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BSRSAR002

A Capability Approach to Examining the Effects of Actual and Anticipated Fear of Crime: Experiences and Perceptions of Black Female Youth in the Cape Flats

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine how the fear of crime affects the capabilities, perceptions and experiences of black female youth, living in the Cape Flats, Cape Town. Qualitative semi structured interviews were conducted with 18 black female participants between the ages of 18 to 30. This study used Garofalo's model of fear of crime and Amartya Sen's capability approach as theoretical frameworks. With the help of these two frameworks, the researcher sought to gauge what influence the fear of crime can have on people's lives and how crime affects young black females living in communities with high crime rates. It also showed how their life choices and opportunities are influenced by living in unsafe communities. The major challenges and problems highlighted by the participants include: Constant trauma of their daily life (leaving their houses, random shootings, unsafe public transport), mental health issues (losing friends and relatives), lack of proper police service (lack of police presence, incompetence of police, corruption), fear for family or friends, lack of trust and support systems (broken families, loss of trust, no role models, lack of social capital), lack of infrastructure (such as safe hospitals or educational challenges), the effects of gangsterism (gangs and drug wars, effects of drugs, families' or friend's involvement in gangsterism) and the lack of opportunities such as unemployment. This study showed how the peoples' capabilities have been affected by the above-mentioned issues and how the fear of crime affected their daily lives. This study also made recommendations for policy makers and social institutions on what can be done to reduce crime rates and make communities with high crime rates safer.

Keywords: fear of crime; capabilities; South Africa; Cape Flats; women; youth; Black; trauma; mental health; gangsterism; lack of police service; violence; corruption; crime

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an introduction to the study on the effects of actual and anticipated fear of crime on the lives of black female youth in the Cape Flats using Garofalo's (1981) model of fear of crime and Amartya Sen's (1999) capability approach. It outlines the statement of problem, the problem context, the title of the research topic, the main research questions, main assumptions and objectives as well as the clarification of concepts and the main ethical considerations.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

South Africa is a middle-income country that faces high levels of poverty, inequality and crime. Cape Town, in particular, is a city of stark contrast and social fragmentation inherited from the policies of apartheid. There are several policies that were implemented to racially segregate South Africa's population such as the Group Area Act. The apartheid regime relocated the non-white population from the city centre and affluent areas to townships. Another law racially segregating the country was the Bantu education act. This law racially segregated schools and other educational facilities which made it difficult for the non-white population to obtain a good quality education (Robins, 2002; Standing 2003; Hentschel, 2015).

Cape Town's population is still not only divided economically and socially but also racially and spatially (Standing, 2003). May (2000) points out that the distribution of income in South Africa is among the most unequal in the world as there are still large numbers of people without satisfying access to safe housing, clean water, health care, good education and decent job opportunities (May, 2000). These depressing social and economic features were one reason why crime grew rapidly after apartheid ended. One of the negative outcomes was that many people did not have immediate opportunities for formal employment which resulted in a lack of income. Their experience of deprivation and urgent need for power could have led to crime and gang violence (May, 2000, Standing 2003, Jensen 2014). Similar findings from Lin (2008) and Hooghe et al. (2011) show the link between unemployment and criminal behaviour. Their studies demonstrated that communities with high unemployment rates are more likely to experience crime. SAPS (2019) also explain that the abuse of alcohol or substances and dysfunctional families and relationship as well as unemployment are factors that can lead to higher crime rates. Statistics from SAPS (South African Police Service) show that reported

cases of murder, sexual offences, attempted murder, common assault, and common robbery have increased in South Africa in the last ten years (SAPS, 2019).

Crime has a huge impact on society in South Africa and the people that suffer the most from it are those who have limited access to certain social and economic opportunities such as safe housing, quality education and a decent income (Shaw and Gastrow, 2001). People in communities with high crime rates can be faced with stress, ill health, drug dependency, family fragmentation, domestic violence and gangsterism (Standing, 2003). Women are the most vulnerable group to crime in communities with ongoing problems such as gang presence, sexual abuse, shootings or high levels of forced prostitution (Dinan, Mccal and Gibson, 2004). According to SAPS (2019), there have been 179683 reported crime cases against women and 45229 against children in the period of April 2018 to March 2019. Those include crimes such as murder, attempted murder, common assault, rape, sexual assault or contact sexual offences. The highest crime rates can be found in Gauteng and the Western Cape (SAPS, 2019)

This study used two theoretical frameworks to understand how actual and anticipated fear of crime affects the capabilities of black female youth. The first one is Garofalo's model of fear of crime to understand in what ways fear of crime influences black female youth lives. In particular, this model explained the different components of actual (triggered by certain incident) and anticipated (might be based on having experienced or witnessed actual fear in similar situations) fear of crime and how they affect black female youth. The second framework that was used is Amartya Sen's Capability Approach to examine how the fear of crime affects the capabilities of young black females in the Cape Flats. With the help of these two frameworks, the researcher sought to gauge what influence the fear of crime can have on people's lives and how crime affects young black females living in communities with high crime rates. In particular, the focus was on how young black female youths' aspirations, needs, choices, freedoms and opportunities were affected by high rates of crime and the daily fear of crime. This study should contribute to research in the social science field by giving grassroots perspective of the problem of crime in the South African context.

1.3. PROBLEM CONTEXT

This study was conducted in predominantly coloured communities that are part of the Cape Flats. The Cape Flats emerged in the 60's and 70 as a direct outcome of the Group Area Act. The Group Area act was enforced by the apartheid regime to segregate the country spatially along racial lines. The apartheid regime relocated the non-white population to townships far away from the Central Business District (CBD) and centres of commerce, tourism, and

consumption. Even though apartheid ended more than 25 years ago the socio-spatial legacies continue to be a problem in South Africa. Townships such as Hanover Park or Lavender Hill are about 15 km away from the city centre and are spatially isolated from other townships through railways or main roads. These townships are characterized by growing poverty, inequality and violence. High unemployment rates, drug abuse as well as gang violence are ongoing problems.

(Robins, 2002; Standing, 2003; Hentschel 2015).

Crime statistics from the South African Police Service (SAPS) show that the Western Cape (WC) has the highest rate in gang related murder cases. WC has a reported number of 938 murder cases from April 2018 to March 2019, whereas Gauteng only has 22 recorded incidents or Eastern Cape 199 cases. The number for armed robberies (223) or domestic violence (229) are also the highest in all the nine provinces (SAPS, 2019).

Furthermore, the Cape Flats experience a lack of security, as most police and safety services are concentrated in the wealthier mostly white areas. Due to the lack of security, many people are victims of gang related crime and violence. Drug and gun trafficking and (forced) sex work are major problems that are often the source of income for gangs. Gang violence has a direct impact on service delivery such as health- and child-care (Robins, 2002). This can be explained through people having to walk long distances to other clinics as it is too dangerous to walk through gang territories. In addition, the ambulance can take a long time to come to the townships as it can be too dangerous for them without a police escort. Furthermore, he argues that the city authorities failed to re-establish governance in the Cape Flats. They are not addressing the problem of unemployment which is linked to the high rates of crime (Robins, 2002).

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are statistics and research about crime in South Africa. However, a gap remains regarding research and accurate data on how crime affects the lives of young black females. This study tried to fill the gap in focussing on the individual perception of young black females in the Cape Flats. It offered insight and knowledge of what policies can do to change high crime rates. The above-mentioned insight was the individual perception of how actual and anticipated fear of crime affects their capabilities in life. It will show what should be done in communities and on a national scale. This research tried to guide governments and non-governmental institutions on how to help communities. Even though the government does have several crime prevention programmes and there are many non-governmental organisations that try to reduce crime, the

crime rates remain high in Cape Town. This research offered an inside perspective of young black females living in coloured communities in the Cape Flats rather than just giving statistical numbers. Through their experiences and perceptions of crime, it will be clearer on what needs to be done in communities with high crime rates.

1.5. TITLE OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

A Capability Approach to Examining the Effects of Actual and Anticipated Fear of Crime: Experiences and Perceptions of Black Female Youth in the Cape Flats.

1.6. MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What are the experiences of Black female youth living in communities with high crime rates?

In particular:

- How do Black female youth cope with living in communities with high crime rates?
- What are the Black female youth experiences and perceptions of actual fear of crime?
- What are the Black female youth experiences and perceptions of anticipated fear of crime?
- In what ways does actual and anticipated fear of crime affect or not Black female youths' sense of future socio-economic opportunities and aspirations (social opportunities)?
- In what ways does actual and anticipated fear of crime affect or not Black female youths' sense of transparency guarantee?

1.7. MAIN OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this study are:

- To understand how Black female youth cope living in communities with high crime rates
- To determine the Black female youth experiences and perceptions of actual fear of crime?
- To understand the Black female youth experiences and perceptions of anticipated fear of crime?
- To understand the ways in which actual and anticipated fear of crime affect or not Black female youths' sense of future socio-economic opportunities and aspirations (social opportunities)

- To ascertain the ways in which actual and anticipated fear of crime affect or not Black female youths' sense of transparency guarantee?

1.8. MAIN ASSUMPTIONS

This study sought to examine the significant ways in which the fear of crime affects the capabilities of Black female youth in the Cape Flats. It was therefore assumed that the subjective experiences and perceptions of the effect of crime on Black female youths' capabilities were gauged.

1.9. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Crime:

Defining crime from an etymological point, crime is an action “that constitutes an offense that may be prosecuted by the state and is punishable by the law” (Michalowski, 2015:184). Typically, there is a general difference made between violent or property crime. Traditionally, it has been argued that economic deprivation and inequality are key elements for the emergence of crime (Hooghe et al., 2011). This study focused on experienced forms of crimes on black female youth and showed how it affected or not their lives.

Capabilities: Amartya Sen's freedoms:

In “Development as Freedom” Amartya Sen (1999) explains five instrumental freedoms that contribute directly or indirectly to a persons' freedom. These five instrumental freedoms are: Political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. These freedoms are contributing to the general capability of a person to live more freely (Sen, 1999). This study only focused on economic facilities, social opportunities and transparency guarantees and explained how the participant's freedoms are not guaranteed while living in unsafe neighbourhoods.

Communities:

Gusfield (1975) distinguished between two major uses of the term community. The first meaning behind the concept of communities is territorial and geographical. In other words, those are neighbourhoods, towns and cities. The second meaning is “relational,”. This means that a community has “character of human relationship, without reference to location” (Gusfield, 1975:45). Said differently, a community can be seen as an informally organised structure with a common sense of identity that shares the same values and interests (White 1982; Rifkin et al., 1988). The concept of communities is very important for this study as all

participants live in communities with the same characteristics such as high crime rates, lack of infrastructure and gangsterism.

Youth:

The National Youth Policy 2020 (2015) defines youth as any persons between the age of 15 and 35 while the White Paper on Social Welfare defines youth between the age of 16 to 30 (Department of Welfare, 1997). This study used black female youth participants, as the study wanted to focus on the experiences and perceptions of young black females.

Fear of crime:

Garofalo (1981) defines the fear of crime “as an emotional reaction that is characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety” (Garofalo, 1981:840). There are two forms of fear of crime which are influenced by several variables. Those are: Actual fear (triggered by an incident) and anticipated fear (might be based on having experienced actual fear in similar situations). The concept of fear of crime was used as one of the theoretical frameworks for this study.

1.10. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

De Vos et al. (2011) differs between several ethical considerations which the researcher should take into consideration during their research.

- **Avoidance of harm:** A researcher should never harm their participants. The researcher has to know that emotional harm has consequences and how one can avoid it. This can, for example, be avoided by not embarrassing participants in front of family members or forcing them to reveal details about their life that they do not want to talk about (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher found a safe and quiet place (own home, participants home or the facilities of CASE- crime prevention NGO in Hanover Park) for the interviews where other people could not hear them speaking. If the participants became emotional, the researcher did not try to probe. Furthermore, the researcher offered some water/tea and some chocolate or biscuits.
- **Informed Consent and Voluntary Participation:** Participants of the study have to fully understand the study and its consequences. It is the researcher’s responsibility to make sure that their participants know that their participation is voluntary and that they can always stop the interview. Participants must also know what possible harm or benefits can come out of the study (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher gave a consent form to explain that they can always tell her if they do not want to answer a question or want to stop the interview. The researcher also told them that their participation is

voluntary. The participants signed a consent form before the interview. These forms were given to the thesis supervisor.

- **Violation of privacy/anonymity/confidentiality:** It is important that the researcher is sensitive to how he or she could violate the privacy of their participants. The researcher should be sensitive about the identity and privacy of their participants (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher changed the name of her participants in the interviews to make sure that their identity is confidential.
- **Release/Publication of findings:** The researcher made sure that the written report is objective, clear, unambiguous and includes all important information.
- **Debriefing participants:** The researcher need to ensure that the participants get an opportunity to reflect upon their experience during the interview. This can be useful in minimizing the harm of the participants (De Vos et al.; 2011). After the interview, the researcher gave their participants space to express their emotions and thoughts they felt during the interview.

1.12. STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This first chapter introduced this study. The second chapter will present a literature review to gain more insight into the topic of crime in South Africa and will explain the two theoretical frameworks used in this study. Chapter three presents the methodology used for this study. The fourth chapter presents the findings of this study. A demographic profile of participants as well as the framework of analysis will be presented. The findings will be linked to the literature review and the theoretical frameworks. The final chapter will summarise the major findings of this study and will give recommendations for policy makers.

1.11. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the statement of the problem which was crime in South Africa. It demonstrated the problem context and the significance of the study. It showed that the aim of the study was to understand how the fear of crime can affect black female youth's capabilities and their life choices and opportunities. It introduced the title of the research topic, the main research questions and the main assumptions and the research objectives. It explained the concepts of this study which were crime, Sen's freedoms, communities, youth and fear of crime. In addition, it clarified the ethical considerations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of literature on crime and how it affects the capabilities of young females in the Cape Flats. The first section will cover the context of the study by exploring the multidimensionality of crime. It will then focus on crime in South Africa with a specific insight into crime in the Cape Flats. Afterwards it will give insight into the role of police and the vulnerability of women to crime and violence. The second section will explain the theoretical frameworks used for this study which were Garofalos's model of fear of crime as well as Amartya Sen's capability approach. The third section gives an overview of several policies and legislations. The last section will be the conclusion of the literature review.

2.2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.2.1. Multidimensionality of the concept of crime and how it affects people

This section will explain the multidimensionality of crime and how it can affect people in different ways. Many South Africans especially the youth living in poor communities' experience mental health issues such as post-traumatic disorders or disturbed sleeping- and eating patterns due to crime, poverty and other traumatic events (Standing, 2003; Hentschel, 2015). Samara (2005) found similar findings. Cape Town's youth living in the townships are faced with many problems, such as violence and violence-related trauma. The youth are especially vulnerable as they can be easily influenced by gangs. Spergel (1990) explains how gangs' function as social institutions for low-income young adults or children. The gangs often serve social, cultural and economic components that could not be fulfilled by families or schools. Bility's (1999) study shows similar findings. He argues that gang activity already starts at an early age such as with primary school pupils. Schools are important social institutions for gang activity as they are used as a network even when gang members are imprisoned. He further explains that gangs are attractive to join for youngsters as they can get money and could feel less isolated from society.

Furthermore, research from Shaw and Gastrow (2001) showed that alcohol and drug abuse can lead to crime in South Africa. It has an impact on interpersonal violence in families or violent behaviour in general. Additionally, the number of rapes and other forms of sexual violence are ongoing problems. Several researchers assume that the crime statistics by the South African Police Service are not accurate. The statistics do not put focus on personal experiences

and many statistics are manipulated for political purposes. Many crimes are also not reported on because people are afraid of stigmatization (e.g. rape) or simply because people have lost trust in the system (Shaw and Gastrow 2011; Hentschel 2015). Faull's (2011) study explains that especially women are too afraid to go to the police to report crimes as they have lost trust in the police.

2.2.2. Crime and gangsterism in South Africa

Crime grew rapidly after apartheid ended. Many people did not have immediate opportunities for formal employment. Their experience of deprivation and the urgent need for power could have led to an increase in crime and gang violence (Shaw and Gastrow, 2001, Jensen, 2010). In addition, several studies explain the link between unemployment and criminal behaviour. Studies demonstrated that communities with high unemployment rates are more likely to experience property and violent crimes (Lin 2008; Hooghe et al., 2011). Bility (1999) and Jensen (2010) found that the violence associated with youth gangs that emerged in peri-urban communities in the 1990s is connected to the social vacuum that was created after the end of apartheid. Jensen (2014) further argues that the first known gang in Cape Town can be dated back to the 1940s when thousands impoverished rural residents migrated to the city centre in search for a better life. Hence, Jensen (2014) explains the emergence of gangs as a response to urbanization and the political economy of the city. In addition, forced removals played a huge part in the emergence of gangs as many coloured and black people had to leave the city centre and were forced to live in the townships.

