

CHAPTER FOUR
MANDELA EXTENSION, MAMELODI

4. MANDELA EXTENSION

4.1 Description of the Pilot Site

Mandela Extension comprises five square kilometres of Mamelodi, a sprawling peri-urban area of hilly former farmland densely packed with formal and informal dwellings about 20 kilometres east of Pretoria. It includes ten policing sectors of which three describe the target site of the community prosecutor:

- Sector 4: Mixed informal and formal housing
- Sector 5: Mixed informal and formal housing
- Sector 6: Informal (all shacks and no permanent stands)

Two long roads cross at the exact centre of the CMP target site in Sector 5: (1) Tsamaya (the longest road within Mamelodi, which translates as 'going'); and (2) Hans Strydom (the longest road within the province originating some 30 km away to the South in Centurion). Along these roads going either way one sees a vast amount of informal trading, drug sales, and taverns. At night, corrugated iron shacks are erected for the sale of illicit drugs and goods.

Population estimates for Mamelodi range from two to four million and Mandela Extension alone might contain more than 200 000 people. Of the peri-urban sites in the study, it is the most populated one and the largest one in terms of area.

Evidence is provided in this chapter that the crime statistics dropped in all three sectors where the CMP was working. That he made an impact on the crime statistics while targeting a wide-spread, heavily populated area with some of the biggest challenges to be found at any site (i.e., poor initial cooperation from many stakeholders) should build NPA confidence in community prosecution. It also informs the model for South Africa since the findings demonstrate that impact can be made on a wide area, an important factor since human resources are more limited here than in Europe or America.

4.2 THE 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.

4.2.1 Advantages of the site

Most of the advantages of the site pertain to working with a new police station and the status of the area as a SAPS high crime priority site. This enrolled CMP Mncwabe in a new station with a mandate to drive down crime (he was part of the early activities of the station and this allowed him to work directly with the station commissioner and with the SAPS Sector Managers). This also led to some immediate partnerships. Most of this is detailed in Section 4.4 with regard to the office location since this was at a SAPS station.

4.2.2 Challenges to the site

While a close and initial association with the police fits with the international pattern for the development of community prosecution (i.e., for the first one to three years this was common in the United States), it can lead to partnership structures initially dominated by law enforcement bodies or CPF members. This was the case in Mamelodi (see Section 4.6.4). Both the CMP in interview and stakeholders in round-table discussion identified this as a challenge since:

- Some partners (mainly those from community level) associated the CMP more with policing than the NPA or the courts such that some were not even familiar with the term NPA (see Section 4.8.6 on the questionnaire results).
- The CPF leadership initially felt threatened at this site because they perceived the CMP to be assuming *their* role as chief SAPS partner on community crime problems (see Section 4.6.1).
- Potentially, too much focus on SAPS can slow the development of other kinds of partnerships that might evolve (e.g., the municipality).

Another disadvantage attributable to being too reliant on one kind of partner could be identified that offers a lesson for community prosecution. CMP Mncwabe worked very closely with ANC Councillor Sizwe Mthethwa on ‘Crime Prevention through Environmental Design’. This was a very effective partnership in terms of making a crime prevention impact (see Section 4.8.2) but this partner was later charged with corruption (illegally selling council stands). While there was no apparent impact on the NPA from this association, it could be problematic under other circumstances adding to the weight of evidence throughout this report (see also Section 2.15) that it is best for a CMP to work through and with pre-existing and broad-based partnership *structures*. This can better enhance the NPA image while helping to develop crime prevention activities that can be sustained without the NPA (e.g., a CMP might be assigned to another target area later).

4.2.3 The size of the pilot site

The six peri-urban areas in the evaluation study varied greatly in terms of size. By comparison to Siyahlala (a small site of less than 1 square kilometre with two CMPs assigned to it), Mandela Extension is a 5 square kilometre densely populated site with one CMP. At the time of the baseline study, it appeared that the sheer size of the site in terms of area and population might be more than the CMP could handle but in the final analysis this did not turn out to be the case. In fact, initial assumptions about the appropriate sized area for community prosecution were contradicted by the data and it is in the recommendations of this report that all pilot sites be larger (Section 2.6).

However, the CMP was also initially concerned with this question:

If I picked one area that is small, maybe it should have been Sector 6, as it is far from the police station and this promotes crime. This would also have concentrated the effort on a site where partners are more organised.¹

A retreat to fewer sectors was never possible during the pilot because of heightened expectations and this is one of many reasons for recommending larger sites—the

¹ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2007

residents of an area will demand it. The question that attracted the most debate during round-table discussion with 20 stakeholders (13 June 2007) was not the kind of geographic unit for targeting (all agreed to SAPS sectors) but the *number* of sectors that a CMP should target. In fact, all of those that participated in research at Mamelodi wanted the CMP target area to be much larger than the existing three sectors because:

- A focus on only three sectors (although very large) left residents of the other seven sectors of Mamelodi feeling abandoned by the effort ('why did the CMP not help us?')
- Mamelodi East (consisting of six sectors) would be the smallest unit that participants would consider as an appropriate target site²

4.2.4 Analysis

That *all* research participants (from both the community and government departments) wanted the NPA to focus on either all of Mamelodi or all of Mamelodi East was clear confirmation of the high value that the partners attached to community prosecution. Furthermore, it is significant for planning that not one respondent questioned the use of sectors as the units for designing a target area for community prosecution (other possibilities might be magisterial districts, wards, communities). The sector was seen as *the* most appropriate unit to work with because the dominant stakeholders in this intervention were mainly police and the CPF. Using sectors created collaboration between them.³

Ten sectors of up to two million people (an estimate that seems high but was offered by the CMP because no exact census figures were located) might be too large of an area for *one* CMP to target but is possible with support. Therefore, if all ten sectors of Mamelodi were targeted by community prosecution, this would require one of two plans:

- The existing CMP might have to train two others to work the entire area with him. This would have to be done soon since capacitated individuals

² Round-table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 13 June 2007

³ Survey and Round-Table Discussion with 20 Stakeholders, Mamelodi East SAPS station, 13 June 2007

sometimes leave organisations for a variety of reasons (better opportunities, marriage, illness, etc).

- The CMP and trainees *rotate* over the target site on a 2-5 year plan.

The answer depends on NPA budgets, strategic plans and activities. Some activities like the CMP's mapping project (explained further below) could easily be targeted at all ten sectors and used to empower existing CPFs, sector forums and other stakeholders. Furthermore, based on the evidence from all sites, it is in the recommendations of this report that a CMP avoid casework (except for carefully selected prosecutions to send a message to the community) and instead focus on: (1) organising crime prevention partnerships; (2) selective prosecution; and (3) providing an education in the law to communities and those engaged in service delivery. These kinds of activities *can* be delivered over a wide area.

4.3 THE APPOINTED COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR AND ITS IMPACT

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

4.3.1 The suitability of the CMP to the role

CMP Ron Mncwabe seemed to be intensely passionate about the job and also appropriate to the pilot site for these reasons:

- He is Zulu and this is the most predominant language in the area
- He speaks fluent Tswana and Pedi (the next most common languages)
- He also grew up and lived in areas of mixed formal and informal housing

In interview, he said:

I understand Mamelodi residents in a basic kind of way. I grew up part of the time in Soweto and Mamelodi residents are similar.⁴

This may be accurate because he had no problem entering the community in terms of cultural or personal issues. He was also introduced through a local councillor (Sizwe Mthethwa), which made it quick and easy. Ironically while this councillor enjoyed enough popularity to ease entry for the CMP, he was also arrested during the time of piloting for selling RDP stands! There are lessons in this concerning partnerships but this is discussed in analysis further below (Section 4.3.3).

4.3.2 Time available for piloting

The CMP made 40-60% of his time available depending on the month and this seemed to be a contributing factor in the high number of impacts as compared to those that piloted only a small percentage of their time. However, the strategies of a CMP play a strong role in making effective use of time.

4.3.3 Analysis: The appointed community prosecutor

This CMP had no problem entering the community in terms of cultural or personal issues but the arrest of the local councillor may hold an important lesson: partnerships should be structured according to formal agreements of understanding rather than with personalities. Furthermore, it appears more useful to enter through existing *structures* for crime prevention (e.g., a CPF) rather than through individuals since such individual affiliation could pose problems (even if it did not in this case). See also Section 4.5 'Structures for Delivery'.

This community prosecutor also displayed a strong leadership style from the start but gradually relinquished his strong control of committees and meetings when he saw this was not so effective. In fact, he made the CPF chair the chair of his own structure when friction developed owing to this (see Section 4.5.1). In Chapter 12 on resources and

⁴ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 11 June 2007.

training it is suggested that Leadership Skills be included in the training since this was a very capable CMP and just refining his style seemed to increase impact.

