courts and prisons.[181] Evidently, allocating ever-increasing amounts of money into these systems is not achieving desired goals of reducing violence and crime and increasing safety in communities. Indeed, the past 20 years have not shown any substantial and long-term decrease in the levels of crime and violence and nor an increase in citizens' feelings of safety.[182]

While these services are oriented towards secondary and tertiary prevention, a large body of evidence exists, and continues to be generated, which shows that it is equally, if not more important, to invest substantially in primary prevention, which includes, but is not limited to the care and well-being of children and the support of families. Inadequate funding for the provision of these services have resulted in the inability to effectively implement them, with the greatest impact being felt in the areas of early interventions and family support programmes. This is problematic, because primary prevention and early intervention services could, over time, reduce the need for (more expensive and less effective) response interventions (secondary and tertiary prevention services) from the criminal justice sectors.[183]

At the same time, violence prevention in South Africa requires collaboration among the many practitioners who work in this field, from the government to civil society. While many place the responsibility of safety and security for the country on the shoulders of the police, this needs to be distributed more among all departments and role-players. The complexity of violence and crime necessitates that the whole of society makes the maximum contribution to creating a safe country free of crime and violence.[184] Furthermore, a multi-faceted, holistic approach needs to be adopted, with a focus on all levels of prevention, but first and foremost, primary prevention and early intervention.[185]

Additionally, whereas stakeholders from all levels of government, civil society and community-based organisations continue to use a wealth of expertise to research and implement violence prevention and safety measures in schools and communities through improvements in the built environment and through comprehensive policy making, all efforts and actors need to be coordinated in order to achieve an integrated approach to violence prevention that tackles multiple risk factors simultaneously, while promoting multiple protective factors.[186]

This evolving concept of crime and violence prevention focuses on the community as a whole. It promotes a multi-stakeholder approach towards violence and crime prevention that is driven by local needs. It considers the community with its different stakeholders (residents, local government, the police, civil society organisations and local businesses) as equally important actors in violence and crime prevention. While it remains the legal obligation of the state to guarantee citizens' rights to safety, all these actors share the responsibility to protect and contribute to safety at a local level.[187]

Reducing crime and building safer communities require not only the commitment of the different departments and spheres of government, but importantly, they require the implementation of crime prevention initiatives at community level. There is thus a clear need to move away from high level sector-based implementation of developmental initiatives, to one which focuses the energy and resources of all spheres of government within well-defined geographic areas, at the local level. This places local government at the centre of these developments.

Tertiary Prevention Services

There are arguably three (3) types of prevention: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary prevention involves taking action before a problem arises in order to avoid it entirely, rather than treating or alleviating its consequences. Secondary prevention is a set of measures used for early detection and prompt intervention to control a problem and minimize the consequences, while tertiary prevention focuses on the reduction of further complications of an existing problem through treatment and rehabilitation.[188] 'Tertiary' prevention measures are aimed at trying to reverse a condition or prevent it from getting worse. They comprise of prevention efforts involving direct therapeutic treatment and therefore often have higher costs.[189] In comparison, 'secondary' prevention efforts, which include early detection and prompt intervention to control a problem and minimize the consequences thereof, are more cost effective if they are targeted at risk populations.[190]

While this may be important for future planning of prevention programmes, it should be noted that due to legacies of marginalisation and social exclusion, there is a need to address tertiary level needs in order to stem risk factors such as those associated with the intergenerational transfer of violence.

Alcohol and Drug Use and The Need for a Mental Health Approach

Alcohol use

South Africa also has one of the highest alcohol consumption levels per drinker in the world. Many incidents of fatal and non-fatal violence occur after alcohol and drug abuse. Additionally, South Africa has high proportions of children exposed to risks of neurological damage in early life: the prevalence of fetal alcohol spectrum disorders is the highest in the world.[191] Resultantly, government policy is turning towards controlling the availability of alcohol to reduce violence and injuries. Research into understanding the relationship between alcohol and violence, which will drive an appropriate, integrated and comprehensive alcohol policy, is still needed. Similarly, careful thought must be given to the control and policing of illegal substances, as the illicit economy is a driver of violence. Evidence suggests that law enforcement interventions to disrupt drug markets are unlikely to reduce drug-related violence and instead result in higher gun violence and higher homicide rates.[192]

In order to address the use of alcohol in schools, the WCED conducts random search and seizure and alcoholic liquor and illegal drug testing at public schools and has developed guidelines on these procedures.

Experts and advocates in the field of alcohol harms reduction, however, point out that the random searching of learners is not necessarily the most effective approach. More upstream preventative measures are required.

One of the structural challenges highlighted which must be addressed, is that schools are often in close proximity to taverns and shebeens. It is asserted that departments are targeting low-hanging fruits in policing the learner users, rather than policing and enforcing the bylaws on illegal liquor trading and conditions for the operation of taverns.

A key recommendation for the reduction of alcohol usage is to reduce the availability and accessibility of alcohol. In townships and poor areas, this would mean reducing the density of outlets, exploring the establishment of an economic zone where legal trade can happen, better enforcement of no sales to under 18 years and hours of sale and prohibiting advertising in residential areas and those close to schools.[193]

Another issue the WCED should address is role modeling behaviour and conduct of educators. It has been reported that learners drink in the same outlets as educators; that educators leave the school premises to make alcohol purchases; and that they would then smell of alcohol during school hours. Essentially, the Department must address educator consumption if they want to influence learner consumption.

On a macro scale, the relevant department and/or authorities must address the issue of liquor pricing. Currently, a 330ml of beer is cheaper than a loaf of bread. A Deutsche Bank study last year listed Cape Town

as one of the top five cities for cheap beer. The national and provincial government therefore should increase the price of liquor. This recommendation is premised on young people having less access to money, which is anticipated to have a knock-on effect in reducing their ability to purchase alcohol.[194]

Problems associated with high levels of alcohol and drug use are widespread, and their consequences are destructive for individuals, families, and communities. Within communities, the consequences include family violence, interpersonal violence in public places, traffic accidents, public disorder and workplace-related problems.[195]

> **These sequelae, along with the excessive or harmful use of drugs and alcohol in itself, are accompanied by an increased risk for compromised mental health, aggressive behaviour, school drop-out and absenteeism.[196] These do not simply require a legalistic approach, but rather demand a mental health approach augmented by a responsive psycho-social support system.**

The high level of alcohol and drug use was identified by the SAPS and the community in Atlantis as primary risk factors for crime in the Atlantis communities.[197] These views are corroborated in other studies. For example, in a 2011 South African study, persons convicted of aggravated robbery said that this played a role in their criminal behaviour.[198]

Drug use

High levels of drug use represents a major challenge in the country and in the Western Cape in particular. It is commonly accepted that drugs such as methamphetamine and heroin are readily available in many communities. The latest SAPS crime statistics show that SAPS made 117 157 arrests for drug-related crimes in the 2017/18 financial year in the Western Cape. This represented a 9.1% increase in the arrests made for this crime from the previous financial year. Also, drug arrests in the Western Cape represented 36% of all drug arrests in the country, despite the fact that the Western Cape represents only 11.5% of the country's population.[199] In 2017/2018, the Atlantis police precinct detected 2638 drug-related cases.[200]

The high level of drug use was identified as a primary risk factor in the commission of crimes and violence in Atlantis and methamphetamine ('Tik') was identified as a common drug used in the Atlantis communities.[201]

> **It must also be recalled that the 15 to 24 age group, which covers high school learners, was identified as a high-risk youth category in Atlantis;[202] and that Assault GBH (Grievous Bodily Harm) and Assault Common, crimes associated with high levels of aggression, have been identified as priority crimes in Atlantis.[203]**

To examine intersections across these identified risk factors further, consideration must be given to broader studies which corroborate these findings and which also allude to intersecting, but invisible, risk factors which are important to consider in crime prevention and safety programming.

The impact of drug use is evidenced by a 2012 MRC study of 1,561 high school learners in Cape Town, which found significant associations between methamphetamine use in the past 12 months and mental health problems. The study showed that methamphetamine use in the past 12 months was significantly associated with higher levels of aggressive behaviour, depression and a greater risk for mental health problems in general.[204]

> **Methamphetamine is significantly associated with higher levels of aggressive behaviour, depression and a greater risk for mental health problems.[205]**

In the context of this the last recorded school drop-out rate in Atlantis was 40.3% between grade 10 and matric in Ward 29, and 37.8% in Ward 32.[206]

A follow up survey of the 1561 high school learners in Cape Town twelve months after the initial survey mentioned above, found that a significant proportion of students (43%) had either dropped out of school or were absent. Using an adjusted logistic regression model, the study found that life-time methamphetamine use in addition to other substances at Time 1 was significantly associated with drop-out and absenteeism at Time 2.[207]

The safety plan for Atlantis, Philippi East and Stellenbosch (particularly in disadvantaged areas of Cloetesville and informal settlement areas) should therefore include a health-based programme to reduce and prevent the use of alcohol and drugs, aimed at school-going children.

Further, recommendations that warrant re-iteration include that

- Where learners display high-risk behaviour or indications, there should be a rights-based screening for mental health problems associated with substance use.
- Studies recommend that this should occur in conjunction with a referral and treatment system for those learners identified as requiring an intervention.[208]

The need for more and accessible drug and alcohol rehabilitation centres which emphasise a mental health, cognitive behavioural modification approach is therefore evident.

Schools should be guided by clear policies on the prevention, detection and treatment of drug use, which should not stigmatise drug usage through applying punitive or disciplinary sanctions such as expulsion from school.[209]

The process should be supported by ongoing learner sensitivity, and mental health and substance use education and awareness programmes, which should form part of curricular as well as extra-curricular activities.

There should also be a strengthening of support structures in high schools to deal with students who may be at risk for developing further problems associated with methamphetamine and other drug use.[210]

These support structures are recommended of taking the form of increased availability of psychological support services. This could be achieved by increasing the number of professionals available, but also training school staff and lay counsellors in basic required skills. This programme may form part of the National Department of Health's strategy to develop a School Health Programme.[211]

Finally, drug testing at schools is permissible by law, however, it should be applied with caution, as it may lead to learner stigmatisation and alienation, and the eventual school drop-out of such learners.[212]

The strategy for addressing drug use at schools should be multipronged. The plan should include drug demand reduction strategies. These strategies should aim to reduce the desire and willingness to obtain and use drugs and to prevent, reduce or delay the uptake of drug use.[213] These are to be developed and run by the Department of Education, Department of Health, the Department of Social Development, community-based organisations, clubs and the private sector, through which further resources may be mobilised.

The plan should also include supply reduction strategies which aim to disrupt the production and supply of illicit drugs, as well as limit the access and availability of licit drugs in certain contexts. In the school setting this includes measures taken to limit the use, possession and sale of illicit drugs on school premises.[214] They may include the use of school resource officers which may guard the external school perimeters.

Finally, educational programmes for the prevention of illicit drug use should take into account risk and protective factors, as well as factors such as age, gender, household and community contexts and cognitive abilities. Interacting with students in a way that acknowledges the reality of their backgrounds and experiences creates opportunities for meaningful student input into education for illicit drug use prevention programmes. Students react positively when their individual needs and the needs of users and non-users are acknowledged and communication channels are kept open without illicit drug use being condoned.[215]

The above recommended measures are focused on curbing methamphetamine and other drug use and associated problems. However, instead of placing an emphasis on a mental health preventative approach, which may have more sustainable outcomes in the long term, there is a tendency to place greater emphasis on policing drug use on school premises, which are led by the SAPS or metro police (or similar agencies) at school. As pointed out in the recent PNP Report on the Policing of Drugs in the province:

'The SAPS mandate is to police and they will continue to arrest individuals for drug possession who will then be incarcerated. Drug users who have been incarcerated end up joining gangs because of the anger felt after being criminalised.' [216]

It is therefore recommended that there is a need for change in the way communities and society expects the police to deal with drugs and drug users,[217] and that a greater institutional emphasis must be placed on building the resilience of the youth to decrease demand through an effective mental health and education focused prevention strategy and programme.

Drug Treatment centres around the Western Cape take the form of in-patient and out-patient sites, but there is a stark lack of such services. There is also a lack of post-treatment centres. There is therefore a need for more drug rehabilitation treatment centres and post-treatment support services. This includes services to engage users on a one-to-one basis, as different users need different approaches. For this to be implemented, field workers are needed.[218] The Department of Health and the department of Social Development must therefore provide more holistic services for the treatment and support of drug users.[219]

 Furthermore, it is more likely that the police will arrest someone in the possession of drugs than someone who trades in drugs. [220] This indicates that the systemic responses to reducing illicit drug use is skewed to favour a demand-reduction approach, rather than a supply-reduction approach. Accordingly, during the research on the provincial policing needs and priorities for policing drugs, it was shown that, while reflecting on drug-related arrests in the Western Cape over one month in 2013, there were 8 972 arrests for drug possession and 118 arrests for drug dealing, reflecting a ratio of 1 arrest for dealing for every 32 arrests for possession. However, while taking this approach, the systemic response is inadequate and fails to address the problem effectively.

Arrested users for drug related offences are not receiving drug-use rehabilitation treatment.

When comparing the number of arrests with the number of patients admitted for treatment, the data shows that between 2005 and 2014, there has been a steady increase in drug arrests while there was not a similar increase in admissions for treatment (this in fact remained unchanged). This indicates that people are getting arrested for drug possession but are not obtaining treatment.[221]

Current approaches to prevent illicit drug use exacerbates inequalities in policing communities and stigmatise members from poor, black, at-risk communities. To evidence this, Pollsmoor admission data show that 80% of drug possession remands in custody at Pollsmoor emanate from only six police stations: Cape Town Central, Grassy Park, Manenberg, Mitchell's Plain, Philippi and Woodstock. When compared to the murder rate at each of these stations, Woodstock is the only station that indicates a positive correlation between drug policing and the murder rate, indicating that the drug policing may have a positive impact on the murder rate (less murders where there is an increase in drug policing).[222]

These inconsistencies in the implementation of drug policing further undermines trust in the police and the criminal justice system as a whole. [223]

Drugs are a major issue in the Western Cape, especially in poor and gang-ridden areas. Drugs and guns are an essential element of the gang economy. However, like many crimes, the causes and solutions to the use and trade of illicit drugs are multifaceted and require a holistic response.[224]

In safety planning, there should be caution in favouring plans that may have short-term superficial advantages, but which may be more detrimental to community and society interests in the long terms.

Increased arrests do not reduce harms associated with illicit and harmful drug use[225]

Examining advantages of adopting a punitive policing approach, for example, if police aim to arrest more drug users

- Arrests and convictions remove problematic users (those who commit other crimes while being under the influence) and traders from the community for the period of their incarceration.
- Incarceration may break patterns of misuse (permanently, temporarily, or for the short or long terms).
- The risk of being incarcerated may deter some non-users from using (but that risk is unlikely to deter the current users).
- The incarceration of sellers disrupts supply for a while, and the confiscation of drugs from the community

prevents easy access.[226]

- However, new suppliers would probably move into the area and the cycle would continue.

Some harms of punitive drug policing

- Arrest of users (excluding problematic users) undermines trust in police, especially when other serious crimes, such as murder or rape, go unpoliced.
- The fear of arrest prevents calls for help from users who are at risk of violence or subject to violence in progress.
- Arrests, convictions and the incarceration of users consume public resources which could be used to address other serious crime.
- Incarceration exposes users to criminal networks and risks them engaging in more serious criminal activity (prison being the 'university of crime').
- There is a serious social and economic impact of incarceration of non-problematic users on incomes, their families and households, even if they are incarcerated for short periods.
- The cost of incarceration to the State.
- The impact of having a criminal record on future access to jobs and income losses increases the likelihood of relying on criminal activities in the future.
- The disruption of criminal drug networks leads to violence and corruption.[227]

However, recent trends suggest that in recent years, the harms of drug policing have overtaken the benefits of drug policing. [228]

There are four indicators of this, namely:

- Firstly, the evidence suggests that drug policing largely focuses on cannabis, which is the least harmful of all drugs (in fact, less harmful than alcohol). The SAPS data on drug confiscations show that, between 2012/13 and 2016/17, 99% of drug confiscations were for cannabis, at an average of 1kg of cannabis confiscated per reported drug crime. Confiscations of all other drugs (Tik or methamphetamine etc.) was between 2 and 7 grams per reported drug crime, which indicates that the focus was almost exclusively on users rather than on traders.[229]
- Secondly the evidence suggests that drug policing consumes disproportionate criminal justice system resources. Data from the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) shows that overall convictions have decreased since 2002/03, but that convictions for drug offences are sharply on the increase. In 1997, drug convictions represented 11% of overall convictions, in 2006/07, drug convictions represented 22.9% of overall convictions and in 2016/17, drug convictions represented 47.3% of overall convictions. Also, while conviction rates are generally very low (under 10%), they sit at around 85% for drug offences.[230] This clearly indicates that the criminal justice system increasingly focuses on drug cases, possibly at the expense of more violent crimes. However, there is no indication that safety is improving as a result (as indicated by the constant increase in the murder rate).[231]
- Thirdly, the evidence suggests that drug policing leads to a large proportion of the population being exposed to the correctional environment. Indeed, while 11% of the South African population resides in the Western Cape, the Western Cape contributes to 19% of the country's remand detention population, and to 16% of the country's sentenced population. At Pollsmoor for example, drug offences are the second largest reason for admission, at 16% of all admissions.[232]
- Lastly, one in six admissions on remand to Pollsmoor are for drug possession (which excludes other drug offences). In addition, the median duration of detention at Pollsmoor for drug possession is 24 days (just over three weeks), while the average duration is 51 days. While such durations are short, they are long enough to have major criminogenic effects on the incarcerated person.[233]

A key challenge noted by practitioners and researchers is the high number of arrests of drug users. There is an almost exclusive focus by law enforcement on users rather than on traders, which leads to the marginalisation and criminalisation of individuals and communities and a decrease in police trust and legitimacy without an increase in safety and security. In effect, law enforcement is targeting the wrong individuals. This often opens a pathway to more serious crime committed by criminalised drug users. Finally, this leads to the frustration of police officers, who see their work as being futile.[234]

Lessons learned

- Increasing arrests have not been shown to have a positive impact on safety. The criminalisation of people who use drugs causes greater harm to individuals and society than the drugs themselves and sustains the proliferation of organised criminal groups.[235]
- Crime has increased in many areas where drug policing has increased.
- There is a need for all role players to adopt a harms reduction language and approach in relation to drug and alcohol use. This requires a change in the legislative and policy framework.[236]
- An important component of a harms reduction approach to drugs is the need for information sharing and public education on the harms of drugs, on alternatives to drug use and on support and available rehabilitation services. SAPS and MPS would, in this paradigm, instead of arresting drug users who do not commit any other crime than using drugs, provide them with such information and support.
- Another component of a harms reduction approach to drugs is the need for alternative activities which provide purpose and meaning to the lives of vulnerable individuals. This would include referral spaces for job opportunities.[237]
- Policing of drug houses: research has shown that by arresting drug dealers or closing only certain drug houses a vacuum is created which risks resulting in a turf war and a power struggle, which in turn results in an increase in community violence. It has therefore been suggested that the most effective way of dealing with drugs is to dismantle the supply of drugs at a higher level of the supply chain, not at the level of drug houses only.[238]
- An effective approach includes the building of community resilience to the availability of drugs.

> **There is a need to differentiate between possession and dealing, because the law enforcement response to both should be very different.**
>
> **There is a need for all role players to adopt a harms reduction language and approach in relation to drug and alcohol use.[239]**

Good Practices

Khulisa Social Solutions, which works closely with the courts, has started a diversion programme for drug users. It has started seeing some good practices in the area of community reintegration. The SAPS identifies the value of this programme and assists in identifying people who could go through diversion programmes, instead of incarcerating them.[240]

Studies iterate that the abuse of alcohol is strongly associated with the perpetration of violence. They suggest that perpetrators who are under the influence of alcohol are much more likely to perpetuate violence.[241] Further, previous studies which focused on Grade 8 – 10 learners in Cape Town found a significant association between past month use of alcohol and the number of days absent from school and repeating a grade. The odds of repeating a grade in school were found to be 60% higher for learners who consumed alcohol.[242]

Further, research on interpersonal violence has consistently highlighted alcohol as a contributing factor to its occurrence. Interpersonal violence amongst men in South Africa is the second leading cause of death and injuries amongst 15 to 44-year-old men.[243] It is further shown that alcohol is a psycho-social drug which inhibits the senses and negatively influences the ability to make rational decisions. This is exacerbated amongst young people under the age of 25 years.[244]

Attention is therefore drawn to the WC Liquor Authority's role in granting liquor licenses for school events, permitted by the Education Amendment Bill which enables schools to apply for a liquor license for the purpose of raising funds.[245] It is contended that liquor licenses should not be awarded for events in schools or for children under 18 years old and special event license conditions should be re-examined.[246]

The Western Cape *Alcohol-Related Harms Reduction Policy*[247] guides the Western Cape Government's approach to the regulation of alcohol. The policy recognises that

> '*The current legal framework in respect of alcohol regulation in the Western Cape comprises legislation from the national, provincial and local spheres of government. At a national level, the Liquor Act, 2003 (Act 59 of 2003), governs macro-manufacturing by large-scale manufacturers and the distribution of*

liquor. Micro-manufacturing and retail are governed at a provincial level. Currently alcohol legislation largely regulates the activities of licensing and enforcement of the production, distribution and sale of alcohol. The focus of alcohol legislation is that of the registration of manufacturers and distributors of liquor,[1] regulation and compliance of, among other aspects, the production and composition for sale of certain liquor products,[2] the granting of licenses to retailers to sell[3] or the setting of trading times in respect of licensed premises.[4] The focus of the legislation does not adequately take into consideration the impact of alcohol-related harms on society, nor does it address the consequences."[248]

The Western Cape Government acknowledges that alcohol-related harm is a problem, 'that it is destroying lives, tearing apart the social fabric and hampering socio-economic development' and that it 'needs to be addressed by providing effective interventions and by providing for ancillary matters to contribute to the reduction of alcohol-related harms.' [249]

The Western Cape Government therefore proposes policy interventions which include steps to be taken to bring some responsible unlicensed liquor outlets into the regulated space in a sustainable and responsible manner to facilitate compliance with minimum requirements. [250]

Therefore, whereas the liquor industry is regarded as an important industry for economic development, the tourism industry and job creation in the Western Cape, unlicensed liquor outlets, however, are seen as a disproportionate risk due to a lack of regulation. They are not incentivised to obtain a license and to comply with requirements relating to the prohibition of sales to underage or drunk drinkers, product regulation, the separation of on-and-off consumption, trading days and hours and other regulations that would reduce harm. [251]

It is also recommended that the Department of Trade and Industry adopts the proposed National Liquor Amendment Bill of 2017 which prohibits the sale of alcohol within 500 m of a school or recreational facility and which establishes liquor distributor and trader liability for alcohol-related harm resulting from the sale or distribution of alcohol by the trader.[252]

Therapeutic Rehabilitation for Alcohol and Drug Use

For more than 50 years, countries around the globe have declared and have been fighting a 'war on drugs'.[253] As a policy choice, this costly approach is still maintained in many countries, including in South Africa, yet, it has been proven to fail in preventing the long-term trend of increasing drug supply and use. Beyond this failure, many serious 'unintended negative consequences' of this punitive policy approach to addressing illicit drug use has been identified.[254] These costs have been proven to result not from drug use itself, but from choosing a punitive enforcement-led approach that, by its nature, places control of the trade in the hands of organised crime and criminalises many users.[255]

This approach ultimately

- undermines local, provincial and national development and security
- fuels community conflict
- threatens public health, spreads disease and causes death
- undermines human rights
- promotes stigma and discrimination, the burden of which is carried primarily by already marginalised or vulnerable populations
- creates crime and enriches criminals and
- wastes billions on ineffective law enforcement as punishments for possession/use are grossly disproportionate, often involving incarceration.[256]

> **'The "war on drugs" is a policy choice. There are other options that, at the very least, should be debated and explored using the best possible evidence and analysis.'** [257]

In the United States, in 2012 already, it was pointed out that 'it is entirely legitimate to have a (national) conversation about whether the (drug) laws in place are ones that are doing more harm than good in certain places.'[258] It was further pointed out that while the war on drugs has primarily been promoted as a way of

protecting health, it has in reality achieved the opposite. It has not only failed in its key aim of reducing or eliminating drug use, but has increased risks and created new health harms, while establishing political and practical obstacles to effective public health interventions that might reduce them.[259] Furthermore, prevention and harm reduction messages are undermined by criminalisation of target populations, leading to distrust and stigmatisation.[260] Further, these vulnerable groups do not have access to proper treatment to address addictions, meaning that the issue is merely perpetuated. Poverty and social deprivation further increase the likelihood of problematic drug use, contact with law enforcement and involvement in the illicit trade. This is why the burden of drug and alcohol use continues to be carried primarily by already marginalised and vulnerable populations.[261] Regarding the provision of tertiary prevention services to address this risk factor, it has been stressed that more state funded alcohol and drug misuse treatment centres must be established.

However, alcohol and drug misuse treatment centres are 'few and far between due to the State's minimal obligation to establish one state funded treatment centre in each province'.[262]

> **'The highly competitive application process means that often addicts have to wait up to six months to gain admission to a centre. This has disastrous consequences for those in desperate need of treatment.'** [263]

Furthermore, these centres are arguably located in city centres, making access difficult for those living in outlying areas. There are numerous private treatment centres nationwide, but their high tariffs ensure that access is a privilege of the wealthy.[264] It is therefore argued that more budgetary allocations should be made by the Departments of Health and Social Development for the creation of free and accessible substance misuse treatment centres. [265] The current Minister for Community Safety, Adv Albert Fritz, whilst he was Minister for Social Development in the Western Cape, admitted in 2014 that the government was struggling to meet the demand for rehabilitation facilities despite the fact that the Department had doubled its spending by more than R40m between 2009 and 2014. This challenge was attributed to 'the demand for services continuing to increase more rapidly than government is able to provide the services'.[266] However, this is in itself an indicator pointing to the need to invest in primary prevention, which builds the resilience of individuals against harmful drug use to begin with.

With regard to those who seek treatment, according to SACENDU[267] statistics for 2013 between January and June 2013, of the 3 717 people given treatment
- 76% were male
- 71% were coloured
- 59% were unemployed
- 67% were single
- 59% were between the ages of 15 and 29.[268]

Further, the most popular primary drug taken in Cape Town at the time was crystal meth (Tik) at 28%, followed by dagga at 21% and then alcohol at 20%.[269]

In the first half of 2017, in investigating the primary drug use for all persons, it was shown that out of 2 902 persons admitted to the 34 rehabilitation centres in the Western Cape, 29% of these were for cannabis use and of this group 79% were under 20 years of age; 27% were for Tik use and of these 5% were under 20 years of age; 26% were for alcohol use and of this group 11% were under 20 years of age. Tik was thus the second most common primary drug reported by persons in the Western Cape in the first half of 2017, followed by cannabis, although the proportion decreased from 32% in the first half of 2016 to 27% during this period.[270]

SACENDU further records the proportion of first time admissions to treatment in the Western Cape at 78% in 2017.[271] Of these referrals 40% were through family, friends, or self-help seeking; 19% were from schools; and 17% were from Social Services. [272] A proportion of 32% of persons treated for Tik dependence in the first half of 2017 had been treated previously (indicating a relapse),[273] 75% of these persons admitted for treatment were male, even though the Western Cape has seen a gradual increase in the proportion of female users over the years. During 2017, female persons were mostly admitted for the use of Tik, cocaine, and alcohol rather than for the use of other substances. [274]

A non-governmental service provider in Cape Town suggested that, according to their intake, 'clients are becoming younger, with 40% being under 21.' [275] It was asserted that:

'Work needs to be done on prevention ...in schools and communities – as well as on breaking the supply chains and offering rehabilitation.'[276]

Youth and Risk

Youth Victims

Violence during childhood has been shown to have a negative impact on brain development and well-documented adverse health and social consequences, including increased risk of later mental health disorders, sexually transmitted infection, substance use, obesity, poor academic outcomes and psychosocial well-being.[277] Of the main forms of crime perpetrated against children and adolescents is robbery: this occurs on their way to school or returning home, where they are robbed of pocket money, cell phones and even lunches. They are also at risk when running errands for caregivers on their way to and from local shops.[278] These statistics corroborate findings discussed in community focus groups in Atlantis, where the robbery of children and adolescents, as described above, was raised.[279]

Violence and Masculinities

In studies involving 2 603 male participants, 84% of these participants reported that they had been physically abused or neglected in their childhood.[280] 39% of them reported that they had been sexually abused[281] and 60% of them reported that they had been exposed to some sort of trauma as an adult as a result of assaults, robberies or other violent crimes.[282]

Furthermore, 74.7% of the men had reported levels of drinking which were considered problematic, 49.8% of the men reported depression and 50.3% of the men reported symptoms that were consistent with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). [283]

In the Western Cape, a 2013 study indicated that injury-related deaths, which are included in records of non-natural deaths, accounted for almost 60% of all deaths in older children and adolescents aged 5-17 years.[284] A high number of intentional injury deaths was recorded, particularly those due to interpersonal violence (homicide) in males between the ages of 15 and 35.[285] Interpersonal violence was among the top two causes of death among male youth (aged 15 – 24) in the Western Cape, between 2010 – 2013.[286]

Sexual Violence

The Optimus Study, a national SA study, shows that sexual abuse of school-going children and adolescents is widespread: 36.8% of boys and 33.9% of girls reported some form of sexual abuse. Overall, 35.4%, that is, one in every three adolescents, reported having experienced some form of sexual abuse at some point in their lives.[287] The mean age at which girls first experienced sexual abuse was 14, while boys typically reported their first experience to be at the age of 15 years.

One in 10 (11.3%) young people had experienced unwanted sexual touching by a known or unknown adult in their lifetime, based on reporting rates from the school survey. The report acknowledges however, that much violence against children, though, is unreported and unrecorded. It remains hidden for many reasons. Young children lack the capacity to report violence and older children often fear retaliation by perpetrators.

In addition, parents may be the perpetrators of violence against their own children, or parents may remain silent when violence is committed by other family members or by powerful members of the community or society.[288] The following table indicates rape victimisation by gender and age:

Table 6: Rape Victimisation by Gender and Age[289]

Age in Years	% Victimisation of Females (Rape)	% Victimisation of males (Rape)
0 – 5	3.1%	7.8%
6 – 10	7.8%	25.9%
11 – 17	22.3%	20.5%
18 – 25	30.4%	20%
26 – 35	23.6%	15.1%
36 – 45	8.1%	6.3%
46 – 55	3.6%	2.7%
56 – 65	0.8%	1.5%
66+	0.3%	0.2%

Regarding gender and vulnerability, it can be seen that females aged 18 to 25 years appear to be at greater risk of female rape victimisation than other age categories.[290] Furthermore, males aged 6 to 10 years appear to be at greater risk of rape victimisation than other age categories and compared to female children of the same age range.[291]

Youth in Conflict with the Law

Young people, and especially youth who are at risk or who have already been in conflict with the law, continue to be viewed as 'a problem' for safety, and as the main group of perpetrators of violence and crime. However, new policies and approaches promote a shift towards regarding young people as 'an unused opportunity and potential' for the country´s future. This shift away from the marginalisation and stigmatisation of the youth towards supporting young people as socially responsible and productive citizens is essential for realising their full potential in systemic violence prevention.[292]

Diversion Services to Children

It 2015, the DSD raised concerns on an observed reduction in the number of child offenders who were referred to diversion programmes and an increase in the number of child offenders who were not completing diversion programmes.[293]

The following table provides a national, multi-year overview of child attendance and participation in diversion programmes.

Table 5: National Rate of Attendance in Diversion Programmes

National rate of attendance of diversion programmes [294]			
	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017
Number of children in conflict with the law assessed	9 508	8 261	8 159
Number of children referred	3 880	3 555	3 460
Children who completed the programme	59.70%	67.1%	71.5%
Attrition rate	40.30%	32.90%	28.50%

- There was an 8.3% decrease in children in conflict with the law referred to diversion from 2014/2015 to 2015/2016.[295]
- There was further a 2.6% decrease in children in conflict with the law referred to diversion from 2015/2016 to 2016/2017.[296]
- Nationally, by the end of the 2014/2015 financial year, of the 3 880 children in conflict with the law who were referred to diversion, 59.7% (2 355) completed the programme.[297]
- At the end of the 2015/2016 financial year, there was a 32.9% attrition rate from diversion programmes. Out of the 3 555 children in conflict with the law who were referred to diversion, 67.1% (2 384) completed the programme.
- At the end of the 2016/2017 financial year, there was a 28.5% attrition rate from diversion programme. Out of the 3 460 children in conflict with the law who were referred to diversion, 71.5% completed the programme (2 474).

Even though a decreasing percentage in attrition rate is noted, it should also be pointed out that the number of children in conflict with the law that were referred for diversion decreased over the period 2014 to 2017.[298]

Currently, in the Western Cape, diversion services are provided to children by the Department of Social Development (DSD) only. All DSD provincial child diversion programmes are accredited in terms of the Child Justice Act, and programmes are provided to children from 10 to 12 years old, and from 13 to 18 years old. In Cape Town, there is one diversion service, for boys and girls of the ages 14 to 15 years.[299]

Twelve children were diverted in Atlantis during 2017/2018. This, from 167 that were assessed in total in the province, and 108 that were diverted in total in the province in this period.

Further, in the Western Cape, there are these four secure care centres:
- Bosasa Horizon, Faure
- Bosasa Clanwilliam, Clanwilliam
- Bonnytoun, Kraaifontein and
- Outeniqua, George.

Regarding diversions with a residential component, 127 children were served through in-house diversion at Bosasa Horison (in Faure) and four through Bosasa Clanwilliam.

Systemic issues which obstruct statutory services in the province include:
- unclear court instructions and limited case details provided by probation officers and magistrates.[300]
- the lack of information regarding previous offences as a result of the discretionary release of child offenders by the SAPS on verbal warnings, which are not recorded. The re-offending therefore goes unaddressed. [301]
- limited specialised skills during the assessment process. Probation officers are at times confronted with children who are intellectually challenged and they do not have the requisite skills to deal with such cases.[302]
- after-care programmes and multiple diversion programmes are usually not offered, even though there is a need for this to prevent recidivism and increase programmatic effectiveness.[303]
- The unnecessary criminalisation of children: diversion service providers and educators reportedly advise parents to lay criminal charges against children who display challenging behaviour, even in cases where diversion is not necessary.[304]

The Accessibility of Diversion Programmes

Reports indicate that child offenders and professionals from outside the metro areas are particularly challenged by the distance of service locations. It was reported that the diversion programmes are offered in areas that can range as far as 20 –90 kilometres from where the children and facilitators might be based. It was also pointed out that transport companies are reluctant to provide any services in these areas as it is not financially feasible for their business. Travelling to and from the programmes therefore requires extensive planning by officials, particularly in areas with limited resources.[305] These findings are particularly relevant for the areas subject to the safety audits.

Delay in Programme Participation

A reported period of delay exists between the time a child has been referred to a diversion programme and their actual participation therein. These waiting periods may range from weeks to months for child offenders who perpetrate less serious crime whereas the waiting period for child offenders who perpetrate serious violent crimes may be more than a year. [306] No other intervention appears takes place with the child during this time.

Non-compliance with and Non-Completion of the Diversion Programmes

The following factors, among others, have been identified as contributing to the attrition rate of child offenders, from their attendance of diversion programmes:

Literacy and Psychological Challenges

Child offenders who attend the diversion programmes often face various literacy and psychological challenges, which result in their disruption or 'acting out' during diversion programmes and' ultimately, in their dropping out of such programmes. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome was identified as a common factor in relation to learning disabilities in child offenders. Improving collaboration between diversion facilitators and professionals who are skilled in dealing with such learning disabilities is therefore imperative for improving the effectiveness of diversion programmes.

Lack of Familial Support

In some instances, the criminal activity of child offenders is supported or normalised by their caregivers. There is therefore no support for the child's rehabilitation within the household. It was further identified that minimal to no services are presented to family members. Focused programmes or services have therefore been recommended for family members in order to promote household support for the rehabilitation of the child offender.

Youth at Higher Risk

Certain children are identified as being at a higher risk of reoffending, for example, children with learning disabilities and those who are gang affiliated. The risk of reoffending has also been identified to increase during periods in which child offenders are waiting to be placed in a diversion programme. It is vital to address these issues for meaningful prevention interventions to take place.

The extent of the need to remedy the above issues become clearer upon examining the contexts of child and youth that are offending:

Regarding trends on youth in conflict with the law, a 2016/2017 SAPS reports indicate that persons aged 18 to 35 years accounted for 57.5% of the total of those who committed sexual offences during this period.[307] The age group 13 to 17 years (adolescents) shows the third highest number of sexual offenders.[308]

Government's reports on children in the child justice system (CJS) show that the number of children coming into the system had dropped significantly since the commencement of the Act. The reasons for this are unclear.[309]

A 2015/2016 report on the implementation of the Child Justice Act indicated that
- There has been a decline in preliminary inquiries conducted with children in conflict with the law since 2013/2014.[310]
- There was a 15.4% decrease in the number of preliminary inquiries conducted with children in conflict with the law, from 2012/2013 to 2013/2014.[311]
- There was a further 5% decrease in the number of preliminary inquiries conducted with children in conflict with the law, from 2014/2015 to 2015/2016.[312]

- The number of children in conflict with the law that was assessed by the Department of Social Development also decreased over the period 2014 to 2017: there was a 13% decrease in children in conflict with the law assessed from 2014/2015 to 2015/2016 and a further 1.2% decrease in such assessments from 2015/2016 to 2016/2017.[313]

The practice of diversion in South Africa developed concurrently with the establishment of a separate child justice system. A Child Justice Amendment Bill is currently proposed which will increase the age of criminal capacity of children from 10 to 12 years. This will have an implication for services to child offenders, including diversion and rehabilitation services.[314] This is an important consideration when looking at the trends in perpetration regarding age (high rate of perpetration from among children and youth (15-24), as highlighted in this report. The following section therefore briefly looks at diversion services in the Province.

Counselling and Therapeutic Programmes

It is recognised that some children who commit offences may have coexisting behavioural and emotional problems that require treatment. This may necessitate either inpatient or outpatient counselling and therapeutic programmes as possible diversion interventions. Some of these programmes include a residential element and comprise tertiary level prevention interventions. Unfortunately, as can be seen above, there are a limited number of these interventions available for children in the province, and in South Africa, in general.

Systemic recommendations therefore include
- The regular and systematic monitoring of the implementation of laws, including the Domestic Violence Act, the Sexual Offences Act, the Child Justice Act and the Children's Act, must be conducted by the relevant departments, in order to improve services. [315]
- There is still no functional protocol between the SAPS, Department of Health (DoH) and DSD around the management of sexual offence cases.[316] This should be addressed and a protocol should be developed to ensure the seamless implementation of legislative mandates, particularly in relation to intersecting services.
- When perpetrators 'have a sense that they can use violence and face no negative consequences, it increases the likelihood that they will use violence and use it repeatedly.'[317] Matters reported to the police should therefore be treated with due seriousness and there should be appropriate sanctions imposed where violence is found to have been committed. [318]
- Parenting programmes must be targeted towards benefitting identified at-risk children. These programmes should address normalisation of violence in the home. [319]

The Criminal Justice System: Secondary and Tertiary Prevention

Ex-offender Diversion, Rehabilitation and Reintegration

The rehabilitation of perpetrators requires an interdisciplinary approach.[320] Assessments should be done on the impact/effectiveness of existing programmes (DCS, DSD, NGOs and NICRO).[321] More resources should be provided to these programmes to ensure that they are sustained and where they are lacking, to ensure that they are established.[322]

Criteria for Effective Rehabilitation Programmes

The criteria for effective rehabilitation interventions for ex-offenders have been identified to include the following:

- There should be a focus on skills applicable to the job market.
- The needs of participants should be matched with programme objectives.
- Programme participation should be timed to be close to the participant's release date, so that skills are up to date and relevant, and to ensure that there are no intervening factors to draw participants into recidivism. Maintaining a positive momentum in this regard is therefore critical.

- The programming should not be short-termed. It should run over several months to ensure the successful transition and adaptation of the participants.
- The programme should deal with each offender's needs and should be well integrated into other prison programmes and services, and those offered by other departments.
- Prison programmes should be followed by post-release treatment and services.
- Programmes should be based on effective programme design, implementation and monitoring.
- There should be a proper, rigorous and sound evaluation process in place.[323]

Education programmes often form the core of rehabilitation efforts in a prison and some noteworthy and interesting lessons have been learned and are reported in the literature. It was posited that recidivism rates drop when educational programmes "are designed to help prisoners with their social skills, artistic development and techniques and strategies to help them deal with their emotions".[324] This should further be supported by teaching critical thinking and reasoning skills. Vocational training programmes, that are supported by follow-up services for released prisoners, also show a lowering effect on recidivism and parole revocation rates. It can be concluded therefore that effective education is about a far wider range of issues than academic skills and that education can be a useful vehicle for a more comprehensive change process. [325] It is emphasised that ex-offender rehabilitation and reintegration is one response amongst several from the criminal justice system, and that it requires support and co-ordination from the other sectors of government and civil society. [326]

The Atlantis Community Safety Audit

Findings, Discussion and Analysis

CHAPTER 4

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ATLANTIS AREA

The following section looks at the geographic situation of Atlantis, which includes the physical environment and aspects relating to its environmental design.