Crime has a huge impact on society in South Africa. The people that suffer the most from it are people living in poverty who can least afford to be victims. This also includes women, children, and youth at risk. In addition, racial segregation in South Africa is one of the reasons why crime remains concentrated in poor black and coloured neighbourhoods (Shaw and Gastrow, 2001; Hentschel, 2015).

Kruger and Landman (2008) explain that almost 40 percent of South Africans know someone who has been a victim of crime in the last six months. They point out that crime rates differ in city suburbs and townships. The poor South Africans (mostly black and coloured) are those being exposed to the highest level of crime (Kruger and Landman, 2008; Hentschel 2015). They are more vulnerable to crime because many of them do not have security around their houses as they cannot afford it (Jensen, 2006). Similarly, Robins (2002) and Martin (2012) found that many townships experience a lack of security, as most of the police and safety

services are concentrated in wealthier areas which can be traced back to the apartheid regime where the police were mostly only centred in 'white areas'.

2.2.3. Crime in the Cape Flats communities and the role of gangs

Cape Town, in particular, is a city of contrast and social fragmentation inherited from the policies of apartheid. Cape Town's population is not only divided economically and socially but also racially and spatially (Standing, 2003). According to Spinks (2001), Cape Town became South Africa's most segregated city when people of colour were forced to move to the Cape Flats.

Life in the Cape Flats is characterized by the presence of gangs, the use of drugs and the frequency of gang fights. The prevalence of drugs and gang fights has increased dramatically in the past decade (Fourchard, 2011). Furthermore, drug abuse, ill health, domestic violence and violent assaults with guns and knives are problems in the Cape Flats. Schools in the Cape Flats are surrounded by electric fences or bullet-proof fences. Studies on children's experience in the Cape Flats found that 97% of the interviewed have heard gunshots before and half of them have seen a dead body of a stranger or relative (Standing, 2003). Another survey of 185 children at five township schools in Cape Town found that 73% of the children witnessed someone getting beaten up, 45% witnesses someone being threatened with a gun and 35% saw someone getting murdered in their community (Shields, Nadasen and Pierce 2008). A study conducted in a community with high crime rates in Cape Town found that over 68,44% of children from six different schools reported exposure to violence either as victim and/or as witness (Ward, Martin, Theron and Distiller, 2007).

One of the main actors when it comes to crime in the Cape Flats are gangs. Bility (1999) explains that drug dealing is most likely the most important source of income for gangs. They control the distribution of alcohol and drugs, export stolen cars, sell stolen firearms or other goods from factories and warehouses and have a major influence on the local sex industry. Furthermore, gangs are also involved in the hotel and nightclub business, in public transport or shops (Standing, 2003). Goredema and Zoppei (2013) explain that the evolution of the drug market in Cape Town already started in 1985 established by the apartheid state and organized criminals. Some of these relationships have survived these ties and continue to be visible in South Africa.

2.2.4. The role of police in South Africa

During apartheid, the South African police service (SAPS) was influenced by the racially discriminatory policies of the apartheid regime. As a result, they were forced to oppress political opposition and riots which often ended in violent scenarios. SAPS had and still has to overcome the apartheid legacies. Due to the absence of police in non-white communities during apartheid, most people still do not trust the police and their authority is weakened. It makes it difficult to reintroduce the police in these areas as many communities had their own system of security and regulation during apartheid (Martin, 2012). Shaw (2002) also points out that re-establishing police legitimacy is complicated due to several reasons such as service provision, incompetence and high levels of corruption.

Martin (2012) gives evidence about the quality of SAPS from several qualitative interviews conducted in an informal settlement in Johannesburg (Zandspruit). The study found that SAPS is failing to protect the citizens of Zandspruit. Residents expressed their feelings towards the work of SAPS. According to the interviews, the ability of the police to protect their community is not existing because there is a lack of professional skills, competencies, and efficiency. The participants emphasised the lack of police services in general which is a result of the unfair and unequal distribution of police stations. As a consequence, vigilantism is rising as people take “the law into their own hands” (Martin, 2012:228). Standing (2003) explains this vigilantism as “governance from below” (Standing, 2003:9). The criminal elite (gang members with high ranks) provide this governance as they function as community leaders and provide functions that are usually associated with the state. Spinks (2011) also points out that although there is less crime happening in white areas, many police stations are located in the wealthier areas. Therefore, police responses are faster as there is more police presence. Özler and Demombynes’ (2003) study on inequality and crime in South Africa showed similar findings. They found that 37% of inequality in a police precinct can be traced back to differences in the mean level of expenditure between racial groups.

Steinberg (2008) and Faull (2011) point out that one of the reasons for the incompetence of SAPS could be poor training, low morals due to insufficient payment or generally the sub-standard recruitment of the police officers. Martin (2012) further argues that police corruption is a serious problem in South Africa. Several studies have explained the causes behind police corruption which are linked to the above-mentioned incompetence of some police officers. The lack of basis pays or the willingness of citizens to pay bribes could be reasons for corruption. Standing (2003) highlights the relationships between the police and criminals. After the end of apartheid, security forces developed relations with many strategically placed criminals. These

relationships continue to this day. Bility's (1999) findings support this idea. His study found that school pupils believe that the police are working together with gangs. Furthermore, his study found that police always come too late if something happens. Faull (2011) conducted a qualitative study in different parts of South Africa to find out what people think about SAPS. His findings are similar to the above-discussed authors. Participants talked about a general mistrust in the police which can be explained through several factors. They criticized the police for being corrupt and not responsive on time when a crime is happening. Participants also accused the police of sexual harassment and being unprofessional in general.

2.2.5. Women's vulnerability to violence and crime

The problem of crime, violence and sexual abuse against women in South Africa is seen as a 'crisis in social trust' in which women fear men and feel unsafe in their communities (Du Toit, 2005). According to Du Toit (2005), states such as South Africa are unable to protect women from violence.

Kaminer and Eagle (2010) found that certain types of violence in South Africa are more likely to occur to women and others are more likely to affect men such as Gender based violence. Dinan, Mccal and Gibson (2004) study examined the experience of violence outside the home and their implications for PTSD among women in townships in Cape Town. Most of the 40 participants lived either in Lavender Hill or Vrygrond, two coloured townships in the Cape Flats. Most women reported that shooting, rapes, gang presence, stabbing or prostitution happen in their communities. Two-thirds of all women reported they have been victimized themselves outside from home. The study found that many women were suffering from PTSD and that it was a norm rather than an exception. Furthermore, the study found that younger women reacted more strongly to trauma, especially when rape was involved (Dinan, Mccal and Gibson, 2004).

Dosekun (2007) explored the meanings and impact of rape for South African women who never claim to have experienced rape before. He interviewed women, studying and working at UCT. Most of these participants stated their fear of being raped themselves. Furthermore, they stated the problem of police protection. Many women are afraid of sharing their rape/sexual assault experiences with the police as they do not take it seriously enough (Dosekun, 2007). Similar findings can be found by Kaminer and Eagle (2010). They conclude that the number of cases of sexual violence reported to the police are way less than the reported cases by women participating in research studies. Kaminer and Eagle (2010) assume that

women feel more anonymous and avoid negative consequences or stigmata when they participate in studies.

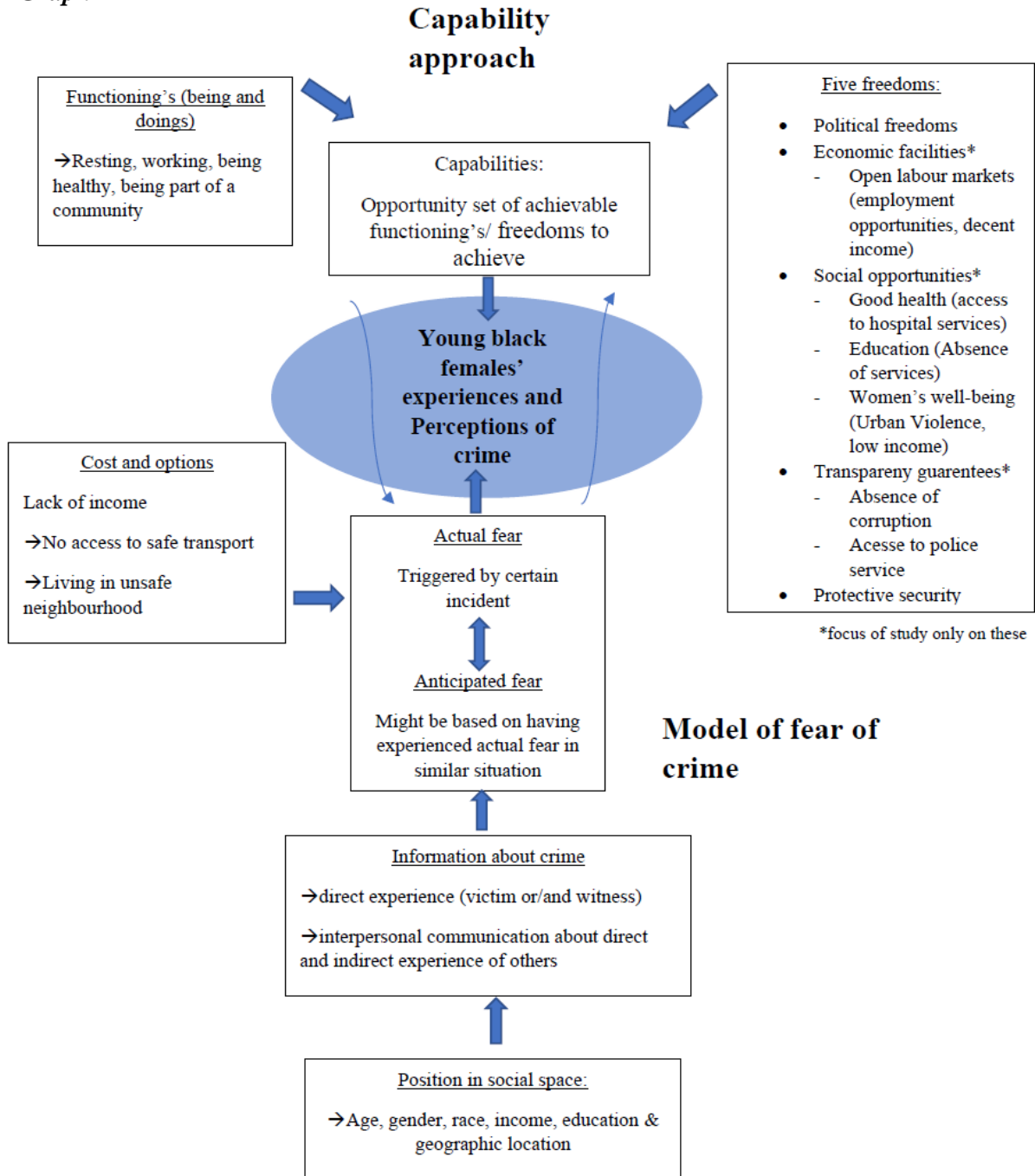
Popey and Rispel (2009) explain that women in South Africa are not only vulnerable to crime, but also to socio-economic inequalities. Many women depend on social grants, remittances from their male partners or other sources of informal income. Thus, women's economic status is weakened which can lead to gender inequalities. For instance, women may have little control over their sexual life because of unequal power relations. As a result, this could increase their vulnerability to HIV infection or other sexually transmitted diseases. This makes it difficult for women to cope with the consequences such as lack of nutrition, adequate access to health care or the constant circle of illness (Popey and Rispel, 2009).

Anad and Santos (2007) study explored gender inequalities, in the context of violent crime and wellbeing in England and Wales. Their study used Amartya Sen's capabilities approach as a theoretical framework. The study found that violence does have a significant impact on well-being especially if women have already experienced violence before. Women reported feeling more unsafe than men both during the day and night in areas with high crime rates. Anad and Santos (2007) further argue that women are less likely to be a victim of domestic violence the higher the income of the household they live in

2.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section will present two theories used as theoretical frameworks of Black female youth's experiences and perceptions of crime. The study used Garofalo's (1981) model of fear of crime and Amartya Sen's (1999) capability approach. Graph 1 below presents a conceptual model depicting the assumed linkages between the two theories and how they were both useful in examining Black female youth experiences and perceptions of crime.

Graph 1



2.3.1 Model: Fear of crime

James Garofalo (1981) designed a model of the causes and consequences of the fear of crime by using categories and variables. Garofalo (1981) defines the fear of crime “as an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety” (Garofalo, 1981:840). The sense of anxiety and danger is produced by the threat of physical harm. Garofalo explains the importance of the right measurement of the fear of crime. He points out that one should not only look at the situations in which people could experience fear but also how often they find themselves feeling

unsafe. The model of the fear of crime has different variables that can all be linked to actual and anticipate fear of crime. The first one is the position in social space which consists of age, gender, sex, race, income and education. This means that a person can be more exposed to crime based on the above-mentioned characteristics. How people experience fear of crime also depends on their information about crime (direct experience or/and interpersonal communication). People experience all forms of crime differently. It also depends on their social environment. Will people share information, emotions, and experiences of crimes, or will they keep it for themselves? It might be helpful to communicate with others that have been victims or know of someone that has been a victim. Another variable that influences the fear of crime is cost and options. One example of this variable could be the lack of necessary income to buy a car or using certain types of public transport even though this would be helpful to reduce a person's fear of crime.

The above-mentioned variables (position in social space, information about crime and cost and options) can be linked to the concept of actual and anticipated fear of crime. Actual fear is triggered by a certain incident where people feel direct fear. This could be a woman, feeling unsafe as she just got robbed or a woman walking outside while there is a shooting happening. Anticipated fear could be based on having experienced actual fear in similar situations during the past. An example of this would be the fear of leaving the house as the person has experienced shooting or robberies before or know of someone that has been victimized. Both actual and anticipated fear influence each other. The last component of the model is the connection between fear of crime and social outcomes such as the social consequences regardless of the behavioural responses that people make to fear. One example would be that fear may lead to distrust from social life (Garofalo, 1981).

This study used the model of the fear of crime to understand the multidimensionality of the concept of fear of crime. It helped to comprehend the many ways in which black female youth were influenced by the fear of crime and how it affected their experiences and perceptions of crime. In particular, it showed how anticipated and actual fear of crime affected their daily lives or their fear for others.

2.3.2. The Capability Approach

Amartya Sen's capability approach is used for development studies, welfare economics, social policies, political philosophy and applied and empirical studies (Robeyns, 2005). This approach is a framework that is used for the evaluation and assessment of the well-being of individuals or groups. It can be used for the design of policies or proposals about social change (Robeyns,

2005). In other words, this approach evaluates the aspects of people's well-being. It also provides the theoretical foundations of the human development (HD) paradigm (Sen, 1999).

One part of Sen's work is that people should take their opportunities to participate in actions and activities they want to be a part of. Those are called beings and doings and Sen labels them as functioning's because they make life valuable. Some examples of these functioning's are resting, working, being literate, being healthy and being part of a community. Sen (1999) points out that it is important that people can decide for themselves what they want. He wants people to have the freedom and different opportunities (capabilities) to live the life that they want (Robeyns, 2005). Sen (1999) lists five freedoms that help to understand the general capabilities of persons. Those five freedoms are political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security which will be explained in the paragraph below.

This study tried to explain in a qualitative way how crime can affect young black females' capabilities living in the Cape Flats. This study used Amartya Sen's capability approach as a framework to understand crime and deprivation from a multi-dimensional perspective. The reason for using Sen's Capability approach is that this study wanted to focus on personal experience and life stories from black female youth living in fear. This study used three of the five freedoms (economic facilities, social opportunities and transparency guarantees) to explain how the participant's freedoms are not guaranteed. Economic facilities mean the existence of an open labour market with enough employment opportunities and fair payment. Social opportunities, as another freedom, consist of a good health service, meaning access to safe hospital service or enough educational services. Furthermore, this freedom also speaks to a women's well-being (absence of urban violence and guarantee for a decent income). The last freedom used for this study was transparency guarantees which means the absence of corruption and the access to proper police service. All three freedoms speak directly to the capabilities which is a set of achievable functioning and freedoms.

2.3.3. Interplay between the theories

Both theories were used as a lens to examine the links between fear of crime and capability deprivation. Actual and anticipated fear of crime is influenced by many factors. As seen in graph 1 position in social space (age, gender, race, income, education or geographic location) influenced the information that black female youth have through either direct experience of crime or interpersonal communication about crime. Actual and anticipated crime is also influenced by cost and options meaning lack of income can cause no access to safe transport

and living in unsafe neighbourhoods. All these factors have an impact on young black females' experiences and perceptions of crime. Sen's capability approach shows that if a person cannot achieve certain functioning's such as being healthy, working or being part of a community, it can reduce their potential of reaching their capability set. Graph 1 also shows that if certain freedoms such as economic facilities (employment opportunities or decent income) cannot be achieved it will harm the capability set of a person. This also applies to social opportunities (access to hospitals enough educational opportunities or women's well-being) and transparency guarantees (absence of corruption or access to police). If these freedoms cannot be reached it can reduce their potential to reach their capability set. These limitations can be reflected in the experience and perceptions of crime of black female youth.

