

**Developing a Monitoring and Evaluation System for the Ceasefire Gang
Violence programme in Hanover Park, Cape Town.**

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of the
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COMPULSORY DECLARATION:

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Executive summary

This study is a formative evaluation of the Ceasefire gang violence programme in Hanover Park, Cape Town, South Africa. The primary audience of this evaluation is the Ceasefire programme management. The Ceasefire programme is a project of the City of Cape Town's Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading Unit (VPUU). The Ceasefire programme is run by the First Community Resource Centre (FCRC) in Hanover Park. The main aim of this evaluation is to develop a results-based monitoring and evaluation system for the Ceasefire programme.

This evaluation has responded to the following four evaluation questions:

1. What is the programme theory of the Ceasefire gang violence programme?
2. Is the Ceasefire programme theory plausible?
3. How can the Ceasefire gang violence programme be tailor-made to the South African Cape Flats gang violence context?
4. What is a proper result-based monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system for the Ceasefire programme?

To respond to the first evaluation question listed above, the Ceasefire programme documents and records were examined and interviews were held with the programme management. The information obtained through this research was used to develop an impact and process theory for the Ceasefire programme. The developed programme theory can be summarized in the following sentence: gang violence problem will be reduced in Hanover Park community if the Ceasefire Programme intervenes and interrupts gang violence at the street level, if the programme provides identified clients with behavioural modification training and refers them to social services and the programme educates the community to change their violent norms and values.

To respond to the second evaluation question a literature review on approaches used to deal with gang violence problems in communities was conducted. In addition to this, evaluation findings of programmes that use gang violence approaches that are similar to the Ceasefire programme approach discussed.

The reviewed literature has revealed that there are four common approaches that are used to solve the problem of gang violence in communities. These four approaches

are prevention, intervention/disengagement, suppression/law enforcement, and multiple approach models. This dissertation has explained that the Ceasefire programme uses the multiple approach models to solve gang violence problems in Hanover Park. Furthermore, this dissertation has explained that programmes such as the Ceasefire programme that use the multiple approach models are plausible in reducing gang violence problems in communities.

To respond to the third evaluation question listed above, a literature review was conducted to find out the causes of gang violence in the Cape Flats communities. The activities that the Ceasefire programme management have done to tailor the programme to the local context was also discussed. This information was used to make the following recommendations to further tailor the Ceasefire programme to the local context:

- To prevent the youth in the community who are at risk to join gangs and or involve in gang violence, the Ceasefire programme needs to develop a gang violence prevention outreach programme for the schools in the community which targets the school going youths.
- To help the individual gang members to exit their gang life and prevent them from involving in gang violence, the Ceasefire programme needs to establish a peer-to-peer outreach programme by employing rehabilitated programme participants who have graduated from the programme as peer educators for fellow gangs in the community.
- To facilitate the gangs to exit their gang life, the Ceasefire programme needs to provide a Safe House facility outside of the Hanover Park community for the programme participants who would like to exit their gang life.
- To further help the programme participants to abandon their gang life, the Ceasefire programme also needs to provide a tattoo removal service for the programme participants that would like the tattoos on their body to be removed.

To respond to the fourth evaluation question (What is a proper result-based monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system for the Ceasefire programme) a results-based M & E system for the Ceasefire Programme was developed. This M & E system consists of two frameworks which are an implementation and outcomes monitoring frameworks.

Glossary of Terms

FCRC:	First Community Resource Centre
VPUU:	Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading
HRIs:	High Risk Individuals
HRI:	High Risk Individual
VI:	Violence Interrupter
FET:	Further Education and Training
VI:	Violence Interrupters
OW:	Outreach Worker
OWS:	Outreach Workers
CBD:	Central Business District
M & E:	Monitoring and Evaluation
UCT:	University of Cape Town
STDs:	Sexually transmitted diseases
SOS:	Safe our streets
PSN:	Project Safe Neighbourhoods
CREAM:	Clear, relevant, economic, adequate, monitorable
SAPS:	South African Police Service
DOCS:	Department of Community Service
NICRO:	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of offenders
PubComm:	Public communication
WHO:	World Health Organization
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UN:	United Nations
AIDS:	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).
CV:	Curriculum Vitae
NGO:	Non-governmental organisation

Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation is written in a format that meets the requirements for the M Phil dissertations in programme evaluation. The dissertation is also written in response to the needs of the Ceasefire programme stakeholders (the programme manager and coordinator) who have requested their organization be evaluated.

The main request of the programme stakeholders is to develop a results-based monitoring and evaluation (M & E) system for the Ceasefire programme in Hanover Park. This is the primary focus of this evaluation. In addition to this, this dissertation has also developed a theory of change for the Ceasefire programme. It also discusses the plausibility of the theory of change and has also made suggestions of how to tailor-make the programme according to the local context of the Hanover Park community.

This chapter provides an overview of the research conducted in this evaluation. The first section of the chapter briefly discusses the gang violence problems existing in the Western Cape. The second section of the chapter provides a description of the Ceasefire programme and discusses the critical elements of the evaluation included in this study and concludes with the evaluation questions.

Background information

Gangsterism and gang violence (murders, shootings, assault, etc) and all their related activities that may include selling drugs, are some of the problems and challenges facing the residents living in the Cape Town area. According to the South African Police Service (2012) during the crime statistics year of 2011/2012, the Western Cape Province has recorded some of the highest incidents of serious crime rates when compared to other provinces in South Africa (South African Police Service, 2012). The South African Police Service states that the serious crimes ratio per 100,000 of the population of the Western Cape Province was 6601. These serious crimes consist of contact crimes like murder, assault, robbery, rape, as well as contact related-crimes such as arson, malicious damage to property, and property crime like theft, burglary of residential and non-residential places and other crimes detected by police action

such as possession of illegal firearms, drug abuse and general drunkenness and drunken driving (South African Police Service, 2012).

One of the main reasons for this high crime ratio in the Western Cape Province is due to the prevalence of gangsterism and gang violence in the province when compared to other provinces in the country (South African Police Service, 2012). This is evident in the crime analysis figures which show that 13.1% of murder cases and 22.2% of attempted murder cases in the Western Cape Province are gang-related (South African Police Service, 2012). When studying the 2012/2013 crime statistics, again the Western Cape Province has the second highest incidents of contact crimes (murder, robbery, rape, assault, etc), 1760.2 per 100,000 individuals when compared to other provinces in the country.

Most gang violence incidents in the Western Cape are concentrated in the Cape Flats community area of Cape Town. This year alone (2013), had the worst incidents of gang violence in the Cape Flats. In recent months, there has been a spike of gang violence and bloodshed between rival gangs in the Cape Flats communities, more particularly in the Manenberg community (C. Engel, Personal communication, June 3, 2013). News reports of gangs shooting each other or at bystanders in broad daylight and in public areas in the Manenberg community have made headlines in various newspapers and TV channels in the country (eNCA, 2013; Times Live, 2013; Eye Witness News, 2013). The gang violence has brought the Mannenberg community at a standstill, with the main public institutions like schools closed for more than a week during some of these gang wars in the community.

In response to the recent upsurge and the persistent gang violence problem in the Cape Flats communities, the Western Cape Provincial Government and the National Government have both developed a range of policies and interventions, including the establishment of a commission of enquiry in the Khayelisha Township, the passing of the Community Safety Act and the Prevention of the Organized Crimes Act, the creation of a dedicated gang prosecution court. There have even been calls to deploy the army in gang ridden areas during the periods of increased gang violence, calls

were also made for the reinstatement of the specialized gang and drugs police unit in the province and for tougher penalties and sentences for convicted criminal gangs and deliberate targeting and arresting of known and suspected gang leaders within these communities (Western Cape Government, 2013; Standing, 2005). Despite all these efforts by the government, gangs still continue to exist and seem to be thriving in these communities as time and again they emerge and wreak havoc in these communities.

Ceasefire programme description

The Chicago Ceasefire programme was developed in the USA in 1995 through the efforts of Dr. G. Slutkin, a public health epidemiologist. It is a multi-faceted intervention strategy aimed at solving gang violence problems in known communities (Webster, Whitehill, Vernick & Parker, 2012). By using this multifaceted approach to gang violence, the Ceasefire programme employs rehabilitated ex-gang members to act as violence interrupters to mediate between gang members during conflicts in order to prevent them fighting.

The Ceasefire programme also recruits individual gang members as programme participants and provides them with violence behavioural modification training and also handles any social services that they need. The Ceasefire programme also works in partnership with community based organizations, faith-leaders, law enforcement agencies such as the local police and other important stakeholders in the community to develop a community wide campaign that aims to change the violent norms and behaviour of the local community members.

In order to avoid confusion with the Boston Ceasefire programme, which is different to the Chicago Ceasefire programme, the Chicago Ceasefire programme has been recently renamed as the Cure Violence programme in the USA (Picard-Fritsche & Cerniglia, 2010). According to the Cure Violence Website (2013), the Cure Violence

programme has been replicated in many communities nationally in the USA, and also internationally in many countries¹.

It is indicated in the Ceasefire programme documents that the Cure Violence programme generally employs an epidemiological public health approach in solving gang violence and its related activities. By using this public health methodology, the Ceasefire programme regards gang violence like a disease such as Tuberculosis (TB) and or HIV/AIDS, which needs a systematic diagnosis, prevention and treatment. Thus, the Ceasefire approach of solving gang violence follows this same public health method which is illustrated by the three pillars of the Cure Violence Model: (1) identification and detection of gang violence, (2) interruption, intervention and risk reduction, and (3) change behaviours and norms of the gang members and members of the community. These three main pillars of the Ceasefire programme will be further explained in chapter three of this dissertation.

The Ceasefire programme is a replication of the Cure Violence programme in the USA and is presently the only one of its kind that is currently being run in South Africa. The current Ceasefire programme in Hanover Park is therefore directly imported from abroad without any modifications of the components of the Cure Violence mother programme.

C. Engel (personal communication, March 5, 2013) states that the need for the Ceasefire programme was initially established by looking at the context of the communities in the Western Cape that are gang violence ridden and have high incidents of shootings and murders. Hanover Park stood out from the rest of violence ridden communities in the Cape Flats in terms of numbers of deaths, which is why the intervention programme was initiated in the Hanover Park community.

¹ The Ceasefire programme is replicated nationally in the USA in 13 other cities which are Oakland, North Chicago, Rockford, Kansas City, Neworleans, East St. Louis, Decatur, Philadelphia, Niagara Falls, Baltimore, New York City, Yonkers and Albany. The Cure Violence programme has also been replicated internationally in 16 countries in the world which include Brazil, Peru, Columbia, Mexico, Canada, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Jamaica, Egypt, Kenya, South Africa, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Israel/Palestine and UK.

Implementation of the Ceasefire programme

The Ceasefire programme is being implemented as a pilot project of the City of Cape Town's Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) unit and in collaboration with the Department of Community Safety (DOCS). The City of Cape Town has therefore commissioned a service provider called the First Community Resource Centre (FCRC) to run the Ceasefire programme in Hanover Park. FCRC has a centre/compound in Hanover Park which it administers and runs the programme there.

Duration of the Ceasefire programme

The conceptualization, baseline study and the training of the Ceasefire programme staff started in the years 2011/2012. In 2012, the representatives of the mother programme in the USA, the Cure Violence programme, visited Cape Town in order to train the Ceasefire programme staff and assist them in laying down the foundations of the Ceasefire programme. However, the actual implementation of the programme in the Hanover Park community only started in January 2013. The Ceasefire programme has a three year life-span and this period is expected to lapse in the end of the year 2015. After this initial three year period, the programme will be reviewed and a decision will be made to continue it or not.

The goal of the Ceasefire programme

The overall goal of the Ceasefire programme is to change the violent behaviour patterns of High Risk Individuals (HRIs) (herein referred to as individual gangs or programme participants) and thus reduce the incidence of gang related violence such as shootings, murders, robberies, retaliatory killings and drug or turf wars in the community, and to make Hanover Park a safer community to live in.

The target population of the Ceasefire programme

According to the Cure Violence Training Manual (2012), the target population of the Ceasefire programme are individuals who are members of gangs and or are involved in gang related activities such as drugs, violence, shootings and assault among others. Included in the target population are also family members and close relatives of the target individuals described here.

Furthermore, the special criteria for choosing the programme participants are to assess their risk of involvement in gangs and related activities. This is done by using the seven points of risk assessment listed in table 1, below. Those individuals who answer in the affirmative at least four of the seven points listed in the table 1, below are deemed as High Risk Individuals (HRIs) and are recruited for the programme.

Table 1. Ceasefire programme recruitment criteria for programme participants

Number	Recruitment Criteria	Yes	No
1	Are you between 16-25 years old		
2	Have you been recently released from jail		
3	Are you active in violent street organization		
4	Do you have a history of violence		
5	Do you carry a weapon		
6	Have you been recently shot or shot someone		
7	Are you engaged in high risk activity such as street level fighting, drugs, etc.		