Figure 2: Distance between Atlantis and City of Cape Town CBD
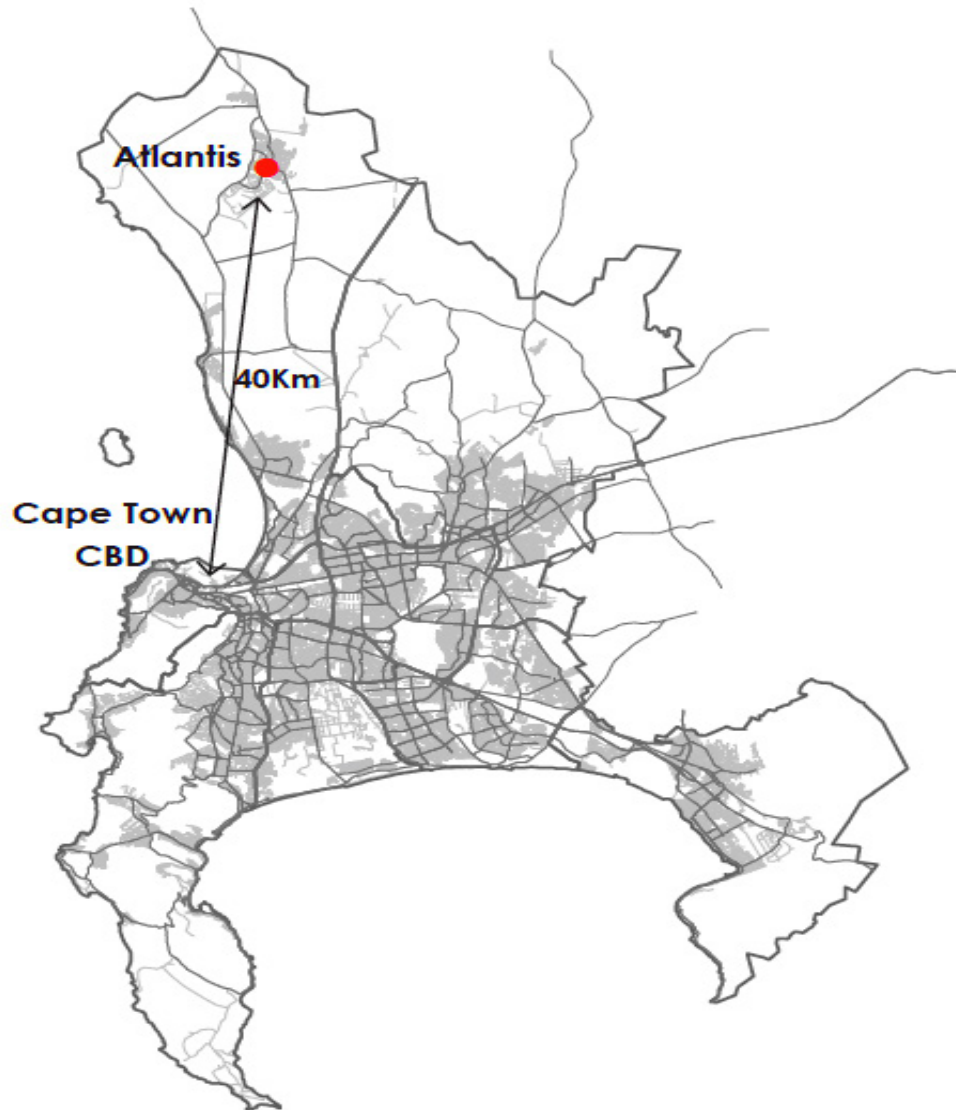
Atlantis is a suburb located far in the north west of the City of Cape Town's (CoCT)'s administrative area, relatively far from the economic hub of the city. It comprises an area of 28.8 km^2.[327]

> **'Atlantis owes its existence to apartheid spatial planning.'[328]**

It was developed in the 1970s as a satellite town to Cape Town that would primarily accommodate a 'coloured' working class community.

According to commentators

> *'The layout of the town is a combination of modernist town planning principles of segregated land use and apartheid principles of racial segregation.'[329]*

Atlantis was declared a 'Coloured Group Area' in 1972 under the apartheid government. Little existed in this area prior to 1975, but it was intended that this new industrial town would house 500 000 coloured people and provide factory jobs for its coloured residents:[330]

> 'Atlantis was envisioned as a city that could ease the Cape's housing crunch, provide employment for coloureds, encourage separate development and decentralise South African industry. The national government committed huge resources to the Atlantis project, promising to limit Cape Town development for coloureds to Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain, the new development in the Cape Flats. To the apartheid planners of the 1970s, Atlantis represented an opportunity to accomplish multiple important goals positively, without the forced removals or other politically costly endeavours that other apartheid schemes depended on. The city would be a segregated development for coloureds, meant to benefit coloureds even as it buttressed apartheid.'[331]

Socio-economic Population Profile of Atlantis

Atlantis has a population of 67 492 comprising of 15 566 households.[332] It is a product of apartheid spatial planning and was destined to become a 'forgotten city'.[333] Atlantis has a complex history that provides a context for the pervasive challenges of illiteracy, unemployment, lack of housing, violence and crime.[334]

In 1975 promotional tax incentives were designed to attract prospective industries to the area. Over 100 factories were said to have relocated to Atlantis to take advantage of these incentives.[335]

As a result there was a significant influx of people to Atlantis in search of jobs, however, few of these employment opportunities materialised. In 1979, the government claimed that 3 000 jobs had been created in Atlantis, but these were mostly low-paying jobs at the factories. Many workers continued to commute to Cape Town from Atlantis. Retrenchments, eviction and dire circumstances characterised the late 1980s.[336]

By 1989 more than a third of the industrial jobs created had been lost when incentive schemes ceased and the economic crisis took hold.[337] A household survey of Atlantis in 1986 found that 27% of adults were unemployed, however, 91% of household heads were employed before coming to Atlantis.[338] Other findings included:
- 78% of those employed were unskilled or semi-skilled
- 30% of all employed residents worked outside of Atlantis
- 45% of these residents spent more than two hours traveling to and from work daily
- 47% spent R50 or more a month on transportation for work and
- 33% of adults had no form of income at all. [339]

The Foundation for Contemporary Research notes that while 170 000 jobs were promised by 1992, there were only 7 100 manufacturing and 2 500 commercial jobs. Of these, even fewer were available to Atlantis residents, as 3 000 skilled workers commuted into the area every day. Therefore, by 1992, unemployment had reached a rate of about 40%.[340]

The national census (2011) found that only 32% of those aged 20 years and older completed Grade 12 or higher. This indicates a generally low-skilled or semi-skilled population group. The monthly income of residents is significantly lower than in other parts of Cape Town. In 2011, 50% of the Atlantis households reported an income of R3 200 per month or lower.[341] These households are significantly over-represented in the lower income groups compared to Cape Town as a whole.

Findings

Community Safety Profile

The following section provides a community safety profile for Atlantis. It shows the results of the use of various techniques in crime mapping and hotspotting, which includes an illustration of the nature, scale, trends and distribution of crime in Atlantis communities. The specific crime and safety challenges are highlighted, including the identification of crime hotpots or high-density crime areas.

Perceptions of Safety

In Atlantis, participants' feelings of safety differed across communities.[342] During the crime mapping exercise, participants were asked to rate the communities in which they lived as: 'Very Unsafe', 'Unsafe', 'Reasonably Safe', 'Safe' or 'Very Safe'. They were also asked to cite the reasons for their safety ratings. It is worth noting that none of the participants reported feeling *very safe* in Atlantis.[343] The following table summarises the responses by safety ratings per area.

Table 7: Atlantis Crime Mapping – Perceptions of Safety and Crime per Area

Very Unsafe Communities	Reasons	Reasonably Safe Communities	Reasons
Sherwood Park	**Gangsterism** This area was cited to be affected by gang violence (shootings).[344]	Beacon Hill	**Pockets of Unemployment and Deprivation** Beacon Hill was identified as a very quiet area. One of the problems identified was residential burglary. A risk factor for this crime was identified as the high unemployment in the surrounding areas. Perpetrators are reported to be 'mostly from Dura Flats, which is situated closer' to Beacon Hill, and also from Sherwood Park.
Parts of Avondale Coral Place Flats Informal Settlements	**Low Social Cohesion in Informal and New Communities** Some communities which were perceived to be very unsafe/Unsafe were categorised as "flats areas", or areas with more informal housing. People were stated to have been "dumped" in these areas from different places and they had not stayed there for very long. **Lack of Community Safety Structures** Participants indicated that gangsterism became a problem in the Coral Flats area after the NHW was disbanded. **Gangsterism** The area from Amstelveen Road, right up to Coral Place, was cited to be affected by gang-related crime and violence (shootings).[345]	Parts of Avondale	**Social Cohesion** These parts were identified as being stable, and constituted by a more affluent middle-class community. Members were said to have lived in the area for generations. There was evidence of a high level of social cohesion, where 'everybody knows everybody else'. **Length of Stay** in an area was identified as a protective factor. It was identified that many families have stayed in the area for generations. **Higher Incomes and Greater Access to Resources** Participants said that in these communities people occupy more professional and higher paid jobs and they have accesses to more resources.
Parts of Protea Park Old Protea Park	Protea Park is divided into four parts, which accords with the different policing sectors. **Gangsterism** Participants identified that members of the Americans gang stay in Old Protea Park. They regularly fought the G-units of Robinvale. These gang members were noted to rob people. Old Protea Park was identified as an 'all Red Zone' (It was identified as having a high level of crime and violence). One participant said that regular occurrences of gang violence makes the area 'like a war zone' during these eruptions of violence.[346] They reported that *'in Protea Park, young children drop out of school because when going to school, they have to walk through rival gang territory where they are victimised and targeted, because (for example) their brother is involved with a gang.*[347]	Parts of Protea Park: From Amaryllis Street to Kerria Avenue	**Property-related crimes linked to gang activities** Despite being identified as a reasonable safe area, participants noted the occurrence of a few burglaries, and some shootings as a result of turf wars in the surrounding areas. **Community Policing Structures** The situation was worse before the NHW was started there. In partnership with SAPS and the CPF, the Neighbourhood Watch operates to send out crime alerts via their WhatsApp group. They call in cases of emergencies, such as shootings. Some of their reported successes include that they caught a group of people who were part of a burglary syndicate.
Witsand	Witsand itself was identified as an unsafe area and crime hotspot because of crime levels within the community.[348]	**Sections of Robinvale**	This section was identified as having crimes such as robberies and residential burglaries. **The Lack of Police Visibility** This was identified as a risk factor for these crimes.

Very Unsafe Communities	Reasons	Reasonably Safe Communities	Reasons
Sections of Robinvale Dura Flats Informal Settlements	Informal housing areas and Flats areas were identified as the crime hotspots in Robinvale. **Gangsterism in Dura Flats in Dura Park** This area was reported to be plagued by gang violence (shootings).[349] **Not only was this area identified as a crime hotspot by all participants from Atlantis,** but this area was also identified as a hotspot for crime in previous studies.[350] This is worth noting. This area has been described as 'a dangerous and violent hotbed of gangs and drugs'. In fact, newspapers report that 'ambulances could not respond to sick people in Dura Flats in Atlantis without a police escort'.[351] **The Informal Settlements** 7% of the Atlantis population is recorded to live in informal settlements.[352] There are two identified informal settlements in Atlantis.[353] These areas were identified as hotspot areas for crime and violence.[354]		
Saxonsea	**Gangsterism** This was an area identified because of the occurrence of gangsterism and gang-related activities.[355]		
All Flats Areas	These areas were plagued by gang violence (shootings). Murder was cited as one of the top ten crimes committed in these areas. Risk factors prevalent in these areas were identified by participants to include gangsterism substance abuse domestic violence school drop-outs economic deprivation, driving youth to anti-social behaviour for survival and peer pressure.		
Routes from Witsand to transport interchanges	**Unsafe Pedestrian Routes for Commuters – the Need for Bush Clearing** It was noted that there are risks for people from Witsand who have to pass through areas in Atlantis as they commute to and from work. These members had to walk long distances to get to public transport hubs. Pedestrian routes were identified as being risky. According to focus group participants: "*It is very risky for people coming from Witsand – they walk from Witsand in order to come through Atlantis. The area they have to cross is very bushy. The bush has to be cleared. There are many robberies in this vicinity of people who come from and to work.*" Focus Group participants reported robberies and assaults on commuter and pedestrian routes to and from the area.[356] Crime incidences are identified as most frequent in the early mornings and evenings, when travelling to and from work. **Bundu Courts** One participant perceived that Witsand community members were safer: 'the people in Witsand are safe there because they have their court (Bundu Courts) to decide if crime is committed' (This participant was not a resident of Witsand).[357]		

Participants were also asked to identify safe and unsafe spaces in Atlantis, as well as crime hotspots. These crime hotspots were identified in focus group sessions, community crime mapping as well as in in-depth interviews.

While not all areas were identified as crime hotspots, the fact that crime occurred in the community was a primary factor leading to feelings of being unsafe.

Feelings or perceptions of safety in a particular place in many instances corresponded with whether or not that place was identified as a crime hotspot area. The following areas were identified as crime hotspots in the Atlantis area.

Table 8: Atlantis Crime Mapping and Hotspot Analysis

Crime Hotspots and Unsafe Spaces	Reasons
Tuck Shops and Spaza Shops as Loitering Spots to Gather Information for Criminals	There is a lot of loitering at these spots and residents believe that many of these groups may be gathering intelligence for criminals. According to participants, the movements of residents are being monitored by certain groups who hang out at the shops and houses are then burgled when residents are away from home.[358]
Routes toward Spaza Shops	Robberies of primary school children were identified as occurring along these routes. All participants agreed that these routes are hotspots for robberies of mainly children.[359]
All Schools	Atlantis has 12 primary schools and 6 high schools.[360] All schools in Atlantis were reported to be places that are unsafe for children, because of gangsterism and gang-related violence, sexual violence, bullying and intimidation.[361] Schools have been cited as hotspots for gang violence and drug dealing.[362] This finding is corroborated by inputs gathered from the provincial policing needs and priorities workshops conduct by the Department of Community Safety in 2018/2019. The report indicates that "schools are increasingly becoming the target of gang-related criminal activity".[363] Rape was also among the top crimes identified, which take place in schools.[364] According to one participant, in his interactions with the youth, he encounters reports that 'children feel too unsafe to go to school'.[365]
The Atlantis CBD	**Malls/ Shopping Centres in Atlantis:** Atlantis has two main formal retail places with ten or more shops,[366] namely the Wesfleur and the Avondale shopping centres. There are two main markets, comprised of informal traders, one in Wesfleur and the other in Witsands.[367] Participants report that these areas are hotspots, where the elderly, in particular, are being robbed. They stated specifically that these occurrences happen on their way to shopping malls on or around the social security pay-out days.[368]*"Shopping centres are hotspots for robbery, perpetrated by school drop-outs. These usually increase around the first of every month".*[369] **ATMs:** There are fifteen ATMs and two pension payout points in Atlantis.[370] These are sites of robberies.[371]
Saxonworld Pubs	Pubs in Saxonwold were identified as hotspots for child prostitution, involving girl children as young as 12-13 years old.[372]
Atlantis Industrial Area (Old factory sites)	These areas were identified as hotspots for the rape of women.[373]
Places of Worship	Some participants said that there were no safe spaces in Atlantis. One of the reasons for this perception was because even places of worship (mosques) were targets for crime.

Perceptions of safety are generally informed by the perceived fear of crime and risk of victimisation.[374] Where participants indicated high levels in perceptions of being unsafe, research indicates that fear of crime in South Africa has the most significant impact on *civic cohesion* or trust in government institutions, rather than more conventional horizontal indicators of social cohesion such as social trust between citizens.[375]

> **Therefore, while fear of crime does not significantly reduce social trust or social cohesion within communities, there are signs that it undermines evaluations of democratic functioning and confidence in key political institutions.[376]**

Crime Perception Density Map of Safe and Unsafe Areas

The maps below depict the results of the community crime mapping exercise. Figure 3 shows a heat map of areas perceived as safe and unsafe by the community in terms of all types of crimes. Figure 4 shows the spatial distribution of areas perception to be safe and unsafe for different interest groups (elderly, children, women, people with disability) in the Atlantis police precinct. Figure 5 shows the spatial distribution of specific crime categories in the Atlantis police precinct.

Figure 3: Crime Perception Density Map of Safe and Unsafe Areas
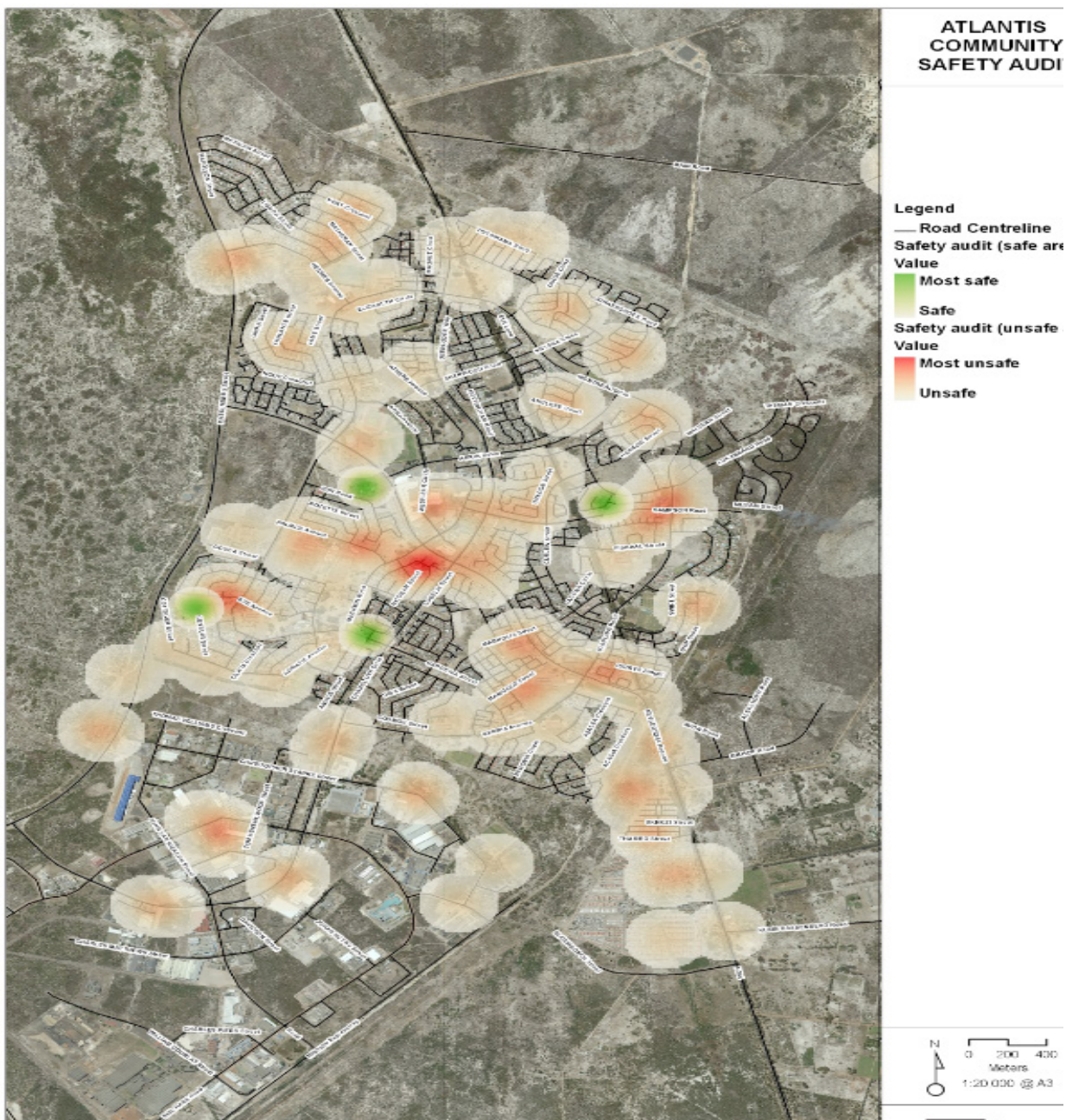
Figure 3 depicts a heat map of crime hotspots based on the crime mapping done during the community focus groups. Amongst other areas, the map shows high crime densities in Protea Park, in the areas along Meerman and Reygersdal Avenues, as well as Avondale, in the areas along Eve Avenue and Robin Hill and along Samson and Sterling roads. These constituted identified crime hotspots.

Figure 4: Identified Areas that are Unsafe for Specific Vulnerable Groups
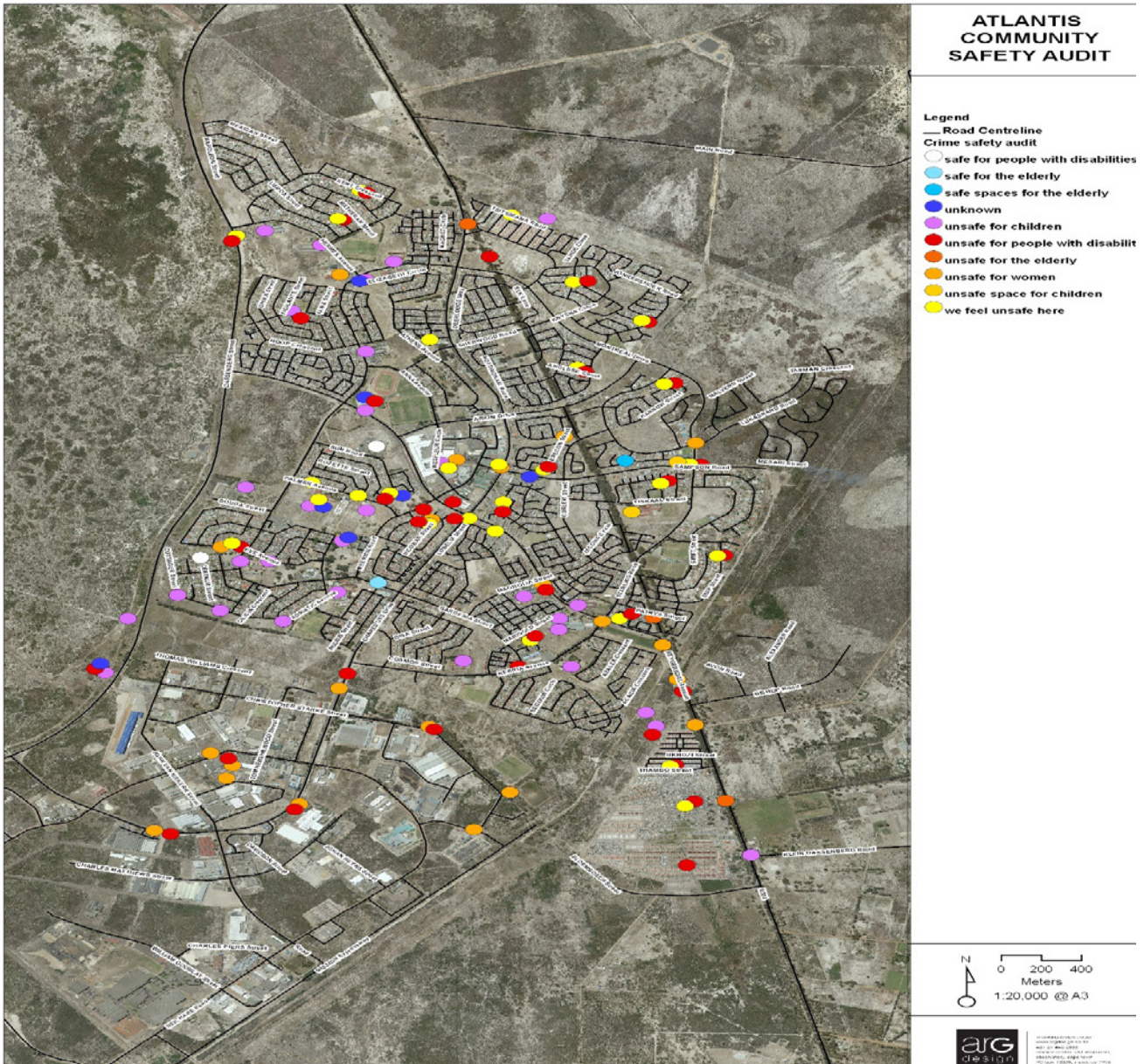
Whereas Figure 3 identifies crime hotspots with high crime densities, notably Protea Park, in the areas along Meerman and Reygersdal Avenues, as well as Avondale, in the areas along Eve Avenue and Robin Hill and along Samson and Sterling roads, Figure 4 indicates that these areas are perceived as generally being unsafe for community members, but also for women, children, the elderly and people with disabilities.

Figure 5: Crime Perception Maps: Mapping Crime Categories per Area
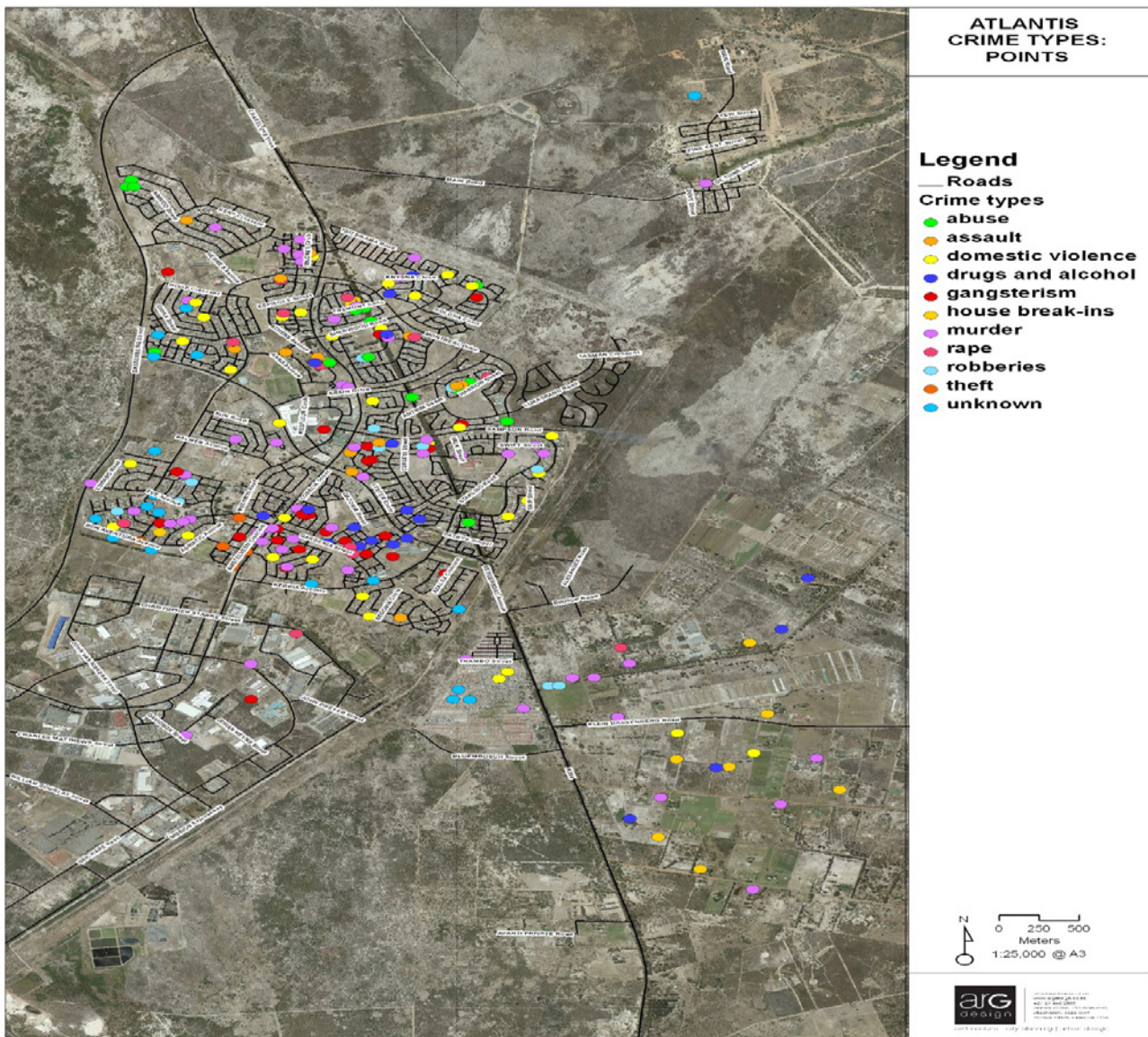
Figure 5 indicates the types of crime which are perceived as being prevalent in the hotspot areas of Protea Park, the areas along Meerman and Reygersdal Avenues, as well as Avondale, in the areas along Eve Avenue and Robin Hill, and along Samson and Sterling roads. Participants accordingly identified a very high density of murders, gangsterism, as well as a prevalence of alcohol and drug use. Other crimes identified with these areas include rape, robberies, assault, house break-ins and theft.

Priority Crimes in Atlantis

Overview

In the development of strategies and plans for the prevention of crime, the identification and consideration of risk factors associated with the prevalence of crime is paramount. In fact, prevention work revolves around the address of risk factors on primary, tertiary and secondary prevention levels.

The previous section looked at community perceived crime hotspots and priority crimes. The section explores police identified crime trends in the area.

In accordance with the trends indicated by police recorded statistics, the Atlantis police precinct is classified as a 'contact crime' police precinct. Over the past five years contact crime accounted for more than 20% of the total number of crimes for each year.[377] The following table shows the main community- identified problems and concerns compared with police precinct crime records. It is worth noting that the community-identified crime concerns corresponded well with the police-identified concerns. This may indicate that community crime intelligence is high. This may also mean that communities are well organised around the issue of crime and safety, that there is a flow of information on crime trends between the police/NHWs/CPFs and the community.

The following table compares the priority crimes in Atlantis as identified by the community and the SAPS, identified risk factors associated with these crimes, as well as SAPS recorded and community-identified crime patterns and trends therein.

Table 9: Atlantis Priority Crimes and Associated Main Risk Factors Identified[378]

Priority Crimes: Community-Identified	Priority Crimes: Police-Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Murder	Murder and Attempted Murder	Gangsterism Substance abuse (Alcohol and Drugs) Domestic violence	Murder and attempted murder was on an increasing trend. In 2017/2018, the murder count in Atlantis was recorded at 62, and attempted murder at 81 counts. Between 2016/2017 and 2017/2018, attempted murder increased by 31%; and murder increased by 26.5%.[379] **Attempted Murder** Rival gang members were recorded as the primary victims of the crime of attempted murder.[380] The age range of recorded victims was 18 to 25 years.[381] These crimes occurred most frequently in dark streets and corners, in the evenings on Saturdays and Sundays.[382] These crimes were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 age group, by prior offenders.[383] **Murder** The SAPS reported murder among the top 10 crimes committed in Atlantis.[384] Participants in the focus group and in-depth interviews also identified this as a primary concern.[385] As in incidences of attempted murder, rival gang members were recorded as the primary victims for the crime of murder.[386] Noting that gang violence mostly occurs in public within affected communities, participants also identified gang violence as a primary concern.[387] The age range of recorded victims was 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 years.[388] These crimes occurred most frequently in dark streets and corners, in the evenings on Saturdays and Sundays.[389] These crimes were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 age group, by prior offenders.[390]

Priority Crimes: Community-Identified	Priority Crimes: Police-Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Gangsterism	Gangsterism	School drop-outs Peer pressure Poor parenting Poverty Drug trading	Rival gang members were recorded as the primary victims for the crimes of murder and attempted murder.
Robbery	Robbery	Youth Unemployment Poverty Gangsterism and Organised Crime Alcohol and Drug Abuse	**Robbery Aggravated** In 2017/2018 there were 214 counts of robbery with aggravated circumstances.[391] **Common Robbery** Robbery was identified as one of the top ten crimes committed in Atlantis.[392] Common robbery appears to be an opportunistic crime, with police reporting that the any vulnerable person can be the victim of this type of crime.[393] These crimes occurred most frequently at ATMs and Banks;[394] at shops or enroute to and from shops; and from schools, during afternoons on Fridays.[395] Common robbery was mostly perpetrated by persons in the 26 to 35 age group.[396] This crime was mainly committed by prior offenders.[397] Cases of robbery are often accompanied by assault.[398] **Robbery at Non-residential Premises** Robbery at non-residential premises appears to be an opportunistic crime, the primary victims of which are in the age group 26 to 35 years.[399] These crimes most frequently target house shops and barber shops, and occur most often in the mornings and at night, over weekends.[400] This crime was mostly perpetrated by persons in the 26 to 35 age group,[401] and was mainly committed by prior offenders.[402] **Robbery at Residential Premises** Robbery at residential premises appears to be an opportunistic crime, the primary victims of which are in the age group 26 to 35 years.[403] These crimes most frequently occur on Mondays and at night.[404] This crime was mostly perpetrated by persons in the age groups 15 to 17 and 18 to 25. This crime was mainly committed by prior offenders.[405]
Common Assault (referred to as "Abuse")	Assault GBH	Alcohol and drug abuse Gangsterism Domestic violence	**Common Assault** The highest recorded contact crime in Atlantis was common assault, at 675 cases in the 2017/2018 year. Common assault increased by 9% between 2016/2017 and 2017/2018. **Assault GBH** In 2017/2018, the SAPS also recorded Assault GBH as a top ten crime. According to SAPS report, whereas Assault GBH crime was committed by persons known to the victim, female intimate partners were recorded as the primary victims for the crime of assault GBH.[406] Assault GBH also occurred within the following interpersonal relationships - Between extended family members - Between friends - Between community members known to each other.[407] Assault GBH was mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 age groups.[408] This crime was mainly committed by prior offenders.[409]

Priority Crimes: Community-Identified	Priority Crimes: Police-Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Drug-related (Drug Dealing and Use) [410]	**Drug-related (Drug Dealing and Use)** [411]	Poverty Unemployment The desire for self-enrichment	In the safety audit, drug dealing and drug abuse was identified as a primary risk factor in Atlantis. One organisation was cited to address drug abuse in Atlantis, through the provision of drug abuse counselling, namely, the Thuthuzela Care Centre.[412] A challenge in addressing drug abuse as a key risk factor was the fact that the SAPS do not close drug dens as well as the lack of adequate drug rehabilitation centres in the area.[413] The participants identified the lack of SAPS investigations and arrests of drug dealers as compounding the problem. There was a perception that there is collusion between the police and drug dealers: *'Some of the police officers are working with drug dealers.'*[414] Participants in Atlantis also complained that the SAPS do not close drug houses.[415] In Atlantis, between 2016/2017 and 2017/2018, drug-related crime increased by 26.9%. There was also an increase of 11.7% in cases of the illegal possession of firearms over this period.[416]
Residential Burglary (House Break-ins)	Residential Burglary	Gangsterism and organised crime	In 2017/2018, Atlantis police precinct recorded 592 cases of burglaries at residential premises – the highest count among all property-related crimes for the precinct, in that year.
Domestic Violence	Domestic Violence	Substance abuse Male unemployment	Domestic violence was identified as one of the top ten crimes by both the focus group and during in-depth interviews, as well as by the SAPS.[417] Domestic violence was reportedly most frequently committed against female intimate partners,[418] and children.[419] Domestic violence is perpetrated primarily by males in the age group 26 to 35 years, who are prior offenders.[420] With regard to addressing domestic violence: participants point out that in Atlantis there is an existing referral system between NGOs and the Department of Social Development. The department relies on such referrals by organisations including the United Sanctuary and CWD.[421]
Sexual Offences - Rape	Sexual Offences - Rape	Substance abuse The lack of moral values The need to prove the level of power possessed by the perpetrator	A 2012 analysis of sexual crimes in Atlantis showed significantly high levels compared to other areas in Cape Town.[422] Sexual crimes were cited as being 'notoriously under-reported' in a 2014 study.[423] Sexual offences were identified by the police and community[424] as a top 10 crime committed in Atlantis.[425] Rape was the most frequent type of sexual offence committed in Atlantis.[426] 86 counts of sexual offences were recorded in 2017/2018. The police cited 'anyone' in the age ranges of 0 to 9 years, 10 to 14 years and 18 to 25 years to be primary victims for the crime of rape.[427] This crime was reported by the SAPS to be mainly committed in the home. [428] Rape was reportedly mostly perpetrated by persons in the 26 to 35-year age group, as well as by persons 35 years and older. [429] According to police reports, perpetrators included both habitual and first offenders, who were either friends of the victim or community members who are known to the victim. [430] Atlantis Focus Group participants reported incidences of sexual abuse at schools, which leads to teen pregnancies.[431] Of significant concern are reports that barracks used by trainee police are sites of prostitution, including child prostitution.[432] Reports indicate that children as young as 12 to 13 years old were victims of this crime.[433]

Priority Crimes: Community-Identified	Priority Crimes: Police-Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Proliferation of Shebeens	Proliferation of Shebeens	Shebeens are associated with alcohol abuse and drug peddling. [434]	The high and increasing number of shebeens in Atlantis communities have been identified as a primary risk factor in the area.[435] **Alcohol Abuse** Alcohol abuse was cited as one of the primary risk factors for violence, particularly interpersonal violence.[436] In Atlantis, there are forty-seven liquor premises operating in the Atlantis police precinct, with three Liquor Trading establishments being registered and licensed under the Liquor Act (No. 59 of 2003).[437] Participants in this research asserted that there is a strong correlation between drug and alcohol use and the social and crime problems they experience in their communities: *'It's not always poverty that's a problem, but drugs and alcohol are the problem'.*[438]

Table 10: Atlantis Priority Crimes Summary Analysis

Atlantis Police Precinct					Diff 2016/17-2015/16		Diff 2017/18-2016/17		Diff 2017/18-2015/16	
	2015/ 2016	2016/ 2017	2017/ 2018	Total	Diff (No) 2016/17-2015/16	% Diff 2016/17-2015/16	Diff (No) 2017/18-2016/17	% Diff 2017/18-2016/17	Diff (No) 2017/18-2015/16	% Diff 2017/18-2015/16
Murder	34	49	62	**145**	15	**44.1%**	13	**26.5%**	28	**82.4%**
Robbery (Common)	269	275	239	**783**	6	**2.2%**	-36	**-13.1%**	-30	**-11.2%**
Robbery (Aggravated)	271	277	214	**762**	6	**2.2%**	-63	**-22.7%**	-57	**-21.0%**
Robbery (Residential)	10	18	14	**42**	8	**80.0%**	-4	**-22.2%**	4	**40.0%**
Drug related	1,853	2,078	2,638	**6,569**	225	**12.1%**	560	**26.9%**	785	**42.4%**
Sexual Offences (Rape)	96	109	69	**274**	13	**13.5%**	-40	**-36.7%**	-27	**-28.1%**
Burglary at Residential Premises	495	681	592	**1,768**	186	**37.6%**	-89	**-13.1%**	97	**19.6%**
Hijackings	2	3	6	**11**	1	**50.0%**	3	**100.0%**	4	**200.0%**
Assault (Common)	558	619	675	**1,852**	61	**10.9%**	56	**9.0%**	117	**21.0%**
Theft (all theft not mentioned elsewhere)	1152	1,269	1,210	**3,631**	117	**10.2%**	-59	**-4.6%**	58	**5.0%**

The increase in murder, drug-related crimes, hijackings and common assault over the three consecutive years depicted in Table 10 above (2015/2016 – 2017/2018), warrants further investigation into the trends in these crimes, as well as the development of appropriate strategies and plans to address them, through a partnership which includes the SAPS, the Municipality and community safety structures like NHWs and the CPFs.

Atlantis Youth

Evidence-based intelligence-driven planning and programming is required in order to see a positive impact in the communities in which development is sorely needed. Atlantis is divided into two wards – Ward 29 and Ward 32. The following provides an overview of important statistics to consider when developing safety programmes and plans.

Figure 6: Comparative Youth Socio-Economic Data for Atlantis[439]
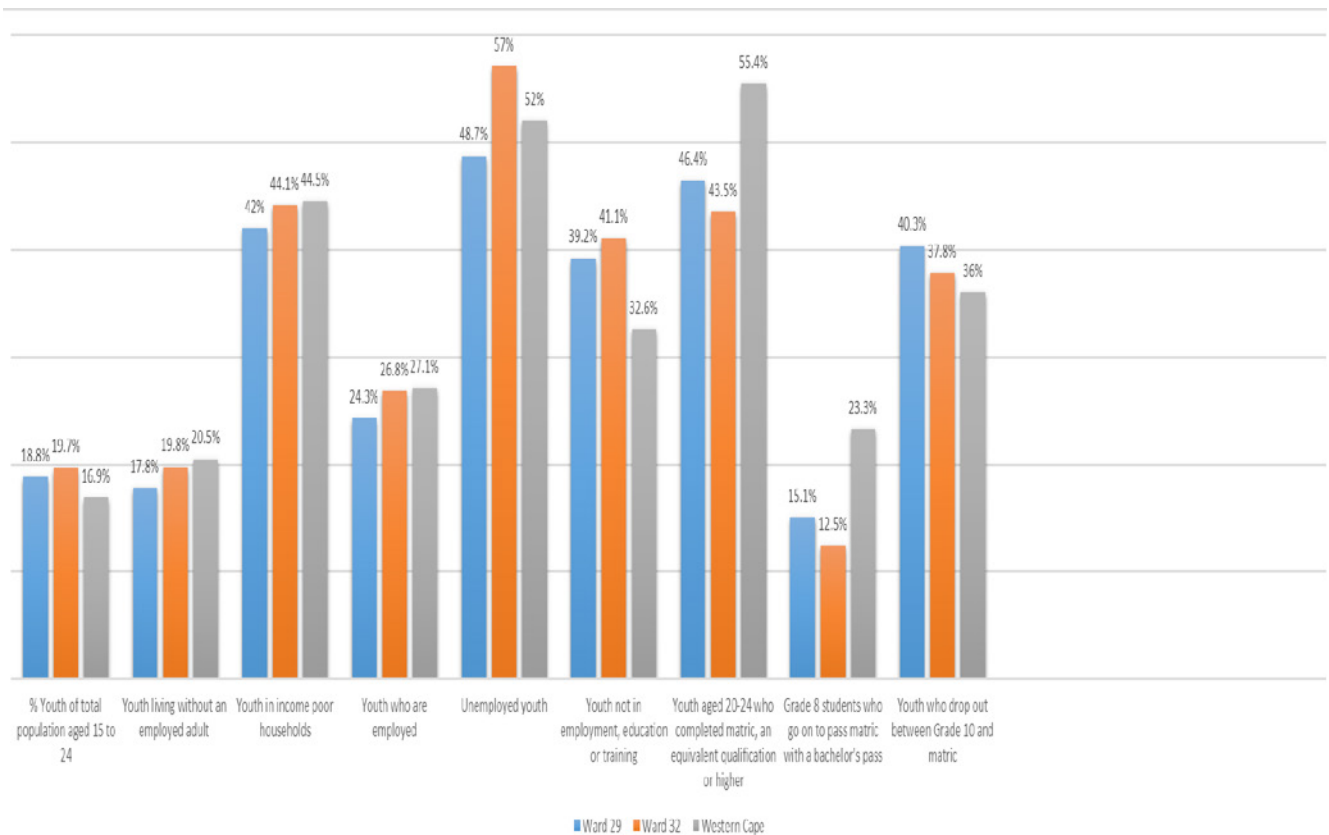
Youth Unemployment

A quarter of a century into democracy South Africans, even highly skilled individuals, are finding it hard to get jobs. Apartheid's legacies still scar the country: poverty remains high, inequality remains extreme and is growing – and both follow racial lines. The same is true for unemployment.[440]

> **Statistics showed that 57% of youth aged 15 to 24 in Ward 32 in Atlantis are unemployed, and 48.7% in Ward 29 in Atlantis are unemployed.**[441]

What do these policies need to consider?