Linking both theories one can see that if a person, for example, does not have certain freedoms such as decent income the chances of experiencing fear of crime is higher by living in an unsafe neighbourhood than compared to someone living in a safe space. The component position in social space directly influences all of Sen's freedoms used in this study (economic facilities, social opportunities and transparency guarantees). One example that directly speaks to this study would be the geographic location. The participants of this study live in unsafe and impoverished neighbourhoods that could have an impact on their freedoms such as social opportunities (absence of services or urban violence).

2.4. POLICY AND LEGISLATION

South Africa has several policies and legislation regarding the prevention of crime. One of them is the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) which was launched in 1996. The NCPS uses a four-pillar approach model for crime prevention. This model is intended to provide a basis for the development of crime prevention initiatives on a municipal, provincial and civil society level. The four pillars are the criminal justice process, community values and education, environmental design and transnational crime. One of the objectives for the NCPS is to promote an understanding of how South Africa can tackle crime and establish a comprehensive policy framework. Furthermore, it aims for civil society's participation and sustainable crime prevention strategies (Department of Social Development, 2011).

The South African Government published the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 in August 2012. The plan is a strategic framework to guide the government in terms of the development of South Africa. The NDP offers a long-term perspective on how to eliminate problems such as poverty or crime (National Planning Commission, 2012). Chapter 12 (building safer communities) suggests recommendations on how to improve the criminal justice

system and protecting vulnerable communities, in particular, women, youth and rural communities. The NDP points out that in order to protect its citizens, there is a need for a more cooperative and co-ordinated approach to protect its citizens (National Planning Commission, 2012).

Another guidance on terms of national crime prevention is the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy (ISCPS) launched in 2011. This strategy looks not only at crime prevention but also at safety in general and puts its focus on community participation. The ISCPS has several objectives. One of them is to make sure that the government equips the community with simple social services. Furthermore, the plan aims for more partnerships between government departments and civil societies. Moreover, departments should focus on providing services and support for families to strengthen the social fabric and cohesion within families (Department of Social Development, 2011).

The government introduced the White Paper on Safety and Security in 2016. The paper draws from the idea of the NDP and the ISCPS and puts its focus on an integrated approach that involves multiple stakeholders. The White Paper on Safety and Security has six objectives. Those are an effective criminal justice system, early intervention to prevent crime and violence, victim support, effective and integrated service delivery, safety through environmental design and community participation (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2016).

2.5. CONCLUSION

This literature review gave insight into the context of crime in South Africa and how it affects people's capabilities. This study used Garofalo's model of fear of crime to understand how actual and anticipated fear of crime affects black female youth daily. In addition, it used Sen's capability approach to understand crime and its impact on capabilities from a multidimensional view. This chapter also explained the interplay between the two theories and gave an overview of policy and legislation in South Africa in terms of crime.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a detailed description of the methodological approach used in this study. It also shows the research design, the population and sampling process, data collection method, data analysis methods and explained the data verification and the limitations of this research. In the last step, it will talk about reflexivity and it will give a short conclusion.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this research, a qualitative research design was employed. This is a flexible approach that evolves during the process of research. It is adjustable and enables the researcher to see the research in a holistic way. In other words, this research gave individual responses from the participants of the study, rather than just statistical numbers. It required an ongoing analysis of the data until the fieldwork was done. A qualitative research design is often used when the researcher seeks to obtain a detailed understanding of a complex problem. This design is also useful when a researcher seeks to empower individuals and collective voices (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This was achieved by interviewing individuals and by seeking to understand participants' own interpretations and meanings.

A qualitative study has the strength to focus on an individual point of view. By doing this, it tries to focus on the meaning of the participants (Cresswell, 2014). This means that the researcher wants the "insider" perspective of the participants (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This was done through individual in-depth interviews where participants had the chance to express their experiences and emotions.

This study used a qualitative research design because it wanted to give the participants a voice and the opportunity to speak about their own experiences. Furthermore, the study wanted to empower the participants to share their story individually, rather than just being part of statistical numbers.

3.3. POPULATION AND SAMPLING

3.3.1. Study Population

A study population is a study group of individuals taken from the general population. This population shares same characteristics such as age, sex or same community characteristics (Babbie and Mouton, 2011). The study population was Black female youth living in the Cape Flats between the age of 18-30. The sample size of this study were 18 individuals. The inclusion

criterion for this study was firstly as mentioned before the age group (18-30), gender (female) their race (black or coloured) and the place of residents of the participants. Participants were excluded from the study if they did not fall into the age group of 18-30 and were male. Furthermore, they were excluded if they did not live in the Cape Flats and their race would be white.

This study focussed on coloured communities such as Hanover Park, Manenberg or Grassy Park. Therefore, the criterion was to only interview young black females from these areas known as the Cape Flats. During Apartheid, many coloured people were removed from areas like District Six, Claremont, or Constantia and were forced to live in the “new established” townships. These communities have ongoing socio-economic problems which started throughout the apartheid area. The unemployment rate in Hanover Park or other coloured communities is high and gang violence, drug abuse, poverty and lack of security are huge problems (Robins, 2002).

3.3.2. Sampling technique

This study used a non-probability sampling technique. The purpose of this technique was to find participants from a study population without using statistical probabilities. The researcher selected the participants on the basis of their geographic location and their accessibility (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Even though the researcher intended to use a purposive sampling it changed during the research to snowball sampling. This sampling technique uses the participants to identify other people suitable for the interviews. Snowball sampling also refers to the process of accumulation which means that each participant locates and suggests another participant (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). It can be very helpful when participants are difficult to locate which was the case for this research.

3.3.3. Sampling procedure

As mentioned before, it was difficult to locate new participants for this study. Therefore, the snowball technique was helpful as the researcher could not easily go to some of the dangerous communities and had no social network in these areas. Half of the participants were interviewed at a crime prevention NGO called CASE in Hanover Park. The social worker and the participants themselves helped the researcher to find new participants by recommending friends or colleagues to the researcher. The same applied to the other participants. The researcher had friends playing soccer in the Cape Flats and they could, therefore, help the researcher find new

participants. In addition, some participants worked for a company called Laurus Sport in Maitland. While interviewing one participant, other women approached the researcher and helped her find new participants.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION APPROACH

3.4.1 Data Collection Method: In-depth Individual Interviews

This study used in-depth individual interviews as the data collection approach. In-depth interviews is a qualitative technique used to gather detailed description of the subject of investigation based on the insight of the participants. These interviews are usually conducted with only a small number of participants, During the interviews, the researcher tried to find out about perspectives on a certain topic (Boyce and Neale, 2004). The researcher allows their participants to speak for themselves rather than to provide them with a set of predetermined questions. The interviews are interactive, flexible and allow the researcher to probe (Kvale, 1996) The study used this approach because the interviews provide a very detailed personal perspective on the experiences of the participants.

3.4.2. Data collection instrument

This study used a semi-structured interview schedule. This type of interview instrument had questions and topics prepared that should be covered. Some questions were standardized but the researcher changed and added some questions during the interview. The semi-structured interviews served as a guide and the researcher probed in order to understand the answers correctly. This type of interview is used to delve into a certain topic and to gain more insight (Harell and Bradley, 2009). The researcher is a key instrument in qualitative studies as well. They collect the data, observe their participants and analyse everything afterwards. They do not rely on questionnaires or other instruments made by other researchers (Cresswell, 2014).

3.4.3. Data recording

The interviews were recorded on a tape recorder. The recording was used so that the researcher can concentrate and listen more carefully to the conversation. Even though field notes should be taken during the interview the researcher will not be distracted by writing down too many notes. Taking field notes and recording gives a better holistic picture of the interview and the researcher can always go back over the material if something is not clear (Leicester, 2009).

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Data Analysis is necessary to bring structure, order, and meaning to the data the researcher collected. This study used Tesch's (1990) eight steps to analyse the data.

Step 1: The first step was to get a sense of the whole. The researcher read all the transcriptions carefully to understand the meaning of the participants and the background of the research. What general ideas were participants saying? And what was the general impression of all the interviews?

Step 2: The second step was to pick one of the interviews. It can be for example the most interesting one or the shortest one. The researcher started with the first one. In addition, the researcher asked herself what the research was about and what could be the underlying meaning.

Step 3: The researcher repeated step two for several participants and made a list of all topics that came up. Similar topics were clustered together. The topics were formed into columns for example with headings that represent major topics, unique topics and leftovers.

Step 4: The researcher took the list and went back on the data in the fourth step. The topics were abbreviated as codes and were written next to the paragraphs. The researcher marked the topics in different colours to have a better overview.

Step 5: The researcher found the most descriptive words for their topics and turned them into categories. It was helpful to reduce the list of categories by grouping them together and see if they relate to each other or not.

Step 6: A final decision was made on the abbreviation for all categories in order to alphabetize the codes.

Step 7: The data material belonging to each category has been put together to start with the analysis.

Step 8: This step can help the researcher if he or she needs to recode the existing data (Tesch, 1990).

3.6. DATA VERIFICATION

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) there are four criteria that should be considered for a trustworthy study.

Credibility: Credibility refers to the confidence in the truth of the data. The researcher made sure that the reality of their participants is reflected in the right and truthful way. It can be achieved in several ways. The researcher tried to interpret data in different ways. Listening several times to recordings in some cases was also helpful.

Transferability: To what extent, can the findings of the study be transferred to other groups? This is similar to the concept of generalisability. One of the strategies of transferability is purposive sampling or the snowball technique. The researcher tried to maximise the specific information that she got from the context.

Dependability: Dependability is important because it refers to data stability over time. If the researcher would repeat the study with similar participants in a similar context, they would also get similar results. Auditing the data, findings, interpretations and recommendations by the researcher was an important tool to determine confirmability and dependability at the same time.

Confirmability: The concept of confirmability refers to the researcher comparing the concern to objectivity. The researcher made sure that the findings were the result of the experience of the participants and not of the preference of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). It was, therefore, useful to take field notes during the interview.

3.9. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This research was limited by several aspects. One limitation of this research was the lack of language (Afrikaans) as this research was conducted in a coloured community. Most of the participants spoke Afrikaans as their mother tongue. They could all speak English, but they often expressed themselves in Afrikaans. As this study was qualitative it is therefore also not generalisable. The security issue was also a limitation because the researcher could not go to Hanover Park for about 1,5 months. It was around June/July when the gang violence became so dangerous that the army had to come in. The researcher decided therefore not to go into the community for a while. Besides these limitations, the researcher was able to get rich insight into the lives and experiences of the participants.

3.10. REFLEXIVITY

I wanted to conduct this study because the concept of crime and how it can affect people always interested me a lot. While doing my thesis during my Honours in Social Development at the University of Cape Town, I already gained some insight into the impact crime has on people's lives. However, crime was only one of the aspects that came up throughout that research as it was much broader so I realised that I would like to delve deeper into this topic. Considering that I am living in Cape Town, crime as a topic is coming up on a weekly basis. Even though I have the privilege to live in a safe area I am still always confronted with the topic of crime. It was interesting to realise how I have had experiences of actual and anticipated fear of crime. I

cannot even imagine how people, especially young females and children cope with living in unsafe areas. I, therefore, wanted to explore what it means for a female to live in a community with high crime rates and how crime affects or not their daily life. It was important for me to give my participants a voice and give them the opportunity to speak about their own experiences. Many participants told me after the interview that they enjoyed sharing their thoughts and how helpful it was for them to also reflect on their lives. Going to Hanover Park on my own was interesting and showed me once again how privileged I am to live in a safe area and to be able to walk alone during the day without being fearful. However, I could not go into the area for about a month as gang violence escalated and it was too dangerous. This research definitely also affected me emotionally as participants talked about sexual abuse, the loss of their friends or family members and their trauma in general. Lastly, it was sometimes not easy to avoid bias in this research as I already knew two of my respondents and already had a personal connection with them. Nevertheless, I still believe that it did not necessarily negatively affected my research.

3.11. CONCLUSION

This section showed the methodology of this research. It explained the qualitative research design and the population and sampling. It showed that the study used semi-structured interviews as the data collection instrument and that the interviews were recorded. This chapter demonstrated how the data was analysed and verified. It also showed the limitations and the reflexivity of this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter four presents findings of interviews with 18 Black female youth from the Cape Flats in Cape Town. The participants were asked to share their experiences of living in communities with high crime rates. They were asked how they cope with living in unsafe communities, about their experiences of actual and anticipated fear of crime, how crime affects their future socio-economic opportunities and aspirations and the effects on their sense of transparency guarantees. This chapter begins with a demographic profile of all 18 participants. Thereafter the study's framework of analysis is presented followed by a detailed discussion of the main findings.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Participants	Gender	Age	Race	Education	Occupation
Participant 1	Female	26	Coloured	Grade 9, now at Muslim school	Unemployed
Participant 2	Female	29	Coloured	Bachelor's in social sciences	Social worker
Participant 3	Female	18	Coloured	Still in high school, Grade 12	Student
Participant 4	Female	19	Coloured	Will finish grade 12 this year	Student
Participant 5	Female	18	Coloured	Matric	Unemployed
Participant 6	Female	20	Coloured	Matric	Unemployed
Participant 7	Female	19	Coloured	Matric	Unemployed
Participant 8	Female	19	Coloured	Matric	Working in retail
Participant 9	Female	29	Coloured	Matric	Social auxiliary
Participant 10	Female	25	Coloured	Matric, 2 years college	Part time job
Participant 11	Female	25	Coloured	Grade 9	Working at Laurus Sport (responsible for sewing)

Participant 12	Female	21	Coloured	University, 1 st year	Student and part time job at a call centre
Participant 13	Female	25	Coloured	Grade 12	Laurus Sport (helps out with admin)
Participant 14	Female	23	Coloured	Bachelor of Arts	Laurus Sport (Admin and data capturing)
Participant 15	Female	30	Coloured	Matric	Working at Laurus Sport (supervising)
Participant 16	Female	21	Coloured	Matric	Unemployed
Participant 17	Female	22	Coloured	Grade 10	Unemployed
Participant 18	Female	18	Coloured	Matric	Working in retail

Table 1 above presents the demographic profile of all eighteen participants. All participants are female and coloured. They are between 18 and 30 years old. Some participants finished matric and went further in their education (university) while others are still in high school or did not complete high school. Some participants are unemployed while others are currently working (f.e. retail, Laurus Sport, call centre or social worker).

4.3 DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

Table 2 Framework of Analysis

Themes	Categories	Subcategories
Coping with living in communities with high crime rates	Loss of support system	Losing friends
		Losing relatives
		Broken families
		Lack of social capital
		No role models
	Influence of gangs	Children's involvement in gangs
		Families involvement in gangs
		Friends involvement in gangs
	Loss of trust	No trust in people
	Experiences and perceptions of actual fear of crime	Fear of daily life
The trauma of every day's life		
Experience and perception of gangsterism		Random shootings
		Gangs and drug war
		Effects of drugs on communities
Experiences and perceptions of anticipated fear of crime	Fear for others	Fear for family members
		Fear for children
	Fear for themselves	Fear of leaving the house
		Sexual abuse
		Experiences as a child
Effects on the sense of future socio-economic opportunities and aspirations (social opportunities)	Lack of opportunities	Educational challenges
	Unemployment	
Effects on black female youth's sense of transparency guarantees	Lack of infrastructure	Access to safe hospitals and reliable ambulance
		Lack of proper police service
Incompetence of police		
Police corruption		

Table 2 presents the major findings of this study, in the form of six major themes, several categories and subcategories. They guide the analysis namely: How Black female youth cope living in unsafe areas; how Black female youth experience and perceive actual and anticipated fear; how the fear of crime affects Black female youth's sense of future socio-economic opportunities and how the fear of crime affects Black female youth's sense of transparency guarantees.

4.3.1. Coping with living in communities with high crime rates

4.3.1.1. Loss of support system

Losing relatives

When asked if they have experienced the death of a family member or friend through crime, the majority of participants did. They explained how traumatic it was for them to lose loved ones.

One, one, two years ago my husband's brother was shot on, on the stairs where we live. But the guy who shot him in his leg, he passed away. Last year. His own, own gang killed him, but I don't know what is the reason, but it happened on the stairs where I live. It was heartbreaking because why? The children were in the house, the bullet could have travelled...a bullet don't have a name on it. It could go anywhere. [Participant 1, female, 26]

I have also lost people due to violence. Yeah, when I was in high school, one of my best friends was, was killed...We don't know why we just know that he was stabbed to death. And he was going, I was going to matric this year, I was going to grade 11 um...the following year um...and then two years after that I lost my cousin. He um...was also stabbed to death because of money and that, that hit quite hard. Even when I lost my friend it was quite hard and tough but losing a cousin and that was one of my favourite people...He was, that was tough, on my whole family and um...two years after that or rather in 2014, the beginning of 2014 my cousin's daughter was killed in a shootout. She was three years old. She was standing at the gate or at the road and um...two gangs were shooting across; they were like um... shooting to each other and straight hit her body. So, she was hit in her torso several times and her head and she died in the hospital later and um...we actually buried her on her birthday, she was turning four [Participant 2, female, 29].

