

CHAPTER THREE

SIYAMLALA

3. SIY AHLALA

3.1 Introduction to the pilot site

Before March 21, 2001, this site was merely a plot of farmland situated about 30 km southwest of Cape Town but on that date it was occupied to become ‘Siyahlala’, which means “we stay here.” Today Siyahlala is a low-income informal settlement of about 1300 dwellings, populated mainly by Xhosa speakers (95%). It was the smallest pilot site in the study: one square kilometre of Brown’s Farm (Ward 80) which fits within Nyanga, a 15-square kilometre peri-urban area of rapid population influx that includes seven wards.¹

In February 2006, the Nyanga policing area was listed as one of the SAPS priority areas targeted nationally for crime reduction owing to high levels of violent crime.² At that time, Sector 3 (Brown’s Farm) had a reputation for being among the most violent of Nyanga’s five policing sectors.³ No month would pass without many serious crimes including murders, rapes and assaults. The evaluator conducted the 2006 baseline study for this report just after four murder victims had been dumped in an open field next to the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God that overlooked Siyahlala (Monwood Drive/Aspen Road).⁴

For the 2006/2007 financial year, Nyanga surpassed Mamelodi to top the list of all places nationwide for murder statistics and it also rated highly in terms of most other contact crimes.⁵ Yet for roughly the same period (May 2006, the start of piloting, to June 2007) crime figures plummeted at the Siyahlala site (see Section 3.8.1).

Interviewees and focus group members reported the environment as *much* safer. The

¹ The wards are 33, 34, 35, 36, 75, 80 and 88.

² Nyanga has such a high murder rate that it is frequently referred to as South Africa’s murder capital. For instance, see Powel, Anel, “We’re still SA’s murder capital,” Cape Times, 4 July 2007, p.1.

³ The Nyanga sector includes Nyanga, Crossroads, Kosovo, Samora Machel and Browns Farm

⁴ Griggs, Richard, Developing a Community Prosecution Model for South Africa: The Baseline Study for a Planned Evaluation, October 2006.

⁵ National Department of Safety and Security, National Serious Crime Figures and Ratios, April 2006-March 2007, Pretoria, June 2007; Feni, Zama, “Top cop steps in to tackle Nyanga crime,” Cape Argus, 1 June 2007, p.3.

change was also attributed by interviewees and survey respondents to the community prosecutions pilot project. The evaluator examined the data to determine the precise reasons for this phenomenon. The eight sections below will describe all relevant features of piloting at this site, correlate this to certain impacts, discuss the general impacts and then suggest how these findings might be relevant to a national model.

3.2 IMPACT OF THE SITE ON PILOTING COMMUNITY PROSECUTIONS

Discussion pertains to the (1) advantages of the site; (2) challenges to the site for piloting; (3) the size of the pilot site and (4) analysis of these factors.

3.2.1 Advantages of the site

There were some advantages that facilitated piloting at this site:

- There was a very cooperative SAPS station (Nyanga) undergoing an upgrade and with significant resources (204 members and crime prevention programmes) only two kilometres from the pilot site
- A CPF, while reported as dysfunctional, did meet in the area (Nyanga)
- The Councillor from Ward 80 (Moses Baskiti) was located near the site at the City of Cape Town Philippi Office
- Zolani Community Hall in Nyanga provided a fairly convenient meeting hall for key partners in government and civil society (although a little far for community members)

3.2.2 Challenges to the site for piloting

The two CMPs, Fiona Cloete and Machel Jacobs, were new to Siyahlala at the start of their work in April/May 2007 and the baseline study identified the key challenges that faced them in terms of reducing high crime levels:

- Unlicensed shebeens (much crime originated here)
- Lack of development (creating environmental opportunities for crime like open fields, etc)
- Poor service delivery (e.g., poor policing, no waste removal, many health hazards)

- High unemployment (this contributes to both frustration and idleness, both of which can lead individuals into criminal activities)
- A lack of cooperation by community leaders
- The ‘shacks’ or informal dwellings in Siyahlala were heavily congested--crowded together with extensive backyard shacking.

These conditions contributed to:

- Many out-of-school youth who either engaged in crime or were victimised by it (e.g., gangs and youth harass in-school learners)
- Weak levels of community organisation around crime prevention
- A lack of trust in police and government generally by the community
- High levels of vigilantism
- Violence, rape and sexual abuse (many in interviews attributed this to overcrowding--five or more people might occupy a tiny dwelling)
- Low reporting levels
- Great suspicion of outsiders
- Intense local politics
- Dysfunctional neighbourhood watches (members were too scared to patrol saying they were not armed)
- Ineffective reservists (they feared putting their life on the line)

3.2.3 The size of the pilot site

The site was so small in terms of area (1 square kilometre) and population (perhaps 3000-4000 people) that it did allow for manageable strategies and concentrated impact (e.g., compare this to Mandela Extension, which is 5 square kilometres and includes three policing sectors and 200,000 people). However, every participant in round-table discussion agreed that Siyahlala was *too small* of a site for community prosecutions (less than 5% of the ward).⁶ They argued that this kind of scale:

- Limited impact to a small area

⁶ Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

- Replicated structures that might be found at a wider scale such that efforts were duplicated (e.g., crèche programmes exist for all of Ward 80)
- Limited cooperation because most local government departments, SAPS, civil society organisations and other potential partners concerned with crime prevention operate at a much larger geographic scale (i.e., there is a need to address crime problems in partnerships and therefore in accordance with the scale at which chief partners like SAPS and the CPF operate).
- Generated problems of crime displacement

Thus, while it will be shown in this chapter that good impact was made, all of the CMP's partners agreed during round-table discussion, that it was too small of a target site.⁷

3.2.4 Analysis of site selection

What would be the most appropriate geographic unit for a community prosecutor to address? Those who participated in research in Siyahlala did not agree on the scale that should be targeted. Three options were suggested and debated during round-table discussion:

- *Ward 80: This adjusts the CMP area to fit with a Ward Council (Councillor Baskiti) and this ward includes two police stations (Philippi West and Nyanga)*
- *Brown's Farm: arguably a manageable scale but it is only part of one SAPS station*
- *Policing Sectors: For example, this might be Philippi, which brings three ward councillors to the table and ties all stakeholders to SAPS crime prevention activities*

In the evaluator's analysis, targeting entire *SAPS priority areas* for crime prevention (a large area than any of those discussed above) is recommended for these six reasons:

- It is problematic to target only a ward since this associates community prosecution with political divisions when the post should be associated chiefly with improved service delivery and inter-departmental partnerships aimed at driving down crime and reducing the court roll.

⁷ Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

- Further to the above, a ward councillor might be corrupt, creating a potentially bad association for the NPA (e.g., see next chapter on Mamelodi).
- Siyahlala and Brown's Farm were too small of a target site for extensive partnership building
- Targeting individual policing sectors makes the CMP dependent on one SAPS station while working with more than one SAPS station avoids co-dependency on SAPS management and personalities (for good examples of this described problem see the chapters on Mdantsane and Mamelodi)⁸
- For measuring impact, it is better to include more than one station owing to the problem of crime displacement
- Partnership opportunities are highest at SAPS priority sites (which can include more than one station)

Interestingly, Nyanga has three SAPS Stations—Nyanga, Philippi East and Philippi West. The CMP was encouraged by SAPS and partners to work with all three (and did). That she was drawn into working this way is another indication that the pilot site was too small.

In the final analysis, it seems that the sites targeted for community prosecution should correspond to SAPS-defined high priority areas when feasible (whole station areas). It does *not* suggest a hard, fast rule since there are other factors to examine including the crime problems, the size of the area, population figures and available NPA resources and personnel. Furthermore, partnership building might be required at national level so as to cement the SAPS/NPA partnership for such a programme.

There are also other considerations for setting up community prosecution in a manageable way. For instance, access to at least one convenient meeting hall seems relevant (for wider targeting several would be better).⁹ Auditing local crime prevention structures within a station area at the start of the intervention also seems practical since

⁸ Nyanga has three SAPS Stations—Nyanga, Philippi East SAPS and Philippi West SAPS. The CMP worked with all three but much of the partnership concentrated with SAPS Nyanga.

⁹ The Zolani Meeting Hall was useful for meetings with the more empowered stakeholders from government but one for community meetings, called the Supershack, was a challenge and well-named--it was basically a shack with no insulation.

any partner will not do. Personalities and organisations vary in terms of value and performance and yet are so important to outcomes that it is worthwhile auditing and analysing these factors. To enter partnerships and join structures without a careful audit and analysis might focus efforts on dysfunctional groupings.

3.3 IMPACT OF THE APPOINTED COMMUNITY PROSECUTORS

This section concerns: (1) the suitability of the CMP to the role, (2) time available for piloting and (3) an analysis of the previous two factors.

3.3.1 Suitability to the role

Interestingly, at the time of the baseline study, there was discussion that the assignment of two Afrikaans-speaking women to a Xhosa-speaking community might be problematic. Two outsiders would have to engage the suspicion and intense local politics that prevailed in a Xhosa-speaking informal community in order to build the trust for effective community prosecution. This did take about six months but in the final analysis, being seen as outsiders was often an advantage because Xhosa women in the community confront much male chauvinism. The CMPs were less subjected to this dynamic owing to difference.¹⁰ Furthermore, trust was established between the CMPs and the community owing to *delivery on commitments* as will be evidenced in the sections below.

3.3.2 Time available for piloting

Since the pilot site was located within the Wynberg Cluster but the owner of the CMP project was Cape Town Chief Prosecutor Alma Smith, two community prosecutors were appointed to this site in February 2006: (1) SPP Fiona Cloete from Cape Town who had started community courts in Sea Point in 2005; and (2) Machel Jacobs, a public prosecutor coming from Wynberg. This extra complement of human resources made it possible to make many impacts.

¹⁰ Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview, Cape Town, 04 June 2007.

Each CMP devoted about 30% of their time to the project (counting weekends and evenings) but collectively this amounted to 30-40 hours a week. This time for piloting was allocated roughly as follows:

- 45% of the time of the CMPs was engaged in stakeholder coordination (formal and ad hoc meetings).
- 45% of the time of the CMP was direct community engagement
- 10% was doing reports and planning events¹¹

3.3.4 Analysis: the appointed community prosecutors

Does a good community prosecutor have certain character traits that might be important in terms of appointments? In the evaluator's analysis, the features of these two CMPs with the most relevance for making impact at this site were experience, time-availability, and accessibility:

- Experience: Fiona Cloete came with 16 years of experience as a prosecutor and several years of experience in community-based development.
- Time-availability: Since each CMP devoted a large amount of time to the project, this resulted in a large number of activities with a crime intervention impact as will be described in the sections below (see especially Section 3.7).
- Accessibility: CMP Fiona Cloete made her cell phone number available to the community and in the words of one community member, "She came whenever needed—even if in the middle of the night."¹²

The foregoing offers some lessons concerning the appointment of community prosecutors:

- Being accessible and committed to the community is much more important than ethnic or cultural background
- An understanding of community dynamics is very helpful

¹¹ Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview 03 June 2007

¹² Kanti, Sylvia, Focus Group with Informal Business Owners, Siyahlala, 05 June 2007.

- Flexible hours are required

It became more difficult for Fiona Cloete to maintain all the initial activities and structures (alone) *after* Machel Jacobs departed. This reveals that that being an effective CMP is NOT a part-time job. Furthermore, at least two more community prosecutors must be appointed in order to sustain the learning (see recommendations).

3.4 THE OFFICE LOCATION AND ITS IMPACT

This section pertains to the office site including: (1) a description; and (2) an analysis of the impact of this location.