4.4 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.

4.4.1 Description of office location

While the office location is presently at the Mamelodi East SAPS station, this only took place from late September 2006. Between the start of the pilot in April 2006 and end September 2006, the CMP was at the Mamelodi West Station where despite many efforts, he could not easily find partnership and support.⁵ “One needs a strong relationship with SAPS no matter how difficult,” said SPP Mncwabe.” This is especially true because SAPS is the main partner for this CMP:

It was very difficult at Mamelodi West when I started. Things were not organised there. They did not put any effort into the CMP project. It was a badly managed station. So we moved to Mamelodi East and this was a big hurdle but a good move. I looked at the demarcations and looked at my areas—all my sectors fall there (they were 8, 9, 10 and became 4, 5, 6 at the new station). It made sense to move but fortunate too because we were making no progress at Mamelodi West.⁶

The Mamelodi East SAPS Station had certain immediate advantages for the CMP:

- As a newly-built station, it is being monitored nationally and this encouraged cooperation and partnerships that made the work of the CMP much easier
- The station management is highly committed to community prosecutions⁷
- It is physically closer to the site (the SAPS station is in Sector 5)

⁵ Some of those interviewed by the evaluator reported that the CMP was unwelcome at the Mamelodi West SAPS station because he was seen as a threat to their jobs (he could expose inefficiency and corruption among the police).

⁶ McCwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2007

⁷ Director Sithole, Mamelodi SAPS Station, Interview, 11 June 2007.

There is also evidence that the switch to a new station delayed impact:

- New partners had to be brought aboard (trust-building can take months)
- The Grand Opening was not until 11 May 2007, meaning much was in flux toward this date
- The sector numbers also changed (8, 9, 10 became 4, 5, and 6) meaning that directing the right dockets to the CMP would be delayed.
- Statistics also had to be organised for the new station (this task was being completed about the time of the evaluator's visit and did show a downward trend in crime at this CMP site--see impact on crime below).

Thus, locating an appropriate office became a huge challenge for the CMP because it slowed the pace of activities and outcomes. He switched stations from Mamelodi West to Mamelodi East at the end of September 2006 but did not obtain a permanent office there until March 2007.

4.4.2 Analysis: impact of office location

In analysis, the relocation to the Mamelodi East SAPS station from September 2006 was challenging but rewarding because:

- It allowed for the development of much better partnerships in crime prevention activities including strong support from the SAPS station commissioner
- A permanent office was offered to the CMP that is immediately next door to another chief partner--the CPF
- It facilitated the development of crime prevention activities that had a statistical impact on lowering crime rates (See Sections 4.7.1, 4.7.2 and 4.8.1)

The experience of changing stations does provide evidence for a central finding in the report: not all police stations are equal in partnership value and that each must be considered on its own merit. One cannot simply situate a CMP at *any* police station without undertaking some kind of feasibility study.

Was the Mamelodi East SAPS station the best available location for CMP Mncwabe?

Working from a SAPS station brought certain challenges. For instance:

- The CMP did not have an independent location from which to operate and this affected his partnerships (SAPS dominated)
- It affected perceptions of his role (e.g., the CPF felt threatened by a new role-player as further outlined below)

SPP Mncwabe believed that the best place to locate a community prosecutor is at an available community court because it allows for:

- Recognition and independence
- Fast-tracking cases
- Conducting criminal proceedings
- Managing, training and giving guidance to other prosecutors
- Making use of alternative sentencing⁸

However, at the time of data collection for the evaluation (June 2007) there was no community court in Mamelodi and the regular court was overloaded and dysfunctional.⁹ There are two very small courts for two big police stations that cannot even begin to handle the caseload (i.e., 2000 cases a month). The CMP described these as ‘shack courts’ that are not secure. “People get bail quickly without consideration for the impact on the community or on the community-prosecutor relationship.”¹⁰ It would be difficult to build trust using dysfunctional courts (e.g., owing to easy bail, the CMP cannot do much to prosecute the culprits).

Given the described situation, the CMP worked with community leaders and the CPF to petition for a court. They collected over a thousand signatures and submitted these to the Department of Justice, the Tshwane Municipality (Office of the Mayor) and the local and

⁸ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 11 June 2007

⁹ A big court has been planned but little is known about progress on this. Emilie Dlamini at Justice knows about this but not easily contactable.

¹⁰ McCwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2007

national newspapers late in 2006. At the time of the evaluation, CMP Mncwabe had also approached Spoornet about getting a mobile unit for a court. He and his partners were still awaiting a response at the time of the evaluation study.

Would it be accurate to say that a community prosecutor should *only* go where there is a community court? This does not appear to be accurate because the community prosecutor made a *significant* impact on preventing crime by working from a SAPS station (as will be evidenced below). Therefore, the lack of community court does *not* prevent effective community prosecution from taking place. Having such a court gives a prosecutor many advantages including a more familiar and less challenging starting point for making impact. However, it has been evidenced that the SAPS station was the best choice at this particular pilot site.

4.5 DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY PROSECUTION AND IMPACT

CMP Ron Mncwabe's initial ideas on the role were stated this way:

A community prosecutor is someone who comes from a prosecutions background and takes these skills to the community in order to sensitise them to crime and improve reporting levels. A CMP is also there to work pro-actively with the stakeholders, NGOs, businesses and others to prevent crime from occurring.¹¹

In interview, the community prosecutor saw no need to change this definition and believed that it fit with the work that he was doing. This prosecutor worked very directly with the community (confirmed in terms of attendees at the research workshop). More specifically, the CMP empowered community-based members (including shebeen owners) with better information on crime prevention and linked them to other partners including SAPS sector management to improve policing in their areas.

¹¹ Mncwabe, Ron, Interview, Pretoria, 18 April 2006

4.6 CMP STRUCTURES FOR DELIVERY

The CMP basically created three new structures for CMP delivery: (1) a forum for community prosecution; (2) a steering committee and (2) a forum for tavern owners. Of course, the first two are tightly related such that these could be considered two wings of the same structure. He also built strategic partnerships and engaged the community directly. The individual impact of each will be discussed leading to an overall analysis of the structures for delivery as follows:

1. The Community Prosecution Project Forum
2. CMP steering committee
3. A Tavern-owners Forum
4. Strategic partnerships
5. Community meetings
6. Analysis: structures for delivery

4.6.1 The Community Prosecution Project Forum

This was the community-based crime prevention body first established by CMP Mncwabe at the Mamelodi West Station. It was re-established by the CMP immediately after his October 2006 arrival at the new station. He invited a broad spectrum of participants to be included on this such as:

- South African Police Services
- Community Policing Forum
- Sector Forum Members
- Community Leaders
- Metro Police
- Community Development Workers
- Tshwane Municipality
- Mamelodi Youth Desk
- Gun Free South Africa

- Mamelodi Chamber of Commerce
- Department of Education
- Peace and Development Project
- Department of Correctional Services

Participation from many of the above-named stakeholders was sporadic and weak. It seemed to draw strongest support from the first four groups listed: SAPS, the CPF, Sector Forum members and community leaders. However, it took months for the CMP to find out that the CPF chairperson was actually opposed to community prosecution and viewed it as competing with the CPF. This affected attendance levels.

Once the CMP understood the issue to be one of ‘ownership’ he responded by addressing the problem at a CPF executive meeting on 14 March 2007. As a result of discussions, the CMP handed over chairmanship of the community prosecution project to a CPF member (Bernard Diyanti of Sector 4). The move helped to situate ownership with the community and after this happened, attendance improved.

At the time of the evaluation, more partners were coming aboard owing to both the described change in chairmanship and CMP successes. However, a ‘changing faces’ syndrome was a consistent problem:

We are always getting new faces such that there is no constancy in terms of partnerships with community members. I always get new people and other people leave and never come back.¹²

This suggests a lesson. A CMP should focus on both empowering community-based structures but also try to develop or utilise a more empowered body that has the clout to respond to community information and help drive community-based projects. This exactly what happened (see CMP Steering Committee below) and was evident at other sites too (Siyahlala, Point).

