

CHAPTER FIVE
NU1 MDANTSANE

5. NU1 MDANTSANE

5.1 Description of the Pilot Site

Mdantsane, which lies about 15 kilometres northwest of the East London CBD, is a SAPS national priority area owing to high crime rates. This is a big densely populated township of 41 square kilometres and up to 2.5 million people (mainly Xhosa-speakers).¹ It has three police stations (Mdantsane, Vulindlela and Inyibiba) divided into a total of 18 policing sectors. The Mdantsane Police Station has six sectors and SECTOR ONE (better known as NU1) is the pilot site of CMP Gugu Mampofu.² This is an area of about four square kilometres and 26,000 residents who live a mix of formal and informal dwellings.³

The priority crimes for the Mdantsane SAPS station were recorded on the wall of the operations room at the time of the baseline study and remained accurate at the time of the evaluation. These were as follows:

1. Robbery Aggravated
2. Common Robbery
3. Burglary
4. Theft out of Motor Vehicle
5. Rape
6. Murder
7. Attempted Murder
8. Unlicensed Shebeens

Robberies and theft (1-4 above) topped the list and it occurred in every possible form in all parts of Mdantsane—in residences, in parks, in open areas, when disembarking from a taxi, or when parking a car. In fact, robbery is such a big problem in Mdantsane that it

¹ The population estimates were provided by SAPS Mdantsane via the CMP.

² NU1 is the more popular term locally even though its original meaning was ‘Native Unit’ (an old apartheid term).

³ These population figures and estimates are from Captain Shireen Kriel at the SAPS Management Information Centre, SAPS Mdantsane.

is well known in the Eastern Cape as “the place where youngsters will rob you.”⁴ Pensioners, of which there were relatively few compared to youth, were frequently robbed at pay-out points by young people desperate for cash, perhaps owing to high levels of unemployment (more than 50%) but also because of rampant drug usage.

Priority crimes 5-7 on the bulleted list above (rape, murder, attempted murder) explain the last one (shebeens) because all of these violent crimes usually relate to alcohol consumption and occur in and around the shebeens. The CMP reported that it was not unusual for men to buy women drinks in a shebeen and then expect sexual favours in return. When this is not granted, it often ends in rape and violence.

This CMP (like the one in Cape Town) was often challenged to think about developmental issues because poverty and high crime levels seemed to him to be interlinked.⁵ Certainly high crime levels create a barrier to economic growth. If it were not for the high levels of crime in Mdantsane, the area might otherwise attract development because:

- Mdantsane is close to a port that brings goods, investors, tourists and cruise-liners.
- It is a commercial hub with potential for economic development—a major transport corridor with many taxi ranks and Metro Rail services.

However, poverty is not sufficient to explain crime levels nor can development be a sufficient strategy for preventing crime. This is because the social factors producing crime have much deeper historical and cultural roots than just a history of poverty. Under the apartheid regime, Mdantsane was a site of forced removals, a dumping ground for ex-political prisoners and a critical site of rebellion. In the ‘Gqoso Coup’ of 1993 so much infrastructure was destroyed in looting and fires that factories closed down and

⁴ Dinise, Lindile, “Light at the start of the tunnel,” Daily Dispatch, 28 June 2007, p.14

⁵ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

businesses fled the area. This appeared to leave Mdantsane “ten years behind” in terms of development but also with a *culture of violence* that persists today.⁶

Since high crime levels in Mdantsane are rooted in complex economical, social, historical and political factors, driving down crime levels is a complex challenge not as simple as just addressing poverty. It seems likely that long-term economic and social investments (skills training, educational opportunities, crèches, etc.) along *with* crime prevention activities and programmes are required to make an impact on crime levels but this might be anticipated as a slow process (see also Section 5.8.1 where it is shown that crime dropped in particular areas of the site but not across the entire sector or area).

5.2 THE IMPACT OF THE SITE ON PILOTING COMMUNITY PROSECUTION

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.

5.2.1 Advantages to the site

Mdantsane is a PRESIDENTIAL PROJECT—a national priority site for economic development since 2003 and this creates much international interest and many partnership possibilities. For instance, the European Union has committed R114 million to economic development that will include infrastructural development, greening, and housing.⁷

The NU1 police station is also undergoing R40 million in renovations and upgrading to improve service delivery owing to the status of Mdantsane as a national priority area for SAPS crime fighting efforts.⁸

⁶ The historical analysis of Mdantsane and its impact on crime levels was a topic during the round-table discussion, 27 June 2007 at the Magistrate Court offices where some long-time residents discussed this (e.g., ‘Men for Change’ representatives and a representative of the Nahoon farming community).

⁷ Mtshizana, Lunga, “Making it lovely,” Mdantsane Dispatch, 23 May 2007, p. 11.

⁸ Ngcakani, Anelisa, “Facelift for NU1 police station,” Mdantsane Dispatch, 23 May 2007, p.5.

In May 2006, the SAPS station commissioner welcomed the NPA into a tight partnership. The CMP was conveniently located at the Magistrate's Court directly next to the Mdantsane SAPS station and such a situation appeared to foster many partnership opportunities and facilitated:

- Rapid entry into the community (no trust-building process was required for this CMP while entry and trust-building slowed progress at some sites)
- An integrated approach to crime prevention because SAPS had many pre-existing and coordinated crime prevention activities
- A good partnership between the CMP and (1) the SAPS Crime Prevention Unit; (2) SAPS Sector managers; and (3) the SAPS Youth Desk; and (4) the Community Policing Forum
- Immediate membership in the SAPS Sector Crime Forum for NU1 (all 6 sectors of NU1 meet every Monday)⁹
- Immediate entry and representation on the Community Safety Forum¹⁰
- Easy access to dockets so the CMP could help improve these
- Access to information about crime problems, SAPS activities and the progress of cases

5.2.2 Challenges to the site

The CMP also encountered three major challenges in trying to develop community prosecution at this site that may be relevant to understanding a model. These are identified in the italicised subheadings and explanations below:

Limited NPA funding made it difficult for the CMP to compete with other stakeholders

Since this was a presidential site, the CMP had to compete with many other programmes for stakeholder attention and involvement. Yet he had no budget for hosting activities or events (as did SAPS and many others). Unable to attract partners easily, he partnered with SAPS on many projects (about 60%) because they were providing incentives (i.e., catering for

⁹ The sectors are 1, 2A and 2B, 3, 4, 5

¹⁰ There are workshops here for information but not much delivery on the ground.

participants in any given intervention programme). “Food provisioning is an important issue especially in places like Mdantsane where poverty and unemployment are rife.”¹¹

Dependency on one SAPS director, made the CMP vulnerable during restructuring

Dependency on the police made the CMP project vulnerable. In particular, SAPS Director Alex Sofute, who was very supportive of the CMP (and strongly focused on crime prevention), was transferred to another station in early 2007 during a period of SAPS reorganisation as the post of Area Commissioner was phased out.¹² Director Mnyombole, who was about to retire, assumed Director Sofute’s post but he appeared to the CMP as less focused on crime prevention. CMP Mampofu believed that he regressed in terms of SAPS based partnership activities, which had comprised up to 60% of his efforts during 2006.¹³

The CMP had no administrative support at one of the most challenging sites

This CMP worked alone and had no an assistant at one of the most challenging of the sites in terms of both crime prevention activities and crime levels. He had originally worked in an office with another senior public prosecutor, Ms Amanda Smit, who was to assist on this project but this person was redeployed to another court. “A CMP cannot work *both* in the court and in the community and still be effective,” said CMP Mampofu.¹⁴

5.2.3 The size of the pilot site

CMP Mampofu concentrated on one sector of a police station that has six sectors. In terms of the entire area, Mdantsane has three police stations and a total of 18 sectors. All research participants (whether in interviews, discussions or on surveys) reported that one sector was insufficient for implementation strategy for these nine reasons:

1. The chief and critical partner, SAPS, does not design crime-prevention strategies or profiles that address only one sector. Rather, sectors are the

¹¹ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

¹² Director Sofute was transferred to Duncan Village Police Station (another hot spot 17 km away),

¹³ For instance, a big June 16 Youth Event the CMP developed with the former station commissioner was cancelled for 2007 (Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007)

¹⁴ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

divisions for *administering* the station's programmes across the entire policing area. For example, the imbizos for crime awareness go to all the sectors but simply take place on different days in different sectors.¹⁵

2. Progress in crime prevention is monitored in terms of an entire policing area
3. It is a key finding of this report that working with only one sector of a SAPS station creates too much CMP dependency on one partner such that larger SAPS priority areas including more than one station are better target sites. .
4. SAPS and the NPA can easily cooperate on the entire area since both fall within one magisterial district
5. Mdantsane is one urban renewal node and this factor is crucial to crime prevention since much of it is about factors of development
6. The CPF addresses an entire policing area and found it difficult to assist the CMP with regard to one sector¹⁶
7. Crime is easily displaced from one area to the next making it difficult to identify impact by examining one sector alone
8. It fits with local perceptions of place (people think of Mdantsane as one place)
9. It reduces the chances that one uncooperative police station would cause a setback as actually happened at this site with the change of station commissioners.

One critical item to highlight was that working in just one sector increased the CMP's dependency on the SAPS station commissioner and then SAPS support diminished when the station commissioner departed during restructuring in January 2007. Initially it appeared easy and logical for the CMP to create a close partnership with the SAPS station commissioner and direct his efforts toward SAPS structures for these four reasons:

- The station commissioner considered the CMP (and the NPA) to be important partners in the fight against crime¹⁷
- There were so many pre-existing crime prevention activities at this site (owing to its status as a presidential project and a SAPS national priority area) that it was

¹⁵ Sobetwa, X., Senior Superintendent (Head of Crime Prevention), SAP Mdantsane, 26 June 2007

¹⁶ Ndinisa, D., CPF Secretary Mdantsane, Round-Table Discussion with Stakeholders, 27 June 2007

¹⁷ Sofute, Alex, SAPS Director, Interview with Former Station Commissioner at Mdantsane, Duncan Village SAPS Station, 26 June 2007

difficult for the CMP to compete with these (i.e., introduce his own crime prevention activities).

