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Course Code: PBL 6802W
Course Name: Masters Thesis
Supervisor's Name: Ms. Julie Berg
Thesis Topic: **The new security beat: An audit of interventions employed to protect young people at Westbank High School in Metro-South district of the Western Cape.**
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Words: 25 681(excluding references)

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The new security beat: An audit of interventions employed to protect young people at Westbank High School in Metro-South district of the Western Cape.

Paul Dube DBXPAU002

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Criminal Justice.

Faculty of Law

University of Cape Town

2011

Supervised by: Ms. Julie Berg

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank God for the strength, endurance and the patience to carry out this research. With God, all things are possible.

To Dr and Mrs Tembo. Your support is beyond any measure.

To EMEP (Extra-Mural Education Project), who gave me the opportunity to carry out this research. This has truly been an inspiring adventure and one that I will forever be thankful for.

My sincere thanks to the National Research Foundation (NRF) and the University of Cape Town Law Faculty, Criminology Department for funding this research.

My gratitude extends to Ms. Julie Berg for her never ending patience and support. Your guidance and supervision enabled me to complete this research.

I would like to thank Adam Cooper (EMEP) for all the assistance in the field of research.

I would like to thank the staff, learners and parents at Westbank High School for all support given in the course of my research.

To my flat mates, thank you for every word of encouragement and your support.

Thank you to my family. You have been very supportive.

Thank you to my friends for the moral support and inspiration to continue with this research project.

Finally I would like to thank the Centre of Criminology staff who also supported my studies administratively and academically.

Abstract

All over the world, state police are but one actor within a hybrid policing field involved in the provision of security. Civil society can legitimately come together in either self-help schemes or by means of buying security to deal with feelings of insecurity. An area can therefore be subject to plural policing.

This paper is an audit of security interventions implemented to protect learners enrolled at Westbank High School. Westbank High School is a high-risk school. Learners in schools suffer a double-blow because not only do they suffer from crime within the school walls but also outside the school walls. Two general questions emerge in this situation. The first being, what is being done by state and non-state actors about the problem of crime in and around schools? Secondly, how are school children being supported and protected against criminal activity in their respective schools?

Ethnographic studies have been called for, to help understand actual workings of plural policing organizational fields. What is needed is a “mapping” of the various security actors in the area of study.¹ Mapping in the context of this paper suggests an inquiry or an audit of the various security actors or interventions and existing partnerships involved in providing security to learners at Westbank High School. The questions and ideas mentioned above ignited the interest to investigate the interventions and strategies taken to maintain safety for young people enrolled at Westbank High School.

¹ Suggestion made by Canadian based Criminologist, Benoit Dupont.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Sixteen years into the new constitutional dispensation the problem of crime against children is not only present but is increasing and becoming more odious.² Many questions are asked concerning the safety and security of learners attending school in a country where crime is a problem. Crime in areas surrounding schools is not only detrimental to people living in communities where the levels of crime are high, but is also disruptive of the education process. Research shows that crime has spilled over and penetrated into schools.³ Therefore young people in schools suffer a double-blow because not only do they suffer because of crime outside of the school walls but also within the school walls.

In contemporary South Africa, the safety and security of young people attending school is threatened. There are numerous cases broadcast in the media where school children have been assaulted, bullied, sexually harassed, affected by drug and substance abuse and even killed either by fellow students or by gangsters who live in communities surrounding schools. Contemporary societies are therefore afflicted with security defects.⁴ Meaning that there are gaps in the delivery of security identified which presently threaten social life and the realization of life's full enjoyment even for school learners.

Not only have young people in schools become victims of crime but they have also become perpetrators of crime as well. This is a problem that many schools and their immediate communities are dealing with. The question that arises is, what is being done by state and non-state actors about the problem of crime affecting learners and how are school children being supported and protected against criminal activity by members of their respective communities? These questions sparked the interest to investigate the strategies, interventions and measures employed to protect young people in school from crime.

² Conradie, H. 2004. *Are We Failing To Deliver The Best Interest of the Child?* at 1.

³ Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones* at 7.

⁴ Loader, I. and Walker, N. 2007. *State of Denial?: Rethinking the Governance of Security* at 21.

As a result this paper is specifically aimed at conducting an audit of security interventions implemented at Westbank High School. Westbank High School, located in the Department of Education's Metro-South district of the Western Cape is classified as a high-risk school.

1.2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Violence and other forms of crimes against school learners is not a new phenomenon experienced in South Africa. A reflection on South African history shows that crimes have been committed against school learners as a result of factors such as social dysfunction, moral decadence and even on political grounds. An example of politically instigated violence against school learners is the Sharpsville massacre of 1960.

Schools are generally regarded as safe places for children. Parents trust the educational structure and system to keep their children safe in addition to shaping brighter futures for them. However, crimes committed against school learners in this country have raised public attentiveness and worrying concerns for learner safety.

Crimes against school learners have generated great public concern and fostered a widespread impression that schools are unsafe for learners.⁵ This view is evident in the numerous school safety and security measures employed in different communities in response to violence against school learners. The majority of these measures have had little support from the state resulting in unsound practices such as vigilantism.

Public fears spawned by violence and crime against learners have also caused dramatic shifts in security-related policies and procedures in many schools.⁶ Some efforts employed have actually been coined desperate and unrealistic. For example in the United States there were recommendations to arm teachers with guns after a man invaded a one-room Pennsylvania Amish school and killed five girls in 2006.⁷

⁵ Borum, R. et al. 2010. *What Can Be Done About School Shootings? A Review of the Evidence.* at 27.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Associated Press. 2006. *Candidate Proposes Using Textbooks As Shields.* Retrieved 01/07/2010, from <http://www.cnn.com/2006/EDUCATION/10/20/school.shootings.textbooks.ap/index.html>

In certain cases some local crime prevention practices have shown little effectiveness. An example is simplistic solutions such as zero-tolerance policies that have done little to ameliorate school safety threats, violence and crime against learners.⁸

Crimes against learners in South African schools, especially high-risk schools were once ignored. However, these crimes are now recognized as widespread around the country. Riding parallel to this recognition is a growing consensus among researchers that conceptual and empirical work documenting the contexts of crime against school learners is required.⁹ The general consensus is that ‘the school’ should be the central focus of the development of school violence and safety theory because it is the milieu where the complex social dynamics of school violence perpetration and victimization occur.¹⁰

1.3. CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA’S EDUCATION SYSTEM

1.3.1. Introduction

The education system in South Africa under the new Constitutional dispensation embraces the Constitutional principles of equity, human rights and democracy. In addition, it is one that explicitly focuses on remedial measures intended to address the impact on learners and youth of years of violence associated with the anti-apartheid struggle.¹¹ In other words, the education system in the country has a mandate to counter the legacy of violence associated with schools in the country. The first step being the promotion of values entrenched in the Constitution and applying democratic principles such as fairness and equality practices negating notions of racism and discrimination. Therefore, this would mean that school practice entails acknowledging the rights of learners and educators by teaching values and skills that empower young citizens of this country to participate confidently in school, extra-mural activities and for them to lead constructive civil lives. However, the safety and security elements in schools have been threatened.

⁸ Mayer, M. and Cornell, D. 2010. *New Perspectives on School Safety and Violence Prevention* at 2.

⁹ Astor, R. et al. 2010. *How Can We Improve School Safety Research ?* at 3.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Roper, M. 2002. *Kids First: Approaching School Safety. In Crime Prevention Partnerships. Lessons From Practice* at 65.

1.3.2. Security Threats in South African Schools

Research conducted in schools has shown that there are four primary types of violence that compromise peace and the delivery of education throughout many schools in the nation. These include threats of physical violence, physical assaults, sexual assaults and robbery.¹² Other reports indicate widespread incidences of corporal punishment, bullying, intimidation, fist fights, knife fights, theft, shootings, interpersonal violence and rape.¹³ These incidences of violence in schools are not only reported to occur within the school grounds but in areas surrounding schools. According to Burton (2008) almost nine out of ten (85.6%) secondary school principals and seven out of ten (70.7%) primary school principals reported incidents of physical violence at their schools.¹⁴

Within the school walls context, research has shown that there are gangs of school learners that hang around toilets, often using the site to sell drugs and beat up anyone who comes near who is not involved in their business.¹⁵ Girls who encountered sexual violence at school have been raped in school toilets, in empty classrooms and hallways, and in dormitories and hostels. Girls have also been subjected to aggressive sexual advances and verbally degraded in some schools.¹⁶ In a study conducted by Burton (2008) on the extent of violence in schools, in total from a sample of 12 794 learners in South African schools who have been victims of violence while at school, 2.3% of learners reported having directly experienced some form of sexual violence while at school. More common at secondary schools, 3.1% of learners reported that they had been sexually assaulted or raped, while 1.4% of primary school learners had been raped or sexually assaulted while at school.¹⁷ These are only a few examples of numerous deviant

¹² Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones. Experiences of School Violence in South Africa* at 15.

¹³ Roper, M. 2002. *Kids First: Approaching School Safety. In Crime Prevention Partnerships. Lessons From Practice* at 65.

¹⁴ Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones. Experiences of School Violence in South Africa* at 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid* at 17.

¹⁶ Roper, M. 2002. *Kids First: Approaching School Safety. In Crime Prevention Partnerships. Lessons From Practice* at 68.

¹⁷ *Ibid*. Please refer to note 13 at 18.

activities that threaten secure and peaceful, uninterrupted delivery of education in schools around South Africa.

Outside the school walls, the problem of drugs and substance abuse is a prime issue of concern for learners, educators, parents, care givers and communities in general. Burton (2008) states that although a definite cause-effect relationship is not available, there is a strong perception that a strong correlation exists between substance abuse and crime.¹⁸ Often both alcohol and drugs are used to generate the courage needed to commit a crime, while the aggression associated with excessive alcohol consumption and the use of some drugs, may increase the levels of violence used to commit crime and may increase the likelihood of crimes such as assault from happening. Alcohol and drugs have been identified as an increasing problem in schools.¹⁹

From Burton's study mentioned above, it is reported that school learners sneak out of school, go to shebeens and taverns in proximity of schools to buy alcohol for their own consumption. Furthermore, it has been recently learnt that educators themselves use school children to fetch alcohol from taverns and shebeens near the schools.²⁰ The situation involving the purchasing and consumption of alcohol outside the school walls is detrimental to learners and they need to be protected from the problems associated with easy access to alcohol in areas surrounding schools.

In communities surrounding schools, there is a ready availability of drugs, particularly marijuana close to school environs. 'Merchants' as they are known, sit outside school gates or in close proximity, selling drugs to learners during school hours as well as after school. This problem has been reported and witnessed across all nine provinces in South Africa.²¹ One could easily propose that this is an institutionalized issue because as Burton's research shows, young people in schools are identified by drug dealers and drug

¹⁸ Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones. Experiences of School Violence in South Africa* at 46.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones. Experiences of School Violence in South Africa* at 15.

lords as easy prey and as a reliable source of income.²² Out of a sample of 12 791 learners across the whole country, more than one in three (34.5%) secondary school learners and 3.1% of primary school learners knew learners who had come to school drunk, while 32.4% in secondary school and 2.3% of primary school learners knew other learners who had come to school high on drugs.²³ There is a possibility that these learners drink the liquor and make use of the drugs either at home or en route to school and arrive at school drunk or high.

One cannot contest the fact that these problems create great discomfort for other learners and create serious problems for school authorities. As a consequence of first hand experience of the security threats mentioned, learners, educators and principals have called for a wide range of local responses to these experiences of insecurity.

1.4. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Across the world state police are but one actor within a hybrid policing field involved in the provision of security. Civil society can legitimately come together in either self-help schemes or by means of buying security to deal with feelings of insecurity. There are also civil society initiatives that interface with state policing objectives and strategies. An area can therefore be subject to plural policing by different providers of security governance.

However, state agents, specifically the police in South Africa are inclined to stick to normal police arrangements because they try to increase their hold on police activities. Despite the situation described, neither state nor non-state actors know where the role of the police begins or ends.²⁴ This is partially because on the one hand they want to be all things to people and on the other hand they want to be recognized as specialists with limited resources, a state referred to as ‘confusing web of identities’.²⁵ Ethnographic

²² Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones. Experiences of School Violence in South Africa* at 45.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Marks, M and Wood, J. 2007. *The South African Policing “Nexus”: Charting the Policing Landscape in Durban* at 134.

²⁵ Marks, M. Shearing, C. and Woods, J. 2007. Human Security and Global Governance’, in *Imagining Security* at 65.

studies have been called for, to help understand actual workings of plural policing organizational fields. What is needed is a “mapping” of the various actors or “nodes” in the area of study.²⁶ Mapping suggests an investigation or an audit of the various security interventions and partnerships. For the reasons above, this research paper adjusted its lens to focus on a case-study that involved an audit of security measures and functionaries employed at Westbank High School. The intention of the research project was to shadow the work done by Monique Marks and Jennifer Wood on mapping state and non-state security partnerships in low income areas.²⁷ The case-study of Westbank High School can be linked to theoretical issues raised by Marks and Wood from the work they conducted in 2007.

1.3.3 Choice of School

The intention of this research was to only focus on a high-risk school. The concept of high risk schools pertains to schools with limited safety measures. Cape Town has about 110 schools defined as high risk schools.²⁸ High-risk schools are generally considered unsafe schools because they have high rates of school violence and are also not considered as fully conducive learning environments for learners. These schools are learning zones where dangerous objects and drugs are problematic.²⁹ The reason why this research focused on a high-risk school is that such schools are likely to attract interventions focused at protecting learners. Conducting a case-study at a high-risk school such as Westbank High School increased the chances of encountering the interventions or security nodes that this study intended to investigate.

Most importantly the research particularly focused at a secondary high-risk school. The reason why the focus was directed to a secondary school is that the literature shows that there are more issues around crime and deviance that happen in secondary schools as

²⁶ Suggestion made by Canadian based criminologist, Benoit Dupont.

²⁷ Marks, M and Wood, J. 2007. *The South African Policing “Nexus”*: Charting the Policing Landscape in Durban.

²⁸ Taken from an article titled, South Africa: High Risk Schools Receive Hand Metal Detectors. This article is dated 15 September 2009. Taken from <http://allafrica.com/stories/200909150769.html> (11.04.2010).

²⁹ Ibid.

compared to primary schools.³⁰ The study by Burton (2008), which shall be discussed in the literature review, substantiates the point just made. Therefore, this research expected to find more safety and security issues in a high school case-study.

Westbank High School falls under Ward 17 of the Western Cape. The demographic profile of this ward reflects that coloured people make the majority of the population in this area followed by blacks, then Indians and a very small percentage of white residents. The majority of the people living in this area are between the ages 18 to 35. The area mainly consists of Afrikaans speaking people. 72% of the total population in Ward 17 is employed, while 27% is unemployed. 36.68% of the population in Ward 17 consists of scholars and students. This amounts to about 3 517 people. Including the category of scholars mentioned above a total of 9 589 people are unemployed compared to the 20 699 employed members of this community.³¹

The rationale for choosing a case-study on a single high-risk school is that the focus of the research was not to make a comparative study of different interventions implemented at different high-risk schools in Metro-South district. Rather, the focus of the research was to produce a thorough case-study, one in which the paper would link findings to theoretical themes and identify conditions for security partnerships to work.

This information will aid the growth of knowledge about state and non-state partnerships. A successful model can subsequently be adopted or mimicked in other areas that have high-risk schools. Through this research an intention to contribute to social theory on community policing is pertinent.

³⁰ Burton, P. 2008. *Merchants, Skollies and Stones. Experiences of School Violence in South Africa* at 11.

³¹ City of Cape Town Census 2001-2006 Wards. Ward 17.