¹² Mncwabe, Ron, Interview, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 11 June 2007

4.6.2 The CMP Steering Committee

This executive structure was set up quite late in the intervention (April 2007) to create a more empowered steering committee to guide community prosecution. This did not remove project ownership from the community (an important factor as outlined in 4.6.1 above) but it brought aboard important stakeholders that could *drive* the project. This body includes a community representative of each policing sector and stakeholders from business, government and civil society as follows:

- The CMP (NPA)
- General Secretary of CPF (Donny Motoa, Chair of this steering committee)
- Acting chair of CPF (Joyce Mashobane)¹³
- Secretary General of Mamelodi Chamber of Commerce
- Correctional Services
- Ekasie Liquour Traders (new at the time of the evaluation)
- Coordinator of the Sector Managers within SAPS crime prevention (Captain Thiipe)
- The SAPS Communications officer (provides a link to the media)
- Metro Police Crime Prevention (Senior Supt Lebombo)

The CMP organised and facilitates this steering committee but it is chaired by a CPF member (in order to create community ownership). As described in the section above, the CPF was concerned that the CMP was taking over their role. This is why the CMP situated ownership with General Secretary Donald Mothoa who now chairs it.¹⁴

The initial focus of the CMP Steering Committee was on a the mapping project (introduced by the CMP owing to the CSIR Crime Mapping Documents). Much mapping had been completed for Sector Four at the time of the evaluation but not the analysis of the data. However, these maps were reviewed and they seemed to be of great practical

¹³ The previous CPF chair had just moved to Johannesburg to work with the MEC for Safety and Security which improved communications to that office and created a close partnership at provincial level.

¹⁴ Round-Table Discussion with CMP stakeholders, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 13 June 2007

use and highly likely to make good impact since these furnish detailed information on crime patterns not previously available. The CMP had already been acting ad hoc on community-based information and using advocacy to make some impact owing to this. Theoretically, once they apply the analysis to a mapped strategic plan, the impacts should increase.¹⁵

More importantly, the CMP project was better directed toward delivering community-based responses to crime and achieving a safer environment for Sectors 4, 5, and 6 with the formation of this body. According to a member of the CMP forum, Toby Woco, this was the critical body that linked the CMP to stakeholders with clout, “This was a process that took a while, but the CMP project is really gaining momentum now.”¹⁶ This suggests that a more capacitated body that works with the community-based one is good practice (the same partnership arrangement as seen in Siyahlala).

4.6.3 Tavern Owner’s Forum

This is a structure that brings shebeen owners together. It was created by the CMP to help address the owners and regulate shebeens. A similar structure was seen in the previous chapter on Siyahlala and in both cases it appears to work by educating shebeen owners and making them responsible for better regulating their own activities. All informants for this report viewed this structure as highly effective in terms of a crime-prevention impact (the evidence on impact is provided under Section 4.7 below).

4.6.4 Strategic partnerships

Overall, the CMP’s main strategic partnerships were with law enforcement bodies including SAPS, the CPF, Assets Forfeiture, Correctional Services and Safety and Security at provincial level as follows:

¹⁵ The evaluator did not think it was necessary to purchase toolkits in order to do such mapping—this can be a facilitated workshop process using locally produced maps.

¹⁶ Woco, Toby, Member of the CMP Forum, Interview, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007.

- The close partnership with SAPS includes the Station Commissioner (Director Sithole), the Head of Crime Prevention (Superintendent Matshi), the SAPS Coordinator of the Sector Managers, and especially the three Sector Managers (4, 5 and 6).
- CMP Mncwabe made the chair of the CPF, the chair of his CMP steering committee.
- Correctional Services was also on the CMP Steering Committee (and this resulted in accessing prisoners to do community work cutting grass and removing bushes and rubble from hotspot zones).
- CMP Mncwabe also developed a strong partnership with the Gauteng MEC of Safety and Security, Mr Firoz Cachalia (this association partly owed to a former CMP steering committee chair that went to work for the MEC).

The CMP's strategic partnerships with law enforcement influenced his strategies and were critical to the outcomes. First, it produced a strong and powerful team at site consisting of a core triad: the CMP, SAPS, and the CPF. This was effective. Members of SAPS and the CPF testified on surveys and in interviews that the CMP strengthened their role and effectiveness.¹⁷ There is strong evidence that the CMP made the CPF much more effective by: (1) linking them to stakeholders with clout--previously they had no power and were operating within the confines of the police stations; and (2) training them so that know how to identify crime problems and how to report them.¹⁸

B. CMP ratings of partnerships

Each CMP was asked to identify and rate their most effective partnerships. The results for this site are shown in the table below. Those listed near the top of the table are highly rated as the CMP's core and willing partners (e.g., SAPS, CPF) and those toward the bottom were absent:

¹⁷ Director Sithole, head of SAPS Mamelodi East and said he was "very satisfied" with the CMP and his impact. "This programme must be vigorously implemented and soon, he said. SAPS Director Sithole, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 11 June 2007

¹⁸ Woco, Tobi, Secretary of Mamelodi Liquor Trader's Association and the Tswane Liquor Trader's Association, Interview, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007

CMP Ratings of the Most Effective Partners in Mamelodi

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

PARTNER	CMP RATING	THE RESEASON FOR THE RATING IN THE WORDS OF THE CMP
SAPS	3	This group made the best strategic partner and explains many of the impacts.
CPF	2	The CPF made a good partner and I helped to empower <i>them</i> and link them to stakeholders with clout
SHEBEEN AND TAVERN OWNERS FORUM	2	This has led to a crime prevention impact. Cooperating but not all are 100% compliant.
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MAMELODI	2	Represents the business sector and very cooperative
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES	2	Enthusiastic and helping with clearing bushy areas and addressing crime factors in the environment
CMP STEERING COMMITTEE	2	This had just been established, hence the lower rating, but it seemed likely to become very important
CMP FORUM	1	This was the community based forum that suffered from the 'changing faces' syndrome
GUN FREE SOUTH AFRICA	1	Attended but not much input
EDUCATION	1	Not on board
MUNICIPALITY	1	Helpful sometimes and sometimes not
EKASIE LIQUOR TRADER'S ASSOCIATION	1	Promising but newly joined at the time of the evaluation
METRO POLICE	1	Attending meetings on occasion

(Table continued on next page)

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

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

PARTNER	CMP RATING	THE RESEASON FOR THE RATING IN THE WORDS OF THE CMP
MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS	0	Nearly absent; the plan to advertise dangerous crime areas on billboards in the community failed because the council wanted payment for this civic activity! The ANC councillor that was initially most supportive (Sizwe Mthethwa) was arrested along with eight others for illegally selling council land. ¹⁹
LIQUOR BOARD	0	Absent and yet advertising must be regulated, the distance between shebeens must be controlled, and minors kept out of drinking establishments.
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS	0	No participation
JUSTICE	0	No participation
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE	0	No participation but this group is needed to prevent drug abuse
PARKS AND RECREATION	0	This group is needed to clear fields and put in recreation facilities. Instead the CMP is working with Correctional Services to achieve this using prison labour.

Analysis of strategic partnerships

The CMP worked from the Mamelodi East SAPS station and this factor helps to explain a partnership structure that is dominated by law enforcement bodies: Certainly a partnership dominated by law enforcement groups would have impacts on the role of a CMP who would probably:

- Trend toward activities to regulate the environment (e.g., identify and deal with community irritants such as regulating shebeens).
- Attend many workshops and meetings with SAPS partners and contribute his expertise and deepen his role in their activities

¹⁹ Hlahla, Patrick, Councilor in court over land deals, Metro, September 2006

The first bulleted item led to many impacts that are documented further below.

Regarding the second bulleted point, the CMP worked closely with the SAPS Director and had many informal meetings with him and the Sector Managers. He also participated in SAPS meetings such as the ‘Mamelodi Cluster Meeting’ on 08 March 2007. He would promote community prosecution, integrate his activities with the police and respond to questions with regard to certain cases. This helped SAPS members to perform better with issues like unlawful arrests, warrants, bail applications and summons.²⁰

4.6.5 Analysis: Structures for Delivery

The described structures for delivery point to a situation in which the CMP formed the link between law enforcement bodies and the community by building and improving partnerships on the basis of developing a more regulated environment to prevent crime. This included community outreach. Obviously, outcomes are not just a product of CMP strategy but a consequence of working with *available* partnerships and this last factor will be affected by the CMP’s office site (a police station). This geographical proximity led to CMP structures dominated by law enforcement partnerships and community members (even these members are from the CPF or sector forum members).

The CMP also partnered with Mr Mopelong of Correctional Services who is on the CMP steering committee. The partnership, aimed at community projects, could lead to long-term impacts. For instance, prisoners undertake community work for their rehabilitation and better reintegration while clearing fields and engaging in crime prevention work on the environment (e.g., clearing grass and shrubs from overgrown fields that facilitate criminal activities and turning areas in recreation grounds).²¹

Based on similar experiences at other sites (e.g., Point, Windsor East, Siyahalala and most others), it seems that law enforcement partnerships tend to dominate as a CMP sets up at a site. Furthermore, in piloting, most CMPs acquired social partnerships more

²⁰ SAPS Director Sithole, Interview, SAPS Mamelodi East, 11 June 2007.