- The CMP did not have a budget for refreshments, invitations and many other basic items required for community meetings and therefore relied on SAPS for calling meetings.
- The CMP was also piloting in a community without a community court such that he had no power base and became dependent on other departments and structures, especially SAPS.

When the Station Commissioner was replaced by someone less enthusiastic about community prosecution, it seemed to the CMP that he had to begin partnership building “all over again” at the very station where he had been working for months.¹⁸ The new station commissioner (Director Mnyombole from January 2007):

- Refused to allow the CMP to use police equipment to call community imbizos as he had been doing (reducing attendance levels)
- No longer admitted the CMP into high level crime strategy meetings¹⁹

The CMP described the new station commissioner as less focused on community prosecution than the previous one and this appeared to be the case to the evaluator since the station commissioner did not participate in round-table discussions on community prosecution and yet appeared beforehand to say he did not clearly see the relevance of the project to SAPS.²⁰

5.2.4 Analysis of the site selection

Bulleted in the section above are nine reasons why the NPA should focus on areas larger than one police station. Furthermore, this is the evidence from the other sites as well. Sites larger than one police station can create more stability and flexibility for a CMP and this is recommended. The key finding from Mdantsane in this regard is that focusing on

¹⁸ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007; some survey respondents also recorded this problem.

¹⁹ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

²⁰ SAPS Director Mnyombole, Informal Discussion, 27 June 2007, Magistrates Court, Mdantsane

sectors of a station and sometimes just one station can make community prosecution personality-dependent and vulnerable. Such situations could potentially diminish the public profile of the NPA (consider the close partnership with a corrupt councillor at Mamelodi, Chapter 4).

There are some alternatives to prevent unstable dependency on personalities:

- Create formal partnership agreements between the NPA and SAPS (a procedure for ensuring beneficial outcomes for both parties)
- Ensure that a CMP is attached to a court (this creates an independent powerbase that reduces dependency on other partners)
- Use a scoping study upon the identification of any site to provide an analysis of the gaps in delivery to identify the crime prevention strategy most suited to the CMP wherever he or she might be working
- Develop strategic partnerships aimed at specific kinds of impacts (no forums needed)²¹
- Target a larger area and work with more than one SAPS station (i.e., all three SAPS stations in Mdantsane) using two assistants to cover a broader area (thereby reducing dependency on one SAPS station)

None of these are exclusive. For instance, a scoping study could be employed to inform the CMP of the most appropriate crime problems to target across a larger area and then strategic partners could enter into a memorandum of understanding to address this. However, in the evaluator's analysis the target site was too small and this should be emphasised.

Depending on the type of activities in which a CMP engages, a target site the size of Mdantasane might require three CMPs (one to work with each of the three SAPS stations) and an administrative assistant. However, the activities recommended in this report (mainly owing to impact and appropriateness) are selective prosecution, public information campaigns and partnership building for crime prevention outcomes (between

²¹ Strategic partnerships can have many advantages over forums, which are often troubled by attendance matters; do not reach agreement on activities quickly or easily; and are very slow to implement projects.

the community and agents of service delivery). These kinds of activities can take place over a relatively wide area as long as the inputs are relatively intensive and geographically focused (e.g., *not* once-off public information days and not without reference to a clearly targeted site).

5.3 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.

5.3.1 The suitability of the CMP to the role

CMP Mampofu was born close to the border of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal but most people in Mdantsane assume that he is a local because he speaks the local dialect and is quite compassionate and personal about the area in which he works. He said:

Our people are disadvantaged and need to know about the law and I always had this passion to go to them and explain the law. I have worked on adopt-a-school since 2003.²²

This described approach (compassionate and personal) is not an opinion but was evidenced in terms of the data. The CMP:

- Made his phone number available to the community for any kind of emergency that might arise and would be called out any time of day or night
- Assisted many members of the community on an individual basis (casework).
- Was nominated by the community as a ‘Hero of Mdantsane’—a public award for heroism and community service managed by the local newspaper (the Mdantsane Dispatch)²³
- Received letters of gratitude for his community service²⁴

²² Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

²³ Matyobo, Noxolo, “Our Hero: Gugulethu Mampofu,” *Mdantsane Dispatch*, 20 June 2007, p. 3

²⁴ X. Sobetwa, SAPS Crime Prevention Head, ‘Appreciation of Service Rendered’, 10 July 2006

- Joined the community daily on street patrols
- Was strongly focused on trying to implement *social* crime prevention strategies

5.3.2 Time available for piloting

This site provides one of the only examples of a CMP full time on the job. The prosecutor might work four hours every day *in* the community and spend another four hours in meetings or doing office work. The manner in which he divided his hours was not routine but this indicates how it averages out in terms of a norm:

- 1 hour: Sector patrols and communicating with sector volunteers
- 3 hours: Monitoring shebeens
- 2 hours: Drafting documents in the office
- 2 hours: Various kinds of meetings

At the beginning of the intervention there was much more strategic emphasis on some nightly activities like community patrols. Advocacy would also take place during daytime meetings and office hours. He also held many regular meetings with SAPS and sometimes this involved efforts to improve *their* performance in terms of crime prevention and managing dockets. Most of the effort went into monitoring shebeens.

5.3.3 Analysis of the appointed CMP

Based on the evidence, this is a capable and compassionate CMP that so often went beyond the ‘call of duty’ to help the community that he was nominated as a community hero. While this is admirable it did raise a question about the model of community prosecution. Can a personal and individual approach lead to too much personal involvement (casework) and thereby reduce the time and energy available for developing the strategies required to affect the *entire* community? It did seem that compassion is required for the job (see also the chapter on Point). However this must be balanced with a strategy to achieve maximum impact on a target *area*.

Perhaps the model and training materials should address this issue of ‘casework Vs strategic interventions’ in order to achieve an approach that is more weighted toward the latter. In fact, the CMP readily acknowledge the need for this kind of training:

We are running projects and we need project management skills. This should have been delivered in full depth. I have been a prosecutor for 20 years but never had project management.²⁵

5.4 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.

5.4.1 Description of the office location

The office of the CMP was located within the pilot site at the Mdantsane District Court next to the SAPS station. This was beneficial for piloting because it placed the CMP close to other prosecutors where exchanges and advice on community issues took place in a way that built the CMP’s profile *within* the NPA. For instance, the other prosecutors participated in the soccer events undertaken by the CMP to promote crime prevention among youth.

Although the proximity between the NPA and SAPS at the NU1 Mdantsane pilot site helped to build a very good relationship between them, CMP Mampofu stated that he would NOT like his office to be located inside the police station (as occurred at some other sites). In interview, he offered five reasons as to why he preferred the magistrate’s court to working from a police station:

- “It is familiar to me and this makes progress at the site easier”
- “This daily contact keeps me abreast of developments in the NPA and up to date on the law.”
- “It assisted me in responding to questions from the community”

²⁵ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007,

- “Community members respect a person coming from the courts.”
- “I would be ridiculed as a social worker if I did not have this attachment to a court.”

Although he preferred the court to the SAPS station, the CMP did not think that a Magistrate’s Court was the best location for a community prosecutor. He stated in interview, “It would have been great to have had a community court but I can manage without one. The advantage is that I would be able to expedite cases—a case that can be finalised in one day is a big benefit.” It also enhances the CMP’s image in the community and this builds community cooperation faster.²⁶

5.4.2 Impact and analysis of office location

The CMP’s location at the Magistrate’s Court (adjacent to a SAPS station) enabled the prosecutor to maintain an independent identity, build good relationships within the NPA and yet enjoy a very strong partnership with SAPS. It was also undergoing a major upgrade costing R12.7 million at the time of the July 2007 evaluation study making it an attractive option.²⁷ Nonetheless, it is *not* the best location. In fact, the evidence from a comparative examination of the nine sites is that an office adjacent to a community court is best (see Section 2.8). Working from a Magistrate’s Court can draw a CMP into court business reducing the time available for community prosecution. In this case, the CMP was at a construction site: the court was being refurbished making the job more difficult, rather than less.

An alternative office location was discussed at this site by participants in round-table discussion: a multi-purpose centre or ‘one-stop centre’.²⁸ These cluster different kinds of government and non-government role-players together in one place and one is already being planned for Mdantsane. Such a possibility could be investigated when there is no community court. However, a community court is being planned for this site (see Section

²⁶ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007.

²⁷ Jamela, Bongani, “Court Roof Blows Away”

²⁸ Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Mdantsane, 27 June 2007.

5.6.6 below). It is highly recommended that the CMP be located at this site with court prosecutors and another trainee for the CMP post and that all of Mdantsane be targeted.

5.5 DEFINING COMMUNITY PROSECUTION

For the baseline study, CMP Mampofu offered one of the most succinct definitions for capturing the role of a community prosecutor: “We are the people’s lawyers,” he said. He then explained what he meant:

A lawyer in traditional isiXhosa (Igqweta) means one who confuses the truth but I want to promote the idea that we speak *for* the truth and speak *for* the community. This would be a different word—uMmeliwoluntu--the one who represents the community.²⁹

At the time of the evaluation, the CMP said that he would *not* change this definition since it guided him throughout the entire period of piloting. However, in explaining the difference between a CMP and an ordinary prosecutor, he seemed to offer a more complete definition: “We make the people aware of how the justice system works and we have more of an attachment with the community than a traditional prosecutor.”³⁰

As to the job description, CMP Gugu Mampofu said, “It did not fit at all mainly because the aspect of the court work is not appropriate.” For instance:

- Few dockets were ever referred to him
- He was not attached to a regular court.
- He had no staff to manage.

Furthermore, he reported that, “A CMP cannot be evaluated like other SPPs but some NPA managers tried to do this at the sites.”³¹ Apparently some attempted to evaluate the CMP based on the criteria for regular prosecutors creating potential problems in terms of

²⁹ Griggs, Richard, “Developing a Community Prosecution Model for South Africa: the baseline study for a planned evaluation,” Cape Town, October 2006.

³⁰ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

³¹ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

how they appear on performance appraisals (owing to inappropriate criteria). This occurred elsewhere too such as at Point.

The key performance areas were separately discussed and these made sense to the CMP in terms of the objectives of community prosecutions.

