

# **An Urban Approach to Safety and Integrated Urban Development in South Africa:**

*Knowledge and Policy Review*

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## 1. Executive summary

This review paper highlights the importance of urban safety for successful urban development in the South African context. The complex global challenge of urban violence and crime being experienced worldwide is recognised as being the consequence of a multitude of interrelated environmental, institutional and social risk factors that converge, resulting in the manifestation of various forms of violence. Focus is placed on the urban setting, as it is determined that urban centres are not only critical nodes for development but that experiences of violence and crime are largely concentrated in urban areas, South Africa being no exception.

South Africa's high rates of crime and violence, which is disproportionately concentrated in urbanised areas, requires more effective and integrated intervention strategies by government and non-government organisations. The causes of violence and crime in South Africa result from the combination of a range of factors including poverty and inequality to economic exclusion and unemployment as well as weak governance, the challenges of urbanisation and resultant poor urban design. Violence and crime is manifest across spatial, institutional and social dimensions, and these characteristics require an integrated development plan that promotes urban safety in consideration of socio-spatial and socio-economic aspects of urban life in South Africa.

A framework of policies and strategies to promote urban safety is already in place at the national, metropolitan and municipal levels. However successful implementation is constrained by challenges such as developing dedicated mandates, funding instruments and planning frameworks. Complicating this reality is the generally limited understanding and integration of safety plans at the municipal level. The experiences of South Africa's bigger cities and smaller towns indicate that violence and crime prevention need to be more comprehensively integrated into municipal development policies, and safety needs to be more broadly defined to strongly incorporate violence and crime prevention, beyond just consideration of road and traffic safety and traditional disaster management.

Integration of urban safety can be best developed through the generation and realisation of an urban approach to safety combined with proactive risk management. Thus the paper examines and evaluates:

- The global relevance of urban safety,
- The status quo and various dimensions and drivers of urban violence and crime, as well as institutional strategies of urban safety – internationally and in South Africa;
- International good practices of cities and key ingredients of intervention success;
- Approaches of municipalities to urban safety, highlighting some key challenges to the realisation of urban safety in South Africa based on a diagnosis of the status of institutional, planning and financial mechanisms available;
- Potentials of co-production and participation.

The assessment and diagnosis of the above-mentioned elements concludes with the presentation of the urban approach to safety: an opportunities-based approach that aims to combine 1) effective policing, 2) prevention approaches and 3) more proactive measures that make use of existent urban energies in order to realise the potential of urbanisation in South Africa. Recommendations for the inclusion of urban safety into the IUDF process, based on this approach, are elaborated. Finally, the establishment of partnerships between government and non-government actors as well as civil society are emphasised and more specifically, the promotion of active citizenship and community participation is highlighted as a fundamental element to the realisation of the urban approach to safety.

In assessing current policy standing and governance structures in direct relation to the formulation of South Africa's IUDF, the overarching recommendation of the need for an urban approach to safety is delineated, focusing on the importance of a multi-level and multi-sectoral approach to promoting urban safety that embraces the potential of dynamic urbanisation and which harnesses existing urban social energies in the creation of resilient communities and cities.

The sphere of local government is in the best position to deliver and manage urban security as a basic need and a common resource. Among the three levels of the South African Government this sphere of administration is most accessible to citizens to express their needs, and is thus in the position to enable autonomy and self-determination. It is also the arena that can most efficiently prioritise and coordinate service delivery processes and that can customise and fine tune delivery standards.

Based on the dimensions and drivers of violence in South Africa, future urban violence and crime prevention initiatives should include:

- Implementation of social programmes that promote social cohesion; reducing social and economic inequalities;
- Harnessing urban economic opportunities to create employment and reduce absolute and relative poverty;
- Conceptualisation urban crime and violence as risk management issues as important as all other sectors deserving intervention in the bid to create better cities;
- A focus on the youth, women and children, and on improving the urban environment to reduce crime and violence; with a special focus on disadvantaged, marginalised areas;
- A focus of the drivers of crime including drug and alcohol abuse and firearms

## 2. Introduction and background

### 2.1. Aim

This document aims to provide a research and policy background on urban and community safety to the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) currently being generated by the South African Government under the auspices of the Ministry of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA). On behalf of CoGTA, the research was commissioned by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) as part of the initiative “Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention for Safe Public Spaces” (VCP).

### 2.2. Methodology

The methodology combines a desktop research approach<sup>1</sup> with empirical work in the form of stakeholder engagement through workshops as well as individual qualitative interviews with key experts on topics concerning urban development and safety.

The South African context and experience is of central focus in this process. Therefore the developed catalogue of international experiences and institutional strategies is directly informed by feedback generated on the status quo within South Africa through engagement of key stakeholders, using an interactive workshop format.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Global relevance of urban safety

Urban areas, especially in the developing world, are increasingly confronted by crises of urban violence and crime; phenomena, which are contemporarily recognized as some of the foremost challenges of the 21st century (Altheide 2006; Muggah 2012; Murray 2005; Pickering, McCulloch and Wright-Neville 2008). The incidence of crime and violence is correlated with multi-dimensional urban risk factors such as increased poverty and inequality, unemployment, inadequate services and health provisions and overcrowding. Furthermore, demographic trends, such as an increase in youth populations that do not coincide with commensurate employment or other opportunities for growth and personal development, can exacerbate these risks (Urdal 2012).

Importantly, crime and violence have diverse social and economic costs on neighbourhoods, cities and nations: direct costs to the health system, policing and justice systems, housing, and social services are attributed to the occurrence of crime and violence (Collins 2013; Moser and McIlwaine 2004). Likewise, indirect costs on communities and nations include higher morbidity and mortality due to homicides, suicides, abuse of alcohol and drugs, and depressive disorders (Moser and McIlwaine, 2004: 16) as well as growing mistrust and a lack of social cohesion. Economically, direct costs are related to deaths, disabilities, and “transferrals” resulting from property crimes, calculated as percentages of GNP and GDP (Moser and McIlwaine, 2004: 16).

Furthermore, certain population groups are more vulnerable to the threat of and exposure to violence. Women, children and young people represent the groups most vulnerable to violence. Young men in particular are not only prone to being victims of crime, but also perpetrators of crime. Based on country data, it is noted that up to 70 per cent of women, globally, experience physical or sexual violence from men in their lifetime, (the majority of which is committed by husbands, intimate partners, or someone they know)<sup>3</sup>. Children and youth are similarly over-represented.<sup>4</sup>

The multidimensional spatial, social and economic effects of unsafety that impact on urban development and residents’ quality of life are a global development challenge and something from which South Africa’s cities are certainly not

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<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive literature review was undertaken with the main objectives of providing a) a detailed overview of both international and national discourses on the importance of urban safety as part of national policy development and b) an outline of some good prevention practice and urban safety initiatives currently being implemented. Ultimately, the coalescence of these two objectives was realized in order to highlight an identified set of elements that have contributed to the success of these approaches.

<sup>2</sup> Ten semi-structured interviews with experts from various government departments, international organisations, and civil society provided key elements of insight and feedback with respect to gaining a holistic view of urban safety governance across South African cities (cf. List in the Annex).

<sup>3</sup> “In South Africa, a woman is killed every 6 hours by an intimate partner”; “in Guatemala, two women are murdered, on average, each day”; “in India, 22 women were killed each day in dowry-related murders in 2007”; and in the United States, one-third of women murdered each year are killed by intimate partners. For more information please refer to [http://www.unifem.org/gender\\_issues/violence\\_against\\_women/facts\\_figures.html](http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/violence_against_women/facts_figures.html).

<sup>4</sup> It is estimated that each year, more than 1.6 million people worldwide lose their lives to violence; this is among the leading causes of death for people aged 15–44 years, yet the majority of these individuals are younger than 29 years of age (WHO 2002: 1). See also [http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2013/violence\\_against\\_women\\_20130620/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2013/violence_against_women_20130620/en/index.html) (accessed 21 June 2013)

exempt. Despite the similarities of the perpetuation of urban violence and crime across many developing countries, it is important to likewise understand the historical development context that has informed urban development in South Africa. Therefore, the specificities of the South African urban situation in terms of urban safety are elaborated in the next section.

#### 4. Violence and crime in South African cities

South Africa's high rates of crime and violence within a context of increased urbanisation ['currently standing at 63 % in 2011 and projected to surpass 70% by 2030 (South African Cities Network 2011)], call for more acute measures to address urban violence and crime by both the South African government (particularly municipal authorities) and non-government players. Supporting this call is the fact that safety and security feature in the top three concerns of South Africans across class and racial divides in South Africa (Parnell and Pieterse 2010).

Crime and violence are disproportionately concentrated in South Africa's urbanised areas, as is also the global trend. This is compounded by factors such as a) the rapid growth and transformation of cities (including high-levels of migration), b) the opportunities for criminals that urban settings provide and c) enormous socio-economic disparities, socio-spatial contrasts and spatial segregation - largely a legacy of apartheid spatial planning (Boisteau 2005; Samara 2005; Samara 2008; Samara 2011).

Most concerning is the "distinctive feature" of violence with which crimes are often carried out in South Africa (Breetzke 2010; Collins 2013; Harris 2001)<sup>5</sup>. This is highlighted in research undertaken by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) which suggests that **"Violent offenders who engage in armed violence present the most danger to others, and are what gives the current epidemic of violent crime in South Africa its most malevolent edge"**<sup>6</sup>. Based on this, South Africa is labelled as one of the most violent societies in the world, with cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town featuring prominently in such discourses (Boisteau 2005; Lemanski 2006; Schönteich 2000; Schönteich and Louw 2001). Crime and violence in this context takes many forms which include armed robberies, homicide, politically-motivated violence, gender-based violence, intra- and inter-gang fighting, rape, neighbourhood fights or quarrels, and xenophobic violence, among others (Ashforth 2005; Collins 2013; Comaroff and Comaroff 2007; Gwala 1989; Neocosmos 2008).

Moreover, in South Africa's cities and urbanised areas violence is predominantly concentrated in low-income, under-served and marginalised settlement areas, for example in former township areas and the growing informal settlements. At the same time crime (e.g. property crime) converges in richer neighbourhood and the CBDs. Thus crime and violence seem to follow patterns of spatial segregation (Lemanski 2004). Temporally, much violent crime is also experienced over the weekend period, particularly on Friday and Saturday nights, where a significant proportion of incidences are directly related to the abusive consumption of alcohol and drugs (CSVR 2007).

These spatial and temporal characteristics highlight the necessity to consider socio-spatial as well as socio-economic aspects of urban life in South Africa in formulating an integrated development plan that promotes urban safety.

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<sup>5</sup> See: <http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php/publications/1522-crime-and-crime-prevention-in-greater-johannesburg-the-views-of-police-station-commissioners.html> (Accessed On 22 July 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), Why South Africa is so violent and what we should be doing about it, Statement by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 9 November 2010.

## 5. Understanding urban safety in South Africa

As cities contend with urban violence, crime, safety and security issues, an important concern is a shared understanding of these terms along with the identification of the *dimensions* and *drivers* of crime and violence, as well as the positive factors that promote safety and security. Subsequently, in making use of these defined concepts, this section continues in situating these understandings of the dimensions and drivers of urban safety within the South African urban context.

### 5.1 Definitions: violence, crime, safety and security

#### 5.1.1. Violence and Crime

Violence is defined as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (Krug et al 2002: 5).

Crime, like violence, is not a self-evident, unitary concept: its constitution is diverse, historically relative and continually contested (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001: 59). Crime is thus conceptualized here as behaviour defined and sanctioned by law –as a violation of codified law (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001: 59).<sup>7</sup>

#### 5.1.2 Safety, Unsafety and Security

Safety refers principally to the state of an area and is determined based on the real and perceived risk of victimisation. Unsafety therefore refers to areas characterised by the significant prevalence of violence and crime. In the South African context, as will be developed in more detail in the following sections, the worst cases of unsafety are primarily associated with the existence of “fragile social systems” (Holtmann 2011: 2).

Security on the other hand refers not to the state of an area but rather to the necessity to allocate resources to protection from the real and perceived threats of violence and crime. Security thus comprises the tangible methods used for protection within areas that are deemed as being unsafe. Safety as such therefore also implies that less security is needed. (Holtmann 2011).

Urban unsafety and security play an important role in the creation of urban space in South Africa. The perceived threat of exposure to violence and crime is determinant in entrenching socio-economic segregation, as those who can afford to create gated spaces, limiting access and enforcing privatised control with the aim of creating safer spaces on a private basis for which more than 50 billion Rand is paid annually. The South African private security industry has, on this basis, grown into the largest in the world (as a percentage of GDP), contributing 1.25% to national GDP<sup>8</sup> (Civilian Secretariat for Police 2013).<sup>9</sup>

### 5.2 Models for understanding violence and crime

The models described below have underpinned the formulation of international prevention practices and provide the basis for the development of future approaches. The models described here formulate the conceptual framework through which the root causes and resultant challenges of violence and crime are addressed.

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<sup>7</sup> Collins (2013:35) suggests that a conceptual separation of violence from violent crime in South Africa is essential in supporting an understanding of the multi-dimensional dynamics of violence and crime. This is due to the fact that not all violence is regarded as criminal and some forms of violence are considered as a legitimate means of solving everyday problems and disputes (Collins 2013). Collins bases this on the conclusion that violence in South Africa is embedded in social norms, that has developed as an everyday aspect of the organisation of society (Collins 2013). It follows then that interventions to deal with violent crime in South Africa must address issues other than law enforcement so as to emphasise the subversion of a violent popular culture, violent child rearing practices, and ways of thinking that justify violence; all of which coalesce in creating a normalised “culture of violence”.

<sup>8</sup> Private security contributes a mere 0.3% to GDP in the United States (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> The primary challenge here comes in that the private security industry in South Africa is increasingly performing functions, which used to be within the sole mandate of state policing. Furthermore, diversification within the private security industry has resulted in the lines between private security, private intelligence and private military becoming blurred (Ibid).

