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Evaluation of a pilot crime prevention project in the Western Cape

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Abstract

The non-governmental organisation U Managing Conflict (UMAC) is responsible for the implementation of a local crime prevention initiative in the Western Cape. The pilot project involves establishing community safety forums (CSFs) consisting of representation from government departments, communities and civil society. The CSFs project has two primary goals. The first is to facilitate information sharing and co-operation between relevant local stakeholders, and the second is to ensure that role players participate in multi-agency crime prevention planning and project initiation.

The CSFs have been established within a legislative context, which, since 1994, has been characterised by four key trends. The first is a focus on crime prevention, the second is the decentralisation of crime prevention responsibilities to the level of local authorities, and the third is an emphasis on multi-agency approaches to development and planning. The fourth and final trend is encouraging local community participation in a wide range of developmental issues, including safety issues. As such the CSFs are consistent with the direction crime prevention policy is taking in South Africa.

The process evaluation was undertaken with the purpose of providing a descriptive analysis of the implementation of two of these CSF projects in

Khayelitsha and George while analysing the effectiveness, sustainability and replicability of the structures.

Two primary means of data collection were employed in the study – a review of project documentation and interviews. The documents reviewed for the purpose of the evaluation were the minutes of meetings in 1999 and 2000 and the safety plan drafted by the Khayelitsha CSF. A total of 22 structured interviews were conducted with UMAC management and staff, the CSF Provincial Steering committee and representatives of the Khayelitsha and George CSFs.

In evaluating the success of the CSFs, the evaluation drew on the concepts of social capital to challenge assumptions regarding community involvement in crime prevention. The public health model (PHM) was also drawn on for the contributions it can make to crime prevention work. The PHM emphasises the importance of planning projects in terms of their intended level of prevention and suggests a four-step approach for project implementation.

The evaluation identified three challenges facing the CSF structures. The first is a difference between UMAC staff and CSF members' understanding of the goals of the CSFs, in particular, the role of CSFs in community empowerment. The second challenge has to do with the fact that the local role players do not have sufficient authority to co-ordinate the process or to make the decisions required

for multi-agency crime prevention projects. The final challenge is that neither of the CSFs studied have sufficient strategic direction or detailed business plans.

It was suggested that in the future the CSFs draft detailed business plans for a limited number of local projects and, where necessary, fulfill a lobbying and advocacy role with relevant political and administrative heads of departments.

University of Cape Town

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INTRODUCTION TO CRIME PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY SAFETY FORUMS

Increasingly in South Africa, and the world over, there has been a growing debate regarding the perceived shortcomings of traditional approaches to crime prevention. Traditional and expensive crime policing approaches, such as patrols and raids, have been challenged by the argument that simply increasing the number of police available for duty does not necessarily, or easily, translate into reduced crime levels (Sherman, 1996a).

The ultimate intention of crime prevention is to decrease the level of crime by limiting the opportunity for crime to occur. In doing so there is an effort to combine the resources and input of a wide range of players in an attempt to make crime prevention efforts as effective and cost efficient as possible. This more often than not has resulted in the inclusion of role-players not traditionally associated with crime prevention activities who operate outside of the criminal justice system. The move towards crime prevention, particularly one with a multi-agency approach, is an international trend that is clearly mirrored in recent South African legislation.

The community safety forums (CSF) piloted in South Africa, which are the focus of this evaluation, are an attempt to uncover effective and relevant ways of implementing crime prevention strategies. The organisation responsible for implementing the project is UMAC - a non-governmental organisation established in 1985 and based in Cape Town. UMAC's core focus is on safety and security related issues, and as a result much of their work is conducted within the broader criminal justice system. The CSF project was launched in October 1998 in the Western Cape under the supervision of UMAC and with the financial

support of the British Department for International Development. The CSFs are an attempt to formulate a multi-agency approach to crime within a specific local area. A wide range of role players are encouraged to participate – not only the partners in the criminal justice system but also local government, civil society and government departments such as Welfare, Education and Social Services. The intention is that CSF participants should engage in formulating both reactive as well as proactive safety measures for their local area.

The design of the CSF's mirrors the policy developments and directions taking place in South Africa on a larger scale. Recent policy and legislation show trends of decentralising crime prevention responsibilities, prioritising community involvement in development initiatives and adopting a multi-agency approach to development in general, including security issues. These trends are reflected in the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS). The CSFs are an attempt to implement the direction adopted in the NCPS, and as such, they are a clear example of the type of crime prevention strategies envisaged by the state. The CSFs also provide a valuable lesson in terms of the challenges facing similar initiatives in the future. A closer inspection of the recent policy and legislation is warranted so as to understand the crime prevention policy direction in South Africa.

1.1 SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION AND THE COMMUNITY SAFETY FORUMS

South African safety and security legislation since 1994 has focused increasingly on four issues pertinent to community crime prevention. The first is a focus on crime *prevention*, the second is the decentralisation of crime prevention responsibilities to the level of local authorities, the third is an emphasis on multi-agency approaches to development and planning issues and finally,

encouragement of the local community's participation in a wide range of development issues, including safety issues.

1.1.1 Focus on prevention

The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) of May 1996 is notable for the emphasis it places on the integration and transformation of the criminal justice system as a prerequisite for effectively combating crime. The emphasis is clearly on preventative – as opposed to reactive – strategies. Prevention, as outlined in NCPS should involve “co-ordinated long-term strategies that involve a range of participants beyond the traditional criminal justice system” (Shaw, 1998, p. 2). As such it is an important attempt to provide a comprehensive policy framework for addressing all policy areas that impact on crime (van Aswegen, 2000, p. 141).

The NCPS centres on four pillars, each of which incorporate specific national programme. The first of the pillars is the transformation of the criminal justice system, second is reducing the opportunities for crime to occur by modifying the physical environment, the third is creating values and attitudes that discourage crime through education programme and the fourth involves limiting the influence of international and regional crime syndicates (van Aswegen, 2000, p. 2).

There are two aspects of the NCPS that are pertinent to an analysis of the CSFs. The first is the belief that crime is fundamentally a social issue. This has important consequences in terms of how crime prevention is approached. The second aspect is the belief that there should be greater community involvement in crime prevention. Both of these trends are presented within the overall framework of the NCPS that is clearly preventative in focus. However, the NCPS accepts that the bulk of the criminal justice system's resources are spent on

responding to, rather than preventing crime. This reactive approach to handling crime is viewed as a short-term process. A major emphasis in the NCPS is on shaping a long-term strategy for preventing crime from occurring in the first place.

The shift towards a community crime prevention approach has already occurred in the United Kingdom, Canada, France, the Netherlands, the United States and parts of Australia (Oppler, 1997). Furthermore, some of these have been multi-agency in nature. For example, in France crime was reduced by 15 per cent in some areas through joint planning between housing, social services, schools and police departments. Also, the national Safer Cities programme in the United Kingdom is an initiative involving the police, social workers and city government working together to analyse the causes of residential burglary in low-income areas. As a result, break-ins were reduced by 50 per cent in the first year, and by 75 per cent four years into the programme (Shaw, 1998, p. 4).

However, Crawford (1998) cautions that despite the recent growth in preventative measures, the actual expenditure on crime prevention remains small when compared to that spent on the criminal justice system. "In the UK, France, the United States and Canada, substantially less than 1 per cent of the total criminal justice budget goes to fund prevention, and even in Holland where crime prevention has secured a prominent place in criminal policy this figure is still less than 2 per cent" (Waller, 1991 and Willemse, 1994 in Crawford, p. 246 – 7). Crawford goes on to mention that it is too early to talk of "the eclipse of the 'deterrent paradigm' by a 'preventative security paradigm' albeit that a 'mixed agenda'... appears to have emerged" (1998, p. 247).

In South Africa, crime prevention in its simplest form is the understanding that the creation of jobs, adequate housing, recreational facilities and the like will, in

the long term, ultimately have an impact in reducing levels of crime. This assumption is implicit in the rationale of the staff facilitating the CSF process.

1.1.2 Decentralising crime prevention responsibilities

There has also been international debate redefining the relationship between central state mechanisms and local authorities in terms of crime prevention responsibilities. The outcome has been the allocation of an increasing degree of responsibility for crime prevention at local government level. This current thinking is clearly reflected in South African legislation and policy – from the Constitution to the policy papers of specific state departments.

The new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa came into operation in 1997. It provides a framework for understanding the relationship between key government institutions in the implementation of safety and security issues at a local level. Most importantly, the Constitution indicates that local authorities have now been allocated safety and security responsibilities (Bruce, 1997). For example, Section 152 (I)(d) provides that the “objects of local government” include the provision of “a safe and secure environment” (Bruce, 1997, p. 30).

In addition, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996) sketches a specific role for local government “to co-ordinate and promote inter-agency crime prevention work within local boundaries” (Shaw, 1998, p. 2). However, while suggesting local government involvement in crime prevention, the NCPS is not specific about the details of such responsibilities.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) directs local government to promote integrated spatial and socio-economic development. This requires that consideration be given to crime prevention issues as part of local development. Shaw writes: “The White Paper also encourages local government to enter into

partnerships with community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations, especially where these agencies have expertise that is traditionally lacking within local government – such as crime prevention” (1998, p. 2).

The Draft White paper on Safety and Security (May 1998) explicitly proposes local government involvement in social crime prevention, and that such involvement should take the form of implementing and co-ordinating crime prevention activities in its jurisdiction. It specifically suggests that the local authority works with community policing forums in supporting social crime prevention programme (Shaw, 1998).

All four pieces of legislation mentioned above – the Constitution, the NCPS, the White Paper on Local Government (1988) and the Draft White Paper on Safety and Security (1998) suggest, in broad brushstrokes, the form that local government’s involvement in crime prevention programme should take. It is to this quite general form that the CSFs have attempted to add substance. As shall be seen, despite the legislative incentives, local government involvement in crime prevention is – if the CSF experience is one to go by – still seen as an “unmandated responsibility”.

1.1.3 Multi-agency approach

Recent policy and legislation pertaining to local government is characterised by a multi-agency approach to development issues in general. The NCPS, which recommends a multi-agency approach to safety issues specifically, should be viewed within a broader national policy framework characterised by a general trend towards including a wide range of role players in the planning and implementation of interventions of all descriptions. Numerous pieces of legislation necessitate an integrated approach to development in local government. Some of them such as the national Constitution (1996) and the

White Paper on Local Government are mentioned in the discussion above on the decentralisation of crime prevention responsibilities. In addition, the Local Government Transition Act (1996) and the Local Government Municipal Structures Bill (1998) are also important (Liebenberg, 1998). The development process adopted in local government, known as integrated development planning (IDP), requires a multitude of role players in local government – from Housing to Roads and Health - to work co-operatively in the provision of services for the communities in their jurisdiction.

In a similar vein, the NCPS implies that the input and resources of all relevant role players needs to be integrated if a crime prevention strategy is to be effective. As such the NCPS is reflective of a broader legislative trend that requires - either implicitly or explicitly - a multi-agency solution to social problems. Traditionally the main approach to crime in South Africa has been to view it as a security issue that predominantly involves the security services. The NCPS proposes a shift in emphasis towards the view that crime is fundamentally a social issue. From this perspective, crime levels are influenced largely by social, economic and political factors. Such a perspective implies handling crime within a multi-agency approach (van Aswegen, 2000, p. 144). This requires the co-operation and efforts of a multiplicity of agents in order to deal with the multi-faceted nature of the problem since crime is no longer viewed simply as a security matter.

The range of role players relevant to crime prevention has been broadened beyond the criminal justice system (police, justice and correctional services) to include central government departments such as Education, Welfare and Health, as well as provincial and local government and civil society (van Aswegen, 2000, p. 144). In the case of the CSFs, securing the regular involvement of these role players in the forum structures is the focus of the NGO responsible for project implementation.

1.1.4 Participation of local communities

1.1.4.1 Community crime prevention

Rosenbaum defines community crime prevention as "the notion that the most effective means of combating crime must involve residents in proactive interventions and participatory projects aimed at reducing or precluding the opportunity for crime to occur in their neighbourhoods" (1986, p. 19). He goes on to mention that there are numerous forms that such crime combating strategies can take. In practice they can involve, among others, resident patrols, a variety of plans for changing the physical environment, home security surveys and property marking projects. In South Africa previous attempts at community involvement in safety issues have ranged from street communities and neighbourhood watch programme to vigilante groups (Emmett & Butchart, 2000).

'The community' is increasingly viewed as an integral part of crime prevention, not only in South Africa but internationally. Crawford writes of crime prevention developments in the United Kingdom that "the new message is that the state alone, is not, and cannot effectively be, responsible for public safety and crime control. Now the public – as residents, property owners, parents, community-group members, manufacturers, consumers, business people, employers and individual citizens – has become firmly implicated in the tasks" (1998, p. 247).

Sherman (1996a) argues that it is reasonable to regard communities as central to crime prevention activities. He mentions two specific reasons. The first, quite obviously, is that communities provide the context in which all other institutions operate – from families, schools and businesses to the police and the criminal justice system. Sherman writes that, "The success or failure of these institutions is therefore intimately linked with the community context in which they operate" (1996a, p. 1).

A second reason for the centrality of communities is that communities are the source from which crime originates. The degree to which the criminal justice system is effective is in part dependent on what happens once the offender returns back to the family, school or place of employment (Sherman cited in Emmett and Butchart, 2000, p. 284).

1.4.2 South African context

In South Africa, this sentiment is contained in the NCPS where there is an underpinning principle that there should be greater community involvement in crime prevention (van Aswegen, 2000, p. 145). The community policing forums are seen as an important vehicle for involving the general public in policing issues. In South Africa the move towards including the community has been conceptualised as part of a larger process of national transformation and community empowerment. In the case of safety and security issues, an important aspect of police transformation has been the formalisation of the community police forums (CPFs).

1.4.3 Community policing forums

The establishment of CPFs was provided for in section 221(2) of the Constitution and Chapter 7 of the South African Police Service Act, No. 68 of 1995 (Mistry, p. 3). Section 19(1) of the SAPS Act requires that Community Police Forums (CPFs) are established at police stations and that these CPFs are "broadly representative of the community". CPFs are a central element not only of the South African Police Service's (SAPS) organisational transformation process, but also of the philosophy of community policing. Bruce writes: "CPFs are intended to provide forums for organisations and groups in the community to engage with the police around issues of safety and security" (1997, p. 31).

The objectives of the CPFs are clearly stated in section 18(1) of the SAPS Act as the following:

- (i) CPFs together with the police should establish and maintain a partnership with the community;
- (ii) Promote communication between the police and the community;
- (iii) Promote co-operation and ensure that the police fulfill the needs of the community in respect of policing;
- (iv) Improve the service of the police to the community;
- (v) Improve transparency and accountability of the SAPS and
- (vi) Promote joint problem identification and problem solving" (Bruce, 1997, p. 31).

However, it is now six years after the passing of the South African Police Service Act, No. 68 (1995) and many problems have been experienced with the implementation and functioning of the CPFs. Brogden and Shearing comment that the Forums appear, at least theoretically, to be an ideal vehicle for making the police more responsive to community needs and for influencing the police culture through direct interaction with the community, but this has failed to happen. Instead they write, "it appears that cultural attributes remain almost totally unaffected by such experiences" (1993, p. 104).

Mistry summarises the situation: "CPF's were set up with much enthusiasm and hope that they would facilitate relations between the community and the police." However, reflection reveals that, "the CPF's in general are experiencing problems" (1997, p. 5).

Mistry mentions two primary reasons for the present difficulties facing the CPFs – that of representation and participation. Regarding representation, the forums are often not representative of all sectors of the community. In particular, women are not adequately represented on the structures and as a result their

interests are not taken up by the CPF.

The issue of community participation is the second obstacle for the ongoing success of the CPFs. There are complaints of community involvement and attendance at meetings being very poor. Mistry, in commenting on the functioning of CPFs in the greater Johannesburg area has the following to say: "some people in these communities were apathetic bearing in mind that there was no history of community participation in these areas. It was difficult to get people to attend meetings and motivate them to join the CPF" (1997, p. 7).

The movement towards community-based crime prevention, as expressed in the NCPS and elsewhere in South African legislation, raises an important question, namely, to what extent do communities have the capacity to become involved in crime prevention? In particular, to what extent can members of communities, characterised by high levels of crime, violence and possibly poverty reasonably be expected to initiate and participate in crime prevention activities?

Emmett, Butchart, Saayman and Lekoba, on commenting on a South African crime prevention and protection study, state that research has consistently shown that: "Community-based crime prevention, and in particular neighbourhood watch programme, are least likely to succeed in poor neighbourhoods where crime is most rampant and where risk factors for crime and violence predominate. This is essentially because poor and crime-ridden communities usually do not have the resources, and in particular the social resources, to make a positive impact on crime" (2000, p. 242). A similar sentiment is expressed by van Aswegen who writes that impoverished communities lack not only "the financial means to afford security devices and services, but in many instances the social integration for concerted action is also absent" (2000, p. 146).

1.2 DEFINING "COMMUNITY" AND THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

1.2.1 Defining "community"

Related to the issue of social integration or the lack thereof, is the question of what is meant by the word "community"? Implicit in many community-based interventions is the assumption that there is a high level of consensus among the targeted population, while quite often the reverse may be true. Crawford writes: "The concept of 'community', as used in much of the literature, often obscures as much as it enlightens about the given variable and social processes involved in the dynamics of crime prevention. One dominant assumption about 'community' is that it represents a set of shared attitudes" (1998, p. 157). In terms of this definition, community is something that is located within the minds of people who live in a common geographical area and, among other things, provides a sense of belonging, of norms and of social control.

Crawford presents a second prevalent understanding of the term community, a more structural one defined as, "an interlocking set of longstanding institutions which in turn are deeply affected by larger social and economic forces" (1998, p. 157). Here institutions refer to 'work, family, religious and community associations, and "larger social and economic forces" including housing policy, urban markets and employment opportunities (1998, p. 158).

It is this second definition of community which is most helpful in the discussion on crime prevention. The first definition fails to provide a realistic relationship between offenders and the community other than portraying the offenders as "outsiders" against whom the community needs to defend itself. Crawford mentions that "This thinking is most explicit in the idea of neighbourhood watch,

in which members of communities are expected to look out for 'strangers'" (1998, p. 158).

This understanding of crime does not account for the situation in a country such as South Africa, a country characterised by much intra-community and intra-family crime and violence. What is required is an understanding of crime that can adequately account for the social dynamics of a community, and which can explain differences in levels of crime both across communities and within a community over time. Such an understanding, to be useful, should avoid the assumption that communities are underpinned by a shared vision and commitment to individuals' own and others' well being. It should also avoid assuming that communities naturally possess both the social and economic capital to effect the changes necessary to prevent crime and violence in their locality (Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 229).

2.2 Defining social capital

The concept of social capital provides an alternative to romanticising communities by assuming shared values and traditions, and the resources to engage in collective action. The concept "social capital" was first coined by James Coleman in an article written in 1987. The concept generated widespread interest in 1993 with the publication of Robert Putnam's book *Making Democracy Work* (Tapscott, 2000, p. 9). While various definitions of social capital exist, essential to all the definitions is the idea that social capital includes features of social interaction such as interpersonal trust, shared norms and networks which facilitate co-operative and co-ordinated actions (Putnam cited in Emmett & Butchart 2000, p. 21).

Emmett and Butchart use the metaphors of a glue that holds a society together, or a lubricant that facilitates social interactions so that people may better work

together towards common goals. Essentially, the central issue is that, "social capital is productive in that it facilitates co-operation and makes possible the attainment of goals that could not otherwise be attained, at least not at the same cost" (Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 22).

Kennedy, Kawachi, Prothrow-Stith, Lochner and Gupta (1998) use the term "social capital" interchangeably with "social cohesion" (1998, p. 7). They define social capital with reference to the work of principal social capital theorists namely Coleman and Putnam. The two central constructs of the concept of social capital are levels of mutual trust among community members and civic engagement. Trust within a community is developed as a function of repeated successful experience where repeated exchange develops norms of generalised reciprocity (Tapscott, 2000). Kennedy et al define civic engagement as "the level of commitment of citizens to their communities and is reflected by their involvement in community affairs. Typically, this is measured by membership in civic-related and other associations and groups that bring members of a community together around shared interests" (1998, p. 8).

However, the theory of social capital is not without its shortcomings. Criticism leveled at the concept includes the allegation that social capital theorists have themselves constructed a romanticised image of community (Tapscott, 2000, 11). In addition, it is claimed that there is confusion between the sources of social capital and the benefits derived from it, and also that the focus is exclusively on the positive effects of community participation without also considering its possible negative implications (Portes, 1996, p. 20).

1.2.3 Social capital in South Africa

In South Africa, apartheid contributed towards eroding social capital, especially in previously disadvantaged areas. The social disintegration of black communities

has long been documented (Emmett & Butchart, 2000). Tapscott writes that the erosion of social cohesion in black communities was not an accidental symptom of apartheid, but the result of active efforts on the part of the Nationalist government. He writes: "For much of the past century, successive white minority governments sought to suppress the development of associational life among the black population, fearing in its development the basis for political mobilisation against white minority rule" (Tapscott, 2000, p. 11). This was achieved by means of divide-and-rule policies which "enforced ethnic separation and forged a divide between the Africans living in the urban areas and those in the rural homelands" (Tapscott, 2000, p. 11).

The comprehensive and diverse net of apartheid policies affected all aspects of communal life, resulting in forced removals, the destruction of family life by migrant labour, disruption of schooling, the flight of potential role models from the townships and the alienation of the youth from adult leaders. The result of apartheid policies and practices was the erosion of the informal social controls that institutions such as the family and community were able to exert to uphold the law.