5.4.1 Analysis: defining community prosecutions

It would appear accurate to say that a CMP is by definition *the community's* advocate. This means the first and primary focus of a CMP should be on understanding the community's crime problems and then developing methods to address these in consultations between the community and those that deliver services. Such a job description fits with CMP Mampofu's ideas of the role he should play between the community and other stakeholders, particularly government departments.

The definition also fits with the key performance areas that were constructed for the model but not the job description offered by the NPA for piloting. Therefore this description needs to be modified to fit the role while the key performance areas would be unaffected.

5.6 CMP STRUCTURES FOR DELIVERY

The CMP developed one new structure that quickly evolved into a community owned one and otherwise utilised existing ones. This included six bodies:

1. The NU1 Local Liquor Outlet Crime Prevention Broad Forum
2. Monthly Community Imbizos
3. SAPS Crime Combating Forum
4. The SAPS Sector Forum (NU1)
5. Community Policing Forum
6. Mdantsane Integrated Criminal Justice Forum

7. Strategic Partnerships

These seven structures framed the activities of the CMP but the CMP activities that developed from these and their impacts are discussed separately in Sections 5.7. Only certain impacts are identified and discussed below to illustrate and compare the strategic value of these *structures*. Section 5.6.8 then analyses these collectively.

5.6.1 The NU1 Local Liquor Outlet Crime Prevention Broad Forum

The CMP focused most of his available time trying to achieve more regulated shebeen operations based on the premise that alcohol consumption and drinking establishments were the main crime triggers in Mdantsane. So, he worked together with SAPS to establish a large forum where he could meet with all NU1 tavern owners. This started with an invitation letter to all NU1 tavern owners in June 2006 and resulted in linking all owners into the ‘NU1 Local Liquor Outlet Crime Prevention Broad Forum’ hereafter discussed in abbreviated form as The ‘Liquor Forum.’

The purpose of the forum was to create self-regulation. According to CMP Mampofu:

It is nearly impossible to close them down because the customers just move elsewhere and if they move too distant, they encounter crime on the way. So, we try to make them self-regulating. This includes fencing, keeping minors out, conducting searches for dangerous weapons, escorting females home so they are not raped and regulating their closing and opening times.³²

After the first meeting, this association linked up with the Eastern Cape Amathole Taverner’s Association, a body that pre-existed provincially but was not yet at this site. Owing to this outcome, one can say that in a manner the CMP did not impose a new structure but utilised an existing one for his efforts.

SAPS was also a critical partner in developing this forum and the CMP had strong support from the former Station Commissioner who was interviewed to say, “I used to

³² Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2006.

beg the magistrate for such a project.”³³ Therefore the CMP was also helping to fulfil the long-time dream of the station commissioner by establishing this forum.

The CMP wrote the legal document that created the Liquor Forum and it specifies its aims and objectives and specifies the organisational management *including* the role of the CMP, which is given as follows:

- To monitor the proceedings and give advice when the need arise
- To motivate (extrinsically and intrinsically)
- To ensure that court cases generated through the liquor forum activities are monitored and fast-tracked for prompt finalisation
- Organise capacity building and skill development workshops for the forum members³⁴

It is notable that the CMP did not take ownership of this forum or any other and this approach can be recommended as a good practice.

Impacts owing to the Liquor Forum

The impacts owing to this structure are itemised below while any crime prevention impacts owing to CMP *activities* are detailed in another section (Section 5.7.1):

- The CMP organised tavern owners into a forum (and wrote its constitution) that allowed the police, the CMP and shebeen owners to work toward a common goal of creating a crime free zone (and tourist friendly area) around participating shebeens
- Participating shebeen owners (30 out of perhaps 50 shebeens³⁵) agreed to certain standards of operation (a ‘Memorandum of Understanding’) including a closing time of midnight (a compromise worked out over a long period of time between community members and shebeen owners with the CMP facilitating), age restrictions, agreement to search patrons for illegal weapons and drugs, banning drunken persons from entering, escorting vulnerable patrons home, segregating toilets, and placing appropriate signage.

³³ Sofute, Alex SAPS Director, Interview with Former Station Commissioner at Mdantsane SAPS, Duncan Village Police Station, 26 June 2007

³⁴ NU1 Local Liquor Outlet Crime Prevention Broad Forum, Mdantsane, June 2006.

³⁵ This indicates that some problems or attendance that still need to be worked out.

In late June 2007, the evaluator visited several shebeens and conducted interviews with owners (and other stakeholders) to conclude that much progress toward regulation had been made. However, the percentage of tavern owners (@60%) participating on the forum appeared insufficient to impact on general crime levels (discussed in detail in Section 5.7.1).

The Liquor Forum is *only* for Sector One such that crime is easily displaced between sectors. This is part of the reason that larger target sites are recommended in this report. Nonetheless, the participating shebeens in Sector One are being regulated and the shebeen owners that were interviewed appeared to be very cooperative and as concerned about reducing crime levels as the police or the CMP (it affects their image in the community and therefore their business).

5.6.2. Monthly Community Imbizos

These community meetings for Sector One take place the first week of every month at Zukisa Primary School and were organised and driven by the SAPS Sector Forum long before the CMP was appointed. However, the CMP employed this structure from June 2006 to identify problems (that he could address) and to educate the community about crime prevention purposes on these kinds of topics:

- The constitution
- Victim rights
- Bail
- The docket process and reasons for delays (e.g. waiting for DNA results)
- The early release of criminals

For instance, the community asked him to address bail issues because they perceived this negatively (people are in jail one day and out the next). He also made use of a question and answer period to explain the law and respond to questions specific to certain dockets.

Impact of the imbizos

This structure allowed the CMP to make impact in the following ways:

- Community Prosecution is now a standard item on the agenda of the monthly imbizos.
- The Head of Crime Prevention for SAPS Mdantsane, Superintendent X. Sobetwa testified in interview that owing to the CMPs public information efforts “phone calls to the station to complain about bail applications have stopped.”³⁶
- Lobbying and advocacy by the CMP at these imbizos led to certain environmental impacts (improved lighting, field clearances) that are discussed in Section 5.6.9.

When the new station commissioner arrived in January 2007 and refused to allow police loud-hailers or vehicles to be used to invite and transport community members to meetings (as the former station commissioner had done) CMP impact was greatly reduced. This is because it affected attendance levels. “Even ward councillors would come owing to this method,” said CMP Mampofu. “How do we set up meetings now?”³⁷

This impact (of changing station commissioners) provides evidence of the need to reduce CMP dependency on SAPS for calling meetings. It would be easy to provide a CMP with the tools to do this (e.g., a loud hailer, a budget to host meetings including refreshments and transport money). This might be required if the CMP is working at a scale larger than one police station as recommended.

5.6.3 SAPS Crime Combating Forum

Every Monday morning during 2006 CMP Mampofu attended these SAPS meetings and became an official part of joint operations (and devoted many hours to this) until SAPS Director Sofute was transferred in early 2007. Participation during 2006 provided an opportunity to:

- Gather crime intelligence for devising strategies (e.g., crime trends)

³⁶ Superintendent X. Sobetwa (The Head of Crime Prevention for SAPS Mdantsane), Interview, Mdantsane SAPS Station, 26 June 2007.

³⁷ Mampofu, Gugu, Informal Interview, Mdantsane, 26 June 2007.

- Facilitate partnerships
- Advise other stakeholders on appropriate legal strategies
- Report back to SAPS and the community about CMP projects such as the shebeen project
- Report to SAPS on community complaints from his area involving the police (e.g., slow response times)

Impact of Crime Combating Forum Meetings

Attendance at these meetings facilitated process and relationships (as described above)

but it also had one main impact on crime prevention:

- Through the CMP, SAPS identified that the underlying cause of much crime was liquor and shebeen-related and therefore supported the CMP's crime awareness campaigns and on testimony of the police—serious crimes in and around shebeens subsided in consequence (rapes, murder, assault).³⁸

Reportedly, the new station commissioner from January 2007 was not as supportive of the CMP such that he could no longer attend these meetings.³⁹

5.6.4 SAPS NU1 Sector Forum Meetings

The CMP participated in the weekly meetings run by the SAPS Sector Forum Manager and this led to some significant crime-prevention impacts particularly around the municipal offices (the NU1 Mdantsane CBD) and the pension payout point. This is where people were frequently robbed at the time of the baseline study. However as CMP Mampofu arrived to assist the sector forum in June 2006 two major problems had to be sorted to before there could be any crime prevention impacts:

- The inspector in charge of the sector was sacked without explanation (June 2006) and not replaced such that sector management fell apart.⁴⁰

³⁸ Superintendent X. Sobetwa (The Head of Crime Prevention for SAPS Mdantsane), Interview, Mdantsane SAPS Station, 26 June 2007.

³⁹ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2006.

⁴⁰ SAPS Mdantsane, Minutes of Sector One Anti-Crime Activists Meeting, 13 June 2006.

- The CMP wanted to help train reservists to assist with community patrols but this process required personnel numbers but these were not allotted by SAPS in a judicious manner: (1) those awarded with the numbers were no longer active and unable to serve; and (2) those able to serve did not receive numbers.

These two matters bulleted above engaged the CMP in much conflict management until both issues were resolved. Thus, SPP Mampofu can be credited in large part with helping to make the sector forum patrols operative and effective.

The described developments changed hotspot sites (the municipal offices and described pension payout point as identified in the baseline study) into much safer places as this was observed during fieldwork at the site:

- SAPS, the CMP, and NU1 forum members now use the offices of the Buffalo City Municipality as a SAPS satellite station with two-way radios for patrolling and reporting crimes (this makes crime in this former hotspot now difficult)
- The CMP uses the venue to engage and train the sector forum members (e.g., educating members in legal issues and conflict management).
- The CMP capacitated the forum members and SAPS to also improve patrolling operations from here and to monitor shebeens and both activities have been sustained with many impacts as discussed in Section 4.6 further below.
- The CMP joined day and night patrols to see and understand the crime problems. These observations led the CMP to call all shebeen owners to a meeting with himself and the police to work out a strategy to reduce crime in their business establishments.⁴¹
- Based on his participation in the patrols, the CMP advocated certain crime prevention outcomes at the community imbizos (better lighting, closure of certain abandoned buildings, sealing up a manhole where robbers hid, etc.). These are identified and discussed in Sections 5.7 and 5.8 below.
- Pensioners are much safer when they collect their pensions (police and sector members are present and improvements in environmental design affect this)

⁴¹ Madlodlo, T. Inspector, SAPS Sector One Anti-Crime Activists Meeting, 20 June 2006.