### 5.2.1. Factors and drivers that produce various forms of violence (the “Moser Model”)

This model classifies the causal factors and drivers that produce a variety of forms of violence and categorises them as social, economic, political and institutional in nature where, social violence is defined as “violence taking place between intimate partners, family members or community members” (Moser 2004: 5).<sup>10</sup> Within the context being presented here, Moser’s contribution allows for the realisation of the different forms and manifestations that violence may take and thus highlights the importance of paying attention to the contextually-specific causal factors that may result in the occurrence of varying degrees and forms of violence.

### 5.2.2. Visible as well as invisible violence in the form of cultural and structural violence (the “Galtung model”, see Fig. 1)

This model complements the Moser model in its classification of the typologies of violence by highlighting the necessity to consider not just all violence is criminal, not all criminal acts are violent (cf. definitions of crime and violence). Similarly, not all forms of violence are directly visible, which is inherently important within the context of South Africa’s history and the consideration of violence as a socially embedded element of local culture (cf. Collins, 2013). This model’s defines the categories of visible, direct forms of violence and invisible, structural and cultural violence, is also instructive.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 1: Visible and invisible levels of violence (adapted from Galtung 2004)

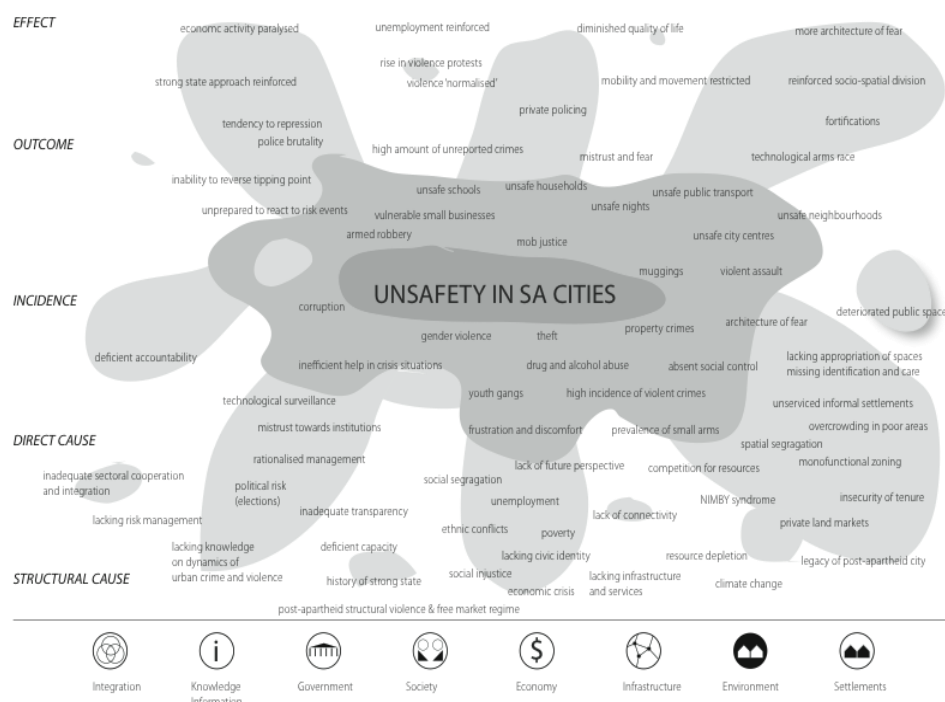
### 5.2.3. Environmental, societal, relational and individual factors (The Social-Ecological Model)

This model of violence prevention highlights the complexity of violence and crime as complex problem, the incidences of which are a result of a combination of a critical mass of causes, drivers and triggers (Ashby, Longley and Irving 2005). Research in policy and academia attribute violence to a combination of factors, including a) poverty and inequality<sup>12</sup>, b) unemployment, c) weak (and predatory) states, d) poor urban design, e) substance abuse, f) rapid urbanisation, g) access to firearms, and h) poor monitoring and parental supervision of children, amongst others (Krug et al. 2002; Violence Prevention Alliance 2012). Figure 2 demonstrates a problem map of factors contributing to urban insecurity in South Africa. Based on an interpretation by the authors, it charts the causes, incidences, outcomes and effects in relation to eight urban sectors. The map aims to exemplify that urban insecurity results from the convergence of a critical mass of agglomerated risk factors.

<sup>10</sup> Economic violence is, motivated by material gain, is associated with street crime, including mugging, robbery and violence linked to drugs and kidnapping (Moser 2004: 6). Political violence is driven by the will to win or hold political power (Moser 2004: 6) and institutional violence is that which is perpetrated by state institutions, especially the police and judiciary, but also by officials in sector ministries such as health and education, as well as groups operating outside the state, such as social cleansing vigilante groups (Moser 2004: 6).

<sup>11</sup> Visible violence, which is also referred to as direct violence, is “[violence] which is embodied in behaviour and occurs when one or more persons inflict physical and psychological acts of violence on other people” (Rodriguez, Saborido and Segovia 2012: 19). Invisible (or indirect) violence refers to structural and cultural forms of violence (Galtung 1990; Galtung and Høivik 1971). Structural violence is defined as “[violence] not enacted by individuals but hidden to a greater or lesser extent in structures that do not facilitate or hamper the satisfaction of needs, and specifically become manifest in the negation of these needs” (Rodriguez, Saborido and Segovia 2012: 19). Cultural violence, which is also invisible, “[creates] a legitimising framework for structural and direct violence, [and] shows itself in attitudes” (Rodriguez, Saborido and Segovia 2012: 19). It is expressed through symbolism, religion, ideology, language, art, science, laws, the media and education, amongst other means; serving to legitimise direct and structural violence and to pacify the victims (Galtung 1990; Rodriguez, Saborido and Segovia 2012).





**Figure 2: Map of urban insecurity in South Africa (source: authors)**

### 5.3 Drivers and dimensions of violence and crime in South Africa

The drivers (causes) of violence and crime result from a combination of factors including poverty and inequality to economic exclusion and unemployment as well as weak governance, the challenges of urbanisation and resultant poor urban design. Within the framework of these drivers, violence and crime is manifest across spatial, institutional and social dimensions. This section outlines some primary causes and manifestations of violence and crime in South Africa. The distinction between the drivers and dimensions of violence and crime are not clear-cut and therefore constitute an assortment of causations and effects that cannot be neatly separated. The section thus begins by highlighting the major manifestations of violence and crime in South Africa with a view to understand why it is that violence is a fact of South African life.

#### 5.3.1 Main types of violence in South Africa

Violence and crime in South Africa take many forms, with assault, robbery, murder, homicide, rape, vigilante/mob violence, taxi wars, police brutality, culpable homicide, and kidnappings, amongst others (CSVR 2007:57). Further demonstrating the significance of violence as a health and social problem in South Africa, it is noted that violence is one of the leading causes of non-natural deaths accounting for 36% of all deaths<sup>13</sup> (see Table 2 below).

**Table 1: Main causes of non-natural deaths in SA (NIM SS, 2007)**

Violence	36% (11 994 deaths)
Transport-related deaths accounted	32% (10 713 deaths)
Other unintentional injuries	13% (4 391 deaths)
Undetermined	9% (2 958 deaths)

<sup>13</sup> National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS), 9<sup>th</sup> Annual report on NIM SS, 2008.

### 5.3.2 Causes and drivers of violence in South Africa

**The legacy of apartheid:** The history of apartheid's social, economic, and political system, which is a history of violence, casts South Africa as a polity, economy, and society founded on violence (Kynoch 2003; Kynoch 2008; Kynoch 2005; Kynoch 2011). This apartheid violence, structural and cultural in nature, still remains embedded in the post-apartheid context.

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) (CSVR 2007; CSVR 2009; CSVR 2010) identifies the following factors that are believed to have contributed to the contemporary normalisation of violence in South Africa:

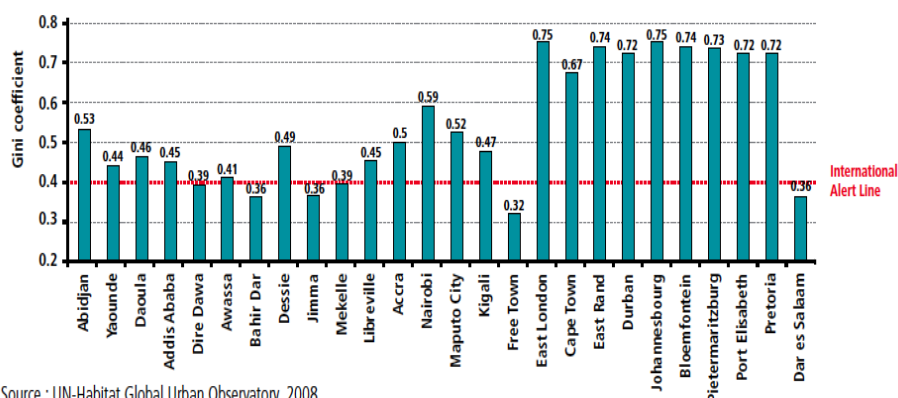
Apartheid was a political system based on violence. It thrived through the targeted oppression and brutalisation of the subjugated groups. It therefore constitutes a foundation of an on-going culture of violence in South Africa. In addition to this, a key means of anti-apartheid resistance was realised through violence, which in turns has stimulated a scenario of violence being regarded as a "valid means of self-assertion, and obtaining cooperation, respect and compliance" (CSVR, 2007 p. 170). The policies of apartheid South Africa such as the influx control act resulted in broken families which laid the foundation for poor child rearing practices that have seen children becoming adults who not only accept but actually embrace "violence and criminal careers". The education system was also focused towards maintaining racial inequality, and was entrenched in the Bantu education system. Finally, the legacy of institutionalised racism is associated with internalised feelings of low self-worth, which is likely to have underpinned and contributed to the on-going problem of violent crime in South Africa

**Firearms:** There was culture of gun ownership amongst the white population as a means of guaranteeing security for themselves in the apartheid era. This culture has continued and accounts, together with illegal importation of firearms from war torn regions in Africa, for increased gun circulation in South Africa. The easy availability of guns explains the propensity for armed violence in South African cities. It is worth noting, however, that there is a steady decline in armed violence on a more general scale in South Africa.

**Impunity in township areas:** The apartheid government concentrated on policing and reducing crime in white areas, neglecting the township areas where most black people lived. Whatever policing resources were put into these township areas were meant to repress political opposition to apartheid. As a result, the township areas ended up having their own forms of non-state order in which a culture of violence and impunity thrived. For example, according to the 2012 Victims of Crime Survey, the reporting of crime to authorities other than the police is still prevalent throughout the country as the perception tends to remain that local authorities/leaders and even gangs are better situated to address problems of this nature than formal policing channels.

CSVR also highlights other factors driving violence in post-apartheid South Africa. Most notable amongst these are:

**Inequality:** Poverty itself is one of the most significant features linked to crime rates in urban areas. Broad evidence suggests that there is a strong relationship between measures of income inequality and property crime.<sup>14</sup> Evidence confirms that international levels of inequality reflect rates of crime and violence. In Africa, urban inequalities are highest in Southern Africa. The country represents one of the most unequal societies in the world with a Gini coefficient of 0.69 (NPC 2012:34). Statistics indicate that the richest 10% earned 150 times more than the poorest 10% (CSVR 2007). Notably South African metro regions concentrate the inequalities while also featuring the highest levels of crime and violence (see Figure 4).



Source : UN-Habitat Global Urban Observatory, 2008

**Figure 3: Gini coefficient of various African metropolises including and "alert" benchmark**

<sup>14</sup> Bourguignon, F. (1999) Crime, Violence and Inequitable Development, Paper prepared for the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, Washington D.C. April 28-30 1999.

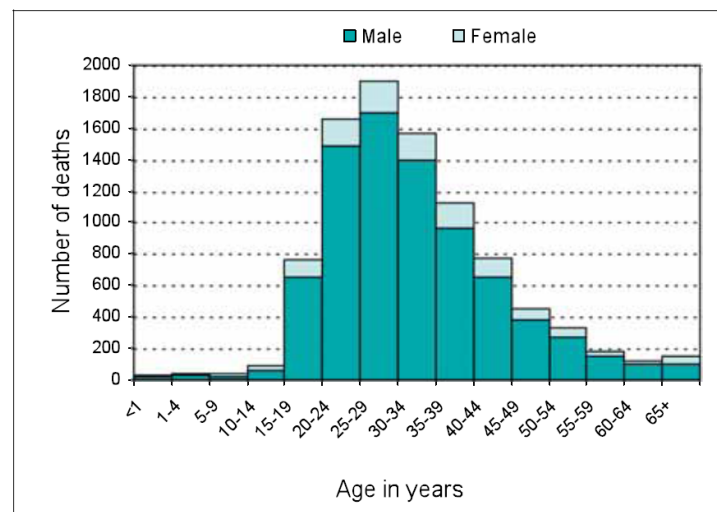
State institutions: a highly uneven education system and the ineffectiveness of state institutions in dealing with violence. In many instances state institutions such as the police are even labelled publicly as contributing to violence in South African communities and as inherently corrupt.

It is these factors, among others, that coalesce to create a “culture of violence” and fear in post-apartheid South Africa; making violence and crime facts of everyday life.

Having shown that violence and crime are important signifiers in the making of life in South Africa and more so in South African cities, it is essential to map out the major actors, both perpetrators and victims, in the making of violent and criminal social orders of South Africa. Important in this regard are the social and spatial patterns of violence and crime.

### 5.3.3 Violence and the youth factor

Particularly important in understanding urban violence in South Africa, as elsewhere, is the fact that male youths are overwhelmingly represented as being both the victims and perpetrators of violence and crime (Burton 2007; Pelsaer 2008). (see figure below). Burton (2012) observed that 42 per cent of South African children and youth between the ages of 12 and 22 were victims of crime and violence between September 2004 and September 2005 (Burton 2006). These crimes, many violent, include assault, rape, theft, robbery, housebreaking and car jacking. This arguably remains the trend year in year out. Newspaper, television, and general public discourses on crime and violence are replete with representations of young men in gangs, schools, or on the streets as the main perpetrators of violence and crime (Burton 2006). Furthermore, youth criminality in South Africa is clearly evidenced by the high number of young people in prisons.<sup>15</sup> The role of youth in crime in South Africa is further illuminated by the fact that youth gangs are an enduring aspect of youth culture (Palmary and Moat 2002:7). Risky behaviours of youth include physical fights, bullying, and carrying weapons.<sup>16</sup>



Source: National Injury Monitoring Surveillance System, 2004.