1.2.4 Social capital and crime

Emmett and Butchart observe that, "The risk factors of crime are tightly intertwined with the disintegration of the social fabric in poor communities, with family breakdowns and the erosion of communities, informal social controls and authority" (2000, p. 293). It is suggested that social capital plays a central role in the occurrence of crime in communities. Emmett and Butchart go on to write that poverty and unemployment are largely to blame for the high rates of crime in South Africa. However, they point to the fact that there are many poor countries that have relatively low rates of crime and interpersonal violence (2000, p. 293). It may not be poverty per se that influences crime and violence,

but the negative consequences of poverty on social capital. "The relationship between crime, development and social disintegration can perhaps best be understood in relation to the concept of social capital" (Emmett & Butchart 2000, p. 293).

Kennedy et al (1998) explain the role that the depletion of social capital can have on crime in terms of the loss of social buffers. Such buffers consist of formal and informal networks of organisations (church groups, business groups, and neighbourhood associations), as well as the presence of social norms concerning work and education. The depletion of social buffers is a more frequent occurrence in impoverished neighbourhoods as a result of the increasing residential segregation of the poor as middle class members leave low-income areas. Conversely, a youth living in a neighbourhood that includes a mixture of working and professional families "may observe increasing joblessness and idleness but he will also witness many individuals going to and from work ... he may be cognizant of an increase in crime, but he can recognise that many residents in his neighbourhood are not involved in criminal activities" (Kennedy et al, 1998, p. 15).

The relationship between social capital and crime can best be explained by the understanding that poor and crime-ridden communities are usually not only poor in economic resources, but also lack the social resources - or social capital - to address the problem of crime.

1.2.5 Social capital and crime prevention strategies

"In study after study, evidence emerges that crime prevention programme are more likely to take root, and more likely to work, in communities that need them least. Conversely, the evidence shows that communities with the greatest crime

problems are also the hardest to reach through innovative programme efforts” (Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 280).

There are indications that previous strategies for addressing crime in poor communities have been flawed in their conceptualisation, partly because they assumed processes of community empowerment without taking into consideration the issues raised by social capital. Sherman (1996b, p. 2) has the following to say on the assumption made by programme regarding community empowerment: “Ironically, a central tenet of community prevention programmes has been the empowerment of local community leaders to design and implement their own crime prevention strategies. This philosophy may amount to throwing people overboard and then letting them design their own life preserver”.

In conclusion Sherman argues that, “crimogenic community structures and cultures” are the result of policies and market forces that lie outside of the control of neighbourhood residents. As such, empowerment does not include the power to change those crime-fostering policies (1996b, p. 2). What is required is a macro-level intervention that is able to harness the authority and resources that lie at decision-making levels. Government agencies form an obvious contingency of such role players and are thus targeted by the CSF initiative.

Sherman writes: “In general the evidence from America and other parts of the world indicate that community-based crime prevention strategies have not succeeded in reducing crime. In particular, the evidence shows that community mobilisation alone is ineffective against serious crime in low-income communities” (1996b, p. 8).

In the light of the above constraints resulting from the context of proposed intervention – that is poor and crime-ridden communities – it becomes evident that crime prevention strategies, which focus predominantly on community

that crime prevention strategies, which focus predominantly on community mobilisation and empowerment, are inadequate in dealing with the problem. Emmett and Butchart suggest that, "Effective crime prevention in high-violence communities may require simultaneous interventions at several institutional levels, including communities, families, schools, labour markets, places (e.g. high risk areas or hot spots) and the police and criminal justice systems" (2000, p. 284). Such is the approach envisaged by the CSFs.

3. COMMUNITY SAFETY FORUMS

3.1 Introduction to community safety forums

The legislation shaping development initiatives in general, and crime prevention specifically, was presented in the earlier discussion on the South African legislative environment. The four emerging trends that are particularly relevant to the community safety forums are a focus on crime prevention; the decentralisation of crime prevention responsibilities; a multi-agency approach; and the involvement of community members in initiatives. The community safety forums are a product of this legislative environment and as such present an attempt to make meaning of the various local government and safety and security policies.

They can also be viewed as a response to the difficulties encountered by many community policing forums mentioned earlier. At least some of these difficulties have to do with issues of trust among community members, and resources – including social resources - available to enable meaningful participation in the CPF structures. Social capital theory highlights these and other constraints to community-based crime prevention programmes. In particular, social capital theory warns against assuming that communities – particularly impoverished

The philosophy of the CSF pilot project is to operationalise the proactive approach to crime prevention as envisaged in the NCPS, in particular, a multi-agency approach and preventative focus. At initiation, the project had two objectives:

- To establish CSFs as a means of facilitating the active participation of primary stakeholders in the planning and implementation of multi-agency crime-prevention projects in selected pilot areas.
- Through this, to enhance a co-ordinated response to specified priority crimes by departments of the criminal justice system and other agencies in the pilot areas.

The belief held by the staff of UMAC - the non-governmental organisation responsible for implementation - is that adopting a holistic approach to crime in a particular localised area will be most effective in ultimately reducing the occurrence of all types of crime. In order for a holistic approach to be possible, role players outside of the criminal justice system need to be included in crime prevention initiatives. Therefore, by including government departments such as the Departments of Education, Health and Social Services, for example, it will be possible to move away from the reactive stance of the criminal justice system to a more proactive orientation. Preventing crime - rather than responding to it - becomes the focus. This is done by modifying the environment – for example managing crime hot spots – and, ultimately, addressing the root causes of crime such as poverty and unemployment.

This is in line with approaches to crime prevention being implemented elsewhere in the world. Hope (1995 cited in Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 28) distinguishes between vertical and horizontal crime prevention strategies. “In the latter, crime prevention is focused on community members solving their own problems, while vertical solutions focus on the linkages between community life and decisions

made at higher levels of power outside the community. Examples of such vertical strategies include street closing, improving lighting, greater police attention to crime hot spots, and possibly community policing forums". The CSFs are an attempt to initiate such vertical interventions through their efforts to get the various authorities responsible for such service delivery to work in a co-operative fashion, even if the authority's core business is not crime related.

Sherman (1996) reaches the following conclusion in the National Institute of Justice report: "It may be that mobilisation alone cannot bear down directly on crime, and that the horizontal theory of community crime prevention is not likely to succeed. Further experimentation with different vertical tactics may be needed to find out if community mobilisation or other methods to affect decisions external to the local community can change such decisions in ways that cause local crime prevention" (Sherman 1996b, p. 8). Complementing community mobilisation efforts (horizontal strategies) with tactics that involve agencies outside of the local community (vertical strategies) are in line with the approach to crime prevention presented in the discussion on social capital.

3.2 The CSF project as planned

Representatives from both UMAC and the recipients of the services - that is representatives participating in the forums - were asked to explain their understanding of the objectives of the CSF structures and how they are meant to function. The discussion is presented in three parts: understanding of purpose, understanding of attendance and representation, and finally, understanding of intended impact.

This discussion provides insight into how the project was planned and understood by those involved. How the project was planned will be used as a standard against which to compare the project implementation in the case

This discussion provides insight into how the project was planned and understood by those involved. How the project was planned will be used as a standard against which to compare the project implementation in the case studies which follow. This section will conclude with a comparison of UMAC's understanding and the understanding of those on the ground in the local communities regarding the purpose and intended functioning of the project.

3.2.1 UMAC: Understanding of CSF's goals and objective

According to UMAC, the main objective of the CSFs is to facilitate a multi-agent approach to combat crime. In particular, this should be achieved by means of a two-pronged approach: firstly strengthening the Criminal Justice System and secondly, improving co-operation between members of the Criminal Justice System and related departments.

A secondary and less important objective of the CSFs is to provide members of the local community with the opportunity to give their input about problems and developmental needs in the community at meetings with government departments. UMAC believed that the community representatives would benefit from participation by developing an improved understanding of how the Criminal Justice System works. Community representation on the forum is by means of representation of the local Community Policing Forum (CPF) on the CSF. UMAC staff work with CPFs to build capacity so that CPFs can act as effective representatives for the community. There is a desire on the part of UMAC to keep the number of community groups to a minimum so that the CSF process does not become unnecessarily cumbersome. The CSFs are not seen as a replacement of the existing CPFs, community members wanting to have input into local policing issues should approach their local CPF rather than the CSF.

1.3.2.2 UMAC: Attendance and representation on the forum

In response to the question of who, ideally, should attend the CSF meetings UMAC staff responded that it was their intention to eventually have *all* government departments regularly attending the CSF meetings. It was acknowledged that at present there is still a lack of representation, or irregular attendance, on the part of some government organisations at each of the four CSFs under review. However, it is UMAC's belief that this situation will be rectified in the near future as the CSFs continue to grow and develop.

The ideal attendance at the CSFs – the ideal against which the present attendance will be measured in this study – looks as follows:

- SAPS
- Justice
- Correctional Service
- Social Service
- Local government
- Education
- Health
- Traffic
- Labour
- Trade and Tourism

It was acknowledged by the UMAC staff that due to the staffing constraints of the public sector, some departments are not able to regularly attend all meetings. However, where this is the case such members should remain informed of the progress and development of the CSF in their area, and should be available to attend and comment should a particular problem or project require their input.

Government department representation should be uniform across all CSFs – that is to say that the same role players should participate in all of the CSFs irrespective of the geographical area or the stage of development of a particular forum. The representation of civic bodies, however, may vary according to which organisations are involved in a particular area.

1.3.2.3 UMAC: Intended impact

UMAC staff conceptualise the impact intended to result from the CSFs in terms of four developmental stages through which the CSFs are expected to move. A different outcome is expected from each of these stages. It is assumed by UMAC that the forums will naturally progress from the first to the fourth and final stage with the necessary guidance from the UMAC trainers responsible for “facilitating” the process. The trainers assist with the development of the forums by providing the administrative function (minute taking, faxing invitations to meetings, organising meetings) and providing information (best practices learnt from other CSFs and legislation pertinent to the CSFs).

It is expected that the CSFs will move through the four evolutionary stages as they progress towards independence, where they will no longer rely on the assistance of the UMAC trainers. The first of the four stages consists of regular meetings between appropriate representatives; followed by a second stage characterised by improved understanding between representatives as they begin to share information. The third stage is marked by improved co-operation as the forum members begin to draw other role players into the planning and delivery of their services. Finally, CSFs should begin to initiate and implement new projects. The various stages are outlined in more detail below.

Stage 1: Regular meetings

The UMAC staff views it as a measure of success if relevant role players regularly attend the CSF meetings. Ensuring that this takes place is the first responsibility of the UMAC trainers working with the respective CSFs. The trainers target the relevant people in government departments, civic organisations and the community and invite them to the meetings. Role players are considered in terms of core and periphery members. Core members include the Criminal Justice System departments such as the South African Police Service, Justice and Correctional Services and associated departments such as Local Government, Education, Social Services and Welfare. Periphery members are civic organisations such as NGOs involved in crime prevention, social upliftment and urban renewal projects. In addition, Community Policing Forum members represent the community.

An important requirement of the representatives who attend is that they have sufficient authority to be able to make decisions at the forum meetings on behalf of the organisations they represent. This first stage is an initial and very basic aspect of the CSF process and the result is simply that the various stakeholders meet together regularly whereas before this did not occur.

Stage 2: Improved understanding and information sharing

It is, however, necessary to move beyond the stage of simply bringing representatives together, and on to a stage where there is active participation of representatives at the meetings. Active participation consists of sharing information, for example, sharing information about pertinent legislation, and informing fellow CSF members of the activities and plans within each organisation. It is assumed that this sharing of information will make it possible for the CSF as a whole to synchronise activities for maximum results.

The result of the representatives coming together regularly and sharing information is understood by UMAC to be twofold. Firstly, representatives have an improved understanding of how other related organisations work. UMAC had much anecdotal evidence of how departments in the criminal justice system did not know or understand how they could benefit from the services of related organisations such as Education or Social Services, for example. And secondly, an additional benefit was that the interpersonal relationships between people from the relevant organisations would be improved. As a result, government officials, for example, would have the contact details of people in departments with which they are required to work, whom they can contact should they have queries or need assistance.

Stage 3: Increased co-operation in service delivery

In this third stage it is envisaged by UMAC that the CSF members do more than come together regularly and share information. In this stage they also consider solutions holistically so that the contributions of all relevant departments is considered when addressing problems. This approach might still be reactive in nature since the various role players respond – albeit in a multi-agency fashion – to existing problems.

It is believed that such an approach will result in improved service delivery since the solutions involve a multiplicity of role players, at times resulting in a pooling of resources. One way in which such pooling of resources may occur is in lobbying actions of all forum members around a particular issue. Examples of problem solving and lobbying in this stage of development will be illustrated in the George case study.

Stage 4: Initiation and implementation of new projects

In the fourth and final stage of development the CSFs will deal with problems of local crime in a unified and proactive manner by initiating and implementing crime prevention programme and projects involving all relevant role players. This would then constitute a proactive and unified approach to local crime resulting in actions and programme that would not have been initiated in the absence of the CSF.

Both of the CSFs under review are considered by the UMAC staff to have reached the first two stages of development – namely regular attendance of relevant role players, and a sharing of information thereby improving understanding between departments. A more detailed consideration of this will be explored and discussed as part of the relevant case studies.

Only the George CSF is considered to have reached the third stage of development – namely multi-agency responses and solutions to existing problems. None of the CSFs have yet achieved the fourth and final stage – that of initiating and implementing new crime reduction programme.

1.3.2.4 CSF representatives: Understanding of the CSF's goals and objectives

The 40 role players interviewed provided a variety of goals and objectives for the CSFs. These goals and objectives can be grouped into five categories – community empowerment; supporting the police; creating safer communities; improving inter-departmental co-operation, improving localised planning.

Community empowerment

The CSFs were described as “bottom-up” structures for empowering communities. It was understood that they should consist of community representatives and leaders whose role it was to influence the direction taken

regarding community safety in the area. The structures were seen as a means of consulting with communities, and making state departments more accessible to end-users. They were also viewed as a mechanism for empowering communities with information regarding how the Criminal Justice System works – for example bail – and for creating awareness of services available. The principal of a school mentioned that the reason she participated in her local CSF structure was “to get information from different departments so that I can answer the community’s questions when they come to me”. Other representatives described the objective of the forums as “a bottom up structure, with community representatives and leaders from different sectors” and “to facilitate community representation, and function as a means of consulting with the community”.

Supporting the police

There was also repeated mention of the role of the CSFs in strengthening and supporting the police, and improving communication between the police and the community in much the same way as CPFs. One SAPS member stated, “It was initially difficult for me to understand the purpose, but what I think is that it is basically a supportive forum for the police so that we can better serve the community, and to improve co-operation”. Another representative mentioned the objective of the CSFs was “To strengthen the police and create an understanding of the difficulties facing the police”.

Safer environments

The CSFs were seen by representatives to be a means of creating safer environments for communities. Their role was seen as fighting crime in a proactive rather than reactive manner. This proactive role was believed to be possible as a result of the co-operation of a multiplicity of role-players involved in crime prevention. This understanding is reflected in comments such as, “We [the CSF] must be involved in job creation and social upliftment and be a joint

forum for generating such plans” and the comment that the CSF’s purpose is to provide a safer environment, especially for the youth”.

Inter-departmental co-operation

Improving the levels of co-operation between departments was also seen as an important aspect of the CSFs objectives. Inter-departmental co-operation involved sharing information, bringing departments together to talk about crime in a community and from this deciding on common priorities that could inform collective projects. This understanding of the CSFs purpose is summarised in the view that the forums are “a platform for various government departments and the community to discuss issues of crime prevention for collective action”. A member of the George CSF explained that, “The CSFs play a strategic function but has no executive powers. It is more for co-ordinating the function of different departments and bringing different role players together”.

Localised and holistic planning

It was believed that the CSFs were a means of developing local and holistic plans for service delivery and crime prevention. The forums should consist of community members who come together to discuss local community concerns. The process to be followed should include identifying problems, establishing an appropriate work plan and then prioritising the actions in the work plan. The work plans should be holistic in nature: for example, the Department of Education should be included since many of the youth that commit crimes are still at school. And the Department of Labour should attend since unemployment was viewed as a major motive for crime. One CSF member described the purpose as allowing “local and provincial government departments that are working together in communities to look at common priorities”.

1.3.2.5 CSF representatives: Attendance and representation on the forum

All CSF representatives interviewed believed that representation on the forums should be as inclusive as possible. In particular, the following should be represented:

- All related state departments (Police; Education; Social Services; Justice; Welfare; Correctional Services)
- Local government – special mention was made of Law Enforcement and Urban Planning.
- Civic groups such as community leaders; church organisations; NGOs and CBO's; youth leaders; CPF; Rate Payers' Association

Basically, intended CSF participants were described as all departments and organisations that deal with poverty relief, upliftment, and community projects: "Basically anyone to whom the community will listen."

There was some difference in the CSF representatives' understanding of who could best represent the organisations participating in the CSFs. For some, people in senior positions in their department or organisation are best qualified to act as representatives. This is because representatives who are Heads of Department or senior managers have the necessary authority and overall picture to be able to make decisions on behalf of the organisation they represent. This was highly desirable as it would enable immediate action, and prevent a situation where CSF decisions are delayed by a lengthy process of referring decision making to someone who does not sit on the forum.

However, for others the most important criterion in deciding who should represent organisations on the forum was the degree to which people had regular contact with the community concerned. Grassroots involvement and the personality of the representative – in particular, a commitment to making a difference - were more important to some people than a representative's

organisational authority. People with “hands-on experience” were best positioned to speak on behalf of the local community in which they worked. According to this view, it was more important for project managers and field workers to participate than heads of department.

1.3.2.6 CSF representatives: Intended impact

Representatives’ perception of the intended impact of the CSFs varied. They included:

- Improving community involvement in issues of crime prevention;
- Assisting with the implementation of specific projects by improving inter-departmental communication;
- Implementing the Safety Plans drafted by the respective CSFs;
- Improving the co-operation between the various related role-players.
- On a larger scale, an increase in crime prevention initiatives and, ultimately, a reduction in crime were envisaged.
- Improved service delivery on the part of departments resulting from a shared vision and understanding of the priorities in a specific community.
- Finally, it was hoped that the CSFs would become actively involved in crime prevention initiatives.

1.3.3 Comparison of UMAC and CSF representatives’ understanding

For the most part, UMAC and the forum representatives seem to concur regarding the main objective of the forums and who should participate in the structures. There are just two points of difference between these two groups. One important difference concerns the main objective of the CSFs, and the other has to do with who is best suited to act as a representative for organisations participating in the CSFs, governmental departments in particular.

1.3.3.1 CSF's role in community empowerment

UMAC is quite clear that the main objective of the CSFs is to improve the level of co-operation between role players in local communities, especially government departments making up the criminal justice system, and other related departments. Empowering communities by providing information and including community structures in crime prevention planning is of secondary importance. This is illustrated by the fact that community representation and participation is mostly limited to the inclusion of the CPF on the CSF.

However, some of the representatives understand the CSF's main function as consisting of empowering communities. They see this as taking place in two ways: by improving community members' understanding of the relevant systems and procedures, and including the community in crime prevention planning. However, it should be emphasised that there are also many CSF representatives who understand the primary objective as the CSFs in much the same way as UMAC does, that is to improve inter-departmental co-operation and resulting in a unified approach to crime prevention.

This difference between UMAC and forum representatives can be summarised as a difference in the importance placed on the role of the community in the structures. The community is seen as just one of a number of stakeholders or as the primary recipient of the forum's services respectively. This difference might in part result from the very name of the structure. It is understandable that representatives might think that the focus of the forums is on the community when this is what the very name of the structures seems to suggest.

1.3.3.2 Organisational authority of representatives

This difference can be summarised as follows, UMAC believes that the people best positioned to act as representatives for their organisation are those who have sufficient authority to make decisions on behalf of their organisation. While

some representatives agree with this position, others believe that the best representatives are those who are in direct contact with the community in question. The more direct the contact with the community the more information and insight the representative is assumed to have regarding the priorities and developments within the community.

This difference in understanding perhaps relates back to the different understandings of the primary objective of the CSF structures held by the UMAC and forum representatives. It is logical that UMAC would want senior representatives to attend as they are more likely to have the authority to drive their respective organisations and departments in the co-operative direction envisaged by UMAC, whereas if the primary objective is understood as being one of empowering communities and giving them a voice in the delivery of services and crime prevention planning, then someone close to the communities is the most obvious choice.

3.4 Community safety forums and community psychology

Based on the brief introduction to the CSFs above, it could be argued that the CSFs justifiably fall within the realm of community psychology. CSFs are an attempt to change the context in which health threatening events – in this case crime and violence – occur, and in so doing reduce the possibility and occurrence of the danger. In writing about police reform in South Africa, Nell writes: "To the extent that police reform results in the proactive prevention of crime, it has a good fit with the principles of the primary prevention of injury and psychopathology. Because it empowers communities by compelling the police service to respond to community pressure, it can be seen as an aspect of the social action model of community psychology" (cited in Seedat, 2001, p. 288). In a similar way, the activities of the CSFs are a proactive attempt to prevent crime and thereby to ultimately prevent "injury and psychopathology". Also, the

CSFs, through the involvement of the local CPFs, attempt to empower the local community.

Nell continues: "community psychology will be at its best if it positions itself as a preventative discipline that works at the causes of psychological distress rather than its symptoms" (cited in Seedat, 2001, p. 288). This definition of community psychology broadens the focus of the discipline of psychology. Not only does the discipline involve the use of therapeutic means to deal with the consequences of social processes that give rise to trauma, it also involves challenging the very processes that give rise to the trauma in the first place. In a country such as South Africa, crime and associated violence is arguably a great source of ill-health – both physically and psychologically. It is therefore legitimate for community psychology as a discipline to challenge these "causes of psychological distress" because, as Nell writes: "The primary business of community psychology is to change the context" (cited in Seedat, 2001, p. 288).

