LOCAL RESPONSES TO A TRAVELLING MODEL OF CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIME MANAGEMENT: COMMUNITY POLICING IN STELLENBOSCH, SOUTH AFRICA

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Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

ABSTRACT

The mention of any form of crime in South Africa for the most part invokes fear of both an unknown or known perpetrator who may strike at any time and inflict harm to one's body and property. Through ethnographic work that generated qualitative data, the study explores, interprets and analyses what community policing is in practice from three selected localities: Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore in the Stellenbosch Municipality of the Western Cape. This is illustrated throughout the thesis by the descriptions and analysis of processes, ideas and performances of community policing from the local level. Therefore, the important issues the thesis brings out centre on how people define and perform community policing and their perceptions of it.

In light of the above statements, how people understood community policing and how they created local sensibilities about community policing as a response to crime informs the discussion and analysis in the thesis. In the process, I bring out what informed people's perceptions of community policing, how people talked about crime or conceived of security. In so doing, the study aims to use local examples to reveal the at times muted and ignored responses to not only community policing, but also to broader issues around crime prevention and crime management policy and practice.

Moreover, the thesis illustrates the numerous ways in which local experiences and constructions of crime shape the practice of community policing. Through the use of ethnography, the study analyses the notion of security in terms of local perspectives, local history and local security needs. The study further explores the relevance of the 'racialised' and class experiences of crime and security, as well as social divisions of age and gender in order to understand the differences in perceptions and reactions to community policing at the local level.

The notions of the 'travelling model' and 'translation' provide theoretical constructs to examine how community policing is conceived of in policy at the national and provincial levels in South Africa and the links with the constant changes in the international discourse of crime prevention and crime management. The thesis concludes by illuminating the complexities involved in reforms to crime prevention and crime management in South Africa in response to changing patterns of crime and to criminals who have become ever bolder in their endeavours. In the process, the thesis offers a critique of and sheds light on, to what

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extent the realities of crime and its related problems in South Africa inform the re-reading of community policing and broader issues around crime prevention and crime management.

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OPSOMMING

Die noem van enige vorm van misdaad in Suid-Afrika roep 'n vrees van beide 'n onbekende of bekende oortreder op wat op enige oomblik kan toeslaan en skade aan 'n mens se liggaam en eiendom kan aanrig. Deur die gebruik van etnografiese werk wat kwalitatiewe data opgelewer het, verken, interpreter en analiseer hierdie studie die praktyk van gemeenskapspolisiëring in drie geselekteerde woonbuurte: Die Boord, Kayamandi en Kylemore in die Stellenbosch Munisipaliteit van die Wes-Kaap. Dit word in die proefskrif geïllustreer deur die beskrywings en analise van prosesse, idees en opvoerings van gemeenskapspolisiëring op die plaaslike vlak. Die belangrike kwessies wat die proefskrif dus na vore bring, sentreer rondom mense se definisies van gemeenskapspolisiëring, hoe hulle dit opvoer en hul persepsies daarvan.

Die bespreking en analise in die tesis word, in die lig van die bogenoemde stellings, ingelig deur hoe mense gemeenskapspolisiëring verstaan en hoe hulle plaaslike denkbeelde oor gemeenskapspolisiëring as 'n antwoord op misdaad geskep het. Ek bring in hierdie proses na vore wat mense se persepsies van gemeenskapspolisiëring ingelig het, sowel as die manier waarop mense oor misdaad gepraat het of oor sekuriteit gedink het. Die studie probeer om op hierdie wyse plaaslike voorbeelde te gebruik om die somtyds onderdrukte en geïgnoreerde reaksies, nie slegs op gemeenskapspolisiëring nie, maar ook op wyer kwessies rondom misdaadvoorkoming en misdaadbestuur, in beleid en praktyk, te onthul.

Die tesis illustreer verder die verskeie maniere waarop plaaslike ervarings en konstruksies van misdaad die praktyk van gemeenskapspolisiëring vorm. Deur die gebruik van etnografie analiseer die studie die begrip sekuriteit in terme van plaaslike perspektiewe, plaaslike geskiedenis en plaaslike sekuriteitsbehoeftes. Die studie verken verder die relevansie van 'rasiale' en klaservarings van misdaad en sekuriteit, sowel as sosiale verdelings van ouderdom en geslag om sodoende die verskille in persepsies en reaksies op gemeenskapspolisiëring op die plaaslike vlak te verstaan.

Die opvattings rondom die 'reisende model' en 'vertaling' bied teoretiese konstrukte om ondersoek in te stel na hoe gemeenskapspolisiëring in beleid op nasionale en provinsiale vlakke in Suid-Afrika verstaan word en die skakels met konstante veranderings in die internasionale diskoers oor misdaadvoorkoming en misdaadbestuur. Die tesis sluit af deur die kompleksiteite wat by misdaadvoorkoming en misdaadbestuur in Suid-Afrika betrokke is, te belig, in antwoord op veranderende patrone van misdaad en op misdadigers wat

steeds meer vrypostig geword het. In die proses bied die tesis 'n kritiese blik op en belig dit die mate waartoe die realiteite van misdaad en verwante probleme in Suid-Afrika die herlees van gemeenskapspolisiëring, sowel as wyer kwessies rondom misdaadvoorkoming en misdaadbestuur, inlig.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late parents

Ellen and Lucas Pfigu

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Finally, thank you God, because you make all things possible.

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ACRONYMS

AMT	Amalgamation Management Team
ANC	African National Congress
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CDW	Community Development Worker
CEDAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women
CMT	Change Management Team
COP	Community Oriented Policing
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
CSF	Community Safety Forums
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
MADAM	Multi-Agency Delivery Mechanism
NW	Neighbourhood Watch
OSF-SA	The Open Society Foundation for South Africa
PAGAD	People against Drugs and Gangsterism
PCPC	Western Cape's Provincial Crime Prevention Committee
SAPS	South African Police Service
UMAC	U Managing Conflict

LEGAL AND STATUTORY INSTRUMENTS CITED

Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines (1997)

Domestic Violence Act (1998)

Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) 1996

National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) 1996

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 1994-1996

South African Police Service Act (1995)

South African Police Strategic Plan (1991)

The Constitution of South Africa (1996)

The Interim Constitution (1993)

The National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS 2004)

The National Peace Accord (1990)

The Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) (2000)

The White Paper on Safety and Security (1998)

Sexual Offences Act (2000)

Chapter One

BACKGROUND AND AIMS

1.1   Introduction

Crime affects everyone directly or indirectly in South Africa and its prevalence is therefore one of the most serious issues that the country has to grapple with in the post-apartheid era. Prevention and management of crime is one of South Africa's main challenges. The harsh realities of crime in this study were evident in the candid ways in which the respondents discussed their experiences of crime and perceptions of crime prevention and crime management. They expressed anxiety and fear particularly about the brutality of violent crime. The impact of crime was not only evident in the stories I heard during my research interviews, but also from statistics, media reports and victimisation surveys that provided more information about the prevalence of crime. What is also apparent is the inability of the police to curb crime.

People are demanding the formulation and implementation of effective strategies in dealing with crime and other social and economic ills. As a result, crime prevention and crime management also tops the list of priorities at national, provincial, and local levels. While some people make a concerted effort to try and deal with crime in their communities, there is also some level of apathy among a significant number of people when it comes to actively dealing with crime. It is therefore against this background that this study looks at community policing as one aspect of crime prevention and crime management in South Africa. Community policing is still referred to and considered as a part of the crime policy in South Africa. The key issues I therefore present in the study revolve around the nature of community policing, reactions to it and factors that come into play as communities form partnerships aimed at dealing with crime and related problems. I compare three localities to illustrate the divergent views, perceptions of and reactions to community policing.

The thesis ultimately documents and interprets such local views and responses to community policing based on the experiences and perceptions of people from three study sites: Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore in the Stellenbosch municipality of the Western Cape Province in South Africa. A central

objective of the study is to investigate global-local connections of community policing ideas, conceptualizations and practices from an anthropological perspective.
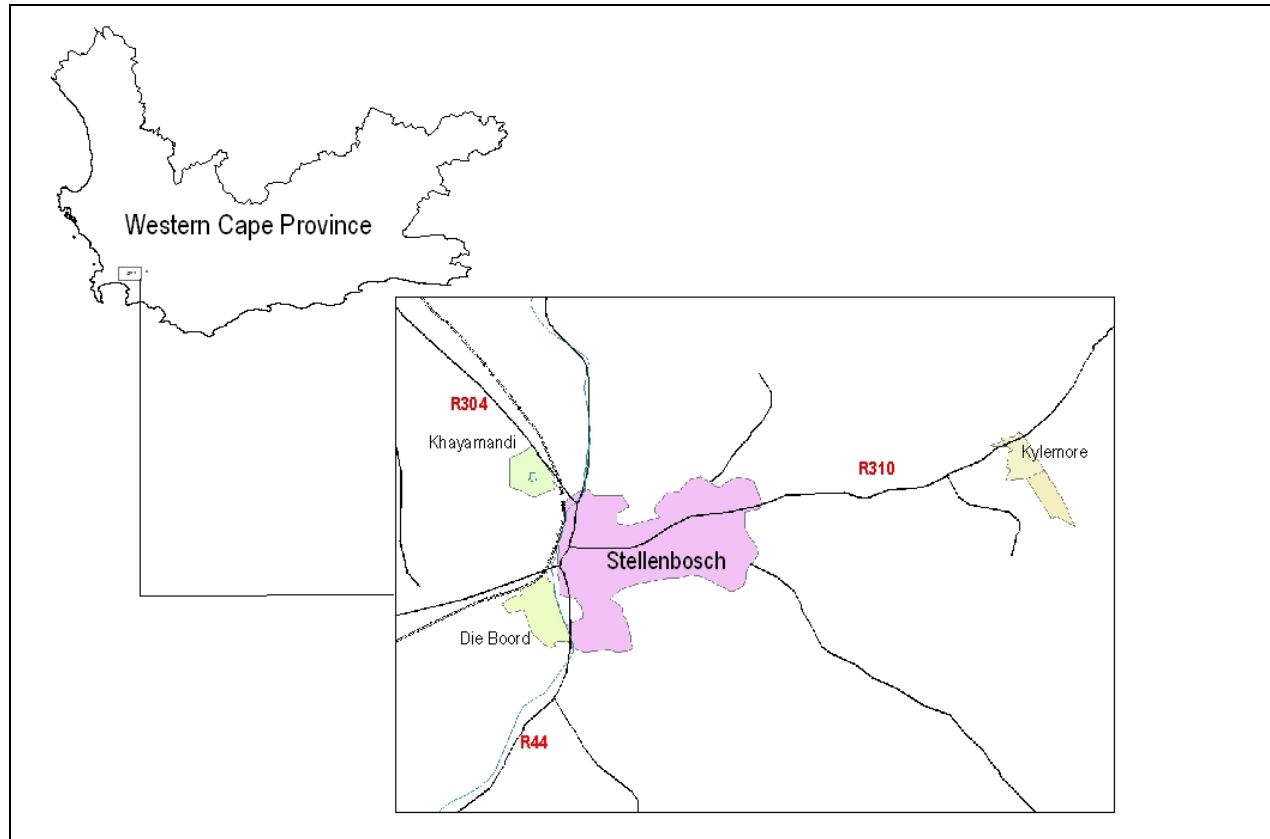
Figure 1: Location of the three study sites, Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore: Map adapted from Google Maps September 2009

Throughout the thesis as I present the perceptions of community policing, I engage with the debates about the place of community policing in crime-fighting and also analyse the relationship between the police and the general populace. This is because we cannot understand responses to crime without also looking at how the state relates to the public.

This chapter introduces the core issue of this study, that of community policing. This includes the background of the study, the objectives, research questions, the debates around the practical and theoretical definitions of community policing.

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1.2   Crime prevention and crime management

In a broad anthropological sense, crime prevention and crime management may be understood as social constructions carrying different meanings to various communities. In this regard, Pospisil (1971) is of the view that there are often as many legal systems as there are functioning social units. It is for this reason that numerous strategies for crime prevention exist. In its most basic form, crime prevention may be any activity by an individual or group, private or public, which attempts to eliminate crime prior to it occurring or before any additional activity results (Brantingham and Faust 1976). Lab[1] (1988) expands this definition by outlining that crime prevention aims at reducing the fear of crime or the fear of perceived crime. Crime management on the other hand means that crime has already happened and that the management of these criminal activities is required.

The perceptions of crime prevention and crime management discussed in this thesis reveal an unending elasticity of many strategies existing along a continuum. In light of this, this thesis investigates and illuminates the processes within which various crime prevention and management strategies unravel, the perceptions around that and the power dynamics involved. The findings of this study reveal that approaches to crime prevention and crime management involve complex social, political and economic interventions that develop over time. These interventions in the short and long term are economic and political in nature, as are issues around community policing.

Activities of crime prevention and crime management imply that crime has already occurred and some form of management strategies are required to avoid it spiralling out of control. Some of these strategies have evolved in the new millennium to encompass approaches that encourage the participation of local people in their own policing. Community policing as one participatory approach to crime prevention and crime management is understood differently in various contexts. However, it is a concept that represents the idea of partnership in dealing with crime. Central to this is the participation of the local people.

Ratcliffe (2005:18) refers to policing as any activity for order maintenance conducted by the police, the people, and agencies that are not sworn in as officers of the law. Baker (2004:1) refers to policing as 'any

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[1] Lab (1988) outlines what he calls the five approaches to modern crime prevention. This entails: saving the less fortunate, changing the social fabric which includes building thriving neighbourhoods, changing the physical environment, that is any features conducive to crime, and organizing the community which involves citizen surveillance and situational crime prevention.

organized activity that seeks to ensure the maintenance of communal order through the elements of prevention, deterrence and punishment.' Policing may be authorised and conducted by state or non-state groups. Therefore, these actors perform many forms of crime prevention and crime management. Hence, I investigated the ways in which the various state and non-state groups maintain what they perceive to be appropriate public order and even private behaviour.

I concur with Hills's (2000) idea that policing in Africa may be seen as much less clearly defined than in many Western countries. Definitions of what constitutes policing in many writings on policing in Africa now involve a broader look at activities of civilian groups and how they work with or independent from the state police. These are the issues illuminated in Chapter Six.

1.3 Multiple definitions of community policing

This section discusses the broad, complex and numerous ways in which community policing is defined and conceptualised. The point I make here is that community policing is a broad concept theoretically and practically with various meanings in different contexts. In Chapter Six, I especially present, compare, contrast and analyse the meanings and perceptions of community policing and the contexts within which those meanings are formed.

Confronted with the many ways in which community policing is conceptualised and after making sense of what the study revealed, I present community policing as a body of knowledge on crime prevention and management from which several differentiated or similar strategies for dealing with crime, may be drawn. In general, what one may infer from the various definitions is that community policing may be viewed with multiple lenses. The crucial issue for this thesis was to trace those views of community policing at different levels. A crucial issue that should concern us as anthropologists is how people at various levels define the issues we set out to investigate; and how that links up with broader processes.

In the policing field, there have been contested histories and definitions of community policing. The point is there are several different definitions of community policing provided by the police, the government, the people, and academics from various disciplines, for example criminology, sociology, psychology, political science and police studies. Therefore, theorists and people in different places define community policing in varied ways. The aim of this section is to provide a critical overview of the definitions of community policing,

and to point to the way community policing is defined in this thesis.

In its most basic form, community policing may be referred to as the participation of people in policing or various partnerships between the police, citizens, civil society, local government and business to fight crime. In theory, community policing encompasses co-coordinated strategies between local people, the police, the government, civil society and business. Grappling with the many definitions of community policing, Oliver (1998) argues that the definitions of community policing are determined, for instance, by the specific time and context that a researcher will be working in. Some writers place the role of the police and how it does its work at the centre of defining community policing. On the contrary, Rosenbaum (1994:4) talks more of community policing as the 'role of the community to prevent crime'. Rosenbaum's definition places people at the centre of community policing and partnerships.

Trajanowicz and Bucqueroux list the features of community policing. They refer to community policing as the first notable attempt to transform how the police and the people work together (Trajanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990). Trajanowicz and Bucqueroux outline the 10 principles of community policing as follows:
- commitment to community empowerment;
- decentralised and personalized policing;
- immediate and long term proactive problem solving;
- following ethics;
- responsibility and trust;
- expanding the police mandate;
- helping those with special needs;
- grassroots creativity and support;
- internal change; and
- building for the future.

(List adapted from Trajanowicz and Bucqueroux 1990:5)

In Trajanowicz and Bucqueroux's view, the above principles guide the changing relationship of the police and the people as they form partnerships to deal with crime and related problems. Although Trajanowicz and Bucqueroux have their theoretical and practical explanations of community policing, their work does

not clearly illuminate the complexities of divergent interests in community policing which is what I bring out especially in Chapter Six.

I found that, firstly, community policing reflects the constantly changing nature of crime prevention and crime management strategies. Secondly, new approaches to fighting crime are added upon existing ones. Thirdly, community policing implies that the solution to problems of crime goes beyond invoking the criminal justice system; hence the use of public, private and community based organizations to deal with crime and its related problems.

Dixon (2004:254) is, however, of the view that community policing

> is about meeting popular demands for security and giving local operational commanders the authority to meet them, everything from aggressive order maintenance to neighbourhood advocacy organization may take place under the rubric of community policing.

I especially found appealing Dixon's idea that 'everything' may take place under the definition of community policing. Through it, I made sense of differing ways in which community policing was defined at a practical level in the three study sites.

Instead of presenting precise definitions of community policing, Henderson, Merrick and Davis (2003) offer factors that make the working of community policing easier. These factors include strong networks of community organization, a culture of respecting law enforcement, decentralized police administration, community cohesion and a drive towards improving the technology in crime prevention, for example crime mapping. From another perspective, community policing may be viewed as 'co-production of public service delivery'. This means the involvement of consumers in activities that were the domain of public agencies. Mottair and White (2003:4) cite community policing as the co-production of service delivery as citizens 'consume' policing by 'actively involving themselves' in the improvement and delivery of policing.

Oliver (1998), one of the critics of community policing, argues that some definitions of community policing are often contradictory, unclear and intangible. This has an impact on the implementation of community policing programmes. The ambiguities in definitions have made writers on community policing, for example Braiden (1990), to call it 'all things to all people'. He goes further to label it as 'nothing new under the sun'. Smith (1987:54) also points out that 'community policing is more than a brand name that gives an identity to

a diverse range of independent concerns'. Such concerns are often evident in the ways in which different groups of people in a community support different priorities for policing.

Furthermore, critics of community policing refer to it as being fraught with romanticised ideas and being half-conceived. Klockars (1988) has gone to the extent of labelling community policing as 'just rhetoric' used for public support, to look for academic participation and deal with political opposition. Some have pointed to community policing as merely a fashionable buzzword, which is intended to connote the positive while masking the problems that arise from community policing. In this thesis, I consider that, to some extent, community policing offers a platform where people with diverse interests may raise their concerns about crime and related problems. However, even if such a platform is given, Friedman (1994) is of the view that community policing fails to do the core things it advocates for, namely reinventing the community and empowering citizens.

The definition of community policing according to the Department of Safety and Security (SA) (1997:1) is,

> [A] philosophy that guides police management styles and operational strategies and emphasises the establishment of police-community partnerships and a problem solving approach responsive to the needs of the community. It is based on the assumption that the objectives of SAPS, namely the prevention, combating and investigation of crime; the maintenance of public order; the provision of protection and security to the inhabitants of the Republic and their property; and upholding and enforcing the law, may only be achieved through the collaborative effort of the SAPS, government institutions, organisations and structures of civil society, and individual citizens.

The South African Police Service (SAPS) Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines (1997) stipulates the general characteristics of community policing as communicated by the Department of Community Safety. One of the main principles of community policing emphasized in the Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines is employing and promoting problem-oriented policing. Problem-oriented policing strives to involve the community in solving crime and crime related problems. Problemoriented policing is a style of policing that seeks to identify seemingly isolated crime problems, analyse the incidents and problems, and solutions are sought in cooperation with the community in order to address the problem in the short, medium and long term (SAPS Community Policing Policy Framework Guidelines 1997:88). What is targeted by using problem-oriented policing and community policing is a comprehensive understanding of the nature, causes and symptoms of a particular crime problem and a specific solution to deal with the problem.

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1.4   A look at importing governance models

I will address here the idea of importing governance models for crime fighting. Masuku and Maepa (2004), indicate that the legacy of conflict and discrimination in South Africa manifested in high levels of crime. This led to various government policy initiatives in issues of crime control. These policies encourage crime prevention at the local level and draw heavily from globalised, neoliberal governance models. The idea of community policing is situated within the framework of participatory governance which is about the active and meaningful involvement of citizens in the manner in which they are governed (IDASA 2002).

In the early years of the democracy, South Africa actively searched for ways of democratising the policing structures. Community policing was integrated into policy as part of democratising policing in South Africa. Minogue (2000) highlights the influence of international policing models, (for example the police-community consultative groups in the United Kingdom), in the modelling of community policing in South Africa. Police-community consultative groups were introduced in the country through the establishment of community policing forums (CPFs).

In this thesis the examples of how community policing has been used in different settings provides a basis for a discussion on how the local settings relate to the movement of ideas and the global in terms of policing. International models of crime prevention, for example community policing, are translated in a particular context and resisted or balanced with traditional approaches. I noted that in practice, newly introduced forms of governance are adapted to local needs, the institutions present, the cultures that exist and the availability of resources. There is therefore an ongoing reinvention of forms of governance (Shearing and Wood 2006:100). One such reinvention is evident in community policing. Thus, the functions of community policing need to be problematised by bringing to light some issues often taken for granted, such as the different interests people have as they make various efforts towards dealing with crime. Moreover, the police are challenged at every stage as they try to balance their functions with community policing initiatives, as people compete to place their policing interests and priorities on the agenda in local community policing initiatives.

In the international academic and police debates on forms of community policing, the 'myth' of public support, successes and perceived successes of community policing are issues that are often pointed out. The 'perceived success stories' of community policing created an opportunity for developed countries to create an 'export business' around community policing, promoting the model in developing countries (Brogden and Nijhar 2005). But South African local communities where community policing happens reflect considerable differences in social conditions and historical experience. It is no surprise, therefore, that community policing is viewed differently or operates within different structures with varying levels of support, indifference or even heavy criticism.

In light of the above, cooperation, contestation or resistance to community policing need to be understood by considering the issues that unravel in the local context. Considering this local context in this study entailed picking up on localised perceptions and practices to crime and community policing and linking this to the differentiation of society in terms of local history, class, gender and generation. These social factors are important in the study in order to understand how people generally respond to policing and subsequently view community policing.

To a large extent, the thesis looks at the local context in its investigation of South Africa's implementation of community policing in line with the international trend towards new, delegated forms of governance. The ideas, practices and networks that form part of the state's reform of the security sector in search of effective crime control measures are thus analysed. This means the partnerships that develop and continue to change (between the state, civil society, business and communities) are looked at. The relationships between organisations that provide security are investigated as part of the broader processes of continuous restructuring of the government's response to crime. In addition, events, perceptions and practices occurring in community policing in Stellenbosch are analysed and contextualised in terms of interfaces that tie the local to global levels of governance.

1.5 Community policing as a travelling model

Rosenbaum (1994:5) stresses that community policing developed in response to the increased awareness that established forms of policing were not effective, efficient and equitable. Policing has gone through various stages and styles, for example militaristic, technocratic, bureaucratic and legalistic. In the United

States where the community-policing model was developed, various factors in the 1960s gave rise to community policing. In the 1960s for example, the conflict that centred around civil rights also resulted in debates on how best to improve relations between the police and the people. According to Wong (2000), later on, the high crime rates in the 1980s resulted in revisiting the traditional and professional approaches to policing which were inadequate to deal with these high crime levels in many cities in the United States. The growing fear of crime and the existence of neighbourhoods haunted by drug use and drug related crimes in the 1980s called for innovative ways of dealing with the problems. In the 1980s, community policing therefore became part of larger changes that were implemented to create partnerships between the residents and the police. The notion of the decentralisation of police activity informed how policing was done and civil society played a significant role in this regard. The government created supporting bodies and funding to support reform in line with community policing work.

In the United Kingdom, police-community consultative forums, neighbourhood watches and foot patrols by the police were ways in which community policing became a big part of policing (Bennett and Lupton 1990). Elsewhere, the success stories of community policing have led to an integrated approach to crime prevention. For example, in recent times, more focus is on community safety, which entails building upon community policing structures and getting more players on board. There are notable differences in terms of how community policing models have been developed. For example the police as an institution in different countries, has taken on board or integrated the notion of community policing in different ways. Another issue to to note as well is that, while it is argued that as a developed model of crime prevention and management, community policing developed in western democracies, in Africa, people had their own methods of dealing with crime and related problems. In Africa, one may talk of community policing as influenced by different policing needs that arise at particular times. Community policing emerges in places where there are very inadequate state structures to deal with crime and socio-economic problems. In Zimbabwe for example, the absence of funding to perform even basic functions in the police the last 10 years has resulted in a heavy reliance on private security but mostly by businesses that can pay for those services. In the poor localities, there are ad hoc committees of people to deal with security needs (Securico Review: 2010).

Fourchard's (2009) referred to his research in 2003 in South Western Nigeria and Ibadan trace community responses to crime and insecurity and he found out that there was a persistence of traditional forms of

protection in shaping policing practices. This in itself supports the point that community policing in Africa has existed in various forms under different names dating back to even before the colonial period. In Ibadan, the heads of lineages continue to play a role in organising the police-community neighbourhood meetings. The role of the vigilantes has changed from the colonial period to the present day. Vigilantes have been incorporated in various ways from the colonial period to present day. In the 1970s and 1980s, anti-thieves, anti-witches and anti-cattle raiding groups were used widely in rural Mashonaland and Manicaland provinces of Zimbabwe. State sponsored vigilante groups in the form of anti-cattle raiding movements were used in the rural areas in Tanzania among the Kuria (Fleisher 2000). These examples show the various forms of community policing which reflect the ambiguities of community policing in Africa. What these ambiguities reveal and also what I encountered in Stellenbosch in meetings and interviews as the research unfolded, show that the reality on the ground about crime and community policing keeps changing and is sometimes divorced from the available literature, especially that coming from the policy makers or advocates of community policing.

