

**IN SEARCH OF ALTERNATIVE POLICING:
KYLEMORE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH, THE
PROTECTORS OF THEIR BELOVED COMMUNITY**

by

CASSANDRA VISSER

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Philosophy in Organisations and Public Cultures at the
Stellenbosch University



Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Supervisor:

Prof CS van der Waal

March 2009

CHAPTER 4: THE KYLEMORE SETTLEMENT AND ITS WESTERN CAPE CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction

Thus far various theoretical perspectives on community, policing and policy have been discussed, but now it is time to place these theories in perspective, by situating them within the community of Kylemore. Before embarking on this matter, the location under study must first be introduced and contextualized, to ensure a better understanding of how and why certain events have played out. The aim of this chapter is therefore to contextualise the location and events under study and to situate Kylemore within the specific historical, socio-economical and development context of the Dwars River Valley and the broader Western Cape. This I will attempt to achieve by not only focusing on Kylemore and its experiences, but also by providing an historical background to the lifestyle in the Western Cape from before colonisation until the present. I will focus predominantly on the presently so-called 'coloured' people within the Western Cape and their interaction with the colonialists and the missionaries. This interaction ultimately led to the adoption of Christianity and a sense of respectability, which are fundamental factors that emerge in this study that help to comprehend the notions of crime and policing within Kylemore. This chapter therefore starts off by providing a historical background to the community life, crime and crime prevention within the Western Cape. in order to place Kylemore within this broader context. Thereafter, a historical background of Kylemore itself will be provided. In addition, Kylemore at present will be discussed to help explain the range of events that took place of late within this community.

4.2 Brief historical background of community life, crime and crime prevention in the Western Cape

The Western Cape is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful provinces in South Africa, with its lavish fauna, flora, beaches, mountains and various man-made tourist attractions, but at the same time it is also known for its violent gangs, drugs and other criminal activities. From a socio-economic point of view, the Western Cape is one of the provinces where you will find extreme inequality and contrast between the rich and the poor (Swart 2006:349). In other words "whilst the wealthiest 'communities' (in the province) live in comfortable first-world conditions and have good health indicators, the poorest live in conditions comparable with some of the worst found in developing countries and have very poor health indicators" (Swart 2006:349). When looking at the Western Cape from a demographic point of view, it is

noted that it is predominantly occupied by 'coloured people' who are also known as 'Cape Coloured people', meaning it is a mixed population which has its focus in the Western Cape (Patterson 1953:14). The 1996 census established that the Western Cape has the highest Coloured population in the country, constituting around 54% of the province's 3.9 million people (StatsSA 1996). There is controversy around the term 'mixed race' or 'coloured people' as this term was introduced by the colonialists to categorise people. Some (mainly whites of the colonial and apartheid eras) thought of people from the 'mixed race' as an impure race, as its descendents were from diverse cultural and racial groups. This notion of an impure race resulted in the Coloured people being seen and treated as an underclass.

The Europeans' first encounter with the indigenous Khoi tribes of the Cape were at the time of the discovery of the sea route to the East around the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the fifteenth century (Cilliers 1963:9). Some Europeans regarded the indigenous tribes to be unsuitable and inadequate to meet the demand for personal service and labour and therefore imported slaves from various countries such as Madagascar, Mozambique, Batavia etc. Cultural assimilation and westernisation led to the formation of the present Coloured population (Cilliers 1963:10). The slaves were not just westernised, but they adopted new life ways into their existing way of life which produced a very creole way of life in the Cape. The indigenous tribes eventually came into contact with the slaves resulting in a process of biological, cultural and social assimilation between the groups. Biological assimilation was not only taking place between these two groups, but between the white and slave elements, as well as the white and indigenous elements. These processes ultimately led to the origination of the Coloured population (Cilliers 1963:11).

Despite the genetic mixing between basically all the groups, the white settlers still differentiated between themselves and the non-whites. One would assume that the original distinctions and differentiations were based on race or colour, but in fact it sprang from a distinction between Christian and heathen. This basis of distinction became so strong that conversion to the Christian faith became a condition for acceptability within the colonial context (Cilliers 1963:11). Acceptance within the colonial society of the time at the Cape meant access to resources and to a certain degree status, even if it was not as abundant as for the colonialists. As time progressed, this basis of differentiation became more identified with the perceptible features of race and colour, which later became a criteria for discrimination. In addition, the eighteenth century saw the emergence of the philanthropic movement led by missionaries from foreign countries, which resulted into a missionary programme amongst the original indigenous tribes at the Cape (Cilliers 1963:11). When the European missionaries arrived at the Cape centuries ago, they took it upon themselves to

bring salvation to the indigenous people, thus propagating the adoption of the Christian faith. The missionaries convinced a substantial number of the indigenous Khoi groups and ex-slaves that they were living uncivilised lives which were usually associated with sin and the Devil. They told them what was right and wrong and how to live as good Christians. These people therefore accepted the package the missionaries had to offer, meaning that they now accepted Jesus Christ into their lives and “rejected the Devil and all his works, which (to the missionaries) had dominated these people’s lives, and acquiring hope in their eventual salvation through Christ” (Ross 1999:339).

After the acceptance of the Christian faith there was a notable change amongst most of the ‘Coloured people’⁴. Not only did their behaviour change, resulting in them leading Christian lives, but their appearance was altered too. They now tried to live sober and chaste lives and those who could afford it dressed in tidy European clothes (Ross 1999:339). Together with adopting the Christian faith, came the concept of respectability. Its attainment was a major goal for many of the colony’s inhabitants, regardless of their background (Ross 1999:341). Those who were of British aristocratic descent could flaunt the norms of respectability with social impunity while others, ranging from Cape Town’s elite, ex-slaves to Khoikhoi, were anxious to preserve the impression of sobriety and chastity upon which their reputation and standing in society depended (Ross 1999: 341). In an Eastern Cape town, called Uitenhage, it was noted that many coloured individuals considered the profession of Christianity to be a necessary badge of respectability. Many missionaries were therefore not entirely sure that these people were becoming Christians out of inner conviction or whether they wanted to acquire a worldly status (Ross 1999:342). The latter statement was however just speculation and not always easy to justify, as respectability is often linked to religion (Goodhew 2000:241). Robert Ross (1999:342) suggests that the concept of respectability (referred to as *ordentlikheid* within the *Afrikaans* language spoken by most Cape coloureds) has two meanings. Firstly it refers to certain culturally specific forms of behaviour and secondly it entails respect, especially self-respect and respect from others (Ross 1999:342). The majority of the ‘coloured’ population experienced battering and degradation inherent in slavery and therefore respectability was something they had to obtain. The church and its discipline was an ideal way to provide these people with the necessities to obtain respectability.

⁴ Coloured people refers to a mixed group included various indigenous Khoisan groups as well as slaves that were brought to South Africa from various places such as Madagascar, Mozambique, Batavia, etc.

The early start of the missionary effort amongst the 'coloureds' led to their early Christianisation (Cilliers 1963:12). As time progressed, basically all sections of the coloured population, except for a relatively small section of Cape Malays, came under the influence of the Christian religion.

The latter argument gives some support to Sheila Patterson's (1953:132) claim that the propagation of true Christianity in South Africa has met with more success amongst the 'coloured' people than amongst the whites. This is quite ironic, as Christianity was initially a fairly white European religious tradition, which colonialist missionaries wanted to share with the so-called uncivilised people of Africa, but now we see that more people of colour are practicing the faith than the European white people.

David Goodhew (2000:241) is of the opinion that respectability is difficult to define as other authors' use of the concept varies, but he does recognise that the concept contains a fixed core. The core features are economic independence, orderliness, cleanliness and fidelity in sexual relations and furthermore it is often linked to religion (Goodhew 2000:241). Thus, respectability was contrasted with what was considered to be 'rough' (Goodhew 2000:241). Ignatius Swart's (2006:346) claims can be linked to the above-mentioned argument, where he states that in South Africa, no other social institution can claim to command the same level of public trust as the Christian churches, mainly due to the respectability it claims to possess.

In Fiona C Ross's (2005) article *Model Communities and Respectable Residents?*, it is evident that 'respectability' has a variety of meanings to different people in an array of contexts. She investigated the concept of *ordentlikheid* amongst residents of an informal settlement in the Western Cape. For the residents, *ordentlikheid* was concerned with appearance and with cementing reciprocal relationships, while bureaucrats believed that *ordentlikheid* was an individual characteristic, fostered and manifested via education, responsibility and appearance. Many individuals in this informal settlement felt that they had no more dignity as their daily lives were undermined by poverty, violence, mobility and humiliation. Thus, when they heard they might receive formal housing, this gave them hope that they would become *ordentlike mense* (respectable people). Their description of an *ordentlike mens*, was therefore a person who was clean and neat and who lived in a decent place that was visibly being cared for and well maintained. They also made a link between *ordentlikheid* and the church, as some of these people's narratives stated "cleanliness is next to Godliness" (Ross 2005:640). Appearance and behaviour therefore determined *ordentlikheid*. However, for some, the appropriate behaviour associated with *ordentlikheid*

was taught through bitter, often violent experiences. This was especially apparent in the practices of childcare. For example, when children's behaviour was not in accord with social desires, this often led to verbal and sometimes physical punishment. The punishment of wrongdoers therefore seems intrinsic to the production of *ordentlikheid*.

Fiona Ross discovered that these people understood for the most part, that *ordentlikheid* was something innate and essential to humans, but that a negative environment such as the slum might cause loss of *ordentlikheid*. Many were therefore hopeful that a new living environment would cause *ordentlikheid* to thrive. Through these people's narratives and the arguments of Ross, it is evident that respectability (*ordentlikheid*) played an intrinsic part in shaping many people's lives and behaviour within the Western Cape, especially amongst the coloured community'. The concept of respectability was often linked to status as well. Therefore, the *gesiene mense in die gemeenskap* (prominent people in the community) were perceived to be respectable people. Differentiation factors, such as class and status, date back to the era of colonisation. The heterogeneous background of the coloured population, their relative integration in the economy of the then white South Africa and their almost complete westernisation and marginal position in general class structure, ultimately led to the development of sharp class distinctions among themselves (Cilliers 1963:27). Many coloureds aspired to be in all respects as much like the whites as possible, therefore status was being ascribed to a person on the basis of colour and even physical appearance, such as the type of hair you had. Status was, however, later based primarily on achievement (Cilliers 1963:28).

Through this brief historical overview of the origin of the coloured population at the Cape and their social, cultural, and, economic development, it is evident that respectability (*ordentlikheid*) is closely interwoven with the history of the church and missionary bodies' activities in South Africa. Various Christian churches and missionary bodies active in South Africa, especially since the 18th century, have played an important and often decisive role in the destiny of the Coloured population (Cilliers 1963:57).

Returning to the issue of crime and deviance, it is statistically proven that the Western Cape has emerged as the country's most crime-ridden province, and the Northern Cape as the most violent (Leggett 2004:16). The official statistics indicate that the Western Cape has by far the worst overall crime problem in the country and in many crime categories, the fastest growing crime problem (Leggett 2004:16). One must be mindful that many crimes go unreported for various reasons such as inconvenience and mistrust of the police. Therefore

if rates of reporting are high within the Western Cape, then this could make the area look more crime-ridden than it really is (Leggett 2004:17).

Despite the latter statement, it is still shocking to see that in 2002/3, 85 murders per 100,000 citizens occurred in the Western Cape alone. Since 1994, there has been a drastic reduction in killings in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, due to the decline of political violence. This is not the case in the Western Cape as there are more murders today than in 1994 (Leggett 2004:17). Furthermore, the Western Cape province is also known to have the highest overall rates of property crime, as well as the highest rates of recorded cases of illegal possession of a firearm or ammunition (Leggett 2004:18).

The question that comes to mind is: "what are the reasons for the high crime levels in the Western Cape?" Ted Leggett (2004:19), of the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), suggests that answering this question requires considerable research, but he offered a few possible and partial explanations. Inward migration and urbanisation are two possible and related explanations of the crime crises. The Cape has a serious substance abuse problem. Therefore, it is likely that alcohol and drugs also play a role in the violence experienced in the Cape. Alcohol may impact on violent crime in a number of ways, while the use of drugs may lead to property crime as addicts may steal to pay for their addictions (Leggett 2004:20). The MRC/ISS arrestee drug monitoring study, indicated that in 2000, Cape Town had the highest share of arrestees testing positive for any drug (56%) (Leggett 2004:20).

Police coverage also plays an important role in crime statistics. It seems as though police coverage has improved in recent years, but there is still room for improvement. According to Ted Leggett (2004:20), another possible explanation for high crime statistics in the Western Cape is due to the dominant population group in the region, namely the 'coloured community'. When reading the above statement at first, it might seem as a racially discriminative statement, but in the article *Still Marginal: Crime in the Coloured community*, Ted Leggett (2004) explains why he makes this statement.

He starts off by emphasising the lack of a clear definition of the population category referred to as 'coloured' and that they are a minority population group in South Africa (Leggett 2004:21). In the past many of the latter population category of people were lumped together in the wasteland of the Cape, due to the Groups Area Act and therefore, share a recent common history. This history was not always easy, as coloured people were seen as not 'white enough' under the apartheid regime and now they are considered as not 'black enough' in the new democracy (Leggett 2004:21). Many coloured people thus continued to

feel socially excluded, despite the abolishment of apartheid. It could therefore be argued that the majority of the coloured population were marginalised under apartheid and remain so in the present day. This might contribute immensely to the problem of crime, which is a symptom and cause of exclusion (Leggett 2004:21).