By 2021, over one-third of skills (35%) that are considered important in today's workforce will have changed. Experts predict that these developments will transform the way we live and the way we work. They assert that some jobs will disappear, others will grow and jobs that don't even exist today will become commonplace. They ultimately caution that the future workforce will need to align its skillset to keep pace.[442]

The City of Cape Town recognises that the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution' is changing the structure of many economies – including that of Cape Town - by increasing reliance on skill intensive industries for economic growth.[443] It was highlighted in the City's IDP document that, following the decline of the manufacturing industry, Cape Town's labour market has been experiencing a skills mismatch between labour demand and labour supply, which may be reinforced by the impacts of the fourth Industrial Revolution.[444]

The City recognises the need for programmes for reskilling workers at risk of unemployment. There is also a need to continue to build an environment that offers economic opportunities for lower-skilled workers and the unemployed. The City acknowledges that new sectors or markets should be explored and embraced – including the possibility of stimulating local manufacturing through the application of new technologies.[445]

It is predicted that 'smart systems' will be utilised in homes, factories, farms, grids and cities, which will help tackle problems ranging from supply chain management to climate change.[446] While the impending change is said to hold great promise, experts caution that the patterns of consumption, production and employment created by it also pose major challenges requiring proactive adaptation by corporations, governments and individuals.[447] According to expert reports:

> '*Concurrent to the technological revolution is a set of broader socio-economic, geopolitical and demographic drivers of change, each interacting in multiple directions and intensifying one another. As entire industries adjust, most occupations are undergoing a fundamental transformation. While some jobs are threatened by redundancy and others grow rapidly, existing jobs are also going through a change in the skill sets required to do them.*'[448]

To prevent technological change accompanied by talent shortages, mass unemployment and growing inequality, reskilling and upskilling of the workforce is said to be critical. While this necessitates reforms in basic education, experts caution that 'it is not possible to weather the current technological revolution by waiting for the next generation's workforce to become better prepared'.[449] It is pointed out that it is critical for businesses to take an active role in supporting their current workforce through re-training, that there is an emphasis on lifelong learning and that governments create the enabling environment, rapidly and creatively, to assist these efforts.[450]

It is further predicted that business collaboration within industries to create larger pools of skilled talent will become indispensable, as will multi-sector skilling partnerships that leverage the very same collaborative models that underpin many of the technology-driven business changes underway today. Additionally, better data and planning tools are critical in helping to anticipate and proactively manage the current transition in labour markets.[451]

Despite the above recognition, we see that 66% of youth aged 15 to 24 in Ward 32 in Atlantis and 62.4% in Ward 29 in Atlantis have NO access to the internet.[452]

Figure 7: Youth Access to the Internet in Atlantis[453]
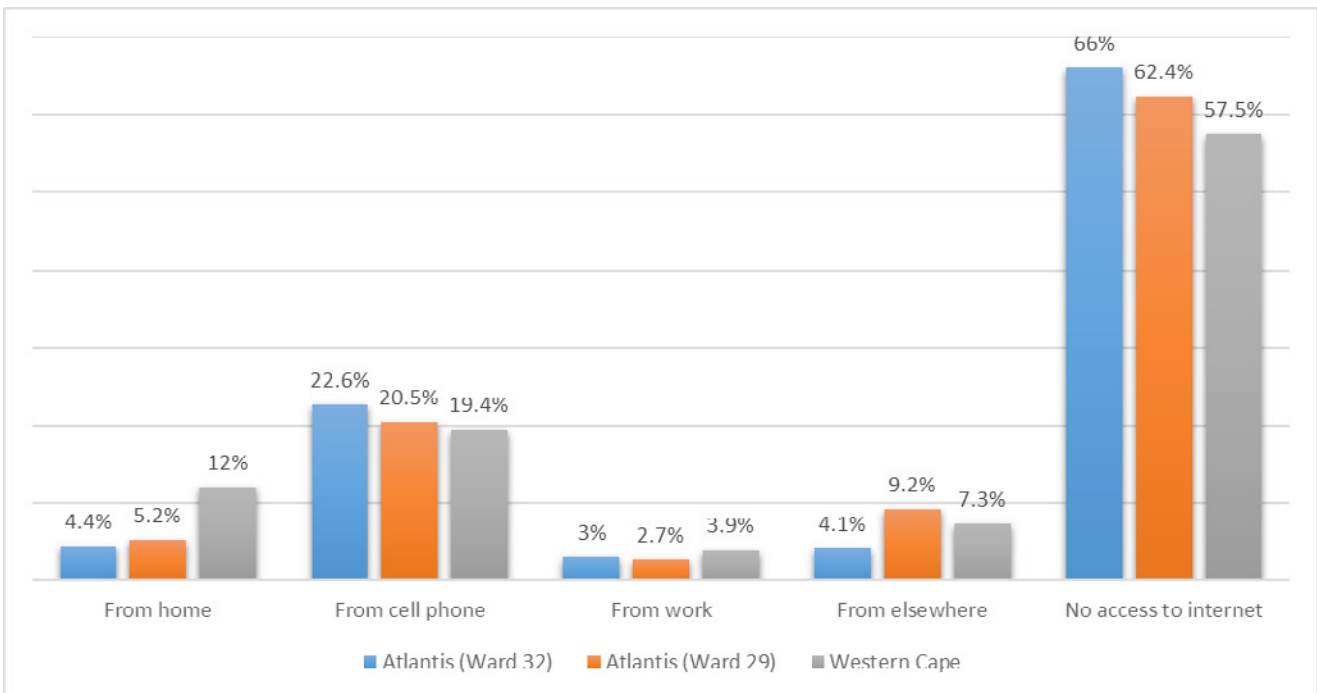
This needs to be addressed in order to mitigate the impacts of developments in the labour markets on youth unemployment rates in the future. As it stands, 57% of youth aged 15 to 24 in Ward 32 in Atlantis are unemployed, and 48.7% in Ward 29 in Atlantis are unemployed.

> **In promoting better and wider access to technologies and enhancing technological skills of the youth, relevant role players would be on track towards achieving UN Sustainable Development Goal 9 – to build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation.**[454]

A targeted and substantial effort is required to address the above issue in Atlantis. Among the 17 UN's Sustainable Development Goals is the objective of ending poverty in all its forms everywhere by 2030. Poverty has many dimensions, but its causes include unemployment, social exclusion and high vulnerability of certain populations. In examining how departments have been addressing these issues:

The Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) is the lead department for programmes aimed at youth economic development. According to its Annual Report 2017/2018, for the next year and the ensuing strategic period, the Department will 'seek to address the challenges of youth unemployment…[and] the needs of … the 4th Industrial Revolution, spatial economic growth, economic advocacy and behavioural economics… in pursuit of creating an environment which supports opportunities for growth and jobs.' [455]

The DEDAT acknowledges that emerging sectors in South Africa offer job creation opportunities for many skilled technical and vocational learners in the engineering, manufacturing and construction fields, but that a shortage of these skills in the region unfortunately results in lost opportunities and subsequent reduced economic growth. DEDAT points out that large numbers of artisans and related technically skilled people desperately need to be trained to international standards to alleviate the technical skills shortage for the emerging and existing sectors in South Africa and the Western Cape. The Apprenticeship Game Changer has been the response of the Western Cape aimed at addressing the supply of and critical demand for skills needed in the Western Cape economy. The Apprenticeship Game Changer has been a focused approach aimed at selected economic sectors, particularly those that are viewed to have the potential for a higher uptake in employment and economic growth prospects; and within specific occupations and trades in these sectors. [456]

The programmes initiated by the department and other role players, are said to aim to improve the Employability of particularly first-time work seekers through programmes that provide for extended training opportunities, experiential learning and work placement at companies.[457] The provincial government has through this programme set a target of introducing 32 500 qualified apprentices into the labour market by

2019. This target includes apprentices who'll qualify as
- artisans
- semi-skilled workers who achieve partial qualifications
- top-up qualifications for existing artisans and semi-skilled workers.[458]

According to the DEDAT, apprenticeships have proved that they have a significant impact on youth unemployment reduction.[459]

How does this translate on the ground? Since the programme focusses on growth in sectors, it is not implemented in specific geographic areas. DEDAT, through the programme, focuses on the Western Cape's five key economic sectors prioritised under our growth strategy, Project Khulisa, which aims to add an additional 343 000 jobs in these sectors to the Western Cape economy by 2019.

These sectors are
- oil and gas
- agri-processing
- tourism
- energy
- ICT (Broadband).[358]

There is therefore no indication of the rate of uptake of apprenticeships by youth in disadvantaged areas. However, when looking at the relevant TVET college uptake by the programme, Atlantis youth more than likely would attend the West Coast Atlantis TVET college.[461]

> **During the 2017/2018 financial year no youth from Atlantis participated in the programme through the TVET college. The reasons for this is unknown, despite the fact that 57% (ward 32) and 48.7% (Ward 29) of youth aged 15 to 24 in Atlantis are unemployed.**

A change in strategy for this programme, which includes taking an area-based approach, may be required in order for it to have an impact where it is needed most, particularly in areas such as Atlantis.

It is therefore recognised that to provide youth the best opportunity to transition to a decent job calls for investing in quality education and training and providing youth with skills that match labour market demands, giving them access to social protection and basic services.[462] It was further pointed out that

> **Local authorities and communities can renew and plan their cities and human settlements so as to foster community cohesion and personal security and to stimulate innovation and employment.[463]**

Illiteracy, Education and their Impacts on Crime Prevention

'*Education, always has been, and always will be, the most effective way to combat adversity. Rather than harshening laws to prevent people from making mistakes, we can encourage them to become productive members of society by providing them with education and training.*'[464]

It is pointed out that increasing crime and murder rates are one of the biggest problems facing communities and as a result more money and resources are being funneled into correction facilities and measures dealing with crimes and the consequences thereof. In contrast, funding towards education and development is proportionately much less. It is argued that budget cuts target educational facilities before any other sectors, as the prevalent thought in society is that traditional policing and criminal justice are the top priority. It is argued, however, that what many fail to realise is that by putting more funding and resources into education programs, we will be both reducing future crime rates (preventing crime) and saving money, while contributing to a safer, healthy society as a whole.[465]

Despite this, a recent domestic study suggested that most learners in South Africa cannot read well enough to succeed in subjects across the curriculum in Grade 4 and higher grades.[466] Commentators have, at the same time, pointed out that 'if a child cannot read to understand by Grade 3 or [Grade] 4, their chances of passing matric are slim.'[467]

Figure 8: Atlantis Youth Attendance at an Educational Institution by Age Category[468]
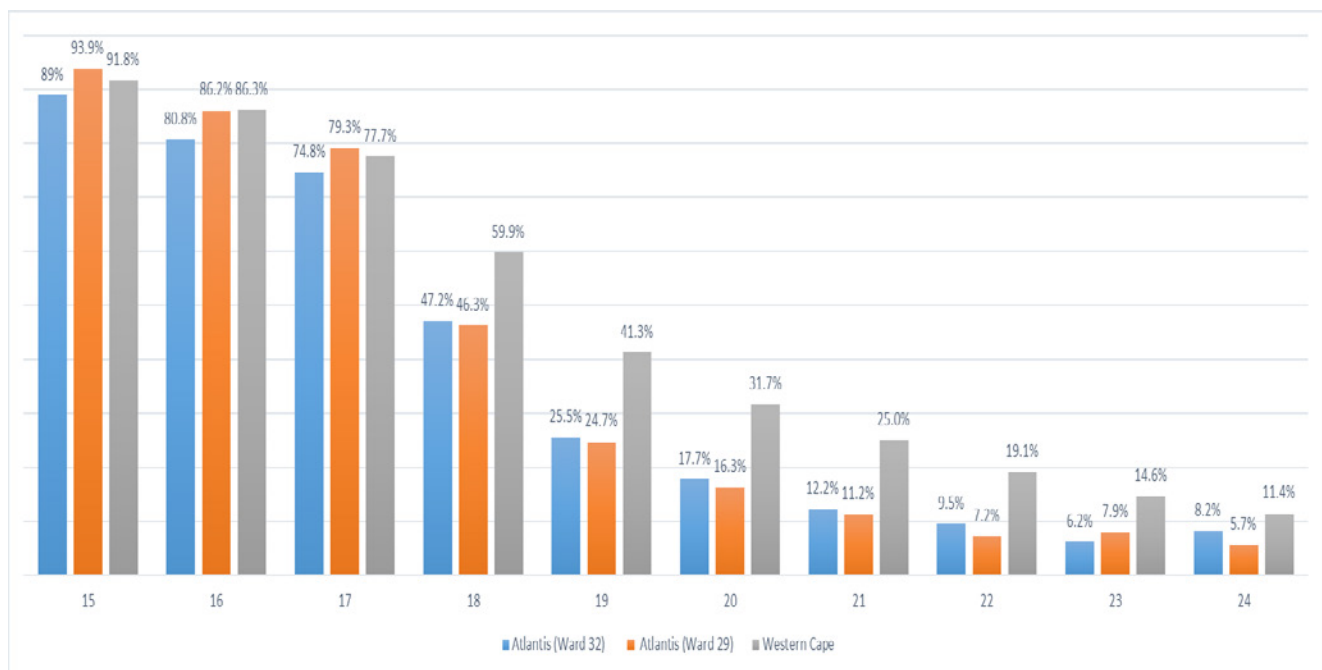
In examining youth at educational institutions in Atlantis, a drop greater than 30% in attendance of youth from the age of 17 to 18 years is seen in Ward 29. In ward 32 a drop greater than 27% is seen in attendance of youth from the age of 17 to 18 years,. Between the ages of 16 and 19, data suggests a 40.3% dropout in youth between grade 10 and matric in Ward 29, and 37.8% of such dropout in ward 32.[469] According to 2015/2016 census estimates, only 15.1% of youth went from Grade 8 to pass matric with a bachelor's pass in ward 29, and 12.5% of youth went from Grade 8 to pass matric with a bachelor's pass in ward 32.[470] According to statistical predictions, the remainder of youth either drop out before matric, they fail during matric or they pass without a bachelor's pass. It is also predicted that these youths would go on to be lower skilled than their counterparts and/or unemployed.

How does better education tie in with crime reduction?

A 2004 US study looked at whether it is possible to reduce crime rates by raising the education of at-risk groups. The study also looked at whether education would be a more cost effective preventive strategy than any other crime prevention measure. Despite the significant policy implications, little is known about the relationship between schooling and criminal behaviour.[471]

Researchers have thus estimated the effect of education on participation in criminal activity. Using Census and FBI data, the research found that schooling significantly reduces the probability of incarceration and arrest. The analysis indicated that high school graduation far reduced the probability of incarceration.[472] The research examined the effects of dropout rates across offence categories, and suggests that a 10% decrease in dropout rates would reduce murder and assault rates by 20% and burglary by slightly less than 3%. There were, however, no significant impacts in relation to robbery and rape, and the standard economic models of crime could not explain this result.

Overall, the results suggested that high school completion is negatively correlated with many types of crime after controlling for a rich set of covariates that absorb heterogeneity at the geographic, year, crime and age level. Furthermore, high school dropout rates appear to have a slightly larger effect on violent crimes (especially murder and assault) than on property crimes. This is consistent with the rationale that punishments for violent crimes typically involve substantially longer prison sentences, which is costlier when wages and schooling are high. Furthering educational pursuits may also cause individuals to change their lifestyle, residential location or peer groups, reducing the criminal opportunities they come into contact with.[473]

State budgetary implications were also investigated. Using the data from a 17-year US National longitudinal study, as well as US census data over a 30-year period, research estimates (which calculated the social

savings from crime reduction associated with high school completion) suggest that a 1% reduction in male high school dropout rates of all men (in the US) aged 20-60 would save the country as much as $1.4 billion. [474] No similar studies have been done in South Africa.

In the above context, it is important to note that Atlantis is described as being characterised by insecurity, inequality, poverty, unemployment and exclusion from economic opportunities.[475] Participants in this research further elucidated the problems, pointing out that

> **'There is a tendency of government not to employ local service providers and people from Atlantis when opportunities arise. People and service providers from outside Atlantis obtain tenders'.[476]**

To examine how serious the problem of criminal risk is to young people, the following section looks at youth crime statistics in Atlantis. Since there are no recent comprehensive disaggregated data on crime for the area, we rely on a 2015/2016 disaggregation of Census 2011 data in setting out the following section.

Youth Crime Statistics in Atlantis

Figure 9: Percentage of Youth Accused of Contact Crime by Offence in Atlantis[477]
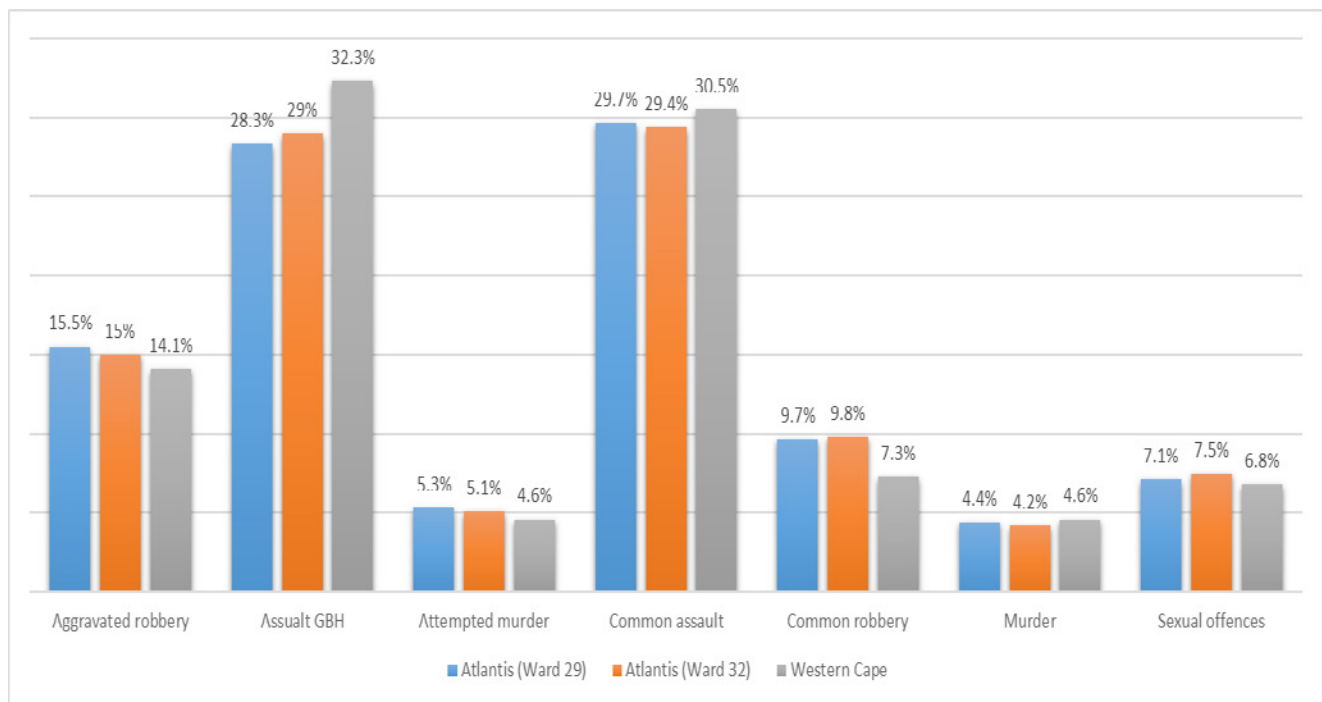
The figure above depicts the percentage of youth aged 15 to 24 accused of contact crime, per offence type, in the two (2) Wards in Atlantis, namely, Ward 29 and ward 32. It shows that common assault (29.7% in ward 29; and 29.4% in Ward 32); followed by Assault GBH (28.3% in Ward 29; and 29% in ward 32) were the highest perpetrated crimes from among the 15 to 24-year age category. It should also be recalled that common assault was the highest recorded crime in the 2017/2018 SAPS recorded statics, even though this was not disaggregated by age in the 2017/2018 records. However, despite the efflux of time, the statistics still correspond.

The reduction in these crimes could be said to necessitate an emphasis on prevention programmes targeting the 15 to 24-year age category. Even though the below figure shows a marginally higher perpetration rate by the 25 to 34-year category, efforts in targeting the 15 to 24-year age group will see a future knock-on effect in later age categories. It should be noted that the age group targeted does not preclude programmes for lower age categories, as there is a high risk for all vulnerable groups and ages in high crime communities. The targeting of the 15-24 age group category would be best suited for short to medium term programmatic interventions, and will have to be tailored to youth already in conflict with the law and those who are at risk of being in conflict with the law. Strategies for crime prevention should look at building resilience over the long term and should be focused at lower age groups, such as children in the early childhood developmental stage.

Diversion Services to Adults (over the Age of 18 years)

The diversion programme for adults includes a community service component (run by the DSD). In addition to DSD, NICRO also provides a diversion service in Atlantis, which includes substance use, community service, and anger management components. In 2017/2018, NICRO assisted in the diversion of 139 adults in Atlantis. However, participants in this research stated that there is a lack of rehabilitation centres in the area.[478]

Gangsterism

The SAPS National Annual Crime Statistics for 2017/18 show that 83% of all gang-related murders in South Africa took place in the Western Cape[479] and 56.48% of attempted murders in the WC occur in gang- affected police precincts.[480] The SAPS further identified Atlantis as one of the 'gang stations' in the province, due to Atlantis police precincts' notoriety for its high gang activity.[481]

A policy paper published by the Institute of Security Studies indicated that gangs are the reason for the prevalence of the following negative activities in an area
- high rates of violence and murder
- drug consumption and abuse (e.g. drugs such as mandrax, dagga and 'tik')
- prostitution
- human trafficking; (e.g. abduction of young girls for sex trade)
- rape
- burglaries, car hijackings and muggings.[482]

Community participants identified gangsterism as a priority crime concern in Atlantis. It was viewed as a primary contributor to incidences of murder, attempted murder, assault GBH, residential burglary and robberies, which were all identified as primary crime concerns.[483]

According to one participant areas that are gang-controlled have a higher frequency and level of violence. Residents of these areas therefore feel more unsafe than those in areas that are not strongholds of gangs. However, the indiscriminate violence that occurs during turf wars and because of gang territoriality creates a risk for all passers-through, irrespective of the time of day, but especially at night.   'The community finds themselves in between the shots. They (the gangsters) don't care to shoot across people.' The violence in these areas is attributed to gang turf wars over drugs. [484]

One of the factors which are reported to make community members feel unsafe includes harassment and intimidation by gangsters when people pass by [485] as well as the associated gun violence.[486]

The role which policing agencies should play on a secondary prevention level was widely identified in the research even though these activities were stated to be ineffective (for various reasons discussed herein).[487] The SAPS is seen to be failing in its duty to investigate and arrest gang leaders.[488] According to one participant

> '*Gang bosses are protected by some police officers.*'[489]

Whereas Metro Police officers may assist the SAPS in duties imposed by the SAPS Act, participants identified that

> '*Metro Police officers in Atlantis don't arrest the gang members because most of the police officers grew up with the gang members.*'[490]

The above statement suggests that the Atlantis community has little confidence in both the SAPS and Metro police to successfully address gangsterism.

Another challenge in addressing this issue is that even volunteers in the community (community workers) have children who belong to gangs, and this creates a conflict of interest which inhibits effectively addressing this issue.[491]

The infiltration of gangs into schools (even at primary school level) was raised as a pressing concern, with participants stating that[492]

'...the gangs are in control of schools.'[493]

Other industries were also implicated as being collusive with gangsters. One participant said that the taxi industry in Atlantis is lawless and that they harass people. He said that gangsters protect them and respect them. According to the participant there exists the 'law of influence' in these circles - a system of helping each other between gangsters and taxi drivers/owners.[417]

The main risk factors for gangsterism were identified as vulnerabilities associated with school drop-outs, peer pressure and poor parenting and poverty.[495]

The focus of one of the faith-based organisations in the area is to break the cycle of gangsterism. The participant pointed out that to these gang members

'...gangsterism and drugs is their bread and butter. They have kids on university, wives to keep...it's about business...' [496]

He said that for many gang members, they need purpose to their lives.[497]

The above sentiments are corroborated where commentators have pointed out that 'there is a need to empower the youth in gang-ridden communities by giving them the opportunity to be active participants in shaping their environments.'[498] It was thus further argued that another reason for the failure to contain gangs is the failure to engage young people and children that are involved in gangs on a personal level with respect, openness and an awareness of the various influences that work together to make young people and children join gangs and commit crimes.[499] According to a SAPS participant:

'Gangsters are like godfathers to youngsters. They provide finances and physically protect the kids.'[500]

The trust, relationships and allegiances that are formed in this process should not be under-estimated, and are amplified in the context of children, who are largely invisible, who are emotionally and intellectually neglected and more often than not are subjected to harsh verbal and physical punishment as a form of 'discipline'.

However, building individual resilience through offering alternative channels to address issues of identity, self-actualisation and/or belonging (which are some of the needs that gangs seem to fulfil) is merely one element.[501]

Further to this, the impact and outcomes of programmes which seek to keep young people busy temporarily must also be assessed in the medium and long terms. These are argued to fall short of guaranteeing the fulfilment of the daily material needs and interests of young children. [502] The interplay of these factors is exacerbated by individual, familial and household deprivation present in areas like Atlantis. The mechanisms the state has in place to provide social protection to vulnerable families is insufficient to meet the demands which arise from individual and familial levels, and there is no comparable alternative (whether through policy or programmes) to compete with the economic push and pull factors that are drawing children and youth to gangs, and which keep them there.

In case of murder, rival gang members were recorded as the primary victims for this crime. The age range of recorded victims was 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 years. These crimes occurred most frequently in dark streets and corners, in the evenings on Saturdays and Sundays. These crimes were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 age group, by prior offenders.[503]

As in cases of murder, rival gang members were recorded as the primary victims for the crime of attempted murder. The age range of recorded victims was 18 to 25 years. These crimes occurred most frequently in dark streets and corners, in the evenings on Saturdays and Sundays. These crimes were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 age group, by prior offenders. [504]

Gender-based Violence (GBV)

According to the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Western Cape accounts for 32.6% of the country's crimes that are related to domestic violence. The province also battles a high percentage of sexual offences.[505] It is acknowledged that sexual violence and domestic violence is common in communities, but that these are not always reported to the police.[506] One of the reasons for this may be because, as per the 2017 PNP report on the State of Policing in the Province, it was found that there is still a significant amount of non-compliance with the Domestic Violence Act by the SAPS.[507]

Police Failure to Address and Manage GBV Complaints Properly

It should be noted that participants in this audit identified problems with how the police addresses domestic violence cases

> '*In domestic violence matters, the police don't want to get involved. They are not properly trained to deal with domestic violence. They come, listen and leave and say they can't deal with home matters.*'[508]

According to participant reports, a man stabbed his wife to death. Numerous reports were made by her to the police. She was even in possession of a protection order. They would just come and talk to him and then they would leave. No efforts were made to remove him from the house. She was killed by him just one week prior to the interview.[509]

A police participant also pointed out that the conditions of the protection order are very important.[510] Such conditions must be tailored to the victim's contexts and needs and the nature of the violence perpetrated. Particular consideration must be given to whether the perpetrator needs to be removed from the household for a defined period, the removal of weapons or whether an order for the payment of maintenance for the household must be issued. These may be critical factors which impede the effectiveness of protection orders as victims may be forced to make survivalist choices to stay in the relationship to ensure that their and/or their children's basic needs are met.

Police Failure to Manage Victim Support Services: Trauma Room Breach of Confidentiality

Based on some Atlantis participants' feedback on how the trauma room is managed, there are indications of the need for volunteers of trauma rooms to be properly trained, failing which victims risk being re-victimised. One participant reported that

> 'There is no confidentiality at the trauma room. One lady there speaks out with others of the cases she deals with. She is a community volunteer.'[511]

The SAPS, as custodians of these facilities, has an obligation to ensure that volunteers are properly trained and that victims of GBV are not subject to secondary victimisation and breaches of their rights.

Table 11: Atlantis Crime Prevention Role-Players and Services[512]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
The SAPS[513]	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	National	There appears to be good collaboration with law enforcement and Metro Police as well as with private security companies in respect of the CBD. The CPF and NHWs are also reported to work collaboratively with the police.[514] The SAPS has joint operations with NHWs every two weeks.[515] Public Order Policing (POPS) needs to give better support for the periodic public violence. They also need specialist hijackings units.	The police themselves identified their crime prevention role to include high visibility patrols; - stop and search operations - vehicle control points - 252a operations - social crime prevention activities per police sector.[516] The Atlantis SAPS has a crime prevention unit with 37 members – there are 14 members per shift.[517] The local radio station is used (Radio Atlantis) by the SAPS to relay safety information to the community.[518] This seems to be driven by the captain involved as a self-initiated project. There is therefore no guarantee that this approach will be sustained, even though it seems to have the effect of building rapport with members of the community, who identified that the captain is doing good work for them.[519]	Despite the fact that community participants identified the police as having a role in crime prevention, they were not at all able to articulate – or did not articulate – what this role entailed.[520] This may be indicative of the lack of understanding on where the SAPS fits in in the prevention paradigm, and also, what their prevention role is (particularly with regard to social crime prevention). It was identified that the police have crime prevention units (sector policing units), but participants were not sure whether they have a system in place to prevent crime, whether they are visible in communities and whether they are effective.[521] Other participants said that the problem is that the police are understaffed.[522] One participant said that what is needed is more visibility of police vehicles. He compared Atlantis to Table View, where he says that police are constantly on patrols – unlike in Atlantis.[523] The police stated the need for floodlights in Dura Flats, Neptune and Witsand. They complain that 'thus far, there is nothing in Witsand'. Service providers find it hard to service areas in which there is inadequate infrastructure and lighting. Both community participants and the police find that the lack of services and infrastructure in Witsand is a problem.[524]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Law Enforcement[525]	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security – Local Government	Local	Good collaboration with the SAPS is reported in some instances. However, in others, collaboration is reportedly tenuous. According to SAPS: 'Metro Police and Law Enforcement are not always helpful. They commit, but do not show up. They have their own operations and they do not invite SAPS to their own operations. If SAPS send them invitations, they do not respond.'[526]	Atlantis SAPS participants identified law enforcement's crime prevention role to include enforcing by-laws Helping the SAPS to ensure that the MyCiti roads are safe and participating in other ad hoc joint crime prevention operations. [527]	Participants complained that there was no visibility of law enforcement in the communities.[528]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Metro Police	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security – Local Government	Local	In respect of the Metro Police's DGTT: a lack of cooperation with the other components of the criminal justice system was identified as a challenge. However, some cooperation with SAPS is reported, particularly in relation to the conduct of joint search and seizure operations. In other instances, collaboration reportedly does not happen. According to SAPS''Metro Police (and Law Enforcement) are not always helpful. They commit, but do not show up. They have their own operations and they do not invite SAPS to the own operations. If SAPS sends invitations, they do not respond.''[529] collaboration should therefore be strengthened if a change is to be seen in Atlantis.	Atlantis SAPS participants identified Metro Police's crime prevention role to include assisting with crime prevention operations in preventing murder, attempted murder and robberies through conducting VCPs and stop and searches.[530] The CoCT established a Drug and Gang Task Team (DGTT) in 2014, stemming from its law enforcement mandate. The main purpose of the DGTT is to combat gang-related criminal activities. The DGTT has 24 members. [531] The task team carries out its mandate through both autonomous operations and joint operations with external stakeholders including SAPS. It also works with an extensive list of role-players internal to the CoCT. The DGTT was said to also incorporate a 'softer approach' in dealing with drug users and the youth. According to the director of the unit: 'When drug users need help, DGTT officials will give them the contact details of social workers.'[532]	The risk of corruption and intimidation The lack of resources The DGTT was not identified by participants to operate in Atlantis. Participants instead complained that Metro Police and law enforcement were not visible in Atlantis.[533]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Traffic Services Department	Traffic Regulation – Local Government	Local	Good collaboration is reported with the SAPS.	The General Enforcement Branch of the traffic services department has among the following responsibilities enforcing by-laws traffic control traffic regulation at events road safety education technical enforcement.[534]

Of the above, SAPS members have reported the following assistance from Traffic:

Assistance with high visibility patrols and joint road blocks to curb drunken driving over weekends.[535] | |

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
NHWs	Surveillance Intelligence	Local/ Provincial	There appears to be good collaboration with the SAPS and the CPF.	At the time of the audit, there were 15 accredited NHW structures in Atlantis.[536] NHWs assist the SAPS with operations in their sectors they patrol on their own every second week they have joint patrols with the SAPS, with n fewer than 50 members [537] implemets projects such as bush clearing with DCS[538] runs soup kitchens [539] conducts safety information and awareness programmes. [540] It is noteworthy that the NHW participates in poverty alleviation schemes, which suggests community identification of the close relationship between physical security and issues like food security. [541] NHWs also provide security at community events such as school athletics and matric balls.[542]	The SAPS raised a concern that '80% of them are women' and that 'men are reluctant to participate.'[543] One participant pointed out that 'an old lady who is one of our NHW members was injured during patrol', and further asked 'what can be done to help her.'[544] Reasons for the lack of participation by male community members should be further explored. **Perceived targeting, endangerment and lack of safety** The perception of the lack of safety of NHW members was also indicated, through participants' questions: 'Is there a mechanism to promote and ensure the safety of NHW members? How can NHW members be protected?'[545] These questions were given further context when the participant pointed out the trend that "perpetrators target NHW members'. [546] It may be because of the above that the participant highlighted the 'lack of protective clothing for patrol purposes' as a challenge.[547] Other challenges raised include the lack of equipment to carry out NHW duties the lack of transport the prevalence of unemployment which fuels crime.[548] It was identified that NHWs need training in the identification of drug users, first aid and fire rescue.[549]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Private Security Companies[550]	Surveillance Intelligence Armed Response Arrests	Local	Collaboration with the SAPS in the CBD	As at 2013, there were nearly 9 000 private security companies (PSCs) and 400 000 registered active private security guards in the country. At the time, this was more than the police and army combined. Some PSC members have a military background.[551] In Atlantis private security companies were identified as agents of crime prevention, which provide assistance to the SAPS.[552] They were stated to assist through providing information about what is happening in the CBD (hotspot blocks), as well as in other hotspots such as Protea Park and Section C. [553]	

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
The Municipality[554]	Local Government	Local	Some collaboration is reported but this can be enhanced across departments.	Participants said that in Atlantis, the City of Cape Town is not effective in preventing crime. He said that there are no visible structures outside of NHWs.[555] Participants pointed out that the City has to consider the safety of the youth, who like to be outside. They like to go to events, but there are no facilities for this, so 'what do they do?'[556] One area to look at would be to make transport more accessible, safe and user friendly for the youth.[557] In other research, however, it was generally identified that the CoCT organises youth camps linked with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) as well as youth cadet programmes offered to Grade 9 to 11's.[558] It is not clear whether these programmes are also offered in Atlantis. They were further not identified by any of the participants in this research. CBOs in the area report that the City of Cape Town assists through the EPWP programme with a database for unemployed people. [559]	

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Flat Committees[560]	Civic Organisations (CBOs)	Local	No support or collaboration from departments.	Each of the flats, namely, Dura Flats, Heathfield, Edinburg Place, Island Place, Oyster Place and Pearl Mansions have elected committees which address the problems experienced by flat residents, including violence and crime. They constitute the first ports of call when communities experience violence and crime in the flats. However, it appears, from participant complaints, that these structures were not well supported by the municipality or the SAPS.[561]	These organisations are community- driven and with little resources and no state support they are struggling to operate where they are still run, but in most areas they are dysfunctional or non-operational.
Faith-based Organisations	FBOs	Local	Little to no collaboration with other roleplayers.	One faith-based organisation stated that they offer to assist gangsters to start legitimate businesses in the community.	Whereas some work with SAPS and the Justice Department, the majority does not. They often do activities on their own and address risks on their own. This is an untapped resource which can be better mobilised.
The Department of Education	Basic Education	Provincial	Some collaboration reported in this research. This should be enhanced.	It should be noted that participants in this audit identified the Department of Education as a prevention role player without articulating services.[562] In other provincial research however, it was identified that the CoCT organises youth camps linked with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) as well as youth cadet programmes offered to Grade 9 to 11 learners.[563]	
Educators	Social Protection, Community and Human Development	Provincial/ National	Little to no collaboration reported.		Children are expelled for behaviour which can be better addressed through cognitive behavioural programmes, thus increasing their risk of entrenched behaviour which is in conflict with the law.[564]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Parents	Familial - Community	Familial	There is little to no cooperation from parents who are identified as aiding children's illicit behaviour. According to a SAPS participant 'Parents benefit from their son's dealings, and thus do not disclose information to the police. They hide and protect their children.'[565] Participants from the SAPS and the community identified that this behaviour was driven by, amongst others, the need for money for basic needs as well as the easy and immediate satisfaction of wants and needs and for access to drugs.[566]	Participants identified that parents have a role to teach discipline and values.[567]	Parents aid children's unlawful behaviour by acting as or lying about alibis to authorities and not disclosing information to the police.[568] 'Parents even hide the drugs for their children.'[569] They are also often part of organisations in the safety and crime prevention community networks.[570]
The Department of Community Safety	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	Provincial		Participants mentioned the Department's role in its delivery of the *After-School Game Changer Programme.*	The department no longer heads this programme.
The Department of Justice, the Courts and the NPA	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	National	There seems to be no collaboration with SAPS or the communities.	This sphere was recognised to be responsible for CJS Policies and law-making and for processing offenders.[571]	There is no collaboration with other role players and an understanding of its role in ensuring effective crime prevention is lacking.
All Government Line Departments	Government	Local/ Provincial/ National	Not all line departments are viewed as collaborating well enough.	Without defining their roles, participants identified that all government line departments are responsible for crime prevention.[572]	Siloist operations, a lack of understanding on prevention

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Department of Correctional Services	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	National	Reported good collaboration with Atlantis SAPS.	DSC was reported to provide information to SAPS on parolees, and specifically information on 'hitmen' and certain gang leaders to enable the SAPS to monitor the parolees. They also set conditions of the parole, which should assist in preventing further offending.[573]	Better information flows to other role players is required, policies and programmes need to address crime prevention more effectively.
Community Police Forums (CPFs)			Good collaboration with the SAPS and NHWs is reported. 'The CPF have a healthy relationship with SAPS and participate in operations and mobilise NHW via WhatsApp'.[574]	To promote good relations between the community and the police.	Their oversight role must be strengthened.
Ward and PR Councillors	Local Government	Local	Lack of collaboration with other prevention role players	Councillors are at the coalface of service delivery: they have resources they may effectively mobilise at their disposal and are the first ports of call in community concerns.	They do not effectively consult with communities, particularly in respect of the allocation of ward budgets. They should play a more active role in making IDP processes open and accessible and to ensure the proper implementation thereof.
Women for Change	CBO	Local	Good collaboration with school staff and the Department of Social Development (DSD) reported (use is made of the DSD telephonic and walk-in support.[575]	Truancy monitoring and evaluation at all primary schools in Atlantis.	Lack of cooperation and denial of the situation by parents.

Gang violence which inhibits access to schools.[576] |
| **Thuthuzela Care Centre** | Health | Provincial | Good collaboration with NGOs reported | Drug Counselling | (requires further exploration) |

Policing Services in Atlantis - The SAPS

Reporting Crime as a Litmus Test of Trust and Confidence

One way in which community members aid the prevention of crime is to report incidents when they are witnessed or experienced. When asked whether people report witnessing or experiencing crime to the police, the following responses were provided:

According to research participants

> '...not all people report, because they are scared for their lives. Some do, but they have no confidence in the police.' [577]

It was also identified that

> 'The treatment and services by police is not good. They don't take proper statements, and people have no faith in police.'[578]

Officers do not want to identify themselves when answering the phones at the police stations, which creates frustration and suspicion. [579]

Improper Investigations

Participants also pointed out that community members do not report crime because the police don't conduct proper investigations.[580] They raised problems experienced with the SAPS detectives, who are viewed to lack interest in doing their work. [581]

No Witness Protection

The persistent issues concerning the justice and crime prevention systems were also raised in Atlantis. Worryingly, the protection of victims has been and continues to be a challenge. A participant noted that

> 'The CPU (Crime Prevention Unit) comes out. But they can't stop this. When someone is shot, no evidence is produced because witnesses and their families are shot. The Witness Protection programme doesn't work.'[582]

Participants stated that if witnesses make statements to the police, the police inform the gangsters almost immediately. They expressed the feeling that they are 'fighting a losing battle', and identified that improvement and assistance is needed to restore trust in the SAPS. [583]

Most participants said they were scared of intimidation and threats after reporting, because the moment they report, word gets out about it (the members elaborated and said that this was because there were gang or criminal informers within the police.[584] Resident witnesses therefore report harassment by drug smugglers and criminals when they speak out and report.[585]

No Action Taken by the Police

Participants said that some people feel that it's a waste of time to report crime as 'nothing happens'. They complained that crimes 'in progress' are not responded to and no assistance is sent out. They said that the police take up to an hour to respond to incidences or they simply do not pitch at all. [586]

Victims of rape (and other crimes) are chased home when they appear drunk while reporting the crime. Participants pointed out that the applicable protocol should be followed even if the person is or appears intoxicated. [587]

It should be noted that some participants complained that there is no trauma centre at the police station and that reporting traumatic incidences of crime is therefore a challenge.[588] However, a trauma room is located at the Atlantis SAPS. This suggests a critical problem around the lack of information on available GBV and victim empowerment services in the area.