3.4.1 Description of office location

At the start of the pilot, the CMPs were located at a community court in Gugulethu (very close to Siyahlala). This was petrol-bombed just after the May 2006 baseline study (one month into piloting). This made it impossible for the CMPs to operate from this location as originally planned. They chose to operate from the court house in Philippi (6 km away).

The new location was not ideal (so distant from the site that community members could not easily access it) but operating from a court house appeared to be a better choice than operating from a SAPS station or a municipal facilities because it provided neutrality.¹³ According to Fiona Cloete, it would be difficult to critique SAPS or partner with them effectively if on their turf. If operating from municipal offices, it is easy to be perceived as politically aligned and this is what kept the CMPs out of a public works site that was offered to them: the ANC councillor had his office there.

The bombing of the court presented many challenges including these:

¹³ Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview, Cape Town, 04 June 2007

- Court statistics then came to the CMP from three courts (Philippi, Athlone and Wynberg) making the paperwork more cumbersome for both the prosecutor and those processing cases in the courts¹⁴
- SPP Fiona Cloete could not make use of her extensive experience with running community courts in Cape Town and in Sea Point
- The CMPs could not enable quick local justice and unclog the courts by handling cases of assault, damage to property, and the breach of municipal bylaws.
- Diversion and alternative sentencing could not be developed
- Rapid multi-agency cooperation was hampered (service providers like NICRO, SAPS, Justice and Social Development formerly came to the community court)
- The Department of Correctional Services did not become a good partner but seemingly would have if there had been a court¹⁵

3.4.2 Analysis: Impact of the office location

While the loss of the community court presented some challenges, this was ultimately beneficial to the evaluation data. To develop effective community prosecution, the two CMPs would have to work *much more directly* with community members at site. Thus, CMP strategy at this site was partly the product of someone fire-bombing the community court: it pushed the delivery strategy toward one that was very developmental and very 'hands-on'.

Since the evaluation data in the sections below documents much crime prevention impact at this site including a drop in crime levels, it is evident that community prosecution can be highly effective *without* a community court (see also Mamelodi or Ngangelizwe).

Notwithstanding the above finding, the *best* location is a community court because it is more advantageous to have one, less challenging in terms of building an identity for community prosecutions (affiliation with a court clarifies the role), and more befitting to a prosecutor. It also seems best to have the court in a secure place (i.e., the community

¹⁴ Mphako, Brenda, Interview, Philippi Court, 05 June 2007

¹⁵ Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview, 03 June 2007, Cape Town

court at Durban SAPS has never been threatened). Those sites *without* access to a court might require either an independent NPA office or mobile unit with security that is close to the pilot site and politically neutral. This is because:

- The office of the CMP should not be affiliated with the politics that obtain with local government, political parties and community politics.
- The community prosecutor cannot be located directly in the community and made vulnerable to high crime and vigilantism

The bombing of the Fezeka Community Court that occurred at the time of piloting is one example of potential problems (local politics). Another example is that CMP Fiona Cloete was threatened with a hammer when taking photos of people selling scrap from stolen goods (cars, cables, etc) at the scrap yard.¹⁶

3.5 DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY PROSECUTION AND IMPACT

Definitions of the CMP role shaped the strategy that was employed at the various sites and sometimes the definition changed to fit the evolving strategy. The initial definition of the CMP role in Siyahlala was documented in the 2006 baseline study as this:

A hands-on prosecutor who unlike traditional prosecutors is actively involved in crime prevention and part of a team that can develop social crime prevention strategies

This working definition came to be modified. In the absence of a community court, the CMPs became more intensely involved with the community than anticipated. They took a hands-on approach to integrating and coordinating stakeholders around community-defined challenges and solutions. Thus, a more accurate definition of a community prosecutor according to what occurred at this site would be:

One who identifies crime problems at the community level and then helps to integrate and coordinate the activities of stakeholders at all levels to develop and *help implement* crime prevention strategies.

¹⁶ Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview with the evaluator, Cape Town, 04 June 2007.

This definition fits well with findings from other sites (e.g., Point) and finds corroboration in terms of the percentage of CMP time allocated to activities at this site (See Section 3.3.2--Time available for piloting). Roughly half the hours were expended on direct community engagement and the other half on stakeholder coordination.

Time spent with the community should be a critical hallmark of community prosecutions. Some CMPs concentrated their time on partnering with service providers (Northern Cape) but it does not quite make sense to start with departmental delivery strategies and then negotiate with the community because there might be gaps and problems with service delivery and with the strategies themselves (i.e., this can be a factor reproducing high crime levels).

It is also significant that some of the CMP time was aimed at producing measurable short term impacts (e.g., close a shebeen). This was balanced with time expended on longer term strategies that are more difficult to measure in terms of impact (crèche facilities). Taken together, the strategy of working on both can build community confidence and enthusiasm through short-term deliverables while also addressing the deeper more long-term crime prevention issues that can create sustained impact.

3.6 CMP STRUCTURES FOR DELIVERY

This section documents the crime prevention structures that were either developed or utilised to create partnerships for crime prevention activities and their impact. Impacts can also be attributed to certain kinds of activities (Section 3.7) or to the mix of structures and many activities (Section 3.8).

For Siyahlala, the CMPs developed two new structures (the Siyahlala Local Community Committee and its Steering Committee) and contributed to the formation of the Social Crime Prevention Forum and otherwise served on four pre-existing ones for crime prevention. Thus, there were seven key structures for developing crime prevention activities:

1. The Siyahlala Local Community Committee
2. The Siyahlala CMP Steering Committee
3. General community meetings
4. SAPS: Joint Operations, Sector Management and General Partnering
5. Community Policing Forum meetings and Community Safety Forum meetings
6. The Forum for Social Crime Prevention
7. Strategic partnerships between the NPA and other agencies, departments and civil society groups for specific events and activities

These seven structures are listed and described below along with some of the impacts that can be directly attributed to them. An eighth subheading concludes this section with a brief analysis of the structures.

3.6.1 Siyahlala Local Community Committee

Much impact in Siyahlala can be attributed to two integrated structures designed by the CMPs to spearhead local crime prevention activities: (a) the Siyahlala Local Community Committee and (b) the CMP Steering Committee. These were separate bodies but were two parts of an integrated strategy. Discussed in this section is the local community committee, which would identify the community irritants and report them to the steering committee for taking action (discussed next in Section 3.6.2).

CMP Fiona Cloete set this up the Local Community Committee (LCC) and *chaired* the meetings which met every second Monday at 6pm at the ‘Supershack’, an accessible but rather dilapidated meeting hall on municipal land in Siyahlala. The meetings also included many workshops that had a major impact on local community organisation (see impacts immediately below). The LCC is composed of:

- Two representatives from each of Siyahlala’s seven sections (A to G)
- The SAPS Sector Manager
- Local Government
- The ANC Youth League

- SANCO
- NGOs
- A representative from the business sector

At least one representative from each of the seven sections would attend the meeting (hence, the need to appoint two) and at these meetings, the group would identify their quality of life problems. The CMPs would take this information to the CMP Steering Committee with the aim of identifying the appropriate partners to resolve each one. The LCC was also a critical mechanism for giving feedback to the community. “It is much better than a newsletter said CMP Cloete.”¹⁷ The group was also extensively capacitated in the law and crime awareness by the CMP on the weekends.

Impact of the local community committee

The structure had major crime prevention impacts because:

- It came to replace the existing street committees which were unlawful, responsible for vigilantism and not working through legal channels.
- It developed into a body responsible for identifying the community irritants and reporting them to the CMP steering committee and SAPS (the sector managers attended)
- The identification of community irritants led to many crime prevention impacts as discussed in the context of the steering committee (next section below).

One participant on this structure reported (along with many others) that “vigilantism no longer existed in Siyahlala because there is a new code of conduct and constitutional bodies had replaced street committees.”¹⁸ Thus members of street committees that practiced vigilantism (an illegal activity) came to be incorporated into legal and law-

¹⁷ Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview, 03 June 2007, Cape Town.

¹⁸ Maarman, B, Ward 80, Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

abiding structures. This was a product of the senior CMP work-shopping the leadership. “It liberated us,” said one of the committee members.¹⁹

3.6.2 The CMP Steering Committee

The CMP Steering Committee was also created by the CMP. It consists of leaders and stakeholders that meet every two months. This included representatives from the following:

- The NPA (community prosecutors)
- Business partners in the area
- Social Development
- Two educators (one from each of two schools in Siyahlala)
- NGOs
- Representatives from the LCC (described in the section above)
- SAPS
- Metro Police
- Department of Community Safety
- Local Government
- ANC Youth League
- The Community Policing Forum

This is the group with clout that can take action on the problems identified by the LCC (which also sends representatives). Significantly, owing to its representation on the steering committee, the LCC can report directly back to the community on actions taken by the steering committee (this appears critical to success).

Community irritants were not only identified by the LCC but the steering committee could bring problems to the attention of the LCC too. Then, they would report back to

¹⁹ Maarman, B, Ward 80, Questionnaire and Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

the local level for action (e.g., break-ins reported by business establishments could be addressed in community meetings).

On both structures, certain stakeholders, including the NPA, take responsibility for certain actions. After this, there were report-backs regarding impact.

The impact of both structures

The interrelated bodies described in the two sections above resulted in much cooperation on crime prevention activities. There is extensive corroborating testimony that these two CMP-created structures linked the community to service providers and that this was instrumental in organising effective crime prevention strategy. For instance, the Commander of the Metro Police said during round-table discussion that the reason that crime dropped in Siyahlala owed to the CMP creating a structure in the community that law enforcement could ‘talk to’.²⁰ This seems accurate but it will require the next two sections of the report to detail this properly.

Clear impact will be seen in Section 3.8 terms of:

- Better cooperation among the community
- Better cooperation between the community and government agencies
- Better cooperation among government agencies
- Improved perceptions of the NPA (see Section 3.8.6)
- A drop in reported crimes (see Section 3.8.1).

This is some initial evidence that these structures improved both interagency cooperation and community-based cooperation and created a link between them:

²⁰ Van Rensburg, D. Commander, Metro Police, Facilitated Survey and Discussion, Zolani Centre, 06 June 2007

- Two structures now work together: the area committee identifies irritants and this goes straight to the steering committee with the clout to take action.²¹
- The development of these structures corresponds in time to the lowering of the general crime rate (see Section 3.8.1 below).
- These structures appeared to restore confidence in the justice system at the community level based on interviews with their leadership.²²
- The CMP created and capacitated a group that SAPS could access (the area committee members) and this eliminated fear in reporting and fostered a relationship of trust.²³
- It was widely reported on questionnaire forms and in interviews that the services of the police to Siyahlala improved owing to better communications.²⁴
- The Siyahlala Area Committee reported to the evaluator that complaints to SAPS were not previously attended to because the police were ‘scared to come in’. It was argued by them that this improved relationship (between SAPS and the community) was a big factor behind a huge drop in crime in Siyahlala.²⁵
- These structures so improved community-police relations that stakeholders reported that “a relationship of trust” had developed whereas at the time of the baseline there was so much distrust that vigilantism was rampant.

3.6.3 General Community Meetings and impact

In addition to the local community meetings at a representational level as described above, CMP Cloete engaged in general community meetings twice per year. These impacts can be identified:

- These meetings helped to build trust and develop the credibility of the CMP within the community (a key challenge initially)

²¹ Nomjama, Josh, Basil Maarman, Nenele Diyanti, Khaya Diyanti, Zoleka John, Focus Group with Area Committee Members, Siyahlala, 06 June 2007.

²² Siyahlala Area Committee Members (Joshua Nomjama, Basil Maarman, Nenele Diyanti, Khaya Diyanti, Zoleka John), Focus Group, Siyahlala Creche, 06 June 2007.