The evaluator visited the site where the patrols are based (the NU1 CBD), took photographs and met with informants. A Somali Shop owner at the site, Alex Hassan told the evaluator:

Things have calmed down owing to Gugu, SAPS and the community working together. Reservists come around and there are community patrols. This visibility helps and it scares the tsotsis off. Mugging is way down and nothing happens even on paydays.⁴²

5.6.5 Community Policing Forum

The CMP attended CPF meetings and his participation helped him to identify crime problems in NU1. More importantly it led to his participation in sector patrols identified above. Most members of sector patrols are also CPF members so there is a relationship with 5.6.4 (above) but the CPF includes all sectors in its meetings, another indication that the pilot site was too small. The most effective partnering arrangement might have been with the CPF rather than the sector forum but the focus owed to the awarded pilot site.

5.6.6 Integrated Justice Forum

This structure was created on October 16, 2006 owing to a research workshop organised by the provincial office of Safety and Liaison (and facilitated by CSIR). Those present (including the CMP) identified the need to have a forum where they could meet and strategise on ways and means of addressing crime. This resulted in the Integrated Justice Forum, which is hosted by Correctional Services. It has a big focus on Mdantsane but addresses issues of concern throughout Buffalo City. It is composed of:

- SAPS (four stations--Berlin, Mdantsane, Vulindlela, Inyibiba)
- The NPA (Senior Prosecutor Mdantsane Court and the CMP)
- Judiciary (the Magistrate)
- Correctional Services
- Social Development

⁴² Hassan, Alex, Informal Interview, NU1 Mdantsane CBD, 27 June 2007

- Education
- Home Affairs
- NICRO
- Masimanyane Women's Support Centre
- Men For Change.
- SpoorNet Security
- Metrorail (owing to crime on trains)
- Buffalo City Urban Renewal

This forum meets monthly (at the premises of Correctional Services) to minimise the need to have many different kinds of bodies on crime prevention. Instead all the key government stakeholders come together and strategise.

Outcomes of the Mdantsane Integrated Criminal Justice Forum Meetings

This forum addresses an area much larger than the pilot site and addresses many issues that do not involve the CMP directly. However, this body may become highly relevant should the target area expand (a recommendation of this report). Furthermore, the role of the CMP on this body has had some impact on crime prevention but over an area much wider than the target site:

- The CMP raised the issue of the looting of trucks carrying cargo into the area and the negative impact it had on development in Mdantsane. SAPS and the army then worked together to police the area better. In terms of impact, crime subsides when the police show up but returns to old levels when they fail to patrol.
- The CMP is lobbying this body to create a community court for Mdantsane, an outcome that had not been achieved at the time of the evaluation but seemed likely because a site had been identified: the old Fort Jackson police station about 4 km away from Magistrates office next to the railway station and Correctional Services.⁴³

⁴³ Integrated Justice Forum, Minutes of 03 May 2007, Vulindlela SAPS.

5.6.7 Strategic partnerships

CMP projects at all sites were usually developed through strategic partnership building. The types of *available* partnerships helped to structure the kinds of activities in which the CMPs engaged. The chief partners at Mdantsane are listed below with some of activities and outcomes very briefly described:

- **SAPS SECTOR FORUM:** The CMP worked with the sector forum on a daily basis to develop their skills and to learn about crime problems.
- **AMATHOLE TAVERNER’S ASSOCIATION:** This partner helped to monitor and regulate shebeens including their hours and the manner in which they operate.
- **LIQUOR OWNER’S FORUM:** This is the local branch of the district-level Amathole Taverner’s Association, which helped to address the regulation of shebeens.
- **COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS:** The CMP approached them about a reconciliation plan: meetings between ex-offenders and the community aimed at a better process of reintegration. Many ex-convicts fear returning to the community and people have anger toward the convict that often leads to unsuccessful reintegration such that the released prisoner commits another crime (so as to return to the comfort of prison).
- **ZUKISA PRIMARY AND BULUMKO PRIMARY SCHOOLS:** Community imbizos occur on the grounds of Zukisa Primary School once a month. Otherwise the CMP has worked with these schools on developing crime prevention programmes and activities including using their soccer fields for ‘sports against crime’ programmes.
- **DAVID MAMA HIGH SCHOOL (SGB, School Safety and Security Sub-Committee):** The CMP was invited by the chairman of the SGB security committee to assist them with a disciplinary code. “We had a meeting where this was done—it was done as Director Sofute was leaving and support from the police was lost afterwards.”⁴⁴ The plan was to reduce drug use with both awareness campaigns and using police operations to flush out the drugs.
- **BUFFALO CITY HUMAN RESOURCE DEPARTMENT:** The CMP worked with this department that helped out with ‘Sports Against Crime’ projects.
- **BUFFALO CITY MUNICIPALITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT:** This group helped to support community projects addressing HIV-Aids and malnutrition and offered the Sector Forum volunteers a workshop in gardening as a form of sustaining themselves since they have no salary. They also provided some gardening tools.

⁴⁴ Mamprofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007.

- **BUFFALO CITY MUNICIPALITY SPORTS FIELD MAINTENANCE DEPARTMENT:** This group offered tractors for tilling land and a garden for germinating seedlings for the gardening project.⁴⁵
- **MDANTSANE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:** This group only attends the community imbizos with the CMP although he wanted to develop a closer relationship for the purpose of crime prevention.
- **NICRO:** This NGO wanted to cooperate with the CMP on issues of domestic violence and diversions and therefore requested and was granted provision of office space for them at the court building.⁴⁶ Cooperation was then stalled when NICRO did not accept the offer (finding the site unsuitable to them).
- **NAHOON DAM FARMING COMMUNITY:** There is a community of mostly white farmers outside Mdantsane whose stock gets stolen by the Mdantsane community. They have assisted with equipment for the gardening project (ploughs and gardening tools).
- **MASIMANYANE WOMEN'S SUPPORT CENTRE:** This civil society organisation that supports female victims of crime and domestic violence partners with the CMP on crime awareness programmes and attends both the same community imbizos and justice forum meetings as the CMP.
- **MEN FOR CHANGE:** This is a non-profit organisation of 1 500 men that has been funded by Social Development and the Premier's Office (since 2004) to encourage responsible drinking. They became a new partner of the CMP during May/June 2007 in the effort to educate shebeen owners.⁴⁷ They were also partners in the restorative justice strategy that was developing between the CMP and Correctional Services.
- **MDANTSANE SPORTING GROUPS:** The Mdantsane Sports Council provided equipment for sporting activities and several clubs and groups were involved in these activities for youth (Sakhisizwe Sports Club Against Crime, Boxing Against Crime, Kwaito Against Crime)
- **SANCO:** This includes many community organisations and 'street committees', which meet every Thursday evening (they are part of the CPF too)
- **FAMSA:** A CSO specialising in marriage and family counselling to which the CMP referred cases

⁴⁵ Cooperation with the head was good but the local members of the department would not surrender the tractors leading to a delay that was too long (the fields had to be re-tilled).

⁴⁶ Elliott, Mrs, Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, Letter provisioning office space for NICRO to resume the perpetrator's programme in Mdantsane Magistrate Court, 08 May 2006.

⁴⁷ Interestingly, this group addresses all of Mdantsane and the Eastern Cape, not just one sector, adding weight to previous argument that a sector is much too small of a target site.

- THE NU1 WARD COUNCILLOR: Mr Nqelenga is a community leader who supported the project
- THUTHUZELA RESOURCE CENTRE: The CMP refers victims of domestic violence here.
- DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS: This refers to Advocate L. Mahlati (SC), who released Gugu Mampofu full time to pilot the project and was supportive throughout piloting.
- DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE: Although still under discussion, the Department of Justice has supported the CMPs proposal to open a community court in the area sometime by 2008.

Survey with the CMP

Each CMP was asked to think of their most important partners and rate them. In this case (as in most places), SAPS came to the top of the list.

CMP Ratings of the Most Effective Partners in Mdantsane

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

PARTNER	RATING	THE REASON FOR THE RATING IN THE WORDS OF THE CMP
SAPS SECTOR FORUM	3	The CMP worked <i>daily</i> with the sector manager and the forum.
SAPS	2	This relationship was very strong under the original station commissioner and weakened with the new one.
THE LOCAL BRANCH OF THE AMATOLA TAVERN OWNERS ASSOCIATION	2	Working with them resulted in improved regulation of the shebeens.
NAHOON FARMING COMMUNITY	2	They provide ploughs and implements for gardening projects.
EDUCATION	2	“We have schools that we work in and we have access to their gardens.”
ZUKISA PRIMARY SCHOOL	2	Zukisa was the model of cooperation. We have imbizos on their grounds! This occurs once a month.

(Ratings continued on next page)

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

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

PARTNER	RATING	THE REASON FOR THE RATING IN THE WORDS OF THE CMP
DAVID MAMA SCHOOL	2	The CMP was invited by the chairman of the SGB Safety and Security committee to assist them with a disciplinary code.
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES	1	“The passion is there on restorative justice but they are still screening prisoners for activities such as bush clearances etc.” The CMP will also organise an imbizo on reintegration as soon as Correctional Services is ready.
MASIMANYANE WOMEN’S SUPPORT CENTRE	1	We meet them during imbizos – we are co-partners in advocacy and awareness
MEN FOR CHANGE	1	The partnership is new but shows much promise. We had a workshop on responsible drinking with them and invited shebeen owners. The last meeting was May 2007. They are also interested in restorative justice strategy that is developing.
BUFFALO CITY HUMAN RESOURCE DEPARTMENT	1	They have helped with sporting equipment for the Sports Against Crime Campaign for youth
BUFFALO CITY MUNICIPALITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT	1	They are responsible for many community projects such as addressing HIV-Aids and malnutrition. They cooperated in training the sector forum volunteers in how to support themselves without a salary. Implements for gardening are also coming from this group but the wait has been long.
BUFFALO CITY MUNICIPALITY SPORTS FIELD MAINTENANCE DEPARTMENT	1	We tilled some land using their tractors but now they will not make these available again and we might lose seedlings which are germinating.
MDANTSANE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	0	We only see them at the imbizos
NICRO	1	They saw a willingness to help but we can not find suitable office space for them. So, we are stalled.

