

Strategic roadmap towards implementation of the National Anti-Gangsterism Strategy in the Western Cape

Provincial response to the
National Anti-Gangsterism Strategy (NAGS)
2019

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Introduction

The aim of the process by which this report was produced was to create a framework for policy and action to reduce violence in Western Cape neighbourhoods and prevent young people from joining criminal gangs. To do that it was necessary to develop a working definition of what is meant by the term 'gang':

A gang is a group of people with shared identity who meet continuously with common purpose. If that purpose results in antisocial, illegal or violent behaviour and is harmful to others, the group is a criminal gang.

This is different from the gang definition in the Prevention of Organised Crime Act (POCA), which is:

Any formal or informal ongoing organisation, association, or group of three or more persons, which has as one of its activities the commission of one or more criminal offences, which has an identifiable name or identifying sign or symbol and whose members individually or collectively engage in or have engaged in a pattern of criminal gang activity.¹

The POCA definition could be said to be unitary in that it unambiguously links gangs to criminal activity. The definition in this report allows the possibility of understanding gangs as having formed for reasons other than criminality, though does not exclude it. This distinction is central to the understanding of gang behaviour and to the proposals in this report. It also gives us an access point for intervention.

Youth gangs are a complex and persistent social phenomenon in the Western Cape. They are the almost inevitable outcome of young people in search of an identity and belonging in areas where the only role models carry guns, the only smart cars belong to gang bosses and the only way to get the money to buy the accoutrements of identity is through illegal activities. Gang activity also alleviates boredom and provides an opportunity for adolescent performance under the gaze of peers.²

What gang membership offers is what society should but does not provide for many: a social context, earning opportunities, emotional support, a surrogate family, mentorship, a sense of pride and belonging, protection, bragging rights and a sense of 'cool'. Membership, however, can come at a price: unquestioning allegiance, illegal activities, danger and sometimes murder and death. For this reason, though gangs are seldom initially formed for the purpose of criminal enterprise, they are a ready resource for it. There is a hopeful corollary: if these needs can be met pro-socially within a safe setting, gangs would lose their attraction. Understanding this – and proposing a way forward on the basis of this understanding – is the essence of this report.

¹ The Prevention of Organised Crime Act (No. 121 of 1998).

² *Gang Town* op. cit.

A study undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) conducted focus groups with children in various Cape Town communities with high gang activity and identified a number of risk factors.³ Those by children at the individual level included dropping out of school, drug dependency, revenge, and identity formation during adolescence. At the relationship level, children viewed poor family environment such as domestic violence, drug use and having family members who are gangsters, as well as having peers who are gangsters, as factors that may contribute towards children getting involved in gangs.

At community/societal level, children reported poverty, poor neighbourhood policing, high levels of drug activity in the community, high levels of violence in the community, a lack of alternative recreational activities and poor television role models. Although some factors identified in the study, such as a lack of leisure activities and a dysfunctional family environment, were frequently cited as increasing vulnerability to gangs, there was a lack of quantitative data to support this.⁴

The main issue that sets gangs apart from other social formations is violence, both within gangs and towards other members of the community (this is elaborated on below). Normal adolescent volatility becomes extremely dangerous in settings with high unemployment, family instability, low levels of education and ready access to knives and guns. As indicated in our definition, however, gang activity is not indistinguishable from crime and violence, these are just some of the outcomes in pursuit of many other needs generated by the conditions in which young people in low-income areas find themselves. It follows, then, that if we can weaken the link between gangs and organized crime and contain violence, we can engage with the social needs that drive gang membership and can create a positive feedback loop that reduces both criminal activity and neighbourhood violence.

Any action in relation to reducing the impact of gangs, therefore, requires both actions that support desistance from gang attraction (prevention) and containment of violence and criminal activity (interruption). These are two sides of the same coin and cannot be undertaken without reference to each other. This has major policy implications. It follows that it is necessary to:

- Interrupt neighbourhood violence and criminality (primary prevention: reactive policing);
- Contain, prevent and reduce future spread (secondary prevention: pre-emptive containment);
- Create conditions that promote pro-social behaviour (social deterrence).
- Alter community norms (the way people understand a situation) and in so doing alter community behaviour (tertiary prevention).

³ Towards a more comprehensive understanding of the direct and indirect determinants of violence against women and children in South Africa, Final report. UNICEF & Department of Social development, 2016.

⁴ Ibid

- Reduce inequality and associated poverty and increase community security (systemic change);⁵

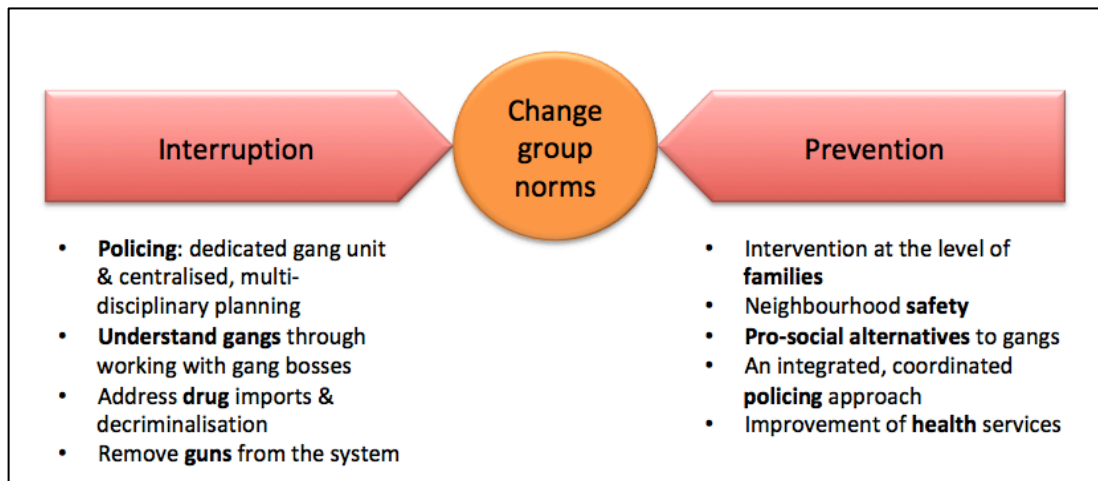


Figure 1. Approaching solutions through interruption and prevention methods

This requires a multi-disciplinary, multi-stakeholder response and an effective framework for information gathering, planning and action as well as a reasonably complete, accurate, and useful description of both the problem and its solution. In public health terminology, it needs a systematic diagnosis, prevention and treatment.

How this report came about

This report aligns with the 2016 White Paper on Safety and Security and is a response to the National Anti-Gangsterism Strategy (NAGS). It was created by high-level input from government and civil society members over five intense workshops convened by the Western Cape Department of Community Safety during 2018. The Task Team focussed most of its attention on gang *prevention*: young people at risk of becoming gang members, as this would have the most impact on reducing gang membership.

⁵ Abt, Thomas: *Towards a framework for preventing community violence among youth*, December 2016 (Taylor & Francis online: www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13548506.2016.1257815).

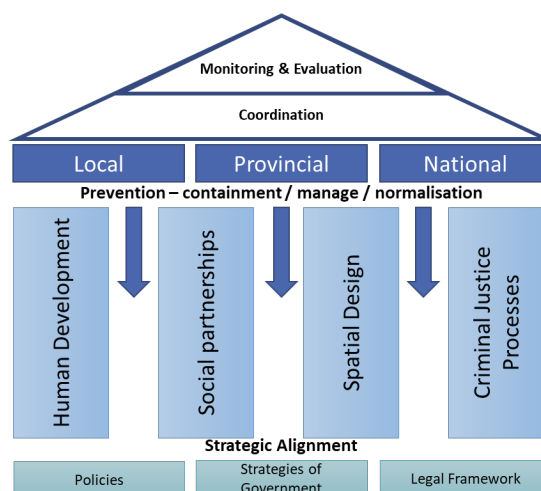


Figure 2: NAGS four-pillar approach and coordination function

The NAGS approach calls for a holistic approach, which includes diverse issues rooted in communities which feed the gang problem. The strategy consists of the following four pillars that are expressed as objectives:

Empower communities by addressing human development, social cohesion, unemployment, poverty and inequality;

Communicate with communities through social partnerships, stakeholder and community engagement, including civil society and the private sector;

Prevent gangsterism through improved spatial design and creating safe living spaces for communities by adopting a holistic approach; and

Combat gangsterism through effective law enforcement strategies, upholding the rule of law and maintaining the integrity and efficacy of the criminal justice system.

This approach requires:

a) Effective stakeholder management

This entails effective and coordinated resource mobilisation and an integrated approach to policy formulation and strategic planning. An important pillar of success would be the ability to ensure sustained and progressive stakeholder management across the broad spectrum (communities, business, non-governmental and civil society organisations).

b) Synergy across spheres of government and society

This entails synergy across the different spheres of government: local, provincial and national as well as the various clusters and civil society organisations.

c) Information Gathering and Coordination

This entails:

- A need to focus resources and improve coordination and analysis at all levels to ensure the effective use of information and ensure prosecution-driven operations;

- Reinstating Organised Crime Threat Assessments (OCTA) on national and provincial level within the SAPS;
- Ensuring greater integration of crime data gathered at station level into a comprehensive strategic analysis of crime trends;
- Strengthening the analysis of strategic information for crime prevention purposes;
- Increasing ground coverage to monitor gang-related criminal activities;
- Enhancing and implementing gang assessment tools within correctional facilities and secure care facilities; and
- Implementing the Integrated Justice System project to ensure the proper profiling of gang syndicate members.

The national interdepartmental anti-gang strategy requires not only the phenomenon and impact of gangsterism to be addressed, but also *prevention* of gangsterism. This strategy needs to be community-based, working with community organisations, focusing on street-level outreach, community development, conflict reduction and changing of community norms to reduce violence and criminality.⁶ In essence, it insists that a criminal justice approach works closely and collaboratively with community initiatives that reduce the need for criminal justice intervention in dealing with gangs.

In response to these imperatives, the Western Cape Department of Community Safety set up a Provincial Task Team that, over five workshops, developed principles, plans, strategies and interventions to create a framework for policy and action to radically reduce the impact of gangs on communities. The workshops took the following form:

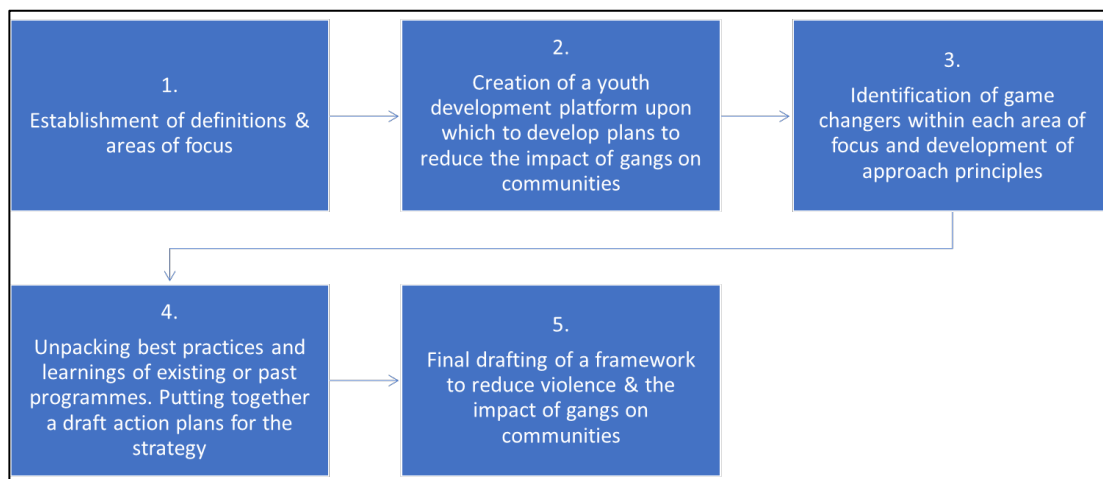


Figure 3: Summary of workshop structure

Framing the problem

Designing public policy means finding the solution to a set of problems. Very often this fails because solutions are designed around inadequate

⁶ NAGS op. cit.

understanding of the problems. In social policy design there are essentially three types of problems: tame, complex and 'wicked'.⁷

Tame problems are those where stakeholders agree on the nature of the problem and on the best way to solve it. They have a relatively well defined and stable problem statement, a solution which can be objectively evaluated and comes with a limited set of solutions (a level-crossing is dangerous: build a bridge).

Complex problems are those where stakeholders agree on the nature of the problem, but not how best to solve it (should it be a bridge, a level crossing or divert the road?).

Wicked problems have no definitive formulation. There is no easy test of a solution which are neither true nor false but simply better or worse and have no obvious endpoint.⁸ How the problem is defined is derived in part from what actions are proposed to solve it. Because of their social complexity, wicked problems are most often intertwined with other problems and attempts to solve them will inevitably affect those as well. Each solution tried can – and usually will – have a series of unforeseen consequences on other related problems.

One of the biggest challenges with wicked problems is the need to involve many actors, sometimes with wildly different viewpoints on the nature of both the solutions and the problem. Any fruitful attempt to tackle a wicked problem will of necessity be multisectoral. Wicked problems require leadership where the role of leaders is to ask questions and collaborate with others on finding the best ways to approach the problem.⁹

For example, is the gang problem about poverty, poor education, inadequate policing, prenatal trauma, poor parenting, socially crippling spatial relocation, bad streetlighting, migrancy, drug policy or a declining job market? Or all of these? Are there other reasons not yet thought of? Will they emerge in the process of implementation?

In every case the solution is different and in each case the problem would be formulated differently. Each is unique. But all would have bearing on the overall problem of gangs. Furthermore, each of these issues may fall within the domain of a different government department. They can only be resolved through collaboration. The building of a permanent mechanism for this coordination is therefore central to this report.

⁷Evidence-based policy and prevention of violence to children: a wicked problem, Prof A Dawes, UCT, Addis Ababa, September 2018; National Collaborating Centre for Healthy Public Policy, Quebec, June 2013; Rittel, H.W. J. and Webber, M.M. (1973). 'Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning', Policy Sciences. 4 (2): 155-169; Wicked Problems: Implications for Policy and Management, Brian Head (University of Queensland) and John Alford (University of Melbourne and ANZSOG), paper delivered at the Australian Political Studies Association 6-9 July 2008.

⁸ http://www.ncchpp.ca/docs/FrederictonPlaceHealth_WickedProblems_En.pdf.

⁹ Ibid.

Understanding that gang problems are wicked problems and that solutions need to be multifaceted and will remain complex and continuously evolving, it is necessary to develop a framework that allows for the integration of complex solutions, with particular emphasis on violence and harm to communities. Understanding that the gang problem is ‘wicked’ as defined above, and is underpinned by multiple types of violence, will frame the approach in this report in designing solutions and principles for action. In requiring a trans-disciplinary approach, it will be necessary to induce some key, entrenched actors out of their comfort zones.

Understanding violence and harm

Interpersonal violence is among the leading causes of death for people aged 15–44¹⁰ and is central to the problem of gangs. Worldwide, more than a million people lose their lives annually – and many more suffer non-fatal injuries – from self-inflicted, interpersonal or collective violence.¹¹

In its report *World Report on Violence and Health*, the World Health Organisation defines social violence as:

The intentional use of physical force or power threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.¹²

The report notes that any approach to solving the problem needs to draw on knowledge from many disciplines, including medicine, epidemiology, sociology, psychology, criminology, education and economics. It recommends four key steps:

Uncovering as much basic knowledge as possible about all the aspects of violence – through systematically collecting data on the magnitude, scope, characteristics and consequences of violence at local, national and international levels;

Investigating why violence occurs – that is, conducting research to determine:

- the causes and correlates of violence;
- the factors that increase or decrease the risk for violence;
- the factors that might be modifiable through interventions;

Exploring ways to prevent violence, using the information from the above, by designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating interventions.

¹⁰ Statistics SA, op cit

¹¹ *World Report on Violence and Health*, World Health Organisation, 2002.

¹² *Ibid.*

Implementing, in a range of settings, interventions that appear promising, widely disseminating information and determining the cost-effectiveness of programmes.¹³

The WHO report analyses drivers of social violence at the level of individuals, relationships, communities and society as a whole:

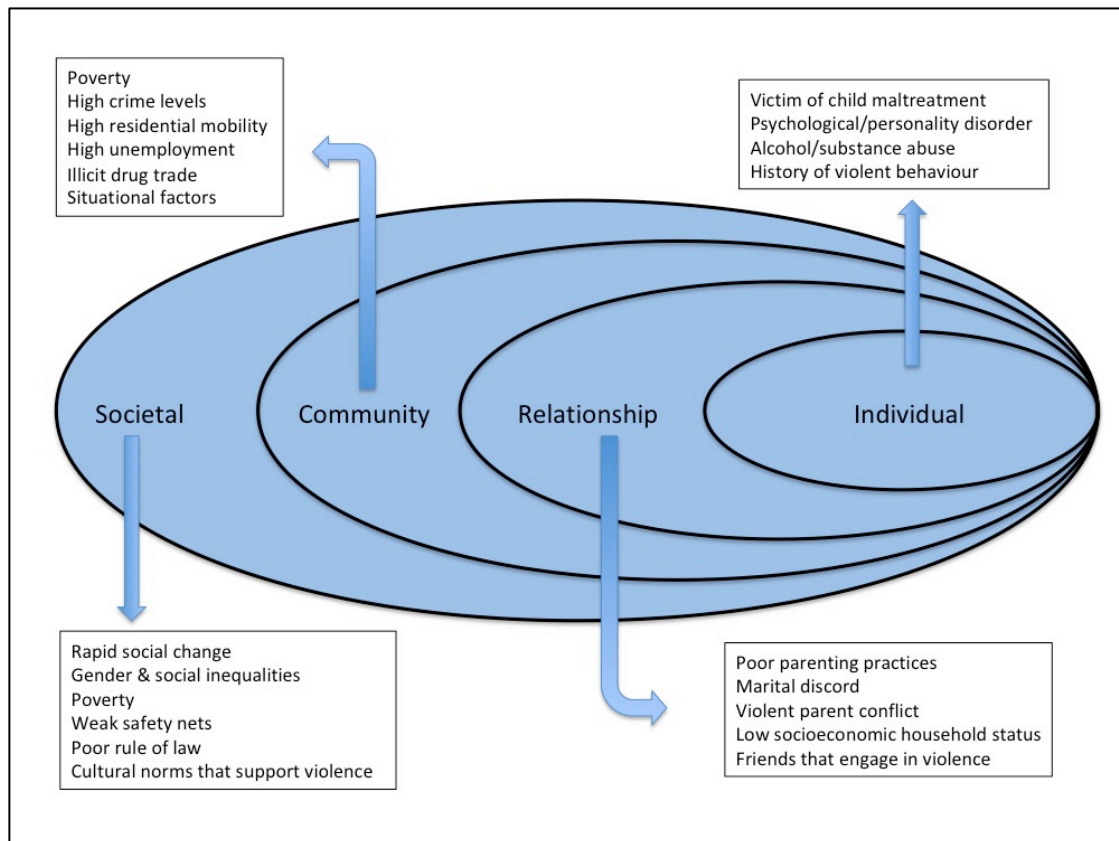


Figure 4: Drivers of social violence as defined by the World Health Organisation

There are, of course, multiple forms of violence and the criminologist Richard Abt provides useful insights into its many aspects, varying in lethality and context:¹⁴

- An unwelcome shove versus a fatal shooting;
- The setting – in the privacy of one’s home or on a public street;
- The number of individuals involved may be few, as with a dispute between neighbours, or many, as with conflicts among gangs;
- It may be as spontaneous as a bar brawl or as methodically planned as an assassination;
- It may be expressive of emotions, including anger, or instrumental in its aim of achieving a particular goal;

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Abt, Thomas: *Towards a framework for preventing community violence among youth*, December 2016 (Taylor & Francis online: www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13548506.2016.1257815).