**Figure 4: Violence-related deaths in 2003, by age n = 9 222 (extracted from CSV 2007: 119)**

As Figure 3 shows, it is young males in the 15 – 44 age groups that are most vulnerable to suffering violent deaths. Of these, the 25 – 29 age group is the most critical.

Apart from being perpetrators of crime, sometimes the youth also act as protectors for the community. In this regard, the youth constitute the major of grassroots actors in community crime prevention initiatives as they act as community guards/street patrollers in many instances (Fabiya 2009). So, violence and crime prevention initiatives should be wary of stereotypically pathologising the youth and should rather seek to understand the social, cultural, economic and spatial structures within which youth violence and victimhood occur.

<sup>15</sup> For instance, in June 2002, 45 457 young people under the age of 26, including 1799 under the age of 18 accounted for 36% of the entire prison population of sentenced prisoners in South and they also accounted for 53% of those prisoners awaiting trial. See Africa Palmary, I., and C. Moat. 2002. *Preventing Crime. A Resource Book for Local Government*: December 2002..

<sup>16</sup> Krug et al (2002:29) note that in Cape Town, for example, 9.8% of males and 1.3 % of females in secondary schools reported carrying knives to school during the previous four weeks. Similarly, youth are also over-represented in statistics of violence-related deaths. Figure 3 below shows the distribution of violence-related causes of deaths by age in 2003.

#### **5.3.4. Risk and Protective factors**

Crime and violence behaviour is generally viewed as a consequence of the interaction between a range of factors stemming from the individual as well as the different social contexts in which he or she lives (Leoschut & Burton, 2009). What is less well understood is why certain young people remain resilient to crime despite being raised in environments fraught with the risk factors for offending (Leoschut & Burton, 2009). Resilience may be defined as 'the process of, capacity for, or outcome of, successful adaptation, despite challenging or threatening circumstances' – as 'health despite adversity'. Resilience factors, therefore, are those factors that diminish the potential to engage in particular behaviours. these may include namely: education, gender, non-violent family environments, victimisation, non-exposure to criminal role-models, substance abstinence, interaction with non-delinquent peers, neighbourhood factors and attitudes intolerant of violence and anti-social behaviour (Leoschut & Burton, 2009). More specifically, these factors provide a buffer against exposure to risk factors and the onset of delinquent and criminal involvement. Many intervention strategies aimed at reducing and preventing youth delinquency have had little impact on the levels of youth violence and crime. What is required are more detailed analyses of the reasons why many young South Africans, particularly in urban spaces, are able to desist from becoming involved in delinquent and criminal behaviour despite being subjected to an array of factors that are known to heighten their susceptibility to offending.

#### **5.3.5 Gendered aspects of violence**

Despite the fact that "the perpetration of violence is the domain of men" (CSV 2007) gender-related violence against women is a major concern in South Africa (Loots 2005). South Africa maintains one of the highest per capita rates of reported rape in the world (Human Rights Watch 2011; Moffett 2006). In addition to rape as one of the most serious and violent crimes committed against women, local research also places emphasis on other forms of gendered violence, specifically domestic violence.

Not only are many communities characterised by youthful populations, so too is there a prevalence of woman-headed households. Therefore, initiatives that provide focused support for the engagement of both women and youth, as marginalised population groups, in local economic activities is a key factor for addressing urban safety.

#### **5.3.6 Group dynamics: the gangs factor**

One other significant dimension of violence in South Africa is that it is mostly perpetrated by people in groups, sometimes taking the form of gangs (Jensen). Evidence from the National Victims of Crime Survey (2003) suggests that 43% of assaults were group attacks and 86% of armed robberies were undertaken by groups (CSV 2007). Gangs are also a common feature of many townships in South Africa and are particularly an entrenched aspect of everyday life in some townships in the Western Cape, especially in places like the Cape Flats (Jensen 2008).

#### **5.3.7 Collective violence: strike violence and xenophobic violence**

Collective violence in urban South Africa, especially in the context of Townships, takes two main dimensions – strike/protest violence and xenophobic violence. Strike action or/protest violence mainly takes the form of service delivery protests and employment disputes; resulting in loss of life and damage to property (Alexander 2010; von Holdt 2011; von Holdt 2013). Xenophobic violence, as violence against non-South Africans is likewise common and has taken a serious toll on the South African urban landscape, leaving approximately 62 people dead and over 100 000 people displaced during riots in 2008 (Von Holdt 2011: 6).<sup>17</sup>

#### **5.3.8 Geographical variations in urban violence and crime**

Areas with different socio-economic and spatial characteristics tend to exhibit varying scales and types of violence. As noted by the CSV, the South African urban landscape can be divided "into middle class high crime communities" and "poorer violence-prone communities". Middle class, high crime communities are those normally affected by crimes such as burglaries and car jacking. In other words, these areas are most affected by economic crime, as they are spaces in which valuable goods are predominantly in circulation. "Poorer violence-prone communities" are bedevilled mainly by problems of social violence including murder, assault, homicide, domestic violence and rape amongst others. As an exemplar of the extent to which the violence and crime concentrates in specific areas, the CSV (2007:114) notes that 1/5th of all murders in the country occur in 2% of the police station areas (23 out of roughly 1 100 stations).

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<sup>17</sup> One third of the people who died during xenophobic violence in 2008, ironically, were recorded to be South Africans, mainly killed by other South Africans on the presumption that they were foreign nationals. See Kupe, Tawana, Paul Verryn, and Eric Worby. 2008. *Go home or die here: violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.. It is therefore a huge problem in South Africa. In fact, it has even been suggested that xenophobia has become a part of South African public culture Nyamnjoh, Francis B. 2010. "Racism, Ethnicity and the Media in Africa: Reflections inspired by studies of Xenophobia in Cameroun and South Africa." *Africa Spectrum* 45(1):57 - 93..

## 5.4 Lessons from the highlighted drivers and dimensions of crime and violence in South Africa

Based on the evidence above, it is apparent that 1) violence is one of the leading causes of death in South Africa; 2) youth are heavily involved in violence as both perpetrators and victims; 3) the experiences and perpetration of violence is gendered, with women being vulnerable to specific forms of violence such as rape while young men are generally overrepresented as main perpetrators of violence; 4) the distribution of violence and crime varies across urban neighbourhoods in urban South Africa, with poorer areas more prone to violence while relatively wealthier areas are more prone to economic crimes. It is also clear that South Africa is a generally violent country and that a “culture of violence” is therefore in existence. Given the embeddedness of crime and violence, it is imperative to treat crime and violence prevention as a long term project for which instant and piece-meal solutions will not work effectively.

In the context of South Africa given the dimensions and drivers of violence highlighted in previous sections, the following represent suggestions for the future of violence and crime prevention initiatives in South African cities:

- Implementation of social programmes that promote social cohesion; reducing social and economic inequalities;
- Harness urban economic opportunities to create employment and reduce absolute and relative poverty;
- Conceptualising urban crime and violence as risk management issues as important as all other sectors deserving intervention in the bid to create better cities;
- A focus on the youth;
- A focus on women and children;
- A focus on drivers of crime, for example, the availability of guns and alcohol
- A focus on improving the urban environment to reduce crime and violence; with a special focus on disadvantaged, marginalised areas;

As a consequence of the observation above, immediate measures such as policing must be combined with long term social prevention approaches and long term positive “social change” (Ehlers and Tait 2009).

## 6 International experiences: Lessons for South Africa

### 6.1 Major institutions generating knowledge and innovation on urban safety

Crime and violence prevention has become an international issue of concern. Several crime and violence prevention oriented organisations or initiatives have emerged. These include the UN-Habitat Safer Cities Programme (Nairobi) with the associated Global Network for Safer Cities, the World Bank Institute (Washington) including the HIVE-Platform, the World Health Organisation Violence Prevention Alliance, the Small Arms Survey (Geneva), International Crime Prevention Centre, and European Forum for Urban Safety (Paris).<sup>18</sup> The main concern of these organisations is to enhance violence and crime prevention through enhancement of local, national and international capacities for safety production.

Other significant international institutions that generate a better understanding and which formulate policies to prevent urban violence and crime are 1) the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (ONODC)<sup>19</sup> with excellent global data (used throughout this paper); and 2) the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), a significant independent policy think tank with a focus on Africa (With headquarters in Pretoria). In addition to these, a number of International Agencies and Funders make a meaningful contribution to the generation and dissemination of knowledge and good practice. Specific, and current, examples, include the Open Society Foundation (OSF), who provide support to a number of community safety projects, and support extensive research; GiZ, particularly through the Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention Programme, and the IDRC, who are supporting amongst other initiatives a South-South collaboration on Citizen Security, looking specifically at safety in the urban context.

Relevant institutions contributing to the urban safety body of knowledge in South Africa include:

The Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), that hosts a crime prevention research group and that has published decisive research and policy documents e.g. into development of community safety approaches (Holtmann 2010) and on environmental design tactics (Kruger 2005). The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) produces rigorous quantitative and qualitative research on violence with a specific focus on youth, that has fed into several areas of policy. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) in an independent institute involved in a broad

<sup>18</sup> The ICPC 2010 finds that the number of international and regional agencies and organizations that are integrating prevention and safety issues into their programmes continues to increase (ICPC 2010:79)

<sup>19</sup> The ICPC 2010 finds that: "UNODC has developed a series of tools to support the implementation of norms and standards in crime prevention and criminal justice. The Criminal Justice Assessment Toolkit has been developed since 2006."

spectrum of activities from research to project implementation. It focuses on criminal justice, gender based violence, peace building, transitional justice, trauma, and youth violence.

## 6.2 Safer cities and national level policies

As a result of increasing urbanisation, more and more countries create national urban policies and laws (such as the Brazilian Estatuto da Cidade. These increasingly include a comprehensive approach to urban safety as a core element (Cf. the draft Urban Policy of Kenya). Only a few such as Tanzania and Israel have a dedicated national strategy, or programme dedicated to *urban* crime prevention.<sup>20</sup> In South Africa, the White Paper on Safety and Security (1999) outlines the provincial and local government's role in social crime prevention, to redirect the provision of services to facilitate crime prevention. Many issues of day-to-day governance and crime prevention are inherent to the functions of local government. However, civil society groups, such as religious institutions, non-government, business and community based organisations and trade unions, have a vital role to play in resourcing, supporting and conducting local social crime prevention programmes. Specifically, these organisations have the responsibility to ensure that preventing crime within their organisations becomes a priority (The White Paper on Safety and Security, 1999). Similarly, in the NALAO Declaration of Namibia it is emphasised that "community safety and crime prevention is everyone's business"<sup>21</sup>. The ICPC 2010 affirms that it is clear that more and more countries are developing balanced approaches to security, which encompasses crime prevention. The ICPC advocated a need for a greater international synchronisation and alliance and a fostered exchange of good practices – a claim that supports the need to utilise international learning experiences and participate in international networks.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, a study on international urban policies compiled by the South African Network for Cities (2009: 11) affirms that it is important for South Africa to learn from international best practices when it comes to lessons on Safety and Security and Crime as part of urban policies.<sup>23</sup> While it is important to draw lessons from the level of international urban policies on urban safety and crime prevention it is also vital to draw lessons from the local level. Accordingly, the next section aims to draw on international municipal level experiences.

## 6.3 Some international (good) practices and ingredients of success

Successful initiatives all include tactics, which, if incorporated to a sufficient degree, should result in consistent violence reduction. Based on a study of international prevention practices from both *developed* and *developing* countries the authors have identified six strategic elements of success. While these are presented first, the detailed review of each of these ingredients follows below.

The six ingredients of successful international local practices include:

- The capacity to instil a comprehensive focus and thus derive a holistic understanding of the attributes contributing to violence;
- The ability to sufficiently incorporate social components into prevention mechanisms;
- The capability to strengthen security and justice institutions;
- The propensity to transform spaces of violence and to create safety nodes and corridors;
- The inclination to substantially incorporate community participation;
- And the partiality to thoroughly utilize mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation.

The following review of international good practice will partially detail how selected cities have achieved these attributes through planning practices.

### 6.3.1 A comprehensive focus on prevention initiatives

The ability of any violence prevention initiative to significantly reduce violence is contingent upon sufficient understanding of the phenomenon of urban safety in a particular locality: "reducing chronic violence requires a [holistic] understanding of the potential social and spatial synergies produced by bringing together citizens, the private sector, and authorities in delimited urban spaces" (Davis 2012: 16). Thus, municipal integrated action plans for violence prevention

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<sup>20</sup> A study of contents of national policies by ICPC in 2009 found that only 8 countries featured the

<sup>21</sup> Nalao

<sup>22</sup> The issues of drugs, women's safety and children top the list with a respective appearance in 30, 25, 25 national crime prevention policies.

<sup>23</sup> South African Cities Network 2009: The International Urban Policy Review, unpublished.



should consider the actors involved, including gender, age, socio-economic status, accessibility to urban infrastructure, as well as<sup>24</sup>. Other attributes to be examined should be the presence of arms, the acceptance of overt alcohol consumption, the exigency of an informal economy, and even the portrayal of violence in the media (UNODC 2009). Recognition of the relationship between firearms, alcohol, and violence in some Latin America countries, for example, has enabled significant reductions in violent occurrences: municipal restrictions on carrying firearms and the sale of alcohol after specific times have reduced homicide rates by 14% in both Bogotá and Cali, Columbia (Alexandre & William 2010: 95), 44% in Diadema, Brazil (Alexandre & William 2010: 101), and 40-50% in San Martín and Ilopango, El Salvador (Sagant & Shaw 2010: 32).