Briefly, the closest partners *and* the ones readily available during the evaluation period were SAPS, the CPF, Education and Men for Change. Other partnerships were in an incipient stage of development suggesting that two or three years are required to consolidate partnerships (the data also revealed that a budget for this would help in peri-urban areas).

5.6.8 Analysis: Structures for Delivery

The Liquor Forum, monthly community imbizos, SAPS Sector Forum participation and strategic partnering *might* be the four most significant types of structures for identifying impact at the target site. This is because the other bodies (the SAPS Crime Combating meetings, the CPF, the Justice Forum) were targeted at a wider geographical area than NU1. Thus the value of any given structure is premised on the scale of the pilot site and in analysis this pilot site is too small as discussed in 5.1.2 and 5.7 and immediately below:

- The target site was *too small* because it did not fit with important larger scale activities such as the Integrated Justice Forum, Community Policing Forum and the SAPS Crime Combating Forum.
- There is no data to indicate that any of these activities reduced crime levels throughout the sector (or Mdantsane) suggesting that a wider area of CMP operations is required for both making impact and measuring impact appropriately (otherwise there is displacement of crime).
- Not enough shebeens were targeted to make impact over the area of Mdantsane (i.e., crime can move to the nearby unregulated shebeens).

The above findings do not mean that the Liquor Forum failed to produce a crime prevention impact since it led to greater regulation of certain shebeens and a lowering of crimes in and around them (Sections 5.7 and 5.8).

There are also many crimes that are not shebeen related and the CMP tried to address these by participating on many other structures (as described above) including SAPS Crime Combating meetings, SAPS Sector Forum meetings, the CPF, the Justice Forum and the Community Imbizos.

SPP Mampofu utilised existing structures to either advocate certain outcomes or to offer public information that had an impact on crime prevention activities. For example:

- The CMP participated in community patrols to notice problems of poor lighting. He then talked to the municipality about this to result in the installation of high mast lights (see also Section 5.7.9).
- The CMP made use of the Justice Forum to advocate a community court. At this writing, a site had been identified by the NPA, the Justice Department, Correctional Services and other partners in this project.
- The CMP made use of the community imbizos as a platform to deliver information on crime prevention to the community. This also had measurable impact because complaints to SAPS stopped on the issue of bail applications owing to the CMPs public addresses on this topic.⁴⁸

Is there value in minimising the number of new CMP structures? This seems so because the CMP did not encounter any ‘territorial conflicts’ with pre-existing organisations on crime prevention. In fact, some like the CPF argued that he should have worked with them at larger scale.⁴⁹ During the June 27 round-table discussion with stakeholders, participants reported that the CMP project was viewed as ‘innovative’ but neither competitive nor contentious:

He did not re-invent the wheel but integrates into existing programmes. So, there were not so many challenges.⁵⁰

Four of the six main structures that shaped CMP activities began with a SAPS partnership. Only gradually did other stakeholders begin to be involved with community prosecution. This is a pattern common to many sites and might be anticipated in strategy.

The CMP was frustrated by his initial inability to enlist the social sector in crime prevention.⁵¹ He said, “There are many social issues like places of safety or domestic

⁴⁸ Superintendent X. Sobetwa (The Head of Crime Prevention for SAPS Mdantsane), Interview, Mdantsane SAPS Station, 26 June 2007.

⁴⁹ Ndinisa, D. CPF Secretary Mdantsane, Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Mdantsane, 27 June 2007.

⁵⁰ B.Z. Mqalo, Men for Change, Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, 27 June 2007.

⁵¹ This is likely to be a problem relating to cooperation at provincial level because the Eastern Cape’s Department of Social Development budgets for projects and programmes in specific districts and

violence interventions that can offer longer term impact but this department appears not to not have enough social workers. This draws a CMP into doing this social work!”⁵² It seemed to the evaluator that:

- A CMP should *advocate* government delivery and avoid attempts to replace it and this is discussed below with regard to activities, especially food production projects (Section 5.7.2).
- An important new partnership with the social sector had developed at the time of the evaluation, Men for Change—an NGO funded by the Department of Social Development (thus, there is social sector support indirectly)⁵³
- The Eastern Cape’s Department of Social Development budgets for projects and programmes in specific districts and municipalities perhaps a year ahead of delivery. This makes it difficult to simply join hands with a local project if not part of the budgeting phase and if the CMP target site is not a priority area for them.

5.7 CMP ACTIVITIES AND IMPACT

The partnership structures described above led to ten main activities by the community prosecutor, which are listed below and then described under sub-headings for each:

1. Information campaigns with shebeen owners and monitoring shebeens
2. Crime prevention through food production project
3. Skills development for sector volunteers
4. Improving police dockets
5. Partnerships for weekend patrols (nights)
6. Re-opening the Mdantsane Community Court
7. Youth development thorough a recycling project
8. Youth and school-based awareness campaigns

municipalities perhaps a year ahead of delivery. This makes it difficult to simply join hands with a local project if not part of the budgeting phase and if the CMP target site is not a priority area for them.

⁵²Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

⁵³ Mtshizana, Lunga, Taverns join war against gender violence, *Mdantsane Dispatch*, 06 June 2007, p 10

9. Crime prevention through environmental design

10. Promoting economic growth.

5.7.1. INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS WITH SHEBEEN OWNERS AND MONITORING

The CMP engaged shebeen owners as partners in the effort to prevent crime. The main focus of this activity was to regulate shebeens (rather than close them down) because these venues provide an income and a social life where there are few alternatives. However, the CMP went beyond this to try and unite them in a vision: link the shebeens to the tourist trade (cruise ships, tours, etc). Making them tourist friendly would require regulations to prevent crime (e.g., designating clear opening and closing times, stopping access to underage youth, preventing the entrance of weapons, men and women's toilets, etc).

This involved two interrelated activities:

- Educating the tavern owners (offered by the CMP in partnership with others)
- Implementing monitoring methods

First, the CMP explained the law to shebeen owners and answered questions about it. This began in May 2006 and quickly evolved into weekly meetings (Tuesday) with up to 40 shebeen owners. This resulted in a 'Memorandum of Understanding' which CMP Mampofu developed with them.

Secondly a rather thorough system of monitoring was developed to ensure compliance:

- Members of the Licensing Department and SAPS attend the tavern forum meetings and shebeen owners *not* in attendance are identified and discussed.
- While on patrol, the police and sector forum members monitor tavern owner compliance with the memorandum of agreement (e.g., they ask about incidents and the time that they occurred to determine whether or not a shebeen should have been closed)

- *The Mdantsane Dispatch* helps the CMP report publicly on shebeens that violate standards of operations to result in crime problems (this makes shebeen owners more anxious to regulate their own activities)
- SPP Mampofu designed a questionnaire to survey all the shebeens in the area and then developed from this a monitoring form that he gave to shebeen owners. This is a one-page document that records data on the operations of individual outlets. The result is a monitoring tool that identifies: opening times, safety conditions (fencing, male and female toilets), the licensing situation, notices (age limitations, prohibitions on weapons and drugs), searches and seizures, calls to police, arrests and a brief report on police patrols.

To explain the intervention more simply, the CMP worked with the police, the sector forum members and the Liquor Forum to change the unregulated situation that was identified in the baseline study into a *self-regulated* one with monitoring by sector patrols. At this site (and many others), shebeen owners are unaware of the law but can make cooperative partners when they learn about it. Of course, it is also critical to monitor their compliance with agreements. This is managed by the CPF and Sector Patrols who were given support and training by the CMP. SPP Mampofu has also used surveys to identify baseline conditions so that he could monitor the progress of the shebeens toward compliance.

Impact of information campaigns with shebeen owners and monitoring

The information campaigns and monitoring made a significant impact on certain shebeens. This could be observed by the evaluator owing to visible changes in the appearance of the shebeens between the time of the baseline study and the evaluation. The shebeens that were visited and photographed including Zapata's Place, Zodwa's Place, Zukiswa Shebeen, Thabo's Tavern and Zwai's Tavern and this was observed:

- Shebeens are newly fenced—some have high walls with bobbed wire and gate controls and other methods of controlled entrance
- Their hours are newly posted
- Men and women's toilets have been separated
- Clear signage now indicates age restrictions

- Security gating separates the patrons from the alcohol
- There had been bush clearance outside of the shebeens (prevents rape and other crimes)

The evaluator also met with shebeen owners during the site tour and all testified to the role of the CMP in making the above impacts.⁵⁴ These are the other impacts they attributed to the CMP-led effort:

- All shebeens agreed to a 12pm closing time (the CMP, the CPF, SAPS and Sector Forum members monitors this)
- The participating shebeen owners do their own searches and they hand the contraband including weapons to the police during the Tuesday morning meetings (most confiscations occur on the weekends)
- Scores of weapons have been confiscated by shebeen-owners (this was photo-documented by the CMP and these pictures were inspected by the evaluator).
- Crime incidents were lowered in and around the targeted shebeens according to the SAPS Crime Prevention Head, who said that this affected a general drop in crime levels in and around NU1 shebeens with especially with regard to robbery, murder and possession of illegal firearms but this could not be identified by the evaluator in the statistics.⁵⁵
- Incidents in the targeted shebeens (not necessarily all of NU1) were steadily subsiding until a sudden escalation in March 2007 owing to an incident (an off-duty police shot some people in a shebeen)

One of the worst shebeens at the time of the baseline study (No Balance) became one of the most cooperative and willing of the CMP's partners—it now helps to stage crime prevention events on the premises. The shebeen owner, an ex-convict, became fully committed to preventing youth from turning to criminal activities after an incident in which a youth was shot and killed on his premises after he stayed open after the agreed-upon closing time of midnight.