²¹ The prison is at Bavianspoort about 10 km distant

slowly and gradually. Of course, these are important because it is the social cluster that can help the most with longer-term crime prevention measures. Nonetheless *starting* with the law enforcement cluster may be:

- *Strategic* because it is useful if a community prosecutor can show some short-term impact (immediate deliverables) while developing partnerships for longer-term impact
- *Fortuitous* because it enrolled CMP Mncwabe in a new station with a mandate to drive down crime (he was part of the early activities of the station and this allowed him to work directly with the station commissioner and with the SAPS Sector Managers)
- *Beneficial* (at the start) because it creates some immediate partnerships

The disadvantages of being associated too closely to one kind of partner were outlined in already outlined in Section 4.2.2 but can be bulleted another way here:

- It can lead to a confusion of roles when a CMP becomes more associated with policing rather than a court (hence, the CPF leadership initially felt threatened at this site).
- It slows the development of other kinds of partnerships might have evolve outside of a police station
- It can tarnish the image of the NPA if it is associated too closely with one partner who is then charged with corruption (e.g., Councillor Sizwe Mthethwa)

Thus, a wide spectrum of partners from many different departments and organisations has certain advantages. This is best developed and sustained from an independent location and an office adjacent to a SAPS station is often better than being in one. The best scenario is an office adjacent to a community court at a SAPS station.

The CMP did not rate his own local forum very highly owing to problems of attendance. This partly owes to the project itself—no funding for transport and refreshments. This is important from another angle too because data from other sites shows that setting up new forums creates certain vulnerabilities. For instance, after CMP Sunil Prithipal left his

post, his forums collapsed. Likewise, Fiona Cloete could not sustain the Social Forum after Machel Jacobs left.

The CMP Forum came to be chaired by a CPF member. So, why not just start out by making this particular CMP structure a sub-forum of the CPF? This reduces the need for new structures that create political stability or divisiveness while generating sustainability for crime prevention activities since the CPF is a mandated membership organisation tasked with crime prevention.

4.7 CMP ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT

Eight main CMP activities can be identified and there are certain interrelationships between them and the strategies described above that will be explained in context:

1. Regulating Shebeens
2. The Community Patrolling Project
3. Mapping Community Irritants
4. Improving docket quality
5. Strategic meetings with school principals
6. Unlicensed Taxi Owners
7. Public Information Campaigns
8. Building partnerships for crime prevention outcomes

The sub-headings below describe each activity and then this section concludes with a general analysis of the activities (4.7.8)

4.7.1 Regulating Shebeens

The effort by CMP Mncwabe to regulate shebeens was organised in October 2006, initiated in November of 2006 and was showing high impact by May 2007. This activity is also highly related to two other CMP projects—patrolling and crime mapping (e.g., the

patrols monitor shebeen compliance with regulations and the mapping identifies the hotspots to patrol). Thus, the impacts described in this section were generated by more than one CMP partnership project and those impacts described under patrolling and crime mapping are also relevant to this one.

According to CMP Mncwabe:

We realised that there were too many traders of liquor outlets in all our areas and we wanted at first to close them down but then understood that this might lead to an escalation of crime (hungry people turn to crime—they need businesses). I also reviewed SAPS dockets and saw so many crimes coming from shebeens. So based on these factors, we started inviting them to meetings to regulate them for crime prevention.²²

The CMP then worked with SAPS, the CPF and other partners to conduct monthly workshops with shebeen owners. The meetings would focus on liquor board requirements and how the shebeen owners intended to comply (liquor board act, licensing information). Furthermore, this work was on a time-table with repercussions in terms of law enforcement and threatened closures for failure to comply with regulations:

- Ø End of June 2007: All must comply in sector 4
- Ø End of August: All must comply in sector 5 and 6.

An attendance register was utilised at all the Tavern meetings. If an owner was found NOT to be complying with liquor act *and* not attending these meetings, then SAPS would move to close them down. The CMP group monitors compliance by using patrols and sector managers (more details on monitoring is in the section below). The response to selling liquor to underage youth was not negotiated. “If found to be selling liquor to underage youth, we *will* arrest and charge them and confiscate the alcohol,” said the CMP.²³

²² Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2006, Mamelodi East SAPS Station.

²³ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2007, Mamelodi East SAPS Station.

Impact of the shebeen project

This intervention had some identifiable impacts at the time of the evaluation. On testimony of SAPS, shebeen owners and other stakeholders, most of the owners of the targeted shebeens were attending the meetings. Furthermore, on both testimony and the observations and photographic documentation of the evaluator this can be identified:

- Adherence to strict opening and closing times (10am-10pm during the week; and 10am-2am on weekends)
- ID checks on patrons to refuse minors in the taverns (no liquor sales to under-aged youth)
- New security fencing at the entrance to taverns and a separation between the patrons and the tavern operator (creates safety and does not lure criminals==crime prevention)
- Toilets for both males and females
- Monitoring by the SAPS/CPF/CMP team using locally-based monitors
- Stop and search operations were being conducted by SAPS in the CMP target areas (and not in the others) such that patrolling methodology has changed owing to the NPA intervention
- Shebeen owners had agreed to report all crimes to the team

There was also a drop in alcohol related crimes that can be correlated to this effort. Most of these were assaults (common or GBH). These are showing as one figure for each of the three sectors between the October start of the project at the new station and the time of the evaluation study:

REGULATING SHEBEENS: STATISTICS ON ASSAULTS (COMMON AND GBH) 2006-2007²⁴

SECTOR	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
4	31	23	48	30	34	16	6	15
5	13	09	00	11	15	18	03	05
6	14	12	12	11	12	10	04	03
TL	58	44	60	52	61	44	13	23

²⁴ Mamelodi East SAPS Station, Statistics from October 2006 until May 2007

As shown on the table above, assaults dropped by 60% between October 2006 and May 2007 (from 58 to 23). Since most assaults had originated in the shebeens (a common pattern), the CMP effort to regulate them over this exact period is strongly correlated to the statistical decline. Furthermore:

- Widespread testimony from CMP partners attributed this precipitous decline in assaults during April/May 2007 to the regulation of the shebeens.
- The results of the questionnaire with CMP partners support this claim (see section 4.8.1 below)
- Testimony from those interviewed during the site tour including shebeen owners, police and residents support this claim²⁵
- Shebeen owners can be *seen* to be complying with many regulations for having a liquor licenses (e.g., security gates, separate toilets for men and women, posted closing times, signage prohibiting minors, etc)
- There is ongoing monitoring and these members testify in questionnaires and interviews that people who are committing crimes with weapons are not going into taverns because they get searched.
- Crime is going down in taverns because less crimes are being reported from Taverns based on SAPS dockets and testimony of the Mamelodi East Sector Managers (surveys and interviews)

The shebeen owners also testified to this drop in crime (in interviews) and attributed it to the CMP project. For instance, Faniken Malope who attends the CMP tavern owner meetings said, “We have fewer problems.”²⁶ The owners said the project helped them in three ways:

- Their businesses have become safer
- Their patrons are safer
- The shebeens are now being managed more professionally²⁷

²⁵ Magoro, Andronica (shebeen owner), Personal Communication, 12 June 2007; Motha, Gladys (shebeen owner, Personal Communication, 12 June 2007, Inspector Dikgale, Sector 6 SAPS manager, 12 June 2007.

²⁶ Malope, Faniken (owner of White House Pub), Personal Communication, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007.

²⁷ Magoro, Andronica (shebeen owner), Personal Communication, 12 June 2007; Motha, Gladys (shebeen owner, Personal Communication, 12 June 2007, Inspector Dikgale, Sector 6 SAPS manager, 12 June 2007.

Professionalism and better service delivery by shebeen owners owing to the project seemed to *raise* their self-esteem. Previously, they did not know about or understand regulations and it empowered them to learn about these. As the shebeens became more regulated, the owners turned to helping the police, the CMP and the locals to fight crime. “It turns out that shebeen owners are a good partners!” said CMP Mncwabe in interview.²⁸ The evaluator observed this, met with shebeen owners and photographed the improvements (separate toilets for men and women, security gates, signage etc).

The above findings leave little doubt about impact of community prosecution on shebeen regulation but further below crime statistics are analysed for the area more generally and this data also correlates with the above. It shows that *general levels of crime* were dropping in precisely the sectors where the CMP was working (and in the categories of assault as would be expected owing to the shebeen project).