According to official figures, coloured people are twice as likely as any other population group to be murdered and twice as likely to be incarcerated (Leggett 2004:21). Only 9% of the national population comprises of the coloured population, but yet they make up 18% of the national prison population (Leggett 2004:22). The reason for this may be that other population groups/ categories might have other ways of dealing with crime problems, such as the use of private security or traditional means of dealing with offenders, while coloured people are more reliant on the state (Leggett 2004:22). This is not the only explanation for the high crime level amongst the coloured population. Unemployment is a major issue in South Africa and many of the coloured population felt the brunt of it. Since 1994, the percentage of unemployment has increased more amongst the coloured people than the black people. Thus, relative to its accustomed standard of living, the coloured community has probably experienced more detrimental change since 1994 than the black community in the Western Cape. In addition, Leggett (2004:23) argues that because the new policy of affirmative action basically favours black Africans, who hold political power, it may lead to an increased sense of exclusion amongst many of the coloured population. Education can also play a role. Statistics indicated that coloured people are slightly more likely to have finished secondary school than blacks, but they are less likely to have tertiary education (Leggett 2004:23). This can have a big impact on their future economic status as they can not really qualify for top of the range jobs.

As mentioned earlier, the coloured people in Cape Town were resettled under apartheid into high-density 'dormitory communities' in the Cape Flats. These people thus had access to formal housing, but they had little room to expand as families grew. Due to this lack of space inside homes, many coloured youth in urban areas spent a lot of time on the streets. The playgroup therefore became a kind of surrogate family to these young people, but with a different set of norms. When these norms of the street become more important than the norms of the home, you have the beginning of a gang (Leggett 2004:24). Franz Vanderschuren's (1996:100) argument can relate to that of Leggett, as he states that the family is a child's first experience and a socially vulnerable family may be incapable of offering a positive social outlook and balanced family atmosphere. Thus, a negative experience of youth may lead to non-adaptation at school, to a lack of personal discipline and to low self-esteem. "This creates a need to develop psycho-social compensatory

mechanisms that lead young people to join groups that become schools of criminality. Anti-social behaviour or criminal activity thus becomes the means of affirming an alternative form of self-esteem recognized by the group or gang itself” (Vanderschueren 1996:101). In addition, long term residence in these ‘dormitory communities’ may result in identification with ‘turf’ i.e. territory, among local youth and this usually feeds gangsterism (Leggett 2004:24). This is one of the biggest concerns on the Cape Flats. Substance abuse is also a huge problem amongst coloured communities and it is the cause of most criminal activities. It could be argued that substance abuse, especially alcohol abuse, started in the colonial era when labourers were rewarded for the work by receiving alcohol, but this will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. After supplying all these possible explanations for Ted Leggett’s argument the question still remains: Is the Cape crime problem a coloured problem? Ted Leggett (2004:25) is aware that although he provided all these possible explanations, some of the occurrences he mentioned might be found among other population categories as well. Therefore, more research must be undertaken into this matter. Many people, especially coloured people, may take offence to Leggett’s article but from an academic point of view, it supplies us with an overview of life in the Cape Flats and broader Western Cape where many coloured people live.

After reading all the horrific statistics on the crime situation in the Western Cape, it might seem as if everyone in the Western Cape is just sitting back while criminals are causing havoc. This is however not true. Many initiatives have been established over the years, both through the state and civil society, to address crime. Civil society was especially becoming frustrated by the incompetence of the police with regards to the crime problem. “Do-it-yourself policing” thus started to spread across the Cape Peninsula as communities organised themselves to do the tasks their understaffed police stations could not do (Rossouw 1995). Community members got together and formed Neighbourhood Watches. By 1995, the Cape Flats community of Mitchell’s Plain saw the rise of 10 Neighbourhood Watch units within that sprawling dormitory town with a membership count of 4000. The Mitchell’s Plain watch was launched in 1990 in response to the local police’s inability to deal with local crime (Rossouw 1995). This was of course voluntary work and therefore members had to purchase their own equipment and many made use of their own cars for patrolling the streets. The vice-chairman at the time, Louis Swiegelaar, stated that “we live in the area; we know the gangsters and, more importantly, we know how to talk to them” (Rossouw 1995). This phenomenon of ‘do-it-yourself-policing’ soon spread through the Western Cape and reached small semi-rural towns such, as Kylemore in the Dwars River Valley.

Some people took the concept of crime prevention to an extreme level, as they fought crime with crime. PAGAD was classified as a popular movement at first within the Cape Flats as they fought against crime and drugs, but they soon turned into a vigilante group as their manner of preventing crime turned violent (Nina 2000:25). This transformation from popular movement to vigilante and later urban terror, is largely due to the inability of a weak post-transitional state to protect its citizens.

This depiction of the Western Cape provides insights into the history, people and complexities of the Western Cape that make it easier to understand and analyse the social world of Kylemore and the way crime prevention strategies operate there.

4.3 Historical background of Kylemore in the Dwars River Valley

Kylemore, the location under study, is situated within the Dwars River Valley (DRV). The DRV is a semi-rural area located between Stellenbosch and the well-known tourist town of Franschhoek, in the Western Cape. This valley, which is surrounded by breath-taking mountains, streams and fertile land, consists of a number of farms and four villages known as Pniel, Johannesdal, Kylemore and Lanquedoc. The population in the valley is predominantly Afrikaans-speaking and falls under the previously racially classified group of 'Coloureds', with a number of Xhosa-speakers who arrived in recent years. The few white people in the area are mostly farm owners. The valley is home to an estimated 9 000 people and has a history that dates back to the Stone Age.

This area was previously known as part of the Groot Drakenstein Valley. However, with the abolishment of the old apartheid-based units, the Coloured Rural Area and 'white' commercial farms were brought together as part of the Stellenbosch Municipality. The name Dwars River Valley is now often used in the context of planning and development for this area (van der Waal 2005: 8).

When we look back into history, we see that nomadic indigenous tribes, such as the San and Khoi, freely roamed the valley more than 2000 years ago. However in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, they were subjugated to colonial rule and later grouped together under the label 'Coloured'. These inhabitants created and sustained their livelihoods through hunting game alongside the Dwars River and by gathering plants from the Simonsberg and Groot Drakenstein mountain. Epidemics, such as smallpox, in colonial times reduced the population and their livestock. The Khoi groups had to search for alternative ways of

sustaining themselves, which led many participating in wage labour by working on farms that had been established in the DRV and elsewhere. The 'coloured' population thus provided these farms with labour. With sufficient labour and fertile land, this region soon became popular for wine and wheat farming. In the 1680s a number of ex-VOC (Dutch East India Company) employees, French Huguenots and freed slaves came to the valley in search of economic opportunities.

One of the Huguenot farmers who went by the name of Jean le Long was granted the farm Bossendal (now Boschendal and one of the well-known farms in the area) by the VOC administration in the late 1680s (van der Waal 2005:10). In the late 19th century, the wine-farming suffered immensely when an epidemic of *phylloxera* destroyed the vineyards in this region. Cape politician and businessman, Cecil John Rhodes, saw this economic disaster as a commercial opportunity and bought a block of several farms, including Boschendal, and started the largest deciduous fruit export business in the country, the Rhodes Fruit Farms (van der Waal 2005:10). This industry became the primary provider of employment for many in the valley. In 1969, Anglo American and de Beers acquired the majority interest in Boschendal and Rhodes Fruit Farms and expanded wine-farming at Boschendal (van der Waal 2005:10).

In recent years, the agricultural economy in the DRV has undergone rapid changes. Due to mechanisation and retrenchment on the Anglo American Farms (AAF) in the 1990s, the valley saw a substantial decrease in the number of farm workers. At the same time an increase arose in the privatisation of farm work, services and benefits, which led to the growth of a class of people without access to housing and services (van der Waal 2005:11). The relationship between the commercial farmers in the valley and the people of the villages, was shaped by historical conditions as land for commercial farms was only permitted to whites under apartheid, while a large section of the valley's coloured population made up the workers on the farms and in the associated agro-industries. It is thus clear that there are huge social and economic inequalities between the farm workers and the farm owners. The villages in the valley were, to a large extent, established in response to a need for labour on the commercial farms. Although there is a common rationale behind the establishment of these villages, it must be noted that each village has its own unique history and identity as their origin and the conditions under which they were settled differs. These differences ultimately influenced the way in which people in the settlement had access to resources and how each community was organised.

Four years after the abolishment of slavery in 1834 in South Africa, slaves were given the freedom to leave the farms if they so wished. The farmers knew the potential their workers possessed with regards to agriculture and fruit farming skills and realised that they might lose these workers. The farmers were thus in desperate need of a strategy to keep the labour pool in close proximity to the farms. With this in mind, Huguenot farmers purchased land on Papiermolen farm in the region of the Dwars River and subdivided it into 99 plots to accommodate farm workers around 1840. In 1843, a mission station was established to administer the new residents and Papiermolen's name changed to Pniel, meaning face of God (van der Waal 2005:12). The ex-slaves who chose to live on the mission station had the advantage of access to land and fostering their own community.

Despite the emancipation of the slaves, the farmers still 'unofficially' regulated and administered the slaves by appointing a missionary by the name of Johan Frederick Stegman, who served not only as a spiritual leader, but as a magistrate and school master of the mission school. Due to the establishment of a mission school, the residents of Pniel had a head start on the other villages in terms of education. This early exposure to education ultimately led to the upward mobility of the Pniel residents, as they became more economically advanced than the rest of the valley. When looking at Pniel today, most residents have ownership of their houses and formal employment in various fields, such as the professions, agricultural storage services, fruit trade and transport.

In 1902, Cecil John Rhodes took the 'farm workers town' concept further and commissioned Sir Herbert Baker to build houses on a farm called Lanquedoc to accommodate workers from surrounding farms with the intent to keep the labour near to his farms. He thus created a model farm worker's village with the intention to attract good labour and respectable workers. Sobriety and good Christian living were encouraged, resulting in strict social practices and the prohibition of alcohol.

In 1998 the dynamics changed somewhat in Lanquedoc as it became a relocation housing scheme for local farm workers and migrants from the Eastern Cape⁵. In 2004, an influx of about 3000 people took place in this housing project, which created complexities within the community as they were seen as uneducated and uprooted farm workers (van der Waal 2005: 14). The farm worker's village now turned into a village where unemployment was rife, housing and service delivery was poor, which ultimately led to social degradation.

⁵ In 1998 Anglo American Farms (AAF) made the decision to rationalise their landholdings and sell their farm properties in the Dwars River Valley to estate developers. As a result, more than 2500 farm workers lost their jobs and homes on the farms and had to be relocated.

In the earlier years of the 20th century, many young families in Pniel were looking for alternative space within the valley as available land became a problem in Pniel. A farm in close proximity to Pniel, by the name of Rust-en-Vrede, came onto the market. Many of these young families bought land on this farm to settle down. The people of the valley have various tales to tell as how Kylemore got its name. One of the stories was that Kylemore was considered as a wetland and as the stories go, a man by the name of Alexander Kyle bought this land and the area later became known as Kyle's Moore i.e. Kylemore. Whether this is myth or fact is still uncertain.

By 1885 the land of Kylemore was drained and subdivided by various church organisations such as the Charity organisation, the Funeral Society and the Death Society, who eventually came to own the land. At the time, land in the village could be purchased but only by members of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church. People from Pniel were able to obtain land for housing in Kylemore where they established a more affluent part of the village (van der Waal 2005:14). In the early 20th century, housing in Kylemore developed further but unlike the more affluent scene in Pniel, Kylemore was seen as a relatively poor place with many corrugated iron houses and 'shacks' of an agricultural working class population (van der Waal 2005:14). Many residents from Kylemore worked on the surrounding farms and in the associated food processing factories, thus making them dependent on seasonal labour and resulting in a high annual unemployment rate between the months of May and October. The current population count within Kylemore is approximately 3000 residents. It is estimated that 15% of the Kylemore residents have an above average income, while 45% were either unemployed or seasonal workers on the surrounding farms, and the remaining 40% earn approximately R3000 or less per month (personal communication 18/03/2006).

In the 1980s and in 1994 municipal housing schemes were introduced in Kylemore, where ex-farm workers obtained property (van der Waal 2004:14). This led to some anxiety among residing Kylemore residents, as the incoming people (*inkommers*), especially from outside the valley, were often associated with moral deterioration of the established group (van der Waal 2004:14). There was thus a clear differentiation between people, not only in the whole of DRV but within Kylemore as well. The lower-end of Kylemore was the oldest part with houses that were originally purchased by people from Pniel. This area was known as the *onderdorp* (lower town), where earlier residents and middle class people lived. The upper part of Kylemore, known as the *bo-dorp*, was seen as less developed in terms of housing and was home to mainly agricultural working class people. In this part of the village, also known as the *skiem* (scheme), there were many shacks, as well as shack extensions, on

houses which served as temporary structures, while some families saved up for building material to build or extend their homes.

4.4 Kylemore at present

Since the establishment of these new housing schemes (*skiems*) numerous *smokkelhuise* (shebeens) emerged, especially in the streets of low-cost houses. According to the majority of the residents, most anti-social activities occurred in Malva Street which was situated in the latest *skiem* and was referred to as Kylemore's crime hotspot. These activities were usually drug- and alcohol- related and often resulted in violence and unrest.

Despite the presence of the shebeens in the community, Kylemore was a relatively safe area where children could still play in the streets. I was amazed to see young children playing hide-and-seek at night, in a street with no street lights and without any cares or fears. The main concern about crime in the whole valley is about drug and alcohol abuse, especially among the young people. The drug that causes the most concern, not only in the Dwars River Valley, but in the whole of the Western Cape, is crystal methamphetamine, better known as 'tik'.

'Tik' is produced from various harmful chemicals and can be produced within our own kitchens, by using ingredients purchased from any local pharmacy. A key ingredient in 'tik' is pseudo-ephedrine which can be found in many commercial cold and flu remedies (Vas 2008). This drug stimulates the central nervous system, causing chemical reactions in the brain that trick the body into thinking it has unlimited energy supplies and drains energy reserves needed in other parts of the body. 'Tik' users can therefore stay awake for long periods of time and then eventually crash, feeling tired and depressed, leaving them worse off than before they took the drug (Narconon Souther California, 2007). This results in damaging effects, as the users get addicted to the drug. You only need to use it once or twice to become addicted. This addiction is a chronic, relapsing disease, characterised by compulsive drug-seeking and drug use which is accompanied by functional and molecular changes in the brain (Narconon Souther California, 2007). This can ultimately lead to the users' death.