Source: Ceasefire programme records.

Background information to programme theory

Programme theory is “the set of assumptions about the manner in which a programme relates to the social benefits it is expected to produce and the strategy and tactics that the programme has adopted to achieve its goals and objectives” (Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2004, 432). Programme theory is also explained as “the construction of a plausible and sensible model of how a programme is supposed to work” (Bickman, 1987, P. 5). Therefore, programme theory explains the kind of activity or activities that a programme does together with the outcome or change that will result from it when these activities are carried out.

According to Rossi et al (2004) programme theory consists of two main components: programme impact theory and programme process theory. Programme impact theory is a cause-and-effect theory of how certain programme interventions or activities bring about the expected outcomes (effects). On the other hand, the programme

process theory consists of the organizational plan and service utilization plan. Rossi et al (2004) mention that the programme organizational plan is formulated from the perspectives of the programme administration and it is the planned functions and activities of the programme and the supporting system such as human, financial and physical resources of the programme, so that the programme is actually able to deliver its services to its clients.

The service utilization plan is formulated from the perspective of the programme client and consists of the process(s) that the programme clients follow from recruitment to service usage until service termination (Rossi et al., 2004). The two components of the programme theory described here will be developed in chapter three of this dissertation.

Although programme theory fulfils several important functions for intervention programmes, the Ceasefire programme theory has fulfilled the following four important functions for the programme that are provided by Bickman(1987):

1. Identification of the problem and target group.
2. Provision of programme implementation description.
3. Improvement of formative use.
4. Clarification of measurement issues for the M & E system.

Evaluation type

The evaluation study conducted in this dissertation is formative in nature. According to Rossi et al (2004), formative evaluations are done in order to improve the design, implementation, impact or efficiency of a programme intervention strategy. In this context, the main purpose of this evaluation is to enhance and improve the Ceasefire programme by designing an M & E system that tracks the programme implementation and outcomes. The developed M & E system will help the Ceasefire programme management make better informed decisions on the improvement of the Ceasefire programme.

Evaluation questions

Evaluation studies require questions that guide them to focus on the whole evaluation process. This evaluation will answer the following four evaluation questions: numbering

1. What is the programme theory of the Ceasefire Gang Violence programme?
2. Is the Ceasefire programme theory plausible?
3. How can the Ceasefire gang violence programme be tailor-made to suit the South African Cape Flats gang violence context?
4. What is a proper results-based monitoring and evaluation (M & E) system for the Ceasefire programme?

Chapter Two: Methods

This chapter explains how the data for this dissertation was collected and analyzed. The data for this evaluation was obtained from both primary and as well as secondary sources. These data sources are explained below, followed by the explanation of the specific methods that were used in response to each of the evaluation questions that were outlined in chapter one.

Primary data

Primary data for this research was obtained mainly from the Ceasefire programme employees: the programme manager and the programme coordinator. The programme manager is Pastor Craven Engel and the programme coordinator is Raymond Swartz. The other source of the primary data for this research was obtained from an external expert in gang violence. This external expert is Prof Cathy Ward of the UCT's department of psychology who has done numerous studies on gangs in the Western Cape.

Primary data was also obtained by conducting on-site observations of the Ceasefire programme. The sites observed are the Camp Joy training centre in Strandfontein and the FCRC centre in Hanover Park.

Secondary data

Secondary data was sourced by conducting a literature review of already available research studies on gang violence and gang interventions. Another source of secondary data was obtained by studying Ceasefire programme documents.

Data collection tools

In order to collect the primary data for this research a qualitative research paradigm is used. A semi-structured interview was conducted with the research participants. According to Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011), a semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of enquiry in which the researcher prepares beforehand a set of open-ended questions that may prompt the discussions with an interviewee. The interview session(s) with the respondent(s) is flexible and may be adjusted to the circumstances that may prevail in each interview session as follow-up questions can be added to the interview guide as needed in the actual interview. The reason why this semi-structured interview method was used in this evaluation study is that this type of

interview will give the researcher the opportunity to gain more information about the Ceasefire programme.

Following this method of enquiry, opened-ended questions were prepared in an interview guide and these questions were posed to the research participants by the researcher in face-to-face interview sessions.

Explicating programme theory

This research has developed the three components of the programme theory which are the programme impact theory, a service utilization plan, and the programme's organizational plan that were explained in chapter one. In order to develop these three components of programme theory, this research has followed the first three of these four steps that are used to explicate programme theory:

1. Review of programme documents
2. Interview with programme stakeholders and key informants,
3. Site visits and observation of programme functions
4. Examining the social science literature (Rossi et al., 2004).

This research study has not used step 4 (examining the social science literature) as it is not relevant at this level of explicating programme theory because the Ceasefire programme is already developed and has an implicitly articulated programme theory.

To carry out step one (review of programme documents) this research study has examined and reviewed the Ceasefire programme documents which are indicated in table 2 below. Information that was sourced from these programme documents are the Ceasefire service utilization plan and the organizational plan.

<i>Table 2. Programme records used</i>	
<i>Internal programme documents used</i>	Date of publication of these documents
Ceasefire programme training manual	2012
Ceasefire programme data collection forms	2013
Ceasefire programme monthly reports	2013
Ceasefire programme baseline study	2011/2012
<i>External programme documents used</i>	
Cure Violence Website: http://cureviolence.org/	2013

Source: Ceasefire programme records.

To implement step two (interview with programme stakeholders and key informants) the researcher has conducted face-to-face interviews with the Ceasefire programme manager and coordinator. The purpose for interviewing the Ceasefire programme manager and coordinator was to further explicate, clarify and confirm the programme theory and find out the expected outcomes of the Ceasefire programme. The interview questions that were posed to the programme manager and coordinator are provided in Appendix 1.

Step three involved site visits and observations of programme functions and circumstances. The researcher has on numerous occasions visited the First Community Resource Centre (FCRC) in Hanover Park. The researcher has also attended the programme training/behaviour modification sessions which are run at Camp Joy in Strandfontein. The researcher has also travelled with the Violence Interrupters and the Outreach Workers while they were busy conducting their gang-violence intervention and interruption duties in order to understand how they conduct their work.

Assessing the plausibility of Ceasefire programme theory

According to Rossi et al (2004), one way of finding out the plausibility of the programme theory is to assess it by comparing it with other similar research work, approaches and practices that are used to solve the particular issue that the programme deals with. This process also involves examining evaluations of programmes that are based on similar programme concepts. If the theory applied by the programme is aligned to these common approaches or practices and if it has been confirmed that these approaches bring the desired results, then, it means that the programme theory is plausible. This evaluation has used this method in finding out the plausibility of the Ceasefire programme theory.

To carry out this method of enquiry, this evaluation has conducted a secondary information search in the form of extensive literature review of the strategies, methods and or approaches that are used to tackle and solve gang violence problems in communities. The literature review also involved searching for similar evaluations that were conducted on programmes that use similar Ceasefire gang violence approaches.

The first source of this literature review was electronic (internet) based search. The following key sentences and or terms were used during the desk-top search: *gang violence, effective gang intervention programs, gang violence strategies, Ceasefire gang violence evaluation, evaluation of gang violence, impact assessment of gang violence, gangs*. The second source of the literature review was obtained from printed documents such as books, journals and other publications. The above-mentioned key search terms and sentences were also used to search for books, journals, and other publications from the university libraries and as well as online books.

Developing an M&E system for the Ceasefire programme

A monitoring and evaluation (M & E) system is an important tool for any programme, whether small or big. The system can accurately pin-point whether a programme is making a difference, for whom it is making this difference, and the particular areas of the programme that are performing well or are underperforming. This information provided by the M & E system can be used to make informed decisions on improving the programme in order to successfully carry out its mandate. Information gathered by the M & E system is also vital to programme managers and funders of such programmes as it shows them whether the investments made in the programme in terms of time, effort and resources are paying off or not.

According to the UNDP (2009), monitoring is an on-going process by which key programme stakeholders (top programme policy and decision makers, programme sponsors, programme managers, programme staff and among others) obtain regular feedback on the progress made in achieving the set goals and objectives of the programme. On other hand, “evaluation is the systematic and objective assessment of an on-going or a completed project, programme or policy, including its design, implementation and results” (Kusek & Rist, 2004, 12).

The two definitions of monitoring and evaluation provided here above give the impression that they are independent, but, according to Kusek and Rist (2004), these two definitions are interdependent and complementary. For example, monitoring responds to the question of where a policy, programme or a project is at any given time (and over time) with regard to the targets and outcomes, adopted by the programme. On the other hand, evaluation gives evidence of why the targets and outcomes are not achieved and the reasons for this (Kusek & Rist, 2004). An outcomes or impact evaluation that is done alone without implementation evaluation is the so-called black-box evaluation as the evaluation cannot explain why things went wrong in the programme/project.

The M & E system that was developed for the Ceasefire programme is aimed to monitor and track the outcomes together with the implementation activities of the programme. In order to develop a credible M & E system for the Ceasefire programme, this research has used the following 5 modified steps of Kusek and Rist's (2004), developing a results-based M & E system. Figure 1, below shows these five steps.

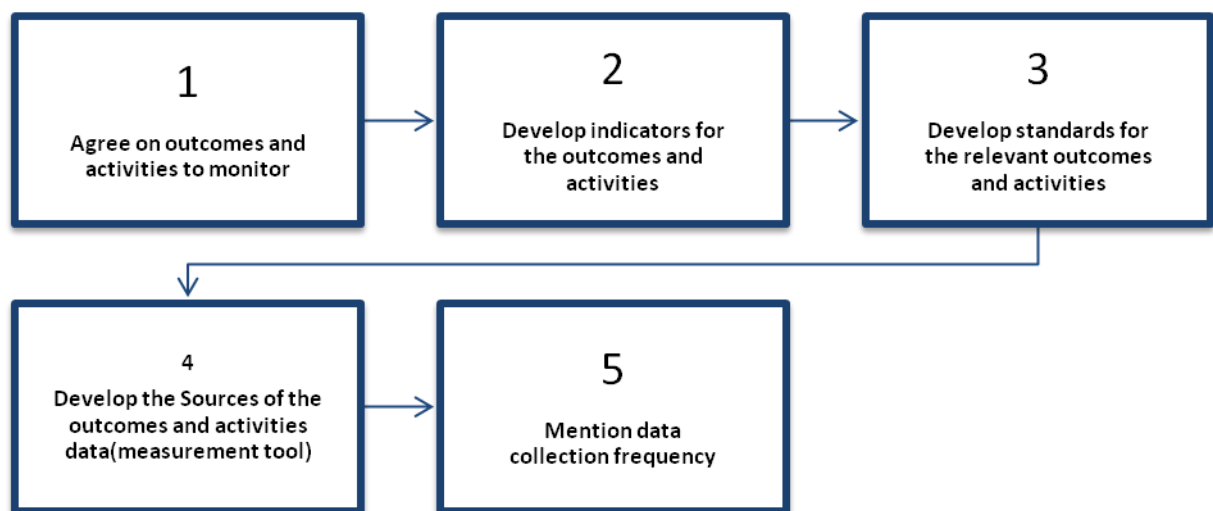


Figure 1. Steps used to develop a results-based monitoring and evaluation system adapted Kusek and Rist's (2004)

According to Rossi et al (2004) an outcome is a positive statement that represents the condition/state that a programme is supposed to bring to the programme participants or the social conditions that the programme is expected to change on individuals or communities that the programme serves. On the other hand, activities are actions taken by the programme through which resources are used to produce certain outputs (UNDP, 2009).

To carry out step one, the outcomes and activities listed in the programme impact and process theory in chapter three were extracted. The programme management was consulted to agree on the number of outcomes they would like to monitor and can be practically monitored.

“indicators are the quantitative or qualitative variables that provide a simple and reliable means of measuring achievement, reflect changes connected to an intervention or help to assess the performance of an organization against the stated outcome”(Kusek & Rist, 2004, 65). Indicators show that occurrence of something, for example, smoke indicates that there is a fire somewhere.

Indicators are classified into quantitative, qualitative, proxy and pre-designed indicators (Gebremedhin, Getachew & Amha, 2010). Gebremedhin et al, explain that quantitative indicators are discrete measures that are normally expressed numerically (number, mean, median, percentage, proportion and ratio). On the other hand, qualitative indicators enquire subjective questions that require value judgements. For example, questions that enquire the perception or opinion of research participants measure qualitative indicators.

Kusek and Rist (2004) explain that proxy indicators are used to measure things that direct indicators cannot be obtained from them or are costly or socially sensitive to obtain. For example, in the South African context, racial classification of black, coloured, white and Asian is used as a proxy indicator for being historically disadvantaged. At the same time, pre-designed indicators are those indicators that are designed by others to use for a particular purpose but can also be used for a relevant purpose. For example, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are indicators which are designed to track the MDGs and could also be used for measuring relevant national developmental goals of governments.