<http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2001census/Documents/2006%20Ward017.htm> (16.04.2010)

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.5.1. Introduction

Despite multiple calls for rigorous and contextually sound school violence and security literature, few research reports have been produced that entail auditing methods implemented to protect learners at high-risk schools in low income areas. To this effect this particular research paper answers the question, ‘What are the types of security projects being implemented at a high-risk school in the Department of Education’s Metro-South District of the Western Cape?’

1.5.2. Research sub-questions

The data that the research desired to obtain could not simply be obtained by asking the research question alone. The research question is too broad and required simplification.

To provide a successful audit, the research question was compartmentalized into sub-questions that served to gather different themed information from the case study. The main guiding questions revolved around past reactions to crime affecting learners at Westbank High School. Secondly, the measures taken by the South African Police Service (SAPS) to assist Westbank High School. Thirdly, questions were asked to establish the various security actors (or security nodes) present at Westbank High School.

To assist in mapping the security actors established at Westbank High School the following set of sub-questions were asked: How are the security actors formed or made up? What security measures are employed to accomplish their objective? How do these actors gather or mobilize manpower to work together in protecting learners from crime? What are the resources involved? What is the insight of the operations that a security actor provides in the larger field of crime prevention amongst the other security actors present at Westbank High School? Who is the dominant security actor and what is that security actor’s perception of other security actors present at Westbank High School? What networked arrangements exist? And finally, what is the role of the state in the security strategies employed? Although not exclusive, these questions form the backbone of the research.

1.6. OBJECTIVES

By asking the questions above the research met the main objective of identifying security actors at Westbank High School. Having identified the security actors, the objective was to analyze how the security actors considered themselves geared for the task of protecting learners.

The second objective was to thoroughly investigate and assess the level of involvement, assistance rendered, support provided by state agencies such as the police (SAPS), non- governmental agencies, and other non-state security actors to those security actors identified at the school. In essence this particular objective intended to investigate relationships and partnerships between the security actors present at the school, in particular the conditions that made partnership between the security actors successful or not.

CHAPTER 2

2. REVIEW OF THEORY

2.1. Introduction

At this juncture the paper embarks on a literature review that first attempts to provide a theoretical framework from which one can draw an understanding of the notions of ‘security’, ‘governance’, ‘security governance’ and finally ‘nodal governance’. Much scholarly work has been produced around the concepts mentioned. However, only a tip of the iceberg around these concepts shall be explored. These concepts are theoretically contested by different theorists. Therefore, this thesis aims to delineate these concepts to such an extent that is only relevant to this research report.

2.2. The Notion of ‘Security’

The notion of ‘security’ is contested. Some scholars have depicted security as an ‘essentially contested concept’.³² Meaning security is value- laden such that no amount of argument or evidence can ever lead to an agreement on a single version as the correct standard or use.³³ Amongst the numerous conceptualizations that have emerged, there is no conceptualization that can be said to be the best.³⁴

Nevertheless this paper favours the conceptualization that security has both a subjective and objective meaning.³⁵ Zedner defines security as:

³² Baldwin, D. 1997. *The Concept of Security* at 7.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Wood, J. and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 4.

“...both a state of being and a means to that end. As a state of being, security suggests two quite distinct objective and subjective conditions. As an objective condition, it takes a number of possible forms. First, it is the condition of being without threat: the hypothetical state of absolute security. Secondly, it is defined as a neutralization of threats: the state of ‘being protected from’. Thirdly, it is a form of avoidance or non exposure to danger...As a subjective condition, security again suggests both the positive condition of feeling safe, and freedom from anxiety or apprehension defined negatively by reference to insecurity.”³⁶

In simple words, Zedner defines security as the physical state of being pre-empted from threats or other forms of harm, the ability to eliminate and free the individual from threats to his or her wellbeing including actual harm that physically attacks or appears before the individual. This is an interpretation of objective security. Subjective security on the other hand is more concerned with the mental state. In other words, Zedner’s explanation of subjective security refers to a mental predisposition free from anxiety, insecurity and fear of physical harm.

There are traditional ways of viewing security that have been present in security discourse for many years. There is internal security of a nation state which is regarded as a state government responsibility that is met through the collection and dispersal of tax.³⁷ There is also external security which is designed to protect the integrity of state borders. However, Wood and Shearing state that the traditional ways of looking at security and its institutional arrangements belong to an older world that no longer exists.³⁸

Wood and Shearing explain that in this modern age, security is no longer exclusively understood in terms of protecting the state from external threats. A variety of new threats to security are being recognized in society today. In the world of today people look at

³⁶ Zedner, L. 2003. ‘ *The Concept of Security: An Audit for Comparative Analysis* ’ at 155.

³⁷ Ibid refer to note 16.

³⁸ Wood, J. and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 6.

securitizing aspects of human security such as the economy, the environment or even health.³⁹ This shows that there are now many threats to aspects of human security that must be removed, avoided or neutralized as explained by Zedner's quote. The threats mentioned above must be removed because they cause the destruction of social and economic infrastructure that is important to human development. The theoretical background of the concept of security impacted the research to uncover and analyze the means through which different actors at Westbank High School remove threats to learner safety, which in essence is a great part of their development in human society.

2.3. The Notion of Governance

According to Wood and Shearing, governance is understood as intentional activities designed to shape the flow of events.⁴⁰ Here they are referring to a means of managing different systems in our surroundings. Further inquiry into this notion shows that governance requires the use of strategies and a set of actions that are intended to put strategies into effect. However, the strategies that have been mentioned have to take place through institutions. As a result, institutions are regarded as machines for doing strategies.⁴¹

Governing institutions are actually made up of different components. The list includes people, the equipment that people will make use of, the technology for getting things done and resources. Furthermore, it is understood that when the various parts mentioned above are put together as institutions, they enact practices. This means that as an institution, with all components combined and functioning strategies, methods and a certain way of managing emanate from the institution.

In addition to strategies and methods, governance by institutions takes place through programmes that articulate with institutions to produce practices.⁴² This means that the

³⁹ Wood, J. and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 6.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid refer to note 35 at 7.

⁴² Wood, J. and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 7.

management of any system in the world we live in requires an organization or institution of some sort through which strategic programmes can be applied. In this context strategies would mean specific forms of knowledge, capacities and resources. The strategies that are applied by the institutions would then be referred to as practices. However, in connection with the notion of security previously discussed Wood and Shearing state that how institutions put their practices of governance on a problem of security depends on how the institution sees the world and how the institution thinks it can shape events in the world.⁴³

2.4. Security Governance

Wood and Shearing bring to our attention that in order to explain the notion of security governance, the word ‘spaces’ should be used as a metaphor and is to be interpreted broadly as a space where people can live and work or play. This means that space should mean territorial space, cyberspace or social spaces such as communities. To this effect Wood and Shearing understand the governance of security as actions designed to shape events so as to create safe ‘spaces’ in which people can live or play.⁴⁴

Another point is that the notion of security governance is understood as governing through crime. Simon (1997) explains that people govern through crime to the extent which crime and punishment become the occasions and the institutional contexts in which we undertake to guide the conduct of others and even ourselves.⁴⁵ This means that crime becomes the central way in which the security problem is framed. Furthermore, we also gather that crime shapes the ways in which institutions respond to crime. That is, the manner in which institutions react and the methods they employ to solve the problem of crime. The methods or strategies used are of course dependent on the capacity and resources to implement the methods of fighting crime as a security provider, actor or node.

⁴³ Ibid at 5.

⁴⁴ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 7.

⁴⁵ Simon, J. 1997. ‘*Governing Through Crime*’ in Friedman, L. and Fisher, G. (eds) *The Crime Conundrum: Essays in Criminal Justice* at 174.

Earlier in the paper it was mentioned that for many years there has been a traditional understanding of security as ‘internal’ security and ‘external’ security. A common feature of the traditional understanding of security is that the state was regarded as the provider of security. Such an understanding takes a Hobbesian approach that suggests that the state has the obligation to protect its subjects that gave up part of their liberty to the state in order to be protected from the natural state of man that consists of conflict with each other and against foreign enemies.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Wood and Shearing argue that the traditional understanding of security has since changed.⁴⁷ They state that the September 11 2009 attacks in New York changed the way in which the world viewed security especially with regards to state focused frameworks. They argue that the attacks brought to the centre stage how much security governance had already changed with regards to security institutions and practices. With this in mind the authors highlight the fact that there have been recent developments in local, national and global security provision which involves efforts to achieve what they term a ‘whole of governance’ approach.

This approach is one that seeks to better coordinate the knowledge, capacities and resources of state government, non-government and corporate sector grouping and organizations.⁴⁸ In other words what was being explained is that there had been changes or an evolution in the manner in which crime control and enforcement of the law had been taking place. For many years the provision of security had been focused on the state government but now we see the incorporation of non-governmental organizations and even corporate sector players such as private security companies in the field of security provision. Wood and Shearing, explain the situation precisely stating that:

“The situation is that we now live in a world of multi-level, multi-centre security governance, in which states are joined, criss-crossed and contested by an array of transnational organizations and actors- whether regional or global governmental bodies, commercial

⁴⁶ Hobbes, T. 1967. *Leviathan* at 186.

⁴⁷ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid* at 3.

security outfits or a number of growing non-governmental organizations and social movements that compose of transnational civil society.”⁴⁹

To this effect, the recognition of ‘multiple centres’ or ‘nodes’ (an array of actors) has allowed scholars to use the notion of ‘governance of security’ rather than the term ‘policing’ because of its historical ties to state police organizations.⁵⁰ Therefore, it has been established that there are security programmes and various actors that govern security.⁵¹ The point being driven across here is that security can be provided at multiple levels including at community level which we will discuss below under the theme nodal governance.

2.5. Nodal Governance

‘Nodes’ are defined as sites of knowledge, capacity and resources that function as governance auspices or providers.⁵² Wood and Shearing describe nodes as institutional, taking the form of organizations but they can also be informal groupings.⁵³ This means that a node does not have to be a formally registered company or entity. Therefore even parking attendants at the local supermarket can be regarded as a node. It is argued that nodes must be stable and structured enough to enable the mobilization of resources, ideas and technologies.⁵⁴ This stems from the point that was mentioned earlier that without capacities and resources there can be no governance. Thus, nodes require ideas in the form of strategies and technology to implement the ideas apart from resources to deliver governance. A node can also be part of an integrated network, like a department in a firm or it might also be linked to other nodes in multiple networks without having a primary network affiliation.⁵⁵ A node may also be a ‘super structural node’ which can bring together representatives of different nodal organizations to concentrate the member’s

⁴⁹ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid at 3.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 27.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 3.

resources and technologies for a common purpose but without integrating the various networks.⁵⁶

The characteristics mentioned above show the point made earlier that nodes operate at different levels in the provision of security. More specifically there is multiplicity in the provision of security that is demonstrated by nodes. There are private nodes such as private security companies on the one hand and public nodes such as the state police on the other hand. However, a recent study by Dupont established that state nodes such as the police, are increasingly cognizant of the multiplicity of security providers operating in the field of security and are aware that they must actively jockey for position if they wish to maintain a privileged place in the field of security.⁵⁷

From the discussion above one can gather that the concept of nodal governance will draw on the concepts of governance and security nodes. Having noted from the paragraph above that nodes do not necessarily come together to form networks, the concept of 'nodal governance' is one that focuses on ideas, institutions and practices of governing entities as well as the ways in which these entities may form governance relationships with others.⁵⁸ It must be noted that there is a diversity of nodes that function as providers of security. Nodes of security governance are said to embrace either a punitive or risk-based mentality or both.⁵⁹ These mentalities are obviously manifest in the strategies that they employ.

It has been drawn that in today's world there has been a shift of governance from state to non-state entities.⁶⁰ In other words, the state is no longer viewed as the only provider of security in society today nor is it viewed as the most important or principal provider of security either. The actual presence of private providers of security has caused an evolution in security studies and has reinvented the notion of governance. Wood and Shearing add that by reinventing governance in addition to government, in doing so the

⁵⁶ Burris, S. 2004. *Governance, Micro-governance and Health* at 341-342.

⁵⁷ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 28.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid refer to note 37 at 34

⁶⁰ Ibid.

presence of private providers of security has greatly expanded the range and scope of non-state interests in the delivery of security.⁶¹

Shearing and Wood state that a nodal governance analysis seeks to understand the various mentalities and strategies of nodes and nodal arrangements that operate at the same time.⁶² This is exactly the objective of this research, to provide an audit of the security strategies employed by different nodes to protect the learners at Westbank High School. However, it is evident that in this chapter thus far Wood and Shearing lean more towards non-state security governance. Other experts in the security governance field have advocated for a state-centric perspective. The nodal governance perspective shows that nodal governance is only but one lens or avenue that security governance may be analyzed. A state-centric perspective takes a critical approach to the nodal governance approach discussed above.

The state-centric perspective is one that is normally termed the traditional mode of governance. Contrary to the concept of nodal governance denoted by Wood and Shearing in which governance is done by the 'other', other than the state, the traditional perspective of governance pursues an approach that entails a governance authority establishing (or contracting with) state organizations and authorizing their employees to implement or 'enforce' its norms of governance directly on to the governed.⁶³ This means that the state appoints a para-state institution and gives it the power to manage different systems in the nation's surroundings and the people. Legitimacy of the institutions given the power to govern, manage or shape the flow of events in that's country's boundaries is evident in the way the people acquiesce to the rules and norms implemented or enforced upon them. In other words security governance is undertaken by states through the application of legitimate physical force through the para-statal institutions. States in this perspective are regarded as the ultimate source of governance over nation territory. This is the state-centric perspective associated with Weber, who

⁶¹ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 34.

⁶² *Ibid* at 33.

⁶³ Stenning, P. 2003. Dimensions of governance In Johnston, L and Shearing, C. 2003. *Governing Security: Explorations in Policing and Justice* at 12.

defined states as entities that were able to acquire the legitimate monopoly over the use of physical force.⁶⁴

The state-centric perspective is one that involves direct governance on the people and does not depend on non-state actors to perform its role in governance. It moves away from the notion of nodal governance which advocates for development of indirect governance that relies on the enrolment of others in performing actions required to realize the governance objectives of the state. Metaphorically expressed, the notion of nodal governance is a diluted version of the state centric perspective. This is particularly because nodal governance is inclusive of non-state actors which are tasked to govern indirectly yet on the other hand the state-centric perspective is one that relies only on the state to provide direct governance. Surely one can realize that the traditional state-centric perspective has been slowly developed over time. Classical theorists like Hobbes and Weber have spoken of the state-centric approach to governance. However, the state-centric conception has been reshaped over the past half century.⁶⁵ Therefore, the point driven across is that the concept of nodal governance is but one of the lens we can analyze security and state sovereignty. The concept of nodal governance is of great relevance to this thesis because research findings indicate that non-state security actors or nodes are the predominant security providers for learners at Westbank High School.

Before a mapping of these security nodes at Westbank High School is provided, a mapping of nodal security actors at a high risk school in Durban is provided as a means to illustrate the type of areas that this research was particularly concerned with. The mapping of these security nodes was conducted by Marks and Wood in 2007 at Umbilo Secondary School. This thesis is a shadow of the work they produced in the KwaZulu Natal. The case study of the Wentworth Parent Patrol follows below.

⁶⁴ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 12.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

2.6. Wentworth Parent Patrol

2.6.1. Introduction

Marks and Wood in their well grounded paper, ‘*The South African Policing “nexus”*’: *Charting the policing landscape in Durban*’ showed that the South African Police Service (SAPS) are but one actor within a hybrid policing field involved in the provision of security in areas surrounding schools and the greater community. The study was on a community generated initiative that focused its resources on protecting learners in school from local criminal conduct present in that community. The initiative was also aimed at youth diversion from crime. Their study revealed local community initiatives of nodal security governance. Their research paper also proposed how SAPS should position themselves in local community security initiatives to ensure efficiency of the security measures implemented by non-state actors. A brief background to the community initiative is provided below.