Returning to the situation in Kylemore, I heard throughout my fieldwork a common statement made by the residents of Kylemore and the rest of the valley about the lack of entertainment within the Dwars River Valley. According to them, this was the most general reason behind the use of drugs and alcohol amongst the youth. There was no real entertainment within the

Dwars River Valley, especially for the youth. Until 2004, the only real form of entertainment for the youth was a night club in Pniel called *The Plaza*. This has since been closed down and the only real entertainment is in Stellenbosch which is approximately 10 kilometres away. This is too out of the way for most people in the valley, especially if you do not own a vehicle. Many individuals, therefore, turn to the shebeens for some sort of entertainment or to drugs. Consequently, the clients of the shebeens (usually from the *skiem*) often protest when the police, together with the local Neighbourhood Watch, raid the shebeens as they feel they are being robbed from the only bit of pleasure they have left in the community.

The farm workers who are employed on the surrounding farms and agro-industry have to work the whole week on the farms and therefore, when it comes to weekends they are in search of some sort of relaxation and entertainment. As mentioned before, there is no real entertainment for these people besides sitting at the shebeen drinking alcohol and even smoking dagga. Many of these farm workers have children waiting for them at home while they are sitting at the shebeens. This is a vicious cycle that gets passed on from generation to generation. It could however be argued that this all started with the *dop system* that was implemented years ago by white farm owners. In the 1700s, the European colonialists discovered the potential of the fertile land and climate of South Africa, especially the Western Cape and therefore capitalised on this by creating an agricultural economy. In the Western Cape Province, this meant grain and wine production (Mckinstry 2005). The colonial farmers created a system known as the *dop system* to pay the farm workers, who were predominately 'coloured' and 'black' people. Payment under the *dop system* initially consisted of bread, tobacco, and wine (Mckinstry 2005). This method of payment was not particularly unusual in farming communities, but the *dop system* became unique to the Western Cape as farmers institutionalised alcohol as a condition of service (London 2003:60). One of the incentives for using this system was that it provided the farmers with a way to dispose of excess wine that was deemed unfit for the sophisticated market. As one study suggested, it was reject wine unsuited for the open market and it was sold back to the farmers for next to nothing (London 2003:61). This system was recently made illegal but this did however not stop the continuation of this vicious cycle in some places. After 300 years of implementation of the *dop system* in the Western Cape Province, the world is only now beginning to see its devastating repercussions. "The *dop system* promoted and sustained a culture of alcohol intake that not only ensured that local communities stayed impoverished, but also had negative biological, psychological, and social consequences for the population" (Mckinstry 2005). The system has particularly affected the mothers and the children of the Western Cape Province, including the Dwars River Valley.

4.5 Social and economic tribulations facing Kylemore

As was briefly mentioned, drugs, especially 'tik', are currently the biggest concern in terms of social problems within Kylemore. Some of these drugs are produced locally, but for the most, these drugs are brought into Kylemore from outside drug dealers or gangs, such as those from Stellenbosch. The use and sale of drugs therefore brings a number of strangers into the community on a regular basis which is considered as a threat by many residents. There was an incident where a 9 year- old boy was found smoking *dagga* (weed/cannabis). Kylemore was mostly a working class community, but yet the drug users somehow obtained the resources to support their addiction. Many children started stealing from their parents or extended family, and later from anyone in the community, to support their addiction. Other young people were lured by drug dealers and started selling drugs to ensure they would get their next 'fix'.

Another common feature within the community of Kylemore was that of domestic violence, especially among low-income households. This was usually caused by excessive alcohol consumption. Many parents got drunk often and this usually resulted in aggression which ultimately led to conflicts within the household. These conflicts were usually in the form of physical and verbal abuse, especially on the women and children. Many children therefore felt neglected as their parents were for the most part intoxicated, thus paying very little attention to them. This could cause emotional instability among these children. It was however typical of human nature to have some sense of belonging and often it was exactly this search for belonging that steered many young people to join groups that were usually aligned with drug dealers or gangs. Some of the Rastas and drug dealers in the Valley lure these vulnerable children in and use them to sell their drugs for them. In exchange they supply these children with material goods their parents cannot afford or drugs. Sexual crimes were already reported about one of the drug dealers in the community. He was accused of raping a number of girls in the area. The police could however not find any hard evidence about these allegations and within a month he was set free and moved back into the community.

When walking the streets of Kylemore, one would never think that many young people were addicted to some sort of drug whether it be alcohol, dagga or *tik*. However, the harsh reality is that many of the Valley's youth were so addicted that they would go to great lengths to get their next 'hit'. This is, to my understanding, one of the biggest reasons behind criminal activity within Kylemore. Many of the drug and alcohol users fall in the low-income bracket.

When users of these substances start craving for these drugs it usually leads to crimes such as house break-ins, car thefts, prostitution and the like.

Kylemore was not the only community in the valley that faced the dilemma of drug abuse as it was a concern throughout the valley. Pniel is also faced with the phenomenon of drug abuse. The problem was also found amongst the more affluent people who did have the money to obtain drugs. Many residents, especially the parents of the drug-users, turn a blind eye to this serious problem, as they were either too proud or too ashamed that others will look down upon them for their child's problem. As a result, this serious issue was not dealt with, which in many cases led to more harm.

According to the statistics kept at Groot Drakenstein Police Station, most crimes that were committed within the Dwars River Valley area, were that of assault (which usually involves weapons, such as knives, and were usually caused by abuse of alcohol and drugs), and evidently the existence of shebeens and the availability of drugs in a context of poverty and much unemployment. Contact crime, such as assault and domestic violence is a great concern for the police department in the area. Once again, these crimes can all be linked to the consumption of alcohol or drugs, thus when a murder occurs it is often due to contact crime caused by alcohol and drug abuse and therefore not necessarily premeditated.

In addition, the shebeens (*smokkelhuise*) caused concerns, as alcohol and often other harmful substances, were sold illegally and sometimes to underage children. On numerous occasions the police together with Kylemore's Neighbourhood Watch, raided (*skud*) the shebeens and confiscated the alcohol. The police can however not just raid a shebeen. They first need factual evidence of illegal activity and thereafter a warrant to raid a shebeen. These procedures usually take a while before it can be implemented and when the police eventually succeed in closing down a shebeen, it would not be long before another shebeen opens somewhere else. Thus the phenomenon of shebeens will be a constant element in the Dwars River Valley.

It could be argued that not all crimes were related to alcohol and drug abuse. Due to neglect, abuse and perhaps other social dilemmas, some people, especially young people, adopted anti-social behaviour which got them into trouble by breaking into people's houses. Others committed crime because they did not have sufficient access to basic resources or felt disadvantaged and therefore became involved in anti-social behaviour, such as theft. House break-ins have increased in recent times, especially on the properties of the rich farm owners surrounding Kylemore.

Although Kylemore was a predominantly working class community where unemployment was high and where various criminal activities occurred, Kylemore was still relatively safe in terms of violent crimes compared to communities with a similar socio-economic status in the broader Western Cape. Although similarities existed between 'coloured communities' within the Western Cape, it does not suggest that all such communities were similar in character. Each community had its own context, such as an historical background which to a large extent, moulded the community. In many regards the historical background, of Kylemore stands in contrast with that of the Coloured communities of the Cape Flats. Kylemore is located in the Winelands of the Western Cape and basically came into being with a link to farm labour needs, while the people of the Cape Flats were dumped in the wastelands of the Cape due to political reasons. As Leggett (2004) mentioned, growing up and making a living in the dormitory towns of the Cape Flats was at times traumatising, due to the violent environment and its socio-economic circumstances. Kylemore (a semi-rural area) was also faced with socio-economic challenges, but unlike the urban areas, this community was not as much exposed to the violent crimes that so often occurred in places such as the Cape Flats. It is therefore difficult to make generalisations about communities, as the context of each community differs, whether it is geographically, socially or economically.

Unemployment is widespread in Kylemore, particularly amongst the males. On one sunny winter afternoon I decided to walk down the streets of Kylemore to see who was willing to talk to me and to share views about the community. It was about 13:30 in the afternoon but the streets were already filled with people walking about and sitting around. In the suburbs this was not a usual phenomenon, as basically everyone is at work during that time of the day. Without anyone saying a word, one could already sense that many were perhaps struggling with the dilemma of unemployment. It was also surprising to see a number of children roaming the streets instead of being in school. I gathered that this was most probably due to many parents' lack of resources and in some cases lack of sufficient interest in their children's development.

Through the course of my field work, I discovered that in many households, the women are the breadwinners. These women are, however, not selective when it comes to work. They will do basically any work just to provide their children with the necessary resources. The majority of these women work in the local agro-industries, mostly as fruit packers. The unfortunate implication of working on a fruit farm was that the work was only seasonal, resulting in unemployment during the winter months. Most of the men in Kylemore were contract workers as builders and painters. Many a time, these men thus also had to wait for

work. As a result of the unemployment, poverty and associated forms of depression, many started drinking and even started smoking weed (cannabis). It seems that, unlike the women in Kylemore, the men might be less willing to take on any job. This is however not a reflection on all the men in Kylemore, but many fell victim to this.

Due to the high unemployment rate, many parents lacked the necessary resources to send their children to tertiary institutions as this would require tuition fees as well as travelling or accommodation costs. The majority of the residents in Kylemore thus did not progress to higher education and therefore many resorted to working on the surrounding farms. There were certain exceptions where individuals managed to obtain a decent job without academic qualifications and some fortunate ones received tertiary education. From an outsiders' point of view, Kylemore could appear to be a forgotten town with little contact to the outside world. I was however wrong for thinking this as I discovered that many of the surrounding farms donated money for various projects and workshops in the community to stimulate development and ultimately create employment. In addition the people in Kylemore travel to many places themselves, including towns, cities and at times other countries.

Despite various negative connotations, mentioned above, the residents of Kylemore perceive themselves as a very close-knit community. They said that everybody knew everybody and when in need, the community stood together and supported each other, which resulted in a relatively good understanding amongst the people. The geographical set-up of Kylemore contributed to this 'closeness' as it was a relatively small area with only one entrance and exit point. As a student of the social sciences, I am however, aware that the concept of 'close-knit community' is somewhat fictitious, but nevertheless the term provides a good depiction of how the people of Kylemore perceived themselves and their community. Throughout my fieldwork, it was apparent that many of the people of Kylemore had a passion for their community and they would not exchange this place for any other place in the world. This was especially widespread among the older generation as they would always talk with great passion about their beloved Kylemore and its beautiful surroundings. The fact that everybody knew everybody, also allowed residents to know exactly where the 'bad' spots in the community lied. This could lead to a degree of discrimination. The people from the *skiem* were predominantly farm workers and this is usually where all the unruly activity occurs. Despite the fact that people see themselves as 'close-knit', they still make the distinction between those from the *skiem* (especially Malva Street) and the rest of the community, thus almost looking down upon these people. Not everyone who lived in Malva Street or in the *skiem* for that matter conformed to the unruly behaviour so many were guilty of, but generalisations still seemed to be made by many in the community. The number of

shebeens found within Malva Street probably also contributed to the bad reputation it had, with people from other parts of Kylemore coming there and misbehaving as well.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, municipal housing schemes were introduced in Kylemore in the late 1980s and again in 1994. The people who were housed in these schemes were mostly from the surrounding farms and thus seen as *inkommers* (incomers) who were disrupting the peace of the established group. Now after more than ten years of residing in Kylemore, it is fair to say that these new residents were settled in. Therefore the people who moved into the community in recent years were then perceived as *inkommers* into their domain.

On numerous occasions I was on the streets of Kylemore and even on the 'notorious' Malva Street without any fear of my safety. At times a fellow research student and I would go door-to-door to see who would be willing to talk to us. On one particular day we were conducting an interview with an old man (76 years old) on the side of Malva Street. While the interview was in progress, a group of four men walked towards us. I am familiar with the saying 'don't judge a book by its cover', but these men seemed very suspicious, especially in the manner they walked towards us and the way they glared at us. They walked past us very close by and looked at us as if they wanted to intimidate us. I was aware that most of the drug dealers were located in Malva Street and that they could walk past us and we would not even know. Not jumping to conclusions, I remained calm and politely greeted them and continued with the interview. As we continued walking down Malva Street we saw a lady sitting outside in her front yard watching over a toddler (I later found out it was her grandchild whom she was looking after). We then approached her with the hope that she would be willing to talk to us. She seemed reluctant at first but eventually she agreed to speak to us. It had only been two years since she moved to Kylemore from one of the surrounding farms. When I asked her to tell more about her community she gave an almost helpless sigh and said "*As ek moet begin praat van die gemeenskap gaan ek 'n kop seer kry. Die plek is deurmekaar veral die straat*" (If I have to start talking about the community I am going to develop a headache. This place is in a muddle, especially this street). On weekends she could not sleep at night because of the noise and people fighting in the street. Therefore she rather kept to herself and stayed indoors. For her this is very different from life on the farm. As an *inkommer* (incomer), she felt that she did not have the authority to say anything about the conditions she and her family had to live under. "*Ek kan nie waag om iets te sê nie*" (I cannot dare say anything).

I could not help notice that as the interview progressed and the conversation steered in the direction of the social ills that lurked in the community, the interviewee became very nervous

and almost scared, as her eyes were looking all over the place to see who was watching her. She then stated that she was scared that people would see her talking to us and they might think that she was giving us information on who the drug dealers and trouble makers were. She feared that they might shoot or throw stones at her house. For the first time, I truly understood the reality and seriousness of the alcohol and especially the drug problem and the damaging and emotional effect it had on many in the community.