Gebremedhin et al (2010) recommend to developing simple measurable indicators for programmes when establishing an M & E system for them. This study follows this kind of format and develops simple quantitative indicators for the Ceasefire programme.

In order to carry out step two, the selected outcomes and activities items were operationally defined by using the following 5 CREAM criteria as given by Kusek and Rist (2004):

1. Clear—precise and unambiguous
2. Relevant—to the programme
3. Economical—available at reasonable cost
4. Adequate—they provide enough bases for assessing performance
5. Monitorable—can be monitored by anyone else.

Kusek and Rist (2004) explain that standards are pre-determined targets of how much outcome (change) or activity (implementation) is good enough for the programme under review to be successful. To carry out step three, the Ceasefire programme management was consulted in order to ascertain how much of each of the programme outcomes (change) and activities is desirable. After this consultation with the programme staff, standards were developed for the appropriate outcomes and activities.

To carry out step four, the Ceasefire programme management was consulted in order to decide which tool that was going to be used to measure the outcomes and activities data. Data collection frequency refers to the timing of the data collection or how often the data for each of the indicators was collected. To carry out step five, the programme management was consulted with regard to the most appropriate frequency of data collection that related to the outcomes and activities indicators.

Tables 3 and 4 presented below were used to depict the outcomes and activities monitoring framework for the Ceasefire programme.

Table 3. Proposed outcomes monitoring framework.

Outcomes	Outcome indicators	Outcome standard	Data sources	Data collection frequency

Table 4. Proposed implementation monitoring framework.

Implementation Target (activities)	Implementation indicators (Outputs)	Outcome standard	Data sources	Data collection frequency

Tailoring the Ceasefire programme to the local context

To tailor-make the Ceasefire programme to the Cape Flats gang violence context, this dissertation has conducted a literature review in a form of desk-top (internet) and printed documents (books and journals) search by using the following terms and sentences: *South African gangs, Cape Flats gangs, gang culture in the Cape Flats, the history of gangs in the Cape Flats, the organization of gangs in South Africa and in the Cape Flats and as well as the causes of gangsterism.*

In addition to this literature review, the researcher conducted interviews with gang violence expert and the programme manager and coordinator that were mentioned previously in this chapter. These questions are provided in Appendix 1.

Data analysis

First, the analysis of the data that was collected in this evaluation study started during the field work period. The collected data was organized or categorized into different sections. For example, a separate title for each of the data collected was created and the collected data was recorded under these separate titles. Second, the notes made during the interview session were studied several times to understand and make sense of them. Third, while reading the interview notes, the sentences and words that describe different concepts/activities were coded manually by putting on identifiers (such as letters, pictures or numbers or simply highlighting on colour marker) and grouped together. Fourth, connections and relationships between the different coded data were also noted and identified.

Research procedure

The researcher has applied for ethical clearance from the Commerce Faculty Ethics and UCT's Research Committee. Upon receipt of this approval, the researcher made an appointment with the programme staff to interview them. Second, the researcher has contacted the gang violence expert mentioned above and has interviewed her. After the interview sessions, the researcher has conducted the literature search to respond to questions concerning the programme plausibility and tailoring the programme services to the local context.

Ethical guidelines

Strict ethical guidelines in line with the requirements of the Faculty of Commerce's ethical guidelines were followed throughout this evaluation process. This research was only conducted after the proposal has been approved by the UCT's Commerce Faculty ethics committee, and the confidentiality of participants was protected.

Chapter Three: Ceasefire programme theory

This chapter responds to evaluation question number one which was stated in chapter one. This evaluation question is:

- What is the Ceasefire programme theory?

In this chapter the two components of the Ceasefire programme theory: programme impact theory and programme process theory are explored. The impact and process theory of the Ceasefire programme were presented to the Ceasefire programme management who have confirmed that the information presented in this chapter is accurate. The programme management have also agreed with the connections established between the programme concepts in the programme theory. The information relating to the two programme components that is provided in this chapter was used to develop the results-based monitoring and evaluation system for the Ceasefire programme in chapter five.

Ceasefire programme's impact theory

The Ceasefire programme impact theory consists of four main programme interventions that are aimed to solve gang violence problems in the community.

These four main interventions are:

1. Street level intervention
2. Client Outreach Work
3. Public Education
4. Community Mobilization

According to Skogan, Hartnett, Bump and Dubois (2009) these four main interventions of the Ceasefire programme represent the individuals, organizations and their activities that the programme uses in order to solve gang violence problems in communities. Figure 2, below depicts an explicitly simplified Ceasefire programme impact theory where only the core programme interventions (cause) and the short, medium and long-term outcomes (effects) are presented.

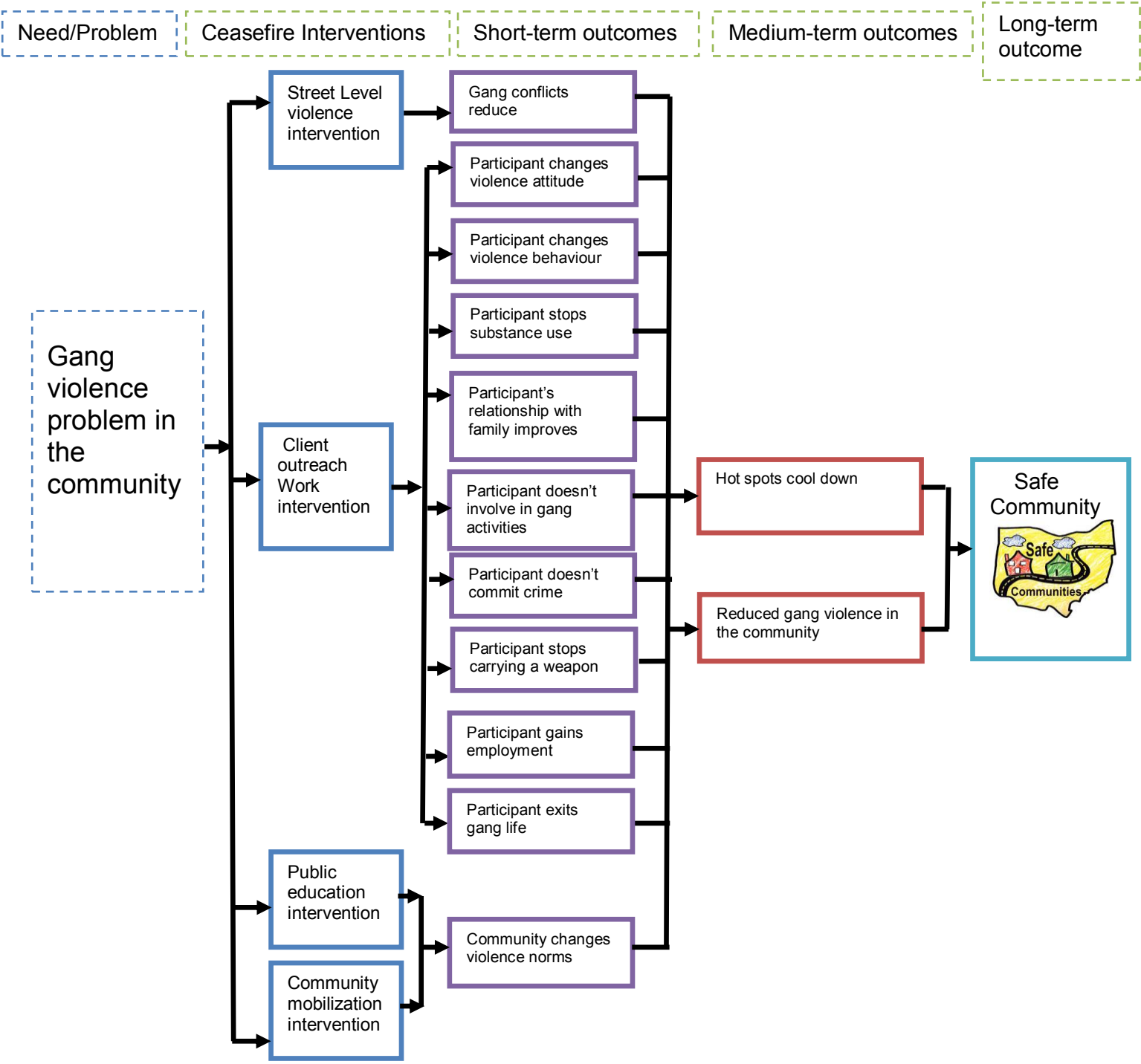


Figure 2. Ceasefire programme impact theory.

Ceasefire programme's process theory

This section of the chapter will develop the programme organizational and service utilization plans that together make up the programme process theory.

Ceasefire programme's organizational plan

The Ceasefire programme organizational plan consists of four programme components that are carried out by the Ceasefire programme staff and two programme support components that are carried out by external Ceasefire programme partners.

The four programme components that are carried out by the programme employees are:

- The street level intervention
- The client outreach work
- The public education intervention
- The community mobilization intervention

The two programme components that are sourced from external partners are:

- Faith leaders programme support activities
- And the law enforcement agencies supporting activities

In addition to this, the Ceasefire programme has two administrative support personnel who are the programme manager and the programme supervisor. The following section will explain the functions and roles fulfilled by each of these Ceasefire programme organizational plan components.

Street level violence intervention activities

The street level intervention is one of the two main pillars of the Ceasefire programme interventions; the other main pillar is the client outreach intervention work, which will be discussed later below. The street level intervention is carried out by the Ceasefire programme staff called the Violence Interrupters.

The Violence Interrupters (VIs) have a daily work schedule of patrolling and maintaining constant presence in the community and more particularly in the violence-prone hotspot areas. The VIs work in small groups of two or three members and each group is assigned to patrol and maintain physical presence in a specific area within the community. The daily schedule of working hours of the VIs is often odd and includes infrequent hours, mostly although not exclusively during the afternoon right through the early hours of the morning, including on weekends.

The main reason why VIs constantly patrol the community areas is to build good working relationships with High Risk Individuals (gangs) and persuade them to join the programme. In order to build a good working relationship with the HRIs, the Violence Interrupters are normally expected to conduct the following minimum activities:

- ✓ Three home visits per month
- ✓ Three additional face-to-face meetings per month
- ✓ Two substantive phone conversations per week

Another reason why the VIs maintain a constant presence in the community is to detect potential gang violence in the community before it erupts. Once the Violence Interrupters detect a potential gang violence activity, they try as much as possible to prevent or to diffuse it by mediating between the parties involved or those affected by this violence. Therefore, detecting potential gang violence and diffusing them are the key activities that are carried out by the VIs.

VIs are also expected to intervene during the times of crises. Crises refer to multiple occurrences of gang violence which is characterized by murders and counter violent gang retaliations. To intervene in times of crises, VIs spend extra time talking with the different gang groups involved or affected by violence in order to help prevent counter attacks. Also during this period, the VIs spend time with the victims of violence to give them the necessary support and comfort. The Violence Interrupters also assist with the public education and community mobilization activities by distributing educational pamphlets or organizing discussions with community members.

Client outreach work intervention activities

The Client Outreach Work intervention is carried out by the Outreach Workers (OWs) who are also members of the Ceasefire programme staff. The OWs recruit participants who can participate in the programme. While sometimes programme participants are referred to the OWs by the VIs, most of the times the OWs personally go out into the community to recruit the programme participants. The OWs recruit programme participants by using the seven points recruitment criteria that was mentioned in chapter one of this dissertation.

OWs are expected to have a minimum active caseload of 15-20 programme participants. These programme participants remain in the Ceasefire programme for a minimum period of four months by attending the different programmes and services offered by the Ceasefire programme. The OWs are also expected to build good relationship with the programme participants who are in their caseload by carrying out the minimum activities that were previously explained above in this chapter.

Once the OWs recruit participants for the Ceasefire programme, they fill the Risk Reduction Plan Form which lists items or issues that the programme participants need assistance with. The participants then choose whether or not to take part in any of the services listed in the Risk Reduction Plan Form as offered by the Programme. Alternatively, the OW assesses the level of riskiness of the HRI by using the seven points recruitment criteria and determines whether the participant needs to take part in all or some of the services offered by the programme. The services offered in the Risk

Reduction Plan Form are sponsored by the Ceasefire programme and offered free of charge to the programme participants. The following services are listed in the Risk Reduction Plan Form.

Behaviour modification training programmes

The programme participants are obliged to join behavioural modification programmes that are aimed at changing the violence attitudes, norms and behaviours of HRIs. The behavioural modification programmes consist of two types. The first type is Camp Joy programme which is offered for a period of six-weeks in Camp Joy which is situated in a remote area in Strandfontein, Cape Town. Camp Joy is operated by FCRC as one of its community intervention programmes. The second type of the behavioural training programme is the Three Day Life Skills Camp which is also offered by FCRC.