²³ Siyahlala Area Committee Members (Joshua Nomjama, Basil Maarman, Nenele Diyanti, Khaya Diyanti, Zoleka John), Focus Group, Siyahlala Creche, 06 June 2007.

²⁴ Questionnaire and Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

²⁵ Nomjama, Josh, Basil Maarman, Nenele Diyanti, Khaya Diyanti, Zoleka John, Focus Group with Area Committee Members, Siyahlala, 06 June 2007.

- It increased reporting levels based on testimony (both the police and the community members in focus groups).
- Round-table discussions on 06 June 2007 attributed the end of vigilantism and ‘bundu courts’ (occurring at the time of the baseline study but *not* at the time of the evaluation) to public education and awareness events of which these meetings formed a part (see Section 3.7.1)

3.6.4 SAPS: Joint Operations, Sector Management and Screening Dockets

Early in the intervention, a close strategic partnership developed between SAPS and the CMP that influenced outcomes. CMP Cloete said at the time of the baseline study:

We need each other and SAPS is the biggest stakeholder. They know their key issues in accordance with specific areas. Furthermore, they came on board immediately.”²⁶

The CMPs participated on two main SAPS bodies with the aim of working closely with them to achieve a crime prevention impact. This included: (a) The Weekly SAPS Joint Operations Meeting; and (b) The SAPS Sector Management Meetings for Philippi. The two CMPs also supported SAPS in consultative ways and worked with the police on improving dockets.

(a) The Weekly SAPS Joint Operations Meeting

CMP Cloete was on this body that includes SAPS, Metro Police, Ambulance Services and other law enforcement agencies. This made her part of planning operations. She often explained the legal implications and technicalities (e.g., helping SAPS to make use of evidence to achieve a conviction) but also focused them on problems from Siyahlala (learnt from chairing the LCC meetings every second Monday). For instance:

- The CMPs brought community-based information to these meetings that resulted in joint operations: two raids on a scrap yard that was dealing in stolen items (e.g., Telkom cables, stripped cars, metal goods).
- This operation closed down the scrap yard that was processing stolen items

²⁶ Personal Communication, Fiona Cloete, 08 May 2006.

(b) The SAPS Sector Management Meetings in Philippi

This is mainly to gather information, consolidate partnerships and advocate delivery in Siyahlala. For instance:

- The CMP liaises with the Station Commissioner for Nyanga who attends these
- Attendance helps the CMP to understand the role of the sector manager and cooperate with him on issues pertaining to Siyahlala.

(c) Screening SAPS dockets

The two CMPs originally screened all the cases from Brown's Farm and Fiona Cloete is now helping to do this for all of Nyanga. This procedure helps to: fast-track cases, improve the conviction rate and to follow-up on cases. A CPF member testified during round-table discussion that fewer dockets are now disappearing since the CMPs became involved.²⁷ According to the Metro Police, "Some cases were being thrown out regarding drunken drivers (a breathalyzer problem) but these dockets were strengthened to result in convictions."²⁸

3.6.5 Participation on community policing and community safety forums

The CMPs attended the Philippi CPF meetings (covering Siyahlala) and the Community Safety Forum (CSF) meetings for greater Nyanga. These impacts could be identified:

- The meetings created and sustained partnerships which were vital to the crime prevention activities outlined in section 3.7.
- The CMP used these bodies to advocate for improved service delivery
- Participation by the CMP had a positive impact on the delivery of services in Siyahlala as outlined in the section on activities

²⁷ Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

²⁸ Van Rensburg, D. Commander, Metro Police, Questionnaire and Round-table Discussion, Zolani Centre, 06 June 2007

3.6.6 A Social Crime Prevention Forum was established

The CMP partnered with SAPS to establish this forum that met monthly during 2006 (ownership falls to SAPS) and less frequently during 2007. The forum included:

- SAPS
- NPA
- Social Development (a social worker and a probation officer)
- Health.

The CMPs struggled to get Home Affairs involved but they were not successful. The main impacts were these:

- Three training workshops for constables and trauma personnel at SAPS, social workers, and representatives from Siyahlala (described further below).
- Partnerships for some event days that focused on youth (see section on activities).
- After Machel Jacobs left the CMP post, Fiona Cloete was not able to sustain this forum effectively owing to time constraints and this offers certain lessons: (1) effective coordination is a full-time job; and (2) creating too many new structures can lead to a situation that is difficult to sustain.

3.6.7 Strategic partnerships for outreach

Strategic partnership-building occurred at every site to direct and to mobilise stakeholders toward crime prevention activities. For Siyahlala, the partnerships will be explained first and then the ratings given by the CMP to various partners will be provided.

(A) A brief explanation of the partnerships

The partners outlined below worked together to arrange many kinds of community events (organised usually for weekends and holidays) and participated in regular and ongoing information sessions with the community on *many* nights and weekends. This

cooperation appears to have had a major impact as set out in the next section on activities. The outreach partners included:

- Social Development
- Department of Justice
- Health
- SAPS
- Businesses in the area
- Local Councillors
- Department of Education
- Civil Society Organisations (NICRO, Beautiful Gate, Sakhulwazi Women's Association, Ethafeni , Cape Town Partnership, Tehilla)
- Faith-based organisations, (The Universal Church Youth Movement)

Civil society organisations were particularly helpful with community work, crime prevention at schools (NICRO, Khulisa) and with skills training programmes (Tehilla, Beautiful Gate). The impacts of these partnerships are best understood in terms of activities as outlined in the section below.

Some critical partners were lobbied by the CMPs to participate but would not such that certain kinds of problems could not be addressed as effectively as desired. This is the list of *non-participants* and given in parenthesis are the concerns that could not be addressed adequately owing to their absence:

- Parks and recreation (*open areas*)
- Public Works (*no numbers or addresses for warrants*)
- Roads (*lack of access, no proper streets to patrol*)
- Electricity (*poor lighting*)
- Correctional Services (*preventing offences, reintegration of offenders*)

(B) The CMP ratings on partnerships

Each CMP was asked to identify and rate their most effective partnerships. In the figure immediately below, those listed near the top of the table were highly rated by the CMP as core and willing partners (SAPS, Metro Police, the community and NGOs). Others gradually joined forces with the CMP. The ones near the bottom were not so supportive.

CMP Ratings of the Most Effective Partners in Siyahlala

(0=ineffective; 1=somewhat effective; 2=effective; 3=very effective)

PARTNER	RATING	THE REASON FOR THE RATING IN THE WORDS OF THE CMP
SAPS	2.5	They always show up.
METRO POLICE	2.5	They support us with implementing the by-laws and attend meetings and are there when you need them.
NGOS	2.5	They helped us to implement projects and events.
SIYAHLALA STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING	2.5	They identify problems and give feedback
LOCAL SIYAHLALA COMMITTEE MEETING	2.5	Same as above.
SYAHLALA COMMUNITY	2	They are there for events; have the experience of backing me against the councillor; and are key sources of information.
BUSINESS PARTNERS	2	They are always willing to help with events and attend all the meetings
SAPS JOINTS MEETING	2	This is effective and tells me about the operations. We can help set up patrols and decide where to have the road blocks and other operations.

(Continued on next page)

CMP Ratings of the Most Effective Partners in Siyahlala (continued)

(0=ineffective; 1=somewhat effective; 2=effective; 3=very effective)

PARTNERSHIP BODIES	RATING	THE REASON FOR THE RATING IN THE WORDS OF THE CMP
STATION COMMISSIONER AND SECTOR MANAGERS	2	We can identify problems and explain to them how to respond and they follow through.
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY SAFETY	1	They attend the meetings and do help with the neighbourhood watch but they could implement more programmes and do more training (safety skills, road safety, community safety...)
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	1	They have not been effective on crime prevention and they have been waiting on other people to deliver for them. They should be in charge of crime prevention but have not taken on this role! However, they did give accommodation—to use offices for training like Supershack. They are on the local and steering committee too.
CPF	1	CPF Cape Town and Sea Point are effective but not Nyanga but there is not much community involvement in Nyanga.
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	1	They are involved in our events and we in theirs. They helped to set up training sessions but most of these were for them—helping trauma centre personnel. So, they could be far more effective. We would like them to be active and not just passive participants in meetings. They should be in the community all the time and visible. They should have sessions with the community at schools and should be deployed there. Many children are in trauma and sexually molested and cannot speak about it.
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH	0.5	They are not consistent and only come on board when begged. There are issues around sanitation and HIV-Aids-Why does a lawyer have to identify the sanitation problem around the bins? This should have been inspected by Health.
PARK AND RECREATION	0	Despite asking them to help, they did not come and this was only to address open areas

The partnership pattern described above (one common to most pilot sites) seems important for understanding several points about community prosecution in South Africa:

- Partnership building is gradual and incremental—what we see the first year may not be the same three years from now
- The core and willing partners at the start-up of community prosecutions are usually the law enforcement sector, the community and NGOs
- Municipal partners might be a little slow at first (however, see the chapter on Bohlokong where the municipal partners came aboard quickly owing to the manner of approaching them)

It is also important to observe in the chart above that the CPF Nyanga was seen as weak by the CMP and even dysfunctional. This may have contributed to a duplication of structures at Siyahhlala. It is recommended here and elsewhere in the report that the CMPs work to strengthen CPFs that are not functional rather than develop new structures owing to problems of poor performance since these are legitimate bodies that operate at a more appropriate scale than the identified pilot site (see Section 3.2.3). However, encouraging the CPF to create *sub-forums* in neglected areas to create greater levels of participation also seems appropriate.

3.6.8 Analysis: Structures for Delivery

The two CMPs seemed to have found a winning formula for driving down crime but the only question was the scale at which they operated. In other words, would this same system work at the scale of Nyanga? This might be possible: the evaluator reviewed a similar crime prevention strategy in Tanzania where street committees were also linked to higher level area-wide strategies and even more capacitated government security committees at national level. This drove down crime so substantially that the United Nations took notice and commissioned a study.²⁹

There is extensive corroborating testimony that the CMPs created structures that linked the community to service providers and that this accomplishment was instrumental in organising effective crime prevention strategy. With this as the core strategy, many other

²⁹ Griggs, Richard, 'Sungusungu: community-based policing, Safer Cities, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.' United Nations Report prepared by Inside-Out Research, 2006.

partnerships can evolve such as attendance at crime-combating meetings, where a CMP can advocate change *based upon* good community-based information. This winning formula is simply required at a larger scale than Siyahlala.

3.7 CMP ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT

The partnership structures described above resulted in activities that involved a crime prevention impact and these are discussed immediately below. Itemised and discussed here are the CMPs ten main activities along with discussion of the impacts that can be directly attributed to each of these:

1. Public Education and Crime Awareness Campaigns
2. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
3. Neighbourhood Watches
4. Closing down unlicensed shebeens and encouraging self-regulation
5. Skills training to create employment and combat poverty
6. Victim support
7. Early Childhood Development (a crèche)
8. Feeding schemes: two soup kitchens and food gardens
9. The 'Emergency List'
10. Partnership-building for better government service delivery

An eleventh section (3.7.11 below) collectively analyses all the CMP activities list above. Since a crime prevention impact usually results from many complementary activities, the reader must also consult Section 3.8 (further below) on 'General Impacts' relating to all the strategies.

3.7.1. Public education and crime awareness campaigns

At the time of the baseline study, large numbers of out-of-school youth were highly visible on any school day. This exposed many youngsters to crime and abuse (widely reported by informants in the baseline study) and others of them engaged in criminal

activities (e.g., gang membership, assaults and malicious damage to property). There were also general problems of crime (whether in schools or public areas) that required public education and awareness. Thus, the community was addressed in both schools and in the public arena and this became the longest and most regular of the CMP-initiated activities at this site.