2.6.2. Background of Wentworth Parent Patrol

The Wentworth Parent Patrol intervention was driven by non-state actors.⁶⁶ This means that the project was not spearheaded by the government. Instead it was led and managed by members of the Wentworth community. Parent patrol members were drawn from the Wentworth community. However, not all members were necessarily parents of learners at Umbilo Secondary School in the Wentworth community. Anyone who was concerned with school safety issues spilling into the broader community could become a member. Nevertheless this did not mean that the police did not render any support for the initiative. This intervention mobilized specific resources for the execution of their objectives.

⁶⁶ Marks, M and Wood, J. 2007. *The South African Policing “Nexus”*: *Charting The Landscape in Durban* at 141.

2.6.3. Objectives of Wentworth Parent Patrol

Wentworth community members identified that access to drugs and alcohol en route to Umbilo Secondary School was a major contributor to school safety and disciplinary problems. As a result the aim of Wentworth Parent Patrol was to make the streets and classrooms safer for learners in their community. The parents of Wentworth community came together to patrol the streets near Umbilo Secondary School, as a way of preventing school children from engaging in deviant behaviour such as taking drugs, alcohol consumption, smoking and intentionally not attending school (playing truant from school).⁶⁷ The parent patrol was small scale and only focused on Umbilo Secondary School. For its survival, the parent patrol group depended on the resources and capacity provided by the local community members and the backing of SAPS.

2.6.4. Operations of Wentworth Parent Patrol

The project entailed putting out a very clear signal to young people in school that they were being watched and that drugs, alcohol and forms of violence such as street fights were not tolerated. This involved members patrolling the main routes that led to the secondary school early in the morning and in the afternoon at times when learners finished school.⁶⁸ Where learners were found to be engaging in illicit activities such as drinking before and after school, reports were made to Umbilo Secondary School authorities who effected punishment on the deviant learners.

An interesting aspect of the initiative is that members did not intervene in suspicious circumstances and they did not enter premises. They did not carry any weapons or any instruments of self defence. This was primarily because the mandate of the parent patrol was only to monitor young people going and coming from school, not to engage with them.⁶⁹ However, it was noted that because the parent patrol was often familiar with the

⁶⁷ Ibid 145.

⁶⁸ Marks, M and Wood, J. 2007. *The South African Policing "Nexus": Charting The Landscape in Durban* at 141.

⁶⁹ Ibid at 143.

young people in schools and their family circumstances sometimes, patrol members approached learners who they knew were engaging in illicit activity. In such cases they would reprimand the learner and try to make him or her aware of the bad choices that they were making if they were caught engaging in alcohol and substance abuse.

In terms of resources, the research report stated that parent patrol members wear brightly coloured T-shirts to identify themselves. They also make use of two-way walkie-talkie radio systems that are linked to the school security guard and members on patrol. Marks and Wood state that once the parent patrol members identified a learner engaging in an illicit activity, they two-way radio the security guard stationed at the secondary school and alert him or her of the student. Once at the school gate the student is confronted by the guard and attention is brought to the school authorities who then propose an appropriate punishment for the student.

The operations of the parent patrol were also facilitated by the use of cameras to take photographs of situations they considered suspicious and required a follow-up by the police. Wentworth community's intervention resulted in young people going to school in more sober states of mind and young people became cautious about their behaviour en route to school.

2.6.5. The role of SAPS

SAPS mainly played a backing role for the Wentworth Parent Patrol. Therefore, the role of SAPS was identified as minimal and marginal. This was mainly because SAPS did not provide any resources nor reliable support to the parent patrol intervention. An example was SAPS' failure to respond to calls from the parent patrol members. SAPS also failed to act on suggestions made by the patrol to make Wentworth a safer place for learners. Since the community of Wentworth initiated its campaign SAPS patrols had rapidly decreased in the area to as little as a single patrol in four months.⁷⁰ The

⁷⁰ Marks, M and Wood, J. 2007. The South African Policing "Nexus": Charting The Landscape in Durban at 38

observation made was that SAPS actually avoided high-risk areas such as Wentworth and when they did eventually come, they left without having dealt with the problems on the street. Members of the parent patrol complained that they were not responsible for securing the streets and actually wanted SAPS to provide a more active police presence in Wentworth.

With regards to the minimal support offered by the police, Marks and Wood reported that Wentworth police stated that they were not able to respond to the majority of school safety issues because they are not police priorities. Evidently, on one hand, a healthy partnership between the police and the community initiative was non-existent. On the other hand, Wentworth police had the view that citizen groups such as the parent patrol were there to supplement the police. They viewed the parent patrol as “the eyes and ears” of the community and they were to serve by providing information to the police.

According to Wentworth police, they viewed the parent patrol as playing a passive role and they failed to find the real significance of the Wentworth parent patrol in providing an alternative police service.⁷¹ However, Marks and Wood disagreed. The researchers argued that the parent patrol is actively involved in safety problem solving and even actively sorting out safety problems based on an investigation. Furthermore, Marks and Wood argued that even though Wentworth police state they were always busy and were unable to respond to emergent community safety needs, SAPS paid tribute to the parent patrols work but did not engage with them as partners in the way that they should have.

2.6.6. Conclusion: Wentworth Parent Patrol Case Study

From this case study we learn that poor communities such as Wentworth are left out on their own to create safe spaces with their own limited resources. Wentworth parents patrol intervention played an important role in the policing of Wentworth. It assisted Wentworth greatly because the community of Wentworth could not afford to buy private security to protect learners at Umbilo Secondary School. Therefore, Wentworth

⁷¹ *ibid* at 142

community was not only dependent on the SAPS for security for learners but also on goodwill and voluntarism of community groups such as the parents patrol. Wentworth parent patrol therefore lifted the burden from the police and provided an alternative solution to policing problems and protecting young people in school from exposure to crime and dangers that lay within that high-risk community.

The case study of Wentworth Parent Patrol discussed above demonstrates that some poor communities in our country employ community based mechanisms in a bid to counter crime problems in their respective communities. Gathering from results of the study, a reason for a community taking action is due to the ineffective management of crime by the state police.

2.7. CONCLUSION

The study at hand aims to conduct an audit of security nodes employed to protect young people enrolled at Westbank High School. It was therefore important to acquire theoretical understanding of concepts that this thesis shall engage with as well as to provide background knowledge on how some existent security nodes deal with the problem of crime against school learners and how they protect the learners. The literature review provided a minuscule preview of what to expect with regards to how learners can be protected. From the literature discussed, we have drawn that a community may embark on state independent interventions. Similar to the study by Marks and Wood, the objective of the present case study was to identify security nodes present at Westbank High and to provide a mapping of these nodal security actors. However, before the findings of this study can be explored it is necessary to delineate the way in which the study was conducted. An outline of the research methods is documented in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER 3

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This is a case study involving qualitative analysis. The qualitative research methods employed collected data in the form of impressions, thoughts, views, attitudes and photos of nodal actors protecting learners at Westbank High School. A focus group interview, face-to-face interviews, participant observation, public or general observation and a desktop review were the techniques used to obtain soft or qualitative data in this study. A qualitative research approach was required for the study because of the preference to investigate the types of measures and processes that different security nodal actors implemented to protect the learners at Westbank High School. This involved looking at the non-state actors that resembled the Wentworth Parent Patrol which was discussed in the previous chapter.

Some of the qualitative research methods that were undertaken ensured that there would be an inside involvement with some of the security actors present at Westbank High School. To this effect, the research aimed to echo the sentiments of the *Chicago School* who encouraged students to get their hands dirty in the natural settings of the city when conducting their research.⁷² Thus, the aim of the participant observation method employed in this study was to collect data by observing and auditing events as they unfolded while present in that particular environment.

These attributes of the research design make the research descriptive because the qualitative component of the research describes the actions and other assessable attributes that constitute an audit. In a way one gets an understanding of the interventions being explored as the various security nodal actors were afforded the opportunity to disclose and provide specific information relating to the study. In addition, the study is also exploratory because as Bless and Smith (1995) have stated, the rationale for conducting

⁷² Babbie, E. and Moutton, J. 2005. *The Practice of Social Research* at 270-272.

exploratory research is either to gain insight or to acquire information on a current issue of interest.⁷³

3.2. Research Design

The research design for this audit of nodal actors protecting learners at Westbank High School consists of a sampling method, data collection methodologies and data analysis method employed to process the results of this study.

The method through which the research was conducted involved an initial interview with the principal of Westbank High School. This was followed by one-on-one interviews with security actors, some teaching and general staff at the institution, for example the caretaker. A focus group interview with eight educators who had not been interviewed separately followed the series of one-on-one interviews.

The questions in the interview questionnaire were designed in such a way that they encompassed a snowballing sampling technique. There were questions that asked the interviewee to identify nodal actors present at the school as well as in their community that assisted the school authorities in the quest to protect the learners inside and outside the school walls. Subsequent to Westbank High staff having identified the nodal actors in the interviews, a snowball sampling method was employed and subsequent interviews with security nodal actors identified were pursued.

Participant observation was carried out where time was spent with the security nodes observing the strategies they employ in protecting learners. Meetings were also attended where I was invited in my capacity as a researcher. An analysis of the overall data obtained was completed. However, the processes stated above require further explanation and as a result at this point, this paper will provide clarification of each research method employed.

⁷³ Bless, C and Higson-Smith. 1995. '*Fundamentals of Social Research Methods: An African Perspective*'. Research at grass roots. For the social sciences and human service professions at 19.

3.3. Methodology

3.3.1. Desktop Literature Review

Apart from the review provided earlier in this research paper, an ongoing literature review focused on collecting data relating to past local community reactions to the problem of crime affecting learners in Westbank. Here the literature explored measures that have previously been taken to curb the problem of crime against learners. In addition, newspapers distributed in Westbank were reviewed. Books and journals around the topic of study were also explored. The on-going literature review filled the gap left by field research.

3.3.2 Interviews

This research was not focused on conducting interviews with random individuals. In-depth interviews with a specific sample of Westbank High School staff such as the principal, educators, and support staff in addition to the security actors at the school were conducted. Interviews with nodal actors were directed through referrals. (Snowballing)

A total of twelve face to face interviews were conducted. Interviewees included all four members of the bambanani security volunteers, the caretaker at the school, educators and an informal discussion with a member of the school governing body. All interviews were conducted at Westbank High School. The venue for interviews was classrooms that were not being used by learners either during school operating hours or after 3pm when the school dismissed its learners. The interviews were conducted in the presence of the interviewee and the researcher alone to ensure confidence.

Interviews were the best platform from which the school could assist the researcher in the identification of nodal actors. The interviews were also a practical means of obtaining data that could be used for the audit of nodal actors identified. The interviews aimed at obtaining information around descriptive, perceptual and normative themes from the security nodes at Westbank High School.

Finally interviews were a platform for obtaining first hand information on the nodes and any existing partnerships. Apart from the facts mentioned, the interviews were also a more manageable method of research.

3.3.3. *Focus Group Interview*

A focus group interview was held with eight educators employed at Westbank High School. The focus group was conducted in a free classroom at the school for duration of one hour and six minutes. The focus group was conducted after the school had officially finished for the day and learners had been dismissed. The sample consisted of those educators who had not been interviewed independently. Furthermore, the sample consisted of those educators that felt they wanted to participate in more of a discussion with other educators around the issue of protecting learners. The researcher facilitated the focus group. Special care was taken in providing a balance between giving guiding questions and making sure that the discussion was not dictated by the facilitator. The researcher also performed the role of watching the body language and reactions made by the participants. This task was made easier due to the fact that the focus group discussion was digitally recorded. Therefore the researcher could focus on facilitation and taking relevant notes without having to worry about losing any information provided during the course of the discussion. The participants expressed their views freely and managed their best to not go off the topic of discussion.

3.3.4. *Participant Observation*

In addition to in-depth interviews and the focus group, this research project also made use of the participation observation method. This method was used because there was a participatory element that was involved in the investigation process in addition to observations. This research method was utilized to investigate issues, views and daily operations of the security nodal actors.

Research experts Babbie and Mouton (2005), state that participant observation involves the gathering of data or collection of information by means of periodic fact finding or investigations of the participants' environment.⁷⁴ This requirement was met by simply observing and experiencing what the nodal actors experienced at Westbank High School. Conducting the study of the nodal actors' in their place of work (the school) therefore satisfies the 'environment' element requirement. Nevertheless, in this instance the aim was to spend a certain period of time with the security actors such as security volunteers known as Bambanani's walking around, sitting with them and observing while they do their work and asking questions. There are days when the researcher was present with the security nodes from school starting hours until the school closed.

Data was collected around issues concerning school security and the protection of school learners from crime, the role of the police in Westbank and how the residents of Westbank interacted and related with the security actors in their efforts to protect young people at the school.

3.4.Ethics and Accountability

The initial stages of field research began in February 2010. The researcher actively began field research at Westbank High School in August 2010 through to November 2010. The researcher came into contact with a number of people in society, primarily educators, support staff and members of security interventions present at Westbank High School. These participants were informed of what the study entailed. They were approached personally by the researcher and their consent was requested before an interview.

As a result of utilizing input provided by human participants, academic rules of ethics and accountability had to be satisfied. This research project followed the University of Cape Town code of ethics concerning research involving human subjects. For all the Westbank High School staff and security employees that were participants in the research process either through interviews or participant observation, consent was obtained. The

⁷⁴ Babbie, E and Mouton, J. 1998. *The Practice of Social Research* at 232

participants were provided with information around the topic of study prior to their involvement by means of an information-consent form that required reading the contents and purposes of the research and requesting a signature from interviewees. All participants participated voluntarily.

Information concerning the identity of the researcher (a Masters student at the University of Cape Town) was disclosed to all participants. The researcher clearly stated the nature of the study of the security actors providing security at Westbank High School.

As a means of protecting the participants involved in the research, names were kept confidential. Research participants are anonymous in this thesis. Anonymity will protect participants against foreseeable harm based information they provided.

All recorded information excluded the mentioning of names. All digital recordings are safely kept by the researcher. This thesis thus strives to produce an honest, open and objective research account.

The researcher supplied all research participants with contact details and gave them the option to contact him freely in a bid to build a networking relationship. Finally an offer was made by the researcher to send a copy of this thesis if participants were interested in the findings and also to see how their valuable contribution was used in this thesis.

3.5. Data Analysis

For assistance with analyzing the data collected, the researcher made use of QSR Nvivo, a software package. Besides using Nvivo, the researcher also coded the data manually. This was mainly done for information obtained from articles and literature as well as notes taken down during the focus group interview.

CHAPTER 4

Research Findings

At this juncture the thesis shall provide a mapping of security nodes and strategies employed to protect learners. The interviews conducted during the course of this research can be classified as having transtemporal questions in which interviewees were asked issues that cut across time and enquired matters that occurred in the past, when the school began in 2005, what is being experienced at present and what is expected in the future. It is important to highlight from the onset that improvements of present strategies employed to protect learners are called upon to ensure better and more effective protection of learners at Westbank High school in the future. It has already been established in the literature review section that security nodes are diverse in their approaches, methods and outcomes but share an overall objective of making the school environment safe for learners.⁷⁵ Mapping Westbank High School's responses to security problems for learners shall begin with the Bamabanani.