- It may occur as frequently as domestic disputes or as rarely as formally declared wars between states.

He depicts it this way:

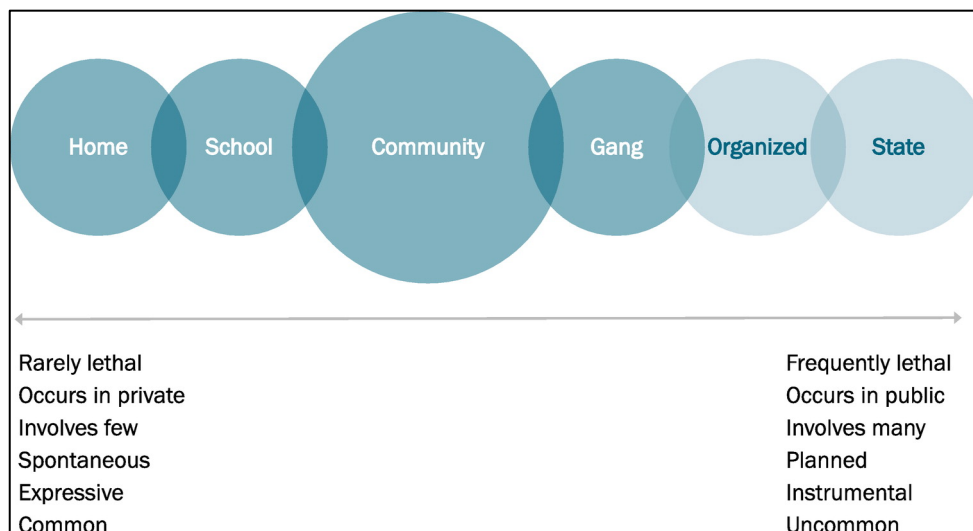


Figure 5. Typology of violence continuum: Source Abt 2016

Perpetration of violence appears to begin in the home and extends outside the home into the community.¹⁵ At one end of the continuum, violence is interpersonal, generally occurring between individuals who know each other. It is mostly unplanned, disorganized, emotional and impulsive in nature, traditionally viewed a private matter, occurring between family members, intimate partners, schoolmates or friends. At the opposite end, violence occurs between groups, often large in size, where individuals are generally not known to one another. It is planned, organized, instrumental and generally a state matter and traditionally the province of law enforcement and military institutions.¹⁶

In the middle of this continuum is community violence which occurs mainly in public settings. It is generally interpersonal, taking place between individuals and small groups that may or may not know one another. It is loosely planned at best and generally impulsive in nature. Its impact is nevertheless severe, often resulting in death or disabling injury. Its perpetrators and victims are usually, but not exclusively, young men and boys from disadvantaged backgrounds and communities. Community violence may result from disputes or from conventional forms of street crime and implicates both the public health and public safety fields as well as multi-disciplinary, multi-sector responses.¹⁷

¹⁵ Burton, B, Leoschut, L & Borna,A: Walking the tightrope: Youth resilience to Crime in South Africa. Centre for Justice & Crime Prevention, 2009.

¹⁶ Abt, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Abt, *ibid.*

One of the most important counters to the lure of gangs and the display of violence is personal resilience. Resilience has been defined as ‘the process of, capacity for, or outcome of, successful adaptation, despite challenging or threatening circumstances.’¹⁸ Resilience factors diminish the potential to engage in particular behaviours. More specifically, resilience provides a buffer between the exposure to risk factors and the onset of delinquent and criminal involvement.¹⁹ A report by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, *Walking a Tightrope: Youth Resilience to Crime in South Africa*, lists nine key factors that serve to enhance the resilience of young people to risk factors:

1. **Education:** Youth who show an interest in their schooling by working hard to obtain good marks are less likely to engage in criminal behaviour than those who do not show an interest in their schooling.
2. **Gender:** A 2009 study found that men commit more crimes than women and gender was found to be a significant protective factor against offending. Men are more likely to have friends who engage in delinquent activities and studies have found that men are more vulnerable than women to the negative influences of their deviant friends
3. **Non-violent family environments:** Young people who are raised in homes where disputes are resolved without violence are less likely to engage in criminal behaviour than those who are raised in violent homes.
4. **Non-exposure to criminal role models:** Young people who are not exposed to anti-social role-models within their family environments are more likely to refrain from criminal behaviour. Not having family members who had a history of criminal activity, such as stealing, selling of stolen goods, mugging and assaulting others, is also a significant variable in predicting resilience.
5. **Substance abstinence:** The absence of drugs and alcohol use was found to be a significant protective factor against offending. Young people who do not use substances are less likely to commit criminal offences than those who consume alcohol or use other drugs.
6. **Interaction with non - delinquent peers:** Young people who socialise with peers who have never been arrested are more likely to refrain from engaging in criminal behaviour than those who interact with peers who have been arrested. Similarly, those whose friends have never dropped out of school are twice as likely not to commit an offence than those young people whose friends have dropped out of school.
7. **Victimisation:** Young people who have never been the victim of crime are less likely to commit a criminal offence than those who have ever been robbed, assaulted, raped/sexually assaulted, hijacked, had their home burgled or their property stolen.
8. **Neighbourhood factors:** Young people without access to weapons in the areas in which they live are more likely to refrain from becoming involved in criminal activity than those for whom it was easy to obtain a firearm in their residential areas.

¹⁸ Masten A, Best K & Germany N, Resilience and development: Contributions from the study of children who overcome adversity, *Development and Psychopathology* 2, 1990.

¹⁹ Burton, B, Leoschut, L & Borna, A. Op cit.

9. **Attitudes intolerant of violence and anti - social behaviour:**

Young people who do not believe that people who have hurt them deserve to have bad things happen to them are twice as likely to refrain from offending as those who hold the opposite opinion.

Understanding that the gang problem is a wicked one, underpinned by multiple types of violence, and that both personal and community resilience is the counterweight needs to inform the design of a framework within which solutions can be formulated.

Establishing principles for intervention

Any strategy to curb the impact of gangs and chart an intervention pathway requires solid principles upon which a strategy can be built. Together with many stakeholders throughout the development of this report, these were developed out of the need to:

- Interrupt neighbourhood violence and criminality;
- Contain, prevent and reduce future spread;
- Create conditions that promote pro-social behaviour (social deterrence); and
- Alter community norms.²⁰

They were specifically workshopped within six core social spheres and are discussed below:

- Policing & criminal justice
- Peer groups
- Families
- Place making & community cohesion
- Health and youth wellbeing
- Education

In these discussions, it was possible to extract eight core principles that govern the approach to gangs and violence:

1. Coordination across platforms and between stakeholders is critical to the successful reduction of violence and gang membership;
2. Any intervention *in* neighbourhoods must be planned *with* neighbourhoods;
3. Any programmes for or interventions involving young people must be designed and rolled out with young people;
4. Neighbourhood safety is both the object of and basis for community development;
5. Support high-risk families to reduce later delinquency;

²⁰ See Figure 1 above.

6. Holistic child development is core to preventing the gang joining process – literacy, numeracy and life skills are critical aspects in this development;
7. Use positive mentorship to offset the attraction of gangs;
8. Interventions must build career pathways;
9. Effective use of data and the monitoring and evaluation of programmes and interventions is essential to ensure effective outcome;
10. Build on existing interventions that have been evaluated and are known to work;
11. Coordinate interventions across all intervention platforms;
12. Targeted interventions at a microlevel are more effective;
13. Implementation of programmes and processes needs to be based on the assessment of local risks and opportunities
14. Use an asset-based approach in order to maximise strengths, potential and resources of communities;
15. Use whole society and whole person approaches across all interventions, making use of a continuum of interventions according to risk profiles; and
16. Evaluate all programmes or interventions against the above principles.

Four overarching interventions were distilled that will impact on the effectiveness of the interventions proposed in each of the six social spheres:

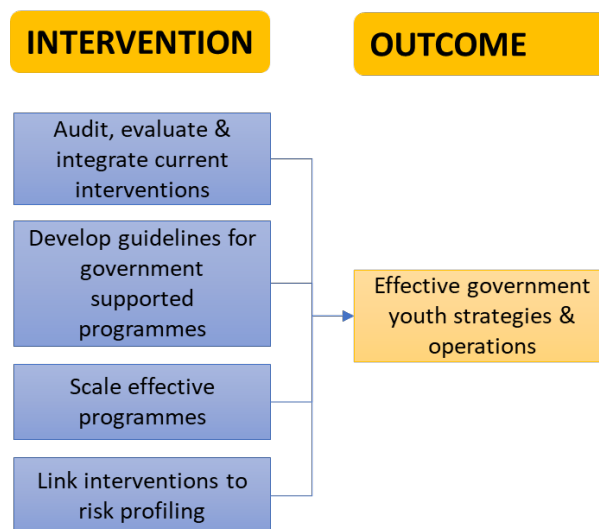


Figure 6. Proposed interventions and their outcomes - overall

Policing & criminal justice

Goal

Ensure a professional policing and Criminal Justice service for an integrated community-trusted approach.

Discussion

According to the 2017 White Paper on Community Safety, policing is unlikely to be effective if it is purely reactive:

Reactive policing approaches to crime are only partially effective in the prevention of crime and violence. As demonstrated by research, an over-reliance on criminal justice approaches risks the prioritisation of increasingly repressive and punitive responses to crime that are ultimately reactive and limited in their ability to achieve longer term results.²¹

Effective policing is much more than crime control. It is not only a deterrent, but a protective framework within which community control can be reasserted. As the 2012 National Security Strategy recognises, crime and violence reduction requires both a national response to the roots of criminal enterprise together with local community involvement.²²

For both police and communities in low-income, high-risk neighbourhoods, an ever-present issue is violence and it is central to any policy related to gangs. One of the most powerful criminological findings from the past two decades is that community violence is sticky, clustering tightly in specific places, among specific people and around specific behaviours.²³ While the public health approach outlined above is important as a medium and long-term solution, law enforcement is an essential partner in any community violence prevention strategy.

In a wide-ranging research review, US security specialist on gun violence Thomas Abt found that an intense focus on those at the highest risk for violence, paired with an equally intense focus on a narrow range of behaviour, usually firearm-related shootings and homicides, had the greatest direct impact on crime and violence. This involves not only the targeting of specific offenders and offending groups, but also:

- The mobilization of a diverse group of law enforcement, social services and community stakeholders,
- The framing of a response using both sanctions and rewards and
- Direct, repeated communication with the individuals and groups in order to stop their violent behaviour.²⁴

In order to achieve significant reductions in community violence, he says, resources should be amassed and aligned where they will be most effective. According to Abt:

Accumulating, concentrating and coordinating efforts is intuitive, backed by strong evidence and, perhaps most importantly, economically and administratively feasible. Public and private institutions responding to

²¹ White Paper on Community Safety, Government Gazette, 1 September 2017.

²² National Security Strategy, 2012.

²³ Abt, 2016, op.cit

²⁴ Abt, *ibid*.

violence lack the capacity to act everywhere, but they can collaborate where it matters most.²⁵

Community violence occurs at the confluence of many factors, perhaps best summarized using the well-known journalistic trope of the five Ws and one H – who, what, when, where, why, and how. If community violence is ‘what happened’, then such violence is a function of place (‘where it happened’), time (‘when it happened’), people (‘who was involved’), the motivations of those involved (‘why it happened’), and behaviour (‘how it happened’), all of which can be visualized this way:



Figure 7. Factors influencing community violence, Abt 2016

Ideally, the selected interventions should bring together a small set of like-minded multi-disciplinary partners who can focus exclusively on preventing community violence where it concentrates most. In terms of measuring performance, it makes sense to begin with murder, as it is the most costly, comparable and reliably measured form of violence.

However, targeted interventions require well informed and well-trained police officers. In those areas of the Western Cape where this is most needed, however, there is a strong belief by residents that policing is extremely ineffective. Almost anyone on the Cape Flats will claim that the police are corrupt and ‘run away’ from trouble. While this is not true of all officers and all police action, there is sufficient proof to justify a general distrust in the SAPS far beyond the city’s beleaguered neighbourhoods.²⁶ These problems are highlighted in the Civilian Secretariat for Police’s 2015 White Paper on the Police and Safety and Security:

A range of problems persist in the internal functioning of the SAPS. These problems are associated with poor discipline, criminality and corruption. The methodology of recruitment, selection and appointment of police personnel

²⁵ Abt, *ibid.*

²⁶ Institute for Security Studies survey released October 2018. The survey showed public confidence in the police decreased by 8% over the past 6 years. In 2017/18 there were 849 murders from mob justice (2018 SAPS crime statistics)

continue to hamper effective crime combating and service delivery efforts. Discipline and integrity are cornerstones of democratic policing and it is thus incumbent on police leadership and management and oversight organs to ensure that the organisational factors that give rise to persistent problems are addressed through sound governance.²⁷

The White Paper calls for a demilitarization of the police, high standards of discipline and proper management, an environment that facilitates building sustained community support and participation and the establishment of strong, effective Community Police Forums.

Under the conditions in which police officers find themselves, particularly in high gang areas, good policing is an almost impossible task. The police are being asked to solve community problems caused by conditions outside their area of control and the strain is showing. Based on available data, SAPS officers are more likely to kill themselves than be killed on duty. In 2012/13, 115 officers killed themselves while 29 were killed on duty. The suicide rate may have declined since, with 53 suicides in 2014/15 and 34 murders on duty. But no organisation should countenance conditions in which employees are driven to kill themselves.²⁸

Criminologist Liza Grobler, in her book *Crossing the line: When cops become criminals*, lists the steps that need to be taken to address this problem:

- Action must be taken to assist police officers whose behaviour is problematic with regards to undue violence or corruption;
- The quality of new recruits to the service and the quality of training must improve;
- Professionalism and pride must be reintroduced through employing only the best person for the job in every case;
- Police management must be improved to limit possibilities for corruption;
- Grievance procedures must be simplified to make it easy for communities to report corrupt officers;
- Discipline should be used as a corrective measure and not as punishment and officers should be suspended during investigations into their possible misconduct;
- Promotions based solely on merit and not on affirmative action should be reinstated;
- An independent, specialised and proactive anti-corruption unit should be established; and
- The Independent Police Investigative Directorate should be made truly independent and not answerable to the Minister of Police.²⁹

Principles

Principles guiding the criminal justice actions were developed:

²⁷ Civilian Secretariat for Police: White Paper on the Police and Safety and Security, 2015.

²⁸ <https://ewn.co.za/2016/09/07/Expert-Suicides-among-police-officers-in-SA-have-declined> and <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/police-murder-suicide-reveals-south-africas-dark-underbelly>.

²⁹ Grobler, Lisa: *Crossing the line: When cops become criminals* (Jacana, Johannesburg, 2013) pp259–266.

- The role of criminal justice is to interrupt neighbourhood violence and criminality and to contain, prevent and reduce its future spread;
- Accountability is central to success;
- Each component of the criminal justice process needs to function effectively and be adequately resourced;
- Central coordination and collaboration within the criminal justice system is necessary to integrate and centralise planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation;
- Transversal trust is built through shared operational information (where possible) regarding gang interventions;
- Planning should involve integration between operational and social initiatives;
- Whole-society approaches are effective in improving community resilience;
- Young people and minor offenders should ideally be kept out of prison;
- Shorter trial periods will reduce gang influence and reach;
- Harm reduction interventions are more effective than punitive measures;
- Earlier and easier expungement of criminal records allows better access to jobs after incarceration and therefore reduces the necessity to return to gang membership;
- Only community-trusted approaches to criminal justice operations will effectively address gang activity; and
- All criminal justice interventions concerning young people should be taken within the framework of restorative justice.

Actions

A series of interventions were discussed:

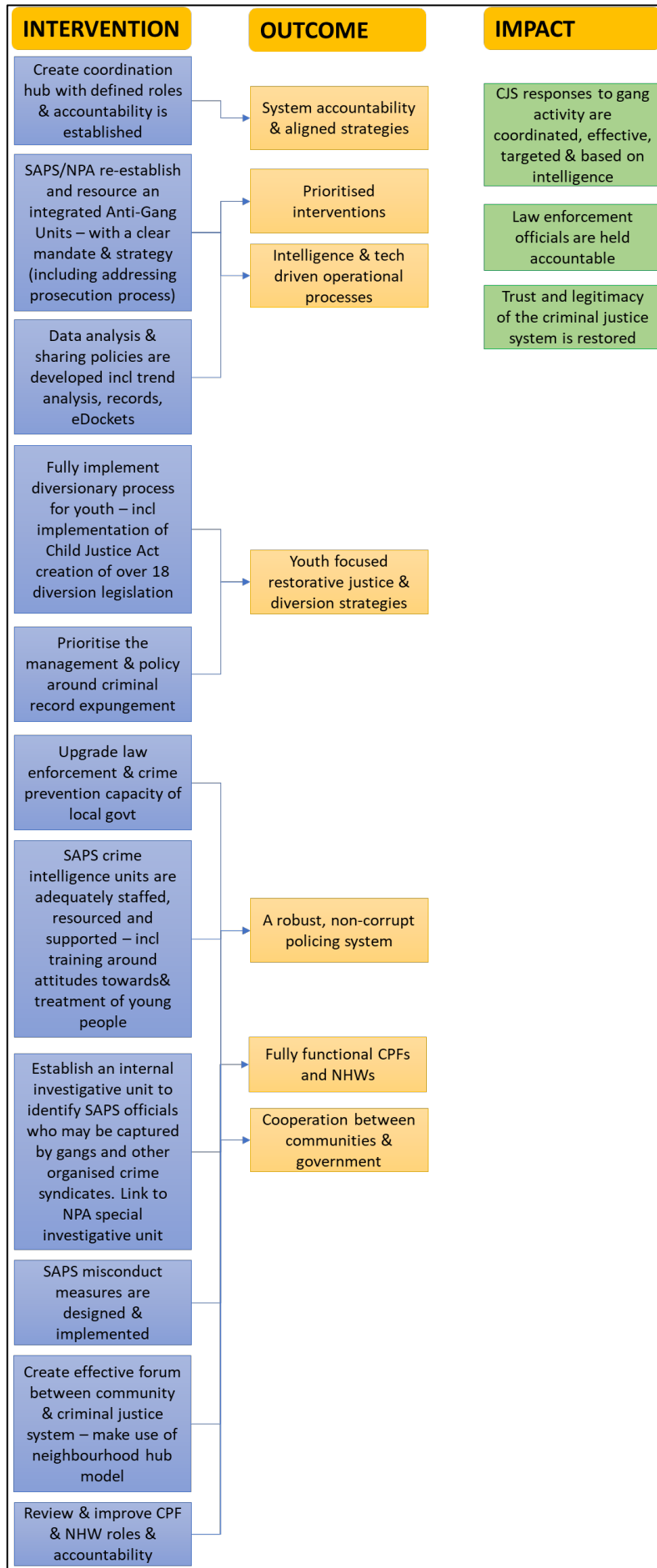


Figure 8. Proposed interventions and their outcomes - Criminal Justice System

Peer groups

Goal

Reduce the attraction of gangs and create conditions within which young people can establish healthy bonds with peers, further their education and engage in safe, challenging activities. Push back against the social power of gangs.