Participant 5: Things that make me sad...like thinking about everything that happened in my life so far. My life, losing my grandmother first, losing my three uncles after that. Losing some of my friends so.

Interviewer: Sorry to hear that. Can I ask you...were they sick or was it due to gangsterism?

Participant 5: My grandmother was sick. That's how she died. My one uncle, sick he died. Two were shot. My friends, one was stabbed, one was shot. It's just.... too much. [Participant 5, female, 18]

From the narratives above one can see that the chances of losing relatives due to gangsterism are high in communities with ongoing crime issues. Participant 1 explained how her husband's brother was shot in front of the house. Knowing that this could have been her children made Participant 1 very fragile. Participant 2 lost a friend in high school due to stabbing. The same

happened a year after to her cousin. She explained how shocking it was for her as it was one of her favourite cousins. She also lost the 3-year-old daughter of her cousin due to a shooting. Participant 5 explained how losing two uncles due to a shooting made her sad. This shows how crime affects their mental health as the participants have lost friends due to shooting and feel emotional about it.

According to Standing (2003) and Dinan, Mccal and Gibson (2004) many South African suffer from PTSD due to the crime that they have experienced such as losing relatives. This can also be seen in the above statements of the participants. Sen (1999) argues in one of his freedoms (transparency guarantees) that a person must have access to police protection. This is not the case for most participants as they have all lost someone loved. The police can't stop certain crimes, but they can help prevent it by being more present and by giving the residents the feeling of protection.

Losing Friends

When asked if they have experienced the death of a friend, most participants said they did. While interviewing the participants it became clear that the loss of friends affects them mentally. They explained how traumatic it was for them losing loved ones.

It does. It really does [influencing mental health]. Like just to think how all this is happening when...like I said that girl [friend in school]. When we found out about her, we were all shocked, I could even feel it like how her parents had to feel. She was still young. She had a child, but she was still young. She had a mother and a father waiting for her and then that happened to her. I was the part of a parent. I was feeling sad for her. Knowing her parent don't know where she is and then they had to find out their daughter was murdered. So, it does affect your mental health in a way. [Participant 5, female, 18]

I lost two friends in the last two years. The one was on his way from school and he was shot dead. And that was a few meters away from where he lives which is where I live. And we couldn't see how he was shot but we only saw but we only saw a few minutes later that he was laying there. That was when we recognized the school uniform and that's when we saw that he was laying there. And by the time we got to him he was still breathing [starts to cry]. He passed away. The perpetrators never got caught [still crying a bit]. [Participant 6, female, 20]

From the narratives above, one can see that losing friends or acquaintances can influence someone's mental health. Participant 5 talks about an incident that happened recently in her community. A girl was murdered and the whole community was shocked. She explained how

emotional it was for her hearing about it as she was also thinking about how shocking it must have been for the parents. She indicated that the crime in her community influences her mental health. Participant 6 explains that she lost two friends in the last two years. One death was really shocking for her as she saw him lay dead on the ground. While she was telling that story, she started crying and got emotional.

Studies have shown that South African can suffer from PTSD due to the crime that they have experienced such as losing relatives (Standing, 2003; Dinan, Mccal and Gibson, 2004). This can also be seen in the above statements of the participants.

Broken families

When asked about their family and existing support systems, most respondents point out the importance of such structures as there are a lot of ongoing issues happening due to crime. Majority of respondents did not grow up with both parents or/and were raised by other family members.

So, I am crying. I can speak with them [their family] about it and they are supportive about it but not everyone, especially people in Hanover Park or Delft don't have that.... broken families. They don't have mothers looking after them. They live with the grandmother or the father was not here. They don't have that support. [Participant 2, female, 29]

I used to work in Hanover Park and then I used to work on the outskirts. I was in one of the schools in the outskirts but I always felt like it was my passion to be in Hanover Park and they moved me to a school outside but still in Hanover Park and then I realised something different is happening. Some of the children have a different mindset with some of the kids that go to school in Hanover Park. So, you can see that there are those strong values in Hanover Park but their support system might be failing them. Like I always say when you are here in this room [crime prevention NGO] you are always free to speak but when you go home you might be in a different environment and you might not even be mentally or emotionally unstable but you might be not strong enough what you have to handle. There are a lot of things and it is too much. [Participant 9, female, 29]

From the narrative above, one can see the importance of a stable family and how these are essential for a person's well-being. One can assume that having your family as a support system makes it easier to survive in a community with high crime rates where mental health issues can be associated with all the crime happening. Participant 2 confirms this by saying that many people don't have the support system at home to comfort them. Participant 9 explains although

someone is mentally and emotionally stable, they still have to face emotional burdens. Hence, if the support system at home is not stable, it can affect one's life.

Sen (1999) argues that one's freedom (in this case a women's freedom) of social opportunities cannot be fully reached if a women's well-being is not guaranteed. Samara's (2005) study found similar findings. Many young South Africans living in communities with high crime rates experience violence-related trauma and need support which was not the case for the participants.

Lack of social capital

While interviewing the participants it became clear that crime has an effect on social relationships. Most of participants stated that due to crime they cannot visit their friends or families as it is too dangerous.

After a while you get used to it and you adapt. You know you can't go to this or that side. Sometimes you are stressed because you wanna go to your friend's house and then you can't go or they wanna come to yours. But then they don't feel safe once you tell them where you stay. I won't go there because it is too dangerous[...] He [her brother that used to be a gangster but went to prison for a long time] doesn't come to our house because he is not the type of gangster that lives in our area. He lives opposite so he can't just come in because he is one of the old gangsters and he can't just come in and then they wanna shoot him. And they can see how he looks and stuff and that he is well off. They don't understand that he doesn't do drugs and stuff. He build himself up and saved money. When you are in jail people come and visit you and they put money on your property. He kept the money. When he came out, he bought his own car and stuff like that.... [...] After 15 years people still wanna kill him cause he is an old gangster. They still think of him that way. [Participant 13, female, 25]

The violence that is happening in our place is bad. Children can't play where they want to, they can't play late outside like 5 or 6o' clock is still early....For a child to play outside and we can't... if for instance if I want to give a party for my son outside I can't because I don't know what is gonna happen. Someone is coming around the corner with guns or whatever, who is coming for trouble like um... the people, some ladies as well, it's not just the men it's women also. They keep a party, they drink and then afterwards they are gonna fight." [Participant 1, female, 26]

I don't go visit friends and so further than that. And all of us if we come together in the afternoon and school is out then all of us by the house every day and with the sister's baby an all of that. So, we don't actually have a life to enjoy because of the gangsterism, the drugs and all of that. We can't stand too long on the corner or anywhere because we don't know what is gonna happen on the corner when we stand there. [Participant 7, female, 19]

The narratives above show that not being able to visit friends or families due to the gangsterism, affects young females' lives and their mental health. Participant 13 explains that she is feeling stressed because her friends won't visit her once they hear where she lives, or her not being able to see them because it is also dangerous. Moreover, she talks about her brother being a former ex-gang member that went to prison. He changed his lifestyle, but people don't want to see that, and he is still seen as the enemy. Hence, he cannot come back into the area to visit her and her family. Participant 1 stresses that she cannot throw a birthday party for her son as kids want to play outside. The crime in the area makes it impossible for children to play peacefully outside. This influences the children's ability to build up their social relationships with other children. Participant 7 states that she doesn't have a life to enjoy anymore because she has the constant worry that something might happen to her.

According to Garofalo (1981), there is a connection between the fear of crime and social outcomes. One example would be that fear could lead to distrust from social life. Crime produces fear that can reinforce a series of negative social outcomes such as decreased levels of social interaction. This can be seen by the experience of the participants. They cannot visit friends or have friends over as it is too dangerous. This shows that crime has a negative impact on social interactions, also seen as social capital.

No role models

Role models play an important part in people's lives, especially for children and young adults. When asked if they have role models or they think there are enough role models in their community, the majority said that there are not enough. They explained how a missing father or mother figure can influence someone's life.

Learners are smoking weed, children from the age about 9 or 10 are smoking cigarettes here and they start drinking. And their parents don't worry with them. They just leave the children, so it's bad. They see what the parents do and then they'll do. Yesterday I was outside with my friend and I heard small children about 6, 7 years old saying that they were in the church and they were having sex in the church. [Participant 4, female, 19]

My house I don't have a father or mother, father or mother figure. I live with my aunt and my uncle. She already has 8, 6 children and me and my sister and my older sister. She has 9 children now because I lost my mother at the age of 12. She, she, she got sick. She got lung cancer. So, she died of that. Since my mother died, I started smoking cause I couldn't take it. Who am I gonna call mommy? And all of that. And my daddy died when I was born. They shot him dead. I never saw him and something like that. My sister also don't have dads. We are not from the same daddy. The ones daddy is from Oudtshoorn.

We used to live there. My elder sister have more brothers by our daddy in our community. So, she actually does not communicate with them. She talks to us because for her they don't come to visit her and she expects visit so they don't take her hand. That is painful for her because only her baby sisters do such things for her. And no one else cares, so, that is very painful. It's a lot of things. [Participant 7, female, 19]

If you live in a household of 18 or 19 people and two bedrooms. You ask yourself? How do these people survive? Circumstances are the contributor why things are the way they are. There aren't enough father figures. There aren't enough mother figures. I see that grannies taking over their tasks and being the mother figure. And the generational gap is so big that and time changes but the grandparents have to fit in with the new generation. The other generation in between has been missing so it is difficult...[...]I look at the parents. Some of them work from Monday to Sunday. They don't have time to be with their families. They don't even see their children growing up. They don't even know their children. They are too busy putting food on the table. And that is where everything is going wrong. It is, it is difficult. One of my colleagues. She already retired but she stood behind her boys. And raising boys and girls in this area. Girls are just so bad. They are just so bad. They even hide the guns from the boys. [Participant 9, female, 29]

From the narrative above, one can see the participants experience a lack of role models in their life or they know of someone that has experienced it. Participant 4 highlights that small children start smoking at an early age because their parents are nowhere to be found. Participant 7 explains that she has never had a mother or father figure because her mother and dad passed away when she was very young. She is very emotional about not having a mother or father figure. Participant 9 also stresses that there are not enough mother or father figures to set a good example for their children. Furthermore, she explains that because there are no father or mother figures, grandparents must take over the task of raising the kids. This could come with some complications in terms of the generation gap in South Africa as it skips one generation. Participant 9 also gives a good explanation for the absence of mother and father figures even though there might be a good relationship between them and their children. Lots of parents have to work hard to give their family the best possible life. By doing that, they do not have enough time to see what their children are up to. This could lead to their children being involved in illicit activities or a bad school performance.

One element of Sen's (1999) capability approach speaks to having the freedom to economic facilities which among others include having a well-paid job. From the above statements of participants, it is clear that many parents do not have enough income so many of them need a second job. Hence, parents do not have enough time to look after their children.

Peer pressure in school

When asked about the role that peer pressure plays, the majority of participants said that children and young adults get easily influenced by their friends that might be involved in gangsterism. They point out that the wrong friends could get you into trouble.

Yes, something is happening to her because she [sister] is more for friends. She is never in the house. She is like me because we get bored in the house. We have a TV and stuff in the house, but we can't stay in the house because we don't communicate with each other. Everyone is in the world. Like me I am every day now at home because I quit college and I am waiting for the other college. I tell her every day. If you wanna smoke tell me but don't smoke at this age because it is not right. It is gonna mess with your brain and all of that. And the wrong friends that are gangsters. You must choose wisely now because the friends that you have need to have your back and all of that. So, it's not good to have bad friends because I end up with bad friends and I end up at the police station. [Participant 7, female, 19]

I was wild, I can even say in Grade 9 I was allowed to have a tattoo but school policies said you are not allowed to have a tattoo but me being wild I was going to do it because my friends think it's cool but I don't have one. But they are starting to convince you and you start doing what they are doing and that's how the trouble starts. So, yeah, I was very wild, I was mostly with guy friends. I did not have girlfriends I was with guy friends and that's how trouble started and one of the teachers stepped in and he was always on my case. At the end of the day the whole crew I was with...not one of them matriculated [...] There was also one incident literally in front of me that someone got shot and that incident happened when I was walking out of school. So, for me that was also frightening because... That was at the age of 14, that was the time when I was wild. The thing is at that time I didn't take it as serious as if I would have taken it now. Like now there are consequences, and everything could have happened. I was wild at that time, so I was like they are fighting, the gangs but I was so influenced by that time.... So, you fall into this trap where you almost think it's a good thing. So, at the end of the day I got that freight because it actually happened in front of me and told myself...I could have lost my life here. [Participant 8, female, 19]

Yeah in our community we have a lot of youngsters. There is too few people that have set goals in life and then they just get mixed up with the bad guys. They just get influenced easily. It is people you know, and you grew up with that are doing bad things to you and you are just like what? [Participant 10, female, 25]

From the narratives above, one can see that peer pressure has an influence on children and young adults. Participant 7 explains how her school performance and her school life have been influenced by her friends and other students. She explains how her experience of a shooting made her realise what she did wrong at the time she was in school and how she wants her sister to not make the same mistake as her. Participant 8 also explains how peer pressure influences

one's life. By making the wrong friends and following their path one can easily fall into the trap of ignoring the responsibilities in life and get involved in crime. Participant 10 stresses that there is a need for more guidance for all the young people in their community as they can get mixed up easily with the wrong people. This section showed how peer pressure can affect young adults as they can get pulled into crime.

Bility (1999) explains why the school-going age period is so important and how it shapes the children, young adults. During that time, children are exposed to roles and responsibilities that are existing in society. Therefore, it is a place that requires an environment of learning where children should benefit from. However, in communities with high crime rates, many schools are exposed to inadequate learning opportunities and an unsafe environment. Bility (1999) also explains that schools are not isolated from gang activities as many gangs start recruiting children in schools already. Furthermore, he explains that young adults that don't join gangs often feel low self-esteem and feel being left out.

4.3.1.2. Influence of gangs

Children's involvement in gangs

When asked about the connection between gangs and children, the majority of participants said that children's involvement with gangs starts at an early age. They explain the vulnerability of young children and young adults getting pulled into gangs.

It is mostly the high school children that drop out. They go to gang or...actually the whole gang thing is, it becomes out of the people that sell drugs. The drug dealers. That's where it all starts. Go from there, it is like that is my group and there is your group. Now we start fighting because this is my spot where I sell my stuff now you want to come and take over on my place. And that is not right because it is all about our children. And, and the thing is, the children, some of the children is to clever, some of them are stupid because if you are gonna listen to someone that is a person like you that is doing something wrong, that is not right and fair... because... because if you don't wanna listen to your mother but you listen to the next guy there who is the same age as you who killed people, it's not fair. [Participant 18, 18, female]

And then you go to school and you get bullied over there and in the area, there are gangsters shooting. So, it's fight for survival. So, what, what do you as a child do? You go were you feel secure and were you be kindly integrated into a family. That is where the gang is. They kind of looing you. We can take care of you. We are brothers and all of that. So, and that's where I feel, and of not you are going fully for drugs and that's a whole other thing. So, um...it's kind of...because our people are not taught to deal with their trauma and to deal with the situation it is getting worse. We are raising a generation who only knows trauma. They only know trauma and they don't know how to deal with it. So, um...they use what is best for them and what benefit them and that is gangsterism and

drugs and so to numb any kind of pain that they feel inside that's where they go and unfortunately we don't have or our government does not have resources or is not resourcing us to deal with these situations. [Participant 2, female, 29]

Yes, like my sister's kids in school and they have these little gangsters in the school and everyone wanna be better than the other one. The children wanna leave school because they are afraid that this one is gonna hurt that one. It already starts in school where they starting their own little gang and some children don't wanna go to school anymore because they want to finish but they are scared to get hurt at school. [Participant 13, female, 25]

The police is on the school ground but the school is in the middle of three gangs. There are three gangs fighting. It's the Americans, the Dixie boys and what is the other one? I don't remember the other ones. And they are all knew the guys that we knew in our area. One doesn't matter to the other. The new squad. The young ones, the teenagers. There is no big difference between the gangs and the teenagers in our area because the kids are like my daughters age and he is shooting like nothing is stopping him. He is just so small. You won't even see that he is coming for you. [Participant 15, female, 30]

From the narratives above, one can see the kid's involvement in gangs. It shows why and how children and young adults get pulled into gangs and how it worries the participants of this study. Participant 18 talks about how gangs try to convince kids in school to join their gang. Children at an early age start joining gangs by selling drugs or are involved in illicit activities. It starts really small, but they are getting pulled into gangs step by step. A lot of children don't have parents that take care of them, so they easily fall into the trap of joining a gang as an alternative to their family as they have the need for a sense of belonging. Participant 2 has the same point of view. She says that living in her area is a fight for survival and if there are no role models at home, children and young adults seek a sense of belonging by joining a gang. Participant 13 makes it clear that gangs already start in school as young adults start their own little gangs. She also says that kids and youngsters get bribed into joining gangs as the gang leaders would buy them clothes or shoes they always wanted. As a child or teenager, you want to belong somewhere and want to be well known. Participant 15 explains that the school do have police on their premises, but it doesn't stop the gangsters from entering. It also makes it difficult if the school is on the border of different gang territories. Moreover, she states that there is sometimes no difference between teenagers and gangsters in her community.