With regards to activities and entertainment, the overwhelming feeling amongst the people of the Valley was that there was a lack of entertainment. However, the communities were not without social activities. In Kylemore itself there were social activities. These activities mostly include sport such as rugby, soccer, cricket and netball. There were also numerous youth groups from each church denomination, church meetings as well as other activities such as choir groups. Kylemore was therefore not without any social activities, but these activities did not appeal to everyone and many, both young and old, were yearning for alternative development to take place with regards to entertainment. Many young people were of the opinion that Kylemore was a boring place and the only thing to do there over the weekend was to drink.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of community life, history, the socio-economic status as well as crime status of the Western Cape to better contextualise Kylemore. Although all population groups can be found in the Western Cape, the coloured population dominated the province and this also applied to Kylemore. Therefore this chapter focused predominantly on the history of the coloured population and various factors that influenced their lives and the way they perceived life. One cannot generalise about the whole population group as individuals all differ by nature as well as in their socio-economic status. However these general indications serve as a mechanism to provide a platform for analysis and discussion about the community of Kylemore and their reactions to crime and crime prevention.

As stated in this chapter, a few community members took it upon themselves to serve and protect their community from crime as well as the fear of crime and consequently established a Neighbourhood Watch. The next chapter elaborates on that community initiative and focuses on its organisational structure.

CHAPTER 5:
THE MOTIVATION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KYLEMORE NEIGHBOURHOOD
WATCH AND ITS ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

5.1 Introduction

“I was born in Kylemore, I played in these streets and in these mountains, this is where my heart lies and this is where I shall die someday.”

These sentiments were shared by many in Kylemore, especially the older generation. Their voices echoed a sense of pride when they talked about their beloved Kylemore, mirrored the bond they had with this place.

The community's beloved Kylemore was no utopia which was free from social and economic ills as was stated in the previous chapter. Instead this community was faced with various concerns, which ranged from unemployment to alcohol and drug abuse. Thus the residents' utterances about the natural splendour of this town were always followed by concerned expressions for the social and economic challenges they were faced with. This chapter is therefore a continuation of the discussion of the various problems Kylemore experienced, but more specifically, it explores the above-mentioned sentiments of residents further, in order to understand the reason behind the eventual establishment of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch.

Many adult residents in the community associated the youth with crime. The association might have led to various perceptions and outcomes regarding crime prevention, which ultimately had an effect on the organisation of crime prevention within the community. This will be discussed later in this chapter. With this in mind, a closer look was taken into the organisational structure of this Neighbourhood Watch and the various factors that influenced it, such as gender, class, generation, power, status and respect to better understand the Neighbourhood Watch and its functioning and the dynamics around it in the community. The association of youth with crime, especially within Kylemore, is an important issue that is highlighted in this chapter. I interviewed the Neighbourhood Watch members and residents of the community on a one-on-one basis, and I also gained access to the Neighbourhood Watch meetings and their daily patrols to explore and pick up possible trends and perceptions to give a possible explanation for this association of the youth with crime.

5.2 The establishment of Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch

Around about 1997, various social problems came to the fore within this community, which, in some instances led to criminal activity. Residents in Kylemore came to the realisation that their community was starting to be disrupted by criminal activities. Many of the youth fell into the trap of alcohol and drug abuse which had effects on the safety and security of people's lives and their possessions. All of a sudden the peaceful and safe community that most residents adored was disturbed by social problems. Many had dreams of growing old in this community without any fear and hoped that this would be the same for their next of kin, but now they feared that this dream might be shattered. With this said, my next step is to sketch a background to the events that led to the establishment of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch.

After the abolishment of apartheid, the South African government and its various policies were altered fundamentally. The policing policy was no exception. Various policies and strategies came to the fore and the concept of community policing was eventually accepted, which emphasised the involvement of civil society in policing matters. This meant that communities would be policing themselves as they were most familiar with their own surroundings and knew what the needs were in their community.

The previous head of the Groot Drakenstein Police Station (the police station that also serves the DRV), Captain Sauls, had this community policing concept in mind when he approached a well established resident in Kylemore. At the time (before 1997) the Groot Drakenstein Police Station was already facing the problem of insufficient manpower. During the evenings the police station often had only one officer at the station and another on patrol. As a result, it was impossible for the police to respond immediately to all the complaints and calls, especially over a weekend when most of the incidents occurred. This left the Dwars River Valley community extremely dissatisfied with the police service. The management of the Groot Drakenstein Police Station hence realised the need for community involvement in crime prevention and crime control. Captain Sauls therefore planted the idea of community involvement in crime fighting in one influential person's mind with the hope that it would materialise someday.

Round about that same time residents became aware that life in their peaceful town was somewhat being disrupted, especially by outside influences as they saw it. The gentleman Captain Sauls approached started considering the idea of community policing and shared it with a few of his male friends. He asked them what their thoughts were on safety and

security within Kylemore and whether they would be willing to help serve and protect their community voluntarily. Without hesitation these men accepted the challenge, as this reminded them of the dreams they had of growing old in Kylemore and seeing their children and their children's children growing up in this community without fear of crime and social evils. The men he first approached were men who were socially, and to a certain extent financially, in a good position within the context of Kylemore. These factors are used in my analysis of community policing in Kylemore.

At this point in time the problem of 'tik' was not yet as prevalent, as this drug was basically unknown to most in the community and not yet as present in the market. Members of the community were aware that a range of drugs were on the market and that it was just a matter of time before these drugs would infiltrate their community.

The youth was not their only concern. Alcohol abuse was prevalent amongst many adults and in many cases this led to violent outbursts and domestic violence. According to the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch (KNW) members, the idea behind the Neighbourhood Watch was therefore not just to control crime, but also to bring some positive energy into the community and to reduce the fear of crime with the intent that the community would mobilise themselves to rise above their circumstances.

Hence in 1997, under the guidance of the local police station, the KNW was established by nine men who can be regarded as the founder members. Although Captain Sauls 'planted the seed' of community policing, it was in actual fact the community members who took the initiative to start an alternative policing mechanism. To be recognised as a legitimate Neighbourhood Watch, they had to register with the local police and CPF in their area and adopt a constitution and code of conduct in line with the Provincial Constitution and Code of Conduct for Neighbourhood Watch Structures. Each member had to pay a registration fee of R45 out of their own pockets and an annual subscription of R10 that covered life membership.

The above mentioned document stated that a Neighbourhood Watch structure should not be affiliated to any political organisation and may not do any work or give the perception of being politically aligned with any political organisation. A Neighbourhood Watch structure may also not discriminate on the grounds on sex, gender or sexual orientation. Furthermore, the constitution states that a Neighbourhood Watch is not a legal person and must therefore function within the guidelines as provided and set out in the Western Cape Provincial Constitution and Code of conduct for Neighbourhood Watch structures and must operate

within the framework of the law. All the members of a Neighbourhood Watch act in their own capacity and liability will be in that capacity. A Neighbourhood Watch is accountable to the SAPS in the first instance and then to the local CPF. Should the local CPF be found to be dysfunctional, the Neighbourhood Watch will be accountable to the Provincial Community Police Board.

This code of conduct and the constitution was binding on all Neighbourhood Watch structures and members and emphasised the fact that they must at all times act in a non-violent manner. No member could therefore take the law into his or her own hands irrespective of the circumstances or display racism, sexism or any other form of discrimination towards any member and any other person.

The registration fee was not the only thing they had to pay out of their own pockets. At first, they patrolled the streets of Kylemore on foot with no communication equipment, as they had no resources at that time. When an incident occurred, the members on duty had to inform the rest of the group, as well as the police, by running to the closest telephone available. With the development of cell phone technology, members on duty could inform others as well as the police of incidents right away. They soon realised that this way of communication was becoming a great expense, as they had to pay for all the calls personally. They decided to approach a semi-government organisation by the name of *Fynbos* (that works in the surrounding mountains) and obtained permission to use their two-way radios during weekends.

As time went by, people quickly became aware of this new 'force' that was present within Kylemore. Slowly but surely crime levels started to decrease, in Kylemore but crime incidents consequently spread out to the surrounding farms. Everybody knew more or less everyone else in Kylemore, therefore if someone stole from someone in the community, the chances were high that by the next morning the perpetrator would be identified, which most likely first would result in a wrestling with the Neighbourhood Watch and thereafter the return of the stolen goods. This close-knit connection was not as prevalent on the surrounding farms. This made it easy for perpetrators to steal from the farms. Many farm owners experienced great losses and turned to the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch for help even though they already made use of private security companies. A few farm owners therefore called on the Neighbourhood Watch to patrol their farms on a daily basis and in return they supported them by assuring them of a certain amount of money each month. In 2000, one of these farms, *Le View*, sponsored them with two-way radios and in 2004 the farm owner of

Tokara sponsored them with a vehicle (*bakkie*) to make patrolling easier, especially on the farms.

5.3 Organisational Structure

The KNW did not just start patrolling the streets when they first started. With the encouragement of their local police, the Neighbourhood Watch first underwent training at Apostle Battery in Houtbay. One facet of the training was how to act and react in various cases of crime such as murder, theft, house break-ins, as well as cases of domestic violence. Some of the members also received training in first-aid.

About a month after their first training session, a murder occurred in the area. A man (who was not a resident from the area) murdered a woman and hid her body in the adjacent vineyards. One evening on the Neighbourhood Watch's regular patrols, they came across the body and through the skills they obtained at their training, they successfully established the identity of the perpetrator, leading to his arrest.

As time progressed, many individuals began to realise the value of this voluntary work and wanted to be part of it. After their first few years of existence, their membership grew annually. At that time, only males joined the Neighbourhood Watch, but they soon realised that they needed females on their team as well, associating them especially with administrative duties. The first females joined in 2004.

Although the Neighbourhood Watch needed the help and support of females in their team, the chair did not think it appropriate for women to go out on patrol with the men. Not only did he think it could be dangerous, but he was afraid that it might lead to sexual promiscuity which would reflect badly on the image of the Neighbourhood Watch. The females were therefore restricted to administrative duties in the form of *AKBs*⁶. The *AKB* was the person who receives the call about an incident, either from the police or from the community; they then reported it to the members on duty so that they could see to the matter and thereafter record it in their *Voorvalle boek (VB)* (Incidents Book).

Members were divided into four shifts and each shift had its own shift leader and *AKB*. Each shift only worked for one week every month to make it less strenuous, as members had

⁶ *AKB* is known as the complaint commander which is called a *Aanklag bevelvoerder*.

other responsibilities as well. The Neighbourhood Watch patrolled every night of the week. During the week things were usually more calm and relaxed, but on weekends there was more activity as many people indulged in alcohol use which often led to disruptive and sometimes violent behaviour.

Before each shift, the members on duty reported to their *AKB* via their two-way radio to inform her who were all on duty, what time they started their shift and to give a report on the status of the vehicle⁷.

The Neighbourhood Watch was open to anyone to join, but before attending meetings and going out on patrols, individuals who wished to join had to first become registered members. New members were then put on a probation period to prove themselves and to ensure that they were not informants for the local drug dealers. According to the constitution, no person with a criminal record was allowed to directly participate in the Neighbourhood Watch. They could perhaps have an input in community safety issues, but were not allowed to physically patrol the streets.

There was no monetary reward to be gained from being a member of the Neighbourhood Watch, as this was a voluntary job. It could therefore be argued that the main drive behind this type of work was to have a great sense of passion to uplift one's community and to care about the safety and security of the community to ultimately ensure its sustainability.

When looking at the social status of the founding members, as well as the committee members of the Neighbourhood Watch, it is clear that basically all of them had some degree of authority within the community and this was reflected by the sense of respect that many children showed when they came in contact with these individuals. This was especially noticeable in the manner in which they addressed these people verbally and to a certain extent, through their body language.

The senior members (founding members) together with the committee⁸ of the Neighbourhood Watch, met once a month and in addition the group as a whole met once a month as well to reflect on their work, on how they could improve things and to discuss and

⁷ Before each shift an inspection of the *bakkie* must be taken to ensure that all the necessary equipment was on the *bakkie* and that it was fit for patrolling the streets of Kylemore as well as the farms. In addition they had to report the number of kilometers on the *bakkie* and the quantity of petrol there was left in the tank.

⁸ The committee consisted out of members who were nominated and elected by the KNW group as a whole, with the consent of the chairman. Members of the committee usually made decisions on behalf of the whole group.

sort out any grievances anyone might have. The meetings were always opened with a prayer. This reflected the extent to which Christian values were embedded in this community.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, Community Policing Forums (CPF's) were installed at each police station in South Africa in 1993 through the Community Policing Policy. The Groot Drakenstein Police station in the Dwars River Valley (DRV) was no exception. This was a body open to all community members and community organisations with a concern for safety and security. The Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch formed part of this body, as well as members of other Neighbourhood Watches in the DRV, the head of the Groot Drakenstein Police station, a few other police officers, Stellenbosch Municipality, members of various organisations, schools and ordinary, concerned members of the community. They all had the common goal in mind which was to make the DRV a safer and more secure place to live in.

The CPF initiated various projects in the valley to uplift the communities within the DRV. They believed that to ensure a better future, it was necessary to start at the bottom i.e. working with young children, to ensure that they develop into leaders with a strong value base. Ten 'problem' children from each primary school in the valley were taken on a camp where they were taught a range of skills and were addressed by various speakers. The idea was to make a change in these children's lives so when they went back to school amongst their peers they would set a good example for other children. A week after the camp, these children were gathered again for a follow-up session. In this way the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch had a chance to work with other organisations such as Eye on the Child, local schools and other children's' organisations to uplift their valley. At the Groot Drakenstein Police Station there was a trauma room for women and children who had been abused, raped or neglected. This facility was run by women from the surrounding communities, including Kylemore. Many a time, the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch made use of the ladies of the trauma room and their facilities when an incident of rape and abuse of women and especially of children occurred. It must be noted that their involvement in the CPF was not seen as significant as their involvement within their own community, perhaps not literally, but the members hardly mention the importance of their role within the CPF.

For further analysis of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, I ideally wanted to focus on each Neighbourhood Watch member individually to give a more in-depth discussion of the organisation, but I soon realised that task would be too big for the nature of this study. I therefore decided to rather focus my attention on the chairman of the Neighbourhood Watch

with the intent that his profile would shed some light on the character of the organisation, how it functioned and operated.