4. Mapping Security Interventions at Westbank High School : Bamabanani Project

4.1. Who are the Bamabanani?

The Bamabanani Safer Schools Project was launched in partnership with the Department of Community Safety in 2002. The project was targeted at high-risk schools that needed additional human resources to combat crime and violence. Bamabanani volunteers were deployed at the schools identified and classified as high-risk schools. Westbank High School was identified as a high risk school and the project arrived at Westbank High school in 2003 but only began their operations in 2004.⁷⁶ In 2006 the project had about 500 Bamabanani volunteers that were deployed across the Western

⁷⁵Burton, P. 2005. Violence in Schools: What Works. A literature review undertaken for the Centre for Science and Industrial Research (CSIR) for the Development of Safety Audits in 23 Police Stations in the Western Cape at 6.

⁷⁶ Interview with Bamabanani 2 at Westbank High School on 11 October 2010.

Cape's 110 high risk schools.⁷⁷ In the Westbank community the project is present at the High School and Westbank Primary School as well. The bambanani are therefore individuals that provide security in a school environment. It should be noted that in the early years of the project, the bambanani were volunteers. However, presently they are now receiving a stipend of plus or minus R60 per day.⁷⁸ How the project is constituted follows below.

4.2. Who constitute the Bambanani?

The Bambanani School Safety Project in the Westbank community comprises of local community members that volunteered to take up the role of bambanani at Westbank High School. The bambanani team leader highlighted the fact that all members of the team reside in Westbank.⁷⁹ Presently, the bambanani at the school are all women that come from the Westbank community. At one stage the school had three male bambanani.⁸⁰ The males soon left their role at the school mainly because of threats from learners and gangsters in a bid to protect themselves and their families as some learners and gangsters knew where these men resided in the community. Their families were therefore in danger.⁸¹ Nevertheless, there are supposed to be five members on the bambanani team that provide security services to the school but currently there are only four female members working. However, only the five appointed members of the bambanani team are meant to execute the role of providing security at the school. Assistance from members of the wider community assuming the role of bambanani at the school is discouraged.⁸²

The bambanani are trained by the Department of Community Safety. In actual fact the Department of Community Safety, Western Cape is responsible for the coordination and implementation of community based social crime prevention and oversight of the South

⁷⁷ Department of Community Safety, 2008. *2006/7 An Improved Service Methodology. A Note from the Department* at 3.

⁷⁸ Interview with District South Education Director for Safety in Schools. Interview was lead by Mr. Adam Cooper of Extra Mural Education Project (EMEP) on 18 February 2010.

⁷⁹ Interview with bambanani team leader at Westbank High School on 4 October 2010.

⁸⁰ Interview with a senior ranking educator at Westbank High School on 28 October 2010.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Interview with Bambanani team leader at Westbank High School on 4 October 2010.

African Police Service (SAPS).⁸³ Appointed members to the role of bambanani undertake a conflict resolution course. Furthermore, they undergo security training where they are taught security provision skills and techniques. Finally they take a life skills course where they learn how to communicate with learners and how to manage different security threats that may arise in the school environment.

Members constituting the bambanani have an objective to provide safety for learners. According to a senior bambanani, ‘safety’ for the bambanani means the protection of learners from any harm that may happen to them ranging from being hurt in a fight, being stabbed, being bullied or having something stolen from them and even gangs.⁸⁴ Therefore, the bambanani take a preventative approach to violence or other forms of crime rather than a reactive approach in their mandate to provide safety for learners at Westbank High School. This approach shall be discussed at greater depth later in the paper. What follows is an account of how the bambanani conduct their security provision operations, specifically looking at what thinking or perceptions guide their actions, their relationship with the other security actors at this institution and their understanding of the role they play in everyday protection of learners.

4.3. The Role of the Bambanani?

The Bambanani project’s explicit priority is to ensure safety of the learners within the school parameter.⁸⁵ As a result, one of the most important roles of the bambanani is to stop crime and violence against school learners. One common way in which violence is stopped is by diffusing physical fights that break out within the school walls between learners. The second most important role is to protect the learners, educators and the school infrastructure.⁸⁶ Protection of the learners from themselves and external influences is facilitated by routine parameter patrols. This entails the bambanani going around the school boundary demarcated by the security fencing during the times when learners are

⁸³ The Department of Community Safety. 2008. *2006/7 An Improved service Methodology: A Note from the Department* at 4.

⁸⁴ Interview with the bambanani team leader at Westbank High School on 4 October 2010.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

outside of the classroom. The general patrols are done during break time intervals, outdoor class activities in the presence of an educator and when school closes.

The main purposes of these patrols include ensuring that learners do not exit the school through illegal entry points made in the parameter fencing where the fence has been cut or where holes have been made. Secondly, the patrols ensure that illegal substances according to school governing principles such as drugs, cigarettes, alcohol or dangerous objects are not passed to learners inside the school parameter through the fence from persons outside. Last but not least, the patrols ensure that non learners do not enter the school from entry points other than the school's main entrance where visitors are required to sign in upon entry and to sign out upon exit.

The duties of the bambanani extend beyond the school's boundary. The bambanani at Westbank High School do not only ensure the safety of the learners within the school parameter. Their role also includes escorting learners outside of the school gate into the community and even to the learner's home when requested to do so by the principal.⁸⁷ This usually happens when a learner is personally threatened by gangsters in the area or when gangsters wait for a learner outside of the school. Gangster activity is present in the community and poses a great security threat to learners. This is evident in reported cases where learners have been subjected to physical harm such as beatings and also threatened at knife point.⁸⁸ Such forms of violence are a threat to the physical and social welfare of both victimized learners and those that have not yet been subjected to encounters with gangsters in Westbank community. Furthermore, it was interesting to note that the bambanani patrol around the parameter fencing twenty minutes before the school closes, assessing whether there are any gangsters waiting outside for learners. In situations where gangsters are waiting outside for learners, the bambanani inform the principal who in turn calls SAPS. The police are then dispatched to the school to clear the area outside of the school, or in situations where a fight happens outside the school that does not involve learners the police arrive and diffuse the situation.

⁸⁷ Interview with the bambanani team leader at Westbank High School on 4 October 2010.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

A senior staff member disclosed that Westbank School had approached the Head Inspector in charge of Sector Three, the area in which the school is located. The Head Inspector was furnished with information concerning the times that learners enter and leave the school. As a result the Sector Three police had come to an understanding and agreement with the school that they would increase patrols and increase visibility around these times and would be only be a call away. This meant the police were meant to be contacted telephonically whenever a security threat arose within and outside the school.⁸⁹ An assessment of SAPS performance in this regard will be explored shortly. However, the bambanani feel that although the police are called to clear the immediate area surrounding the school there is no guarantee that the learners will be safe further away from the school premises.

Another role of the Bambanani is to create target hardening measures in relation to safety and security of the learners. Target hardening increases the efforts that offenders must expend in the commission of a crime and is the most long-established and traditional approach to crime prevention.⁹⁰ It is directed at denying or limiting access to a crime target through the use of physical barriers such as fences, gates, locks, electronic alarms and security patrols.⁹¹ In other words, target hardening is the use of strategies to make it harder for a crime to be committed and reduces the gains of crime. In this regard the bambanani have stationed themselves at the main entrance of the school within the school's premises. They have a book in which they keep a record of people that visit the school. The visitors record book has sections that capture the name of the visitor, their contact details, the person whom they visited, the time the visitor entered and left the school premises as well as vehicle number plates.

As a result of their presence at the school's main entrance and backyard the bambanani are the visible security provider at this institution. Representative members of teaching staff at this institution concurred in a focus group interview that the bambanani are the biggest security provider at the school. One member of staff stated that the bambanani

⁸⁹ Interview with the Deputy Principal of Westbank High School on 9 November 2010.

⁹⁰ Dolan, P. & Peasgood, T. 2007. *Estimating the Economic and Social Cost of the Fear of Crime* at 127.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

make a tremendous contribution to safety at the school and that they are in actual fact the security of the school.⁹² Having explained the role of the bambanani their perceptions will be considered in the section that follows.

4.4. Bambanani Perceptions: thinking behind action

4.4.1. Significance at Westbank High School

At this point the thesis shall explore perceptions of the bambanani in the context of providing security at Westbank High School. As a point of departure it is important to note that before the bambanani project fully commenced their operations at this school there was no specialized structure or entity in place that provided security for learners. According to senior members of the bambanani who have worked at Westbank High School from the beginning, the project has played a great and significant role in deterring crime within the school premises.⁹³ The impression given was that the bambanani have a confident view that they have greatly assisted the school in security and safety management. In addition they have the perception that their presence has helped to deter violence within the school and has also deterred criminals in the community from committing crimes on the school premises. However, their perception of security and safety at the school in general brings to light some of the major issues that this paper shall discuss at a later stage.

4.4.2. School Security Infrastructure

The bambanani think that the school's security infrastructure is not up to standard and to a certain extent creates a threat to learner safety. The main concern for the bambanani is the vandalism of the parameter fencing. The bambanani think that the vandalism of the school fencing has made the school unsafe for learners as unwanted persons enter the school premises illegally and it also makes the school buildings and equipment

⁹² Focus Group Interview with eight Westbank High School educators on 21 October 2010.

⁹³ Interview with a Bambanani 3 on 20 November 2010.

vulnerable to criminals during weekends and the holidays. The bambanani carry out their operations during the day time only while learners are attending school. They commence their daily duties at 7:30am and finish their day's work at 3:30pm. The bambanani do not work during the weekends. On weekends and after 3:30 pm during weekdays of the school term the school is left unguarded.

Likewise, the bambanani perceive the parameter fencing being one of the weak points in terms of school safety and it was suggested that more needs to be done in terms of covering the existing holes made around the fencing and discipline reinforced on the learners to stop vandalizing the school fencing as a means of existing and getting home faster.⁹⁴ School learners jump over the fence, go under the holes around the fence and creep through holes in the fence. As the bambanani perceive the parameter fencing as a weak security mechanism they have reacted by increasing patrols around the fence during times when learners are not in classrooms to prevent learners from using these illegal entry points. Therefore, the perception that the school is not safe to the expected standard fuelled their reaction to the situation.

4.4.3. *Work Capacity*

As mentioned earlier, there are currently four bambanani working at Westbank High instead of five. Albeit the fact that they are all women one of the limitations on the service they provide the school is that they are incapacitated to deliver the best service that they could possibly offer. This view stems from the statement provided by one of the senior bambanani interviewed who stated that although working as four members instead of five has not really impacted the team negatively, they would operate to their optimum if they were five members present at the school.⁹⁵ One would view this situation as one that has not broken the work ethic or de-motivated the bambanani but one where they have decided to put their heads together and work extra hard by taking more roles that they would have if they were five members. They appeared to have adjusted to

⁹⁴ Suggestion made by a bambanani member during participant observation on the 18th of November 2010.

⁹⁵ Interview with Bambanani 4 at Westbank High School on 20 November 2010.

working as four members. However, from an outsider's point of view, being short staffed will ultimately have a negative impact on the service provided by the bambanani.

Reasons being, firstly, the school was allocated five bambanani based on the fact that five individuals would be able to fully secure the parameter. Adding more work on four people places pressure on the bambanani and they might not be able to perform their duties up to the required standards and there might not be enough manpower to contain different security threats that may arise in the school or outside the school. These are some of the reasons that a request was made to actually have more bambanani members allocated and deployed to Westbank High School including some male members such that the project may work at full capacity.⁹⁶ Thus, as the situation currently stands the bambanani perceive that they are not working at full capacity.

4.4.4. Resources and Equipment

The bambanani perceive their strength to be the ability to execute effective patrols around the school premises.⁹⁷ Members of the bambanani project have a distinct uniform that identifies them. This includes a blue nylon jacket that has the words 'School Safety Project' printed on the front. The blue jackets also have a bright yellow line at the back. In addition to the jacket, the bambanani wear a bright yellow t-shirt inside the sleeveless jacket. The bambanani are required to wear the t-shirt and the jacket at all times at the school between 7:30 and 15.30. The bambanani team leader perceived the importance of their distinct uniform to bring awareness to the wider community that the school has a security service.⁹⁸ Secondly, the uniform is perceived to be necessary for easy identification by learners and educators. The bambanani are also equipped with scanning buttons which they use to detect weapons such as firearms when learners or visitors are searched upon entering the school and two-way radios they use to communicate with one another especially during patrols. These are the only equipment that they use at the school.

⁹⁶ Interview with bambanani 4 at Westbank High School on 20 November 2010.

⁹⁷ Interview with bambanani 4 at Westbank High School on 20 November 2010.

⁹⁸ Interview with bambanani team leader on 4 October 2010.

In terms of self protection the bambanani carry no weapons such as firearms or pepper spray because the mandate of the bambanani is to monitor the learners and prevent violence within the school but not to engage with them. They felt that they required some form of self defence equipment or training. Presently, they have to rely on calling the police for assistance in situations of security threats and other situations they fail to diffuse or contain. The relationship between the bambanani and the police is one that needs to be explored. Therefore, the bambanani thoughts and views about their relationship with the police and other security actors follow in the next section.

4.4.5. Relationship with Westbank South African Police Service (SAPS)

The police and the bambanani enjoy a good relationship. The bambanani have a good working relationship with SAPS. As a matter of fact the bambanani work in direct liaison with SAPS, whereby SAPS provide assistance to the bambanani when summoned. This was the main reason for the team leader's view that their relationship with the police is quite satisfactory.⁹⁹ However, apart from this relationship the performance of the police in response to bambanani call outs needs to be assessed.

With regards to response time, the bambanani team leader stated that the police do not take a long time to respond to their calls for assistance. The team leader actually applauded SAPS response time.¹⁰⁰ The only concern that the bambanani have with SAPS is that there aren't any police officers deployed to do foot patrols near the school. Police visibility in patrol vehicles in the area surrounding the school is definite in the mornings when learners make their way the school and in the afternoon on their way home.¹⁰¹ However, the bambanani feel that one or two officers should be designated to either patrol the area surrounding the school on foot especially at the time when the school closes or at least stand at some corners near the school that are notorious sites for

⁹⁹ Interview with bambanani team leader on 4 October 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Bambanani 3 at Westbank High School on 20 November 2010.

¹⁰¹ *ibid*

gangster activity, bullying, muggings and theft.¹⁰² Nevertheless despite the lack of foot patrols, the bambanani feel that police vehicle patrols are beneficial because they make their job easier in the sense that they protect the learners as well. As shall be discussed later in this paper, educators also assume the role of safety and security provision for learners and are categorized as a security actor. With this in mind, the paper shall review the relationship between the bambanani and the educators at Westbank High School.

4.4.6. Relationship with educators

According to members of the bambanani, their relationship with the educators is also good. This is evident in the manner in which educators and bambanani work in a united fashion around issues concerning learner safety. They work together systematically when a learner reports to the bambanani, that learner is taken to one of the educators who have the skills to deal with trauma or medical issues. In more serious cases such as a minor stabbing, the bambanani take the victimized learner to the principal and from that point the principal hands the matter over to SAPS. Therefore, it is apparent that educators also play a very important role in providing learner safety.

In addition, a co-dependency relationship is visible between the bambanani and educators. Asked to comment on this relationship, a senior ranking educator at the school stated that the bambanani are the staff's eyes and ears.¹⁰³ This statement shows that educators acknowledge the role played by the bambanani in terms of providing physical security to the school. While educators deliver education to the learners in the classroom the bambanani assess the security situation, looking for any possible threats to learners and keeping their ears to the ground paying special attention for information they are given by learners concerning their safety such as gang related activity that might involve one of the learners. This is mainly attributed to the fact that the bambanani know the learners both inside the school and within the community as they themselves live in the same community as the learners. Therefore some of the learners trust the bambanani

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Interview with the Deputy Principal on 9 November 2010.

because they identify themselves with the bambanani as members of the same community. This may not be the case for all educators, some who may live in other areas other than Westbank. As a result that level of trust between such educators and learners might not exist or be attained. Therefore, the bambanani fill the gap mentioned above and become a valuable asset to educators. Thus, emphasizing the co-dependency relationship interpreted by the researcher.