Discussion

A person's chance at building a life starts long before they arrive – in the age, country, economy, city, area, house, family, social context and genetic lineage into which they are born. Much of it is not of their choosing and they make the best of it, given the situation. Many events and contexts along that evolution influence their direction. Seemingly slight shifts – biological, emotional, social or physical – can become major directions, advantages or disadvantages. Small effects may accrue over time and ultimately yield large outcomes. This process can be described as a developmental cascade that accumulates, opening or closing life chances and possibilities from neurons to neighbourhoods and beyond. Psychologists Ann Masten and Dante Cicchetti describe this as:

The cumulative consequences for development of the many interactions and transactions occur in developing systems that result in spreading effects across levels, among domains at the same level and across different systems or generations.³⁰

Locating the precise 'interactions and transactions' over an entire lifetime that produce positive or negative paths is extremely complex. But there are nodes and times of greater importance, such as in the womb, the first 1000 days from conception and the onset of adolescence.³¹

Intemperate consumption of alcohol or other drugs by a mother over the precise period when particular areas of her child's brain are forming can lead to anti-social tendencies in its life that ricochet through childhood, school, work possibilities and lay the foundation for violence. A father's contempt, aggression or absence can cause a young person to have confidence problems that are compensated through egotistical displays which lose positive friends and predispose teenage gang association.³²

³⁰ Ann Masten and Dante Cicchetti: Developmental cascades (*Development and Psychopathology* 22 (2010))

³¹ Gang Town, op cit

³² Gang Town, ibid

Family intolerance or low problem-solving abilities may increase the likelihood of poor family or peer relationships, both of which could contribute to heightened anxiety and lowered self-worth, leaving the young person vulnerable to depression. Peer rejection and isolation of children with problems may trigger relationships with deviant peers, who then model and reinforce antisocial activities.³³

The notion of developmental cascades begins to explain why seemingly small interactions can have a large impact, but also why many young people do well despite seeming disadvantages. Each interaction or transaction has the capacity to undermine or build resilience as life unfolds. This is an important perspective when considering the development of paths and programmes for young people. In precisely the same way that negative events have life resonances, it should be possible to target critical moments of intervention in a young person's life that have the greatest possibility of generating a *resilience* cascade.

Success in one arena serves to enhance self-esteem and self-efficacy, making it more likely that the individuals concerned will feel more confident handling new challenges and therefore act accordingly. Where failure builds failure, success can build success.³⁴

Life-path interventions need to distinguish between those which are deviant because they are teenagers who can be redirected to a safer destination or whether there are early life pathologies that require much deeper mediations. This roughly maps to the focus in this report on preventing young people entering gangs rather than on existing gang members or those whose life conditions make gang membership almost inevitable and where much more complex interventions are necessary. Knowing the difference requires predictors derived from pre- and postnatal visits, early child development processes and school assessments. Scorecards should be put in place as an early warning system so that negative developmental cascades can be offset, and positive ones implemented. Such tests should be fundamental to any educational, medical or social welfare intervention.³⁵

Principles

Principles guiding the peer group actions were developed:

- In programme development, replicate the attraction factor of gangs;
- Recognise defined life course periods with different intervention needs;

³³ Kristen Moilanen, Daniel Shaw & Kari Maxwell: Developmental cascades: Externalizing, internalizing and academic competence from middle childhood to early adolescence (Developmental Psychopathology, August 2010: 22(3)).

³⁴ See J. Douglas Coatsworth: *A Developmental Psychopathology and Resilience Perspective on 21st Century Competencies* (National Research Council, 2010) and Michael Rutter: 'Resilience concepts and findings: implications for family therapy' (*Journal of Family Therapy* 21, 1999) pp119–144.

³⁵ Morgan, Barak: 'Biological embedding of early childhood adversity: Toxic stress and the vicious cycle of poverty in South Africa' (Research & Policy Brief Series, Ilifa Labantwana, November 2013).

- Target interventions according to clear understandings of risk profiles, engaging with both peripheral high-risk youth and gang embedded youth;
- Ensure the safety and wellbeing of young people involved in programmes and interventions;
- Include trained mentors and ensure a sense of identity, belonging, membership, respect, peer approval, useable training and/or meaningful, ritualised activities;

It is essential to initiate processes at community level that have the ability to make radical changes in the way young people spend their time and energy. A suggestion is by replicating a non-residential Chrysalis-type model at a neighbourhood level. Chrysalis Academy is a residential programme with an approach and training modules which could be an example of the sort of intervention undertaken within neighbourhoods, given a safe space to engage and train youth mentors³⁶. The Academy could include in its residential programme the training of youth organisers who could be mentors to young people in neighbourhoods selected for gang-area pilots. A roll-out idea for the planning of such non-residential programmes is depicted below:

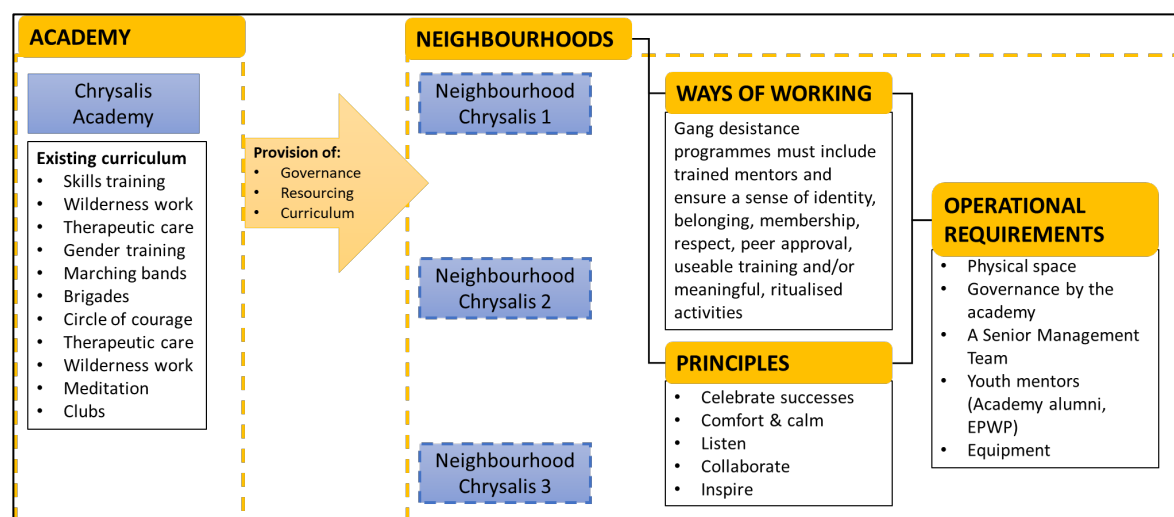


Figure 9. Localising the Chrysalis model in high risk neighbourhood safe spaces

Actions

A series of interventions were discussed:

³⁶ *Unleashing Potential*: Chrysalis Academy, 2017. The Academy is accredited to provide the National Certificate in Youth Development covering modules such as facilitation skills, teamwork; project management, advocacy for youth development and resource management. This means that after a three-month course, youth organisers continue on a journey to receive a qualification.

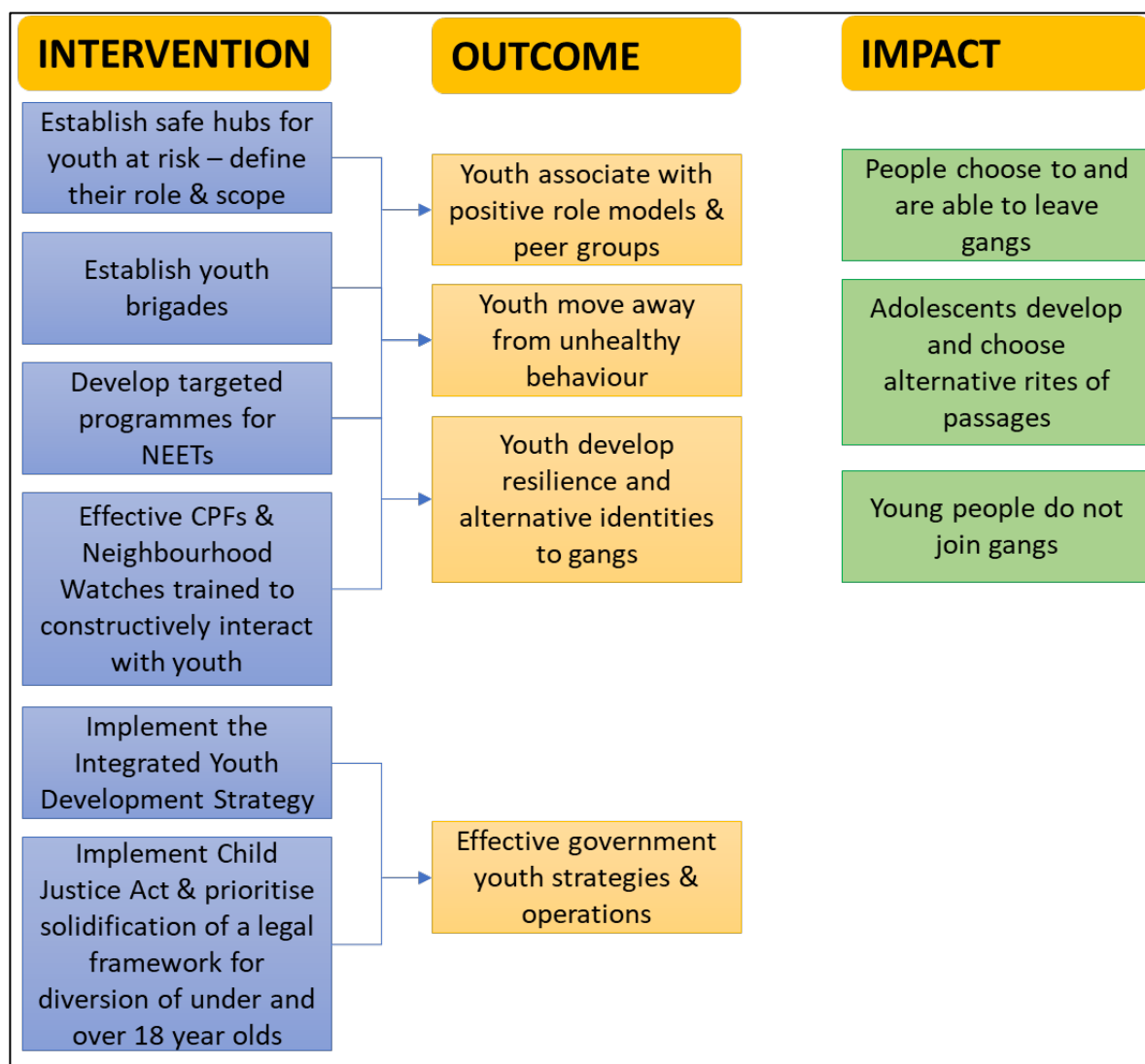


Figure 10. Proposed interventions and their outcomes - Peer groups

Families

Goal

Increase pro-social behaviour of all family members, including parents, children and communities, through a whole person approach and disrupt trauma and violence.

Context

Love and care are what families are for, a survival instinct that pre-dates human existence. Newborn babies feel this, not so much through stimulation or feeding, but through responsiveness. Having a mediator between a child's temperament and the challenges of entering and mastering the world creates bonding attachment. Good attachment does not prevent possible later misfortune, but it does provide the resilience to cope with difficulty when it

happens. Infants who are securely attached generally become well-adjusted children, explorative adolescents and responsible parents.³⁷

However, statistics paint a disturbing picture. More than half of South African children report physical abuse by caregivers, teachers or relatives, 45% witness violence against a mother by her intimate partner and one in three young people experiences sexual abuse.³⁸ These experiences teach children that violence is a normal if not legitimate form of conflict resolution and expression of power.³⁹

Boys and men are taught that masculinity means being fertile, providing for one's family and commanding respect.⁴⁰ In this, most young men have no role models to teach them the steps to manhood and respect for women. Over 60% of South African children live in homes without a father.⁴¹ Many fathers – both absent and present – are unable to contribute to the financial maintenance of their children because they lack an income.

In such contexts, South African society threatens to emasculate, particularly, young men raised under these conditions. One way they can reclaim their masculinity is through violence against those with less status, most commonly children and intimate partners, but also other men.⁴²

Children with parents or caregivers unable or unwilling to be a responsive 'other', or who are for some reason entirely absent, have trouble making sustaining emotional connections. According to psychologist James Garbarino, such youths have problems with their own feelings and the feelings of others. They later lack the skills to be a functioning member of society. They're drawn to others like themselves who may be without empathy, sympathy and caring. They carry feelings of shame and anger which they generally hide with bravado and, often, violence.⁴³ Their problems can become life-course persistent.

Such youngsters struggle to find their place in the world. Pain and desolation drive their emotional selves into hibernation. So when they most need to feel they belong to someone who could protect and love them, they experience emptiness, feel disdain and see only weakness.⁴⁴ They're psychologically alone and socially vulnerable to influences that seem to feed the desolation. What they suffer from, according to Garbarino, is toxic shame: 'Fundamentally disgraced, intrinsically worthless and profoundly humiliated in their own skin, just for being themselves.'⁴⁵

³⁷ *Gang Town*, op cit.

³⁸ http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/08_cjcp_report_2016_d.pdf.

³⁹ Andrew Faull, 'Police murder-suicide reveals South Africa's dark underbelly. *ISS Today* • 12 December 2018.

⁴⁰ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314104389_Masculinity_and_male_mortality_in_South_Africa

⁴¹ <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/P03182017.pdf>.

⁴² Faull, op.cit.

⁴³ Garbarino, James: *Lost Boys: Why our sons turn violent and how we can save them* (Anchor Books, New York 1999). p52.

⁴⁴ Garbarino, ibid, p57.

⁴⁵ Garbarino, ibid, p58.

There is no greater injustice than for a child to be unloved. Lack of love and care, therefore, is one of the keys to an understanding of the gravitational pull of gangs. While some children may be physically hurt or genetically compromised, harsh conditions in low-income, high-risk areas give rise to much greater numbers who are emotionally abandoned. A parent's psychological unavailability is a form of child maltreatment which plays a central role in the development of bad behaviour and aggression.

From their surroundings children develop social maps and codes of behaviour, says Garbarino. For most, this seeks a world in positive terms: Can I trust people? If I behave well, will I be treated well? Am I loveable? Do I have allies in the world?⁴⁶ From positive answers to these questions, children develop positive codes of behaviour. They listen to adults, discover that cooperation pays off, are patient and share.

Youths with attachment problems have different social maps adapted to their unsupportive environment. They become hypersensitive to negative social cues and oblivious to positive ones. They develop aggressive behaviour to protect themselves and conclude that aggression is a way to get what they want. They flee psychologically, shut down emotionally and disconnect themselves from their feelings so they don't have to feel them. This all works in the short term, but the anger grows. Behind the anger is repressed sadness, which can lead to depression.⁴⁷

Young children will conform to the social environment whether the context is positive or negative, supportive or toxic. This is because they assume to be normal whatever occurs and is reinforced daily. Conformity first happens through constant reinforcement from adults and the situation in which they find themselves.

Eventually this reinforcement is internalised into what psychologists describe as functional autonomy. For many young people in high-risk areas of the Province, negative conformity – built up over years of personal experience – normalises conditions unimaginable to middle class people.

Principles

Principles guiding the family actions were developed:

- Healthy child development requires a safe home environment and care-giver relationships;
- Neighbourhood safety is a prerequisite for the strengthening of families and reduction of gang impact;

⁴⁶ Garbarino, *ibid*, p81.

⁴⁷ Garbarino, *ibid*, p85.

- To become resilient, young people need positive role models - mentoring improves stability & self-esteem;
- Strong family relationships counter anti-social behaviour;
- Skills training and whole person support for parents and grandparents improves bonding and reduces violence;
- Extended family networks improve family security;
- Financial security increases family stability;
- Family access to resources and services shifts negative norms and behaviours and strengthens families and communities;
- All pregnant mothers in low-income, high risk areas need social support;
- All families need child-rearing support;
- Fatherhood requires structured support;
- Traumatized families are most likely to produce gang membership – interventions should therefore be trauma-informed;
- Young people who have experienced violence are the most likely to perpetrate it;

Actions

A series of interventions were discussed:

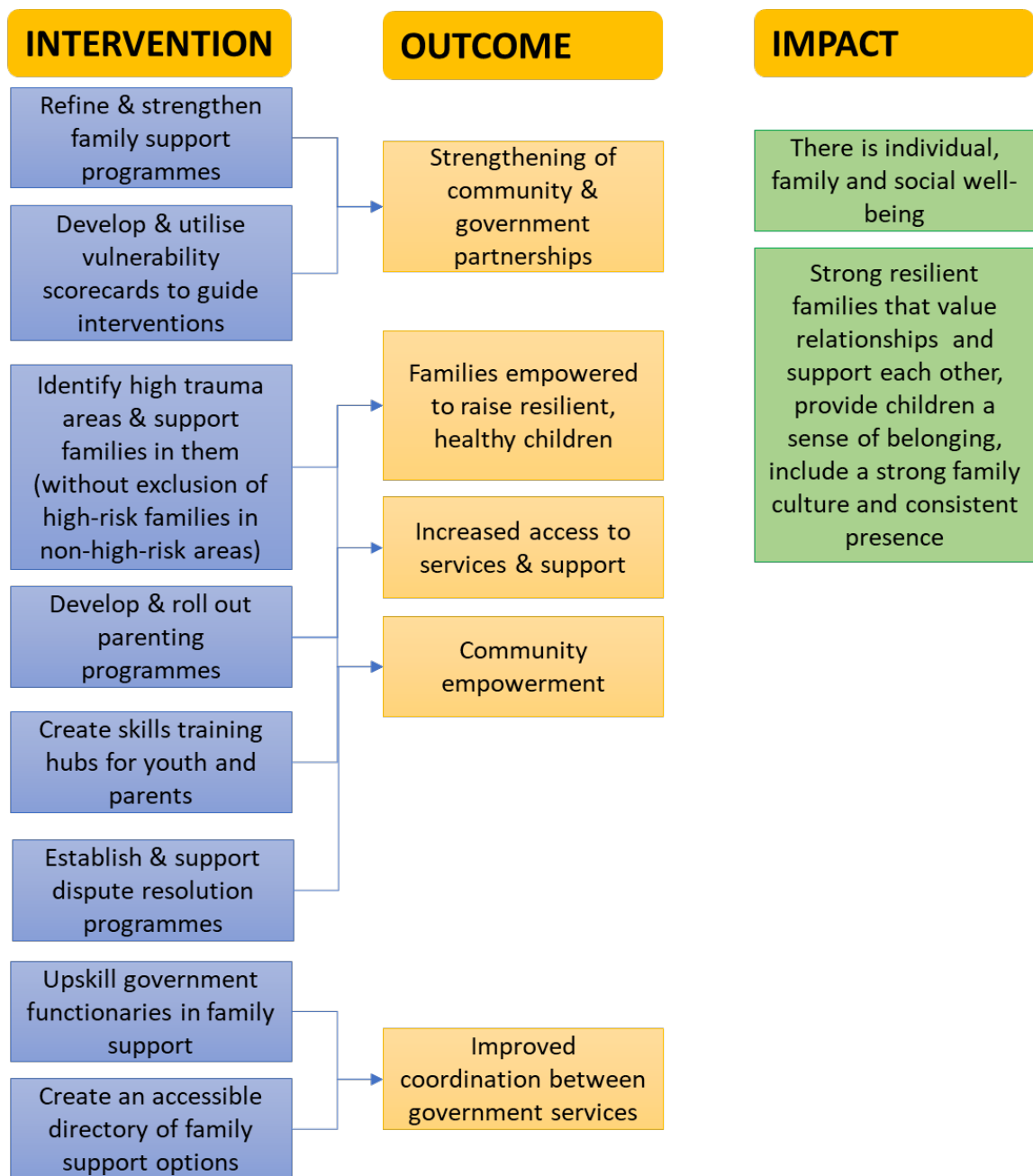


Figure 11. Proposed interventions and their outcomes – Families

Place making & community cohesion

Goal

Develop plans for designing and adapting physical spaces that promote social cohesion and safety.