The chairman of the Neighbourhood Watch was also the founding father of the organisation. As most people in Kylemore, he was born and brought up in this community. As a lay priest within the Apostolic church, he was well known and respected by many within the community. He thus possessed a certain degree of status within Kylemore. The above mentioned factors of status and respect, I discovered had a clear impact on the functioning and structure of the Neighbourhood Watch.

Throughout my fieldwork, I could observe the interaction between the chairman, other members of the KNW, as well as various members of the community. I noticed that the majority of the members did not address the chair by his name but instead they addressed him as *priest*. This could be due to the fact that many of the Neighbourhood Watch members belonged to the Apostolic church and it could be a sign of respect. What I noticed furthermore, was that they would not openly disobey the rules and regulations that were laid down by the chair and it seemed that whatever was said by the chairman was held in high regard. This could be interpreted as a sign of respect, as he was associated with the work of God and also because of his rank within the Neighbourhood Watch. He could also be seen as someone with a strong image of authority who no one would stand up against easily. Before being formally introduced to the chairman, I had numerous interviews with members of the Neighbourhood Watch and through their narratives I could sense that the chairman was a strict man whose orders they dared not disobey. To be a leader of an organisation of this nature, it was important to be firm and assertive as well as encourage discipline, but it was fascinating to see the interaction between the members and the chairman. When I went out on patrol with these men, they seemed authoritative and ready for action if need be, but when they addressed the chairman, they seemed to be meek. The chairman was not scared to reprimand these men and women when their work was not up to standard, but at the same time he would always praise them if they did good work.

What struck me was that this was a voluntary service, which was demanding at times as members had to always be ready when help was needed, and in addition they had to set an example for their fellow community members. When they were not living up to these standards, they were reprimanded by the chairman but yet these members stayed faithful to their duty. This said something about the level of commitment they had towards this duty.

One of the main driving forces behind their commitment and dedication was to protect their family and friends. In addition, it could be argued that to some this dedication to an organisation of this nature, was a self-satisfactory mechanism. In other words, just the thought of doing something good, apart from achieving successful results, gave them personal fulfillment.

5.4 Where was the youth in the Neighbourhood Watch?

When looking at the Neighbourhood Watch's membership, it was obvious that there were not many young people involved. Enquiry into this revealed that a few had joined over the years but they did not last long, as they were reluctant to obey the rules and regulations of the Neighbourhood Watch. One of the objectives of the organisation was that members should set an example for other residents in the community. Therefore they could not be seen buying alcohol illegally from the shebeens or be seen to be severely intoxicated in public. According to some Neighbourhood Watch members, this was too strict for most young people, as their 'fun' would be limited and their every move monitored. Also, it took up too much of their time. These sentiments were not shared by all the young people in the community. One young member of the Neighbourhood Watch (26 years old) confessed that he used to be an average young person who enjoyed drinking and was strongly against the Neighbourhood Watch. As time went on he saw that many of the young people, including himself, were drinking their lives away with total disregard of the potential they had to achieve great success one day. He said he realised that the community was in desperate need of help and by becoming a role model in the community, he might just inspire other young people to make something of their lives. It was at this point in his life that he decided to join the Neighbourhood Watch, change his ways and help to uplift his community.

As with most anthropological studies, observations during fieldwork were not always as simple as they seemed to be. Therefore, was the lack of abiding by the rules and regulations the only reason for the lack of young people's involvement in the Neighbourhood Watch? Jane Hill and Graham Wright (2003) conducted a study called *Youth, Community Safety and the Paradox of Inclusion* in two English cities. They argued that there was a paradox with regards to crime and community safety. Crime was primarily perceived to be a problem of youth, and at the same time the processes of developing community safety operated to exclude the youth. This suggested that the youth were perceived as just being perpetrators rather than perpetrators and victims (Hill and Wright 2003:282). Furthermore, they stated that the rhetoric of community safety/community policing had been developed to promote

inclusion and active citizenship, however the inclusion in the community was predicated upon being perceived as an adult 'law-abiding' citizen (Hill and Wright 2003:282). This suggested that the youth were not part of the solution, making their inclusion merely an illusion. The discourse of community safety/community policing could thus have ideological effects. For example, the youth was perceived as a threat to community safety and ultimately perceived to be outside of the community (Hill and Wright 2003:282). To some extent this could also be argued in the case of Kylemore. The founding fathers of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch were adult 'law-abiding' citizens and when speaking to them and the rest of the adult community, it was clear that all of them were concerned about the problem of the youth. I am not suggesting that they did not have a reason to be concerned about the youth, but it was interesting how the youth were associated with the problem of crime. When listening to the people's concerns, I got the sense that they were, without realising it, distinguishing between 'us' and 'them' ('them' being the 'trouble making' youth). Thus, to a certain degree, it could be argued that they were unconsciously excluding the youth from their crime prevention initiative.

In many societies, Kylemore included, there was almost an unspoken rule that the youth should respect their elders and take guidance from them and could be reprimanded by them when they stepped out of line. To some extent, the latter suggested that the elders were the 'law-abiding' citizens who had to see over the youth. In my opinion this notion of the relationship between the generations perpetuated the unconscious exclusion of youth within crime prevention because how could those (the youth) who were seen to get up to mischief and who needed guidance, be the ones who had to control and prevent crime? This notion was not something set in stone, but it seemed as if it was an underlying issue within crime prevention and community policing in the community of Kylemore. On the other hand, most of the youth did not show any initiative on their part to do something about the crime situation in their community. This could be interpreted as a "catch-22" situation.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter reflected again on the social and economic tribulations of Kylemore, discussed in the previous chapter and looked at some of the outcomes. It was seen that despite these problems so many were experiencing, the people of Kylemore valued their community and many would not trade it for any other place in the world. The above-mentioned difficulties, together with the sentimental value many residents had for Kylemore, contributed tremendously to the eventual establishment of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch. In this chapter I attempted to dig deeper into the organisational structure of the Kylemore

Neighbourhood Watch. During this process, I uncovered some interesting aspects with regards to the youth and their role within crime prevention and community policing revealing the underlying relationship between the generations. It seemed that the discourse of crime prevention and community policing revealed a paradox with regards to the inclusion and exclusion of youth in terms of crime prevention. When looking at the organisational structure, this chapter highlighted that factors such as gender, age and status had certain effects on how things played out. The next step is to take a closer look at how exactly this Neighbourhood Watch implemented the community policing policy in their local setting.

CHAPTER 6:
**THE FUNCTIONING OF THE KYLEMORE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH AND ITS
RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY**

6.1 Introduction

As stated by Rosenbaum (1994:8), community policing was based on the ability of a community to regulate and defend itself against crime as well as the perception of crime. One of the best ways to achieve this, was through a Neighbourhood Watch. The latter is how policy-makers and government perceive these issues of crime prevention. One must however be mindful that the practical side in the use of community policing was determined by each unique environment/ setting in which community policing operated. Therefore, factors such as the geography of the community, location, size of the population, historical experience and the socio-economic status of the residents, should be taken into consideration. When looking at community policing, it is clear that a combination of these above-mentioned factors contributed to the establishment of the Neighbourhood Watch as a means to promote community policing in Kylemore. As mentioned previously, there were various forms of community policing, but due to Kylemore's setting (i.e. small community, where everyone knew everyone and where resources were not that abundant) community policing manifested in the establishment of a Neighbourhood Watch. Although the community policing policy had its core principles, the manner of implementation would differ within each setting. This chapter explores the unique manner in which the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch implemented the community policing policy and furthermore looks into the relations and perceptions evident in the interactions between the Neighbourhood Watch and the community.

6.2 Implementing Community Policing in Kylemore

Arguably according to Skogan and Hartnett (1997) the core characteristics of community policing were:

- Decentralisation of authority and patrol strategie designed to promote communication between police and citizens.
- It focuses on problem-oriented policing.
- It permits the public to participate in setting police priorities and developing tactics.

- And lastly it empowers communities to help solve their own crime and disorder problems through sponsorship of crime prevention programs.

The Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch had a unique manner in which they approached and implemented these core characteristics within their community.

Before discussing the manner in which the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch implemented community policing in their local setting, it is interesting to note that community policing took the form of a Neighbourhood Watch within the community of Kylemore. In the case of Kylemore, we see that the policy of community policing manifested through the establishment of a community based organisation (i.e. the Neighbourhood Watch) that came into existence through the work of key members in the community. This type of community policing was ideal for a small community with limited resources and where everyone knew everyone. As residents of Kylemore, the members of the Neighbourhood Watch were familiar with the problems and concerns that lurked within the community and therefore they could tackle crime from the core, thus looking at the social problems behind criminal behaviour.

With the launch of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, it was only a selected few who made up this organisation. The founding members were well-established individuals in the community and, using the Neighbourhood Watch guidelines, they instituted the modus operandi i.e. modes of implementing community policing in that community. Without much questioning, these modes were implemented in the community and subconsciously there was an expectation that the community would conform to this 'policy'. The majority of the residents had no qualms with the existence of the Neighbourhood Watch and many even started to depend on them as part of their daily lives. Numerous individuals said that they could not see their community without the existence of the Neighbourhood Watch. Thus, while the rules and regulations of the Neighbourhood Watch might, to a certain degree, constrain the people in the community, many did not see them as rules that were forced upon them, but found some justification for them. By this I mean that many in the community felt almost free from fear knowing someone was looking after their safety. The latter statement can be better understood through the work of Shore and Wright (1997) on governmentality and subjectivity, discussed earlier in this study. It has been discovered that often new norms of conduct usually actively engineered and promoted by government and organisations, came to be adopted and internalised by individuals, thus uncritically embracing the values of either a political leader or the head of an organization. Shore and Wright (1997) made use of Foucault's work on madness, civilization, discipline and deviancy

to conceptualize their argument on governmentality and subjectivity i.e. understanding how modern systems of power work. Foucault argued that there was a major shift in the rationality of government during the middle of the eighteenth century in terms of the conceptualisation of the space to be governed and the nature of government itself (Shore and Wright 1997:30). In the pre-modern era, government mainly focused on maintaining sovereignty over a given territory, but by the 1840s, the 'population' took over as the main object of government (Shore and Wright 1997:30). "The birth of the modern era for Foucault is marked by the onset of a new regime of power in which the 'problem of population' (its health, wealth, fertility, education, moral conduct) and control over the human body become central foci of state discipline and surveillance...From a model of good government, the family comes to be considered as an instrument of government" (Shore and Wright 1997:30). Foucault goes further by stating that "modern government became a question of how to introduce economy- that is to say, the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family...into the management of the state" (Shore and Wright 1997:30). Without much realisation, most of society becomes reliant on government and conforms to its rules and regulations, as they would like to believe that government has their best interest at heart.

It could be argued that government basically "enforced" the policy of community policing upon the police and the rest of civil society, and in the same way Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch (arguably) imposed their way of policing upon the community of Kylemore. The community therefore became subjected to this policing policy without truly realising it and approving it.

Thomas (2004:3) argued that the state/government or people in power ultimately determine what is considered as crime. To a certain degree, this argument can be linked to the situation in Kylemore. Through my observation and interaction with the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, I detected that, in many regards, the Neighbourhood Watch took it upon themselves to basically determine what was considered right and wrong within their community and how it should be dealt with. The Neighbourhood Watch therefore used various tactics necessary to punish a perpetrator. For example, when a perpetrator was caught and refused to cooperate, the Neighbourhood Watch would not think twice to use force to get the message across. The chairman of the Neighbourhood Watch did not condemn this type of implementation, especially when a trouble maker showed resistance, but the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch members were only allowed to hit a male from the chest down and therefore had to avoid contact to the face. Listening to the narratives and observing the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch on patrol, I got the sense that the

Neighbourhood Watch considered themselves to be the law in this community, which could be highlighted in their saying, “*ons vat nie nonsens nie*”, meaning that they do not tolerate bad behaviour or resistance from perpetrators when reprimanded. It can therefore be argued that this manner of implementation presented the Neighbourhood Watch members (especially the men on patrol) with a sense of power and this was strengthened by those in the community who accepted their authority and depended on them. Although they used this forceful type of policing methods at times, I am not of the opinion that they were similar to vigilantes, as they did not abuse their power by physically harming people for no reason. Instead it could be said that this sense of ‘power’ was mainly constructed in their minds, giving them personal satisfaction when reprimanding the ‘wrong doers’.

Before further analysis, it is important to note that Kylemore must be contextualised within the broader Western Cape. When looking into the history of the Western Cape, it becomes clear that the notion of respectability (*ordentlikheid*) played an influential role within the lives of many who found themselves in the Western Cape. This notion of *ordentlikheid* arguably originated in the time of colonialism, as discussed at length in Chapter 4. Robert Ross (1999) explained how the European missionaries came to the Cape and wanted to convert the indigenous people to the Christian faith. Together with accepting the faith, there came a sense of respectability as accepting Jesus Christ meant that “they had rejected the Devil and all his works, which had dominated their sinful lives, and they had acquired hope in their eventual salvation through Christ” (Ross 1999:339). The latter, however, suggests that the indigenous people were leading sinful lives and by accepting the Christian faith it ultimately altered their lives and behaviour as they now wanted to live respectable lives as Christians. These sentiments were still present at the time of research and were found among many individuals of Kylemore. As one lady of the community stated, “*ek moet sê, ons het nogal baie Godvresende mense in ons gemeenskap*”. This means that there were a number of God fearing people in their community, i.e. people who believed that God is their Lord and Saviour and that He must be respected and praised. It seems that Christian values were deeply embedded in this community and this ultimately brought about the striving towards *ordentlikheid* (respectability) amongst many residents. Thus the issues of respect and Christian-like behaviour were important when analysing Kylemore, even with respect to community policing.

The latter observation leads one to consider what is truly being policed within this community. Was it crime *per se* that was being policed or did factors such as *ordentlikheid* (respectability) and religion play a role in what was being policed by the Neighbourhood Watch and how they implemented policing methods? In other words, were the acts of social

deviance policed or were acts of immoral, disrespectful and unchristian-like behaviour that they policed? This train of thought was triggered by the historical background of the community, by the actions of the Neighbourhood Watch, as well as by various encounters with the community members itself. In addition, many of the Neighbourhood Watch members were often important in church life.