The Lack of Information about Different Channels for Reporting

Other reasons for a lack of reporting to the police include 'the lack of knowledge that one can use the 107 toll free number to report criminal activities'.[589] Witnesses of crime may be deterred by long queues at police stations and other systemic issues, as well as the desire to remain anonymous. Being seen visiting police stations may not be desirable in this instance. Having the freedom to report conveniently and anonymously may assist in facilitating witness reports and community information on these channels are therefore important to ensure.

Alternative Channels for Reporting

As a result of the factors mentioned above, reports of crime are also made via organisations and other departments. Participants mentioned that sexual abuse is reported at schools to teachers and principals, when the father or stepfather is involved.[590] People also report crimes to religious leaders (churches), rather than to the police.[591] However, this approach also involves some risk, which was highlighted during the research as follows:

'One of the Pastors has been implicated with his adopted daughter. He was a counsellor with the Department of Justice.' [592]

In the above case, the perpetrator held various positions of trust and authority which could have been exploited to further commit such crimes. It was also reported that only 'serious' cases would be referred to the police, but for cases like robberies and break-ins, religious leaders would be called in by community members to assist.

The Identified Risk Factors in Atlantis by Age and Gender

Crime does not impact everybody equally and in the same manner. The impact of crime is influenced by the nature of existing risk and resilience factors and vulnerabilities which arise on the basis of, amongst other factors, a person's age and gender. This should be considered when developing prevention programmes, as desired beneficiaries needs would differ, such as the time they have available to attend programmes and the needs that are required to be addressed.

With regard to the above, the following risk and protective factors were identified by Atlantis research participants.

Table 12: Prevention Framework - The Identified Risk and Protective Factors in Atlantis by Age and Gender

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Women	Vulnerability to physical and sexual violence in the home and in the community	The Presence of Visible Policing Units (vehicle patrols); Foot Patrols; Conflict Resolution and Family counselling.	Regular and strategic SAPS Visible Policing (vehicle patrols); and Foot Patrols.	SAPS; Law enforcement; Metro Police; NGOs
Vulnerable Families	Child and youth involvement in crime in Atlantis is widespread. However, there is a tendency of 'mothers covering up their children's wrongdoing'. These women are often also community workers in crime prevention and other forums. The situation creates a conflict of interest with potentially serious consequences. Other outcomes include that fellow community workers become upset with these women, and distrust is bred between them. In this manner crime prevention structures become disfunctional. This creates a risk to the effective address of crime in the community.	Increased employment and enhancement of the social safety net Greater education and awareness needs to be raised by SAPS and NGOs on the consequences of being accomplices after the fact and on the impact of entrenched crime on their children. Rehabilitative cognitive behavioural interventions are further needed and parents must be educated about this.	EPWP	CoCT
Children 10 years and under	Girls under the age of 10 are vulnerable to sexual offences, and sex trafficking. Male children under 10 are also vulnerable to sexual offences. Children in this age category are vulnerable to physical abuse and neglect. School absenteeism as a result of parental neglect was identified. This is both an outcome and risk factor. Exposure to drug use by parents CUBAC (Children used by adults to commit crime)-**Gangsterism** Gangsterism was reported as a pressing concern, targeting children as young as 8 years old. Gangs park their cars at houses where children must pass to get to schools, and they are robbed by these gangsters. Furthermore, gangs also recruit these young children, who have formed themselves into rival groups (In Atlantis they are called the 'Horribles' and the 'Terribles'). Gang violence infiltrates schools in this manner, amongst others. Shebeens in close proximity to schools and homes threaten the well-being of children in this age group.	After school and holiday programmes Parental education and awareness about consequences (criminal) in respect of involved adults, (social) - in respect of children Mentorship of girls and boys DSD family interventions Drug rehabilitation for parents Better regulation of shebeens No taverns or shebeens should be in the vicinity of schools and areas frequented by children.	One drug rehabilitation service provider	

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Children 11 to 15 years	The abuse is mainly physical and sexual in nature. This age cohort is at risk to be inducted into drug use. Boy and girl children in this age category are reportedly being sexually exploited (transactional sex). Physical violence Induction into drug use Both boy and girl children were reported to be at risk of being initiated into gangs. Household unemployment and poverty are risk factors leading children from this age group to link up with gangsters and drug lords.	EPWP and job opportunities for vulnerable families Conflict and anger management Assertiveness skills Drug education and awareness (evidence-based)	-	-
Children 16 to 18 years	Boy children in this age category are vulnerable to dropping out of school and being initiated into crime, particularly gangsterism. In addition, this age cohort is subjected to negative peer influence, sexual violence and physical violence in the home and community.	EPWP and jobs opportunities for vulnerable families Conflict and anger management Assertiveness skills Drug education and awareness (evidence-based) Drug rehabilitation (evidence based) Women's and Children's Rights, Equality and DV education	-	-
Youth (22-25 years)	Male youth in this age category are at risk because of unemployment. Physical Violence Gangsterism (involvement) - drug trading and use High levels of alcohol use	Conflict and anger management Assertiveness skills EPWP and job opportunities for vulnerable families Education on violence and masculinities	-	-
The Elderly	Domestic violence - financial, verbal and emotional abuse by their children, for their pension payouts Targets for robbery on social security pay-out days (at ATMS and malls)	Proper side-walks must be constructed. A subsidised, safe, accessible transport system must be provided. Protection mechanisms must be put in place at the SASSA pay points and at shopping centres and areas in the CBD.	-	The MURP project Law Enforcement Metro Police SAPS Private Security Companies

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Persons with Disabilities	Domestic violence - financial, verbal and emotional abuse, and neglect by their carers People with disabilities are abused for their disability grants. People with intellectual disabilities are being used by gangsters and drug lords to commit crime (harbouring illicit substances and goods, keeping a look-out during criminal activities). The lack of understanding of sign language by the SAPS was identified as a challenge particularly at the CSC.	Proper sidewalks must be constructed: existing ones are not level enough for a wheelchair. Members of the SAPS should go on sign language courses.	-	The MURP project
Foreign Nationals	According to a SAPS member, it is perceived that foreign nationals are not accepted in the community. They are harassed, and are verbally and emotionally abused. It was identified that they need protection from victimisation. They are also frequently robbed and their shops are looted. In addition, the language barrier between foreign nationals and South Africans create further alienation. The focus group was attended by an organisation of informal traders. These traders, who were locals, complained profusely about foreign nationals who trade at the malls. They complained that foreign nationals were favoured and given prime spots to trade, but that they merely dirty the place and provide expired goods to consumers. They blame foreign nationals for the degradation of the mall area.[593] These kinds of perceptions fuel conflict between local traders and foreign traders. It was however pointed out by local participants that local traders often do not follow procedures for obtaining trading bays. It was also highlighted that as part of the Atlantis EPP, the mall area is regularly cleaned, but that members of the public generally littered when frequenting the malls, despite these regular cleaning projects.[594] Another participant added that: 'Coloured people don't want to stand there at the centre to trade. The foreign traders) experience insults and harassment. Police don't do anything when a charge is laid (by the foreign traders). Their goods are also stolen.'[595]	Better integration Community mediation Equal opportunities for local and foreign traders	-	-
LGBTIQ persons	It was identified that LGBTIQ persons need protection from victimisation. These persons are reported to be stigmatised in communities.	Gender sensitisation and human rights education of SAPS and communities	-	-

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Poor Communities	**Inequalities and Crime** While research participants pointed out that 'all areas in Atlantis have their unsafe spots', it was also identified that the 'most dangerous areas are the poorer neighbourhoods' and that the 'middle class areas are safer'. **Gang-controlled Areas and Drug Turf Wars** According to one participant, areas that are gang-controlled have a higher frequency and level of violence. Residents in these areas reportedly feel more unsafe than those who reside in areas that are not strongholds of gangs. However, the indiscriminate violence that occurs during turf wars and because of gang territoriality was noted to create a risk for all passers- through, irrespective of the time of day, but especially at night. 'The community finds themselves in between the shots. They (the gangsters) don't care to shoot across people.' The violence in these areas is attributed to gang-related drug turf wars.	Eradication of inequalities Increased community control of areas, sustainable development, expand social safety nets, better policing of drug sellers and better law enforcement	-	CoCT, Councillors, DEDAT, SAPS, Metro Police, law enforcement, DSD

The safety needs illustrated in the above section were articulated by the community. They had significant resonance with the priority crimes identified by both community and state participants, as well as with those reported by the SAPS. In addition to that, the articulation provides more nuanced information regarding how these risks and forms of perpetration and victimisation impact different vulnerable groups. This makes targeted strategies possible, which may have a greater success rate in the short, medium and long terms.

Recommendations

Table 13: Table of Recommendations for Atlantis

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
1	**The State must employ local service providers and people from Atlantis when opportunities arise. 'People and service providers from outside Atlantis obtain tenders'.**	All departments, procurement, ward councillors	There is a great need to address unemployment in the area and reliance on this does not only have to be placed in the hands of the private sector.
2	**The increase in murder and drug-related crimes warrant a further investigation into the trends in these crimes, as well as the development of appropriate strategies and plans to address this in partnership including the SAPS, the municipality and community safety structures like NHWs and the CPF.**	SAPS, the COCT, CPFs, NHWs	The increase in murder and drug-related crimes warrant a further investigation into the trends in these crimes, as well as the development of appropriate strategies and plans to address this, in partnership which includes the SAPS, the Municipality and community safety structures like NHWs and the CPF.
3	**A change is required for programmes like the Apprenticeship Gamechanger headed by DEDAT. This should include taking an area-based approach in collaboration with DSD, WCED, TVET colleges, probation officers, and community based organisations to identify youth at risk who would benefit from entry and access to these programmes.**	DEDAT, Councillors, DSD, WCED, TVET colleges, probation officer (correctional services), community-based organisations	The youth are at risk in Atlantis, however, the degree of this risk varies. Programmes need to capture youth at risk before they become entrenched in a life of crime.
4	**There needs to be more offender rehabilitation and reintegration services in the community which takes a mental health/cognitive/ behavioural approach.**	NICRO, DSD, Correctional Services, SAPS	The lack of these services allows for the cycle of crime to continue unabated and causes youth to be entrenched in a life of crime, despite this being preventable with proper strategies and appropriate services.
5	**Drug and alcohol rehabilitation centres are needed.**	NICRO, DSD, Department of Health, the courts for appropriate sentencing, SAPS (who may come into contact with individuals who require such services first)	This issue cannot be properly dealt with through conventional measures, as indicated in this report, that is, through punitive criminal justice or penal processes.
6	**There needs to be better policing and enforcement in respect of taverns and shebeens. Community participation is critical in awarding licenses and establishing conditions of trade.**	Liquor Board, SAPS, Law Enforcement, Metro Police	There needs to be better policing and enforcement in respect of taverns and shebeens. Community participation is critical in awarding licenses and establishing conditions of trade.
7	**There needs to be a more effective strategy to address the drug trade and gangsterism in the area.**	CoCT, SAPS, community	These appear to be one of the greatest risks to the youth of Atlantis, and all residents thereof. Children as young as eight years old are recruited, and inducted into violence.

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
8	**There needs to be greater support for community based safety structures, particularly Flats Committees which operate in most prevalent hotspots in Atlantis.**	SAPS, CoCT	Flat Committees are community-driven and with little resources and no state support, they are struggling to operate where they are still run, but in most areas they are dysfunctional or non-operational.
9	**Children should not be expelled from school, but should be directed into prevention programmes that are evidenced-based and age and needs appropriate in instances of antisocial behaviour. Programmes should include focused academic work to get the child back on track.**	NICRO, DSD, Other NGOS, WCED	Expulsion creates greater risk and vulnerability for the youth which feeds the cycle of crime and violence. This can be prevented with appropriate strategies and interventions.

The Philippi East Community Safety Audit

Findings, Discussion and Analysis

CHAPTER 5

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PHILIPPI EAST AREA

'What does one do with 60 000 people when neither the owner of the land on which they reside, nor the local authority in whose jurisdiction they live, can or want to accommodate them?'[596]

Philippi East was created as demand for space increased and residents had to settle down in Lower Crossroads in temporary camps. Residents in the Lower Crossroads transit camp waited for an opportunity to move in to Philippi, but never found the opportunity. The development of Philippi East underwent strong contestation, and as a result all that could be done in the area was to clear and level the land. Political faction fighting and divisions threatened to disrupt the site development at any time. By 1996 all political parties sat together to plan for the development of Philippi East. The beneficiaries of these development plans were mainly Browns Farm, Langa and the transit camp.[597]

The settlement of Philippi East started with the creation of two temporary refuges - the transit camp and Lower Crossroads. The residents of Lower Crossroads found it impossible to return to Crossroads and stayed where they were, eventually acquiring houses with consolidation subsidies provided in terms of national housing policy. The residents of the transit camp also stayed in Philippi, waiting in vain for a chance to return to Crossroads and eventually being last in the queue for houses in Philippi East.[598]

The development of Philippi East was so highly politicised and contested, that only the clearance and leveling of the balance of the site could take place between March 1994 and July 1996. The two resident communities had enough political power to disrupt any site developments, and they were divided politically into ANC, SANCO and PAC groups. The ANC and SANCO factions reflected those in Crossroads between Nongwe's ANC branch and the more democratic SANCO groups. The PAC was strong in the transit camp. SANCO and the PAC were generally pro-development, provided that their people received a fair share of the jobs on offer, but the ANC group rejected the national housing policy, wanting more than was on offer. So, the project, with the ability to deliver more than 4 000 houses, stood still for two years. In July 1996, the parties agreed to work together, and their representatives sat down with the consultants of each of the proposed phases to discuss planning issues and the kinds of options that existed.[599]

The major beneficiary groups for Phases 2-4 (to the east of Stock Road) were to be from the transit camp, Browns Farm and Langa. A fourth phase was in area "K" of Philippi, which was presented separately. The intention was to design and service the townships and then to build houses for the beneficiaries. However, a resolution by the City of Cape Town in 1997 halting construction of 'RDP houses' by the Province in Weltevreden Valley applied also to Philippi East, and so as a first step the project delivered only serviced sites. During the second step sites were each equipped with a toilet pan and standpipe just before the beneficiary arrived and re-erected his/her shack; then during the third step the beneficiary chose a house type and contractor from a small show village, which was then constructed, completing the full value of the subsidy. By this means the housing contracts were between the beneficiary and contractor, with the Province providing only oversight and subsidy administration.[600] The Philippi East housing programme provided 4 535 single residential units and 969 double-story medium density houses.[601] The second phase of the plan was instituted in which these sites were equipped with toilet pans and standpipes. The housing project in Philippi East provided '4 535 single residential units and 969 double storey medium density houses'. Schools were built in the area, however the hospital, which was part of the plan for the development of Philippi East, never came to fruition.[602]

Despite Philippi East having been described as 'an extremely well located area in the greater metropolitan region of Cape Town',[603] it is currently an island of disconnected industrial land.[604] The area is situated 20 km outside of the Cape Town City Centre, south of the Cape Town International Airport, between 3 074 hectares of farm lands (Philippi Horticultural area) and the N2 highway, with no direct access to the highway

or any efficient connection with the Cape Town International Airport on the other side of the N2.[605] Philippi East is not a well-known nor well-connected area, despite its central location.[606]

The number of residents in Philippi East has grown over the years, eventually resulting in the *ad hoc* establishment of an informal settlement in the heart of the area, known as 'Marikana'. The City of Cape Town ('the City') estimates that there are over 60 000 people living on the Marikana settlement alone.[607] In 2017, the High Court of South Africa found that the City had infringed the constitutional property rights of the owners of the Marikana land, and had also breached the housing rights of the Marikana residents by its unreasonable failure to do anything to secure the tenure of the Marikana residents.

There is currently state subsided BNG (Breaking New Ground, a South African housing policy) housing along Govan Mbeki Road, on the north-east boundary of the intersection. Many houses are still to be built. In the absence of an overarching spatial development plan, one which accounts for future growth and BRT connections, prime TOD land is currently being developed in the same low density, unsustainable, sprawling 'business as usual' manner. Some of the historic informal settlements remain, while others have been upgraded to formal houses. Backyard shacks now cater to the rental demand, provide an additional source of income for homeowners and new informal settlements have been established. It is estimated that 44.3% of dwellings are formal dwellings.[608]

Philippi is a large, diverse area with all sorts of housing types, businesses, population groups (although predominantly Xhosa). The formal and the informal exist side by side. The few developments outside of housing are very visible and large: the transport interchange, the Shoprite Centre, the Philippi East Police Station, etc. These however, are all 'big picture' public spaces and not always clearly worked into the existing fabric of Philippi everyday life. People still sit on the street corners without jobs.[609]

Socio-economic Population Profile of Philippi East

At the time of writing the current report, no official statistical information could be obtained from Statistics South Africa or the City of Cape Town website in terms of the employment rate for residents of Philippi East. Information regarding these two websites pertaining to the number of people living in formal or informal housing could also not be retrieved.

Community Safety Profile

According to the SAPS Philippi East station commander the police precinct is divided into three policing sectors each with its own sector manager and allocated sector vehicles. The police precinct overlaps with ward 35 and 38. The area has one train station, one bus/taxi terminus (Joe Qgabi) and an informal taxi rank opposite Phandulwazi School.

The station commander expressed concerns about the lack of safety in the area despite the SAPS effort to respond to these issues. The problem is partly compounded by the sprawling informal settlements, inaccessibility of these informal settlements and lack of street lights. One participant expressly stated that 'in all three sectors, people feel very unsafe'.[610] Another participant summed up the safety outlook in the area by saying that

> '*The whole of Philippi East is not safe…. crime rotates between sectors. When you focus on one sector, culprits move to another sector, they plan as we are planning.*'[611]

Table 14: Philippi East Crime Mapping Per Sector

Sector	Areas[612]	Prevalent Crimes
Sector 1	Comprises of Lower Crossroads and extends to the Island[613]	It currently contributes more than any other sector to crime. The type of crime that is prevalent in the sector is street robbery, residential and business robbery.[614] Robberies are reportedly occurring in the morning and evening when employed people go to or are coming from work. Other priority crimes include hijackings, with Lower Crossroads being the hotspot for this crime and all categories of contact crimes occurring in Island in particular.
Sector 2	Comprises of Acacia Park, Marcus Garvey Better Life, Phola Park, Philippi Plaza and Shoprite.[615]	In the main street robberies are also prevalent in Sector 2.[616] There are incidents of house robberies as well.
Sector 3	Comprises of Marikana, the Business CCID, Goal Shopping Centre and Luzuko Park.[617]	Sector 3 Marikana is defined and identified as a hotspot for murder.[618] 'It has the highest murder rate of all other sectors' [619] Luzuko Park is a hotspot for hijacking. [620] Marikana is the hotspot for murder and robbery.[621] The spatial layout of the area impedes on any initiative to strategically intervene.

Marikana

Marikana informal settlement was reported as the most unsafe area in Philippi East.[622] It was formed in February 2014 within approximately 3 weeks, when there was an influx of approximately over 5 000 people.[623] The area is very dark as there are no lights in the settlement.[624] There are also no streets for police to access the area in police vehicles. The only way to patrol the area is on foot, and in many areas, people can only walk in single file through narrow passage ways between shacks.[625] Criminals know the

Table 15: Philippi East Crime Mapping and Hotspot Analysis

Priority Crimes Identified	Crime Hotspots and Unsafe Spaces per Identified Crimes
Murder	Marikana
	Lower Crossroads
	Marcus Garvey
	Barcelona
	New Rest
	Better Life
Drug Smuggling and Drug Trading	Barcelona (Block 1 to Block 9)
	Marikana (Sections A to F)
	New Rest (Phase 2(c) to Luzuko)
	Marcus Garvey
Rape	Phase 2
Burglary	Marikana
	Barcelona
	New Rest
	Better Life
Robbery	Marikana
	Barcelona
	New Rest
	Mandalay bridge
	Goal supermarket
	Klipfontein (Mission)
	Area between island and water gate bridge
	Block 4 (in the park)
	Block 2 C
	Tekwane Road
	Jobela Road
	Sherfield Road
	Railway Line
	Protea Road
	Nqolamthi Road
	Indwe Road
	Nondlana Road
	Joe Gqabi
	Simqolamthi Road

As discussed in the previous Chapter, hotspotting is a dynamic process that should be conducted on a regular basis and as frequently as possible. This is because crime is not static. If an intervention is conducted successfully in one area, crime will move to another geographical area. The temporal aspects of crime will also be subject to change in these instances. It is therefore important to maintain updated intelligence on crime trends in the precinct.

According to one participant:

'*If we identify hotspots in one sector and we focus on that specific hotspot, it changes and they move to another sector. It does not stay in one sector. Focus is made due to reported serious crimes. Therefore, all sectors are affected*'.[626]

Philippi East Police Precinct Community Crime Mapping

Figure 10, below, shows the demarcation of the three police sectors for Philippi East police precincts. Importantly, it shows the geographic location identified as crime hotspots for particularly crimes in the precinct. These crimes in themselves have been identified by participants as the most prevalent crimes in the areas marked. Robbery is identified as the most prevalent crime in the precinct.

Figure 10: Philippi East Police Precinct Community Mapping

Table 16: Results of Community Mapping in Philippi East Police Precinct Police Sectors

Community mapped crime	Police Sector 1 (Lower Crossroads)	Police Sector 2 Polla Park and surrounding areas[6][27]	Police Sector 3 (Marikana)	Grand Total
Robbery	18	9	17	44
Drugs	12	4	14	30
Hijacking	14	-	7	21
Taxi Violence	2	3	10	15
Rape	3	-	-	3
TOTAL	49	16	48	113

The Philippi East participants identified 113 hotspot areas in the police precinct which were hotspots for robberies, drug-related crimes, hijacking, taxi violence and rape. The Community mapping exercise identified 17 geographical locations in Marikana itself as hotspots for robberies, 14 hotspots were identified for drugs-related crimes and 10 for taxi violence. Lower Crossroads recorded 18 and 14 hotspots for robberies and hijacking, respectively. In addition, three areas were identified as hotspots for rape.

Figure 11: Marikana Community Crime Mapping Results

Priority Crimes in Philippi East

Overview

The following table illustrates the priority crimes which were identified by the community participants and the SAPS. Notably, the top crimes identified by the community resonate with those identified by the police. The table below also shows that the participants identified risk factors associated with these crimes. It also indicates recorded crime patterns and trends for the identified crimes in the area.

Table 17: Philippi East Priority Crimes and Associated Main Risk Factors Identified[628]

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Murder	Murder	GBV - Masculinities Armed gang violence, drug trading and use, gangsterism and gang initiations and social status inequalities. Value-based risk factors have been identified by participants to include the lack of value attached to human life, jealousy and (social and economic) competition.[629] Substance abuse, and domestic violence have been identified as risk factors for the crime of murder.[630] **Taxi Violence (Murder):** The lack of regulation of competition for routes has been identified as a leading risk factor for violence in the taxi industry.[631]	Males in the 18 to 25 year and 26 to 35year age range were recorded as the primary victims of murder. 'Most victims are men…Men are being targeted because when they are being robbed, they resist attempts, and are murdered. Starts as a robbery, and becomes a murder, because a man is not going to hand over his things easily, so he gets sorted and killed.' *632* These crimes occurred primarily at night in dark streets and corners, but also in the streets, in the mornings and afternoons on Mondays, Tuesdays and Sundays.[633] These crimes were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 15 to 17 and 18 to 25 year age group, by prior offenders.[634] Police report that these crimes were committed against strangers, that is, there was no existing relationship between the victim and offenders and the offenders were not known to the victims.[635] This is, however, contradicted in community reports, where it was pointed out that: '…*the people who are killing each other come from other areas like Lower Crossroads and they use Marikana as a forest (to hide)*'.[636] Participants said that the perpetrators are 'usually known' and the community knows 'where they stay'.[637] These crimes were described by SAPS participants as 'robberies gone wrong'.[638] One participant pointed out that in these instances '*people are being killed just for cell phones*'.[639] Murders in the area are in Philippi East are also said to be associated with **political killings** and t**axi violence**.[640]

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Robbery	Robbery	**High drug usage**: criminals rob in order to buy drugs. [641] **Reckless and distracted victims of crime**: There is a concern that people become vulnerable as they walk in the street while being engrossed in their cells phones and are unaware of their surroundings. They would then be identified as 'soft targets' and are caught off guard.[642] Other participants also said that people have come to accept the risk of robbery, viewing it almost as inevitable when having to commute to work or walk somewhere in the community. They have reached a point where they 'just don't care'.[643] Unemployment and drug trading and use, have been identified as risk factors for robbery. Poverty and inequality, gangsterism, alcohol and substance abuse, and school drop-outs have been cited as risk factors for robbery. This was identified as an organised crime in most c**a**ses.[644]	Participants identified robbery as a priority crime in Philippi East.[645] Community participants identified that commuters on their way to work are targeted in cases of robbery. A gendered element is introduced, where it was stated that since '*It is mostly women who work, rather than men. They are robbed on their way to work*.'[646] Participants also pointed out that it is also difficult to identify a dangerous situation when travelling, because '*criminals pretend to be commuters to get close to and rob the people*'. [647] **Common robbery** Robbery was mainly overall reportedly committed against males,[648] of the age groups 18 to 25 years and 26 to 35 years.[649] These crimes occurred most frequently along the streets,[650] in the weekday mornings and afternoons, and on Saturdays and Sundays.[651] Victims are robbed while walking to and from work. A street robbery hotspot is therefore the bus terminus and includes the pathway down, through Symphony and Stock Roads.[652] Robberies are also reported where wigs are being forcibly grabbed off women's heads, to sell for up to R1 000.[653] Robberies were mostly perpetrated by prior offenders in the 15 to 17 and 18 to 25 year age group. These crimes were committed against strangers, that is, there was no existing relationship between the victim and offenders and the offenders were not known to the victims. '*Commuters are targeted, but busses are also now being targeted. In a recent case, the perpetrator boarded the bus like everyone else and took out a gun. Everyone was robbed*'.[654] Participants also raised environmental constraints to addressing this crime: '*The number of street robberies in Marikana is very low. But what aggravates this specific crime in the area is the fact that it is difficult to patrol in Marikana*.'[655]

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Robbery (cont)			**Robbery at non-residential premises** The primary victims of robberies at non-residential premises are located in Sector 1.[656] They include foreign-owned spaza shops.[657] Businesses in Philippi East Plaza, Shoprite centre and a few spaza shops in Marikana and Lower Crossroads are recorded targets.[658] Females in business, in the age groups 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 years are also reported targets.[659] These crimes most frequently target businesses or persons, and occur most often in the afternoons on Tuesdays, as well as at night.[660] There are conflicting police reports in perpetration statistics. SAPS Philippi East records that this crime was mostly perpetrated by persons in the 26 to 35 age group.[661] One member of the SAPS however suspected that perpetrators 'fall in a younger age group because in business robberies, perpetrators mostly take sweets, money, chocolates and biscuits.'[662] The SAPS reports that robberies were primarily committed against strangers, that is, there was no existing relationship between the victim and offenders, and the offenders were not known to the victims.[663] **Robbery at residential premises** Female-headed households are targeted in residential robberies, where perpetrators force entry into these homes even when women are at home.[664] Robbery at residential premises appears to be an opportunistic crime.[665] Hotspots for this crime include Govan Mbeki, Marcus Garvey, Lower Crossroads and Better Life.[666] Cases are reported to be scattered across sectors 1 and 2.[667] They occur in formal and informal areas. As one participant stated: '*The hotspots for this crime are not even higher income earning areas. It is suspected that these are opportunistic crimes ... the target could be a house owned by a woman, identified as more vulnerable. So, the perpetrator knocks on the door, the door is opened, and the perpetrator forces entry into the shack or house. Otherwise, the door is kicked in.*'[668]

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Robbery (cont)			The belief is that female-headed households are targeted, due to the number of cases opened by women.[669] The primary victims of which are persons in the age group 26 to 35 years and 35 to 55 years.[670] Another participant highlighted that robberies are also occurring in areas that are '*built up and not just in informal settlements. Here people have whatever they need, such as TVs (flat screens), laptops, etc.*'[671] The above participants gave evidence of the opportunistic nature of these crimes, where criminals seek out both the availability of target items as well as vulnerable targets. One participant provided more insight into the nature of these crimes, in stating that: 'It is mostly youngsters who commit them. They usually have accomplices of 2 to 8 others. They even take the food from the fridge. People will just open the doors, occupied by people. Sometimes they break in, only find people inside.'[672] According to police records, these crimes most frequently occurred in the afternoons and evenings, on Tuesdays,[673] and were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 age groups.[674] This crime was mainly committed by repeat offenders (already in the system).[675] These crimes were committed against strangers, that is, there was no existing relationship between the victim and offenders, and the offenders were not known to the victims. [676]
Drug Smuggling, Trading and Use (Iziyobisi)	-	Over policing of minor offences and the lack of clarity on how to address the private legal use of dagga.	The legal private use of dagga was cited as a major concern.[677] '*Dagga is now legal. Now we can't stop and search a suspect. He can keep it for private use. That's the challenge'.*[678] The police need to be equipped on how to police the use of dagga, within the new legal paradigm which enables its private use in the home.
Conspiracy to commit crime	-	Lack of respect for human rights and the rule of law.	According to focus group participants, jealousy leads to people conspiring with others to rob the victims. This happens where young men and women get good jobs, and unemployed peers would start to envy them and conspire to rob them.[679]

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Sexual Offences - Rape	Sexual Offences - Rape	The use of drugs, the lack of respect for women and children, broken homes (creating the economic vulnerability of women and vulnerability of children due to a lack of adult supervision), social power dynamics and patriarchy are factors associated with the high rate of rapes in the area.[680] Alcohol and Drugs '*The high use of alcohol leads to greater vulnerability of women, so they are being targeted...*'[681] People go to taverns at night to enjoy themselves. They would get drunk, and the women become vulnerable to being raped. Men would become inebriated, being too drunk, and smoking 'Tik' and 'Zing-Zang' (a mixture of Coca Cola and medicines. When used 'people don't sleep, and they don't feel pain').[682]	In this community safety audit, participants cited sexual offences (rape) as the most frequent recorded type of sexual offence committed in Philippi East. Whereas rapes are recorded in all policing sectors, Marikana and Lower Cross Roads were identified as hotspots for this crime in the precinct. Girl children in the 0-10 age group, and Females in the 18 to 25-year age category were cited to be primary victims for the crime of rape.[683] '*Young girls of seven and older are being targeted...Sometimes the perpetrators will kick the door open and rape the young children in their own homes. It also happens when the children are grabbed when walking alone between the shacks. Other children are raped by relatives and people who are known to them.*'[684] Rape was mainly committed in the home (shacks).[685] This crime was mostly perpetrated by persons in the 26 to 35year age group, as well as by persons 35 years and older.[686] According to police reports, perpetrators included both serial and first-time offenders who were either friends of the victim or community members who are known to the victim.[687]
Burglary - Residential (Uqhekezo)	-	Inequality Unemployment Gangsterism	Burglary has been identified as an organised, syndicate crime. There is a big market for plasma TVs (Samsung and Sony in particular). Perpetrators move around to different communities and different parts of communities. Scouts would 'do research' during the day, to see which households have plasma TV's.[688]

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Hijackings (Imoto ezibiwayo)	Hijackings (Iimoto ezibiwayo)	The lack of police patrols and surveillance equipment like CCTVs in the area are identified risk factors for this crime.[689] There is also a lack of natural surveillance where ordinary community members (old and young) could be on the lookout for suspicious characters and potential perpetrators and alert the police.	Philippi East has been identified as a hotspot for car hijackings,[690] particularly in Govan Mbeki and Stock Roads. Vehicles are hijacked for use as getaway cars in the commission of other crimes.[691] '*They attack any vulnerable vehicle. They just need transport to get to another vicinity because you would just find the vehicle dumped later. Only some vehicles are not found. Mostly robbers try to get away or to get to another area to commit a crime. Then the vehicle is dumped.*'[692] Most vehicles are reported to be recovered after they are dumped. Trends appear to indicate that vehicles that hold more passengers are targeted, such as Isuzu Bakkies, Avanza's and Maphela's.[693] Delivery vehicles are also targeted for the goods they carry. These vehicles are now being equipped with cameras at the back, which deter criminals (private sector initiative). This also addresses the lack of visibility by drivers, where the rear-view is otherwise obscured.
Trafficking of women and children	-	Poverty and inequality creates a risk for women and children.[694]	Business people are reported to be involved in these crimes.[695] Child kidnappings are identified as being very high in Philippi East. [696]
Domestic Violence	Domestic Violence (Assault GBH)	Alcohol use and abuse, single and absent parents and drug abuse are factors associated with the high rate of domestic violence in the area.[697]	Domestic violence, in the form of assault GBH, is most frequently committed against female intimate partners, who are persons in the 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 year age groups.[698] These crimes are reported to be committed mainly in the homes on Saturday afternoons and evenings.[699] Domestic violence is perpetrated primarily by males in the age groups 26 to 35 years and 35 years and over who are first-time offenders.[700] No other cases of assault GBH were recorded by the police, outside of those having occurred within intimate relationships.[701]
Body Dumping	Murder	Vigilantism/Revenge Killings; Murder-related risk factors.	These crimes are committed so that suspects can escape identification, and evade justice.[702]
Gangsterism	Gangsterism	School drop-outs, peer pressure, poor parenting, poverty, and the profitability of the drug trade have all been associated with the proliferation of gangsterism in the area.[70]	This pattern was not specified; it seems to be sporadic in nature.

Priority Crimes: Community Identified	Priority Crimes: Police Identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime:	Crime Patterns and Trends
Assault	Assault	Substance abuse, gangsterism, and domestic violence have been positively associated with this crime.[704]	There was little information in relation to the pattern of assault GBH. It was linked robbery. Assault GBH seems to occur when robbery goes wrong.
Theft	Theft	Theft has been positively associated with substance abuse, poverty and inequality and unemployment.[705]	This has been identified as an organised crime.[706]

Robbery in the Philippi East Police Precinct

Common robbery

Robberies were cited as one of the biggest concerns in the Philippi East police precinct. It was reported that these crimes take place mainly in the morning and the evening when employed people commute to and from work. Table 15 above contains data on the specific streets where robberies have been identified to occur frequently. A gendered element is introduced, where it was stated that '*It is mostly women who work, rather than men. They are robbed on their way to work.*'[707] Participants also pointed out that it is difficult to identify a dangerous situation when travelling, because '*criminals pretend to be commuters to get close to and rob the people.*'[708]

'*Commuters are targeted, but buses are also now being targeted. In a recent case the perpetrator boarded the bus like everyone else and took out a gun. Everyone was robbed*'.[709]

These crimes are reported to also occur frequently on the streets,[710] in the weekday mornings and afternoons, and on Saturdays and Sundays.[711] See table 15 for the most susceptible streets.

Street robberies also occur along the routes to the bus terminus and the pathway along Symphony and Stock Roads.[712]. The items targeted include wigs which are being snatched off women's heads, to sell for up to R1 000.[713] .

Participants also raised environmental constraints to addressing this crime:

'*Street robberies are very low in Marikana. But what aggravates this crime in the area is that it is difficult to patrol in Marikana.*'[714]

Robbery at non-residential premises

These crimes most frequently target businesses or business persons, and occur most often in the afternoons, on Tuesdays, as well as during the night.[715]

A high volume of robberies at non-residential premises are reported to occur in Sector 1. These target mainly businesses in the Philippi East Plaza, Shoprite centre, a few spaza shops in Marikana (mainly Somalian Spaza shops) and Lower Cross Roads.[716]

Females in business, in the age groups 18 to 25, and 26 to 35 years are also reported targets.

The SAPS Philippi East however suspects that perpetrators '*fall in a younger age group because in business robberies, perpetrators mostly take sweets, money, chocolates and biscuits.*'[717]

The SAPS reports that robberies were primarily committed against strangers, that is, there was no existing relationship between the victim and offenders, and the offenders were not known to the victims. [718]

Additionally, business vehicles are targeted when they are on their way to deliver their loads and cargo. Sites with high volumes of such robberies include Sheffield Road, Govan Mbeki Road, Stock Road and New Eisleben Road. This crime has been reported to have a notable impact on businesses in the area. Resultantly, the Philippi Economic Development Initiative (PEDI) was reportedly working towards developing a Business Forum aimed at uniting business owners and residents of Philippi and by extension Philippi East. Furthermore, this initiative is envisaged to act as a catalyst for local businesses to employ local people to increase security at their premises, as well as to establish a funded model for a 'rent-a-cop' community-led service.

Robbery at residential premises

Female-headed households are targeted in residential robberies. Victims are mainly in the age group 26 to 35 years, and 35 to 55 years. Perpetrators are mainly repeat offenders.[719] The modus operandi includes the forced entry into these homes even when women are at home. Robbery at residential premises appears to be an opportunistic crime. Hotspots for this crime include Govan Mbeki, Marcus Garvey, Lower Crossroads and Better Life. Cases are reported to be scattered across sectors 1 and 2.[720]

Income inequality is clearly ruled out as a motive for such crimes, as one participant stated:

'*The hotspots for this crime are not even higher income earning areas. It is suspected that these are opportunistic crimes … the target could be a house owned by a woman, identified as more vulnerable. So, the perpetrator knocks on the door, the door is opened and the perpetrator forces entry into the shack or house. Otherwise, the door is kicked in.*'[721]

Another participant highlighted that robberies occur both in areas that are '*built up, (as well as) in informal settlements. Here people (in built-up areas) have whatever they need, such as TVs (flat screens), laptops, etc.*'[722]

The above reports suggest the opportunistic nature of these crimes, where criminals seek out both the availability of target items as well as vulnerable targets.

One participant provided more insight into the nature of these crimes, in stating that: '*It is mostly youngsters who commit them. They usually have two to eight other accomplices. They even take the food from the fridge. People will just open the doors, occupied by people. Sometimes they break in, only to find people inside.*'[723]

According to police records, these crimes most frequently occurred in the afternoons and evenings, on Tuesdays,[724] and were mostly perpetrated by persons in the 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 age groups.[725] Generally, robberies of this nature are committed against strangers and the offenders are not known to the victims. [726]

The Philippi East SAPS confirmed that most of the crimes in the area are opportunity based crimes, which include robberies, residential burglaries and car hijacking. At times murder happens because of 'a robbery

gone wrong', retaliation killings (families, groups or friends) or taxi violence. The SAPS's response to robberies and murders include the establishment of a 9-point plan which focuses on specific hotspots and routes with a high volume of such crimes. The plan entails increasing police visibility in these areas and deploying members to interact with community leaders. These attempts are made against the backdrop of huge infrastructural challenges unique to the area and specific to informal settlements. The informal structures are erected in a manner that makes it difficult for the police to access the areas to conduct vehicle patrols. In addition, there is a lack of street lighting, which creates particular challenges at night. Public amenities such as public toilets are remote and contribute to the challenges. The narrow or absent pathways between the informal structures limit foot patrols, concealing spaces from which patrolling officers may be ambushed.[727]

Table 18: Philippi East Priority Crimes Summary Analysis[728]

Philippi East Police Precinct					Diff 2016/17-2015/16		Diff 2017/18-2016/17		Diff 2017/18-2015/16	
	2015/ 2016	2016/ 2017	2017/ 2018	TOTAL	Diff (No) 2016/17-2015/16	% Diff 2016/17-2015/16	Diff (No) 2017/18-2016/17	% Diff 2017/18-2016/17	Diff (No) 2017/18-2015/16	% Diff 2017/18-2015/16
Murder	122	150	205	**477**	28	**23.0%**	55	**36.7%**	83	**68.0%**
Common Robbery	89	65	129	**283**	-24	**-27.0%**	64	**98.5%**	40	44.9%
Robbery Aggravated	473	619	789	**1,881**	146	**30.9%**	170	**27.5%**	316	**66.8%**
Robbery at Residential premises	105	105	157	**367**	0	**0.0%**	52	**49.5%**	52	**49.5%**
Drug-related Crime	732	851	1,150	**2,733**	119	**16.3%**	299	**35.1%**	418	**57.1%**
Sexual Offences (Rape)	126	141	163	**430**	15	**11.9%**	22	**15.6%**	37	**29.4%**
Burglary at Residential premises	201	240	250	**691**	39	**19.4%**	10	**4.2%**	49	**24.4%**
Hijackings	114	136	107	**357**	22	**19.3%**	-29	**-21.3%**	-7	**-6.1%**
Common Assault	196	286	447	**929**	90	**45.9%**	161	**56.3%**	251	**128.1%**
Theft (all theft not mentioned elsewhere)	199	233	252	**684**	34	**17.1%**	19	**8.2%**	53	**26.6%**

With the exception of hijackings, some of the priority crimes, as identified by the community, have been shown to increase from 2016/2017 to 2017/2018. Robbery common increased by 98.5%, assault common increased by 54.7% and robbery (residential) increased by 49.5%. Murder increased by 36.7%. The community's perception that these crimes are problematic is corroborated by the crime statistics. These crimes should be closely monitored and effective strategies should be developed to address these, in partnership with the community, the municipality and all other relevant stakeholders.