Discussion

Evidence from South Africa and other countries suggest that it is a common error to locate the source of interpersonal and gang violence in the young people themselves.⁴⁸ However, equally important is the constellation of factors that make violence and criminal behaviour more likely in some communities than others and which provide few opportunities for positive growth and development. Making dangerous communities safer is a considerable challenge, particularly where housing stock and infrastructure is degraded, social cohesion is fractured, gangs and organised crime exerts control and where policing is weak or ineffective.

Solutions require long-term investment and significant political will. A mind shift is necessary from an overemphasis on individual youth and criminal justice solutions that leave the social and physical ecology intact, to integrated city strategies that include effective structural upgrading, improvement in policing, infrastructure development, school improvement and youth employment.⁴⁹

It is important to recognize that communities have the power to change their conditions if supported to do so and mobilized. They are a resource and source of strength that must be incorporated in any planning in their neighbourhood.

The primary cause of dislocation of neighbourhoods in the Western Cape resulted from apartheid legislation that separated people on the basis of colour. Pass laws and the Bantustan policy created impoverished labour pools in 'homelands' with controlled access to towns. After 1994 when the bantustans were abolished, people flooded into towns and cities seeking the work they were unable to find in rural areas, leading to family dislocation and urban overcrowding.

The Group Areas Act relocated families within cities and towns on the basis of colour, destroying extended family support networks and locating people in inhospitable satellite townships. These conditions did not magically disappear under democracy and are the root cause of low-income, high risk areas that give rise to gangs.

An attempt to address these dislocations is the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme which aims to upgrade degraded areas and is a good starting point in formulating an approach to neighbourhood intervention. It aims to make a difference through participatory processes towards the quality of life of citizens on a neighbourhood level. It does this by increasing safety and improving the living and social conditions of the affected population through urban improvement and social interventions to transform apartheid dormitories into sustainable neighbourhoods.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Towards a more comprehensive understanding of the direct and indirect determinants of violence against women and children in South Africa, Final report. UNICEF & Department of Social development, 2016.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ VPUU, www.vpuu.org.za

VPUU methodology focuses on specific geographic areas — Safe Node Areas [SNA] — implementing an area-based approach that illustrates the transversal work of the Whole of Society approach. It works towards ‘safe and sustainable neighbourhoods’ by reducing social, cultural, economic and institutional exclusion.

According to Apt, in order to strengthen such neighbourhood strategies, focus should be narrowed to the specific locations where most violence occurs, i.e. hot spots – in effect elevating them into focus. “Urban revitalisation and environmental crime prevention efforts are worthwhile for a multitude of reasons, but if the intended purpose is violence prevention specifically, their focus should be restricted to those micro-locations that generate the greatest amounts of such conduct.”⁵¹

Principles

Principles guiding the neighbourhood actions were developed:

- Interventions and community buy-in processes must align with community dynamics
- Effective and aligned community social engagement such as CPFs, Neighbourhood Watches etc. have the potential to create community cohesion;
- Public safety – good lighting as well as safe recreational and cultural facilities – is essential for neighbourhood/community cohesion;
- Public amenities/schools must be multi-functional and accessible;
- Interventions must build viable work pathways;
- Neighbourhood social/economic, physical/non-physical mapping is required for informed strategic decisions;
- An intelligent, inclusive spatial frame can overcome apartheid’s physical divisions;
- Corridors of safety are essential, especially for school children;
- Recreational activities (credible, aspirational and desirable) boost participation;
- After gang arrests of kingpins/high flyers, restabilisation of communities is essential to prevent takeover wars; and
- The development of cross-subsidised social housing development close to work and recreational nodes should be prioritized.

Actions

A series of interventions were discussed:

⁵¹ Abt, op cit

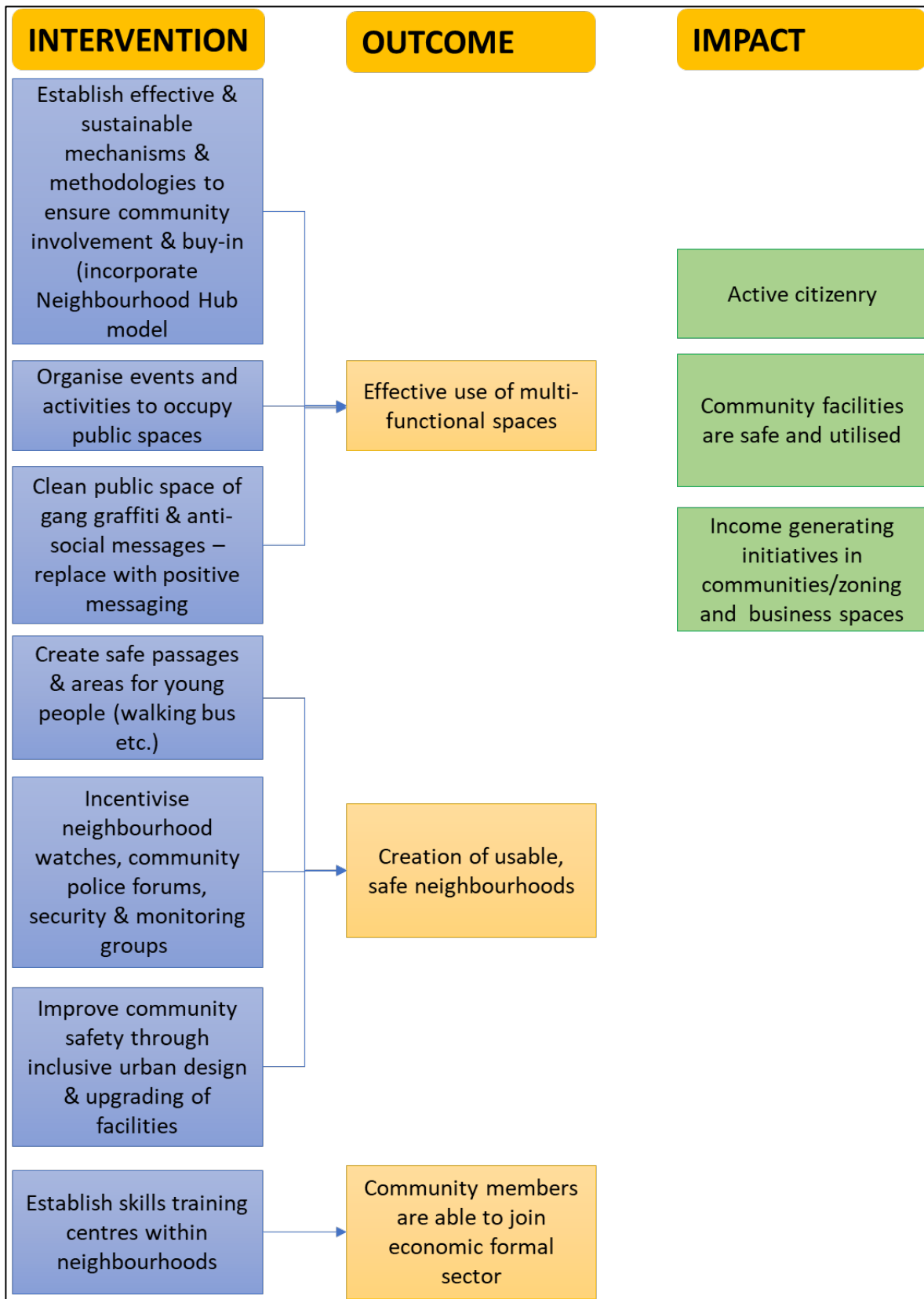


Figure 12. Proposed interventions and their outcomes – Place making and community cohesion

Health and youth wellbeing

Goal

Create an enabling environment that supports the overall wellbeing and resilience of young people.

Discussion

There is a continuum from the prenatal gestation of a single individual to an entire society. It is important to understand what supports it and what undermines it. Personal health depends on the impact of the health of a mother and its epigenetic influence on her unborn child. It is influenced by the degree or attachment between a new-born baby and young child and its parents or caregivers.

Social health depends on the safety or lack of it in a neighbourhood which impacts on a young person's ability to thrive. This depends on factors like the prevalence of illegal gun or knife use, the pervasiveness of gangs, access to drugs and their purity or contamination. It is also connected to self-care, self-esteem and social agency.

A critical period for future health is the first 1000 days from conception. The health and well-being of a pregnant and lactating woman is directly connected to the growth and health of her infant. The impact of inadequate nutrition during this period is lasting and irreversible, with effects beyond physical health to affect the child's later cognitive development. Focusing multi-sectoral efforts on evidence-informed interventions targeting this critical window can have lasting implications across the lifecycle.⁵²

South Africa also has the highest reported rate of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome in the world – seven in every 100.⁵³ The World Health Organisation rated South Africa at four on a hazardous alcohol consumption scale of one-to-five, with one being the least and five the most hazardous. It found a cumulative consumption among South African drinkers at 35 litres of pure alcohol a year.⁵⁴

Foetal exposure to alcohol can alter several brain structures. Studies have found that children prenatally exposed to alcohol can suffer from serious deficits in gene regulation, cognitive and behavioural development as well as

⁵² Manju Bala Dash: Importance of nutrition for first 1000 days in life. Journal of Womens' Healthcare; <https://www.omicsonline.org/proceedings/importance-of-nutrition-for-first-1000-days-in-life-69672.html>

⁵³ Foundation for Alcohol Related Research report, 2015.

⁵⁴ WHO Global Alcohol and Health Report: Africa 2007.

from changes in brain structure. Damage from prenatal trauma has been associated with violent teenager behaviour in later years.⁵⁵

A study found that the offspring of mothers who smoked while pregnant were twice as likely to have a criminal record by age 22 in a sample of 5,966.⁵⁶ Another study, using a birth cohort of 4 169 males, found a twofold increase in adult violent offending if their mothers smoked during pregnancy.⁵⁷

Methamphetamine (tik) also poses major hazards to the unborn child. The Neonatal Unit at Tygerberg Hospital in Cape Town assessed that between 500 and 1 000 babies are born to tik-using mothers in the Western Cape each year. These infants may suffer acute symptoms of withdrawal, become agitated and irritable, cry a lot and have seizures. They were found to be much slower than others in the class and more likely, later, to drop out of school.⁵⁸

Natal health also has an effect on the genetic makeup of a foetus. A mother's health impacts on the way a child develops and is communicated through the cell walls through epigenetic transmission. Vitamin deficiency or the use of alcohol, tobacco or leisure drugs influences foetal development, resulting in children and especially adolescents with higher dopamine uptake, poor prefrontal cortex (executive) control, high threat response and a greater tendency to violence.⁵⁹

Young people with prefrontal disorder may display poorer emotional control and be less able to judge the impact of their behaviour. They may have difficulty in establishing empathy and conducting critical assessments of their dysfunctional behaviours, which they might tend to repeat. Prefrontal impairment is associated with a lowering of inhibition, increased impulsiveness, public spectacle hyper-masculinity and a greater predisposition to engage in violent behaviour.⁶⁰ For these reasons, a long-term goal in any attempt to reduce adolescent violence must include high care and regular nurse visits to pregnant mothers.

The public health approach used in this report is more than about individual health. It looks to extend better care and safety to entire populations. It is particularly useful in its approach to violence and draws on knowledge from many disciplines, including medicine, epidemiology, sociology, psychology,

⁵⁵ Mendes, Deise Daniela, Jair de Jesus Mari, Marina Singer, Gustavo Machado Barros, Andréa F. Mello: Study review of the biological, social and environmental factors associated with aggressive behaviour. In *Review of Brazilian Psychiatry*. 2009;31(Suppl II): p77-85.

⁵⁶ Rantakallio, P, Laara, E, Isohanni, M, & Moilanen, I (1992). Maternal smoking during pregnancy and delinquency of the offspring: An association without causation? *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 21, 1106–13.

⁵⁷ Brennan, Grekin, and Mednick (1999) *Maternal smoking during pregnancy and adult male criminal outcomes*. *Archives of Gen Psychiatry*. March 1999, 56(3) p215-9.

⁵⁸ Gang Town, op cit

⁵⁹ *Sharing the brain story*, Alberta Family Wellness initiative (Norlien Foundation 2013) and Dongju Seo, Christopher J. Patrick and Patrick J. Kennealy: *Role of Serotonin and Dopamine System Interactions in the Neurobiology of Impulsive Aggression and its Comorbidity with other Clinical Disorders* (PubMed 2008).

⁶⁰ Raine, *ibid*.

criminology, education and economics. Each sector has an important role to play in addressing the problem of violence.

A public health approach seeks to:

- Uncover as much knowledge as possible about all the aspects of violence through the systematic collection of data on the magnitude, scope, characteristics and consequences of violence; and
- Investigate why violence occurs by conducting research to determine the causes of violence, factors that increase or decrease the risk of violence and factors that might be modifiable through interventions.
- Identify current public policies (for example, on the manufacture, sale and use of drugs other than alcohol and tobacco) that may have unconsidered harmful effects on public health and community safety.

Public health is above all characterised by its emphasis on prevention. Rather than simply accepting or reacting to violence, its starting point is the strong conviction that violent behaviour and its consequences can be prevented.

A First 1000 Days approach was discussed as a key intervention within the health sphere. According to economist Jim Heckman, early stimulation of brain function during childhood is crucial for social and economic success. This will eventually lead to healthier lifestyle better jobs and greater social interaction.⁶¹

As shown in the graph below, among preschool experiences and interactions with peers and adults during childhood, the first 1,000 days provides the highest return in human capital investment, making it an obvious game changer in any gang reductions strategy.

⁶¹ J.J. Heckman “Skill formation and the economics of investing in disadvantaged children.” *Science*, 312 (5782) June 2006

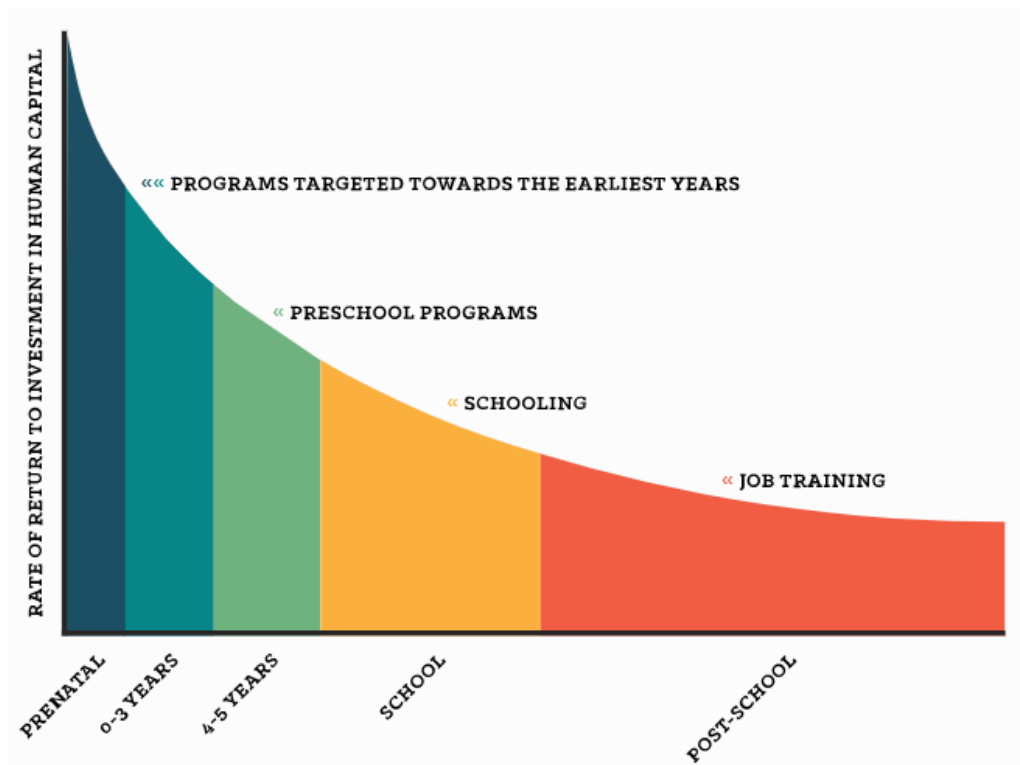


Figure 13. Graph depicting the value of early intervention - Heckman 2008

Principles

Principles guiding the health actions were developed:

- Interventions need to be trauma-informed, recognising that trauma and violence are intergenerational, historical and continuous;
- First 1000 days care window reduces later violence;
- Early Child Development reduces violence and improves educational trajectory;
- Risk assessments of every pregnant mother and caregiver reduces incidence of child trauma;
- Pregnant mothers and caregivers need peer social and emotional support;
- Service providers need to work in safe zones (physical and mental safety);
- Early detection mechanisms for mental and physical health should guide intervention;
- Harm reduction interventions are more effective than punitive measures; and
- Legal regulation and decriminalisation of leisure drugs and institution of harm reduction systems would reduce police work and prison population.