4.5. Concluding Remarks on Bambanani Mapping: Bambanani affiliation with Neighbourhood Watch

By way of concluding this section of the paper, it was found that some members of the bambanani project are also members of the local neighbourhood watch. The neighbourhood watch is a non state community initiative providing community safety in the area of Westbank. A bambanani member interviewed plainly stated that neighbourhood watch members are very clear that both their roles and capacities are distinctly different from those of the bambanani and SAPS. Unlike the bambanani their roles are not learner safety specific. They are directed to the community in general. They only carry out their patrols and duties on weekends in contrast to the bambanani who do not work on weekends. Considering the fact that during the school term some learners come to the school for computer lessons over the weekend, the bambanani team leader applauded the neighbourhood watch for patrolling the area in which the school is located although they do not specifically focus on the school.¹⁰⁴ However, the advantage of having some of the bambanani members as members of the neighbourhood watch is that, for example, if someone is selling alcohol to under aged learners or children in the community in general they make an attempt to speak to this supplier about supplying learners or alternatively they send SAPS in that supplier's direction. As a result the bridging roles between being a bambanani and a neighbourhood watch member ultimately serve the safety interests of learners. This concludes the mapping of the bambanani project at Westbank High School. The thesis shall now explore educators as security nodes with a mandate to protect the learners at Westbank High School.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with bambanani team leader on 4 October 2010.

CHAPTER 5

5. Mapping of Interventions at Westbank High School: Educators as Security Actors

5.1. Introduction: Multi-Tasking: The Dual Role of Educators at Westbank High School

Taking all things into account, the educators at Westbank High School play an important role in the provision of security for learners at this institution. As mentioned earlier, the school cannot afford private security to protect learners. However, the work done by the bambanani project is phenomenal and greatly acknowledged but not enough.¹⁰⁵ Educators have mobilized to assist the bambanani in providing security for learners by assuming certain roles concerning providing safety. In chapter four the paper highlighted the co-dependent relationship that exists between the educators and the bambanani. It is the aim of this chapter to illustrate how the educators at Westbank have achieved the status of security actors. This section aims to show how educators have organized themselves as a practical solution to the school's safety problems in addition to the work done by the bambanani. This will involve generating an understanding of their role in everyday provision of safety for learners. This will be followed by mapping their role as security actors in the school. With this in mind, their audit will consist of an assessment of how the educators operate as security providers, an assessment of the thinking that guides their actions and their relationship with other actors such as the police and bambanani.

5.2. Educators Perception of Safety for Learners

5.2.1. Limitation of safety provision

Educators at Westbank High School perceive the safety of learners as one of the school's biggest priorities.¹⁰⁶ This priority has a considerable link to the fact that the school is located in a high risk area. Having learners for half of the day at the school demands a lot of responsibility and caution against the backdrop of the school's location. Therefore, it is

¹⁰⁵ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹⁰⁶ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

no surprise that safety at the school is the main concern for educators as educators perceive that the school does not have any control or offer effective protection for its learners outside of the school.¹⁰⁷ One educator mentioned that the school can only go as far as the fence in keeping learners safe.¹⁰⁸ This implies that what happens inside the school premises, the educators can control. Outside the school however, educators have no control, they rely on the community itself to address safety issues for learners.

5.2.2. Impact of Limitation on Learners: Out of School Context

An impact of the lack of control of learners outside the school mentioned above is that the issue of wanting to be 'cool' can lead learners into engaging with various things that could lead them into trouble with the law or even their health.¹⁰⁹ For educators, the issue of safety for learners does not only command looking into violence against learners and their criminal victimization alone like the bambanani, but also entails keeping learners away from delinquency behaviour and habits. This is because learners are exposed to places where illegal substances and alcohol are sold to underage children and learners. The negative impact is evident in instances where learners have tried to access the school in an intoxicated state. One educator indicated that sheebens are one of the problems for learners in the Westbank community.¹¹⁰ Suppliers of alcohol to underage children and learners are very tactful and constantly adjust and devise new strategies of selling alcoholic beverages to learners after being confronted or warned by the police or the neighbourhood watch. With reference to the limitation mentioned above, all that the educators can do is hope and pray that when the learners leave the school premises they will be safe.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Interview with an educator at Westbank High School on 29 October 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Interview with the deputy principal on 9 November 2010.

5.2.3. *Safety Problem*

The majority of educators interviewed acknowledged the problem of gangs outside of the school premises.¹¹² Furthermore, it is understood that gangs become more dangerous as one travels deeper into the community. In addition they think that learners are at risk from the local gangsters. In some instances, some Westbank High School learners have been involved with gangsters or have been in some form of trouble with them. They have tried to hide from these gangsters but the gangsters have come to the school and waited outside for the learners coming out of school. A genuine present concern for the safety of learners outside of the school was shown by educators because if learners somehow get involved with gangs in the community, educators at the school will never be able to fully protect the learners as the gangsters eventually get to the learners as explained above. Therefore educators perceive Westbank High School learners to be unsafe in the community. This is a problem concerning their safety.

A senior ranking educator at the school emphasized the point that gansterism is not condoned in the school.¹¹³ Meaning that forming gangs at school or being a gang member in the community as well as being involved in any form of gang related activity within the school is prohibited. The school has placed much effort in preventing the prevalence or entry of gang culture into the school. Fighting against this problem is also fighting against potential complementary problems such as physical violence, bullying, theft and threats against other learners. In addition, within the school parameter almost all educators interviewed had the perception that learners are safe when they are at school. Almost all educators interviewed felt that gangs are not a problem within the school walls at all.¹¹⁴ They believe they have managed to eradicate gangster syndicates within the actual school and that if anything were happen to the learners it will happen outside of the school where the bambanani and the educators have no control.

¹¹² Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹¹³ Interview with the deputy principal on 9 November 2010.

¹¹⁴ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010. All agreed except one.

5.2.4. Security structures

Although there is security infrastructure in place at the school and the bambanani, some educators felt that this was not enough security. Some did not actually recognize any real structure in place to protect learners and educators from threats of use of force and actual use of force. All educators interviewed agreed that they are concerned with the safety of learners. However, they have depended on their instinct and staying alert as a means of protecting each other as colleagues and learners because they feel that there is no real safety structure in place. A hypothetical situation was given during an interview of gangsters entering the school premises armed and dangerous.

It was said that although some of the educators may be able to protect themselves in a physical fight with the gangsters, majority of the educators would have no means of protecting themselves or the learners. The educator emphasized the point that learners are still exposed to danger and practical solutions need to be found.

In addition, educators revealed that there is no specific strategy in place to protect learners in the event that violence erupted in a classroom nor is there anything formally written on paper such as an evacuation plan in the event that fights or violence happens in the classroom.¹¹⁵ This contribution highlights the point that the safety of learners should not only be focused on external threats entering the school yard but also of internal threats from learners against each other. As a possible solution to the issue perceived mentioned above, one educator urged that a safety committee be established within the school to adequately deal with current safety issues that not only affect the learners in the school walls but also in the community.¹¹⁶ The question that follows is how is it that educators can claim to have structured themselves as a security actor in the school. The answer follows in the next section.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

5.3. Educators as Security Actors

5.3.1. Introduction

Educators at Westbank High School have a dual role in the school. The obvious is providing learners with the education they seek from the institution. On the other hand, because the school governing body has prioritized the safety of learners, educators have also received some training that contributes to the promotion of learner safety. About two years before this research all educators undertook a course in conflict resolution.¹¹⁷ It entailed educators being trained on how to deal with managing conflict amongst learners and managing conflict in the classroom situation between educators and learners. This training was a three day crash course. Although it may appear as inadequate and rushed training, a senior member of staff stated in an interview that the training sprung in them an urge to contribute more towards protecting the learners against violence between themselves as well as protecting themselves from forms of violence that stem from conflict.¹¹⁸ As a result, educators decided to come together as a unit and declare the condemnation of gang related conflict in and out of the school premises. Gang related conflict was the biggest contributor of conflict and violence amongst learners especially between 2004 and 2007, these were deemed as the main challenging years. Nevertheless, over the past few years there has not been a major problem with gangs inside the school and not much conflict actually happens at school. An educator described the current safety and security situation for learners at the school as learners being relatively safe as well as the school being a ‘safe haven’ for learners. At this point one then questions the role that the educators played to create this safe sanctuary for learners.

5.3.2. Security Provision: Educators Contribution to Safety of Learners

Earlier in this chapter it was illustrated that educators are not confident that learners are fully protected by the security instruments in place. As a response to the current security

¹¹⁷ Interview with the deputy principal on 9 November 2010.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

situation which they described as having loopholes, one of the educators is quoted as saying:

*“ We are standing all together, fighting together.”*¹¹⁹

The educators work together as a unified team that also plays a role in the provision of security measures to protect the learners in addition to the services provided by the bambanani and SAPS. What happens in the school at times can be a reflection of what is happening in the community.¹²⁰ As a result one of the important roles in their quest to protect learners includes investigating and receiving information around issues of safety from learners. They talk to the learners in an informal way and this leads to getting information about their general safety both inside the school premises and in the community. This helps educators to know what is going on in the school as far as conflict is concerned. Educators also always try to diffuse a potential violent situation before it actually occurs. Thus staff members focus on issues and places within the school where learner safety may be threatened. This includes places that the educators have termed ‘hotspots’ within the school. They say that this conveys a message to the learners that educators are also on the watch.

Another role of educators as security actors is to have confrontations with learners if conflict occurs. The school’s governing body also gets involved when it comes to suspending learners involved in different delinquent behaviour. In addition, educators teach and train each other on how to deal with learners especially where conflict or confrontation is involved. It was however observed by some older experienced educators that learners do not like forceful authority.¹²¹ Learners like to be sat down and talked with in a calm and relaxed manner. It emphasized that forceful authority and force by teachers does not work with learners.

A sensitive strategy is currently being implemented where educators provide counselling to learners with violent tendencies, carefully taking into account the different social

¹¹⁹ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

backgrounds of the learners. They also try to assist these learners with any of the problems that they might be facing in the community or their respective homes. As mentioned above, sometimes what happens in the school can be a reflection of what is happening in the community. Relevant literature states that abused children may relieve their frustration from abuse through inflicting violence and pain on others.¹²² In cases where a learner is clearly identified that he or she has violent tendency, help through counselling will be crucial. The strategy implemented by the educators to protect other learners from violent learners takes the concept of prevention to a level deeper than the work provided by bambanani. The counselling aspect of their strategy if successful does not only promise to make a difference within the school but also for the greater benefit of Westbank community as abusive parents, rapists or other culprits violating learners rights can be brought to book. Having explored the perceptions of educators around the issue of safety for learners, we have established the thinking behind the strategies that they employ as security actors. The thesis shall continue to map this unique group providing learners with security by exploring their relationship with other security actors protecting learners at this institution. This section follows below.

5.4. Educators perceptions of the South African Police Service

5.4.1. Patrols

Educators interviewed had more to say concerning the performance of the local police than the performance of the Bambanani. The educators had a mixture of positive and negative perceptions of the services provided by the local police in terms of providing learner safety. Special mention was made about a police patrol van that was visible every morning doing local patrols. What was intriguing about this particular police patrol vehicle was that the patrol vehicle would drive behind learners that were late making their way to school without urgency. Every morning the police officer would drive behind these learners hooting and telling them to run to school. Learners began to recognize this patrol

¹²² Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention. 2007. *Someone Stole My Smile: An Exploration into the Causes of Youth Violence in South Africa* at 28.

vehicle and when they saw it while they were walking late to school they would start running towards the school.¹²³

One of the educators commended this particular police officer's actions and considered his actions as recognizable assistance to educators. It must be noted that this particular police action ensured that learners actually got to school. Like the Wentworth Parent Patrol discussed earlier the patrol vehicle's visibility could have intimidated learners to the idea of diverting from going to school. There is a possibility that learners would opt to divert from school considering that they were already late. The patrol officer's action may also have prevented learners from engaging in deviant activities such as public drinking on their way to school as well as smoking. Therefore, the morning police patrol strategy was in the interest of safety for the learners. However, it was reported that a few months before this research began the chasing of late learners by the police patrol car towards the school had stopped. In addition, police visibility had generally deteriorated.

5.4.2. Police Visibility

Concerning police visibility, a cross section across time shows that the police were actually considered ignorant in the early years when the school had just been established. However, police visibility began to increase as the years passed and they became more and more visible.¹²⁴ These years witnessed the introduction of policing programs such as sector policing that resulted in more visible policing around the school during the mornings and afternoons when learners would be making their way to and from school. Recently however, things have changed.

Most educators perceive that there is more police visibility in the morning rather than in the afternoon. Police patrols near the school have become infrequent as compared to past years. Most of the educators interviewed felt that police visibility had become poor and the same sentiments applied to their response time when called for assistance. The police are

¹²³ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹²⁴ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

meant to be only one call away as mentioned earlier. Meaning that the school should only report an incident once and the police are meant to arrive and assist without the school authorities having to struggle to get them to come and deal with a security threat that arises at the school.

5.4.3. Response Time

However, educators do not share the same view with the Bambanani that the police response time is good. At Westbank High School it was detected that there are some learners that are normal school children when they are within the school, but outside the school they are affiliated or actually belong to a gang. The police are often called to come and disperse gangsters that might be waiting for a learner when school closes especially if the learner belongs to a rival gang. Although eventually the police come and clear the area immediately surrounding the school, educators' general perception of police response time is that it does not meet the expectations of the school considering the priority that the school gives to safety.¹²⁵ Educators have more insight on the agreement was made between the school and the SAPS regarding response time and patrols near the school at specific times provided by the school. This is what makes the difference between bambanani perceptions of police response time and educators position.

5.4.4. Random Searches

According to an agreement with the Safe Schools Project,¹²⁶ on behalf of Westbank High School made in 2009, Sector Three local police have an obligation to conduct random searches of learners at least once every fortnight or three weeks.¹²⁷ In theory the police are required to conduct the search in the school premises with the assistance of two or three police dogs. Without any influence from educators, the police identify the classes that they wish to search.

¹²⁵ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹²⁶ Interview with the deputy principal on 9 November 2010.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

However, the police only conducted the random searches for a period not longer than two months and suddenly ceased. The random searches were only conducted during the period when the Safe Schools and SAPS agreement was the centre of public and media attention. As soon as the issue was no longer the centre of attention the police stopped conducting the random search operations. The last random search at Westbank High School was in the early months of 2010. The random searches were never revived. As a result, educators perceive the police to be inconsistent, unreliable, motivated by the press and do not do what was agreed upon.¹²⁸ This is with reference to the Safe Schools Project agreement as well as the agreement between Westbank High School and SAPS to increase patrols during mornings and afternoon times that learners come to and leave school. Educators perceive the police to be more visible when there is a fight and in morning patrols before school starts. However, the biggest problem is that the police are no longer visible in the afternoon, the time educators think requires more patrols and is more problematic because it is difficult for the Bambanani or themselves to monitor all learners as they take off using different routes headed into the community to their respective homes. Thus the reason educators strongly believe that SAPS does not do what is agreed upon.

5.4.5. Police Effectiveness

Police effectiveness at Westbank high School is also questioned by educators as a result of a particular incident. In 2009 the school had three SAPS officers on the premises per day. Their role was to be in charge and monitor the Bambanani and school security in general. However, if a fight broke out very close to the school they would not go out to diffuse the fight outside of the school. The SAPS officers used to state that they did not have the authority to go outside the school and diffuse the situation even if it involved Westbank learners. Instead educators and the Bambanani ended up stopping fights involving learners outside of the school putting their lives in danger while these SAPS officers stayed behind. These SAPS officers were eventually relieved of their duty at Westbank High School.