The public education and awareness campaign took place in many different kinds of venues and engaged many different kinds of strategic partnerships for outreach. The impacts (described below) were community wide because this was aimed at all segments of Siyahhlala--youth (in and out of school), adults, women, men, children, and the elderly. Furthermore it was intensive, regular and long-term. This included:

- *Ongoing public education weekends and evenings throughout the intervention:* This was on important crime prevention topics (e.g., the consequences of buying stolen goods, municipal bylaws, etc).
- *CMP outreach during Child Protection Week:* This occurred during May/June 2006 and 2007 and included awareness programmes on topics such as drugs and substance abuse, sexual abuse, gangsterism and children's rights. The CMPs also introduced a 'buddy system' for children walking to school so they were less vulnerable to attack in the community.
- *Outreach on Women's Day 2006:* talks on domestic violence and other safety issues
- *A school holiday programme for learners:* This took place during two weeks between during late June and early July 2006 (it was planned 2007 but interrupted by strikes). This: (1) targeted primary school children one week and secondary school learners the next; (2) engaged hundreds of learners from both the primary school (150 per day) and the high school (50 a day) in crime prevention topics and activities; and (3) included talks on drug abuse, video shows, establishing buddy clubs (for walking safely to school), competitions, moot courts, dog shows, games, activities and many more events with crime prevention messages and safety tips.³⁰
- *An outreach programme for street children:* This occurred 02 June 2006 in partnership with the police (covering all of Nyanga) and addressed justice issues and crime prevention topics

³⁰ These events were covered in the press. For instance see Papier, Melissa and Mbongiseni Maseko, "NPA helped to keep children busy," City Vision, 20 July 2006, p4.

- *Crime awareness workshops for community representatives:* This occurred over two days in July 2006 and again for two days in November 2006 and covered municipal by-laws, the court process, presentations on domestic violence, drug and substance abuse, leadership. It also involved many stakeholders such as local government, NGOs, educators, SAPS, NICRO and the NPA
- *Crime awareness and outreach for 60 elderly women:* the two CMPS organised this event on Women's Day 19 August 2006 where they spoke out against domestic violence and abuse and also had a guest speaker (Vivian Mciteka)³¹
- *A party for Siyahlala children:* on 14 November 2006 with crime prevention messages
- *A 'Fun Day' in the local shop (25 November 2006)* to build better relations between the community and business owners.
- *A Christmas party for 250 children (Ages 5-10):* Plays, face-painting, games and other devices were used to promote safety (e.g., not to play with fire, etc) during December 2006.³² This was organised by the CMP but with support from many stakeholders—the Fire Brigade, the ward counsellor, business partners, local entertainers, educators, students from UWC, SAPS, and the Department of Social Services.
- *'16 days of Activism against Violence against Women and Children':* The two CMPs (Fiona and Machel) participated in this December 2006 event and addressed issues of abuse (e.g., speakers from CANSA addressed women on cervical cancer)
- *School outreach events during February/March/April 2007:* The CMPs facilitated the entry of the NGO Khulisa into Siyahlala schools to teach about crime prevention. Sydney Hoho, an ex-convict from Khulisa, talks to learners to offer a simple message: stay in school and stay away from crime and drugs.³³ This also includes 'Ubuntu Clubs' aimed at providing a safer environment.
- *The 2007 Easter Festival 'Sports for Peace' event:* The CMPs were in charge of this four-day community outreach event (May/June) that highlighted the role of youth in the fight against crime

³¹ This event was covered in the press. For instance, see Magazi, Thulani, "Women speak out on domestic violence," *Vukani*, 24 August 2006, p. 6

³² This was covered in the newspapers. See Magazi, Thulani, "NPA brings happiness to Siyahlala Children," *Vukani*, 20 December 2006, p. 8.

³³ Whether or not ex-convicts should work with learners could be debated (the evaluator does not think it is appropriate) but it is a practice that occurs in South Africa.

- *Launch of Child Protection Month (June 2007)*: CMP Fiona Cloete planned this event (and located sponsorship) which included outreach to hundreds of learners in the area with crime prevention messages and many guest speakers

The impact of public education and awareness

Taken as a whole, the large number of public education efforts, the intensity of them (e.g., the school holiday programme was every day for two weeks) and the *constancy* of them (inputs nights, weekends and holidays) can be strongly correlated with a crime prevention impact owing to following evidence:

- Public education and awareness activities were identified on questionnaires and interviews as having had a *major* and positive impact on the relationship between the community and shop owners³⁴
- Break-ins and theft from both shops and homes plummeted in the crime statistics in consequence of these programmes until it reached almost negligible figures
- Respondents to questionnaires and interviewees attributed a perceived (and actual) drop in crime to improved community relations owing to public education.³⁵
- Businesses owners at the site said they began to invest more money into the community in the belief that better business-community relations had developed through this CMP-led effort and that this was good for business and development.³⁶
- Many of those surveyed gained a positive outlook on the National Prosecuting Authority because they attributed the perceived and actual drop in crime to this critical aspect of the CMP project³⁷
- The Siyahlala Steering Committee Minutes for 1 February 2007 describe a “definite reduction in criminal activities such that no crimes occurred on business premises for eight months” and attributed this directly to the CMP project.³⁸

³⁴ Questionnaire and Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

³⁵ The drop in commercial and home burglaries was also attributed to neighbourhood watches by some respondents in questionnaires but it correlates more closely in time to the public education and awareness campaigns since the neighbourhood watches were instituted *after* this recorded drop in crime figures.

³⁶ Questionnaire and Round-Table Discussion, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007; Naidoo, Sandy, Informal Interview with business owner, Siyahlala, 05 June 2007.

³⁷ Questionnaire and Round-Table Discussion, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

³⁸ Siyahlala Local Steering Committee, Minutes, Nyanga, 1 February 2007.

- The ‘Bundu Courts’ in Siyahlala that resulted in high levels of vigilantism as documented in the baseline study were perceived by police and residents to have ceased altogether owing to improved community education and better police-community relations stemming from the intervention³⁹

Since survey respondents, interviewees and focus groups viewed these public information campaigns as effective (not a single informant disagreeing with this finding), this impact is further analysed in Section 3.7.11 (below).

3.7.2. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

Undeveloped areas, a common condition in Siyahlala, create environmental opportunities for crime. The May 2006 baseline study identified that:

- Many open spaces and empty fields attracted crime and created opportunities for crime (e.g. an illegal scrap yard operated here and used the fields to dismantle stolen materials for metal and parts)
- There were many unmarked houses and virtually no streets or lights. This lack of formal infrastructure continues to make police investigations difficult⁴⁰
- Garbage was uncollected and strewn around the area and in many open areas creating health hazards.

According to CMP Cloete,

We are making sure that the design of the area will change especially where the four bodies were dumped as recorded in the baseline study. We want to fence and enclose this area. There is a scrap yard opposite this field and ‘they’ burn tyres and cables on the open field.⁴¹

This attention to the environment could also be classified under advocacy because this was the main strategy by which it was addressed. For instance, the CMP would receive reports from the Siyahlala Local Community Committee on community irritants and then channel the information to the CMP Steering Committee (and champion the community’s

³⁹ Mncana, Inspector, SAPS Sector Manager, Survey and Round-Table Discussion, Nyanga, 06 June 2007,

⁴⁰ Phase 7 of the Local Government and Housing Project is just starting and it will result in more than a 1000 new houses and a large number of beneficiaries at this site. Siyahlala is also zoned for business. So, these residents might benefit from job opportunities.

⁴¹ Griggs, Richard, ‘Evaluator’s Report: Monitoring per CMP Site,’ February 2007.

concerns). In the case of the Monwood Scrap Yard, she helped the community committee to draft a formal letter requesting its closure citing health risks, fire risks and criminal activities.⁴² In addition to working with described bodies CMP Cloete would also contact the relevant government departments to advocate for change. Even the described bodies are mechanisms for advocating change.

Outcomes and Impact (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design)

The advocacy and committee work described above led to actions and operations that had major impacts clearly identifiable on the landscape:

- The CMPs developed a multi-agency response with SAPS detectives, Metro Police, Telkom, Eskom, Department of Health and the Vehicle Theft Unit (SAPS) that led to the *closure* of the scrap yard that was dealing in stolen vehicles, cables, and goods on May 23, 2007.
- The burning of tyres and cables in the adjacent open field adjacent to the scrap yard had completely stopped at the time of the evaluation (this was part of those illegal activities—burning stolen tyres and cables to recover metal)
- The owner of the scrap yard was charged with six counts of contravening the Second Hands Good Act
- Individuals burning tyres and cables in the open field in front of the scrap yard to locate copper wire were charged with contravening the by-laws
- The CMPs contacted the owner of the land (Mr Van Zyl) who has now released it for development (the Gugulethu Gateway project)
- The CMPs also trained the community to monitor and report illegal dumping, which helped to reduce the problem

The CMP impact on waste management is further detailed in the advocacy section below. Since this impact and most of the others outlined in these sections (above and below) can be partly or entirely attributed to advocacy, this will require further discussion (see Sections 3.7.10 and 3.7.11).

⁴² Siyahlala Community Committee, “Closing of Monwood Scrap yard,” Correspondence Directed to SAPS, The Director of Public Prosecution and the City Manager (Cape Town), November 2006.

3.7.3. Neighbourhood watches

It was reported in the baseline study that neighbourhood watches had become dysfunctional and ineffective because:

- Members were too scared to patrol (saying they are not armed).
- Volunteer reservists also reported that they feared putting their life on the line

The provision of training to re-establish these was long advocated by CMP Cloete but it had to await the election of CPF members and it involved long negotiations with the departments providing training (Department of Social Development, Department of Community Safety). Training finally took place in May 2007.

The impact of neighbourhood watches

It *cannot* be said that the neighbourhood watches explain the drop in crime levels that occurred from late 2006 and continued throughout 2007 (see Section 3.7.1) because:

- Training only took place in May 2007 and the drop in crime levels occurred before this
- Trainees came from all over Philippi (not just Siyahlala)
- Only 10 were trained from Siyahlala

Nonetheless training was secured by the CMPs such that these outcomes can be identified:

- A neighbourhood watch for Philippi was registered and operational from February/March 2007
- Survey respondents and interviewees say it contributed to an improved sense of community safety and belonging
- Community patrols of the open areas are taking place through the neighbourhood watch system

Respondents to the questionnaires and interviewees stated that the watches had an impact on house-breaking (See Section 3.8.2) which dropped from six or seven a month at the time of the baseline study to one or two a month. There was also an eight month gap in terms of commercial break-ins whereas this had occurred weekly at the time of the baseline study. According to SAPS Inspector Mncana, the Sector Manager, “We had too many house-break-in and this seems to have been greatly reduced in Siyahhlala.”⁴³ However, in analysis, the main factor had to be the community education campaigns since these correlate more strongly with period over which crime declined.

3.7.4. Closing down unlicensed shebeens and encouraging self-regulation

At the time of the baseline study, many serious offences (e.g., murder, assault, and rape) could be linked to alcohol abuse and illegal outlets for the sale of alcohol (i.e., the shebeens that are widespread in the area). Often people who are unemployed and struggling economically turn to alcohol abuse and drugs and that can result in high levels of assault, domestic violence, child abuse, and property crimes. There was (and remains) a lack of recreational facilities such that shebeens and drinking establishments had become key sources of recreation. This meant that underage youth and youth at risk were also attracted to these spots and this contributed to gang formation.