Actions

A series of interventions were discussed:

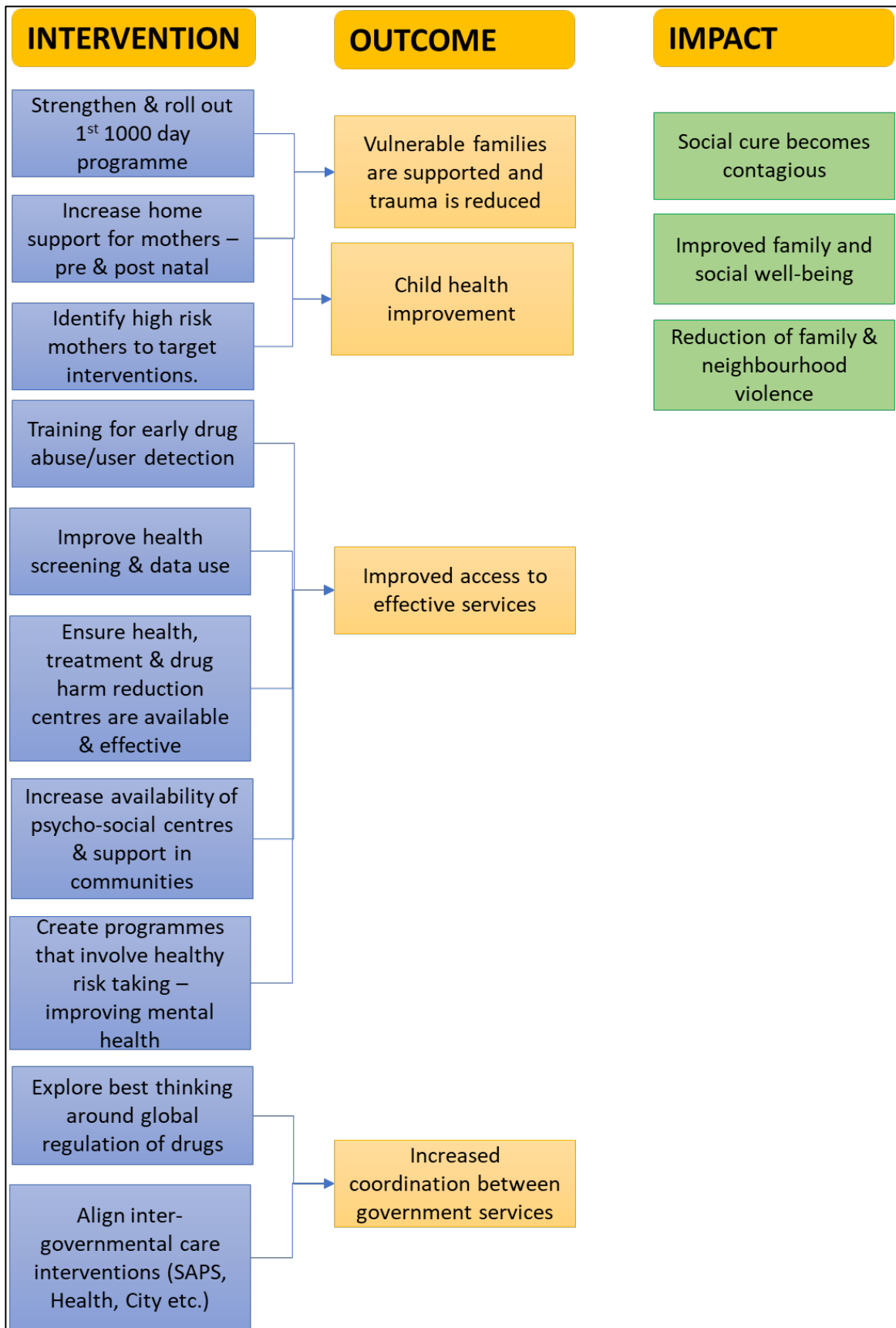


Figure 14. Proposed interventions and their outcomes – Health and youth wellbeing

Education

Goal

Create safe and inclusive environments conducive to holistic cultures of learning and teaching, overall wellbeing and active citizenship and drive increased school retention and early child development.

Discussion

Educational levels are significantly, though indirectly, related to the risk of violence perpetration, with lower levels of education being associated with increased risk of perpetration of all forms of violence.⁶² A survey found that, nationally, 19.4% of learners reported being a member of a gang and 21.2% reported being approached to join a gang. Gang membership was not significantly associated with age, however; it was associated with grade. Learners in Grade 8 (22.4%) were significantly more likely to report gang membership than learners in Grade 11 (16.5%).⁶³

The ground floor of education, apart from the 'hidden' curriculum of a supportive home, is early child development. When the Early Childhood Development Policy (ECDP) draft document of March 2015 passes into law and is effectively acted upon, it will be the most important step the country has ever taken to protect and support parents and the healthy development of young children.⁶⁴ It would ensure and secure resilience in children and youngsters and lead to a reduction of gang activity. The Human Sciences Research Council study that underpinned the ECDP draft document proposes four key steps necessary to implement efficient early child development. These are:

1. To implement an Essential Package of ECD services;
2. To establish a national management system and infrastructure to improve early child development;
3. To plan for and develop the human resources needed to make the Essential Package universally available;
4. To align public financing and administrative systems to support national ECD priorities.⁶⁵

The cost of this has been placed at around R17 billion at 2015's Rand value. This can be considered against South Africa's 2015 police budget of R82.7

⁶² Towards a more comprehensive understanding of the direct and indirect determinants of violence against women and children in South Africa, Final report. UNICEF & Department of Social development, 2016.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ The draft document was derived from the findings of the Early Childhood Development Programme, developed for the Human Sciences Research Council by Linda Richter, Lizette Berry, Linda Biersteker, David Harrison, Chris Desmond, Patricia Martin, Sara Naicker, Haroon Saloojee & Wiedaad Slemming.

⁶⁵ *Early Childhood Development Programme*, Human Sciences Research Council, *ibid*.

billion. ECD implementation represents just 20 percent of this budget and would radically cut the cost of youth crime in the long run.

Together with the effective implementation of the Child Justice Act and a progressive rethink of the education system, ECD could form a strong base from which to build a new country. It would produce children who are healthy in every sense of the word and youths whose default does not have to be crime and violence. The resultant saving on policing costs alone would be significant. There would be savings in the budgets of the prison services, the courts, health services and private security. The resultant drop in crime rate would boost international investment and tourist confidence.

Formal education and what it offers young people (or fails to) is equally important in any investigation of high-risk behaviour. A baby born today will be around 30 in 2050. Nobody knows the type of education they will need in a rapidly changing world in those three decades and beyond. We don't know what people will be doing for a living, how bureaucracies will be functioning or what gender relations will look like. Some people will probably live much longer than today and have many different careers over their lifetime.

In 2050 people will probably look back to the present education system as having been largely irrelevant to their needs. This has bearing on any plans we have for our present education system. It is a warning but also a challenge to be creative.

South Africa is yet to fully realize the impact of its substantial investments in education. As a percentage of GDP, South Africa's rate of investment in education is amongst the highest in the world and the majority of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and philanthropic funding goes towards the education sector. However, resources are often used poorly. While there is significant investment in a wide range of education interventions, there is currently no effective mechanism to ensure that these inputs are being used effectively or having the impact they need to have. Planning for 2050 is not yet on the table.

Schools in the Western Cape are failing the poorest children, and there needs to be greater accountability at all levels. There is a significant gap in the quality of education provided between public schools serving the richest 20 percent of children and the remaining 80 percent, and the gulf widens as children get older. Almost 60 percent of students in the poorest economic quartiles are functionally illiterate and innumerate, compared with just four percent of the richest quartile.⁶⁶

Interventions in place include the work of NGOs, Safe School's After School & Holiday Programmes the Provincial Government's Game Changer activities

⁶⁶ Nic Spaull: Poverty & Privilege: Primary School Inequality in South Africa; Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: 13/12 July 2-13

and the creation of MOD (Mass participation, Opportunity and access, Development and growth) centres, and the introduction (in cooperation with the Western Cape Education Department) within the City of Cape Town of Law Enforcement School Resource Officers in an increasing number of schools in unstable neighbourhoods. The current policy framework revolves around school contact time with learners ending in the early afternoon. In gang controlled or affected areas, school children are most at risk after school hours and on their way to and from school. Interventions that fill this time with stimulating activities have proven positive effects in keeping young people away from gang activities.

Principles.

Principles guiding the education actions were developed:

- Learners and teachers require discipline, structure, love, appreciation and positive reinforcement;
- Interventions must include school-going and NEETs young people;
- Personal and practical skills are central to education;
- Reading for meaning and pleasure is the central pillar of formal education.
- Critical thinking, communication, collaboration and creativity are essential for holistic education;
- Interventions should build personal and community resilience;
- Early identification (at primary school level) of special needs children prone to violent behaviour and/or with fetal alcohol syndrome is critical in education planning;
- Good school leadership improves overall educational success;
- Recreational activities (credible, aspirational and desirable) boost participation;
- Better trained teachers produce higher achieving learners; and
- Life-long learning supports prevention of high-risk behaviour.

Actions

A series of interventions were discussed:

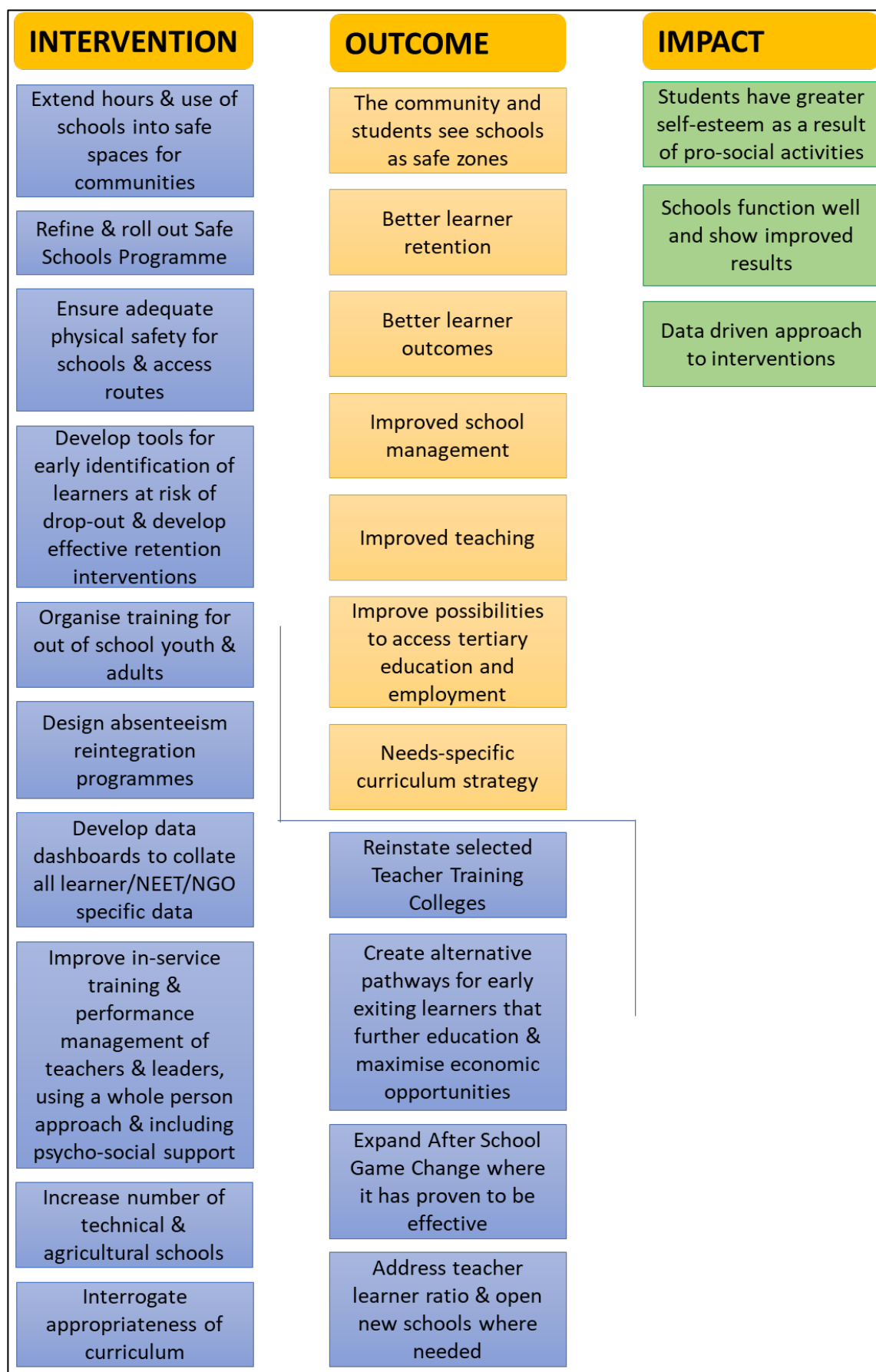


Figure 15. Proposed interventions and their outcomes - Education

Safe Spaces

The high levels of violence in the province demand consideration of neighbourhood safety and the ways this could be achieved. Central to discussions around this is the creation of safe spaces, especially for young people. A study in five Cape Town townships investigated the factors that moderate and mediate the effects of school, neighbourhood, gang and police violence on primary school children's psychological distress. Perceived safety was the only significant mediating variable for all types of community violence. This suggests that a young person's feelings of being safe plays an important role in buffering the psychological distress that results from exposure to community violence.⁶⁷

Ensuring safety at school is one aspect, but threats of violence are not confined to school hours, so it is necessary to broaden the perspective. If schools or specifically built centres provided safe spaces 24/7, communities could make use of them for an array of activities including but not limited to:

- Adult Education Training;
- Sports, arts and culture; and
- Parental skills training.

Safe spaces conducive to learning would help lead to empowered learners, parents and communities, preparing them for skilled employment, and thus lessening the impact of gangs on communities. If learners and NEETs (not in education, employment or training) were occupied with fun and engaging activities at all hours of the day, the attraction to join a gang can be reduced. Ideally, the Safe Spaces that are developed should include, but not be limited to, stakeholder involvement from:

- WCED;
- Police;
- Community representatives;
- Health care workers; and
- DSD;
- DoCS
- Municipal law enforcement.

The offerings should also include:

- Community and gang mediation;
- Safe space policing (ex-offenders?);
- Parental training;
- Sports, arts and culture offerings;
- Psychological and social support services;
- Study spaces;

⁶⁷ N. Shields, K. Nadasen, and L. Pierce, "The effects of community violence on children in Cape Town, South Africa," *Child Abuse Negl.*, vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 589–601, May 2008.

- Job and skills counselling; and
- Transportation access.

The planning and design process could be undertaken through a number of steps:



Figure 16. High level process for safe space design

“Safe space creation” can be further unpacked into three clear phases, with ongoing data analysis and input as well as guidance from policies:

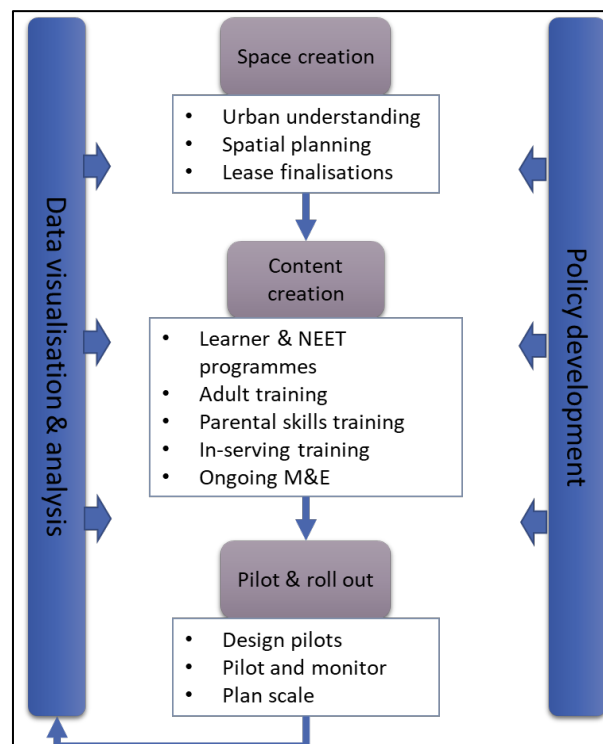


Figure 17: Safe space journey towards roll-out

Establishing a framework for intervention

Because any attempt to deal with gangs will involve many disciplines and administrative domains, coordination will be essential. In terms of the NAGS four-pillar strategy, in order to accomplish this objective, a permanent Provincial body for overall planning and implementation is proposed as well as strengthened community agency. This will require two interconnected nodes of organisation:

- Respected, neighbourhood-level safety organisations supported by the community, and
- A permanent provincial planning hub,

both levels with the goal of coordinating strategy and tactics to reduce violence, weaken the impact of gangs and develop alternative poles of youth involvement.

The overall coordinating body – for the purpose of this report termed the Provincial Gang Strategy Hub (PGSH) – would be a permanent secretariat coordinating a wide spectrum of activities. These would include information gathering, neighbourhood control and community development. It would need to be funded and monitored at the highest level of Provincial government.

A proposed structure and function of the PGSH is depicted below: The structure makes reference to a Provincial Minister of Police. There is no such thing. Replace with Provincial Police Commissioner in below graphic.