On one particular day while conducting fieldwork, I saw a young woman sitting outside a house watching over a few toddlers playing in her front yard. I approached her and asked whether she would spare me a few minutes to ask her a few questions. Without hesitation she agreed. She was a 23 year old female and one of the toddlers that were running about in the yard was her child. She was unemployed and living with her parents and older brother (25 years) who was also unemployed (this was a common phenomenon in this community). I asked her about her concerns in this community. She immediately pointed out that one of the local shop owners wanted to open a legal bar in the community to ensure that young people would stay away from the illegal shebeens and have their drinks under adult supervision. One would think that as a young person she would have no qualms about the establishment of a legal bar as a hangout place, but this was not the case. She mentioned her concern for the safety of her young child. The bar was to be built in close proximity to her house, thus leading to possible danger, she said, as intoxicated people might endanger her child. This was clearly the voice of a concerned mother. She was not the only one with concerns about the potential bar. Many in the community expressed their grievances and as a result some of the local churches decided to write a letter to the owner as well as to their local municipality, expressing their concerns, with the intention that he would reconsider his idea.

This situation can be linked to a study conducted by Mike Miller (2002), *The Meaning of Community*, where he looks at the concept of community within the Evangelical, Holiness and Pentecostal churches, thus in essence looking at these Christians as a community. He discovered that “they deeply believe in their faith, seeing themselves standing against a hostile world. The combination of deep belief and feeling like a beleaguered group creates strong bonds among those in the community, and solidarity with co-believers elsewhere. They act on their faith” (Miller 2002:33). In the same way the ‘believers’ in the Kylemore community stood together as a Christian community and fought for what they perceived to be right in the eyes of God. In addition, this argument can also be linked to the concept of *ordentlikheid* (respectability).

Returning to the issue of the sports bar, it was interesting to note that there were two shebeens in close proximity of this young woman's house but she did not mention that to me and no-one really spoke out their concerns about those shebeens. It seemed that the concept of respectability played a role in the community's decision to go against the legal bar. The shop owner was a well-known man in the community who was involved in numerous organisations and committees in the community, as well as in the valley, including the Neighbourhood Watch. Many in the community were therefore of the opinion that he had double standards, as he was involved in policing and church matters but wanted to open a bar. They therefore saw him as an *ordentlike man* (respected man) who then wanted to do *onordentlike dinge* (disrespectful things), but it seems as though they were less bothered by the two shebeens in that same proximity, as they were already perceived as being owned by non-respectable people. Despite the 'togetherness' found in this community, rivalry, jealousy, the fear of the unknown and the discourse of *ordentlikheid* were present in this community, which might have triggered the bold reaction by the people.

Religion and issues of respectability, or rather the lack thereof, amongst the youth were topics that always seemed to emerge when conducting interviews, particularly with adults. Residents openly spoke about the problems in their community and recognised the damaging effects 'tik' had on the community, but in that same breath many adults proclaimed that despite these tribulations they still had faith that God would provide in their needs. Many parents uttered similar opinions of how they did their best to teach their children to live as good Christians and that they were continuously praying for their children. A young boy stated in an interview that he grew up in a Christian household where his grandmother brought him up with Christian values and therefore he stayed away from drugs. In other words: Christianity and *ordentlikheid* were linked.

Throughout my fieldwork I detected that the older generation often reminisced about days gone by; the time when things were more peaceful and children still had respect for their elders. Many changes have since occurred and according to the adult community it seemed as though 'respectability' was an attribute that disappeared as the years went by.

"The young people of today have no respect; they curse loudly in the streets with total disregard of who is around them and who might hear them. This sort of thing would never have happened when we were kids" (Sally 13/06/07).

"Young children will smoke in front of adults without even hiding it and they aren't even scared of the police anymore. Back in the day when I was still young this would never have

happened, and we had respect for our elders and those in power or who had authority such as the police” (Sophie 13/06/07)

These were but a few of the comments of people in the community that emphasised the lack of respect among many young people. A generalisation could not be made about the youth of Kylemore, as this kind of behaviour and attitude were not found amongst everyone, but the overwhelming feeling was that the youth had lost their sense of respect.

This situation can be linked to Catherine Campbell's (1994) study that was conducted in working class townships in Durban, entitled *Intergenerational conflict in township families: transforming notions of “respect” and changing power relations*. This study emphasised the changing face of traditional notions of respect due to rapid social change. Similar to the utterances of the older generation in Kylemore, the older generation in her study, especially the men, repeatedly spoke about the younger generation's failure to treat them with the deference and obedience they felt was their due (Campbell 1994:37). On the other hand, the youth in her study claimed that the elders were not always qualified to guide them in facing the challenges of modern township life (Campbell 1994:37). In both cases (Kylemore and the Durban townships) it was clear that intergenerational conflict appeared and this was primarily caused by social change. Therefore, the intergenerational conflict with regards to 'respect' was not unique to Kylemore, as many communities were faced with this issue. It would vary as a function of particular social and historical circumstances. A typical example of this intergenerational conflict was found between the Neighbourhood Watch, which was mainly older men, and the youth. As mentioned before, the most common entertainment of young people in Kylemore was drinking and at times, part-taking in illegal activities such as the use of drugs. Due to the notion of 'respectability', many young people did not want to do this at their homes in front of their parents, as it was deemed disrespectful or did not want to be seen at the shebeens. Thus, many gathered with their cars near to the school as it was away from most of the houses or at the public play ground. Even though the Neighbourhood Watch members might have been promiscuous in their youth and perhaps gathered at these same spots, it seemed as though they now saw these young people as potential trouble-makers and almost looked at it as something disrespectful. These encounters did not always result in physical or verbal conflicts, but the Neighbourhood Watch made sure that these young people were aware of their presence and to scare them away from public spaces. To my thinking, it was the striving towards *ordentlikheid* that I mentioned before, commonly found amongst the older people in the community, and the perceived lack thereof amongst the youth that was one of the driving forces behind the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch.

Committing oneself to the work of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch was not as glamorous as many might have perceived it to be. It required members to be available at anytime of the day. Thus, when a serious incident was reported, such as gun violence for example, members were required, to respond to that call irrespective of the time. According to the long-standing members, many a time members had to get up from their warm beds on a cold winter night to respond to an incident. A member's dedication was therefore challenged in such instances. Many new members, in particular the younger members, faded along the way, as they almost lost that sense of commitment and dedication. According to the KNW members, many people in the community did not realise the huge sacrifice the men and women of the organisation had to make for the sake of their community. The men and women working for the KNW were ordinary people, each with their own lives, who also had to make a living. The Neighbourhood Watch was therefore but one component of their lives.

During my interviews with the members of this Neighbourhood Watch, I could sense a great deal of pride when talking about the organisation and its activities. It seemed as though the notion of doing something good and constructive for their community brought joy, thus resulting in a sense of pride in what they were doing. The majority of the Neighbourhood Watch members had spouses and children. To most members, this was their main driving force behind their dedication, as they did not want their children falling in the trap of alcohol and drug abuse or become a victim of crime. At the same time, the families of these men and women played a huge role as well, as their support helped members to stay committed. This was not always an easy task, as many a time these households were disrupted in the middle of the night, as the husband or father had to leave and respond to a call. The fear about the members' safety could sometimes run high among their family members, particularly when the occasional shooting was involved. Picnics or *braais* for the families were therefore held annually, where the Neighbourhood Watch thanked them for their love and support.

The Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch did not just patrol the streets of Kylemore and the farms in search for criminals, but their functions stretched further. They also served as an ambulance, as traffic officers at funerals, as bouncers at school functions, as well as security guards at various functions within the community, whether it be a church function or a sports gathering. Many people in the community therefore first turned to the Neighbourhood Watch, instead of the police in a case of emergency, as their response would be quicker than that of the police and many had great faith in them.

The Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch had a relatively good relationship and understanding with their local police station. As mentioned before, the local police station had a serious problem with manpower. In this regard, the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch had been a tremendous help as they became the eyes and ears of the local police. On numerous occasions, the police would contact the Neighbourhood Watch to attend to less serious crimes so that they could pay attention to the more serious matters, and also because the Neighbourhood Watch was in close proximity to the perpetrators or victims involved in the lesser cases. This usually happened in the case of domestic violence within Kylemore. The police station was a few kilometers outside Kylemore and the police officers did not always know the residents on a personal level. Therefore the police often contacted the Neighbourhood Watch in instances of domestic violence, as they could respond more rapidly to the call and could approach the situation more sensitively as they had personal bonds with many in the community. When a matter became too severe, the Neighbourhood Watch would contact the police to attend to the matter, but in less severe crimes, members of the Neighbourhood Watch, or any member of the community for that matter, were entitled to make a citizens' arrest and then report it to the police. Consequently, there was a decrease in the crime level within the first few years of the Neighbourhood Watch's existence, as there was a constant form of surveillance by the Neighbourhood Watch. In the minds of the residents there was the reassurance that a Neighbourhood Watch was constantly watching over them. Therefore many a time just the mere thought of being caught by the Neighbourhood Watch would have discouraged many from doing wrong. Although crime statistics were not available at the time when this study was conducted, it seemed as though Kylemore's drug problem had grown worse over the years, despite the presence of the Neighbourhood Watch. The latter impression caused many in the community to question the efficiency of the Neighbourhood Watch.

Due to the Neighbourhood Watch's commitment and relative success, the police had considered training some of the members to become police officers or police reservists, so that they could earn some money through their involvement in law and order control. However, the members of the KNW were strongly against becoming paid police officers, even if this was a part-time position. The members did not elaborate much on why they felt this way. My interpretation of this was that it would take away their sense of pride, identity and status as voluntary protectors of their community. Through my encounters with the Neighbourhood Watch, I could detect the sense of pride they had knowing that most the community acknowledged their work as voluntary servants.

Although a relatively good relationship existed between the police and the Neighbourhood Watch, they too had their moments of misunderstanding and frustration. For example, when the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch contacted the police to attend to a certain matter, they expected the police to respond immediately. However, the police occasionally took longer than expected to respond to an incident. This naturally frustrated the members of the Neighbourhood Watch, but at the same time this bothered the police, as they had other matters to attend to as well, and could therefore not just drop whatever they were doing and run to the demand of the Neighbourhood Watch. The police did recognise the dedication and hard work of the Neighbourhood Watch, but the police said that it seemed as though the Neighbourhood Watch at times forgot that they were not the only people in the valley that needed the assistance of the police.

With that said, it appears as if the police had taken a somewhat careless attitude when the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch had shown some success and strong dedication. The police expected Kylemore residents to contact the Neighbourhood Watch first to attend to a matter before contacting them. This could be interpreted as giving recognition to the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, but at the same time, it was seen as causing the local police to neglect their duty as provider of safety and security to all South African citizens.

6.3 Relations between the Neighbourhood Watch and the community of Kylemore

It appeared that the majority of the community was in favour of the Neighbourhood Watch and their quest to protect the community. When talking to various individuals, they seemed to appreciate the fact that there were people who were willing to help protect their community. The above mentioned sentiments however, were not shared by the whole of the Kylemore community. One would think that the community as a whole would be thankful that there was a group of people looking after their safety and security voluntarily, but to many the Neighbourhood Watch was a group that thought they were better than the rest of the community and who wanted to almost control them. These thoughts were mostly found under the lower income individuals who predominantly lived in the scheme houses (*skiem*). Residents often had a skeptical perception when someone used their initiative to start something in the community. Many therefore often questioned the reasons for their initiatives. The Neighbourhood Watch was also seen with skepticism (especially due the status many of the members had within the community) but the majority in the community accepted their existence.

Some young people said that the Neighbourhood Watch was *niks werd* (useless) as they only drove up and down the streets and were not doing anything about real problems. This perception was mainly fuelled by the ever growing drug problem within their community.

Some people in Kylemore attacked the Neighbourhood Watch verbally and claimed that they were not solving problems within the community. When these people were faced with the question of whether or not they would join the fight against crime, the answer was no. Some individuals claimed that they would consider joining the Neighbourhood Watch if the Neighbourhood Watch was more realistic in their crime fighting approach. By this they meant, that the Neighbourhood Watch should rather focus on the big 'tik' problem at hand instead of concerning themselves with drunken people and petty crimes. As one man pointed out, when a husband and wife had an argument which led to verbal and sometimes physical abuse, the men in the Neighbourhood Watch were quick to respond and sort out the situation, but with regard to the problem of 'tik' it did not seem as though they were doing anything about the matter.

What many did not realise was that arresting a drug dealer was not that easy. Due to the small geographical setting and small population, everyone knew everyone, including those who used drugs including to a large extent the drug dealers (merchants). I could therefore not understand why these drug dealers were still operating their business in the community and were not yet locked up behind prison bars. Some of the locals explained that no arrests could be made without hard evidence, thus the Neighbourhood Watch or police must catch these drug dealers with the actual drugs in their possession. The dealers and their helpers operated in such strategic ways that when the police or Neighbourhood Watch was there to raid their premises, the drug dealers were already informed by their helpers who kept a lookout and the drugs were then distributed amongst all the helpers. Through these tactics it was extremely difficult to arrest these drug dealers. There were some success stories, where the police did manage to arrest drug dealers.

The only big effort by the Neighbourhood Watch to fight the drug problem, was on 14 April 2007 when the Neighbourhood Watch, together with the community, decided to take a stand against the selling of drugs. This was done by drawing up a petition and organising a march to each drug dealer's house, where they were made to sign the petition stating that they were no longer to sell drugs within the community and if they would not comply with these requests, the community was entitled to take further measures which might result in the drug dealers' arrest. This march not only created awareness about the severity of drug abuse but it brought a community - with individuals who might not always see eye-to-eye - together.

This incident can be linked to Durkheim's (1982) functionalist argument stating that crime can be positive, as it brings a community together.