Successful violence prevention programs predominantly achieve comprehensive foci through cooperation and partnerships between all the actors involved in an initiative, reflective of the socio-ecological model. "Given the wide-ranging nature of the causes of crime and violence and the skills and responsibilities required to address them, [this] includes partnerships working across ministries and between authorities, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, the business sector, and private citizens" (Shaw 2010: 87). This is epitomized by the *Fico Vivo* program in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, which partnered the state government of Minas Gerais with the city and nongovernmental organizations (World Bank 2011: 148) to implement multi-faceted programming<sup>25</sup> to achieve a 50% reduction in homicide and assault rates in the first five months of implementation in 2002 (Sagant and Shaw 2010).

### **6.3.2 The incorporation of social components into prevention initiatives**

Violence and crime prevention programs must sufficiently incorporate social components into programmatic elements, as many situations of urban violence and crime derive from societal discrepancies of poverty and inequality, and thus exacerbate social impairments such as deficient social control, limited community cohesion, and perpetual gender disparities. As such, significant attention should be given to the needs of women, as well as children and youth, affected by crime and violence: these groups are disproportionately represented in crime (World Bank 2011) and moreover, show particular capabilities to instil the mechanisms needed for the long-term reduction of violence and crime<sup>26</sup>.

Exemplifying this approach, the "Green Line initiative" in the municipality of Aguascalientes, Mexico, introduced spatial mechanisms which directly addressed local social functionality. Focusing on the eastern portion of the city, which is characterized by a youthful population, insufficient recreational infrastructure, and deficient education and cultural opportunities, the municipality redeveloped 12km of land covering a gas pipeline, installing a community centre -with game room, library, medical facilities and spaces to develop citizenship skills-, 10 parks and recreational facilities for children, as well as areas for social and family life (such as civic plazas, terraces, and rest areas), all with universal accessibility (Municipio de Aguascalientes 2011).

### **6.3.3 Provisions for strengthening security & justice institutions**

Significant provision for the strengthening of security and justice institutions is paramount to preliminary results, as such endeavours can often be enacted fairly quickly, thus, garnering community support for violence prevention initiatives. Such support reduces the probability that citizens "will take the law into their own hands" via vigilante justice or the hiring of private security personnel (Morrison 2003); the latter of which tends to "escalate the degree of violence employed in crimes against people and property that are protected by such firms," as well as "concentrate crime and violence among populations who cannot afford private protection" (Morrison 2003: 11).

Security and justice reform programs should initially focus on simple basic functions<sup>27</sup>; include civilian oversight, vetting, and budgetary/expenditure transparency; and link the pace of reform between the police and civilian justice systems<sup>28</sup> (World Bank 2011: 18). Success, in this respect, has been achieved in the Colombian cities of Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali, where local institutions, such as family police stations (*Comisaría de Familia*), *Houses of Peace* (*Casas de Paz*), and

<sup>24</sup> Such infrastructure includes potable water, sanitation, and electricity but also socio-economic attributes such as healthcare, transportation, education, recreation and culture.

<sup>25</sup> Such programming included social support, education, leisure and sports programs, workshops, and job training (Sagant & Shaw 2010: 139).

<sup>26</sup> "Given the large number of female-headed households in violence-affected communities, targeting women's economic empowerment can be a core part of job creation programs, and may have more lasting effects on women's status than national gender action plans" (World Bank 2011: 258). Similarly, projects that integrate youth into transforming their own communities can have a long term effect, "strengthening the relationship [between youth and their community] by giving youth a chance to demonstrate that they can make positive changes" (Alexandre & William 2010: 81).

<sup>27</sup> Such basic functions include criminal caseload processing, adequate basic investigation, and established arrest procedures (World Bank 2011: 18).

<sup>28</sup> One of the most common weaknesses in country experiences has been increasing actions to reform security systems without complementary action to reform justice systems: such a situation causes several problems, "as increases in arrests by the security forces, not processed by the courts, result in either grievances over prolonged detention without due process –often reiterating crime and violence as inmates hone criminal "skills"(UN-Habitat 2007: 246)) –or the release of offenders back into the community (World Bank 2011: 256).

*Houses of Justice (Casas de Justicia)* have significantly enhanced accessibility to the formal justice system<sup>29</sup>. Integral in this achievement, has been the provision for greater exchange between Colombian municipalities and communities: though funds are held by individual government ministries, approvals for local security and justice provisions are made by multi-sectoral teams in consultation with neighbourhoods (World Bank 2011).

#### **6.3.4 The transformation of spaces of chronic violence and crime**

Poor planning, design, and management of urban space have been identified as crucial triggers of crime and violence<sup>30</sup>. Consequently, achieving effective urban planning, design, and governance are seen as ways to enhance urban safety and security (UN-Habitat 2007). As such, governments at the appropriate levels “should design, create, and maintain liveable human settlements that encourage the use of public spaces as centres of community life so that they do not become places for criminal activity” (UNODC 2009; 14). The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project in Durban serves as a good example of enhancing urban safety and security within the South African context<sup>31</sup>. The project was developed to improve the overall quality of the urban environment by incorporating safety, security, cleanliness, efficient public transport usage and facilitating housing opportunities. Another example is the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading Project (VPUU) within Khayelitsha which uses tools such as social engagement and town planning to fight crime<sup>32</sup>.

Concurrently, “investing in mixed commercial and residential land use, particularly in areas of the city at risk for crime, and prioritizing strategic urban investments, [likewise] reinforce[s] both horizontal and vertical relationships and result[s] in renewed vitality throughout the city” (Davis 2012: 7).

As stressed in the Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime, “governments cannot prevent crime and victimization or develop safe societies without the participation and involvement of citizens” (Shaw 2010: 103). Citizens, community organisations, non-governmental organisations, and the business community “offer in-depth knowledge and creative insights [pertaining to violence], based on their experiences and innovative responses” (Shaw 2010: 103). Furthermore, such individuals hold a spatial allegiance to localities, which is key to “creating a sense of community [:] if residents do not identify with a neighbourhood and view it as a temporary home, it makes it difficult to create meaningful social networks” (Davis 2012: 6). Thus, “participation must be understood as a [key] instrument for effective community organisation and management” (Alemán 2009: 17).

In order to strengthen the bonds of cooperative autonomy, communities have been delegated greater responsibility for management, assessment, and decision making about daily urban conditions in Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Mexico, and Cameroon. In São Paulo, the *Peace Square Project (Instituto Sou da Paz)* invites members of the community, particularly young adults, to enter into discussions and debates about the public space, and thus engage themselves in the conception, implementation, control, and management of the public realm<sup>33</sup> (Shaw & Carli 2011: 125). Such initiatives encourage public spaces of safety, in which community activities can take place, but also help to strengthen community solidarity (Alemán 2009; Shaw 2010).

#### **6.3.5 Utilisation of evaluation mechanisms**

The incorporation of evaluation mechanisms affords the opportunity to augment<sup>34</sup> violence prevention projects, as evaluations appraise the overall success of completed initiatives, and, when built into the process of on-going programs, allow for the amendment of project aspects when necessary. “For policy makers, a further important benefit of well evaluated projects is that they allow for further testing and replication of prevention ideas, with the transfer and scaling-up of promising programs to other sites or regions” (Sagant & Shaw 2010: 181).

The *Fica Vivo* project in Belo Horizonte, Brazil – itself derived from an appraisal of Boston’s *Operation Ceasefire*– evaluated data on criminality for the City of Belo Horizonte, as well as the State of Minas Gerais; this included historic information from the military and civil police, the Ministry of Health, socio-economic information, as well as

<sup>29</sup> In Bogotá, Houses of Justice alone have assisted over 7.8 million citizens, predominantly from low-income communities, since their inception (World Bank 2011: 155).

<sup>30</sup> An urban fabric of highly segregated land uses, badly managed public spaces, inadequate provision for walkways and other amenities for pedestrians, unavailability of a mixed and diverse urban uses, deficient identification of residents with the environs, empty buildings, insufficient lighting, and occasionally clusters of night entertainment are some of the factors that isolated, or in combination, contribute to insecurity in cities (cf. Jacobs 1961, White 1969, Newman 1984, Wilson 1982).

<sup>31</sup> Hemson, D. 2003. “CBD Durban with a special emphasis on Warwick Junction”, Human Sciences Research Council, Inanda.

<sup>32</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The organization furthermore coordinates architects and other partners to take part in more formal discussions with the community, to decide on the development of the space and its use (e.g. sports, cultural activities, leisure, etc.) through a process of voting (Shaw & Carli 2011: 125)..

<sup>34</sup> It must be noted that precisely appraising the impact of prevention programs is highly debated: challenges remain in measuring the behavioral change of potential perpetrator –as such individuals do not commit violence or crime– nor are the individual outcomes of multi-sector, systemic interventions easily assessed.



contemporary surveillance and census data (Shaw 2010: 61). Through such an evaluation, the municipality was able to implement target programs which reduced the district homicide rate by as many as 45 incidents per 100,000 inhabitants, compared with other areas of the city where the program was not implemented (World Bank 2011: 148). Furthermore, the program was found to have a return on investment between 99–141% of the total cost, thus endorsing the program's possible applicability for still further sites or regions (World Bank 2011: 148).

From the above highlight of experiences of crime and violence prevention across the globe, the following section zooms into to description of South African experiences with urban violence and crime prevention.

## 7 Experiences from South African metros and municipalities

In South Africa an excellent framework of policies and strategies to promote urban safety is already in place. Nonetheless the country was not altogether successful in developing dedicated mandates, funding instruments and planning frameworks to realise most of the visions and goals on the ground (Cf. to the last two chapters of this paper). Individual metropolitan or municipal governments in South Africa have rolled out programmes to address the challenges of urban violence and crime; albeit with varying degrees of commitment and success.

At the same time diverse good practices on the local level exist that wait to be assessed, up-scaled and mainstreamed. Consequently the following section examines some municipal level experiences on the level of metro cities and on the level of smaller cities.

### 7.1. Metro cities

Johannesburg has been implementing a safer cities project since 1997. The project was consolidated through the conduct of a victim survey that revealed that poor and black residents were the main victims of crime. The principles and spirit of the Johannesburg Safer Cities project were embraced in Joburg 2030; a policy document of the City of Johannesburg. Joburg 2030's safety strategy was poised to a) change the perception of Johannesburg from that of a city bedevilled by crime to one that is relatively safe and liveable, b) tackle organised crime, c) recover guns used in crime – creating gun-free zones, d) prevent offending and victimisation, and reclaim the streets; amongst others (CoJ 2000). The realisation is that crime and violence undermine the economic growth of the city (CoJ 2000). These efforts are coupled by efforts at urban renewal. Over and above township regeneration projects like Alexandra Renewal Project, there are continuous efforts to revamp inner city neighbourhoods such as Joubert Park, Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and Bellevue, amongst others. Inner city neighbourhoods have been targeted for creation of City Improvements Districts (CIDs)<sup>35</sup> (Benit-Gbaffou 2008). As a result a slight, but positive and significant, reduction in rates of violent crimes and burglaries has been observed.

In Cape Town, safety provision has been streamlined as one of the priority areas in the city's Integrated Development Plan (CoC 2012). This plan comprehensively includes violence and crime prevention into a broader safety plan that includes disaster and risk management in the fields of fire prevention and road traffic safety etc. The plan aims to improve public policing by a) capacitating the metropolitan police, and b) promoting safety and security through public – private partnerships. In line with this, the aim is to expand the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading project (VPUU) as successfully piloted in Khayelitsha. In this case, emphasis is placed on increased community participation, social crime prevention, situational crime prevention and knowledge management. Also, under the auspices of market-oriented redevelopment, the Cape Town CBD was redeveloped and renewed (Samara 2011) with some registered successes in crime reduction in the inner city.<sup>36</sup>

Durban's (eThekweni) Safer City Strategy outlines the importance of community participation in the production of safety as key to success (CoD 2000). It recognises the significance of city-wide partnership in efforts to reduce crime. The main aim is to reduce perceptions of Durban as a crime-ridden city, especially because it is viewed as a tourist city.<sup>37</sup> However, beyond mention of the need to make Durban a safer city, the Integrated Urban Development Plan does not provide a detailed prognosis of how the issues of crime and violence shall be tackled (eThekweni Municipality 2012).

Despite the stark reality of violence in South Africa, smaller cities have generated programmes for community-based crime and violence prevention through safety planning and community safety forums. For example, in Khayelitsha the CSF

<sup>35</sup> CIDs are city zones that are improved with the aim of (re)attracting business and creating liveable spaces, but they are criticised for generating and sustaining the exclusion of the poor from regenerated city spaces (see Samara 2011)

<sup>36</sup> Urban renewal efforts, while improving the city environment and reducing crime, tend to drive out the poor due to increases in rent and create exclusive spaces occupied by the middle class in the renewed city - thereby creating another social challenge Samara, Tony Roshan. 2011. *Cape Town after Apartheid: Crime and Governance in the Divided City*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>37</sup> See [http://www.durban.gov.za/City\\_Government/safer\\_cities/Pages/default.aspx](http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Government/safer_cities/Pages/default.aspx) (Accessed 25.07.13)

was launched in 2000 and addresses issues such as crime reduction, improving the criminal justice system, targeting youth at risk and providing poverty alleviation, to name a few. However, effective community safety forums require the participation of the community, government and police.

## **7.2. Small and medium sized municipalities**

Complicating this reality is the generally limited understanding and integration of safety in municipal development plans. This is particularly reflected in Integrated Development Plans of some smaller cities, which marginally address the question of crime/violence reduction. This is the case, as observed by the GIZ, in small municipalities such as Makana in Eastern Cape, Msinga in KwaZulu-Natal, and Hibiscus Coast in KwaZulu-Natal (Hibiscus Coast Municipality 2012; Makana Municipality 2010; Msinga Municipality 2011). Some, like George in the Western Cape, which mention safety and security in their Integrated Development Plan only do so in passing (GIZ 2012).