Challenging "the context" at the level of the community involves addressing a wide range of "predisposing factors such as poverty, over-crowding, substance abuse, weapon availability, unemployment, attitudes to gender, and child-rearing practices", all of which can contribute to crime (Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 12). Within such an approach, interventions aimed at reducing crime become the concern of the community psychologist.

However, for a multi-disciplinary approach to be possible, violence needs to be redefined as a social problem that is not only the responsibility of the criminal justice system. It is essential that violence is defined in such a way that it "encourages the participation of different disciplines and the public at large. This rationale underlies the public health definition of violence" (Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 12). Butchart and Kruger believe that, "Among the least developed

connections between community psychology and related disciplines is the link to public health” (cited in Seedat, 2000, p. 215).

In the discussion so far, the legislative environment that has informed the conceptualisation of the CSFs has been presented. This was followed by a discussion of the concepts of community and social capital, both of which have a bearing on crime and present certain important considerations for the conceptualisation and implementation of crime prevention initiatives. The third and final aspect of the discussion focuses on the public health model. The model is presented here because it is a popular and useful framework for approaching the design and analysis of crime prevention work. The public health model, as it relates to crime prevention, is presented in more detail below.

4. PUBLIC HEALTH MODEL

Public health has a circle of concern broader than traditional health role players such as doctors, clinics and nurses. In considering prevention the complete context is taken into account – the human players, belief systems, physical environment and social and political forces involved in contributing towards disease. It is therefore a profoundly social activity with implications for both individuals as well as communities (Emmett & Butchart, 2000 and Butchart & Kruger, 2000). As such, there is a clear fit between the CSFs and the public health model. The CSFs circle of concern, regarding crime, is broader than what is traditionally considered the domain of crime prevention – i.e. the criminal justice system. Also, the CSFs have a preventative focus, and take the complete crime context into account in their holistic conceptualisation of crime prevention strategies.

4.1 Definition of public health

Emmett and Butchart (2000) and Butchart and Kruger (2000) outline three key aspects to the definition of public health. Firstly, public health addresses health at the level of the entire population, rather than the level of the individual. Where clinical medicine treats disease within a person, public health aims to prevent problems before they occur by working at the level of the host population. Areas of focus include working with issues such as the social norms shaping the acceptability of violence, the access of communities to adequate sanitation, and the protection of communities from such harmful by-products of economic activity as pollution.

Secondly, public health interventions frequently target major social processes - such as poverty violence and substance abuse - that are beyond the ability of a single community or a single discipline to alter. They therefore draw upon the resources of multiple disciplines (e.g. psychology, building science, policing and medicine), and many different social sectors (e.g. professionals, church groups, community residents). Public health, by definition, not only transcends discipline borders, but is also multi-agency in approach.

And finally, in order to create the information needed to achieve its aims, public health requires methods that can document and define problems at the level of the population in ways that reveal to other disciplines where they can intervene to prevent the problem. Once again a multi-agency approach is required.

Based on the above definition and a study of international injury prevention projects, Emmett lists three conclusions regarding safety interventions. Firstly, interventions that are limited to changing individual behaviours do not have a sustained impact on preventing or decreasing the occurrence of injuries. Secondly, the use of individual-specific behaviour-change projects is most

effective when coupled with other strategies such as surveillance, enforcement and legislative strategies. And finally, the most successful attempts to decrease the occurrence of the most serious injuries have involved modifying the environment (Emmett & Butchart, 2000, p. 279).

4.2 Public health model and crime prevention

4.2.1 Levels of crime prevention

Framing crime prevention in terms of the public health model first became popular in the mid-1970's. Criminologists such as Brantingham and Faust were among the first to distinguished between three levels of prevention - primary, secondary and tertiary crime prevention - drawing on the medical and public health analogy (Crawford, 1998). The dependent variable is the target population at which the intervention is aimed. Primary prevention is aimed at the general population and may also involve addressing potential sources of crime in the physical and social environment and are attempts to address criminogenic factors before they become crime problems. Secondary prevention is directed at "at risk" groups of potential offenders who have been identified according to some predisposing factor. Tertiary prevention includes strategies targeted at known offenders in order to reduce further crimes (Crawford, 1998).

The levels of intervention outlined above have subsequently been refined to distinguish between potential criminals and would-be victims. Accordingly, the "at risk" aspect of secondary prevention for example could refer to a potential criminal, victim or place. The public health model, with its emphasis on risk factors, offers a broadened perspective on crime and violence and in so doing creates a more comprehensive and holistic approach to crime and crime prevention.

The two-dimensional typology including both potential offenders as well as potential victims is presented below with examples of possible interventions.

Table 1.1 Typology of crime prevention using public health analogy (Crawford 1998, p. 16)

	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
VICTIM-ORIENTATED	Awareness campaigns	Risk prediction and assessment	Victim support , compensation
COMMUNITY-ORIENTATED	Neighbourhood watch, environmental planning	Targeting places that are a source of conflict, mediation	Targeting hot spots, urban regeneration
OFFENDER-ORIENTATED	Reducing reward of crime, citizenship programme	Work with youth, employment programme	Rehabilitation, diversion programme

1.4.2.2 Steps for programme implementation

The public health approach consists of four steps. Emmett and Butchart (2000, p. 10) outline them as follows:

- (1) *Defining the problem* based on data collected from ongoing research and surveillance.
- (2) *Risk factor identification*, which involves establishing the risk and resilience factors that distinguish between high and low risk individuals and groups.

- (4) *Implementation of interventions and ongoing measurement of effectiveness*, which involves advocacy and lobbying for the application of interventions known to be effective.

Emmett writes that the public health approach provides a helpful “model or conceptual framework to facilitate the design or integrated strategies for crime and injury prevention in South Africa” (2000, p. 257). This is because of three characteristics of the model. Firstly, its approach to problems of crime and violence is multidisciplinary in nature. Secondly, it conceptualises the problem of crime from three levels – primary, secondary and tertiary – and implements programmes accordingly. And finally, the model places an emphasis on the comprehensiveness of interventions.

The public health model’s emphasis on comprehensiveness is particularly important when applied to the issue of crime prevention. The major focus in the criminal justice system is on punishing, incapacitating, deterring and rehabilitating individual perpetrators. This function is performed largely within a single sector or institutional setting of the society. A further feature of the criminal justice system that distinguishes it from the public health approach, is its essentially reactive nature, that is, it responds to crimes after they occur. The major emphasis of the public health model, on the other hand, is on prevention before the event, involving a multiplicity of sectors (Emmett & Butchart, 2000).

To sum up, the public health understanding of violence and injury is that it is a problem to be prevented through the systematic application of the four step approach of problem identification, risk factor analysis, programme design and programme evaluation. Central to this approach is the need for appropriate descriptive and analytical research for clearly defining the problem, quantifying the risk, engineering and implementing appropriate reduction strategies and finally, evaluating the implementation and effectiveness of the programme. It is

the public health model's emphasis on the fourth step of evaluation that is of particular relevance to the present discussion of CSFs.

4.3 Public health model and evaluations

In emphasising the link between evaluation practice and public health Emmett and Butchart write: "A major aspect of the knowledge-based approach to crime and violence prevention is the emphasis on the systematic evaluation of crime and violence prevention strategies. This is another area in which the public health approach and recent methods of crime prevention coincide" (2000, p. 277).

There is general consensus among practitioners that evaluations of crime prevention initiatives are a necessary and worthwhile investment in a field of practice that is still relatively new. Rosenbaum states: "Community crime prevention is not so widely practiced or accepted that it is inappropriate to ask: (a) does it represent an effective group of strategies for controlling crime, and (b) what factors are operating to limit or enhance the observed effects of such interventions?" (1986, p. 13).

However, while the need is recognised, the evaluation of crime prevention programmes is not regularly or consistently undertaken, often as a result of limited project budgets. This results in a situation where, "it is widely recognised that evaluation is the most deficient aspect of crime prevention and community safety practice" (AMA, 1990; Morgan, 1991; Peace, 1994 cited in Crawford 1998, p. 196).

Sherman writes that the consequence of insufficient evaluations of crime prevention programmes in the United States is that "The effectiveness of most crime prevention strategies will remain unknown until the nation invests more in

Sherman writes that the consequence of insufficient evaluations of crime prevention programmes in the United States is that "The effectiveness of most crime prevention strategies will remain unknown until the nation invests more in evaluating them" (1996c, p. 1). The same is true for South Africa. Emmett and Butchart comment that "While many of these [crime prevention] programme show signs of promise, it is not possible on the basis of existing information to provide definitive answers to whether they are producing the desired results, and whether they should therefore be continued, discontinued, extended or modified" (2000, p. 277–8).

This study is a reflection on the experiences of the CSFs. Based on the newness of the project, it is not possible to provide definite answers regarding its success or lack thereof. What the study attempts to do is to look at the way in which the project was implemented during the period 1999 to 2000. The aim is to identify current and potential limitations and strengths, and in this way assess if the CSFs are able to provide lessons that can be applied to crime prevention strategies, especially those dealing with the particular context of South African crime prevention initiatives.

2.1 PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The evaluation of the CSFs had the following two formal objectives, as decided on by the implementing NGO, UMAC:

Firstly, to provide a descriptive analysis of the implementation of the CSF project in the selected areas in terms of its aims, approach, methods of operation, the strengths and challenges of the projects, its successes and limitations. This was necessary since UMAC had just begun to move beyond the Western Cape, the original site for the implementation of the CSF pilot projects. They were therefore in the process of replicating the pilot project but had not yet reflected on the reasons why some of the Western Cape CSFs were more successful in intersectoral co-operation than others.

Secondly, to identify promising CSF practices and those factors inhibiting greater effectiveness. Such information would be used to guide the improvement of the programme in the future.

In addition to the two objectives mentioned above, an important third objective motivated the study. The donor organisation funding the CSF pilot project had insisted that an evaluation be conducted as a condition of the grant. As such, insistence for the evaluation was external to UMAC. However, the evaluation had the full support of the staff of UMAC, especially the director, as it was his intention that the evaluation would prove to be an effective fundraising tool when it came to securing additional funding for the CSF project in the foreseeable future.

As can be seen from the first objective, the purpose of the evaluation was to look at the way in which the project was being implemented. The purpose was not to look at the difference that the CSFs had affected. Emmett (2000) distinguishes between three forms of evaluations. The first is process evaluations, which involve monitoring the delivery of the programme and the process of change it brings about. Secondly, an impact evaluation focuses on the short-term effects of the programme while the third, outcome evaluations, attempts to determine the long-term impact and the social costs and benefits of the programme.

Manski and Garfinkel further define the difference between impact and process evaluations: "Impact or effectiveness evaluations seek to learn the consequences of alternate programme and ask questions such as: What would happen if some aspect of a programme were changed? Process or implementation evaluations, on the other hand, describe the administration of the programme and look at what occurred in the actual implementation of the programme. Did, for example, the programme get implemented according to the programme plan with the goals and objectives set out in such a document?" (1992, p. 6-7).

A process evaluation is not so much about discerning if the programme was effective, adequate or efficient. "Process evaluations consider exactly what has happened over the life of the implementation of the project, with the intention of highlighting any difficulties and pitfalls encountered along the way. As such, process evaluations ask a number of related questions. Who was involved? What decisions were taken? How did the various parties relate to one another? Did the parties do what was planned or did they do something else?" (Crawford, 1998, p. 207). Ultimately, a process evaluation should answer the question: "Was the evaluation implemented as planned and what factors influenced the implementation?" (Crawford, 1998, p. 207).

Based on the objectives of the study, and the fact that none of the CSFs had been in existence long enough to realistically expect even a short-term effect, it was decided that the evaluation would be of a process design. It was decided that a case study of each of the four selected CSFs would be conducted. The case studies were intended to provide detailed information regarding the unique achievements and weaknesses of each CSF. Where possible, general findings would be drawn from the case studies.

2.2 PROCESS EVALUATIONS AND CASE STUDIES

2.2.1 Process evaluations

There are various defining characteristics of a process evaluation design that made such an approach appropriate for studying the CSFs. Four characteristics, as they pertained to the CSFs, are discussed below.

2.2.1.1 Improve project outcomes

Posavac and Carey write that, "Process, or formative evaluations, can strengthen the plans for services and their delivery in order to improve the outcomes of programme or to increase the efficiency of the programme" (1997, p. 14). This is the first and foremost reason for adopting a process design for the CSFs. As mentioned earlier, UMAC wanted to improve on the pilot project as they were already in the process of expanding to other provinces. The planned process evaluation was intended to assist in this task.

2.2.1.2 Account for unplanned and interpersonal influences

A further reason for focusing on the process of service delivery is that in processes that are highly interpersonal in nature, the manner and means of intervention, and the characteristics of the individuals involved in the process can influence the outcome of projects. These "informal" and unplanned factors can

be as important in influencing the effectiveness of the intervention as the formal outlined goals and objectives of the project, and may account for the variations in success among similar cases. Cheetham, Fuller, McIvor and Petch (1992, p. 63) observe that, "some studies have been able to determine little positive change in clients' circumstances, although the clients themselves say that they valued the intervention. Such judgments should not be ignored and this example demonstrates the difficulty in evaluative research of a simple dichotomy or of too rigid adherence to a single outcome dimension".

The sentiments of the UMAC staff at the outset of the evaluation was not only that the level of functioning of the various CSFs differed dramatically, but also that some of these differences were the result of the personality of the staff member responsible for facilitating a particular forum, or the quality of person involved in the local forum, or the particular development history of a CSF. It was important that such details be captured in the study, and this was considered possible with a process design. Also, related to the issue in cases where there was no clear output resulting from the project, would the participants involved consider the effort spent to date a waste, or would they still see some value resulting from the CSF structure?

2.1.3 Trace the particular history of individual CSFs

Mark writes that, "A process evaluation assesses the components of a programme to identify which ones contributed to its success and which did not. It traces the history of the programme and the implementation of its various features to give us an understanding of what happened" (Mark, 1996, p. 235). What was required for the relatively new CSF programme was a detailed exploration of how the programme had been implemented at the various sites, as there seemed to be some variance. Such a study would explore how the history of a CSF's implementation had impacted on resulting developments, and thereby furnish recommendations for future CSF initiation.

2.1.4 Process evaluations and crime prevention initiatives

Finally, process evaluations are particularly appropriate for crime prevention projects because of the complex multi-agency nature of such initiatives. Crawford writes: "Thus, an understanding of the structure and decision making processes of an initiative, the nature and extent of interagency involvement, the nature of extent of 'community' participation and the extent of implementation may all be important aspects of evaluating the social processes that constitute a crime prevention initiative" (1998, p. 207). In the case of the CSF project, the recognition of the social roots of crime necessitated the involvement of a wide range of role-players. An obvious question at the outset of the study related to the nature of the decision-making processes and how specifically the various agencies and the community worked together.

2.2 Case study method

Case studies are usually associated with fieldwork research – that is, studies in which researchers collect data in the "field" or natural habitat of the people, events or processes being studied. The main emphasis is on understanding the single case by conducting an intensive study of it.

The distinguishing characteristic of the case study is that, "The uniqueness of the individual 'case' is retained, whether that case is an individual client, an area, an event, a team, or indeed an identifiable entity" (Cheetham et al, 1992, p. 29). For this reason a case study method was employed as the means of analysing the data collected during the course of the process evaluation. The staff at UMAC particularly wanted to retain the individual characteristics of each of the CSF sites, especially in the light that some of the forums were functioning at a higher level than others, and they were interested in exploring the reasons for this.

A case studies methodology is appropriate for a wide range of topics of study. Mark writes: "The defining characteristic of the case study is that it focuses on a single case. That case may be an individual. But it may also be a family, a small group, or even an organisation or community" (Mark, 1996, p. 218). However, for a phenomenon to qualify as a case it is a requirement that it has "clearly defined boundaries that say clearly which features are included within the case and which are not" (Starke cited in Mark, 1996, p. 218).

An important benefit of the case study method is that it enables the evaluator to develop an understanding of the interactive relationship between the mechanisms of the programme implementation and the contexts. The process mechanisms in crime prevention projects may include, for example, multi-agency co-operation and community-consultation that may not be causal in a direct manner. However, they may influence the social context, notably decision-making, modes of communication, conflict management and negotiation. They may not cause a successful outcome but their absence may reduce the likelihood of attaining successful outcomes. As such, they may represent desirable outcomes in themselves. For example, the presence of constructive conflict negotiation in multi-agency partnerships will not cause the reduction of crime in any direct sense. However, it may well prove to create conditions that foster the success of other mechanisms (Crawford, 1998). The distinction between mechanisms and context can become blurred, especially in crime prevention programme where the community – i.e. the context – is a major element in the mechanisms of change. The case study approach accounts for this interplay between the context and the mechanisms of implementation being evaluated. On the topic of process evaluations of crime prevention initiatives, Crawford writes: "There is a need to supplement quantitative methodologies with more qualitative research in the evaluation process" (1998, p. 207).

Innovative projects are particularly prone to shifting objectives and practices, and evaluative methodologies must be able to adjust and respond to such variations. Evaluation strategies that require rigid structures, as is the case with experimental designs for example, are not appropriate. More qualitative strategies such as case studies are more appropriate.

Finally, the benefit of a case study approach is that it is a method that "researchers might choose to use when they begin to do research in areas where there is little knowledge or theory guiding them. The results of a case study may in fact suggest areas that should be examined, highlight critical issues, or suggest concepts that can serve as the basis for a theory" (Mark, p. 217, 1996).

However, Cheetham warns that the "danger of the case study approach is that it may become merely an extended anecdote without evaluative relevance. This is the risk run if the case is selected for study on a wholly opportunistic basis. To avoid this, a conceptual framework of some kind is necessary to provide a rationale for choosing the best individual case. In the absence of a general framework what is provided is "at best an interesting contribution to historical scholarship and at worst an uninteresting episodic narrative" (Cheetham et al, 1992, p. 29).

Instead, Cheetham makes the following suggestions for selecting cases: "From a general survey of previous work, one or more cases may be selected on the grounds that they are in some way interesting, whether because they have been identified as typical, or conversely as deviant, as extreme or 'pure'. Here the point of interest is likely to lie in how observed outcomes came about. Why did the one case succeed while others failed, or vice versa?" (1992, p. 30).

3. METHOD

2.3 METHOD

2.3.1 Selection

There were two levels of sampling required for the CSF evaluation – firstly, two of the eight sites of the CSF had to be selected and then secondly, a total of 22 research participants spread across the two forums had to be chosen.

2.3.1.1 Selection of CSF sites

A total of eight CSF's had been initiated in and around the greater Cape Town area at the time of the evaluation, and a further three forums were in the process of being piloted in the Eastern Cape and another in KwaZulu-Natal.

Since initiation in late 1998, CSFs had been established and were functioning in 8 localities in the Western Cape, namely:

1. George
2. Robertson
3. Khayelitsha
4. Wynberg
5. Mitchell's Plain
6. Elsies River
7. Nyanga
8. Atlantis

However, it was decided that only two of the Western Cape CSF's would be included in the study, primarily for financial reasons but also because it was believed that a considered selection of the forums for inclusion in the study would provide insight into the functioning of all eight. The selection was made so as to reflect variety in terms of the following variables:

- Living standards in the community – extent of infrastructure, formal and informal housing etc.
- Level of functioning
- Demographics
- Level of crime

In terms of the above criteria the two communities selected were Khayelitsha and George. A brief description of each of the communities according to the outlined criteria follows.

Khayelitsha is a Xhosa-speaking township with an estimated over 1 million residents living in both formal and informal residential areas. The area, although urban, lies approximately 50km from Cape Town CBD. Khayelitsha until recently fell under the Tygerberg Municipality but is now part of the Cape Town Unicity. The Khayelitsha CSF, established in mid-1998, was one of the first forums. It was considered one of the better functioning CSFs although, as with all such assessments, this was not measured systematically but on the insight and impressions of the UMAC staff. Khayelitsha is also one of the sites selected for the pilot implementation of the NCPS.

The George CSF was also established during mid-1999, however, it is seen as the strongest functioning of all of the CSFs piloted. George is a municipal town on the Garden Route. The suburban areas are fairly affluent and it is a popular choice as a retirement town.

2.3.1.2 Selection of participants

A total of 22 stakeholders were identified for interviews. There were three categories of interviewees. The first was the UMAC staff, which included the director of the NGO, and the trainer associated with each of the two selected CSFs. This amounted to three participants who were expected to provide

information regarding what was required to keep the CSFs running and an historical overview of the successes and problems encountered.

The second category was that of the steering committee of the CSFs. Two participants were selected for the overview they could provide, especially regarding the initial conceptualisation of the project and the long-term view of how the CSFs were intended to have an impact.

The third category of participants was the representatives on the forums. A total of 17 representatives were interviewed. The interviews were divided across the two CSFs in similar numbers – 9 Khayelitsha and 8 George interviews.

The criteria applied for selection of participants from this category were threefold. Firstly, participants were selected in terms of the departments they represented. Every effort was made to ensure that all representatives from the Criminal Justice System and other core departments were interviewed. Secondly, people who had participated in the CSF structure for a significant period, preferably since inception, were selected. In addition, a third criterion was that they had also participated during meetings and had contributed towards projects or the drafting of the forum's Safety Plan. This was determined by an analysis of each of the forum's minutes. The facilitators of each of the four respective forums also made suggestions concerning which participants to interview. This approach is typical when selecting participants for case study research. Starke writes that, "although it is important to attempt a balance of study participant characteristics, in case study research the cases are usually handpicked by the researcher on the basis of practical needs and the likelihood of obtaining the most interesting and useful information" (Starke in Mark 1996, p. 221).

2.3.2 Data collection

Two primary means of data collection were employed – an analysis of the records of the CSF pilot project and structured interviews.