As already stated, the Neighbourhood Watch's functions exceeded merely patrolling the streets of Kylemore. Many in the community came to the Neighbourhood Watch for basically any problem or need they had. On one specific night out on patrol with the Neighbourhood Watch, a call was received not long after we began patrolling, from a teenager in the community. We drove to the local shop where he said he was and found a group of children dressed in school uniform waiting for us. The regional school athletics competition was held that day outside of the Dwars River Valley and they somehow missed their bus home. Some of these children were residents of Kylemore and the rest from Simodium, situated approximately 10 kilometers from Kylemore. The teenager who made the call asked the Neighbourhood Watch to take these children to Simondium as they missed their bus. As they climbed into the Neighbourhood Watch vehicle I could detect that the reason why they possibly missed their bus was because they were drinking. One boy was extremely intoxicated and basically fell into the vehicle..Just as we drove off, another call came through and the Neighbourhood Watch immediately went to the scene. An intoxicated man got into an argument with this mother and wanted to assault her. The Neighbourhood Watch members on duty had to keep the situation under control by talking some sense into the man. This task was difficult as the man was under the influence of alcohol. The members of the KNW were therefore not just providers of security but they had to stand in as counselors, as well as taxi drivers, thus always multitasking. People even went as far as phoning them to buy electricity for their houses at the nearest shop.

It is thus evident that the Neighbourhood Watch played an important role in the community of Kylemore and had even become an integral part of many residents' lives, but at the same time this positive phenomenon could have negative effects, especially on people's personal development. This was particularly problematic with regards to parenting obligations. A number of residents (mostly parents) seemed to have adopted the attitude that they could not or would not do anything to change their circumstances, particularly regarding their disobedient children. Instead they turned to the local schools and the Neighbourhood Watch, as they were perceived to be the solution to all problems in the community. This type of mindset resulted in many parents neglecting their duties as primary care-givers to their children, thus affecting not only their children's personal growth but their own as well. This information indicated that many individuals in the community were developing a 'dependency' on institutions such as the Neighbourhood Watch to meet their personal needs or to solve their everyday problems.

This 'dependency' was also evident in the community's disbelief and lack of confidence in the local police. When community members were in need of help or in need to report something, they would without hesitation first contact the Neighbourhood Watch instead of the police, despite the severity of the case. Many individuals did not have access to telephones or cell phones to contact the police. They therefore had to run to the Neighbourhood Watch for safety and security issues, but it seemed that even people with communication resources would contact the police via the Neighbourhood Watch and would not even bother contacting the police. When asking members of the community why this was the case, one man answered "that is how things work around here", while others elaborated more by stating that the police took their own time to attend to a matter, whereas the Neighbourhood Watch would respond quicker. In this regard the Neighbourhood Watch basically took over the role of the police in the small community and served as a 'jack of all trades'. This gave them a great sense of authority in the community. It could be argued that the Neighbourhood Watch thus not only legitimised their existence through installing certain modes of conduct and implementation methods, but the community's support and dependency legitimised their authority within the community as well.

Furthermore, one got the impression that many of Kylemore's residents saw safety and security as the duty of the Neighbourhood Watch members, therefore when they reported an incident they expected the Neighbourhood Watch to respond immediately, even though they were not paying a cent for the Neighbourhood Watch's services. Some residents even became irritated and agitated when the Neighbourhood Watch took longer than expected to respond to a call. In instances like that it led to frustration for both parties (i.e. the residents and the Neighbourhood Watch) and at times some residents made the assumption that the Neighbourhood Watch displayed favouritism towards their family and friends.

Despite the negativity of some, the Neighbourhood Watch soon realised that they needed the help and support of the community, especially financially. They therefore approached the community by literally going door-to-door asking for any monetary donation they were willing to give, in order to sustain the organisation. Not everyone in the community realised the annual expenditure of running an organisation of this nature. They had to make phone calls, service the patrol vehicle, buy equipment and even transport people to hospital and home. This might lead to great expenses for an organisation which merely relied on donations.

The reciprocal relationship between the Neighbourhood Watch and the community was difficult to determine because it appeared to be always fluctuating. A general conclusion on the community's response was therefore somewhat problematic as there were various levels

of reciprocity found among the people of Kylemore, but it seemed as if the positive responses were greater than the negative.

6.4 Conclusion

The main thrust of this chapter emphasises that context is a very important factor with regards to the implementation of community policy. When looking carefully at the work of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, it was evident that the core principles of the community policing policy were present, but the reason behind the actual establishment of this form of community policing and the manner in which the community policing policy was implemented was unique to Kylemore, due to its historical background, geographical setting, its people and socio-economic status. In this setting, it was clear that religion and aspects of respectability (*ordentlikheid*) played vital roles in the Neighbourhood Watch's manner of implementation and the community's perceptions. As a result of the nature and character of this community, the Neighbourhood Watch did not police crime *per se*, but instead immoral, unchristian-like behavior was policed. To my understanding, this was one of the main driving forces behind how this Neighbourhood Watch approached community policing in their local setting.

It was noted that most of the residents supported the Neighbourhood Watch and even, to a certain extent, became reliant on them for matters surpassing merely safety and security. Taking ownership and responsibility of your own safety and security was therefore not prevalent amongst most of the residents as it seemed that they unconsciously expected that it was the duty of the Neighbourhood Watch.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present my findings as well as the insights from the literature on a deeper level. The aim of this study was not necessarily to evaluate the performance or the success of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, but to understand the structure and functioning of an organisation of this nature and to analyse the manner in which they implemented community policing in their local setting. In addition, the various reactions of the local community and the local police station were taken into consideration to elaborate more on the Neighbourhood Watch's relationship with the community.

First of all, the focus is on the linkages and contradictions between the findings in this study and general community policing theories, as well as other insights from social science discussed in this thesis. Although this is not an evaluative chapter, I thought it would be useful to identify certain aspects that can be interpreted as minor shortcomings of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch. This should therefore not be seen as an evaluation, but instead I highlighted my observations in order to provide more insight on the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch and its linkages to general community policing theory. Furthermore this chapter rounds off the thesis by highlighting the important points that emerged throughout this study and attempts to analyse it in a comprehensive manner.

7.2 Community policing in theory and practice

Chapter 2 of this thesis examined the concept of 'community' to ultimately contribute to our understanding of community policing. It was discovered that community is a somewhat elusive concept, as individuals create and institutionalise their own meaning of this concept to make sense of their world, whether it be government or civil society. In the same way, this could be said about community policing. Due to the somewhat elusiveness and flexibility of the notion of community policing, it creates room for interpretation and molding. People can therefore interpret community policing in a way that will best suit their context, but keeping in mind the key principles, such as problem solving and forming partnerships between local police authorities and local communities with regards to crime prevention. Despite the multiplicity in definitions of community and community policing, commonalities in definitions are found such as common concerns amongst a group of people i.e. community. The latter

depiction of community was found within Kylemore, where a common concern of crime led to the eventual establishment of a Neighbourhood Watch.

The literature on community policing posed various arguments and discussions as each individual contributed their own perceptions and analyses of this phenomenon. The precise definition of community policing is therefore a matter of some debate, but the following sums up the general view: "community policing is a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on community resources that seeks to change crime causing condition. This assumes a need for greater accountability of police, greater public share in decision making, and greater concern for civil rights and liberties" (Friedmann 1992:4). This view on what community policing is, or should be, sounds well developed in theory, but in reality matters do not always work as accurately and smoothly as suggested in the literature.

Thus, when applying this argument to the situation in Kylemore, it became evident that not all of the above-mentioned criteria were met. The public had indeed a greater share in decision-making with regards to issues of safety and security, but who is the public in this regard? To me the public is not the community as a whole, but instead the Neighbourhood Watch steps in as the specific voice of a part of the public in this setting. The concept of community within community policing refers usually to a group of people who live in a common place and share common concerns or problems (Flynn 1998:7). Although the latter description of community may describe the Kylemore community as a whole, when taking a closer look it is clear that the members of the Neighbourhood Watch formed the 'community' with regards to community policing in this setting. The term 'community' within community policing is thus only really applicable to a group of people, as actors around this focus, in a specific community and therefore not necessarily the community as a whole. Wanting to be part of this group, one has to obey and abide by certain rules and regulations, leaving little space for 'wrong-doers' and perceived 'trouble makers'. As mentioned throughout this thesis, many adult residents (some being members of the Neighbourhood Watch) perceived the youth to be trouble makers, thus without truly realising it, they basically distinguished between them and the young people resulting in inclusion and exclusion. This caused somewhat ambiguity as the adult community claimed they wanted the young people, involved in crime prevention, but at the same time there was a perception that the youth are the cause of much criminal behavior. This was however not the only ambiguity found within Kylemore. Strong Christian beliefs and values were sensed in Kylemore, making one believe that all is well within this community. This is however not the case. Although this community

was not truly subject to malicious violent crimes, it was still filled with societal issues such as drug abuse, alcohol abuse and theft. I am however aware that no place is utopia, but I found it somewhat contradictory that such a strong faith community had to resort to alternative crime prevention mechanisms to keep their community safe from the evils that lurked within it.

One of the key principles of community policing is that a Neighbourhood Watch must liaise with their local police authorities and as policy suggested, this is exactly what the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch did. Their initial bond with the local police authorities was on a personal basis, as a community safety organisation initiated at their suggestion. To operate within their community, the Neighbourhood Watch needed the consensus and guidance of their local police and in operated accordance with them. Furthermore, the Neighbourhood Watch formed part of the CPF of the Dwars River Valley, where they once again liaised with the local police. Their role within the CPF was of importance for the Valley as a whole, but here it seemed as though they were just another member organisation from the community, expressing their views and concerns on crime within the valley, therefore receiving less scope than within their own community. Conventionally, a Neighbourhood Watch serves as the eyes and ears of the local police to help them solve problems within the community. The latter statement is relevant to Kylemore's situation, but at the same time it seemed as if the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch operated for the most part as an independent body within their community, basically taking over the role of the police within that setting. This was the perception I got, not only through participating in their activities and listening to their stories, but through interviewing and conversing with resident from Kylemore as well.

The improvement of police service and police legitimacy through community policing were not that evident in Kylemore as the literature so hopefully suggested. Instead, it seemed as though the police took on a more *laissez faire* attitude, as they knew the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch was capable of policing their community and therefore they could neglect the place somewhat. After South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, the police regained a degree of legitimacy again as the public began to put their faith in them, but in recent years the situation has changed, as is evident in places such as Kylemore. Since the establishment of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, the members have proven themselves on numerous occasions and they gained acceptance from the majority in the community. At the same time, their local police station experienced a lack of man-power. The establishment of the Neighbourhood Watch therefore, came as a blessing to the police as this allowed them to focus more on serious criminal matters. This positive initiative soon had negative effects on the quality of state policing within Kylemore. The visibility of the

police became less in Kylemore and the response from the police to the community's emergency calls took longer than before. The people of Kylemore started losing faith in the police and became more dependent on the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch. This dependency can also be translated into shifting away from their responsibility. Many residents unknowingly refused to take ownership of their own safety and security, as they became reliant and used to the assistance of the Neighbourhood Watch.

The literature that was covered on Neighbourhood Watch schemes, argued that the primary aim of a Neighbourhood Watch is to reduce crime which includes notably opportunistic crime, residential burglary, vehicle crime and criminal damage (Crawford 1998:148). The secondary aim was to reduce the fear of crime, to encourage awareness about crime prevention, to improve domestic security, facilitating greater contact between neighbours and improving liaison between the police and the public (Crawford 1998:148). The Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch had succeeded in most of these aims, especially in their first few years of their existence. The fear of crime was reduced and the fear of committing a crime became prevalent due to the presence of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch. As mentioned throughout this study, 'tik' was still a major problem in this community and the problem seemed to grow bigger by the day. This had an effect on the Neighbourhood Watch's efficiency to accomplish the primary aims that were mentioned in the literature. As a result, the fear of crime started to increase somewhat amongst the older residents and it seemed as though some young people were less afraid of being caught and therefore indulged more often in these harmful substances, despite the presence of the Neighbourhood Watch.

7.3 Conclusion

The latter comparison between the literature on community policing and community policing in practice, indicates that, despite the common features of community policing stipulated in policy documents, each context will ultimately determine how community policing is adopted and implemented.

In the context of Kylemore, community policing took the form of a Neighbourhood Watch that was widely accepted by the community. However, despite the acceptance of the Neighbourhood Watch and their ability to control crime, people still complained about their situation and societal problems within the community and, to certain extent, held the Neighbourhood Watch responsible for solving these societal problems. I came to the conclusion that many of the residents of Kylemore did not want to take responsibility of their

own safety and wellbeing, but instead unconsciously expected that it was the responsibility of organisations such as the Neighbourhood Watch, even though they were doing this on a voluntary bases. This could be interpreted as a paradox: on the one hand, the acceptance and dependence of the residents gave more legitimacy and authority to the Neighbourhood Watch, but at the same time it instilled an almost careless attitude within the residents, as it seemed as though they just accepted their fate or place it in the hands of organisations such as the Neighbourhood Watch, instead of taking responsibility. This was, however, not applicable to the whole of Kylemore, but instead it was the general trend I discovered throughout my analyses.

This attitude could be linked to the ideology of paternalism, where the farm owner provided for most of the needs of his workers. Paternalist employment relations on fruit farms have their origin in slavery and colonialism. As mentioned in Chapter 4, slavery was abolished in 1834, but due to the lack of economic opportunities, many freed slaves found themselves bound to the farms in return for the use of land, a small cash wage or more commonly for housing, food, drink, and clothing (Orton et al 2001). Despite the legal emancipation of the farm worker, the highly paternalistic culture of labour relations continued, which was characterised by complex power relations of dependency and control (Orton et al 2001). The core unit of employment on Western Cape fruit farms was the Coloured family that lived and worked on the farm. Andries Du Toit (1992: 4) suggested that the paternalist farm could be seen as “an all-embracing organic community a family”, where the farmer acts as father over ‘his coloureds’. This discourse suggests that farm workers were treated like children who were looked after and protected, and had the status of minors who were subject to the authority of the household head. Hence, like children, they were dependant (Orton et al 2001).