The section below looks at factors which add to the nuanced and complex nature of the perpetration of crime in the area.

One of the main reasons for murder was cited as revenge.[729]

Vigilantism/Revenge Killings

Participants cited revenge killings as a main contributor to the rates of murder in the area. One participant presented the below scenario to clarify the revenge killing phenomenon:

> '*Say someone kills my brother. The families will look for the killer and they will murder him. No firearms are used. They use stones or sticks or they will burn him to death. This type of community retaliation happens because communities are tired of these activities and decide to take the law into their own hands. This has been happening for years and is a continuing and common trend. It happens all over the precinct, but mostly in Marikana.*'[730]

While there are many risk factors associated with community vigilantism, the lack of confidence and trust in the police is accepted as a central risk factor.

Improving Trust and Confidence in the Police

The research resoundingly highlights the need to build trust and confidence in the police. The lack of trust in the police, and the lack of trust-worthiness from the police's side, impacts community interaction with the police, including making reports and assisting the police to identify suspects.

One participant noted that occasionally at the murder scene, the perpetrators are among the spectator crowds while the police question the witnesses (seemingly in view of the spectator crowds). The community members do not point out the perpetrators to the police, but would later make anonymous calls to the police, describing the perpetrator and at times going as far as saying he was also at the crime scene at the same time with the police.

Crime Profiling and Foreign Nationals

According to a SAPS member, '*some of the recruiters (of children into crime) are arrested, and sent to Pollsmoor. Then they don't come to the areas again. They are mostly Nigerians, with the drug dealing, and Zimbabweans with cell phone theft - they are the technicians. They unlock and unblock them*'.

> *Statements by SAPS members suggest that there is a measure of crime profiling of foreign nationals in the precinct. The Philippi East SAPS have accordingly indicated that Pakistanis tend to be involved in the smuggling of khat and tik.* [731]

Further research is needed to investigate the extent of involvement of the foreign national community in prevalent crimes. However, caution must be taken to avoid anecdotal and baseless blame on foreign nationals to avoid stigmatisation and xenophobic tendencies.

Philippi East Youth

Figure12: Comparative Youth Socio-Economic Data for Philippi East[732]
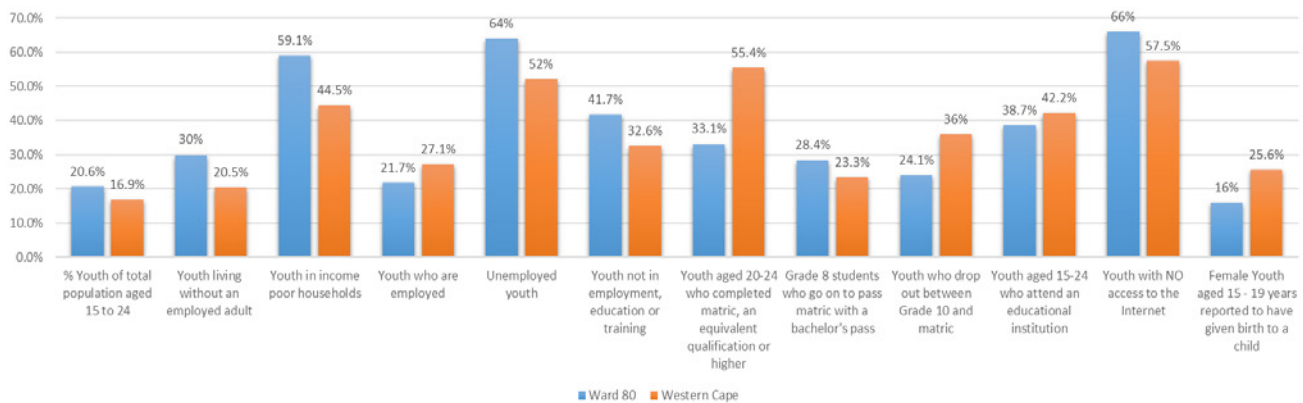
The above graph depicts socio-economic conditions of youth in Philippi East, between the ages of 15 and 24 years. 64% of the youth in Philippi East are unemployed, compared with 52% of youth unemployment in the Western Cape. Two-thirds (66%) of the youth in Philippi East have no access to the internet. More than half (59%) of the Philippi East youth live in income-poor households and 30% are living without an employed adult in the household. Just over a quarter (28.4%) of the youth go on to pass matric with a bachelor's pass. The analysis suggests that youth in Philippi East are living under stressful conditions characterised by hopelessness and unemployment. The long-term solution depends on a concerted effort by multiple stakeholders to reverse this situation.

Figure 13: Philippi East Youth Attendance at an Educational Institution by Age Category[733]
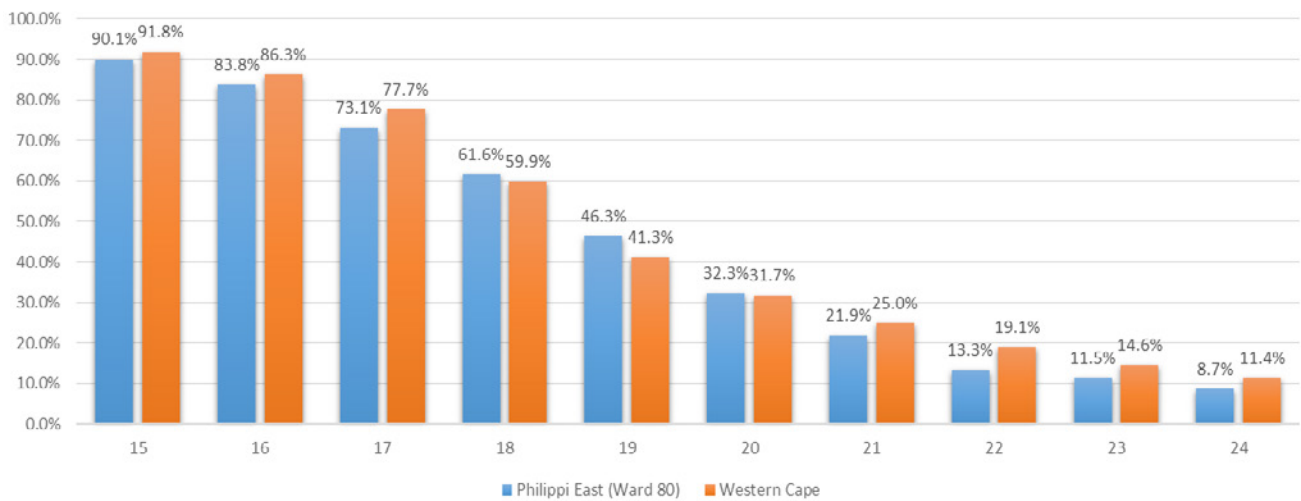
There is a steady decrease in youth aged 15 to 24 years at an educational institution from Philippi East. By the age of 24, only 8.7% of these youth are at an educational institution. The biggest percentage decrease (25.3%) is between the 18 and 19-year age range. This is typically the period of entering tertiary studies, and may be indicative of more youth in this age category seeking employment immediately after matric. However, as seen in figure 12 above, these youths are most likely unable to find employment.

Figure 14: Youth Access to the Internet in Philippi East[734]
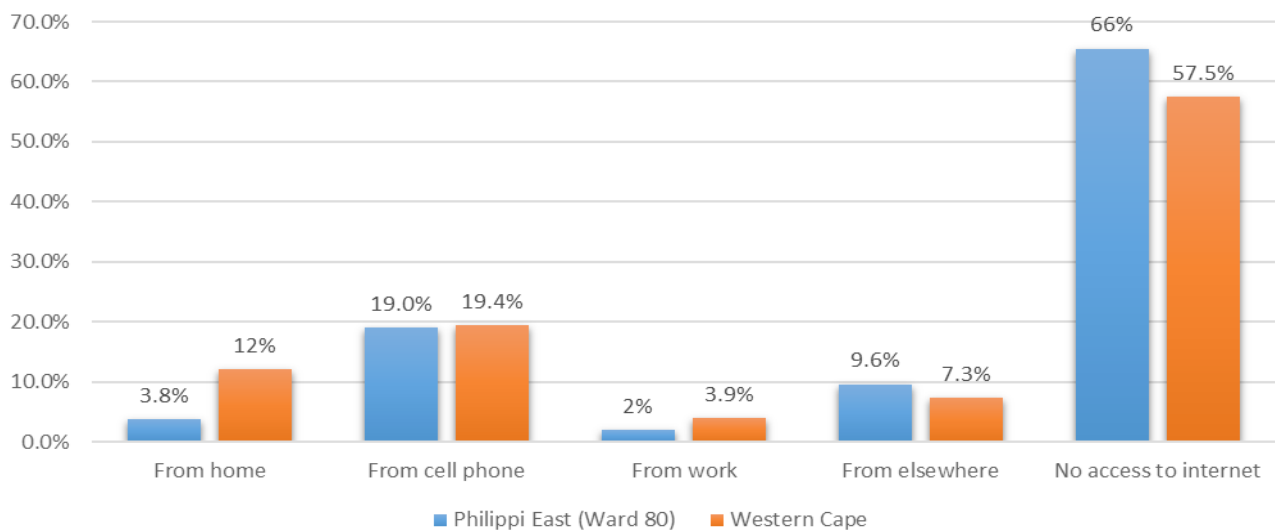
Understanding channels through which the youth access information is important as these channels may be used as a platform for empowerment. However, with 66% of the youth having no access to the internet in Philippi East, consideration must be given to expanding access to this service in the area.

Youth Crime Statistics in Philippi East

Figure 15: Percentage of Youth Accused of Contact Crime by Offence in Philippi East[735]
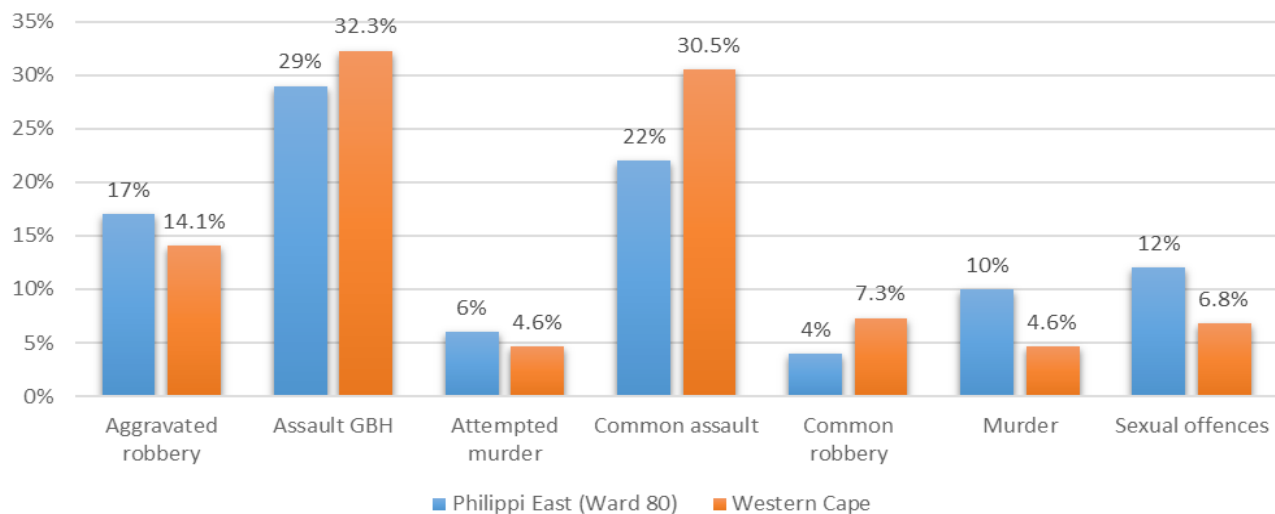
With regard to Assault GBH, one of the most prevalent crimes committed in Philippi East, 29% of the youth aged 15-24 years old were recorded to have perpetrated this crime in 2014/2015. Just above one in five (22%) were recorded to have committed common assault Seventeen percent of the youth in this age rage were recorded to have committed robbery aggravated. The rate of perpetration of sexual offences in this age range, at 12%, is noteworthy. Worryingly, a tenth (10%) of the youth in this age range was recorded to have committed murder. This picture does not augur well for an area with a youthful population, such as Philippi East, mainly because the number of youth that have committed murder in Philippi is 5.4% higher than the provincial rate.

The following table summarises the identified risk and protective factors in Philippi East, for particular groups, as well as by age and gender.

THE IDENTIFIED RISK FACTORS IN PHILIPPI EAST BY AGE AND GENDER

Table 19: Prevention Framework - The Identified Risk and Protective Factors in Philippi East by Age and Gender [736]

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Required Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Families	Low to no incomes, deprivation and economic strain, Absent parents. Children are also left unsupervised for very long periods of time, during which time there is a tendency for children to miss school: *'Parents leave kids from 04:00 am to go to work. As mothers and fathers are not there, some kids don't get to school or arrive late. We therefore advise parents to check the school books to see if children have attended schools.'* [737]	Building the resilience of families and community cohesion: A participant highlighted that there is a need for services to support families. [738] These services include parenting, sports programmes, community cohesion, etc.	Beautiful Gate (NGO)	DSD, WCED, NGOs/CBOs
Commuters (Workers)	Workers are robbed from 04:30 iam, when it is still dark and they are on their way to work. Lack of proper street lighting is one area of concern.	Police patrols during high-risk time periods.	Police patrols during high-risk time periods.	SAPS, Metro Police, NHWs
Children 10 years and under	According to participants: *Children are being abused at home. Most of the parents can't look after kids and provide for them in terms of food and clothing.'* [739] The participant went on to say that: *'In Marikana, you find that kids are not at school. There are also 4 and 5 year olds who are alone playing at home. The home is locked because their mother is at work. Then you have the men standing around and not working, so the vulnerability is clearly there'* [740]	Positive Parenting support ECD and school aftercare programmes and services	Beautiful Gate (NGO)	DSD WCED Local Government and DOCS NGOs/CBOS
Girl Children 0-10	This group suffers from neglect. Child neglect results in vulnerability to kidnapping and rape. They are also molested and vulnerable to human trafficking (which often involve being drugged). [741]	Positive Parenting support ECD and After-school programmes and services Safety and Human Rights Education	Beautiful Gate (NGO)	DSD WCED Local Government and DOCS NGOs/CBOS

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Required Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Boy Children 11-15	Gangsterism: '*When children, especially young boys, see other children having nice tekkies and clothes, they also want it. They are given R2 000, and lured to work for Drug dealers. Drug dealers recruit them. They are used in house breakings and robberies. They can make R750 per day. For cell phones, they get R100-R150 for each cell phone they steal. They start to recruit them from the age of 12 to 18 and most of the arrests take place in this group.*'[742] Boy children in the 11 to 15 age group are also being use as sex slaves.	After-school programmes and services Safety and children's Rights Education Community mentor-programmes Enhanced WCED/ social worker engagement with children	SAPS	DSD WCED Local Government and DOCS NGOs/CBOS SAPS
Girl Children 11-15	Mothers sell their girl children in this age group to stepfathers and other men for sex for income within the household. They are the secondary and primary victims of domestic violence, and are being exposed to drugs and alcohol. [743]	After-school programmes and services Safety and Children's Rights Education Community mentor-programmes Enhanced WCED/ social worker engagement with children	SAPS	DSD WCED Local Government and DOCS NGOs/CBOS SAPS
Children 16 - 18 years	The risks to boys and girls in this age group were stated to be on the increase, because 'they start to go to taverns'.[744] **Forced independence and associated risks:** A participant pointed out that: '*In the informal settlements, at this age - 17 years old - they own shacks. They are still children but they are fending for themselves, as house owners. These children are falling through the cracks. So, what they do - if they are in a shack, and if you are a girl, you must get a boyfriend. If you are a boy, you must engage in crime. Because government can't promote children to be "a parent", so we can't help there as it is seen as encouraging. We are prevented from helping them other than treating them like children*'[745]	It was suggested by participants that the Liquor Authority should come and educate the communities on its role in the regulation of taverns.[746] Better enforcement of trading conditions by SAPS, Law Enforcement and Metro Police, as well as by the Liquor Board Better social support and opportunities for income generation while learning skills should be explored.	SAPS, Liquor Board	SAPS, the Liquor Board, Metro Police, Law Enforcement, NHWs. DEDAT, CoCT, WCED, Municipalities, DSD Local NGOs, DoH

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Required Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Boy Children 16-18	Gangsters recruit members from this age group. They become drug users at school, and engage in theft This group is very vulnerable to dropping out of school, increasing their risk of unemployment later in life.[747]	Encouragement to complete matric or pursue skills development programme (at a TVET institution) Encouragement of retail and other service providers to hire children from this age group as part-time workers.	-	WCED, Business, DEDAT
Female Youths 19-21	Females aged 19 to 21 years are a vulnerable group. Some officials promise school leavers and graduates in this group job opportunities for sexual benefits. This group is also vulnerable to social media influences (cyber-bullying). [748] Many young women in this age group are engaged in online dating, which increases their exposure and risk. [749] High risk behaviour of this group includes high alcohol consumption and attendance of all-night parties.[750]	Labour rights education, safety awareness	-	Municipalities, Department of Community Safety, WCED, SAPS Department of Labour
Female Youths 22 – 25	Vulnerability to "sugar daddy's ('Blessors'): the lack of employment results in female youths who are 22-25 years old, becoming sex slaves and involved in prostitution. They often become enslaved to drugs. They are used as drug mules. [751]	Income generation opportunities, Women's rights education Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation	-	Department of Health, Department of Social Development, SAPS, WCED
Male Youths 22-25	The vulnerability of this group stems to the high level of unemployment which affects them.[752]	Job creation	-	DEDAT, Municipalities, Department of Labour and Employment
The Elderly (55 and over)	The elderly are vulnerable to drug addiction. Poverty results in people using drugs to escape the stresses associated with unemployment, and low income. Drug use is a form of stress relief and recreational activity.[753] They are also victims of rape, physical and emotional abuse.[754] They are being abused by their children and grandchildren (for pension pay-outs).[755] Types of abuse experienced by this group therefore includes financial abuse, verbal and emotional abuse.[756]	Drug rehabilitation and education, Clubs for the elderly, recreational and sporting facilities and services, Social Service Complaints channels to report abuse relating to social grants	-	DECAS, DSD, Department of Health, Municipalities

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Required Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
People with Physical Disabilities	Family members take advantage of disability grants.[757] They are also vulnerable because of their inability to defend themselves. Forms of victimisation include neglect, physical abuse, rape and theft of their property. They are also verbally abused.[758] They are isolated and are inaccessible and invisible.[759]	Home visits to ensure wellbeing of people with disabilities by social workers Family education on the rights of people with disabilities Family support to assist in caring for people with disabilities	-	DSD, Municipalities, department of Health (early warning system)
People with Intellectual Disabilities	People with intellectual disabilities are used by gangsters and drug dealers to help them to commit crimes.[760]	Home visits to ensure wellbeing of people with disabilities by social workers Family education on the rights of people with disabilities Family support to assist in caring for people with disabilities	-	DSD, Municipalities, department of Health (early warning system)
Men	Participants from the police and community say that men are mostly at risk of being robbed and murdered. They are identified as the most frequent victims of 'robberies gone wrong'.[761] Socio-economic pressures also create vulnerabilities. According to a participant: '*Men are jobless. They have families to look after. Out of pressure to have something to put on the plates, they do crime. Also, most of the men are homeless. If they don't have jobs, they are thrown out and they have to stay with friends, but end up on the street. They then get involved in crime when they group together*'762	Education on safety, gender and masculinities. Job creation	-	Municipalities, SAPS, DEDAT, Department of Labour and unemployment

Vulnerable Group	Associated Risk and Vulnerabilities	Required Protective Factors (Services)	Community Identified Prevention Interventions	Responsible Service Providers
Foreign Nationals	Focus Group participants reported that foreign nationals are verbally abused. The police report that this group is isolated, and not integrated.[763] *'They do their own thing'.*[764] It was, however, largely denied that there is any xenophobia in the communities. Contrary to this, one participant, a police member, said: *'This is our "number three concern". They are being killed. In a street, two out of three shops are targeted, goods are stolen, children are rude to them, and information is given to thugs who rob and shoot them. They are mostly Burundians and Somalians. There is a lot of jealousy, and thugs are being hired to victimise them. But yet, they are doing the greatest job here, but the way they are treated is very bad.'*[765] It was also said that: *'No-one stands with them - not counselors, not street committees. Not even landlords of container business. Even if they get rent from these people. They are being killed and abused. They need to be protected. When attacks happen, people fold their arms - they are very unfriendly.'*[766]	Community integration, clear trading policies, equal opportunities.	-	Municipalities, DEDAT, Department of Home Affairs, SAPS, NHW, CoCT
Businesses and Business People	Businesses and business people are vulnerable to looting and robberies. They also lose income when community members are threatened and forced not to buy from their shops.[767]	Community integration, clear trading policies, equal opportunities, community education, SAPS (complaints lodging and effective address of complaints)	-	Municipalities, DEDAT, SAPS

When it comes to safety planning, partnerships and collaboration across and within the different spheres of government and departments are imperative. These prevent implementation barriers and enhance prospects for success in respect of initiatives aimed at promoting community safety. Table 20 summarises the role players which are essential to crime prevention initiatives, the collaboration between these key stakeholders, and the challenges which have been identified by participants which inhibit effective cooperation and collaboration.

Table 20: Philippi East Crime Prevention Role-Players and Services[768]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
The SAPS	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	National	The Station Commander reportedly 'works with young people'.[769] Collaboration with the department of education is reported.	Safety Education *'Schools are visited regularly, where we speak about the impact of crime on children's lives. Some kids come back to visit the police station, in appreciation.'*[770] The police also conduct iimbizo (around certain issues), in communities in all sectors. *'We have iimbizo and hand out pamphlets in the street on house robberies.'*[771]	However, iimbizo were seen to be ineffective: *'Does it help? It does not help. People are encouraged to walk in groups on the way from and to work. But even when you just go visiting, and you are walking, you are a target.* *We also tell them that if they use the trains, they must go in groups. So, we see that from this area to Joe Gqaba, people are walking in groups* *And not everyone comes to the meetings when called, so not everyone gets the message. This message can be spread easily by community leaders, but these leaders don't attend the meetings. So, this strategy is not working.'*[772] With regard to handing out pamphlets, a police member said that: *'I don't think this is effective, because the robberies are continuing, and the rate does not come down. Criminals are apprehended, but mostly they are unknown. So, they cannot be identified.'*[773] One of the problems with these initiatives is that it places the responsibility for crime prevention primarily on members of the public. Members of the public, according to this approach, must ensure their own safety. This removes the sense of duty on police. This is highly problematic.

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
The SAPS, Law Enforcement, Metro Police, Municipal Spatial Planners	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security; Urban Renewal	National, Local	The participant pointed out that it helps the SAPS when metro, law enforcement and traffic police work together.[774] This indicates that there is some collaboration.	Visible Policing Patrols in Informal Settlements More visible policing is needed in crime hotspot areas.[775] '*The police must be seen doing patrols in hotspots.*'[776]	Despite that the SAPS reports that they patrol hotspot areas '24-7',[777] they have acknowledged and corroborated community reports that patrols are not done inside informal settlements.[778] The lack of roads or lighting is cited as a reason. Foot patrols are said to be risky because of pathways which only afford single file pedestrian entry, and which have many blind corners, creating the vulnerability to be ambushed. The fact that criminals know these areas better increases the risk and vulnerability for law enforcement agencies on foot patrols. On the other hand, one participant pointed out that: 'Even if there is a police van on the streets, you see someone go down a passage, they will go down and rob the person. In Marikana and many other areas, there are footpaths and then tiny streets that can only take one vehicle.'[779] Despite the fact that vehicular patrols are done in the precinct, the findings show that patrols do not take place in hotspots like Marikana, because of the constraints placed on this activity by the environment, e.g. lack of streets, thoroughfares, street and community lighting). The limitations to what the police can do with regard to policing informal settlements where access is restricted was raised in the context of police resources: '*The police will never be enough! How do you drive where there are no streets? And even with foot patrols - you can't be everywh*ere!'[780] Participants said that the police need better ways to police informal settlements with no vehicular access, because bikes and horses won't work.

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Communities	Community	Local	The Role of Community Members - Reporting Crime Most crimes are not reported in the area. The reasons for the low rate of reporting have been cited to include that: **Witnesses fear for their safety**: There is no protection provided to ensures witnesses' safety, even when they travel from their homes to court and back. Witnesses killed on their way *to* court.[781] The police immediately inform suspects of a witness statement (so it seems), because the moment a report is made, the witnesses are warned and threatened by suspects.[782] There is therefore 'a culture of self-preservation' in the community.[783] According to one member of the SAPS: '*There are witness protection problems. They could have informed the wrong person at the police, because there could be informants.*'[784] 'Good cops' are also reportedly being killed in the community.[785]	The Role of Community Members - Reporting Crime Community members who are actively engaged in surveilling their neighbourhoods, and in assisting the police in crime intelligence gathering are an important part of the prevention framework. Street committees, NHW structures, CPFs are critical.	Crime Data and Statistics A focus group discussion participant argued that there is no accurate crime statistics for Philippi East. Statistics and data available do not reflect the crime trends of the area specifically.[786] Reducing the Risk of Corruption The problem with complacency and corruption within the SAPS in Philippi East stems from the police coming from and living in the communities. They must be replaced with officers from outside of the community.[787] The feedback from participants suggests a serious mistrust in the police and in the system's ability to protect witnesses.

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
DoJ, SAPS	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	National	-	Policing Drug Use: Dagga The police need to be equipped on how to police the use of dagga, within the new legal paradigm which enables its private use in the home. The perimeters of this allowance must be understood and police must be educated thereon.	Police tend to focus on the users of drugs. This increases arrest rates, but adds no prevention value. Drug users must be channeled through to drug rehabilitation services rather than being incarcerated. The law needs to be clarified on possession for personal use of dagga.
SAPS, CoCT, Department of Community Safety, Community Members	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security, Community	National, Provincial, Local		Community-led Crime Prevention Participants suggested that members of the local community should be trained in law enforcement for deployment in the community.[788] The lack of communication with and involvement of the community inhibits participation by the community in crime prevention. According to one police participant: *'We want to do more, but we need to be informed of crime. Some information doesn't come through to us, even though we do patrols.*[789] It was also recognised that: *'If we can forge better relationships between the police and the community, they (the community) can better point out suspec*t*s.'*[790]	There are many young men in the community who are willing to patrol the area, but they contend that they are not being given support from the Police or the City.[791] *'We're not encouraged by the department. There is no support when we are victimised.'*[792] Participants also complained that when NHWs chase and arrest suspects, they 'get arrested for it'.[793]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
The Justice System: The Courts, NPA, Department of Justice, Department of Correction Services	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	National	-	Appropriate sentencing, diversion, offender rehabilitation, and re-integration, community education, and community service	A deterrent to reporting is that: '*Perpetrators are arrested today, but are released back into communities after 2 days*'.[794] The continuous release of perpetrators was cited as a problem associated with the justice system: '*The Justice department is an issue. They must come on board. It's a problem. It's easy to release a person, but difficult to arrest them. That is why people are killing them.*'[795] The participant therefore indicates that the vigilantism in the area is associated with the release of perpetrators after arrests.
The Department of Community Safety (DOCS), SAPS	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	Provincial, National	-	Community Policing Partnerships. Participants asserted that there needs to be more involvement of the community in policing.[796] While this is a need identified both by the SAPS and community members, there does not seem to be enough mechanisms in place to ensure that such participation takes place optimally, from the police's side. More mechanisms for police-community partnerships and cooperation are required, and could take the form of the establishment of more NHW's in all areas. Nonetheless, the police report working with their CPF and NHWs. '*They are the link between the community and the police. The refer complaints to the police and there is two-way information sharing, two ways. The CPF and NHWs fight crime with us.*'[797] The police member further pointed out that: '*Community members are working even though they are not registered as NHWs. They patrol with the police, especially in Marikana. They form part of CPF sub-forums... they are effective.*' [798]	There appears to be a lack of support to the Philippi East Communities for the formation and operation of NHWs Streamlining Registration processes for Neighbourhood Watches There must also be better coordination and collaboration between the City and Province with regard to the regulation of NHWs. Currently there are different registration processes and NHWs have to report differently.[799]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Liquor Board	Alcohol Harms Reduction	Provincial	None indicated	Another agent identified was the Liquor Board. It was recommended that the Liquor Authority should come and educate the communities on its role in the regulation of taverns.[800] The Liquor Authority should also be circumspect in granting licenses to liquor outlets, and conditions must be imposed which reduces harm. It must be ensured that these conditions are enforced in the community.	The proliferation of shebeens and the lack of abiding by license conditions by taverns.
Community-Based Safety Structures (CPFs, NHWs)	Safety and Security	Provincial and Local	-	Whereas participants point out that there are no security companies working in the communities, they identified the CPF, NHW and community leaders as being instrumental in crime prevention. According to a participant, there is a sub forum CPF chairperson in every section and one overall for the Philippi East area.[801]	Institutional support to structures
Department of Social Development (DSD), SAPS, Municipalities	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security – Social Crime Prevention	National	Lack of collaboration	Social Crime Prevention, building cohesive and resilient communities, addressing risk factors underpinning crime.	There is very limited scope to what the SAPS can do in terms of social crime prevention. Most of the required work in this area falls in the purview of other departments. The frustration that accompanies this acknowledgment was evident: *'What is social development doing? They are not seen! We don't know what they are doing. We need joint programmes with Social Development and other departments. They have a budget, but are not spending it'*.[802]

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Sports and Recreation – CoCT, DCAS	Social Protection, Community and Human Development	Local, Provincial	-	Sporting, cultural and recreational facilities, especially for children and the youth are needed in the area. The maintenance thereof could be taken up by community organisations (it is currently the responsibility of the CoCT). Funding to communities can be provided through the EPWP, which will ensure adequate finances are available for such maintenance and facility operations.[803] Each facility should have: A handy man A play leader A caretaker A cleaner Volunteers in sporting codes.[804]	A police participant pointed out that even though there are some sports activities for youth in the area, they need more activities to keep them occupied.[805] Participants also stated that although there are parks in the area, these parks are not safe for children to play in.[806]
Faith-based Organisations	Civil Society	Local	-	Churches are often turned to for assistance. According to a participant: *'As far as the churches go, they can do more. People don't want to commit crime, but they are sometimes possessed by the devil and are not themselves. If churches could help, they could address the issue.'*[807]	Whereas the feedback indicates that Churches should be engaged in respect of crime prevention, the belief that demon possession is the driving force behind crimes is problematic as it impacts the sense of responsibility criminals hold. They may feel exonerated and even justified, relying on the shift in blame to something 'larger' than themselves, over which they have no control. It is imperative to find ways to address this if crime is to be addressed effectively in the area.

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Municipality (CoCT), MURP, City Planning, Solid Waste	Local Government	Local	-	Density reduction: Community members expressed their willingness to be relocated to good communities, in consultation with community leaders and existing community members. [808]	The population density coupled with the spatial layout and design of Marikana poses serious crime risks.
				Integration Integrated communities should be established, not along racial lines.[809]	The lack of integration creates social isolation and exclusion
				Accessibility Marikana should be redeveloped to include better vehicular access, through better roads and thoroughfares.[810]	Lack of access poses safety and crime risks
				Adequate lighting The lack of street lights challenge was accurately identified a police member pointed who stated that: "*The fact that there are no lights in Marikana is one of the challenges*'.[811]	The lack of adequate lighting
				Surveillance The need was expressed for the installation of surveillance equipment to assist in crime prevention activities: '*There are no CCTV cameras in the community, only in malls (but not even in all shops). We need those, which could assist. Because most of the time we rely on people and people say they don't see what is happening.*'[812]	The lack of surveillance and thus lack of information or evidence about crime that is happening or crime that happened.

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
Municipality (CoCT), MURP, City Planning, Solid Waste (cont.)				Dignified living There should be facilities for dumping and recycling. Dumping and environmental degradation is a problem in the area. Tenders to external service providers present numerous problems, including that these external service providers 'do not want to come into the area because of safety concerns'. It may be that the community creates barriers to entry, however, with job creation as a priority. The City could potentially explore EPWP which may benefit the community through community-led initiatives. [8]	There should be facilities for dumping and recycling to ensure dignified living and instill community pride.
Law Enforcement, Metro Police	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security	Local	-	Policing of by-laws A police member highlighted ways in which the City can improve its policing role in Philippi East and better assist the SAPS. According to this participant: '*We are trying to involve law enforcement and traffic. So, for instance, with the enforcement of by-laws and taxi traffic violations. We also have … scrap yards burning tyres. They are not currently doing that*'.	Collaboration between the SAPS, Law Enforcement and Metro Police is lacking
NGOs, CBOs, DSD, CoCT, DCAS	Social Protection, Community and Human Development	Local, Provincial	-	Early Childhood Development and services for children It was also reported that there is just one ECD facility in Marikana and that more are needed to accommodate the 30 000 (plus) people who reside there.[814] Beautiful Gate (just one organisation) reportedly provides aftercare services to the whole of Philippi East.[815] Participants also point out that there are no facilities in Philippi East 'to keep young people safe'.[816]	There is a lack of services for the youth

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
CoCT, MURP, Water and Sanitation, City Planners	Social Protection, Community and Human Development, Infrastructure Development	Local	-	Basic Services Provision The taps and toilets should be closer to the shacks.[817] Sufficient safety measures are required to protect women and children when using toilets at night/when it is dark. Fire kits should be provided with training on their usage.[818]	The safe access to basic services is lacking
CoCT, Department of Community Safety, DEDAT	Economic Sectors, Employment and Infrastructure Development, Social Protection, Community and Human Development	Local, Provincial	-	Job Creation Unemployment is a significant problem in Philippi East. According to one participant: '*There are no career options in Philippi East*'.[819] Participants urged that community members who have a License and Grade 12 certificate should be trained as auxiliary law enforcement officers and deployed in Philippi East, with prospects for eventual employment, as per departmental policies.[820] Opportunities for community members to be trained as auxiliary traffic cops should also be explored.[821] A joint job creation project could be endeavoured by the Province and the City.[822]	Unemployment poses particular challenges in respect of crime and violence prevention in Philippi East.

Community Identified Crime Prevention Role Players in Atlantis	Sector/ Cluster	Sphere of Operation	Collaboration	Description of Prevention Services	Challenges
CoCT, DEDAT, Economic Development, Labour,	Economic Sectors, Employment and Infrastructure Development	National, Provincial, Local	-	Stimulating Corporate Social Investment According to one participant, there are lots of businesses in Philippi East. There is Sonnendal, informal traders, Goal and Jumbo. Despite this, the participant complained about the lack of investment in the community by these private sector role players in the area. The participant urged that this should be encouraged and incentivised.[823] There are indications that there is involvement by the business sector, though. Another participant pointed out that: *'Businesses like Goal super market hosts activities on heritage day. They run programmes and provide food parcels. But this is a once off thing.'*[824] The participant said that attempts have also been made to talk to businesses in the area, seeking that they employing the Philippi East youth. These talks were reported to be held by the City and Province. The participant did not indicate whether this project was successful, neither what the impact thereof was. They expressed the sentiment however, that this was 'not enough' to address the problem.[825]	Unemployment of the youth and the lack of sustainable community development.

CPTED AND URBAN/INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING IN PHILIPPI EAST

Informal settlements present a host of challenges when it comes to policing.

'*Informal settlements are very new. It is dark in all informal settlements. There are no roads, nothing. You have to leave a police officer in a vehicle to keep it safe. Two must go out and two must stay in the vehicle. In lower Crossroads they are sometimes allowed to park on private property, but it is risky for the people. If you are seen to be talking to the police, you are targeted by the skollies. But how can you work if you don't talk to people – you have to talk to people. But they are reluctant. They don't want to be labeled as sell outs.*'[826]

The above shows that even where the police try to creatively address certain challenges, these attempts often are met with further obstacles. It is therefore imperative that solutions are explored which involve the City of Cape Town, and other state departments, where necessary. The burden of safety should not fall on communities to bear.

The overcrowding of informal settlements was identified as a critical challenge to policing these areas.

One police member was transferred from the Atlantic Seaboard where he had been working for seven (7) years. He was in Philippi East for the past three years. He contrasted policing in the two areas. According to him:

'*Here the biggest part of the area consists of informal settlements. There is no infrastructure, lighting or roads and even the police are not safe, because those things are not there and then there is the matter of the density - the population is too big.*'[827]

The police say that they depend on community leadership and NHWs to assist, but there is no influx control. '*The community leadership is now trying to control the influx of people but this is resulting in conflict. There are deeper issues... some people are selling shacks because of unemployment.*'[828] The issue of informal settlements being used as havens for criminals was raised in the research.[829] '*Some people run away from crime committed in other places and come into the informal settlements which are havens for them to hide. There are informants, but it is not effective because they are scared. They don't even want to be registered.*'[830]

The regeneration of Philippi East and areas like Marikana stand to benefit from an incorporation of CPTED principles. One of these benefits would be the facilitation of better policing of these areas: A respondent aptly summarised the challenge as follows: '*Especially in areas like Marikana, the manner in which the houses are built, provides no space in between for even foot patrols. There is only one path and we have to walk along this in single-file. We have to follow each other in that manner. There needs to be more space between houses.*'[831]

Perceptions of service equality and equity

A participant opined that whereas all stakeholders have a role to play in crime prevention, 'law enforcement must do their jobs in enforcement of by-laws, but they have an attitude that "it's a black area, it's their (the people's) culture"'. Participants have complained that:

'*They (the City) don't have an interest. In Hout Bay they help 24/7. But there is no interest when it comes to informal settlements. Yet Philippi East is rated number 3 nationally in terms of murders. They need to reallocate resources.*'[832]

The participant said that he had worked in more privileged areas and what he sees here is different. He points out that '*where metro helps, it makes a difference, like in these areas.*'[833]

RECOMMENDATIONS

Table 21: Table of Recommendations for Philippi East

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
1	SAPS Infrastructure Improvements and Precinct Upgrading	The SAPS	There are only two (2) cells at the Philippi East Police Station. Participants pointed out that this is 'too little'.[834] The police said that they needed more space for parking, a canteen, and for members. '*We can't breathe here*!'[835] Participants also said that the Philippi East precinct must be an independent Brigadier station. This would be more suitable to the nature and extent of crimes committed in the area.[836]
2	Increase Policing Resources	The SAPS	Participants said that there are also not enough vans patrolling the area: '*At the moment, there are only two (2) vans allocated to the three (3) sectors*'.[837] A police member echoed the call for more resources, saying that: '*We need more police officers, personnel and resources, this would help.*'[838] '*Currently, we don't have permanent Crime Prevent Unit. We need to have a 24-hour, fixed crime prevention unit with a leader.*'[839] According to the participants, crime prevention is currently being done as a general function in the shifts. 840
3	The population density in Marikana should be managed.	CoCT, MURP	Marikana continues to have an influx of people at a very high rate. Existing residents suffer the consequences of this unplanned growth and these include a lack of safe spaces, inaccessibility (service providers like the police are therefore unable to enter the area), spaces for criminal elements to hide out undetected, increasing frustration and high crime.
4	Integrated communities should be established, not along racial lines.[841]	CoCT, MURP	Better integration with surrounding areas in order to combat dormitory-style isolated and marginalised communities

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
5	The opportunity to incorporate CPTED principles in the MURP.	CoCT, MURP	Regarding the whole of Philippi East, the following issues must be addressed: the lack of street lights, visible street names and shack and housing numbering and accessibility to the informal settlement areas. In the long term, the CoCT must address these issues in its regeneration programme, which should include redeveloping the informal settlements according to CPTED principles. In the short term, technology such as drone technology could be employed to ensure surveillance of the area, in addition to foot patrols and vehicular support during specific operations. The assistance of Metro Police may be leveraged as a force multiplier during these operations.
6	Marikana should be redeveloped to include better vehicular access, through better roads and thoroughfares.[842] The CPTED principles should be used in this context.	CoCT, MURP	The area is totally inaccessible mainly by a vehicle or quad bike. It reportedly has one way in and one way out. There are no proper roads and very narrow passage ways where these exist. There is no street lights, not house numbering etc.
7	Dignified Living of Residents Must be Ensured on All Levels There should be facilities for dumping and recycling. Tenders to external service providers present numerous problems including that these external service providers 'do not want to come into the area because of safety concerns'. The City should explore EPWP which may benefit the community through community-led initiatives. Competitive, transparent, open, and fair processes must be applied in implementing this recommendation.[843]	CoCT, Solid Waste	Dumping and environmental degradation is a problem in the area. Measures to address this could simultaneously address the need for job creation and community upliftment. There is a possibility of absorbing local people through the EPWP and thus providing at least temporary employment for a reasonable number of unemployed people from Marikana.
8	Investment must be made into the installation of surveillance equipment to assist in crime prevention activities.	CoCT, Business, (CSI)	Increased surveillance acts as a deterrent to the perpetration of crime and should ensure a better response time to criminal acts. Attempts should be made to set aside a certain percentage from the ward allocation to advance and promote safety in Philippi East.
9	There needs to be an illumination project to ensure better lighting in Marikana.	CoCT	The area is very badly lit, creating a safety risk for Marikana residents and state service providers like police, ambulances, etc.
10	There needs to be sufficient services in relation to ECD, Aftercare and youth development and recreation	DSD	There are very few services in the area for children, that are age appropriate and which lends to their development.