2.3.2.1 Project record

The documents reviewed for this evaluation consisted primarily of the minutes of meetings of the selected CSFs for the period 1999 – 2000. Meetings were only just beginning to start in the New Year at the time of commencing with the evaluation. It was therefore decided that the minutes of the year 2001 would be excluded. The Khayelitsha safety plans were also reviewed. George had not yet drafted similar plans. The analysis of the minutes and the safety plans informed the design and content of the questionnaires used in the structured interviews.

2.3.2.2 Interviews

Of the total of 22 interviews conducted, 20 of the interviews were conducted in person and the remaining 2 were conducted telephonically. Interviews were only conducted telephonically in cases where participants had not been available at the time that interviews were conducted in their area.

A total of five questionnaires were designed for the various CSF stakeholders. The five categories of interviewees, and thus of questionnaires, were: the NGO director; the trainees of the four CSFs, the steering committee members of the CSFs, the members of the CSFs and finally, stakeholders who did not attend meetings despite repeated invitations from the forums. The UMAC staff participated in the design of the various questionnaires – a meeting was held with the staff at the beginning of the process to clarify the questions that needed to be addressed, and once the questionnaire had been designed it was circulated among staff members for comment.

With the exception of the non-attendance questionnaire, the questionnaires for UMAC, the steering committee and the CSF members were similar, with the inclusion or exclusion of certain categories of questions depending on the nature of their involvement. The non-attendance questionnaire consisted of just five questions – aimed at establishing what made it difficult for the interviewee to participate, if they understood the purpose of the CSF, if they had knowledge of the CSF activities and whether or not they believed CSFs had the potential to reduce crime in their areas.

The director, trainee, steering committee and CSF member questionnaires were based on a selection of the following 8 categories of questions:

Conceptualisation: Such questions explored the theory that the various stakeholders held regarding the purpose, proposed function and envisaged impact of the forums. These questions were included in all four of the questionnaires.

Organisational and departmental support: These questions aimed at establishing the degree of organisational authority that participants brought to the CSF meetings and the extent to which involvement in the CSF was seen to assist with the work plans of the organisation that the participant represented. These questions were only included in the CSF member questionnaires.

Representation and participation of stakeholders: These questions explored members' perceptions regarding involvement of important role-players in the CSF, regularity of attendance and perceived levels of commitment to the forum. This category of questions was included in all four of the questionnaires.

Integrated planning and implementation: This category focused on the priorities of the CSF, actual projects that have been initiated and allocation of

responsibility within the structure. This category of questions was included in all of the questionnaires.

Integrated problem solving: This category explored issues relating to problem solving, for example, the level of understanding of how other departments work, degree co-operation between departments, extent of assistance between representatives outside of the CSF meetings and how problems encountered in project implementation are addressed. This category of questions was only included in the CSF members' questionnaires.

Sustainability: The central question in this category was who should take on the responsibility currently fulfilled by the UMAC trainer should UMAC no longer have the resources to undertake the task. This category of questions was included in all of the questionnaires.

Project monitoring: These questions looked at accountability, reporting lines and feedback within and between government departments. This category of questions was included in all of the questionnaires.

General barriers: This covered potential barriers to aspects of CSF functioning such as representatives' involvement, fulfilling the CSF's safety plan, finances and any other aspects that the interviewee wanted to mention. This category of questions was included in all of the questionnaires.

In addition, the steering committee members, CSF trainers and director's questionnaires included the category of:

Initiation: Concerning the process followed for the selection of the initial Western Cape CSFs sites.

All of the questions were open-ended. The average interview lasted between 45 and 60 minutes.

2.3.3 Analysis

2.3.3.1 Record analysis

Two types of project records were studied – the minutes of meetings of each of the two forums and the safety plans drafted by Khayelitsha. The minutes were important because they recorded the attendance of the representatives, as well as providing a record of issues raised and projects discussed. For the purposes of this study two aspects of attendance were important – frequency and consistency. Frequency simply meant that the organisation was represented at forum meetings on a regular basis. Regular was defined by UMAC to mean that an organisational representative should not miss more than two meetings without giving an apology and that apologies should not exceed attendance. Number of meetings attended by representatives and number of apologies given were therefore tallied for each participating organisation. A percentage was then accorded to each organisation calculated as the ratio of meetings attended to the total number of meetings held. In terms of consistency, it was deemed preferable that one representative attend the meetings rather than distributing the responsibility between a number of people who might not give the necessary feedback to one another. The number of people representing an organisation at the CSF meetings was therefore also recorded.

The safety plan drafted by Khayelitsha was analysed to see what the goals of each forums were, and to provide a measure against which to gauge the respective forums' progress.

2.3.3.2 Interviews

Notes were taken during the interviews. These notes were then grouped according to each CSF and analysed according to the groups of questions.

Categories of questions included:

- Conceptualisation and understanding of the forums;
- Initiation of the project;
- Implementation, including successes and challenges;
- Organisational and departmental support for participation in the forum;
- Representation of stakeholders;
- Integrated planning and implementation;
- Integrated problem solving and
- Sustainability of the project.

Stakeholders interviewed were able to provide information regarding actual project implementation, but much of the interview information, while valuable, was based on peoples' perceptions and as such could also vary between individuals. The interview data was therefore verified with the information contained in the minutes regarding project implementation and attendance.

Three levels of analysis were used, firstly the perceptions of the participants interviewed. Secondly, the information gathered in the record analysis, and finally the progress of both forums was compared to the evolutionary stages of development envisaged by UMAC, which were outlined in detail in the previous chapter.

The two CSFs to be presented in this chapter are the Khayelitsha and the George CSFs. Both are significant for different reasons. Khayelitsha, in addition to being a site for a UMAC pilot CSF, is also one of the national pilot sites for the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) discussed in Chapter One. This is particularly noteworthy as the NCPS sets out a direction for a multi-agency approach to proactive crime prevention – the very principles on which the CSF project is based.

George is another significant forum as far as UMAC, the implementing organisation, is concerned. In UMAC's eyes, George is a flagship CSF in terms of its level of functioning. UMAC sees the role players in George operating as the best example of proactive planning, and although it has not reached the fourth and final stage of the four-phased evolutionary process, it is the best example of a CSF at the third stage of "increased co-operation in service delivery".

The case studies will be presented in four main sections, each section discussing one of the four stages of the evolutionary development process envisaged for the CSFs, namely:

- Stage one – regular meetings;
- Stage two – improved understanding and information sharing;
- Stage three – increased co-operation in service delivery, and
- Stage four – initiation and implementation of new projects.

The record analysis of stage one warrants some explanation. The record analysis consists of assessing the attendance of the various role players at the CSF meetings, as recorded in the meeting minutes. Attendance is presented in

tabular form according to year, and in terms of the frequency and consistency of attendance, and whether attendance met the standard set by UMAC. The standard set for regular attendance was presented in Chapter Two as:

“Regular attendance was defined by UMAC staff to mean that no representative should miss more than two consecutive meetings without giving an apology for their absence, and that the number of apologies should not exceed attendance. Also, a representative should attend at least half of the year’s meetings.”

Whether or not this standard was met is recorded in the fourth and final column. The “frequency” column records the percentage of CSF meetings at which an organisation was represented, whereas “consistency” records the percentage of meetings the most regular representative attended. This differentiation is important. If the responsibility of attending the meetings is shared by a number of people, then it is important that there is regular communication between the numerous members so that everyone is kept updated. If this is not the case then having a lack of consistency in organisational representation at meetings is not in the interests of the CSF process.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, there were two parallel data collection methods used. The first was an analysis of project records, namely the minutes of each forum, and the Safety Plans drafted by some of the forums where available, and the second method was interviews conducted on site with participating representatives of the forum. Data collected from the record analysis will inform discussion on stages one (regular meetings) and three (increased co-operation in service delivery), while the perceptions gathered during the interview process will be used in discussion of each of the four sections.

It is acknowledged that the information gathered during the interview process is the subjective views of the representatives participating in the CSF forums. In some instances it is important to verify such perceptions with more objective

records, for example when it comes to assessing the attendance of members and the activities undertaken by the structures. However, at other times it is the perceptions and beliefs of the people participating that are important, and it is either unnecessary or impossible to verify these views – for example when it comes to the representatives' perceptions of the level of commitment of the CSF members, or their experiences of the co-operation and information sharing among the forum members.

University of Cape Town

KHAYELITSHA CSF CASE STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE KHAYELITSHA CSF

The process of establishing the Khayelitsha CSF began in 1998, and entailed a lengthy process of community consultation. General meetings were called during this consultative phase to inform the broader community of the initiative under discussion. The CSF was accepted as the structure for co-ordinating crime prevention strategies in July 1998. The official launch of the Khayelitsha CSF took place on the 17th of April 1999.

A Community Policing Forum had been established in Khayelitsha as early as 1994, a process in which UMAC had been very involved. However, the establishment of the CSF resulted in tensions between the existing CPF and the newly established CSF regarding issues of representation and participation. Discussions were facilitated between the CPF and the CSF and these differences resolved. Subsequently the CPF has been the most consistent and active member of the CSF. Four representatives were elected in 1999 to represent the community on the CSF. None of the community representatives still attend the meetings.

Meetings are held once a month and last for approximately 3 hours. At these meetings each representative is given an opportunity to address the forum and to give any necessary updates.

A total of 9 role-players were interviewed in connection with the Khayelitsha CSF – 8 representatives and the UMAC facilitator for the area. The table below summarises the organisations that the participants represented and their positions within their organisations.

Table 3.1: Khayelitsha participants

ORGANISATION	POSITION
1. UMAC	Khayelitsha trainer
2. SAPS	Superintendent – crime prevention
3. CPF	Deputy Chairperson
4. Justice	Senior Prosecutor
5. Community Correctional Services	Senior Correctional Officer
6. Social Services	Senior Clerk
7. Municipality – Tygerberg	Director of Community Services
8. NICRO	Social Worker
9. Law Enforcement	Regional Head – law enforcement and security

3.2 STAGE ONE – REGULAR MEETINGS

Record Analysis

A total of 21 meetings were held in 1999 and 2000. Attendance of the various role players is tabulated below according to year, and in terms of the frequency and consistency of attendance, and whether the attendance met the standard set by UMAC.

3.2.1 Attendance in 1999

Table 3.2: Khayelitsha 1999 attendance

1999			
Total of 8* meetings from March – November *According to the minutes supplied by UMAC			
ORGANISATION	FREQUENCY # of meetings at which organisations were present	CONSISTENCY # of meetings at which individual representatives were present	UMAC STAMDARD MET?
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS			
Khayelitsha SAPS	Attendance = 75% Apologies = 4	8 representatives; most regular representative attended 38% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Justice	Attendance = 75% Apologies = 3	Represented by Chief Magistrate (25% of meetings) and Senior Prosecutor (63% of meetings)	Frequency : Yes Consistency: Yes
Correctional Services	Attendance = 63% Apologies = 1	4 representatives; 3 attended only once; most regular representative attended 38% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Social Services	Not involved		
Local government	Not involved		
Education	Not involved		
Health	Not involved		
Traffic	Not involved		
Labour	Not involved		
Trade and Tourism	Not involved		
Department of Community Safety	Attendance = 38% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency : No Consistency: No

Law Enforcement	Attendance = 50% Apologies = 0	3 representatives; most regular representative attended 38% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Councillor	Attendance = 13% Apologies = 0	Attended once in 1999	Frequency : No Consistency: No
COMMUNITY			
Khayelitsha CPF	Attendance = 75% Apologies = 3	21 representatives; 4 most regular representatives attended 25% of meetings each	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Community representatives	Attendance = 50% Apologies = 1	4 representatives; 3 attended 50% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: Yes
CIVIL SOCIETY			
NICRO	Attendance = 38% Apologies = 1	1 representative	Frequency : No Consistency: No
Rape Crisis	Attendance = 38% Apologies = 0	3 representatives; 2 members attended 25% of meetings each	Frequency : No Consistency: No
Summary	Average organisational representation: 52 %	Average individual attendance: 35%	Frequency: 6 Yes/ 4 No Consistency: 2 Yes/ 8 No

In addition, other organisations that attended just once or twice in 1999 include Buzani Kubawo Inyanga's Association, Western Cape HIV/AIDS Traditional Healers, Peninsula Anti Crime, Izwi Labembola.

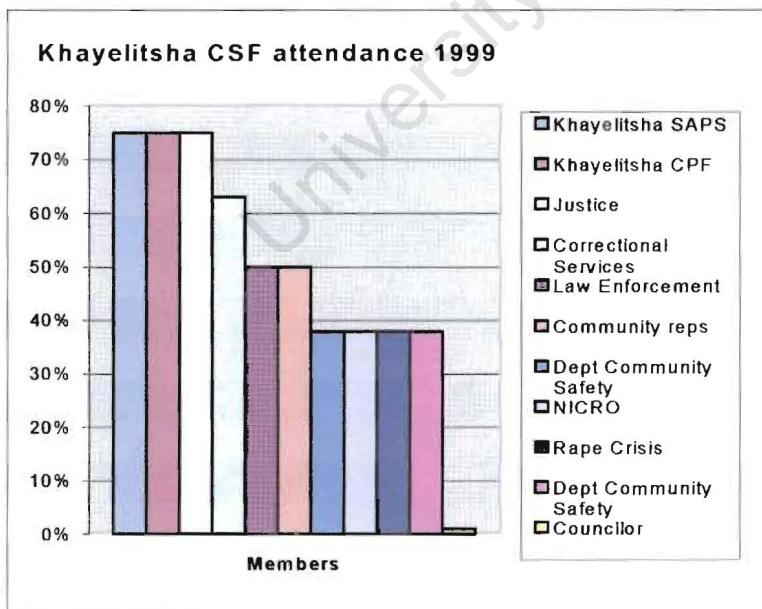


Figure 3.1: Khayelitsha attendance 1999

3.2.2 Attendance in 2000

Table 3.3: Khayelitsha attendance 2000

2000			
A total of 13* meetings from February – November *According to the minutes supplied by UMAC			
ORGANISATION	FREQUENCY # of meetings at which organisations were present	CONSISTENCY # of meetings at which individual representatives were present	UMAC STANDARD MET?
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS			
Khayelitsha SAPS (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 92% Apologies = 7	13 representatives; only two attended more than twice (38% of meetings)	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Justice (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 62% Apologies = 11	4 representatives; most regular representative attended 38% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Correctional Services (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 62% Apologies = 3	3 representatives; most regular representative attended 54% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: Yes
Social Services (New representative)	Attendance = 46% Apologies = 1	7 representatives – 6 only attended once and 1 attended 4 meetings (30% of meetings)	Frequency : No Consistency: No
Tygerberg municipality – in general (New representative)	Attendance = 23% Apologies = 0	9 representatives; 3 most regular representatives attended 2 meetings each (15%)	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Tygerberg municipality – Law Enforcement	Attendance = 46% Apologies = 1	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Councilor (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 23% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency : No Consistency: No
Department of Education (New representative)	Attendance = 15% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency : No Consistency: No
Health	Not involved		
Traffic	Not involved		
Labour	Not involved		
Trade and Tourism	Not involved		

Department of Community Safety (Attendance remained constant)	Attendance = 38% Apologies = 1	2 representatives; 1 person attending 30% of the meetings	Frequency : No Consistency: No
COMMUNITY			
Khayelitsha CPF (Attendance improved significantly)	Attendance = 92% Apologies = 2	5 representatives; most regular person attended 85% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Community representative/s (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 15% Apologies = 3	2 representatives; each attended 1 meeting only	Frequency : No Consistency: No
CIVIL SOCIETY			
NICRO (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 62% Apologies = 2	5 representatives; most regular representative attended 38% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Rape Crisis (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 62% Apologies = 1	4 representatives; most regular representative attended 30% of meetings	Frequency : Yes Consistency: No
Quaker Peace Centre (New representative)	Attendance = 31% Apologies = 0	2 representatives; most regular representative attended 30% of meetings	Frequency : No Consistency: No
UCT Health (New representative)	Attendance = 31% Apologies = 1	1 representative	Frequency : No Consistency: No
Summary	Average Representation: 49 %	Average consistency: 34%	Frequency: 6 Yes Consistency: 2 Yes

Other organisations that attended CSF meetings once or twice in 2000 include POPCRU, AMICO, GCIS, PAWK Communications, UCT Physiotherapy, UCT Zibonele, SAPS Provincial Youth Desk, and Khayelitsha Business Forum.

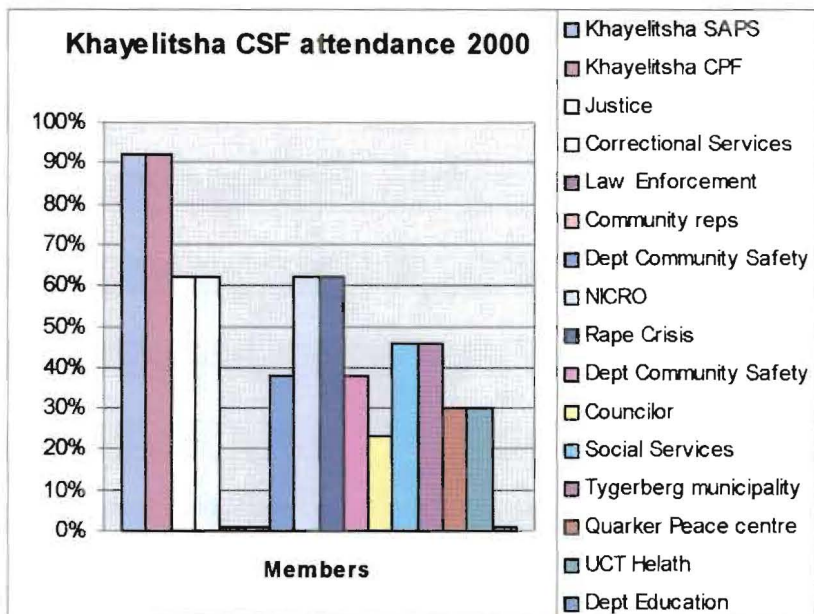


Figure 3.3: Khayelitsha attendance 2000

3.2.3 Comments on attendance

3.2.3.1 Representation of key role players

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the organisations that should be participating in all of the CSFs – an ideal set by UMAC and one which is used as a standard for measuring the attendance in this study – includes the following:

- SAPS
- Justice
- Correctional Service
- Social Service
- Local government
- Education
- Health
- Traffic
- Labour
- Trade and Tourism

According to this list, in 1999 a number of key government departments were conspicuously absent, namely the Departments of Social Services, Education; Health; Traffic; Labour; Trade and Tourism and local government, other than Law Enforcement and a single meeting attended by the councillor. However, this should be seen in the light that 1999 was the first year of the Khayelitsha CSF and UMAC was still in the process of getting all relevant role players to support the new initiative.

The absence of some key role players was partly rectified in 2000 when four new role players joined the CSF – the Departments of Education and Social Services, and less importantly, the Quaker Peace Centre and the UCT Department of Health. There was also improved and more extensive local government involvement. Importantly, there was still no representation from the Departments of Health, Labour, Trade and Tourism and Traffic in 2000. Although based on the developmental needs of the Khayelitsha area one would imagine the absence of Labour and Health to be more important than that of other absent departments.

3.2.3.2 Attendance – frequency and consistency

It is encouraging to see that 60% of the organisations in 1999 attended more than half of the meetings. On average, each organisation was represented at 52% of the meetings in 1999. Consistency of representation at the meetings, however, was lower with the main representative of an organisation attending, on average, only 35% of the meetings. The situation where an organisation is well represented at meetings but represented by numerous individuals is well illustrated in the case of the SAPS. The SAPS had representation at 75% of the meetings in 1999. However, the most regular representative only attended 38% of the meetings. It would thus appear that the representation was dispersed and inconsistent. Similarly, the Department of Correctional Services was

represented at 63% of the meetings, well above average representation. But again, the most regular individual attended just 38% of the meetings.

The average frequency of attendance dropped slightly in 2000 to 49%. There was also no improvement in the consistency of representation - 35% in 1999 and 34% in 2000. An important exception, however, was the CPF whose attendance shot up in 2000 both in terms of frequency and consistency, with the deputy chairperson attending 85% of the meetings in 2000 making the CPF the most frequently and consistently represented organisation on the CSF. However, there was a small decrease in attendance on the part of the Department of Justice, which attended 75% of meetings in 1999 but only 62% in 2000. There was also a decline in the attendance of community representatives whose attendance eventually stopped completely early in 2000.

There was no improvement in the consistency of representatives in 2000. Once again the Khayelitsha police, for example, were inconsistent in their attendance – the most regular representative attended a mere 38% of the meetings. The Department of Health remained conspicuously absent in 2000.

The issue of consistency is an important one as it relates directly to the quality of representation. It is understandable that work demands and availability will result in some variation in the individuals who represent their organisation. It is even desirable that the issues under discussion should influence representation so that the most relevant person attends. However, for a variation in attendance to be advantageous rather than disruptive there has to be communication and report backs among representatives. When questioned about internal reporting practices regarding CSF meetings few representatives mentioned giving report backs to colleagues. Reports, when they took place, were usually addressed to the individual's immediate superior. The danger is that the different people representing their organisations are not informed of the discussions and

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might not have been in a position to give accurate comment on the general attendance levels.

However, not all members of the Khayelitsha forum were equally satisfied. The UMAC facilitator named the poor consistency of representation as the greatest obstacle facing the CSF. He mentioned that the only regular representative was the senior prosecutor representing Justice. (The Justice Department fulfilled UMAC's standard for frequency and consistency in both 1999 and 2000, and for frequency in 1999.)

It was mentioned that: "There is a problem with attendance that keeps coming up often. They [UMAC] have tried to get people to come using letters and sending minutes but they attend once and never attend again". The SAPS representative commented that: "Few government departments participate due to a lack of interest".