1.6   Problem statement

As stated in the introduction section 1.1, crime is a problem of concern in South Africa. The challenges posed by the perpetual conflict between the public and police in South Africa make partnerships in crime fighting complex or unable to produce significant results and attending to related problems. Therefore in this study, I wanted to illuminate local perceptions of community policing, people's experiences with criminality and what people do as a result of those experiences. The literature on crime prevention and crime management mostly deals with policy at a macro level. There is, therefore, a need for more local studies of an ethnographic nature that illuminate what happens at the local level. Arendse's (2000) study, for example, analyses crime prevention strategies in local communities in the Western Cape, but overlooks the experience of the local people. I therefore reflect on the people's experiences with crime and their perspectives on community policing. Moreover, specific linkages between the interaction of policy and the local settings, is at times not well understood. Therefore, I bring out what happens in the local settings in terms of policing, relationships between different people, and between state and non-state institutions.

I use ethnographic methods of research, which bring out issues beyond crime and community policing, as they unfold in everyday life. The use of ethnographic methods of data collection on community policing

assisted in getting the views from people that are often ignored. By looking at people's experiences, policies are better understood as ideological and formal instruments that are related to social contexts in complex ways.

In South Africa, there is a dire need for locally based crime prevention and crime management strategies. The reason for this is that state structures alone do not have the capacity to deal with crime. Therefore, the state has delegated some of its governance functions, such as crime prevention and management, to a variety of governmental nodes and private sector organisations (Shearing and Wood 2006:99). For instance, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) of 1996, presented strategies for co-ordinated responses to crime by the state and civil society. In the NCPS, community policing entails promoting partnerships between local communities, civil society, business, government and the police service in crime fighting. The results are, for example, organised initiatives in the form of community policing forums and neighbourhood watches. This is in addition to non-state security organisations and the mushrooming private security initiatives.

Since the early 1980s, crime prevention and crime management strategies in South Africa and the world over have included the notion and practice of 'community policing'. Community policing has evolved along with the transformation that has happened in the South African Police Service (SAPS) since the end of apartheid. In 1993, a division for community relations started to establish the Community Policing Forums (CPFs) at the local level. Over the years, there has been a move by these forums to create more partnerships between the police and local communities to enhance crime fighting, problem solving, empowerment and accountability.

The state borrowed numerous ideas from various places on crime prevention and crime management. The 'travelling models' concept and the notion of 'translation', discussed in more detail in sections 3.3 and 3.3.1 in this thesis, are used to explain and interpret the origins, use and changing meanings of community policing at the national, provincial and local levels in South Africa. Let me briefly explain the idea of the 'travelling model' and 'translation' notion central to this thesis. The 'travelling model' concept I use specifically to refer to the mobility of technologies of social ordering. How is this *'travelling'* possible? The model becomes a form that is mobile when it is translated into text, narratives or pictures by mediators and knowledge brokers (Rottenburg 2011). By model, I mean 'a representation of a particular reality' (Rottenburg 2011:16). That representation of a particular reality in the form of a model is translated through

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processes of being re-contextualised in different places. As stated earlier, mediators and knowledge brokers at different levels and with varying outcomes, facilitate this process of translation. The study looked at community policing as a travelling model within this context, how it is conceived of in different localities and with what outcomes, with which role-players. Therefore, the logic of how policy (in this case community policing) travels, is translated and gets integrated in national policies and are conceived of at the local level, is core to this study.

The study therefore seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge on the global flows of crime prevention and crime management strategies by using the notion of the travelling model as a way of looking at how community policing has been used in different places and with what results. This means the study traces the diffusion of the community policing model from its global sources in the context of neoliberal policies. I do, however, emphasise the processes at the local level in the first place.

This study takes as its point of departure what is happening in particular contexts in terms of community policing and offers a comparative analysis. The study also analyses the contradictions and tensions between policy and practice in crime prevention and crime management. These are issues I also discuss in section 3.3.

Crime and policing issues represent some of the key social problems that need understanding. As I investigated these issues, I came to understand Holtmann and Domingo-Swarts's (2008) argument that crime is a complex phenomenon and demands a complex analysis and response. I was also concerned about how community policing literature highlights both the merits and problems of community policing, while it does not address the political processes or the experiences of the citizens that are involved (Martinez and Homby 2001; Shaw 2001). Such political processes are given prominence in Chapter Nine which reflects on policymaking debates.

Another concern is that it is well known that traditional approaches to crime prevention and crime management have focused on the state. However, policing is now located in a variety of institutions in and beyond the state. This study, therefore, looks at the connected institutions in policing located in and beyond the state.

Looking at issues that are prioritised in community policing, Stern (1991) argues that community policing should ensure that gender issues are addressed because women are most affected by crime. This study will, therefore, investigate the gendered dynamics within community policing and prioritise women's experiences with criminality. This thesis will also consider another social category - the youth who are often regarded as a threat to public order (Black and Reiss 1970). The thesis further explores the 'racialised' experiences of crime, how that unfolds in community policing perceptions, and arise in everyday discourse on crime and policing. The following section illuminates the idea of crime prevention and crime management as a social construction carrying different meanings to different people, which is one of the major issues I stress in this study.

1.7 Objectives and research questions

Following on the discussion in the previous sections, this study focused on three study sites in Stellenbosch in order to:

a) Understand community policing in South Africa and compare community policing in three places (Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore) – illuminating the changing policy and the contexts within which community policing happens. This entailed documenting and interpreting perceptions of community policing in terms of local perspectives, local history and local security needs;

b) To explore the relevance of the 'racialised' and class experience of crime and security, as well as the relevance of the cross-cutting social divisions of gender and age for understanding differences in perceptions and reactions at the local level;

c) To contextualise in terms of South African realities, the experiences with crime and how that informs crime prevention and management strategies;

d) To investigate global connections relating to community policing as a form of governance in South Africa, in theory and in practice; and

e) To explore different theoretical approaches to understand the social and policy complexities involved in community policing.

The research questions derived from the above objectives were:

Research Question 1

What is community policing as policy and practice? How has it progressed, travelled and changed as a model of governance?

Research Question 2

How do local experiences and constructions of crime and governance shape the practice of community policing?

Research Question 3

How do local people experience and view the implementation of community policing in their neighbourhoods? How do different histories, class, age and gender inform their reactions?

As the doctoral project progressed, I thought more about how to make this not just an academic project for the submission for examination for a doctoral degree. I grappled with how we may produce knowledge not just for the sake of it, but rather how we may successfully produce knowledge in a timely manner that feed into the policy makers' domain. The ways in which I discuss and present the findings endorses what Public Anthropology advocates for, in particular, the ability of anthropology and anthropologists to effectively address problems beyond the discipline, illuminating larger social issues. The idea then is to stimulate public awareness and fostering social change through research as indicated by the last chapter of the thesis.

1.8   Overview of the chapters

The outline of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter Two is the methodology chapter. I trace my research journey and particularly present a justification for decisions undertaken during the study. Of importance is how ethnographic methods enabled me to tap into the socially embedded conversations that were going on at different levels about crime and community policing. Chapter Two explores the methodological choices made during this multi-sited ethnography and their implications.

Chapter Three provides theoretical perspectives, themes and approaches utilised in the discussion and critique of community policing in this thesis. Neo-liberal ideas of governance give a framework for understanding the context within which community policing works. The travelling models concept and translation are used as tools to present the various perceptions and meanings of community policing. The travelling models concept and notion of translation especially form the main anchors on which the findings are discussed and interpreted. Foucault's writings on knowledge, power and governmentality; issues around volunteerism, complexity and crime also provided additional useful lenses through which the findings are discussed, interpreted and analysed.

The purpose of Chapter Four is to present the historical time line of transformation of the police and in particular discuss the major issues that are relevant to the history of policing and especially community policing in South Africa. I trace the changes in crime prevention and crime management during different times. The chapter therefore provides a discussion of colonial policing, apartheid policing, democracy and policing, neo-liberalism and community policing. The discussion in this chapter relates to the larger argument of the thesis, in so far as it uses the travelling models concept to explain the source of ideas that informed changes in policing during different periods. These changes are discussed together with the political and economic environments during these different periods. The argument I make also shows that the effects of crime prevention and crime management interventions in the short and long term are economic, social and political in nature. This is reflected in the changes that have occurred in the policing arena in different periods. Apartheid policing, democratisation and policing, and neo-liberal governance gives a frame within which to understand the various ideas that informed changes within different periods, how these models have been translated and the consequences of policing at the local level. The chapter commences with a discussion of colonial policing followed by apartheid policing, democratic policing, and neo-liberal community policing. The crux of the chapter therefore is to analyse the various translations of community policing in each historical period. I use the concept of translation for analysing those changes.

Chapter Five gives a description of Stellenbosch and provides information on the three localities where fieldwork was conducted: Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. The key point I bring out in this chapter is that the nature and incidences of crime in Stellenbosch need to be understood in terms of the socio-economic conditions and experiences with crime in the three localities. These local conditions revolve around economic disparities, class and race. Stellenbosch presents a place where the contradictions and

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complexities of South Africa in terms of economic disparities, class and race are evident. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter centres on the conditions in the place of study. In the process, I reflect on the realities and perceptions of crime in the three places and also how they relate to general perceptions of crime in the province and nationally. Through the narratives, I also reveal the fear of crime and how it was talked about in everyday language. These issues have an effect on how people form their perceptions about community policing and other crime fighting initiatives that extend beyond community policing. The comparative aspect with reference to the three places illuminates the differences and similarities of incidences of crime and perceptions of community policing. Following events in the media, local newspapers and talk in the field about crime and policing gave a picture of the environment in which crime occurs.

Chapter Six offers descriptions and analyses of the crime prevention partnerships that existed in the three localities. This chapter particularly brings out how community policing was understood, translated and acted out by the localised nodes in community policing. This extended to comparisons of the models of community policing that existed and how or to what extent these were supported or resisted in that locality. I link this to how the SAPS and community policing was perceived. I present a comparative perspective of community policing initiatives or models and consequently the perceptions of the people. The aim is to understand responses to crime, and crime prevention and crime management programmes within their contexts.

Chapter Seven turns the focus to the youth and details youth problems struggling to live with minimal opportunities and existing at the fringes of the economy. Utilising Mbembe's (2011) argument, most youth in South Africa are yearning for what the democratic South Africa cannot provide, barely surviving with blunt possibilities, with a democracy that has rendered life more complex for them and in which they felt betrayed. I picked up on these issues plus the ways in which community policing was talked about in relation to youth social experiences, roles and challenges. The argument in this chapter revolves around youth agency, youth marginalisation, the extent of exclusion and inclusion of youth in local community policing initiatives, and conflict of expectations from an adult-centric population that views the youth at times very different from how the youth view their roles and responsibilities. I report on the multiple ways in which the issues and perceptions on community policing came from the youth. I specifically discuss the

youth as both victims and perpetrators of crime. I explore why the youth are generally considered as a problem group. I attempt to present their side of the story in terms of crime and policing.

Chapter Eight grapples with domestic violence as it emerged as one of the residents' main concerns. My efforts to investigate crime and community policing issues unearthed domestic violence as a pertinent area of concern. This was brought to light by how residents of especially Kayamandi and Kylemore conceptualised and experienced crime, as well as how they talked about crime and its mitigation. Therefore, Chapter Eight situates domestic violence within the broad imperatives of the study of crime and community policing. As the project progressed, the issues of domestic violence moved to centre stage and I included questions about the place of community policing in addressing domestic violence. Through case material, I prioritise women's voices and their experiences of domestic violence. I therefore analyse how community initiatives attended to domestic violence issues and how their various foci concerned domestic violence and related issues. By integrating the analysis with the ethical dimensions of research that deal with domestic violence issues, I deal with how I positioned myself in the process of engaging with and volunteering among some of the community-based organisations that attended to domestic violence issues. The issues I bring out refer to the poor and lack of sustained networking to deal with domestic violence.

Chapter Nine is a discussion of new directions in the light of broader policing challenges in South Africa and the pressure to have increased public participation in crime fighting initiatives that work. It then moves on to how community policing was being reconceptualised in policy during the time the research was conducted. I again utilise the travelling models concept and the translation notion to discuss how knowledge brokers and mediators communicated the message of incremental reform to community policing at the local, provincial and national levels. In addition, I discuss the issues of politics and policy reform that I noted. In light of the above, I address three questions underlying this study: To what extent are reactions to community policing translated back into the formulation of new models of crime prevention and crime management at the level of government? What new ideas in community policing are adapted and integrated in policy and practice? How do the police evaluate the perceptions of people about how they do their work? Therefore, Chapter Nine looks at incremental reforms to community policing, thereby showing how the model has been translated at the policy level. I point to the actors involved in these processes at different levels. Overall, Chapter Nine discusses issues of how policy is debated and constructed and how

various stakeholders engage and contest power to influence ideas that make up policy. Chapter Ten is a conclusion of the thesis where I sum up and reflect on the lessons and issues that emerged from this study and offer broad suggestions especially for community policing in South Africa.

Chapter Two

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY JOURNEY

2.1   Introduction

This chapter traces the research journey when it began in early 2007. I outline and explain the decisions made during the research process, dwelling particularly on ethnography as the choice of methodology for investigating crime and community policing. Ethnographic methods enabled me to tap into and bring out the socially embedded conversations that were going on at different levels about crime and community policing. What is significant in this chapter is how fieldwork changed due to conditions in the field and the nature of the issues under investigation. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the 'multi-sited' nature of the fieldwork and the comparative aspect that became a by-product of this work. The insider-outsider aspect of doing research and using oneself as a research tool are some of the major aspects that are discussed in this chapter. The ethics of doing research on safety and security are also discussed.

2.2   Literature study: using academic and grey literature, as well as primary, secondary and historical data

The literature study entailed engaging with a body of international and South Africa academic literature on community policing in addition to literature from anthropology and other disciplines on the themes that were investigated.

Transcripts of interviews, letters, annual reports, mission statements, memoranda and articles from the media on crime and crime prevention partnerships were also used in this research. The relevance of looking at non-academic published documents in relation to community policing was that they helped to provide a picture of developments in crime and crime prevention in different historical periods, particularly in South Africa. In addition, information from the grey literature gave a perspective on how attitudes and perceptions of community policing were formed and reported. Using grey literature helped to cross-reference with insights from interviews and observations. Newspapers and online news, for example, were readily available sources of information about current policing challenges. For a year, newspaper articles

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on crime and related problems and initiatives towards fighting crime in the Western Cape and other provinces were collected. The grey literature gives meaning to information obtained from respondents and provides more perspective on issues investigated.

Primary and secondary sources of historical data illuminated the complexities of the history of policing in South Africa plus the associated crime trends and crime prevention and crime management strategies. This material gave a time perspective on current challenges in policing. In Fife's (2004) view, the ideal is to eventually combine available primary and secondary historical sources to arrive at an adequate context for the analysis of the current context in which events are taking place.

Government documents provided basic and elaborate information on crime prevention initiatives and policy. They provided official documentation, such as crime statistics, which I discuss in Chapter Five. Occasional papers from the government and their press releases added to the literature consulted. Talking to government workers and academics who have written on community policing provided insightful perspectives.

2.3   Ethnography as a choice of methodology

I had a mentor who is an anthropologist and therefore had an appreciation for anthropology and in particular the ethnographic method. Anthropology, strongly based on in-depth fieldwork, is concerned with the commonalities and diversity of human experience, explained in terms of social structure, agency and cultural constructions of meaning. This entails also bringing out experienced realities and connections. An anthropological approach therefore makes it possible to provide a trans-cultural and ethnographically rich study that links together the interpretation and analysis of policy, policy implementation, as well as the local, national and international contexts of community policing. Anthropological work is very useful for exploring social organization and networks. One may therefore look at how transnational players, policy processes, global elites and decision-makers influence events and processes at the local level. This gives further insight into the exchange of ideas about community policing from north to south, south to north and south to south.

In light of the above, the choice of methodology was for ethnographic fieldwork with multiple qualitative data collection methods. Ethnography is broadly defined by Willis and Trondman (2000:1) as a 'family of methods involving direct and sustained social contacts with agents'. Ethnographic methods make it possible for the researcher to understand events in the context in which they happen. One of the main objectives of the study was to understand the context in which perceptions of community policing were formed. Ethnography enables the description and interpretation of those contexts. What I set out to do through the use of ethnographic methods is best described by what is referred to by Blasco and Wardle (2007:4) as the work of anthropologists:

> [they look] for relationships – both links and discontinuities – between different areas and levels of experience, for example between what people do and what they say, between activities and rationalisations. And they often focus on their own relationships with others during fieldwork to gain further analytical perspective on a context.

Firstly, I grounded myself in the historical development of the South African policing process followed by the policing developments which unfolded during the time that the study was undertaken (the period between 2007 and 2011). Fieldwork commenced after a literature study and studying primary and secondary documents related to policing in South Africa.

Barnard (1988) is of the view that ethnography, especially its core element – participant observation, constitutes more of a strategy than just a method. In fact, ethnography is instrumental in unearthing hidden reactions, attitudes and motives. In this study, ethnography provided tools for bringing out the apparent and hidden perceptions and practices of community policing. This was possible by reading the smallest issues as interaction took place. It was, for example, in the informal small talk at coffee breaks at meetings that I picked up hidden attitudes to the actual issues being discussed in a meeting.

Ethnography facilitates a detailed understanding of the circumstances of people in their natural settings (Akers 1990; Bulmer 1979; Coffey and Lofland 2002). This kind of qualitative methodology entails keeping extensive field notes which assist the researcher in creating a picture of situations that help to understand the subject matter at hand. Furthermore, keeping extensive field notes was important for capturing the context in which the observation took place. I kept track of the main events and decisions with regards to community policing at the local and national level. This record of the research process makes it possible to seek interconnections between data. Fitzgerald (2006:12) points to ethnography's strength by referring to the capacity it gives 'to show process in fine-grained and open detail and to open black boxes to show

mechanisms causally linking independent and dependent variables'. The description produced by ethnography opens a window to the subject matter the researcher is concentrating on.

Using ethnographic methods to collect data makes it possible to pay close attention to social practice, that is what people actually do and say. Touraine (1981) points out that you cannot know if you are not in the crowd. For you to know, you need to see, hear and feel. Taking that into account, thick description, generated through being there, made it possible to read between the lines and make sense of various perceptions of community policing that came up in interviews and participant observation. Being there, allowed for the close investigation of issues, of attitudes and behaviour.

Pryke, Rose and Whatmore (2003:93) point out that ethnography as a methodology is more than collecting data, but is also about generating knowledge that leads to theory building. Hammersley (1992:15) argues that the purpose of ethnographic analysis is to produce sensitising concepts and models that allow people to see events in new ways. Amit (2000:17) cites the strength of ethnography by stating that '[it] deliberately leaves openings for unanticipated discoveries and directions'. These discoveries provide useful insights in analysis and theory building. It follows then that as an ethnographer, I had to adapt to ways of interaction and collection of data in response to unanticipated discoveries and circumstances that in turn provided useful insights.

The work of David Mosse and David Lewis (2002) provide studies of institutional settings and organisations, through what is known as 'process ethnography', which is the following of events over time. I followed processes as they unfolded. This descriptive presentation of how the social process unfolded gives insight into the descriptions, explanations and analyses of both the researchers and respondents. The move may be virtual, historical or real. Attempts were made to move with participants in the research by looking at policing in its historical perspective, policing as it unfolded in local crime fighting initiatives and the associated deliberations of the people, policy makers and the police in the search for effective policing measures.

On the basis of ethnography, the research produced narratives of community policing and related issues from different people in different positions (for example provincial government officials, the police, private security company representatives, neighbourhood watch representatives and local residents). These

narratives, discourses and practices were analysed. Staying in the field for more than a year provided an opportunity to experience a wide range of complex processes until the information gathered was a sufficient body to theoretically engage with, find patterns, contradictions, conflicts and comparisons on the local and wider level. Even when the writing started, I continued attending meetings and being part of the events related to community policing especially in Kayamandi and Kylemore. This kept me up to date with what was going on. I stayed in touch with the Police Department, particularly the Stellenbosch and Kayamandi police stations. I was also constantly in touch with the University Security Services and continued talking about crime and security issues with Stellenbosch University students throughout the study.

Chapters Six and Nine were written with information collected by following events and processes in broad national and provincial policing plus local community policing initiatives. The issues that I encountered by doing this underscored that policing happens in a political environment and that there is an economic dimension to policing as well. I attended events and analysed these on the basis of my observations and the issues which were discussed. Discourses and interactions involving local police people, residents and policy-makers were relevant in this regard.

Ethnographic methods therefore 'compel the recognition and acceptance of multiple realities. Documenting multiple perspectives of reality in a given study is crucial to understanding why people think and act in the different ways they do' (Fetterman 2009).

2.3.1   Multi-sited ethnography

Marcus's (1995, 1998, 1999 and 2006) work reflecting on multi-sited ethnography was useful in conceptualising the research and in situating myself as an ethnographer and reflecting on what 'global' and 'local' means in terms of community policing. Marcus, (1995, 1998) referring to changing conditions of fieldwork, argues that anthropologists have redefined their ethnographic 'fields' to explore the multi-sited nature of people and practices in contemporary ethnography. He goes on to cite examples of multi-sited ethnography; tracking the movements of migrants, looking at the relationships of dispersed communities and their networks or tracing the movements of objects, ideas or the global flow of capital. Multi-sited ethnographies define their objects of study through different modes; this may be through following the people, material objects, the model, the plot or story, the conflict, or following the lives of people. In my

multi-sited ethnography, I followed a model: community policing, the chains and connections into and from the local site in which that model manifests itself. Marcus's work helped me to make sense of 'place', 'field', and grapple with issues of situating oneself as an ethnographer. It also contributed to identifying levels of analysis for data from multiple sites.

The multi-sited nature of the research is firstly in terms of the places where fieldwork took place. The sites were three residential areas in Stellenbosch: Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. The issues on crime prevention and management in Stellenbosch may be observed anywhere else in South Africa but are shaped by local conditions. I selected Stellenbosch as a study site because of its proximity to the University and easy accessibility of the other localities from the University. My work fitted into the work that was also being conducted in the Dwars River Valley on development where I picked Kylemore as the third locality. The place-focus aspect remains for me an important aspect of ethnography. Secondly, being aware of the larger processes that have an impact on community policing, motivated the multi-sited nature of the study as well. By this, I mean looking at crime prevention and crime management on the local level together with the level of policymaking and review in South Africa. This is a level of the study and analysis I deal with in Chapters Six and Nine where I present the state of policing and community policing in view of reforms. The local-national exchanges of information in policy formulation and review is what I bring out in this level of analysis. Lastly, engaging with the global discourses of crime prevention and crime management is another level of analysis.

Marcus (1999) refers to the changing research process and emergent styles of work within ethnographic research. An important point he makes is that ethnographic research now occurs in new spaces and deals with new topics. Within this argument, he brings in the crisis in the representation of fieldworker and fieldwork. In his view, multi-sited ethnography encourages anthropologists to test the limits of the ethnographic method by moving beyond the reified notions of the 'global' versus the 'local' (Marcus 1995:106). Therefore, a researcher redefines what the 'field' means as the research progresses. He suggests several ways of structuring multi-sited ethnography that involves the strategically situated site(s) that focus on the interaction between local subjects and the world system. He develops his argument by stating that empirically following the thread of cultural processes impels the move toward multi-sited ethnography. This was especially relevant for this study as I was dealing with a model of crime management that is used in different spaces, across different times and is reviewed as part of policy in

different ways in different places. I was also looking at the interchange between the various models of the community policing model. Following flows, connections, associations, and relationships is core in the design of multi-sited ethnography. Therefore, I extended the understanding of community policing from one site, Stellenbosch, and looked at national and global aspects. Fitzgerald's (2006:5) argument that 'multi-sited fieldwork also offers practical advantage for gaining access to social networks with nodes in different sites', made sense when I was transcribing my field notes, composed from experiences in multiple places.

Marcus refers to the criticism which has been levelled against multi-sited ethnography by stating that not all sites are treated by a uniform set of fieldwork practices of the same intensity. Hence, multi-sited ethnographies are inevitably the product of knowledge bases of varying intensity. However, bringing these knowledge bases of varying intensity from different sites into the same frame of analysis and positioning their relationships based on first hand ethnographic research, becomes one of the advantages of multi-sited ethnography.

Kurotani (2004), writing about how she made sense of what multi-sited ethnographic work meant for her, refers to the work she did in New York. She followed the movement of Japanese capital in the United States and its link to a certain occupational class. In particular, she looked at home-making practices of Japanese housewives in the United States. This also involved looking at the domestic space as the intersection of the global with the local. Her field site, however, was a group of people, not a geographical location. The housewives were not bound by geographical location but lived in different parts of New York. Kurotani's 'multi-sited field' was in a way 'placeless'. The 'corporate-wife women' that she interacted with, were not bound by living in the same residential area in New York. What they had in common was that they belonged to the same class and were Japanese immigrants. She met them for discussions at different pre-arranged places. She attended social functions and shared in the lives of the women. I noted that she adapted her method to suit the circumstances she found herself in and her need to interact with her respondents. However, she notes that despite the interest in alternative ethnographic methods that respond to changing circumstances in our fieldwork, many ethnographers who undertake research in unconventional sites continue to express the tension that comes from disregarding deeply internalized norms. She cites Clifford (1997:58) who notes that anthropological fieldwork continues to be seen as a 'spatial practice of intensive dwelling'. However, multi-sited ethnography in Kurotani's view may require methodological modifications. It is worthwhile to note that the methodological modifications may have an

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effect on the data that one gathers in a positive or negative way. Nevertheless, the issue that was key in how I conceived of this multi-sited ethnography was to have an innovative methodology that was flexible to adapt to the changing subject of investigation and the people involved.

Kurotani goes further to explain practical concerns in doing multi-sited ethnography. You may find yourself in a place where the logistics of getting around may be difficult. At times, you may have to navigate through complex relationships, for instance in 'policing politics,' as I did. Moreover, there may be the issue of learning a new language or multiple dialects essential for fieldwork. You may need to do this all over again, as sites differ. As already mentioned, these challenges call for innovative decisions in multi-sited ethnography. Although multi-sited ethnography is demanding, the rewards are great.

The issues raised by Amit (2000) concerning the 'field' offer further useful insights on multi-sited ethnography. Amit (2000:13) states that 'the logistics of spreading one's attention over activities and individuals at several sites necessitates a methodological shift from an extended presence in one locality'. 'Field' may be defined in terms of social category, as Amit discovered while doing work with the expatriate professionals in the Cayman Islands. The ethnographer, in Amit's view, has become a central agent in the constructing of the 'field'. He refers to ethnography that deals with mobile individuals and, dispersed, fragmented networks. The result is the purposeful creation by the ethnographer of opportunities for contact that are as diffuse and episodic as the processes one is studying. For me, this meant as an ethnographer moving from place to place, responding to the opportunities that arise for interviews, attending meetings and being part of different groups of people at different times.