One of Sen's (1999) freedoms are social opportunities which includes childcare. This implies that children should not be unattended and exposed to any form of danger. Unfortunately, many youngsters do not have parents looking out for them. This could lead to

the children being involved in illicit activities such as joining a gang. Samara (2005) emphasizes, that especially the youth are vulnerable as they can be easily influenced by gangs. This is stressful for parents as they have the constant worry for their own children. Spergel (1990) explains how gangs' function as social institutions for low-income young adults. The gangs often function as social, cultural and economic components that can no longer be fulfilled by family or school. Bility (1999) argues that gang activity already starts at an early age such as with primary school pupils. He further explains that gangs are so attractive to join for youngsters as they get money and feel less isolated from society.

Families involvement in gangs

When asked if they have family members that are involved in gangsterism most of the participants said they have family members that are in gangs. The participants explain how it makes them feel knowing a family member is involved and how it affects their daily life.

I have family that is gang related and it is heartbroken. Everyone is trying to get them off but it seems that the drugs is talking something else. We all are trying to convince them that is not the way, this is the way. They do not want to go our way they want go this way where they are going to die. So, I actually I don't have a lot of people that got injured, maybe two or three friends and it's now my brother-in law that got shot two years ago and that it. But most of my family are gang related and its heartbroken because my child we are always around them. If I go and visit my mother I see them. I can't chase them away because it is my family. [Participant 1, female, 26]

Participant 7: When I go visit him [cousin in prison] on a Monday for me it is heartbroken to see him behind the back of a wall. We can't even talk face to face, we must talk through a window. And it is not nice, to see him there. You didn't picture him there. He told me if he is coming home, he doesn't wanna live in Hanover Park anymore because of what his friends did to him and all of that. So, we told him if you come out you must live with your aunt, but you must first go to a rehab because you see what drugs do. That is drugs what do that and you're your brain tells you now you must go with them. That stuff and it is not nice. [Participant 7, female, 19 years old]

Yes, we had a terrible childhood. With him [older brother] being in the house, my parents getting divorced and then him getting into it deeper and me as the baby sister always being involved because I was really close to him. And the fact that my father wasn't at work and I was alone with them. I saw a lot of things that were going on in that house and it was not easy. At the end of the day it is your brother. You don't want something happen to him, but it was difficult living with him. [Participants 15, female, 30]

From the narratives above, one can see that all participants have experienced one of their family members being involved in gangsterism. Participant 1 talks about how difficult it is to be around her family and her child as most of her family are gang related. It is dangerous for children to grow up in an environment like this. Firstly, because anything can happen anytime. Secondly, because a child or teenager can get easily influenced by the norm of being involved in gangsterism once they grow up. She also indicates that she is feeling heartbroken because her family is involved. Participant 7 expresses her sadness because her cousin is in prison. He was on drugs by the time of the incident. Therefore, she suggests that he must go to rehab to get clean. Participant 15 talks about her growing up with her older brother that was part of a gang. She explains how difficult and dangerous it was being in the same house as him. In addition, she says that she saw things in her life that she was not supposed to see.

Shaw and Gastrow (2001) found that drug and alcohol abuse can lead to crime in South Africa which can be linked to the above-shown quotes of the participants of this study. Drug abuse has led to family members living in fear of their family members as they never know what they are capable of under the influence of drugs. Garofalo (1981) explains that a person can feel actual and anticipated fear. It is clear to see that the participants have experienced lots of fear by living with a gang related family member. By having experienced some incidents their anticipated fear for others (for example kids) is high.

Friends involvement in gangs

Majority of participants explained that they have friends that are somehow involved with gangs. They explain how difficult it is for them to know someone that is involved with gangsters and how it affects them mentally.

A family friend that used to live here by us is a gangster now. Their gang is called 'The Americans'. And they actually, they are the people that control our court because they come every day, different faces. And he is...so it is heartbroken for me. I... my brother because he was all the years around the house and now is going around. Now, it is heartbroken to see him on the road, doing the wrong things, busy with wrong stuff. Wrong roads and all of that. He is one of them that rob people for a living. For drugs money and so. So, for me it is really heartbroken to see him being on drugs and him robbing people that work hard for their stuff. Every day my aunt told him: Why don't you come to church with us? And every day he is like yeah, I am gonna, I am gonna and he never comes so far [...] With my uncle's incident he was very sad because he didn't expect his own, like the call it "bruiser" is gonna sue his own family member. So, they shot him dead and he was really upset, and he wanted to kill the person that killed my uncle. So, my aunt told him it is not worth it because what are you gonna get out of it? You see? So, we were very upset because that day I didn't want to go to school but I had no choice because it was

finals, it was matric year and all of that. But he is fine now. He walked there, there by the court but every time I see him my heart gets broken because he is dirty. It almost looks like he does not have a house, don't have family. And the people are looking at our house because of our family and all of that. And it is not nice seeing him like that because he is dirty and all of that. [Participant 7, female, 19]

There is two guys that went to school with me. They are now gangsters. Um...but I still talk to them and so. They don't wanna know me now because they ranks...they top or whatever. So, if I see them, I would just walk the other way because I don't involve myself with them. Cause now at the end of the day they maybe shot someone and then they, they use me as a target to that person. [Participant 4, female, 19]

Yeah, there is my one friend, they shot her two nights ago in her arm. They shot her because she got a gangster boyfriend and she got go involved in gangsterism, she does drugs, overpower and all of that. She is on the road; she does not listen to her mummy. Her mummy is trying everything. She is my friend and we talk every day to her but she is.... she not listen to us. They are busy with a social worker now so that she can get right. Every time the social worker comes, she ran away or she hides. And its heartbroken to see her like that. Now, the other day when they shot her all of us started to cry because she is our friend and it is not nice to see. Our friend, that was our friend. They are younger than me. She is 15 years old and she has a gangster boyfriend. It is not nice. I tell her every day. Everyone knows and, and they say the reason why they shot her is because she came and look what other gangs are doing and tell her bf this and that is happening here. That is why they shot her, and we told her that is the wrong road. Firstly, it is the wrong road. Secondly, you dropped out of school because of your boyfriend. Thirdly, because of they are power you with drugs and so. It is not nice to see. She is young. She is 15 years old and she has a bright future. She has experienced a lot of things. [Participant 3, female, 19]

As seen in the above quotes, participants stated that they have friends or acquaintances that are involved in gangs. Participant 7 talks about a close family friend that used to live with. She explains how the drugs and the involvement in gangsterism changed him as a person. It breaks her heart seeing a loved one walking dirty on the streets without knowing if she will see him again. Participant 3 has a 15-year-old friend that has a gangster boyfriend. For this reason, she got involved in a shooting and got shot in her arm. Participant 3 further explains how shocked she was when she heard about it and how it broke her heart seeing her friends being involved with the wrong people. She constantly tries to convince her to do otherwise but has not been able to convince her yet. Participant 4 knows two guys that she went to high school with that are involved with gangs now. She stresses that she never knows if they would hurt her even though they know each other.

4.3.1.3. Loss of trust

No trust in others

When asked if there is trust within the community or within their family or friendship circle most of the participants pointed out that they have trust issues. They point out how mistrusting former friends or the community makes them feel unsafe.

It gets worse than worse by the day because your friends you must choose wisely because today, in today's life you get back stabbers, you get two faced friends and all of that. So, it is very, very important to choose your friends wisely because they won't always be on your side. They tell you they will die with you but not always. They won't stand a bullet for you and all of that. [Participant 7, female, 19]

I definitely don't feel safe. Like now like before I could say even with all the crime, the people that know you but now I don't feel safe because I have seen people that grew up with each other, they shoot each other right in front of me while kids are playing outside. To me it is not safe anymore because even if the person knows you it would be nothing for someone to give them trouble just for your life so, everything you can't trust the person anymore. It's more about money and making it surviving. [Participant 8, female, 19]

The thing that is making me sad is knowing people around me. People you know that you could trust before. Realising that those are the people that make you lose hope in life. Like it makes you lose your vision. Going forward that is actually sad because now they are breaking down your dreams. You cannot go out there. They are breaking into libraries. That could have been used for you to further...you know...things like that. [Participant 4, female, 19]

The experiences described by the participants corresponds with the above statement that people lost trust in their community, friends or family members. Living in a community with a lot of crime and with the constant fear of feeling unsafe requires a stable relationship with people that you can trust. Participant 7 explains that one must choose their friends wisely as you never know who you can trust. She stresses that friends can be fake and pretending to care while they would also talk behind your back. Participant 8 highlights that she doesn't feel safe in her community anymore because she can't trust the people, she used to be friends with as they are now involved in gangsterism. For this reason, she is worried that they could hurt her.. Participant 4 emphasizes that she cannot trust people that she used to trust before. She also explains that people in the community destroy libraries that are useful for leisure time or for doing research.

As per Garofalo's (1981) model of fear of crime one of his components is the connection between fear of crime and social outcomes. One example would be that fear could lead to distrust from social life. As seen above, participants find it difficult to trust other people.

4.3.2. Experiences and perceptions of actual fear of crime

4.3.2.1 Fear of daily life

Unsafe public transport

When asked about public transport, most of the participants said that they do not feel safe all the time. This is due to gangs operating in their area and the fact that many people have to leave their house early for work.

But I do, I do use public transport. I am comfortable with it. I don't see a problem using public transport but there is a concern especially with you know, taxi violence. Then it becomes a concern when the buses strike cause it is not just a strike, it becomes violent. You are concerned and um...especially like I said in our area there is no, there is no shooting happening vividly... [Participant 1, female, 26]

Sometimes it is, sometimes it isn't because sometimes the gangsters stop the taxis because they wanna tax them. They pay them a certain amount to pass by like 10 rand or they just jump into the taxi and rob everyone. So, it is not really safe unless you have your own car. Even with the Uber driver. They also kill people and you never know who he is. Is he the one that is gonna do something? Even with trains also. It's crowded. The train stops for hours and then you have to wait long. Sometimes its late and you are stuck there and there is no way home. Even with the bus, people getting robbed there. [Participant 13, female, 25]

There is no one in the house with a car but my father has a car, I can't contact him cause my battery is low or something like that. How am I gonna get to him? Yeah, it makes you stress sometimes and sometimes you feel emotional or maybe one, one of your friends got shot. It actually eats on you. [Participant 18, female, 18]]

As seen in the above quotes, participants stated that using public transport in their area can become dangerous once gangsters are getting involved. Participant 1 explains that she is usually feeling okay using public transport but gets scared once there is a taxi or bus strike as they can get violent. Participant 18 explains that not having a car and being forced to take public transport affects her emotionally. Participant 13 explains that she does feel safe sometimes but once gangsters are getting involved, it becomes dangerous. The long hours of waiting for trains or busses are also a concern of hers because once it is getting dark, it gets more dangerous.

Moreover, she explains that even taking an Uber can be dangerous as you never know what people are capable of.

This correlates with Garfalos's (1981) model of fear of crime. This framework suggests that a lack of income can influence a person's fear of crime. As one can see participants talked about the unsafety of public transport when it is getting dark or when gangs are involved. In addition, they also talk about the fact that not being able to afford a car forces them to use public transport even though it is not safe. This section could also be linked to one of Sen's (1999) freedoms which is economic security. One part of this freedom is access to transport. Although people have access to transport it is not safe for them to use.

The trauma of every day's life

Most of the participants talked about the daily trauma they are faced with. They explain how difficult their lives are and how they are affected by the crime happening around them.

I think the best way to describe what is happening here is continuous trauma. It is a cycle. It goes around, its stops for a while and then it comes back. Your body and your brain is always on the move. It is always in survival mode. So, you really don't have the peace and quietness that you would like. How many times do people think they just wanna go away for a weekend, but they can't do it financially? You are not by the means to go away. All these factors. You don't have a car you don't have a licence. Going from A to B. You can't live in Hanover Park and not be affected mentally. You are. On my way to work on two occasions I was robbed. Two occasions I walked home over the fields and two gangsters were walking on my side. And they had guns and to me it just looked like they are walking on the fields. How are you walking like this? But I can't...I am walking in the middle of the field and I am just praying that they see nobody. And that no one sees them because then the field becomes a battlefield. And there is no way to go. The constant fear where you have to walk. You really have to be alert at all times. [Participant 9, female, 29]

I tell my sister every day where you walk. Ask where you are going. Don't just walk because the community out there is very, very dangerous because when I was your age [baby sister] there was no shooting and stuff. I could have walked everywhere I wanted to but today I can't walk where I want to. That is very disturbing because I can't even visit my primary school friends, my high school friends because I am so afraid. When I walk they shoot. And then you don't know anyone this side and it is very dangerous because they killed a girl the other day. 2 weeks, a day before Ramadan. They shot a girl, they murder a girl and they shot someone at the back, just at the back of the courtyard. And we literally saw what happened to that person that they stabbed. They stabbed him to death. And the police came and it was a whole thing. We told the police that we couldn't held it because and all of this and they were into a fight and everyone jumped into the fight and it was a mixed up and he just took the knife and stabbed him to death. The police

took him and all of that. And the girl, it's a young girl of 20 years old that they murdered. They slaughtered her. [Participant 7, female, 19]

They are exposed to more and therefore, even trauma. There is more gang fighting now, more corruption, there is more trauma in the houses even. So, I wanna say that, that the "breed" that comes from all that is a whole different. Traumatized child who is either looking for attention or has some kind of anger to deal with and don't know how to lash out. [Participant 2, female, 29]

From the narratives above one can see how the residents in communities with high crime rates experience daily trauma. Participant 9 explains that her community experiences a continuous cycle of trauma. There is never any peace or quietness for people to feel secure. Although people would like to escape for a few days out of their community, most people cannot afford it financially. Furthermore, she explains that she was already robbed twice and how the constant fear of never knowing what is going to happen next is affecting her mentally. Participant 7 talks about the killings of a young girl and a man close to her house. She saw one of the incidents happening and explained how it scared her as she never knows if she could be next. Participant 2 highlights the constant confrontation of trauma as a child and how it affects them.

Similar findings can be found in Standing (2003) and Samara's (2005) study. Their studies showed that many South Africans suffer from PTSD due to the crime that they have experienced around them. Dosekun's (2007) study demonstrated that women showed signs of fear by knowing what happened to other women in their communities. This correlates with Garofalo's model of fear of crime. Participants experience high levels of actual and anticipated fear. Seeing what is happening daily makes them fearful.

4.3.2.2. Experience and perceptions of gangsterism

Random shootings

When asked if they experienced shootings before, most participants said that they have heard gunshots before and know of shootings that happened before in their area. Majority of participants explained how the shootings affect their daily life.

Now your friend got shot and you see them for the last time. They die now. You will see them then at the funeral and then afterwards you don't see them. This gang, this gang thing really has to stop. Because why? It's mostly innocent people that get killed by gangsters. Gangsters are all alive but innocent people die and it's not fair. [Participant 1, female, 26]

I really think that this community is not safe at all. Lately the shooting, the gang violence has escalated tremendously. Especially where I live, three kids, including a girl were shot and like two days ago they were shooting like crazy. It's where I live, in my court. It's every day, every night. You don't know when something can happen to you. Imagine stepping out of your house, asking your mum to pray for you. [Participant 6, female, 20]

But yoh, they shoot a lot here by our side. You can't walk anywhere where you want to. You can't visit a friend because of the shooting and so. Every day there is someone dying. Young children dying. They don't see the future in front of them. They die and get involved in gangsterism and so. And the gangsters of today wanna win the kids over so they buy them clothing and stuff. Shoes and money just to shoot other people dead. For me that is very distracting what is going on in the community and you can't do anything. [Participant 7, female, 19]

What makes it unsafe is that there are different areas. I stay here in the East and there is another gang on the other side. They will fight against each other. Once I got out of work and I got out of the bus and I was walking home and just heard the people shooting. I don't know where to run so I just had to stand and wait until it's over. There is too much gang violence happening. Here is one and there is one and they are continuously fighting against each other for silly things. [Participant 13, female, 25]

From the narratives above, one can see that there are a lot of shootings happening in the Cape Flats. People do not have the freedom to walk around as it is too dangerous. Participant 1 stresses that most people dying from shootings are innocent and that the gang violence needs to stop. Participant 6 also says that innocent people get killed every day and that gang violence has escalated a lot lately. Participant 13 explains that gang territories are the one that makes communities unsafe because there is constant fighting happening. How dangerous it can be to leave the house shows participant 7. She said that kids are getting killed by getting caught up in the crossfire. No one can walk anywhere without being cautious all the time. She also explained the danger of kids getting pulled into gangs that was already explained earlier in this thesis.