Participants who choose to attend Camp Joy stay in this camp for the entire six weeks period and are not allowed to have any contact with the outside world except for rare family contact, based on necessity or emergency. Both young men and women take part in the programme and live in separate accommodation in Camp Joy. In addition to this, participants receive daily food and other necessities free of charge while they are in Camp Joy.

The life skills training modules offered in Camp Joy are taught by experienced trainers who were also themselves ex-rehabilitated HRIs. A typical classroom in Camp Joy consists of 15-20 trainees and the classroom has chairs and tables. The trainers present their lessons by using power point presentations, role plays, storytelling and video documentary viewing. Training classes start at 9.00 am in the morning and end at 5.00 pm in the afternoon with intervals for lunch and other breaks. 15 training modules are presented to the participants for the six week period that they are in Camp Joy.

In week one, participants are taught the following three modules:

- Goal settings: participants are taught about how to set life goals and work throughout the course to achieve them.

- Choices and consequences: participants are taught about the different life choices that they can make, and both the negative and positive consequences of these choices.
- The importance of a support group: participants are taught about the importance of being in a good family/friends supporting structure that will have benefits for their lives.

In week two, programme participants take part in the following three training modules.

- Attitudes: participants are taught about the importance of having the right attitude in life.
- Norms, standards and values: participants are taught about the importance of developing and practicing good norms, standards and values.
- HIV/AIDS awareness: participants are educated on the risks of HIV/AIDS and the link it has on other risk behaviours such as substance abuse, gang violence and promiscuous sex life.

In week three, programme participants are taught the following three modules.

- Paradigm shift: participants are taught about how to see things from different positive angles and to change their lives for good.
- Tik and Heroin education: participants are taught about the life-threatening dangers of the different substances and how to prevent and or stop using them.
- Identity: participants are taught about knowing who they are, where they come from and to be positive about themselves and ways of boosting their self-esteem.

In week four participants take part in the following two training modules.

- Communication: in this module, participants are taught about the different forms of communication that are available to them (Non Verbal, Verbal and Para-verbal) and how to communicate effectively.

- Anger management: in this module, participants are taught how to manage and control their anger and how to avoid being violent whenever they get angry.

In week five, the participants are taught the following three modules.

- Anthropology: in this module, participants are taught about the three components of the self which are the body, soul and spirit and how to look after each of these three body components properly.
- Metamorphosis of a man: in this module, participants are taught about the different stages of the growth of the human being and what to do and expect in these stages.
- Personal Bank Account: in this module, an imaginary personal bank account is opened for each of the training participants that contain both good (credit) and bad (debit) transactions which are both the good and bad actions that they have done in their lives. Participants are told to maximize the good transactions of their lives and minimize the bad ones.

In week six programme participants take part in only one training module which is:

- Case studies: participants are asked to work in separate groups and come up with possible solutions to their lives. Each group works on a different project that consists of life problems that they have experienced and are required to make recommendations on how to solve these life problems.

HRIs that choose to attend the Three Day Camp are taught a summarized version of all of the above modules that are normally offered in the six weeks Camp Joy programme. Figure 3, below shows Camp Joy training venue.



Figure 3. Camp Joy training venue. Source: Ceasefire programme report, 2013.

Skills development programmes

Programme participants are provided an option for skills development training programme. The skills development services are offered by a third party Ceasefire programme partner organization. At the moment, the only skills development programme offered to HRIs is carpentry skills training which is presented by the School of Carpentry situated in the Cape Town CBD.

The job readiness training programme

Programme participants who are looking for employment are assisted to find one. The employment seeking process starts with a job readiness training programme and concludes with the actual placement of the HRI in a paid employment. The job readiness training programme that equips the HRIs with the following skills:

- ✓ How to prepare CVs (resumes)
- ✓ How to apply for jobs
- ✓ Where to look for jobs
- ✓ How to prepare for job interviews including mock interviews
- ✓ How to dress neatly and clean for job interviews
- ✓ How to get ID documents
- ✓ Job training or internship programme

Assistance with enrolling in educational programmes

Programme participants who have not completed formal schooling such as Matric and who wish to go back to school are assisted with information about how to go back to school. In addition to this, programme participants who wish to further their studies are referred to Further Education and Training (FET) colleges.

Assistance to avoid substance use problem

Programme participants that have a severe substance use problem are also offered an option to rehabilitation programmes. Rehabilitation programmes are offered at Camp Joy and sometimes clients are referred to an external programme partner that offers these services. Programme participants that have minor substance use problems are offered a quick detoxification programme. The quick detoxification programme is also offered at Camp Joy.

Family re-integration

Due to the nature of the activities that the participant are involved in, some of the programme participants have problems with their families and, consequently, may not be able to stay with them. Therefore, one of the priorities of the OWs is to create peaceful relationships between the participant and his/her family. This entails persuading the participant to go back to their family environment, and equally also persuading the family members to accept the participant and take them back into the family.

Accompanying programme participants in court proceedings

Some programme participants might have pending criminal cases especially during the early days when they attend the programme. OWs accompany these participants to court in order to show them support and to inform the prosecuting authorities that the particular individual is attending their programme.

Hospital response services

One of the core activities of the OWs is conducting a hospital response intervention which is adopted from the Ceasefire programme's public health approach (Skogan et al., 2009). OWs conduct hospital responses intervention especially when a HRI is shot and injured. Whenever such an incident takes place, OWs are sometimes accompanied by VIs to visit the shooting scene and arrange for the victim's hospitalization by calling ambulances or even taking the victims to the hospital themselves. During the time when the victim is in hospital, they constantly visit him/her to give him/her comfort and moral support in this difficult time as a way to persuade the HRI to attend the Ceasefire Programme if he/she is not already a participant.

Public education intervention activities

According to Skogan et al (2009), the public education intervention is also adopted from the successes gained in public health education campaigns that targeted undesirable behaviours such as smoking, drug abuse, not wearing seat-belt when driving, not using condoms and not immunizing children, among others. The public education intervention consists of several activities that are aimed to educate the community to change their violence norms, attitudes and behaviours to more peaceful ways of survival.

One of the activities of the public education intervention is to distribute educational brochures to community members. The VIs and OWs, on a usual basis, meet face-to-face with some of the community members and distribute to them educational fliers, posters, booklets and stickers. These documents contain tailor-made messages that convey the community members a general message that violence is not a normal or acceptable behaviour and that it must be eradicated from the community.

Another main activity of the public education intervention is to inform the community members about some of the progress that have been made by the programme. A public communication score board (PubCom) is placed in most public places within the community such as shops, taxi ranks and cafeterias which counts the number of days passed without a shooting incident in the community. Whenever a shooting incident takes place in the community, the score board is updated and changed. When

there are a significant number of days without some shooting in the community, the programme distributes fliers to the community members thanking them for the important role that they have played in that important milestone of days without shootings in the community and encourages them to continue doing so.

Another activity that is carried out in the public education intervention is to inform and educate the community members on how to safely react whenever there is gang violence in their community. The community members are informed about proper safety plans when there is gang violence in their community. Such plans include, but are not limited to, lying down on the ground whenever there is a shooting incident, remaining indoors during crossfire and avoiding going to the places where shooting is taking place.

Figure 4 below shows a PubComm score board.

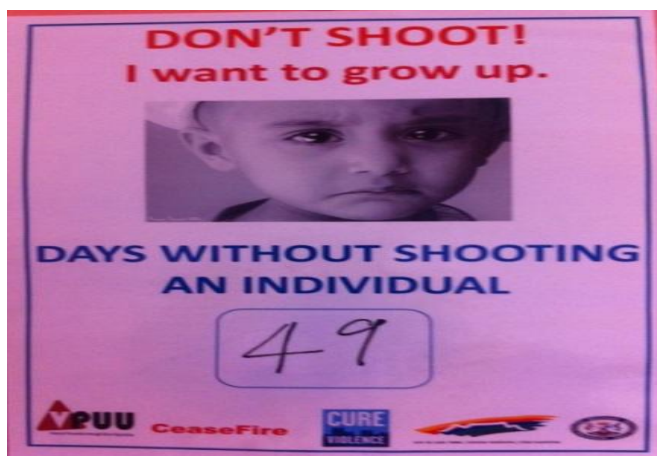


Figure 4. PubComm Ceasefire shootings score board
Source: Ceasefire programme report, 2013

Community mobilization intervention activities

The community mobilization intervention is also an adopted public health approach that tackles public health problems ranging from obesity to immunization and to Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) (Skogan et al, 2009).

One of the activities that take place in the community mobilization intervention is to organize community mobilization activities. The main community mobilization activities include community marches, community rallies, prayer vigils, street braais that involve HRIs.

Another community mobilization activity is to conduct community-wide concerts in the community. These concerts are often performed by HRIs and famous musicians and artists within the community. The purpose for conducting these community mobilization activities is to inform the community about the need to stop supporting or taking part in gang violence activities and to change their norms and attitudes of violence.

Another important component of the community mobilization intervention is to organize shooting responses in the community. Whenever a shooting takes place in a particular area in the community, the Ceasefire programme staff carryout a shooting response in the community area where shooting took place. A typical shooting response includes the following activities:

- ✓ VIs and OWs immediately visit the shooting scene even during the times of the shooting as a way to try and diffuse the violence.
- ✓ If any individual is shot, the OWs do a hospital response that was described above in this chapter.
- ✓ A public education intervention is conducted which involves the activities that were described above.
- ✓ With the help of faith leaders, a prayer is often conducted at the spot where the shooting occurred and for the victims of the shooting.
- ✓ If there was a deceased, families of the deceased and other friends give a talk and inform the community about the negative consequences of violence.

Figure 5, below shows a typical shooting response event that was conducted in the community.



Figure 5. Shooting response event organized by the Ceasefire Programme
 Source: Ceasefire programme report, 2013.

Ceasefire programme partners supporting activities

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, faith leaders and the law enforcement agencies such as the local SAPS, Department of Correction Supervision and the local magistrate courts are the four main Ceasefire programme supporting partners.

The main programme support activities that faith leaders conduct are the following:

- Assist in community mobilization activities
- Lead prayers and pray for the community in violent/tense periods.
- Assist in conflict mediation activities by talking to the HRIs and also offering their facilities (churches or mosques) for the conflict mediation to take place.

The Law enforcement agencies participate in the Ceasefire programme in two ways. First, the heads of the Department of Correctional Supervision and the SAPS attend the steering committee meetings at the City of Cape Town. Second, the local police (most of the time) and metro police (seldom) give the programme the necessary security support at the street level. The activities conducted by the local police are the following:

- Provide security for specific programme activities such as community mobilization activities by providing security and visible policing during the event. Also provide security and visible policing when there is a funeral for the HRI.
- Share with the Ceasefire programme gang violence statistics. Although the programme collects its own independent gang violence statistics, they also get annual gang violence statistics from the police.

In addition to this, the local police are also expected to have mutual respect and working relationship with the programme: mutual respect means the police is not supposed to interfere with the work of the programme employees (OWs, VIs and programme management) and the programme employees do the same.

The Correctional Supervision Department and the local magistrate courts involve in the Ceasefire programme by referring to the programme HRI whom they require to be rehabilitated.

Ceasefire programme administrative supporting activities

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Ceasefire Programme employees include the programme supervisor and manager whom both provide administrative support for the programme. The programme supervisor monitors the work and activities of the VIs and the OWs so that they fulfil their obligatory job duties. The programme manager conducts the overall administrative functions of the Ceasefire programme. The activities of each of these Ceasefire programme administrative support staff are listed below.

The following are the activities of the programme supervisor:

- Monitor OWs participant caseloads and contacts.
- Supervise conflict mediations done by the VIs.
- Conduct daily assessment of what OWs and VIs need to carry out their duties.
- Provide all the necessary support in terms of physical (such as motor vehicle) or other resources for the VIs and OWs in order for them to do their work duties.
- Contact all victims of violence and organize a grievance response for them.

- Organize support groups for HRI mothers.
- Organize support group for HRIs.
- Coordinate with the programme manager.

The following are the activities of the programme manager:

- Carry out all the admin work of the programme such as writing programme reports, making payments and organizing facility placements for HRIs.
- Attend the meetings of the Ceasefire programme steering committee in Cape Town.
- Monitor the hours that the OWs and VIs spend on the ground and with their participants.
- Have weekly meetings with OWs and VIs on Mondays (to check work done over the weekends) and on Fridays (to plan for what to do over the weekend and the people involved).
- Build partnership network relationships across the community members and community based organizations such as faith based organizations.
- Contact with law-enforcement agencies (especially the police) when there is an event that needs their presence.
- Work with a community coalition to develop violence prevention plans.
- Recruit and manage volunteers for the programme.
- Organize shooting responses and other community activities.
- Assist OWs and VIs team in identifying strategies to cool down violence-related hot spots.

Ceasefire programme's service utilization plan

As stated previously, once the HRI is recruited for the Ceasefire programme, the HRI is assessed to find out the type of problems that he/she has and the type of social services that are suitable for the particular problem that he/she has.