Amit (2000:11) goes further and notes that 'it is the circumstance which defines the method rather than the method defining the circumstance'. He raises this point as he reflects on challenges in both single site and multi-sited ethnography. The result is that as an ethnographer, you make conscious decisions whether to stay in one site for one month, make short periodic visits, or play a balancing act between face-to-face interactions, e-mail, telephone conversations or choose cases for network or case analysis. My multi-sited study meant I had to do work in the three localities within a certain period. I conducted fieldwork for 14 months and had to allocate my time between interviews, attending community policing forum meetings, volunteering, continuously reading literature and following up on events in community policing. I focused more intensively on one of the locations at a time although it was not always an easy task to retain that

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focus. However, as the fieldwork progressed, I mapped my way around, having familiarised myself well with the place. The circumstances of the 'field' and my own conditions made me define and redefine my methods. This is because as fieldwork commenced the issues of safety and security I was investigating reminded me that 'the field of ethnographic enquiry is not simply a geographic place waiting to be entered, but rather a conceptual space whose boundaries are constantly negotiated and constructed by the ethnographer and the members' (Gupta and Ferguson in Fitzgerald 2006:3).

Any activity is constructed by multiple agents in varying contexts or places, and any ethnography must be strategically conceived to represent this multiplicity and to specify both the intended and unintended consequences in the network of complex interactions and connections within a place (Marcus 1998:53). It follows then that the choice for a multi-sited ethnography worked well in terms of fieldwork and analysis of the connected issues in community policing at the local level and in terms of unpacking the issues in the reform of policies for crime prevention and crime management in South Africa. In light of the issues raised on multi-sited ethnography, comparison then became one of the inevitable ways of presenting the issues or the by-product of multi-sited ethnography.

2.3.2   Comparison as a by-product of multi-sited ethnography

Multi-sited ethnography carries within itself the comparative aspect (Blasco and Wardle 2007). However, Marcus (1998) is of the view that ethnographic texts are not comparative in the same ways and this view was useful for me. I realised, as I made sense of the data, that it is by drawing on the combined ethnographic evidence from three study sites that I was able to bring out the different levels of comparison of how community policing is perceived. Comparison in this thesis is intended to highlight the distinctive and particular features of how community policing has manifested itself and the multiple perceptions of it. I came to realise that, in some cases, what might be considered incomparable intially may be comparable through the researcher's engagement with the data in seeking new insights (Marcus 1998:53).

Community policing has a global character as a policing model but also has local distinctions in the way it manifests itself as practices, this in itself may be the basis on which comparison is made. However, by choosing to work with the comparative aspect, I had to ask the question whether I had sufficient sets of comparable empirical data to work with. I therefore developed foci for analysis, for example, the comparison of responses to community policing, the comparison of crime problems, and the comparison of

what occurred in other countries concerning community policing. This study therefore includes comparing various aspects of community policing. I am not comparing people in all their complex interactions, but what they do in terms of community policing. In addition, I compare the variables that affect perspectives on crime and community policing. As I have noted, having different levels of analysis enabled me to use the comparative aspect to bring out complexities in community policing. Again, through inductive generalization, that is, seeking out common patterns among diverse cases, I was able to further extend the comparative aspect.

Moreover, it was through comparing that I linked the study to the travelling model aspect. I did this by comparing, in the literature review, how community policing has been working in different countries. The comparative aspect, in this case, became a useful tool as it showed how the community-policing model was applied in different contexts. This enabled me to situate and explain what people were saying and in what contexts they made those commentaries on community policing. Making use of comparisons made it possible to map out similarities and differences.

Comparisons between the three localities in the study made it possible to investigate how community policing was understood in different places. The three sites were in the same municipality, but their inhabitants had different historical experiences, including class differences and experiences with crime. In addition, 'race', age and gender were some of the variables I used for comparison. The comparisons revealed that it was not with a coherent voice that people talk about community policing. It was on that basis that a comparison of divergent perspectives on community policing was offered.

2.3.3   Accessing the field

Most of 2007 was spent conducting fieldwork in two of the residential areas, Kayamandi and Kylemore. I followed the work of the neighbourhood watches and the Community Policing Forums (CPFs). In Die Boord, the social network of the supervisor facilitated initial access. In Kayamandi, the intial CPF meetings at both the Stellenbosch and Kayamandi police stations gave me the opportunity to speak to my initial contacts in Kayamandi. When I started fieldwork in Kylemore, another postgraduate student was already conducting fieldwork there. I joined her and during the time we conducted fieldwork in Kylemore, we assisted each other. As fieldwork progressed, the snowball tactic was useful to schedule appointments with

other residents in Die Boord and to establish my own network of research participants. I made appointments over the phone to schedule interviews. Being at the shopping centre where most of the residents do their shopping, made it possible to meet more residents of Die Boord and make appointments for interviews. Making use of the university identification card and wearing the Stellenbosch University shirt was a way of making myself easily identifiable to the residents when I approached them. The T-shirt, in a way, started the conversation for me. Die Boord is a relatively exclusive and affluent white community, and therefore I had to find a way of making it possible for me to meet and interview people and follow up on interview appointments.

2.3.4 In-depth and semi-structured interviews

In-depth interviews with extensive probing and open-ended questions were used. In Fetterman's view (2009:18), 'interviews explain and put into a larger context that which the ethnographer sees and experiences'. Interviews were instrumental in providing background to observations and also to get additional information and follow up on insights that were earlier revealed. Open-ended, qualitative interviewing allowed people to relate their experiences of community policing. I also conducted semi-structured interviews using an interview guide. The interview guide proved useful when I was conducting interviews with officials from the police. The questions in the interview guide provided 'trigger' questions that would guide the interviewer. Following questions on the interview guide was useful to keep track of the issues but also allowed me to probe the interesting issues that interviewees would raise. These two types of interviews made it possible to give the interviewees the freedom to talk about crime and security issues.

The snowball technique was useful in identifying key respondents for interviews, for example police officers, community policing forum members and residents in all three localities. The selection of key informants, especially from the local and provincial police was done strategically. Those in the community-policing portfolio were therefore interviewed initially so as to get an overview of what was happening in terms of community policing. In addition, I interviewed police officers selected randomly from different ranks. The random selection of people for interviews was furthermore done in Kayamandi and Kylemore. I deliberately started interviews with members of the CPFs as that was my point of entry to the residential areas.

In order to have pieces that I could join together, I had to talk to people in different settings throughout the course of the year. Fieldwork was mediated by participant observation and taking advantage of opportunities that would arise for me to be able to engage with people. For example, working as a volunteer for the pre-schools in Kayamandi and for the primary school in Kylemore, presented me with more opportunities for interviews.

Key actors, otherwise known as key informants, played a central role in introducing me and linking me with other people or organisations. Key actors in CPFs, the police and the community provided background information and assisted with connecting me to other key actors who at first were not forthcoming in discussing issues of safety and security. It was part of my strategy to interview the people within the larger policing structures from the national and Western Cape Provincial Departments of Community Safety and Department of Police. In addition, the personnel from the Stellenbosch municipality in the safety and security portfolio were some of the key actors interviewed. Being introduced to the field still remains a valuable way in which one enters the field as an anthropologist. Being introduced from one organisation to another, and one household to another facilitated casting my net wider in terms of especially officials working on safety and security issues in and out of Stellenbosch. For example, as I stated earlier, I was introduced by another postgraduate student who was already doing fieldwork in Kylemore. I was also introduced by interviewees to their family, friends and colleagues. In addition, I was introduced to various networks by key informants.

2.3.5   The usefulness of ongoing fieldwork through telephone interviews

I had to devise useful and time effective techniques to get new information and clarifications from people I had interviewed before. This was especially the case with officials from the Department of Police and officers from the police stations. The last chapter deals with developments in community policing during the time I did the research and writing, 2007-2011. It made sense to keep myself updated with policy developments during that period. Instead of going to the Provincial offices frequently, I often telephoned for information. The relationships I established with some of the key informants in the national Department of Police and the Provincial Safety and Security Department meant I could occasionally phone some of them

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for an informal chat on policing. I always made it a point during the first in-depth interview with key actors to ask about developing issues in policing.

Norman (2000:120), reflecting on her experience while doing fieldwork among refugees living in exile in Sweden argues that 'phoning the field' has at times been an important means of keeping fieldwork alive'. She used phoning not only to refer to the actual telephoning of the people but uses it metaphorically as well. She uses 'phoning' to refer to limitless, hard-to-grasp, yet intrusive aspects of fieldwork that ethnographers may experience especially in multi-sited ethnography. In such cases, 'phoning' the field may be important for that initial interview or that useful informal discussion days or weeks before the in-depth interview. I had to do that on many occasions with provincial government officials who were difficult to get hold of. I telephoned for the initial interview or had a series of conversations, then after a period would get an appointment for an in-depth interview. Although I had access to the official government documents on policing and community policing, talking to the people who were the face of policy in terms of implementation was essential. Telephone calls to and from the field in Norman's view serve as a reminder of the open-ended and seemingly placeless nature of contemporary fieldwork.

2.3.6   Observation and participant observation

Participant observation involves the cultivation of personal relationships with local informants and taking part in their daily lives (Dean 1967). Participant observation provided me with the opportunity to participate and observe in community policing meetings and in related or seemingly non-related community policing activities and events. Keeping a field note diary provided me with a useful way to create the thick description that gives a picture to the reader and follow up on events, processes and interactions in the field.

At times I observed without participating. I realised the importance of observation as the research progressed. For that reason, observation was done in public spaces in all three neighbourhoods, at individual homes and at meetings. Observation made it possible to look at the pattern of things through experiencing, noting the big and small things happening. Therefore, observation enabled me to get a qualitative explanation of things. Equally important, observation allowed for the noting of undercurrents about crime and community policing. Furthermore, observation in meetings, during patrols and non-related

community policing social events gave meaning to some of the issues that were raised, for example, in interviews.

I participated and followed events and processes and this required some form of observation as well. This means I not only relied on what people said they did or how they viewed community policing. I observed, first hand, what they actually did. This allowed me to explore the relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

Being reflexive is part of participant observation and observation. When doing fieldwork and even during the writing process, you continuously situate and reposition yourself. You become more self-critical and reconsider the relationships you have and the effect they have on the information you get and the analysis you make. Hume and Mulcock (2004) cited a willingness to embrace the rigorous reflexive process as a necessary component of the participant observation methodology, as a useful way to deal with feelings of anxiety, and self-doubt, a mixture of feelings we might have professionally and personally as we conduct fieldwork.

2.4   The 'insider-outsider': negotiation and reflexivity

The issues I point out in this section relate of what Blasco and Wardle (2007) refer to as current trends in ethnography where anthropologists provide interconnecting autobiographical, institutional, ethnographic and theoretical elements to give a rounded sense of the intellectual context of their writing. This is partly the style of writing that this thesis applies. I claimed the insider-outsider status in the field to my advantage, and used it as capital to negotiate and move from the margins when fieldwork started, to near to the centre and develop relationships and be able to attend events and processes pertaining to community policing.

One may ask questions concerning the conclusions I came up with as an 'outsider'. However, there is some fluidity with regards to who may be considered an outsider or insider. In some way, most anthropologists have the insider-outsider status at different times during the research process. One may initially be an outsider, but as you begin to spend time in the field and being a participant observer, you become more of an insider (Rabe 2003:2). One may get the status of an insider-outsider. You may be

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given multiple flexible identities; or, you may take upon yourself different identities in the course of fieldwork. You continuously reflect on these multiple identities. For example, while having a focus group discussion with a group of young men in Kylemore, one young man ran towards the group and called out 'sister Bertina'. This was one of the current popular South African songs enjoyed by the youth. Most of the people in the group pointed at me and jokingly said I was 'sister Bertina'. Some of the young men and women called me by that name in Kylemore. In a way, it made me feel comfortable as I realised that they had a way of identifying with me.

I strategically used the flexible multiple identities that I had as a student, young woman, researcher at the University and friend, depending on the social situation. Moreover, being a young black female played to my advantage in the research, especially when I talked to the youth and women. Being without a family or children meant I could easily attend meetings at night when most of the CPF and other community meetings were held. I could also organise my schedule to attend *ad hoc* meetings on community policing.

As you go on, you choose who to talk to, you choose your conversation partners in terms of what is useful and the opportunities available to you as an ethnographer. I say this because I learnt that there are limits in terms of the basis on which you strike some commonality with people you are doing research with. It may only be at a later stage or by coincidence that you find an opportunity to speak to people you previously did not get a chance to interview or to be in useful social situations during the research. I found that being a volunteer was a useful way in which I could first get a foot in a particular social setting or organisation. However, as I volunteered in commmunity policing forums and some community-based organisations and negotiated my identity as the researcher, counsellor and student, the expectation for me to be part of a bigger cause arose, for example through assisting the people who ran the community organisations that attended to domestic violence in Kayamandi. One of the counsellors at Prochorus commented, 'it upsets me, it frustrates me, these issues that women raise about their partners and families, you would not allow that '*haibo'* (no), I suppose you would have ideas to contribute more about how to deal with this, you are at the University training to be a 'Dr'. To Lebo, I was a resource, the symbol of a woman with strength. She was of the view that I would bring something to the programme as well, whereas at first I saw myself being there only to learn about what they were doing about domestic violence. Some of the women who sought help from the women's shelter also had a plan for me. They expected me to contribute by being part of a larger initiative that could deal with the issues they were confronted with everyday. I had no problem

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volunteering, but, at the same time, I had to make known the limited time I had to volunteer. The project manager of the Prochorus non-governemental organisation in Kayamandi would ask me rhetorical questions or make me part of brain storming sessions. I could not merely sit in the session; I had to be part of it. In Kylemore, I observed and went on learning more about women's work involved in domestic violence intervention. When I was asked whether I had time available to volunteer and participate in meetings, I made it clear that I only had limited time due to obligations I had for the research project, being a full time student.

As an insider-outsider, a researcher may take note of occurrences that an insider may not immediately regard as relevant. Therefore, by using reflexive writing, I unpack the situational experiences from which data was gathered, analyse the multiple dialogues on community policing and in the process point out what this means to the people that were encountered. The idea is to find a way to generalise from the fieldwork in the three localities by reflecting on the history of the people and policing in South Africa, in comparison to the present situation, and looking into what the future holds with regard to policing issues in the country.

I frequently became aware of variables that could affect the research process for example language and personal history. For instance, one has to refrain from preaching the moral high ground when talking to some of the young men who used drugs. At times, things are not as black and white as people would want to argue.

To get extended data to work with, it became clear to me that I had to present myself and the questions I asked being about the 'people' and their experiences with crime and community policing. I framed the questions in an open-ended way. I made the people I talked to, to be the centre of the interaction. I let the people guide me by always indicating that I wanted to learn more, anything that they could tell me about their lives, crime, policing and community policing. I did not want people to see me as a 'visitor' or just as the student from the University, but as someone who was interested in what they had to say about what community policing meant for them. Such an indication of interest made it possible to have access to situations, places, people and events, I would otherwise not get hold of, had I, for example, structured questions or visited only once to do a survey. I was a researcher who was interested in what the respondents had to say, and I made this apparent from the start of the conversation. I realised that individual reflexivity in every step was essential for the self-monitoring of my behaviour, avoiding being

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limited by pre-conceptions and that it was necessary to contextualise what I was being told. I kept in mind that what people had to say about themselves and others emerged from a context.

How the research process developed reminded me that anthropologists do have a complex relationship with the field. On the one hand, one has to be engaged with the people, but maintain enough distance to be objective. There are two forms of narratives along the way, one that is offered by the people you encounter in the field and one that you have with yourself as you try to make sense of the data building up.

Goodall (2000) notes that 'to be reflexive means to turn back on ourselves the lens through which we are interpreting the world'. Reflexivity requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process. One cannot remain out of the subject matter while conducting research. Reflexivity then, urges us 'to explore the ways in which a researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research' (Nightingale and Cromby 1999:228). I use personal reflexivity to look at how my own values and the values of the people I engaged with, our commitments and beliefs with regards to related issues in community policing, were related to the research and analysis process. I came to realise the relevance of my personal experiences in the field. To some extent, every researcher is aware of the effect that he or she may have on the selection of topic, questions, and respondents. In the process of writing as well, there is a selection of the topics and the literature to emphasise or bring to light particular issues. In this case, I particularly selected the youth and domestic violence, as issues to deal with at length. When I started fieldwork, community policing was a new field of study for me. What I had an interest in were people-centred approaches to development. My research interests extended to include human rights, child rights and gender violence issues. Community policing places people at the centre of its functioning and this is closely related to people-centred approaches that I have had an interest in for some time.

I did not create an analytical detachment for the purpose of writing, but kept myself updated on community policing issues. In places, I included myself as part of the analysis by explaining the context in which the data was gathered. This helped me to bring into the analysis subtle realities in community policing which I selected from observation. These were tracked from various levels of experiences for example talking to families of youths struggling with drugs, and some youth who are part of police reservists. At every stage, I reflected on how experiences were similar and different. For instance, crime stories from different people,

at most times, seemed the same, particularly those relating to housebreaking. Though seemingly strange, I conducted short interviews and informal discussions during odd early hours of the morning after neighbourhood watch patrols. This proved to be a useful way to obtain commentaries on issues that emerged during patrols. I had to develop my memory and write notes in the early hours of the morning before I retired to bed after the patrols I was part of in Kayamandi and Kylemore.

The social closeness of being in the field was useful for understanding people's subjective experiences. I had to deal with my personal script as well to understand the reason for certain responses to community policing and policing more broadly. Data and narratives were analysed, considering the fieldwork contexts where they were recorded. I continuously reflected on the insider-outsider status of the researcher during the study as I noticed that people at times responded in different ways to me as an 'outsider'. Different, because at times I could sense that some people were consciously taking into account my presence during a discussion or interview. It is normal that the sensitivity of some crime and safety issues lead people to sometimes ask themselves, what would happen with the knowledge about sensitive issues that they raised.

The thesis is written with the local context in mind, especially with regards to the youth, drug and alcohol abuse, and domestic violence. Writing reflexively is part of the deconstruction of issues in the following chapters. Being reflexive allowed me to narrate various sides of the story of community policing.

The year I attended the Stellenbosch CPF as an observer saw me being nominated for the position of treasurer in the 2007 Annual General Meeting, which meant working with the police, and in some sense meant being a point of contact when community-policing projects were being co-ordinated. I respectfully declined and opted for being only a committee member, since this allowed me the flexibility to choose what or how I might contribute to the forum. Being a treasurer would have given me extended responsibilities that I was not willing to take on. Being just a committee member enabled me to have access to the CPF executive meetings without extended responsibilities.

Hume and Mulcock (2004), in their introduction to a book on participant observation, titled their chapter 'Awkward Spaces, Productive Places' and highlighted the complicated and uncomfortable situations that researchers found themselves in. The title of their introductory chapter, concisely gives an indication of the unpredictable, yet productive situations ethnographers many find themselves in. Anthropologists may find

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themselves in uncomfortable and contradictory places and relationships. However, I noticed that at times, it is in these uncomfortable, contradictory places and relationships that participant observation may be fruitful. I occasionally found myself in these 'awkward, yet productive spaces' for example during police and neighbourhood patrols or when I listened to crime stories from some who had at some point in their lives been involved in crime. In Marcus's view (1999:5) 'it is precisely the unexpected contexts, shifting constituencies and changing agendas that anthropologists find themselves encountering that alter classic conditions of fieldwork'. Illuminating those situations therefore becomes a useful component in explaining unexpected contexts and awkward situations that turn out to be productive in the research and writing process.

In the anthropological literature, Powdermaker (1966) offers a useful insight into the awkward situations that ethnographers find themselves in. The situation is further complicated by the need to maintain sufficient distance during participant observation, to be able to look at the situations unfolding in an objective manner. In Hume and Mulcock's (2004) view, as an ethnographer, one should be willing and able to take a step back from the relationships with people in the field. My status as an insider-outsider placed me in a better position to do that.

Reflections on awkward situations in the field may make you gain insight in your field of research. Hume and Mulcock (2004: xii) rightly pointed out the occasional feelings of personal inadequacy and social failure that may be an inevitable part of successful participant observation. They added that deliberately positioning one as an insider and outsider is socially disruptive. However, reflecting on those disruptions takes you as an ethnographer from one stage to the next in the research process and enables you to gain further insight into your research.

In awkward situations and as an insider-outsider I became aware of the problematic nature of racist and, culturalist stereotyping in crime and policing when people spoke about their perceptions of community policing and experiences of criminality. The history of crime in the three localities and the links to racial assumptions when people spoke about crime, cannot be ignored. These are issues that are discussed especially in Chapter Six.

Although Mulcock and Hume (2004) pointed to the personal and emotional costs of inhabiting a space as an insider-outsider, the status of insider-outsider may still be a tool to gain different perspectives in one's field of study as an ethnographer. It makes it possible to get rich data, a variety of viewpoints and hidden transcripts that may be missed with simply administering a questionnaire for instance.

2.4.1 Using yourself as a research tool: extending and consolidating relationships

'Different situations require different personal resources in order to assist the researcher in overcoming feelings of frustrations and even despair' (Hume and Mulcock 2004: xiii). Researchers use themselves as research tools in varying degrees. I had to listen to crime stories so that I could situate these in relation to community policing. As fieldwork unfolds, an anthropologist develops personal and professional relationships at various levels. For example, you may experience friendship in the course of fieldwork. However, Crick (1992: 176) is of the view that the relations between ethnographer and informant are more accurately seen as forms of mutual exploitation. Both parties risk and exchange information and one of the risks is the friendship itself. The ethnographer and informant create a fiction of a shared world of meaning. However, over time, in Crick's view, ethnographer and informant may revert to separate and mutually incomprehensible social worlds. The point here is that combining fieldwork and friendship may be an ambivalent experience. Nevertheless, friendship, while doing fieldwork was an invaluable tool for me to be able to get around in the course of fieldwork. Over time, I developed friendships with young men and women who updated me on events and assisted me as far as language was concerned. Friendship with two fellow postgraduate students, who were doing fieldwork in the same area on related issues, helped me as well. One of them did fieldwork together with me at times, which made it easier when we had focus group discussions and interviews. Her first language was Afrikaans, so she became a valuable resource as a friend and fellow researcher who could translate some of the communication in Afrikaans into English. I had done a basic introductory course in Afrikaans and could only understand the basics. However, most of the interviews were in English.

Referring to relationships in the course of fieldwork, Hume and Mulcock (2004) argue that, if we want to find out fine-grained information about beliefs, values and practices, we need to be able to relate to people on a one-on-one basis. To be able to do this, we rely on our interpersonal skills. I am generally an outgoing person and reflective in the way I do things. I have always been able to adapt to new places easily. Hence,

building long-term relationships was very important for me for fieldwork on community policing and related issues.

Winning the trust of key actors in the three localities and retaining close ties happened over time when people became familiar with having me around. However, there is difficulty in writing research reports about people who consider you as a friend. It was difficult to balance being an anthropologist and being a friend. Relationships with people from different backgrounds provided useful insights in community policing and other issues that initially I did not think of as relevant.

I kept in mind that the relationships that one develops in the course of fieldwork have a bearing on the kind of information you collect. In Amit's view (2000:2) the personal relationships that you develop become vehicles for eliciting findings and insights. As an ethnographer one exploits the intimacy of the relationships you form as a research tool. The identity of the ethnographer is renegotiated across the different fieldwork sites. This necessitated me to flexibly adapt to identities of being a friend, student, researcher, volunteer, participant observer and in a limited way being an activist.

2.4.2   Case analysis

Case analysis made it possible to examine relationships between individuals, groups and organisations and the changing and multiple roles they played in community policing. I especially used case analysis in discussing domestic violence, the youth, and drug and alcohol abuse. In Chapter Eight, women's voices are prioritised through selected case studies from Kayamandi and Kylemore that provide more detailed descriptions and life stories of women and domestic violence. The '[c]arefully selected case studies employing a wide variety of methods – from the ethnographic to the quantitative –have been used to generate new theoretical insights and test existing theories' (Eckstein as cited in Fitzgerald 2006:13). It is through these cases that I strengthen the argument I make in Chapter Seven and Eight. Ethnography prides itself in being able to provide thick descriptions. The descriptions through the case studies were useful, as they offered insight on the issue of domestic violence and contact crimes that were frequently referred to when people talked about the critical issues on issues that needed to be prioritised when it came to dealing with crime and its related problems.

The reason I used narratives and cases was to explicitly point to specific issues as they emerged during the study. For example, using cases in the discussion of domestic violence in women's narratives illuminated how domestic violence was experienced and on the narratives from the community-based organisations' representatives and police officers outlined various responses to domestic violence.

2.4.3   Triangulation of methods and theory

Triangulation entails comparing and drawing upon different sources of information to enrich the understanding on which analysis is based. I used three types of triangulation: firstly data triangulation that entails using a variety of data sources in a study; secondly methodological triangulation that involved the use of multiple methods in a study; and lastly, theoretical triangulation that involves the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data (Mwanje 2001:41).

Concerning theoretical triangulation, there are always weaknesses in using one theory. Therefore, triangulation of theory means that you have various lenses of theory through which you explain aspects of the study. Triangulation of theory in this study meant borrowing from law, sociology, criminology for the mainly anthropological analysis. Triangulation of theory and method strengthens how you describe, explain, and find connections and patterns in a study. Triangulation of the data in this thesis is closely linked to the style of writing employed in this thesis especially in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight where the style reflects a conversation between different parties from the three study sites.

2.5   Ethics and limitations of the research

With regard to ethics, I kept in mind practical considerations when doing research that concerned crime. Research on crime and policing often entails accessing sensitive information from all types of respondents. Therefore I used pseudonyms throughout the thesis. I reflected on the relationship between the means and ends of research. I made sure I informed the residents that the information I obtained was specifically for academic research. Openness and confidentiality about the issues discussed with respondents was therefore important. Another issue to note is that the police operated in a complex and sensitive environment. The issue for most researchers, who do research with the police, is how to handle such sensitive information without negatively affecting the risky environment in which the police work.

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Crime involves issues of life and death, so one has an ethical responsibility to handle the information that you get in a careful manner. It is for this reason that pseudonyms are used in this thesis.