Similar findings from Fourchard (2011) explain that life in the Cape Flats is characterized by frequent gang fights which often end in shootings where innocent civilians are getting killed. Kruger and Landmann (2008) further explain that people living in townships are more likely to experience shooting and any other forms of crimes than people living in safe communities.

Drugs and crime

When asked about the connection between drugs and gangsterism, most of participants said that drugs became more and more associated with gangs. They explain the danger of drugs and how it influences the gangsterism in their communities.

When I was a little girl I used to play outside every day. We liked to play on corners and so where the sun is because the sun is nice and all of that. But in today's world you can't have all of that because the children get children and can get beaten in a split second and the gangsterism is taking over because a lot of things are happening in our area that never happened before. Drugs, they never sold drugs there and I guess the drugs are a major factor in the gang. And they never start shooting there since the gangster came out of jail and all of that. There is this one house, a special house in the court. They drag everyone to it. That is why the gangsterism start there and drugs and all of that because of that one house. [Participant 7, female, 19]

No, what I can say is that people in Hanover Park are not really afraid of people breaking into their houses because your house is not getting broken into. It is usually family members that steal out of your house. So, that is a common thing. Once they are addicted to drug use, they have this thing where they take valuables out of your house just to feed their craving. We don't fear break ins cause we know it is our own family members that do it to us and that is a common thing. It happened to most household. I have seen parents speaking about it. I have seen it in my own eyes in my household because my mum and aunty being addicted. It happens, it's life. [Participant 8, female, 19]

The school are giving them the opportunities to write the papers off. They dream and desire to get up isn't so great. They don't have that vision or that or that dream. They don't see themselves up out of Hanover Park. They only way they see themselves up is selling drugs, doing a hit. That's easy money. But nothing in life, something that you want in life doesn't come easy. You must sacrifice in order to achieve what you want. If you get something so easy, it is not real. You need to work for what you want. But I think doing a hit and selling things for money is not a good thing. [Participant 9, female, 29]

As seen in the above quotes' participants stated that drugs are one of the main problems for the ongoing crime in their communities. They explain that drugs are one of the main contributors to the increased crime rates. Participant 7 confirms this by saying that drugs are the reason for the ongoing wars between the gangs which causes high crime rates. She also gives evidence for the connection between drugs and higher crime rates. She said she could walk alone without being. However, since the gangsters started selling drugs it is not safe anymore. Participant 8 talks about her own family breaking into her house because they are on drugs. Participant 9 gives evidence about the connection between drugs and school performance. She says that many

youngsters do not see a future, so they start using and selling drugs as a way out. This is problematic as many of them could become addicts and could take the wrong path in life.

Similar findings can be found in Standing's (2003) paper. He explains that the main actors when it comes to the distribution of drugs are gangs. These gangs often fight over territory which includes the distribution of alcohol and drugs or selling stolen goods such as cars or firearms. Fourchard (2011) explains that the prevalence of drugs and gang fights has increased dramatically in the past decade. Bility (1999) also explains that drugs and alcohol play a significant role in gang activities as it provides income for the gangs.

Effect of drugs on communities

When asked if abuse of drugs happens in their communities or in their family's majority of participants said yes. They explain the effects drugs have on their community and their own families and how it affects them emotionally.

And those children live that side where I live. It's like children that are 12, 13 they are all on these things, on Tik, smoke buttons. Now buttons [street name for the drug mandrax], that is something that is, that ease you. As you ease it's tells you a story. Like if I have something in the past, something happened to my father, my father got killed from someone, also that's gang related. That person is still alive now I am gonna hunt that person. I want him to die like my father died. That is what the buttons do. Yes, I'm gonna, I'm gonna kill this guy cause he killed my father. So, the drugs, I think it's the drugs that um... that makes our community corrupt. [Participant 9, female, 29]

I have a very close friends of mine that was on drugs and who is in rehab now. And to see the effect that drugs have on him and his family it's heart-breaking. I think a few of his nephews were involved in drugs or gangsterism so that how he got involved [...] He really gets aggressive and can get rude. Once the drug is pulling out, he has the urgency to steal someone's stuff. [Participant 6, female, 20]

It has a huge effect. Some people do it for fun. But there are people that are not strong enough and they go deeper and deeper into it. Like I have a brother he was on drugs and he was with a gang and he wanted to go out and then they stabbed him into his brain. It was inches away from his brain, but it was a miracle that he made it out. And then after that he started using drugs, he was on Tik and he started stealing from us. Then he switched from Tik to Whoonga and that's the worst. That is the worst and his biggest problem was the way he looked after they attacked him. They had to open his head and it is an ugly scarf. He doesn't feel the same the feel anymore. You can help him to a certain extent but then sometimes you can't, and he falls back again. He is fine sometimes but then the graving gets back. [Participant 13, female, 25]

I have no communication with him [ex-husband]. He is actually on drugs. When, I met him I knew it, but I never knew what he gave up for it. So, when I was married, I started to see a lot of things and I just couldn't do it anymore. When my daughter was born, and she was a girl and the thing he used to do. She does not deserve that. And then we moved away to my father and then I met my other child's father. I used to send her to her father, but we stopped because the things he does, he doesn't care he would do it in front of her. She is becoming a big girl and tomorrow she is thinking that he does it. [Participant 15, female, 30]

From the narratives above, one can see that drug abuse is one of the biggest problems in the Cape Flats. Participant 9 talks about the involvement of kids in drugs at an early age and how common it is for children and young adults to take drugs. Participant 6 talks about her friend being on drugs and how different he was while being in drugs. Participant 15 talks about the behaviour of her ex-husband while he was on drugs. She was concerned about her daughter growing up in the same house as her now ex-husband as it was not a safe. She then decided to end the marriage and move somewhere else for the sake of her own and her children's safety. The prevalence of drugs in the Cape Flats has dramatically increased in the past decade (Fourchard 2011). Shaw and Gastrow (2001) showed that alcohol and drug abuse can lead to crime in South Africa. For example, it could have an impact on interpersonal violence in families.

4.3.3. Experiences and perceptions of anticipated fear of crime

4.3.3.1. Fear for others

Fear for family members

When asked if they are stressed out about their family being in danger, the majority of participants said that they are worried about their family members. They explain being fearful for their kids as they grow up in communities with high crime rates.

I am afraid of her [niece] growing up in a community like this. She is a year and three months. But I don't want her growing up in a community like this. We, me and my sister because as the time go, I am not working, she is. We are gonna decide we will leave this place, but I don't want my niece to grow up here because how it is now it is does not fit for, for a child. I really don't wanna see her growing up here. [Participant 5, female, 18]

So today I just wanna tell you it doesn't feel nice for a female to see how the youth live in Hanover Park. For example, for us, our sisters and brothers are growing up and seeing what is going on around them. It is not a perfect picture for them for the future. So, I wouldn't like my sister to grow up in such an environment and it's not because the place

where I come from. I come from a flat, like flat houses, poor houses. And every day I pray if my sister leaves for school I pray for her. If my mommy leaves, I pray, we starting praying in the morning. We are praying in our house; we have communication time when we start eating everyone must be in the house all of that. I am the only one that is done with school. All my cousins, my eldest cousins they all work, and the small ones all attend school. [Participant 7, female, 19]

I feel really stressed. I feel stressed and the matter of fact is that I don't picture myself here. I always tell my friends I wanna drive a Golf 7, a white one a few years in time. I wanna come back to Hanover Park and it is still the same. And we talk about the future and so. So, I feel stressed because I can't leave my baby sister behind in Hanover Park so whenever I decide I wanna pull put I must take her with because that is not the place to be. It always about being stressed because of everything that is happening every day of your life. The same thing, the same stuff happening every day and all of that so, it is really heartbroken. [Participant 8, female, 19]

As seen in the above quotes, participants stated that they are concerned and stressed about their siblings or family members growing up and living in a community with high crime rates. All three participants wish they could move somewhere else but can financially not afford it due to circumstances at home such as unemployment or underpaid jobs. Participants 7 and 5 explain that they don't want their family members to grow up in their community based on the experiences they had in their life. Participant 8 explains that seeing the crime happening every day and having that constant worry about herself and her family makes her sad and heartbroken.

According to Garofalo (1981), anticipated fear of crime might be based on having experienced fear of crime before. All participants are concerned about the well-being of their families as they have experienced crime before. Another variable that influences the fear of crime is cost and option. This means that a lack of necessary income to buy a car or move to another place increases the exposure to crime. From the narratives above one can see that participants don't feel safe for themselves and their family members and would like to move somewhere else but cannot do it due to financial reasons.

Fear for children

When asked if they are afraid for others, the majority of participants emphasized their fear for the children in their community. They explained the danger of being a child in a crime-ridden community.

Sometimes you can't send your child to school because it just got hurt now. Now you will have to wait or phone someone: Don't you wanna drive my child to school? Don't you

wanna fetch my child at school? Like a guy also got shot last year, Marco [name changed] yes was last year, was on his way home from school then they were in a crossfire. People, they shot, then people ran but no one is sure that they shot him. And he is supposed to be, take a vehicle home but that day he decided to walk with all the children. Then the people were running and then the lady that was with him, realise that someone is not here. It was him. Then they found him in a, like a....um...a hole with dirt. They found him in there. Laying there dead. [Participant 1, female]

I would say the crime rate here is not well because um...you never know when they are gonna shoot or so. Because all the small children are playing outside and if the gangster run and bump into the children. They don't care. So, the children can get hurt and.... You never know what to expect for the next day so... “[Participant 4, female, 19]

Yes, because I can see and hear young children, being younger than 5 being killed because of gangsters. They can't defend their grounds. Yes, because sometimes my little niece always plays outside. The children can't even play outside in the road anymore because you never know when they are gonna come, they shoot, the gangsters. [Participant 3, female, 18]

From the narrative above, one can see how dangerous it is for a child to grow up in a community with high crime rates. Anything can happen to children any time of the day. Participant 1 talks about her concerns of kids getting to school safe and their transport back after school. She gives an example of a small boy that got shot last year on his way home from school. This shows that anything can happen at any time of the day and that especially kids are vulnerable. Participant 4 and Participant 3 point out that kids cannot play outside anymore as there is always a chance of them getting caught up in the crossfire.

Similar findings can be observed in several studies. These studies showed that most children in the Cape Flats have heard gunshots before, have seen a dead body before or have directly or indirectly witnessed crime and violence (Standing, 2003; Shields, Nadasen and Pierce 2008; Ward, Martin, Theron and Distiller, 2007). This can be linked to the concept of anticipated fear (Garofalo, 1981). From the narratives above it is clear that the participants have seen children being killed. Therefore, they are worried to see children get hurt by shootings and other forms of crime.

Vulnerability as a female

When asked if they think that it is more dangerous as a female to live in communities with high crime rates, most of the participants said that one cannot simply say that it is more dangerous as a female than a man. Most of them said that it depends on the situation.

It's male and female because the females, some of the females carry guns for the males and they do what they do, the drugs, like you, I give you what you want, I buy you a silver chain, a silver ring or a gold ring, you are my girlfriend so you keep my stuff. [Participant 1, female, 26]

Actually yes, because our children, our girls, most girls get raped, innocent girls get raped or um... they use like the gangs, drug dealers use the girls. I am gonna send you to your parents or whatever, come with me and I give you what I want. Actually, actually it's heartbroken because why, if I, I, myself if I was maybe a drug dealer daughter I wouldn't have send my friends, my girlfriends to come at my house. ...because what my father is doing. It's wrong. Now most, most of the drug dealers here, their children... if it's a girl he is gonna keep her because god can take everything in a minute, in a second. You can lose anything, everything you have in a second. I really think it's more dangerous for girls because most guys wanna pull them in with buying them things and so. Most um...girls just want a guy to be there for them with money, so they take the wrong person. Which ends up in a teenage pregnancy and if you are pregnant and the guy wanna push you away most girls commit suicide because they don't know what to do. [Participants 4, female, 19]

Like when we found out about that girl [girl from her neighbourhood] everybody was like stunned... they were like how could this happen? Because it's not...normally...always we hear somebody was rather like shot or stabbed. But now the other day she was murdered in our place. It makes it more worse for us ladies to walk around. Knowing there is somebody killing people out there now. It changes everything. And for the girls especially and the ladies. So, it just, it changes everything for the females of this community. [Participant 5, female, 18]

The gangsters are younger. They used to recruit them in their late teens but now they start the girls...they are so fascinated and intrigued by the power that the gangsters have. All that marchioness. That is what they see and think is the right way. And it is not all that cute thing when boys bring a girl something and she giggles. No, in Hanover Park most likely you would find guys saying I wanna fuck with you because they don't know how to display that. That is the word they know how to describe love. There isn't that affection. They might not be exposed to that at home. There is domestic violence maybe. That is love for them. [Participant 9, female, 29]

Participants 1 and 3 both state that it is dangerous for boys and for girls but for different reasons. Girls can easily get influenced by boyfriends or any guy they fancy. In return, they give them presents. Participant 9 provides a similar answer. She says that girls are attracted by the marchioness of young gangsters. She assumes that many girls don't know what real love feels

like as they come from broken families. Some of them might even be exposed to domestic violence. Participant 4 emphasizes that there is always the danger of girls being raped and used by gangs and drug dealers. It makes her sad seeing that girls can get hurt so easily. She also says that some girls end up being pregnant and are left without any help. Participant 5 explains how dangerous it is to walk around as a girl nowadays. By saying this she refers to an incident that happened in her community. A girl got murdered which left the entire community speechless.

According to Du Toit (2005) the state of South Africa is unable to protect women from violence. Dinan Mccal and Gibson (2004) explain that the majority of South African women, especially those that live in poor communities have experienced crime themselves outside of home. Sen (1999) argues that police protection is necessary in order to feel safe. From the narratives above it is also clear that there is a lack of police protection. The narratives above also show that the freedom of social opportunities which consist among others of the women's well-being, are not achieved. This includes an absence of any form of violence. It is clear that women in South Africa face many challenges in terms of their security such as walking alone without being fearful. This can also be seen in Anad's and Santos' (2007) study. They found that women feel more unsafe than men to walk in communities with high crime rates.

4.3.3.2. Fear for themselves

Fear of leaving the house

When asked if they are afraid to leave their house, the majority of participants said that they are scared to leave their houses. They explain how they can never be certain what will happen once they step out of their house. Furthermore, they explain how it affects their daily life in terms of visiting friends or going to the shops to buy groceries.

Yes, sometimes I am afraid to even go to the shops or to stand outside, especially now, like yesterday morning I went to the shop. I went to buy something by the shop, when I was walking like on my way home, there were gunshots and two guys were just passing me. Those other two stand by the shop to walk cause they are gonna shoot now. [Participant 1, female, 26]

It's getting worse, it's getting bad because innocent people have been killed. Children don't even know what is happening, are getting shot. Like if I walk to work, I must look where I walk. If there is no one to take me to the taxi rank I must look where I walk because if I don't like I am gonna be in a crossfire. I am gonna die for no reason. [Participant 9, female, 29]

It got way worse than when I was a child. Back then you could have trusted people to walk outside. You could be outside, and nothing would happen to you. But now you can't even walk during the day too late. A certain time late they start shooting. It's really different from my childhood. Most of the time how it goes now...it's all about territory and who killed who. It's all about the gangsters and how they are fighting. But most of the time it's about territory or who lives around here. [Participant 5, female, 18]

At some times, I would say yes, but I would not say because of the shooting but it becomes a regular thing but I am scared when actually police and gangs are fighting. So, that is the time it gets dangerous. Every time it is gang related, we know the community has nothing to do with it. When the police is stepping in it, it is like world war. I can say at times I am afraid. Yes, sorry [starts crying] a basic example is when I come home from work, I use public transport, so the main stop is terminus over here, in the middle of Hanover Park. There are gangs everywhere in Hanover Park so when I come from work, I wait until 6, half past 6. So, perfect example is that they drop me in the middle, so I have to find my way back home. Once it is dark, anything can happen. That's the time where I don't feel like I wanna live there anymore because if it would be for another area it would have been much safer. So, that what is stressing me out because on the way home you don't know what can happen cause as I told you the girl [girl that got murdered] that I have known for so long, something like that happened out of nowhere. [Participant 8, female, 19]

From the narratives above, one can see that the participants are afraid to leave the house. Living in an unsafe community makes it difficult to live a daily life without fear. A clear example of this can be found in the statements of Participants 1, 5 and 9. They say that they are afraid to leave the house to go to the shops because shootings can happen anytime. Moreover, they state that they are also afraid to go to work and use public transport and that crime has become worse over the years. An interesting point makes Participant 8. She explains that it is getting more dangerous once the police and gangs are fighting against each other. Like all the other participants she also highlights the fact that she is feeling unsafe on her way back home from work and that it is emotionally draining for her.