¹²⁸ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

Educators perceived these SAPS officers to have been very lazy. One educator mentioned that these SAPS members just used to sit in the sun and watch but never played an effective role as security actors in the school. Surely one wonders what their presence at the school accomplished as security actors as they were resilient towards protecting learners from violence in the area surrounding the school. Hence this is the reason why their effectiveness was brought into question. An analysis of this scenario shall be discussed in the next chapter. The paragraph above concludes the section on educators' perception of SAPS as a security actor at Westbank High School. The next section explores educators' perceptions of the Bambanani.

5.5. Exploring Educators Perceptions: Bambanani and Security Infrastructure

5.5.1. Working Relationship with the Bambanani

Senior ranking educators at Westbank High School did not hesitate to mention that they have a good working relationship with the bambanani. Their perceptions revealed a thriving working relationship based on personal interaction.¹²⁹ Meaning that educators and the bambanani are able to communicate well, respect each other and are not hesitant to share information around safety and security of learners. On the one hand the educators are comfortable with being in liaison with the bambanani and on the other hand the bambanani are comfortable with interacting with school authorities. The vice principal of Westbank High School is the man in charge of the bambanani, he is responsible for their welfare, interests and they report to him. In a interview he stated that he has no problems at all with the bambanani. Therefore from an outsider's perspective, one can conclude that the educators have a good relationship with the bambanani.

In addition to the positive sentiments mentioned above, educators did mention that some of the strengths the bambanani exhibit are firstly, their ability to work very well with the learners in terms of being able to interact with learners about their safety and other related issues. Secondly, they commended the bambanani for the effective role they play in diffusing conflict between learners and their vigilance in containing learners

¹²⁹ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

within the school premises despite the unauthorized entry points that are around the perimeter fencing. However, educators did mention that a weakness includes the fact that they do not have self defence skills. They felt that this might be a challenge for the bambanani and therefore they should be empowered in that respect albeit the fact that they are strongly discouraged from using those skills against learners as this results in assault. On the subject of challenges, the paper shall draw conversation on the challenges that confront educators as a security actor in the school.

5.6. Challenges and Concerns Confronting Educators as Security Actors

5.6.1. Introduction

Westbank High School is a fairly new school as we have established. In 2010 the school was only five years old. It is perceived by educators that in the beginning, cases of conflict between learners were more frequent because learners were trying to identify themselves with each other, forming different groups and cliques. However, the last two years have seen a significant decline in conflicts between learners within the school. Educators credited the work they have done in preventing conflict between learners and contribution made by the bambanani. Educators view themselves as being firmly established in the school structure, playing a significant role in resolving conflicts.

5.6.2. Lack of Parental Support

It was acknowledged that some parents of learners provide good support to educators when it comes to conflict resolution. However, the first challenge faced by educators is that there is a significant number of parents that do not like to co-operate with the educators in conflict resolution. Some parents will not attend and participate in the resolution of conflict resolution meetings with the principal. They simply do not support the school in its effort to eradicate conflict.

5.6.3. Capacity Limitations

The second challenge is that when dealing with conflict issues involving learners and their parents educators hands are tied up to a certain extent.¹³⁰ This means that the role of the educator is limited. As mentioned earlier in the paper, some of the issues dealt with in the school are a reflection of what is taking place in the community. In certain instances conflict between learners may be a result of conflict between their two families in the community. Their problems and issues can reflect in the school when learners deal with their family issues and conflict against each other in the school environment. In such situations it becomes problematic to bring the parents of the two learners into one office to discuss the problems that their children are causing in the school. Furthermore, even if the parents of the learners attend the meeting, the educators may not have the capacity or qualifications to deal with the issues because the conflict extends to parents of both learners and educators do not have the authority to confront and resolve issues affecting the wider community. The task becomes intense and beyond the reach of educators. In other words the role of the educators is limited in resolving the conflict. Other than bringing the families together under one roof to discuss the conflict at minimum against the backdrop of school rules and its mandate to keep the school environment safe and conflict free, there is nothing else that educators can possibly do.

5.6.4 Fear of the Unknown and Safety Issues

A major concern for educators is that they do not know who they are dealing with for instance when they diffuse a fight involving learners and gangsters outside the school premises. It becomes dangerous for educators because they have less control of the strangers they come across in their bid to protect learners. The level of dangerousness is exacerbated by the fact that educators do not have professional self defence skills, they do not carry any weapons to defend themselves and lastly they will not know the type of weapons that the security threat might use. Approximately one year before this study

¹³⁰ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

was conducted, an educator was assaulted with a brick at the back of his head outside the school. Fortunately he survived the attack. It is believed that the educator was not assaulted by a learner but from a member of the community. As a result, educators are weary of engaging with the wider community as this could be dangerous for them. However, they do feel safe in the school because of the bambanani keeping a close eye on the school property, the learners and themselves against intruders during school operating times.

Educators at Westbank now also talk about their safety. They showed concern about situations where learners might physically attack them. This concern was sparked by the incident where there was an educator that was attacked by a learner and he retaliated. The educator was charged with assault even though he only acted in self defence and was severely wounded and covered in blood. The learner in this instance was not charged. This situation especially worries female educators, who feel more threatened because of their physical disadvantage as compared to male educators. An educator that recently joined the school noted that some learners are very aggressive to an unbelievable extent. A conclusion could not be drawn as to whether the aggression stems from dysfunctional families or things that happen outside the school in the community. Concern was raised with regards to the aggressiveness of the learners, especially to new educators and calls were made for this issue to be addressed. Educators therefore feel threatened by learners as well.

5.6.5 Inconsistency

A few educators were concerned with the fact that because no major security threat has happened at the school, educators might be a bit too comfortable to the extent that they do not perform learner safety duties allocated to them. For example, educators are expected to monitor learners during break intervals. It was reported that some members of staff do not monitor the learners during this period.

Reasons include educators being exhausted from intensive periods of teaching. When the break interval arrives, some educators feel the need to rest briefly or relax by sharing their experiences of the day with their colleagues. They do not want to be immediately exposed to learners while they are outside playing during break intervals. An educator mentioned that when they are in the classroom they feel like they are exposed and it also feels like their privacy is taken away from them the time that they are teaching. Going outside to monitor learners during break feels like they are giving more of themselves again. She added that with these feelings being experienced by educators they also feel like they need to have a break away from the learners in order to revive themselves and that is why occasionally they do not monitor learners during break intervals. Educators concerned with this issue urged a formalized structure to be established that makes all educators take their role of safety provision for learners seriously and be committed to their roles in order to solve safety issues affecting learners.

5.6.6. Lack of Feedback

Educators complained of not receiving feedback around issues and incidences that revolve around the safety of learners. In cases where the police are called to come and diffuse a situation or assist in eliminating threats for learners in the area surrounding the school, educators are concerned with the issue that they are not provided with any reports about what the problem was, the learners involved, the type of threat or incident, injuries involved and how the situation was contained. Educators felt that it would be beneficial if they also received feedback from higher ranking school officials or from the police themselves.¹³¹ As security providers at this institution, having updated knowledge of the outcome of incidences involving learners and of events that taking place in the community in which the school is located increases awareness for educators and provides a platform on which they can formulate strategies of countering similar incidences if they occur within the school or in the absence of the police. This point brings concludes this chapter on mapping of educators as a key security node.

¹³¹ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

CHAPTER 6

Research Findings

6. Mapping of Security Interventions at Westbank High School: Security Infrastructure

Introduction

Machines increase human development because they improve working capacity, efficiency and productivity. Technology has boosted the performance of machines making them more durable, portable and even reliable and in some cases very intelligent pieces of devices. In terms of security at Westbank High School, the school makes use of Closed Circuit Television. The machinery involved with CCTV harness recent technology developed to provide monitoring of space twenty four hours a day and seven days a week, something that a single human being cannot achieve. In addition to CCTV, there is the parameter fencing, the main gate, burglar bars and cage gates to all entrances into classrooms and offices. This chapter maps the security infrastructure stated above and provides an account of their current state. The first to be explored is CCTV.

6.1. Closed Circuit Television (CCTV): An Assessment

In addition to patrols by bambanani as a security measure, the school is equipped with Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras and monitors. CCTV cameras cover the north, south, east and west wings of the school yard. They are also present inside of the school in all the major passages, providing the school with inside and outside coverage. The bambanani think that CCTV at the school is a very important security mechanism.¹³²

¹³² Interview with bambanani team leader on 4 October 2010 and two interviews with different members of the bambanani on 15 October and 16 October 2010 respectively.

They acknowledge the advantages and role that CCTV plays in providing security for learners, educators and support staff at the school.

CCTV provides continuous monitoring of school areas covered by the cameras. The coverage mainly assists in terms of identification. In actual fact its main purpose in the context of Westbank High School is to identify anomalies and culprits. The CCTV footage is usually played where a criminal incident occurred or when there had been a fight or other forms of learner deviance. For example CCTV footage was used to identify the learner that stole a mouse from the computer room. The learner was simply asked to return the school property the next day. However, it is important to note that CCTV footage is used to identify culprits or incidents in retrospect. The CCTV footage is not monitored throughout the day. It is frequently made use of after an incident has happened in the school.

CCTV monitors are operated and kept in the principal's office. The principal's office is the control room for all CCTV related issues such as replays, monitoring of students in classes and for general observation of events taking place in areas covered by the cameras. There is limited access to CCTV facilities for other security actors at the school. This was confirmed by the bambanani who felt that they have little access to the CCTV monitors.¹³³ They perceive the principal to be a very busy man at the school as he is the head of all administrative issues and suggested that they could relieve the principle from the role of monitoring CCTV.¹³⁴ They think that they can monitor CCTV throughout the day and they feel that it could be something that they could help the school with.¹³⁵ Safer Schools had proposed the idea that cameras located on the outside of the school buildings in all schools with CCTV in Westbank be monitored from a central point away from the schools, but this idea was never pursued and did not materialize. Nevertheless, the bambanani are willing to assist the principle with regards to monitoring CCTV and they also perceive the task to be one that they can manage with ease.

¹³³ Interview with bambanani team leader on 4 October 2010 and two interviews with different members of the bambanani on 15 October and 16 October 2010 respectively.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

An impact that CCTV has on learners is that they have become aware of the cameras located inside and outside the school. They know that they are being watched and educators interviewed agreed that CCTV cameras play an enormous role in regulating the behaviour of learners in class and within the school. On the other hand, people in the community find the CCTV cameras to be a threat. This assessment was given by one of the bambanani who showed the researcher CCTV cameras that had been destroyed by stones. These were cameras that faced directly into the two streets that surround the school. Please see Figure 1 and Figure 2 below:



Figure 1



Figure 2

It was evident that stones were thrown onto these cameras and were damaged intentionally such that no one can be identified. In addition, majority of the cameras located on the outside of the school building were stolen. These cameras were intentionally and unlawfully removed from their holders, or removed from their protective cages. Measures were taken by the school to hide these cameras by putting

grass inside some of the cages but this was not fully effective. They were still stolen. Please refer to the pictures below. Please see Figure 3 and Figure 4 below.



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

It is suspected that these may be the actions of real criminals in the community who feel threatened that their criminal activities may be captured by the schools security cameras. The difference between the impact the CCTV makes on learners and the community is astonishing and shall be discussed in the next chapter.

6.2 Parameter Fencing: An Assessment

The parameter fencing is currently the school's biggest problem when it comes to point of entry. There are three unlawful points of entry around the parameter fencing. At the back of the school there is a very big hole that was dug underneath the fence ground level. This is the biggest illegal entry point around the entire parameter fencing. See Figure 5 and Figure 6 below.



Figure 5.



Figure 6.

It has been reported that learners use these entry points as a point of exit at time when the bambanani are not watching or when they get the slightest chance to use the holes. There is a huge bush about fifteen meters from where the hole in the fence is located. Further investigations revealed that some learners hide in these bushes and sniff petrol in plastic bottle containers. These learners can be seen in Figure 7 below waving their hands at the top of the hill. Notice the learners dressed in their school uniform but having removed their school ties. The photograph was taken during school learning hours in the morning approximately at 10:19am.



Figure 7.

The petrol is bought from the only service station in the community of Westbank. During the course of participant observation with the bambanani, one of the bambanani brought to light interesting information about how some learners leave their respective homes in their uniforms but do not actually attend school. Instead they spend the day behind the school sniffing petrol, getting high and swimming in the river that runs next to these bushes. It also surfaced that some of the learners leave their homes with casual clothes in their bags, they take off their uniforms and wear their casual clothes, spend the day in the bushes and put their uniforms back on when they leave the bushes on their home to create the illusion that they are coming from school yet in actual fact they will be coming from the bushes. Please see these bushes in Figure 8 overleaf.



Figure 8.

The school's fence has also been cut with pliers at the location near the container classrooms. One can actually observe that the fence has been mended three times by placing new layers of fencing where it has been cut. In Figure 9 provided below one can see the three layers of fencing. It was mentioned that every time that a hole was made in the fence, the school fixes it. However, basically where one hole is made, another is made. In essence a senior member of staff said the parameter fencing needs to be constantly fixed as the holes keep reappearing. See Figure 9.



Figure 9

The third point of entry on the parameter fencing is on the opposite end of the school facing one of the major roads in Westbank. At this point learners have created an access point over the fence. At the point that they jump over the fence there is an electricity pole. The razor wire which is at the top of the fence and surrounds the entire parameter fencing has been destroyed by cutting with pliers. Having destroyed the fencing, learners climb up the fencing and enter the school yard. The researcher witnessed this happen. This is very dangerous and poses the health and safety risk from electrocution or possible injuries from falling or cuts. Please see Figure 10 below.



Figure 10.

From the observation made above, the parameter fencing is not a reliable means of protecting the school premises or the learners from health and safety hazards. During the times when learners are in the classrooms, the back of the school is left unguarded. The bambanani guard the back of the school only when learners are having an outdoor class activity, during break intervals and when school closes for the day. Other than the times stipulated above, the bambanani are usually at the main entrance stationed by the table at the front side of the school. The back of the school is thus left unguarded during these periods, creating easy access opportunities into the school by learners and unwanted people. This poses danger for learners because weapons, drugs and other illegal material may enter the school premises. In addition, during the weekends when the school is not

guarded at all the school premises are exposed to vandalism and theft. A good example is the destruction and theft of CCTV cameras mentioned earlier.

Although the fencing has suffered severe damage on almost all sides of the school parameter and poses as illegal entry points into the school, an educator who resides in the Westbank community stated that people in the community regard the school as the community's school.¹³⁶ The educator meant that members of the community have identified themselves with the school and regard it as their own. She stated this is the reason why they do not illegally come in and steal or destroy school property such as computers. She added that residents in the community have a profound respect for the school and they view the principal as the leader of the school and as being there for their community. Furthermore she stated that community members do not view the principal as a threat to the community and thus the community respects his (the principal's) territory) which in this case is the school and might actually go as far as reporting strangers that enter the school illegally through these entry points during the weekend.¹³⁷ The educator's words create the impression that some community residents feel the need to protect the school.

Another weak security link in terms of the school's infrastructure is the school's main gate. The bambanani think that the current condition of the main gate is not of a good standard. The gate does not close properly and the padlock system can easily be breached by outsiders.¹³⁸ The bambanani think that the inability of the gate to provide a secure closure means that the school is not well protected at night in addition to the vandalism that has been done on the parameter fencing. Please see Figure 11.

¹³⁶ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Interview with senior bambanani member at Westbank High School on 28 October 2010.



Figure 11.