The issues that come to mind when investigating issues related to domestic violence are informed consent, minimising harm to respondents and being aware as a researcher of care and support places to refer people when necessary. As I investigated domestic violence, I realised the interview process itself was an intervention in an indirect way, listening and taking on the role of a counsellor. I realised I was playing the roles of researcher and counsellor in combination at times.

The conclusions that I draw in Chapter Eight are intertwined with my experiences with the women I engaged with. I was part of a movement for women's rights (see Chapter Eight), but in presenting the domestic violence issues, I was not taking a moral standpoint, but engaged in social analysis, speaking with the women but also watching from a distance, being an observer of the interventions that addressed domestic violence. Being committed to volunteering when I could, I was mindful of the fact that, through our writing and process of fieldwork, there are layers of judgement inherent in the work we produce. However, doing the right thing is always contested especially when handling intricate research issues that touch on domestic violence. The major aim of example in Chapter Eight was to bring to light experiences of domestic violence and the way that community policing attended to them.

The issue of social responsibility to the communities I worked with is personally important for me. I took up volunteering in the communities in which I did fieldwork, at a pre-school in Kayamandi, and in a drawing project at the Kylemore primary school. Being part of neighbourhood watch patrols in Kylemore and Kayamandi was one aspect of being a volunteer. In Kylemore, once a month on a Saturday I assisted the woman who was running the drawing project.

Norms define acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in different social situations. As one goes on conducting fieldwork in different circumstances and analysing the data, you set standards to guide yourself with regard to accessing information. In the course of my research, I asked questions about the ethical issues and the effect they had on conceptualising and analysing the object of study. It is necessary to continuously ask the question: how do you write on the life of others and to what extent may you distance yourself and how may you avoid the dangers of claiming you know their world?

Pryke, Rose and Whatmore (2003:120) argue that in the course of doing your research, one should be able to 'cultivate the faculty of good judgement in the course of encounters'. Although one develops in the course of doing research, a way of organising data mentally and making decisions as you go on doing fieldwork, the assumption that this is done in an orderly fashion may be limited. One encounters a multitude of situations with various challenges daily.

2.6   Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to paint a picture of how the ethnographic research process unfolded. I gave reasons for decisions I took in the course of the research. The issues surrounding multi-sited ethnography and comparison were engaged with. I discussed the beneficial ways in which using oneself as a research tool works in so far as it gives you access to different kinds and levels of networks, in this case local community policing initiatives. The ethics of doing research on safety and security issues is critical. The issues in this chapter were meant to direct attention to how I gave meaning to the different situations encountered, ranging from CPF meetings, informal interactions, telephone interviews and participant observation. In Geertz's (1993) view, we have access to part of the whole picture. The story we construct starts before you arrive. I demonstrated in this chapter that, as a researcher, one works in a particular time and space adding to an already existing discourse. The information in this chapter show that making sense of data is a creative process. I was mindful that our questions, our methods, our relations with respondents and external forces structure our materials. Therefore, to make our questions, interviews, observations and documents work for us, we have to reconfigure them and, perhaps de-contextualise and then re-contextualise different parts to make them say new things (Pryke, Rose and Whatmore 2003). In terms of the interviews, the interview itself is a social context that is embedded in other contexts. The respondents have an opinion of the researcher and the researcher has an opinion of the context of research. The result may be interviewer bias. However, through observation and following multiple conversations, it is possible to read more of the context in which the research takes place.

The following chapter discusses the theoretical approaches that I found useful. Drawing on theory to understand community policing is intended to bring in theory in the analysis of community policing which I found lacking in some writings.

Chapter Three

THEORISING COMMUNITY POLICING

3.1   Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion and a critique of the theoretical approaches that inform the discussion in this thesis. I especially refer to the position that I took in terms of the theoretical frameworks utilised in the research. Hence, this discussion gives a theoretical background around which findings are discussed in the following chapters. A discussion of neo-liberal ideas of governance give a framework for understanding the context within which community policing works. The travelling models and translation concepts are used as tools to present the various perceptions and meanings of community policing. The travelling models concept and the notion of translation form the main anchors on which the findings are discussed and interpreted. The notion of the travelling model is used to refer to how community policing has been appropriated and re-contextualised at different levels, not just from the north to the south, but how people use, interpret and appropriate community policing to their own ends especially at the local level. Hence, the travelling models concept is used in so far as it explains how community policing has appeared in different spaces, locally, provincially, nationally and globally. Closely following on the idea of the travelling model, is how the concept of translation is used in the thesis. Translation as an analytical term is used to explain how community policing (as a 'travelling model') manifests at the local level through numerous interrelations, conflicts, perceptions and differing policing priorities and practices.

Foucault's writings on knowledge and power are especially useful in explaining the complexities of interactions and power relations between various actors in policy formulation as well as in the responses to implementation, continuous review and incremental reform of crime prevention and crime management. In addition, Foucault's ideas on governmentality are used to explain the pattern by which power is exercised in a given context. Volunteerism as a concept is used to explain the expectation in the community policing discourse that people will volunteer to do something about crime and related problems. I also briefly cite the complexity theory of Paul Cilliers, in so far as it assists in bringing out the inter-mix of complex issues in community policing and the intricate spaces in which community policing works.

3.2 Neoliberal forms of governance as a framework for understanding community policing

Governance is generally understood as 'the prevailing pattern by which public power is exercised in a given social context' (Jenkins 2002:485). Governance is, however, a perpetual reinvention (Wood 2004). Recently, there has been a wide fracturing of the spheres of governance into a wide variety of governmental nodes (Bayley and Shearing 2000). The ways in which the governmental nodes relate to each other continue to vary across time and space (Wood and Shearing 2007). Therefore, the literature on community policing shows different case studies with different ways in which community policing is undertaken and understood. There are also changing relationships, for example, between private security and state security agencies. State-based legal frameworks have played a role in enabling these developments, for example, through reforms to existing policy guidelines.

Delegated and decentralised governance forms part of the modes of neo-liberal forms of governance. The spread of participatory governance in the neo-liberal era has seen the emergence and spread of community policing as a crime prevention and crime management strategy that encourages partnership by the police, the people and all crime fighting agencies. The fact is that government is outsourcing security to communities. In a way, state structures that provide security have become limited in their capacity. The further reality is that community policing provides a cheap way of policing. Capacity building, empowerment and community-based policing also reflect the era of neo-liberalism where governments choose cheaper forms of policing, for example having local people participate in their own policing. In South Africa, the private sector also has an important place in providing security. Over the years, private security has become a big business, with major companies developing and new small companies competing with the big companies in the same market.

Ong (2000) presents interesting perspectives on neo-liberalism. The argument is that neo-liberalism means different things, depending on one's vantage point. Market-based policies inform neo-liberal policies. Generally, neo-liberalism, as a way of governing, relies on cost-effective choices for governing. Ong (2000:4) summarizes this by stating that 'neo-liberal governmentality results from the infiltration of market-driven truths and calculations in the domain of politics'. The results are ways of governing and policies that guide people towards self-management according to market principles of efficiency. These principles have permeated the policing arena also, for example by the introduction of community policing to encourage

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people to take on a role in their policing. Moreover, the huge growth of the private security sector which employs many people in South Africa shows how neo-liberal market principles have permeated the security sector. In the next section, I discuss how community policing has travelled as a form of governance in the security sector under neo-liberal policies.

3.3   Travelling models and policy: Community policing as a travelling model

The first part of the title of the thesis is 'Local responses to a 'travelling model', this travelling model is 'community policing'. I briefly introduced the discussion of the travelling model earlier in section 1.4. This section addresses three main issues. First, the reasons why, in this thesis, community policing is conceptualised as a travelling model. Second, the evolution of ideas and broad debates among the key scholars who have written on travelling models. Third, my use of the notions of travelling models and translation (which is discussed in the following section).

In the past, the movement of ideas on policy has often been described using notions like 'diffusion' and 'policy transfer'. These concepts tend to objectify ideas. Subsequent theorising on how ideas travel shows that diffusion and policy transfer are terms that are inadequate to explain change, contestations and disjunctures that result from the network of actors that engage with policy.

As stated above, instead of using the old theory of diffusion, I have opted to use the idea of 'travelling models' to explain how the community policing model has been introduced and used in different countries. Diffusion theory, although it does offer explanations in terms of connections between ideas in different places, falls short in terms of its ability to explain and interpret change. The benefit of using the idea of the travelling model is that it allowed me to explain the numerous models of community policing and the changes in them in their dialectical interactions and in their complexity. I am aware of other terms that refer to policy in transit that have been used theoretically, for example 'policy convergence', 'imitation' and 'emulation of policy', but opted to use the travelling model notion because the other notions are inadequate in so far as explaining the changes taking place.

The starting point of the discussion on travelling models in this section is the work of Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) who contributed immensely in the early 1990s about the travel of ideas. They argue that the travelling of ideas or models is facilitated by acts of communication across space and time. Models, for example of governance, are dominant in different ways during different times in different spaces. According to Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) ideas travel and are changed through different acts of communication facilitated through technology or micro-actors at the local level. Interpretations of models of crime prevention and crime management in local contexts happen within particular time/space contexts. Following Czarniawska and Joerges's (1996:23) general idea of travel of ideas in local time/space, ideas can be understood as being constantly 'embedded', 're-embedded', made into actions and institutions and also becoming 'dis-embedded' to create new ideas. This approach to innovation and transmission of ideas was useful for understanding the process of interactions through which residents in the three localities defined and acted upon community policing.

According to Behrends (2011) models are transformed into mobile objects in order to travel. For the model to travel, it therefore is made into a text, narrative or image and translated or interpreted by different actors, agents, mediators or knowledge brokers. Therefore, 'a model travels and the means of that travel is that which is called translation (Rottenburg 2008:20). Translation involves different processes at different levels of making the model into texts, images, and different narratives by different actors. I will discuss translation in more detail in the following section. Czarniawska (2005:7) sheds light on this notion of the travelling model with the argument that an institution or practice may not travel as it is but it must first be simplified into ideas and then converted into words, images or symbols. Therefore, the thesis looks at how ideas about community policing have been converted into policy, then into practice and in turn how local communities defined community policing and with what responses or perceptions.

As I stated in Chapter 1 section 1.6, the travelling model concept is used to refer to the movement of ideas and the mixture of processes that facilitates that movement. A model refers to a depiction or illustration of a certain way of doing things. The question of how models travel can be answered by the explanation that, models are shaped into forms that travel or become mobile when they are made into various forms of texts, symbols, explanations, pictures by mediators and knowledge brokers (Rottenburg 2011). The issue that is emphasised throughout the thesis is how models as they travel are re-contextualised in different places and what the different outcomes are.

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The notion of 'travelling model' is used as an instrument in this thesis to unravel the flows of ideas, practices and networks in community policing. Using the notion of the 'travelling model' makes it possible throughout the thesis to point to the different ways in which community policing is conceptualised in policy language, by the police, as well as in the local context in which it operates and, in addition, to follow the change process in its complexity. According to Bayley (1975, 1985) countries have been learning about policing from one another for hundreds of years, across significant divides of economic development, political character and cultural diversity. Hence, models of policing practice have for a long time, moved from place to place. Of more concern in this thesis, however, is what scholars like Van der Spuy (2000) have pointed out as a new dynamic for modelling police reform on international practices which emerged in the post-colonial era, specifically the move internationally towards community oriented policing.

The notion of the travelling model is used in the thesis to present, compare and make sense of the practices and networks in community policing. The use of community policing in different spaces and the adaptations and changes that occur at the local, provincial or national levels represent the 'travelling' nature of community policing. However, the idea was not to look at the models for crime prevention and crime management in a unilinear way, but to use the notion of travelling models to look at how actors and processes and issues in the global sphere influence the local and vice versa. There are flows of ideas in all directions and those flows are not unilinear. Therefore, the travelling model concept is instrumental in explaining changes at all levels in the ways in which community policing is perceived. However, the issue of concern in this thesis as explained in Chapter One is prioritising how those changes and perceptions at the local level play out.

Policy-makers are competing for ideas in terms of what the world is like and what it may be like. There are various sources of these ideas of how to deal with problem situations or how to make good situations better. These are provided by ideologies, utopias, academic research, the media, literature and arts, personal experiences, historical analogies, international organisations, interest groups, lobbyists, population surveys and hearsay. Some examples of travelling models may be moral notions brought out for example, through the human rights discourse, rituals and religious beliefs. In the policing arena, a range of ideologies has informed community policing: for example, democratisation and neo-liberal approaches to governance.

Appadurai's work provides an illuminating way in terms of further understanding the notion of travelling models. Appadurai (1996) employs a set of terms to explain today's global interaction and the fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics. The terms are, 'ethnoscapes', 'mediascapes', 'technoscapes', 'financescapes' and 'ideoscapes'. These terms explain the different flows along which ideas, objects, and people move across national boundaries. He uses the suffix '-scapes' to explain that flows 'are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors' (Appadurai 1996:50). The same goes for how perceptions of community policing are formed. Appadurai presents the landscapes in which interactions and movements of ideas take place as fluid. By characterising the flows as 'irregular', he means they are ever changing in unexpected ways and forms. The field within which community policing partnerships take place are fluid and ever changing as well.

What applies immediately in the discussion of community policing as a travelling model is the term 'ideoscape'. Ideoscapes in Appadurai's view consist of chains of ideas, terms and images, for example regarding rights, democracy and representation. What happens in the flow of these ideas is that there are different ways in which these ideas are perceived. The result is,

> [T]he political narratives that govern communication between elites and followers in different parts of the world involve problems of both a semantic and pragmatic nature: semantic to the extent that words require careful translation from context to context in their global movements, and pragmatic to the extent that the use of these words may be subject to very different sets of contextual conventions that mediate their translation into public politics (Appadurai 1996:53).

This idea of translation applied to community policing moving from context to context is what is further discussed in the following chapters. In Chapter Four, I refer to the idea of mediascapes that is closely linked to the ideoscapes notion in the discussion of the media reporting crime and crime fighting initiatives.

Another way to explain the travelling model concept is to look at globalisation, which in simple terms, refers to the increased inter-connectedness of the world. It is not only objects that are exchanged, but these imply relationships through which the objects or ideas move. Malinowski's and Mauss's analysis of cross-cultural systems of exchange explain these connections with the use of the notion of 'reciprocity'. In terms of the travelling of models or ideas from one place to another, the articulation of concepts may stem from the local and move to the global or vice versa. Some products and ideas are disseminated massively and globally

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while others remain strongly connected to the local. There may be great investment in an idea, for instance, through 'think tanks' which assist in the movement of the ideas. Globalisation allows for the reconceptualisation of ideas at the national level as policy-makers make efforts to make globally circulating ideas work in their national contexts. That does not end there, but at the local level, policies are mediated as well to the populations through institutions. At the national and local level, there is the editing and validating of information into a form that may be consumed. In addition, the effective brokerage of ideas depends also on the extent the model is perceived as successful by the intended recipients. However, the excitement of having a new model or the appearance of newness of a model may speed up the movement of ideas that are carried by the model. Long-term investment in ideas in some cases may make a difference in terms of whether ideas are used or not. This is sometimes made possible by available funding for programmes that educate people about a particular model. A model's existence may be sustained by extensive use of propaganda for a short period or even over the long term.

Being interconnected, and the movement of people, material things, money, ideas and notions are happening faster now. This is facilitated by improvements in communication technologies and easier ways of sharing information. There are even standardised global notions of conducting business. In this regard, there are international standards of trade, hygiene and environmentalism. In terms of crime, Interpol provides one example of a united global effort to deal with serious crime and criminals that pose a big threat. There are even international certificates of professional standards, for example those allocated by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), which are given to companies to show that their products are up to a recognised standard that is accepted worldwide. That certification may prove to be important in marketing products and services in the global market.

To explain the movement of ideas around community policing, Brogden and Shearing (1993:95) offer a description of the process by pointing out that,

> [D]emocratic policing is being marketed as one commodity among others in an international technological supermarket. The approach being adopted is consistent with the marketing of other products where what is on offer is a result of research and development that has taken place elsewhere in the industrialised world.

Although community policing has been written about by its advocates, packaged and marketed to prevent and manage crime, as a concept, however, community policing takes on different forms in different places as different countries have different capacities to implement it.

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In explaining the rush in democratising the police in South Africa in the early 1990s, Brogden and Shearing (1993:94) argue that,

> South Africans are being exposed to the equivalent of an international computer fair, featuring software packages for the creation of democratic policing. National sales representatives can be found marketing their country's model by talking at conferences, writing in newspapers, advising interested parties and lecturing at South Africa Police institutions. All South Africa has to do is to decide which software program they want to adopt, the country that wins the contract will then provide the service support necessary for the model's installation.

This explains the selling of ideas as if in a market, which may best be explained by the travelling models concept that indicates competition on various platforms for models that work in dealing with different kinds of problems, in this case policing problems.

The making of public policy has been cynically referred to by White (1996:14) as being 'made under anaesthetic of corporate influence, political information organized through spin doctors and a media which constantly feeds them on a diet of pap and consensus'. This may be a one-sided view if one considers that changes in public policy may stem from feedback from the locals who are the intended recipients of the policy. Although the feedback from the people may be distorted along the chain as it moves to the policy makers, many changes are made because of such feedback. In Chapter Nine, I discuss the ideas that were shaping numerous efforts for crime prevention and crime management reform in South Africa. The chapter looks at how seemingly new ideas on community policing are being communicated and where they are coming from.

Van der Spuy (2000), writing about South Africa's police reform, highlights fluid boundaries between states and how this makes the whole idea of 'policy transfer' an interactive exchange. It follows then that the idea of the travelling of ideas is not uni-directional but involves a web of ideas interweaving and feeding from each other from all angles. Ideas are mixed, combined and in some cases sabotaged during implementation (Van der Spuy 2000). The aim in the following chapters is to explore how community policing as a travelling model has been articulated in the local context: through various mediators and with what results.

3.3.1 Translation: A concept used to explain the travelling model

Closely related to the notion of the travelling model is the concept 'translation'. In simple terms, the idea of translation in this thesis is used to explain the numerous appropriations of a policy model (community policing). Therefore, it is of importance to note that translation is not merely linguistic but refers to anything that takes on different forms (Seres 1982). The recent debate around translation as a concept shows that the key scholars who have written on the sociology of translation are aware of how translation as a concept has become loaded with conceptual complexity (Lendvai 2007). Hence let me mention early on that the use of the translation conceptual framework was done mostly to '[shed] new light on implementation, or how policy moves from policy formation to 'front line practice' and and vice-versa (Lendvai 2007:10). More importantly, I used translation as a conceptual tool to draw attention to the work of 'translators', 'brokers' and 'mediators' in community policing, especially at the local level. Rottenburg (2008) has contributed immensely to developing the notion of translation and how that links with the issues of travelling of ideas. His writings on translations are linked to Latour's conceptualisation of the movement of ideas which entails change at every level in numerous directions. Rottenburg also emphasises the maze of changes that comes about when a model is handled by differerent actors in different networks. His discussion of micro-actors and translation processes were very useful for this research project.

Callon (1986:196) argues that 'translation is a process, never a completed establishment…'. Callon views the ever continous processes of translation revealing what he describes as, 'displacement', 'dislocation', 'transformation' and 'negotiation' as different actors in networks of varying sizes engage with each other. This is especially demonstrated in Chapter Nine where I discuss policy making debates with regards to the place of community policing in South Africa.

Herbert-Cheshire (2003), like Callon, also regards translation as a continuous process that changes the ideas that are grappled with at every stage as different actors encounter them. This, therefore, means that translation shows an ever active creative interpretation from different actors involved (Freeman 2004). Freeman's use of translation, resulting in representing something new or diverse in different places, gives a good conceptual tool with which to explore the translation of community policing across institutions with differing capacities and people with differing strategic choices, goals and interests as they make complex decisions on crime prevention and crime nanagement from the local to the provincial and the national

levels. The idea of translation resulting in something new or in diverse meanings, being created in different contexts among different actors, is illustrated in Chapter Six.

Therefore, translation involves displacing something or the act of substitution and it always involves transformation. Seres expands his conceptualisation of translation by stating that whatever is translated, people, knowledge, or things, has an uncertain identity. It follows then that each act of translation changes the translator and what is being translated (Czarniawska and Sevón 2005:9). This insight by Seres on translation offered a way of illuminating the networks of people and organisations in the study site and the different role-players reformulating community policing in national policy in South Africa as discussed in Chapter Nine.

Monaci and Caselli (2005: 56) argue that translation is

> a result of a linked set of social and material processes that take place within a network of relations… the metaphor of translation suggests that the production, circulation and sharing of knowledge among socio-cultural contexts should be analysed by investigating how its users change their normative and cognitive attitudes.

I expand Monaci and Caselli's view to show how users of a model (community policing) also used their normative and cognitive attitudes to translate community policing and how their normative and cognitive attitudes influenced their perceptions of community policing. This is discussed in Chapter Six where I discuss perceptions of community policing.

Latour (1986) provides an insightful argument on how different actors shape and change models and in the process transform the original ideas. Central to Latour's ideas is that translation occurs in a web of actor networks and those actors are actively involved in shaping, mediating and transforming ideas, claims, objects and interpretations according to their different interests. These are issues that are discussed in Chapter Six where I outline and discuss the ways in which both active and passive residents in community policing perceived community policing and how their roles, be it at the margins of community policing or being active in community policing, had an effect on each other in both direct and indirect ways.

I concur with Callon's view (1986:224), where he points out that

> [the idea of translation makes it possible to give] a description of a complex process which constantly mixes together a variety of … entities. It also permits an explanation of how a few

obtain the right to express and to represent the many silent actors of be it a [social, economic or political entity].

By giving candid presentations of resident's perceptions of community policing and pointing to the issues among the actors in community policing in the three study sites, I drew attention to Callon's approach and I was able to investigate the issues in this project from the perspective of the active local representatives in community policing. This included how they played their roles in their appointed or assumed roles to represent others, for example in community policing forums or neighbourhood watches. In the process, I brought out the complexity of issues in community policing and the entanglements of community policing with seemingly complex non-security issues in the three places.

Therefore, in Chapter Six, I discuss and analyse how different actors translate the model of community policing in numerous ways according to their different backgrounds. Therefore, the translation concept facilitated the presentation of various ways in which community policing has manifested in Stellenbosch and beyond, but also the changes that have occurred in the model and its form, as well as in the institutions that facilitated the translation of the model across different locations.

The contribution that I make in so far as translation is concerned is that translation also happens from the bottom up. In Chapters Six and Nine I point this out in the discussion of the resistance against the way in which community policing was presented to local people in formal policy and by the police. For instance, they used historical forms of organising themselves in community policing, for example in street committees and in zone committees in Kayamandi. This continuity from the past was also evident in the use of authority by older men in their dealings with the police in Kylemore.

In Czarniawska's view, translation also means transformation and transference, which for this study refers to the path which the community policing model has taken in different locations. This transformation was made possible by translators through various interpretations. The argument by Czarniawska also illustrates that 'a thing [that] moved from one place to another may not emerge unchanged: to set something in a new place is to construct it anew' (Czarniawska 2005:8). This statement illuminates the changes of the community policing models in the different contexts where they exist.

From another angle, Burke (2008) views transfer as another form of translation, but which implies less change. If that is to be taken into consideration, then community policing, taken to different spaces, country

to country, locality to locality, introduces a dimension of not just the transfer of a model from one place to another, but adaptation and change as well. Still on the idea of transfer as a form of translation of a model, there may be a non-transfer of meaning of a model but that is not always an indication of failure. Non-transfer of a model may give rise to a new phenomenon or a new model in the local context. On the other hand, rejection of a model means that some kind of translation has taken place (Rottenburg 2008). Therefore, rejection of the community policing model, or conflict because of the model, means that some form of translation has taken place. Burke (2008) refers to ideas, notions and practices that are lost in the course of translation from one place to another or in the web of connections of relationships in institutions and among people as they work with the model. This means there is not only a transfer, but also the transformation of concepts when they arrive in a setting. The discussion of findings in Chapter Six especially shows this idea of change and transformation through the translations of community policing. When presented with a model, for example in the form of policy, people search for the equivalence in their culture as they try to make sense and see to what extent they may use the model.

Besley (2002:18) argues that where there is power, there is also resistance and it is often the case that these resistances are plural, that is they may not be reduced to a single point of rebellion. This insight helps to understand the different perceptions and translations of community policing ranging from being apathetic or indifferent to various degrees of participation. If one accepts interpretive anthropology from Geertz's perspective, the idea is to interpret and explain the meanings attached to community policing and their responses. In addition, this involves providing a thick description of the social action as people tell their stories and reveal the webs of significance that make the world have meaning in the localities where fieldwork was conducted. This was attempted in the thesis, taking into account the need to create a balance between understanding the processes and events in community policing and analysing them. The concept of translation for this thesis therefore offered a flexible notion to understand and explain the implementation, responses and perceptions of community policing.

3.4   The relevance of Foucault's work in this thesis

Foucault's work on knowledge, power and governmentality is useful was useful in so far as it shed light on the practice of policing, crime prevention, crime management policy, how people view community policing and the relationships that are formed in various policing partnerships. The significance of Foucault's work in

this thesis lies in its capacity to explain the everyday practices of power. Foucault (1980:98) pointed out that 'individuals are always in a position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power', in their location in different positions in a social context. I particularly use Foucault's conceptualisations to explain everyday practices of policing and manifestations and perceptions of community policing at all levels. My efforts are aimed at uncovering the various positions people occupy in community policing and the nature of the relationships of partnership in community policing. Foucault's understandings of power were instrumental in unpacking the issues that arose in the policing partnerships that I witnessed and the challenges different parties had to contend with.

In his general account of power, Foucault wrote:

> [D]o not regard power as a phenomenon of mass and homogeneous domination of one individual over others, of one group over others, or of one class over others: keep it clearly in mind that unless we are looking at it from a great height and from a very great distance, power is not something that is divided between those who have it and those who hold it exclusively, and those who do not have it and are subject to it. Power must I think, be analyzed as something that circulates or rather as something that functions only when it is part of a chain. It is never localized here or there, it is never in the hands of some, and it is never appropriated in the way that wealth or a commodity may be appropriated. Power functions. Power is exercised through networks, and individuals do not simply circulate it in those networks: they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power. They are never the inert or consenting targets of power: they are always its relays. In other words, power passes through individuals. It is not applied to them (Macy 1997:39).