Of the small municipalities that were surveyed by the GIZ, only Stellenbosch in the Western Cape and Endumeni in KwaZulu-Natal had an elaborate community safety plan. However, the budget allocated to safety in Stellenbosch was only 2 per cent of the total budget of the city in 2011, and for Endumeni, the Safety Plan was not clearly integrated into other development agendas of the municipality (GIZ 2012). More often than not, community participation was not fully taken into consideration in the development of whatever aspects of safety integrated into the Integrated Development Plans and into those elaborate Community Safety Plans in place (GIZ 2012). Smaller towns are, therefore, not to be forgotten in the attempt to mainstream urban safety urban development frameworks. The challenge of poor integration of safety into Integrated Development Plans or a lack of coherent municipal safety plans is not only a matter of concern for small towns, but for bigger cities.

## **7.3. Lessons from the South African metropolitan and municipal experiences**

The experiences of South Africa's bigger cities and smaller towns highlighted above indicate that violence and crime prevention need to be more comprehensively integrated into municipal development policies as a fundable mandate in both metropolitan and smaller cities. This means that:

1. Crime and violence remain as huge challenges facing South African cities and towns
2. Violence and crime prevention thus need to be recognised as safety issues to which metropolitan and municipal government should attend;
3. Safety needs to be defined more broadly to encompass not only road and traffic safety and traditional management of disaster risks; but to strongly incorporate violence and crime prevention

The recognition of the above is essential for the development of comprehensive urban safety approaches in South Africa's metropolitan and municipal cities. It is therefore purported here that the integration of urban safety can be best developed through the generation and realisation of an urban approach to safety combined with proactive risk management, detailed in the following section.

## **7.4. Shifts in Paradigms**

There has been a marked shift in approaches to crime prevention in South Africa. Crime reduction policy in South Africa started with a philosophic tension between two perspectives: the crime prevention approach and the law enforcement approach (Plessis & Louw, 2005). The law enforcement approach is based on the idea that the best means to reduce crime is by arresting and convicting criminals (Plessis & Louw, 2005). This approach did not result in the change that was envisaged and this resulted in crime prevention moving toward the community safety paradigm. More recently, however, has been a further shift towards a "healthy community" approach, which encourages participation of both government and the community. In other words, this approach uses public health departments and organisations to help facilitate community members to identify and drive the development of safety within their own community. While this entails people being aware of the risks in their community, it also builds resiliency to cope with adversity. Ultimately crime prevention has moved from a narrow perspective to a more collaborative and pro-social approach.



## 8. Towards an urban approach to safety for South Africa

Cities are also concentrations of economic, social and cultural energies and opportunities and are therefore enormous population magnets (South African Cities Network 2006).

Urban areas therefore contain opportunities and energies within themselves to enhance the reduction of violence and crime and generate safe environments. In this context the authors of this paper recommend an “urban approach to safety”<sup>38</sup>, as a strategy to explore ways of harnessing these opportunities and energies within the context of South African urbanisation.

Urban Approach to Safety combines three interlinking tiers:

1. "Problem response" builds on appropriate, accountable and effective policing and justice mechanisms.
2. "Risk prevention" seeks to employ a multidimensional approach to violence and crime prevention in cities and communities, which is based on a set of common principles and which combines social, spatial and institutional approaches and the respective synergies.
3. "Urban energies" aims to utilize urban advantages to harness the productive dynamics of urbanization processes, e.g. to reap the urban dividend in tapping distinct social, cultural, economic urban energies. This level is proactive and opportunity based and seeks to strengthen factors of urban resilience.

This opportunities based approach likewise speaks directly to the underlying rational of the IUDF process as it seeks to not only address the multiple challenges of urbanisation in South Africa but also to recognise and employ the positive potential that urbanisation processes bring. Figure 4 below graphically represents the concept of the three tiered urban approach to safety.

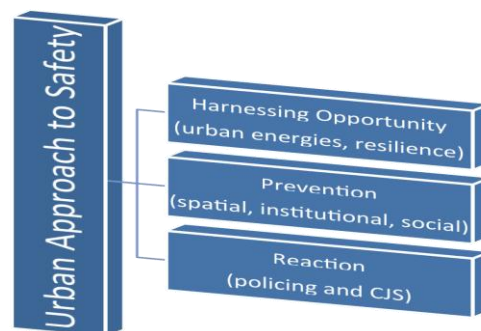


Figure 5: Three tiered urban approach to safety

### 8.1. Urban safety and the risk management approach

The international and national approaches as discussed above diverge when it comes to overarching themes, such as health (WHO), urban development (UN-Habitat), civil justice (CSV), etc. Yet, a greater convergence can be observed on the methodologies and instruments. As prevention initiatives correspond directly to the management of the multidimensional drivers of unsafety in cities, these incorporate a determined approach to managing risk.

### 8.2. Risk Management. An urban safety instrument.

Within our approach of defining an urban approach to safety in South Africa we recognise the risk management approach as a key component, holding significant potential for institutionalisation of urban safety. Risk management tactics are

<sup>38</sup> The term originates from the UN-Habitat cities programme. Although it still awaits operationalisation.

highly prominent in the private sector (e.g. insurance industries). But also government institutions utilise risk management, mainly in the sphere of environmental management. This is particularly the case in climate change mitigation (Vermeiren, 1993). Yet, surprisingly urban safety does not appear on the agenda of the 'resilience' and 'resilient cities' debates. At the same time crime prevention programmes rarely apply the risk management methodologies, in particular at the local level.

Consequently there is an urgent need to acknowledge urban safety as a significant factor with major effects on sustainable and resilient urban development. At the same time the risk management set of instruments have much to offer for the urban safety approach. The approach of risk management in a responsive, process based system open for learning and optimisation that used the life cycle approach. Therefore it is highly appropriate to tackle the multiple risk factors that exist in cities and neighbourhoods, including those associated with violence and crime.

Urban risk management has the ability to systematically identify, prioritise, plan and implement actions against threats. It is effective in particular when combined with stakeholder engagement through participatory assessments, taking into account the broad spectrum of existent urban, particularly community level risks, for example, unemployment, exposure to disease, inadequate housing, infrastructure and services, traffic accidents, natural disaster risks and of course violence.

## 9 The potential (role) of local government<sup>39</sup>

The sphere of local government is in the best position to deliver and manage urban security as a basic need and a common resource. Among the three levels of the South African Government this sphere of administration is most accessible to citizens to express their needs, and is thus in the position to enable autonomy and self-determination. It is also the arena that can most efficiently prioritise and coordinate service delivery processes and that can customise and fine tune delivery standards.<sup>40</sup>

In this context, the following section<sup>41</sup> discusses opportunities to include urban safety in the IUDF from the perspective of government from an institutional, regulative and financial perspective. Similarly, it examines the role of local government and its bodies and existing planning and financial instruments, as well as the role of national and provincial spheres of the state. Finally the role of partnerships between the government and stakeholders from civil society in regards to urban safety is examined.

### 9.1 Functions of the local government

#### 9.1.1. Diagnosis

Section 152 of the South African Constitution defines the responsibilities of local government. Local government is responsible to ensure the sustainable delivery of services to communities; to promote social and economic development, so that a safe and healthy environment can be realised; and to involve communities and community organisations in the matters of local government through participation.

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<sup>39</sup> The information presented here is based on an intensive literature study of relevant regulations and policy documents (such as the National Development Plan 2030, The National Crime Prevention Strategy NCPS (1996), the White Paper on Safety and Security 1998, the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy 2011, The Green Paper on Policing 2013, etc.) as well as assessments, position papers and research reports. Ten interviews with representatives from various spheres of government and civil society and a feedback workshop on the safety module provided further insight and verification (Cf. Lists of documents and interviews can be found in the Annexe).

<sup>40</sup> The South African government has three spheres. These are ideally organised along the subsidiary principle which corresponds to an optimal management of resources and an equitable distribution of powers and responsibilities up to the level of citizens: the national, provincial and the local levels ideally share their responsibilities. Among others the national sphere is responsible for the most common rights and goods as represented in the constitution, and also aspects for vision, policy and oversight including policing; the provincial sphere is in charge of distribution, coordination, monitoring and oversight and the delivery of basic needs such as health, education and social services. Local government is in charge of the physical environment and local infrastructure, land development, local development and planning, the enforcement of bylaws to maintain everyday order and area based management and maintenance.

<sup>41</sup> Whereas the scope of the present section does not allow for a comprehensive examination of the complexities of safety and 'governance', it focuses on selected existing policies and instruments which, from our perspective, have the greatest potential for realising the urban approach to safety in the context of South African urbanisation: Community Safety Forums, Integrated Development Plans, Community Safety Plans, Neighbourhood Development- and Cities Support Programmes, intergovernmental clusters partnership, business against crime and city improvement districts.

At present South African municipalities do not fully realise their potential of governing urban safety. This is due to a blend of weak governance in general<sup>42</sup>, combined with the weak governance of urban safety – both aspects have numerous components and require an overarching approach.<sup>43</sup> The long-term success of an approach to urban safety relies on the application of good governance instruments and approaches.<sup>44</sup>

As far as urban safety strategies on a local level are concerned, the scope of problems encompasses:

- The lack of a city wide vision on the condition of urban safety
- The missing understanding of the complex and comprehensive nature of urban safety by all relevant stakeholders (police, justice, urban planning, social development, civil society)
- A lack of comprehensive urban safety strategies and lines of implementation, which combine a differentiated portfolio of planning and socio-economic development and risk management instruments
- The absence of a clear mandate to the local level to deliver urban safety
- Lacking horizontal coordination on urban safety between local government bodies (whereas capacities exist in various sectors and line departments)
- Fragmented and weak vertical coordination on urban safety between local government bodies and all other levels of government (national, provincial, police, etc.) and with civil society stakeholders (private sector, NGOs, FBOs)<sup>45</sup>
- The police often face issues associated with mistrust and lacks local accountability
- Monitoring, evaluation and learning processes are underdeveloped
- Various good practices exist and models of government of urban safety exist, however the capacities to upscale and share them nationally are not adequately developed

## 9.2 Community Safety Forums (CSFs)

### 9.2.1 *Diagnosis*

Community Safety Forums (CSFs) are intended to "promote the development of a community where citizens live in a safe environment and have access to high quality services at local level, through integrated and coordinated multi-agency collaboration among organs of state and various communities." (CSP 2012:11)

The CSF is among the most promising (yet hitherto underused) existing models with much potential to tackle the above-mentioned challenges on the local government level. The section below analyses the approach based on the CSF Policy as outlined by the Civilian Secretariat for Policy in 2012 and assesses its capabilities to become a central mechanism for promoting an urban approach to safety within the context of South African urbanisation.

It is envisioned that CSFs become a catalyst and platform that facilitate, integrate and monitor the implementation of multi-sectoral crime prevention- and community safety strategies on the local level, also taking into account National (and Provincial) priorities (CSP 2012:6). In this context the Community Safety Forum is intended to strategise, coordinate and integrate relevant planning and budgeting means, stakeholders and departments towards a joint implementation of the urban safety goal. An essential task is also the development of partnerships between the government and communities on urban safety issues "through organised structures": This includes the support of community based consultation and planning instruments e.g. safety audits, community safety plans and their integration into Safety Strategy Plans (SSP) and Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). (CSP 2012:10)

<sup>42</sup> An evaluation of the state of local government realised that municipalities face problems such as poor governance and accountability, weak financial management and a high vacancy rate in critical senior management posts in many instances (State of Local Government Report, CoGTA 2009). The study resulted in the 2009 Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTS) (CoGTA 2009).

<sup>43</sup> The state of affairs is aggravated by larger structural factors related to long and path dependent processes. These processes are related to the legacy of apartheid, regressive party dynamics and corruption, a new regime of modern management practices (also in government institutions), a segregating character of privatised urban land markets and urban development dynamics which lack regulation, and a prevailing (albeit diminishing) legacy of alienation and distrust (Cf. to the findings of the other modules of the IUDF).

<sup>44</sup> While the National Development Plan 2030 formulated the targets and objectives of good and efficient governance (i.e. on local level), a number of institutions, such as the Ministry for Provincial and Local Government, the Ministry for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and the South African Cities Network (SACN). SALGA's members comprise 278 municipalities and SACN's the 9 metro cities. Therefore these structures will be important partners in the implementation of urban safety initiatives.

<sup>45</sup> The lacking vision and coordination can have devastating long term effects on societal, urban and urban futures. For example, that is broad agreement among experts that the lacking understanding of how to nurture the energies of urbanisation coupled with the uncoordinated delivery housing (by the provincial governments) with infrastructure (by the local governments) in peripheral urban areas intensifies socio spatial inequalities, augments energy use and generates tremendous long term costs and augments vulnerabilities.

It is proposed that the CSF should be established by the Member of the Executive Council responsible for policing in consultation with the mayor(s) and that the Forums comprise members from all spheres of government, as well as community-based organizations.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the proposal includes a "strategic" family of district, local and metro CSFs to that CSFs effectively deliver on their mandate to the population. Additionally, the formation of thematic subcommittees is envisioned under the leadership of relevant departments (CSP 2012: 14).

In order to mainstream the CSF concept it will be necessary that the Ministry of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs creates a framework to induce municipalities to establish CSFs and also that it ensures that Integrated Development plans make proper provision for local community safety initiatives and that such initiatives are budgeted for. The funding for community safety programmes is supposed to come from the respective JCPS and Sector Departments.

### **9.2.2 Assessment and recommendations**

The CSF concept is a well-thought-out and promising vehicle to realise an urban safety approach in the South African urban context on a local level.

Its present strength lies in its association with the Ministerial Justice Crime Prevention and Security Cluster (JCPS) which has a spotlight on justice and crime prevention activities, but which also partners with a multitude of many other institutions.<sup>47</sup> The CSFs' inputs have to be solicited and mainstreamed into South Africa's urban governance system.

While this is a definitive advantage as compared with other urban safety offices, units, nodes that exist in the country (Cf. section on selected local experiences above), the CSF model should not forego the chance to learn from their various experiences and good practices e.g. of reaching out to communities (Cape Town and Durban), managing coordination (Cape Town), or integrating urban safety into the local planning mechanisms (Stellenbosch).

All the successful local urban safety models. All operate with area-based approaches. Therefore, while the CSF model as proposed above remains open to all stakeholders, and while it has a strong social development component, it seems that a dedicated spatial strategy component is missing.