The two CMPs focused on shebeens as generators of crime during much of 2006 as follows:

- Crime awareness workshops were developed to explain municipal bylaws to shebeen owners (e.g., they cannot sell liquor to youth; one cannot have a legal drinking establishment in a shack).
- The CMPs facilitated numerous meetings between shebeen owners, the police and the National Prosecuting Authority
- The CMP was instrumental in facilitating SAPS operations against two shebeen owners using information from the community and in terms of prosecutions in court

⁴³ Mncana, Inspector (SAPS Sector Manager), Facilitated Survey and Discussion, Zolani Community Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

These are the impacts:

- Sect 252A operations were held on two shebeens (i.e., ‘Lucky 7’ and ‘Chapter One’) and these were shut down in consequence
- The two closures (identified above) led *other* shebeen owners to enter into a Shebeen Owner’s Forum whereby all of them came to be ‘self-regulated’ both in terms of hours and a code of conduct, which includes searches at the door to keep weapons and drugs out of the pubs⁴⁴
- On the testimony of the shebeen owners (a focus group), all shebeens now close by 9pm and many of them by 7pm or 8pm and these early closures can be correlated to a drop in statistics on violent crime (see section 3.8.2)⁴⁵
- The Department of Community Safety, SANCO Street Committees, CPF Members, SAPS, and the Metropolitan Police all expressed satisfaction that the shebeen closures and the self-regulation of the remaining shebeens can be correlated with the statistical drop in crime and to the role of the CMP⁴⁶
- Hazel Makapela of Social Development (based in Nyanga) reported that fewer gangs were operating in the area and attributed this to improved relations with the police (an outcome facilitated by the CMP by creating structures for cooperation)⁴⁷

The testimony as to the impact of the CMP on shebeen closures and self-regulation was extensive during focus group discussion and on surveys:

- “When I speak to shebeen owners, we see more willingness to work with us. Before the project, they used to throw stones at us.”⁴⁸
- “The CMP played a big role in shebeen owners taking responsibility for preventing crime—we got guidelines in how to prevent it.”⁴⁹
- Of 19 survey respondents, 16 rated the community prosecutions on its effectiveness in addressing the problem of unregulated taverns and liquor outlets. The lowest possible score was 1 (completely ineffective) and the highest was 4 (completely effective). The result was as follows: completely effective = 9

⁴⁴ McEvoy, Captain, Head of Crime Prevention, SAPS Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁴⁵ Focus Group with Shebeen Owners, 05 June 2007, Siyahlala.

⁴⁶ Round-table discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁴⁷ Makapela, Hazel, Social Development Nyanga, Facilitated Survey and Research Workshop on Community Prosecutions, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007..

⁴⁸ McEvoy, Capatin, SAPS Nyanga, Focus group with stakeholders, 06 June 2007

⁴⁹ Maarman, Basil, Focus Group with Six Shebeen Owners, Siyahlala, 05 June 2007

(56%); more effective than not = 4 (25%); and somewhat effective=3 (19%). That yields a mean score of 3.375 meaning the prosecutor was deemed to be very effective in reducing crime-based problems in shebeens.⁵⁰

Analysis of shebeen closures

Closing down shebeens is not without controversy because these generate income for people who are otherwise living in poverty. Regulating them is also a controversial issue because police have no other mandate other than to close down illegal activities (all shebeens are illegal).⁵¹ Given this situation, the CMPs offered good impact by: (1) providing information on the law to shebeen owners so that they can choose to act appropriately--a self-regulatory approach; *and* (2) working with SAPS to conduct certain closures. The closures led the others toward self-regulation. If shebeens regulate their own activities to see a reduction in crime, there is less likelihood that police will act against them. In the final analysis, the critical role provided by the CMP in this was providing information about the law to both the community and SAPS.

3.7.5 Facilitating skills training to create employment and combat poverty

It was identified in the baseline study that poverty was a factor in high crime levels. The poor, the unemployed and the unskilled are concentrated in Siyahlala (70 %+). Theoretically, this can create frustration, desperation and anger. In turn, that can trigger acts of crime such as robbery, burglary, sexual violence or domestic violence. Furthermore women who are unemployed are vulnerable to abuse and employment gives them an exit from abusive relationships.

To address the need for income-generation, the CMPs:

- Negotiated with SAPS and government agencies to train six Siyahlala community members as reservists (Machel Jacobs obtained agreement in September 2006 but the volunteers waited months for the training).

⁵⁰ Facilitated Research Workshop on Community Prosecutions,, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁵¹ McEvoy, Capatin, SAPS Nyanga, Focus group with stakeholders, 06 June 2007

- Negotiated training for security guards by two different providers: (1) Group 4 Security, who waved the fee of R18 000; and (2) the City of Cape Town's City Central Improvement District programme
- Identified 165 residents of Siyahlala (using a survey) interested in home-based care training to assist those with HIV-Aids
- Identified 15 unemployed women for training in garment making and beading
- Lobbied both SAFMARINE and the National Ports Authority for a container to use as a training centre in Siyahlala⁵²

Impact and outcomes of training

The wait for the reservists training was very long and it is difficult to measure impact.

The outcomes that could be identified in June 2007 were these:

- Of the 14 members from Siyahlala that attended the security guard training, six passed (one of these got employment), and the other five are going to the next level of training while three that failed are repeating the course (on the justification of language challenges—the course is in English and not Xhosa).⁵³
- As of June 2007 (the evaluation period), the home-based care training had not yet started at the time of the evaluation but 21 people from Siyahlala had been identified along with an organisation willing to do this training (Tehilla)
- Skills-training was provided for the unemployed women in sewing and beading during 2006 and the CMPs were engaged in contract negotiations to try to get work for these women (schools) and sponsorship for materials

In analysis, it seems that information and advocacy was the central role played by the CMP in developing these outcomes. The Local Community Committee also played a critical role as the structure that identifies these needs and locates the people for training.

3.7.6. Victim support

The CMPs negotiated with the Department of Social Development to provide SAPS constables and volunteer social workers with training as trauma room consultants. This

⁵² Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview, Cape Town, 04 June 2007

⁵³ In terms of intended impact, it was strongly hoped that the training would lead to a Siyahlala based security firm managed by the chair of the CPF (a trained security guard).

occurred August through October 2006. The CMPs also participated in these monthly training sessions at Nyanga SAPS as follows;

- The prosecution process
- Forensic evidence and sexual offences
- Understanding court processes
- Domestic violence

There was no data available to link this specific activity with a crime prevention impact although it may have contributed. Victim support can improve community-police relations and improve reporting levels. It probably also had positive impacts on stakeholder perceptions of the NPA. The role of the CMP in this was essentially information and advocacy, which is more fully discussed further below (3.7.11).

3.7.7 Cenduluntu Creche

In March of 2007, CMP Fiona Cloete helped to establish the first crèche in Siyahlala: ‘Cenduluntu Crèche’ (meaning “to help the people”). The role of the CMPs was as follows:

- Advocating a crèche through Siyahlala local community meetings and partnership building (to ease the burden on parents so that they could find employment; reducing the opportunity that children will be exposed to crime while parents work)
- Obtaining a sponsorship from a travel agency in Johannesburg (Vakasha) to construct a building
- Identifying a community member from the local crime prevention committee who could operate the crèche
- Negotiating training for the community member in Early Childhood Development Skills (arranged through the NGO Beautiful Gate)

The crèche was too new (initiated March 2007) to infer a crime prevention impact since early childhood development is a long-term crime prevention strategy. However, it is

supported internationally as one of the most appropriate kinds of crime prevention interventions. Furthermore, on logical grounds and in terms of testimony for the report:

- A crèche can also provide a place of safety that makes children less vulnerable to crime.
- It frees single parents to earn an income or engage in additional training toward that objective
- It is now a permanent community asset (sustained) and it remains on the ground even with planned development

However, a longitudinal study would be required to clearly show a crime prevention impact in Siyahlala (one would have to study impact on the youngsters over time). Since this outcome was achieved through advocacy and minimal effort, such a study is not really required. Rather, it shows that advocacy can achieve many outcomes for minimal effort in a short amount of time.

3.7.8 Feeding Schemes two soup kitchens and food gardens

The Community Prosecutors helped to organise and establish: (1) two soup kitchens that provide nourishment for children; and (2) a food garden.

First, one soup kitchen is located at the new crèche (described in Section 3.7.7 above) and the other is located at the Bongolethu Primary School. Business partners NGOs in the area provide the food (e.g., a butcher gives meaty bones, the 'Cash and Carry' offers rice and vegetables, NGOs supply soup and soya mince, 'Fruit and Veg' in Philippi contributed vegetables).

Second, The CMPs also worked to establish a food garden in an open field that was linked to crime. However, this failed owing to lack of security. This effort was then negotiated with Beautiful Gate, a NGO that at the time of the evaluation was still developing these gardens. These are now located in the City of Cape Town Depot that is situated adjacent to Siyahlala (where there is security).

Feeding schemes are difficult to link directly to a crime prevention impact. However there are the indications that it leads to such an impact:

- In the case of Bongoletu School, only half (Grades 1-4) of its 1 100 learners are catered for by the existing school's feeding scheme (500 learners go hungry while they watch 500 others eat). Therefore this feeding scheme might prevent school-based conflict.
- Providing nourishment for healthy minds and bodies probably reduces the frustrations that can lead adults and youngsters to commit crimes

It is appropriate that the CMPs found an NGO that specialises in gardening projects since developing gardens is not a role suitable to the NPA. However, to identify the problems producing crime and advocating the appropriate delivery of services from other stakeholders in government and civil society does appear suitable and can have a crime prevention impact (see 3.7.10 and 3.7.11 below). The impact is not yet discernable in this particular case because it would involve long-term research.

3.7.9 The Emergency List

The CMPs improved communication around crime problems and emergencies by creating and distributing an emergency list of more than 20 essential local services such as ambulances, hospitals, police, sector managers, and many kinds of social and public services. This was a relatively simple and inexpensive task (relating to public information and advocacy) but had clear impact (more than some of expensive and time consuming interventions like training security guards):

- In interviews and focus groups this was identified to have increased reporting levels and response times.⁵⁴
- Monitoring and oversight of this by CMP Cloete was a critical factor that helped to get SAPS and other stakeholders more deeply involved in the community.

⁵⁴ This was reported by these Area Committee members: Joshua Nomjama, Basil Maarman, Ngwele Diyanit, Khaya Diyanti, Zoleka John, Focus group with Area Committee Members, 06 June 2007, Siyahlala.

- CMP Fiona Cloete placed her number on the list. While this resulted in many calls at odd times and hours, the CMP then facilitated appropriate responses with direct impact on many concerned individuals.

Analysis of the emergency list

In analysis, this role fits as part of an information campaign: providing the public with good information. It is also a good example of how effective such an activity can be.

3.7.10 Partnership building for better government service delivery

This appeared to be such a critical CMP role that it is merely being underscored here as a component of the many activities and impacts described above. Some impacts were purely a result of developing better partnerships between the community and those that deliver services (possibly a form of advocacy). For example, waste management was so poor in Siyahlala that during 2006 a body was found in a container that had been left there for months. CMP Fiona Cloete took photographs and then used these to explain problems to the city (e.g., waste management) and promote a response. After many discussions, waste management responded appropriately with these impacts:

- Waste removal is now twice weekly and illegal dumping has stopped (observed by the evaluator and photographed)
- The community was trained to monitor and report illegal dumping which helped put a stop to the problem

These were some other ‘advocacy’ issues and this appeared to be one way to define or categorise many of the activities listed above:

- The problem of open fields was addressed by advocating development (CMP meetings with the municipality and business). This led to the release of some land for development where a shopping complex, Gugulethu Gateway, is being built (construction started in 2006).
- Bongoletu Primary School in Siyahlala had no library. So, CMP Cloete made use of the media (Good Hope FM), sent out circulars and wrote letters to the DOE. As a result of this advocacy effort, an estate agent has agreed to

build library shelves for the books that were provided through donations and support from DOE Provincial.