Foucault's ideas above suggest one of the core arguments about the relationships in community policing between the police and various community-based initiatives in community policing as used in the following chapters. Foucault's work widens the parameters in which we think of issues of power and knowledge especially his articulation of the theory of power as being located within individual and spontaneous reactions rather than in planned and directed struggle (Foucault 1977). I particularly employ this idea to present perceptions of community policing, vigilantism and the interpretation or translation of community policing by those leading formal community policing or *ad hoc* community policing.

Foucault's work presents alternative ways of looking at power. To explain the complex relationships and networks in policing, I therefore looked at the unequal and ever-changing relationships of the institutions, the police and the people in community policing. In addition, Foucault's work was useful for bringing out the representations of power and the actual functioning of power in the policing field. Moreover, the relevance

of Foucault is highlighted in relooking at the making and unmaking of policy at the national level and the influence of larger models of governance on policymaking.

Stenson and Cowell (1991:11) refer to the view of knowledge as an instrument of power being associated first with the German philosopher Nietzsche (Minson 1985). Weber also came close to this view arguing that there is no all-encompassing 'God's eye view' of the social world, rather, knowledge always springs from an active and situated stance in society. This view may account for the differentiated responses to community policing as the perceptions of community policing that were expressed were informed by where the person was situated.

Power is generated in relationships between the institutions and people in the various networks they occupy in community policing. In these networks, power conceals its own operation (Smart 1985:64). Foucault argues that, 'knowledge is inextricably entwined with relations of power and advances in knowledge are associated with advances and developments in the exercise of power'. According to Foucault's work, power is closely linked to knowledge. This idea I particularly apply in the ways in which community policing is written into crime prevention and crime management policy. For Foucault, there is no disinterested knowledge; knowledge and power are mutually and inextricably interdependent. A site where power is exercised is also a place where knowledge is produced. The policy-making arena is a site for competing, changing knowledge practices and unequal fields of power with different levels of knowledge brokers with differing 'repertories of resources, values and wealth' (Swartz 1968:20). In Chapter Nine, I discuss and analyse similar issues by taking a closer look at the incremental reforms of community policing in crime prevention and crime management strategy in South Africa.

For Foucault, the criminologist, like a doctor, is a new type of 'specific intellectual' who produces knowledge within specific sectors. Foucault says that 'truth is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements' (Foucault 1980:133). If one takes Foucault's view, Stenson and Gould (1986:12) are correct to argue that,

> [K]nowledge and power are therefore two sides of the same coin. All strategies that try to control the world around us involve the production of forms of knowledge and all forms of knowledge no matter how innocent or disinterested they may appear at first sight, are accompanied by strategies of control and power.

Using Foucault's work, Smart (1985) posed an important question on power. Rather than outlining what power is and where it comes from, Foucault's work makes it easier to look at what power in community

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policing is, how it is exercised and by what means and what the effects of exercising that power are. Summarizing the arguments on power by Foucault, Smart (1985:77) stresses that

> Foucault conceptualized power neither as an institution or a structure but as a complex strategic situation, as a multiplicity of force relations, as simultaneously intentional yet non-subjective. Foucault argues that where there is power, there is resistance, power depends for its existence on a multiplicity of points of resistance and the plurality of resistances should not be reduced to a single locus of revolt or rebellion.

Smart (1985:79) extends the above argument by arguing that the individual is both an effect of power and the element of its articulation.

Foucault agrees with the Nietzschean argument that power is creative and not only repressive and that technologies of power emerge at multiple points in social space (Poster 1984). Furthermore, Foucault treats power in a micro way, that is he views power as starting in small elements – in family, and residential relations and so on. Therefore, relations of power, although they may start from the individual perspective, are interwoven with other kinds of relations. I discovered this in the ways the perceptions of community policing were formed. People′s perceptions of community policing were closely related to how they perceived other issues, for example service delivery issues or how they interacted with the state. Hence, peoples′ perceptions of community policing were not created in a vacuum but were interwoven with other perceptions that extended beyond community policing.

While I use power in this thesis as it is conceptualised in the Foucauldian sense, I was mindful of the criticism that has been levelled against Foucault′s work, for example by Fine (1979) who argues that Foucault fails to consider the specific form of what is really at the root of disciplinary power. This is fundamental to the management of crime and social control. In later chapters, I discuss crime control ideas from particular narratives inorder to understand the rationale behind disciplinary power that reveals itself in the forms of community policing, for example, the violent means used on suspected criminals in vigilantism.

The analysis of power in community policing reveals that there is a competition of worldviews in the open-ended networks of relations in community policing. The competition of ′world views′ in this sense is brought out by different community policing models in various localities and that are modelled around different interests and competing strategies for what works in crime prevention and crime management. Foucault′s

work was therefore useful in finding and understanding discursive and non-discursive practices in community policing.

Foucault's (1991) notion of governmentality was especially useful to explore and understand the responses to community policing discussed in Chapter Six. The state gets people to accept that they have to rule themselves, for example, to contribute to the control and prevention of crime through various notions that are internalised. In Chapter Six, I discuss the extent to which people actually participate in crime fighting initiatives in their localities.

Foucault argues that every society has its 'regime of truth', its 'general politics of truth' around which there exists a struggle concerning the status of truth and the role it plays in the socio-economic and political order of things (Smart 1985:72). The different community policing models in different contexts show different regimes of truth in the ways in which people attempt to work out what they may do in terms of safety, security and related issues.

Explaining Foucault's writing on archaeology, Smart (1985:48) points out that 'archaeology seeks to describe the archive which is a general system of the formation and transformation of statements existent at a given period within a particular society. The object of archaeological analysis is then a description of the archive, literally what may be spoken of in the discourse, in this case community policing discourse, and what statements survive, disappear, get re-used, are repressed or censured, and which terms are recognized as valid, questionable, invalid and what relations exist between the system of present statements and those of the past. The objective is to document and hence translate the conditions of the existence of the community policing model at all levels, including in the practical field in which it operates.

3.5   Volunteerism and community policing

The ways in which the state has communicated the discourse on community policing during different periods show that it encourages a general idea of volunteerism. In a broader sense, the notion of volunteerism informs community policing. The overarching idea is that people will generally be willing to participate in doing something about crime in their communities, express some form of willingness to serve or volunteer, give their time, offer services and resources in various forms in the fight against crime in their

localities. Nevertheless, the questions I address and what the findings reveal, point towards other questions: to what extent and in what form do people volunteer towards crime prevention and crime management activities in their communities? Secondly, with what motivation do people voluntarily offer their services and time towards dealing with crime in their localities? The extent and nature to which people volunteer in policing differ, hence the comparison of community policing activities offered in the following chapters. I found that volunteerism was exercised by different people, in varying degrees, in a range of institutions and community-based organizations.

The working of community policing largely involves the use of volunteers. Furthermore, volunteerism in community policing is not merely a strategy to be added, but to strengthen the sense of responsibility for each other in a place. I discovered changing patterns of volunteerism influenced by the relations between the institutions and the people involved in community policing.

Perold (2006) describes volunteerism as the most fundamental act of citizenship and philanthropy in society. It is offering time, energy and skills of one's free will. It involves some degree of transformation, as people get involved in improving their surroundings and helping others. When people volunteer, it is mostly towards improving the life of others and as a by-product it may improve their own lives as well. This means the process is two-fold in meaning. Those who volunteer get something out of volunteering as well. That may encompass gaining skills or improving one's self esteem. Perold has contributed to extending the simplistic understanding which volunteerism definitions pose by citing volunteerism as entailing also the use of creativity, and local knowledge, skills which I discovered in the ways in which community policing works.

Many definitions of volunteerism focus on its being non-profit and non-wage. However, for some people who engage in volunteering, it is an opportunity to learn and earn. There is some form of reciprocity in volunteerism as people who give through volunteering in society may expect society to give back to them through the recognition of their work and this may serve as a further motivation to volunteer. To some extent, this idea applies to community policing.

Perold, Carapinha and Mohamed (2006) make reference to the school of thought that points out that volunteerism is on the decline, due in part to economic stress created, for example, by unemployment.

They argue that hardships may lead to self-centred and individualistic behaviour. However, in some instances, such economic stresses may actually draw people together to try to do something about the difficult circumstances that they find themselves in. In terms of voluntary service, in South Africa, there are various calls for people to be part of the consolidation of democracy in the country and to contribute to its building. This is extended even to performing good acts for the family and beyond. Thus the informal nature of what may be termed as volunteerism manifests itself in kinship and social network ties where people do something voluntarily for the functioning of a family. Perold and Carapinha (2006) refer to this type of engagement being mostly determined by cultural and religious values.

In a broader perspective, all sectors in the post-apartheid South Africa are continuously encouraged to hold in high regard joint action between government and communities in working together. However, the research undertaken by the Centre for Civil Society (CCS), the Southern Africa Grantmakers' Association (SAGA) and the National Development Agency (NDA) shows that only 17% of South Africans volunteer for a cause, a figure that is low compared to other southern Africa countries which were represented in the sample. This reflects a trend where the willingness to participate as a volunteer out of duty and motivation to help each other, is generally lower in South Africa. Apathy and the fear of crime sometimes discourage people to do something about crime.

3.6   The complexities of criminality and crime fighting initiatives

It comes out clearly from the media and public debates that all sectors of society are interwoven in a complex maze when we talk of crime. Social and economic issues, identity issues, gender inequalities and migration all have an impact on crime and crime fighting initiatives. I use the idea of complexity to assist in unfolding the many dimensions and entanglements involved in crime fighting. The idea of complexity is used to further understand that community policing exists among various other initiatives to fight crime, for example efforts to improve the judicial system, the elite police crime fighting initiatives of the police that change constantly, the ideas of local people and global discourses and suggestions of what may work. Bayley (1985) even makes reference to the complexity in policing not being a modern phenomenon and argues that it has always been there even in other historical periods with a variety of policing methods. National and local, revolutionary and non revolutionary players, neighbourhoods, churches, landowners, peasants, workers, businesses and professional associations sought to make policing effective and legitimate. In the light of this, Bayley advocates new analytical categories that need to be developed to look

at police institutions. These varieties of policing are completely mixed. This complexity may be traced from different historical periods of policing.

Concerning complexity and community policing, I especially draw on the work of Paul Cilliers. In his writings on complexity, Cilliers (1998:2) argues that '[a] complex system is not merely constituted by the sum of its components, but also by the intricate relationships between these components'. The findings in this thesis point to these intricate complex relationships of and in community policing.

Another issue is that, complex systems have to deal with a changing environment and ways to adapt to the changing environment. Traditionally, people would confront complexity by finding a secure point of reference from which everything would be viewed. This approach ignores the continuous shifting of relationships. Cilliers advocates the acknowledgement of complexity that incorporates shifts and changes. It is these changes and shifts in the working of community policing models and the perceptions to it that I followed during the research process. Among the complex issues in policing, I explore identity issues with regard to crime and crime fighting initiatives. Comaroff and Comaroff (2011), in their writings on crime in South Africa, refer to the displaced race anxieties when people talk about crime fighting initiatives. Racial anxieties and stereotyping of criminality I found was part of the ways people talked about criminality. Race and stereotypes have always affected policing not just in South Africa. The narratives in the following chapters will point to some of these stereotyping and how they are woven into crime fighting initiatives albeit often in implicit ways.

Comaroff and Comaroff (2011) have written about theatrical ways of policing to demonstrate the ways in which crime and crime fighting discourse unfolds and is dramatised in South Africa. Such staged performances by the police in Comaroff and Comaroff's view are a result of a state that is weak and does not have adequate capacity to attend to crime. Young (1991) gives the same picture of dramatisation when he looks at how the police do their work. Young (1991:274) argues that fantasy appears to be integral to the routines of policing itself. There is the real fear of crime from witnessing crime and knowing victims, but there is also the induced and heightened fear of crime because of the over-dramatisation of crime. In the evening news you may be sure there is a crime 'horror' story that is reported. It is, however, true that crime levels are unacceptably high in South Africa, especially violent crime levels. The dramatisation of crime and policing issues points to a complex reality of crime that the police and the populace seem not to have a

handle on. The courts, the police, the criminals and people in the communities are often operating as a system of opposites. This is in itself indicative of the complex issues of crime and policing that this thesis attempts to unravel.

From another angle, Holston's (2008) discussion of what he calls 'insurgent citizenships in Brazil' gives a good illustration of complexity not being the result of a single process but the result of entanglements of multiple processes. He gives the example that democratisation, urbanisation, neo-liberalism as processes have brought about different disruptions. The result of this in Brazil is what Holston describes as 'hybrid spaces of democratic citizenship', which in turn have produced

> a sphere of social change in which the legal, illegitimate and criminal, just or unjust, and civil and uncivil claim the same moral ground of citizen rights by way of contradictory social practices (2008:274).

The same argument is applicable in the South African context. This is elaborated on in Chapter Six where the numerous reactions to crime and community policing are outlined and discussed.

3.7   The various uses of 'community' in community policing

As I came to terms with the issues that people raised as crime problems in their localities, it became apparent that there was a form of complexity in the notion of 'community' in community policing. There is an overarching assumption in the notion of community policing that it is desirable for everyone to be part of policing and that communities are homogeneous. However, issues in community policing on the ground point otherwise. The assumption that a 'community' is homogeneous, able and positive, is problematic. I discovered in the course of the research that there is a sense in which the use of the word 'community' is intended to put an obligation on people to participate. Community as a concept may easily be essentialised and used for all kinds of purposes. It is therefore a problematic concept. In this section, I point to the numerous ways in which 'community' is perceived of and I provide a critique of the numerous ways community is defined especially with reference to place in community policing. Let me however state early on that the position that I took in terms of the issue of community concurs with Flyn's (1998) argument for a redefinition of the notion of community which shows more awareness of the subset interests of the 'community' in the different issues that are raised in community policing. Hence, the findings in this thesis bring out those subset interests of the 'community' and what informs them. In addition, I found Bruhn's (2005:47) view very useful in terms of understanding 'community'. He conceptualised community as a

series of networks of varying sizes, density and purpose that extend beyond a physical location. Issues that go beyond just being part of a particular physical location determine how people respond to any networks or partnerships in crime prevention and crime management.

The term 'community' is used in different ways in both lay and disciplinary literatures. Midgely *et al* (1986:24) explain that community refers to a socio-spatial entity, although the scope of its usage may refer to villages, districts, towns and cities. In globalisation literature, there is, at times, reference to 'international or global community'. 'Community' may also refer to organisations fighting for the same interests or to a group of people brought together by the same cause. Jakes and Anderson (2000:395) cite the different ways in which social scientists from different disciplines define community. Geographers for example emphasize spatial aspects; for economists it is markets and work; and sociologists usually mention social interactions and networks.

In accounting for the loose way in which the term 'community' is used, Bruhn (2005:30) points out that '[the] word community and its variable meanings has continued throughout the centuries because it is an emotional attachment to place and it offers ideal guidelines for human relationships'. Bruhn (2005:29) mentions that there is an assumption that everyone understands the term and is in agreement with its importance or use. In the South African sense, I found out that 'community' is a value-laden term. Thornton and Ramphele (1988:29) argue that 'community' is 'stereotyped and obscure' albeit because of its use as a euphemism for a variety of things, for example 'race' in South Africa. I concur with them in their argument that, 'the use of the term *(community)* does not guarantee that a 'community' exists: there may in fact be no audience, no willingness to cooperate, no coherent social organisation, no sense of belonging' as some of the issues I discuss around community policing at the local level reveal. However Thornton and Ramphele's insightful understanding of community as 'a cultural notion which people use to give a reality and form to their social actions and thoughts' makes sense in so far as it illuminates the fact that communities exist, are dynamic and are the result of complex political processes (Thornton and Ramphele 1988:39).

There are several ways in which the South African government has appropriated the term 'community'. For example, the state uses the term 'community' in policy-making to denote something that is positive and brings people together. For example, emphasising the term 'community' in community policing and even

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looking for equivalent terms in local languages has been a deliberate attempt to invoke the feeling of togetherness and to urge people to participate in policing. Political actors often claim 'communities' or their existence in order to have support for particular plans of action or get support for political programmes (Thornton and Ramphele 1988).

'Community' does not just refer to the composition of people in a particular geographical location or place. People belong to different networks outside of the geographical locations where they live or work. The internet on the other hand offers virtual communities with information-sharing among people with varied or similar interests. Social networks therefore may exist among people who do not live in the same neighbourhood. Craven and Wellman (1973) point out that communities are social networks and not just local solidarities. 'Community' is a loose term fraught with ambiguity and may in some instances invoke negative connotations depending on where and how it is used. Issues that come out from community policing show that it is not always the case that 'community' is associated with the positive.

The following chapters present the diverse interpretations of community policing both in theory and in practice. Advocates of community policing assume that everyone will play his/her part in crime prevention and crime management, but the reality on the ground is different. I noted participation in local crime fighting initiatives, indifferent attitudes and resistance towards these initiatives and in some instances even violent reactions to community policing. These differences show that communities may exist in various forms and are not homogeneous.

Lynn (2006:110) describes a community as

> a place where public amenities and services are provided, but often grossly inadequate
> and without integration, where needs are met, but also denied or ignored, where children
> are educated, but also sometimes alienated, where identity is shaped, but also sometimes
> limited, and where difference is shaped, but also sometimes limited, and where differences
> are appreciated but also sometimes denigrated.

Miller (2002:32) presents a definition of community as 'a group of people sharing a common bond or tradition, who support and challenge each other to act powerfully, both individually and collectively, to affirm, defend and adomestic violenceance their values and self interests'. In Miller's view, all people share and act upon the same worldomestic violenceiew but in practice, it is not the case. Within communities, there are divergences, hence sub-cultures, and subgroups. Communities therefore are by no means

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homogeneous. They may be highly differentiated, dynamic and even non-cohesive as may be proved by contestation and conflict. Therefore, in this research on community policing, I look at the various benchmarks by which people operationalise 'community'. As I conducted fieldwork, I discovered how people viewed what was 'community', and that it defined their perception of community policing and their participation or non-participation in community policing.

The notion of community comes with the process of interaction. Interaction produces the idea of difference and more awareness of identity issues and consequently different opinions among people on what defines community for them. Flyn (1998) points out that some people view community as a residential neighbourhood while others view it as a country or region. Collective perceptions represent an idea that bind people together as a community. Theodori (2005) deconstructs the notion of community as a place. The argument is that place itself is not community.

Hillery (1955) tries to put together the many definitions of 'community' by summing up that most conceptions of community use some combination of space, people and social interaction in the definitions. One could also suggest that community consists of persons in social interaction in a geographic area and having one or more additional ties. The issue of common problems may also be used to define community.

Cohen (1985:12) argues that community both implies similarity and difference. The word thus expresses a relational idea: the opposition of one community to others or to other social entities. He examines the nature of community by referring to the sense of discrimination, which the 'community' embodies by looking at 'boundary'. The boundary, according to Cohen, marks the beginning and end of a community. '[T]he consciousness of community is, then, encapsulated in perception of its boundaries, boundaries which are themselves largely constituted by people in interaction' (Cohen 1985:13).

Cohen (1985:15) also refers to social categories that are so variable in meaning and have meanings that are elusive such as 'patriotism', 'duty', 'love' and 'peace'. The attempt to define them with precision results in many arguments. Similarly, the range of meanings of such terms like community may be glossed over in a commonly accepted symbol. The result may be people sharing the same symbol of what defines community but

> [They] share the symbol but do not necessarily share its meaning. As a symbol, it is held in common by its members; but its meaning varies with its members' unique orientations to it.

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> In the face of variability of meaning, the consciousness of community has to be kept alive through manipulations of its symbols (Cohen 1985:15).

The reality of community and in turn community policing, depends upon its symbolic construction Gupta and Ferguson (1997:13 cited in Amit and Rapport 2002:45) point out that '[c]ommunity is never simply the recognition of cultural similarity or social contiguity but a categorical identity that is premised on various forms of exclusion and construction of otherness'.

Anderson (1983, 1991) on the other hand refers to political community as an imagined phenomenon. As far as he is concerned, no one will ever know each other's needs in terms of policing. Relating this to policing, there is a constructed and imagined sense of everyone's needs. Buerger (1994:270) argues that

> the rhetoric of community policing ascribes to 'the community' a great power to regulate itself, shake off its fear of crime by forming partnerships with the police and successfully regulate norms that regulate behaviour.

In this section, the point of bringing out the problematic nature of 'community' was useful because what emerged as responses to community policing in this study was based on what people conceived for themselves as the meaning of 'community'. I use the term community when I refer to 'community policing'. However, I use 'locality' and 'residential area' to refer to the three places where fieldwork was conducted.

3.8   Conclusion

In conclusion, the theoretical perspectives that form the anchors for the discussion of the findings were discussed in this chapter. The framework of neo-liberal forms of governance and the travelling models concept gives a perspective on how community policing travelled. The local responses to community policing are unpacked especially in Chapter Six by using the concept of translation that I discussed in detail in this chapter. By also situating the issues that emerged during the research under the idea of complexity, enabled me to highlight the contested and constantly redefined ways in which community policing was perceived by the role-players at all levels, local, provincial and national. I especially found the writings of Foucault on knowledge and power useful in so far as questioning how local needs for policing were conceived of and how the different players engaged with, perfomed and responded to community policing.

The history of policing in South Africa and developments that have occurred in the post-apartheid era follow in the next chapter. The next chapter discusses changes from apartheid policing to processes in democratising policing. The notion of neo-liberal governance provides a frame within which to understand the travelling models that informed policing changes in different time-periods.

Chapter Four

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF CRIME AND POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1   Introduction

The subject of this research requires being attentive to the historical dimension of crime and policing in South Africa. Even more significantly, it requires paying attention to the issues that unfolded in general policing and in community policing during the time the research was conducted. The purpose of this chapter is to present the historical timeline of transformation of the police and in particular, discuss the history of and current issues regarding community policing in South Africa. I show from where and how the ideas of community policing were modified in implicit and explicit ways by knowledge brokers at the national, provincial and local levels.

The discussion in this chapter relates to the larger argument of the thesis in so far as it uses the travelling models concept to explain the source of ideas that informed changes in policing during different time periods. These changes are discussed together with their political and economic environments during these different time periods. The arguments I make also show that the apparent dimensions and impacts of crime prevention and crime management interventions in the short and long term are economic, social and political in nature. This is reflected in the changes that have occurred in the policing arena in the different time periods. Situating these changes in apartheid policing, democratisation and neo-liberal governance gives a frame within which to understand the various ideas that informed these changes within these different time periods, how they have been translated and the consequences of policing at the local level. The chapter commences with a discussion of colonial policing followed by apartheid policing, democratic policing, and neo-liberal community policing. The crux of the chapter therefore is to give a face to the various translations of community policing in each historical time period. In the process, I use the concept of translation for analysing those changes.

This chapter, therefore, presents the history of the SAPS and analyses and reflects on the changes and issues that emerged in the process of democratising the police. I give special attention to community

policing that was introduced to improve the relations between the police and the people, to promote accountability and a culture of service among the police and also to promote a partnership between the police and the people. In the final sections of the chapter, I briefly discuss the controversies of community policing, with regard to its place in the crime prevention and crime management discourse in South Africa. Chapter Nine extends this discussion.

4.2   Colonial systems of policing in Africa

An ethnography that involves a look at how the police work in Africa must also come to terms with the legacy of colonial systems of policing in Africa. Colonial police forces were created to serve colonial rule (Marenin 1982). The colonial police forces were highly militarised. Police functions during the colonial period entailed protecting the colonial business enterprises, controlling the population, crushing uprisings, enforcing colonial laws and dealing with any kinds of individual or group criminality which posed a threat to the colonial system of rule and beyond. Military and policing functions were largely conflated and tainted with racist and abusive practices (Kiplin and Harisson 2003).

Colonial policing largely enforced the system of authoritarian rule. According to Rauch and Van der Spuy (2006), the colonial conquest entailed using a military concept to define the roles of the police who served to protect the colonial power interests and neglected the safety and security needs of indigenous people. Later on from the 1960s, the police extended their duties to civil duties in response to the changing dynamics in the political arrangements of the colony as the colonial states started dismantling.

Alice Hills′ important insights on African colonial policing reveal the processes in the mostly Anglophone countries. Hills (2000) refers to the role of the colonial police that changed from being a principal agent of colonial control to being a servant to inexperienced transition governments and to new governments in independent African states. Colonial police were faced with problems at all their different stages, from challenges in maintaining a grasp of their situation, to revolt and conflict among the indigenous populations they policed, to the absence of any police legitimacy among the same indigenous population. The legacies of colonial policing are evident in the post-colonial nature of African states. The next section discusses how apartheid policing was structured.

Michael Brogden's insightful work on policing in South Africa traces the history of colonial policing from the 19th century. Brogden (2002) points to how policing ideas and police export were an integral part of the colonial project. Therefore ideas of policing have always 'travelled'. However, this mix of policing ideas was 're-fashioned according to local exigencies' (Brogden 2002:158). In a brief history of the introduction of a mix of policing ideas in colonial South Africa, Brogden referred to the late 1890s when Sam Steele of the Irish Constabulary (IC) was appointed in the South African constabulary and played an instrumental role in the introduction of the Irish model of policing to the Transvaal veld. The Irish model was intermixed with other ideas of policing and spread to other colonies in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to Brogden, this Irish model of policing later laid down the foundation for the development of apartheid policing. Prioritising systems for the maintenance of order in the colonial state informed the operation of the colonial police force.

4.3   Policing during apartheid

The apartheid system of governance was characterised by highly racialised economic inequalities. A minority of white-rule prevailed, supported by a system of laws to subjugate the non-white population. Shaw and Shearing (1998) explain apartheid policing in South Africa in detail with a description of the system of legal racial segregation that ensured separate residential areas for white and black people. Processes of surveillance by the police were used to control black people from going into white residential areas without the required pass. With respect to crime control, Shaw and Shearing go on to point out that a risk-based form of policing operated that focused on reducing the opportunities for crime in white areas by keeping would-be black offenders away from white victims. In non-white areas, people were policed through proxies represented by the municipal police, vigilante groups and black police officers of the South African Police.

The police played a big role in maintaining the apartheid system. Rauch and Van der Spuy (2006:20) state that the

> South African Police and judiciary were dominated by white police officers at senior levels. South Africa under apartheid was notorious for brutality…and widespread violation of human rights. Over the 30 years of formal apartheid (1960-1990) an estimated 78 000 people were detained without trial by the police because of their political activism against apartheid. About 73 deaths in police detention were recorded.