In order to "reap the urban dividend" of urban safety, a spatial (and spacio-economic) factor should be incorporated at the core of the CSF. In this context we encourage the CSF to make a further step: from control (policing) and prevention (social development) to the cultivation of urban opportunity, vision and societal energies (opportunistic progress). In this manner the urban safety project will be not only driven by national foresight but also by collective desires from below (Cf. to the definition of an urban approach to safety in this paper).

## **9.3 Planning instruments (and regulations)**

In addition to effective governance, effective rules and planning instruments are indispensable to realise the urban approach to safety. The subsequent part combines a macro reflection of implications of South Africa's regulatory atmosphere for urbanisation – and urban safety with the discussion levers and instruments, some of which are key in shaping South Africa's urban fabric (IDPs and urban by-laws), and others presenting promising tools specifically dedicated to urban safety such as Safety and Security Plans (SSPs) and Community Safety Plans (CSPs).

### **9.3.1 Diagnosis**

South Africa is characterised by a gap created by a modern and progressive constitution and regulative framework and a significant informal and semi-formal base. This gap tends to hinder development because the nature of the highly formal and rationalised modern state apparatus often promotes exclusion and marginalises a large in-, or semi-formal sector of society. Powerful elites use legal mechanisms to protect their status quo.<sup>48</sup> A prescriptive system hinders incremental

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<sup>46</sup> In the case that a local government lacks the funds to run a CSF it is proposed that the provincial level should have the mandate to assist. An Integrated Justice System (IJS) Development Committee would correspond with the CSF at provincial level, while the JCPS (which is already existing and very successful) would act as the corresponding entity at national level. These would provide "vision, policy direction, oversight, strategic advice, co-ordination, and programme evaluation" (CSP 2013: 16).

<sup>47</sup> The delivery partners in the fight against crime include the following entities, some in primary roles and other in secondary and supporting roles: Departments: Correctional Services (DCS), Home Affairs (DHA), Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJ&CD), Health (DOH), Social Development (DSD), State Security (SSA), National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), South African Police Service (SAPS), Defence and Military Veterans (DOD), Statistics South Africa (STATS SA), National Treasury (NT), Basic Education (DBE), International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), Human Settlements (DHS), Legal Aid SA (LASA), Communications (DOC), Science and Technology (DST). JCPS implementation forums in provinces include Safety and security members of executive councils (MEC's), Heads of departments (HOD's). HOD's forum consists of all Cluster departments and Community Safety Forums (CSF) at local level.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. The right to individual ownership of land and property and the protection thereof promotes NIMBYism and facilitates socio economic segregation and clubbing



development. This is highly relevant for urban safety while excluded population groups and geographic sectors face the highest levels of violence and vulnerability.

A general answer to this dilemma is that central rules should enable innovation and facilitate a variety of locally generated solutions.<sup>49</sup> The possible response lies in the design of processes instead of projects and for example the creation of "special social zones"<sup>50</sup> to overcome the dichotomy of formal and informal states; the employment of action research methods and "informal" and planning instruments" such as Community Action Planning; and the transitory deployment of NGOs and semi-formal organisations such as Community Development Committees to close delivery gaps and to close the contradiction between formal and informal and to enhance trust in the government (see also the section on participation below). National level instruments such as the NDP2030 would address the above-mentioned blockage, if they would integrate these as part of their visions and goals. Overarching legislations also need to provide clarity on the importance of a balance of individual and collective rights and foster the protection of greater social values and public goods at urban and national levels with urban safety to be regarded as a common good.

A significant shortcoming at local level is the fact that a clear mandate for the coordination and implementation of urban safety procedures is missing. The discussion of the CSF including its linkages to provincial and national levels of government proposes a viable strategy with CoGTA taking a leading position. Likewise a deficiency of national vision and strategic advice exists. This should be addressed by a national level agency associated with the JCPS cluster and the ministry for human settlements to issue guidelines for safer cities and neighbourhoods (see box: Role on the national level below).

Municipalities have a significant impact on urban space through their capacity of devising and implementing by-laws.<sup>51</sup> Most of the by-laws, such as those regulating liquor sales, public parks, streets and public spaces etc. have a significant impact on urban safety.<sup>52</sup> The violation of by-laws and the failure to implement these from the sites of local government significantly contributes to the augmentation of risks and therefore triggers occurrences of violence and insecurity. If broken windows approaches cannot be implemented and the closing times of liquor outlets are not controlled, or when laissez faire approaches drive real estate developments etc. the vulnerabilities and probability of crime and violent incidents increases.

However, in other instances by-laws can also have the wrong approach and increase vulnerabilities. Urban fragmentation and segregation is consolidated when for example mixed use developments are avoided, if incentives for street frontage activities are lacking, or if informal trading is radically outlawed, e.g. when regulations are too drastic and excessive.

Urban safety factors and components are under reflected in municipal by-laws. This observation stipulates a call for a public debate on the quality of urban space combined with an inclusive review of municipal by-laws from the perspective of urban safety. In this context it will be important to generate a fair balance of security considerations of individual land uses with aspects such as conviviality, accessibility, quality of life, freedom of movement and human scale elements (elements of urbanity). By-laws have a significant impact on the shape quality and resilience of public space and the activities within these spaces and thus also on safety aspects. The correlation, including the cost implications of non-existing, non-implemented, or inappropriate by-laws is widely understudied.

### **9.3.2 Integrated Development Plans (IDPs)**

IDP's are comprehensive local planning instruments of local municipalities.<sup>53</sup> These aim to implement National and Provincial Government policies in combination with the realisation of local priorities and needs.<sup>54</sup> The plan is requested to consider economic and social development for the area of the municipality. It identifies needs, sets priorities and defines

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<sup>49</sup> A concept that John Turner (1976) describes as "equifinality". [John Turner 1976: Housing by People, Ch. 1: "Who decides", London.]

<sup>50</sup> A strategy that is being applied as part of the 'urban statutes' in Brazil

<sup>51</sup> Municipalities are enabled to issue by-laws on the grounds of section 15 of the Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000. In Cape Town as an example these regulate fire safety, domestic animals, the Fifa world cup, cemeteries, informal trading, liquor sales, waste management, outdoor advertising, problem building, graffiti, parking, public parks, streets and public spaces and the prevention of nuisances, traffic, or the operation of sub councils.

<sup>52</sup> The impact of by-laws on safety in public spaces is nicely demonstrated by the City of Johannesburg's Urban Decay Assessment Framework 2012. This is an experimental methodology that assists the municipal government in monitoring and evaluating the present quality of urban spaces and of the impact of various service qualities. So priorities of can be set. The indicators range from illegal dumping, illegal land uses, unmanaged informal trading, the condition of infrastructure, illegal connections, abandoned and invaded buildings, compatibility of uses, concentrations of graffiti, informal signage, prevalence of to let signs, air pollution, noise pollution, places of amusement, illegal parking, quality of street lighting, antisocial behaviour, streetscape, and taxi nuisance.

<sup>53</sup> "An Integrated Development Plan is a super plan for an area that gives an overall framework for development." (Education and Training Unit for Democracy and Development: Toolbox, Local Government in South Africa, Integrated Development Planning for Local Government. (Online document accessed 27.07.2013)

<sup>54</sup> The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 mandates each municipality to consultatively undertake Integrated Development Planning (IDP) for the local area. It further requires participation by the local community in the affairs of the local government through the councillors (CSP 2012: 8)

how land should be used, what infrastructure and services are needed and how the environment should be protected. Likewise it forms the basis for the annual budget of the council. It takes 6-9 months to complete and its lifespan is 5 years (linked to election cycle). The IDP has to be drawn up in consultation with forums and stakeholders. CoGTA recommends the creation of an IDP Representative Forum to encourage the participation of communities and other stakeholders. This forum can then initialise further surveys and/or consultations with communities etc<sup>55</sup>.

It is highly recommendable that for the future local governments are mandated to include a systematic urban safety strategy into the Integrated Development Plans. The mandate and the guidelines for this process need to be prepared on the national government level (CoGTA). The existing practices of various municipalities constitute a valuable set of experiences and need further assessment (Cf. GIZ 2012). The Local Safety Forum should be required to provide input into the IDP and to liaise with the IDP Forum. Community Safety Plans (including Community Safety Audits) will be a crucial instrument to IDP input.

### **9.3.3 Community Safety Plans<sup>56</sup> (CSPs) and Community Safety Audits (CSAs)**

The Community Safety Forum<sup>57</sup> presents a key local level procedure of local urban safety diagnostics, awareness raising and planning that has so far not realised its potential.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless it is essential that the CSPs findings and strategies become integrated into the overarching mechanism of the Integrated Development Plan.

The Open Society Foundation pilot project on community based safety plans in three pilot sites showcases a best practice of a participatory community safety strategy that is participatory and needs based. The OSF approach uses a project cycle approach. The understanding of local problems through the mechanism of a Community Safety Audit plays an important role. Thereafter the Community Safety Plan is drafted. The plan remains open to include changes and new insights.

There were nine themes and success factors of OSF-SA crime and safety project, namely: 1) Sustainable forums for community action and community safety, 2) Access to essential services for safety, 3) A community free of drug and alcohol abuse, 4) Safety of pre-school children and their guardians, 5) Safe and supportive environment for children and youth, 6) A safe and supportive environment for women, 7) Safe streets and neighbourhoods, 8) Meeting basic needs, 9) A weapons free community (OSF-SA 2012)<sup>59</sup>

From the perspective of the author, the approach is worthwhile to serve as a model to be up-scaled and mainstreamed at national level. The experience is valuable and up-scaling and mainstreaming is deemed worthwhile. Nonetheless it is crucial to integrate the CSPs strategies into the Integrated Development Plan and consider overarching values of the IDP and strategy level plans into the CSPs.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The IDP should also incorporate crime prevention and community safety. Yet, despite the fact that urban safety is regarded as one of the main urban problems that hinders economic development and community well-being, a systematic countrywide mechanism to integrate urban safety into the IDP process is missing.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, a general trend to include community safety planning into the IDPs seems to exist reflecting a variety of non-standardised and intuitive experiences on the ground, with or without independent safety plans and with varying qualities of the safety plans, or with safety plans that are not integrated in IDPs or other local instruments.<sup>55</sup> (GIZ 2012: 10)

<sup>56</sup> The concept originates in the National Crime Prevention Strategy of 1995, which called for a plan for improved policing combined with a long-term approach. The Community Safety Plan serves as the main instrument of the Community Safety Forum. It is to be aligned with policies of higher-level government and at the same time must be needs oriented and responsive to community needs. Existing Safety Plans do not realise their potential. Due to a lacking clear guidance and mandate on the implementation of the plans, many isolated local examples with different results exist (GIZ 2012).

<sup>57</sup> The establishment of a local Community Safety Forum comprised of various stakeholders from government and civil society is essential (see discussion on CSFs above). Monitoring and evaluation are done very systematically.

<sup>58</sup> GIZ 2012 has produced "An overview of the extent to which community safety and crime and violence prevention is factored into the integrated development plans of South African Municipalities". The study finds many good practices but a general gap in the integration of community safety considerations as part of local level planning mechanisms. Likewise the potential of Community Safety Plans is widely underused. The OSF-SA Crime and Safety Project of the Open Society Foundation South Africa with the partnership of three Provinces has produced the most innovative and valuable experiences on community safety. It has employed a balanced approach combining spatial, social and economic aspects and including a long term perspective. (Cf. [osf-crimeandsafetyproject.org.za](http://osf-crimeandsafetyproject.org.za), accessed 26.07.2013).

<sup>59</sup> Open Society Foundation Community Safety Management in South Africa Key findings from three pilot sites (OSF Community Key Stats Booklet web.pdf)

<sup>60</sup> However the Community Safety Planning process as developed by OSF showcases some limitations of an isolated community level approach. There is a natural tendency towards clubbing NIMBYism. (Many communities tend to prefer "target hardening" activities and defensible architectures such as walls and fences, more CCTV cameras, security guards). This limitation of the neighbourhood scale needs balance by an urban safety strategy and plan which includes a social obligation for space, promote open access based on a comprehensive and common vision on city level.



## 9.4 Financial instruments and resources

Resources consist of people, knowledge and information, political power, access to networks and money and the combinations thereof. Direct quantification of these costs is rare and methods of appreciation of the cost of violence and the benefits of safety are inadequate. This is particularly the case for: 1) the cost of violence and crimes and the advantages of safety, 2) the long term economic impact induced by the deficient and half-hearted implementation of housing programmes that contribute to social segregation, exclusion, increased vulnerabilities and energy consumption, 3) the added value of effective collaboration (of departments and between sectors of government), and 4) the efficacy of frugal and informal solutions that include unconventional and frugal solutions such as traditional knowledge, mutual support, and the capacity of improvisation.

There are six overarching challenges from a financial point of view, namely: dedicated funds required, strategising revenue streams at a local level, smart use of existing programmes, developing a need based service distribution system at community level, acknowledging and employing NGOs and CBOs in service delivery and participation to increase resource efficiency (please see annexure for a detailed description). However, more research and international exchange is needed alongside the implementation of pilot schemes that demonstrate the benefits of programs focusing on an urban approach to safety.