This expectation of being cared for could now be seen as being transferred to the Neighbourhood Watch, as many of the newer residents in Kylemore came from the farms where they were used to some authority providing for them. It could therefore be argued that the leading members of the community (which included the Neighbourhood Watch) were expected to meet some of the needs of the less affluent members who did not see a reason why they should get involved or support the activities of the Neighbourhood Watch.

However, returning the concept of community policing as an alternative policing mechanism, it could be argued that it is part of human nature to seek for alternatives in all areas of life. As this study reveals, policing was subject to this as well. A global trend of seeking for alternative policing methods emerged in recent decades, reaching even the rather small,

remote community of Kylemore. As stated before in this thesis, the practical side in the use of community policing was determined by each unique environment in which community policing operated (i.e. *the geography of the place, location, size of the population and the socio-economic status of the residents*). The process of redefining policing could be possible through community based organisations that already exist or come into existence through the work of key members in a community. This is exactly what occurred within the context of Kylemore. Influential residents in the community saw the need for an alternative way to protect their community. The type of alternative policing that made most sense to suit the context of Kylemore was that of a Neighbourhood Watch. There were various aspects that made this form of alternative policing conducive to Kylemore. When considering the population and socio-economic status of the residents of Kylemore, as well as the geographical set-up, it was discovered that within this small community, no one was a stranger, therefore everyone knew each other as well as where the 'hot spots' in the community were. In addition, many in this small predominantly 'coloured' community strongly believed in the Christian faith and moral values that go with it. There was therefore a strong sense of reaching out to the community, as this was a moral thing to do. With this said, it came as no surprise when people offered to voluntarily help to protect their community and especially as this request came from a local preacher. I am not suggesting that these were the only intentions people had when establishing this community based organisation, but these factors contributed to their interpretation of alternative policing.

The general trend throughout this thesis was therefore that the concept of respectability and upholding the morality and safety of Kylemore, played an important role with regards to the implementation of community policing in this context. Therefore, the basic fundamentals of community policing still existed within this context, but their approach was somewhat different. Ultimately, the police remained the overseer of safety and security of citizens, despite the existence of community based organisations, such as Neighbourhood Watches. In essence, this is the case in Kylemore. However, the Neighbourhood Watch has come to play such an important and integral role within the lives of many residents that the perception of these people and the Neighbourhood Watch members itself, is that the Neighbourhood Watch is the main provider of law and order within their community.

The policing strategy termed community policing was therefore not only a policy that brought about an alternative to conventional ways of policing, but it also brought about a sense of empowerment and responsibility in the lives of a few in a small town call Kylemore.

References:

- Basson, A and Donnelly, L. 2007. Home is where the hate is. *Mail&Guardian online*. www.mg.co.za (11 July 2007).
- Bayley, D. 1994. *Police for the Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bernard, H.R. 1994. *Research Methods in Anthropology, Second Edition: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*. California, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Blumer, H. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Brint, S. 2001. Gemeinschaft Revisited: A Critique and Reconstruction of the Community Concept. *Sociological Theory*. 19 (1).1-20.
- Brodgen, M. 1999. Community Policing as Cherry Pie in R.I. Mawby (ed.) *Policing across the world: Issues for the Twenty-first Century*. London: UCL Press Limited: 167-186.
- Brodgen, M. 2002. Implanting Community Policing in South Africa: A failure of history, of context, and of theory. *Liverpool Law Review*. 24:157-179.
- Brodgen, M and Shearing, C. 1993. *Policing for a new South Africa*. London: Routledge.
- Brown, L.P. 1991. *Policing New York City in the 1990s: The strategy for community policing*. New York City Police Department.
- Burger, J. 2007. South Africa: Community Policing or Sector Policing: Puzzling Developments. *ISS Today*: Pretoria.
- Buur, L. 2003. Vigilantism and the Policing of Everyday Life in South Africa. *African Studies*. 63(2):139-152.
- Carrier, R. 1999. Dissolving boundaries: Private security and policing in South Africa. *African Security Peace Programme*. 8(6):37-43.

Campbell, C. 1994. Intergenerational conflict in township families: transforming notions of "respect" and changing power relations. *Southern African Journal of Gerontology*. 3(2): 37-42.

Cilliers, S.P. 1963. *The Coloureds of South Africa: A Factual Survey*. Cape Town: Banier Publishers (Pty) Ltd.

Clark, N.M. 2003. Community Policing in Portland. *City Club Portland Report* www.pdxcityclub.org (15 June 2007).

Crawford, A. 1998. *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices*. London and New York: Longman.

Creswell, J.W. 1994. *Research design: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Sage: California.

Davis, R.C.; Henderson, N.J. and Merrick, C. 2003. 'Community Policing: Variations on the Western Model in the Developing World' in *Police Practice and Research*. 4(3): 285-300.

Demombynes, G and Özler, B. 2002. *Crime and Local Inequality in South Africa*. Policy Research Working Paper: The World Bank Development Research Group, Poverty Team.

Dixon, B. 2000. *The Globalisation of Democratic Policing: Sector Policing and Zero Tolerance in the new South Africa*. Cape Town: The Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.

Dixon, B. 2004. Cosmetic Crime Prevention in Dixon, B and van der Spuy, E. (eds.). *Justice Gained? Crime and crime control in South Africa's transition*. Cape Town: UCT Press, Willan Publishing. 163-192.

Durkheim, E. 1982. *The Rule of Sociological Methods*. London: Macmillan.

du Toit, A. 1992. *The farm as family: Paternalism, management and modernization on Western Cape farms*. The Centre for Rural Legal Studies. Cape Town.

Ellison, J. 2006. "Community Policing: Implementation Issues" in *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*: 12-16.

Fleissner, D and Heinzelmann, F. 1996. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design and Community Policing. *Community Policing Consortium*.

<<http://www.ncjrs.org/txtfiles/crimepre.txt>,> (20 May 2008).

Flynn, D.W. 1998. *Defining the "Community" in Community Policing*. Paper presented by Police Executive Research Forum.

Friedmann, R.R. 1992. 'Community Policing: Some Conceptual and Practical Considerations' in *Home Affairs Review*. XXXIV (6): 114-23.

Friedmann, R.R. 1992. *Community policing: Comparative perspectives and prospects*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Garland, D. and Spark, R. 2000. Criminology, social theory and the challenge of our times. *British Journal of Criminology*. 40(2): 189-204.

Goodhew, D. 2000. Working-class respectability: The example of the Western areas of Johannesburg, 1930-55 in *Journal of African History*. 41. 241-266.

Heywood, A. 1997. *Politics*. New York: Palgrave.

Hill, J and Wright, G. 2003. Youth, Community Safety and the Paradox of Inclusion. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*. 42(3): 282-297.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt and Perraton, J. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kelling, G. L. & Coles, C. M. (1996). *Fixing broken windows: Restoring order & reducing crime in our communities*. New York: The Free Press.

Leggett, T. 2004. What's up in the Cape? Crime rates in Western and Northern Cape provinces. *Crime Quarterly* 7: 16-20.

Leggett, T. 2004. Why wait? By-laws and regulations for high impact crime prevention. *SA crime quarterly*. 8:11-16.

- Le Roux, M. 2007. Cabinet ministers air views on crime. *Mail and Guardian online*. www.mg.co.za (14 February 2007).
- Loader, I and Sparks, R. 2002. Contemporary landscape of crime, order, and control: governance risk, and globalization in Maguire, M., Morgan, R. and Reiner, R (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of criminology* (3rd Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press: 83-111.
- London, L. 2003. Human fights, environmental justice, and the health of farm workers in South Africa in *International Journal of Environmental Health*. 9: 59-68.
- Lynn, M. 2006. Discourses of community: challenges for social work. *International Journal of Social Welfare*. 15(2). 110-120.
- Maroga, M. 2003. Two sides of the same coin? Sector Policing and Community Policing Forums. *SA Crime Quarterly*. 6:13-16.
- Maroga, M. 2004. Sector Policing: What are the challenges? *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*. <http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/policing/sectorpolicing.pdf> (21 November 2007).
- McDonald, I. 2006. The Respect Action Plan: Something New or More of the Same? in *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 28(2): 191-200.
- Mckinstry, J. 2005. Using the Past to Step Forward: Fetal Alcohol Syndrome in the Western Cape Province of South Africa in *American Journal of Public Health*. 95(7): 1097-1099.
- Miller, M. 2002. The Meaning of Community. *Social Policy*. 32-36.
- Mokotedi, P and Koitsioe, G. 1997. The State of Democratic Oversight. *Secretariat for Safety and Security Discussion Document*. 1(1). <http://www.gcis.gov.za/sss/evirosca.htm> (23 August 2006).
- Narconon Souther California. 2007. <http://www.stopmethaddiction.com/effects-of-meth.htm> (2 September 2007).
- National Peace Accord. 1999. Section 3.1.1- 3.1.4. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/transition/npaccord.htm> (22 November 2006).

Nina, D. 2000. *Dirty Harry* is back: Vigilantism in South Africa- The (re)emergence of 'good' and 'bad' community in *African Security Review*. 9(1): 18-29.

Orton, L; Barrientos, S and Mcclenaghan, S. 2001. Parternalism and gender in south African fruit employment change and continuity in *Women's Studies International Forum* 24(3-4):469-478.

Patterson, S. 1953. *Colour and culture in South Africa: a study of the status of the Cape coloured people within the social structure of the Union of South Africa*. London: Routledge and Paul.

Pelser, E, Schretler A and Louw A. 2002. *Not everybody's Business: Community Policing in SAP's priority area, Monograaf 71*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Pelser,E. 1999. *The Challenges of Community Policing in South Africa*. Occasional Paper 42. Institute for Security Studies. <http://www.iss.org.za/Pubs/42/Paper42.html> (5 September 2006).

Peron, J. 1999. "Crime Stoppers": frustrated by incompetent policing, South Africans are turning to private alternatives. *Reason*. 31(2):56-57.

Popenoe, D. 2000. *Sociology*. Prentice Hall: New Jersey.

Rauch, J. 2002. Changing step: crime prevention policy in South Africa in Eric Pelser (Ed.) *Crime Prevention Partnerships: Lessons from practice*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies: 9-26.

Rose, N. 1996. The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government. *Economy and Society* 25(3): 327-356.

Rosenbaum,D.P (ed.) 1994. *The challenge of community policing*. London: Sage Publications.

Ross, F. 2005. Model Communities and Respectable Residents? Home and Housing in a low-income Residential Estate in the Western Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Southern Africa Studies*. 31(3): 631-648.

Ross, R. 1999. Missions, Respectability and Civil Rights: the Cape Colony, 1828-1854. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25(3): 333-345.

Schärf, W. 1991. Transforming Community Policing in Black Townships in the New South Africa. *Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town, Occasional Papers Series*.

Schönteich, M. and Louw, A. 2001. " Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile" in *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies*. Occasional Paper No 49.

Shaw, M. 2001. Crime and Policing in Transitional Societies – Conference Summary and Overview. Konrad Adenauer- Stiftung (ed.) *Crime and Policing in Transitional Societies: Seminar Report. No 8*.

Shaw, M. 2002. *Crime and Policing in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. CapeTown: David Philip.

Shaw, M. 2002. *Democracy's Disorder? Crime, Police and Citizen Responses in Transitional Societies*. Johannesburg: The South African Institute of International Affairs.

Shearing, C. 1994. Participatory policing: Modalities for lay participation. *Imbizo*. 2: 5-10.

Shore, C. and Wright, S. 1997. *Anthropology of Policy: Critical perspectives on governance and power*. London: Routledge.

Simpson, J. 2007. South Africa faces crime challenge. *BBC News*.
<http://www.news.bbc.co.uk> (12 February 2007).

Skogan, W.C and Hartnett, S.M. 1997. *Community Policing, Chicago Style*. Chicago: Oxford University Press.

Smith, D. 1987. Research, the Community and the Police in P.Willmott (ed.) *Policing and the Community*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Stevens, P. and Yach, D. 1995. *Community Policing in action*. Cape Town: Juta & Co, Ltd.

Swart, I. 2006. Churches as a stock of social capital for promoting social development in Western Cape Communities. *Journal of Religion in Africa*. 36(3-4): 346-378.

Swyngedouw, E. 2005. Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-beyond-the State. *Urban Studies*. 42(11):1991-2006.

Theodori, G.L. 2005. Community and Community Development in Resource-Based Areas: Operational Definitions Rooted in an Interactional Perspective. *Society and Natural Resources*. 18:661-669.

Thompson, J.D.S. 2004. A murderous legacy: Coloured homicide trends in South Africa. *SA Crime Quarterly* 7: 9-14.

Thornton, R and Ramphela, M. 1988. The quest for community' in Emile Boonzaier and John Sharp (eds.) *South African Keywords: The uses and abuses of political concepts*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.

Travis, J. 2000. International Strategies for Crime Prevention in transitional Societies: Problems and Prospects in Mark Shaw (ed.) *Crime and Policing in Transitional Societies*. Johannesburg: Jan Smuts House, University of Witwatersrand.

Van der Spuy, E. 2000. 'Crime and its Discontent: Recent South African Responses and Policies' in Mark Shaw (ed.) *Crime and Policing in Transitional Societies*. Johannesburg: Jan Smuts House, University of Witwatersrand.

Van der Waal, C.S. 2005. Spatial and organizational complexity in the Dwars River Valley, Western Cape. *Anthropology Southern Africa* 28(1&2):8-21.

Vanderschueren, F. 1996. 'From violence to justice and security in cities' in *Environment and Urbanization*. 8(1): 93-112.

Vos, U. 2008. 'Tik ingredients reclassified' in *The Citizen*.
<http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=61333,1,22> (12 April 2008).

Warner, M. 2002. Publics and Counterpublics. *Public Culture*. 14(1): 49-90.