Anad and Santos (2007) showed that women are more likely to be fearful of walking alone than men. This can be linked to Garofalo's (1981) model of fear of crime. Participants have experienced or seen crime happening before and are now therefore more worried than a person that has never been exposed to crime. This can be seen in the above explained quotes. Participants are and were exposed to crime and are, therefore, scared for example to leave their house as they know that it is dangerous out there.

Sexual abuse

When asked if they have experienced sexual abuse themselves or they know someone that has been a victim of sexual abuse they affirmed that. They explained how sexual abuse affects someone's mental health and the danger of being exposed to sexual abuse-related crimes.

So, so for the girls it is actually more dangerous because, because if you don't want to do something, they will rape you or hijack you, like human trafficking also. It happens in Hanover Park. It happens in Hanover Park because why....and its mostly children that they take. Young girls... 7 years old, 5 years old. How can a man sleep with a 5-year-old child? That doesn't even know what she is doing. That is, it's like...Caitlin [name changed] actually got lost a few years ago. It's my friend's sister. They still didn't find her...[...]...and I got a friend that got raped. She...we were on our way to somewhere. We had a party and we started drinking and spending time with our guy friends and whatever... and then we start, we were looking for her, we couldn't find her, but we were all together a minute ago. We couldn't find her. Eventually we find her back, a backpack. We found her and in a backpack we found a letter. It says that we must let our parents know that if they don't give them what they want they won't treat their daughter right [...]. They kept her hostage.. They found her at the mall. She was like dirty, full of scratches. She was hurt, she was ill [voice gets louder]. How they handled, how they treated her at that place. And she told her parents that she got raped by about seven guys. Seven guys were sleeping with her. She couldn't say no she had to do it. They gave her drugs and... [Participant 1, female, 26]

Because sometimes in my personal experience the guys that are affiliated with this gang, eh? They like want you as their girlfriend but you decide you are gonna say no to them then they do something to you or something like that. I used to have a friend that picked me up from school. So, he used to do this. He literally came to my door and told me if he sees this person again, he is gonna shoot them. [Participant 6, female, 20]

I can say growing up in Hanover Park I was surrounded by violence and gangsterism, but it was a different era. I remember that I was playing outside, being with friends. Yes, I have also experienced my own trauma. I was sexually harassed by my own uncle. But I must say that both of my parents were grounded. There was stability. A lot of children don't have that. So, yes, I was brought up in Hanover Park, but I was fortunate. Yes, we went through a lot, the time I was molested. It was my father's uncle. It was traumatic and at that time when everything came out my father changed...the whole situation changed when I thought I was losing my mind. I was at a point that I needed counselling and I was close to a nervous breakdown by matric year. I had to make a choice. I was bullied and I had all those things going through me. School, at home, just trying to be, coming from a Muslim background where you don't speak. Until they realised that something serious would happen. You are close to a nervous breakdown; you have to make a choice. And I told myself: Either I am gonna lose it or I am gonna fight. And I made the choice. Today I have the result. I got my social auxiliary. It wasn't easy but

when I look at my life, I couldn't speak when I came. I couldn't hear my voice. Now I can speak, I am independent and achieved a lot of things. [Participant 9, female, 29]

From the narratives above one can see that people living in crime-ridden communities can be faced with sexual abuse or know at least someone that has been a victim of any form of sexual violence. Participant 1 explains the danger of being a female living in her community as women can get raped or hijacked. Her friend's sister got kidnapped and they still didn't find her. She also talks about an incident that happened to one of her good friends and how shocked she was about it. Participant 6 argues that guys affiliated with gangs try to convince girls to be their girlfriends. If they do not agree they could do something to harm them. Participant 9 talks about her own sexual abuse as a child. She got molested by her own. She explained how her parents helped her going through that trauma and the importance of a stable family. She also explains how her religion (Islam) made it difficult for her to speak about it. Her own strength to fight against the trauma and support from her family helped her going through hard times.

Dinan, Mccal & Gibson (2004) show that especially younger women react more strongly to trauma that is associated with sexual abuse. Majority of South African have experienced sexual abuse or know someone that has been sexually abused. Their study found that many women suffer from PTSD due to the sexual abuse that is happening around them. Dosekun's (2007) explored the meaning and impact of rape for South African women who have never been exposed to sexual violence. Most of the women stated the fear of being raped themselves one day which correlates to Garofalo's (1981) model of fear of crime as they experience anticipated fear of crime (in that case sexual abuse). One of Sen's (1999) freedoms are social opportunities that consist among others of women's well-being. This includes an absence of any form of domestic violence. From the narrative above however, many women experience sexual violence in their own homes or outside their homes.

Experiences as a kid/teenager

When asked about their crime experience as a child or a teenager most of the participants said that they have experienced crime from time to time. They explain how it shaped their view on living in communities with high crime rates.

I used to live with my grandmother and up and down the road I will never forget that one day when I was um...at the shop and it was like two houses away from my grandmother's house. And we just heard shooting happening outside and my grandmother ran to the

shop. And I was actually hiding behind, but my sister was behind me and she left me at the shop. I was five years old at that time. So, so I was behind one of that because I didn't know what was going on. And my grandmother came to fetch me and while I was standing on the um...by the gate at the, at the, at the shop I saw this police men shooting this one gangster with a ... well he was a gang member, member of a gang in the leg. And um...for me at that time it was nothing like...I did not...it was strange but it didn't affect me in a negative way at... but that memory is still printed but it, actual fact it did just made me look at the environment of a different. So, I would not necessarily walk to the shop alone anymore. I would go with my sister or we would be cautious of where we were walking. Um...but now thinking as an adult it was really, it was one of the incidents that actually made me scared for others out there. [Participant 2, female, 29]

Yes, very often [asked if she hears shooting]. Its very loud. When I was in Grade 3, I was in primary school I was in a crossfire and it just went through my leg. I couldn't use my one leg anymore. You won't see that they alert people they just shoot. I was running home from school and the bullet just went through my leg [Participant 13, female, 25]

I was also pregnant when I was 14. And then the guy [gang member] that made me pregnant said that it's not his child and he doesn't wanna have his parents find out. I said: Okay I leave it; I will keep it myself and I raise the baby. And then from stressing so much...I lost the child. Because of that I just felt like I don't wanna live anymore. I just wanna take tablets. I just wanna jump out of the window because I felt like no one cares and my mummy doesn't want me to be pregnant because she was also pregnant young and she had to get married then [...]Over the years I got over it because for me it is still hard to talk about it and so. Even if my friends ask it was still like a piece of my heart that got stolen. [Participant 4, female, 20]

From the narratives above, one can see that people living in crime ridden communities have had experiences in their childhood or teenager time that shaped their way of thinking or living as an adult. Participant 2 explains that she witnessed a shooting close to her house.. Even though she explained that this incident didn't affect her negatively as a child she did indicate that it made her look at things differently now. By saying that she refers to her being more cautious in terms of where she can walk alone. In addition, she says that the incident in her childhood made her realise that she fears for others around her. Participant 13 talks about her being shot in her leg when she was still in primary school. She was on her way home from school when it happened. This relates Standing's (2003) study. He found that a lot of children have already been exposed to crime and how this had an impact on their lives. This section also correlates to Garofalo's (1981) model of fear of crime. It is clear that participants experience anticipated fear. This can be explained through their experience as a child or as a teenager.

4.3.4. Effects on the sense of future socio-economic opportunities and aspirations (social opportunities)

4.3.4.1. Lack of opportunities

Educational challenges

When asked if they are faced with educational challenges participants highlighted the influence of crime on their school performance. They explained their stress due to the crime in their area which affects their ability to concentrate.

It was once when I was in matric and in the afternoon, there was shooting so we couldn't go, and we had to...once the police actually had to come first before we could walk to school. So, we came late to school. [Participant 5, female 18]

For me, I am...the only place you must go is university to learn such stuff. But because I refailed my matric I went to college and my aunt told me I am a failure and all of that. So, that was all on my brain and they shot my uncle in my matric year. When we were out.... they shot him dead in front of our house and all of that. So, that was all on my brain and I couldn't focus. [Participant 7, female, 19]

Oh definitely [asking if her school performance suffers from crime]. I for example don't sleep during the night so I can hear the gunshots and the next day you are wondering what is happening. And it is always someone you know. So, you are asking yourself: Am I gonna be next? It is scary. [Participant 10, female, 25]

Yes, they don't care if we are outside or the kids, they just do that. If they have an opportunity, they take it. In our areas, I think in Manenberg they at least wait until school is over or the mosque but in our area, nobody waits for nothing. Sometimes my daughter says that they have to leave earlier because the principal says that something is happening outside the school. Or sometimes they could only leave school later because of what happens around. So, they just don't care. [Participant 15, female, 30]

The narratives above show how crime affects school performances and going to school in general. Participant 5 explains how she was late to school as there was a shooting happening. Participant 7 failed her matric due to several reasons. Her aunt telling her that she is a failure, lowered her self-confidence. In addition, her uncle got shot in front of her house which made it difficult for her to concentrate at school and carry on with her daily life. Participant 10 explains that she is suffering from sleeping problems because she can hear shootings during the night. The uncertainty of never knowing what will happen next makes her anxious. Participant 15 talks about her daughter having to leave the school at different times due to shootings in the

area. She explains that gangs don't really care about kids in schools and would start their shootings anyways. Similar findings are shown in Standing's (2003) and Hirschowitz' and Orkin's (1997) study. Many South Africans especially the youth living in poor communities' experience mental health issues such as post-traumatic disorders or disturbed sleeping and eating patterns due to crime, poverty and other traumatic events that could affect school performance.

Unemployment/ Job opportunities

When asked about the job opportunities in their community most of the participants point out that there are not enough job opportunities. They state that the unemployment rate is high in their communities. Furthermore, they link the high unemployment rate to gangsterism in their area. They also explain how their unemployment or not well-paid job affects their housing situation.

I want the best for my son. I don't want my son to grow up like this. I want him to become someone in life. So, this is not the right place for him to grow up. But what can you do if you don't have... you don't like how can I say? If you don't have that education, you can't take your child away from here because where are you gonna get the money from? Where are you gonna get the help from? It's such a struggle [...] I would like to get my child out of this place as soon as I get that opportunity, I would love to do that. But talking about politics...they always say You must vote. They are fighting for us. They are not fighting for us because we are still sitting where we are. They are saying they are going to create jobs in Hanover Park, nothing has happened. If a job is created in Hanover Park it's people...if I know you, you are gonna work with me. I don't care about that person that doesn't have a job, that need a job more than you I am gonna take my friend. I am not gonna take that person who really need that job [Participant 1, female, 26]

Most [gangsters] do that because of their unemployment so they chose this lifestyle because you get paid for things you do; you get paid for the drug ring. All those can of stuff that you do you get paid for. So, that's the quickest way to make money so they all choose that life. [Participant 5, female, 18]

I think, in my opinion it is because there is a lack of opportunities in Hanover Park. There is a lack of employment opportunities for the youngsters, especially for the boys. They tend to go to the gangs because the gangs provide for them because they also need to provide for their families as well. [Participant 17, female, 22]

Definitely not because for me if you walk around here you see many people being unemployed even if you have a matric certificate it would not matter because for me that is a real struggle right now because the salary that I have in mind...doesn't matter what

I have behind my name, I am not gonna have that salary. At the end of the day as I said... corruption takes place. You don't get a job if you don't know a person in that place. So whatever certificate or qualification you have they would take a family member because the family member works there. So, you don't get job nowadays because of that. [Participant 8, female, 19]

But for real it is so sad; it is so sad. There are so many people that studied for four or five years and there is not even a job for them in Cape Town. Like are you kidding me, are you fucking kidding me? The universities need to accommodate programmes and courses for job opportunities. Like why are we having education courses but now when you look for jobs with any education there is nothing. Are you kidding me? You can't adapt and you can't accommodate in South Africa. There are like 500 students that studies education but there are no jobs. [Participant 10, female, 25]

From the narratives above, one can see that there are not enough job opportunities for people living in the Cape Flats. This can be explained through poor education or the absence of enough financial means to fund their education. Participant 1 indicates that she would love to move out of her community as she does not want her kids to grow up with so much crime. However, she can't move out because the financial means are not there. Furthermore, she blames the government for not creating enough jobs. Participants 5 and 17 explain that the lack of job opportunities leads to higher crime rates as people are desperate for money. Participant 8 stresses that job opportunities are connected to social relationships between people. Participant 10 demonstrates that although people have a university degree, it doesn't necessarily lead to having a secure job.

Linking these findings to literature one can see that unemployment can be linked to criminal behaviour. Studies demonstrated that communities with high unemployment rates are more likely to experience property and violent crimes (Lin 2008; Hooghe et al., 2011). According to Sen (1999), having a job is part of the capabilities necessary for people to live a decent life which is not the case for most of participants. This section can also be linked to Garfalo's (1981) model of fear of crime. It shows that the necessary income is important to be free enough to move wherever a person wants to move. From the narratives above one can see that participants don't feel safe and would like to move somewhere else but cannot do it due to financial reasons. These financial problems exist because there are not enough job opportunities for people living in poor communities. This leads to people not being able to move out. Furthermore, it can be argued that the crime rate could be reduced if there are more job opportunities.

4.3.4.2. Lack of infrastructure

Access to safe hospitals and reliable ambulance

When asked about the accessibility of hospitals in their area, most participants said that they do have access to hospitals but most of the time it's only day hospitals. Furthermore, participants don't feel safe while being at the hospital or waiting in front of the hospital. They also mention the absence of reliable health care when something is happening.

And they must have a van 24/7 by the day hospital so whenever someone calls the ambulance, then the police is there so then the ambulance don't have to wait for the police to come so that he can come to the house. The police must be there 24/7 because it is their job to protect us. This hospital is not right because if your child is sick you go and sit the whole day at the hospital [...] They send you to Red Cross. How you gonna get there if you don't have a vehicle? They are a hospital they are supposed to have transport for you to get there by the hospital. Now they say there is no ambulance. Here is a letter, you will go and have to find your own vehicle. What if you, what if something is happening to your child? So, this hospital is...is alright but [thinks for a few seconds] ...the people have to wait long. They say the hospital opens 6 o'clock. You stand there from 6 o'clock but the gate is still closed. Anything can happen outside the hospital. Security are inside, not outside the hospital. They are in inside. They are supposed to be outside where the people is... And protect the people but they are inside, wait until 7 o'clock and then open the gate. Anything can happen in that hour because I know how our environment is. [Participant 1, female, 26]

We have a hospital, but it opens at 7 which was like a day hospital, which used to be the whole night but since the gang violence became much worse they close it down at 7. There is security, but the security is very afraid of the gangsters because anytime they come in and a gangster was shot and afterwards maybe the person who shots the gangster comes finish them. [Participant 16, female, 21]

If I can say the clinic helps a lot and all of that but the point is due to this gangsterism they had to change the hospital, day hospital practically. Cause if something is happening to you in the middle of the night you can't come here anymore. [Participant 5, female, 18]]

I remember when I was in high school and I was like what is going on two or three streets next to us because we have a high school in my area. I just dropped my bag and ran, and they stabbed one of my friends. And the police and ambulance took hours to come. And he just died there. There was no one to help. In terms of what he needed. There was no one to help and he just died. They could have easily saved his life. If they would have just come when we called but they just only came four or five hours later. [Participant 10, female, 25]

Like the ambulance at my place. When you call them, they first drive to the police station and they first wait for an escort. And when you call them that someone died, they won't

come straight away in the house. If they know the person is dead, they won't just come for the forensic and stuff. That's why people say that the person is still critical then they will come. But they still need to wait for the police car to come in because they don't feel safe. [Participant 13, female, 25]

From the narratives above, one can see that even though there are hospitals in the participants' area, they are not always accessible as they are only day hospitals. Furthermore, people do not feel safe while waiting at hospitals. It is also clear that the work of the police is influencing the availability of the ambulance. Participant 1 backs this up by saying that the ambulance can only drive to the crime scene if they are accompanied by the police as it would be too dangerous for them otherwise. She suggests that there should be a police van 24/7 next to the hospital. Similarly, Participants 10 and 13 explain that the ambulance comes too late. This results in people suffering because there is no one to help even though the person could have probably still been saved. Participant 13 explains that people are desperate for the ambulance to come so they would lie and pretend the person is still alive even though he or she might not be. She says that the ambulance will take hours to come if they know the person is already dead. Participant 5 says that the 24/7 hospital had to close due to gangsterism. This is problematic as people need to travel longer distances now if they need to reach a hospital. Most people do not have their own car due to financial reasons and public transport is too dangerous at night. Participant 16 confirmed what Participant 5 said and added that the day hospitals do have security to make it safer, but they are mostly also afraid of gangsterism.