3.7.11 Analysis of CMP activities

In broader analysis, the two CMP roles with the highest impact can be described as either (1) building partnerships for crime prevention outcomes; or (2) providing the public and critical partners with information about the law and crime prevention.

(1) Building partnerships for crime prevention outcomes

This played a pivotal role in all of the outcomes described in this section: the neighbourhood watches, raids on the scrap yard, better waste removal, a crèche, the food garden, improved police response times, development in open areas, victim support services and creating a system for emergency responses/services. The CMP did not supply these services but built partnerships and in some way *advocated* responses by government departments. It is dependent on structures to reach into the community and understand their needs and then the CMP advocates a departmental response or otherwise facilitates a partnership between the service providers and the community. Other than training in the law, this appeared to be a skill most fitted to a prosecutor and based on the evidence it worked.

(2) Educations in the law

Public outreach activities also had a high impact at this site. However, it is critical to understand that this impact owed to: (1) the large number of these events; (2) a variety of approaches to public information; (3) the large number of targeted groups—schools, community groups, and general gatherings; and (4) their constancy—nearly every night and weekend. A ‘one-off’ public outreach activity for one particular sector of the population would have had no impact.

The variety of approaches included:

- Community information campaigns

- School out-reach
- Event days
- The emergency list
- Victim support
- Informing shebeen owners of the law

This last had a major impact on creating a more regulated environment. Making the public aware of appropriate methods for preventing their crime problems changed the conduct of an entire community and replaced vigilantism with new community-owned structures. It is recommended that this type of activity continue but cover a wider area and in particular youth and learners need to be targeted with information campaigns regarding high levels of drug use (3X the national average in Cape Town) and its close correlation with high levels of crime.⁵⁵ This can be achieved in cooperation with other stakeholders such as the municipality.

Interestingly, making good public information available does not have to be difficult to have impact. The CMP worked with partners to develop and circulate an emergency list, a relatively easy task compared to others but it had significant impact. This tells us that a CMP can identify a basic need and address it quickly and strategically.

It is useful for analysis that the CMP sought to develop employment opportunities at this site in order to fight poverty and prevent crime. However, this was the least effective of the endeavours at the time of the evaluation and perhaps the one least fitting to the NPA. Should the NPA take on the role of helping to provide employment? It makes more sense for a CMP to bring community-identified problems to the attention of the appropriate government department. Perhaps the social cluster of government (Education, Social Development, Welfare, and Health) needs to work together to deliver more effectively on income generation and employment and a CMP could research the reasons for these gaps

⁵⁵ Dentlinger, Lindsay and Henri du Plessis, "Elite Metro squad to fight drug-linked crime," *Cape Argus*, 27 August, 2007, p. 1 (Metro police set up a special unit to deal with drug-related crimes)

in delivery (from a community perspective) and then help to facilitate partnership solutions without undertaking the responsibility for delivering programmes.

3.8 GENERAL IMPACTS

In addition to some of the specific impacts emanating from the structures and activities as outlined above, general impacts can be identified from *all* the structures and activities. Some of this is a matter of review from the evidence (given above) but much new evidence is also presented (below) according to:

1. Impact on crime levels
2. Impact on the environment
3. Impact on interagency and departmental cooperation
4. Impact on community cooperation/involvement in crime prevention
5. Impact on community perceptions of safety at site
6. Impact on stakeholder perceptions of the NPA

3.8.1 Impact on crime levels

From the time of the baseline study, SAPS statistics were difficult to obtain for this site because they were:

- Not compiled for Siyahlala but by sectors of Nyanga making it difficult to disaggregate (the closest Sector is 3A-Brown's Farm)
- Embargoed at the time of the May 2006 baseline study

The April 2005 to May 2006 crime figures for Nyanga were publicly released *after* the baseline study in September 2006. Newspapers then proclaimed Nyanga as the 'murder capital of South Africa'—284 murders for that period, the highest *per capita* rate of

murder for any area in the country.⁵⁶ While statistics were not disaggregated for Siyahlala, one could surmise that they were severe at the start of the project in April 2006: that month alone eleven assaults with grievous bodily harm had occurred and four males had been murdered and their bodies (25-30 years old) dumped in a field in Siyahlala.

The only SAPS statistics available at the time of the baseline study were for an eight month period in all of Nyanga (1 May 2005 to 31 December 2005):

OFFENCES	FIGURE
ASSAULT GBH	151
ASSAULT COMMON	81
MALICIOUS DAMAGE TO PROPERTY	49
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	145
TOTAL CASES REPORTED	426

The statistics on domestic violence and child abuse were also known to be much lower than reported while housebreaking was a regular weekend event.

For the evaluation, the CMP collected crime statistics from SAPS for both Brown's Farm and Siyahlala. The first offers some totals for that area that are more specific to the pilot site and cover the exact year prior to the CMP project (01 May 2005 to 31 May 2006). These are useful for one reason: these statistics provide clear evidence that crime was *on the rise* just prior to the start of the pilot study in May 2006 as follows:

- 36.7% increase in all categories of assaults (from 42 to 57 incidents)
- 19.5% increase in all forms of robbery (from 41 to 49 incidents)
- 154.5% rise in malicious damage to property (from 11 to 28 incidents)
- 55.6% rise in housebreaking (from 18 to 28 incidents)
- 50% rise in drug-related crimes (from 10 to 15 incidents)

⁵⁶ Feni, Zama, "Top cop steps in to tackle Nyanga crime." Cape Argus, June 1, 2007, p. 3; Feni Zama, "Wanted: top cop for SA's murder capital," Cape Argus, 13 November 2006.

- 900% rise in driving under the influence of alcohol (from 1 to 10 incidents)⁵⁷
- 100% rise in arson (from 1 to 2 incidents—this includes the fire-bombing of the community court)

Since these figures apply to the wider area of Brown’s Farm, the finding here must be general: crime was simply on the rise and not on a downward trend prior to the CMP pilot study. Only the murder rate had been dropping from 13 incidents to 3 at the time of the baseline study (a 76.9% drop). Theft of motor vehicles was also down from three incidents to one. However, this last is not so relevant to Siyahlala since hardly anyone there has a vehicle.

The following are selected statistics for Siyahlala obtained by CMP Cloete and compiled by SAPS especially for the evaluation study:

Selected statistics in Siyahlala July 2006-April 2007⁵⁸

Offence	Jul/Aug 2006	Aug/Sep 2006	Oct 2006	Nov 2006	Dec 2006	Jan 2007	Feb 2007	Mar 2007	Apr 2007
MURDER	08	05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSAULT GBH	24	20	07	08	09	03	06	10	05
ASSAULT COMMON	14	10	08	05	06	06	07	07	05
RAPE	06	NA	NA	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	15	--	08	06	11	03	07	06	04
ROBBERY (COMMON AND ARMED)	09	11	12	01	10	06	02	03	03
MALICIOUS DAMAGE TO PROPERTY	06	07	05	06	05	03	05	02	03
BURGLARY RESIDENTIAL/HOUSE ROBBERY	NA	06	07	07	06	04	01	03	02
CAR HIJACKING	0	NA	02	0	03	0	0	0	0
CAR THEFT	-	-	01	03	02	02	02	01	02
TL	82	59	50	36	52	27	30	32	24

⁵⁷ SAPS Nyanga, Weekly Sector Statistics, 01 May 2005-01 May 2006.

⁵⁸ Statistics are NOT normally compiled in terms of the Siyahlala site but on request SAPS analysed the crime figures and separated those for Siyahlala to provide the data.

The table (above) clearly shows that a downward trend for many crimes in Siyahhlala during the time of the pilot study. Unfortunately, the figures provided to the evaluator were not always consistent or comparable (certain months are combined, others not) making it difficult to specify percentages. Nonetheless one can see that cases of murder, assault (common and GBH), domestic violence, burglary and robberies dropped or were on a downward trend during the exact time of the CMP pilot project.

This drop in certain crime problems over these months can be correlated to the activities of the CMP without suggesting that this was the only causal factor or that displacement did not occur. The reasons for that statement are as follows:

- Burglary, break-ins, residential robbery and malicious damage to property dropped during the time of the public information campaigns which included improving police-community relations (this drop occurred *before* instituting the neighbourhood watch suggesting these were the main factors).
- Car hijacking dropped to none after the raid on the chop shop
- The drop in domestic violence can be correlated with the emergency list, public education and victim support.
- The drop in robberies can be correlated to the liquor outlet and shebeen operations both based on the period in question and testimony as to this impact⁵⁹
- The Department of Community Safety, SANCO Street Committees, CPF Members, SAPS, and the Metropolitan Police all express satisfaction that the shebeen closures and the self-regulation of the remaining shebeens can be correlated with the statistical drop in crime⁶⁰
- Questionnaire respondents and CMP partners in round-table discussion with the evaluator identified a drop in crime and many attributed this to the closures and the self-regulation of shebeens promoted by the CMPs⁶¹

Given the above, the critical role of the CMP in the crime drop was evidenced.

⁵⁹ McEvoy, Captain S. B., Informal Interview and Survey, Nyanga, 06 June 2007; Insepctor Mncana, Sector 3 Manager, Focus Group Discussion and Survey, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁶⁰ Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholder, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁶¹ Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007; McEvoy, Captain, SAPS Nyanga, Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, 06 June 2007

Stakeholder questionnaires regarding crime levels

The perception of a crime drop was also identified on questionnaires. Nineteen respondents replied to the question: “*In your opinion, did the community prosecutor help to prevent or reduce crime at the pilot site between May 2006 and present?*” The results are given in the chart below:

QUESTION ONE	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW
IN YOUR OPINION DID THE CMP HELP TO PREVENT OR REDUCE CRIME AT THE PILOT SITE BETWEEN MAY 2006 AND THE PRESENT?	17 (90%)	0	2 (10%)

Respondents were asked to justify their reasons (in writing) and the ‘yes’ responses involved these below (paraphrased where not quoted, duplications eliminated):

- The CMP acted on SAPS information regarding hotspots and therefore directed her efforts appropriately and this had impact
- Crime statistics in Siyahlala dropped during for the first time in years during the time of the pilot
- Crime is greatly reduced and this owes in part to the many crime awareness campaigns conducted by the CMPs and the joint operations on crime sites
- The NPA has “changed our lives”—crime is very low
- The community prosecutors brought the community together to fight crime and it worked
- “Before the pilot project we were in a dark world as the community of Siyahlala. The community prosecutors gave us an education”.⁶²
- Yes-house breaking definitely came down and it is easier to work in the community now because it is safer.
- The community prosecutor made a “tremendous impact” because break-in, robberies and serious assaults are way down.
- People are not being robbed in daylight with weapons and there used to be fighting everywhere.

⁶² Sentile, Xolelwa, ANC Women’s League, Survey on Community Prosecutions, 06 June 2007.

- “In previous years most of our crimes were generated from where the project started including burglaries, assault GBH, rape and bundu courts. Since we started this project, the above mentioned crimes seem to have dropped dramatically.”⁶³
- “Learners are now aware of the crime and know how to take action—how to report and stay anonymous.”⁶⁴
- “Statistically crime was reduced in the pilot area and no more cases of vigilantism have been reported.”⁶⁵
- “The shebeens caused 80% of the crimes and now these are being regulated owing to the project.”⁶⁶
- The stakeholder’s forum created by the CMPs to fight crime was able to identify common issues and address these effectively.
- Police patrolling, the CMP ‘networking’ with SAPS and the regulation of shebeens made the environment safer.