The first process that all HRIs go through is that they are either referred to the behavioural modification programmes such as at Camp Joy or the Three Day Camp. If the HRI is referred to the Camp Joy programme, he/she stays in Camp Joy for six weeks. During these six weeks, the HRI receives the different behavioural modification training modules that were explained previously in chapter. The HRI remains in the training for the whole six weeks until he/she completes the training. If the HRI is referred to the Three Day Camp, he/she receives a summarized version of all the modules offered in Camp Joy and stays in the Three Day Camp until he/she finishes the programme.

As stated previously in this chapter, if the HRI has a family problem, the OW tries to solve this problem and re-integrates the HRI into his/her family. And if the HRI requires employment, he/she is simultaneously referred to a job readiness and skills development programme that were both explained previously in this chapter. HRIs attend these programmes until they finish them.

If the HRI has a substance problem, he/she is referred to a drug restoration programme where he/she receives a substance abuse treatment and rehabilitation. The HRI remains in this programme until the end of the programme. Once, HRIs complete all of these programme services and cycles, they are regarded as having attended all the services and programmes offered by the Ceasefire programme and having finished them all. Figure 6 below presents this programme service utilization plan.

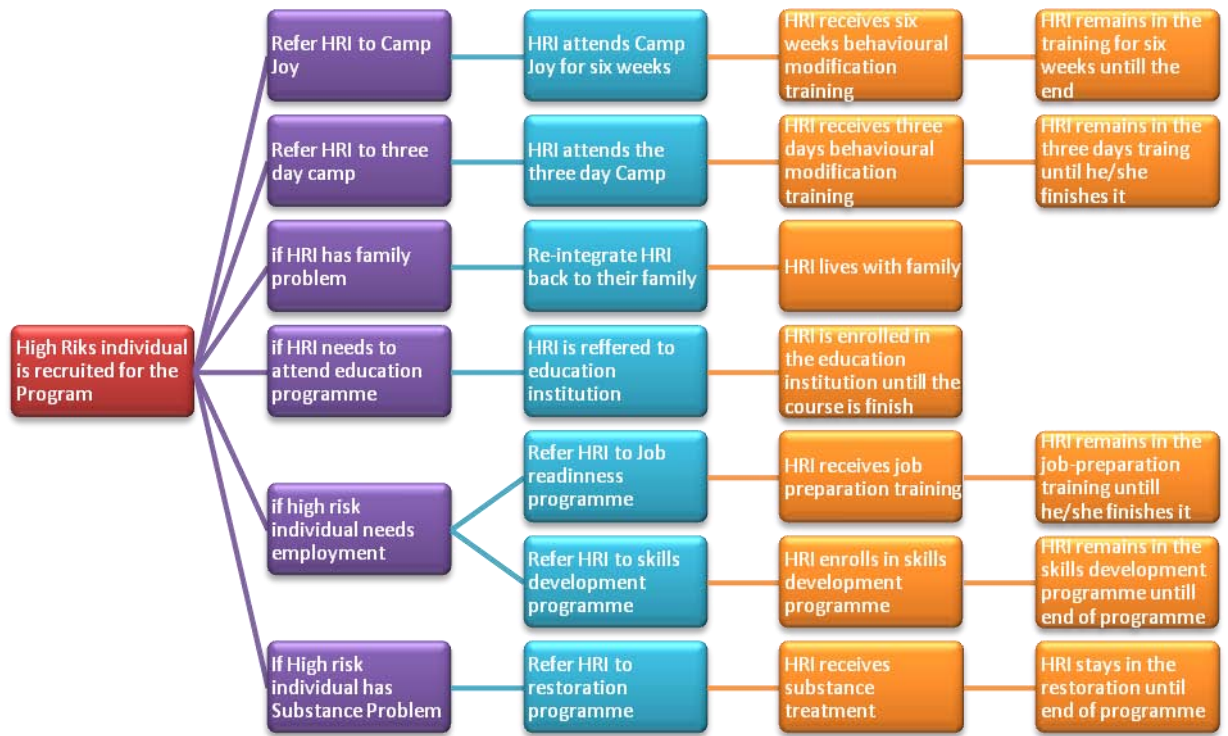


Figure 6. Ceasefire programme service utilization plan

Chapter Four: Plausibility of the Ceasefire Programme theory and its contextual suitability

This chapter deals with the evaluation questions number three and four which are:

- Is the Ceasefire programme theory plausible?
- What is required to make it more suitable for the local setting?

The first section of this chapter will deal with the first question listed above. In order to respond to this question, this section will first discuss the conventional approaches used to deal with gang violence problems in communities and discuss whether the Ceasefire programme theory is aligned to these approaches. The section also explains the evaluation findings of programmes that use these conventional approaches to gang violence problems.

The second section of this chapter will deal with the second question listed above. To respond this question, this section of the chapter will first discuss the factors that cause the gangs to be formed and to exist in the Cape Flats. This section will explain what the Ceasefire programme management has done to adapt the programme according to the local needs and setting. This section will analyze whether these adaptations made by the Ceasefire programme management are sufficient or not and will make recommendations to further improve and tailor-make the Ceasefire programme to the local context.

Conventional approaches used to solve gang violence problems

The most commonly used approach to prevent and reduce gang violence problems in communities has been classified into four categories which are prevention, disengagement, suppression/ law enforcement, and multiple approach models:

1. Prevention programmes target the youth who are at risk of becoming or joining gangs by meeting their needs and preventing them from becoming gangsters and or being involved in gang violence.
2. Disengagement programmes offer alternatives to gangsterism for the youths who are already involved in the gang life. This intervention provides

rehabilitation programmes to those who wish to leave gangsterism by offering them a proper way of living that is different from gang life.

3. Suppression/law enforcement programmes seek to deter gang violence through law enforcement crime deterrence strategies.
4. Multiple approach models use a mixture of the three approaches listed above (Washington Office on Latin America, 2008; Butler, Hodgkinson & Holmes, 2004; Spergel, 1995).

Among these four approaches mentioned above, the most widely used one is the multiple models approach. This model was developed by Spergel and Curry (1990) who have surveyed the gang violence programmes used by 254 organizations consisting of criminal justice agencies, community based organizations and schools in 45 cities in the USA. In their survey, Spergel and Curry (1990) found out that the strategies used to tackle the gang violence problems in communities can be grouped into four broad categories: (1) community organization, (2) social intervention, (3) opportunities provision, (4) suppression or law-enforcement approach, and (5) organizational change. This approach of solving gang violence problems was later on adopted and named by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) in the USA as the OJJDP comprehensive gang model (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2009). This model has since been applied and tested in several communities, most notably in the Little Village area community of Chicago.

(1) Community Organization Strategy involves mobilizing the community-wide members (local citizens, religious leaders, parents, former gang members and community based organizations, etc) to focus all their attention and energy on the gang violence problem in their community. This, among other things, entails creating a network of cooperation among the different sectors of the community as a means to take advantage of and harness community resources in the fight against the gang violence within the community. Part of this strategy is to educate and inform the different community sectors mentioned here, as an awareness programme about the

gang violence problems in their community. This also ensures that as a community they are properly consulted in finding a common solution to the gang violence problem.

(2) The social intervention method uses traditional, social work related activities which include, but are not limited to: youth outreach programmes and counselling services for specific individuals and community members that the gang violence problem has affected. The common social intervention strategies used by the above organizations surveyed in the Spergel and Currey's (1990) study included crisis intervention, providing peer educators or role models for gang youths, conducting inter and intra gang conflict mediation activities, referring the youth gangs to social services, provision of counselling to gang members, providing drug use prevention and treatment services. Spergel & Curry (1990) argue that the main goal of the social intervention strategies is to make gang involvement a less likely option for the youths and adults.

(3) Opportunities provision entails providing socio-economic services such as jobs, skills development training and educational development for the youths and more particularly those that are at risk of joining gangs. Spergel and Curry (1990) mention that the most common services provided by the surveyed organizations included helping the youth to enter the job market by teaching them job interview and CV writing skills, provide the youths with job training and placement services via youth employment agencies and also assisting the school-going youths with school problems to get special tutors and after school services.

(4) The suppression/law-enforcement approach uses strictly law-enforcement approaches which involve increased police patrols in community areas that are gang-ridden, involving the prosecution authorities (the local magistrates and high courts) to develop special strategies or tougher penalties as a way of tackling gang crimes, especially for convicted gang criminals. It may also involve formulating special legislations that target gang activities. The suppression efforts also include the development of a national/local information systems or databases that record

information and details of potential gang individuals and groups and their activities. According to Cooper and Ward (2002) the suppression approach particularly targets high-profile individuals that their involvement in gangs and gang related activities are known to the law enforcement authorities and aims to keep their activities at a minimum level.

(5) Organizational change refers to the development of policies and procedures at the government or state level that aims to tackle gang violence problems in the most effective and efficient way possible.

Shelden et al (2001) state that these five approaches discussed here above represent the known methods that have been tried in the past, are currently being used and will likely to be used in future to tackle any gang violence problems that affects any community.

Furthermore, Drfoos (1990) has conducted a comprehensive research on effective approaches and programmes that have been used in the USA to solve four youth problems that are closely related to the gang violence problem. These four problems are (1) delinquency, (2) teen pregnancy, (3) drug abuse, and (4) high school failure. Drfoos has found out that the majority of the intervention programmes that are applied to tackle the above-listed problems fall into one of these three broad categories: (1) early childhood and family interventions, (2) school-based interventions and (3) community based and or multi-component interventions.

Programmes that fall into the early childhood and family intervention category include pre-school programmes for youth that are at risk and support or training programmes for parents. The school-based interventions category consist of two programmes which address (1) address the school curricula, and (2) the organization of the school (providing teacher training, school team and alternative schooling) as a tool to deal with youth delinquency.

The programmes that fall into the community-based and or multi-component interventions category consist of three sub-categories which are: (1) school and

community partnership programmes, (2) community education programmes, and (3) multi-component comprehensive programmes.

The Ceasefire programme uses the multi-component/multiple models approach comprehensive programme to deal with gang violence problems in communities. The use of multiple personal and organizations such as the VIs, OWs, faith leaders and other community partners by the Ceasefire programme to deal with gang violence problems corresponds to the community organization approach that has been explained above. The Ceasefire programme's violence interruption activities, such as mediating and solving inter and intra gang conflicts and the client outreach activities that provide socio-economic opportunities to HRIs are also in line with the social intervention and opportunity provision approaches explained above. The community education and mobilization activities of the Ceasefire programme are also in line with the conventional approaches discussed above. The use of these conventional approaches by the Ceasefire programme is already very promising for the programme and makes it to be effective in dealing with the gang violence problems in the Hanover Park community.

After having discussed, the common approaches that are used to deal with gang violence problems in communities, and have confirmed that the Ceasefire programme uses this common approach, it is also important to find out whether these approaches have been effective in dealing with gang violence problems. The following section of this chapter will discuss this.

Evaluation findings of gang violence programmes

This section of the chapter will analyze evaluation findings of five selected gang violence programmes that use the above-discussed four approaches (prevention, disengagement, suppression, and multiple models) to solve gang violence problems. The first three programmes use the multiple models approach and the last two use a single approach model which is the suppression model. A summary of the outcomes of each of the evaluation studies conducted on these programmes will be presented.

The first programme to start with is the Cure Violence programme in Chicago, USA, which is the model that the Ceasefire programme in Hanover Park has replicated.

The Cure Violence programme has been previously evaluated three times. The first evaluation was an impact evaluation of the original Ceasefire programme in Chicago by Skogan et al (2009). This evaluation has used a quasi-experimental matched-groups research design to find out the impact of the Ceasefire programme in Chicago, USA. This design was administered by comparing the Ceasefire implementation sites to similar sites that the Ceasefire programme was not implemented.

The findings of the programme's impact on shooting incidents has revealed that particularly in four of the seven programme implementation sites, the Ceasefire programme was associated with a statistically significant reduction in attempted murders and the actual shooting incidents and murders within a range of 16-28 percent. The evaluators have stated that this decrease in gang violence was immediate and permanent in three of the four sites mentioned here and was gradual and permanent in the fourth site.

By using crime hot spot mapping techniques, the evaluators compared the shooting patterns before and after the Ceasefire programme had started to the areas that had no Ceasefire programme. The result was that the programme implementation areas grew noticeably safer in six of the seven sites. In four of the seven sites there was evidence that there were decreases in the size and intensity of the shooting incidents in the hot spots, and these decreases were linked to the Ceasefire programme implementation in these hot spot areas. In addition to this, the evaluation has also revealed that in two

programme sites, hot spots completely disappeared. However, the evaluation could not solely link this to the Ceasefire programme.