⁵⁴ Informal Interviews were held with Zodwa of Zodwa's Place, Mrs Zapata of Zapata's Place, Zwai Katsi-Katsi of Zwai's Tavern

⁵⁵ Sobetwa, X, Senior Superintendent (Head of Crime Prevention, SAPS Mdantsane), Interview, Mdantsane, 26 June 2007

While the evidence is clear that it is much safer *in and around many shebeens* (Section 5.7.5) there should be a noticeable impact on crime levels had enough shebeens were targeted (but this could not be located). In analysis, it seemed that despite many positive incentives to cooperate (tourism benefits etc) some owners did not cooperate. This did not appear to owe to any lack of effort by the CMP because it was indicated on certain surveys from SAPS members that the pressure on tavern owners to comply (from SAPS and Licensing) was not effective enough.⁵⁶

5.7.2. CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH FOOD PRODUCTION PROJECT

CMP Mampofu developed both a food production project and a food distribution project. The food production project involved the community, Correctional Services (labour from inmates), the Department of Health (seeds), Education (premises) and SAPS (crime prevention support) in developing a community garden. The outcome was uncertain at the time of the evaluation:

- A small plot land (1500 Section of NU1) was donated to the project to germinate the seedlings but the project was unable to obtain a tractor for ploughing.⁵⁷
- Cooperation on the tractor was offered from Sports at provincial level but on the ground, there was no cooperation from the same department.

What was the link to crime prevention? The CMP said the idea was to help keep people productively engaged, provide for nutrition in schools, and boost the nutrition levels for people infected and affected by the AIDS pandemic in the community. This might also break into the cycle of violence since malnutrition can exacerbate problems at home and in schools. Such an outcome is very difficult to evaluate in a short time period. It can also be questioned as an activity relevant to the NPA since it might be more fitting and efficient for a CMP to advocate delivery by the responsible government departments.

⁵⁶ Kondo, N. O. SAPS Inspector, Survey and Workshop Discussion, Mdantsane, 27 June, 2007

⁵⁷ Bente, Siphon and Nomakwezi Bente (the donors of land), Personal Communication, Mdantsane, 26 June 2007

It is instructive that owing to the impediments to the gardening project, the CMP embarked on another strategy. He contacted Project Survival to get monthly food parcels for the needy at the site.⁵⁸ They deliver hampers of food to five desperate homes once a month. The CMPs role is to solicit the food and identify the homes. It may be relevant that by comparison an advocacy effort was more productive (and obtained an outcome sooner) than the investment of time into a gardening project.

5.7.3. SKILLS DEVELOPMENT FOR SECTOR VOLUNTEERS

The CMP organised a Skills Development Workshop for Sector Volunteers and Sector Managers that was held in December 2006. Five professional facilitators taught 27 volunteers about crime prevention over a two-day period. This included skills in:

- Team building
- Leadership Development
- Customer Care (Batho Pele)
- Basic Principles of Project Management
- Communication and Writing Skills
- Life Skills Orientation and Motivation

Impact of skills development for sector volunteers:

This is the main impact:

- Twenty-seven sector volunteers were trained
- Ten of these were active in NU1 at the time of the evaluation study
- Patrols were night and day but most intensive during high crime periods (the weekends)

⁵⁸ Bezuidenhout A. J. Correspondence to CMP Mampofu, , Project Survival, 03 May 2007

5.7.4. PARTNERING WITH SAPS TO IMPROVE DOCKETS

Few cases were actually referred to the CMP. However, CMP Mampofu designed new docket forms for the police that record crime incidents more clearly and ensure that adequate information for prosecutions is being recorded. The CMP did not monitor this afterwards and therefore the impact is unknown.

5.7.5 PARTNERING ON WEEKEND PATROLS

Crime is not so visible during the day in Mdantsane and the statistics rise at night owing mainly to activities in the shebeens. Therefore the CMP Mampofu became involved in night patrols during 2006 to both familiarise himself with crime in the community and to work with sector volunteers and managers. He made findings valuable for crime prevention during these patrols and these because issues of advocacy and discussion at the Sector Imbizos and during meetings with both the SAPS station commissioner and tavern owners.

Impact and outcomes of partnering with SAPS on night time patrols:

These outcomes could be identified based on testimony, photographs and surveys:

- A large number of criminals were identified and arrests were made owing to these activities (dagga possession, drunk and disorderly conduct).
- Scores of weapons were confiscated
- Shebeens came to be better regulated in terms of hours
- Drinking on the streets has been greatly reduced
- Police response times improved

5.7.6 REOPENING THE MDANTSANE COMMUNITY COURT

The origin of this was discussed in Section 5.6.6 in relationship to the Mdantsane Integrated Justice Forum on which the CMP sits and was a founding member. The CMP serves on one of its committees, the Community Court Steering Committee, that is working to reopen this court. These are the outcomes:

- By November (2006) suitable premises were being investigated
- At time of the evaluation a site had been identified (a Salvation Army building and premises that used to house a police station at Fort Jackson Industrial area).

5.7.7. YOUTH DEVELOPMENT THROUGH A RECYCLING PROGRAMME

Gangsters or warring youth groups from neighbouring sections are involved in criminal activities such as muggings which result in running battles between the groups over territorial control. On 21 January 2007 sixteen members from one group and two from another along with concerned parents of the warring groups attended a meeting that was convened by the CMP to try to stop the gang activities. During the discussion most of them reported that they joined gangs because they are unemployed.

CMP Mampofu then tried to engage the youth in community activities including a bottle collection programme (for recycling) but this failed when one of them became involved in a murder that occurred in a shebeen (one that failed to close at agreed-upon hours).

Impact of the recycling programme

The recycling programme fell apart because all of the youth participants were arrested. Despite this, there were actually two impacts for crime prevention:

- The 'No Balance Shebeen' became self-regulating after this incident and one of the CMP's best partners.
- The liquor forum members were the ones who identified the boys and had them arrested (the details came out in meetings that the CMP organised between the police and the community)

The above findings underscore the value of the shebeen owner's forums but also reveal that youth projects are probably best undertaken by the social cluster and that they assume this role in Mdantsane should be a CMP *advocacy* issue.

5.7.8 YOUTH AND SCHOOL-BASED AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

This includes participation in Youth Day on June 16, 2006 and school-based awareness campaigns. It is very difficult to measure the impact of awareness campaigns but this does help to describe CMP activities. These include:

- The CMP came to help Bulumko Primary Schools after a young boy stabbed another. The reason: the perpetrator wanted to be on television. The CMP then addressed the school on crime prevention topics.
- The CMP helped David Mama School to draft school safety guidelines (this occurred during an escalation of crime at school).
- The CMP was also part of the planning to clear Zukisa Primary School of overgrown grass that can hide criminal activity.
- The CMP contributed to and helped SAPS to organise Youth Day Celebrations with anti-crime messages on June 16, 2006
- The CMP partnered with police in a ‘Dance Against Crime’ event on 28 July 2006 (he contributed crime prevention information)

5.7.9 CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

The baseline study in April 2006 indicated that:

- No pilot site had more dilapidated, unfinished and abandoned buildings that became the site of many serious crimes like rapes and murders
- There were many bushy and overgrown open areas
- People had also been killed or robbed owing to poor lighting
- Crime in the area skyrocketed during blackouts

According to the CMP, “I tried to address these environmental factors but with only a little success.”⁵⁹ These impacts could be identified that mostly owed to lobbying and advocacy by the CMP at the community imbizos:

- The CMP lobbied the ward councillors at the community imbizos to provide for high mast lights and they responded, especially with high mast lighting around

⁵⁹ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

school grounds (Mzomhle School) and in public areas (Outside Mayibuye Butchery). Some high mast lights went over dangerous ravines as well.

- The CMP successfully lobbied the Buffalo City Municipality to clear dangerous overgrown fields outside of certain taverns because someone was shot and killed in one of them just outside Zukiswa's Shebeen
- High mast lighting was installed outside the main community hall where there had been many robberies (as reported in the baseline study)
- In that same area of the community hall described above, abandoned buildings were being sealed up and a manhole cover where little 'tsotsis' had jumped out to attack pensioners.

On SAPS testimony, crime plummeted around the community hall site where many robberies, purse-snatchings, assaults and rapes had been reported at the time of the baseline study.

5.7.10 PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT

The CMP tried to promote tourism with the idea that the township could become an attractive tourist destination as in Soweto. He lobbied the hospitality industry and sought to link up liquor outlet owners with people who have bed and breakfasts. In analysis of the site, all this seems premature since it is still necessary to drive down high crime rates and make the environment more attractive for investment.

5.7.11 Analysis of CMP activities

The two CMP roles with the highest and most efficient impact can be described as either (1) building strategic partnerships for crime prevention outcomes or otherwise advocating improved service delivery; or (2) providing information about the law and crime prevention practices. Since this is the case at many sites, this will be analysed more fully when making comparisons between sites. However, it is also worth noting that this CMP became directly involved in *developing* social and economic programmes and *casework*. Such energy might have been better expended in partnership building, selective prosecution, or information campaigns on the law since these fit better with the expertise

of an advocate. Social services and development programmes are complex, time-consuming undertakings that require a special background different than legal training.

5.8 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

5.8.1 Impact on crime levels

The crime statistics provided to the evaluator by Mdantsane SAPS Crime Information are provided below. This allows for a comparison between 2006 and 2007 for five consecutive months (February-June).⁶⁰ The total number of crimes for Feb-June 2006 was 262 and for Feb-June 2007 it was 275. Since crime rose during the time of piloting, no evidence was available to indicate that crime was lowered in Sector One (or according to any crime type) owing to the activities of the CMP.

⁶⁰ SAPS Management Information Centre, SAPS Mdantsane.