Accordingly the bambanani requested that a control gate or a sliding gate be provided to increase the school's security during the night or after the school has closed. With specific mention to their daily operations the bambanani also think that installing a sliding gate would improve their regulation of people that enter the school premises. In addition the bambanani think that a shed for the bambanani located on the outside of the gate would greatly improve the security that they provide to the school. Currently the bambanani are stationed by the main entrance of the school as opposed to the gate. Their station is shown in Figure 12 below.



Figure 12.

Their perception is that having a shed stationed at the gate instead of the entrance would optimize the regulation of entry onto the school premises as they would be able to keep unwanted people such as gangsters from actually entering the premises of the school in the first place. Secondly, in bad weather conditions having a bambanani shed at the gate would make the job easier because part of the duties of the bambanani is to walk from the entrance where they are currently stationed to the gate to open for incoming vehicles. Thus, having a shed by the main gate would make their job less laborious. This concludes the chapter on mapping the security mechanisms employed to protect learners at Westbank High School. A discussion of various aspects that emerged from the research follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7. 'Security' at Westbank High School

7.1. Security Actors: an Interpretation

In chapter two it was discussed that theory states that security is value-laden.¹³⁹ Meaning there is no correct use or correct form of security and that it will always be a contested concept. From the findings one is at liberty to argue that non-state actors at Westbank High School provide security and that Westbank police are not the only security providers for learners at this institution.

Security was defined as an objective condition.¹⁴⁰ That is, a condition of being without threat. This definition fits well with the situation at Westbank High School. The educators and the bambanani constituting the non-state security actors at the school work hard to eliminate threats by enforcing pre-emptive or preventative strategies that mostly attempt to eliminate security threats against learners before they actually happen at the school. Through such strategies the security actors create a situation at the school theoretically termed a state of absolute security that was discussed in chapter two. This means a condition without threat.¹⁴¹ The findings show that efforts are invested towards keeping everything related to crime outside of the school walls. This includes guarding and keeping gangsters, drugs, alcohol, weapons and crimes like theft beyond the school gates. As illustrated in the findings section most of these security threats against learners are only experienced outside of the school, near the school or in the community but not actually within Westbank High School itself.

Assessing the security measures employed by the non-state actors discussed in the findings, one can argue from a theoretical point of view that an objective security

¹³⁹ Baldwin, D. 1997. *The Concept of Security* at 7.

¹⁴⁰ Wood, J. and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 31.

¹⁴¹ Zedner, L. 2003. *The Concept of Security: An Audit for Comparative Analysis* at 155.

condition also takes place in the form of neutralisation of security threats against learners.¹⁴² This takes the form of being ‘protected from’ anything that might cause damage or harm to persons. From the findings it is evident that the partnership developed between the educators and the bambanani at the school and the effective use of the security infrastructure, although dilapidated, aim to protect learners from security threats when they are at school. The measures or strategies employed by the non-state actors aim to create an educational environment where learners can feel safe and free from anxiety caused by crime.

It was discussed earlier that governing security requires strategies, sets of action and takes place through institutions.¹⁴³ The institutions that govern security at any particular place in the theory of nodal governance do not have to be formal registered security companies. It can be a group of organized people or even an individual whose primary aim is to provide security. An example was provided that a parking attendant can provide security. Therefore, it is without doubt that educators and the bambanani are non-state institutions who have the provision of security embedded within their organizational structures.¹⁴⁴ This is evident in their daily functioning at the school as illustrated in the findings section. Both actors have a duty to protect learners at that school and to create a safe learning environment for learners. Their position as non-state actors governing security at the school is strengthened by their actions or strategies they employ.

Security governance involves intentional activities designed to shape the flow of events.¹⁴⁵ The findings show that the non-state security actors at Westbank High School both have measures they implement in order to ensure that learners are either not involved in activities that may ultimately harm them or go against the law. Strategies are also in place to guard and protect them from harmful or dangerous people or activities

¹⁴² Zedner, L. 2003. *The Concept of Security: An Audit for Comparative Analysis* at 155.

¹⁴³ Wood, J. and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 6.

¹⁴⁴ An example of how security is embedded in people is the Disney World analysis made by Stenning and Shearing (1987). Their analysis of Disney World made clear that security was embedded not only into physical features of environments but into the functions of people. They assessed that in Disney World every Mickey Mouse, every Donald Duck, every parking attendant, every gardener and so on has a security function. The daily functions of these people involved providing security.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

while they are at school. The non-state security actors at this school are managing the security system and drive the flow of events in such a way that learners are protected. The strategic programmes that they employ demonstrate specific forms of knowledge, their capacities as security actors and resources invested towards providing security for the learners. Related to knowledge, the non-state security actors have knowledge of the learners, sometimes at a personal level, they have knowledge of former learners that are in gangs, they have the knowledge to dealing with security threats and of how to mobilise learners to work together towards preventing and eradicating crime against learners. The strategies and measures that the security actors at Westbank High employ through capacity, resources available to them and knowledge therefore translate into security being provided at the school. In essence, it can be drawn from the findings that the non-state security actors at Westbank High School have demonstrated that they are stable and structured well enough to mobilize resources, ideas and technologies to protect learners at this institution.

7.2. Drawing the Meaning of 'Safety' From Westbank High School Security Actors

Drawing from the views provided by security actors at Westbank High School and the principles applied in regulating learners and community members in the context of school safety, one would draw the perception that the notion of safety at this institution is downplayed through preventative measures.

It was observed that the bambanani emphasize the importance of monitoring the roads around the school taking cognizance of any dubious gangster activity or abnormal activities before the learners are dismissed. Furthermore patrols around the school when learners are engaged in activities outside of the classrooms ensures that learners are intimidated to attempt any forms of deviant or violent behavior that may hinder their own safety or the safety of other learners. A pre-emptive approach or strategy is therefore taken towards securing the school facility especially from threats that may come from the learners themselves or from external threats from gangsters, in which case the police are

immediately called to diffuse a possible security threat for Westbank High School learners.

Again, according to Wood and Shearing (2007), governance is understood as intentional activities designed to shape the flow of events.¹⁴⁶ In the case of educators at Westbank High School, the educators have employed strategies to manage the safety and security systems by implementing measures such as extracting information from learners concerning their safety. This situation is what Berg and Shearing would have termed ‘policing’ due to the intended activities by the educators to shape the flow of events at the school in ways that would promote security. However, in this particular instance, the notion of governance discussed in the literature review is more prominent in this case because actors other than the state police mobilized to create security at this school. For the educators at this institution, providing security was by means of employing preventative measures that prevented learners from experiencing different forms of harm such as physical violence or even verbal abuse as described earlier in the paper. All forms of conflict are not condoned at the school. This reflects the manner in which educators have implemented school policy that totally rules out the possibility of conflict ever thriving at this institution. As a result, educators found a way of effectively managing the safety and security of the learners. A point mentioned by Wood and Shearing (2007) who state that governance is a means of managing different systems in our surroundings.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, the meaning of ‘safety’ at Westbank High School in the context of the security nodes present at this institution leans towards the protection of learners from harm, by prioritizing pre-emptive strategies towards diffusing possible security threats that could adversely affect the physical and emotional wellbeing of learners.

¹⁴⁶ Berg, J and Shearing, C. *Integrated Security: Assembling Knowledges and Capacities* at 289.

¹⁴⁷ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 11.

7.2.1. Dual Role: Teachers as Security Role Players

When it comes to provision of security today, it is now well known that there has been the growth of a new set of security providers other than state police.¹⁴⁸ One of the reasons for the emergence of non-state security actors is dissatisfaction with the state police as a security resource.¹⁴⁹ While these developments have taken place over the years at odds with the fundamental idea of a state monopoly of security governance, these non-state security actors have emerged and grown enjoying state authorization and even active state support.¹⁵⁰

The situation described above surely illustrates the case of educators at Westbank High School. Westbank police did not take any measures to stop educators from providing security. If it were contrary to the case Westbank police would have intervened and stopped the activities that educators were performing that were security related. As a matter of fact SAPS supported the initiative taken by the educators by coming to the school when summoned in cases where a security threat was identified or a culprit or victim had been contained.

The initiative taken by educators can be coined “responsibilization”.¹⁵¹ This term refers to non-state actors taking responsibility towards managing their safety rather than depending on state actors such as the police. This is an idea which encourages non-state entities of all sorts to manage their own security governance by getting directly involved and to be less reliant on the state.¹⁵² This is nicely illustrated in the case of the educators whom at no extra income mobilized to protect learners from violence and external threats without solely depending on the state. They willingly offered their assistance to this cause and their commitment to the protection of learners is evident in the duties that they perform explained in the previous chapters and the good working relationship that they have developed over the years with the bambanani. Instead of depending on the state they

¹⁴⁸ Berg, J and Shearing, C. *Integrated Security: Assembling Knowledges and Capacities* at 390.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid at 392.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Berg, J and Shearing, C. *Integrated Security: Assembling Knowledges and Capacities* at 392

¹⁵² Ibid at 392.

have a co-dependency relationship with the bamabanani. They are in actual fact partners with the bamabanani and work as a team to increase the safety of learners at the school. Educators and bamabanani have therefore taken security governance into their own hands at the school and are managing the provision security within the school environment.

Radzinowicz (1968) stated that a key feature of the police is to provide an “unremitting watch” of the community in which they work.¹⁵³ The term “unremitting watch” implies that the police constantly watch over communities so that they know everything that happens in them.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, the state police are viewed as professionals who provide security governance through acquiring knowledge from the communities that they watch over and from this information they gain the capacity to find solutions to problems that arise in the communities that they watch. They are also regarded as professionals because they were citizens that were picked, dressed in uniform and became part of the police body given the authority to watch over communities.

However, Berg and Shearing (2007) have argued that the police professionalism discussed above has relocated over the years because police knowledge and capacity was being redistributed to independent non-state security actors.¹⁵⁵ The developments and patterns of security governance and strategies that the police have established are now being followed by the non-state actors. In other words, non-state actors build on and apply the expert knowledge and strategies employed by the police in providing security governance. Experts in the field of policing have termed this situation the “relocation of police professionalism”.¹⁵⁶ Police expertise is now evident in non-state security providers who employ measures that sometimes meet the standard of state policies that normally apply to the police or even go beyond the standards actually attained by the police. Berg and Shearing argue that private security’s expertise, for instance, often parallels that of state police or is often broader.¹⁵⁷ Meaning that private security nodes usually have more

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid refer to note 144 at 390.

¹⁵⁵ Berg, J and Shearing, C. *Integrated Security: Assembling Knowledges and Capacities* at 391.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Ibid refer to note 147 at 392.

to offer than the police in terms of strategy, unlike the police whose strategies are more focused on use of force.

Relocation of police professionalism is illustrated by the strategies employed by the non-state security nodes at Westbank High School, especially in terms of the preventative measures that the two security nodes employ that actually satisfy national policy with regards to safety. Representatives of the school governing body, the educators and the bambanani themselves might not be aware that there is a wide consensus in the Criminal Justice arena that the prevention of crime, rather than reaction to crime, should be given priority.¹⁵⁸ A research study done on the impact of an electric fence at Manenberg Secondary School showed that it is between 7 times to 65 times cheaper to resort to crime prevention than reacting to crime.¹⁵⁹ With these facts in mind one can commend both the bambanani and the educators as security actors for implementing crime prevention approaches in providing school safety that conform to current criminal justice policy and approaches that are cost effective. The two attributes mentioned have ensured a consistent effective management of safety and security at the school without being dependent on the police. The preventative strategies implemented have fortified Westbank High School and has made the school a gated 'safe haven' for learners. This is discussed in the next section.

Therefore, in the words of Foucault (1976), security provision at Westbank High School is everywhere, not because it is exercised everywhere but because it comes from everywhere.¹⁶⁰ The researcher's understanding of Foucault's position applied to the context of Westbank High School is that security has been de-occupationalized at this institution. This means that security governance is embedded everywhere within Westbank High School. Security has been embedded not only into the physical security infrastructure of the school but also into the functions of the caretaker, educators, the bambanani and the learners themselves who report security threats before they actually

¹⁵⁸ Henkeman, S., Henkeman, S., Kinnes, I., Solomon, J., Sylvester, A. 1999. *Evaluation of Impact of the Electric Fence at Manenberg Secondary School. Researched for the Western Cape Education Department: Culture of Learning, Teaching & Services (COLTS) in Partnership with Safe Schools Project* at ii.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Berg, J and Shearing, C. *Integrated Security: Assembling Knowledges and Capacities* at 393.

happen. The state of security being embedded at the school has been made possible not only because it is the duty of the bambanani to be on guard but because it has been established as “everybody’s business”.¹⁶¹ From the description above one can observe that the provision of security does not always have to come from security professionals such as the police. One can also observe that the knowledge and capacity to provide security can also be found and exercised by anyone. The state’s professional police are therefore not the only security actors we find in society today. Other actors in a completely different field of work from security governance can assume the role of a security node as illustrated by educators at Westbank High.

7.3. Westbank High School: ‘The Gated Safe Haven’

7.3.1. Introduction

A ‘risk society’ is a theoretical concept that has been proven to fuel the notion of gated communities.¹⁶² The aim of this section is to discuss how risk created the gated nature of Westbank High School.

7.3.2. Westbank Community: a risk society

Literature shows that people’s ‘fear of the other’ automatically assumes the ‘other’ to be dangerous. Furthermore, this fear of the other creates a quest of control for that which is perceived to be uncontrollable.¹⁶³ In the context of Westbank High School as explained above, educators and other school role players fear members of the community who are not affiliated with the school and those that do not have the safety interests of the school at heart such as gangsters and criminals. As a result they categorize them as “the other”, label them as a threat to the learners and the school infrastructure and try to control the threat.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Wilkinson, I. 2001. *Anxiety in a Risk Society* at 4.

¹⁶³ Masuku, S and Maepa, T. 2004. *City Safety: Nelson Mandela Metro Municipality’s Crime Reduction Strategy* at 37.

With specific reference to South Africa, it has been documented that the legacy of apartheid brought about the idea of fear based planning such as private, walled or fenced off spaces to manage these fears.¹⁶⁴ This is evident at Westbank High School, where the parameter fencing and the barbed wire surrounds the school space. The fencing not only serves to demarcate the schools space but also serves a security purpose to keep away unauthorized people from entering the school. The barbed wire at the top of the fencing is a target hardening measure to keep away the general public, reinforcing the notion of the school being private property that shuns trespassers. The school manages its fear of ailments in the community by denying them public, unauthorized access onto the property. By having a sign in book, the security actors have a means of managing the risk as they can trace those people who entered the premises and increasing their chances of apprehending criminal perpetrators when a crime is committed on the school premises by an outsider, the 'other'. Thus it is evident that the school security actors feel that the school in its entirety it is at risk.

The presence of the bambanani at Westbank High School and Primary School in the same community, CCTV cameras, parameter fencing, neighbourhood watch, burglar bars, razor fencing and specific agreements with the local police for assistance have become standard. Modern practices such as those mentioned above are known to have sensitized perceptions of risk and have reshaped attitudes about crime.¹⁶⁵ These practices are theoretically depicted as situational crime prevention. Clarke (1995) stated that situational crime prevention entails focusing on reducing crime opportunities rather than on the characteristics of criminals or potential criminals.¹⁶⁶ Meaning that efforts are focused towards the prevention of crime through manipulation of the environment by increasing the risks associate with committing a crime as well as the level of difficulty for committing a crime. In other words the theory suggests that the situation or environment should not be attractive for criminals to execute their criminal conduct. The manipulation of the environment for making the commission of crime a difficult task is theoretically

¹⁶⁴ Wilkinson, I. 2001. *Anxiety in a Risk Society* at 5.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Clarke. R. 1992. *Situational Crime Prevention : Successful Case Studies* at 14.

known as crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). The strategies employed in CPTED rely upon their ability to influence the potential offender from committing the crime. Research has shown that the decision to offend or not to offend is more influenced by cues to reward or easy entry.¹⁶⁷ Meaning that the decision to offend is more affected by the open opportunities available to offend without being caught or apprehended and whether the target is easy to obtain or enter into. As a means to curb criminal offending, CPTED strategies emphasize enhancing perceived risk of being caught or detected.