Furthermore, the evaluation has also found out that 99% of the programme clients interviewed have stated that the Ceasefire programme has made a positive impact in their lives. 87% of the two thirds of the programme clients who needed help to find a job were eventually assisted with in finding jobs. In addition to this, programme clients who requested to be referred to educational programmes, 85% of them received that assistance of identifying educational options suitable for them. Overall, the evaluation has found out that most programme clients have received assistance with 88% of the problems that they have initially faced.

The second evaluation of the Ceasefire programme was conducted by Picard-Fritsche and Cerniglia (2010) to find out the impact of the Crown Heights Save Our Streets programme which is a replication of the Ceasefire programme. This evaluation has used mixed research design methods. The main findings of this evaluation were a decrease in gun violence incidents in the targeted community where the programme was implemented.

The third evaluation of the Ceasefire programme was conducted by Webster et al (2012) to also find out the impact of Baltimore's Safe Streets programme which is also a replication of the Ceasefire programme. This evaluation has also used a quasi-experimental design. The evaluation has shown that the programme has reduced the shooting incidents in three of the four intervention sites (Webster et al, 2012).

The above three evaluation findings of the Ceasefire programme clearly indicate that the Ceasefire programme is a plausible and credible option that has been largely effective in reducing the levels of shooting incidents in the target community, cooling down some hot spot areas and assisting programme clients with the socio-economic services that they needed in order to abandon their gang life.

The second programme to be discussed in terms of its evaluation findings is the OJJDP comprehensive gang model which was mentioned previously in this chapter.

The OJJDP programme has been implemented in the Little Village in Chicago. As stated previously, the OJJDP comprehensive gang model is based on the five approaches (1) community organization, (2) social intervention, (3) opportunities provision, (4) suppression or law-enforcements approach and (5) organizational change that have been explained in this chapter.

Spergel and Grossman (1997) have evaluated this programme by using a quasi-experimental research design method of one treatment and two control groups that were matched with age, gang affiliation and criminal history. The main finding of this evaluation was that the programme participants have experienced a significant reduction in both arrests for gang crime and for self-reported criminal activity when compared to the control group (non-programme participants).

The third programme which uses a similar approach to the Ceasefire programme in solving gang violence problems is Operation Ceasefire in Boston, USA. Although both the Boston and the Chicago Ceasefire programmes have similar names and use similar gang violence approaches, but the two programmes have different organizational set-up and operate in two different geographical areas (Papachristo, Tracy & Fagan, 2007).

Braga, Kennedy, Piehl & Waring (2001) have conducted a time-series study to find out the impact of the Operation Ceasefire within the Boston area. This evaluation also used a non-randomized quasi-experimental research design to compare youth murder trends with larger cities in the USA. The findings of this evaluation show a statistically significant reduction in all time-series outcomes data, including the following main outcomes:

- A sixty-three percent reduction in the mean number of murder rates per month. The murder rates have fallen down from 3.5 pre-test average monthly murders to a 1.3 average post-test monthly murders.

- A thirty-two percent decrease in the monthly calls informing law enforcement agencies of the number of shots fired.
- A twenty-five percent decrease in the monthly number of city-wide, all age gun assault incidents.
- And a forty-four percent decrease in the monthly number of youth gun assault incidents in District B-2, which was the most gang infested districts in the city.

The above evaluation findings of the three programmes examined above clearly show that gang violence programmes that use the multiple models approach that comprise the five approaches discussed above are effective in dealing with the gang violence problems in the target communities.

In contrast to this, programmes that only rely on one single strategy are not as effective as the ones that use the multiple models approach to gang violence. In fact, it has been argued that “No single agency, community group, discipline or approach alone is sufficient to successfully address a complex problem such as gang crime” (Spergel & Grossman, 1997, 469).

One particular single approach model that is commonly used to deal with gang violence problems in communities is the suppression/law enforcement strategy used by law enforcement agencies. Several studies have shown that these approaches are ineffective in solving gang violence problems in communities (Shelden et al; Greene and Pranis, 2007; Klein, 1995). Greene and Pranis (2007) argue that evaluation findings of 17 jurisdictions in the USA that have used suppressive law-enforcement strategies have produced fewer examples of success and many failures. The following section will analyze evaluation findings of two of these 17 jurisdictions in the USA that have used these suppression methods.

Greene and Pranis (2007) state that generally speaking, law enforcement programmes use the following four main strategies:

1. Form a specialized gang tackling unit within the police department.

2. Launch a sustained crack-down of high-crime and gang-infested communities by increasing more police patrols in the community and enforcing the rule of law in the identified community.
3. Target alleged gang leaders and hard-core gang members by putting their movements and activities under constant police surveillance.
4. Give heavy criminal justice penalties for convicted gang members.

One such programme that has used the suppression method is the Anti-gang initiative of Saint Louis, Dallas and Detroit. The strategies employed by this programme were aggressive curfew enforcement, the use of consent-to-search tactics aimed to reduce the availability of firearms, the targeting of known gang members and as well as other suppressive activities.

Decker and Curry (2003) have evaluated this programme. The researchers used a quasi-experimental non-equivalent control group design to evaluate the outcomes of this programme. The findings of the evaluation are as follows:

In the two treatment communities of College Hill and Fairground Park, the authors have found no statistical significant changes across nine crime categories (murder, robbery with weapon, robbery without weapon, assault, gun assault, person crime, property crime, index crime) in the College Hill community. And in the Fairground Park community, of the nine crime categories listed here, only one crime category (robbery with no weapon) was found to have a statistical significance change.

In the two control communities, O'Fallen Park and Hyde Park, of the nine crime categories listed above, only one crime category for each community, assault, for O'Fallen community and robbery with no weapon for Hyde Park community were found to have statistical significant changes. All the remaining eight crime categories did not have any statistical significance changes in both communities. Furthermore, Decker and Curry state that the results found in this evaluation were discouraging and did not match the amount of effort and activities that were devoted to this programme.

Another widely used form of law enforcement gang suppression strategy in the USA is gang injunctions. Greene and Pranis (2007) mention that injunctions are legal tools that regard gangs as unincorporated associations whose members can be held responsible by local civil courts for breaking laws.

Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane (2003) have conducted an evaluation of the Gang Injunctions in San Jose, California. In their evaluation, the authors have examined crime patterns before and after the gang injunctions in San Jose, California and did not find any positive effect by the gang injunctions on these crime patterns.

The above section of this chapter has briefly discussed that programmes that use single approach models and more particularly the suppression model are not as effective. The main reason why law enforcement suppression methods often fail is that they treat the symptoms of gang violence but fail to address the underlying problems that gang youths face (Spergel, 1995; Klein, 1995).

How to tailor-make the Ceasefire programme to the local context

The following section deals with how the Ceasefire programme can be tailor-made to suit it to the South African, Cape Flats gang violence context.

Factors that cause gang violence in the Cape Flats communities

Much of the literature on the origins and the existence of violent gangs in the Cape Flats points at the Apartheid legacies of the past as one of the main reasons why gangs exist in the Cape Flats communities. Some of these legacies of the past are the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, the Migrant Labour System and the Job Reservation System which have all cumulatively led to the alienation and the marginalization of the people in the Cape Flats communities (Nicro, 1990; Standing, 2006; Pinnock, 1997; Jensen, 2008). The adverse conditions such as over-crowding and in-adequate housing units coupled with other factors such as lack of economic opportunities that prevailed in these communities, have facilitated the creation of gangs in these communities (Nicro, 1990; Standing, 2006; Pinnock, 1997; Jensen, 2008). This is also confirmed by interviews held with the gang violence experts mentioned in chapter two.

Prince (2005) also argues that some of the reasons why gangs exist in the Cape Flats communities are due to the wide-spread poverty, social instability and high unemployment levels that prevail in these communities. This notion is also confirmed by a survey that interviewed children in the Cape Flats communities about the reasons why young people in these communities join gangsterism.

This survey has revealed that the following four main risk factors have caused the children in these communities to join gangsterism:

- The prevalence of widespread poverty in the community.
- Poor television role models, poor policing in the community, and the high levels of drug and gang violence activities in the neighbourhood.
- Poor family environments (domestic violence, drug use and family members who are gangsters), peer pressure and poor performance in the school.
- Individual factors such as drug addiction, revenge for killing and identity formation of adolescences (Ward, 2007).

The above findings is also confirmed by the Children in Organized Armed Violence (COAV) cities project rapid assessment study for the City of Cape Town which has found out that communities that have high levels of gang violence share common factors which include high levels of urban migration, poor housing conditions, high population density and overcrowding, high income inequality between the rich and poor, lack of access to social and health services, and the proliferation of small arms (Kaggee & Frank, 2005).

The COAV study has further revealed that these communities do not have sufficient recreational facilities for children and youth and there are high rates of truancy and school dropouts. In addition to this, illegal shebeens are rife everywhere in these communities which enable young children in these communities to easily access drugs and alcohol from a very early age. Family breakdown and domestic and sexual violence are also common in these communities (Kaggee & Frank, 2005).

Furthermore, Diesel (1997) argues that the main reason why the youths in the Cape Flats join gangs is the prevalence of domestic violence and abuse in the families that these youth belong to and grow up in. Accordingly, Diesel believes that youths that escape from poverty, violence and alcohol abuse in their families spend most of their times in the streets with the gang members where they will be easily drawn into gangsterism through a process of natural attrition. Pinnock (1997) also agrees with this phenomenon by stating that due to a break in the family system, gangs provide a sense of belonging or support for many young people who could not otherwise find it from their own families.

Although there is little evidence to support this, but it has been argued that particularly in the South African context, many young women join gangs to escape sexual abuse that they experience at their homes (Legget, 2005). It has also been argued that some children in the Cape Flats communities also join gangs due the favourable opportunities that gangs offer to them which include access to money, drugs and girlfriends (Standing, 2005; Haefelle, 2003; Kagee & Frank, 2005).

According to Standing (2006) after the collapse of the apartheid regime and in the introduction of a new democracy in South Africa, gangs continued to thrive in the Cape Flats area due to the weakening of the state's crime fighting organ—the police. Standing mentions that after 1994, the South African Police Service (SAPS) was prevented from using strong armed tactics to subdue their subjects and or investigate effectively crimes committed. Standing further states that interviews with a range of violence experts in Cape Town have confirmed this notion that the transformation of the police institution has particularly given gangs in the Cape Flats communities an opportunity to proliferate and become more sophisticated and better organized than ever before.

The above reviewed literature has found out that the adverse circumstances (poverty, unemployment and poor housing conditions), individual risk factors (substance abuse, truancy and delinquency) and institutional factors (weak family and law enforcement agencies) that prevail in the Cape Flats communities have caused gangs to exist in these communities.

How the programme management have adapted the Ceasefire programme

At the time of writing this dissertation, the Ceasefire programme is fully operational in the Hanover Park community. The programme management have carried out the following activities to tailor the programme to the local setting:

First, the Ceasefire programme management have changed the terms and words that were on the Ceasefire programme administration forms from their original US terms and words to South African ones. For example, the terms referring to the demographic particulars in the USA such as White, Hispanics, etc, were changed to South African terms such as white, African, Coloured, etc. The names of gang groups listed on the forms as well as the type of outreach services offered were also adapted.

Second, the programme management have started support group sessions for HRIs and for parents of HRIs. The programme management explained that it was necessary to do this in order to appropriately rehabilitate both of these groups and prevent gang violence in the community.

Third, the programme management have introduced to offer an option of shorter behavioural modification training period to programme participants. This option is the Three Day behavioural modification training that was explained in chapter three. The programme management stated the reason for this is that that some of the participants may not like to attend longer period training sessions and have opted for shorter ones.

Fourth, the programme management have started an outreach programme that communicates and builds relationship with external gang groups. The external gang groups are the gangs in the prison and the gangs in other surrounding communities in the Cape Flats. The reason why the programme started this external outreach programme is to prevent the external gang groups to negatively affect or influence the gang violence situation of Hanover Park community.

Fifth, the Ceasefire programme management have organised transportation for participants who attend skills development programmes from their homes to the training venues. This was done after the programme management has realized that a number of participants had dropped out from the skills development courses. The programme has found out that one reason for the dropout rate was due the fact that the participants were afraid to walk in the community so early in the morning and catch a bus at the taxi rank.

The previous sections have discussed the effectiveness of the Ceasefire programme theory overall, explained the causal factors of gang violence in the Cape Flats communities and discussed adaptation of the programme to the local setting. The next section of this chapter will assess whether the modifications to the Ceasefire programme by the management are sufficient and will suggest aspects that could be considered to further strengthen and tailor the Ceasefire programme to the local community context.