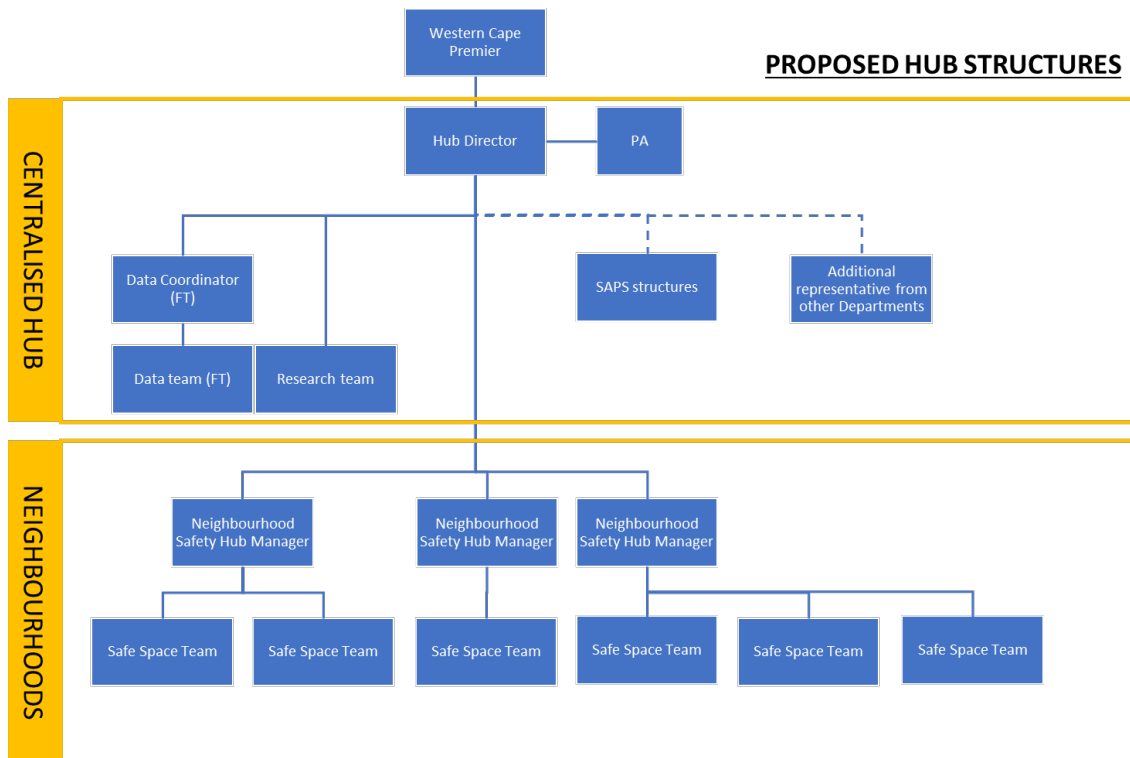


Figure 18. Proposed structure of the Provincial Gang Strategy Hub

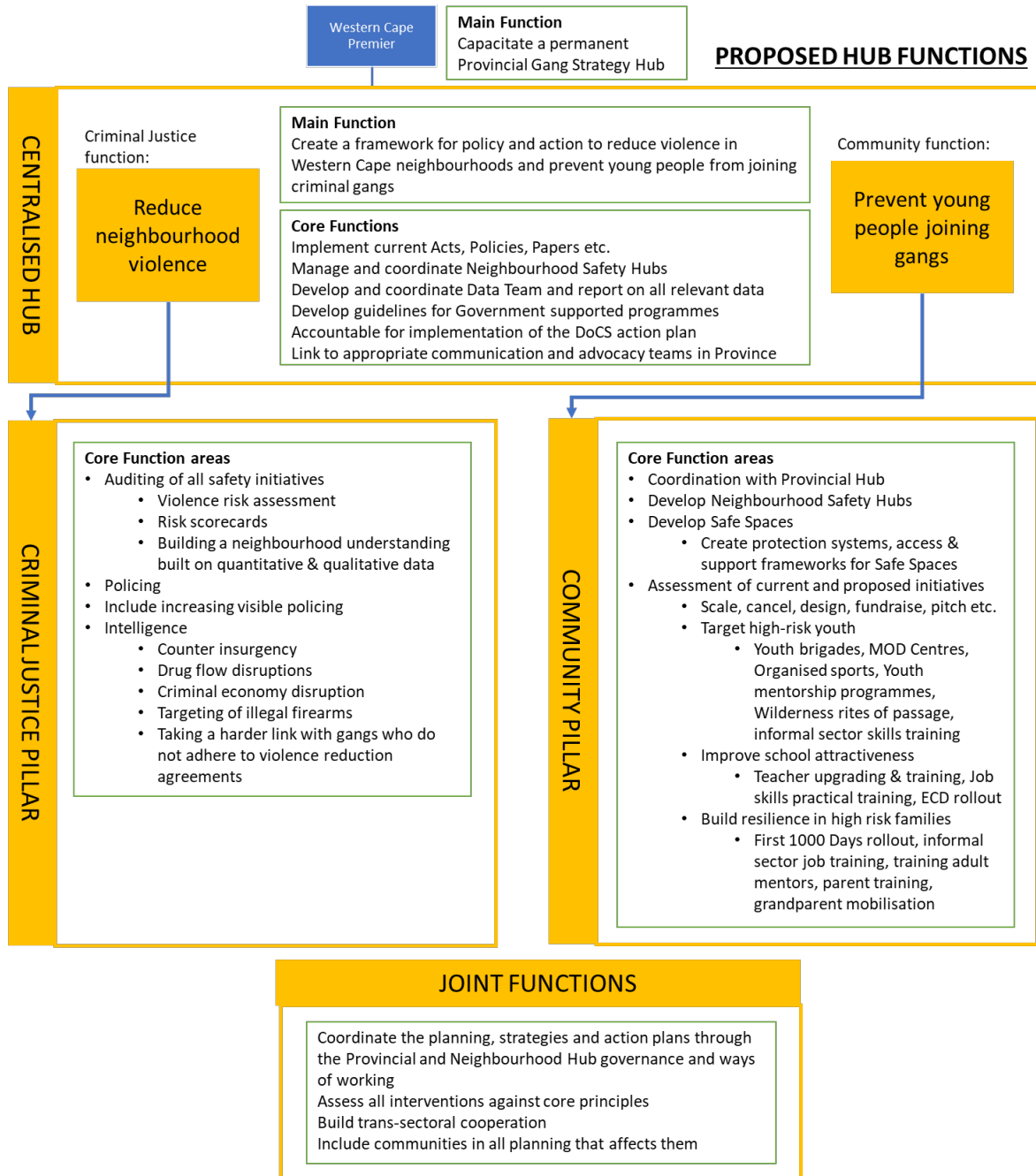


Figure 19. Proposed functions of the Provincial Gang Strategy Hub

The Hub would serve to integrate planning between the Security and Social Clusters and should consist of representatives from the South African Police Services (SAPS), Department of Community Safety (DoCS), Office of the Premier, ICC, Correctional Services, City of Cape Town (COCT), Social Development, Education, Justice, National Prosecuting Authority (NPA),

Home Affairs, Provincial traffic, Transport and members from strategic civil society organisations. Representatives should be sufficiently senior to drive strategy and make decisions where required across departments. If politics could be set aside in the interests of community safety, the Hub would ideally report to both the Provincial Premier and the Provincial Commissioner of Police.

It would coordinate information and planning between operational and social clusters and be accountable for:

- Coordination of the Provincial gang strategy;
- Regular meetings to report back on progress;
- Aligned and data-driven decisions made pro-actively and at the request of operational teams;
- Monitoring and evaluating interventions driven by operational teams; and
- Quarterly reports on successes and failures, underpinned by accurate data

It would be required to:

- Stay abreast of all interventions within the anti-gangsterism approach;
- Provide data-driven decisions to guide interventions;
- Ensure intra-departmental alignment;
- Maintain ongoing communication with other role players within and beyond Government involved in the interventions and/or pilots; and
- Manage the operational teams responsible for interventions within their feeder group.

Each Department or other designated authority would hold critical responsibilities in the design, rollout, monitoring and evaluating of the interventions in its field of responsibility, guided by a set of core principles designed and agreed upon by the key operational and strategic stakeholders in this process (see below). They would also be responsible for alignment and knowledge sharing between areas and regular reporting to the secretariat. Its functions could be depicted this way:

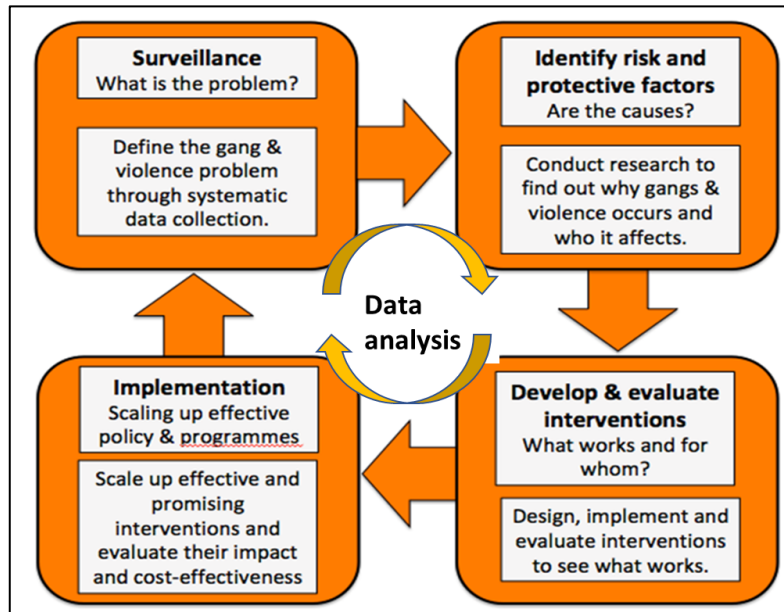


Figure 20. High level depiction of proposed roles for a coordination hub

Some key elements to the structure and function of the Hubs were noted as follows:

- Interventions and programmes must have an aligned understanding of the criteria for success;
- Intervention, programme and neighbourhood hub representation must be continuous and consistent, with leadership capable of decision making and implementation;
- The geographical boundaries for departments and organisations need to be aligned to ensure cohesive working structures and operations;
- A political champion for the Hub rollout and strategy ownership is critical;
- Hub structure needs to allow for growth and shrinkage depending on the needs at the time; and
- Political neutrality is crucial, despite the requirement of a political champion.

Critical actions required

Throughout the workshops put in place to build this report, interventions were suggested, discussed, developed, refined and prioritised. This culminated in a set of critical actions required to implement steps towards reducing the impact of gangs on the Province's communities.

In order to make effective systemic changes, the action list below will need to be approved, and implemented by the defined teams. The Provincial Gang Strategy Hub would hold most of the accountability in ensuring that these steps are actioned. The Hub should assign, where possible, individuals to

each action who are responsible for their implementation and should define the timelines and reporting requirements for each action.

In approaching these interventions, a series of critical steps and suggestions were developed:

- Identify one or two areas to work in;
 - Use the Whole of Society Approach as a precursor to selecting areas, as they function in four areas and have already developed risk-based rationale for these choices;
 - Support and scale the Delft Programme;
- Be cognisant of power vacuums that result when gang leaders are removed from an area and have follow-up strategies to address this;
- Positive alternatives must be in place when gang activity is removed, to ensure alternatives for young people;
- Do not exclude anyone when it comes to intervention creation and negotiate with gang members when it comes to ensuring safety;
- Consider declaring the gang issue as a disaster in order to mobilise strategies, interventions and budgets;
- Create an inter-departmental think-tank, that includes the City and SAPS, that address information sharing, operations and intelligence;
- Use a Plan-Act-Reflect approach when developing and implementing interventions, upskilling youth in the areas of operation to run this aspect of research and data collection;
- Ensure standardised measurements for success are in place;
- Address silos between departments, between organisation and between existing strategies and interventions.

Action	Accountable for action	Responsible for action	Description	Current Champions	Outcome
Creation of permanent Provincial Gang Strategy Hub (Mandate, location, budget, organisational design, ways of working, standardised measurements for success)	Office of Premier; or DoCS	Premier; or Minister of Community Safety Labour Relations	<p>This is a permanent office with full time staff</p> <p>Coordinates roll-out of Gang Violence Initiative</p> <p>Must contain representatives for Criminal Justice, Health & youth wellbeing, Families, Peer groups, Education, Place making & community cohesion, Data</p> <p>Includes a Data Team</p> <p>Regular reporting to Provincial Government</p> <p>Manages M&E</p> <p>Supports Neighbourhood Safety Hubs and facilitates ongoing engagement</p> <p>Develops guidelines for Government Supported programmes</p>	Look to the Boston Policing Hubs as a Best Process	Coordinating Hub accountable for driving the Gang Violence Initiative
Creation of Neighbourhood Safety Hubs	Office of Premier; or DoCS	Premier; or Minister of Community Safety	<p>Selection of representative areas across the Province to establish first NSHs – select one or two areas guided by WOSA and the Delft Programme</p> <p>Develop a strategy for an area by area approach</p> <p>Neighbourhood Safety Hubs need to be established to oversee the daily operations of the strategies developed at the Provincial Hub</p> <p>Ongoing engagement with Provincial Hub to ensure alignment and effectiveness</p> <p>Regular reporting of community activities and needs to Provincial Hub</p> <p>The NSH is responsible for support of CPFs in their area</p> <p>Ensure sustainability and allowance for scale</p> <p>Ensure positive messaging underpins the neighbourhood approaches</p>	VPUU - Integrated stakeholder community forums Delft Programme – John Cartwright	Community-based engagement and buy-in

Develop data dashboards that coordinate all data required for the Gang Violence Initiative	ProvHub: Data	Data Team	Audit current data sources in Govt, including all relevant police crime data, WCED schooling data, health data (drug use, murders etc) Highlight gaps in knowledge and commission the development of new knowledge Design dashboards that brings all relevant data together Respond to data requests from Gang Violence Initiative teams	VPUU	Data driven decision making Evidence based action plans for communities Holistic neighbourhood knowledge
Development of new knowledge for integration into Data team	ProvHub: Data	Data team Commissioned researchers SAPS	Data Team can either do research themselves, draw on existing other researchers/NGOs in the field, commission researchers or draw on police intelligence		Evolving pool of current and relevant data
Interrogate existing national and provincial legal frameworks, youth strategies, acts and policies and their implementation or need for amendment Develop new ones if required	Premier	Department nominated by Premier	Premier should put ongoing pressure on National and Provincial Govt. when possible, to address the implementation of key acts and policies Premier should also exert pressure for new legislation which would impact gang violence, such as state control of leisure drug markets.	Child Justice Act White Paper on Policing White Paper on Safety & Security Schools Act Amendment Bill ECD Strategy Etc.	Effective governance
Broaden training programmes for effective youth and gang engagement – resourcing, skills training, budgeting	HOD: DoCs	Provincial Commissioner Provincial CPF board	Develop a training programme for CPFs, Neighbourhood watches, and other community stakeholders Develop curriculum additions to CPF training that include effective youth and gang engagement Link into ProvJoints initiative to improve CPF operations (financing, recruitment, handling corruption etc.) Include training around how to engage with youth Include training around how to deal with trauma	CPF policy draft	Effectively trained community members who contribute to community safety - specifically around youth and gangs Young people have a membership context, status and bragging rights outside of gang involvement

<p>Identify and establish activities that positively engage young people (individually & collectively)</p>	<p>Neighbourhood Safety Hubs</p>	<p>Chrysalis, municipal police, CPF, local NGOs</p>	<p>A brigade programme is an example of this:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> SAPS is already running several brigade programmes <p>Chrysalis designs a youth programme that is located in Community Safe Spaces Municipal police provides and trains a Brigade Commander Community leader nominated to run programmes, fundraise, plan competitions etc. Inter-neighbourhood competitions. Metro Police cadets are functioning and SROs are being trained to coach marching teams.</p>	<p>Lucille Meyer John Cartwright</p>	<p>Holistic youth development Youth associate with positive role models and peer groups Youth move away from unhealthy behaviour Youth develop resilience and alternative identities to gangs</p>
<p>Activation of a network of Safe Spaces and safe access to amenities in high risk neighbourhoods: Indoor, outdoor, physical, social, mental</p>	<p>ProvHub: Education</p>	<p>Task Team including: John Cartwright, Seth Reynolds, VPUU, Don Pinnock, WCED, MODs, DCAS, Municipal police</p>	<p>Establish youth arts, culture, recreation and sports opportunities Leadership of Safe Spaces to include representation from community leaders, NGOs, CPFs, Educators and WCED staff, CPFs, local government Design Safe Hub - location, staffing, financing, offerings, equipment Focus on community ownership and identity Involve community in the creation and activation of safe spaces Negotiate safe zones Activate already existing spaces where possible Involve community safety officers Investigate transforming schools into safe spaces, including partnerships with SROs. Recruit staff/volunteers Staff to include (one or more): Manager, Family Support Worker (social worker/local leader), Trainer for parental programmes, Brigade commander. The City is developing the functions of 'Auxilliaris' recruited from local communities. Consider former detainees as paid safety officers</p>	<p>John Cartwright Seth Reynolds (Fight for Peace), VPUU</p>	<p>Youth associate with positive role models and peer groups Youth move away from unhealthy behaviour Youth develop resilience and alternative identities to gangs</p>
<p>Address accessibility of initiatives by NEETs</p>	<p>ProvHub: Education</p>	<p>Provincial Hub</p>	<p>Hub must ensure that where possible, youth engagements, programmes, initiatives are accessible to NEETs, not just school going youths</p>		<p>Inclusion of NEETs into functional society and resilience against gang membership</p>

Develop vulnerability scorecards to guide interventions	Provincial Hub	DSD and City Social Development, WCED	Early intervention with at-risk families will enable action to pre-empt later gang involvement by youths.	WCED learner screening ACE scorecards Chicago risk score development project	Evidence based intervention planning
Audit current youth interventions and develop an understanding of their impact using defined measurements for success Determine partnering, scaling, funding etc. Develop guidelines for government-supported programmes	Provincial Hub	DSD with a representative team SROs	Audit current successful interventions and international best practice Determine reach, impact, cost of operation, dependencies, income streams Interventions and M&E must be evidence based Determine future engagement strategy For NEETS and at-risk youths, design early detection processes and intervention programmes that improve resilience against gang membership and continue education for later reintegration into schooling system	Chrysalis Ottery Youth Centre MindMatters	Evidence based intervention planning Identification of families at risk to drive their inclusion in the programmes within their communities
Develop family support intervention plan	ProvHub: Families	DSD and City Social Development.	Families must have a touch-point person/group in the community (social worker, Safe Space staff) Safe Spaces need to have staff trained in family support Include interventions for making homes safer Development and delivery of training material for good parenting Development and delivery of training for skills development Design inclusive community events	DSD Directorate for Children and Families	Empowered families and communities Increased access to services and support
Scale effective ECD, mothering and caregiver programmes	Neighbourhood Safety Hubs	Dept Health, DSD, City of Cape Town	Refer to audit to determine effective programmes Select programmes to scale Design scale plan Scale and monitor Include understanding the risks for mothers and caregivers	Mothers2Mothers First1000Days	Effective pre-natal, post-natal and ECD programmes have the greatest impact on developing later resilience in young people.

<p>Ongoing engagement with National SAPS and Provincial JCPS cluster departments regarding the Gang Violence Initiative</p>	<p>Premier National Commissioner</p>	<p>Premier Minister DoCS Provincial Commissioner of Police Municipal police</p>	<p>Adequately staff SAPS units Develop effective, intelligence-driven SAPS gang unit with representation in the Provincial Hub, dealing with both visible policing and counter insurgency Audit of safety initiatives. Establish internal SAPS investigative units that identify "captured" officials Design and implement effective SAPS misconduct measures Police station performance should not be based on the number of arrests, but rather on successful conviction rates Address the process of arrest-to-conviction National and Trans-national drug syndicates must be a priority for the Police Develop, identify and establish youth diversion strategies and programmes</p>	<p>Robbie Robberts Jeremy Vearey Provincial Commissioner</p>	<p>A robust, non-corrupt policing systems Trust built between National and Provincial operations Shutting down criminal syndicates, imprisonment of high-flyers, reduction of gang attractiveness Containment of violence and crime through effective roll-out of neighbourhood safety initiatives, thus strengthening communities</p>
<p>Design safe and accessible community centres in schools</p>	<p>Provincial Hub and Neighbourhood Safety Hubs</p>	<p>WCED DCAS DSD</p>	<p>Education and Neighbourhood representatives on the Provincial Hub must manage the roll-out and operations of Community Safe Spaces School hours need to be extended (policy and/or SGB rules) Develop required structure for each space (staffing, financing, fundraising, physical space) Staffing - include use of mentors, EPWP staff, volunteers, sports coaches etc. Develop training programmes for learners, NEETs and parents (drugs, addiction, upskilling) Develop programmes for learners, NEETs and parents (sports, learning, arts) Develop community events programmes Develop sex-ed, rape crisis, trauma, drug counselling and psychological touch points Make the After Schools Programmes part of education management, curriculum and budgeting</p>	<p>John Cartwright Work with: WCED, Safe School Programmes,</p>	<p>Holistic youth and community development Communities associate with positive role models and peer groups</p>

Increase number of technical and agricultural schools Increase technical training in current schooling curriculum and extra-curricular interventions	ProvHub: Education	WCED	Existing technical and agricultural schools should be interrogated and used as a basis for design and roll out of additional ones Include technical aspects into current curricula where possible Advise National on curricula changes and additions Advise NGOs to focus on technical skills development in their programmes Develop workshops/training in Safe Spaces Encourage and strengthen tertiary training schools/colleges Negotiate in-service training avenues	Chrysalis	Skills, employment, self esteem Skills training can provide a vital professional springboard
Drive the complete redress of teacher training (pre- and in-service)	ProvHub: Education	Premier WCED, DBE, DSD	Work with colleges and universities. Facilitate an NGO team to support teachers in deepening the curriculum and the teaching of mindfulness and self-awareness Broaden training to include trauma training and effective youth engagement skills Exchange teacher cohorts between “richer” and “poorer” schools Re-establish Teacher Training Colleges	SROs Delft Programme	Effectively trained teachers
Province to drive legislative changes at national level to ensure that the regulation of drugs is modelled on the regulation of alcohol and tobacco	Premier	Premier The City Minister DoCS Provincial Commissioner of Police	Develop a legal proposal, pulling from international best practice Lobby changes at national	Shawn Shelley Ashley Potts	Reduce drug abuse and unnecessary arrests.
Increase access to drug rehabilitation interventions and safe equipment in communities with a focus on harm reduction	ProvHub: Health	Dept Health, DSD, City of Cape Town	Synchronise harm reduction programme development with changing legislation on drug use Improve accessibility to addiction facilities Include psycho-social models of best practice – these may not need clinical facilities and could be run at community centres Audit current spend and increase resourcing	Ashley Potts The Rainbow Foundation Shaun Shelley	Reduce drug abuse and unnecessary arrests.