Robins (2002) points out that some people have to walk long distances to other clinics as it is too dangerous to walk through gang territories. In addition, Sen (1999) argues that in order to live a decent life, a person must have access to health service. One can see the participants from this study do have access to health services but not 24/7. Furthermore, the hospitals are not safe, so people are afraid to wait before or even in the hospital.

4.3.5. Effects on black female youth's sense of transparency guarantees

4.3.5.1 Lack of police service

Lack of police presence

When asked what they think about the police presence most of the participants said that they were not happy with it. They point out that the police respond way too late to a call. Furthermore, most of them emphasized that there are also not enough police stations or officers.

So, the cops... if something is happening now the cops are gonna come over and hour or over half an hour, but that person is dead already. Then they come. They are supposed to be 24/7 in the area. That is their job to be in the area not sit at the police station. I don't know why it takes so long for them to come here. But if you call the police and something is happening at your house, they will say okay they will send someone out now. After three hours when everything is fine then they come. Why? We already sorted out stuff why do you wanna come now? There is already someone dead now you will have to phone the ambulance. The ambulance can't come immediately, the ambulance has to come with the policeman because of the environment. So, what about that person that is laying there? It's busy dying. [Participant 1, female, 26]

Yeah, I mean like I said there is one police station, serving seven neighbourhoods and it's not a typical neighbourhood of like a hundred people, probably like 500 people in one neighbourhood and having one police station serving all, the whole of that. It's ridiculous. How many, how many policemen are at that. Less than 50. So, um...how are they supposed to control these different areas? And they are really unresponsive. If um...you can call them now for let's say someone got shot or someone broke into your house they will be there tomorrow morning. That's if they show up [laughing]. [Participant 2, female, 29]

The police for me is a little bit slow because they will be shooting now, 5 minutes and the police arrives half an hour later and the trying to catch that person but they won't catch the person. But they won't catch the person because the person already disposed with the gun and he is already gone changes his cloths and whatever cause that what we see every day. [Participant 4, female, 19]

It is becoming worse because the police is not doing anything about it. They come. Like that child who was shot last Friday had to lay until the morning because the police were afraid of the guys who were shooting. They always come after; everything is finish. They don't care. The police, some of the police are like connected to the gang, the gang leaders and the merchants. [Participant 3, female 18]

From the narrative above, one can see that police presence is a problem in the Cape Flats. All three participants explained that police come too late to crime scenes. This has several consequences for the women living in unsafe communities. Participant 1 explains that the ambulance should be 24/7 in the area, but they are not responsive. In addition, she complains about the late arrivals of the ambulance due to the fact that they have to wait for the police to escort them. Participant 3 also said that the police arrives way too late at the crime scene even though people have been shot. Participants 2 and 4 both confirm what Participant 1 said. Furthermore, they explain that there is not enough police for people living in their areas.

Martin (2012) and Faull (2011) found similar results. South Africa in general experiences a lack of police services which is a result of the unfair and unequal distribution of police stations. Spinks (2011) agrees with Martin (2012) and Faull (2011) and explain that the majority of police stations are only situated in wealthier areas. One of Sen's (1999) freedoms is transparency guarantees. One part of this freedom is access to police protection. Even though there is a functional police presence in South Africa, one can see from the narratives above that this does not apply for the participant's situation as the police is not reliable.

Police incompetence

When asked what they think about the police work, the majority of participants explained that police are not doing a good job in their area. They pointed out that the police are not competent and that they don't feel protected by them.

I don't feel protected by them because they are just there. They are not there because they want to be there. They are only there because of their uniform. They are slacking. Everything they are doing, they slack. [Participant 3, female 18]

In my honest opinion, they are not doing enough here in Hanover Park to help out here. Like the side where I come from. There is like people like gambling, drug dealers and all that. But the police is never doing anything about it. They catch them but they never do anything about it. They always come there by the bad time but they...It's getting bigger the drug ring here by us. It's not changing. [Participant 1 female, 26]

Because there was one incident that the police came in our house. Not mine but a few houses by us. And the boys that lives in these houses were assaulted. And these were boys that weren't part of a gang or doing drugs. It's always like the police are not protecting you, they are protecting the gangsters. [Participant 6, female, 20]

Okay, I can't say all the police but of what I have experienced there is no like how can I say? Your human right gets literally taken from you they can't...the way community people are...like if it was a gang of boys walking down the road. They can't tell the difference whether you are armed or you have something illegal. So, they take all your basic human right actually and there is just fighting going on. I can't blame the police but at the end of the day they are not living up to what they are supposed to do. So, for me it is a lot of times innocent people and then you look at the person that is supposed to be in jail and then nothing happened. [Participant 18, female, 19]

From the narrative above, one can see that the police are not doing a proper job. All participants explained that even though the police are visible, they still don't do their job properly. Participant 3 explains that she does not feel protected by the police. Participants 3, 6 and 18 disapprove of the fact that the police catch innocent people instead of the criminals. From these findings, it is clear that the participants lost trust in the police.

Similar findings can be seen in Martin's (2012) study. He explains that a lot of people do not trust the police which results in weakening their authority. His study found that there is a lack of professional skills, competencies, and efficiency. To illustrate this further, Steinberg (2008) explains the existence of high level of incompetence for the SAPS (South African Police Service). He said that one of the reasons could be poor training, low morals due to insufficient payments or generally the sub-standard recruitment of the police officer. One of Sen's (1999) freedoms are transparency guarantees. One part of this freedom is the access to police protection which can't be guaranteed if the police is not doing a proper job which is the case for most participants.

Corruption

When asked if they think that police are involved in corruption, the majority of participants said that they assume that the police are working together with the gangs. They explained that they have their suspicions based on their own experiences.

Jaaa...it's it's like all over the news. I mean we have seen our biggest officials being on the payrolls of these mob gangsters and whatever. But um...similarly it happens in our area you get those policemen that are on the payroll for gang boss or whatever. So, when it comes to actually looking for drugs or doing a drug act at their place it would be just a normal...it would look like one, but they never find anything, so. [Participant 2, female, 29]

Ja, here is corruption happening because the police comes and search this one house in our court and then they get nothing but every day they do different thing and buy stuff and then they come down with their stuff. How can the police find nothing there in the house? Because I believe they pay the police to not find the house because every day they come with no one out or they arrest no one and get nothing. So, where do they hide their stuff because there is no hiding space in a flat because the flat is so small and basically if you are a lot of people there is no space to hide things. Because you can't break the wall further because then the council will put you out. So, basically in my area the police is working with them [the gangsters]. [Participant 7, female, 19]

Definitely, definitely. That is what I can say in my section because I have seen what is happening. Envelopes given to people. Like how can I say? At the end of the day I know that police staff is getting more and more less. I have friend that is working at the police and he said the work is not up to where it supposed to be. So, I can understand when police officers take bribes and stuff but my thing when you wanna bribe someone why take the bribe from someone that is standing there with an armed gun than a guy standing with a beer bottle. Like for me it is both crimes, but you can see the difference. So, there is definitely corruption, big time, not just at our level, way bigger. [Participant 8, female, 19]

Not in the area but on the outskirts. But I think if there would be a police station in the area, that would have been vital but also you have to see with the environment, like with all the different gangs. And as much as we say it doesn't happen it does happen a lot. The police are involved, they are on the payroll. So, who do you trust and who don't you trust? [Participant 9, female, 29]

Everything that I am gonna say is bad. The things they are involved with. I remember when I was a kid, just around the corner at my street they were selling drugs and the police would come there and search for them, but they never find anything. And my uncle he used to do drugs and buy there all the time. Later on, we found out that there was an informant. One of the police guys would be like okay guys there is gonna be a search. We just gonna come around and check and it's not gonna be legit. We just want people to see that we are doing our job. And then they never find anything, ever. And then also I know that they are involved with gang leaders and stuff and they get paid not to take evidence or a piece of paper. And this is like legit stuff I am not making this up. My uncle just to be involved it all kinds of dumbshit and he told me that it is crazy. He, himself couldn't believe it. The standards are so low. [Participant 10, female, 25]

From the narratives above, one can see that police corruption is happening in their communities or in communities around them. Participants 2, 7 and 10 explain how the police raid houses for drugs and other illicit activities but never find something at the end. They explain that it is obvious where the gangsters operate. Hence, it is also obvious that the police should know about illicit activities, but they are not doing anything about it. This leads to the assumption that some police officers work together with the gangs which all of the participants confirmed. Participant 8 explains that she knows from a source that the police work is not up to where it is supposed to be. In addition, she points out how policemen take bribes from gangsters. Participant 9 demonstrates how she mistrusts the police because she can see them working together with the gangsters.

As mentioned earlier Steinberg (2008) argues that one of the reasons for the incompetence of the police could be traced back to insufficient payment. This might result in police corruption as police officers are in need of money. It can be argued that bribes are an

easy way to make quick money. Martin (2012) backs this up by saying that police corruption is a serious problem and that it can be linked to police incompetence. The reasons why there is an existing relationship between the police and the criminals could be explained through the time after apartheid. Police were forced to have relations with criminals that have been placed strategically as it was not easy to re-establish police legitimacy in the country, especially in the townships. Similar findings are seen in Goredema's and Zoppei's (2013) study. They explain that the evolution of the drug market in Cape Town already started in 1985 established by the apartheid state and organized criminals. Some of these relationships have survived these ties and continue to be visible in South Africa. Bility's (1999) study found that school pupils believe that the police are working together with gangs. One of Sen's (1999) freedoms are transparency guarantees which includes the citizens' guarantee of the absence of corruption. From the narratives above one can see that people in the Cape Flats suffer from corruption as they cannot trust the police. For this reason, people do not feel safe in their communities and in their homes.

CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the main conclusions from the findings which will be linked to the objectives. It will give recommendations for policy makers, government and social institutions and a final conclusion.

5.2. SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

5.2.1. To understand how Black female youth cope living in communities with high crime rates

The findings have demonstrated that crime affects the mental health of the participants. To cope with their mental health and their emotions, it is crucial to have a functional support system. However, many participants have lost their support system in the form of losing friends or relatives due to crime or they come out of broken families. In addition, they don't have role models at home as they have either lost parents due to crime or their relatives are involved in gangsterism. Furthermore, participants experienced a lack of social capital as they are restricted by the lack of safety. In other words, they can't visit friends as their communities are too dangerous. The findings also demonstrated that the majority of participants experienced the involvement of their families, friends or children into gangsterism. They demonstrated how this affected them emotionally.

5.2.2. To determine the Black female youth experiences and perceptions of actual fear of crime

The findings have demonstrated that the majority of participants have experienced actual fear of crime. Their experiences of actual fear of crime showed how it affected them. Participants talked about the constant fear of their daily life. In particular, they explained their trauma of every day's life and their own experiences and perceptions of gangsterism. They gave specific insight on how gangs operate in their area and what effect drugs have in their own communities. Participants described the danger of drugs as some of their family members or friends are involved.

5.2.3. To understand the Black female youth experiences and perceptions of anticipated fear of crime

The findings have shown how the anticipated fear of crime influenced the lives of the participants of this study. They distinguished between their fear for others and the fear for themselves. Participants made it clear that they experience fear for their families and children in their communities. They described their emotions towards their constant uncertainty of what could happen at any time of their lives. This is also the case for them being fearful of their own lives as participants are afraid to leave their houses based on their own experiences. Most participants also experienced sexual abuse or other traumas in their childhood which shaped their lives and the way they perceive crime.

5.2.4. To understand the ways in which actual and anticipated fear of crime affect or not Black female youth's sense of future socio-economic opportunities (social opportunities)

The findings have demonstrated that participants experienced lack of opportunities such as educational challenges and high unemployment rates. Participants highlighted the impact of crime on their school performance. Some participants experienced the loss of family due to gangsterism or have sleeping problems as they hear shooting throughout the night. Others highlighted that gangs operate next to schools and how this impacts the schooldays. Another issue highlighted was the lack of enough job opportunities. They stated that the unemployment rate is high in their communities. Furthermore, they linked the high unemployment rate to gangsterism in their area as people are desperate for money. In other words, if there are not enough job opportunities people need other sources of income. They also explain how their unemployment or low salaries affect their housing situation and their fear of crime. This means that they cannot move out of their communities to a safer place as they don't have financial stability. Participants also spoke about the issue of safe access to hospitals. They are afraid to wait in front of hospitals or even in hospitals as there is no police protection. In addition, they were concerned with the reliability of ambulances. This can be explained through the fact that ambulance have to wait for the police to escort them as they are too afraid to go on their own.

5.2.5. To ascertain the ways in which actual and anticipated fear of crime affect or not Black female youth's sense of transparency guarantees

The findings demonstrated that the majority of participants' experience a lack of protection by the police. They state that there is not enough police presence in their areas. One problem

associated with the absence of police presence is the tardiness of police to the crime scenes. Participants explained that the police are either late because there are not enough officers or because they are simply not responding to crimes. One other issue stated by the participants was the corruption of police officers. They shared their concerns regarding the involvement of police officer with criminals and how the police ignore complaints about illegal activities. Overall, participants demonstrated the incompetence of the police.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

South Africa has several policies and legislation regarding the prevention of crime. One of them is the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) which was launched in 1996. One of the objectives for the NCPS is to promote an understanding of how South Africa can tackle crime and establish a comprehensive policy framework. NCPS has several actions that have to be implemented such as addressing crimes involving firearms, fighting organised crime and gender-based violence and fighting against corruption (Department of Social Development, 2011). Linking the findings of this study, one can see that the above-mentioned issues coincide with the responses of the participants of this study as they are all daily faced with crime and corruption. One recommendation would be to make sure that the police does a proper job by regulating the work of their employees. Improving the training for police officers and better salaries could increase the chances of them doing a better job and not having the urge to take bribes. This study suggests that the government must make sure that there are enough police stations and police officers in the Cape Flats. Furthermore, the government must make sure that there is always a police car next to the hospital as the ambulance can often only leave with a police escort.

The Commission's Diagnostic report from 2011 explains the achievements and shortcomings since the end of apartheid. It found that the unemployment rate in South Africa, especially for the youth is high (Department of Presidency, 2012). Linking the findings from this study, one can see that unemployment can be a trigger for the crime. The unemployment rate in the Cape Flats is high for reasons such as not enough job opportunities or a low level of education. Young females are especially faced with youth-unemployment as some of them need to be at home for their families. This study suggests that creating more job training or opportunities for people especially young women would help decrease crime as many people are only involved in crime for financial reasons.

The South Africa's National Development Plan 2030 also speaks about how crime can be reduced. The NDP points out that in order to protect its citizens, there is a need for a more cooperative and co-ordinated approach to protect its citizens (National Planning Commission, 2012). This study supports the idea of a more cooperative approach to ensure the safety of young females. This could be done by making sure that community watch or other community safety services do a proper job to protect the community as the police often cannot protect its citizen.

This study suggests that putting social services such as community centres, after-care for children and or women support groups would be helpful for young females to feel safe. Especially female youth are in a transitional phase where every support is helpful. Many young girls have experienced sexual abuse or know someone that has been a victim of sexual abuse. It would be crucial to have women support groups in all communities with high crime rates. Equally important is family support, especially for those young females that have children. In conclusion, this study suggests that the government should work together with communities to ensure that the crime rate in the Cape Flats can be reduced.

5.4. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrated how the fear of crime affects the capabilities of young black females living in the Cape Flats. The introduction of this thesis explained the statement of the problem, the problem context as well as the significance of the study. It also explained the research topic, research questions, the main objectives of this study, main assumptions, several concepts of this study and pointed out ethical considerations.

The second chapter of this study presented the literature review. The concept and multidimensionality of crime were explained and how it can affect people. It then concentrated on crime in South Africa with a specific focus on crime and gangsterism in the Cape Flats. Furthermore, the literature review showed the role of police in South Africa and women's vulnerability to violence and crime. This chapter showed Garofalo's (1981) model of the fear of crime and Amartya Sen's (1999) capability approach that were used as theoretical frameworks. This chapter also explained some policy and legislation examples.

The third chapter presented the methodology used for this study. It explained that the study population was 18 black females between the age of 18-30 living in the Cape Flats. It also showed that this study used in-depth interviews as a data collection approach and semi-

structured interviews as a data collection instrument. Furthermore, it explained data recording, Tesch's eight steps for data analysis and data verification. This chapter also showed which limitations this study had and how the researcher reflected the research.

Chapter four demonstrated the findings of this study. To introduce this chapter, a table of the demographic profile of 18 participants was shown as well as the framework of analysis. This study found five major themes. Those were: Coping with living in unsafe areas, experiences and perceptions of actual fear, experiences and perceptions of anticipated fear, effects on black female youth's sense of future socio-economic opportunities and effects on black female youth's sense of transparency guarantees.

The last chapter explained the main findings of this study and linked it to the five objectives of this study. It gave recommendations to policymakers and social facilities.

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