How to further adapt the Ceasefire programme

The evaluator feels that the above described activities carried out by the Ceasefire programme management to tailor it to the local context were appropriate and necessary given the prevailing circumstances in the local community. However, the following recommendations are made to further prevent and reduce gang violence in the Hanover Park community:

To prevent the youth who are at risk against joining gangs and involving in gang violence, it is recommended that the Ceasefire programme develops a gang violence prevention outreach programme for the schools in the community that targets the children in these schools. The reason why it is important to have a school based gang prevention programme is that, in the South African context, the school environment is said to be the place where the youth most often experience and learn to be violent (Burton, 2008). In addition to this, the school environment is the place where most of the youth can be accessed, because 73.6% of the South African youth between the ages of five and 24 years old and 90% of those aged five to 19 years old are attending schools (Department of Education, 2007). This makes a school based violence

prevention programme absolutely appropriate to prevent youth violence as it will be accessible to a wider audience of the relevant target youth for these programmes.

In the U.S context school based gang violence prevention programmes have been effective in reducing violence against and by the youth in schools (Wilkson & Lipsey, 2005; Esbensen, Freng, Taylor, Peterson & Osgood, 2002).

The Ceasefire programme can adapt and use the behavioural training programmes that they provide to their programme participants to train the children in these schools. It is recommended that the outreach programme for the schools include an after-school programme for children during the school holidays and in the weekends. These programmes should provide a mix of services which include academic tuitions, recreational and sports activities, life-skills and job-skills training as well as other relevant activities to divert the children from involving in gang violence.

The reviewed literature above has revealed that some young people join gangs due to emulate what their fellow peers do and due to peer pressure. To prevent this, it is recommended that the Ceasefire programme establishes a peer-to-peer mentoring programme by employing the current HRIs who have graduated from the programme as peer educators for their fellow gang members in the community. This will further motivate the youth who are already involved in gangsterism to take a good example of their peer educators and exit the gang life. Peer mentoring programmes have been shown to be effective in reducing young people's involvement in gang violence (Sheehan, LeBailley & Christoffel, 1999).

As it was revealed in the literature review, family violence problems are one of the main causal factors of gang violence in the community. Hence, to solve this problem, it is recommended that the Ceasefire program partner with qualified social workers to offer family counselling services to the families of programme participants. Family counselling programmes should teach parents skills which include how to deal with delinquent children and assist the families who may be experiencing problems such as domestic violence and substance abuse. The reviewed literature has also shown that gangs fulfil for the youth the parenting role that their parents have neglected to do so,

therefore, parents should be taught good parenting skills which include how to care for and love their children.

To facilitate the participants to exit their gang life, it is recommended that the Ceasefire programme provides a Safe House facility outside of the Hanover Park community for the HRIs. This Safe House facility will be an escape root for the HRIs who are scared of victimization if they exit the gang life. Safe Houses have been effective in aiding the youth to break their bond with their fellow gang members and exit the gang life (Lafontaine, et al, 2005). Lafontaine et al state that a good example of a successful safe house facility is the Roosbrook Safe House in Winnipeg, Canada. In this facility, the youth are offered multiple services which include safe house environment where they can live and stay out of trouble, free daily meals, opportunities for socialization and recreation activities such as playing pool table game, cards or internet surfing and personal development through organizing skills development training and job placement opportunities. The proposed Safe House facility for the Ceasefire programme can offer some of these services cited above or any other appropriate services for the programme participants.

In addition to this, it is also recommended that the Ceasefire programme offers a tattoo removal service for the participants that would like to remove the tattoos on their bodies. The tattoo removal was one of the services requested by the participants during the Ceasefire community baseline study in 2012. However, this service has yet to be offered to the participants. Tattoo removal services for gang members have also been noted to help gangs erase their past and abandon their gang life (Bakir & Tod, 2008).

As it has been explained above in the reviewed literature, children are attracted to gangsterism due the favourable opportunities (money, drugs, etc) that gangs offer to them, therefore the Ceasefire programme needs to provide more attractive opportunities to prevent the youth from joining gangs and involving in gang violence. One way of doing this, is through the skills development training programmes that the Ceasefire programme offers to their participants. These programmes not only provide

skills to programme clients but also help them to get employment and exit the gang life. Hence, it is recommended that the Ceasefire programme establishes partnerships with more skills development service providers so that more Ceasefire programme clients are able to attend diverse skills development programmes and attain employment to exit the gang life. The need for jobs has even been stressed as one of the main services requested by the participants in the Ceasefire Baseline Survey Report (2012); it is therefore recommended that the Ceasefire programme helps participants in ways to obtain employment opportunities. The Ceasefire programme needs to make partnerships with more potential employment companies and organizations that may employ participants. It is also recommended that in order to maximize the employment opportunities for participants, the Ceasefire programme should liaise and consult with these potential employers to eliminate barriers such as having a criminal history and being a gang member as well as among others which may hamper the employability of the programme participants

Chapter 5: A monitoring and evaluation system for the Ceasefire programme

This chapter responds to evaluation question number four which was mentioned in chapter one of this dissertation. This evaluation question is:

- What is a proper results-based monitoring and evaluation (M & E) system for the Ceasefire programme?

To respond to this question, this chapter develops a results-based M & E system by following the steps mentioned in chapter two. The M & E system developed in this chapter consists of two parts: implementation and outcomes monitoring frameworks. The developed M&E system was first presented to the Ceasefire management who have commented and given feedback on it. These comments and feedback were re-incorporated into the M & E system and a final draft of the M & E system was again presented to programme management. The programme management are satisfied with the M & E system developed in this chapter. The first section of this chapter will present the implementation monitoring framework and the second part will present the outcomes monitoring framework.

The implementation and outcomes frameworks are presented in tables 5 and 9 below. The first column of the two tables lists each of the selected programme intervention activities and outcomes. The second column shows the indicator(s) used to monitor these activities and outcomes. These indicators are quantitative and meet Kusek and Rist's (2004) 5 CREAM criteria for good indicators that were outlined in chapter two. They are clear and unambiguous, relevant to the Ceasefire programme, economical (can be collected at low cost), adequate (they provide enough basis for assessing programme performance), and monitorable (can be monitored by anyone else).

The third column lists the applicable standard (target) that was set by the programme management. The fourth column lists the sources of information for the indicators or the tool that is used to measure each of the indicators presented in both tables. Three tools are used to measure programme implementation indicators. These tools are the

Violence Interrupter’s Implementation Log which is presented in table 6, below, the Outreach Worker’s Implementation Log which is shown in table 7, below, and the Community Activity Log, which is shown in table 8, below. These tools are presented after table 5.

Two tools that are used to measure programme outcomes indicators are the Outreach Participant Outcomes Log, show in table 9, and the Violence Interruption Outcomes Log shown in table 10. These tools are presented after table 9. The fourth column shows the data collection frequency. Data is collected monthly, weekly or daily.

Ceasefire programme implementation monitoring framework

The implementation monitoring frameworks were developed by extracting programme activities from the Ceasefire programme process theory that was discussed in chapter three. The implementation monitoring table that was discussed in chapter two is used to present the implementation framework. As it is not feasible to monitor all of the programme activities that were explained in chapter three, it has been decided through consultation with the programme management to monitor only the main activities that are presented in table 5, below. The table shows how to monitor the selected programme implementation activities.

Table 5. Implementation monitoring framework of the Ceasefire Programme.				
Implementation Target(Activities)	Indicator(s)	Standard	Source of information(measurement tool)	Data collection frequency
Violence Interruption activities				
Spend time on the beat	Number of hours spent on the beat	45 hours per week	Violent Interrupter’s Implementation Log	Weekly
Build relationship with HRIs	Number of meetings with HRIs	N/A	Violent Interrupter’s Implementation Log	Weekly
Mediate gang conflicts	Number of gang conflicts resolved between the same gang groups(internal conflicts) Number of conflicts resolved between different gang groups(external conflicts)	Not applicable	Violent Interrupter’s Implementation Log	Weekly
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Build relationship with gang groups in other communities	Number of meetings with gang groups in other communities	Two face to face meetings per month	Violent Interrupter's Implementation Log	Weekly
Build relationship with HRIs in the prison	Number of visits made to HRIs in the prison	One prison visit per month	Violent Interrupter's Implementation Log	Weekly
Outreach Work activities				
Recruit participants for the programme	Number of participants recruited for the programme	N/A	Outreach Workers Implementation Log	Monthly
Build relationship with programme participants	Number of meetings with programme participant	3 visits per month	Outreach Workers Implementation Log	Monthly
	Number of times had telephone conversations with programme participants	Two phone call conversations per week with HRIs		Monthly
Refer participants to Further education and training (FET) programme	Number of participants who are attending FET programme Number of participants who have graduated from FET programme	N/A N/A	Outreach Workers Implementation Log	Monthly
Refer participants to a skills development programme	Number of participants who are attending a skills development programme Number of participants who have graduated from a skills development programme			

Accompany participants in court proceedings	Number of court proceedings attended with programme participants	N/A	Outreach Workers Implementation Log	Monthly
Do hospital response	Number of hospital responses done	N/A	Outreach Workers Implementation Log	Monthly
Visit Injured HRIs in the Hospitals	Number of hospitals visits done	n/a	Community activity log	
Public education activities				
Distribute education brochures to community members	Number of times distributed educational brochures to community members	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Do presentations at community gatherings	Number of presentations done at community gatherings	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Community Mobilization activities				
Organize community marches	Number of marches held in the community	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Organize community rallies	Number of rallies held in the community	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Organize prayer vigils	Number of prayer vigils held in the community	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Organize street braais in the community with HRIs	Number of street braais held in the community	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Organize community concerts	Number of concerts held in the community	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Organize shooting responses	Number of shooting responses held in the community	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Visit injured HRIs in the hospital	Number of hospital visits done	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly
Faith Leaders programme participation activities				
Take part in community marches	Number of faith leaders present in community marches	n/a	Community activity log	Monthly
Take part in community rallies	Number of faith leaders present in community rallies	n/a	Community activity log	Monthly
Take part in prayer vigils	Number of faith leaders present in prayer vigils	n/a	Community activity log	Monthly
Take part in community concerts	Number of faith leaders present in community concerts	n/a	Community activity log	Monthly

Take part in shooting responses	Number of faith leaders present in shooting responses	n/a	Community activity log	Monthly
Law enforcement agencies participation in the programme				
Local police supports the programme	Number of police vans present in concerts held in the community Number of police vans present in rallies held in the community Number of police vans present in funerals held for deceased HRIs	All the concerts All the rallies All the funerals	Community activity log	Monthly
Local courts participate in the programme	Number of participants referred to the programme by the local courts	n/a	OWs log	Monthly
Correctional services participate in the programme	Number of participants referred to the programme by the Correctional Services		OWs log	Monthly
Programme management support activities				
Build partnership with community based organizations	Number of community based organizations who are Ceasefire programme partners	N/A N/A	Programme management log	Monthly
Recruit volunteers for the programme activities	Number of individuals working for the programme as volunteers	N/A	Programme management log	Monthly
Programme supervisor activities				
Organize support groups for HRIs mothers	Number of HRIs mothers who are in a support group	N/A	OWs log	Monthly
Organize support groups for HRIs	Number of HRIs who are in a support group	N/A	OWs log	Monthly
Organize grievance responses for victims of gang violence	Number of grievance responses held for victims of violence	N/A	Community activity log	Monthly

Implementation data measurement tools

Table 6 shows how to measure the violence interruption indicators. These indicators are measured weekly.

Table 6. Violence Interruption Implementation Log.	
Week _____	
Indicators	Quantity
Number of hours spent on the beat	
Number of meetings with HRIs	
Number of conflicts resolved between the same gang groups(internal conflicts)	
Number of conflicts resolved between different gang groups(external conflicts)	
Number of meetings with gang groups in other communities	
Number of visits made to HRIs in the prison	

Table 7 shows how to measure the client outreach indicators. These indicators are measured monthly.

Table 7. Outreach Work Implementation Log:	
Month _____	
Indicators	Quantity
Number of participants recruited for the programme	
Number of meetings with programme participants	
Number of times had telephone conversations with programme participants	
Number of participants who are attending FET programme	
Number of participants who have graduated from FET programme	
Number of participants who are attending a skills development programme	
Number of participants who have graduated from a skills development programme	
Number of participants who are currently attending Camp Joy programme	
Number of participants who have graduated from Camp Joy programme	
Number of participants who are currently attending the Three Day life-skills training programme	
Number of participants who have completed the Three Day life-skills training programme	
Number of participants who are attending job readiness training programme	
Number of participants who have completed job readiness training programme	
Number of participants who are attending a drug restoration programme	
Number of participants who have completed a drug restoration programme	
Number of participants who are attending a detoxification programme	
Number of participants who have completed a detoxification programme	
Number of court proceedings attended with programme participants	
Number of hospital responses done	
Number of participants referred to the programme by the local courts	
Number of participants referred to the programme by the Correctional Services	
Number of HRIs mothers who are in a support group	
Number of HRIs who are in a support group	

Table 8 shows how to monitor community activity indicators. These indicators are measured monthly.