Scale effective Neighbourhood programmes	PSH: Place making & community cohesion	Dept Health, DSD, City of Cape Town	Refer to audit to determine effective programmes Select programmes to scale Design scale plan Scale and monitor	VPUU Delft Project - John Cartwright Avian Park - Stefan Snel Fight for Peace	Effective neighbourhood programmes provide meaningful involvement for young people tempted by gang membership and support for parents
Reactivate Peace Committees	DSD The City	DSD	Include teacher holistic training	John Cartwright	Holistic youth and community development Communities associate with positive role models and peer groups
Stakeholders involved in the development of this roadmap to meet at regular intervals to track progress, address additional needs and adjust operations as required	DoCS	Provincial NAGS response team			

Critical success factors

Not addressed at workshop

Conclusion

[To be written on completion]

For consideration here:

- Use a population-based approach that takes account of the likely scale of risk to budget for and progressively rollout services informed by the best evidence available.

- Collect data on the intervention community and use it to understand possible sources of violence exposure, community resources, and to track change over time.

Crimes that present risks to adolescents can be geocoded and mapped to identify hotspots that can be studied to understand both structural and personal correlates to inform intervention.

- Undertake research to establish the needs of the most high-risk groups for perpetration and exposure to violence in the community (normally adolescents and young adults). This will inform interventions appropriate to their situations and capacities.

- Provide safe and positive spaces for youths to engage in constructive activity after school and in the holidays.

- Consult youths: Rather than imposing activities on the target population, consultations with different age groups are necessary to inform what is provided.

- Use locally available facilities where feasible. Community halls, school facilities and those of faith-based organisations provide potential sites for programmes.

- Secure the safety of playgrounds, libraries and other areas used by young people (such as open areas on housing estates).

- Prevent drug dealing and enforce alcohol regulations.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

Crime in the Western Cape

Almost all gang studies throughout the 20th century and most in the 21st locate the reasons for gang membership in negative environments within which young people are raised: family, neighbourhood, school, poverty, access to drugs and general deprivation. In the Western Cape all these were present under apartheid and still persist more than two decades after the country became a democracy.

An extremely high number of young people – 350 000 in Cape Town alone according to the latest census – are not in education, employment or training (NEETs). They are, quite simply, on the streets with nothing to do. This pool of youth is the recruiting ground of gang and syndicate bosses. The NEETs level in the Western Cape is as follows:

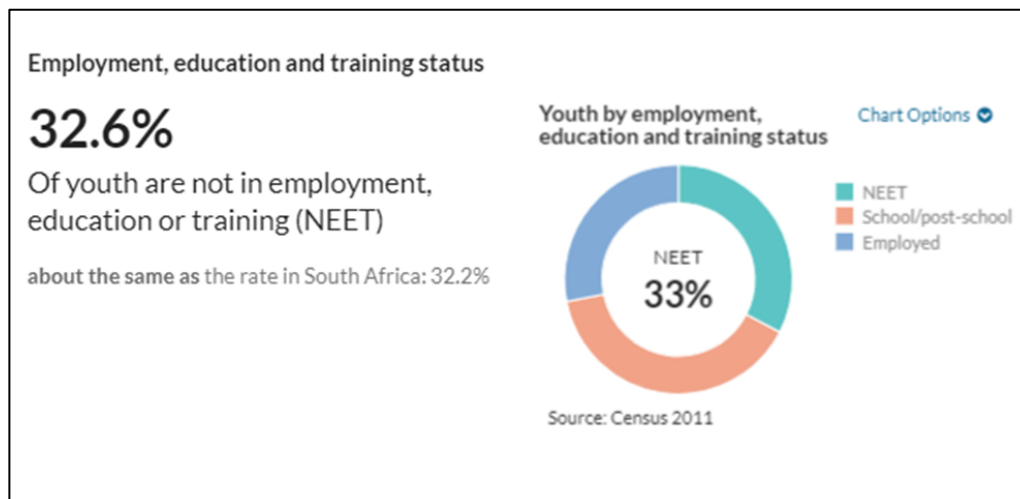


Figure 21. NEET data from 2011 Provincial census, via Youth Explorer – www.youthexplorer.org.za

There is a relationship between the high NEETs rate and gang membership. For many, gang membership is the only way they can earn an income. The result of the high numbers of young people in gangs, however, is extremely high levels of violence. In many low-income areas in the Western Cape, adolescents, particularly, are at high risk of being both victims and perpetrators of violence, as depicted in the graphics below drawn from Youth Explorer:⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Youth Explorer: youthexplorer.org.za

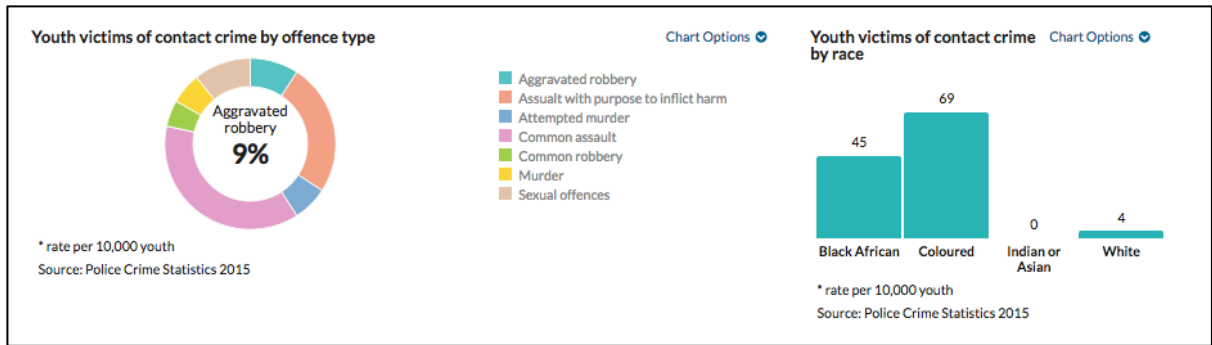


Figure 22. Provincial contact crime offence type - 2015

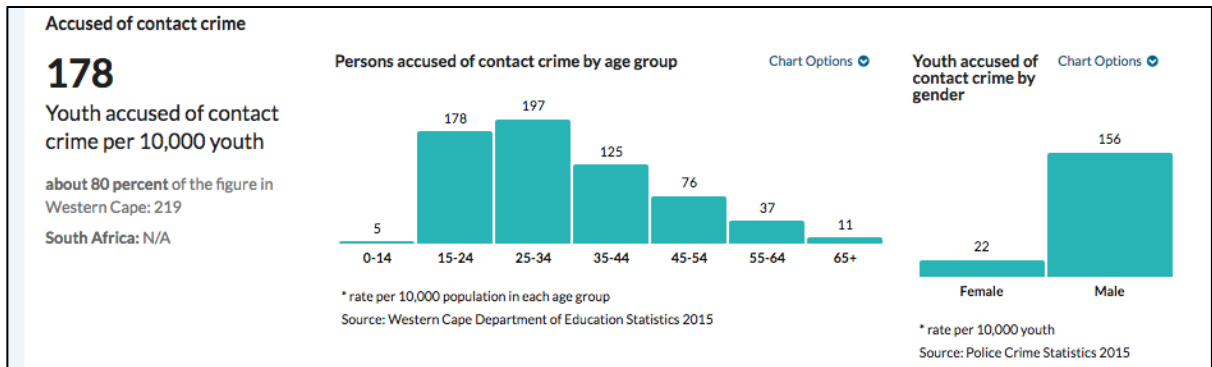


Figure 23. Provincial youth accused of contact crime - 2015

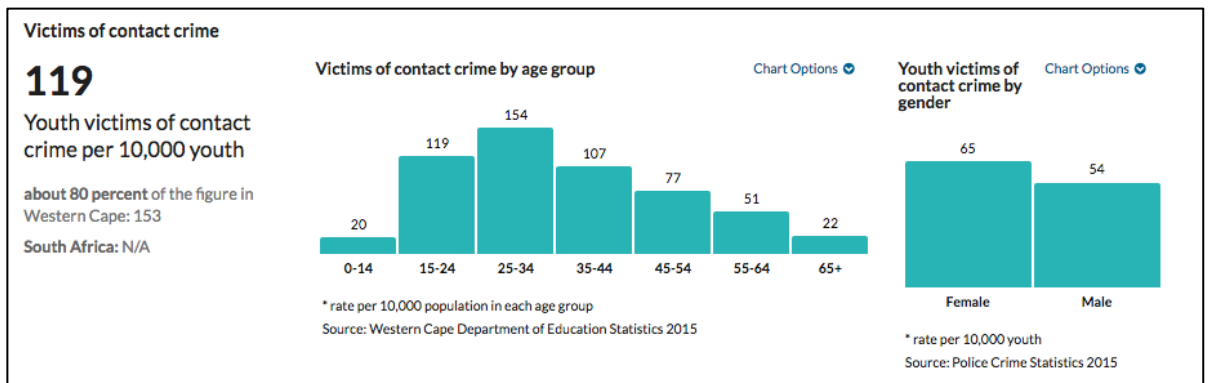


Figure 24. Provincial Youth victims of contact crime - 2015

In the Statistics SA National Victims of Crime Survey, 2016/2017 public perception around the reasons for crime pointed to mostly drug-related issues.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Victims of Crime Survey, 2016/2017 (Statistics SA)

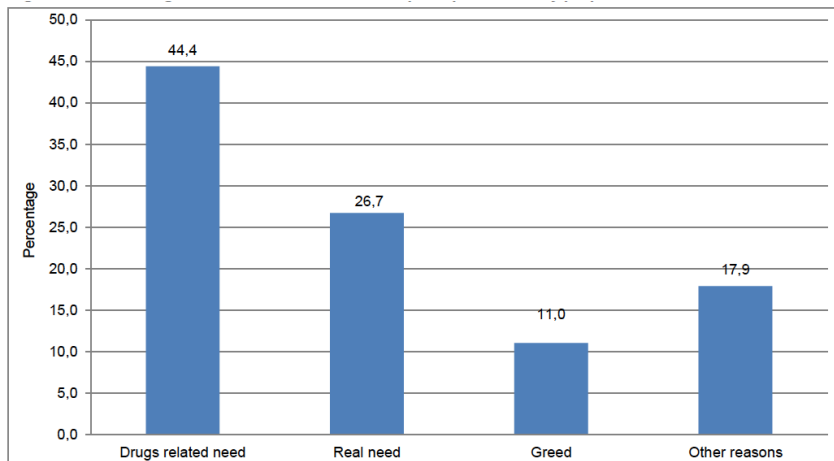


Figure 25. Percentage distribution of households' perceptions of why perpetrators commit crime, 2016/17

Interpersonal violence accounts for 53% of male youth deaths in the Province between 2010 and 2013⁷⁰:

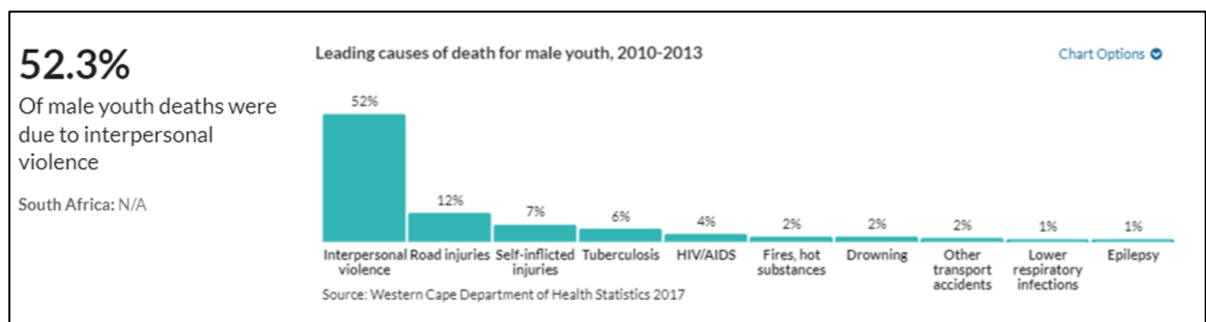


Figure 26. Male youth death causes - 2010-2013

In the Western Cape in 2017/18, most victims of crime were aged 15-34. There were an average of 10 murders a day. According to police assessments, 22% of murders and 38.7% of attempted murders were gang related, though this is a 'soft' statistic, depending on the estimation of the investigating officers. There are 26 police stations which experience high levels of gang activity in the province. These gang stations logged:

- 45% of murders;
- 56.5% of attempted murders;
- 57% of firearm related offences; and
- 44.3% of drug related offences.
-

A distressingly high number (42.3%) of Provincial contact crimes in 2017/18 were carried out with the use of a firearm.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Youth Explorer, op cit.

⁷¹ Western Cape 2017/2018 financial year CRIME SITUATION, Cabinet 19 Sept 2018. There is some confusion between what the SAPS call gang-related and POCA defined crime.

ATTEMPTED MURDER – MOTIVES/CIRCUMSTANCE							
Gang Related	Robbery	Arguments	Involvement of enforcement	Domestic Violence	Retaliation/ Revenge	Community Retaliation and Vigilantism	Taxi Violence
38.7%	14.6%	6.1%	5.7%	4.1%	3.9%	1.5%	0.9%
Actual - 1381	Actual - 521	Actual - 218	Actual - 203	Actual - 148	Actual - 141	Actual - 54	Actual - 32

MURDER – MOTIVES/CIRCUMSTANCES						
Gang Related	Arguments	Robbery	Domestic Violence	Community Retaliation/ Vigilantism	Retaliation/ Revenge	Taxi Violence
22%	13.2%	8.1%	5.6%	4.7%	3.8%	1.2%
Actual - 808	Actual - 484	Actual - 297	Actual - 208	Actual - 173	Actual - 141	Actual - 45

Table 1: Attempted murder and murder rates per situation type - 2017/18 SAPS Crime Situation WC

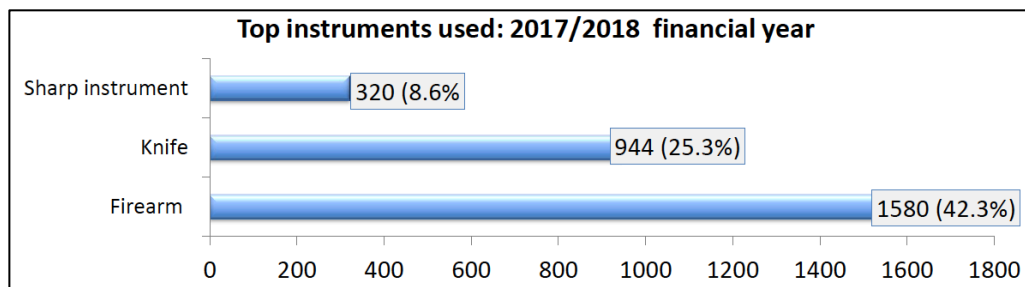


Figure 27. Table 2: Instrument use in aggravated robbery - 2017/18 SAPS Crime Situation WC

While Nyanga has the highest number of murders, per 100 000 Philippi East has the highest murder rate and murder rates are on the increase as depicted below⁷²:

	Nyanga	Philippi East	Delft	Khayelitsha	Kraaifontein	Gugulethu	Mfuleni	Harare	Mitchells Plain	Bishop Lavis
2016/2017	281	150	183	179	142	136	125	174	103	97
2017/2018	308	205	195	192	186	182	157	142	140	98
Actual Diff	27	55	12	13	44	46	32	-32	37	1
% Diff	9.61%	36.67%	6.56%	7.26%	30.99%	33.82%	25.60%	-18.39%	35.92%	1.03%

Table 2. Murder rates per ten police stations in Cape Town

⁷² Crime Situation in the Western Cape 2017/2018 Cabinet report

APPENDIX B

The drug problem

Drug policies in the Western Cape are among the most overlooked drivers of poverty and inequality. The use and misuse of drugs of various types is essentially a social health issue which, because of illegality, creates preconditions for violence. This relates directly to gangs. The procurement and sale of illegal leisure drugs is the primary income of almost all Western Cape gangs and central to an understanding of their activities. Drugs are therefore central to any intervention involving gangs and any policy relating to them.

Worldwide there is growing acknowledgement that the so-called War on Drugs has inflicted greater social damage than providing a solution.⁷³ More than 50 years of prohibition, with over a trillion dollars spent on enforcement worldwide, have failed to prevent a dramatic rise in illicit drug use, with an estimated 240 million people using leisure drugs today. According to Transform, the UK organization dealing with drug issues, 'this is hardly surprising given that research consistently shows criminalisation does not deter use.'⁷⁴

Illegal drug markets are characterised by violence between criminal organisations and the police and or between rival criminal organisations. The intensification of enforcement efforts simply fuels this violence.⁷⁵ It is in the interests of criminal organisations seeking to protect and expand their business to invest in corrupting and weakening all levels of government, the police and the judiciary. These problems discourage investment in affected neighbourhoods, while limited budgets are directed into drug law enforcement, and away from health and development. At best, enforcement simply displaces problems to new areas, further harming development.

Squeezing the supply of prohibited drugs in the context of high and growing demand inflates prices, providing a lucrative opportunity for criminal entrepreneurs. A significant proportion of street crime is related to the illegal drug trade, with rival gangs fighting for control of the market and dependent users commit robbery to pay for drugs. The criminal justice-led approach has also caused a dramatic rise in the prison population of drug and drug-related offenders.

According to the 2017/18 crime statistics, drug arrests in the Western Cape constitutes 33.2% of all drug-related crime in the country.⁷⁶ At 117 157

⁷³ Ending the War on Drugs. Transform Drug Policy Foundation , 2014

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ In Mexico alone, it is estimated that potentially more than 100,000 people were killed in drug-war-related violence between 2006 and 2013

⁷⁶ www.saps.gov.za/services/crimestats.php

incidents, this averages at 320 police-detected drug-related crimes a day – a huge drain on police time and effort.