Some reasons cited for poor attendance included restructuring within local government and internal departmental problems. In particular, the Health Department representative for Khayelitsha was asked to explain his lack of attendance at the CSF meetings. He mentioned work pressure; too many meetings and the changes brought about by the Unicity as reasons for not attending. However, he was aware of the CSF structure, understood the purpose of the forum and intended attending "as soon as the authority's structures are in place and normalised".

Both satisfied and dissatisfied Khayelitsha representatives singled out some departments for their non- or irregular attendance. They were:

- Government departments - Home Affairs, Labour, Transport, Education, Welfare, Housing, Correctional Services and the SAPS were mentioned as role

players who attend but do so irregularly. Interestingly, the Department of Health was not singled out for non-attendance by any of the CSF members, even though records indicate that they did not attend a single meeting despite numerous invitations. It would seem that some CSF representatives understood UCT Health Department to be a government department.

- ❑ Additional relevant NGO's – some NGO's were criticised for sending volunteers to the meetings when their organisation should actually be represented by a social worker.
- ❑ Local government – in particular, the Urban Planning Department.

3.2.5 Consequences of poor attendance

The 9 Khayelitsha CSF participants were asked to explain the consequences of poor attendance on the functioning of the forum. All except one of the members mentioned some negative impact. The most common complaint from representatives was that poor or irregular attendance meant that there was no feedback from the absent representative. This lack of feedback was seen as the major cause for the lack of progress on projects.

For example, representatives complained that: "There are people who make excuses all the time. They do not give reports on what they have been doing so there is no progress". Another similar complaint was: "They do not give feedback as expected, and this means that there is no progress". The resulting lack of progress was emphasised by others as well: "It interferes with our progress. Issues have to be postponed all the time", and "There is no progress on some issues. They just have to be put on hold until those individuals come to a meeting".

The poor attendance and resultant lack of feedback meant that time was repeatedly spent at meetings dealing with the issue. As one member explained:

"It results in us always discussing how to get the missing people on board. There are no reports from people some times, there is no accountability, and this causes delays on other issues".

Clearly, the issue of irregular attendance was a source of frustration for the Khayelitsha CSF and, as mentioned, seen as a major obstacle to the future progress of the structure. However, the full explanation for the lack of progress of CSF projects is probably due to a number of reasons.

Only one member felt that the absence or irregular attendance of some members had no negative impact on the functioning of the forum. She stated that: "It does not affect our functioning. We go ahead with our planning".

3.2.6 Authority of representatives

Of the nine participants interviewed, only two representatives mentioned having had to ask for permission from a supervisor in the past - Correctional Services and the CPF chair. The first had to discuss setting up community offices with the Head of Correctional Services and the CPF stated that the forum must approve all projects.

Five participants said they had never had to go back and ask their managers for authorisation for a project initiated by the CSF. This should be read in the light of a lack of project initiation by the forum structure, rather than an indication of senior status and authority on the part of the attendants.

3.2.7 Internal/ departmental reporting practices

Internal reporting practices refer to the way in which the organisational representative participating in the CSF shares information about CSF

developments with his or her supervisor and colleagues. As such, the way in which information is shared is a means of determining whether the CSF is supported by an organisation as a whole, or just by the individual representative who attends the meetings. In other words, internal reporting practices determine who is informed of the progress made by the CSF and who gives input, and also indicates who is sufficiently interested in the proceedings to request such information. If there is no reporting to other members of the organisation then it would seem as though participation in the forum is more a matter of individual attendance rather than organisational support.

All of the representatives claimed to give reports on the progress of the CSF to their immediate managers. However, decisions made at the CSF meetings require the support and buy-in not only from senior management, but also from officials who work in the community and are responsible for the day-to-day implementation of projects. However, few government department representatives mentioned giving feedback to colleagues. This issue was discussed earlier under "consistency of stakeholder representation".

In particular, 5 representatives only ever report to their immediate managers. These reports, or feedback, usually take place on a monthly basis at supervision meetings and form part of more general reporting procedures. Managers unfortunately do not request reports on the progress of the CSF as such, rather they are included at the discretion of the representative who attends the CSF meetings. This would seem to indicate that the managers are not actively encouraging, managing or interested in the attendance of their staff at the CSF meetings.

Exceptions to this general practice were the Department of Social Services, Law Enforcement and the CPF. Their reports were given at meetings that provided a wider audience for the updates. While such meetings might not involve the

entire organisation they do generally ensure that the information is at least circulated throughout a section or department. This is especially important for continuity in the light of poor consistency in representation. With wider reporting procedures there is an improved chance that a new or different representative at a CSF meeting will be informed of previous developments.

3.2.8 Perceived levels of commitment

The Khayelitsha respondents were asked to describe the commitment of other forum members. As such their responses reflect how they feel about the commitment of those they are required to work with, and not their own commitment to the process.

Only two representatives were satisfied with the level of commitment displayed by participating CSF members. Both of these representatives attributed this commitment to their belief that belonging to the forum greatly benefited the members. In particular, they claimed it resulted in improved access to the community and improved community participation. This view was summarised by the Correctional Services representative as: "All the people are committed because they want to serve the community".

However, many of those interviewed strongly criticised the poor attendance of some of the government departments. One representative summed up the situation as: "There are people who are committed, but the problem is getting other people to also be committed". The Justice representative mentioned that, "There is not a high level of commitment here".

One government representative described her own declining commitment: "You spend the whole day in the meeting and in the end have nothing to show for it.

You ask yourself how you benefit as an organisation". This representative described the general level of commitment among representatives as "poor".

Finally, the UMAC facilitator in Khayelitsha had the following to say: "It is very important that representatives are committed. But at present they are not as committed as they should be. If they were fully committed then the CSF would be 100%, but only a couple of departments are both consistent and regular in their attendance".

Suggestions made to improve commitment included rescheduling the time of the meetings, shortening the length of the meetings which often last 3 hours, and as one representative suggested, "I have proposed that the people who do not attend should be reported to their Heads of Department".

3.3 STAGE TWO: IMPROVED UNDERSTANDING AND INFORMATION SHARING

According to UMAC's strategy, once the first stage of regular meetings has been established, the CSFs will naturally move into the second stage of their development. That is, as a result of the appropriate members meeting on a regular basis, there will be an improvement in the understanding of the members of the roles and responsibilities of their fellow CSF members, accompanied by an increase of information sharing between the various representatives.

Interviews

3.3.1 Levels of understanding and information sharing

All of the Khayelitsha CSF representatives stated that participating in the CSF had improved their understanding of how other departments operate. A common area of improved understanding pertained to the different roles of the police and

the Department of Justice. In particular, the role of prosecuting and sentencing criminals had been clarified - CSF members had previously believed this to be the responsibility of the police. As the representative for Social Services explained: "I now have a much better understanding of what Justice can and cannot do." This improvement in understanding was also mentioned by the NICRO representative who said that her understanding of the work of the Department of Justice and the police had been clarified since becoming involved in the CSF.

Other examples mentioned were improved understanding of the work of the Department of Education and the work of NGO's in the area. For example, the CPF representative explained: "I did not have anything to do with the Department of Education before, but now I understand a lot of things about the Department". The belief that understanding of other departments' work had improved as a result of participating in the CSF structure was shared by all of the representatives, without exception.

3.3.2 Representatives' reporting to the CSF

However, members' understanding of the role and responsibilities of other departments is a function of how well member organisations report back to the forum on their activities. The main form that such communication takes with the Khayelitsha forum, as with most CSFs, is through feedback given by members at the monthly meetings. What is different about the Khayelitsha CSF is that each member – not just those involved in projects of interest to the forum - gives feedback on their organisation. As a result, meetings are particularly time consuming.

All of the representatives were satisfied with the form that the reporting took – namely verbal report backs at meetings and quarterly reports. However, some mention was made that not all representatives prepared and submitted input for

inclusion in the report as reliably as they should. This was discussed in detail above as part of "Consequences of poor attendance".

The Khayelitsha CSF is the only forum that attempts to compile regular quarterly reports as a means of tracking initiatives and in this way recording their progress. It appears, however, that this is no easy task and it remains an ongoing problem to get representatives to deliver on their promises to submit the required information for inclusion in the report.

3.4 STAGE THREE: INCREASED CO-OPERATION IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Record analysis

3.4.1 Safety plan and recorded activities

The Khayelitsha CSF Safety Plan was drafted in October 2000 and circulated as their first progress report. Mention is made in the report that: "No progress has been recorded on the goals of the project. This is subject to a reasoned assessment of the intervention and will be carried out at a later date. In the meantime a record is given of the progress made regarding individual activities".

The mission of the Khayelitsha CSF is to: "Improve the living conditions and enhance safety and security in Khayelitsha". There are ten objectives listed in the CSF the Safety Plan, and these objectives are further broken down into smaller action steps which are not included in the summary below. The objectives are summarised in the table that follows, along with comment on progress made regarding these objectives as of the end of October 2000. Progress details were gathered from the first progress of the Khayelitsha CSF and the minutes of 1999 and 2000.

SAFETY PLAN GOAL AND OBJECTIVES	PROGRESS AS RECORDED IN OCTOBER PROGRESS REPORT AND MINUTES
<p># 1 Establish a project task team</p> <p>Establish a CSF task team that will be able to implement the Urban Renewal Strategy in Khayelitsha</p>	<p>The CSF was launched on the 8 April 2000 with an elected Chair and Secretary. The provincial Steering Committee for the Community Safety Forum was established as provincial steering committee for the Urban Renewal Strategy thus establishing a link between the two.</p>
<p># 2 Crime reduction</p> <p>2.1 Enhance community involvement in policing</p> <p>2.2 Improve SAPS intelligence</p>	<p>2.1 The Department of Community Safety trained 7 Khayelitsha residents in a "train the trainer" programme. These volunteers together with the CPF and SAPS were then responsible for establishing neighbourhood watches in the area. The newly formed Watch worked in conjunction with the CPF and SAPS in monitoring the Bus-Taxi crisis in 2000.</p> <p>2.2 All that was reported in this regard was that there was "regular interaction" between numerous relevant role players.</p>

<p>2.3 Introduction of a Khayelitsha specific telephone number</p> <p>2.4 Armed Robbery Project (improve co-operation between the Firearm Project, Neighbourhood Watch Project, Tygerberg Law Enforcement. Also introduce CCTV cameras)</p> <p>2.5 Shebeen project (legalise, monitor and control the licensing and operation of shebeens)</p> <p>2.6 Traffic and taxi project</p> <p>2.7 Establish Community peace committee to provide conflict resolution services</p>	<p>2.3 "Investigations taking place"</p> <p>2.4 "Discussions being held"</p> <p>2.5 No mention made of developments</p> <p>2.6 Almost 1 000 unroadworthy and illegal taxis were impounded by Department of Traffic in 2000.</p> <p>2.7 Volunteers were trained, 3 peace committees formed and initial disputes heard.</p>
<p># 3 Improving the criminal justice system</p> <p>3.1 Establish the Victim Empowerment Program (VEP) in Khayelitsha</p> <p>3.2 Improve correctional supervision (monitoring parolees, system for absconders, more community</p>	<p>3.1 A total of 34 volunteers were recruited to undergo the training which ran from 10 – 26 July 2000. An official launch of the VEP was held on 23 September 2000.</p> <p>3.2 Department of Correctional Services at the time was monitoring 132 parolees and 86 probationers. 62</p>

sentencing)	absconders were being sought, and 67 probationers were doing community service in the area. These records will serve as baseline data as the Department of Correctional Services attempts to improve the effectiveness of these systems.
3.3 Improve interaction between prison services and community structures	3.3 No mention made of developments
3.4 Re-engineer the justice process	3.4 No mention made of developments
3.5 Development of Khayelitsha court	3.5 The construction of the new court was at an advanced stage at the time of this study and was scheduled to be finished in the latter part of 2001.
3.6 Improvement of pre-trial services at Khayelitsha	3.6 "Increased liaison" between prosecutors and detectives
3.7 Juvenile justice (increase in Xhosa speaking probation officers)	3.7 Two Xhosa speaking probation officers appointed
3.8 Youth diversion and rehabilitation	3.8 Department of Social Services funded NICRO to expand their diversion programme
3.9 Community capacity building programme	3.9 Joint programme between City of Tygerberg and the NGO Triple Trust was conducted for new home owners
3.10 Transformation of SAPS	3.10 SAPS sent 40 members at the Khayelitsha station to

	statement taking courses
<p># 4 Improve municipal services and facilities in Khayelitsha</p> <p>4.1 Developing the City (building infrastructure in the Khayelitsha area)</p>	<p>4.1 Work had begun on the tourist centre Look Out Hill. Also, the council built 398 housing units and private developers made 2 000 sites available. The City of Tygerberg was in the process of designing electrification layout for 6 areas in Khayelitsha.</p>
<p># 5 Youth at risk and general youth development</p> <p>5.1 Safer School programme for Khayelitsha</p> <p>5.2 Youth leaders against crime (YLAC)</p>	<p>5.1 The Department of Education made funds available for security measures at 24 schools in Khayelitsha</p> <p>5.2 The Safe Schools Project run by the Department of Education was in the process of clustering 30 schools and providing each cluster with R4 000 for use in crime prevention and awareness training</p>
<p># 6 Programs on facilitators of crime such as fire arms, alcohol and drugs</p> <p>6.1 Fire Arms Projects (creation of a gun free zone and</p>	<p>6.1 Khayelitsha was one of the sites for the SAPS National Fire Arm Project and Operation 9mm to recover illegal</p>

improving fire arm conviction rates)	weapons
<p># 7 Poverty alleviation</p> <p>7.1 Roll out programme for unemployed women</p> <p>7.2 Extension of poverty alleviation programme</p> <p>7.3 Develop community and entrepreneur tourism products</p> <p>7.4 Provision of job skills and entrepreneurship training</p>	<p>7.1 No mention made of developments</p> <p>7.2 Nine poverty alleviation projects were identified in Khayelitsha to a value of R4,9-million</p> <p>7.3 The business plan for the development of the Khayelitsha Look Out Hill and related tourism opportunities was developed and endorsed by relevant role players</p> <p>7.4 Unemployed residents of Site B attended a course run by the Building Industry Federation of South Africa to equip them to work on the construction of the proposed multi-purpose centre</p>
<p># 8 Development of health facilities</p> <p>8.1 Upgrading of clinic</p> <p>8.2 Mother and child transmission research project</p> <p>8.3 Healthy schools project</p> <p>8.4 HIV programme</p>	<p>8.1 No mention made of developments</p> <p>8.2 No mention made of developments</p> <p>8.3 No mention made of developments</p> <p>8.4 Staff from the Department of Social Services completed training on HIV/ AIDS, and SAPS staff were undergoing similar training at the time of the study</p>

8.5 Family planning project	8.5 No mention made of developments
# 9 Crime prevention and urban renewal in targeted hot spots 9.1 Crime prevention strategy	9.1 No mention made of developments
# 10 Urban renewal strategy	No mention made of developments

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3.4.2 Comments on the Khayelitsha Safety Plan

3.4.2.1 Scope of goals and objectives

The goals of the Khayelitsha CSF are very far-reaching and include all aspects of development in the Khayelitsha area. This broad scope is largely the result of the CSF having taken on the role of implementing agent for the Urban Renewal Strategy in the area. The scope of the goals, however, does raise the question of whether such tasks can be addressed at a local level. For example, the responsibility for implementing objectives such as "Re-engineering the Justice system" (objective 3.4 in the previous table) or "Transformation of the SAPS" (objective 3.10) or, especially, "Improve municipal services and facilities in Khayelitsha" (goal 4) would seem to lie at national and provincial levels, rather than at a local level.

To be fair, some of the very ambitious sounding goals and objectives are broken down in the safety plan into more realistic and achievable action steps. For example, the main focus of "Transforming the SAPS" consists of upgrading cells and providing training for the police members. However, even this goal still includes the objective of "addressing racial and gender disparity on [the SAPS] management through the application of affirmative action on criteria on all new recruitments at Khayelitsha SAPS". This is an unrealistic objective for the CSF to include in its Safety Plan when recruitment and appointments within the SAPS do not happen at local level.

3.4.2.2 Delivery on goals and objectives

There was very little delivery on the goals and objectives as set out in the Khayelitsha CSF safety plan at the time of the evaluation. To say that this was solely due to the overly ambitious and unrealistic nature of the objectives would be to lose sight of the developmental stage at which the structure was at as of the end of October 2000. At that time the various representatives had only been

meeting for just over a year, and some of the member organisations had been recruited more recently than that. The forum had therefore not been operating for long enough to be able to realistically expect any important outputs. Also, it is necessary to consider the nature of the objectives, that is that they deal with developmental issues, and involve working with bureaucratic structures and consulting with numerous role players. Any work of this nature is time consuming and lengthy.

However, in the final reckoning, one must consider if it will ever be possible to reach the envisaged outcomes of some of the objectives if they lie outside of the scope of a local structure such as the CSF.

3.4.2.3 "SMART" objectives

The problem with the Khayelitsha safety plans objectives can be summarised as one of two things – they are either so general and unspecified that they are unmeasurable, or they are so far reaching in their intention that they are unrealistic. For example, it is difficult to measure such things as "Increased effectiveness in monitoring parolees" (objective 3.2), or "Development of co-operation between NICRO and Correctional Services" (objective 3.8) or "Develop the relationship between the SAPS, Tygerberg and the schools" (objective 4.1). Such objectives would need to be more clearly defined and this has not yet been done in the safety plan.

On the other hand, as discussed above under "Scope of goals and objectives of safety plan", many of the objectives seem unrealistic and unachievable. In other ways as well, the objectives fall short of being specific, measurable, achievable, realistic or do not have a time frame. It is this shortcoming that cuts to the core of the problem with the objectives in their present form. As they are now, many of the objectives are specific. In addition, those that are not presently measurable could be reworked so that they meet this criteria. The concern lies

with the last three SMART criteria – achievable, realistic and time framed. As discussed above, many of the objectives are neither achievable nor realistic because of the fact that the necessary authority and resources lie at either national or provincial level. Also, none of the objectives presently have any time frame attached, and it would be very difficult to be able to specify by when the objectives should be met. The reason for this is that none of the representatives participating in the CSF structure have the authority to drive some of the important objectives. Some of the objectives in the CSF safety plan, to put it quite simply, lie outside of their control and this is at the heart of the problem with the plan.

Interviews

3.4.3 Representatives' perceptions of the value of the CSF

It is clear from the Safety Plan the Khayelitsha CSF member organisations continue to work independently. The CSF structure seems to operate primarily as a communication-sharing forum to keep member organisations updated of progress within other departments. However, it is not clear if such updates significantly impact on how the member organisations operate.

In order for the Khayelitsha CSF to be of value to the participating members there needs to be a clear fit between the goals of the CSF and those of member organisations. In general, the representatives interviewed were confident that there was a clear relationship between the priorities of their organisations and those of the CSF. The priorities of the member organisations were obviously of a much smaller scale than those of the CSF. Still, departments not traditionally involved in crime prevention had found certain links between their organisational priorities and those of the CSF

There was a strong sentiment among those who attended the meetings that the CSF has assisted them in achieving their organisational goals. Organisations mentioned the following ways in which the CSF had assisted them in achieving their organisational goals.

SAPS: Being part of the CSF afforded the SAPS the opportunity to network with other organisation.

CPF: The CPF claimed that the CSF has assisted them in implementing crime prevention strategies, drug trafficking, controlling shebeens and in implementing the Safe Schools Project. However, these sentiments should be read within the context that the CPF representative seems to confuse the responsibilities of the CPF with those of the SAPS and other role players. The Safe Schools Project, for example, falls under the Department of Education – it is not a CPF project.

Justice: The CSF has assisted the Justice Department in organising workshops and seminars to educate community members about the various aspects of the judicial system, for example, setting bail. Secondly, the CSF has assisted the Department in achieving its organisational goals by facilitating improved communication with other departments and NGO's. A third benefit has been an improved understanding of local crime hot spots.

Correctional Services: The CSF assisted in organising volunteers to help with the monitoring of prisoners recently released back into the community.

National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO): The NGO used the forum meetings as a resource for its Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) – CSF membership assisted in recruiting volunteers, in advertising and screening of training participants and finding

venues from which to run their programme. In addition, the CSF also gave the VEP exposure to high profile leaders such as the previous Tygerberg mayor.

Law Enforcement: The representative attributed the improvement in inter-departmental co-operation to CSF. He believed that all departments were working together towards a common goal – namely to combat crime – as the result of the efforts of the CSF. An example cited was the taxi and bus violence that, according to the local government representative, was resolved as a result of working together, resulting in the arrest and sentencing of culprits.

Social Services: As with the Justice Department, the greatest benefit of being a member of the CSF was improved access to the community. Benefits resulting from improved communication with local community members was the belief that it made it easier to recruit people for workshops, and also that the Social Services representatives were able to attend community meetings and explain the role and function of the Department.

In addition, some of the members had approached fellow representatives for work related assistance outside of CSF meetings. They were all satisfied with the assistance they had received as a result. Requests ranged from seeking assistance with recruiting volunteers to asking for specific information. The Department of Justice, for example, had repeatedly called on the police for assistance with community education campaigns.

The question was posed: “Would these projects and initiatives have taken place in the absence of the CSF structure?” Most of the representatives understood that the initiatives listed in the safety plan, for example, were not directly CSF projects. Instead the safety plan consisted of projects included in the work plans of the various organisations constituting the CSF. However, they explained that the existence of the CSF, and the resulting participation of a wide range of

stakeholders, greatly facilitated implementation. For example, the CPF representative explained that: "The participation and the support of other organisation makes it easy to do the work." The NICRO participant added: "The projects would have happened, the CSF just made the whole process easier".

However, the Community Correctional Services representative believed that some of the assistance that he had derived from the CSF would otherwise not have been possible, such as securing offices in the Khayelitsha area making direct contact with the surrounding community possible. The police representative on the other hand believed that all of the projects mentioned in the safety plan would have taken place irrespective of the CSF's involvement, "The projects would have happened with or without the CSF because SAPS wanted to do them".