In addition, torture, fear and disappearances were all part of enforcing racist and unpopular laws of apartheid which segregated the racially-defined population categories. Evidently, the apartheid police made use of force extensively to enforce apartheid laws and evoked terror (Comaroff and Comaroff 2008). Admittedly, police practice was 'routinely coercive in nature, and not concerned with legitimacy, transparency, accountability, participation, mutual respect and fundamental rights' (Eloff 2006:55).

Certainly, during apartheid, the SAP acted largely as a 'paramilitary force charged with maintaining order in a racially stratified state' (Davis et al 2003:296). Therefore, the nature of policing in the apartheid era was militaristic and served the populations, racially separated by laws that established residential boundaries, differently. In the black townships, service delivery was poor, and when resources were invested there, it was mostly to deal with forms of resistance to apartheid laws. Policing was inadequate especially in the non-white localities, and the police during apartheid worked as 'competent oppressors but not a competent protector of black communities' (Brogden and Shearing 1993:25). The non-white communities were severely treated by the police and had little protection from the law. Although the courts at times intervened, that did not serve the interest of the non-white population sufficiently. Shaw (2001) accounts for this situation by referring to the police's reporting line that led directly to the notorious Ministry of Law and Order which was staffed by white police officers at the top and a minister in a government that was based on whites-only parliamentary elections. The different Bantustan police forces worked through satellite police stations with personnel who were trained to maintain and defend the apartheid political system. Brutality was used to deal with any form of resistance to oppression, and the police used unorthodox, inhumane and intrusive techniques (Eloff 2006).

Shaw (2001:20) is correct to point out that policing during apartheid meant different things to the white and the black population. The majority black population had to contend with police brutality. The police were part of a system of oppression that was not there to serve or protect them. On the other hand, cases of criminality or any disturbance were attended to swiftly to protect the white population. The kind of work the police conducted in the non-white localities was meant to control the population and make them abide by apartheid laws and regulations. The highly militarised apartheid police had little or no system for accountability; few efforts were made to engage and deal with personal and family security problems in the black communities.

The highly volatile political environment in the late 1980s and the early 1990s involved the police contributing to the situation by being complicit in promoting violence. At times, they were involved in covert support of forms of vigilantism as a way of dealing with political activists and suppressing the resistance to apartheid rule. Tshehla (2002:12) summarizes the relationship between the police and the non-white population, especially blacks, before 1994 as an 'unhealthy one to say the least'. The toxic relationship between the police and the black population, fermented forms of social ordering in townships and the emergence of vigilante groups.

4.3.1　Vigilantism in apartheid South Africa

The discussion of community policing and the history of policing in South Africa would be incomplete without raising the complex, at times emotional, and highly debated issue of vigilantism. I especially selected the vigilantism issue because it is often discussed together with community policing.

Let me turn first to how vigilantism is defined and conceived of. Writing about vigilantism in Africa, Kirsch and Grätz (2010:4) argue that '[v]igilantism presents a picture of bewildering volatility and complexity. There is an amazing variation and flexibility over time and space in, for instance, how vigilante groups in Africa are structured and organised.' This is so because as Fourchard (2008) explains, vigilantism across the world has been used to describe movements of varying composition and nature. Vigilante activities are referred to with a variety of meanings. Simpson (2004:18) explains this by pointing out that

> pervasive patterns of vigilante violence illustrate perfectly the continuity and change in the activities that are deeply rooted in South Africa's political past, but which increasingly acquire new meaning in the popular 'private justice' response to criminal activity.

Fourchard's (2011:3) recent work analyses the political processes in which state and non-state actors are mobilised for security and states that 'by exploring the genealogies and transformations of some anti crime organizations', the issues that come up 'invalidates the idea that there is a clear distinction between vigilantism and community policing'. Fourchard makes a suggestion that vigilantism and community should be viewed as two sides of the same coin. The insights from Fourchard's work were similar to what I found. I learnt through my discussions that the *ad hoc* vigilante violence targeted at suspected criminals or those caught red-handed in the township, was what was defined as community policing by some of those who participated in vigilante violence in, for example, Kayamandi.

It is evident from writings that references to vigilantism are fraught with stereotyping but the concept has changed its meaning over time, especially in South Africa. Abrahams (2003:26) gives a broad definition of vigilantism as, 'an organised attempt by a group of "ordinary citizens" to enforce norms and maintain law and order on behalf of their communities, often resorting to violence, in the perceived absence of the state action through the police or courts'. This broad definition captures the condition in which vigilantism thrives: a perceived absence of effective state mechanisms to govern or provide security. Still on the same point, deducing from case studies of vigilantism in Africa and abroad, Fourchard (2011:5) correctly highlights that vigilante activities 'reflect not only popular responses to vacuums left by the state collapse and neo-liberalism, but also specific historical and cultural logics'.

Cawthra (1993) argues that vigilantism during apartheid and the transition period shows that many of the problems of policing in the country are rooted in the country's factionalised and violent past. Charney (1991:8) expands on this viewpoint by pointing to the origins of vigilantism in South Africa:

> [Its] origins can be traced to the structural crisis of the apartheid state, in which race discrimination exacerbated political and economic problems confronting new industrial countries. Its appearance was a response to the vast countrywide surge of protest and insurrection which began in 1984. The total number has been huge but each fits into the local mosaic of local conflict making up the national struggle against apartheid.

Another important issue that Charney (1991) raises is his concern about the narrow and one-sided interpretation of vigilantism. He argues that vigilantism at times is labelled as 'black on black violence', and also simplifying the identification of perpetrators without understanding their common social base or the state ties to vigilantism that, at times, are overlooked in discussions on vigilantism. Charney's argument brings useful insight as far as it reminds us not to simplify the analysis of vigilantism or to lump the analysis into rigid categories.

Fourchard (2009) refers to Fleisher (2000) who points out that there is no scholarly consensus, with regard to the dynamics of vigilantism and the state. The dynamics of that relationship are issues that I will interrogate and analyse in Chapter Six when I present the perceptions of people of community policing. However, the point that I make in this discussion of vigilantism and in Chapter Six is that vigilantism involves people taking the law into their own hands in an organised or *ad hoc* manner and that there are numerous reasons to do so. One of those reasons, as I mentioned earlier, is that vigilante violence occurs because there is a vacuum left by the state. However, I discovered that the logic of engaging into that

violence is a result of a mix of issues and also depends on the people who are involved. Generally this violence involves some level of spontaneity and a trigger for such violence to evolve in an attempt to solve a problem or make a certain kind of order.

So what does vigilante activity entail? Here I follow Nina (2001), referred to by Baker (2008:81) who argues that vigilantism

> [Is] linked to the use of physical force and intimidation at levels not normally used by the state. In the denial of the state as the guarantor of the social order, vigilantism will invoke an 'imagined order' that existed in the past (in its decadent mode), or never existed but is desired (in its idealized mode) … Vigilantism appropriates state functions in a way that creates a parallel sovereign power that is unregulated.

According to Brogden and Shearing (1993:85), vigilante forces arose as a result of the police's failure to maintain order and crime control in the townships in the early 1980s. The authors go on to describe how vigilante groups in the apartheid era were part of a larger strategy, participating in the politics of the day. The term 'vigilante', then, was used to refer to state-sponsored groups who aimed at derailing the activities of the anti-apartheid activists. Therefore, during apartheid, vigilante groups were exploited by political groups to serve their interests. Brogden and Shearing (1993) give examples of vigilante groups who claimed they were paid by the police during apartheid to participate in acts of violence against other groups. Hayson (1990) points out that one of the things that these vigilante groups were engaged in was neutralizing individuals and groups opposed to apartheid rule.

The history of the people's courts provides a good example of the work of vigilante groups. Mostly in the townships, many of these people's courts were established at the height of political violence. They were convened to deal with political opponents and achieve justice. However, brutality arose in these courts through mob justice. The infamous punishment of someone who was labelled a 'traitor' or 'sell-out,' or criminal was death by 'neck-lacing' through the 'people's courts'. People's courts existed across the country to administer justice, and the Self Defence Units in Gauteng served the same purpose. Tensions were high in the run-up to the elections in 1994 and these people's courts' actions as disciplinary committees have been criticised by Minnaar (2001) who argues that in reality, people used the people's courts to deal with their rivals, to take revenge or intimidate opponents. The people's courts' problems extended to abuses of power over time, becoming laws unto themselves and making the townships almost ungovernable (Minnaar 2001). Minnaar paints a picture of a chaotic situation, but the people's courts did in fact sometimes almost

operate in an organised fashion in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The minimal presence of the police left the people's courts to represent some form of order and a means of addressing situations. However, people's interests varied and often they used these people's courts for political issues, settling scores and creating some community cohesion as occasion arose.

The political battles between the ANC and the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to a variety of vigilante activities as people fought for control. In Gauteng, the 'taxi wars' amongst taxi drivers represented another form of vigilante activities, and some of those accused of witchcraft in rural areas have also been victims of vigilantes.

The often referred to 'Third Force' involved state-sponsored groups that enjoyed some legal immunity for their attacks on political activists who were fighting apartheid rule. Explaining these state-sponsored groups, Charney (1991:8) pointed out that

> vigilantism involved the local government-linked petit bourgeoisie, elders and patrimonially organised working men and youths. Their role in vigilante actions reflected the nature of support for the state in the African communities in South Africa, which is rooted in local level clientelist relations. Vigilantism was an attempt by a class of African collaborators with the regime to remobilise older types of authority and divide those whom the opposition sought to unite.

With this in mind, Charney (1991) outlines vigilante activities in five phases when the struggle against apartheid intensified. The first phase, from July to December 1985, came from places where opposition groups were small, isolated and vulnerable, for example, from country townships like Tumahole (near Parys in the Northern Free State). In Durban, most townships fell under the control of the Inkatha-controlled Zulu tribal reserve, KwaZulu.

The second wave of vigilante violence in early 1986, involved many townships in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, leaving huge shanty towns around Crossroads destroyed and about 60 000 people homeless. In the third phase, the countrywide state of emergency in June 1986 led to decreased levels of vigilante violence. In the fourth phase from 1987, violence surged again, especially in Natal with Inkatha, aided by the police, unleashing violence and taking control of the peri-urban areas. Pro-UDF supporters on the other hand formed committees to fight back and drive out Inkatha leaders (Charney 1991).

The last phase that Charney refers to, from 1990 to the constitutional settlement in 1994, was a period when the strong wave of anti-apartheid mobilisation grew. This was coupled with rent boycotts, vigilantes and ANC supporters clashing throughout the country and growing tensions between Inkatha and the ANC. Inkatha recruited new councillors and formed branches in the Western Transvaal and Northern Free State. Clashes between the ANC and Inkatha in Pietermaritzburg left 90 000 refugees, and two townships near Richmond almost deserted. A week before the signing of the Peace Accord on the 14th of September 1991, gunmen killed 18 Inkatha members and what followed were revenge attacks that killed 124 people in the greater Johannesburg area. The nature of the organisation of the vigilante violence pointed to the involvement of the police, the security forces and paramilitary groups.

Such a violent past in policing led to numerous legislative reforms that were meant to deal with a state where there were parallel processes to negotiate an end to the violence and to create democratic structures. During the long transition to democracy, violence permeated many spheres, and in Van der Spuy's (2007) view violence became a socially approved means of attaining and preserving political power. High levels of criminality and social violence resulted.

In presenting the history of vigilantism in apartheid South Africa, I am reminded of Hills's (2000:2) comment on security systems in Africa:

> African regimes always include substantial security establishments – the various institutions, groups, and actors who have a professional, or an informal interest in maintaining the regime and state. Ideally, they are agents of the state and have defined their interests, but in practice they are more likely to be a distinct set of groups that perform certain functions for state officials while keeping a distinct set of interests. Moreover, the boundaries between the various police, paramilitary, military and personal forces involved are often unclear.

Periodising how vigilante violence unravelled in the apartheid and transition periods in this instance serves to illustrate how unclear and fluid the boundaries and interests of state and non-state actors are in relation to not only issues of crime control. This discussion on vigilantism is relevant in so far as it sets the basis for new forms of vigilantism in South Africa of which some, I discovered during fieldwork, were perceived and labelled as forms of community policing. While state language shuns the use of violence to resolve crime related issues, the reality on the ground in poor communities is the continuation of violence to resolve issues that go beyond crime control. The functions and existence of vigilantism in the democratic South Africa also reflect Hansen's (2006:283) observation that, '[in] spite of all these expectations of democratic

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policing, actual policing does inevitably unfold in a grey area'. Such 'grey areas' are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six on the discussion of policing partnerships in community policing.

The next section discusses the need for reform in policing in line with the democratic state. Legislative reforms in all government departments, including the police, characterised the period of transition to democracy. The creation of police legitimacy was one important aim, necessitating changes within the police structures, given the history of police relations with the majority of the people who were neglected in terms of protection and on whom the harsh discriminatory laws were enforced during the apartheid era.

4.3.2   The National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991

Police legitimacy was crucial in maintaining the fragile order that existed as the final critical negotiations took place concerning the new democratic dispensation. By 1990, the battle for power and the mistrust within and between communities made the negotiation process fraught with violence. Intense violence flared up in KwaZulu-Natal and in many areas in Gauteng and this was worsened by the absence of responsive government structures to deal with the conflict and violence that prevailed. The negotiation was compounded by evidence of police involvement and complicity with that violence (Pelser 1999). A multi-party Peace Summit resulted in a formally binding agreement known as the National Peace Accord (NPA) signed on the 14th September, 1991. This multiparty document was meant to address the high levels of tension and conflict during the early transition period from apartheid to democratic South Africa. Spies (2002) summarises what the NPA was able to do during that unstable time, by stating that the NPA 1991, addressed

> [t]he behaviour of political parties and the security forces, issues related to justice, and conflict management through participatory processes of localized mediation and monitoring coordinated at the regional and national level. Although aimed at ending the violence, its principles and structures provided an important safety net for national negotiations. Later, politicians knew that even when they walked out of the constitutional negotiations, they retained their common commitment as signatories to the NPA, which provided for channels of communication to remain open.

The NPA agreement encompassed a number of core values that promoted democratic principles of good governance, mutual responsibility and accountability. In terms of policing, Rauch (2000:120) points out that 'the most significant contribution of the NPA in terms of policing was to create new procedures for handling of actual or potential political violence, and to introduce the notion of independent monitoring of police

action and of multi-agency problem solving'. Referring specifically to community policing, Schärf (1991), Jagwanth (1994) and Pelser (1999) raised the point that the process of signing the NPA officially publicized the notion of community policing. Thus, the National Peace Accord contributed basic principles for community policing. The NPA stipulated that,

> The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, race, religion, gender or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts…The police shall be guided by the belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall be guided by the belief that they are secure and retain the respect and approval of the public. Through such accountability and friendly, effective and prompt service, the police shall endeavour to obtain the co-operation of the public whose partnership in the task of crime control (The National Peace Accord, Section 3.1.1-4).

In addition, the NPA introduced a range of structures and procedures meant to deal with inter group conflict, and many of these involved policing (Rauch 2000). In a huge way, this created a foundation for the police reform process that took place later. However, despite laying down the foundations for community policing, the NPA neither created, nor put in place strong mechanisms to enforce what was set out in the agreement (Pelser 1999). Implementing most of the stipulations that were set in the NPA in terms of policing was a difficult task, given that any mechanisms to facilitate the process were weak, considering the volatile environment and fragile peace that existed during the transition period.

Although there had been research and discussions on community policing in the apartheid era, it could not then have been implemented fully. The leadership in the police acknowledged that to bring on board community policing, a reconfiguration of policing was needed. This meant that transformation had to take note of establishing a shared vision, mission and value system for redirecting the police. In addition, organisational structures had to facilitate autonomy in management and introduce significant forms of empowerment even at the lowest level in the organisation. It also required the 'development of new policies' and practices 'to support the philosophy and style of community policing' (Eloff 2006:51-52). A new police culture had to be cultivated and encouraged through training and retraining of the police, emphasising accountability, participation and transformation.

4.4 Democratic policing in South Africa

As explained in section 4.3 of this chapter, the apartheid police system was a centralized and highly militarized body with a top-down and rigid chain of command. Eloff (2006:55) emphasized that in practical terms such a militarized structure meant 'a rift between the police and the community; and that the police do not receive co-operation from the community, nor [does] the community participate in or accept responsibility for policing'. Such a situation in the early 1990s called for swift action to deal with changes and transformation in the police and to make preparations for a democratic style of policing that could be expected in a democratic South Africa. This entailed reconfiguring how to police together with the people and redefining the issues of security. Legal provisions became important in so far as the transformation of the police was concerned in line with the new political context and the need for democratisation. The discussion in the rest of this chapter points to a complex process of police transformation and to some of the expectations of neoliberal democracy that have not been realised in policing. I point to the challenges of policing in South Africa in section 4.7.

The process of police transformation began with an analysis of the environment in which the police were working, the reflection on international policing models, reviewing the legal framework, and most importantly, the research of expectations from various stakeholders in the country concerning the form and nature of the transformation of the police. The issues I bring out in this thesis point to a situation of a complex handover of policing powers. As I finalised the thesis, the democratic police system that was envisioned in the early 1990s had not fully materialised. Massive problems in the way the police work, discussed in section 4.7, point to the need for important changes, which are the issues I highlight in Chapters Nine and Ten.

In the same year that the National Peace Accord was negotiated, as discussed in section 4.3.2, the South African Police (SAP) Strategic Plan of 1991 emerged. The SAP Strategic Plan jumpstarted the internal reform of the South African Police. There were enormous challenges during this crucial time that the SAP Strategic Plan aimed at addressing. The SAP Strategic Plan started police reform and involved that police manage the process of change plus making citizens part of the policing process. The key areas of change targeted were:

1. De-politisation of the police force;

2. Increased community accountability;

3. More visible policing;

4. Establishment of improved, effective management practices; and

5. Reform of the police training system (including some racial integration), and restructuring of the police force. (Rauch 2000:120)

What the SAP Strategic plan highlighted was that democratic policing required a new modus operandi for the police. The following section discusses how the principles of policing were set up, the handover of power of police from the new order to the new appointees and the differences between that old and new order.

4.4.1   Post 1994 Election Police Reform

In line with the new democratic order, police reform was urgently needed. In its basic form, democratisation of the police was understood as legislative and policy reform, introduced to promote accountability of the police to the population they served, and as direct practical ways to deal with the disjuncture between the police and the people. It was evident that these issues were critical for dealing with the overwhelming task at hand. The call upon professionals from all backgrounds locally and abroad revealed that no one was certain as to the best course of action for overhauling the police system. The most critical part was an overhaul of the rules, regulations and legislation for the police structures. Equally important was finding ways for the police to employ these new rules and regulations in their everyday policing practices.

Shaw (2002) offers an illuminating discussion of the complexities of police transformation in South Africa. He describes transformation in policing and the police in the post-apartheid South Africa being done 'under fire', because there was a sense of urgency to bring in changes in the early 1990s. Democratising the police involved designing formal rules and regulations derived from the principles in the constitution, developing various strategy papers and a number of policy drafts. The decisions that were made in transforming the police were not only political but economic and social as well. Lue (1994), referring to the challenges and complexities that inundated the process of police transformation, cited the inefficient management system that was apparently exacerbated by the disparities in training and skills. The business

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of the day to day policing could not halt, but changes had to be introduced while police were still taking care of their everyday business.

The post-apartheid character of policing in Shaw's view (2002:145) was a result of political bargaining rather than any sensible review of what policing in the new democracy should be and do. What was clear, however, was that effective and accountable policing lay in legislative reforms, the promotion of accountability and legitimating the police. The new government faced the enormous job of transforming the police into one that would be good enough and work well with the citizens, be effective against crime and not be involved in high levels of abuse of power (Rauch 2000). For this to happen, structures for training, administration and community accountability became core. Demilitarisation and dealing with the authoritarian style of policing meant making operational and symbolic changes. Some of the armoured vehicles that the police used were changed for a less military look. Concerning the uniform, the introduction of the relaxed look of baseball caps and informal jackets was part of changing the police uniform to a non-military image. The rank system was changed from the military style and modelled on the British police system. At that time, a general became a commissioner and a colonel became superintendent. From 2010, however, the National Commissioner of Police announced that the position for the top cop in the country would be that of a General. The return to the older, more forceful, police system was called for because of several reasons. Firstly, the police felt that the criminals had become more hardened, hence, this might point to the need to communicate the seriousness the police were driving towards in the tackling of crime. Therefore, symbolic changes in different transformation stages in the South Africa Police Service reflected the new visions and missions articulated during those different times.

Transitional arrangements were made for the Amalgamation Management Team (AMT). The AMT was tasked with managing and facilitating the process of transformation of the SAPS. The team was comprised of mostly civilian and police lawyers with experience in human rights law. One of the major tasks for the AMT was to bring together eleven police forces into one national police service as required by the new constitution and to create a new vision for the police. The eleven police forces that existed during apartheid had different practices, policies, structures and even uniforms. Issues dealt with during this amalgamation phase encompassed the integration of the budgets of the police and standardising their remuneration. Technology and communication networks for the police were also standardised. Establishing a new corporate identity for the police entailed the introduction of new procedures for labour relations and dealing

with grievances. During that amalgamation phase, interim procedural and logistic strategies were put in place while permanent structures were being drafted. New posts for middle and high level police management were created and adomestic violenceertised both internally and externally. Senior personnel who were not appointed as part of the new management were given the option of taking early retirement (Eloff 2006:47). Provincial Commissioners were appointed by the provincial governments' Executive Councils for Safety and Security.

Change management was a process that happened concurrently with the work of the AMT. The Change Management Team (CMT) worked towards the creation of a 'professional, representative, efficient and effective, impartial, transparent and accountable service which would uphold and protect the fundamental rights of all people and which would carry out its mission in accordance with the needs of the community' (Eloff 2006: 45). The CMT's main roles were firstly to initiate the transformation processes, monitor, evaluate, and where it was needed, to develop new principles and objectives in the transformation process. Secondly, the CMT's role involved creating an enabling environment for change to take place in the police service.

Both the AMT and CMT spearheaded the transformation process and monitored the work of the technical teams which were appointed to deal with the key priority areas with set terms of reference and channels of communication they had to follow to work on their set jobs. The process was centrally managed from the side of the national government. Although consultative and participative, Eloff (2006) commented that the process was mostly internally managed by the SAPS. The Police Management Forum, comprising of the leadership of the police and the new provincial commissioners, facilitated the consultative process.

The main role of the AMT was to merge the eleven forces, creating one police service. The CMT set the framework for the transformation of the police service by setting out the need for transforming police culture, entrenching the philosophy of community policing, promoting the role of civilians in policing, setting the priorities and strategic focus of the service, finding ways for the police to relate to reconstruction and development, and demilitarising the police. Changes were made to the training structure to include community-based policing skills (Eloff 2006).

4.4.2   The Police Service Act 1995 and the basic structure of policing

New political arrangements meant lengthy processes of reform not only for the police but for all arms of government that had previously operated under the dictates of undemocratic principles. The development of a new legal framework for the government was central to the process of reform. One of those processes involved the drafting and passing of the South Africa Police Service Act in 1995. The South African Constitution of 1993 required that a new Police Act be put in place to organise the police. The South African Police Service Act gave specifics in terms of Community Police Forums which became the base from which community policing was launched.

What was emphasised in the South Africa Police Service Act was firstly the partnership of the police and the people to solve crime and related problems; secondly, the need for empowerment to create a sense of joint responsibility and joint capacity for addressing crime; and thirdly, the accountability of the police to the people they served and some form of accountability from the community. There was an underlying assumption of the creation of a reciprocal relationship between the police and the people. Chapter 19 (1) of the Police Service Act directed station commissioners to form Community Policing Forums to be broadly representative of the local community. In the Police Service Act, partnership, cooperation and participation meant:

1. Establishing and maintaining a partnership between the community and the police;
2. Promoting communication between the police and the community;
3. Promoting co-operation between the police and the community in fulfilling the needs of the community regarding policing;
4. Improving and rendering of police services to the community at national, provincial, area and local level;
5. Improving transparency in the police and accountability of the police to the community;
6. Promoting joint problem identification and problem solving by the police and the community.

(South African Government 1995: The Police Service Act, Chapter 7, Section 18 (1))

This study looks at how the police have translated the above core principles as written in policy, in practice and how different levels of state and community representatives interpret or translate these core issues expressed about community policing in policy. It will be shown in Chapter Six how the practicalities

unfolded in particular social orders and the challenges that were associated with this process. The discussion in Chapter Six also shows how different social orders affect the nature of community policing.

In the Police Service Act, structures were put in place aimed towards promoting the accountability of the police, for example an Independent Complaints Directorate to investigate complaints of police misdemeanor and abuse of power. As a measure to promote accountability, the National Commissioner was required to publish his plans and policing priorities. This move was to measure efficiency and effectiveness of implementation of the police's objectives against actual results.

The South African Police Force was changed to the South African Police Service, signifying the service aspect of the police. The name of the ministry responsible for the police was changed from Law and Order to the Ministry of Safety and Security. In every province, the provincial cabinet appointed a minister in the provincial Ministry of Safety and Security. National divisions and provincial demarcations were created in line with the Police Service Act, and geographical boundaries for each province were made. National and Provincial Secretariats for Security were created by the government with the vision of having civilians as part of the political control of the police. This control evaporated in policy and practice over time.

The Ministry of Safety and Security is responsible for policy and legislation development with regard to the South African Police. The ministry is responsible for implementing national policy and legislation, co-ordinating the functions of the department, and preparing the initial legislation and duties which it is mandated to perform by the Constitution or national legislation.

At the national level, the Ministry of Safety and Security provides the budget for policing to all provinces. In the nine provinces Provincial Ministers for Community Safety are Members of the Executive Council (MEC) and are accountable to the Ministry of Safety and Security at the national level. The provincial and station commissioners report to the province's MEC who then reports to the National Commissioner of the police. The work of the ministry from the early phase of transformation was to 'put together a plan to amalgamate, rationalise and transform the police into an institution embodying all the principles of accountability, efficiency, impartiality and transparency' (Lue 1995:22).

Municipal Police services exist in the major cities. They are created and financed by municipalities and their work mostly involves crowd control, crime prevention, and traffic enforcement. Their services and powers relate to the respective municipality. Van Der Spuy's (2006) comment on the existence of the municipal policing service is that many municipalities have acknowledged the difficulties of having a round-the-clock policing service, the expense of running such a service and problems of coordination between the police and the municipal police. Neo-liberal forms of governance have resulted in cut-downs in the financing of various municipal initiatives that have an impact on municipal safety initiatives.