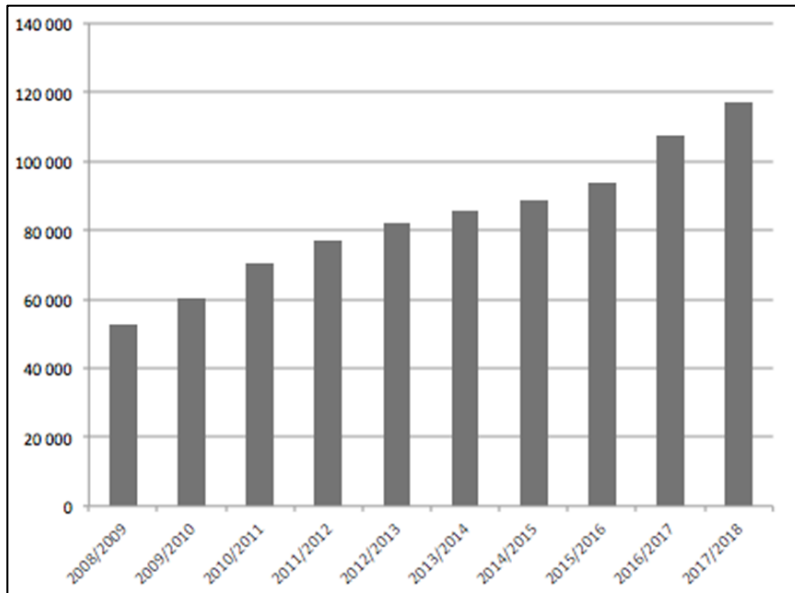


Figure 28. Number of drug-related arrests per year in the Western Cape, 2008/9 to 2017/18 – Crime Situation in RSA, SAPS

In approaching this problem, it is necessary to make a distinction between the harms related to drug use and the harms related to drug policies. While all drugs are potentially harmful, there is no doubt that criminalization of possession and use creates enormous harms – not only those relating to drug use (such as the contamination or adulteration of drugs), but also those relating to production and supply (such as the fuelling of organised crime, violence, prison overcrowding and prison recruitment into Numbers gangs).

By targeting those at the lowest level of the trade with highly punitive measures and failing to address the root causes of why vulnerable people are involved in the drugs trade in the first place, South Africa's drug policies act as a mechanism to maintain inequality and social exclusion.

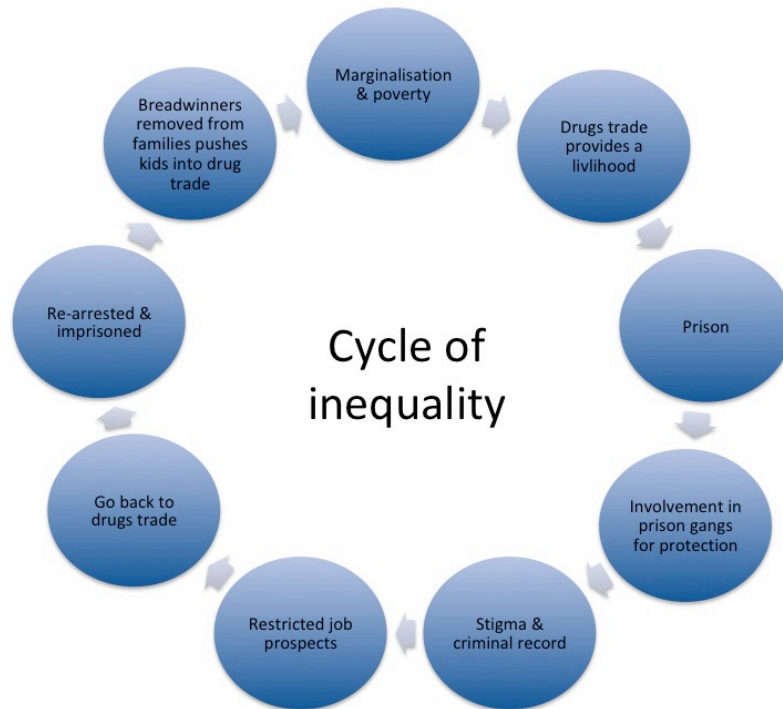
This focus on low-level dealers/traffickers rather than the bosses in charge of the drugs trade means our 'war on drugs' is not only largely unsuccessful, but it is seen as an excuse to exert social control over poor and marginalised communities, rather than seriously aiming to eradicate the illicit trade.

An extensive study of drug use in Brazil and India found that two key issues impact the approach to drug policy in developing countries:

- Existing vulnerabilities such as poverty and marginalisation push people into the drugs trade.
- Punitive drug policies entrench and exacerbate these vulnerabilities, reinforcing a cycle of poverty that reverberates across generations of families and communities.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Punishing poverty: How the failed 'war on drugs' harms vulnerable communities Case studies of Brazil and India. Health Poverty Action. 2017.

Drug issues put huge pressures on police, courts and prisons. It also wastes their time. As most cases involve young people, their arrest, imprisonment and a criminal record creates far greater harm than the use of a drug for which they were apprehended. Given the escalating scale of the drug problem, it's clear that the present approach has failed and a recalibration is urgently necessary.



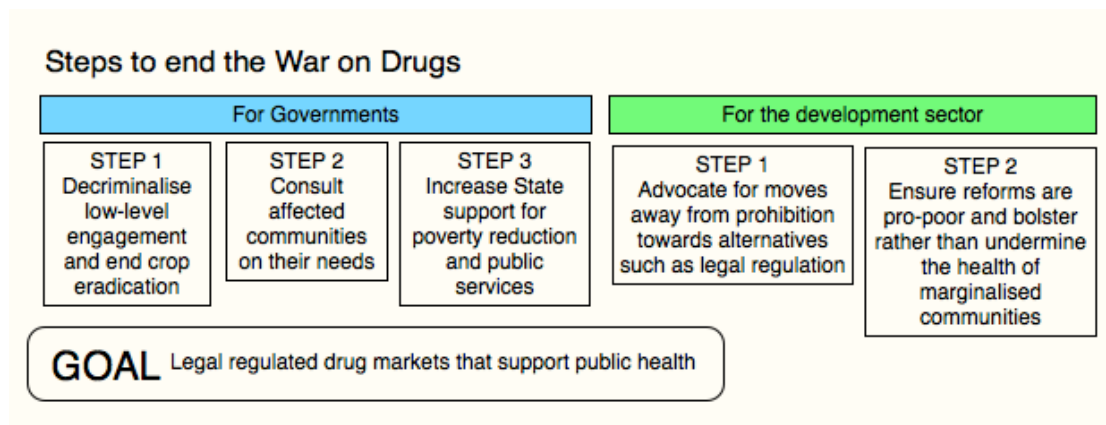
Any model of legal regulation should be driven by people not corporate profit. This could be affected by taking into account the needs of vulnerable communities engaged in the drugs trade and ensuring their participation in its development. The way to do this is to gradually withdraw drugs from the scope of the police and criminal justice system and gradually add it to the scope of public policies, health, education, social security. That's where it belongs.

Given the realities of why many people are engaging in that trade at a smaller scale, it is vital that any reform be implemented in tandem with social policies targeted at directly addressing un/underemployment, inequality, violence and social marginalisation. For many in marginalised communities, illicit drug-related activity is an important livelihood source, but also a precarious one. The removal of punitive measures should be accompanied by further research and comprehensive development and welfare initiatives to address the needs of community members as they see them, and to generate suitable

employment or livelihood opportunities funded by the diversion of funds previously directed towards drug control.

To do this, it will be necessary to first overcome the mistrust created by criminalisation and punitive drug control to build trust and dialogue between affected communities, government representatives and development actors, to create a foundation for community participation. This includes poverty reduction, provision of public services such as healthcare and education, access to employment and training, and treatment for addiction.

The above measures must form the starting point for addressing the reasons people are forced into the trade and the damage these communities have experienced as a result of drug laws. However, in the long run, legal regulation of the drugs trade is the only way to put an end to the devastation caused by this failed war.



APPENDIX C

Firearms and gun violence

Firearm violence remains a leading cause of homicide in South Africa, with the SAPS 2017/18 annual report indicating that firearms were used in 40% of all murders in the 2017/18 reporting period. This is particularly the case in the Western Cape, where the murder rate has increased by 43% since 2011/12. In a study on firearm and non-firearm homicides in Cape Town, Matzopolous, Simonetti noted that there was an 81% increase in the firearm homicide rate per 100,000 in Cape Town between 2009 and 2013 (increasing from 13.2 to 24.2) compared to only a 0.3% increase in non-firearm homicides for the same period (32.7 to 32.8).

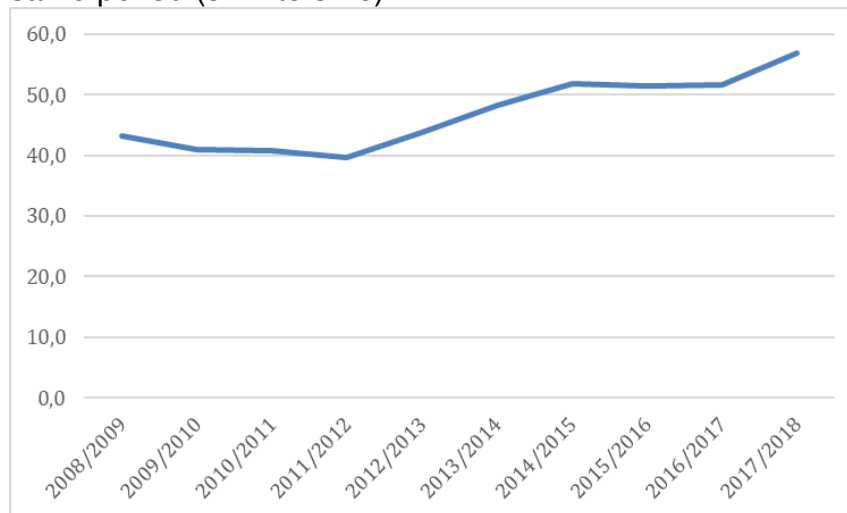


Figure 29. Murder rate (per 100,000) in the Western Cape - SAPS crime data

The increase in murder in the Western Cape has most likely been exacerbated by increases in availability of firearms, especially illegal firearms. That is the total annual number of cases of illegal possession of firearms and ammunition (IPFA) in the Western Cape has increased by 49% over the past 10 years. This has been particularly pronounced in the Cape Town.

SAPS data on cases relating to IPFA in Cape Town has shown a dramatic increase in the IPFA rate (per 100,000) compared to other cities, climbing from 50 in 2008/09 to 63 in 2016/17 (see Figure 2 below). 58% of IPFA cases of IPFA in the Western Cape in 2016/17 took place in the 23 policing areas (of which 21 are in Cape Town) that the SAPS have identified as violence hotspots.

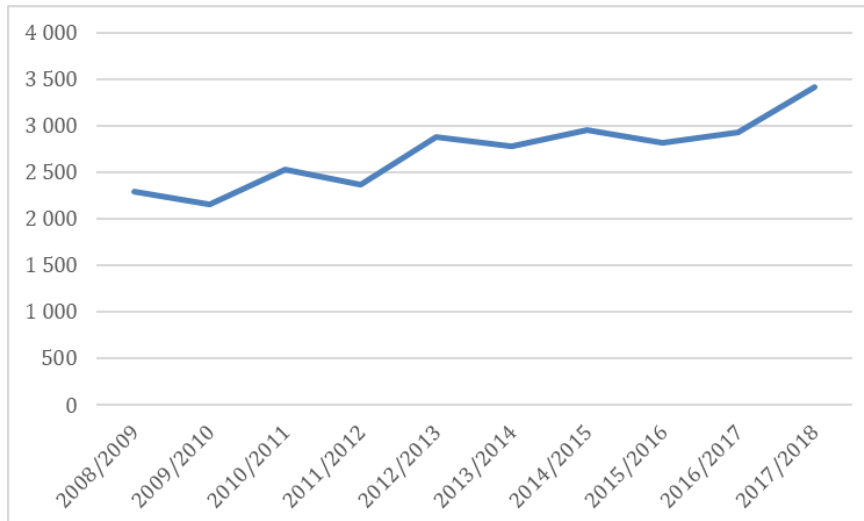


Figure 30. Number of identified illegally possessed firearms and ammunition in the Western Cape - SAPS crime data

Role of illicit networks and gangs

Illicit networks have customarily been key actors within the illegal firearm sector. Illicit networks are renowned for their adaptability and aptitude to innovate in changing environments.⁷⁸ In recent years, illicit networks have adapted their strategies and tactics in relation to accessing legal firearms. In particular, such networks have more extensively exploited weaknesses in the SAPS' control systems over the firearms under their control primarily through corrupt practices. In addition, with SAPS relaxing firearm licensing processes from 2011, which resulted in significant increase in licensed firearms in South Africa, illicit networks have re-adjusted their arms sourcing strategies have once again more vigorously targeted of licensed civilian firearm owners.

A key source of illegal firearms has been certain corrupt SAPS personnel that had been responsible for the destruction of confiscated firearms in Gauteng. That is, approximately 2,000 firearms earmarked for destruction were subsequently sold to criminal gangs in Cape Town from as early as 2007, with police investigation revealing that between 2010 and 2016 some 1,066 murders (of which 231 were child victims) were committed with these specific firearms [3]. More recently there have been three prominent cases in which SAPS members were connected to illegal firearm transfers to criminal groups.

In 2017 there were a series of incidents of violence, including murders and attempted murders within the nightclub security (bouncer) sector in the Western Cape due to a new grouping attempting to usurp the control of the industry from an existing syndicate. At the time of writing, key figures from the new group were standing trial in the Cape Town Magistrates' Court for extortion.⁷⁹ This group fraudulently used private security companies that were

⁷⁸ Bouchard, M, and J Amirault. "Advances in Research on Illicit Networks." *Global Crime* 14, no. 2-3 (2013): 119-22.

⁷⁹ Hawkey, S and H Green. "'Extortion Mastermind' Brings in Ak47-Wielding Guards for Court Date." *EWN* 5 April (2018). <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-04-05-extortion-mastermind-brings-in-ak47-wielding-guards-for-court-date/>.

registered with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority as a means to secure firearms. The SAPS made 10 arrests in this regard, with the case being heard before the courts at the time of writing.

Licensed civilian firearm owners as well as SAPS officials and armouries have also been sources of the illegal proliferation of firearms and ammunition.

The increase in the availability of illegal firearms in Cape Town appears to have had a dramatic impact on murder levels areas that consistently experience high levels of gang violence. In Philippi East the annual number of murders increased by 180% between 2013/14 and 2017/18; while in, Kraaifontein, Manenberg and Delft, there were 66%, 49% and 35% increases in annual murder levels over the same period respectively.

It is essential for SAPS to reduce and eliminate the number of illegal handguns and for the law to permit the possession of legal weapons on only extreme need and with tighter restrictions on storage and use.

Additional notes by Murrey Williams for discussions and possible inclusion
This was not discussed in the final workshop – only submitted very late.

NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL INTERVENTIONS (BELOW) STILL NEED TO BE MORE CAREFULLY STRATEGISED

At neighbourhood level it would be necessary to empower people formerly cowed by high levels of violence and with limited levels of agency. To accomplish that you need to begin at street level – ourselves and our neighbours, united in our local neighbourhood watches. Unlocking our intimate local knowledge, our unique ability to problem-solve. We can learn from best practice, like the VPUU Community Action Plan. There are other planning forums, like Ward Committees in 387 municipal wards across the province. There are Community Police Forums, School Safety Committees, SAPS Sector Forums – feeding into multiyear Integrated Development Planning (IDP). The missing ingredient is what can hold it all together for improved safety. This is behind the idea of a provincial coordinating hub linked to local hubs.

What's required is a deep understanding of the organic function of neighbourhoods, lessons learned from a variety of programmes and a healthy dose of common sense. It will be necessary to identify latent leadership and resources essential for the functioning of neighbourhoods and be flexible. Latent resources need to be identified and harnessed, linked and connected. Every effort should be made to prevent an over-reliance on budgetary requirements. Instead, design principles should be led by a local team able to 'Mobilise. Organise. Communicate.'

In no particular order, these are core enablers could be structured into tailored sequence, if/as required in order to to harness a whole of society approach:

1: NHW Accreditation, organisational governance backbone and Starter Support: Activation, mobilization, support for hyper-local, citizen-led safety initiatives harnessing latent leadership and resources.

2: Broadband hotspots: Connectivity in every the most accessible way possible.

3: Online eLearning Safety Syllabus for Community Emergency Response Teams (CERTs) as Volunteer Corps: Life-long training on global best practice.

4: Community Training Centre: A physical, free, community facility, in which safety collectives can convene, adopt/own, populate, progress, lead.

5: Community Control Room: Local co-ordination of safety information and mitigation.

6: Operational Communications Network: Inter-safety, inter-agency partnerships for maximum participation, alignment and co-ordination.

7: Precinct Management System - including School Safety (Education Precincts): Best practice from City Improvement Districts (CIDs), the Neighbourhood Safety Officer (NSO) and Neighbourhood Safety Team (NST).

- 8: Smart Safety Tech:** Harnessing what is now possible.
- 9: Camera Network:** Integrated and/or make accessible.
- 10: Connections into Emergency Control Rooms (ECR), with Computer-Aided Dispatch & Analytics:** Connecting networks and Standard Operating Procedures.
- 11: Municipal Councilor Support:** Harnessing leadership and resources (eg: ward allocation budgets, sub-council support, integrated development plans.)
- 12: Private Security & Medical Response Partnership:** Harnessing latent local resources in structured partnerships and/or with healthy management relationships.
- 13: Business Safety Partnership (Leadership & Technical Task Team):** Harnessing latent local resources, in structured partnerships and/or with healthy management relationships.
- 14: Sector Policing practice:** Committed and structured SAPS engagement and support with civil society, by sector.
- 15: Integrated Operational Planning:** Appropriate, valuable participation in operational planning and management.
- 16: Justice Crime Prevention & Security (JCPS): Relationships, Networks, Participation & Partnerships:** Identification and sustained participation of representatives in local forums (eg: CPFs).
- 17: Social Services: Relationships, Networks, Participation & Partnerships:** Identification and sustained participation of representatives in local forums (eg: CPFs).
- 18: Safety Projects (incl. Expanded Public Works Programme):** Via structured partnership opportunities. Walking Buses, Isibindi, etc.
- 19: WC Community Investment Programme (by WCG) - Mentoring and strategic skills transfer, into neighbourhoods:** By WCG programme, run under leadership of DOTP/D-G.
- 20: Safe24: Digital Citizen/CRM, Community Media:** Best practice community communications and media networks.
- 21: Accountability Support: Including CPFs, IPID, Ombud, etc:** As per mandates, with awareness, understanding, access and impactful accountability.
- 22: Villages: Road Safety & Transport-Oriented Design:** Best-practice in road-safety design, intervention and practice.
- 23: Player 23, uniting 1Team: Localised Project Management: including NSO, SROs, VPUU co-ordinators, etc.**
- 24: Safe24 Leadership:** The WCG leadership to drive this model, transversally.