SAPS CRIME STATISTICS FOR SECTOR ONE
MONTH BY MONTH COMPARISONS 2006-2007

Offence	Feb 2006	Feb 2007	Mar 2006	Mar 2007	Apr 2006	Apr 2007	May 2006	May 2007	Jun 2006	Jun 2007
ASSAULT GBH	18	24	16	27	13	10	13	16	09	12
ASSAULT COMMON	08	06	08	11	14	16	11	15	15	09
COMMON ROBBERY	01	02	04	01	03	04	07	05	02	02
ROBBERY AGG	02	05	05	0	02	04	05	01	02	04
ROBBERY OTHER	03	01	01	02	02	01	05	01	02	01
RAPE	05	01	01	05	02	0	03	02	03	01
MURDER	02	01	02	01	01	01	0	02	03	01
ATT MURDER	02	01	01	0	0	0	0	04	0	01
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	0	03	0	05	05	05	01	02	01	01
BURGLARY	16	14	19	10	10	16	04	11	10	07
TL	57	58	57	62	52	57	49	59	47	39

During the first three weeks of June 2007 (the time of data collection for the evaluation study), the total number of crimes dropped across all sectors by 52 incidents but this finding could not be correlated to CMP activities since he worked only in one sector. This adds to much evidence across all sites that a CMP should work at a larger scale than one sector of a police station. These are some more reasons relative to Mdantsane:

- Crime is too easily displaced from one area to the next in Mdantsane to argue for a statistical impact on crime for only one of 18 sectors.
- Sometimes crimes are committed in NU1 by people not from NU1 (not being addressed by the intervention) and this can cause fluctuations.
- Crime can also ‘spill over’ from NU1 into neighbouring communities (e.g., as shebeen regulation improves, people move to unregulated shebeens in the next sector).

Crime statistics are also complex because:

- Some reporting might go up with good information campaigns

- Crime statistics are not always reliable (data collection methodologies, pressure on SAPS stations to demonstrate good performance, low reporting levels)

Despite the pitfalls and complexities of crime statistics, there is clear evidence of a crime prevention impact at the Mdantsane pilot site because crime dropped at a micro-level not showing in the statistics:

- Crime dropped at the pay-out points based on widespread testimony and visual evidence (patrols, etc)
- Crime dropped in certain pubs based on testimony and visual evidence (improved security, testimony)

In other words, there are safer environments owing to the CMP that do not show up in statistics. However, this does raise the question of why there was no statistical impact and these might be the reasons:

- This is an area with a longer history of violence and therefore regulating shebeens may not make as strong of an impact at this site compared to others (see Section 5.1)
- At other sites where there was statistical impact owing to shebeen interventions, there were more serious consequences for not cooperating (threatened closures, raids) than seen at this site.⁶¹
- SAPS and the CPF were the main partners but they have no authority to close down a shebeen suggesting that a closer relationship with the Liquor Board might be required.

Questionnaire responses

Questionnaire respondents did not appear convinced of an overall drop in crime at the pilot site. Fifteen out of 17 respondents and interviewees (88%) circled 'yes' in response to the question, "In your opinion did the community prosecutor help to prevent or reduce crime at the pilot site from May 2006 until the present (June 2007)? However, all

⁶¹ SAPS Inspector Kondo who knows the sector well indicated that more cooperation was required by liquor outlet owners and more responses were required to those tavern owners that do not cooperate (little pressure to comply is being applied).

responses on questionnaires had to be justified by written explanations and these explanations did not serve to justify a drop in crime (paraphrased) as seen below:

- Educating the community about crime prevention
- Involving the community in crime prevention
- Distributing pamphlets
- Attending CPF meetings
- Attending crime forum meetings
- Involvement in community projects
- Information sharing
- Improved relationships between stakeholders
- Improved patrolling
- Creating a liquor against crime forum

Such responses indicate partnership support and appreciation for CMP Mampofu and the positive role he has played in projects and programmes to prevent crime rather than attributing a drop in crime to his efforts. This type of response occurred at all the sites and it seemed that many participants viewed the questionnaire as an opportunity to send a message to the NPA to continue the project. Suggesting that the CMP might not have had an impact on lowering crime levels might easily be viewed as a path toward the termination of the project.

5.8.2 Impact on the environment

This CMP focused strongly on the shebeen project and this is where impact on the landscape is strongest too. The evaluator found that many taverns have new signage, fencing, separate toilets for men and women and posted opening and closing times. Some of these were photographed. These impacts could also be identified on the landscape owing to the CMP's advocacy efforts:

- High mast lighting (owing to lobbying ward councillors) went in at a taxi stop near the Kwa Yaku Garage where people were being robbed

- A man hole was sealed in the NU1 shopping area (next to Khayaletemba) where boys used to hide and then pounce on pensioners or ladies walking by (the CMP lobbied councillors to seal this manhole)
- Nazo Park Informal Settlement: the municipal councillors were lobbied to put in lighting (which they did) because housebreaking, random shootings and high levels of robberies and assaults had occurred here

The CMP also tried to address abandoned buildings but found this very difficult because one must find the owners, many of whom are not in the area.

Questionnaires also testified to impacts on the environment. QUESTION 2 asked, “Did the Community Prosecutor help to change the environment at the target site to make it less conducive to crime? Four circled “do not know” and thirteen (76%) said ‘Yes.’ Those that responded positively were asked to justify their responses by naming *specific* sites. Only 40% of the recorded responses were actually specific and 60% of the respondents entered generic terms on the survey form (streets, taverns) but this is the list with duplications eliminated:

- Jika ma Jika: youth no longer enter this tavern or loiter on the nearby corner
- Liquor outlets: no underage youth anymore and there are searches
- Corners: the grass has been cut short so criminals cannot hide out
- Mzwabantu’s Place: the crime has dropped and the tavern now hosts anti-crime activities
- Streets: there is more lighting
- 1500 Section Field: the grass has been cut
- Nofikile Bottle Store: this abandoned building is being sealed up
- Nothabo’s Place: this taverns is being fenced and people are searched on entry
- NU1 Sector: there is a ‘food production against crime’ project

In analysis, it seems that respondents associated the CMP with many environmental impacts including physical improvements in taverns, the clearance of bush from

dangerous fields that hide crime, starting a gardening project, improving lighting and sealing up abandoned buildings. These sites were also inspected by the evaluator on the site tour.

5.8.3 Impact on interagency cooperation and partnerships

Abundant evidence of impact on the environment was available in terms of (A) the observations of the evaluator; (B) testimony from focus groups and participants at the evaluator's workshop; (C) the stakeholder questionnaire and (D) an analysis of these factors.

A. Evaluator's observations

It appeared that the most significant partner for the CMP was SAPS. Eight out of 17 (47%) of those who attended the evaluator's 27 June workshop discussion on community prosecutions were SAPS members. Altogether this included:

- SAPS (8 members)
- Sector One Forum Secretary
- Men for Change (3 directors of this NGO)
- Education
- The CPF
- Social Development
- Buffalo City Agricultural Action Forum
- A lecturer in skills development (Vulindlela Technical)

The CPF represents many community based organisations and the chair is from SANCO such that a larger range of stakeholders is involved than might be initially evident.

However, those in round-table discussion made it very clear that the CMP worked at too small of a scale to partner easily with the CPF and its many stakeholders.⁶²

⁶² Ndinisa, D. CPF Secretary Mdantsane, Facilitated Survey and Workshop Discussion, Mdantsane, 27 June 2007.

B. Testimony and Focus Group Discussion

During the evaluator's workshop discussion of community prosecution with CMP partners, the attendees were asked if interagency cooperation had improved owing to the CMP. Certain members were satisfied that this had taken place (e.g., CPF, Education, Men for change) but most said that the existing partnerships were too limited. Most suggested that building partnerships is an incremental activity that would probably start with SAPS but that more participants were necessary to be effective. When asked about the partners that were missing, these were cited by the participants:

- Health
- Traffic
- Department of Trade and Industry
- Youth Commission
- Department of Home Affairs

This was additional evidence that one policing sector was too small of a target area because these listed stakeholders focus at a much larger scale. "Otherwise we end up with a duplication of efforts," said one participant.⁶³

C. Questionnaire with participants

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? These are the results:

⁶³ Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, Magistrate's Office, 27 June 2007.

QUESTIONS 5 AND 6	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW
5. IN YOUR OPINION DID THE CMP HELP TO BUILD GREATER LEVELS OF STAKEHOLDER COOPERION IN CRIME PREVENTION?	15 (88%)	0	2 (12%)
6. DID THE CMP HELP INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS TO ADDRESS CRIMPE PREVENTION MORE EFFECTIVELY AT THE TARGET SITE?	15 (88%)	0	2 (12%)

For both QUESTIONS FIVE AND SIX, 13 Out of 17 respondents answered ‘Yes’ (76%) and four ‘did not know’. The questions were treated as the same and the reasons for responses were the same. These are the reasons for the ‘Yes’ responses (duplications eliminated):

- The CMP invited the Liquor Board to participate in local crime prevention
- The CMP brought in churches and NGOs to help implement crime prevention programmes
- He created a partnership with tavern owners to help reduce crime (meetings are held with tavern owners on Tuesday owing to the CMP)
- The existing partners cooperated better with the help of the CMP
- He held numerous meetings with the Education Department to develop a crime prevention strategy in schools
- The attendance register for crime prevention meetings “shot up” because the CMP “roped aboard” other stakeholders⁶⁴
- The CMP participated in the community policing forum which includes many different organisations and representatives
- The CMP is active in all community events and visits schools

Three of the four who “did not know” if the CMP helped to build stakeholder cooperation were participants in the workshop who came from outside the pilot area (a Nahoon Farming Community member, and two SAPS members from a neighbouring police

⁶⁴ Maquhina, Sindile (Men for Change), Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Magistrate’s Office, 27 June 2007

station-- Vulindlela). The fourth one analyses crime statistics at the station but did not seem to participate in the activities of the CMP.

D. Analysis

Owing to the evaluator's observations, surveys, testimony and the described activities of the CMP, there is abundant evidence of improved interagency cooperation and partnerships but upon analysis this was not widespread. Even at the four-hour workshop event (a questionnaire and round-table discussion), SAPS dominated in terms of numbers and some partners were from outside the area such that SAPS, Education, Men for Change, and Tavern owners appeared as the primary partners. Although SAPS makes a good partner, there seemed to be too much dependency on them such that a change in station commissioners was seen as devastating for the project by the CMP (e.g., he could no longer use SAPS loud-hailers to call meetings, etc).