4.4.3   The primary policy documents on crime prevention and management

The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS 1996) and the White paper on Safety and Security (1998) are two key policy documents on crime prevention and crime management in South Africa. Discussion of the NCPS is especially important as it is one of the major policy documents in which community policing was emphasized and a strategy to do so was communicated.

In the 1990s, growing public concern about crime was indicative of the inadequacies in policing structures, lack of community participation in dealing with crime and the ineffectiveness of the changes in policing that were being implemented at that time. The speech by President Nelson Mandela during the opening of parliament in February 1995 placed the issue of taking crime fighting seriously at the core:

> The situation cannot be tolerated in which a country continues to be engulfed by the crime wave which includes murder, crimes against women and children, drug trafficking, armed robbery, fraud and theft. We must take the war to the criminals and no longer allow the situation in which we are mere sitting ducks of those in our society who, for whatever reason, are bent to engage in criminal and anti-social activities. Instructions have therefore gone out to the Minister of Safety and Security, the National Commissioner of the Police Service and the security organs as a whole to take all necessary measures to bring down the levels of crime (Nelson Mandela: Opening of Parliament, February 1995).

The above statement came during a time when the police and policymakers had already been galvanised into action concerning crime. There was a realisation by the police that active and voluntary public support that harnesses civil society involvement was essential in order to deal with crime. The police realised they could not deal with crime alone and therefore needed joint efforts with the communities they served. Jagwanth (1994) argues that the police had to move away from the top-down approach in crime fighting and involve the community. The result would be a partnership that would boost the police's legitimacy and

credibility. There was a realisation that the police had not yet received their legitimacy from the people they served, an issue the police was still struggling with in their daily work in 2010.

An inter-departmental strategy team, composed mainly of civilian officials, put the NCPS together. Government ministers supported the idea and cabinet approved and launched the NCPS in May 1996 (Rauch 2002:11). To some authors the NCPS introduced community policing to South Africa, as it was the first official document of the new democracy that attempted to radically set new parameters for crime prevention policy by creating a comprehensive macro-strategy (Van der Spuy 2002:168). However, as comprehensive as the plan was, there was lack of detail in terms of actual implementation at the local level and recognition of those complexities at the local level.

According to Rauch (2002:15) the NCPS stressed the following major six issues:

1. Crime may not be reduced using only law enforcement and criminal justice responses. This is clear from the international experience of rising crime rates over the past fifty years, despite parallel increases in expenditure on criminal justice.

2. The criminal justice system will not operate effectively unless there is better co-operation between the departments, which constitute the system, and integration of the things they do as part of the system.

3. The government may not deal with crime on its own. The institutions of government, in all three tiers, must work with each other and with civil society to overcome crime. This is one of the key elements of the 'social crime prevention' approach.

4. Crimes are different, and must be 'dis-aggregated' if effective prevention strategies are to be designed and implemented.

5. Prevention efforts need to be focused on victims and potential victims of crime, and not merely on perpetrators, as traditional systems of criminal justice tend to be; and

6. Prevention efforts need to take cognizance of fear of crime, as well as of real crime patterns. The success of the NCPS would be in reducing fear, as well as in reducing crime

With the NCPS, the government stressed proactive crime prevention and moving away from reactive crime prevention and even stressed that,

> [w]e accept that some of the causes of crime are deep-rooted and related to the socio-economic realities of our society. For this reason, a comprehensive strategy must go beyond providing only effective policing. It must also be for mobilisation and participation of civil society in assisting to address crime (Department of Safety and Security 1996:2).

A new paradigm for dealing with crime was communicated through the NCPS. Of importance was the stress on working together and the need for civil society to deal with crime, placing community policing as a central strategy in dealing with crime. Seven priority areas were identified where serious efforts were to be targeted. These areas involved violence against women and children, white-collar crime, organised crime, vehicle theft and hijacking, corruption in the criminal justice system, crimes involving firearms and violence associated with inter-group conflict. The category of violence against women is an issue that Chapter Eight will deal with in detail.

The NCPS was defined as one of the seven pillars of the 1996 National Growth and Development Strategy. Rauch (2002:10-11) referred to this as

> an obvious effort to integrate crime prevention into an over-arching socio-economic development approach … the contextualisation of crime prevention within government's key economic policy made links between crime and economic development which had not been seen before in government policy.

Although the NCPS included detail, it seems the vision that it tried to communicate has not worked as anticipated for both the police and the people. This is especially reflected in the criticism of the form community policing has taken on over time. The NCPS did not deliver such remarkable results as anticipated. In 1998, the White Paper on Safety and Security was brought forth in an attempt to deepen government's policy approach to crime prevention in South Africa and to revise the original NCPS (Rauch 2002:18). The White Paper was approved by the cabinet in September 1998 and was entitled 'In Service of Safety'. This was intended to provide the policy framework for government's provision of safety and security until 2004 (Rauch 2002:18).

The National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS 2004) as a policy document targeted lowering the rates of crime in the period 2004-2010. Emphasis was laid on sector policing, visible policing, fast response to crime and working on specific problem-solving projects in communities. The dissonance between the early emphasis on community policing as expressed in the NCPS and the differences in the White Paper on Safety (1998) and the NCCS (2004) and the later focus on security may be accounted for by the changes in

development policy. As South Africa became integrated into the global economy and new ways of making it investor friendly were adopted, this meant dismantling the socialist Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the adoption the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, focusing on a business-friendly environment. This also meant a change in policy and financial saving in line with the popularised neo-liberal forms of governance that the government adopted. This filtered down to the change towards crime fighting initiatives in the new governance model away from crime control.

Political leadership pitched the language and doctrine of responsible citizenship through communities taking part in their own policing. At the same time, there came a twin problem of rising crime rates, and increased insecurity levels. Presently (2012), the community policing system has increasingly become one of support to the police in the light of global changes towards a stronger neo-liberal governance regime. There is a dissonance with regards to the place of community policing. Whereas on the one hand the language of the state points to greater participation by the people, police policy is aimed more towards a militaristic style of policing in light of criminals who have become even more daring in their criminal acts. The police have had to adopt the 'shoot to kill' policy in operating against these daring criminals. In October 2011, I was astonished as criminals were caught on a cell phone camera, dressed as the police, stealing from a car using rifles. The video clip that was shown on prime time television news justified the commentaries by the police later on about the kind of 'war' they were up against.

4.5   Community policing travels into the South African context

In Chapter Three, I discussed the travelling aspect of community policing in terms of how community policing has come to be used in different countries. In the same chapter, I also briefly introduced how community policing came to be integrated into policing in South Africa. In this section, I discuss the implementation of this model, the domestic and international actors engaged in how ideas about community policing were concretised and how these were written into policies and were also communicated within the police and local communities. Therefore, the following discussion focuses on how the community policing model 'travelled' to South Africa, how it was received, the mechanisms used, the kind of adaptations that were made in the process and the kind of knowledge brokers and mediators at the local, provincial and national level. In this section, I use the notions of the travelling model and translation to interpret the mechanisms, adaptations, knowledge brokers, mediators and financiers of the community policing project at different stages.

Making community policing part of crime prevention and crime management was partly donor-driven. Although the planners and consultants for police reform were aware that South Africa's conditions were different from circumstances in other countries where the community policing model had been used, a move was made to have community policing implemented. The reasoning behind this was that community policing was flexible enough to adapt to the communities' need for service delivery at the time (Brogden and Shearing, 1996). Community policing therefore became a model used in the transition to democracy to assist the police in re-establishing their legitimacy in the new democratic order as I illustrated in the discussion of the National Peace Accord in section 4.3.3. A lot of talk at that time was about making changes in the police that would make the police effective, efficient in delivering their service and being accountable to all citizens in the maintaining of order. Van der Spuy (2006) sums up the people and institutions who participated in introducing community policing in South Africa by referring to political sponsors, cultural entrepreneurs, policy networks and social alliances that played a part in the process.

For a number of reasons, the introduction of community policing was one of the first steps in the restructuring of the police. Funds were immediately available from foreign governments to urgently reform policing as part of development aid. Community oriented policing (COP) was viewed by international development and aid agencies as a panacea for transforming how the police did their work and served the populations they worked in, upholding both the democratic and human rights principles. Therefore,

> [s]hifts in international donor policy from the early 1990s have led to the targeting of 'good governance' as a prerequisite for overall social and political progress. Since sound government without a reliable policing agency is inconceivable, donors have funded numerous projects aimed at improving the capacity of the South African Police to act as a professional, community-linked body, in contrast to its role in apartheid (Van der Spuy 2006:192).

Then, community policing, which had its success stories elsewhere, for example in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and some states in America, provided a starting point for those whose work was to reform the police towards the COP ethos. Community policing therefore became the '*best*' available option for police reform in South Africa. Van der Spuy (2007:8-9) highlights the exchanges between local and foreign scholars debating this reform process, which intensified after the end of South Africa's international isolation. The strategic importance of external scholarship, particularly in the early phase of political reform brought in new ideas about police reform. Brogden and Shearing (1993:93) cite experts from Britain,

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Canada and Holland who offered advice on a variety of police reforms in South Africa after 1994. Denmark and Sweden have also been mentioned by Van der Spuy (2000) as the key players who contributed towards how community policing was drafted into policy and for developing structures for implementation.

Van der Spuy (2007), on the other hand, also emphasizes the role that members of the South African research community came to play in policy debates. Renowned researchers on policing such as Shearing and his team of researchers and other experts played a key role in policy debates and consultations in policy reform. Furthermore, in local communities, for example in the townships, local political representatives acted as mediators for various changes discussed, including changes in policing.[2]

Eloff (2006) describes the way in which the implementation of community policing started from a local level project which was viewed as manageable and able to ride the wave of change and which could then serve as a model of excellence and best practice for other police stations and communities. A Community Policing Pilot Project was introduced in the early 1990s at selected local police stations throughout the country. Belgian Gendarmerie members helped design the pilot project by providing training of facilitators to support implementation at the local level. The first aim of the project was to establish a culture of problem-solving and then implement the broader principles of community policing. A number of international partners played a part in the process. Eloff cites The Police Study Centre in the Netherlands, the Danish Police School and the community policing experts of the Canadian Police. Initial training to establish Community Policing Forums was run through projects that were funded by Belgium and the United Kingdom. One of the significant community policing projects was conducted by the Netherlands, Sweden and Zimbabwe through the training of 1760 new recruits at the Pretoria and Hammanskraal Police colleges, to impart to them the most recent knowledge at that time of community policing (Van der Spuy 2006).

Local non-governmental organisations, for example the Institute for Democracy in Africa (IDASA), the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), and the Community Peace Foundation, had a part in facilitating the workshops with local communities. The non-governmental organisation U Managing Conflict (UMAC), established in 1985, initially concentrated work around conflict resolution processes.

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[2] Concerning issues of partnership, it is apparent from the conversations with community leaders who are part of community policing forums that they play a part in driving issues to deal not only with crime but any issues that require attention in the localities in which they live.

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UMAC played a central role in the establishment of CPFs in the Western Cape initially and later in the Eastern Cape. UMAC has further extended its role in community safety and criminal justice issues. Its more prominent role in so far as community policing was concerned is further illuminated in its leading role in the Community Safety Forums (CSFs) projects which are discussed in Chapter Nine. External management consultants and the South African Organised Business Sector also supported these initiatives.

Running concurrently with the Community Policing Pilot Project was a project to enhance and develop community relations, managerial capacity and service delivery for the hundred neediest police stations. These were later amalgamated into one project, as they were seen to be overlapping. The new project was called the Service Delivery Improvement Programme (SDIP). The major aim of the SDIP was to implement community policing and improve service delivery at all police stations. 'The SDIP focused on service delivery, addressing local policing priorities, community policing, quality service, human resource development, and the optimal utilization of physical resources' (Eloff 2006:52). A common understanding of the concept of community policing was developed in consultation with relevant role-players. Revised policy and guidelines on community policing were later developed and distributed, and public education material was developed and distributed to educate communities on the principles and practical implementation of community policing.

Community policing in South Africa entailed elevating and prioritizing three major issues: firstly, transforming the police and bringing on board community policing meant redirecting the police in providing good quality service to all communities; secondly, the creation and development of police structures that support a managerial style that upholds teamwork, participation and problem-solving; thirdly, stressing the importance of a culture of accountability, transparency and participation. As stressed earlier, community policing presented a broad, long-term prospect for the transformation of policing in terms of accessibility and accountability of the police to the population they served. Policy-makers in South Africa resorted to community policing using the reasoning that the model's flexibility allowed it to adapt to the needs of communities for service delivery (Brogden and Shearing, 1996). The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), also aimed at reintegrating vigilante groups into the new forms of policing without the use of violence. When considering the implementation of community policing, Van der Spuy (2006) points out the political appropriateness of community policing for the ANC as a way of driving police reform and improving relations with the majority of the alienated black majority.

4.5.1 Community Policing Forums (CPFs)

The Department of Community Safety sought to create a system of structured consultation between the police and the people, and one way this has been done is through CPFs. As I finalised this research, there were discussions about initiating broader structures called Community Safety Forums which will be discussed more comprehensively in Chapter Nine. These Community Safety Forums are not intended to be alternatives, but complementary to CPFs by taking on board all stakeholders or organisations, government or non-governmental including business. The point this change is trying to make is to make crime prevention and crime management everyone's business. In this section, the focus is on Community Policing Forums.

CPFs have been referred to as one of the most visible outcomes of putting into place the policy of community policing since their establishment at all police stations in South Africa. The interim constitution of 1993 first gave a legal provision for the establishment of a CPF at every police station. One of the rationales for establishing a CPF at every police station was to facilitate bridging the gap that existed between the police and the community. The functions, perceived successes or failures of CPFs differed in different municipalities and communities. These are some of the issues I discuss in Chapter Six.

Based on the Police Service Act, CPFs were brought in as the first step to get the communities involved in policing themselves. Stipulations in the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996), discussed earlier, explained how the police and communities were going to establish their relationship within the new framework. According to the constitution of the CPFs, membership is open to organisations and institutions of the community within the geographical area of the respective police station. The station commissioner and all members designated by the station commissioner are entailed to be part of the local CPF. The CPF is managed by an elected chairperson who is a civilian. The CPF constitution stresses the right of any member of the public to take part in the activities of the forum. Police performance, effectiveness and efficiency have become major issues within these CPFs. CPFs have become vehicles to raise issues of crime and related problems through interaction between the police, residents and representatives from organisations in the community. Residents have a platform to air their concerns and the police explain their plan of action in the light of the problems for discussion within the CPF.

The SAPS Community Police Forum Toolkit for the provincial government of the Western Cape simplified the aims of the CPFs deriving from Section 18 of the SAPS, Act no 68 (1995). The eleven aims of the CPFs, according to this CPF toolkit are to:

1. Help the police service and local community to work together;
2. Make the police and community partners against crime;
3. Identify and solve problems to do with crime, disorder, fear and poor service by the police;
4. Improve communication and relations between the police and the community;
5. Find ways to make the police service transparent and accountable;
6. Encourage the media to be fair when they tell people about police actions;
7. Promote respect for human rights;
8. Work together with other institutions in the local community;
9. Monitor the police service, including complaints, charges, visits to cells and patrolling;
10. Help different cultural groups to understand each other; and
11. Act in a mature and polite way when working with the police.

CPFs have facilitated the opening up of lines of communication between the police and mostly those people who are active in the CPFs, as I will show in Chapter Six. However, the shortcomings of the CPFs may be traced from the beginning. Van der Spuy (2007) refers to the early years of community policing in South Africa, which entailed the establishment of CPFs without changing the style of local policing at the same time. In the different provinces, the successes and issues around CPFs have varied across time. Problems in improving police-community relations through CPFs are marred by communities' complaints about corruption within the police, poor service delivery and the police not taking their input seriously when it comes to suggestions on how the crime problems they face may be solved. Efforts to strengthen the community policing approach have clearly been hampered by issues such as police brutality, police corruption and the bandit-catching approach supported by official policy: 'shoot to kill'. However, from the transition period, CPFs have played several roles or functions which I outline in the discussion of the CPFs in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch and Groot Drakenstein in Chapter Six. At first, when CPFs were established, the main issue was to improve the relations between the people and the police and improve communication between the police and the communities. The legal framework within which the CPFs worked was later amended to broaden the structures within which they operate. My findings, as I will illustrate in Chapter Six,

show that CPFs still remained restrained in terms of what they were able to do in crime prevention and crime management.

4.6   Police Accountability Structures

The stress on accountability from the period when police reform began implied the establishment of various structures that the police could be accountable to. Referring to those accountability structures, Van der Spuy (2006:31) points out that 'large amounts of international donor aid were directed at improving human rights compliance by police and prosecutors during the early period of democracy'. This entailed the establishment of various agencies for police accountability purposes. One role of the CPFs has been to encourage local level accountability of the police. Commenting on the role of the CPFs that has evolved over time, Eloff (2006) points out that in the early transitional period accountability in the CPFs looked mostly at police misconduct and police transformation. Monitoring of police conduct has over the years turned to looking at police performance and the quality of service that they deliver to the communities they serve. The civilian oversight which community policing was intended to provide was limited from my observations. Civilian oversight of the police through the CPF seems to have been scaled down significantly.

Recent problems within the police involve the issue of corruption and police misconduct. Civil society plays a significant role in exposing police inefficiency, misconduct and corruption. Non-governmental organisations and the media play the role of whistle-blowers and contribute to the discourse on how the police may be more accountable to the people they serve. Investigative journalism is another way a deeper conversation might be initiated where there are concerns with regards to issues such as corruption or inefficiency within the police. The Independent Complaints Directorate is an organisation that provides a platform where people have the opportunity to present their grievances and frustrations concerning the way in which the police do their work.

The Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) of 2000, required all government departments to present detailed plans and, consequently, detailed annual reports, making them public, and specifying their objectives and plans of action. These detailed annual plans and reports have acted as a means of performance measurement and monitoring and evaluating the work that the police were doing to a

considerable extent. This was evident especially when crime statistics were released and analysis from civil society and academics took place in their performance appraisals of police work at local, provincial, and national levels.

The Human Rights Commission was established as a Chapter 9 requirement of the Constitution of South Africa for those who have their rights violated, not only by the police, but by any other institution or individual. The Public Service Commission oversees all government departments to make sure that they comply with policies set for public service and administration issues that encompass salaries and labour relations. The Public Protector receives complaints from members of the public about problems, misconduct and corruption in the state structures. According to Eloff (2006:35) these structures for accountability, in theory at least, are supposed to work together and pass on complaints and deal with them as with the Independent Commission Directorate and the provincial secretariats where a referral system operates, passing on complaints to the relevant body. In practice, the working of these accountability bodies at times was embroiled in controversies in terms of the extent of influence of a variety of interest groups.

4.7   Challenges and realities of policing in South Africa

The realities of policing in South Africa point to huge challenges not only for the police, but for the citizens as well. High crime rates have necessitated an ongoing rigorous debate for approaches that actually improve the fight against crime. These issues are dealt with in more detail in Chapter Nine. Generally, however, the discontent that was experienced in townships, and in rural and semi-rural localities was that the people saw the police mostly engaged in cosmetic crime prevention. This study confirmed that the police still lacked the knowledge or found it hard to adapt to local policing needs, and the result was a mismatched setting of policing priorities. This is an issue I expand on in Chapter Six. Expectations from the populace about policing were huge. The conversations I had revealed that citizens expected the police to play roles that even extended to being social workers. This was an indication that the people had a strong need for support that was not forthcoming from the state. Even though the police training included the principles and aspects of community policing, they were not trained to be social and development workers as residents expected them to deal with their social problems.

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Referring to the decline of social mobilisation, Reddy (2009) pointed out that although at independence the ANC inherited an abundance of popular legitimacy and enviable state capacity, establishing civic order based on ethical principles has proven elusive. The police still encountered serious difficulties in creating and maintaining partnerships with the people. There was a general lack of trust between the police and the people. This disjuncture between the police and the population has been the subject of work by Jonny Steinberg (2009), for example, who has pointed out that the police in South Africa have not yet received the people's permission to police them.

Endemic corruption and misconduct in the police are problematic issues that drive people's mistrust. The other side of the coin, however, was that the police worked in difficult circumstances. Illuminating the difficult conditions the police worked in, Bentley and Connor (2010:10) mention the following:

> [t]he life of the policeman is not easy, he or she works long hours, faces constant danger, and in return receives scant reward, be it financial, material, or by way of acknowledgement or acclaim. This contributes to high levels of suicides. In addition, because they work constantly within the close proximity of criminals, police are frequent targets for bribery and corruption.

Police inefficiency, corruption and misconduct, however, must not be seen in isolation from the practical and technical problems of logistics, resources and institutional contradictions inhibiting change. Faull (2008:19) refers to Marks's (2002:iii) three year ethnographic study of the police in Durban which found that in terms of changes within the organisational culture of the police, 'mechanical change' was easily achieved whereas basic assumptions held by members about their work were more difficult to change. In the unit where she conducted research, she found that the unit 'continued to be plagued by deep racial and gender divisions' (2002: iv). Faull (2008:19) refers to his findings in 2004 based on a hundred-hour ethnography in suburban Cape Town showing that

> intersections of race and language and the manner in which they are understood and worked with by members of the service, continue to lend themselves to the continued white/Afrikaans hegemony within the organisation, creating a space in which African members struggle to adapt.

Lue (1995:4), in a reflection on the transformation processes in the early years of democracy pinpointed inefficient management systems, disparities in training and skills, managing the day to day business of police work and the spiralling crime as problems which still exist. The report to parliament in October 2010 revealed that only one in four of police detectives were adequately trained to do their jobs. This came after the complaint that of the cases reported and investigated only 25 percent resulted in successful arrest and

prosecution. Bheki Cele (then National Commissioner) announced that the police were failing to attract the right kind of people with the necessary skills, not only in the detective services but at other levels as well. This inherently affected the way in which the Police service worked. According to the figures of 1998, the detective service had about 24 000 members, allocated within the various specialised units and police stations. These detectives required specialised training. However, from the evidence from the cases successfully investigated and prosecuted, some criminals went unpunished when a conviction was not made because of lacking or incomplete evidence. Successful conviction relied on investigating and accumulating sufficient evidence for the prosecution.

4.7.1   New forms of vigilantism in the democratic South Africa

In section 4.3.1, I discussed forms and patterns of vigilantism in apartheid South Africa. This section presents vigilantism in the democratic South Africa. Informal actors from different networks with a variety of interests participated in safety and security issues. The dynamics of these interests in community policing and vigilante activities are some of the issues that I bring out in the following chapters. The point I make here is that vigilante groups have changed and from the issues I encountered, vigilante groups targeted mostly suspected criminal elements. This showed frustration with the justice department's inability to deal with crime. Their most visible activities are usually 'spur-of-the-moment' or *ad hoc* justice. Another point that the police themselves raised was that the deep mistrust of the state and non-state security providers fueled vigilantism in a democratic South Africa.

I once asked for an explanation from one interviewee in Kayamandi why a person would be beaten, if caught or was suspected of being a criminal. The heavily built man answered me candidly:

> You know the issue is settled and the pain that person has caused me losing my property is finished. If I ask you, how do you stand to see a man who abuses a child and you know he did it? You give him punishment he will understand, and you give him pain and threats that when he thinks about those thorough beatings, if he survives, he will be discouraged

from doing it again maybe. If someone is a criminal, they know the risks involved, if you are caught you may be beaten and die.

Reddy (2010) is correct to point out that the poor have continued to participate in forms of social mobilisation that the state was unable to control. Some of these forms of social mobilisation were vigilante activities targeted toward suspected or known offenders. Many times, I witnessed the frustrations people had with the police and justice system that they viewed as failing to protect them, serve them and deal with crime in their areas. There is danger in merely criminalising the township and poor rural people when discussions on vigilantism unfold. Open use of violence was used to deal not only with crime but to show the discontent people have with the democratic institutions that were supposed to serve them. Explaining these dynamics, Reddy (2009:2) argues that increased mobilisation of disgruntled citizens leads them to rely on a course of violence rather than the articulation of grievances through political structures.

From another angle, Minnaar (2001) writes on what he terms the new vigilantism and expression of lawlessness in South Africa. He asks the question whether this vigilantism was new or whether it was a continuation of old forms of vigilantism under the guise of community policing. He is right to point out that current vigilantism remains complex in structure, motivation and nature. Vigilante groups represented one layer of the multi-layered security sector. Baker and Scheye (2007) point out that the non-state security actors were perceived to be purveyors of injustice and insecurity yet little empirical effort has been made to distinguish between the non-state actors in security. With regard to non-state actors, the state had to share authority, legitimacy, and capacity with various non-state actors. According to Buur and Jensen (2004), vigilante group activities involve state-like performances towards security enforcement to the extent that there was a renegotiation of the boundaries of the state and society. The blurred boundaries that were often formed made it difficult to distinguish what was the state and what was not. Buur and Jensen (2004) say that authority is not the monopoly of particular institutions in the provision of security but that it should be viewed as practices performed by various groups which employed several different strategies.

Simpson (1998) is correct to point out the social and psychological insecurity generated both by real levels of crime and by public hysteria associated with media presentations of it that contributed to feelings of fear and helplessness. This in turn encouraged a resort to armed 'self-defence', resulting in spiraling violence which may be in the form of vigilante violence fuelled by the fear of crime and insecurity.

According to Burr and Jensen (2009:138) 'vigilante organisations in their different forms challenge the rule of law and the state's monopoly over legitimate force and often infringe on citizen's rights'. These authors are, however, quick to point out that vigilantism no doubt should not be defined merely as mob violence but as an expression of local everyday policing. I concur with this view of vigilantism as an expression of everyday policing and I attempt to understand the base and source of vigilante violence in my own analysis of occurrences of vigilante violence, especially in Kayamandi.

In some sense, community policing was a neutral term that was introduced in the 1990s to bring on board some of these vigilante groups or self-governance units and create orderly partnerships in dealing with crime. However, here is where the paradoxes come in. There is no clear line that may be drawn when you talk about vigilantism and community policing. To explore these paradoxes, Buur and Jensen (2004) put forward the relationship of vigilantism and official forces of the law. One of the paradoxes is that amidst the violence, vigilantism has been known to create some kind of moral order. However, I should add that whatever kind of moral order vigilante violence may be said to create, it was a very delicate and often repressive one.