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
11	Basic Services Provision The taps and toilets should be closer to the shacks.[844] Sufficient safety measures are required to protect women and children when using toilets at night/when it is dark. Fire kits should be provided with training on their usage.[845]	CoCT	Children and women risk being accosted when going to the toilets, especially at night mainly because the toilets are at a distance from their houses. Fire hazards increase in summer, and is exacerbated by the inability of emergency vehicles to access areas like Marikana.
12	Community members who have a License and Grade 12 certificate should be trained as auxiliary law enforcement officers and deployed in Philippi East, with prospects for eventual employment, as per departmental policies.[846]	CoCT	There is a huge need for job creation, and the promotion of safety and crime prevention in the area.
13	Local businesses should be encouraged and incentive to Corporate Social Investment in the form of providing employment to the local youth.[847]	Business, DTI, DEDAT, the CoCT, Department of Labour and Employment	Youth unemployment is high in the area yet at the same time there are a number of businesses companies in the vicinity of Philippi East.
14	Marikana should be rezoned for mixed residential (mainly) and business (mixed residential usage) and the required infrastructure is to be provided.	CoCT	The current spatial situation of Marikana informal settlement deprives its residents of the full benefits of government services: Medical service vehicles and police patrol vehicles cannot access the area, and there is lack of street lights, or inadequate street lighting.
15	The number of high-mast lights in the Police precinct must be increased, taking into consideration the size of the area, population and the effect of street lights as a deterrent to crime.	CoCT	The lack of streetlights in the precinct hinders governments attempts to reduced crime in the area. It also inhibits the work of community safety structures like the CPF, NHWs and Street Committees.
16	The Metro Police should increase their resources to better serve the Philippi East community.	CoCT	The Metro Police depot in Philippi East should develop a daily deployment plan for the area. There are lots of unemployed young men in the area, willing to be recruited as auxiliary law enforcement officers.
17	The municipal offices should have secured information boxes, place in accessible but private locations, for community members to anonymously give information to the police.	CoCT	The Philippi East community is reluctant to give information about crime to the police. The lack of community support hampers targeted policing in the area and importantly, impedes investigations.
18	There is a need to increase community-led surveillance in the area,	CoCT	Ordinary residents and motorists should be empowered to report crime to the police without fear of reprisal. Technology is an option worth exploring.

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
19	Install CCTV at strategic routes and locations in Philippi East to monitor potential perpetrators and link these cameras to TMC in Goodwood.	CoCT	Thus far it is not clear whether there is any CCTV camera in the area, yet there are roads that are singled out as problematic namely, Sheffield Road, Stock Road, Protea Road and many other small streets in the residential areas.
20	Ward Committees must be capacitated to represent their sectors better, and should feed information to the councilors, sub council and eventually the CoCT so that these issues can be include the CoCT's IDP	CoCT	It would appear that ward committees are not adequately and effectively engaging with the community to identify and raise issues that have a bearing on safety in the area.

The Stellenbosch Community Safety Audit

Findings, Discussion and Analysis

CHAPTER 6

STELLENBOSCH COMMUNITY SAFETY AUDIT

The Stellenbosch Community Safety Audit was confined to the Stellenbosch police precinct. The Stellenbosch police precinct is part of the Stellenbosch Municipality. The municipality has 22 wards, some of which are covered by the study. The police precinct is 382 km² and covers both urban and rural farming areas. In addition to the Stellenbosch police station in Stellenbosch Central, there is also a satellite police station in Khayamandi. [848]

This Community Safety Audit falls in Stellenbosch Municipality's Strategic Focus 3: A Safe Valley. It supports the municipality in achieving its objectives, which includes the following
- to implement an integrated safety strategy to incorporate multi-stakeholder engagements and to focus on institutional, situational and social crime prevention interventions.
- to identify and develop a safety network database
- to perform ward risks assessments
- to develop and implement Institutional Crime Prevention Strategies, with the focus on improved law enforcement and neighbourhood watches
- to perform joint planning initiatives to promote safety in all wards
- to develop and implement situational crime prevention strategies, identify and map crime hotspots, convert crime hotspots into safe spaces by addressing the cause of crime in the identified hotspots, introduce appropriate technology and extent Close Circuit Television (CCTV) coverage to all wards
- to implement and facilitate social crime prevention initiatives in all wards.[849]

A DESCRIPTION OF THE STELLENBOSCH AREA

According to the Department of Social Development's population growth estimates of 2017, the population of Stellenbosch gradually increases across the 5-year planning cycle and is expected to reach 190 677 by 2023.[850] Stellenbosch is the second oldest town in South Africa, dating back to 1679 when an island in the Eerste River was named Stellenbosch by the then Governor of the Cape, Simon van der Stel. The first farming activities in the area were started in 1679. Today, the area has become primarily known for its extraordinary wines, fruit, world renowned cultural landscapes and exceptional scenic quality.[851]

The area houses excellent educational institutions, including the University of Stellenbosch and a number of prestigious schools. It has a strong business sector, varying from major South African businesses and corporations, to smaller enterprises and home industries. The tourism industry alone is responsible for the creation of about 18 000 jobs in the area. Wine farms and cellars abound, and the area is the home of the very first wine route in South Africa.[852]

A variety of sport facilities are available, and the area is home to Maties rugby, the largest rugby club in the world. The municipal area has a number of theatres, and is known for its quality, award-winning restaurants. It is 'a tourist haven' with many boutiques, galleries, and curio shops. There are several museums and art galleries and the area is host to a number of annual cultural, food and wine, and sports festivals. A wide array of accommodation is available for visitors to the area. [853]

Apart from formal, built-up areas, the municipality also includes a number of informal settlements, such as Azania which parts of Khayamandi, Kreefgat and recently Azania. These areas are mainly populated by poor, black and coloured people.

Socio-economic Population Profile of Stellenbosch

The drop-out rate for learners within Stellenbosch that enrolled from Grade 10 in 2014 to Grade 12 in 2016 was recorded at 23%. These high levels of high school drop-outs are influenced by a wide array of socioeconomic factors including teenage pregnancies, availability of no-fee schools, indigent households and unemployment.[854] In 2016, approximately 53.1% of households in Stellenbosch fall within the low income bracket, of which 20.4% of households have no income. Less than 50% of households fall within the middle to higher income categories, split between 35.6% in middle income group and 11.5% in the higher income group. 1% of households had an income of R1 619 605 – R3 239 208, and 0.7% had an income of R3,239,209 or more. The Stellenbosch municipal area experienced an increase in the number of indigents between 2014 and 2015. The number of households with a monthly income of less than R3,500 is also increasing.[855] Poverty and inequality in the Stellenbosch municipal area have increased.[856] The 'studentification' of particularly Stellenbosch Town holds specific challenges.[857] The IDP includes an assessment of the current situation in the municipal area. The following key issues were highlighted in this process

- Poor areas are growing, independent of existing planned settlements.
- There is a doubling of populations in Khayamandi and Cloetesville.
- Housing is unaffordable, and land for social housing is not being released.
- There is increased unemployment.[858]

The population pyramids for Stellenbosch (Town) show in-migration by the black African population group in mostly the 20-25 age group and some in-migration in the Coloured grouping of people between the ages of 20-25 and 60-64. There is large in-migration (students) in the 18-25 age group amongst the White population, but out-migration again in the 25-29 age group, resulting in low net-migration.[859]

Population densities (persons/ha) increased in almost all neighbourhoods, but specifically in Cloetesville (a sharp increase), Idas Valley, Jamestown, Welgevonden and Khayamandi (a sharp increase from an already very high density). Worryingly, there is not a similar increase in the number of dwelling units in these areas. Of particular concern is the possibility of overcrowding in Cloetesville, Idas Valley and Khayamandi because many households living in these towns consist of five or more persons per household.[860] Khayamandi is one of the largest informal settlements in the Stellenbosch Municipality. In 2011, Khayamandi had a total population of 24645 people, of whom 94.59% are black African, 4.65% are coloured, 0.17% are White and 0.08% are Indian or Asian. The other population groups make up the remaining 0.51%.[861]

In Stellenbosch (town), 56% of households have a monthly household income below R3,500 (using Census 2011 data). In numbers, the towns/settlements of Stellenbosch (town), Franschhoek, Klapmuts and Dwarsrivier, in that order, have the most households with monthly incomes below R3500 living in the urban areas (18977 of 19424 or 97%). About 67% of these households live in Stellenbosch (Town).[862] Of the 71.5% of the population of working age (ages 15-64 years) 29.4% has no income.[863]

Spatial Considerations

In 2017 the Stellenbosch Municipality identified the need for a strategic directive to guide urban development within the municipal area. It was pointed out that the municipal engineers are still faced with the 'dilemma' of not having sufficient information when planning the provision of service infrastructure.[864] The concentration of resources in the Municipality appears to be located in the White affluent areas.

It was however previously recommended that municipal urban planning and management should cater for increased numbers in the urban population, with specific reference to the black African grouping. Together, the black African and Coloured groupings could comprise 83% of the total population by 2031. Almost 94% of the black African grouping will reside in the urban areas by 2031. In 2011, 70% of the black African grouping stayed in two (substandard) urban areas, i.e. Khayamandi and Langrug. This is almost double the number of black Africans that stayed in these areas in 2001.[865]

In Cloetesville reports state that 'the Coloured population in the area increased more than tenfold between 2001 and 2011'. It was pointed out that a key consideration for the future growth and development of Stellenbosch is the resources which are allocated to these groupings.[866] However, in a letter, the Western Cape Government states that the 2017–2022 Draft IDP is not yet a cohesive integrated strategic document to guide growth and development objectives. One reason given by the provincial government is that the drafting

of this IDP was without considering certain key informants, e.g. a (SPLUMA compliant) Spatial Development Framework and Integrated Human Settlement Plan.[867] It was therefore pointed out in consultant reports that:

> '*Interventions by (the municipality) are not aligned in content, coordinated in process, integrated in output, transformative in outcomes and consistent in the monitoring and evaluation thereof*'.[868]

Community Safety Profile

In spite of well-developed legislative frameworks to guide and promote urban safety, the following challenges remain, in respect of community safety:
- The incidences of crime are increasing and there is social disintegration.[869]
- The underlying root causes of violence and crime are not sufficiently addressed, e.g. inequality, unemployment, poverty, lack of social cohesion, availability of opportunities and motives for crime and victimisation;
- Most implementation mechanisms do not sufficiently reflect the multi-dimensional nature of urban violence and urban safety, or focus on prevention.
- Local safety is not sufficiently mainstreamed into the entire fabric of municipal programmes.
- Communities are not sufficiently activated and resourced to play a meaningful role.
- Poor planning and management make public spaces crime hotspots.
- There are insufficient mechanisms for generating and transferring knowledge about community safety among practitioners and community members. [870]

Inadequately planned/managed urbanisation, poor access to decent housing and services, and the socio-spatial segregation caused by apartheid and subsequent housing policies are identified as some of the causes of crime.[871]

Lack of safety and high rates of crime in urban areas directly affect socio-economic development prospects and are deterrents to household and private sector investment, and negatively affect informal, small and township businesses and neighbourhoods in particular.[872]

There is further a need for the municipality to ensure safety and security, through enforcing bylaws and regulations (e.g. building), and maintaining streetlights in order to protect the public from crime and disorder.[873]

Perceptions of Safety

Previous studies suggest that a lack of income in rural areas, because of few to no job opportunities, results in some individuals turning to crime as a means by which to obtain goods which may be sold for cash.[874] The issue of safety has been identified as the need with the highest priority in the Stellenbosch municipal area. It is stated in the IDP 2017/2018 that the slogan that overshadows this theme is 'and nothing happens' and that there simply seems to be little trust in the South African Police Service and/or Municipal Law Enforcement.[875] Using 2006, 2011 and 2016 data, there has been an increase in the number of crime cases reported for property related crime, other serious crimes, murders, drug related crimes and contact crimes in the municipal area. There was a significant increase over this period for, in particular, drug-related crime.[876]

SNAPSHOT OF TRENDS IN SELECTED STELLENBOSCH WARDS

There are 22 wards in Stellenbosch (See Annexure 5). The table below, however, provides a snapshot of trends in 10 selected wards in Stellenbosch.[877] The table outlines the risk factors, protective factors, services required by the community and the Municipal budget allocation per wards.

Table 22: Framework for integrating Safety Planning and IDPS, per Selected Wards

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 22[878]	Ward 5 is a residential and rural ward with your residential areas mostly situated in Upper Idas Valley and your rural areas consisting of farms in the Rustenburg/Hydro area and farms in the Jonkershoek Area.	- Insecurity of land tenure, no opportunities for housing and high number of backyard dwellers. - Gangsterism. - Levels of drug and alcohol use. - Unemployment. - High level of poverty. - Lack of recreational facilities for the youth. - Low visibility of law enforcement and policing agents. - Dormitory urban planning in Idas Valley.	- Active citizenry - High level of engagement in activities of FBOs - High level of engagement in sports.	- Dignified and affordable Housing and land ownership - Improved safety and security - Youth Development - Recreational facilities, infrastructure and equipment - Job creation - Additional community Access point at Idas Valley must be constructed at Lelie Street	- Ward Allocation - Park Upgrading (R120 000) - Elderly - (R30 000) - Children - (R20 000) - Youth - (R20 000) - Holiday Programmes - (R10 000) - Total: R200 000 - New Housing in Idas Valley – - 2017/2018: R2 000 000 - 2018/2019: R9 010 800 - 2019/2020: R5 000 000 - Upgrading of Ida's Valley Library: - R100 000.
Ward 19[879]	Ward 19 is a rural ward. It is identified as the biggest ward of Stellenbosch Municipality. The ward consists mostly of farms with only Elsenburg and De Novo as small residential areas. The agriculture sector is the biggest employer in the ward.	- High levels of drug and alcohol use, and high density of taverns and shebeens - High levels of Unemployment - High levels of poverty - Poor state of housing and threats of evictions - Insufficient lighting - No sports development - Shortage of homes for the elderly	- Thriving agricultural sector may be mobilised for job creation, and ownership equity	- Job Creation through the establishment of clothing factories, and the construction of a shopping complex, inter alia. - Quality affordable and dignified housing for the farmworker community. - Decrease density of taverns and close shebeens - Provide sufficient lighting - Ensure safety and security - Provision of swimming pool and sporting infrastructure, facilities and equipment. - Construction of villages/complexes for the elderly. - Reliable and accessible public transport	- Ward Allocation - NHW equipment - CCTV for Ward Office - Safety Bands and Jackets for Ward Committee - Sports equipment - Mother and Daughter Camp - Christmas lunch - 2017/2018: Water Conservation and Demand Management: - R2 000 000 - 2018/2019: Water Conservation and Demand Management: - R2 000 000 - 2019/2020: Water Conservation and Demand Management: - R 2 00 000

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Table 22: Framework for integrating Safety Planning and IDPS, per Selected Wards

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 22[883]	Ward 5 is a residential and rural ward with your residential areas mostly situated in Upper Idas Valley and your rural areas consisting of farms in the Rustenburg/ Hydro area and farms in the Jonkershoek Area.	- Insecurity of land tenure, no opportunities for housing and high number of backyard dwellers. - Gangsterism. - Levels of drug and alcohol use. - Unemployment. - High level of poverty. - Lack of recreational facilities for the youth. - Low visibility of law enforcement and policing agents. - Dormitory urban planning in Idas Valley.	- Active citizenry - High level of engagement in activities of FBOs - High level of engagement in sports.	- Dignified and affordable Housing and land ownership - Improved safety and security - Youth Development - Recreational facilities, infrastructure and equipment - Job creation - Additional community Access point at Idas Valley must be constructed at Lelie Street	- Ward Allocation - Park Upgrading (R120 000) - Elderly - (R30 000) - Children - (R20 000) - Youth - (R20 000) - Holiday Programmes - (R10 000) - Total: R200 000 - New Housing in Idas Valley – - 2017/2018: R2 000 000 - 2018/2019: R9 010 800 - 2019/2020: R5 000 000 - Upgrading of Ida's Valley Library: - R100 000.

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 19[884]	Ward 19 is a rural ward. It is identified as the biggest ward of Stellenbosch Municipality. The ward consists mostly of farms with only Elsenburg and De Novo as small residential areas. The agriculture sector is the biggest employer in the ward.	- High levels of drug and alcohol use, and high density of taverns and shebeens - High levels of Unemployment - High levels of poverty - Poor state of housing and threats of evictions - Insufficient lighting - No sports development - Shortage of homes for the elderly	- Thriving agricultural sector may be mobilised for job creation, and ownership equity	- Job Creation through the establishment of clothing factories, and the construction of a shopping complex, inter alia. - Quality affordable and dignified housing for the farmworker community. - Decrease density of taverns and close shebeens - Provide sufficient lighting - Ensure safety and security - Provision of swimming pool and sporting infrastructure, facilities and equipment. - Construction of villages/complexes for the elderly. - Reliable and accessible public transport	- Ward Allocation - NHW equipment - CCTV for Ward Office - Safety Bands and Jackets for Ward Committee - Sports equipment - Mother and Daughter Camp - Christmas lunch - 2017/2018: Water Conservation and Demand Management: - R2 000 000 - 2018/2019: Water Conservation and Demand Management: - R2 000 000 - 2019/2020: Water Conservation and Demand Management: - R2 000 000

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 12[885]	Ward 12 is situated in the residential area of Khayamandi and part of the Plankenburg industrial area. The different Zones that form part of the ward is Enkanini, Snake Valley, Watergang, Thubelitsha, New Watergang (106), Zone O (next to Enkanini), Chris Hani Drive, Municipal Flats(10th and 13th Street), School Crescent, Ekuphumleni, Siyahlala, Zone A and George Blake	- Lack of ECD centres - High levels of unemployment - Teenage pregnancy - High levels of Alcohol and drug use - There is no relation between the police and community, and communities are reluctant to attend meetings, due to fights and long distances to services. - The proliferation pf Illegal shebeens - Lack of adequate and appropriate facilities for the youth. - Fire/ Disaster risk during summer seasons	- Social Cohesion	- Early Child Development services for children with disabilities - A school for learners with physical and mental disability with Xhosa and English speaking teachers - Further development of Khayamandi Corridor as a fully functional businesses hub - Electricity is required for Nkanini - Free Wi-Fi - Establishing a Clinic, Police station, and Library in ward 12 - Establishing a suitable Community Hall in Ward 12, with adequate space and facilities for community activities - Job creation - The regulation/ prohibition of drinking in public spaces - Establishment of a fixed Primary School - A fully functional police station - Beautification of Ward 12 - Clean parks and neighbourhoods - A centre for senior citizens/old age home - Land for houses and the establishment of dignified settlements - More sites for Churches - Construction of a community swimming pool. - A fully functional taxi rank in Thubelitsha - A mobile library	- Ward Allocation - Bollards - Chris Hani Drive (Engineering) - Paving - Chris Hani Drive close to sports field (Engineering) - - Mini-circle in School Crescent (Engineering) - CCTV Cameras - 10th Street and 13th Street (Community Services) - 10 Fire Extinguishers (Community Services) - Community Development: - (R80 000) - 2017/2018: R200 000 - 2018/2019: R20 000 - Re-Surface of Netball/Tennis Courts - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Northern Extension: Feasibility - 2017/2018: R350 000 - 2018/2019: R350 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Meter Panels - 2017/2018: R200 000 - Asset Management - Implement Traffic Calming Management System - 2017/2018: R100 000 - 2018/2019: R100 000 - 2019/2020: R100 000 - 122 Furniture, Tools and Equipment: Reticulation - 2017/2018: R250 000 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - 2019/2020: R250 000 - Enkanini ABS - 2017/2018: R500 000 - Establishment of Informal Trading Sites: George Blake Street - 2019/2020: R600 000 - Flats: Terrain Improvements Khayamandi - 2017/2018: R2,000,000.00 - Enkanini subdivision, consolidation and rezoning - 2017/2018: R100 000 - 2018/2019: R100 000 - 2019/2020: R100 000 - 122 Furniture, Tools and Equipment: Reticulation

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 11[886]	Ward 11 consists of residential, rural and industrial areas. The residential areas are concentrated around the Van der Stel Sports grounds on the western side of town and Onder Papegaaiberg. Farms are mostly situated in the Devon Valley area and towards Vlottenburg. There are mixed industries in the area of which the wineries/cellars are the best known	- Deurgang Kamp (Temporary/ Emergency camp) - Thick bushes in wetlands with alien vegetation and trees - Drug activities on farms and residential areas	- Integrated caring community - 188 Species of wild flowers on sidewalks and parks - Tourism on Wine Estates - Old Age home - Home for disabled (House Horizon), - Retirement Village (Stellen Oord) - Neighbourhood Watches (5) - Slow Market at Oude Libertas, theatre and Woodmill - High number of security cameras	- Introduce safe pickup points (taxis, buses) for scholars, workers in residential areas. - Remove alien trees and replace with indigenous trees	- Ward Allocation - Infrastructure development at Merriman Ave park - Fencing - Infrastructure development - Library: Fransmanskraal - 2019/2020: R2,250,000 - Roads and Stormwater - Reseal Roads – Onder Papegaaiberg & Surrounding - 2017/2018: R2 120 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - Traffic Engineering - Main Road Intersection Improvements: R44/ Merriman Street - 2017/2018: R1 500 000 - 2018/2019: R1 500 000 - Electricity - Replace Switchgear 66 KW - 2017/2018: R150 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Traffic Engineering - Traffic Calming Projects: Implementation - 2019/2020: R50 000 - Property Management - Van der Stel: Upgrading of water reticulation system - 2017/2018: R600 000 - Property Management - Van Der Stel Roof Replacement
Ward 9[887]	Ward 9 is situated within the town of Stellenbosch consisting of residential areas as well as part of the CBD	- Vagrancy - Loitering	- An established infrastructure network (sewerage, water reticulation and roads) - An established business community - An existing Academic Centre of Excellence (Stellenbosch University) - Existing cultural, historical and touristic places of interest - Densely populated small geographical area	- To develop and promote Ward 9 as a safe destination to work, play, eat and live as well as a cultural, historical and wine tourist centre and to promote a pedestrian and cycle friendly CBD	- Ward Allocation - Upgrading of walkway on northern bank of Eerste River between Landbou Saal and Piet Retief Street (as on opposite bank) - (R200 000) - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Property Management- Structural Improvement Belt: - 2017/2018: R1 000 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Water Treatment Works: Ida's Valley - 2017/2018: R3 000 000 - 2018/2019: R6 000 000 - 2019/2020: R6 000 000 - Solid Waste Management- Stellenbosch WC024 (MRF) - Construct - 2017/2018: R750 000

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 9[887] (Cont.)					- Sports Grounds and Picnic Sites Skate Board Park: CBD - 2018/2019: R18 000 000 - Electricity - Jan Marais Upgrade Transformers - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R50 000 - 2019/2020: R50 000 - Traffic Engineering - Universal Access Implementation - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R4 000 000 - Solid Waste Management - Transfer Station: Stellenbosch Planning and Design - 2017/2018: R250 000 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - 2019/2020: R250 000 - Property Management- Structural Upgrade: Heritage Building - 2017/2018: R200 000 - 2018/2019: R200 000 - 2019/2020: R200 000 - Property Management- Upgrading Fencing - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Solid Waste Management- Waste Minimisation Projects - 2017/2018: R475 000 - 2018/2019: R450 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Traffic Engineering - Traffic Signal Control: Upgrading of Traffic Signals - 2017/2018: R700 000 - 2018/2019: R150 000 - 2019/2020: R150 000 - Transport Planning- Tour Bus Parking Study - 2017/2018: R250 000 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - 2019/2020: R250 000 - Traffic Engineering - Traffic Calming Master Plan: Design - WC024 - 2017/2018: R100 000 - Property Management- Universal Access: Plein Street Library - 2019/2020: R1 000 000

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 9[887] (Cont.)					- - Sanitation - Universal Sewer Pipe Replacement: Dorp Street - 2017/2018: R150 000 - 2018/2019: R100 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Traffic Engineering - Pedestrian Crossing Implementation - 2017/2018: R225 000 - 2018/2019: R200 000 - 2019/2020: R200 000 - Traffic Engineering - Signalisation implementation - 2017/2018: R1 000 000 - Electricity - Data Network - 2017/2018: R200 000 - Roads and Stormwater - Reseal Roads - Die Boord & Surrounding - 2019/2020: R2 000 000 - Roads and Stormwater - Reseal Roads - Paradyskloof & Surrounding - 2017/2018: R600 000 - 2018/2019: R600 000 - 2019/2020: R600 000 - Roads and Stormwater - Sidewalk Implementation - 2017/2018: R2 120 000 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - Traffic Engineering - Main Road Intersection Improvements: R44 / Merriman Street - 2017/2018: R2 000 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Transport Planning- Pedestrian and Cycle Paths

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 8[888]	Ward 8 consists mostly of residential areas and University residences to the east of the CBD. Nearly all of the university's academic buildings, hostels as well as the Coetzenburg Sports complex are within the ward	- Vagrancy - High level of alcohol Use - Anti-Social Behaviour	- Sport facilities are of a high standard e.g. the training ground for the Sevens rugby - The area is located within the tourism sector - Academic centre of excellence: University of Stellenbosch	- Safety and Security - City Greening - Heritage site maintenance	- Ward Allocation: - CCTV or LPR Cameras for Ward 8 at hotspot areas as identified by the SAPS and SSI safety network - LED Street Bulbs for Ward 8 in areas where more adequate lighting is required for safety and security - - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Property Management- Structural Improvement Belt: - 2017/2018: R1 000 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Water - Water Treatment Works: Ida's Valley - 2017/2018: R3 000 000 - 2018/2019: R6 000 000 - 2019/2020: R6 000 000 - Solid Waste Management- Stellenbosch WC024 (MRF) - Construct - 2017/2018: R750 000 - Sports Grounds and Picnic Sites - Skate Board Park: CBD - 2018/2019: R18 000 000 - Electricity - Jan Marais Upgrade Transformers - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R50 000 - 2019/2020: R50 000 - Traffic Engineering - Universal Access Implementation - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R4 000 000 - Solid Waste Management - Transfer Station: Stellenbosch Planning and Design - 2017/2018: R250 000 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - 2019/2020: R250 000 - Property Management - Structural Upgrade: Heritage Building - 2017/2018: R200 000 - 2018/2019: R200 000 - 2019/2020: R200 000 - Property Management - Upgrading Fencing

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 8[888] (Cont.)					- 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Solid Waste Management - Waste Minimisation Projects - 2017/2018: R150 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Traffic Engineering -Traffic Signal Control: Upgrading of Traffic Signals - 2017/2018: R700 000 - 2018/2019: R150 000 - 2019/2020: R150 000 - Transport Planning - Tour Bus Parking Study - 2017/2018: R250 000 - 2018/2019: R250 000 - 2019/2020: R250 000 - Traffic Engineering - Traffic Calming Master Plan: Design - WC024 - 2017/2018: R100 000 - Property Management-Universal Access: Plein Street Library - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Sanitation - Sewer Pipe Replacement: Dorp Street - 2017/2018: R225 000 - 2018/2019: R200 000 - 2019/2020: R200 000 - Traffic Engineering - Signalisation - 2017/2018: R150 000 - 2018/2019: R100 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Traffic Engineering - Pedestrian Crossing Implementation - 2017/2018: R1 000 000 - Electricity - Data Network - 2017/2018: R2 000 000 - Roads and Stormwater- Reseal Roads - Die Boord & Surrounding - 2019/2020: R2 000 000 - Roads and Stormwater- Reseal Roads - Paradyskloof & Surrounding - 2017/2018: R600 000 - 2018/2019: R600 000 - 2019/2020: R600 000

| Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 8[888] (Cont.)					- - Roads and Stormwater- Sidewalk Implementation - 2017/2018: R 2 120 000 - 2018/2019: R 250 000 - Traffic Engineering - Main Road Intersection Improvements: R44 / Merriman Street - - 2017/2018: R2 000 000 - - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Transport Planning- Pedestrian and Cycle Paths

Ward	Ward Description	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Community- identified Required Services	Municipal Budget Allocation
Ward 5[889]	Ward 5 is a residential and rural ward with residential areas mostly situated in Upper Ida's Valley consisting of farms in the Rustenburg/ Hydro area and farms in the Jonkershoek Area	- Gangsterism, - High levels of substance use - Unemployment - Housing shortages - Poverty - Lack of youth development - Low visibility of Law Enforcement - No community hall – recreation facilities for community - High number of backyard dwellers - No toilet facilities on sports field (Jonkershoek). - Lack of social cohesion - Insufficient policing services on farms in particular	- Active citizenry - High level of engagement in Church activities. - Good sport participation in the ward	- Ensure that existing infrastructure is improved and maintained - Protect and preserve natural areas (Parks, open spaces, rivers) and cleaning of it - Community Multipurpose Hall - Job Creation - Swimming Pool - Land for Housing - Improved sewerage infrastructure - Second entrance to Ida's valley, install traffic lights at Lelie street entrance - Subsidised and Gap Housing - Jonkershoek development (Housing) - Transfer of ownership of houses - Efficient, accessible at affordable public transport	- Ward Allocation: - Park upgrading (Community Services) - R120 000 - Elderly - R30 000 - Children end of year - R20 000 - Youth - R20 000 - Holiday programmes - R10 000 - 2017/2018: R2 000 000 - 2018/2019: R9 010 800 - 2019/2020: R5 000 000 - New Housing- Ida's Valley (440) IRDP/FLISP - 2019/2020: R2 000 000 - Roads and Stormwater - Reseal Roads – Ida's Valley & Surrounding - 2017/2018: R500 000 - 2018/2019: R500 000 - 2019/2020: R500 000 - Water - 116 Chlorination Installation: Upgrade - 2017/2018: R1 000 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Water - 115 Storage Dam and Reservoir Upgrade - 2017/2018: R 450 000 - 2018/2019: R 450 000 - 2019/2020: R 450 000 - Nature Conservation- Ida's Valley Dam: Adventure Tourism - 2017/2018: R100 000 - Libraries - Upgrading: Ida's Valley Library - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R5 000 000 - Water - 107 Bulk Water Supply Pipe: Ida's Valley/Papegaaiberg - 2017/2018: R 2 000 000 - 2018/2019: R1 000 000 - 2019/2020: R1 000 000 - Sanitation - 100 New Development Bulk Sewer Supply WC024

Overall, the above table shows encouraging attempts to link municipal budgets, especially ward allocations, to the safety concerns identified by community members and the municipality. There are a number of factors which influence the determination of ward allocations and budgets within municipalities. The population of a ward, the density or concentration of services, and the needs of the community should be key deciding factors in budgetary consideration and decisions. The figure below shows the percentage of the entire population which resides in a selection of Stellenbosch municipal wards.

Figure 16: Percentage of the Total Stellenbosch Population per Selected Ward[890]
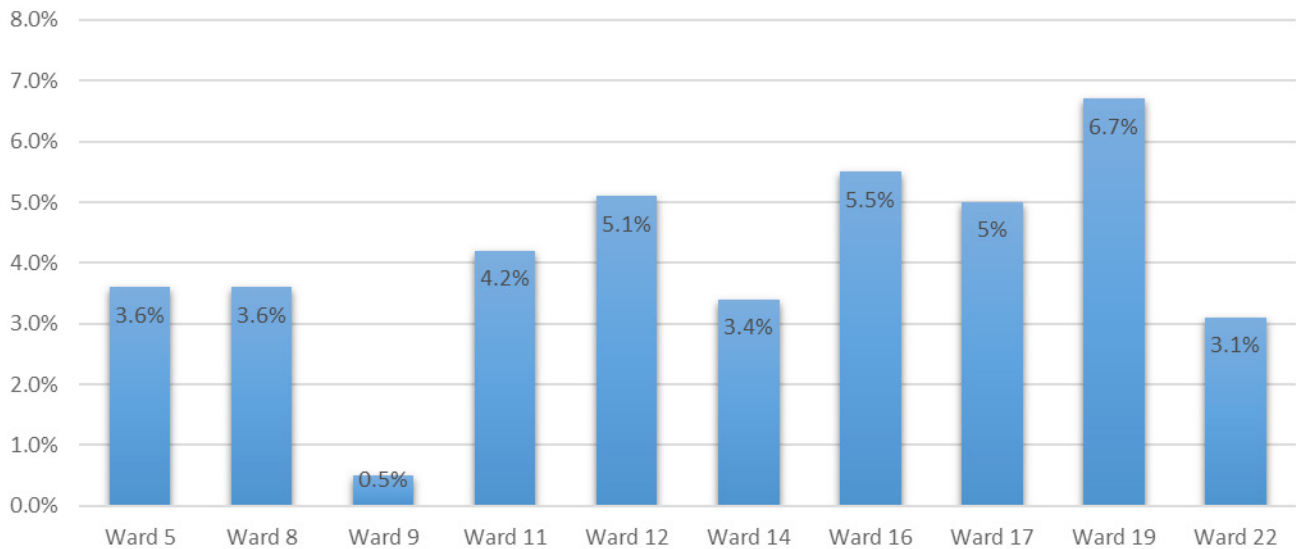
Ward 9 constitutes the lowest percentage of the population, at 0.5%. It has an unemployment rate of 4.6%. It consists of residential areas as well as part of the CBD. The central crime risks identified by the participants from this ward are vagrancy and loitering. As the CBD, there is a concentration of businesses and tertiary economic services, as well as safety and security services, by private security companies, as well as the SAPS. It is a well serviced, densely populated, small geographical area. It was also awarded the largest budget (including the ward allocation), having received 24.6% of the total budget in the period 2017/2018 to 2019/2020 thus constituting the biggest portion of the budget for this three-year period.[891]

Ward 19 is the biggest ward, and consists mostly of farms/farming communities/farm labourers. It constitutes 6.7% of the total Stellenbosch population, and has an unemployment rate of 7.3%. Risks identified by ward residents include high levels of drug and alcohol use, and the high density of taverns and shebeens, high levels of unemployment as a result of the shedding of jobs in the agricultural sector, high levels of poverty among the farm labourer community, the poor state of housing and threats of evictions, insufficient lighting and the lack of sports development for children in farm labourer communities. Whereas there has been some expenditure on safety promotion through the Ward allocation, most of the budget was allocated to 'Water Conservation and Demand Management' for this period (R600 000 over the 2017/2018 to 2019/2020 year periods. It also received 2.3% of the total budget in the period 2017/2018 to 2019/2020, constituting the smallest portion of the budget for this three-year period.[892]

Ward 14 is situated in the residential area of Khayamandi. Zone I and Zone O (lower part), constitute a part of this ward. It comprises 3.4% of the population of the municipality, with an unemployment rate of 30.9%. Even though much of the spending in the ward is in key areas in terms of safety promotion, including the ward allocation, it received 15.6% of the total budget in the period 2017/2018 to 2019/2020.[893]

Ward 12 constitutes the residential hub of Khayamandi, with a population that is 5.1% of the total municipal population. It has the highest unemployment of the selected wards, at 32.9%. Whereas most of the budget allocation appears to address key areas associated with safety promotion, care must be taken regarding what appears to be a duplication of expenditure. Including the ward allocation, it received 9.4% of the total budget in the period 2017/2018 to 2019/2020.[894]

Figure 17: Percentage Unemployment per Selected Ward
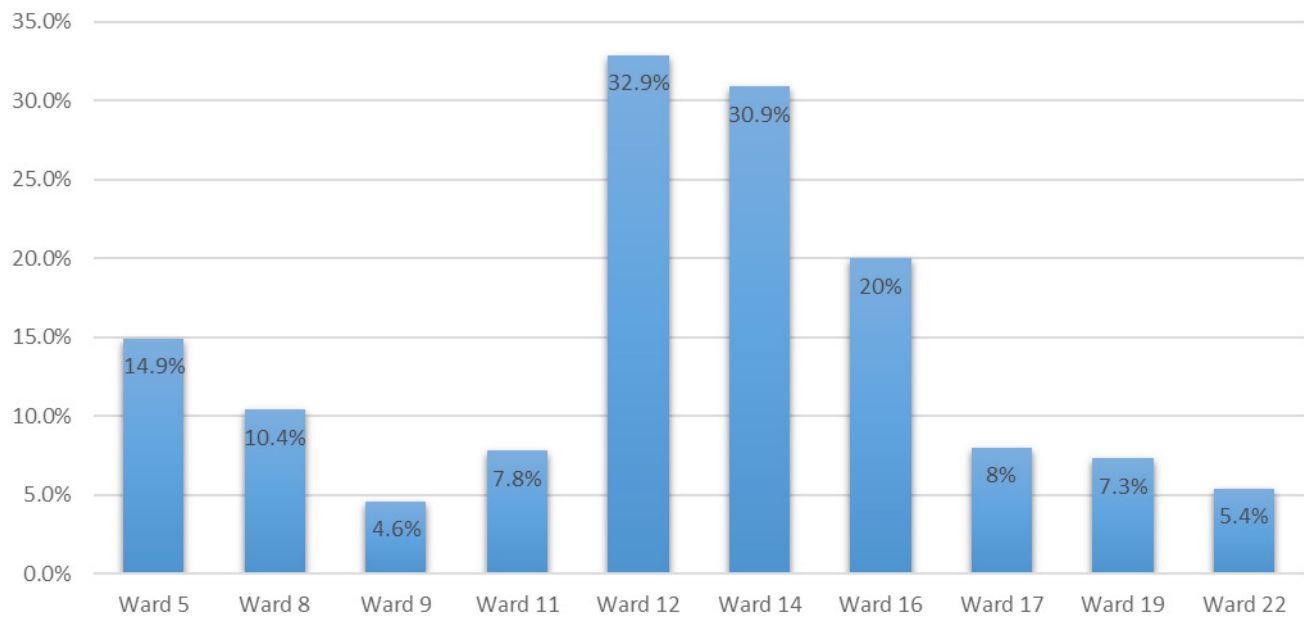
Unemployment is the highest in Ward 12, Ward 14 and Ward 16. Expenditure and programmes to promote job creation and income generation should therefore be increased in these wards.

Figure 18: Percentage Population Living in Brick or Concrete Structures per Selected Ward
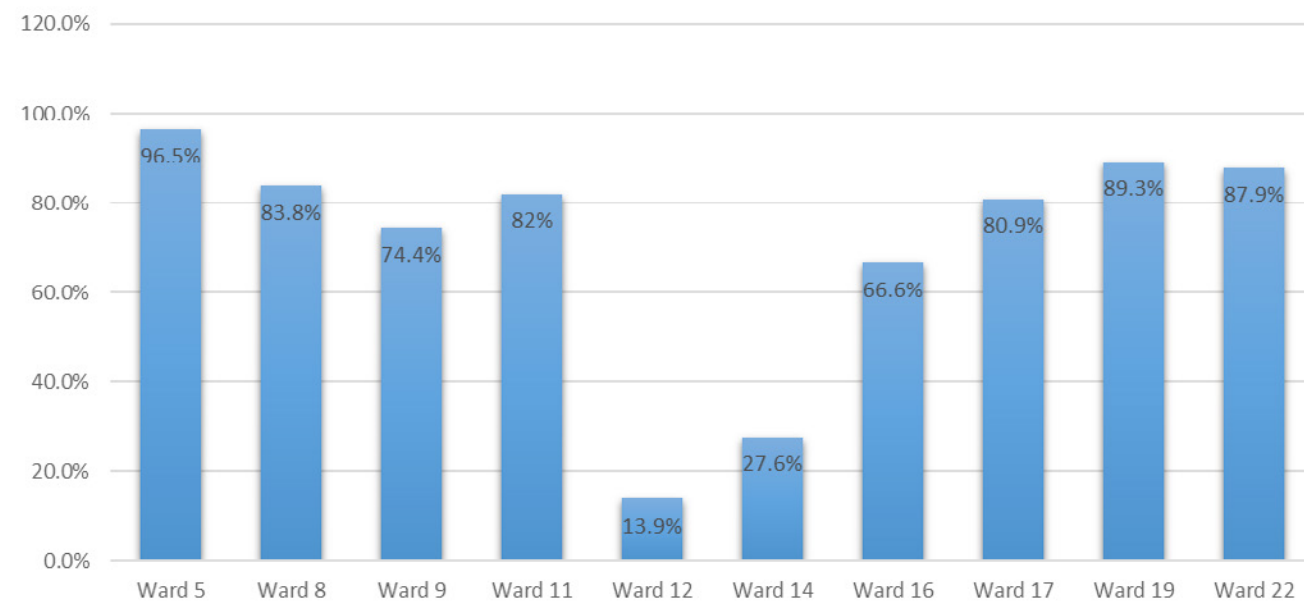
A total of 13.9% of the population of Ward 12 live in a concrete or brick structure. This indicates that more investment needs to be made in this Ward. A total of 96.5% of the population of Ward 5 live in a concrete or brick structure; 89.3% of Ward 19; 87.9% of Ward 22; and 83.8% of Ward 8 live in live in a concrete or brick structure. There is no distinction between flats, semi-detached or stand-alone houses, but this aspect may also influence levels of risk in wards and communities, and must therefore be considered. Wards 19 and 22 also comprise farm labourers who live on farms. Housing must be considered for this ward, as a result of reportedly high levels of farm evictions related to agricultural labour-shedding. Ward 5 has a high concentration of block-flats.

Regarding the access to basic services, Ward 19 has of the lowest and most disparate access to basic services. Access to electricity appears to be problematic in Ward 12, as well as in Wards 5 and 22.