4.7.2. The Community Patrolling Project

This project is tightly related to the shebeen project (above) because patrols are used to monitor shebeens and this contributed to the impact just described in the previous section. However, these community patrols are wider in impact since residential areas including roads, homes, parks, open areas, and commercial establishments are patrolled. Thus, in addition to the impact on lowering crime in and around shebeens, it can be established that community patrols helped to reduce house break-ins and burglary.

Impact of the Community Patrolling Project

Below are the statistics for residential burglary:

²⁸ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2006, Mamelodi East SAPS Station.

IMPACT OF PATROLLING ON HOUSEBREAKING STATISTICS OCT 2006- MAY 2007²⁹

SECTOR	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
4	12	11	17	17	10	14	0	4
5	8	4	NA	3	6	4	3	2
6	4	2	10	5	3	1	1	3
TL	24	17	27	25	19	19	4	9

The figures show a 60-70% drop in housebreaking in the April/May period once the patrols were fully underway. This also finds corroboration in:

- The statistics given for assaults in the previous section, dropped simultaneously and by a similar percentage in consequence of the patrols.
- SAPS testimony³⁰
- Testimony from the Councillor for Ward 16, Sara Kashani, who said in interview that the patrols were having an impact on reducing crime both in the shebeens and in terms of housebreaking.³¹
- Scores of arrests were made by the SAPS Mamelodi East Task Team owing to reports by the night patrolling group³²

The role of the CMP in making this impact is also significant. Patrolling the community had stopped in Mamelodi and was resurrected through the leadership of the CMP working in partnership with SAPS and the CPF:

We worked with Sector Managers and resurrected these patrolling groups. These are mainly foot patrols and are found in all sectors but more in Sector 4 (5-10 people). Sector 6 has had problems—the person that did these patrols found a job—so we are starting afresh.³³

The CMP also influenced the strategic manner in which these patrols operate and these features helped to create impact:

²⁹ Mamelodi East SAPS Station, Statistics from October 2006 until May 2007

³⁰ Inspector Dikgale, Sector 6 SAPS manager, 12 June 2007.

³¹ Kashani, Sara, Telephonic Interview with the Councillor of Ward 16, 13 June 2007

³² Mncwabe, Ron, Community Prosecution Monthly Reports, March/April 2007.

³³ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2006, Mamelodi East SAPS Station

- Community members patrol on foot wearing reflective clothing and may enter taverns at any time to inspect based on a pre-negotiated agreement (owing to the shebeen project identified above).
- Most members of the patrolling group are from the CPF creating a tight relationship between SAPS and the CMP. For instance, those on patrol have immediate access to a SAPS sector manager (they carry the 24 hour numbers of sector managers and call whenever there is a problem).
- The patrollers carry diaries on activities and produce reports that go direct to the crime prevention unit at SAPS (a suggestion made by the CMP to ensure that this monitoring programme had impact).
- The houses of the patrols are also around the clock because originally they patrolled 8pm until 1am. The criminals realised this and started their activities at the end of the patrols. The CMP encouraged them to patrol in shifts and this is when the crime started on a downward spiral.
- They also monitor parolees who should not enter shebeens (the patrollers will send a report to Correctional Services).
- All problems are identified, named, documented, signed and submitted to the relevant authorities.

It is evident from testimony, activities (patrols, the shebeen project and the mapping project described below) and observations (gated shebeens, safer-looking areas) that both SAPS and the CPF are performing better and that their relationship with each other and the community is stronger owing to the efforts of the CMP. The section on general impacts (below) is also important for understanding the impact of the patrols.

4.7.3 Mapping community crime irritants in Sector Four

This is partly related to the shebeen project outlined above (these get mapped too) but encompasses far more (e.g., areas of poor lighting, hijacking zones, fields where rape takes place). At the time of the evaluation, the work concentrated in Sector Four where crime prevention problems were most acute—this is an area with no permanent stands and no electricity for lighting. Crime concentrates there.

The CMP provided the materials (the CSIR toolkit is being used), training and guidance to community member for mapping their own crime hot spots and community irritants. The trainees were also community members and some other stakeholders who came to his community prosecutions meetings. According to CMP Mncwabe, “We did group work and trained community members to use maps to identify the hotspots.”

The community does the actual mapping. Two people from the CMP’s local crime prevention forums were critical to this activity: Kedibone Masombka and Thembi Mngomezulu (Secretary of the crime prevention forum). However, these stakeholders were also important in helping to organise this activity:

- The Sector 4 Manager (a SAPS inspector)
- Residents of Sector 4 who assisted with mapping
- The CMP’s Administrative Assistant who took photos

At the time of the evaluation, the CMP team (SAPS, the CPF and other stakeholders) were in the process of analysing the data. Furthermore, more maps were needed to complete the mapping of some areas.

Impact of the mapping project

At the time of the mid-June 2007 data collection period for the evaluation, there was much still to be done on the mapping project but it did have some identifiable impacts:

- Metro police were involved in an operation to crack down on crime especially many illegal connections that were identified and removed³⁴
- Illegal and sometimes notorious shebeens and taverns were identified that were then invited to the monthly meeting of shebeen and tavern owners in order to regulate them
- Some of those that were invited owing to the mapping project are now more regulated

³⁴ Unfortunately many of these illegal connections were reconnected by residents

- Some taverns that were selling alcohol to under-aged youth during school hours and were being monitored.
- Clarity had been created about the areas that required targeting (based on widespread testimony and site visits undertaken by the evaluator)

4.7.4 Improving docket quality

CMP Mncwabe negotiated with SAPS to have all the dockets pertaining to his site marked with a blue sticker so that he can review and improve them. Unfortunately the October 2006 move to the new station resulted in the renumbering of the Mamelodi Sectors from 8, 9, and 10 to 4, 5, and 6. This led to much confusion on the dockets since the wrong ones got referred to the CMP. It involves improving SAPS operations and there were initially some delays and resistance from the SAPS side.

The confusion on dockets was resolved over a long period of months with the CMP monitoring for about three hours daily. This gives proper direction to cases and therefore fast-tracks them. It had impact too: cases are getting finalised at a faster rate owing to the CMPs efforts.³⁵

4.7.5 Addressing unlicensed taxi owners

This was an initiative started by the CMP in early 2007 but now owned by the Metro Police. Thus, it might easily have been described as a product of advocacy (further below) although it is discussed here because it began as something more. Since many taxi owners did not have licenses, the CMP tried to address this as a safety measure to protect the lives of people. The CMP invited the taxi owners to some initial meetings for crime prevention that included the Metro Police. It then seemed that ownership of this project was appropriate to them. “We no longer have ongoing meetings but transferred all details to the police,” said CMP Mncwabe. The major impact according to testimony

³⁵ Director Sithole, Mamelodi East SAPS, Interview 11 June 2007.

is that there are fewer unlicensed drivers on the road now owing to an aggressive effort by the Metro Police to address this through operations.³⁶

4.7.6 Strategic meetings with school principals

This activity, which began on 30 January 2007 with negotiations with the Head of the Education Department in Mamelodi, could possibly evolve into a structure for reducing crime in schools and preventing learners from turning to crime. It was slow getting underway owing to negotiations but its intent is to educate learners about the dangers of drugs and prevent violent crimes in schools and break-ins at the schools. “We are just in the process of adopting a school in Sector 5 that had a series of housebreakings,” said the CMP at the time of the June 2007 evaluation. This refers to one school in Mamelodi East (Ramahlale Primary) for grades 1-7. This project was too new for any impact to be measured but describes an activity common to many sites (targeting schools for crime prevention).

4.7.7 Public information campaigns

Information campaigns appear to be useful for: (1) marketing the new CMP role; (2) developing a relationship of trust between the CMP, the community and other stakeholders; (3) informing the community about the law and crime prevention practices; and (4) improving reporting levels. Ultimately, it seems to promote law-abiding practices by the community.

At all community events, the CMP introduced his role, advocated crime prevention techniques that the community could adopt, encouraged reporting and answered questions. In evaluation work, it is generally difficult to link information campaigns to a precise crime prevention impact even though such an activity is undoubtedly important. These may have had some impact:

³⁶ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, 10 June 2006, Mamelodi East SAPS Station

1. An Imbizo 12 October 2006

The CMP helped to organise and then participated in a big imbizo sponsored by the Gauteng Department of Community Safety and Liaison on 12 October 2006. This helped to: (a) build partnerships between the CMP and senior SAPS members; and (b) create a tight and supportive partnership between the MEC for the Gauteng Department of Community Safety and Liaison, Mr Firoz Cachalia, and the CMP that has persisted.