Therefore, Safety management bodies such as Community Safety Forums need to closely collaborate with targeted neighbourhoods. Ideally the projects should be co-created, co-owned and co-managed by residents after implementation.<sup>61</sup> In the case of large infrastructure interventions a significant amount of the budget should be set aside for social development.<sup>62</sup> (Cf. section on participation below)

### 9.4.1 Neighbourhood Development Programme and Partnership Grant (NDPG)

The South African Constitution aims at transforming the exclusionary nature of the urban spatial fabric and economy. The Neighbourhood Development Programme and Cities Support Programme of the National Treasury aim at large scale transformations of South African urban fabrics and so present extensive potentials to promote urban safety with a focus on the vulnerable and poor. It is steered by the National Treasury Department and its scope and scale has enormous implications for urban safety in the South African context. Its main strategy is the integration of underserved residential neighbourhoods (e.g. former township areas) in South African cities by leveraging private sector investment through catalytic investments. Due to its massive investment scale of 10bn Rand<sup>63</sup> over a period of 10 years in about 100 projects, the programme is expected to trigger a significant transformation of urban fabric.<sup>64</sup>

The strategy of this substantial programme is a combination of targeted interventions in townships (nodes/ urban hubs) and activities to integrate township areas into the urban fabric through activity corridors/ linkages to central business districts (e.g. nodal linkages, integration zones). The interventions seek to promote mixed-used urban fabric. This is combined with capacity building and investment generating activities. Targeted investments to induce economic activity and develop infrastructure are among the main financial tools (Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme [NDPP] 2010). Part of the strategy is also the intention to leverage third party investments e.g. to animate the implementing municipalities to combine the programme with other programmes and to collaborate with the private sector. As the NDP report highlights, the NDP:

"Supports neighbourhood development projects that provide community infrastructure and create the platform for private sector development and that improve the quality of life of residents in targeted areas" (NDP 2012)

The significance of the subject of urban safety is double-sided. At the moment the programme does not specify urban safety (crime and violence prevention) on its agenda. Consequently there is significant danger that the project's well-intended activities will generate new negative effects on urban safety. Therefore it is important that the programme embraces a safety philosophy.

<sup>61</sup> UN-Habitat safer cities programme affirms that "any territorial intervention and public infrastructure investment should be supported from its inception in processes that ensure the equitable ownership of the city by the widest range of social segments and pursue a more equitable and liveable [metropolis]" (UN-HABITAT 2011: 16).

<sup>62</sup> 80% of the Budget for Medellín's Metrocable project was spent on surrounding social development. (ICPC 2011)

<sup>63</sup> The 2012 annual budget for large metros amounted to 50bn Rand. (NT 2012: 5)

<sup>64</sup> "The Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant is a conditional grant to municipalities through the Division of Revenue Act (DORA). It is planned to allocate an amount of R10bn over a ten year period for about 100 initiatives." (<http://ndp.treasury.gov.za/default.aspx>, accessed 28.07.2013)

The other relevant aspect is that local governments can utilise the programme as a significant funding resource to obtain indirect funding for urban safety objectives. Moreover the questions of urban governance and climate resilience play a major role. In this context the programme seeks to "provide the umbrella framework through which government support will be provided across policy, fiscal and implementation support functions in key sectors" (NT 2012: 4).

#### **9.4.2 Cities Support Programme (CSP)**

The Cities Support Programme aims to become a major programme in promoting inclusive, productive, sustainable and resilient cities in South Africa. It aims to leverage planned housing, transport and municipal infrastructure investments of over R200b over the next five years. Core reform functions will be funded with an additional R26,7 billion.<sup>65</sup>

The programme will be geared at larger municipalities, enabling these to coordinate land and housing markets, transport and infrastructure and housing initiatives at the local level. It will work through technical assistance towards local capacity building. The programme sees itself as a move from state driven paternalistic development while also exploiting international experiences and community learning (e.g. in the climate change sector).<sup>66</sup>

The lead department responsible for programme will be the National Treasury, which has significant capacity and experience in collaboration with cities. It will work in close consultation with other lead departments such as Human Settlements, Transport, Cooperative Governance, Water and Environmental Affairs and state owned entities such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa and Eskom. The management of each component of the CSP will be undertaken by the relevant departments. (NT 2012: 31)

At the moment urban safety is not part of the CSP concept.<sup>67</sup> Therefore it will be crucial to factor in an urban approach to safety to the CSP as a major instrument of urban development.

#### **9.4.3 Community Work Programme (CWP)**

From the perspective of social and economic development The Community Works Programme (CWP) offers a good example of a state programme that can help to enhance community capacity and that also presents a good practice of a participatory approach. It was designed to explore the adaptation and implementation of a minimum employment guarantee in South Africa<sup>68</sup> so as to reduce the vulnerability of the disadvantaged and poor segments of the population.<sup>69</sup>

The programme is geared at specific project sites (area-based approach) and needs support and facilitation from local governments. Management and contracting is steered by the Department of Cooperative Governance (DoCG) since March 2010. Contracted Implementing Agents are executing the operation in partnerships with NGOs and CBOs. Community involvement is essential to identify the specific needs and priorities of the community. As a consequence the CWP has triggered multiple community development initiatives. Activities usually include home-based care, mapping orphans and vulnerable children, food gardens, environmental services, and the creation and maintenance of community assets such as parks, water tanks and roads. Wages amount to R60 per day and 65% of the budget is targeted to the workers.

Between April 2010 and March 2011 89.689 people from 56 sites throughout South Africa have participated in the programme. They received a total of R307 million in wages. Additional sites in Gauteng have been funded by provincial government. 7% of the participants were younger than 35. (CoGTA 2011: 2)<sup>70</sup>

The relevance of the CWP programme for an urban approach to safety has three levels:

First, its outcomes significantly contribute to the reduction of economic and social risks through local capacity building, employment generation and strengthened community coherence. In this vein the programme needs to be considered as an essential component of integrated citywide safety approaches.

Second, while the programme defined 'useful work' as an activity that contributes to public good, community good and social services, the programme can be specifically employed to implement safer city activities at a community level.

Third, the participatory mechanisms and strategies of the programme to effectively activate citizens and organise community groups are crucial models from which any community level safety strategy should learn.

<sup>65</sup> At the invitation of the South African Department of National Treasury, the World Bank is providing global knowledge and expertise in support of the design and implementation of the Large Cities Support Programme alongside Agence Française de Développement (AFD) and other bilateral partners.

<sup>66</sup> National Treasury Department 2012: Cities Support Programme. Framework Document (Final Draft)

<sup>67</sup> A content analysis reveals that the term "safety" appears in two sections of the draft framework document 1) in relation to traffic safety and 2) in relation to health. The terms crime, or prevention are absent.

<sup>68</sup> The concept was pioneered by the Government of India where the state guarantees 100 days of employment per year to poor rural households.

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.cogta.gov.za/cwp/index.php/home.html>, (accessed 28.07.2013)

<sup>70</sup> [Department of Cooperative Governance 2011: Communities at Work (DCoG\_Brochure\_15.07.2011.pdf, accessed 27.07.2013)]

## 9.5 National government and provincial government

### 9.5.1 National level

The role of the national sphere of government is to provide vision, policy, oversight and advice. It should also co-ordinate and develop evaluation guidelines. Key structures include the JCPS Cluster and the Social Cluster and, as we propose, an Urban Cluster. A proposed national urban safety node should become an important hub for knowledge creation, innovation and exchange and could comprise the functions as proposed in the box below.

**Table 2: Suggested role of the national level**

#### **A. Knowledge creation**

Generation of new knowledge and innovation through partnerships with research institutions and policy think tanks  
Develop and disseminate national strategies, urban statutes and safety guidelines  
Develop Safe Cities/ Neighbourhood Indicators and M&E guidelines geared at the South African Context (impact based)  
Cultivate and mainstream good practices

#### **B. Innovation and exchange**

Host a South African Safer Cities Network  
Steer communities of knowledge among experts  
Support of City-to-City learning (together with existing networks)  
Foster and support coordination of provincial and local government actions towards achieving common goals (in this case urban safety)  
Organize regular conferences to promote communication and innovation among stakeholders

#### **C. Institutional coordination and accountability**

Foster coordination of institutional activities and push the creation of legal frameworks and political mandates

#### **D. Seed funding**

Organisation of seed funding  
Pilot projects (e.g. on the role of CSFs)  
Co-funding and competitions

### 9.5.2 Provincial level

Provincial governments will be responsible for planning, co-ordination, support, resourcing and capacity building as well as for steering monitoring of activities at district and local levels. Key structures are the Provincial Departments for community safety, Provincial Development Committees, and the Provincial Social Cluster. JCPS implementation forums in provinces include Safety and Security members of the Executive Councils (MECs), and Heads of Departments (HODs). HOD's forums generally consist of all Cluster departments and Community Safety Forums (CSFs) at a local level .

## 9.6 Role of civil society

For instruments such as Community Safety Forums, partnerships with civil society are essential. Representatives from business associations<sup>71</sup>, faith based organisations, NGOs and CBOs contribute essential experiences, resources and a community-based needs horizon. The various experiences of City Improvement Districts (CID) demonstrate successful examples of collaboration on the ground. Important regulatory instruments for the involvement of civil society include:

1. The White Paper on Local Government 1998 (WPLG) states that consumers should be able to make communities accountable on service delivery. At the same time the local government is encouraged to partner with civil society to mobilize additional resources. This should be done through a mechanism of structured stakeholder involvement (CSP 2012: 10).
2. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa of 2005 and the Correctional Services Act 111, of 1998 encourage that the DCS establishes relationships to communities, Community Based Organizations, Non-Governmental Organization and Faith Based Organization. The paper gave rise to the development of community participation policy (ibid).

<sup>71</sup> Such as Business Against Crime (BAC) - an organisation that also provides funding

## 10 Urban safety and participation: The role of co-production at neighbourhood level

Public participation is a key factor of a profitable integration of urban safety into the IUDF.

Approach: The following section discusses the significance of participation in the context of a productive urban transformation, which includes safety and wellbeing. Problems such as on-going marginalisation and exclusion, lack of trust in the government, wrong expectation and a non-culture of participation are diagnosed. In this light the relevance of participation is largely affirmed and essential strategic elements of "success" emerge. These elements are based on small-scale decentralised service delivery, the promotion of empowerment, active citizenship and democratic leadership, and the importance of safe and protected room for development. It also becomes apparent that in times of transformation the employment energies and assistance of civil society NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, and the private sector institutions is crucial.

Targeting the community level: The neighbourhood and community level is particularly pertinent as it is the scene of day-to-day urban life and the place where insecurity and safety are generated. Neighbourhoods are the basic building blocks of cities and the natural setting where democratic citizenship is produced. South Africa's poor and disenfranchised communities in particular are central in realizing safer cities and communities while they are facing the highest amount of violence (paralleled by the highest levels of disenfranchisement and vulnerability). Likewise groups such as women, children, youth, disabled, the elderly and migrants belong to the most vulnerable and are in need of the most attention.

Citywide consensus: Nonetheless the affluent areas of the city are also crucial for the realisation of urban safety. These tend to concentrate the economic and political powers, which decide upon the production of the city. Moreover the existent securitisation of these areas (e.g. through private policing and architectures of fear) tends to aggravate trends of urban fragmentation, polarisation, and urban segregation. The challenge thus lies in stabilising and developing the situation of deprived citizens, households, communities and neighbourhoods and in parallel in fostering a broad consensus on the common future in the city. The citywide definition of a path to urban safety is an integral precondition of this process.

Target vulnerable areas: If compared with other countries, South Africa's poor urban settlements are particularly fragmented and disenfranchised. Many are located in peripheral locations. Formal housing programmes tended to exaggerate this trend. The difficult access to jobs, services and infrastructure correlates with the lack of social capital, democratic leadership and community organisation.<sup>72</sup> Underserviced townships, informal and semi-formal settlements and backyard dwellings leave the residents vulnerable to corruption and the abuse of power of official and unofficial leaders (from corrupt leaders, to gangs and traditional chiefs).

Target vulnerable groups: The poor neighbourhoods portray high concentrations of groups at risk such as children, youth, women, the elderly, disabled, and migrants. In this context concentrated efforts are needed to promote and protect disadvantaged and vulnerable populations and to include these groups into decision-making processes. Likewise, a focus on active citizen participation with an emphasis on youth is needed.

Building citizen capacity: Citizens and CBOs lack information on constitutional rights and are not aware of their rights e.g. relating to their right to information and participation.

Therefore information and the mobilisation of local self-organisation, capacities and local leadership should be at the top of the development agenda. It becomes crucial to promote democratic principles (good governance, accountability, transparency) in addition to strategies of spatial, social and economic integration in combination with urban safety and risk reduction as represented by the country's development targets. Towards these ends communities and CBOs are in need of social organisation and citizenship training, independent legal support, support of NGO's, training activities, and partnerships with universities and private sector bodies.

Safety competence: Likewise citizens and CBOs lack an understanding of the role of public space and urban safety as a public good as well as their role in the process of producing urban safety. Here information and training are also needed.

Co-production of "emergency" services: Therefore targeted "emergency" services should be seen as a priority and as a short-term strategy. The creation of safe nodes and corridors should be viewed as a medium-term strategy and the goal of mixed-use urbanisation as a long-term strategy. This "emergency" service strategy needs a concerted approach of social, economic and urban development and dedicated central funding. It needs to be managed and implemented by the local government. But with missing capacities and no time to loose, all efforts should be made to harness the energies and socio-cultural resources existent in neighbourhoods and those of civil society stakeholders including, existing leaders, the private sector and FBOs.

Non-politically aligned community organisations have proven to be highly effective mechanisms of empowerment and social empowerment capacity building. They have been explored by NGO's such as Planact as Community Development Committees (in Orlando East, Soweto and in Spring Valley Emelahlani, or by the VPUU programme as Community

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<sup>72</sup> The Statistics South Africa's 2011 General Household Survey found that about 1.1-million South African households of all races lived in informal settlements or what were described as "shacks not in a backyard". A further 672,000 lived in shacks in the backyards of existing houses. Moreover 12,8% of South African households were living in circa 2,5 million RDP/state subsidised houses.

Leadership Groups). The role of these bodies is to provide democratic leadership in the process of transformation and formalisation, to promote consensus building, to prioritise problems, to coordinate community planning efforts and local management.

Social development zones: It may become essential in this context to demarcate semi-formal special development zones, a practice that is currently being tested in selected informal settlement upgrading schemes (e.g. Ruimsig Informal Settlement, Roodeport).