Figure 19: Access to Basic Services per Selected Ward

Legend:
- Access to electricity
- Access to regional/local water scheme
- Flush toilets connected to sewerage system
- Refuse removal
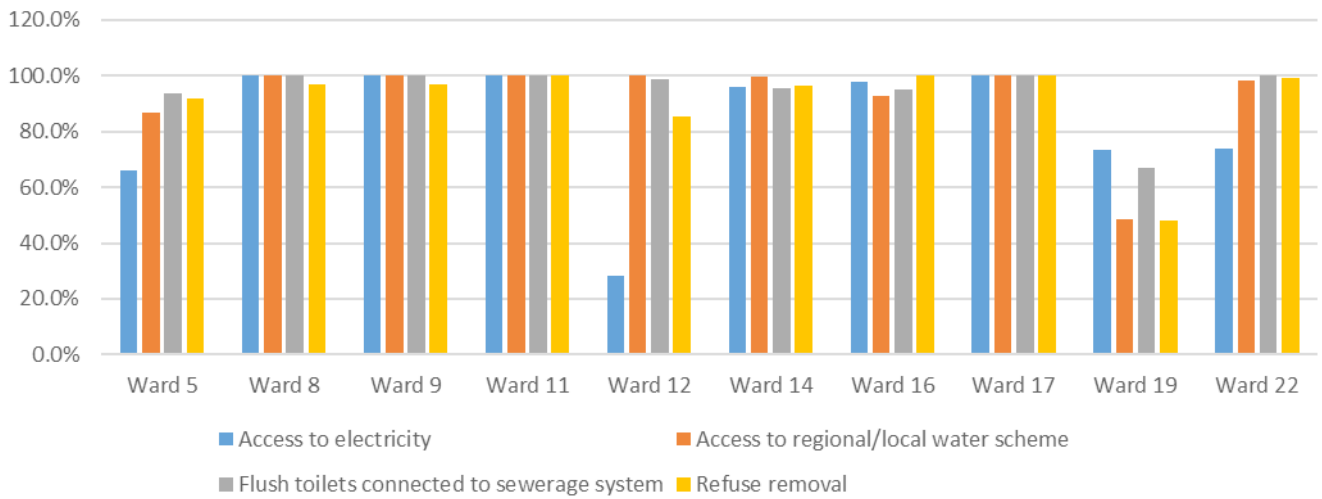
Based on the above graph, access to electricity is a challenge in Ward 12. Generally, the lack of electricity and lack of streetlights create opportunities for crime in any area, and Ward 12 is no exception. Figure 20 below shows a comparison between the budget allocations for the selected wards.

Figure 20: Percentage of the Total Budget Allocated per Selected Ward
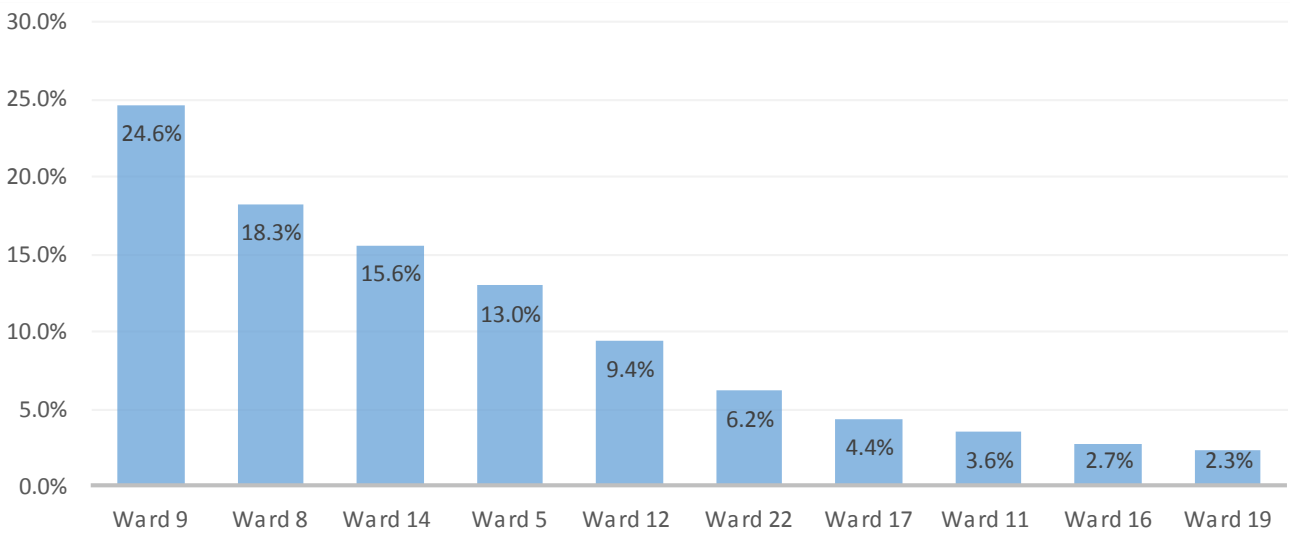
Community crime mapping process

A total of 50 people participated in the community crime mapping process. The participants identified unsafe and safe areas in the police precinct. Furthermore, they identified crime hotspots and the types of crimes prevalent in these hotspots. In this context, participants reflected on their knowledge and experiences within their communities. The police precinct was divided into two areas, namely Khayamandi, and the residential areas other than Khayamandi. The mapping process did not cover the rural areas, partly because there was a limited number of participants from the rural areas. Although few participants came from Khayamandi, they knew the area very well and more importantly, they had a good grasp of the crime landscape of the area. They could therefore easily identify areas that are unsafe and the crimes that were committed in these areas. Figure 21 below gives the community perception of the spatial distribution of crime in Khayamandi.

Figure 21: Stellenbosch Crime Mapping and Hotspot Analysis
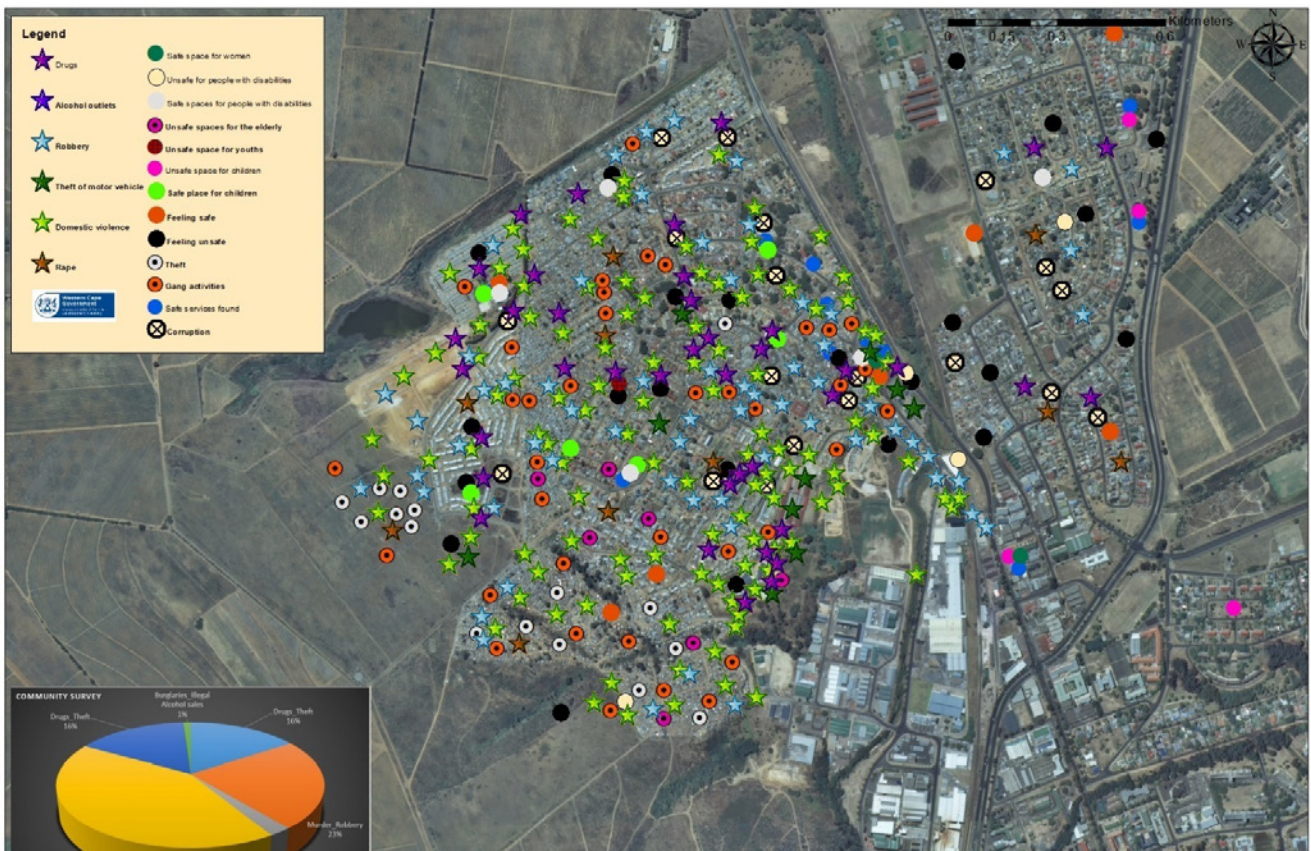
It is notable that, according to participant identification, a high volume of crime occurs within Khayamandi. Azania is a newly established settlement area in the Western part of Khayamandi. Participants drew attention to this area. Figure 21, indicates that the highest concentration of crime is in Khayamandi (in Stellenbosch police precinct). Domestic violence is a particular concern in this area. Almost half (47%) of the total crime identified related to domestic violence. Since this is corroborated by SAPS records on domestic violence cases, this suggests the need for targeted interventions. Robbery, theft out of motor vehicle, rape, drug trading and use are key concerns in this informal settlement.

Table 23: Stellenbosch Crime Mapping and Hotspot Analysis - Narrative

Crime Hotspots and Unsafe Spaces	Reasons
Ward 12: Enkanini	'There is no electricity.... also unrest. The problem is also with the roads, they are narrow and slippery. People tend to fight with the police, taking anger on service delivery out on the police.'[895]
Ward 12: Azania	Azania is a very new informal settlement and the socio-political environment is still very volatile within the area. There are alleged tensions between Azania and the greater Khayamandi area. Unlike residents of Khayamandi, who report crimes to the Khayamandi satellite police station, residents of Azania have to report to Cloetesville police station which is a significant distance from the site. Khayamandi satellite police station is by far the closest to Azania. 'The people don't understand why.... They are afraid to go to Cloetesville.... They have to cross into the area, divided by a bridge and a busy road.... but crime is carrying on and people need the assistance.'[896]
Snake Valley and Thubelitsha (Watergang)	These areas are formal, built up areas, but crime is reported to be high and these areas are cited to be 'very, very dangerous'. Robberies (residential and common) are a main concern in the area.[897] **Cloetesville**: Drugs and gangsterism is rife in this community. 'Every weekend there is a shooting and someone is killed'.[898] There are sections in area, where a whole drug community or kingpins live. They would take over a whole block which falls under their protection. Police can't raid these areas, because they receive prior information on the raids. 'They are living in their own protected area. They look after the community, providing financial support and drugs.'[899] The support from dependent sections of the community create a dangerous environment for anyone who attempts to intervene: 'During a walk through in the area with the MEC for housing, pastors, school kids of 9 to 13 years old, parents and the NHW, where these groups protested against gangsterism and drugs, when they reached the block, people started throwing stones and bricks at them, trying to get the protestors to disperse, despite that there were children from their own community walking there.'[900] The youth have particular vulnerabilities, in addition to those mentioned above: 'The youth from this area are forced into this lifestyle. Drug lords force the youth to be involved. These youths receive no support from their families, because parents are on gang payrolls. Some kids also adopt those attitudes because it is the norm to them.'[901]
Ida's Valley	'To a lesser extent than in Cloetesville', this area suffers from problems associated with drugs and gangsterism.[902] A participant pointed out that the impact is largely felt on school children, who attend high school in particular: 'Children are known to come from drug-involved families. A young boy was stabbed on his way to the shop, because his older brother was part of a gang, and they targeted the younger brother, because they couldn't get hold of the member himself. Family members of gang members also grow up with that stigma. There is an assumption that he is also involved.' [903] The participant highlighted that in the vicinity of the entrance to certain schools, the names of kingpins are spray-painted on the walls, (for 'advertising'): 'They (the gangsters) all hang out there. The kids are recruited and become drug runners at school from around 12 to 13 years old.' [904] Despite the area being a crime hotspot, the participant observed that: 'I don't see many operations being done in the area, only on tip offs, but only happens now and then. So, these have a limited effect.' [905]

Crime Hotspots and Unsafe Spaces	Reasons
Khayamandi	In Khayamandi incidences of crime are viewed to be high compared to the rest of Stellenbosch.[906] The types of crime that are reported to be rife in this identified hotspot include theft, unrest, arson, and damage to property. [907] The area seems to be somewhat isolated and the authorities appear to have limited knowledge thereof. The result is the growing alienation of members of this community, and communities like this. In situations like these, communities fill the gaps by establishing their own parallel policing and justice systems, as alluded to by participant feedback: '*There is no police station, only a satellite station and this is a huge problem. Police activity in the area is an uphill battle. The SSI cannot operate in the area, because it is too dangerous – members will be stoned or vehicles will be set alight. The only positive interventions are those by the community, like Bundu courts. As far as I know there are no security companies in the area. If there are, they operate on their own. I don't know of those with vehicles patrolling the area*'. [908]
Jamestown	This area is known for drug-related crime but property-related crimes in the main. The latter include theft, burglary, and theft out of motor vehicles. This area is identified as a mixed-race community with inequalities: '*You get your affluent, formal area, and an informal area (Mandela City) here.*' [909]
Mountainview	This area is notorious for rape. Female and child victims (male and female) are viewed as primary targets.[910]
Kreefgat Informal Settlement	There is a problem with drug trading in this area. [911]

Priority Crimes in Stellenbosch

Overview

Table 24: Stellenbosch Priority Crimes and Associated Main Risk Factors Identified[912]

Priority Crimes: Community-identified	Priority Crimes: Police-identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Robbery	Robbery	Community members report that drug addicts commit these crimes. It is associated with unemployment, and the lack of education.[913]	**Common Robbery** The SAPS records that common robbery was mainly committed against males of the age groups 18 to 25 years.[914] These crimes occurred most frequently after midnight on Saturdays.[915] According to one participant, a big risk factor within the Municipality for crimes such as robbery is vagrancy: *'People are coming from neighbouring municipalities and provinces, like the Eastern Cape and Knysna. There is usually an influx around the time of large festivals. They end up staying in the municipality, and living on the street. It's easy to obtain money on the street – you can get up to R200 to R300 a day, just from begging and from students. It is easy to loiter in open spaces and move amongst the student community. There is no access control of streets through campus. They often become part of syndicates who operate in town, like ATM robbery and drug syndicates. They become drug mules until there is a buyer. He will sell or provide, waiting for clients after they paid. They inform robbers of the movements around ATMs. Special operations have been conducted through the SSI, including SAPS. There was a specialised undercover operation, where they discovered these trends from among a major syndicate. The vagrant is given a cell phone, and informs when a tourist bus arrives, for example.'*[916] **Robbery at non-residential premises** According to the SAPS, the primary victims of robberies at non-residential premises are males in the age groups 18 to 25, 26 to 35, and 35 to 55-year age groups.[917] These crimes most frequently occurred in the afternoons and evenings, on Thursdays.[918] Robbery at residential premises According to SAPS, the primary victims of robberies at residential premises were males in the age group 18 to 25; and 26 to 35-year age groups.[919] These crimes most frequently occur after midnight on Fridays.[920] According to community participants: Commuters travelling to work and returning to their residential areas are reported to be the main targets of this crime. Train commuters were reported to be particularly vulnerable, during periods of delays in the Metrorail services, when a train stops during its journey. Criminals would use the opportunity to rob commuters and escape quickly.

Priority Crimes: Community-identified	Priority Crimes: Police-identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Sexual Offences: Rape	Sexual Offences: Rape	Community participants associated these crimes with substance abuse, and it was viewed that perpetrators derive pleasure from committing these crimes.[921]	Rape was the most frequently recorded type of sexual offence committed in the Stellenbosch police precinct (68.7%). This was followed by recorded cases of sexual assault (18.7%).[922] Females in the 15 to 17; 18 to 25; and 26 to 35-year age categories were cited to be primary victims for the crime of rape.[923] Police record that these crimes take place most frequently in the evenings and after midnight on Saturdays.[924]
Drug Dealing	-	This was seen to be fueled by the desire for self-enrichment, greed and unemployment.[925]	It was reported that there is a 'service' in Stellenbosch, particularly used by students, called 'dial-a-drug' through which drugs of the user's choice is delivered to their door step, on call.
Murder	Murder		Murder was identified as a priority crime by the community and the SAPS. According to the SAPS: males in the 18 to 25 year and 26 to 35-year age range were recorded as the primary victims for the crime of murder.[926] These crimes occurred primarily in the evenings and at night, on Saturdays.[927] Community participants expressed that the abuse of alcohol particularly during the weekend was seen to lead to murder.[928]
Gangsterism	-		Gangsterism was raised as a concern in the Khayamandi area in particular. The residents explained that there are certain trends associated with these gangs, which may be initiation rituals. These include the stabbing of people by boys of the ages of 15 to 20 years.[929] '*if they just see a person walking on the street in the evening, they would attack the person.*'[930] Young girls who are 'still attending school' also associate themselves with gangs (the 26's and 28's) and call themselves the 26's or 28's baes". They 'regard themselves untouchable'.[931] '*Any person who does not respect them is reported to the gang, and the person is then targeted. These girls are also found with weapons*.'[932] For the groupings of girls and boys involved, the gangs were viewed to provide sense of belonging.[933]

Priority Crimes: Community-identified	Priority Crimes: Police-identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Land Invasions	Land Invasions	Land invasions are attributed to weak leadership and authority (on behalf of community leadership structures as well as the municipality), and the failure to address the burning issues of the community in other areas (these members were reported to come to Stellenbosch looking for better prospects.	Participant feedback from the Khayamandi suggests that Azania is a newly established settlement, where members rapidly invaded the land over a very short period of time. There were no indications of whether the members of the Khayamandi community who already resided in the vicinity of this newly established settlement alerted the authorities to the land invasion when it first occurred. The feedback from these members indicate that there are already some cleavages and tensions between Azania and Khayamandi. It is recommended that this split be addressed in a speedy manner, by way of community integration and mediation, as well as the inclusion of both parts of this community in the service delivery plans for the area at large.
Illegal electricity connections	Illegal Electricity Connections	These are associated with the proliferation of informal settlements. They are endangering the lives of children and increase the risk of fire in these settlement areas.[934]	These are associated with the proliferation of informal settlements. They are endangering the lives of children and increase the risk of fire in these settlement areas.[935]
Mob Justice	Mob Justice		Mob justice was raised among the top ten crimes in the precinct, but a debate around its legality ensued in the focus group discussions. The community members, particularly Khayamandi residents, expressed anger at 'living with criminals'. They said that they are 'not afraid to … go to jail and return in a short space of time'. It was reported that the parents of criminals who commit crime in the community would be ordered to leave the community based on their children's criminal activities in the community.[936] One participant said that police officers who respond when a suspect is being assaulted by the community, would encourage community members to assault the suspect. During the discussion the police officers were considered to be hard working but they were lacking man power in order to provide an effective service to the community.[937] Some participants viewed it as a crime, and it was then included in the top ten crimes in the mapping exercise.[938]

Priority Crimes: Community-identified	Priority Crimes: Police-identified	Identified Risk Factors for the Crime	Crime Patterns and Trends
Burglary (Residential)	Burglary (Residential)		Burglary was viewed as organised crimes by syndicates operating during the day while people of the household are at work or school.[939] There are additional indications that such crimes occur at night in more affluent areas, particularly when the occupants of the homes go out for dinner at restaurants in the CBD. This may be indicative of the possibility of 24-hour surveillance by criminals to identify opportunities for such crimes.
Domestic Violence (Assault GBH)	Domestic Violence (Assault GBH)		This was identified by community and SAPS members as a priority crime in the area. For the year 2016 to 2017, the Stellenbosch SAPS recorded 102 cases of domestic violence. The following table depicts the percentage of cases per identified area for the recorded period.[940]

Robberies in Stellenbosch Police precinct

There are three types of robberies affecting participants of Stellenbosch police precincts: common robberies, robbery at non-residential premises and robbery at residential premises.

Common robberies

The SAPS records that common robbery was mainly committed against males of the age groups 18 to 25 years. These crimes occurred most frequently after midnight and on Saturdays. However, a high volume of such crimes are also reported early in the morning and evening when employed people are travelling from and to work. According to community participants: Commuters travelling to work and returning to their residential areas are reported to be the main targets of this crime. Train commuters were reported to be particularly vulnerable, during periods of delays in the Metrorail services, when a train stops during its journey. Criminals would use the opportunity to rob commuters and escape quickly. Another hotspot is the area in and surrounding the university, where students are targeted. A risk factor within the Municipality, for crimes such as robbery, is vagrancy:

'*People are coming from neighbouring municipalities, like the Eastern Cape and Knysna. There is usually an influx around the time of large festivals. They end up staying in the municipality, and living on the street. It's easy to obtain money on street – you can get up to R200 to R300 a day, just from begging from students. It is easy to loiter in open spaces and move amongst the student community. There is no access control of streets through campus. They often become part of syndicates who operate in town, like ATM robbery and drug syndicates. They become drug mules until there is a buyer. He will sell or provide, waiting for clients after they paid. They inform robbers of the movements around ATMs. Special operations have been conducted through the SSI, including SAPS. There was a specialised undercover operation, where they discovered these trends from among a major syndicate. The vagrant is given a cell phone, and informs when a tourist bus arrives, for example.*'[941]

Robbery at Non-residential premises

According to the SAPS, these crimes most frequently occur in the afternoons and evenings, and on Thursdays. Spaza shops are reported to be the main targets, mostly for cash and at times, cigarettes.

Robbery at Residential Premises

According to SAPS records, house break-ins occur whilst home owners are away, for example, doing shopping or running errands in town, or when they are out having dinner, particularly on the days when there are specials in different restaurants.

These crimes most frequently occur at night and on Fridays and Tuesdays. Farms with Bed and Breakfast Inns and houses with plasma television sets are targeted. The presence of private security companies appears to mitigate the risks for these crimes in town.[942]

Table 25: Stellenbosch Priority Crimes Summary Analysis[943]

Stellenbosch Police Precinct					Diff 2016/17-2015/16		Diff 2017/18-2016/17		3-year analysis	
	2015/2016	2016/2017	2017/2018	TOTAL	Diff (No) 2016/17-2015/16	% Diff 2016/17-2015/16	Diff (No) 2017/18-2016/17	% Diff 2017/18-2016/17	Diff (No) 2017/18-2015/16	% Diff 2017/18-2015/16
Murder	41	30	26	97	-11	-26.8%	-4	-13.3%	-15	-36.6%
Robbery (Common)	251	278	196	725	27	10.8%	-82	-29.5%	-55	-21.9%
Robbery (Aggravated)	490	502	498	1490	12	2.4%	-4	-0.8%	8	1.6%
Robbery (Residential)	67	84	60	211	17	25.4%	-24	-28.6%	-7	-10.4%
Drug-related	457	696	939	2092	239	52.3%	243	34.9%	482	105.5%
Sexual Offences (Rape)	80	73	82	235	-7	-8.8%	9	12.3%	2	2.5%
Burglary (Residential)	1069	1093	1023	3185	24	2.2%	-70	-6.4%	-46	-4.3%
Theft out of Motor Vehicle	2747	2253	1840	6840	-494	-18.0%	-413	-18.3%	-907	-33.0%
Assault	488	532	603	1623	44	9.0%	71	13.3%	115	23.6%
Theft (all theft not mentioned elsewhere)	2379	2426	1950	6755	47	2.0%	-476	-19.6%	-429	-18.0%
Arson	11	13	14	38	2	18.2%	1	7.7%	3	27.3%
Malicious Damage to Property (Vandalism)	395	374	371	1140	-21	-5.3%	-3	-0.8%	-24	-6.1%

Whereas there was a decrease in many crimes from 2016/2017 to 2017/2018, there was a 34.9% increase in drug-related crime recorded, a 12.3% increase in recorded cases of sexual offences, a 13.3% increase in recorded cases of assault, and a 7.7% increase in arson (this could be linked to public protests, but further investigation must be done to determine this). These trends must be further explored and appropriate strategies must be put in place to address them, involving all relevant community, business, and state role players.

Figure 22: Percentage of DV Cases Recorded for the Stellenbosch Police Precinct (2016-2017)[944]
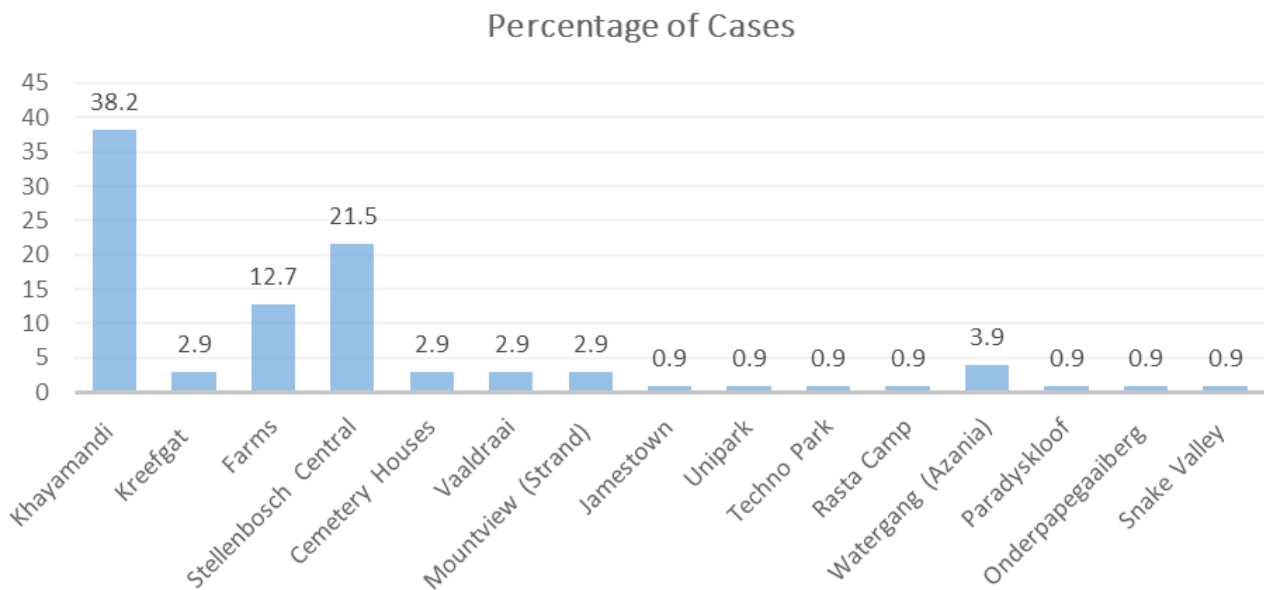
Most recorded cases originated from the Khayamandi area (38.2%), followed by Stellenbosch Central (21.5%).[945] Domestic violence statistics confirm the community experience expressed during the mapping process.

More than half (56.8%) of the total cases related to the 'failure to comply with a court order/protection order'.[946] A total of 43.1% of the cases related to specific incidences such as the use of abusive language, grabbing, threatening, striking, hitting or beating.[947] According to community participants, family disagreements were viewed as leading to domestic violence. This indicates the lack of interpersonal conflict resolution skills within family settings.[948]

Vulnerability of Youth in Stellenbosch

The youth are reported to be vulnerable to pick pocketing in night clubs and pubs, where inebriated students are targeted, and robbed of their ID cards, wallets, and other valuables.[949] The participants expressed their fear of crime by hardened criminals, which may start as 'a normal mugging', but which may end in abductions, rapes and murders. According to the participants, there have been rapes and abductions, and one murder that started as a mugging in the past eight years.[950]

Students have been identified as being at risk

 Stellenbosch University students have been identified as being at risk of becoming victims of crime. Their lack of confidence in the police and their consequent refusal to report crime is a cause for concern.

'(*Students*) *are prone to muggings of cell phones on a weekly basis. These incidences are not reported to the police. Students are afraid that their parents will find out. There is no need to report in their view, as they also feel it is a waste of time. According to them, nothing will happen to their case anyway.*'[951]

Crime Prevention

When it comes to safety and crime prevention, effective partnerships are imperative, because of the multifaceted nature of crime. Not only is intra-and interdepartmental engagement and planning important, but this should also be done across the different spheres of government. The NDP itself provides a roadmap for this. However, it appears to remain a challenge:

'The departments do not communicate. Housing and electricity departments do not talk to security departments. They should come together when they plan.' [952]

One of the vehicles through which the Community Safety Audit project was realised in Stellenbosch, and which may carry the work identified herein forward, is the Stellenbosch Safety Initiative (SSI). The SSI was established in 2014.[953] During community consultations, the municipality received a number of safety concerns from the communities. A plan to address these was developed, and this included establishing the SSI as the implementation forum for the Safety Plan. It constitutes an interdepartmental structure, with representatives of all spheres of government which are relevant to safety and security in the sector (Local, Provincial and National), as well as private security companies (Figure 23). Private security companies appear to act as an important and effective force multiplier for the SAPS in Stellenbosch, and memoranda of understanding between stakeholders ensure clarity of roles and collaboration in the delivery of safety services. According to one participant, safety mapping in the area allowed for the identification of areas that were excluded from the safety service net. In mobilising the addition private security vehicles, as well as the SAPS in closing these gaps, the force-multiplier effect is evident. As the participant highlighted

'Instead of two SAPS vehicles, we have 15 vehicles, et cetera'.

The strength of the SSI is its ability to coordinate the activities of the different participating institutions including the private security companies. The SSI is chaired by the Mayoral Committee Member for Public Safety in Stellenbosch Municipality.

Figure 23: Structure and Function of the Stellenbosch Safety Initiative (SSI)

The SSI, through its Safety & Security Stakeholders Forum (SSSF),[954] reviews their Safety Plan each year. The priorities are then channeled through to the SSI Task Team and its subcommittees for implementation. One of the limitations of the SSI is that, even though there is some inclusion of community safety organisations via the representation by the CPF chairperson, representation from members of safety structures from poor coloured and black communities seem to be lacking. The operations of the SSI further appear to be concentrated on the Stellenbosch business centres in and around the Stellenbosch town.

The SSI, if extended to include these representatives from safety structures in these townships, hold significant potential in strengthening the safety service network across the Stellenbosch police precinct, as well as to improve the safety landscape of the municipality at large. The SSI should be bolstered and supported by the municipality as a benchmark for other departments and municipalities across South Africa. The SSI may, with these improvements, fulfill the Community Safety Forums policy objectives issued by national government in 2016, as well as the provincial government's stance on the establishment of district and local municipal safety forums.

The SSI is reported to have had many major successes. However, when asked why these operations were not replicated in Khayamandi, one participant replied that

> 'Operations have been conducted at the Khayamandi corridor, but the area is too dense, and it will isolate the vehicle, leaving it vulnerable…… There is too much risk involved.'[955]

The refusal of private security companies who are part of the SSI, to enter into the area, was also blamed for the lack of operations in the Khayamandi area. No mention was made of the security companies which come from this area.

The SSI operates as a community safety forum, that is, a multi-stakeholder forum consisting of key role players in the safety sector. It is further a noteworthy example in good practice. In going forward, to ensure the sustainability of the forum, it may best be coordinated by a line department head, rather than a political head, as the latter is subject to change after a maximum period of five years. To ensure continuity and sustainability, this aspect may have to be reviewed. As in the case currently, the direct reporting line to the Mayor should be maintained, as well as establishing a direct line of reporting and accountability to and by the Municipal Manager.

Recommendations

Table 26: Table of Recommendations for Stellenbosch

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
21	**Improving policing in Khayamandi**	SAPS, Law Enforcement, Metro Police, Department of Community Safety	Community participants voiced that a 'fully-fledged' police station should be established in Khayamandi, and in the meantime more 'manpower' should be allocated to the satellite station. However, there have been indications that the SAPS may be merging the Khayamandi satellite station with the Cloetesville police station. It is recommended that the Khayamandi station be merged with the Stellenbosch station, if a merger is to happen. It should also be ensured that more resources be dedicated to the Khayamandi police precinct and station, to address the needs of this growing area. Investment must be made in Khayamandi-based security companies, and these must be included in the SSI.
22	**Urban upgrading of Khayamandi**	Town Planning, with the involvement of the SAPS and other safety roleplayers, as well as the Khayamandi communities	The urban upgrading of Khayamandi residential area is required: *'Only Khayamandi still has the old hostels. It is a struggle to get the municipality to upgrade this.'* In the planning of townships and residential areas, the municipality should include amenities and recreational facilities.
23	**Re-thinking SAPS and municipal boundaries for improved safety and better service integration**	Municipality, the Department of Local Government, the SAPS	One of the issues which may arise in respect of the establishment of a separate police station in Khayamandi, or from the merger of Khayamandi Satellite station with the Cloetesville station is that, firstly, there will be the risk of the further isolation of these already marginalised areas from the possibilities of resource redistribution to these townships, from both the more resourced Stellenbosch police precinct as well as from the municipality, with particular reference to participation in the SSI. Secondly, the municipality faces challenges imposed by the existence of numerous SAPS police stations within its jurisdiction: *'The policing boundaries are problematic. They need to change. You have Klapmuts, Cloetesville, etc. All precincts run on their own. This makes collaboration with the police difficult, because they don't work together so getting a cohesive municipal strategy in place is a challenge.'*[956] This problem may be mitigated by the joint annual safety planning involving each police precinct in the municipal area, as well as the relevant municipal departments. It will also be assisted by better integrating township police services through the strengthening of integration across the current police precinct of Stellenbosch (which includes Khayamandi).

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
24	**Re-thinking police precinct boundaries for improved safety and better service integration**	SAPS	The above refers. The boundaries of the precinct should also be aligned to the municipality, in order to capture all areas in safety planning, and to streamline this process. Ward boundaries may need to be rationalised and extended to cover a wider area, facilitate the better distribution of policing and other resources between areas.
25	**Youth focused resources and interventions**	Municipality, Department of Community Safety, DECAS	More special programmes are needed for young people in Khayamandi and other poor black communities in Stellenbosch. There is a stark lack of safe facilities for sport and recreation in these areas. There is only an old community hall in Khayamandi which accommodates 100 people at most, and 'it is in a bad condition.' Municipal ward allocations may be directed towards the building of resilience of the youth: '*The youth have artistic talent, but there is no outlet for this. Ward allocations may be used for these purposes.*'[957]
26	**The need for drug and alcohol rehabilitation programmes in the area**	DSD, Department of Health, with referrals by SAPS and the courts	There is a need for drug and alcohol abuse programmes in communities, and a bigger role should be played by social development in the area in general. '*Social development on the whole is lacking*'[958]
27	**Prison rehabilitation programmes**	The Department of Correctional Services	There are no proper rehabilitation programmes in place in prisons. This prevents the successful re-integration of ex-offenders; increases the risk of recidivism; threatens the wellbeing of family members and curtails the sustainability of and prospects for crime prevention in communities. No psychological evaluations are done to assess the prospects and requirements for successful rehabilitation.
28	**Mental health services**	The Department of Health, with referrals by SAPS and DSD	Mental health services are needed in the communities: '*Mentally ill people are walking around, unattended and unassisted. They are standing on corners screaming, half-naked. The police pick them up, but social development is nowhere in sight*'. [959]
29	**Addressing segregation**	The Municipality, Town Planning	Segregated residential areas should be addressed by building, inter alia, new towns that reflect social cohesion.[960] There should also be developments which includes affordable social housing in existing areas with available land.
30	**Illumination**	The Municipality	The municipality should install floodlights in Enkanini, Azania and Snake Valley (crime hotspots). Such initiative could address and mitigate the risk of illegal electricity connections.

	Recommendation	Service Provider	Needs Analysis
31	**The proper conduct of IDPs**	The Municipality, the Department of Community Safety	The municipality should ensure needs-responsive service delivery by conducting IDPs properly: '*They do IDPs, but nothing happens. Old things are merely being regurgitated. Needs must be considered, through the IDP, and it must be taken seriously. Even if everything cannot be done in one year, it can be implemented incrementally. But, for example, nothing township communities asked for in 2011 was done. The IDP is not treated as important. But if it was, this could only assist them (the municipality).*'[961]
32	**Inclusion of township security agencies**	SAPS, the Municipality	The five Security Companies from Khayamandi should be used in safety initiatives in the municipality. At the moment, other security companies are called on to protect the towns and they are part of the SSI. Khayamandi companies should also form a part of the SSI.
33	**The use of drones in policing and surveillance**	The Municipality, SSI	There should be an investigation into the feasibility of the use of drones to provide policing surveillance in areas like informal settlements which are difficult to access. There are already existing programmes through which there is the deployment of drones 'to do reconnaissance work, such as during illegal marches, to see how many people are in attendance, where they are marching and who the leaders are'.[962] These are said to be recorded for court purposes. '*The technology also helps with land invasions. Shack numbers and locations are verified. Law enforcement officers used to patrol boundary areas, but now they don't need to do so. Drone deployments are made where invasions are taking place. It's been operating now for about 12 months.*'[963] This technology may be leveraged to better benefit communities and ensure safety in a manner that aids crime prevention. It may alleviate the problems associated with the inaccessibility of these areas by the police. Surveillance shots and data may be used to identify suspects and to provide evidence in court.
34	**Capacity, Support and Representivity on the CPF**	SAPS, the Municipality, the Department of Community Safety	In going forward, representivity must be ensured in the membership of CPFs, which should represent the interests of all communities within the municipal boundaries. The role of the CPF is a fundamental one, especially in Safety Planning. The CPF should therefore be given institutional support from the SAPS, Department of Community Safety and the Municipality, and should be involved in safety auditing and planning in all three spheres.

Poverty is not a factor

One participant expressed the opinion that crime was not just a question of poverty and unemployment

> '*It's not ...poverty and unemployment that cause crime – how can you have the mind or energy to rob if you are hungry. They don't rob at Shoprite for food, they take the phones off community members.*'[964]

Safety and the Perceived Politics of Exclusion

There appears to be a perception that that there is marginalisation of poor black and coloured communities in Stellenbosch. One participant complained that, to the municipality:

> '*The safety in Stellenbosch is only about town and the University (Stellenbosch University). It's not about the townships, where things stay the same*'. [965]

When asked about whether there were processes of exclusion of townships, that participant pointed out that this is 'always a point of arguments in council'.[966]

> '*The crime in the areas are known and there. They (township communities) are expected to solve the problems on their own. The division between town and the townships is clear. Yet they are living in one (municipality). But safety in township areas is not addressed. I am not sure if they are playing politics. But it is there.*' [967]

One participant pointed that that in their Ward, public meetings are called to address the problem. She pointed out that these exclusionary processes are also evident in the municipality's IDP:

> '*Enkanini was part of De Boord first. But even then, there was nothing in the IDP that spoke about Enkanini.*'[968]

This reported exclusion was evident in other service areas as well.

> '*An Area Coordinator was employed by the Department of Human Settlements in informal settlements, but the post was not advertised. He was tasked with managing the EPWP. We noticed that if (the applicants) are not DA members, they don't get onto EPWPs. This causes problems in Khayamandi. We asked mayor to remove him as EPWP coordinator. The issue ...is causing unrest and issues in services delivery...in Khayamandi in particular.*' [969]

> '*Instead of serving people, we are busy playing politics.*'[970]

Recommendations on the Way Forward:

Safety Planning

THE WAY FORWARD - SAFETY PLANNING

This Community Safety Audit, as a basis for the development of a community safety plan, recognises that while policing and enforcement are unquestionably crucial components of community safety, a vision for safety cannot simply be legislated or enforced.[971] The complex and layered nature of crime and safety issues requires a renewed understanding and a coordinated effort in response thereto. The search for solutions demands deeper explanations and recognises that it will take more than policing to promote safety and reduce crime over time. Broad-based strategies for crime prevention have proven to successfully complement enforcement measures toward this safety goal. Furthermore, a community working together to identify and meet its needs is better positioned to succeed and reach their vision of community safety. Facilitative mechanisms and platforms are important to ensure such community ownership and participation in safety planning and its implementation. Based on the results of the study the following thematic recommendations are made:

Safety Planning with a Focus on Prevention

Prevention is recognised as a key focus area for the overall wellbeing and safety of a community. This includes continued support for a multiplicity of preventative initiatives. Community participation and a high level of coordination between government and non-government community resources to identify and respond to the needs of the community are essential ingredients for overall success. Success requires the mobilisation of local stakeholders and intentional and ongoing public engagement.

This strategy is recommended to include a shift in the focus from the traditional idea of increased human resources and funding to a reallocation of resources based on outcomes and a better integration of services. Identifying risk and protective factors specific to community needs is crucial when planning and funding initiatives.

Community Ownership

A vision of community safety requires that each citizen plays a key role in both their own safety and the safety of others. Personal awareness and accountability, rather than looking elsewhere for solutions, emerges as crucial for the sustainability and success of a strategy. Individuals, families, neighbourhoods, organisations, and systems all have a place in this strategy. Meaningful community involvement is thus required, that highlights the perspective of those most vulnerable to violence.

Communication as integral to any Community Safety Strategy

The success of any community safety strategy requires continued and timely communication on the role of all stakeholders in community safety, including the police, the municipality, and citizens.

The Integration of Prevention Strategies and Initiatives

The approach taken in this Community Safety Audit seeks to enable the effective integration of a range of physical, social and institutional measures to achieve community safety. It advocates that a combination of broad-based long term preventative strategies, and immediate community-based prevention measures are needed which are focused on those most at risk. It further promotes that strategies for building safer communities must be based on an understanding of both the physical, economic and social obstacles to safety experienced by communities and their constituent individuals. In this process it is important to consider elements of gender, age, racial and socio-economic inequalities, income, and geographic location. In going forward, they must meaningfully include both planning and community development improvements and must ensure ongoing consideration of the most vulnerable groups in decision-making processes. It is essential that safety and crime prevention work be taken up at the local level, and that it be guided by a collaborative community-based process. The process must include meaningful and comprehensive inquiry into community safety issues and needs; and a collaborative process of analysis, planning and action. This community safety audit is intended to form the basis of this inquiry.

The Development of a Safety Plan: Procedural Guidelines

The development of a safety strategy is premised on the development of a responsive safety plan. There are six distinct stages which should comprise a community safety strategy and safety planning process. It is recommended that these stages be considered in an attempt to increase safety in these areas. These are as follows:

1. Creating a safety audit partnership structure (in each sample area)
2. Information gathering, data analysis, community consultation and involvement
3. Establishment of Community Safety Planning Committee
4. Safety planning
5. Implementation
6. Monitoring and Evaluation.[972]

These stages are crucial in developing and implementing a local safety strategy as well. Stages one and two have been discussed throughout the safety audit sections of this report. The following sections will address the remaining stages of the process.