2. A community-wide meeting in Mandela Extension, February 2007

In February 2007, the CMP organised a community-wide meeting in Mandela Extension about community prosecutions (how it works). Although this outcome can be correlated to many other factors, reporting levels did go up during the course of the intervention and this increase in reporting led to many arrests.³⁷

3. A community-wide meeting in Sector 5, March 2007

After a suspect was murdered by vigilantes, the community prosecutor worked with SAPS Director Sithole to address community members of Sector 5 where this took place. Vigilantism seemingly stopped in Sector 5 after the March 2007 meetings³⁸

4.7.8 Strengthening partnerships for crime prevention outcomes (or advocacy)

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish partnership building as an independent CMP activity because it underlies nearly all activities and it also contains an element of advocacy (promoting partnership responses to preventing crime) that is very important to flag. Two components to partnership building for crime prevention outcomes at this site were interlinked:

- *Community-based partnership building:* This involves approaching the community directly to involve them in crime prevention or to get them to take appropriate action against crime.

³⁷ SAPS Director Sithole, Interview, SAPS Mamelodi East, 11 June 2007

³⁸ Mncwabe, Ron, Community Prosecution Monthly Report for March 2007

- *Building partnerships to respond with appropriate service delivery:* The second component involves approaching decision-makers with good information about crime problems and methods for preventing them so that they respond appropriately (and perhaps collectively).

These activities can also be described as an advocacy function, depending on one's frame of reference. For example, in the Shebeen project (described above), the community prosecutor advocated community adherence to government regulations. Thus, he used information campaigns, partnering with SAPS, and mapping but, in essence, strongly advocated better adherence to regulations by the public, better standards of operations by tavern owners and targeted service delivery by many partners. In this case, information from government departments (e.g., the NPA, SAPS, Licensing, etc) was delivered to critical stakeholders.

The community prosecutor also takes information about irritants from the community and then reports these to departments and critical stakeholders for action and then monitors the response. For instance, one of the worst hotspots in the area, Victoria Junction (as reported in the baseline study) was targeted by the CMP, who advocated clearance of the bushes and their replacement by recreational grounds with better lighting. Stakeholders responded and now crime levels have plummeted and it is no longer described as a hot spot (see the full description of this impact in Section 4.8.2 below).

The longest-running advocacy effort by the CMP has not yet succeeded but might. He has worked hard at trying to establish a community court by petitioning Justice and other stakeholders.

A very successful advocacy project of the CMP was addressing a particular corner (an open space) where hijacking had been occurring. In theory, increasing human activity in isolated areas can drive down crimes like this. Therefore the CMP advocated development at that site and this led to a new BP Garage. The result was a drop in hijacking as verified in surveys, interviews and testimony during site visits. 'Before and after' pictures are also available on the CMP website.

One can also see in Section 4.8.2 (below) that this partnership building or advocacy had big impacts on the landscape. For instance, it helped to provide new recreational grounds and better lighting in places where crime was once at high levels but no more owing to this (hotspots struck off the list).

4.7.9 Analysis of CMP activities

The CMP was rated on partnership questionnaires according to various activities. The ratings ranged from complete ineffective to completely effective (1-4). The activities for which the CMP was highly rated (mostly 4s) included these three: (1) regulating taverns and liquor outlets; (2) strengthening cooperation between stakeholders and (3) addressing the environment. Furthermore, these are the two main strategies that could be correlated with a drop in crime statistics:

- The cooperation between the CMP and many stakeholders resulted in the shebeen project and the community patrols that saw a drop in statistics on house-breaking, burglary, and assaults (both common and GBH).
- Advocacy by the CMP led to many changes in the environment (crime prevention through environmental design) that reduced assaults and hijacking

The many changes in the environment attributed to the CMP by stakeholders are further discussed in Section 4.8.2 (under general impacts). The critical finding is that a CMP who identifies the causal problems of crime and then works vigorously to develop partnerships to resolve the problem can make a serious impact on crime, which is then identified and respected by the community and associated with the prosecutor (the NPA) and partners.

4.8 GENERAL IMPACTS

In addition to some of the specific impacts emanating from the structures and activities described above, there is also a collective impact from the many different projects and

activities of the CMP. Some of this is a matter of review from the evidence given above but there is also a significant amount of new evidence here. These include:

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

4.8.1 Impact on crime levels

Some of this data was provided in Section 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 to show that certain crime types dropped in all three sectors where the CMP was working between his October 2006 start (at the new station) and the May evaluation. The total crimes per sector is summarised below to illustrate that there was a general crime drop:

Total number of crimes per sector October 2006 to May 2007

Sector	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
4	54	45	73	53	75	41	13	33
5	31	17	00	19	32	30	06	09
6	22	18	29	18	21	14	06	07
TL	107	80	102	90	128	85	25	49

In analysis, one needs to be aware that crime figures go up at most sites in the country during holidays (December-January) when poor people need money and when police are scarcer (also on holiday). However, one can see that general crime levels were more than halved (55%) between October 2006 and May 2007 evaluation with and an even greater drop (75%) recorded during the preceding month.

The role of the CMP in the crime drop was identified in stakeholder questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. Sixteen questionnaires were completed on the question: “In your opinion, did the community prosecutor help to prevent or reduce crime at the pilot site between May 2006 and present?” These are the results:

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?	16 (100%)	0	0

All sixteen (100%) circled ‘yes’ and offered these reasons for their answer (duplications eliminated):

- Crime decreased in the sectors where the CMP is working
- Crime is visibly lower in certain areas such as Mahube Valley Corner
- Crime was reduced because the CMP helped to put in high mast lights
- There is less hijacking owing to improvements negotiated by the CMP
- Shebeen owners learnt safety tips and cooperated in crime prevention
- Underage youth are no longer in the taverns smoking dagga
- Community participation increased in crime prevention
- The relationship between stakeholders improved, especially SAPS and the CPF owing to the community prosecutor
- Crime hotspots have been identified and addressed
- The community is more educated about crime
- Behaviour improved among the youth

4.8.2 Impact on the environment

The evaluator toured the environment at the time of the baseline study (May 2006) and again in June 2007. A large number of crime prevention impacts and landscape changes were identified and ‘before and after’ photographs were taken by the evaluator that will be placed on the CMP website:

Sector Four

- *High mast lights.* High mast lights went into the area in 2006 owing to advocacy by the CMP. Much more has been planned but progress is slowest here because it is the least developed of all the sectors (bad roads, no electricity, no permanent stands and slow progress) and the most difficult one to patrol. Hence, the mapping project is concentrating on this site.

Sector Five

- *Sector 5 street lights repaired:* There was a section where the street lights were always out at night and therefore people became victims of violent crime including rape. The CMP explained this crime-prevention problem to SAPS and then they negotiated this with the municipality. Owing to this, the lights were repaired and SAPS reports that crime has dropped.
- *Lights installed at a crime-ridden stretch of Hans Strydom:* One area, Mahube Valley, where people jog and walk, was vulnerable to violent crimes. It did not have lights at all. The CMP spoke to the local councillor who then submitted a report to the local council about this. In March 2007 high mast lights and street lights were installed by the municipality.
- *Hijacking is down at BP Garage development (intersection of Hans Strydom and Hector Petersen):* This corner was a scene of violent hijacking and other crimes owing to a large space of unoccupied land at an intersection. This was raised in meetings after it was reported in the baseline study.³⁹ The CMP lobbied the local councillor about this (Councillor Mthetwa) and then business was approached to occupy the area. Since December 2006, a BP garage has operated 24 hours and hijacking has stopped. Unfortunately, the business activity led to an increase in snatching cell phones (common robbery) but more serious crimes moved away from the site.⁴⁰
- *Sector 5, Extension 20:* This area had no electricity and therefore no lights creating conditions for crime. This was discussed at the early CMP forum meetings at the Mamelodi West station and the councillor took action.

³⁹ The baseline study had an influence on activities and strategies at the different sites. Griggs, Richard, *Developing a Community Prosecutions Model for South Africa*, October 2006.