3.4.4 Operation of the CSF

Allocation of responsibilities takes place during meetings. Representatives often volunteer to take on tasks. Where responsibility is allocated it is done according to the mandates of individual departments. Some mentioned that expertise, skills and experience are also criteria for deciding on role player involvement in a project. However, the organisation whose primary responsibility it is takes the lead in driving a particular project. Sub-committees are sometimes formed for particular projects – for example when conducting roadblocks. The Law Enforcement representative from Tygerberg described the situation as, "Everyone is given tasks, but tasks are not forced on people. If tasks are not done then people get reprimanded".

Any problems in project implementation are dealt with at the CSF meetings. The CPF representative and the UMAC facilitator follow up with members between meetings. However, some problems lie outside of the jurisdiction of the CSF. In

such cases a relevant representative will volunteer to follow up on the issue and will report back at the following meeting.

3.5 STAGE FOUR: INITIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PROJECTS

Interviews

Due to the recent inception of the project being evaluated, it is not yet possible to comment on the impact of the CSFs. The only possible indication that the project is having any effect is if the structure is facilitating the member organisations through the three stages discussed above. As mentioned in the discussion "Project as planned" in Chapter Two, UMAC itself acknowledges that none of the CSFs have yet reached the fourth and final evolutionary stage. However, the representatives participating in the CSF were asked to comment on the extent to which, if at all, they believed that the CSF had had an impact during the two years in which it had been in existence. The comments below are anecdotal and cannot be verified.

3.5.1 Perceptions of impact to date

Almost everyone interviewed, with the exception of the police representative, believed that the CSF had had a positive impact on service delivery in the Khayelitsha area. The most enthusiastic claim was that the CSFs have been successful in fighting and reducing crime. One person remarked that: "It has had a lot of impact. Khayelitsha has changed. There is development taking place and crime is going down". Other, less bold and perhaps more realistic responses, pointed to smaller victories such as the fact that shebeens in the area now have opening and closing times as a result of CSF actions.

Other process issues were also mentioned. Like the belief that the CSF had brought together all NGO's and made them accountable. An important benefit mentioned by many participants is that state departments now work with other departments, and also with NGO's and the community. One member stated that: "It is a respected structure and the community is using them to report anything that they have a problem with".

On the other hand the police representative believed that the impact could only be assessed in the long term, but that "There have been very few successes – it is debatable if the bus-taxi has been a success. Also, the CSF has failed to reduce poverty, and urban renewal has not been successful. Basically the plans are too idealistic".

It should be remembered that the Khayelitsha CSF has only been in existence for 2 years. The question of whether or not they have yet had an impact on their ultimate goals is premature.

3.6 OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

3.6.1 Representation and attendance at meetings

The Khayelitsha CSF enjoys a wide range of representatives. As of the end of 2000 all departments in the criminal justice system were represented at more than 50% of the forums meetings, as were the Tygerberg Municipality and NGO's such as Rape Crisis and NICRO. The problem of consistency in representation, however, remains a problem. An important case in point is that of the Khayelitsha SAPS whose most consistent member only attended 38% of the meetings. The attendance of the Justice representatives is equally poor. In 2000 there was also a problem in getting representatives from Education and Health on board. In the favour of the CSF is the very regular and consistent

involvement of the CPF whose deputy chairperson is very involved in a range of the forum's activities.

3.6.2 The Community Policing Forum

It has already been mentioned that the CPF is one of the most active members of the Khayelitsha CSF. However, as a word of caution, it appears that there is some confusion regarding the CPF's responsibility and role in some of the CSF projects. The deputy chairperson mentioned, for example, that the Victim Empowerment Project was a project of the CPF. She stated that the need for such an intervention was identified by the CPF and NICRO has simply been allocated the task of implementing the project. There were also other instances where responsibilities of the police were listed as CPF mandates.

3.6.3 Confusion regarding accountability

Some members, including the UMAC facilitator, mentioned that an aspect of the CSF's role was to hold members accountable for service delivery in the area. It is both reasonable and desirable that participation on the forum will result in a heightened sense of accountability to other role players who have come to expect co-operation and feedback from all members on the structure. However, the CSF is not mandated and does not have the authority to officially hold any of the role players accountable. The participation of all involved with the structure is purely voluntary, and as such the success of the CSF depends in good measure on the goodwill of those who participate.

NICRO is a good example. The representative took issue with the understanding of some CSF members that her organisation was expected to account to the forum on the progress of the Victim Empowerment Project. She believed that

her participation on the forum was voluntary and that she not formally answerable to the structure as some seemed to believe.

3.6.4 Safety plan

A strength of the Khayelitsha CSF is that it has formulated a detailed safety plan. Also, members submit written updates in the form of quarterly reports. While it is sometimes difficult to get all representatives to submit these reports, this does seem to be a very valuable and worthwhile exercise and further encourages accountability of individual members.

In summary, the CSF in Khayelitsha, while struggling with issues of consistency of attendance, does enjoy the support of a wide range of role players. It is both well established and respected and all of the participants interviewed believed that involvement in the structure had assisted them in meeting their organisational goals and priorities.

3.7 INTRODUCTION TO THE GEORGE CSF

UMAC started introducing stakeholders in George to the concept of Community Safety Forums in November 1998, meeting individually with identified role players. Presentations were also made to the already functioning and organised Crime Forum whose objective was to reduce crime in the area. The Crime Forum consisted of the George, Conville, Pacaltsdorp and Themba lethu SAPS, the Traffic department, and the Prosecutor. The Crime Forum welcomed the new concept of the CSF and agreed to broaden its structure, inviting other departments and organisations to its meetings.

It was initially difficult to garner support for the new initiative. Role players tended to view the idea as merely another temporary pilot project that would be of limited value. Some departments had difficulty understanding that they had any role to play in crime prevention, and had to be convinced about the usefulness of an intersectoral approach to crime. As in other areas, there was the additional concern on the part of the community that the proposed CSF would be a duplication of the CPF's function. UMAC addressed these concerns through presentations and attendance at meetings.

Other challenges facing the George CSF were leadership problems of some of the CPFs, especially in Themba lethu. The poor representation of the Themba lethu CPF in 2000 was due to the many changes in leadership, as well as a power struggle between the ANC and SANCO.

The George CSF was officially launched in April 1999. The members meet once a week (Fridays) with at least ten representatives attending the 1 ½ to 2 hour-long meetings.

For this study, a total of 8 role players were interviewed. The following table summarises the participants, the organisations they represent on the forum and their positions within their organisations.

Table 3.4: George participants

ORGANISATION	POSITION
1. UMAC	George facilitator
2. SAPS 3.	Station Commissioner, SAPS George Inspector, SAPS George
4. CPF	Previous Chairperson
5. Justice	Senior Prosecutor
6. Correctional Services	Head of Community Correctional Services
7. Social Services	Assistant Director
8. Local Authority	Town Planner/ SANDF representative

3.8 STAGE ONE: REGULAR MEETINGS

Record Analysis

A total of 42 meetings were held in 1999 and 2000. Attendance of the various role players is tabulated below according to year, and in terms of the frequency and consistency of attendance, and whether the attendance met the standard set by UMAC.

3.8.1 Attendance in 1999

Table 3.5: George attendance 1999

1999 Total of 31* meetings from April – December *According to minutes supplied by UMAC			
ORGANISATION	FREQUENCY # of meetings at which organisations were present	CONSISTENCY # of meetings at which individual representatives were present	UMAC STANDARD MET?
CORE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT			
George SAPS	Attendance = 100% Apologies = 1	15 representatives, 7 attended 80% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Conville SAPS	Attendance = 97% Apologies = 11	11 representatives, most regular rep attended 77% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Pacaltsdorp SAPS	Attendance = 87% Apologies = 21	5 representatives, most regular rep attended 48% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: No
Thembaletu SAPS	Attendance = 6 % Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Justice	Attendance = 68% Apologies = 5	4 representatives, most regular rep attended 31% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: No
Dept Correctional Services	Attendance = 55% Apologies = 1	5 representatives, 2 attended 35% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: No
Dept Social Services	Attendance = 3% Apologies = 0	Only started attending end of 1999	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Dept Labour	Attendance = 3% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Dept Health	Attendance = 3% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Municipality – Town Clerk	Attendance = 6% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
George traffic	Attendance = 74% Apologies = 11	6 representatives, with 3 attending 35% of the meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: No
Town Planning & Commandos (1 rep for 2 organisations)	Attendance = 74% Apologies = 4	1 representative	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes

Child Welfare	Attendance = 52% Apologies = 2	6 representatives, most regular rep attended 22% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: No
PAWK Knysna	Attendance = 10% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
PAWK Mossel Bay	Attendance = 3% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Home Affairs	Attendance = 19% Apologies = 1	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Nature Conservation	Attendance = 48% Apologies = 3	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
COMMUNITY			
George CPF	Attendance = 55% Apologies = 1	1 representative	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Conville CPF	Attendance = 23% Apologies = 0	4 representatives, most regular rep attended 13% of meetings	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Thembaletu CPF	Attendance = 55% Apologies = 2	10 representatives, most regular rep attended 45% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: No
Pacaltsdorp CPF	Attendance = 13% Apologies = 0	2 representatives, each attending twice (6%)	Frequency: No Consistency: No
CIVIL SOCIETY			
NICRO	Attendance = 10% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Summary	Average organisational representation: 39%	Average individual attendance: 29%	Frequency: 10 Yes/ 12 No Consistency: 4 Yes/ 18 No

A number of additional organisations and groups attended just one or two CSF meetings in 1999. The list includes Outeniqua Tourism, Black Night Security, SARS, Seven Eleven, Tourist Bureau, Star Motors, Armed Response Chubb, Promax Motors, WKOD, Youth for Christ and WCPCC.

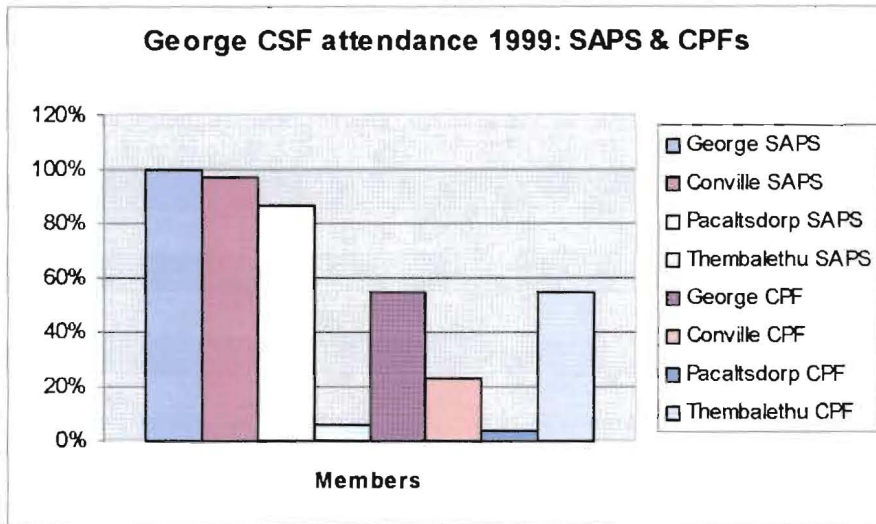
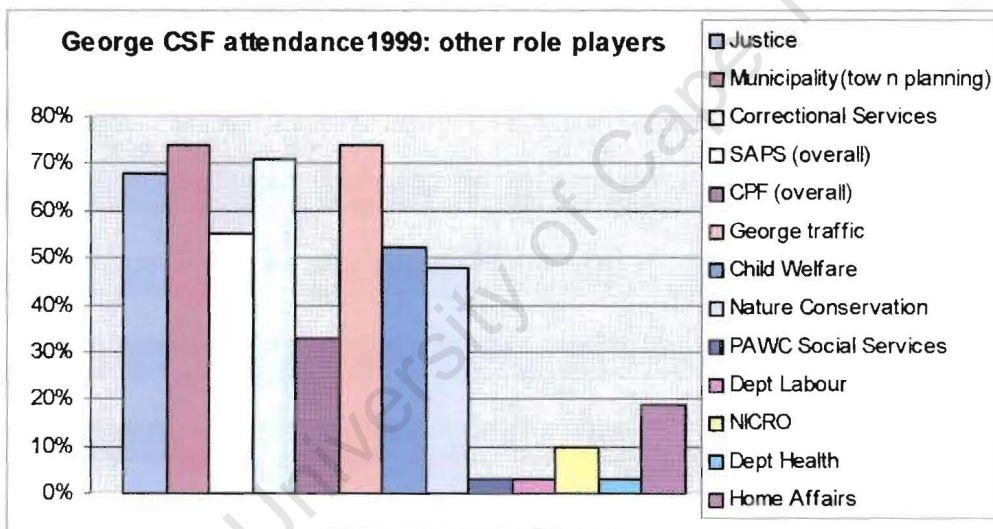


Figure 3.3: George attendance 1999: SAPS and CPF



Graph 3.4: George attendance 1999: other role players

3.8.2 Attendance in 2000

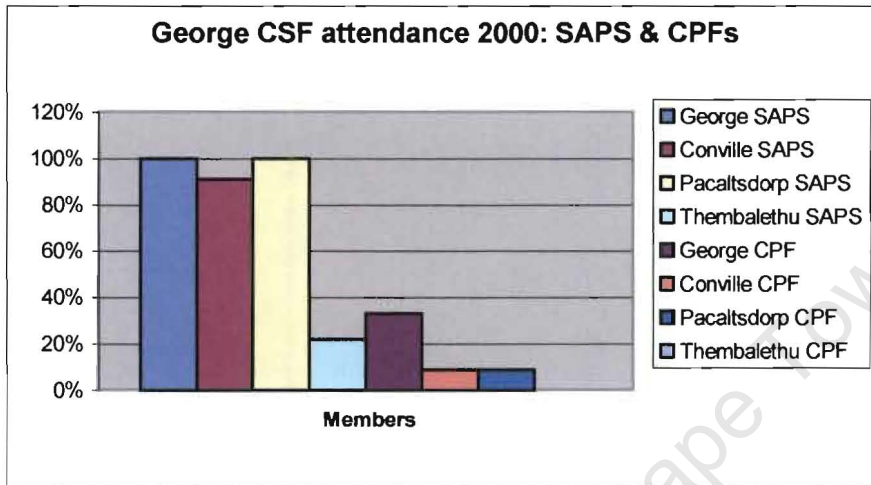
Table 3.6: George attendance 2000

2000			
Total of 11* meetings from January – October			
*According to minutes supplied by UMAC			
ORGANISATION	FREQUENCY # of meetings at which organisations were present	CONSISTENCY # of meetings at which individual representatives were present	UMAC STANDARD MET?
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT			
George SAPS (Attendance remained constant)	Attendance = 100% Apologies = 0	15 representatives, 7 attended 63% of meetings each	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Convile SAPS (Attendance constant)	Attendance = 91% Apologies = 0	2 representatives, most regular rep attended 82% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Pacaltsdorp SAPS (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 100% Apologies = 1	9 representatives, 3 attended 73% of meetings each	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Thembaletu SAPS (Attendance constant)	Attendance = 22% Apologies = 0	2 representatives, each attended only once (9%)	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Justice (Attendance improved significantly)	Attendance = 91% Apologies = 3	4 representatives, most regular rep attended 55% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Correctional Services (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 45% Apologies = 0	5 representatives, all attended twice (18%)	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Department of Social Services (Attendance improved significantly)	Attendance = 64% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Dept of Labour (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 0		Frequency: No Consistency: No
Dept Health (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 0		Frequency: No Consistency: No
Municipality – Town Clerk (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 0		Frequency: No Consistency: No

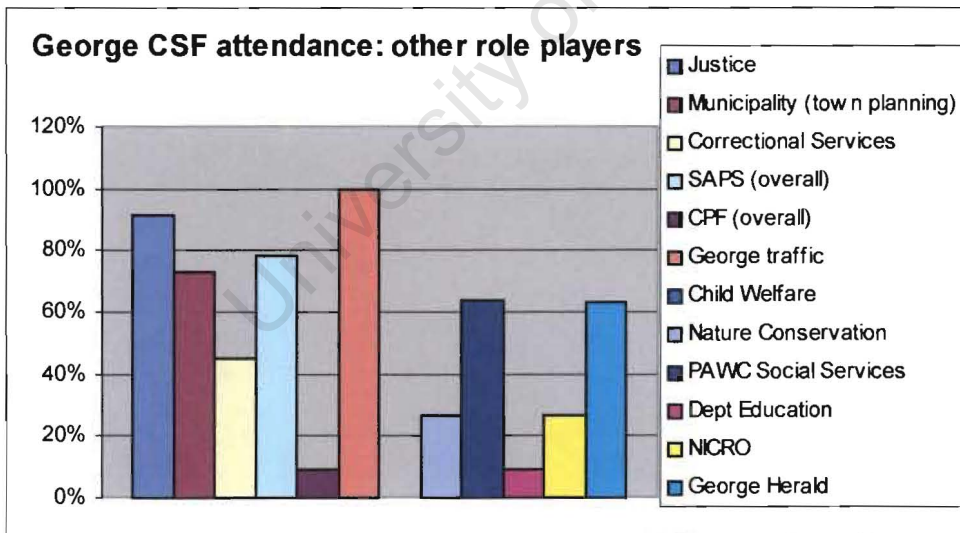
George traffic (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 100% Apologies = 7	6 representative, most regular member attended 91% of meetings	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Town Planning & Commandos 1 rep for 2 organisations (Attendance constant)	Attendance = 73% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes
Child Welfare (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 1		Frequency: No Consistency: No
PAWK Knysna (Attendance constant)	Attendance = 9% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
PAWK Mossel Bay (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 0		Frequency: No Consistency: No
PAWK traffic (Attendance improved)	Attendance = 27% Apologies = 1	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Home Affairs (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 0		Frequency: No Consistency: No
Nature Conservation (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 27% Apologies = 5	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
COMMUNITY			
George CPF (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 33% Apologies = 2	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Conville CPF (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 9% Apologies = 0	4 representatives, all attended just one meeting (9%)	Frequency: No Consistency: No
Thembaletu CPF (Stopped attending)	Attendance = 0% Apologies = 0		Frequency: No Consistency: No
Pacaltsdorp CPF (Attendance declined)	Attendance = 9% Apologies = 0	2 representatives, both attended one meeting (9%)	Frequency: No Consistency: No
CIVIL SOCIETY			
NICRO (Attendance constant)	Attendance = 27% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: No Consistency: No
George Herald local newspaper (New rep)	Attendance = 63% Apologies = 0	1 representative	Frequency: Yes Consistency: Yes

Summary	Average organisational representation: 37%	Average individual attendance: 31%	Frequency: 8 Yes/ 16 No Consistency 8 Yes/ 16 No
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A number of additional organisations attended meetings once or twice, namely representatives from the Full Circle, the Gender Forum, SANAB and WKOD.



Graph 3.5: George attendance 2000: SAPS and CPF



Graph 3.6: George attendance 2000: other role players

3.8.3 Comments on attendance

3.8.3.1 Representation of key role players

The criminal justice system representatives were, on the whole, very well represented at meetings in 1999 and 2000. The only exception to this was the Thembalethu police who were represented at only 6% (two meetings) in 1999 and 22% of the meetings in 2000. Other than the Thembalethu SAPS, the Department of Correctional Services was comparatively poorly represented – there was a representative present at less than half of the meetings (45%) in 2000.

On average the collective criminal justice departments were represented at 69% of the meetings in 1999, whereas the average overall attendance rate for all organisations was just 39%. In 2000, their average representation at meetings further improved to 75%, as opposed to the overall average of 37%. Criminal justice system (CJS) representatives, on average, attended twice as many meetings as those outside of the system. (While CJS attendance is crucial to the success of the CSF, it is important to remember that the primary goal of the forum is to extend participation to include representatives traditionally outside of the CJS.)

What is of concern is the absence of important Departments such as Education, Health and Labour in 2000. The Departments of Health and Labour each attended one meeting in 1999, but did not participate at all in 2000. There was no record of the Department of Education ever having attended a meeting. On a more positive note, the Department of Social Services attended only one meeting in 1999 but met the UMAC standard for both frequency and consistency in 2000.

It is interesting to note the diverse groups that attended once or twice. They include businesses, security companies, and the tourism bureau. This may be

due to the initial confusion regarding the role of the forum. Initially the forum dealt with a wide range of problems that could have been addressed at the CPF level. The very poor attendance of the Thembalethu police and the Pacaltsdorp CSF is of concern.

3.8.3.2 Attendance – frequency and consistency

The George CSF meets every Friday – as opposed to monthly as with most other forums. High attendance of the criminal justice system representatives mentioned above is particularly notable when one considers that there were 31 meetings in 1999. Of the 22 organisations that attended the CSF meetings in 1999, 10 were present at 50% or more of the meetings. This rate dropped slightly in 2000 when only 8 out of 24 organisations had representation at 50% or more of the meetings, once again, most of these 8 were criminal justice system role players.

However, the overall average for organisational representation at meetings (i.e. frequency rates) was quite low in both 1999 and 2000 – 39% and 37% respectively. As can be expected, the consistency rates for the attendance of individual representatives was even lower at 29% and 31%. It is interesting to note that the rates for both frequency and consistency over both years are lower than those of the Khayelitsha CSF.

Only 4 organisations had the same person acting as representative at more than 50% of the meetings in 1999. The organisations that met this 'consistency' standard were the George and Conville SAPS, the George CPF and the representative for Town Planning/ Commandos (one person). It is encouraging to note that the rate of consistency improved in 2000 - a total of eight out of twenty-four organisations met the consistency standards.