Stage 3: The Establishment of a Community Safety Planning Committee

This stage essentially constitutes the nest stage in the process. It should include bringing together multiple stakeholders in a collaborative environment to transform current thinking and practices regarding community safety, and to articulate roles and responsibilities.

Evidence shows that a strong partnership between policing agencies (including the SAPS in our contexts), local government and community organisations is key to the development of an integrated community safety strategy and plan that addresses community's safety concerns.

Furthermore, local government is in an ideal position to provide leadership and structure in this regard. Ideally, this structure should ensure representation that reflects the diversity and interests of at-risk groups within the community.

Stage 4: Defining and Developing the Initiative

Stage 4 would involve developing a plan and outlining the steps that will be taken to address identified crime and safety concerns. Members of the committee will need to:

- Reconstruct or refine the goals of the partnership
- Identify the steps that will achieve the goals of the partnership
- Identify resources that will be needed and how they will be obtained
- Define roles and responsibilities of each member
- Identify timelines for action
- In order to increase the likelihood of effectiveness and success, there should be a focus on the most relevant preventive actions according to evidence-based criteria.

Stage 5: Moving from Words to Action

This stage involves moving the recommendations forward. Although the process might vary, it must be guided by objectives with measurable outcomes. At the same time, it must be flexible enough to adapt to changing circumstances. Depending on the scope of the strategy, there will be many possible ways to organise and carry out the process of implementation, but it must be done within an articulated framework, the cornerstones of which are structure and process. Whatever structure is chosen, process remains key. Good process will ensure that action does take place, and that it is monitored and assessed for quality.

Stage 6: Monitoring and Evaluation

It must be emphasised that the development of the framework for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the Safety Plan, must be developed at the start, during the programme conceptualisation phase. It must constitute a part of the logframe for the programme, and as an integral part of the Safety Plan itself. It may be informed by the theory of change.

This stage, which involves the implementation of the M&E framework that has already been developed, includes assessing whether or not the objectives defined in the Safety Plan are being implemented, and whether changes have to be made for greater effect. The goals, objectives and activities that have been articulated at the beginning of the process must form the basis for evaluating progress. A range of methods and measurements may be used during the evaluation process such as public satisfaction surveys, process evaluations and before and after comparisons. At intervals, a comprehensive progress report (arising out of formative monitoring exercises) should be prepared and shared widely, as part of the monitoring process but more importantly, a summative evaluation must be done at three-/five-yearly intervals.

A Recap of Key Content

Although the three police precincts subject to this audit are in geographically distinct areas, straddling two municipalities, namely, CoCT and Stellenbosch, participants in all three focus group discussions in each area, identified the same crimes as safety concerns in their respective areas. The only noticeable difference is the order and prioritisation of these crimes by the communities themselves. For instance, Atlantis police precinct participants identified murder, Philippi East police precinct participants identified robbery and Stellenbosch police precinct participants identified drugs as their first priority crime. However, these crimes appear among the top ten priority crimes for these three areas. It is also important to note that the SAPS recorded the same crimes as priority crimes. This suggests that interventions and resource allocation would effectively have to address these priority crimes. The prevention framework provided in this report suggests the levels of prevention interventions, and the potential role players that would need to be on board in addressing these priority areas. Table 27, below, provides an overview of the top ten crimes as outlined by the participants in these areas.

Table 27: Comparison of the top ten crimes per police precinct based on community perception[973]

	Atlantis	Philippi East	Stellenbosch
1.	Murder	Robbery	Drugs
2.	Gangsterism	Drugs	Murder
3.	Robberies	Taxi violence	Assault
4.	Assault	Carjacking	Domestic violence
5.	Drug and alcohol	Murder	General theft
6.	House break-ins	Home breaking	House break-ins
7.	Domestic Violence	Rape	Rape
8.	Rape	Human Trafficking	Robbery
9.	Theft	Child abuse	Theft out of motor vehicles
10.	Abuse	'Body Dumping' [974] (sic)	Theft of motor vehicles

Gangsterism was only identified as a problem by participants in the Atlantis precinct. It should be noted that Atlantis is one of the 26 gang stations in the province.

According to the Philippi East precinct participants, the unique crimes they face are: taxi violence, human trafficking and "body dumping" (sic). The crimes which stood out in Philippi East, namely human trafficking, taxi violence, and "body dumping" (sic) are not part of the official SAPS categories of crimes. Nonetheless, the communities listed them as part of the ten crimes. This revelation serves as an early warning for proactive interventions by both communities and authorities to address the situation.[975]

Theft out of motor vehicles, theft of motor vehicles and theft (general) are indicated to be an issue in Stellenbosch police precinct (according to official statistics). It would appear that the student population is particularly vulnerable and provide opportunities for crime. For example, participants highlighted that students' vehicles were mostly targeted as students leave their laptops in their vehicles.[976]

The above summary analysis of crime in the three police precincts indicates that murder, robbery, drug and alcohol abuse are among the priority crimes which require urgent and immediate, and well as long-term sustainable interventions.

Creating a Factitive Environment for the Implementation of the Safety Plan

An essential criterion for the successful implementation of any programme is that there is a conducive environment that supports its implementation. In this instance, it would include the promotion of the shared responsibility for community safety within government and in communities. [977]

Promoting Social Cohesion: Investing in safe, strong, and connected neighbourhoods and the community role in community safety. Social connection, including cultivating a sense of residents' local pride, community connections, and relationship building are recognised as essential components of community safety.

The Decisive Uptake of Leadership and Responsibility

A strong leadership and partnership effort involving the community is imperative. Platforms should include supporting or creating spaces and opportunities for the expression and development of community leadership. [978]

Long-term commitment by the municipality and the other stakeholders should be fostered and sustained. This would be realised through the mobilisation of city council and senior management around the established and clear objectives aimed at improving community safety. [979]

Striving towards Effectiveness - Systemic Arrangements

- There is a need to ensure and maintain accurate crime intelligence, data and information for improved policy and practice.

- The SAPS should gather disaggregated crime data at station/precinct level, police sector level and possibly CAS block level. This data must be accessible by policy makers and relevant members of academia, inter alia.[980] Corresponding data should be gathered by the NPA and the DoJ&CD, to enable the tracking of cases through the criminal justice system.

- There should be an integration of the interventions of the police and the municipality for more efficient delivery at community levels.

- There should be active engagement between urban designers, the police and crime prevention agencies that should lead to theories that lend themselves to crime prevention solutions.[981] An understanding of these positions enables a range of practical and direct interventions that may reduce crime and promote community safety in an effective manner.[982]

- There should be an effective process for strategic and financial partnerships among all government departments.[983]

- The complex and layered nature of crime and safety requires a renewed understanding of crime prevention, and a coordinated effort in response to this. The issues raised in this report affect the case loads of all government agencies. It therefore requires the putting aside of issues of 'who owns the problem' (because the whole of society owns the problem), or of 'who pays the bill'. The focus should instead be on how to change community outcomes for the future. [984]

- This may assist in the mobilisation of energies and resources to serve communities more effectively and more efficiently, through strengthened collaboration. [985]

- The programme should be supported by broad-based communication and education strategies, a part of which should include the perpetuation of short, frequent, streamlined messages regarding safety, and safety-related roles and responsibilities, as well through common messaging focused on crime prevention initiatives.[986]

- Finally, targeted actions based on a problem-solving approach involves analysing local crime problems and mobilising community and state capacity to tackle key risk factors. Clear priorities for actions that address risk factors should be set, and this report is intended to aid in this process. The development and implementation of interventions should take account of evidence-based practice, in using knowledge about proven ways to reduce and prevent crime; and in evaluating the impact of the actions taken.[987] In addition, these processes must be designed to feed into the IDP process which is a strategic vehicle for implementation.

Principles of Collaboration

- Include community members in the collaborative
- Co-create strategies and plans with cross-sector partners
- Build a forum culture that fosters relationships, trust, and respect across participants
- Establish joint commitment to the vision and mission of the programme, which should be concretised through formal agreements, and inclusion in Annual Performance Plans and Key Performance Indicators.

Allocation of Funding

Budgetary and staffing resources must be dedicated to the Safety Planning programme, which includes those which provide a coordination, and operational function. Funding priorities for the Safety Plan should accord with operational priorities as identified in the Safety Audit. Attempts should be made to support and fund legitimate community structures like the Community Police Forum and NHW to identify and develop inclusive community projects aimed at improving safety at local levels.

Incorporation of the Key Finding into the IDP Process

The City of Cape Town and Stellenbosch Municipality should incorporate the key safety concerns raised by the participants in this study, into their five-year IDP document. The implementation of these should further be monitored. It is critical to maintaining the trust of communities that the municipality should report on these issues as well as on the progress made in addressing them and on the challenges experienced. This should be done on an annual basis via the ward councilor system and all other available measures. Concerted efforts should be made to determine key localised social crime prevention interventions for all the geographical areas identified, particularly in the areas identified as being unsafe by the participants in each police precinct.

Alignment of Infrastructure Development with CPTED principles

In Philippi East police precinct, the CoCT should attend and address the lack of street lights, street numbering, and the inaccessibility of the informal settlements mentioned herein. This should be addressed through its regeneration programme, which should include redeveloping the informal settlement according to CPTED principles.

Policing Informal Settlement through Technology

Technology such as drones should be employed to periodically offer surveillance in support of foot and vehicular patrol in the informal areas. The assistance of Metro Police and law enforcement should be leveraged as a force multiplier. Furthermore, attempts should be made to erect high-mask lights where they do not

exist and in a manner that does not compromise safety further. Functional CCTV cameras should be installed at strategic locations in these areas.

Collaboration with Existing Community Structures

The Government must effectively involve and collaborate with existing community structures, like the Community Police Forum, NHWs, street committees and ward committees to identify and implement responsive social crime prevention projects in the affected communities.

Conclusion

This report presents the results of the Community Safety Audit project undertaken in three police precincts in the Western Cape. These police precincts are the Atlantis and Philippi East police precincts, which are located in the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town, as well as the Stellenbosch Police Precinct, which is located in the jurisdiction of the Stellenbosch local municipality. The study confirmed that safety and security has been and continues to be a challenge in these areas. Contact and violent crimes (murders, robberies, rape) are priority crime areas in all three areas. Alcohol and drug abuse are cited amongst the risk factors for these crimes in all three precincts.

Notably the priority crimes identified by the community through the focus groups discussions and community crime mapping exercises resonate with what has been reported to and by the SAPS, suggesting that communities are knowledgeable about crime in their areas. They should be an integral part of a lasting and sustainable solution to crime. Community members identified risk factors and pointed out geographical areas that are unsafe and which are hotspots for such crimes, based on their experiences and knowledge of the areas. The information provided could serve as a basis for the development of a community safety strategy premised on leveraging the resources and capacities of the different structures (government institutions, private institutions and community based structures) that exist locally in each of these police precincts.

The report supports the development of risk-driven collaborative interventions.[988] These kinds of interventions are built upon the identification of priority risk factors, and the alignment of policies and resources to better meet the needs of the community through more effective programming. It promotes collaboration in identifying and creating opportunities for systemic changes, and identifying what is required to build safe, healthy and crime-free communities.[989]

It aims to ensure the following:
- efforts that are efficiently and effectively targeted to the priority needs in the sample communities
- efforts and solutions that are balanced and well-integrated across the spectrum of primary, secondary and tertiary level prevention (which should include suppression (law enforcement), cognitive-behavioural rehabilitation and reintegration)
- efforts that focus on strengthening protective factors (positive assets) to reduce the risk profile of residents and communities with specific needs and challenges
- community-based efforts that advance local capacity, local ownership and local responsibility for community wellness and safety
- efforts leading to solutions that are sustainable and incremental and are able to address needs in the short, medium and long-term
- holistic efforts to address the complex and interacting factors that influence crime, victimisation and community wellness.

While the audits comprise a base-line, further research is required to determine at risk beneficiaries from within the high-risk communities identified, to tailor evidence-based programmes to address the risk factors identified in a manner that addresses the contexts and needs of the intended beneficiaries and even in some cases, to develop a better understanding of these issues. In some instances, existing programmes may have to be adjusted, enhanced or expanded, as in the case of the After School Game Changer run by DCAS. In others, a geographic or place-based approach will need to be taken, rather than focusing on specific sectors, such as in the case of the Apprenticeship Game Changer run by DEDAT.

Creating safer communities through environmental design will require further research, looking at lighting,

and the designs of streets, pathways and corridors, unsafe public facilities, and unsafe commercial areas like ATMs, and Malls. The creation of safe spaces must be a collaborate exercise between the SAPS, Metro Police, law enforcement and the MURP (City of Cape Town). In Stellenbosch, it requires collaboration between private security companies, the SAPS and the Municipal Planning Department. The equitable allocation of safety resources should further be included in the IDPs of the municipalities.

Collaborative efforts should be directed at ensuring safety in the homes, for vulnerable groups in particular young children, the elderly and people with disabilities. Social cohesion must be built to foster the positive integration of resident foreign nationals.

Finally, the outcomes and the realisation of aims and objectives of effective programming will only be evident in the long term. However, programmes are often initiated with short-term budget allocations, creating a challenge for sustainability beyond the initial funding cycle. The focus also tends to be on outputs, rather than on outcomes. M&E frameworks should therefore include short to medium term output and outcome-based milestones, which may indicate successes of the programmes throughout their lifespan.

Attempts should be made to develop a theory of change for each project that is implemented. Implementation may be facilitated through the development of a log frame, which provides a built-in process for the required monitoring and evaluation process. Not only will this serve to provide important indicators of programme performance, but the successful attainment of milestones should also be regarded in performance appraisals and in the reporting of programme successes (rather than rushing projects through to emphasise short term gains in programme output as the only measure for success).

ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: List of Crime Prevention Roleplayers in Each Area

	Crime Prevention Roleplayers in Atlantis[090]			
	Service Provider	**Service Area**	**Physical/Email Address**	**Contact Number**
1	VEP Regional Coordinators: Western Cape	Victim Empowerment	Government Social Development: Municipal Districts -Metro North. Primary Towns: Bellville; Delft; Elsies River; Atlantis; Milnerton; Cape Town; Langa	021 597 1114
2	South African Police Service(SAPS) Atlantis	Police service	Atlantis & Mamre	021 571 8500/ 15
3	Wesfleur Hospital	Health: 24 Hour service; Emergency assistance; Advice and counselling; Assessment of male and female victims; Referrals to specialists depending on degree of severity.	Wesfleur Circle, Atlantis	021 571 8040/ 8043
4	United Sanctuary Against Abuse	Shelter for victims of crime and violence: 24-hour service for abused women and their children; Free service, however, if residents have a source of income, contributions are calculated based on a sliding scale; Skills development; Programme on Legal Aid; Education sessions on domestic violence; Counselling; Information office; Referrals for substance abuse; HIV/ Aids support	usaa@lantic.net	021 572 8662
5	Kululeka Multi-Cultural Counselling Services	Counselling, support and therapeutic services (including Services for adults, children and families); Counselling and support to victims of crime and violence	A9 Witsand Atlantis. Kululeka@telkomsa.net; Qunta.n@webmail.co.za	021 572 7532
6	Molo Songololo	Advancing the rights, care, development, protection and participation of children through awareness, education, training, advocacy, lobbying and provision of support services	3 Dolly Centre, Ardennes Crescent Atlantis. atlantismolo@gmail.com	079 976 4354
7	SANCA	Free service; Educational training and life skills intervention programmes for high risk communities to address substance abuse and related forms of abuse; Specifically target high risk groups such as abused women in order to prevent substance abuse	1 Dolly Center 3 Ardennes Crescent Wesfleur atlantis@sancawc.co.za	021 572 7461; 021 572 8743

8	Western Cape Paralegal Association: Legal Advice Offices - Atlantis Advice and Development Office	Free basic legal information, advice and services to people who are not familiar with or do not understand their legal and constitutional rights and who are marginalised through poverty, social circumstances and geographical location; Educate communities on how and where to access services offered by government departments and agencies; Support clients with issues ranging from social grant access, civil matters, labour disputes and land entitlements of primary-level entities for marginalised and rural communities	Hartebeeskraal MPCC, Nottingham Street, Sherwood Park, Atlantis	021 572 1888
9	NICRO	Diversion and rehabilitation services Substance Abuse Programmes, Community Service, Anger Management Programmes	CWD Building, cnr Sun and Penelope Street, Avondale	021 572 7655
10	Atlantis Concerned Citizens	Community-based civic organisation		073 344 8429
11	Atlantis Informal Traders	Advocacy for the rights of informal traders	zandro1025@gmail.com	078 338 2217
12	Beacon Hill Church	Youth development; Economic Development; Crime Prevention; Community mediation	29 Montreal Dr9ve, Beacon Hill, Atlantis	021 572 4045

Crime Prevention Role Players in Philippi East				
	Service Provider	**Service Area**	**Physical/E-mail Address**	**Contact Number**
1	SAPS Cluster Commander	Policing – Cluster level	Nyanga.cluster@saps.gov.za	021 380 3301
2	SAPS Station Commander	Policing – Precinct level	Phillipi-eastsaps@saps.org.za	021 370 1920
3	VEP Regional Coordinators: Western Cape Government Social Development: Metro South	Victim Empowerment	Philippi	021 763 6200
4	Ukukhulisa ECD Centre	Montessori ECD centre	Marikana	082 907 0481
5	Sizakuyenza -	Abused women and their children facilitating their safe reintegration into the community Accommodation provided for a period of six months Skills development	Philippi	021 374 0800
6	Department of Education: Metro South	Education – District	Granville.Stander@westerncape.gov.za	021 703 3198
7	Department of Social Development	Social Development – Regional	Quinton.Arendse@westerncape.gov.za	021 763 6206
8	Beautiful Gate South Africa	NGO – Family Strengthening, Child Health, Education	vaughns@beautifulgate.org	071 837 5935
Crime Prevention Role Players in Stellenbosch				

	Service Provider	Service Area	Physical/E-mail Address	Contact Number
1	University of Stellenbosch Student Affairs	Free service University student community Individual psychotherapy, individual counselling, group therapy and assessment services provided for registered University of Stellenbosch students	49 Victoria Street Stellenbosch	021 808 4994 021 808 3993 24 Hour Crisis Line: 082 557 0880
2	L' Abrie De Dieu Safe House	Physically-, emotionally- and sexually abused women and children Free service Therapeutic intervention, counselling and support Skills training	lee@ safehousestellenbosch. co.za	021 883 2574
3	ACVV	Counselling, Support and Therapeutic Services (Including Services for Adults, Children and Families: Child protection services Free service Social work services mainly on child protection Family welfare agency - for children under 12 years Community development such as awareness campaigns on children's protection Facilities for early childhood development (small fee required for using facility of crèche) Services to older persons and persons living with disability	ontvangs@acvvstell.org. za	021 887 6959
4	Good Hope Psychological Services	Free service Psychological services provided to general public Trauma counselling: families, groups and hospital staff are supported during and after traumatic events, such as violent crime (e.g., murder and rape), abortion, accidents (motor vehicle, etc.) and suicide Trauma intervention, especially related to child abuse Programmes aimed at the prevention of sexual assault	Merriman Street	021 887 7913
5	Community Youth Coordinator	Community Youth Coordinator – Khayamandi		
6	Azania Coordinator	Community Coordinator		
7	Community Safety Coordinator	Safety, youth empowerment		
8	Community Police Forum Chair	Community-police relations		

Annexure 2: Atlantis Crime Statistics over a 5-year Period

ATLANTIS POLICE PRECINCT	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	Grand Total	5 year period		3 year period		2 year analysis	
							Diff 2013/14-2017/18	% Diff 2013/14-2017/18	Diff 2015/16-2017/18	% Diff 2015/16-2017/18	Diff 2016/17-2017/18	% Diff 2016/17-2017/18
17 Community Reported Serious Crimes	3 754	4 441	5 001	4 827	4 636	22 659	882	23.5%	-365	-7.3%	-191	-4.0%
CONTACT CRIME	1 354	1 606	1 731	1 617	1 704	8 012	350	25.8%	-27	-1.6%	87	5.4%
Assault GBH	284	316	331	265	312	1 508	28	9.9%	-19	-5.7%	47	17.7%
Attempted murder	57	62	71	93	81	364	24	42.1%	10	14.1%	-12	-12.9%
Common assault	482	558	619	675	785	3 119	303	62.9%	166	26.8%	110	16.3%
Common robbery	213	269	275	239	181	1 177	-32	-15.0%	-94	-34.2%	-58	-24.3%
Murder	37	34	49	62	68	250	31	83.8%	19	38.8%	6	9.7%
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	183	271	277	214	191	1 136	8	4.4%	-86	-31.0%	-23	-10.7%
Sexual Offences	98	96	109	69	86	458	-12	-12.2%	-23	-21.1%	17	24.6%
CONTACT-RELATED CRIME	336	383	437	467	513	2 136	177	52.7%	76	17.4%	46	9.9%
Arson	16	12	6	9	9	52	-7	-43.8%	3	50.0%	0	0.0%
Malicious damage to property	320	371	431	458	504	2 084	184	57.5%	73	16.9%	46	10.0%
CRIME DETECTED AS RESULTS OF POLICE ACTION	1 934	2 138	2 338	2 912	3 373	12 695	1 439	74.4%	1 035	44.3%	461	15.8%
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	208	214	183	188	211	1 004	3	1.4%	28	15.3%	23	12.2%
Drug-related crime	1669	1853	2078	2638	3041	11 279	1 372	82.2%	963	46.3%	403	15.3%
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	57	71	77	86	120	411	63	110.5%	43	55.8%	34	39.5%
Sexual Offences detected as a result of Police Action	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1 More	1	1 More	1	1 More
OTHER SERIOUS CRIME	1 143	1 442	1 545	1 531	1 397	7 058	254	22.2%	-148	-9.6%	-134	-8.8%
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	863	1 152	1 269	1 210	1 066	5 560	203	23.5%	-203	-16.0%	-144	-11.9%
Commercial crime	66	47	39	57	67	276	1	1.5%	28	71.8%	10	17.5%
Shoplifting	214	243	237	264	264	1 222	50	23.4%	27	11.4%	0	0.0%
PROPERTY RELATED CRIME	921	1 010	1 288	1 212	1 022	5 453	101	11.0%	-266	-20.7%	-190	-15.7%
Burglary at non-residential premises	118	102	156	173	75	624	-43	-36.4%	-81	-51.9%	-98	-56.6%
Burglary at residential premises	400	495	681	592	550	2 718	150	37.5%	-131	-19.2%	-42	-7.1%
Stock-theft	17	18	19	14	14	82	-3	-17.6%	-5	-26.3%	0	0.0%
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	22	29	30	32	23	136	1	4.5%	-7	-23.3%	-9	-28.1%
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	364	366	402	401	360	1 893	-4	-1.1%	-42	-10.4%	-41	-10.2%
SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY	13	25	45	26	41	150	28	215.4%	-4	-8.9%	15	0.576923077
Bank Robbery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Carjacking	1	2	3	6	10	22	9	900.0%	7	233.3%	4	66.7%
Robbery at non-residential premises	9	13	24	6	13	65	4	44.4%	-11	-45.8%	7	116.7%
Robbery at residential premises	3	10	18	14	17	62	14	466.7%	-1	-5.6%	3	21.4%
Robbery of cash in transit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Truck hijacking	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1 More	1	1 More	1	1 More
TOTAL SEXUAL OFFENCES	98	96	109	69	86	458	-12	-12.2%	-23	-21.1%	17	24.6%
Attempted sexual offences	4	4	12	3	4	27	0	0.0%	-8	-66.7%	1	33.3%
Contact sexual offences	4	5	7	2	2	20	-2	-50.0%	-5	-71.4%	0	0.0%
Rape	63	60	73	41	50	287	-13	-20.6%	-23	-31.5%	9	22.0%
Sexual Assault	27	27	17	23	30	124	3	11.1%	13	76.5%	7	30.4%
Grand Total	5 688	6 579	7 339	7 739	8 009	35 354	2 321	40.8%	670	9.1%	270	3.5%

Annexure 3: Philippi East Crime Statistics over a 5-year Period

PHILIPPI EAST POLICE PRECINCT	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	Grand Total	5 year period		3 year period		2 year analysis	
							Diff 2013/14-2017/18	% Diff 2013/14-2017/18	Diff 2015/16-2017/18	% Diff 2015/16-2017/18	Diff 2016/17-2017/18	% Diff 2016/17-2017/18
17 Community Reported Serious Crimes	1 764	2 100	2 322	2 744	3 517	12 447	1 753	99.4%	1 195	51.5%	1 195	43.5%
CONTACT CRIME	888	1077	1357	1668	2175	7 165	1 287	144.9%	818	60.3%	818	49.0%
Assault GBH	216	244	283	306	324	1 373	108	50.0%	41	14.5%	41	13.4%
Attempted murder	33	59	68	98	118	376	85	257.6%	50	73.5%	50	51.0%
Common assault	111	130	196	289	447	1 173	336	302.7%	251	128.1%	251	86.9%
Common robbery	77	64	89	65	129	424	52	67.5%	40	44.9%	40	61.5%
Murder	73	87	122	150	205	637	132	180.8%	83	68.0%	83	55.3%
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	262	365	473	619	789	2 508	527	201.1%	316	66.8%	316	51.1%
Sexual Offences	116	128	126	141	163	674	47	40.5%	37	29.4%	37	26.2%
CONTACT-RELATED CRIME	195	242	279	289	449	1 454	254	130.3%	170	60.9%	170	58.8%
Arson	10	9	16	9	11	55	1	10.0%	-5	-31.3%	-5	-55.6%
Malicious damage to property	185	233	263	280	438	1 399	253	136.8%	175	66.5%	175	62.5%
CRIME DETECTED AS RESULTS OF POLICE ACTION	1144	988	1044	1145	1571	5 892	427	37.3%	527	50.5%	527	46.0%
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	467	276	236	241	348	1 568	-119	-25.5%	112	47.5%	112	46.5%
Drug-related crime	626	660	732	851	1150	4 019	524	83.7%	418	57.1%	418	49.1%
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	51	52	76	53	72	304	21	41.2%	-4	-5.3%	-4	-7.5%
Sexual Offences detected as a result of Police Action	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1 More	1	1 More	1	1 More
OTHER SERIOUS CRIME	294	312	291	342	413	1 652	119	40.5%	122	41.9%	122	35.7%
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	217	250	199	233	252	1 151	35	16.1%	53	26.6%	53	22.7%
Commercial crime	32	38	46	57	79	252	47	146.9%	33	71.7%	33	57.9%
Shoplifting	45	24	46	52	82	249	37	82.2%	36	78.3%	36	69.2%
PROPERTY RELATED CRIME	387	469	395	445	480	2 176	93	24.0%	85	21.5%	85	19.1%
Burglary at non-residential premises	38	55	51	44	65	253	27	71.1%	14	27.5%	14	31.8%
Burglary at residential premises	162	147	201	240	250	1 000	88	54.3%	49	24.4%	49	20.4%
Stock-theft	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	80	115	64	81	84	424	4	5.0%	20	31.3%	20	24.7%
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	107	152	79	80	81	499	-26	-24.3%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%
SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY	120	156	258	314	348	1 196	228	190.0%	90	34.9%	90	28.7%
Bank Robbery	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1 More	1	1 More	1	1 More
Carjacking	37	63	114	136	107	457	70	189.2%	-7	-6.1%	-7	-5.1%
Robbery at non-residential premises	43	34	35	68	72	252	29	67.4%	37	105.7%	37	54.4%
Robbery at residential premises	38	59	105	105	157	464	119	313.2%	52	49.5%	52	49.5%
Robbery of cash in transit	2	0	1	2	1	6	-1	-50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Truck hijacking	0	0	3	3	10	16	10	10 More	7	233.3%	7	233.3%
TOTAL SEXUAL OFFENCES	116	128	126	141	163	674	47	40.5%	37	29.4%	37	26.2%
Attempted sexual offences	2	11	13	5	11	42	9	450.0%	-2	-15.4%	-2	-40.0%
Contact sexual offences	4	5	3	9	3	24	-1	-25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Rape	98	88	88	111	123	508	25	25.5%	35	39.8%	35	31.5%
Sexual Assault	12	24	22	16	26	100	14	116.7%	4	18.2%	4	25.0%
Grand Total	2 908	3 088	3 366	3 889	5 088	18 339	2 180	75.0%	1 722	51.2%	1 722	44.3%

Annexure 4: Stellenbosch Crime Statistics over a 5-year Period

STELLENBOSCH POLICE PRECINCT	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	Grand Total	5 year period		3 year period		2 year analysis	
							Diff 2013/14-2017/18	% Diff 2013/14-2017/18	Diff 2015/16-2017/18	% Diff 2015/16-2017/18	Diff 2016/17-2017/18	% Diff 2016/17-2017/18
17 Community Reported Serious Crimes	8 138	7 903	9 503	9 298	8 119	42 961	-19	-0.2%	-1 384	-14.6%	-1 179	-12.7%
CONTACT CRIME	1 420	1 572	1 733	1 796	1 814	8 335	394	27.7%	81	4.7%	18	1.0%
Assault GBH	277	308	304	316	348	1 553	71	25.6%	44	14.5%	32	10.1%
Attempted murder	42	46	48	38	32	206	-10	-23.8%	-16	-33.3%	-6	-15.8%
Common assault	338	348	488	532	603	2 309	265	78.4%	115	23.6%	71	13.3%
Common robbery	233	222	251	278	196	1 180	-37	-15.9%	-55	-21.9%	-82	-29.5%
Murder	26	49	41	30	26	172	0	0.0%	-15	-36.6%	-4	-13.3%
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	388	500	490	502	498	2 378	110	28.4%	8	1.6%	-4	-0.8%
Sexual Offences	116	99	111	100	111	537	-5	-4.3%	0	0.0%	11	11.0%
CONTACT-RELATED CRIME	329	325	406	387	385	1 832	56	17.0%	-21	-5.2%	-2	-0.5%
Arson	5	9	11	13	14	52	9	180.0%	3	27.3%	1	7.7%
Malicious damage to property	324	316	395	374	371	1 780	47	14.5%	-24	-6.1%	-3	-0.8%
CRIME DETECTED AS RESULTS OF POLICE ACTION	428	448	532	779	1 101	3 288	673	157.2%	569	107.0%	322	41.3%
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	74	45	53	74	134	380	60	81.1%	81	152.8%	60	81.1%
Drug-related crime	332	374	457	696	939	2 798	607	182.8%	482	105.5%	243	34.9%
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	21	29	22	7	26	105	5	23.8%	4	18.2%	19	271.4%
Sexual Offences detected as a result of Police Action	1	0	0	2	2	5	1	100.0%	2	2 More	0	No Change
OTHER SERIOUS CRIME	2 703	2 665	2 932	3 155	2 544	13 999	-159	-5.9%	-388	-13.2%	-611	-19.4%
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	2 143	2 093	2 379	2 426	1 950	10 991	-193	-9.0%	-429	-18.0%	-476	-19.6%
Commercial crime	275	312	337	489	358	1 771	83	30.2%	21	6.2%	-131	-26.8%
Shoplifting	285	260	216	240	236	1 237	-49	-17.2%	20	9.3%	-4	-1.7%
PROPERTY RELATED CRIME	3 686	3 341	4 432	3 960	3 376	18 795	-310	-8.4%	-1 056	-23.8%	-584	-14.7%
Burglary at non-residential premises	479	410	429	434	334	2 086	-145	-30.3%	-95	-22.1%	-100	-23.0%
Burglary at residential premises	1 137	917	1 069	1 093	1 023	5 239	-114	-10.0%	-46	-4.3%	-70	-6.4%
Stock-theft	8	5	2	2	7	24	-1	-12.5%	5	250.0%	5	250.0%
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	210	190	185	178	172	935	-38	-18.1%	-13	-7.0%	-6	-3.4%
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	1 852	1 819	2 747	2 253	1 840	10 511	-12	-0.6%	-907	-33.0%	-413	-18.3%
SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY	132	124	106	144	128	634	-4	-3.0%	22	20.8%	-16	-11.1%
Bank Robbery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Carjacking	10	14	12	16	24	76	14	140.0%	12	100.0%	8	50.0%
Robbery at non-residential premises	64	61	26	42	43	236	-21	-32.8%	17	65.4%	1	2.4%
Robbery at residential premises	58	48	67	84	60	317	2	3.4%	-7	-10.4%	-24	-28.6%
Robbery of cash in transit	0	0	1	2	0	3	0	0.0%	-1	-100.0%	-2	-100.0%
Truck hijacking	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	1 More	1	1 More	1	I More
TOTAL SEXUAL OFFENCES	116	99	111	100	111	537	-5	-4.3%	0	0.0%	11	11.0%
Attempted sexual offences	17	11	11	5	5	49	-12	-70.6%	-6	-54.5%	0	0.0%
Contact sexual offences	4	1	4	1	4	14	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	300.0%
Rape	79	68	80	73	82	382	3	3.8%	2	2.5%	9	12.3%
Sexual Assault	16	19	16	21	20	92	4	25.0%	4	25.0%	-1	-4.8%
Grand Total	8 566	8 351	10 035	10 077	9 220	46 249	654	7.6%	-815	-8.1%	-857	-8.5%

Annexure 5: Stellenbosch Municipality Wards [1-22]

WARD	GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS PER WARDS
1	Franschhoek Town, Bo-hoek Farms, Groendal and Mooiwater,
2	Langrug, La Motte, Dennegeur, Groendal, Domain Agnes,
3	Wemmershoek, La Motte, Lanquedoc, Maasdorp,
4	Pniel, Johannesdal, Kylemore,
5	The Ridge, Lindida, Ida's Valley (Hydro direction of Ida's Valley, Omega Street to Jonkershoek)
6	Ida's Valley and farms (Nuutvoorbij,Timberlea, Morgenhoff, Remhoogte, Muratie, Groenhof, Delheim, Kanonkop, Uitkyk, Peckham, Laundry, Peckham, Warwick)
7	Mostertsdrift, Koloniesland, Karindal, Rozendal, Uniepark, Simonswyk, Universiteitsoord (De Weides)
8	Stellenbosch Central and University Areas
9	Eerste River, Krige, Herte, Skone Uitsig, Bird, Merriman, Bosman, Victoria, Neethling, The Avenue
10	Tennant, Bell Street, Lappan Street, Lackey Street, Long Street-south, La Colline – Faure Street, Dr Malan Street to Irene Park, Conde Street, Mount Albert, Taylor, Voorplein to Kromriver, Municipal Flats (Lavanda, Aurora, Phyllaria), Molteno Avenue to Paul Kruger Street, Banghoek Avenue
11	Dorp Street to Herte Street, Mark Street, Alexander Street, bottom of Bird Street to the Stellenbosch Train Station, all areas in Onderpapegaaiberg and surrounding businesses,
12	Khayamandi: Enkanini, Snake Valley, Watergang, Thubelitsha, New Watergang (106), Zone O (next to Enkanini), Chris Hani Drive, Municipal Flats (10th and 13th Street), School Crescent,
13	Khayamandi: Old Location from Lamla Street to Luyolo Street, Red Bricks, Old Hostels,
14	Khayamandi: Zone I Setona Street), Zone O (lower part) Mgabadeli Crescent, Monde Crescent , Costa Land, Strong Yard, Zone M (8th Avenue),
15	Khayamandi: Mjandana Street (Zone L), Mputa Close, Zone K, Ndumela Street (Zone J), Distell Hostels, Vineyard, Zone O Middle part (Fire Street), Municipal Workers Flats, Zone N, and M, Old Corrobricks Hostels, Mdala Street (Old Hostels),
16	Lang Street, Eike Street, Jakaranda Street, Short Street, Curry Street, Quarry Street, Primrose Street, Pine Street, Hoop Street, North-End Street, Vredelust Street Noord Vredelust West Street, Laai Street, Last Street, Arnolds Street, Anthony Street, Carriem Street, Davidse Street, Cupido Street, Ismael Street, Crombi Street, Chippendale Street, Bergstedt Street,
17	Longstreet, Kloof Street, Fir Street, Williams Street, Rhode Street, Hendrickse Street, February Street, Weltevrede and Welgevonden, King Street, Hein Street
18	Klapmuts and surrounding farms
19	Elsenburg, De Novo, Kromme Rhee and surrounding farms
20	Vlottenburg, Raithby, Lynedoch, Eikendal, Mooiberge
21	Jamestown, Techno Park, Paradys Kloof, De Zalze, Surrounding Farming Area
22	Die Boord, Dalsig, Krigeville and Brandwacht

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412 Atlantis 005

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414 Atlantis 006

415 Atlantis Focus Group, Atlantis 005

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488 Atlantis 006

489 Atlantis 006

490 Atlantis 007

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610 Philippi East 012.

611 Philippi East 014.

612 These are some of the key areas located within the sector

613 Philippi East 012.

614 Philippi East 012.

615 Philippi East 012.

616 Philippi East 012.

617 Philippi East 012.

618 Philippi East 012.

619 Philippi East 012.

620 Philippi East 013.

621 Philippi East 013.

622 Philippi East Focus Group.

623 Philippi East Focus Group.

624 Philippi East Focus Group.

625 Philippi East Focus Group.

626 Philippi East 012.

627 The surrounding areas include Never-Never, Acacia Park and Marcus Garvey,

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636 Philippi East Focus Group.

637 Philippi East Focus Group.

638 Philippi East SAPS, Philippi East 013.

639 Philippi East 013.

640 Philippi East Focus Group.

641 Philippi East Focus Group.

642 Philippi East Focus Group.

643 Philippi East Focus Group.

644 Philippi East Focus Group.

645 Philippi East Focus Group, Philippi East SAPS.

646 Philippi East 015.

647 Philippi East 014, Philippi East Focus Group.

648 Philippi East SAPS, Philippi East 013.

649 Philippi East SAPS.

650 Philippi East SAPS, Philippi East 012.

651 Philippi East SAPS.

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653 Philippi East 013.

654 Philippi East 012.

655 Philippi East 012.

656 Philippi East 012, Philippi East 013.

657 Philippi East 012, Philippi East 013.

658 Philippi East 012, Philippi East 013.

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660 Philippi East SAPS.

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670 Philippi East SAPS.

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672 Philippi East 014.

673 Philippi East SAPS.

674 Philippi East SAPS.

675 Philippi East SAPS.

676 Philippi East SAPS.

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678 Philippi East 013.

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680 Philippi East Focus Group.

681 Philippi East 012.

682 Philippi East Focus Group.

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690 Philippi East Focus Group, Philippi East SAPS, Philippi East 012.

691 Philippi East Focus Group, Philippi East SAPS, Philippi East 012.

692 Philippi East 012.

693 Philippi East 013.

694 Philippi East Focus Group.

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696 Philippi East Focus Group.

697 Philippi East Focus Group.

698 Philippi East SAPS.

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700 Philippi East SAPS.

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706 Philippi East Focus Group.

707 Philippi East 015.

708 Philippi East 014, Philippi East Focus Group, Philippi East SAPS.

709 Philippi East 012.

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711 Philippi East SAPS.

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713 Philippi East 013.

714 Philippi East 012.

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[738] Philippi East 012.

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872 Rode & Associates, 2017, Ibid.

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875 Housing has been prioritised as the second highest need.

876 Rode & Associates, 2017, Ibid.

877 See https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/council/ward-boundaries.

878 Ward 22 comprises of Krigeville, Dalsig, Welgelegen, Brandwacht, Die Boord and Kleingeluk. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 22.

879 Ward 19 comprises of Elsenburg, Vaaldraai, Slaley, Kromme Rhee, De Novo, Bottelary, De Hoop, Simonsig and surrounding farms. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 19.

880 Housing has been prioritised as the second highest need.

881 Rode & Associates, 2017, Ibid.

882 See https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/council/ward-boundaries.

883 Ward 22 comprises of Krigeville, Dalsig, Welgelegen, Brandwacht, Die Boord and Kleingeluk. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 22.

884 Ward 19 comprises of Elsenburg, Vaaldraai, Slaley, Kromme Rhee, De Novo, Bottelary, De Hoop, Simonsig and surrounding farms. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 19.

885 Ward 12 comprises of Khayamandi: Enkanini, Snake Valley, Watergang, Thubelitsha, New Watergang(106), Zone O (next to Enkanini), Chris Hani Drive, Municipal Flats (10th and 13th Street), School Crescent, Ekuphumleni, Siyahlala, Zone A, and George Blake. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 12.

886 Ward 11 comprises of Dorp Street to Herte Street, Mark Street, Alexander Street, bottom of Bird Street to the Stellenbosch Train Station, all areas in Onder Papegaaiberg and surrounding businesses. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 11.

887 Ward 9 comprises of Eerste River, Krige, Herte, Skone Uitsig, Bird, Merriman, Bosman, Victoria, Neethling, The Avenue. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 9.

888 Ward 8 comprises of University Areas: Marais, Merriman, Helderberg Street. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 8.

889 Ward 5 comprises of The Ridge, Lindida, Ida's Valley (Hydro in the direction of Ida's Valley and Omega Street), to Jonkershoek. Cited in Stellenbosch Municipality Ward Plan 2017/2018: Ward 5.

890 Stats per ward available at https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/council/ward-boundaries.

891 Stats per ward available at https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/council/ward-boundaries.

892 Stats per ward available at https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/council/ward-boundaries.

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894 Stats per ward available at https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/council/ward-boundaries.

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954 The SSF is constituted by the relevant Municipal Council Members and Line Department Heads of the Stellenbosch Municipality (including the Mayoral Committee member for Public Safety and the Director: Community & Protection Services); the South African Police Service (SAPS); Stellenbosch University; Community stakeholders; the Community Police Forum (CPF) Chairperson; Neighbourhood Watch (NHW) Chairpersons; and Private Security Company Representatives.

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