There were two “do not know” responses (one from a CPF member, the other from Khulisa) and the reasons given for these responses were as follows:

- One said that he did not know the crime statistics prior to the launch of the project and therefore cannot say that crime came down.
- The other said that he only got involved in Siyahlala two months earlier and “could not say”.

In addition to the above testimony, local documentation indicates that break-ins at business premises stopped completely—“no crimes occurred in business premises for the last eight months”—during the time of the pilot.⁶⁷

These are general impacts and other factors may be involved but based on the statistics and the above testimony, it seems that CMP-led activities played a role in the evidential drop in crime figures during the period of the pilot project.

⁶³ Mncanca, Ntandazo, SAPS Inspector Sector 3, Survey on Community Prosecutions, 06 June 2007

⁶⁴ Dotwana, Simphiwe, M. Mr, Acting Deputy Principal, Intsebenziswano Secondary School, Survey on Community Prosecutions, 06 June 2007

⁶⁵ McEvoy, Capt Stephen B, SAPS Nyanga, Survey on Community Prosecutions, 06 June 2007

⁶⁶ Swartz, Colin, SAPS Inspector (Nyanga), Survey on Community Prosecutions, 06 June 2007

⁶⁷ Siyahlala Steering Committee Minutes, Nyanga SAPS Board Room, 1 February 2007

3.8.2 Impact on the environment

Section 3.7.2 already detailed some of this impact but this can be added: (a) observations by the evaluator; and (b) questionnaires with CMP partners on environmental impact.

(A) The evaluator's observations of the environment

The evaluator visited the site twice (once at the time of the baseline study and again during the evaluation). The evaluator could observe and photograph streets that were visibly cleaner, a new crèche that had been built, a shebeen that had been closed down, a chop shop (run by a syndicate) that had been closed down and waste removal was improved. Thus, the environment appeared much cleaner and safer at the time of the evaluation than at the time of the baseline study with more investment, development and community activity (patrols, cleaning streets, etc). Furthermore, it could be *seen* that there was new investment and development (a new shopping centre, a petrol station, car washes, restaurants and taxi ranks--all new since the baseline study) while stakeholders such as the Siyahlala Steering Committee or business investors held the perception that Siyahlala had become safer and more inviting for investment.⁶⁸

(B) Stakeholder questionnaires on environmental impact

CMP partners also completed questionnaires and QUESTION 2 asked, 'Did the Community prosecutor help to change the environment at the target site to make it less conducive to crime? All nineteen respondents answered this question and 100% replied, "Yes."⁶⁹ The reasons offered for the positive response were these (responses paraphrased except where quoted; duplications eliminated):

- The streets are cleaner (owing to CMP advocacy with the municipality and solid waste)

⁶⁸ Siyahlala Steering Committee, Meeting at Nyanga SAPS boardroom, 1 February 2007; Naidoo, Sandy, Informal Interview, 01 February 2007.

⁶⁹ Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007.

- Street lights were installed on several roads (Boston, Colorado, Sheffield)
- “The streets are no longer dark and dirty”,⁷⁰
- Two illegal liquor outlets were shut down (‘Cool Spot’ and ‘Lucky Seven’)
- A shopping centre with security took over vacant land
- A scrap yard run by organised crime was closed down
- A dumping site on vacant land was cleaned-up
- The shops on the corner of Landsdowne and Monwood roads are visibly safer (“fewer boys hang out on street corners---no robberies now”)⁷¹
- One can observe that youth are no longer in the shebeens
- People no longer burn rubber and metal in open areas, which created a health problem
- Refuse and waste has been removed from streets and open areas
- Refuse is now collected on a *regular* basis
- People walk more freely on the streets because there is less crime

Since there is good corroboration between questionnaire responses, testimony and observations, it seemed clear that the CMP-led partnership activities and CMP advocacy had an impact on making the environment safer both in terms of reducing health hazards and preventing crime.

3.8.3 Impact on interagency and inter-departmental cooperation

Much evidence of increased interagency and inter-departmental cooperation was identified in the previous sections. However, additional data is provided here owing to (A) interviews and focus group discussions; and (B) a questionnaire undertaken with CMP partners. Analysis follows as section C

⁷⁰ Kanti, Khanyisiwe Sylvia, Community Committee Member, Facilitated Survey with Stakeholders, Zolani Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007.

⁷¹ Dyani, Berthwell (ANC Secretary), Facilitated Survey with Stakeholders, Zolani Hall, Nyanga, 06 June 2007.

(A) Interviews and focus group discussion

There was extensive testimony from interviewees and focus group participants that the level of interagency cooperation between the police (SAPS and Metro), the NPA, and the community (including the CPF) had improved and resulted in preventing crime. Many were also identified the CMP programmes in the schools (Education and the NPA) and the role that NGOs played. Other stakeholders in government were not recognised as often in focus group or on surveys. Thus, it does seem that the CMP, SAPS, CPF and the community were recognised as the core team that cooperated to bring down crime and that in this process they enlisted others. These are three samples of this kind of testimony:

- “There is definitely better communication between the police and community structures because the community is better organised owing to the community prosecutor. The community now contacts me directly if they need the police and within ten minutes I am there.”⁷²
- “The community police forum together with the police and the CMP are working together to combat crime although more people should be on board.”⁷³
- A CPF member said in focus group that the CMP pilot project eliminated the fear in reporting cases by “bringing justice closer, raising awareness and improving cooperation with the police.”⁷⁴

(B) Stakeholder questionnaires

QUESTION 5 asked the CMP partners, “Did the community prosecutor help to build greater levels of stakeholder cooperation on crime prevention in the targeted community between May 2006 and the present?” QUESTION 6 asked, ‘Did the CMP help individual government departments to address crime prevention more effectively at the target site?’

⁷² Mncanca, N. (SAPS Inspector and Sector Manager, Brown’s Farm), Facilitated Survey and Discussion, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁷³ Makapela, Hazel, Social Development, Survey and Round-Table Discussion with Stakeholders, Zolani Centre, 06 June 2007.

⁷⁴ CPF member, Round-Table Discussion, Zolani Centre, 06 June 2007

QUESTIONS 5 AND 6	YES	NO	BLANK
5. IN YOUR OPINION DID THE CMP HELP TO BUILD GREATER LEVELS OF STAKEHOLDER COOPERION IN CRIME PREVENTION?	18 (95%)	--	1 (5%)
6. DID THE CMP HELP INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS TO ADDRESS CRIMPE PREVENTION MORE EFFECTIVELY AT THE TARGET SITE?	19 (100%)	--	--

Eighteen out of 19 questionnaire respondents answered Question 5 (95%) and all that responded circled, 'Yes' and offered one reason:

- Ø The CMPs worked with the local forum and steering committee that meet on a regular basis to fight crime.

However, as seen further below in Section 3.8.4 many did not know that the CMP actually helped to *create* this committee. This phenomenon of not identifying the CMP with certain accomplishments occurred at other sites (e.g., Point in relationship to the vagrancy project). It appears that recognition for a job well done requires a strategy and process (publications, videos, etc).

All 19 questionnaire respondents (100%) credited the CMP with helping government departments to work more effectively on crime prevention at the site. In evidence they cited these (noting that one survey respondent could cite more than one department):

- SAPS (14)
- Metro Police (10)
- Education (10)
- Immigration/Home Affairs (3)
- Health (4)
- Social Development (1)

The majority understood the CMP focused strongly on improving the effectiveness of SAPS, Metro Police and Education on crime prevention. The only person to mention

Social Development was the representative from that department (Chief Social Worker Ngumbela). In terms of the Health Department role, this concerned their limited participation in educational programmes offered by the CMP in schools pertaining to drugs and alcohol. There was no evidence from the site that the CMP worked closely with Home Affairs but two community members and a representative of local government cited them owing to their significance (ID books, grants, etc). This should remind the reader that questionnaires and surveys are not always neutral objects of research in South Africa but can be seen as an opportunity to communicate needs (community-based ones in this case).

(C) Analysis: interagency and inter-departmental cooperation

There were many components to the strategy (see Section 3.7) but structuring partnerships (at community level and between the community and departments/service providers) was a critical and essential one for making impact. These five findings are significant for a model:

1. There was a critical and core partnership between the CMP and law enforcements groups and the community (through structures designed by the CMP) at the start of the intervention and it had impact.
2. Partnerships began with law enforcements agencies but others joined over time
3. Owing to the above two findings, partnership building should be treated as an incremental activity (i.e., the NPA should not wait until all stakeholders are aboard but rather build on initial success by working with available and willing partners)
4. This is the crucial aspect of the model that helped to lower crime levels: A local committee (established by the CMP) meets bi-weekly and this information is taken to a more empowered steering committee (also established by the CMP) with representatives from various branches of government *and* the local community that can take action.
5. Someone from the NPA can play the above-described role effectively

Regarding incremental partnership-building, the weakest partners from the time of the baseline study were the social sector and municipal departments. However, there was baseline marker of virtually no partnerships with the social sector and a weak start with Education and City Departments. This improved. So, it may be that there will be some slow starters and this should be anticipated by a CMP.

It is also critical to understand that CMP Cloete had a small target area where there were no identifiable partnership bodies. Therefore she created them to address this scale. At a larger scale, it might still be possible to create local committees or representatives but then link them to the CPF and Sector Forums. For this reason, an audit is probably required at all sites to carefully analyse the available structures and their efficacy. Forums can be created where needed to build capacity but it is generally poor practice to duplicate structures at one scale that already exist at another one.

3.8.4 Impact on community cooperation/involvement in crime prevention

There is much corroborating evidence in the previous sections of this report that community involvement and cooperation in crime prevention *greatly* increased. First, many new structures for community involvement in crime prevention developed such as:

- The Siyahlala Local Community Committee
- Siyahlala CMP Steering Committee
- Neighbourhood watches
- Forums for regulating shebeens

Secondly, through such bodies the community came to be much more engaged in crime prevention activities such as:

- Identifying the generators of crime and reporting these to various government departments, which took action.
- Patrolling (neighbourhood watches)

- A forum to regulate shebeens
- General community crime prevention meetings
- Community clean-up campaigns
- A score of community events on crime prevention (see Section 3.6.1)

The results of the partnerships survey on community involvement

Two questions that asked CMP partners about community involvement in crime prevention are illustrated in the table below along with the results:

QUESTIONS 7 AND 8	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW	SPOILT
7. DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR HELP TO MAKE MORE EFFECTIVE ANY PUBLIC/CITIZEN GROUPS ON SAFETY?	15 (79%)	-	4 (21%)	-
8. DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR CREATE ANY NEW FORUMS OR BODIES TO HELP BUILD COOPERATION ON CRIME AT THE PILOT SITE?	10 (53%)	-	4 (21%)	4 (21%)

Fifteen of the 19 questionnaire participants (79%) could answer QUESTION 7 (four were not in a position to know). Of the 15 who could answer the question, 100% said that the CMP helped to make certain public bodies more effective. In evidence they cited:

- The CPF
- ‘Liquor Trader Forum’
- Community action committees
- Neighbourhood Watch
- Khulisa

This is a fairly accurate response and it was well evidenced in this chapter that the CMP worked with all these bodies. Of course, Khulisa is an NGO and not really a public body but this might easily be confused. It is more useful to know that partners could recognise and associate the CMP with strengthening many community-based structures.