In general, SAPS attendance from the four areas, with the exception of the Thembalethu police ranges for 91 – 100% in 2000! However, representation of all four CPFs declined in 2000. This is very significant in the light that the CPF is the primary community voice on the structure. The Conville CPF presence dropped from 23% in 1999 to 9% in 2000. Similarly, the representation of the George CPF, which was 55% dropped to 33% in 2000. The non-attendance of the Thembalethu CSF in 2000 was attributed to the problems among the CPF's leadership, and political conflict between the ANC and SANCO in Thembalethu. The Pacaltsdorp CPF's attendance remained the same as in 1999, with the representative only attending once.

Interviews

2.8.4 Representatives' perceptions of attendance

According to the representatives interviewed, attendance of the main role players was considered sufficiently frequent and constant. However, the fact that the Departments of Education, Health, and Labour did not participate in the CSF was repeatedly mentioned. (A representative from both Health and Labour attended one meeting each in 1999 and never again.) Poor representation on the part of the Thembalethu CPF was also perceived as a source of concern. The George SAPS Senior Superintendent claimed that attempts had been made to accommodate his colleagues in the nearby area by holding the CSF meetings at the Thembalethu police station, but their attendance remained sporadic. While the municipality did participate, members also wanted the local councillor to attend the meetings.

Others added that educational institutions, churches and businesses should also become more involved, as well as the South African Revenue Service – to assist with illegal businesses - and Home Affairs (Home Affairs attended 19% of the

CSF meetings in 1999 but none in 2000). A number of representatives mentioned the idea that certain organisations should be involved with the forum, but that they need not attend the meetings on a regular basis. Some suggested that such organisations need only attend monthly so as to keep up to date with issues, while others suggested that it would be sufficient for these organisations to make themselves available to give input as and when required. As the Town Planning official explained, "It is not necessary for some people to be present at each and every meeting. Also, we must realise that it is not realistic to ask everyone to always attend". The Department of Education, for example, did not attend regularly because they had to service a large area, but were available to attend if a problem related to education needed to be addressed.

Some of the less regular representatives were asked why it was that they attended less than half of the meetings. The reasons given ranged from heavy workloads and often being away from George, to the length of the CSF meeting and the complaint that minutes were not distributed early enough. A number of people mentioned that it was difficult to meet on a weekly basis and suggested that it would be sufficient to meet once or twice a month instead.

3.8.5 Consequences of poor attendance

When asked how non or irregular attendance affects the functioning of the CSF, most of the five of the seven members replied that the forum did not have to content with such a problem. However, there were a couple of complaints. These mostly had to do with the fact that if a necessary representative was not at a meeting then it delayed "the resolution of issues". Problems had to be referred to the absent group member, who was then encouraged to attend the following meeting so that the issue could be addressed. The George CPF representative complained that: "Time goes by before you get the information that you want. It takes longer without the people there".

3.8.6 Authority of representatives

The representatives interviewed all held senior positions. For example, the Station Commissioner at the George police station, the Assistant Director of Social Service, the Senior Prosecutor and the Chairperson of the CPF. In fact, the Station Commission (and Chairperson of the CSF) attributed the perceived success of the CSF to the representatives' seniority within their organisations.

All of the respondents claimed to have the authority to make any necessary decisions at the CSF meetings. This, however, depends on the nature of the decision. The Social Services representative, herself an Assistant Director, mentioned that when funding was involved, even if the request fell within the department's priorities, she was required to consult with her manager. However, considering that the CSF has not initiated any specific projects and instead focuses mostly on resolving day-to-day management problems, such authority is currently unnecessary.

3.8.7 Internal/ departmental reporting practices

Representatives were asked how, if at all, information regarding the CSF was communicated within their organisations. As far as the George and Conville SAPS are concerned, the representatives were of a senior rank and are responsible for giving feedback to their juniors when they returned from the meetings. However, the SAPS representatives reported to their seniors by including news of CSF developments in the quarterly report to the Area Office. The Social Services Assistant Director communicated about the CSF to the section heads at the weekly meetings. The CPF chairperson used the monthly CPF meetings to give reports on CSF developments. The remaining representatives made mention of reporting on the CSF to their managers at supervision meetings.

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involved in crime prevention". All respondents seem to have taken ownership of the process. They are excited about "their" CSF – wanting to show the rest of the country that they are part of the "most successful forum".

3.9 STAGE TWO: IMPROVED UNDERSTANDING AND INFORMATION SHARING

Interviews

3.9.1 Levels of understanding and information sharing between forum members

All respondents believed that understanding and information sharing between role players, and government departments in particular, had improved as a result of the CSF. Even though the Crime Forum had existed prior to the establishment of the CSF, the CSF had brought more role players together and had improved the understanding of their respective organisations. Five of the seven respondents had regular contact with their fellow forum members outside of the weekly meetings, and feel free to call one another to ask for assistance. For example, the municipality representative mentioned that he was now able to call the Senior Prosecutor directly whereas he previously had to refer matters to the Town Clerk who would then communicate with the prosecutor. SAPS, Correctional Services and Justice are in regular contact throughout the week.

Some comments pertaining to the improved understanding and co-operation between members include the following:

- "I now have sympathy and feel a oneness with them."
- "I used to think that Justice was on a pedestal, but now understand that they handle things the same as us and speak the same language as we do."

- "The greatest benefit of the CSF is that it brings all departments together on a weekly basis so that any problems can be reported at a high level and solved there and then. It avoids the situation where you have got to work through peoples' secretaries and wait for decisions."
- "The CSF has enhanced our services - our service delivery cannot work independently."
- "We now have an appreciation for the people and the problems they sit with - such as financial constraints, hierarchies etc."

3.9.2 Representatives reporting to the CSF

Representatives report back verbally at the CSF meetings about the tasks they were responsible for, which is then recorded in the minutes. One of the George SAPS representatives mentioned that representatives had in the past phoned one another between meetings to hear updates on some issues. All of the George role players interviewed were satisfied with the way in which member organisations gave feedback to the CSF regarding departmental or organisational projects. Unlike the Khayelitsha CSF, the George members attended very regularly so there was seldom a delay in receiving information or reports. One member added that: "If people cannot attend a meeting then they give apologies and send a rep who will give feedback on their behalf".

If a person did not deliver on a task which they undertook then their supervisor would, theoretically be informed. However, representatives claimed that such action had not yet been necessary at the George CSF.

3.10 STAGE THREE: INCREASED CO-OPERATION IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Record analysis

3.10.1 Activities recorded in the minutes

The George CSF had not drafted a safety plan at the time of the study. Instead, the CSF responded to issues as they arose. In the absence of a safety plan, the various departments work plans informed the CSF's actions. Members requested the co-operation of other departments and organisations around particular problems. Representatives mentioned that consideration was given to how the various departments can complement one another in carrying out their mandates.

Despite the fact that the George CSF has not drafted a safety plan as such, the forum had nevertheless resolved problems and initiated action. Their focus had been predominantly on improving the day-to-day running of crime prevention. The local problems that had been identified by the CSF during 1999 and 2000 included the following: the high number of street children, deaths on the N2, the lack of street names in the Themba lethu area, poor communication between Justice and the police, taxi conflicts, illegal shebeens and the lack of an independent police station in Themba lethu – at the time it was operating as a satellite station of the George station. Many of these issues were the focus of CSF discussion and efforts. Some examples are included below.

One example of CSF action had to do with the naming of streets in Themba lethu. This enabled the police and ambulance services to respond to community crises more promptly, as service delivery had previously been hampered by the area's lack of street names. Both the CSF members and the UMAC facilitator believed

that the zoning of streets would not have been resolved, or would have taken much longer to be put on the council's agenda, had it not been for the CSF.

The CSF was also involved in addressing the problem of pedestrian deaths on the N2, close to the Sandrift settlement. The first attempted solution was to decrease the speed limit for that section of the road. This, however, was unsuccessful. The CSF – rather than the Traffic Department alone - continued to hold numerous meetings with outside agencies in an attempt to find a solution to the problem. After many discussions, it was agreed that the speed limit should be reduced, fences erected, and the CSF should hold safety meetings with the Sandrift community and the cattle farmers. The combined actions resulted in achieving the desired effect. It was claimed that the number of road deaths had been dramatically reduced, however, no records were available to verify this claim.

The CSF also functioned as the Thembalethu Safety Centre's steering committee. The CSF assisted with overseeing the smooth transition once the centre was completed. This involved getting the police, social services and other service providers to move into the building. This role reflects the CSF's interest in remaining a co-ordinating body, instead of actively initiating activities.

Regarding the problem of taxi conflict, the Traffic Department and the police worked together in organising roadblocks, conducting weapon searches and taking action against illegal taxis. Also, a number of CSF role players were involved in facilitating negotiations with the Taxi Association. The police also worked with the CPFs and the municipality in dealing with the problem of shebeens. The minutes record the numerous complaints from community members – via the CPF – regarding alcohol-related crime that occurred in the vicinity of shebeens, usually over weekends. Shebeens were blamed for much of this crime, especially illegal shebeens. The CPF provided the names of the

problematic shebeens, the municipality was called in to deal with issues of liquor licenses and the police dealt with offenders contravening the by-laws.

On the topic of street children , the CSF seems to have encouraged closer co-operation between the Department of Social Services, NICRO and community-based organisations such as Full Circle and the Conville Outreach. The minutes record the different ways in which these various organisations have discussed and planned issues pertaining to street children – from issues of transport to substance abuse.

Interviews

3.10.2 Discussion of activities

There was reluctance on the part of some CSF representatives to draft a safety plan. This reluctance might be due in to the understanding that some members have of the role of the CSF. For some, the CSF's main role was a co-ordinating one, and as such should not initiate any new or additional projects. They believed that designing a safety plan would unnecessarily complicate the present satisfactory modus operandi of the forum. The Justice representative was an outspoken member of this camp: "We mustn't make things complicated with a business plan. I only have time for a one-hour meeting on Friday – I don't have time for projects and plans. It is more than enough that we solve problems".

According to this view, departments and organisations should continue performing their duties according to their mandates, and the CSF should assist by co-ordinating these efforts to avoid duplication, and improve co-operation, efficiency, and ultimately service delivery. The concern was that CSF-initiated projects would take responsibility away from the organisations and departments ultimately responsible for such work. One member explained the situation of the CSF as follows: "The role of the CSF is to identify the community's problems together and then for all departments to work together to address issues – it is

not the CSF's job as such to get directly involved. The CSF does not have any authority – it only has advisory powers”.

Other role players disagreed and thought that it was time to formulate a strategic plan if the CSF hoped to achieve its short- and long-term goals. They suggested that the CSF should drive just one or two carefully selected projects annually. Their justification for this was that it was necessary to keep members motivated and interested. They needed to show results and action: “The CSF needs to be more than a ‘talk show’”.

3.10.3 Representatives perceptions of the value of the CSF

Those CSF members interviewed saw a clear correlation between their organisational priorities and those of the CSF. In addition, they were of the opinion that the forum assisted them in fulfilling their organisations' priorities.

For example, the George CPF's objectives included helping address the frustrations of the SAPS and to enhance the community-police relationship in the interest of decreasing crime. The CSF is perceived as a necessary part of the CPF and vice versa. According to the CPF chairperson, the fact that issues discussed at CSF meetings involve the input of a greater number of departments has assisted the CPF to function more effectively. The CPF on the other hand, has regular contact with community members in George and plays an important role in communicating the needs of the town's inhabitants to the forum.

For the SAPS's representatives, the general improvement in communication and cooperation between government departments was the greatest benefit resulting from the CSF. Police representatives mentioned that the CSF is both reactive and proactive in dealing with crime. The responsibility for fighting crime now

rests with everyone – it is no longer understood as being the sole responsibility of the SAPS.

The representative from the municipality's Town Planning division described the municipality's vision as that of: "Creating a meaningful and logical town with a happy community". He believed that the CSF has assisted his department by, for example, addressing the shebeen issue in conjunction with numerous role players - such as Town Planning, Social Services, Justice, SAPS, Correctional Services and the SANDF. All members, according to the Town Planning representative are aware of each other's responsibilities and able to provide assistance as a result of involvement in the forum.

The representative from Social Services listed her department's responsibility as working closely with the local community on issues such as HIV/AIDS, maintenance grants, child support grants and programme for juvenile offenders and victims of sexual abuse. She maintained that her involvement with the CSF, had increased both her and her department's awareness of what was happening in the area, and resultantly enabled them to better plan interventions. They communicated with the SAPS about child abuse, for example, which assisted them in their investigations. The Social Services representative mentioned that the forum had also helped her department to address the issue of juvenile assessment.

3.10.4 Operation of the CSF

Tasks are allocated according to the nature of the problem to be resolved, and according to the primary responsibilities of departments and organisations. At meetings members discuss which department or departments should get involved with a particular issue, and then nominate a representative for the task. It is then the duty of the nominated representative to reports back to the CSF.

Some respondents commented that certain issues should not be discussed at the CSF level, but should rather be dealt with at the CPF meetings.

In George, as in Khayelitsha, there was initially some confusion regarding the relationship and difference between the CSF and CPF. However, this uncertainty was recently clarified. The decision was taken that small scale problems should be dealt with at the CPF level and only referred to the CSF if they could not be resolved, or if they involved input from departments other than the SAPS. The CSF representatives saw this as an important decision that will in future free up much of the CSF's time.

Respondents' views regarding who was ultimately responsible for driving the CSF process varied. Some thought that the responsibility lay with the elected chairperson, currently the George Station Commissioner. Most, however, agreed that the local authority should ultimately be driving the process. At the time of the study the George SAPS was fulfilling the secretarial role for the CSF. This is a function that UMAC usually fulfills where other CSFs are concerned, but due to the distance from Cape Town the George police had agreed to take on the responsibility. However, negotiations were underway at the time for the police to hand this task over to the municipality.

3.11 STAGE FOUR: INITIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PROJECTS

Interviews

3.11.1 Perceptions of impact to date

As was mentioned under the same section in the Khayelitsha case study, the views of the participants regarding 'impact' are informal and subjective. They

should be viewed in the light that the George CSF has not been in existence for long enough to have had any significant impact. However, the perceptions of those involved are interesting, if only as an indication of peoples' levels of satisfaction with the direction the CSF is taking in George.

All of the participants felt that the CSF had achieved some result, especially regarding the working relationship between state departments. Respondents mentioned that problems were now perceived as the mutual responsibility of different departments, and that role players have realised that they are dependant on one another. For example, the department of Social Services illustrated this with the following comment, "I can now easily ask for assistance. For example, 80 people from the Eastern Cape were just dropped off and deserted in George. Now all departments are trying to assist us in their relocation. Before the formation of the CSF they would have said: 'No, it's not my business'".

The participation of local government was also valued. A SAPS representative explained that: "Now with local government involvement, information is passed on directly to role players, who can identify and address problems more rapidly. For example, the docket issue – the Prosecutor is dealing with it directly and the results are instant." And finally, as the representative from Town Planning commented: "As the CSF progressed we all saw how valuable it is, and how useful it is to be actively involved. The CSF's successes include all the problems we have managed to solve every week. The CSF has managed to overcome cultural boundaries – it is no longer 'us' and 'them', only us as the CSF".

Not only was there a perceived improvement in relations among government departments, but also between departments and the community. The CPF members felt that they interacted as equals at the forum meetings. The CPF's chairperson mentioned that he previously did not understand the broader issues

surrounding crime, but believed that participating on the CSF had improved his understanding. He felt that the community now had a voice, and that the CSF had made government departments more accessible to the CPF.

According to the UMAC facilitator, the CSF has changed the way in which the state departments mobilise resources around identified issues. However, he acknowledged that it was still too early to assess the impact on the larger George area.

3.12 OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

Initiating the CSF in George was made easier for UMAC by the existence of the pre-dating successful Crime Forum, making its members more receptive to the new concept. At the time of the study, the forum was at the stage where it was able to operate quite independently and only relied on UMAC for technical assistance. The forum met and functioned in the absence of UMAC, and undertook the secretarial work themselves - arranging meetings, encouraging attendance and circulating the minutes.

3.12.1 Quality of interpersonal relations

There appears to be a general sense of camaraderie among members of the CSF. The George Station Commissioner described the relationship between members as follows: "We have known one another for a long time. We trust and respect each other and know that if a person is given a task, it will be done and reported back." And the Social Services representative claimed, "We now have a more open relationship, where we can admit our limitations and receive assistance from others. There are no unrealistic expectations". The quality of relationships among members of the forum might also be a function of the fact

that George is a small town and, unlike Khayelitsha, government officials both work and live in the area.

3.12.2 Authority of members

The CSF enjoys the support and commitment of the various Heads of Departments and senior officials. The chairperson of the CSF is an authoritative figure - as Station Commissioner of the George police he is able to exercise his authority when necessary. The attendance of senior representatives at the forum meetings has greatly contributed to its success. For one, it has lent the forum a certain amount of prestige. It has also enhanced the effectiveness of the CSF by making it possible for decisions to be made at the meetings, thereby cutting through the bureaucratic delays often inherent in the public sector.

3.12.3 Community Policing Forums

The attendance of most community policing forums was poor in 1999, and even worse in 2000. The George and Thembalethu CPF were represented at 55% of the meetings in 1999. However, the Conville CPF were only represented at 23% of the meetings, and the Pacaltsdorp CPF at 13% of the meetings in 1999. By 2000 the attendance for all CPFs had dropped even further - the George CPF was present at 33% of the meetings, Conville and Pacaltsdorp CPF's at 9% of meetings and the Thembalethu CPF was completely absent.

In the light of the important role that the CPF is expected to perform on the CSF - namely to raise community concerns - it is of grave concern that the CPFs are inadequately represented and do not operate optimally. Reasons given for the poor attendance of the CPF's included internal leadership conflict and political struggles within the various areas. Considering the vital role that the CPFs are supposed to play in the structures, it would seem a priority that UMAC provides

organisational development support. An area of work in which they have extensive experience.

3.12.4 Absence of a safety plan

The George CSF did not have a safety plan. Instead, they depended on the integrated development plans of the various departments to inform them of the needs of the community. At the time of the study they were involved in discussions regarding whether or not they should develop a safety plan.

The George CSF should strongly be encouraged to draft a safety plan as findings from other CSF case studies has been that where a CSF has not been seen to successfully implement a clear plan of action, members have become demoralised and attendance has dropped. Currently the George CSF is not directly involved in projects that have been initiated by the forum. It has, however, been involved in co-ordinating the efforts of departments, avoiding duplication and increasing efficiency. These efforts have generally been successful, resulting in improved co-operation and understanding.

However, if the CSF in George is to move beyond a reactive position of dealing with problems presented at the CSF meetings and on to a proactive approach to crime prevention, then there needs to be a strategy to inform such a direction. A safety plan would provide the necessary direction, as well as provide a standard against which the progress of the forum can be measured in future assessments. In addition, UMAC's vision for CSFs is that they should eventually influence the planning and budgeting of service providers to allow for integrated action. This is unlikely in the absence of a strategy document such as a safety plan. In the light of these considerations, some members' opposition to a designing a safety plan should be reviewed and discussed.

3.12.5 Local government involvement

The George CSF members regularly expressed a need for the local authority to take on more responsibility for the George CSF process. At the time of data collection (March 2001) the CSF was in the process of negotiating with the Town Clerk about the municipality's future role and involvement. At the time, the municipality's only representation had been in the form of the Town Planning Division, with the Town Clerk attending a very limited number of meetings. The Town Clerk had, however, recently agreed to attend meetings more frequently, and the George municipality had agreed to take over the responsibility of driving the process starting June 2001. Duties would include organising the meetings, providing an equipped venue, and keeping the minutes. With this transfer of duties the George CSF would move closer to fulfilling its envisaged function, namely including local government in crime prevention responsibilities.

3.12.6 General suggestions from respondents

Some respondents recommend that the CSF should meet once or twice a month rather than weekly, as is presently the case. Also, meetings should adhere to a well-structured agenda to avoid running late. Members would also like to see the CSF marketing itself and its successes more widely. For this purpose a representative from the George Herald newspaper attended meetings regularly in 2000. The suggestion was also made that transport should be offered to those members who had difficulty getting to the CSF meetings. One member noted that the CSF currently does not reflect the transformation process of the public sector and would welcome more women as members.

Even though attendance is high, some members suggested that attendance should be made compulsory for senior management in the public sector, and that attendance at CSF meetings should be included in officials' job descriptions.

It was argued by some that the CSF structures had to have the full support of provincial and national government before it could demand full accountability from its members.

University of Cape Town

4.1 CHALLENGES FACING THE CSFs

4.1.1 Differences in prioritised goals

According to UMAC, the CSFs have two very clear goals. The first is to facilitate information sharing and co-operation between relevant local stakeholders, and the second is to ensure that role players participate in multi-agency crime prevention planning and project initiation.

The majority of CSF participants included these two goals in their descriptions of the purpose of the CSFs. However, many also attributed equal importance to ancillary goals. In particular, representatives were likely to focus on the CSFs' role in empowering community members and strengthening the police. These goals are properly the responsibility of the CPFs, and fall outside of the stated objectives of the CSF project.

The differences in UMAC's and representatives' understanding of the purpose of the project is important and explains, at least in part, two criticisms leveled against the forums. CSF representatives commonly complained that the forums were unable to ensure consistent representation of members and that their effort had not resulted in concrete outputs.

Attendance rates and concrete achievements are closely linked. For instance, successfully achieving an objective, however small, is a source of encouragement for members and motivates them to continue attending. On the other hand, it is likely that representatives' participation will decline, or even stop completely, should they not see the efforts of the forum directed towards CSF goals which are for them a priority. The attendance records of the Khayelitsha CSF is possibly be a case in point. When the CSF was officially launched in 1999, 4

community representatives were elected to participate in the forum. However, by 2000 all 4 of the representatives had stopped attending. While there are many possible reasons for this – reasons not explored in this study – the loss of these members might conceivably be the result of the CSF not focusing on community empowerment issues in the way that the 4 representatives might have expected.