Building trust through accountability and information: The legacy of apartheid and an authoritarian state also implies that government institutions lack trust – in particular among the poor and excluded citizens. In this vein “violence is often an expression of resistance by urban residents to [government approaches of] military, policing, and relief” (Muggah 2012: 21). The trust challenge is a further justification to foster participation and accountability mechanisms in combination with information in an appropriate and accessible format. It is important that people need to feel that their inputs can have an impact. The National Treasury affirms that “a complete shift in mind-set is required, including a greater willingness to learn from global experiences and to move away from state-determined and state-led development.” (NT 2012: CSP: 4)

Decentralised service centres: A system of distributed and jointly run community facilities and social service centres can serve as an effective instrument to bridge the gap between service delivery and local needs. Outlets of the police and local mediation facilities and victim attention desks should be offered on neighbourhood level at accessible distances. These can be an integral part of safe nodes/ networks and mixed-use urbanisation strategies. (Cf. to the discussion under financial resources above).

Fostering a culture of participation: The image and the expectation of a paternalistic state is deeply entrenched in peoples’ minds, and communities expect and wait for 100% delivery of services, and a local culture of participation is underdeveloped. Citizens, rich and poor, don't know how to participate. The above-mentioned approach to empowerment towards active citizenship and the development of democratic leadership requires support from civil society groups. Moreover a strategy of small, rapid interventions should assist to achieve a critical mass of people’s trust and to kick off productive processes, “[capitalizing] on the creative energy of communities to efficiently generate new uses and revenue for places in transition.” (UN-HABITAT 2012: 15).

Safe rooms and open mobility: As poor and disadvantaged communities are lacking safe room for personal, social, cultural and economic development and therefore “improving the built environment is essential to create the necessary conditions for collective action in affected communities” (Marc & Willman 2010: xvi). Public strategies should maximise accessibility for all residents and foster the development of safe areas in vulnerable settlements that enable community organization and action. The spaces need to be based on an urban vision and include a mix of functions e.g. shops and markets, education facilities, offices. Existing programmes of urban upgrading and neighbourhood development (NDP) combined with social development etc. should be employed towards these ends.

Linking safety and community development: At the moment local governments do not have the resources and capacity required to reach out to all citizens in need through formal structures such as Community Safety Forums. Lacking intermediary efficiencies can be increased by linking urban and community safety needs to urban and community development initiatives at the grass roots level. This would ensure that a holistic spectrum of risks and opportunities (from employment, to violence, and climate risks) is taken into account when planning efforts are made. Therefore there should be close organisational linkages between neighbourhood level development forums and neighbourhood safety forums (as local branches of community safety forums). In terms of instruments, neighbourhood level safety plans should be coordinated with development plans. Spatially, neighbourhood safety centres can be integrated with community development centre.

**Table 3: Summary of the urban approach to safety**

It is integral, that urban safety and security is factored into urban planning and risk management strategies of cities at various levels. The inclusion of safety and security in IDPs, beyond road safety, protection from fire and flooding etc., needs to be accompanied by relevant financial allocations to enable local government to play a more proactive role in crime and violence prevention.

Integration of safety into the IUDF should be done with public participation as a precondition if success is to be registered.

- The proposed approach to urban safety is composed of three components aiming to combine 1) appropriate and accountable response mechanisms, 2) a systemic prevention approach, and 3) tactics that build on and expand on urban opportunities and energies.

In this context, the urban approach to safety

- regards urban and community safety as a basic need and as a public good that is a vital ingredient of the urban advantage
- requires a city wide collaborative vision on sustainable development, access, integration and equity including all citizens
- promotes a focus on the most vulnerable groups: e.g. Women, youth and the poor. Co-production and developmental partnerships with communities
- identifies public spaces and safe transport corridors as viable entry points for the strategy (Cf. "Corridors of freedom" in Johannesburg, Neighbourhood Development Programme of the National Treasury)
- Public participation in urban safety initiatives is crucial. It is promoted through:
- Strengthening CSFs or related community based initiatives – skills development and capitalization
- Capacitating local government into the main actor in local crime and violence prevention (Subsidiary system of Community Safety Forums, Ward level committees, and Neighbourhood development and safety forums) and operationalisation of intergovernmental committees and transversal teams on urban safety.
- Establishing intermediary development committees to bridge temporary service delivery gaps and deficient local government capacities in close collaboration with local organizations – CBOs, local NGOs, Faith Based Organizations and private sector bodies.

## 11 Conclusion

Principally, this paper situates global discourses and experiences of violence and crime prevention initiatives within the context of South African cities so as to gauge the potential lessons from international experience and good practice from which South Africa may learn. Some key "ingredients for success" include:

- The capacity to instil a holistic focus and thus derive a comprehensive understanding of the attributes contributing to urban safety;
- The ability to sufficiently incorporate social components into prevention mechanisms;
- The capability to strengthen security and justice institutions;
- The propensity to transform spaces of violence and to create safety nodes and corridors;
- The inclination to substantially incorporate community participation;
- The partiality to thoroughly utilize mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation.

It becomes clear that the promotion of urban safety is dependent on multi-sectoral approaches that address the varied drivers and dimensions present that underpin the realisation of cities that are unsafe. In the context of South Africa, the historical basis of planned segregation under Apartheid that drove urban development and planning still very much contributes to the present day existence of marginalised, fragile society characterised by severe inequality, poverty, lack of economic opportunity and resultant unemployment, all of which aid in perpetuating social hardship and unrest. The spatial characteristics of violence and crime within urban South Africa confirm this point, as former township areas and the continuously growing urban informal settlements experience the highest levels of violence and crime. Furthermore, it is these areas that are least protected and in which particular populations groups that are most vulnerable to victimization, including women, children, the elderly, disabled and most importantly in terms of South Africa's the youth.

Despite the development of much progressive policy and the recognition of violence and crime in South Africa as a complex social problem requiring the input of all sectors of government as well as non-governmental organisations and civil society, the current status quo outlined in this document realises some fundamental challenges that continue to hinder the successful development of safe, resilient cities in South Africa:

- Unclear mandates remain a challenge, particularly for local government which is the key sphere of government in position to address urban safety challenges in close cooperation with local communities, based on specific needs identification
- A reliance on reactive measures remains, with dominant focus and spending allocated to policing and the criminal justice system
- Violence and crime prevention methods, including spatial, institutional and social development aspects are recognised as a key mechanisms. These are not however sufficiently integrated into comprehensive local development plans.
- Deficiencies in the coordination of government spheres (vertical coordination) as well as line departments within the sphere of local government itself (horizontal coordination) persist, requiring improvements in cooperation mechanisms supported by a commonly developed vision and support for urban safety.
- Difficulties in terms of police accountability and trust in both the police services and criminal justice system remain a key challenge; one that highlights the necessity to improve these systems as well as develop and improve workable partnerships between police and local communities.

Essentially, the successful development of safer South African cities is reliant on a solid foundation of good urban governance, the correct planning mechanisms and of course the efficient allocation of resources, financial and otherwise. The realisation of the urban approach to safety demands an integrated multi-sectoral consideration of the ways in which urban safety mechanisms can best be mainstreamed across development practices and the respective roles of all spheres of government. The importance of improved support for local government mandates through the IUDF process in the delivery of urban safety measures has therefore been highlighted and results in the following overarching conclusions:

- 1) In order to be successfully achieved, it is integral that urban safety be factored into the urban planning and risk management strategies of all cities across South Africa.
- 2) The inclusion of safety and security within comprehensive local development plans must be supported by existing structures, such as the Community Safety Forum, and relevant financial allocations, such as the Neighbourhood Development Programme, to ensure that local government can adopt a more proactive role in tackling violence and crime. The government must bring the services to the communities at neighbourhood level e.g. through a decentralised system of multipurpose community service centres.
- 3) Community safety plans must provide a targeted focus on deprived areas within cities and likewise concentrate on interventions targeting the support of particularly vulnerable urban populations, most importantly women, children and youth. At the same time they require a comprehensive city wide consensus and vision.
- 4) Partnerships between government departments, non-government organisations and civil society must be fostered and supported by the implementation of processes of participation and co-production, supported by the common understanding of urban safety as a public good for which all sectors of society are responsible. In this context NGO's and CBOs and semi-formal Neighbourhood Development Committees will have a significant role to play in addressing persisting service delivery gaps.

Within these overarching conclusions, participation in particular is emphasised. Collaborative partnerships between the government and the people are expected to most contribute to the urban approach to safety in terms of proactively engaging existing social energies. Participation as a central focus of the urban approach to safety is essential in terms of harnessing urban social energies and creating developmental environments where active citizenship and ownership becomes the norm.



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## 13 Annex

**Table 4: Types of violence and crime [adapted from Moser (2004: 5)]**

Category of violence	Possible agent/perpetrator	Manifestations
<b>Political</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>State and non-state actors</li> </ul>	Visible
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Armed conflict</li> <li>Paramilitary conflict</li> <li>Political assassinations</li> <li>Strike violence</li> </ul>
		Invisible
<b>Institutional</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Violence of state and other informal Institutions (including the private sector)</li> </ul>	Visible
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Extra-judicial killings by the police</li> <li>Physical or psychological abuse by health and education workers</li> <li>State or community vigilante - directed social cleansing of gangs and street children</li> <li>Necklacing of suspected criminals by community members</li> </ul>
		Invisible
<b>Economic/Social</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gangs</li> <li>Street Children (boys and girls)</li> <li>Ethnic violence</li> </ul>	Visible
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Territorial or identity based "turf" violence</li> <li>Armed robbery</li> <li>Theft</li> <li>Petty theft</li> <li>Communal riots</li> </ul>
		Invisible
<b>Social</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Intimate partner violence inside the home</li> <li>Sexual violence (including rape), in the public arena</li> <li>Child abuse: boys and girls</li> <li>Intergenerational conflict between parents and children</li> <li>Gratuitous/ routine daily violence</li> <li>Self-directed violence</li> </ul>	Visible
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Physical or psychological male-female abuse</li> <li>Physical and sexual abuse, particularly prevalent in the case of step fathers but also uncles</li> <li>Physical and psychological abuse</li> <li>Incivility in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights and street confrontations</li> <li>Arguments that get out of control</li> <li>Suicide/ self-inflicted injury</li> </ul>
		Invisible

## General diagnosis of the main challenges from a financial point of view:

Dedicated funds required: Although safety and security is a national priority, central resources and targeted finance of violence prevention initiatives at the local level and holistic initiatives on urban safety are missing in South Africa (GIZ 2012b: 2).<sup>73</sup> Occasional financial and technical resources exist on an international level from multilateral and bilateral donors and research institutions such as the World Bank, the European Development Bank, the German Development Bank (KfW), the International Centre for Crime Prevention, or the Violence Prevention Programme of the German Development Cooperation (GIZ), of foundations such as the Open Society Foundation. And most programmes initiated by seed funding by these institutions demonstrate a huge success (E.g. the VPUU Programme in Cape Town, the Urban Safety Node in Durban, or the OSF community crime prevention programme - Cf. to earlier discussions in this paper).

Strategise revenue streams local level: Furthermore, the diagnosis is that definite revenue streams of resources at the local level are not established, and bodies that could strategise, coordinate and bundle the flows of funding on urban safety are generally not in place within municipalities. Indeed this is an essential task for new forums i.e. the model of the Community Policing Forum as discussed above.

Small and medium sized municipalities in particular lack sufficient resources to develop their safety plans at local level. This challenge needs to be tackled by inducing better collaboration among district governments (an important task for provincial governments), by supporting pilot projects and by promoting more decentralised services at downscaled standards at the neighbourhood level.

Smart use of existing programmes: At the same time various financial programmes such as infrastructure grants, urban upgrading programs and social development, educational, and job generation grants exist<sup>74</sup>, but are not adequately utilised for the realisation of urban safety. What is therefore needed is a smart project implementation that synergistically combines the perspectives of visions and on-the-ground needs and strategically utilises existing funding mechanisms for urban regeneration, social development, health, electrification, transport and infrastructure, sport development, arts and culture and community works programme grants to promote urban safety and coordinate activities on city wide level. (Cf. the discussion of exemplary grants below). This could be achieved by the initialisation of safety knowledge platforms resulting from knowledge partnerships between Community Safety Forums and Research Institutions.

Develop need based service distribution system at community level: While the local level either lacks resources for dedicated issues such as safety, or does not have the capacity to expend available means, services and capacities are unevenly distributed on the ground. E.g. Police stations and social service centres in the poor and disadvantages areas such as townships and informal settlements are in short supply. The size of the geographical interface between local government and the "client" neighbourhoods and communities tends to be too large. Wards often account for 100.000 people, whereas a 'normal' urban neighbourhood normally consists of 300 to 3000 residents.<sup>75</sup> In this context people-oriented service delivery and community-oriented governance is hardly achievable.

Therefore, a better, more effective, efficient, sustainable and demand driven distribution system for services on the ground is highly desirable. This could be realised by neighbourhood-based service outlets, which maximise efficiencies by combining several functions, from social services to community policing and counselling.

Acknowledge and employ NGOs and CBOs in service delivery: As long as there is a delivery gap, support from NGOs and CBOs needs to be factored in the programmes and other community energies such as volunteerism, semi-formal institutions such as Community Development Committees, micro finance mechanisms and participatory finance should be tapped. The development of the most vulnerable neighbourhoods should be prioritised and international funding mechanisms should be explored. Moreover numerous positive national lessons and international lessons exist and can be adapted.<sup>76</sup>

Participation increases resource efficiency: A key outcome of our general considerations on resource efficiency in service delivery on urban safety is the observation that community participation is a core factor. Projects that are implemented without involvement of the target communities right from the start tend to fail, while standardised approaches that do not take local needs into account fail to spot the relevance of ownership and identification. Numerous failed programmes worldwide demonstrate that the paternalistic and "detached" approach is unsustainable and becomes a costly affair as it ends shortly after the project funds have been spent.

<sup>73</sup> GIZ 2012: Research on available national funds for safety/security/violence prevention measures: Final Report

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Annexe of the Division of Revenue Act 2011

<sup>75</sup> The number is based on common experience and urban planning practice. A neighbourhood of 500m walking radius and a density of 100 persons per hectare will amount to approximately 3600 people.

<sup>76</sup> Bogotá, created 6,600 one to two room, 2 policemen, police stations in strategic locations to detect and prevent violence and crime (Shaw & Carli 2011: 73). Many of the stations in the most vulnerable areas are topped include family services and counselling including lawyers, psychologists, doctors, and social workers (Comisarías de Familia).