Could the stakeholders easily identify the role of the CMP in creating new structures such as: (1) the Siyahlala Local Community Committee; or (2) the Siyahlala CMP Steering Committee? The CMP also influenced the development of a Tavern Owner's Forum and the constitution of a neighbourhood watch. Would the stakeholders recognise that role too? Four circled "do not know" in response to this survey question and four gave inappropriate answers (e.g., SAPS, the CPF, and "hijacking"). Only ten (53%) could identify new structures that the CMP helped to empower or create. These are listed below (note: respondents could list more than one body to illustrate their response):

- Neighbourhood Watch: 2
- Siyahlala Local Community Committee: 4
- Siyahlala CMP Steering Committee: 4
- Liquor Forum: 2

Ironically, 18 out of 19 respondents to Question 5 identified the CMP with empowering the local forum and steering committee but based on this response, they did not understand that the CMP helped to create this body. This reveals that:

- Stakeholders do not always conceptualise roles or understand the history behind the structures
- A successful outcome is not the same as having that outcome associated with the NPA (or the CMP).

If the NPA seeks recognition for its role, some standard method of communicating with stakeholders about all CMP activities is needed (e.g., a newsletter or a PowerPoint presentation to highlight the role of the NPA). Otherwise, the recognition of NPA activities will be confined precisely to the body on which the stakeholders participate (e.g., those on the CMP steering committee will recognise the NPA role in creating that body but did not know about the liquor forum). However, as seen at many sites, not all recognise that the CMP comes from the NPA.

3.8.5 Impact on community perceptions of safety at the site

This was partly answered in Section 3.8.2 in regard to QUESTION 2 (the stakeholder questionnaire), which asked, ‘Did the Community prosecutor help to change the environment at the target site to make it less conducive to crime? All nineteen respondents answered this question and 100% replied, “Yes” and the reasons they offered were given in that section above.

Round-table discussion followed the questionnaires and the participants at the research workshop all agreed on a statement made by one of them that the community has less fear when walking to the police station for help (SAPS Nyanga is 3 kilometres away; SAPS Philippi is 3.5 kilometres away)⁷⁵

QUESTION 3 to the participants also asked if the community prosecutor helped to develop any crime prevention projects or programmes at the target site that can prevent crime on an ongoing basis. Of 18 who responded to this question, 100% said ‘Yes’ and collectively identified 21 ways the CMP helped to make the community safer:

1. Improved neighbourhood watches and police patrols
2. Educated youth on how to avoid a life of drugs and crime
3. Closed down a ‘chop shop’
4. Reduced dangerous open areas
5. Negotiated a gardening project that will soon take place
6. Arranged training in neighbourhood watches
7. Set up a referral programme in schools
8. Set up a feeding scheme for schools and crèches
9. Brought the community and the police together

⁷⁵ Joshua Nomjama, Basil Maarman, Ngwele Diyanit, Khaya Diyanti, Zoleka John, Focus group with Area Committee Members, 06 June 2007, Siyahhlala.

10. Set up an Ubuntu Club in the schools
11. Raised community awareness on how to report cases
12. Organised a soup kitchen for the poor
13. Organised many crime prevention events
14. Made the CPF more effective
15. Influenced self-regulation of shebeens (particularly hours)
16. Conducted awareness campaigns of domestic violence and child abuse
17. Helped to establish a Shebeen Owner's Forum to regulate their activities
18. Set up a neighbourhood watch system for Siyahlala
19. Stopped all the break-ins at the shopping centre
20. Arranged a beauty pageant and a soccer tournament with crime prevention messages
21. Conducted many crime awareness workshops in the community⁷⁶

Finally, the minutes of the CMP's steering committee meeting (and corroborated by testimony cited throughout this report) it was recorded that business, SAPS, the Department of Community Safety and other partners agreed that "there was a definite reduction in criminal activities in the area in terms thefts and house-breaking (especially business break-ins) owing to the project."⁷⁷

3.8.6 Impact on stakeholder perceptions of the NPA

Statements both documented during the evaluator's round-table discussion with stakeholders on 06 June 2007 and on the survey they completed provided sufficient evidence that the image of the NPA had improved among stakeholders owing to this intervention. In fact, no statements were made in discussion other than to say that perceptions of the NPA had improved. These are examples.

⁷⁶ Questionnaire with CMP partners, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁷⁷ Siyahlala Steering Committee, Meeting at Nyanga SAPS boardroom, 1 February 2007.

- Community Prosecution seemed like a remote idea to me at the start and I was not keen to be involved. Today I am passionate and it changed my whole perspective on the NPA.⁷⁸
- Community members in focus group perceived that response times from Metro Police and SAPS improved but attributed this to the work of the CMP commenting, “We want this extended throughout the whole ward”⁷⁹
- Both SAPS members and CPF members perceived that the NPA had been instrumental in prevention crime by acting as a legal advisor, training SAPS members, raising awareness on crime issues and help to develop crime prevention programmes⁸⁰

Regarding the questionnaire, two questions were asked:

- Q9: Based on the experience of piloting, do you now believe that a prosecutor appointed by the National Prosecuting Authority can play a role in helping to prevent crime in the target community?
- Q10: Based on the experience of piloting, has your perception of the NPA changed in any way?

These are the results:

QUESTIONS 9 AND 10	YES	NO	BLANK	SPOILT
9. CAN THE NPA PLAY A ROLE IN PREVENTING CRIME?	19 (100%)	0	0	0
10. HAS YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE NPA CHANGED?	17 (89%)	0	2 (11%)	0

On QUESTION 9, most of those who offered comment also offered suggestions as to the appropriate NPA role. Most thought this would be coordinating stakeholders on crime prevention and advocating appropriate service delivery (crime prevention practice) in the community. This response seems to reflect accurately on the actual activities that occurred at this site (Section 3.7).

⁷⁸ A Khulisa Faciliator, Round-Table Discussion, Zolani Centre, Nyanga, 06 June 2007

⁷⁹ Community member, Round-Table Discussion, Zolani Centre, 06 June 2007

⁸⁰ Round-Table Discussion, Zolani Centre, 06 June 2007

In analysis of QUESTION 10, most did not really *change* their perception of the NPA because it was evident in the descriptive comments on the questionnaire that they did not know much or anything at all about the organisation before the pilot project began. This is why two left the question blank. The ‘yes’ answers actually indicate that the stakeholders and community members now associate the positive work of the CMPs *with* the NPA. Furthermore, it is evident that the two CMPs at this site attempted to make this association clear since at some other sites, the community was aware of the advocate but not the organisation he or she represented. From this, one can see that community prosecution can help build a positive image of the NPA

3.9 LESSONS FROM THIS SITE FOR AN IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

The following are six critical lessons from this site that might be useful to consider should the NPA decide to implement community prosecution nationwide.

3.9.1 Any partnership with local residents requires a trust-building strategy

One might call this model, the ‘community accountability model’ because the CMP identified the community itself as one of the principal strategic partnerships. CMP Fiona Cloete said in an interview for the baseline study, “I want to bring them on board and work through them. One must be accountable to the community.” However such a strategy is not immediate. It can take time to build trust:

- In the beginning the ward councillor, some CPF members and others in local government felt quite threatened by the CMPs and they spent six months or more gaining trust.
- Some thought the involvement of government meant funds were coming.
- A focus group was held with 7 area committee members who admitted, “Our first image of the NPA is someone who puts you in jail!”⁸¹

⁸¹ Nomjama, Josh, Basil Maarman, Ngele Diyanti, Khaya Diyanti and Zoelka John, Focus Group with Area Committee members, 06 June 2007, Siyahlala.

Trust-building requires certain features and involves lessons. For instance, Cloete identified these:

- Always show commitment (e.g., “keep your promises, never miss a meeting”)
- Use crime awareness workshops to build credibility
- Let people trust you and feel free to phone you
- Never go in with a personal agenda--address the irritants that *the community* identifies⁸²

It also seemed that CMP Cloete followed through on community-based information and made things happen on the ground that were visible to the community (e.g., closing a shebeen, improving facilities in the community). This, in turn, built credibility.

3.9.2 Partnership building and public information campaigns by a community prosecutor can be highly effective

The main impacts of the community prosecutor could be correlated to either building partnerships between the community and those that deliver services (some might call this advocating better government service delivery) or public information campaigns. To this might be added some selective prosecution to send a message. This fits with the skills of a prosecutor and the position of the NPA, which seems to be in contact with many other departments. However, it is critical to understand this finding correctly because a certain intensity of delivery is required for both. For instance, public information campaigns are not effective as once-off events but must be (1) constant; (2) focused on a specific target area; (3) include a large variety of activities; and (4) include many targeted groups.

Building partnerships for crime prevention projects in the community also requires persistence. Furthermore, partnership building efforts by NPA members also comes with certain risks. For instance, the NPA could be charged by other departments and stakeholders as entering into the arena of community activism. The approach one takes to

⁸² Cloete, Fiona, Formal Interview, Cape Town, 03 June 2007

various departments will have an impact on preventing such perceptions and perhaps how the role is explained and described. Association with a community court also helps to reduce that kind of perception (see also Section 3.2 above).

3.9.3 Facilitating income generating projects might not be an appropriate focus

The role of facilitating income-generating projects and training by a CMP might be questioned as less suitable to prosecutors than other roles since:

- This was not in the initial job description of a CMP
- It difficult to isolate impact, attribute it to the work of the CMP (often, all of Nyanga was addressed) and then link it to a drop in crime or crime prevention (but this is needed to build credibility for the CMP)
- Economic development is not a simple formula but a complex and time consuming enterprise. For instance, many different types of skills and inputs that are required to successfully run a business (i.e., the skills to sew are not adequate for success)
- In theory, it might prevent crime but places the CMP in the role of a social worker, which could lead to misconceptions and unrealistic expectations.

The solution might be partnering with development forums at a larger scale.

3.9.4 Working *directly* with youth in or out of school may not be the most appropriate CMP role

Efforts to *drive* educational campaigns might best be left with Education Department since:

- Working directly with youth may not quite fit the role of a prosecutor and involves more expertise than might be apparent⁸³
- Long term studies are required to measure impact (Did it prevent violence among youth? This would have to be measured over a period of years.)

⁸³ The CMP arranged for an ex-convict to address learners in school (a Khulisa programme). The evaluator has undertaken reviews and books on the subject. On review of many crime prevention programmes, it was found that bringing ex-convicts into classes to teach learners about crime prevention can be a dangerous practice since they are not qualified instructors—not professional and not always a good role model. See Griggs, Richard, *Lessons from Crime and Violence Prevention in Schools*, Open Society Foundation, 2005.

This does not mean that addressing youth is inappropriate. After all, it can drive down the court role. However, ownership of this should be with other departments, although the NPA can join such efforts. In fact, there is a Safer Schools programme sponsored by the DOE and it would be appropriate to work with this body that is already highly developed and capacitated in the Western Cape.

3.9.5 Creating too many new structures runs the risk of some not being sustained

After Machel Jacobs left the CMP post, Fiona Cloete worked alone. Then, she was not able to sustain the social forum on a part-time basis. There were already two other new structures to maintain and many other ones to attend. This means: (1) the number of new structures should be fairly limited; (2) new structures should be self-sustaining and not dependent on the CMP to lead. For instance, the CMP in Mamelodi situated ownership of the new structures with CPF members.

3.9.6 Working at a small scale can generate many impacts but can also lead to a duplication of efforts

The most appropriate scale to address might be Nyanga. This is because it is a presidential site that requires NPA support. It is also: (1) the scale at which many partners are found; and (2) it is of enough significance and scale so as to prevent the duplication of efforts. The CMP does not have to take responsibility for the entire site but at this level can negotiate with partners to identify a manageable target area. The human resources available to the CMP would be a factor in this decision along with the size of the target area. The result might be a strategic plan to address a wide area but on time-budget that takes into account available resources. Each area will be unique in this regard. The central idea is simply that other stakeholders should be consulted so that the CMPs work with other stakeholders and avoid a duplication of efforts.