⁴⁰ Inspector Mudau, SAPS Sector 5 Manager, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007

Sector Six

- *Victoria open area renovated into a playground:* This is where the most serious crimes occurred at the time of the May 2006 baseline study including rape, murders, hijackings, armed robberies, common robbery, cell phone theft, and handbag theft. All this has changed since the community prosecutor worked with the municipality to clear out the bush, remove garbage daily (there had been much illegal dumping), light the area and put in a soccer field. When the evaluator arrived in May 2007, the site was barely recognisable: it was a sports field with scores of children playing! They ran up to the police and the CMP smiling and laughing whereas they ran away at the time of the baseline study. Crime figures had dropped so dramatically (according to SAPS) such that this once-dangerous area was no longer on SAPS list of hotspots.⁴¹ The Councillor of Sector 6 (Ward 10 = Sector 6) testified that the CMP project had been critical to this outcome.⁴²
- *Extension 11 and Pienaarspoort Railway Station area renovated with roads and decongested:* This was a very high crime area at the time of the baseline study owing to a very congested and inaccessible informal settlement at the entrance of the station (Extension 11). People coming and going from the station were robbed and assaulted because this was an isolated area with no patrols. The CMP worked with the municipal councillor to make way for access roads by moving many people and homes to a new site (Extension 18). Now, Extension 11 and the railway station are no longer considered a hotspot because this area is well-patrolled along access roads and the sites have also been numbered.⁴³
- *Extension 22, Letsogo Street and Motha's Pub:* At the time of the baseline study, criminals targeted people along this street who came for the pub. It was a major site of armed robberies, rape and serious assaults. At the time of the evaluation SAPS members and the shebeen owners testified that community patrols, the shebeen owner's forum and community organisation made a major impact. According to Gladys Motha, "Crime has come down so much that there is none at all!"⁴⁴ She also reported that the shebeen owners' forum made a huge difference because owners learned how to run a shebeen properly, report crimes and cooperate with patrols.

These impacts, identifiable on the landscape, were a product of many different strategies as outlined in previous sections (e.g., community organisation, information campaigns,

⁴¹ Dikgale, Inspector, Personal Communication, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007

⁴² Mogaladi, Mokhine, Interview with Ward 10 Councillor, Mamelodi East, 13 June 2007

⁴³ Dikgale, Inspector, Personal Communication with Sector 6 manager, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007

⁴⁴ Motha, Gladys, Informal Interview, Mamelodi Sector Six, 12 June 2007; Dikgale, Inspector, Personal Communication, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007

partnership building, patrols, and advocacy). However, in analysis, advocacy was *the* most critical component because the CMP worked with the community to identify problems that can be prevented through environmental design and then lobbied decision-makers in government (e.g., the local councillor or SAPS) to either make changes or monitor the situation.

The questionnaire with CMP partners

The evaluator’s observations were also corroborated by questionnaires to CMP partners. QUESTION 2 asked ‘Did the Community Prosecutor help to change the environment to make it safer?’ These were the responses out of 16 completed questionnaires:

QUESTION TWO	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW
DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR HELP TO CHANGE THE ENVIRONMENT AT THE TARGET SITE TO MAKE IT LESS CONDUCTIVE TO CRIME?	16 (100%)	0	0

The reasons given for these unanimous responses were the same as the evaluator’s list of environmental impacts described above (those taking the survey also guided the evaluator to the sites) and therefore does not require repetition here.

4.8.3 Impact on interagency cooperation and partnerships

That interagency cooperation and partnerships were greatly strengthened was discussed in Sections 4.6.3 and 4.6.4. The strongest links in terms of cooperation were achieved between the CMP and law enforcement agencies and groups, especially SAPS, the CPF and Correctional Services.

There is additional evidence to corroborate these findings owing to (A) interviews and focus group discussions; (B) a questionnaire with CMP partners. Analysis follows as section C.

A. Testimony and Focus Group Discussion

There was much testimony during random interviews and focus group discussion regarding the effectiveness of the CMP in building partnerships. These are examples:

- SAPS testified that, “before the partnership between the community prosecutor and the police, the community did not have trust or confidence in us. Now this has changed and the partnership has strengthened because of it.”⁴⁵
- A sector forum member testified that, “The community and police made for an engine without oil and now with the CMP it is a smooth-running engine.”⁴⁶
- A business member of the Mamelodi Chamber of Commerce testified that the CMP made the CPF much more effective by linking them to stakeholders with clout and training them so that know how to identify crime problems and report them.⁴⁷

B. Questionnaire with stakeholders

QUESTION 5 asked, “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? The results are given in this table:

QUESTIONS FIVE AND SIX	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW
5. IN YOUR OPINION DID THE CMP HELP TO BUILD GREATER LEVELS OF STAKEHOLDER COOPERION IN CRIME PREVENTION?	15 (94%)	1 (6%)	0
6. DID THE CMP HELP INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS TO ADDRESS CRIMPE PREVENTION MORE EFFECTIVELY AT THE TARGET SITE?	16 (100%)	0	0

⁴⁵ Dikgale, Inspector L. J., Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Mamelodi, 13 June 2007

⁴⁶ Sector Forum Member, Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Mamelodi, 13 June 2007

⁴⁷ Woco, Tobi, Secretary of Mamelodi Liquor Trader’s Association and the Tswane Liquor Trader’s Association, Interview, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007.

Regarding QUESTION 5, Fifteen out of 16 questionnaire participants (94%) circled, 'Yes' and offered these reasons (duplications eliminated):

- Cooperation and partnership between SAPS and the CPF improved
- The community participates more in crime prevention
- An effective steering committee on crime prevention was created
- The critical partners in crime prevention are now working together
- There is now cooperation between shebeen owners, the police and the CPF
- Regular meetings now take place between the CMP and shebeen owners
- The community is now working with the CPF to stop crime
- Yes, because crime is down
- We now patrol the sectors where the CMP is working

Only one respondent circled 'No' (6%) offering this reason:

- Some key stakeholders do not show up to the CMP's meetings

As to QUESTION 6, all respondents confirmed that the CMP helped individual government departments to address crime prevention more effectively and listed these specific departments:

- SAPS
- Community Policing Forum
- Education
- Immigration/Home Affairs
- Correctional Services
- Health
- Metro Police
- Liquor Board

C. Analysis of impact on stakeholder cooperation

The data is clear: the CMP greatly improved stakeholder cooperation around crime prevention. In analysis, partnerships were well developed with law enforcement agencies but *not* well developed with the social cluster. Thus, some of the impacts were short and medium-term ones aimed at crime prevention but were not working to prevent criminality from developing among youth.

Partnerships with schools were just being initiated at the time of the evaluation. Furthermore, there was no community court and therefore no diversions for youth offenders. Over time, social partnerships may evolve and other structures too. For instance, the CMP was working diligently throughout the intervention on obtaining a community court or a mobile court.

4.8.4 Impact on community cooperation/involvement in crime prevention

The evidence throughout this report of community cooperation and involvement in crime prevention is substantial (e.g., the mapping project, the tavern owner's forum, etc). It may be added here that the community appeared to have more confidence and trust in this CMP project than in their community leaders. This is the evidence:

- They discuss community irritants with the community prosecutor but not with many other stakeholders including their representatives.
- There was rioting over political corruption and lack of service delivery during May 2007 (e.g., rioting community members burnt down the council building in Sector Four of Mamelodi).
- On the other hand, the community calls on the community prosecutor both weekdays and weekends to ask for help

Regarding the first point, it is also important to understand that a community prosecutor provides a *discrete* person to whom the community can report crimes. It is not possible for community members to raise their crime concerns in large CPF meetings. "They will hang you in broad daylight if you do that!" said Toby Woco, a resident and member of

the CMP forum.⁴⁸ He explained that assailants also attend CPF meetings and criminals are out on bail so quickly that they threaten the person that reports them.

Questions 7 and 8 on community cooperation

The partnership questionnaire included two questions that addressed the issue of community cooperation as shown in the table below with the results:

QUESTIONS 7 AND 8	YES	NO	BLANK	SPOILT
7. DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR HELP TO MAKE MORE EFFECTIVE ANY PUBLIC/CITIZEN GROUPS ON SAFETY?	15 94%	0	1 6%	0
8. DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR CREATE ANY NEW FORUMS OR BODIES TO HELP BUILD COOPERATION ON CRIME AT THE PILOT SITE?	6 37%	0	2 13%	8 50%

Ninety-four percent of the respondents to QUESTION 7 said the CMP made existing crime prevention bodies more effective and listed these two bodies to justify their responses:

- The Community Policing Forum
- Sector Crime Forum/Neighbourhood patrols

In response to QUESTION 8 on CMP efforts to create new forums, there seemed to be an inability among some to differentiate a forum that the CMP created from a forum that he joined. Therefore many simply repeated the list of bodies from the previous question failing to differentiate. Six people (37%) appeared to understand the question and listed two: the Tavern Owner’s Forum and the Steering Committee of the Community Prosecutions Project

4.8.5 Impact on community perceptions of safety at the site

As indicated throughout this chapter, community partners recognised the impact of the project but Mamelodi remains a dangerous place such that it is difficult for anyone to say it is safer. According to CMP Mncwabe,

⁴⁸ Woco, Toby, Interview with CMP Forum Member, 12 June 2007.