It is evident in the case of Westbank High School that CPTED is applied. Earlier in the paper it was highlighted that target hardening measures are employed, that a preventive approach to crime rather than a reactive approach was taken and the security infrastructure in place at the school has a great role to play. The CCTV cameras enhance the detection of criminals that's enter the school, the bambanani who are on guard when learners are in school are on standby to apprehend anyone who poses a threat to the learners and the parameter fencing and razor wire increase the difficulty for potential criminals to enter the school if they had targeted the school. Surely Westbank High School's built environment was designed with intentions of effectively using the space that the school occupies to reduce crime and fear or anxiety from crime for the learners. However, although presently the infrastructure has deteriorated and does not provide the school with effective crime prevention for the entire day but only during school learning hours, the bottom line is that knowledge, resources and capacities are mobilized together by the non-state security actors at the school to protect the learners during the time they are at school by mainly preventing crime from happening against the learners. Theorists would interpret this approach as a 'gated approach'. This paper shall now discuss how the school has taken a gated approach to dealing with the risks that Westbank community presents, how they have managed their fear of the 'other' by controlling the space they regard as theirs.

¹⁶⁷ Clarke. R. 1992. *Situational Crime Prevention : Successful Case Studies* at 15.

7.2.3. *The gated approach to learner safety in a high risk society*

Research shows that contemporary gated communities have been the latest form of a fortified community and can be found in different forms across the globe.¹⁶⁸ This means that the notion ‘gated’ can apply to different settings where the key issue is to fortify a certain space. The size of the space is a negligible factor but the key element is creating a form of fortress that protects a space from intruders, outsiders or ‘others’. Unsurprisingly, research has also shown that the prevalence for this ‘forting up’ practice is mainly explained around the issue of fear of crime.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, according to Webster (2003), coupled with this fear of crime, the formation of ‘gated’ spaces, is predominantly characterized by regions of considerable inequalities, lack of security and a weak rule of governance.¹⁷⁰

The area of Westbank can be said to meet the threshold for the implementation of a gated school firstly because, the area is located in a low income residential area in a country that has one of the greatest inequality ratings in the world. Recent reports say that South Africa is still divided along racial lines, and for some of the poorest of the poor, times are even harder now than they were under white minority rule.¹⁷¹ Therefore, inequality is evident in this particular community if it were compared to other affluent communities and suburbs in Cape Town. Westbank is indeed an area evident of inequality in our nation.

Broadly interpreted, the non-state actors at Westbank High School managed the flow of events in such a way as to create the school as a ‘space’ free from threats and have

¹⁶⁸ Blakely, E. J. & Snyder, M. G. (1995) *Fortress America: gated and walled communities in the United States* at 11.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid* at 11.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁷¹ Szczepanski, K. 2009. *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa*. Helium: Politics, News and Issues. <http://www.helium.com/items/1002622-poverty-and-inequality-in-south-africa> accessed on 10 January 2011.

managed to eliminate criminal activity and exclude criminals from entering the school. The school managed to fortify itself by surrounding its infrastructure with a security fence that has barbed wire at the top and three gates as points of entry and exit. By placing the fence around the space that the school occupies the school aims to keep out intruders and limit unauthorized access to its facilities and its private space. The theoretical understanding of the school has therefore changed to one where a predisposition that the school is a safe space where learners can come to learn and develop exist. In other words they have created a gated safe haven for learners.

There is some debate in the law enforcement camp as to whether the gated system is effective in preventing professional criminals from breaching into gated spaces.¹⁷² To respond to this debate in the context of Westbank High School, the gated system has proved to be effective in preventing criminals or people with criminal intent during hours of the day where the bambanani and educators are executing their duties. The gated nature of the school has prevented illegal entry of weapons or illegal substances into the school through the front entrance of the school.

Drawing from the findings of this research with regards to the gated nature of the school, one could comment that the world has indeed changed the way in which security has been viewed for centuries. The ‘whole governance’ approach explained in chapter two is illustrated here. At local level at a community school, the non-state security nodes have organized themselves to come together without the state’s explicit involvement. They brought and shared ideas together. They mobilized their capacities with regard to the roles that they both play in their co-dependent relationship and they have mobilized their resources towards protecting the learners from the world outside of the school walls. What is being explained is that there has since been a move from sole dependency on state security institutions such as the police to a dependency on non-state actors and their strategies such as the gating strategy explained in this section. From the findings one can comment that the non-state security actors at this educational institution have a strong

¹⁷² Szczepanski, K. 2009. *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa*. Helium: Politics, News and Issues. <http://www.helium.com/items/1002622-poverty-and-inequality-in-south-africa> accessed on 10 January 2011.

relationship. The state and non-state actors' relationship is not as developed as the relationship between the bambanani and educators. This was primarily because the police were ineffective and provided poor service delivery in the form of assistance. Using the words of Wood and Shearing, we are now living in a world of multi-level security governance in which the state is contested by non-state actors and their strategies in providing security for citizens.¹⁷³ The gated approach explained above is one of the methods executed by the security actors.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

Earlier in this paper, it was mentioned that a leading scholar established that state actors (the police) are increasingly cognizant of the multiplicity of security providers operating in the field of security and are aware that they must actively jockey for position if they wish to maintain a privileged place in the field of security.¹⁷⁴ The findings in this research paper are to the contrary of Dupont's findings. It was illustrated from the Wentworth Parent Patrol and the findings from Westbank High School that the police have a tendency to withdraw or reduce their assistance to non-state actors in cases where non-state actors are actively involved in security governance. From the case of Westbank High School one can argue that the police became relaxed, reduced their assistance and support for the non-state actors. The police do not appear to be jockeying for position to maintain a privileged place as security providers for learners in this context as suggested by Dupont.

According to Dupont's suggestion, the police are actually meant to increase their efforts in providing security for the learners since the active involvement of the bambanani and the educators as security actors. However, this is not the case for Westbank High and the Wentworth Parent Patrol. As explained in the previous chapter, police visibility and execution of agreement duties and arrangements have reduced to the point that the non-state actors have laid complainants about the performance of the police. Dupont makes his suggestion from a Canadian perspective. Further research on this claim in third world

¹⁷³ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 51.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

countries needs to be investigated. From the findings of this research the claim made by Dupont does not fit well with this particular study.

Another point to be made is that the findings of this study show that the state in the context of Westbank High School is not the most important principal provider of security. This thesis concurs with Wood and Shearing that in modern day there has been a shift of security governance from the state to non-state entities and that the notion that the state is the only security provider is now outdated.¹⁷⁵ The presence of the bambanani and the dual role played by educators as teachers and active security providers effectively changes the perception of the state as the only source of security and the only security provider within a nation. Surely one can see that the findings of this research are an example of the shift from state to non-state actors with regards to security provision. There has been a move from a state-centric perspective to security governance to a non-state centric approach. At Westbank High School the police (state) have become a source of secondary assistance to security matters. This is evident in the way the police are only called for assistance in circumstances where primary security providers (the non-state actors) can no longer manage or contain the security threat or in instances where they actually fail to diffuse the threat. These scenarios arise in situations where the non-state actors do not have adequate resources such as firearms to protect themselves in the face of use of force by the threat or potential use of force through use or weaponry by the threat. The police are more inclined to make use of force in effecting arrests unlike the non-state actors who favor implementing crime prevention strategies rather than crime reaction.

The non-state actors at Westbank High School are therefore an addition to security governance. They have also watered down dependency on the police, resulting in police only being required in unmanageable situations or for incarcerating criminal apprehended by the non-state actors.

¹⁷⁵ Wood, J and Shearing, C. 2007. *Imagining Security* at 34.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Threats to the safety and security of learners at Westbank High School have been acknowledged. As a result, strategies have been devised to curb and dismiss these security threats and increase the protection of learners at this institution. This research project was aimed at investigating the security strategies that Westbank High School has put in place to protect learners. Like any ordinary company or business institution that provides service to people, learners are clients of Westbank High School. The best interests of the learners must be the priority of the school to ensure that they create a safe and secure environment in which they can receive the education that they seek at this institution.

However, like any business entity there are problems that occur. In this case the biggest problem that threatens the best interests of the learners is a threat to their safety. The notion of 'safety' was understood as the state of protecting learners from harm and the risk of being harmed. Harm was further classified into physical harm through violence and emotional harm through verbal abuse.

Nevertheless, this thesis sought to investigate the strategies that the school employed in order to protect their clients, the learners from harm within the school. As a result, a mapping of security actors stationed at Westbank High School as a case-study was provided where numerous safety and security themes and issues were brought to light and a discussion on the major areas of concern of the security actors was provided. However the salient safety and security threat to the school is gangs in the area.

With regards to gangs, the recognition and acceptance of the presence of gangs in schools is believed to be a factor that successfully minimizes gang activity in the school

context.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, any denial of the existence of gangs in a school is one of the major stumbling blocks in addressing the problem of gangs that affects educational institutions in South Africa.¹⁷⁷ Evidently as illustrated in this thesis, security actors at Westbank High School have not been naive to the problem of gangs. It is commendable that the security actors at this institution fully acknowledge the problem of gangs affecting the school and have not ruled out the possibility that some learners at this institution are actively involved in gangs as members. Acknowledging this state of affairs therefore, is in actual fact winning half the battle against the problem of gangs faced by the security actors at Westbank High School.

Important findings from experts in the field of research in educational institutions are recognized and acknowledged in this thesis. The evidence found during the course of this research project certainly compliments some findings made in past research. In 1998, through empirical research, Griggs discovered that violence experienced in school is both perpetuated by gangs within the school as well as outside of the school.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, this report has conveyed the problematic nature of gangs at Westbank High School. Gangsters are considered the biggest threat of violence at Westbank High School. A lot of effort, human capital, time and strategy have been mobilized to curb the problem of gangs within and outside the school. As a result of the constant threat of gangs, the service delivery of the bambanani in their capacity as security actors and guardians of the safety of learners has been put to the test. However, the violence that can be perpetuated by gangs within the school as well as outside the school is pre-empted through preventative strategies employed by the school's non-state security actors.

Research evidence gathered suggests that residents of Westbank have come to understand Westbank High School as an integral part of their community.¹⁷⁹ In addition to the sense of community, schools by and large are encouraged to have a special responsibility to educate against the epidemic of violence that taunts the community they

¹⁷⁶ Roper, M. 2002. *Kids First: Approaching School Safety* at 11.

¹⁷⁷ Hoffman A, M. 1996. *Schools, Violence and Society* at 19.

¹⁷⁸ Griggs, R. 1998. "Children at Risk" *The Security Situation in Durban Schools; Independent Project Trust*: Durban

¹⁷⁹ Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

are located in.¹⁸⁰ This audit of the security actors at Westbank High School reveals that educators as teachers and security actors have taken a further step in the welfare of learners in a bid to eradicate violence and conflict in the school and in the community. Albeit playing a role in the welfare of learner safety, educators have also invested in the social welfare of learners. This thesis provided an account of how educators went the extra mile of introducing counselling to learners. It was mentioned that at this institution, learners particularly encouraged to speak to the counsellors are those who show violent tendencies and show they come from dysfunctional families.

Furthermore, schools by and large mirror the violence that takes place in society,¹⁸¹ meaning that the type of violence and conflict exhibited or inflicted by violent learners on other learners or on educators is a reflection of the violence a learner experiences at home or in the community. The recent introduction of counselling at the school is useful in identifying the cause or root of violent behaviour and may expose the abuse of children at home or by other violent actors in the community such as gangsters, bullies, sexual offenders and perpetrators of domestic violence. Therefore, it is evident that educators in their role as security actors have indeed taken up social responsibility to investigate deeper into learner violent behaviour as well as the social causes of violence between learners in the school in an effort to eradicate learner violence and increase safety at the school as well as in the community. In addition, through counselling, educators teach learners valuable life lessons such as the inability to solve issues such as domestic or sexual abuse at home by abusing or harming other learners.¹⁸² In essence, these lessons not only protect learners from violence from other learners but also work towards exposing the ‘problem learners’ sources of violence. The police are then asked to come to the assistance of the learner. In the end learners are liberated from the abuse they experience in the community which is reflected in the school in various forms of violence or safety threats. Through the counselling strategy, educators are sure to intercept the epidemic of violence in the school and in the community.

¹⁸⁰ Stephens R, D. 1998. *Violence in American Schools: A New Perspective* at 6.

¹⁸¹ Hoffman A, M. 1996. *Schools, Violence and Society* at 21.

¹⁸² Information provided during a focus group interview with eight educators on 21 October 2010.

One of the biggest lessons drawn from this case-study of Westbank High School is that violence and conflict can be distinguished in two ways. There is violence that can be carried out by trespassers who enter the school premises and there is violence committed against fellow learners, educators, staff and even administrators.¹⁸³ These forms of violence have been drawn from the types of security mechanisms and strategies that have been employed at the school to provide safety for the learners as the main priority followed by school staff and then property.

In a research study carried out in 1998, Stephens emphasized that schools have to implement special measures to bring about safety and security.¹⁸⁴ Evidently, Westbank High School has made efforts to bring about safety and security for learners from the two distinguished forms of violence mentioned above. For violence invoked by trespassers, the parameter fencing, barbed wire, the gates, CCTV and burglar bars have been put in place. For violence invoked by learners, in addition to the mechanisms stated above, the bambanani and educators and to a small extent the police have mobilized to protect the learners.

Problems have been identified with each of the measures stated above and these have been documented. It is worth stating that efforts have been made to rectify these problems perhaps in the best cost effective means possible. For example, constant repairs to the fence on the damaged area as opposed to replacing the fence with a concrete wall. Solutions clearly depend on the availability of funds. Without access to the school's budget a concrete statement cannot be provided.

To conclude this mapping of security strategies employed to protect learners at Westbank High School, it has been generally assessed that infrastructure, actors and strategies to protect the learners are present. On one hand some work exceptionally well as illustrated by the good relationship between security actors at the school. On the other

¹⁸³ Tirisano, G. 2001. *Towards an Intervention to Address Youth Violence in Schools* at 8.

¹⁸⁴ Stephens R, D. 1998. *Violence in American Schools: A New Perspective* at 10.

hand there are many problems faced. It was also assessed that with enough financial backup many problems with security infrastructure can be resolved.

However, it is recommended that Westbank High School should not be open to the community, it should remain gated but the fence needs to be replaced by a wall and a more secure gate. The school has to remain fortified even in the absence of security actors. Learners require further protection during weekend computer lessons when the bambanani are not there. The school cannot be effectively gated in the week during school operating hours alone. The protection of learners should be consistent and effective at all times. Therefore Westbank High School needs to improve its current 'gated' security strategy.

It must be emphasized that the focus of all these mechanisms mentioned above has been on prioritizing the safety of the learners at this institution. This is illustrated by the fact that the school as a building is left almost close to being totally vulnerable to vandalism and theft as the security infrastructure is damaged. However, it is remarkable that between hours of 07:30am and 15:30pm all security infrastructure, security actors and security strategies synchronize and work together, filling each others gaps and flaws towards protecting the learners of Westbank High School. It is the job of the next researcher to investigate the means to improve the current state of the security strategies that are employed at Westbank High School. The objective of this research paper was to provide a mapping of these security strategies and to bring to surface an understanding of how they are currently working, the actors involved and the issues they face in their daily efforts to protect the learners at Westbank High School. However, improvements of present strategies employed to protect the learners are called upon to ensure better and more effective protection of learners at Westbank High School in the future.

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