The CMP was aware of limited partnership opportunities and attributed the dependence on SAPS to the lack of a budget for holding meetings (transportation money for attendees, food, supplies, incentives, etc). Certainly a budget is required for partnership building. Further, a component of the overall strategy to recommend to all CMPs is to develop *a wide set of strategic partnerships* to reduce dependency on any one partner.

5.8.4 Impact on community cooperation/involvement in crime prevention

Clearly the community became more involved in crime prevention owing to the evidence already presented:

- 30-60 people attended the monthly imbizos on crime prevention.
- The community is helping to regulate the opening and closing times of shebeens—they monitor and report back to the imbizos
- 27 reservists have been trained and 10 of them are active in Mdantsane

The general secretary of the CPF also stated the obvious in round-table discussion with the evaluator, “We would not be with you today if it were not for improved community

involvement in crime prevention!”⁶⁵ Thus, the attendance of the CPF leaders (and perhaps other community leaders) at a half-day research event on community prosecution testifies to improved cooperation.

Questionnaire responses regarding community involvement

Two questions asked 17 respondents about improved cooperation on crime prevention. The results are given in the table below.

QUESTION 7 AND 8	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW
7. DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR HELP TO MAKE MORE EFFECTIVE ANY PUBLIC/CITIZEN GROUPS ON SAFETY?	13 (76%)	0	4 (24%)
8. DID THE COMMUNITY PROSECUTOR CREAT ANY NEW FORUMS OR BODIES TO HELP BUILD COOPERATION ON CRIME AT THE PILOT SITE?	6 (35%)	0	11 (65%)

Actually the responses to both questions were very similar and the respondents could identify most of the crime prevention structures that the CMP assisted or developed for creating greater cooperation. This included: neighbourhood watches, the Community Policing Forum, the Sector Forum, and the Liquor Outlet Forum. However, only respondents from SAPS, the CPF and Men for Change listed this last one: the Liquor Outlet Forum. Hence, 65% did not seem to know that the CMP had created a new body to build cooperation on this issue. This is because he worked mainly with SAPS, the CPF and the shebeen owners. Associating a CMP with a crime prevention impact is a different phenomenon than simply making impact. If there is a need for the NPA to achieve recognition or otherwise be associated with positive impacts on communities owing to its crime prevention initiatives, a publicity strategy will be required (see also the chapter on Point where CMP’s ideas and programmes were sometime attributed to Business Against Crime rather than the CMP).

⁶⁵ Ndinisa, D, CPF General Secretary Mdantsane, Round-Table Discussion with Stakeholders, Magistrate’s Office, 27 June 2007

5.8.5 Impact on community perceptions of safety at the site

In interview, the CMP did not think it was apparent that the community felt safer at the site because:

- Crime had not come down in the area
- The starting point for the social problems was huge

This was evidenced in the crime statistics (as discussed above) since they did not drop in NU1 (Section 5.8.1). Regarding the second bulleted point, this is an area that has a long and complex history of violence that will not be overcome quickly (see Section 5.1).

Certain of those in attendance at the evaluator's research workshop on 27 June considered that the imbizos had led to a community perception of lower crime levels.⁶⁶ Thus, working with the community and stakeholders to prevent crime did increase feelings of safety among certain attendees ('something is being done').

QUESTION 3 on the Questionnaire to 17 CMP partners 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?	15 (88%)	-	1 (6%)	0	1 (6%)

Of 17 respondents, 15 (88%) indicated 'yes' on their survey forms. To justify their positive responses, some listed bodies that the CMP helped to support (e.g., neighbourhood watches) but did not establish and others listed new projects (e.g., the gardening project) that he did help to establish:

⁶⁶ Mqalo, B.Z., Director, Men for Change, Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Mdantsane Magistrate's Office, 27 June 2007

- Neighbourhood watches
- Gardening Projects (both schools and in the community)
- Closing up open areas
- Programmes for school children
- Sports Against Crime
- Soccer Project
- Skills development for the CPF
- Cleaning project (collecting empty bottles from streets and taverns)
- Improving the security around taverns
- Operation Gqogqa At Schools (raids to confiscate drugs and weapons)

5.8.6 Impact on stakeholder perceptions of the NPA

QUESTION 9 on the stakeholder questionnaire asked, “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?” QUESTION 10 asked if the participation had a changed perception of the NPA owing to piloting. These are the results:

QUESTIONS 9 AND 10	YES	NO	BLANK	SPOILT
9. CAN THE NPA PLAY A ROLE IN PREVENTING CRIME?	14 (82%)	0	02 (12%)	01 (6%)
10. HAS YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE NPA CHANGED?	09 (53%)	0	03 (18%)	05 (29%)

According to the CMP, “The community did not know what the NPA was when I came here. Now they know all about it.”⁶⁷ This was further in evidence when analysing stakeholder responses to QUESTION 9. Two left the question blank and one person commented that “the NPA has not yet started in our area.” Otherwise 14 of 17 respondents (82%) seemed to understand that this referred to the community prosecutor and commented appropriately.

⁶⁷ Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

Eight people did not understand QUESTION 10 mainly because they had not formed the association between Mr Mampofu and the NPA. Two left the question blank and five offered responses that were not appropriate to the question. Nonetheless, 53% of the respondents replied that they had a greatly improved perception of the NPA.

These statements were made during round-table discussion with the stakeholders:

- I had only heard of the ‘Scorpions’ and not the NPA before the pilot study but now understand it better.⁶⁸
- I perceived a prosecutor as someone who would put us in jail. Now this is someone who really had to be applauded.⁶⁹

These are three samples of the questionnaire responses from 27 June 2007:

- “I (originally) thought theirs (the NPA) was only a reactive approach to solving crime—put them behind bars.”
- “Because of my long service I never thought that there will be any stage that the police as an organisation could involve the NPA in decision-making when discussing strategies to address crime that can lead to success.”
- “This pro-active approach has changed my perception of the NPA in a big way!”⁷⁰

It is also relevant to defining impact that the former Station Commissioner at Mdantsane SAPS (Director Sofute) made this comment in an unsolicited way:

The community prosecutor helped to improve community relations. They first thought ‘the scorpions are coming’ but now there a new, improved image for the NPA.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Round-Table discussion with stakeholders, Mdantsane Magistrate’s Office, 27 June 2007

⁶⁹ Ndinisa, D, CPF Secretary (Mdantsane), Round-Table Discussion with CMP Stakeholders, 27 June 2007

⁷⁰ Round-Table Discussion and Questionnaire with CMP Stakeholders, Mdantsane Magistrate’s Office, 27 June 2007

⁷¹ Sofute, Alex, SAPS Director, Interview with former Mdantsane Station Commissioner, Duncan Village, 26 June 2007.

5.9 LESSONS FROM THIS SITE FOR AN IMPLEMENTATION MODEL

The following are some critical lessons from this site that might be useful to consider if designing a national roll-out of the community prosecution project.

5.9.1 When poor government service delivery is a problem, a CMP should advocate better performance rather than replace government service delivery

Many times, the CMP addressed gaps in government service delivery. For instance:

- The Liquor Board was not educating shebeen owners, so the CMP helped to fill this gap.
- The Health Department or Social Welfare did not assist with gardening projects, so the CMP helped to set these up.
- The Department of Park and Recreation does not provide adequate facilities for youth and the CMP partnered with others to create youth opportunities
- Social Development did not seem active with youth, so the CMP tried to engage in job creation and youth development
- Many individuals lacked health care and suffered from poverty and the CMP tried to develop a gardening and food parcel project to address this

Some of the bulleted activities were appropriate but others involved the CMP in either time-consuming casework or attempts to replace the lack of government service delivery with a CMP programme. For instance, the CMP said, “The Liquor Act is flawed – a person is given an open-ended license with no regulation or monitoring. We have appealed directly to the owners to overcome this gap in government service delivery.”⁷² In such a situation, is it best for the CMP to help deliver this information or to gather data on the problem and advocate delivery by the appropriate departments and agencies (e.g. the Liquor Board)?

Owing to a review of the data on impact at all sites, it is the evaluator’s recommendation that one emphasis of a CMP should be on partnership-building—studying the information coming from the community and then advocating appropriate responses by various departments. If

⁷² Mampofu, Gugu, Formal Interview, East London, 25 June 2007

this term advocacy is problematic for the NPA, another way to express this is to build the strategic partnerships for a crime prevention outcome based on community information. Another key activity to emphasise based on the findings is to offer both the public and specifically targeted groups (including government departments) information on the law. That impact on a large scale can be achieved with these two approaches is a finding relating to the analysis of all sites such that it appears well confirmed. However, this is not an 'either/or situation' and there is a third activity that helps these other two: selective prosecutions can help make impact by sending a message that certain crimes will be prosecuted (see Bohlokong, Windsor, Siyahlala, and Ngangelizwe).

Owing to the above analysis, it appears that the time expended at this site on both casework and developing projects for food development might have been better expended on these three described activities (building strategic partnerships for a crime prevention outcome, education and capacity building in the law and selective cases for prosecution). A CMP cannot afford to engage in too much casework (especially if the pilot sites expand as recommended) except perhaps to better understand a problem for the purposes of education, advocacy or selective prosecutions.

5.9.2 In peri-urban areas it is important to market the CMP role to the community and other stakeholders

This is a finding from all the peri-urban sites and here CMP Mampofu adds to the weight of evidence:

“It is important to market the role. I got some promotional stuff from the NPA, --t-shirts, key rings, etc. I always wear my NPA cap in the community. The best way might be mock trials. These really work well in introducing the concept and the set up of the justice system.

5.9.3 Targeting an area larger than one police station, when feasible, has advantages

There may be three clear lessons from this site for community prosecution: (1) dependency on one partner is problematic; and (2) the sites should be larger than one

police station when feasible; (3) a CMP should aim for a wide set of partnerships and work with partnership bodies on crime prevention like the CPF utilising the scales at which they work.

The best scale to work at is the same scale as the most important partner in crime prevention: SAPS. This aligns the strategic crime prevention areas of the NPA with SAPS areas. In terms of the national priority area this means all of Mdantsane and the *three* police stations. Working at a smaller scale (especially only one sector) is problematic for developing partnerships since most key partners work at a larger scale and it created too much dependency on SAPS. It is also problematic for measuring impact on crime levels owing to the displacement of crime).