The crime starting point is too high. People cannot feel safe so quickly. We need more time and more activities. The pilot site is huge. We cannot just control a small part, either. The crime is low where people have higher living standards.⁴⁹

QUESTION 3 asked, “Did the community prosecutor help to develop any crime prevention projects or programmes at the target site that will help to prevent crime on an ongoing basis? These are the responses:

SURVEY QUESTION 3	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW	BLANK	SPOILT
DID THE CMP HELP TO DEVELOP ANY CRIME PREVENTION PROJECTS OR PROGRAMMES AT THE TARGET SITE THAT WILL HELP TO PREVENT CRIME ON AN ONGOING BASIS?	9 (53%)	--	--	5 (29%)	3 (18%)

Eight people (35%) seemed uncertain of how to answer the question and either left it blank or gave a completely inappropriate answer. Nine people (53%) responded that the CMP did help to create project and programmes that will prevent crime on an ongoing basis but five of these cited reasons related to crime prevention through environmental design:

- Street Lights were repaired
- The BP garage replaced a dangerous open space
- The railway station is more secure

Upon analysis, only four people (24%) accurately answered the question to identify projects and programmes that might help prevent crime at the target site on an ongoing basis. These were:

- The School Principal’s Forum is helping learners to understand the risk of drugs and becoming a thug or a criminal
- Empowering the CPF and patrol groups (2 like this)

⁴⁹ Mncwabe, Ron, Personal Communication, Mamelodi, 13 June 2007

- The forum for the community prosecution project

The above three reasons for the four appropriate responses are accurate but the overall result reveals that respondents do not necessarily take a neutral stance when completing a survey like this. South African respondents to questionnaires can be political in their responses. In this case, they wish to indicate that the project is appreciated and are reluctant to indicate that the area is not safer (even though this is unlikely) because it might send the wrong message to the NPA.

4.8.6 Impact on stakeholder perceptions of the NPA

CMP Mncwabe focused much of his work at community-level. For instance, many of the participants on his CMP forum were community members. At that level, the association of CMP activities with the NPA is slow because most people do not conceptualise or understand the structures of government. According to the CMP, “Some just identify me with government. Others only know of the Scorpions.”⁵⁰

Partnership questionnaires verified the CMP’s perception that the NPA is a foreign concept because many community members could not answer QUESTION 10: “Has your perception of the NPA changed?” They left this section blank or else answered inappropriately (spoilt). Only those from government departments recognised the NPA and answered appropriately.

A few more partners could answer QUESTION 9, “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?” These are the results:

QUESTIONS 9 AND 10	YES	NO	BLANK	SPOILT
9. CAN THE NPA PLAY A ROLE IN PREVENTING CRIME?	11 (69%)	0	1 (6%)	4 (25%)
10. HAS YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE NPA CHANGED?	6 (38%)	0	3 (19%)	7 (43%)

⁵⁰ Mncwabe, Ron, Personal Communication, Mamelodi, 13 June 2007

The respondents understood the NPA in QUESTION 9 to mean the community prosecutor and therefore about 70% said ‘yes’—*he* can play a role in preventing crime. However, 62% of the respondents could not understand QUESTION 10 because they did not know about the NPA or what this stood for.

At the level of SAPS, Correctional Services, or other departments, the effort markedly improved the image of the NPA based on interviews and round-table discussion. For example this was reported by Correction Services in round-table discussion following the survey:

You never heard the word NPA. It was just a group that chases after the rich and powerful. Now we understand the NPA is here to protect those who cannot protect themselves. We thought it was only the police that could make a difference before. Now we understand the NPA can make a difference too such as in preparing dockets for court.⁵¹

4.9 LESSONS FROM THIS SITE FOR AN IMPLEMENTATION MODEL

The following are some critical lessons from this site that would be useful to consider when designing the national roll-out of the community prosecution project:

4.9.1 Entry and trust-building can be facilitated by creating community ownership of crime prevention strategies and structures

Entry and trust-building was a significant challenge that was overcome by the community prosecutor. In analysis, a simple strategy of ownership was located that might offer a practical lesson that can be applied elsewhere. It was documented in the sections above that SPP Mncwabe overcame CPF concerns that he was competing with them by making a CPF member the chair of the CMP steering committee. That was a simple but eloquent solution that removed the negative perception that this effort was not community owned.

⁵¹ Mapelong, Simon, Focus Group Discussion, Mamelodi East SAPS Hall, 13 June 2007

This trust-building technique might be utilised by all community prosecutors since it quickens the pace at which trust developed:

When introducing community prosecutions to other stakeholders, take the approach that you are coming to join *their efforts* on crime prevention.⁵²

The CMP attended the CPF meetings and they attended his such that all CPF members in interview and in surveys supported the CPF as an excellent partner.⁵³

4.9.2 In peri-urban areas it is important to market the CMP role

One of the biggest initial questions in the baseline study was about public profile. That is, how does one introduce the CMP role to the community? CMP Mncwabe thought from the time of the baseline study that it must be advertised and introduced through wide-marketing. This appears to be correct based on the evidence (see also Point and other sites). Furthermore, in peri-urban and rural areas it becomes even more important because transport and communications are weaker than in many urban areas.

According to Toby Woco, a long-time resident of Mamelodi who serves on many local bodies (The Mamelodi Chamber of Commerce, the Mamelodi Liquor Trader's Association, and the CMP Forum):

To institutionalise community prosecutions, it needs marketing and exposure, otherwise impact will be limited. The next step is to fast track it.⁵⁴

One of the methods he suggested for rapid roll-out was using faith-based organisations because there is massive attendance in churches in the area and preventing crime is on the agenda. In any case, to build awareness of the existence of the community prosecutor, it seems that events are a clear requirement.

⁵² Mncwabe, Ron, Round-Table Discussion on Community Prosecutions, Mamelodi East, 13 June 2007

⁵³ Boshomana, Joyce, Sarah Ndolovu, and Donald Mothoa, Interview with CPF Members, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 13 June 2007.

⁵⁴ Woco, Toby, Mamelodi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Interview, Mamelodi, 12 June 2007.

4.9.3 In peri-urban and rural areas it is useful to have a more empowered steering committee work with a local committee

According to CMP Mncwabe, “Skilled labour is not available on our local committees. So, it is always better to form a steering committee—starting with people already involved in crime prevention (correctional services, SAPS, etc). It is best to bring information from the community to a more empowered group and to use the empowered group to capacitate local people. This was also found to be the situation at the other sites and therefore can be recommended in strategy.

4.9.4 Partnership-building and advocacy appeared more effective than creating new structures

In terms of impacts, it seems that the CMP accomplished more by working with strategic partners or else on advocacy issues rather than by way of creating and managing new structures. For instance, none of these activities requires a permanent CMP body: regulating shebeens, instituting foot patrols, mapping hotspots and petitioning for a community court. Furthermore, the new structures developed by the CMP were viewed by the CPF to be in competition with them, causing months of friction and delay. “Other stakeholders thought I was taking their job,” said CMP Mncwabe.⁵⁵

It may be good practice to simply join or work with other crime prevention bodies rather than inventing new ones. Some community prosecutors chose not to develop any new structures at all owing to the belief that this would lead to friction (e.g., CMP Raymond Mathenjwa at Windsor East; Val Melis in Point). The structures set up by Sunil Prithipal collapsed when he departed and SPP Cloete could not maintain one of hers when her junior colleague, Machel Jacobs, gave up the CMP post.

⁵⁵ Mncwabe, Ron, Formal Interview, Mamelodi East SAPS Station, 11 June 2007

4.9.5 Research can improve the pace of entry and help to define appropriate strategy

The first SAPS station that SPP Mncwabe chose for partnering resulted in much lost time: months were consumed at uncooperative station. This is evidence to support the integration of research into the effort to institutionalise community prosecutions. A feasibility study or an audit of available partnerships might be the critical starting point for setting up community prosecutions. Many used the baseline study to help to think about and develop strategy but an audit specifically designed to examine existing crime prevention efforts, partnership roles and gaps would offer information for designing a more carefully considered implementation strategy. Ad hoc crime prevention strategies without research often fail but those that involve research such as audits and evaluations have a much higher success rate.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Griggs, Richard, *Lessons from Local Crime Prevention*, Open Society Foundation for South Africa, 2003