Table 8. Community Activity Log	
Month	
Indicators	Quantity
Number of times distributed educational brochures to community members	
Number of presentations done at community gatherings	
Number of marches held in the community	
Number of rallies held in the community	
Number of prayer vigils held in the community	
Number of participants who have graduated from FET programme	
Number of street braais held in the community	
Number of concerts held in the community	
Number of shooting responses held in the community	
Number of grievance responses held for victims of violence	
Faith Leader's Programme Support Indicators	Quantity
Number of faith leaders present in marches held in the community	
Number of faith leaders present in rallies held in the community	
Number of faith leaders present in prayer vigils held in the community	
Number of faith leaders present in concerts held in the community	
Number of faith leaders present in shooting responses held in the community	
Number of hospital visits done	
Local Police Programme Participation Indicators	Quantity
Number of police vans present in concerts held in the community	
Number of police vans present in rallies held in the community	
Number of police vans present in funerals held for deceased HRIs	
Programme Management Activities Indicators	Quantity
Number of community based organizations who are Ceasefire programme partners	
Number of individuals working for the programme as volunteers	

Ceasefire programme outcomes monitoring framework

It is apparent that it is not also feasible and practical to monitor all of the outcomes described in the programme impact theory in chapter three, because it is difficult to obtain data for some of these outcomes. Hence, it was decided to monitor only the outcomes that are important for the programme and that it was practical to monitor them. These outcomes are presented in Table 9 below. Table 9 shows how each of the short, medium and long term outcomes is monitored.

Table 9. Outcomes monitoring framework for the Ceasefire programme				
Outcomes	Outcomes indicators	Standard	Source of information(measurement tool)	Data collection frequency
Short-term outcomes				
Gang conflicts reduce	Number of conflicts occurred between same gang groups(internal conflicts) Number of conflicts occurred between different gang groups(external conflicts)	N/A	Violence Interruption Outcomes Log	Monthly
Participant stops using substance	Number of participants who are using drugs	N/A	Outreach Participant Outcomes Case Note	
Participant changes violence behaviour	Number of participants who took part in gang conflicts Number of participants who involved in shooting incidents	N/A	Outreach Participant Outcomes Case Note	
Participant exits gang life	Number of hours per day the participant hangs out with members of his/her gang group Number of times per week the participant contacts(phone call, sms) with members of his/her gang group	N/A	Outreach Participant Outcomes Case Note	Monthly
Participants gains employment	Number of participants working	N/A	Outreach Participant Outcomes Case Note	Monthly
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Participant commits no crime	Number of participants arrested for criminal offences(theft, robbery, use or possession of drugs, possession of illegal firearm, assault, drunken driving, murder, probation or parole violations, fraud)	N/A	Outreach Participant Outcomes Case Note	Monthly
Medium term outcomes				
Hot spots cool down	<p>Number of gang related shots fired in the hot spot area</p> <p>Number of conflicts between different gang groups in the hot spot area</p> <p>Number of gang related attempted murders that take place at the hot spot area.</p> <p>Number of gang related murders that take place at the hot spot area.</p>	50% reduction of shots fired in the hot spot as compared to last year.	Violence Interruption Outcomes Log	Monthly
Reduced gang violence in the community	<p>Number of gang related shootings that take place in the community</p> <p>Number of gang related murders that take place in the community</p> <p>Number of gang related attempted murders that take place in the community</p> <p>Number of gang related retaliatory murders that take place in the community</p>	50% reduction compared to last year	Violence Interruption Outcomes Log	Monthly

Programme outcomes data measurement tools

Table 10 shows how to measure the programme participant outcomes indicators. These indicators are measured monthly.

Table 10. Outreach Participant Outcomes Case Note: Month _____		
Participant ID _____		
Participant Indicators	Yes	No
Is the participant using drugs		
has the participant taken part in a gang conflict		
Has the participant involved in a shooting incident		
The time the participant spends with gang group members	Number of hours per day	
How many hours per day the participant hangs out with members of his/her gang group		
The contact the participant makes with gang group members	Number of times per week	
How many times per week the participant contacts through phone call or sms with members of his/her gang group		
Employment status	Yes	No
Is the participant working		
Participants involvement in criminal offences	Yes	No
Was the participant arrested for criminal offences(theft, robbery, use or possession of drugs, possession of illegal firearm, assault, drunken driving, murder, probation or parole violations, fraud)		

Table 11 shows how to measure the violence interruption outcomes indicators. These indicators are measured daily.

Table 11. Violence Interruption Outcomes Log.	
Daily	
Reduced Gang conflict Outcome Indicators	Quantity
Number of conflicts occurred in the community between same gang groups(internal conflicts)	
Number of conflicts occurred in the community between different gang groups(external conflicts)	
Hot Spots cool down outcome Indicators	Quantity
Number of gang related shots fired in the hot spot area	
Number of conflicts between different gang groups in the hot spot area	
Number of gang related non-fatal shootings that take place at the hot spot area	
Number of gang related murders that take place at the hot spot area	
Reduced gang violence outcome indicators	Quantity
Number of gang related shootings that take place in the community	
Number of gang related murders that take place in the community	
Number of gang related non-fatal shootings that take place in the community	
Number of gang related retaliatory murders that take place in the community	

Expected contributions to knowledge

This study contributes to the development, strengthening and conceptualization of the knowledge of approaches to solving gang violence problems in communities. This study will also contribute to developing a particular approach to solving gang violence in the South African, Cape Flats gang violence context. This tailor-made peculiar approach to solving gang violence will improve the chances of success of the Ceasefire programme in solving the gang violence problem in the Hanover Park community and more particularly this knowledge will be useful if the programme is replicated in other communities in the Cape Flats or somewhere else. This study will also contribute to the development of methods that will be used in formulating M&E systems for small organizations and more particularly for gang violence programmes.

Limitations of this evaluation

The first main limitation of this research is with regard to tailoring the Ceasefire programme to the local Cape Flats context. In addition to the literature search done, the researcher only relies on the information provided by the programme staff and one gang violence expert. This information provided by the programme staff and gang violence expert may not be exhaustive to respond to this question.

Another main limitation of this dissertation is most of the information on effective gang violence approaches is concentrated in North American developed world country context with limited available research on gang violence programmes in a developing Sub-Saharan African context. Therefore it will be difficult to generalize that what has worked in the USA country setting can also work in Cape Town, South Africa.

Conclusions

The main purpose of this evaluation was to contribute to further improvement of the Ceasefire programme as a means of solving the gang-violence problems in the Hanover Park community. In order to improve the Ceasefire programme service delivery system, an effective programme theory that consists of impact and process theory was developed for the Ceasefire programme. The programme theory has been able to help the Ceasefire programme management to explicitly articulate and differentiate between the activities that the Ceasefire programme carries out and the expected outcomes of these activities. This has been one of the major contributions of this study.

This study has also discussed the effectiveness of developed programme theory. Programmes that use similar Ceasefire gang violence approach and evaluation studies of these programmes have been cited and discussed. This study has revealed that the Ceasefire programme uses an evaluated and widely-accepted approach to deal with gang violence problems in communities. This study has also confirmed that the Ceasefire programme is indeed effective and any programme failure in meeting its mandate is not due to the programme theory but due to poor implementation of the Ceasefire programme.

This study has argued that some of the reasons why gangs exist and are perpetuated in the communities such as the Hanover Park one are many and complex. Some of the reasons explained in this study are the adverse socio-economic circumstances such as poverty, unemployment and poor housing conditions that exist in these communities. This study has also explained the risk factors such as substance abuse, truancy and delinquency that the youth that live in these communities experience have caused them to join gangsterism and involve in gang violence. In addition to this, the institutional factors such as weak family and law enforcement agencies that prevail in the Cape Flats communities have also caused gangs to exist in these communities.

This study has made recommendations according to the causes of gang violence problems in the Hanover Park community. Several recommendations were made that will deal with community factors, individual factors and family factors that cause gang violence problems in the Cape Flats communities.

This study has also developed a results-based M & E system for the Ceasefire Programme which consists of implementation and outcomes M & E system. This M & E system will help track and monitor the Ceasefire Programme implementation and outcomes. The developed M & E system will not only track and monitor programme implementation and outcomes but it is also vital for future Ceasefire Programme evaluations.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questionnaires used to gather data.



University of Cape Town

Interview Questions in tailoring the Ceasefire programme to the Hanover Park Cape Flats gang violence context

Dear research participant

The aim of this interview is to find out how to tailor-make the Ceasefire gang violence programme to the Hanover Park, Cape Flats gang violence context. This interview questions is part of my Master's dissertation in Programme evaluation at the University of Cape Town. My supervisor's name is Prof Johann Louw. I wish to inform you that your participation in this study is valuable as it will improve the programme in making a difference in the circumstances of the programme participants. Please note the following:

- ✓ Participation in this study is voluntary and you can choose to withdraw at anytime.
- ✓ There will not be any repercussions should you choose to withdraw this study
- ✓ Should you choose to participate in this study, you will be anonymous—I will not take your name or any identifying information from you.
- ✓ The information that you give will not harm you in any way and will only be used for academic purposes.

If you have any further questions regarding this research, please feel free to contact the evaluator: Mahamed : profinfuture@yahoo.com

The success of this study depends greatly on your participation in this study. For this reason I request for your kind response to the following questions. By ticking the box below, you consent to take part in this interview session and answer the interview questions.

I freely and voluntarily agree to participate in this interview session

Interview questions posed to the programme staff and the gang violence expert in tailoring the Ceasefire programme to the Hanover Park context.

1. What is the peculiar culture of the gangs in the Cape Flats?
2. How are the gangs in the Cape Flats organized?
3. What do you think are the reasons why gangs exist in the Cape Flats?
What do you think are the reasons why young people become gangs in the Cape Flats?
4. How in your opinion do you think one can tailor-make the Ceasefire programme to solving gang violence in the Cape Flats?
5. What do you think is the difference between gangs in the USA and the gangs in the Cape Flats area?
6. Which aspects or functions do we need to add to the Ceasefire programme to tailor make it to the gang violence in the Cape Flats?
7. Which aspects or functions do we need to remove from the Ceasefire programme or is not relevant to the gangs in the Cape Flats in tailoring the Ceasefire programme to the gang violence in the Cape Flats.



University of Cape Town

Interview Questions used to explicate programme theory

Dear research participant

The aim of this interview is to find out the programme theory of the Ceasefire, Hanover Park. This interview questions is part of my Master's dissertation in Programme evaluation at the University of Cape Town. My supervisor's name is Prof Johann Louw. I wish to inform you that your participation in this study is valuable as it will improve the programme in making a difference in the circumstances of the programme participants. Please note the following:

- ✓ Participation in this study is voluntary and you can choose to withdraw at anytime.
- ✓ There will not be any repercussions should you choose to withdraw this study.
- ✓ Should you choose to participate in this study, you will be anonymous—I will not take your name or any identifying information from you.
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If you have any further questions regarding this research, please feel free to contact the evaluator: Mahamed : profinfuture@yahoo.com

The success of this study depends greatly on your participation in this study. For this reason I request for your kind response to the following questions. By ticking the box below, you consent to take part in this interview session and answer the interview questions.

I freely and voluntarily agree to participate in this interview session

Interview questions posed to Ceasefire programme staff to explicate programme impact theory

1. What are the programme inputs (money, staff, volunteers, facilities, equipment, etc) that are used to provide the Ceasefire programme activities?

2. What are the actual activities of the Ceasefire programme that are carried out on a daily basis?
3. What are the expected positive initial outcomes (changes or results) in the circumstances of the service recipients (programme clients) once these activities are carried out?
4. What are the expected intermediate positive outcomes (changes or results) in the circumstances of the service recipients (programme clients) once these activities are carried out?
5. What are the expected positive long-term outcomes (changes or results) in the circumstances of the service recipients (programme clients) once these activities are carried out?

Interview question(s) posed to programme staff to explicate service utilization plan

1. Once the high risk individuals are recruited for the Ceasefire programme what are the processes that they follow from the beginning (their first contact with the programme) to the end (a point where contact is terminated) of their time in participating the Ceasefire programme?

Interview questions posed to explicate Ceasefire programme organizational plan

2. What are the specific functions (jobs or activities) that are performed by the programme manager?
3. What are the human, financial and physical resources that are used to carry out these functions by the programme manager?
4. What are the specific functions (jobs or activities) that are performed by the Ceasefire outreach supervisor?
5. What are the human, financial and physical resources that are used to carry out these functions by the outreach supervisor?
6. What are the specific functions (jobs or activities) that are performed by the violence interrupters?
7. What are the human, financial and physical resources that must be in place to carry out these functions by the violence interrupters?

8. What are the specific functions (jobs or activities) that are performed by the outreach workers?
9. What are the human, financial and physical resources that must be in place to carry out these functions by the outreach workers?
10. What is the essential precondition and ongoing support services (such as fund raising, personnel management, facility acquisition, maintenance, political support, etc) that are necessary to be provided in order the Ceasefire programme to be carried out in Hanover Park successfully?
11. Who provides these essential pre-condition and ongoing supporting services?