What is important is the fact that when representatives do not attend, or attend irregularly, there is very little that UMAC can do to rectify the situation other than encourage or cajole. This points directly to the greatest challenge facing the CSFs – that no participating stakeholder has the mandated authority to properly co-ordinate the process.

4.1.2 Lack of authority

In chapter 1 numerous pieces of legislation were mentioned that indicated local government's responsibility for crime prevention at a local level. However, nowhere is local government granted the authority to hold government departments accountable for participation in such a process. Equally, neither UMAC nor the CSFs have the authority to co-ordinate such a process. As noted before, the success of the CSFs rests on the goodwill of the particular individuals who participate in the structures. In the George case study for example, one of the factors contributing to their success was the quality of the inter-personal relationships that existed between members participating at the time. Should there be a change in local officials due to transfers for example, a frequent occurrence in the public sector especially in the police service, then the success of the forum might be jeopardised.

Pelser (2001) mentions that there are important assumptions in the CSF methodology as it is currently practiced, namely that:

- regular meetings of representatives will naturally lead to better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the various role players
- that this, in turn, will lead to a better understanding of the interdependence of these roles and responsibilities
- this will result in greater co-operation in the delivery of services and, ultimately,
- will lead to active initiation of multi-agency crime reduction initiatives.

What is not accounted for in UMAC's development theory is the quality of decision-making required for the shift between the first two and the second two stages to take place. There is no problem where the first two objectives are concerned and it is evident that both stages are well established in Khayelitsha and George. The problem lies in moving beyond stage 2. It is not surprising that out of a total of 8 CSFs initiated by UMAC at the time of the study, only the George CSF was considered to have reached the third stage. And even this success is limited. Co-operation seems to have been limited to assistance in ironing out problems encountered in day-to-day operations. Most of the George CSF's co-operative efforts had to do with activities included in the work plans of the respective departments. As a result, it is difficult to assess the objective contributions made by the CSF as most of the projects would have taken place with or without the assistance of the CSF.

It is likely that the reason George was able to move further than the other CSFs was due to the participation of a significant number of senior officials, more than in other CSFs. However, it is unlikely that even the officials in George would be able to move the forum on to the fourth and final stage of its envisaged development.

The move from the third stage of co-operation in service delivery to the initiation of multi-agency crime prevention requires a decision-making process. Decisions

1999, 4 community representatives were elected to participate in the forum. However, by 2000 all 4 of the representatives had stopped attending. While there are many possible reasons for this – reasons not explored in this study – the loss of these members might conceivably be the result of the CSF not focusing on community empowerment issues in the way that the 4 representatives might have expected.

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Pelser and Louw (2001) mentions that there are important assumptions in the CSF methodology as it is currently practiced, namely that:

process is derived more from the fact that they are part of the criminal justice system than from their possible role as community representatives.)

UMAC should facilitate a process whereby the CSF decides on not more than three projects which it will undertake for at least the next year or two. The CSF should avoid concentrating on projects that are already included in the work plans of the various government departments. It is not here that the CSF structures have the best opportunity to add value to crime prevention efforts. Continued involvement in such projects will not solve the present problem in which the CSFs find themselves, that is the structural difficulty involved in moving beyond the third stage of day-to-day co-operation and onto proactive initiatives.

The nature of the projects selected should be such that they are comprehensive and require the collective input of most, if not all, the stakeholders constituting the CSF. Due to the nature of social crime prevention work, it is likely that the projects will also be characterised by fairly long-term goals.

Once role players have been identified and brought together, and a few comprehensive projects designed, it will then be necessary to establish the degree of synergy between the proposed CSF projects and the various departments' work plans. Officials will be encouraged to be involved in the CSF if they can clearly see how their involvement will contribute to more effectively and efficiently fulfilling their roles and responsibilities. However, the main purpose of this stage of analysis is to identify where departments' plans contribute towards fulfilling the CSF plans and, equally importantly, identify gaps in the implementation where necessary resources are not provided by any of the participating departments' budgets.

Once the analysis has been completed, the CSFs would be able to move to the second implementation phase. This would involve drafting a detailed business plan for each of the projects identified by the CSF. The exact content of such plans will be explored in the following section, suffice to say that they will need to include clearly defined responsibilities, time frames and budgets. It is only with a clear strategic plan that the CSFs will be able to participate in crime prevention in a sustained way.

The third and final phase would involve accessing those who do have the authority to make policy and resource decisions where required. As part of this process the CSF should commit to a process of regular reporting to the political and administrative heads of departments. Pelsler (2001) mentions that the aim of this would be to include an active lobbying or advocacy role, targeting relevant government stakeholders. Where necessary, representation should be made to senior officials, either by a UMAC representative or, more appropriately, the primary government department representative relevant to the resolution of a particular problem.

These changes in the implementation plan would place different demands on UMAC. There would be less focus on the secretarial role presently being fulfilled by UMAC, and a greater need for strategy development.

4.1.3 Structure vs. strategy

There is much that UMAC has accomplished through the establishment of the CSFs. In terms of general process, they have succeeded in bringing together a wide range of stakeholders on a regular basis. This is a significant feat in light of the fact that UMAC does not have the authority to insist that organisations are represented at the meetings. Also, many of the departments targeted are not

part of the criminal justice system and as such had not previously considered participating in crime prevention projects.

UMAC has also succeeded in convincing the local authority in George to take on most of the responsibility for the CSF, and has had support for the Khayelitsha CSF from a senior official, the Director of Social Services at Tygerberg municipality. In achieving local government support in both Khayelitsha and George, UMAC has managed to give impetus to local government's new responsibility in the arena of crime prevention. As mentioned before, this is a recent mandate and as such there is still much exploration regarding what this new role entails. UMAC has assisted by piloting a possible model for local government involvement, one that is in line with the direction set out in the NCPS.

More specifically, the case studies highlighted achievements of both the CSFs within their respective areas. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Khayelitsha CSF was the drafting of a safety plan that reflected the concerns of the core members. They were also able, albeit with some difficulty, to get most representatives to submit written quarterly reports detailing their progress on key projects. This suggests that they have attempted to design both a strategy and a system for monitoring their own progress.

The George CSF is strikingly different in character to the Khayelitsha forum. The Khayelitsha forum is guided by strategic plans in the form of their own safety plan and the Urban Renewal Strategy as set out by the Department of Community Safety. The George CSF on the other hand has no strategy guiding its efforts. Instead, the forum is largely driven by the character of the individuals who attend and the concerns which they raise at the meetings. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the George CSF is not so much the co-operation they

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The third and final phase would involve accessing those who do have the authority to make policy and resource decisions where required in the business plan. As part of this process the CSF should commit to a process of regular reporting to the political and administrative heads of departments. Pelsler and Louw (2001) mentions that the aim of this would be to include an active lobbying or advocacy role, targeting relevant government stakeholders. Where necessary, representation should be made to senior officials, either by a UMAC representative or, more appropriately, the primary government department representative relevant to the resolution of a particular problem.

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they arise in either the community or a particular department's operations. Their working together is underpinned by a sense of camaraderie, but there is nothing in terms of strategies or structures. As a result they could never implement new or proactive crime prevention projects in their present form. But not having a strategy has another negative consequence and that is that the CSF is unable to convince departments outside of the criminal justice system that there is a role for them in crime prevention. It is evident from the George case study that some of the government departments that UMAC would like to see represented on the forum attended initially only to fall away at a later stage. For example, the Departments of Labour, Health and Home Affairs, as well as other stakeholders such as Child Welfare and the Mossel Bay Provincial Administration attended meetings in 1999 but not in 2000. There are a number of possible reasons for the loss of these representatives, but if the George CSF had a clear strategy outlining the role that agencies could play in specific crime prevention projects, then perhaps these agencies would have continued their involvement in the forum involvement.

No CSF will be able to fulfill UMAC's vision of crime prevention in the absence of a detailed strategy document. Khayelitsha's safety plan does not fulfill this need and George has no such document. In light of the discussion on the possible future lobbying and advocacy role of the CSFs, it is crucial that the forums have more than just a clear direction, they also need business plans that provide clarity on specific plans and budgets which can be taken up with provincial stakeholders.

4.2 SOCIAL CAPITAL, CPFs AND THE CPFs

The title given to the forums is misleading and has probably contributed towards the major difference in understanding the CSF's role in community empowerment. However, it is clear that according to UMAC, community

empowerment does not form part of the CSFs function. The presence of the CPF is the full extent of community representation at present, and this seems to satisfy UMAC. However, the poor functioning of many CPFs around the country generally, and some of the George CPFs in particular, serves to illustrate some of the issues raised by the discussion on CPFs and social capital in chapter one. CPF commentators concur that the structures were set up with much enthusiasm and seemed, at least theoretically, to be the ideal vehicle for making the police more responsive to community needs and influencing the police culture. However, the CPFs have failed to live up to these expectations. There is consensus that: "the CPFs in general are experiencing problems" (Mistry, 1997, p.5). If the CPFs have failed to make the police more accountable to community concerns then it seems misplaced to hope that the same structures will be capable of representing community concerns on the CSFs.

While it is true that some of the CPF's perceived failure with the police can be attributed to the nature of the SAPS, some of the problems presumably lie within the CPFs themselves. Mention was made in chapter one of some of the difficulties experienced by the CPFs in terms of poor attendance at meetings, general public apathy and difficulties in ensuring representivity of the forums. These difficulties are not surprising if an assessment of CPF functioning is informed by the ideas of social capital.

Sherman writes that crime prevention programmes that rely on community empowerment are unrealistic and likely to fail because the "crimogenic community structure and culture" are the result of factors outside of the control of community members. As such, empowerment does not include the power to change crime-fostering policies. The contribution that the CPFs can make to crime prevention in general, and through their involvement in the CSFs in particular, is probably limited. Even the CPF objectives as stated in the SAPS Act of 1995 seem overly ambitious and assume that the CPFs adequately represent

the local community when they participate in joint problem solving with the police, and that they speak on behalf of the community when they mention policing needs and concerns.

Social capital warns against assuming that communities are homogenous groups with shared concerns that can be represented by a structure such as a CPF. Communities, especially in South Africa, are more likely to be racially divided and, in the case of informal settlements, consist of groups of transient people from a wide geographical area. It is therefore highly problematic that CPFs are given the status of the "voice of the community" on the CSF structures.

Social capital theory predicts that CPFs functioning in poor and crime-ridden communities are more likely to experience operational difficulties than those in more affluent suburbs. It is interesting to consider the participation of the CPFs in the Khayelitsha and George case studies in this light. The Khayelitsha CPF was one of the most regular and consistent members of the Khayelitsha CSF. However, it lay outside of the scope of this study to explore the reporting structures that existed within the CPF, or to analyse how representative the CPF was of the community at large. However, the inconsistencies in CPF representation in the George CSF are interesting. The Thembaletu CPF was represented at 55% of the meetings in 1999 but none at all in 2000. Reasons given for their lack of participation in 2000 had to do with internal problems relating to representation and leadership.

It is interesting that the attendance of all four of the CPFs supposed to participate in the George CSF declined to the extent that in 2000 the Thembaletu CPF did not attend a single meeting, the Pacaltsdorp and Conville CPFs attended just 9% of the meetings, and the George CPF had the most frequent attendance even though they were only represented at 33% of the

generally, and some of the George CPFs in particular, serves to illustrate some of the issues raised by the discussion on CPFs and social capital in chapter one. CPF commentators concur that the structures were set up with much enthusiasm and seemed, at least theoretically, to be the ideal vehicle for making the police more responsive to community needs and influencing the police culture. However, the CPFs have failed to live up to these expectations. There is consensus that: "the CPFs in general are experiencing problems" (Mistry, 1997, p.5). If the CPFs have failed to make the police more accountable to community concerns then it seems misplaced to hope that the same structures will be capable of representing community concerns on the CSFs.

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The bearing that the PHM has on the CSF project is that it highlights the fact that UMAC and the CSF practitioners have not clarified at which level of prevention they want to focus their efforts.

The PHM also outlines four steps that project implementation should follow:

- Defining the problem based on data collection from ongoing research and surveillance;
- Risk factor identification involving the risk and resilience factors that distinguish between high and low risk individuals and groups;
- Development and testing of pilot interventions and
- Implementation of interventions and ongoing measurement of effectiveness, which also involves lobbying and advocacy for the application of interventions known to be effective (Emmett & Butchart, 2000).

To date neither UMAC nor the Khayelitsha or George CSF have conducted any planning that resembles the methodological approach outlined above. As discussed, the CSFs will require precise business plans if they are to implement a proactive multi-agency approach involving a lobbying and advocacy element. The PHM steps would provide helpful guidelines in drafting plans that are based on substantiating data rather than the perceptions of the multitude of stakeholders who would participate in such a planning venture.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, three primary lessons can be learnt from the challenges facing the CSF. The first is obvious in theory but more difficult in practice and involves ensuring clarity regarding the purpose of the structures. The CSF experience illustrates how easily a discrepancy in understanding can arise despite efforts to the contrary, and how this disjuncture between understanding of purpose and

CSF achievements has possibly contributed to the problems of poor attendance and lack of concrete outputs. Any similar crime prevention effort by others in the future should emphasise more clearly a continual process of goal clarification, especially as new representatives are recruited, so that this understanding may be shared.

Secondly, the present structure of the CSF does not have a means of accessing decision-making authority. Instead, the authority is assumed to lie at a local level. If the CSFs, and other initiatives with an interest in local crime prevention, wish for proactive multi-agency projects then there has to be provision for obtaining the input and approval of decision-makers at a level higher than local.

Finally, the CSFs highlight the need for a clear strategy that is written up in the form of a business plan. Such a plan should specify the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, time frames and budgets. Once again, this is a lesson that seems very obvious, but the case studies provide examples of how difficult it is to facilitate a planning exercise when it requires the involvement of a wide range of disparate role players.

A number of issues highlighted by social capital should also inform future crime prevention projects. Firstly, CPFs should not be assumed to represent community interests. Also, social capital theory predicts that CPFs functioning in poor and crime ridden communities are more likely to experience problems, and that similar difficulties will face crime prevention projects that attempt to work in such communities. Crime prevention initiatives should be informed by the mounting evidence indicating that community-based crime prevention strategies alone are ineffectual in reducing serious crime in low-income communities. Macro-level interventions that are able to harness the authority and resources at decision-making level are also required.

Finally, the primary health model (PHM) has been widely applied to crime prevention and can assist in the formulation of interventions in two ways. Firstly, the model distinguishes between different levels of prevention. Projects will benefit from being clear in their implementation theory and plans regarding the level of prevention that their intervention aims to address

Secondly, the PHM outlines four steps for programme implementation. The value of these steps is that they emphasise a methodical and rigorous approach to defining the problem and monitoring programme delivery. This is of particular value to the study of crime prevention - a relatively new field of research that has much to learn from well designed and implemented initiatives, especially initiatives that attempt to address the challenges facing South African communities.

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APPENDICES - Questionnaires

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APPENDIX 1: UMAC STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of respondent	
Name of CSF for which responsible	
Date of interview	

A. CONCEPTUALISATION

1. What is the purpose of CSF's?

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2. On what do you base for the CSF structures

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3. Which organisations should be represented on the CSF's?

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4. Who should represent these organisations and why?

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5.1 What is the envisaged impact of CSF structures in the short term?

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5.2 In the long term?

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B. INITIATION

1. How were the 8 CSF pilot sites selected?

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2. How did you go about enrolling members for the CSF?

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3. What problems did you encounter?

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4. What worked well?

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5. How did you define the local crime priorities?

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6. Who was involved in the drafting of the community safety plan?

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C. IMPLEMENTATION

1. What projects has the CSF you are involved with initiated?

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2. Would these projects have taken place in the absence of the CSF structure?
Give details.

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3. What process was followed for deciding on projects and objectives?

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4. How has responsibility for the different projects been allocated?

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5. What are the greatest obstacles facing the CSF on an ongoing basis?
*(Resources/ project management/ change in role players/ level of responsibility
and commitment of representatives/ funding/ changes in the public sector...)*

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6. What have been the greatest successes of your CSF?

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7. What do you think is the greatest benefit of the CSF structure in your area?
(Pooled resources/ shared information/ capacity building/ support..)

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8. Is there any monitoring system in place?

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9. What happens when representatives do not deliver on the tasks allocated to them?

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D. REPRESENTATION OF STAKEHOLDERS

1. How would you describe representatives' commitment to the CSF? To what do you attribute their level of commitment?

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2.1 Are there any organisations/ departments you would like to see represented on the CSF who are not part or, if part, attend meetings irregularly?

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2.2 How does the absence or irregular attendance of members affect the functioning of the CSF?

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E. PROJECT MONITOING

1. To whom is the CSF accountable?

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2. How do the reporting lines work?

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3. Where and how are problems in the project implementation dealt with or solved?

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APPENDIX 2: CSF REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of CSF	
Name of respondent	
Organisation represented	
Date of joining CSF	
Contact number	
Date of interview	

A. CONCEPTUALISATION

1. What is the purpose of CSF's?

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2. Which organisations should be represented on the CSF's?

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3. Who should represent these organisations and why?

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4.1 What is the envisaged impact of CSF structures in the short term?

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4.2 In the long term?

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B. ORGANISATIONAL AND DEPARTMENTAL SUPPORT

1. What is your position within your department/ organisation?

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2.1 In the past, have you had to receive authorisation from a supervisor for a project/s initiated by the CSF?

Yes	
No	

2.2 If yes, for what did you require authorisation, and for which project?

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3. What are the priorities of your department/ organisation?

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4. In what way has the CSF supported you in fulfilling your organisation's goals and plans? Try and think in terms of specific projects and tasks.

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5. Do the CSF plans put any additional requirements on your organisation's budget?

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C. REPRESENTATION OF STAKEHOLDERS

1. How would you describe representatives' commitment to the CSF? To what do you attribute their level of commitment?

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2.1 Are there any organisations/ departments you would like to see represented on the CSF who are not part or, if part, attend meetings irregularly?

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2.2 How does the absence or irregular attendance of members affect the functioning of the CSF?

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3. Who, in your opinion, is responsible for driving the CSF process?

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D. INTEGRATED PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

1. What are the priorities of the CSF?

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2. What projects has the CSF initiated?

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3. Would these projects have taken place in the absence of the CSF structure?
Give details.

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4. How are responsibilities allocated within the CSF?

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5. Has the CSF made an impact? In what way?

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E. INTEGRATED PROBLEM-SOLVING / PROJECT MONITOING

1. To whom is the CSF accountable?

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2. How do the reporting lines work?

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3. Where and how are problems in the project implementation dealt with or solved?

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4.1 Has being part of the CSF improved in any way your understanding of how other departments operate? Can you think of particular examples?

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4.2 In terms of co-operation between departments, and between departments and community?

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5. Have you ever called any other CSF member for work related assistance outside of a CSF meeting? (If yes, what was the outcome?)

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6. What feedback do you receive about CSF projects? How could communication be improved?

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7. How do you give feedback to your organisation/department regarding the CSF activities?

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F. GENERAL BARRIERS

1. What are the obstacles to your involvement in the CSF?
(time/ workload, organisational support, lack of commitment from other representatives, perceived inefficiency/ lack of impact of the CSF/ poor success rate, lack of resources to implement projects identified...)

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2. What are the obstacles facing the CSF in fulfilling the safety plan?

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3. Are there any changes that you would like to suggest that could possibly improve the functioning of the CSF?

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4. Any other comments?

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APPENDIX 3: PROVINCIAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Name of respondent	
Organisation represented	
Position	
Date of joining Steering Committee	
Contact number	
Date of interview	

A. GENERAL

1. How did you get involved with the Provincial Steering Committee?

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2. How were members selected? (What criteria were used?)

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B. CONCEPTUALISATION

1. What is the purpose of the CSFs?

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2. Why are the CSF structures necessary?

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3. Which organisations should be represented on the forums?

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4. Who should represent these organisations and why?

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5.1 What is the envisaged impact of the CSF structures in the short term?

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5.2 In the long term?

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C. INITIATION

1. How were the CSF pilot sites selected?

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D. IMPLEMENTATION

1. What do you think is the greatest benefit of the CSF structures?
(*Pooled resources/ shared information/ capacity building/ support...*)

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2. What are the greatest obstacles facing the CSFs on an ongoing basis?
*(Resources/ project management/ changing role-players/ level of responsibility
and commitment of representatives/ funding/ changes in the public sector...)*

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3. In what way do you think the CSFs have had an impact in their local communities?

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4. What systems are in place for monitoring the progress of the CSFs?

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E. STAKEHOLDERS

1. How would you respond to the complaint from some CSF representatives that the forums do not have any authority to hold members accountable for attendance or performance on tasks allocated?

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2. Do you believe that local departmental representatives should be mandated by their provincial superiors to attend the CSF meetings?

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3. How would you respond to the complaint from some CSF members that local state departments do not have the resources to implement the safety plans they have designed?

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F. ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

1. To whom are the CSFs accountable?

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2. What is the relationship between the CSFs and the provincial steering committee?

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3. Who, in your opinion, should eventually be responsible for the CSFs?
When do you see this happening?

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5. In closing, are there any changes that you would like to suggest that could possibly improve the functioning of the CSF?

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6. Any other comment?

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APPENDIX 4: NON-ATTENDANCE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of respondent	
Name of CSF	
Organisation	
Position	
Contact number	
Date of interview	

1. What makes it difficult for you to attend the CSF meetings?

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2. What do you understand the purpose of the CSF to be?

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3. Do you believe the CSF structure could assist in reducing crime in your area?

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4. Do you know what projects the CSF is presently planning?

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5. What would have to happen for you to attend the CSF meetings?

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