The argument I make is that with the introduction of community policing in South Africa, mob justice or vigilantism was still a reality. It may seem that those who participated got a quick fix in terms of getting justice done. However, the process was usually quick, brutal, and violent and might result in more violence as those who were attacked might retaliate later. Although in these instances criminals were caught and dealt with, wrongly accused people could be harmed or even beaten to death before the case had been heard.

Vigilante activity was accompanied by a moral code of silence which communities practiced after an event of mob violence took place in dealing with a criminal. The reasoning was that although the action may have involved some form of brutality, it was a right to do so as this was a form of defence for the community or the aggrieved individuals involved. In Kayamandi I listened to stories from people who knew the persons that had stabbed a certain accused individual or that had participated in beating someone who was caught stealing or breaking into someone's house.

Buur and Jensen (2004:139) rightly pointed out that law enforcement agencies in South Africa do not have the option of ignoring the phenomenon. What these agencies did was to respond in ambiguous ways to vigilantism, ranging from outright condemnation, being at war with them, or being tolerant of a number of local crime fighting initiatives in the townships and the rural areas. Buur and Jensen (2004) are quick to point out the state's response to the violence in vigilantism and the threat it poses to human rights, which are integral to any policing. At the same time, they highlight that 'vigilantism addresses issues of security and moral order that are pertinent to people living on the margin of the formal state apparatus' (Buur and Jensen 2004:139). The claims that vigilante activities protected some communities from criminality should not overshadow the unjust way in which justice was determined and served through mob justice, kangaroo courts, retaliatory and reactive responses, or the once-off street gatherings that were convened to expel or deal with criminals. However, as Buur and Jensen (2004) note, vigilantism was often accepted at the local level as it addressed security issues of people living beyond the reach of the state apparatus. I note that re-emerging forms of the 'new vigilantism' reflect the insecurity people felt due to the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system to deal with crime. It was an expression of frustration about crime but also an expression of dissatisfaction with many other services that government delivered poorly. It was an expression of disappointment, despair, and anger, of wanting an immediate solution and expressing a wish for security and protection of one's rights. Illuminating this issue, Schärf and Nina (2001) are correct to point out that vigilantism in its benevolent form was stimulated by the state's incapacity to police and secure citizens' rights. Vigilantism shows the contradictory position of democratic policing in South Africa. The violence that is used in vigilantism infringes citizens' rights and at times wrongly-accused people may be hurt or even killed in spontaneous violence.

Nina (2001) in fact points out that the re-emergence of vigilantism in South Africa was a result of the perception that the state was doing nothing to guarantee the safety of the community and that the state was a limited player in the provision of security and crime prevention. The point she makes here, which I concur with, is that when communities' demands for security were perceived as being ignored, the result was vigilantism in the form of organised movements, or *ad hoc* groups that formed with the aim of providing security for their communities. The more organised vigilante organisations went openly about their business, for example the controversial People against Gangsters and Drugs (PAGAD) group in the Western Cape that emerged out of a need to deal with drug lords and crime. PAGAD rose to prominence in the Cape Flats at first as crime fighters where the police had failed to deal with the crime and drug

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problems and thus failed to assert their legitimacy and the rule of the law in the Cape Flats. It is evident that when looking at the history of vigilante groups, at different points their target was what they termed enemies or threats. It may be the threat of drug dealers, or suspected or known criminals.

4.8   Conclusion

This chapter has presented an analysis of the history of policing in South Africa. The first part of the chapter discussed the nature of policing in colonial Africa and then looked at policing during apartheid in South Africa. The discussion throughout the chapter leaned on the legislative and policy reform of the police from apartheid to the issues that were unfolding during the research process. The textures of change in policing were framed, interpreted and analysed within the travelling models concept, the notion of translation, democratisation and neo-liberal forms of governance. The NPA and the NCPS were specifically discussed because of their relevance in communicating community policing in policy documents. The issues discussed in this chapter pointed to the ways in which change from oppressive policing to democratic policing emerged. I concentrated on the integration of community policing ideals in policy and how the role-players were involved in that process. The notion of a travelling model and translation were useful in pointing to the knowledge brokers and mediators of ideas in the change management process and how those changes were translated into practice.

One key facet has been analysing the role of the different knowledge brokers and mediators who played different roles in how community policing was written into policy and translated, interpreted and institutionalised at the local level. The issues of how community policing has been institutionalised at the local level will be discussed in Chapter Six on policing partnerships in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. The challenges of policing in South Africa and the structures that have been put in place to promote police accountability were presented given that the issues that were addressed by community policing targeted at the accountability of the police and partnership with the communities they served. The paradox of vigilantism was introduced in preparation of the discussion in the following chapters. This chapter painted a broad picture of the issues in policing in general and then concentrated on community policing and the relevant policy issues in this regard. In Chapter Five, I discuss the local conditions in the three localities as these give an understanding of the context within which all kinds of crime occur and give a background to the local community policing initiatives in these localities.

I concur with Brogden (2002) that while political and economic circumstances change and the imperatives and models of policing vary, the processes of police export and import continue within these new processes. Some of these processes are globalisation and neo-liberal forms of governance. I will first discuss how the democratic process in South Africa had an influence on the imperatives and models of policing.

Chapter Five

STELLENBOSCH, ITS PEOPLE AND CRIME IN DIE BOORD, KAYAMANDI AND KYLEMORE

5.1 Introduction

The study shows community policing as a travelling model that has been used in different countries and has taken on diverse forms in different local conditions. Hence, local conditions inform a variety of responses to crime. In light of this key point the claim I make in this chapter is that the nature and incidences of crime in Stellenbosch need to be understood in terms of the socio-economic conditions and experiences with crime in the three localities studied, Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. These local conditions revolve around economic disparities, class and race. Stellenbosch presents a place where the contradictions and complexities of South Africa in terms of economic disparities, class and race are evident.

Therefore, the discussion in this chapter centres on the conditions in the place of study. In the process, I reflect on the realities and perceptions of crime in the three places and also how they relate to general perceptions of crime in the province and nationally. Through the narratives, I also reveal the fear of crime and how it was talked about in everyday language. These issues have an effect on how people form their perceptions about community policing and other crime-fighting initiatives that extend beyond community policing.

The comparative aspect with reference to the three places illuminates the differences and similarities of incidences of crime and perceptions of community policing. In addition, the chapter also includes a comparative dimension of the histories of the three areas in relation to the issue of crime and the socio-economic conditions in the area. Interpreting and analysing the crime situation in the three places entailed a look at police statistics, what emerged from interviews, observations, and issues around crime that came up in local papers and in the reports of the provincial government and the police. Spelling out the above issues is core to the argument in the following chapters, since these local conditions are the basis on which community policing issues evolve in specific instances. Understanding the local conditions provides a

framework for interpreting the process of the translation of community policing as a travelling model in specific instances.

5.2   The historical pattern of class differentiation in Stellenbosch

Stellenbosch was founded by the Cape Governor Simon van der Stel in 1679. When Simon van der Stel arrived in the Cape, it was a military and administrative outpost of the Dutch East India Company. The Cape supplied ships of the company with fresh produce. Van der Stel's wish was to make the Cape self - sufficient. He sought to use the knowledge of farming and wine-making he had acquired from Holland. After exploring and identifying the valley on the banks of the Eerste River, he encouraged people to settle and develop the land and venture into agriculture. In the following year, some families moved in, establishing some of the now well-known farms such as Mostertdrift, Coetzenburg, Welgevallen, Doornbosch, Libertas, Welmoed and Vredenburg. The first town-planning scheme was established with the growth of the village that showed signs of orderly development. In 1840, the first municipal council of Stellenbosch was established (Smuts 1979:64). Old photographs show the charm of the old town. Stellenbosch has come a long way from the muddy streets and horse drawn carts of the 18th century. Stellenbosch grew as a rural centre whereas Cape Town developed into an administrative and business centre.

The history of Stellenbosch shows a historical pattern of class differentiation that is also evident in the rest of the country. If one traces the history of Stellenbosch from the 17th century, issues of class are evident with black and Khoi workers who were regarded as an underclass (many as slaves) serving white farmers. The economic activity in the town has always centred predominantly on agriculture. Elaborate and distinctive class structures were formed early on and these eventually culminated in apartheid. In the democratic South Africa, class and economic differences impact on the perceptions and debates not only about crime but issues of development as well. The conditions of deprivation, lack of infrastructure and unemployment exist side by side with an elite culture and a huge gap between the rich and the poor. Segregation through class now still exists together with the rainbow nation narrative where the expectation about equal opportunity, social justice and taking care of one another is alluded to as part of the rainbow nation narrative. The discussion of the physical, economic and social spaces of Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore reveal these paradoxes of the rainbow nation.

Stellenbosch was initially an agricultural settlement and has developed through the centuries to become a wine and university town and tourist destination. Yet, how Stellenbosch is marketed as one of the ultimate wine towns to visit or a tourist destination contrasts sharply with the poverty in the townships and the characteristics of the semi-rural communities around it. Dual economies and social divisions, especially in the townships and peri-urban areas of the Western Cape, are a reflection of how the impact of separate development is still evident. According to her writings on Cape Town, Besteman (2011) highlights the ongoing residential segregation and economic barriers are some of the legacies of apartheid that are still evident today. Wealthy and middle class whites live in suburbs bordered by a township and neighbourhoods of mainly working class black and coloured[3] population. Stellenbosch as a small rural town is also a polarised area with unemployment, seasonal employment and social deprivation nestled in close proximity to pockets of affluence reflected in the expensive property in the suburbs and on the farms. Security zones for the rich, for example, the housing estates with 24-hour security are characteristic of Kleine Zalze Estate, a few minutes up the road from Die Boord suburb, or Welgevonden Estate on the opposite side of town which earn their price tag from being marketed as places of safety. Such processes of fortification and marketing housing in such areas as places of safety where you may sleep without worrying about crime come with an exclusion factor and a high price tag for property, both for rental or for purchase.

The ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa has links with the historical differentiation by race. This may be observed in Stellenbosch. Besteman (2011) noted in her fieldwork in Cape Town that there is a sense in which the discourse of *'politeness'* prevails when people do not talk openly about racism. I encountered a considerable number people of who expressed racist views linked to the perceptions they had about crime and community policing. In an interview with a resident in Die Boord in 2007, reflecting on the racial relations in Stellenbosch, the place he calls home, he said,

> [A] few years ago I was part of the home owners association. Some of the home owners wanted to gate off parts of the neighbourhood for security reasons. I believe it is snobbish and that people want to claim a certain identity. There are partly racial reasons. Some people do not want people knocking on their doors asking for handouts. They do not want to be

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[3] 'Black, coloured and white' are population categories that derive from the time of segregation and apartheid. These terms are still in use in South Africa today to designate population categories with a view to affirmative action (or in census population data for example). These terms have a social existence in the continued segregated suburbs. I use these terms not in refer to natural entities but in so far as they are used as social constructions in a highly racialised society.

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disturbed by the disadvantaged or poor. In South Africa, we have replaced racial apartheid with economic apartheid.

He went on to stress the issues that I came to notice and experience in Stellenbosch; 'there is the separation of them and us, it is like two different towns in one,' he said, referring to the middle and upper class who were mostly white and the people who went around the suburbs looking for work and handouts or those who lived in the areas at the peripheries of the town who are black and coloured. On the other hand, I also found out that many people I engaged with, had an intriguing sense of vision in terms of the non-racial *'ideal'* that could be the result of the radical transformation of racial relations.

5.2.1   Stellenbosch: Preservation of an elite Identity

There is a particular elite culture that is characteristic of Stellenbosch which is not found in other rural towns in South Africa. This shows the high level of class differentiation and a cultivation of middle and upper class lifestyles. Very notable is how heritage plays a prominent role in the identity of the elite in Stellenbosch. Dorp Street Theatre, the Ender Hall, the H.B. Thom Theatre, Oude Libertas Amhitheatre and the Breughel Theatre are the platforms where art and music and the preservation of Stellenbosch history are showcased. Several museums also showcase the work of several artists and preserved items that reflect the history of the winelands and the larger Western Cape.

Old colonial architecture with its very own pronounced Cape-Dutch style has been preserved in the town centre. The old is being integrated with the new. Old buildings are carefully preserved, restoring the old charm, while making them functional in the present day. The tourism office uses this to market Stellenbosch as a place where one may explore and appreciate the historical architecture, wine farms and just relax. Historical architecture in Stellenbosch has found local admirers and also international tourists who visit the Cape Winelands throughout the year. Stellenbosch has also not lost its country atmosphere. Guest facilities exist on farms where the visitor may spend time in the vineyards and mountains and enjoy activities such as wine-tasting, horse-riding, walking, biking, swimming and picnics in a tranquil environment.

5.2.2   The role of the university in the social structure of the town

Standing on high ground on the side of a mountain to the north of the University, one may clearly see the red roofs of Stellenbosch University buildings in the town centre. The beautiful view I had during my first month in Stellenbosch from a high point on Stellenbosch Mountain is the same picture that is sometimes displayed on the home page of the University website. Explaining how Stellenbosch University was formed, Hanekom (1979:315) refers to 1 November 1859, which became a day of importance for the small village Stellenbosch was then. The Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church opened its doors for the first time. This paved the way for Stellenbosch on the path of becoming a university town although this was not yet known at that time.

The earliest roots of the University may be traced back to the 17th century when a beginning was made with regular school instruction. In 1881, the Arts Department of the Stellenbosch Seminary became Stellenbosch College. Stellenbosch University was established in 1918 to provide higher education in Afrikaans. During that year, Stellenbosch University opened its doors for some 500 students and 39 lecturers (Smuts 1979). It was the base for Afrikaner elite higher education and strong support for the policy of apartheid was provided from its midst. The Afrikaans character of the university remains a controversial issue.

The university had humble beginnings, but its founders had a vision to expand it. The university has since grown into the internationally recognised institution of excellence it is today with more than 24 000 students, 800 lecturers and some 50 research and service bodies. Those who currently work at the university have visions of expansion to meet the needs of the students, the communities around the university and of keeping the university on the international map as an excellent education institution geared to educate, conduct research and be involved in development. The high number of the students living in the town attending Stellenbosch University and surrounding colleges contrasts with some of the youth in the surrounding neighbourhoods who have fairly low levels of educational achievement.

The university is an integral part of the town's history and atmosphere. Stellenbosch is called a university town in part because the university makes up a big part of this small town. During the university holidays, there is much less activity in the town centre but when classes resume the streets come alive again. The night life is vibrant even during the week and of course during the weekends, as students socialise and

drink. Well after midnight on most days, students walk and drive through the streets to their residences in and around town. The police on numerous occasions have raised concerns with campus security and complained about the students' drinking behaviour and the lack of care for their belongings when they are drunk. They sometimes are targets of muggers and they also often cause problems in and around town. Some bar owners have been in trouble with the police because of staying open well after the legislated closing time. These are issues that often come up often in CPF meetings when discussions on crime in the town centre arise. Such issues are characteristic of many university towns.

Besides Stellenbosch University and Boland College providing career-training, there are well-known elite schools such as Paul Roos Gimnasium, Stellenbosch High School, Bloemhof High School, Rhenish Girls High, Eikestad Primary School, Rhenish Primary School and Stellenbosch Primary School. Some of these schools have been well-known for generations. The business community is strongly represented in Stellenbosch with the headquarters of prominent business enterprises such as Rembrandt, British American Tobacco (BAT) and Distell located there.

5.3   Persistent Inequalities in South Africa

Carrying forward the issue of the persistent inequalities that I introduced earlier in section 5.2, South Africa is still strongly stratified along class and race lines. The statistics by the report compiled by Leibbrandt et al (2010) titled *Trends in South African income distribution and poverty since the fall of apartheid* show the pervasive inequalities in South Africa. They cite statistics of 2008 when the average income of the richest 10% of households was nearly 40 times greater than the average income of the poorest 50%. Worse still, the average income of the richest 10% of households was nearly 150 times greater than that of households in the poorest 10 per cent (Leibbrandt et al 2010). These inequalities broadly coincide with racial divisions although there now is a growing black middle class and elite. Of importance however is what Seekings and Nattrass (2006:17) highlighted in their book, *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa*, that

> undoing the legacy of the past entails far more than addressing racial imbalances. It requires a fundamental reorientation of the growth strategy and of the role of the state in shaping distribution.

The persistent inequalities in South Africa often come up for discussion at all kinds of forums. One such significant forum of research practitioners from various fields was at the centre of the roundtable discussion at the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) in August 2010. The worrying extent of poverty was

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discussed with heated debates and varying recommendations. There are surely difficult choices South Africa needs to make in the short, medium and long term concerning inequality. Some of the participants at the roundtable discussion at the CDE in August 2010 highlighted the need for addressing those inequalities first, if higher levels of economic growth were to be achieved. Others asserted that focus on the poor was a priority if one takes into consideration that those high levels of unemployment result in political instability and also social conflict in the long term.

5.3.1 Demographic Profile of Stellenbosch: Making sense of the persistent inequalities

Essential statistics from the period 2006-2010 of economic characteristics, education, income patterns and education levels contribute substantively to the argument that I have made about persistent inequalities and class differentiation in relation to crime and its perception. The Stellenbosch Municipality commissioned a study to update important data for the Integrated Development Plan and interpret recent trends in the demographic structure of the population. The research was done by a team of researchers and compiled in a report (Zietsman 2007), titled *Recent Changes in the population structure of the Stellenbosch Municipality*. The starting point for that study was a look at the last census, using the demographics from the 2001 census and including changes that have taken place in the population in Stellenbosch since then. Table 1 below shows the Stellenbosch municipality population growth from 1970 to 2001.

Table 1: Census data: Total population of Stellenbosch Municipality: 1970-2001

Population Group	1970	1980	1991	1996	2001
Black	293	6140	14754	17514	24145
Coloured	43170	48180	73096	65967	67528
Asian	65	40	184	299	235
White	19629	23900	34081	28655	25797
Total	63157	78260	122115	112434	117705

Zietsman (2007:10)

Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za

Table 1 shows that according to the 2001 census, the coloured population was in the majority making up 55% of the population but the composition has changed over the years. Zietsman (2007) rightly pointed out that the different population groups have different growth rates in Stellenbosch. On average, the population of Stellenbosch has been growing by 2% per annum but due to large in-migrations from the black population, their growth rate is much higher, estimated to be around 9.3%. If we take these percentages in mind, it means the population of Stellenbosch has grown from approximately 118 000 in 2001, to about 135 000 in 2006 - an increase of 18 000 people of which the black population is represented by 43% of that increase. The following table shows the estimated population growth rate of Stellenbosch in 2006.

Table 2: Growth rates and estimated population of Stellenbosch Municipality: 2006

Population Group	Geometric Rate %Annual Growth rate	Estimated Data 2006		
		Linear	Geometric	Average
Black	9.3	26285	37665	31975
Coloured	1.4	76595	72396	74496
Asian	2.1	306	261	283
White	0.7	31534	26707	29121
Total	2.0	134720	137028	135874

Zietsman (2007:10)

The above table shows that the black population's annual growth rate of 9.3% is higher than that of the other population categories, with the coloured population having a 1.4% growth rate, the Asian population 2.1% and the white population annual growth rate being 0.7%.

5.3.2   Earning potential and income patterns

The earning potential, employment status, income patterns and education level figures indicate class differences and economic disparities in Stellenbosch which may also be observed and analysed elsewhere in South Africa. Table 3 shows employment status categorised under racial categories. The data shows that of the total population in Stellenbosch, unemployment levels are higher amongst the coloured and black population with 12.3% and 22.3% respectively. Unemployment for the white population is a very low 1.2%.

Table 3: Employment status under racial categories: 2007

Population Group	Employed	Unemployed	Not Economically Active
Coloured	66.4	12.4	21.2
White	56.8	1.2	41.9
Asian	54.8	12.1	33.1
Black	54.2	22.3	23.5
Total	61.2	13.3	25.5

Stellenbosch Municipality Integrated Development Plan (2010:6)

With regards to education levels, Table 4 shows a strikingly high percentage of the white population with higher education qualifications. On the other hand, the percentage of black and coloured population with tertiary education is significantly lower. However, the percentage of coloured and black population in primary and secondary schools is considerably higher. The low quality of education for the poor results in 'limiting the ability of poor children to transcend their parents' class positions' (Seekings and Natrass 2006:379).

Table 4: Estimated people by education levels Stellenbosch Municipality: 2006 educational levels

Population Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Grade 12	Higher
African	5.7	35.1	33.1	18.4	0.9
Coloured	4.8	36.5	32.0	20.3	0.9
Asian	3.6	17.3	10.8	41.5	22.0
White	1.1	9.4	10.1	46.8	31.9
Total	4.2	30.3	27.5	25.6	7.6

Zietsman (2007:28)

From the statistics on the income patterns in Stellenbosch I found the per capita income figures used by the Stellenbosch municipality Integrated Development Plans not sufficient. The per capita income measurement does not reveal the actual income distribution and the skewed patterns of earning power. This is because they mask the inequalities and are misleading in terms of estimating the income levels of people. Per capita income is calculated as the total income for the areas divided by the population to get the average earning. The income levels are highly skewed in South Africa generally and more so in Stellenbosch. It is for this reason that I used the employment data and the education levels together with people's narratives to explain the socio-economic characteristics of Stellenbosch.

5.4   Die Boord
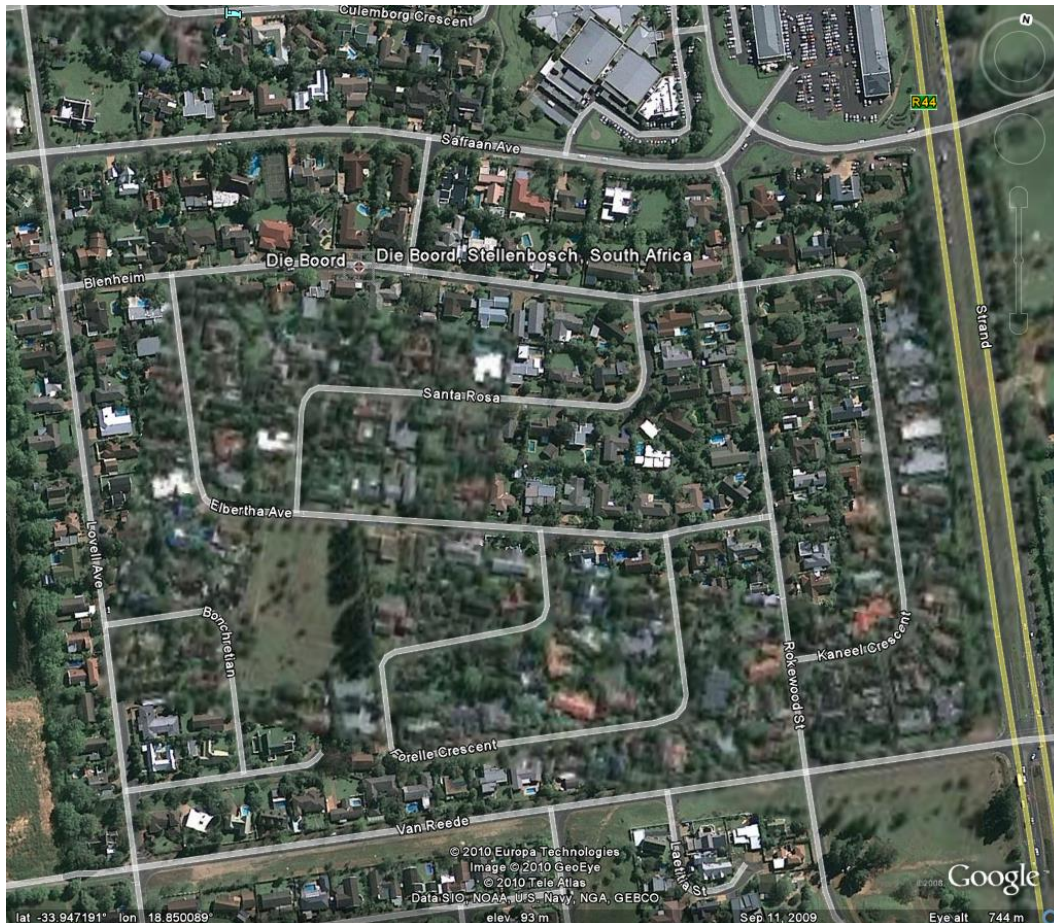
Figure 2: Aerial photograph of Die Boord: adapted from Google maps: 2010

Die Boord is a suburb just a few minutes' drive south from the town centre. Die Boord was once part of a fruit farm. The houses at the hilly part of Die Boord were developed first in about 1980. Over time, more houses were built in Die Boord. Its proximity to the town centre, schools, the private medical centre and a shopping complex makes it a convenient suburb in which to live. The Eerste River forms the northern border of the neighbourhood. There are only two entrances to the surburb for safety and keeping the traffic low.

Die Boord residents are upper middle class while suburbs like Mosterddrift cater for the upper class. Life style estates such as Kleine Zalze cater for the upper middle and upper class. Properties in these areas are priced from R1 500 000 and may go as high as R10 000 000 (Seef Properties Catalogue July 2010). Those who have retired have the option of upmarket retirement homes in the area. The property market in

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Stellenbosch also targets outside investors. Exclusivity is the way in which property is marketed with one's earning capability being a determinant in terms of where you may live.

According to a research report compiled by Erasmus, Mans and Jacobs (2006:5), the population of Die Boord was approximately 2250. The police sector manager for Die Boord in 2012 estimated the population of his sector to be around 2400. The residents in Die Boord were mostly white. Many residents were Afrikaans-speaking. However, there were some English-speakers and non-South Africans mostly from Europe who had settled in Die Boord, some of whom visited seasonally. Most homes were owned by the occupants and there were mostly families who resided in these homes. The homes had on average between three and five bedrooms with good spaces for well-manicured gardens and entertainment areas that were taken care of by mostly black and coloured garderners employed by the residents. Early in the morning during the week, domestic workers and gardeners were dropped off by taxis near the shopping centre and walked to their places of work. Some domestic workers were picked up from the nearby train station by their employers.

The suburb provided a variety of accommodation: from family houses, a few apartment complexes, and smaller refurbished houses. Some owners provided student accommodation in flats or rooms on their properties. The few apartment complexes with access-controlled entrances in Die Boord were favoured by young professionals and students. There were a few guest houses of high standard run by some of the residents.

Besides some of the surrounding suburbs and the flats around the town centre, Die Boord was also a favourite place to live for some of the university staff, students and elderly people. Most of the in-depth interviews I had with residents of Die Boord were with elderly residents.

Many of the residents took the issue of their security very seriously. The houses had alarms, burglar bars, dogs and some had even high walls. Many houses had stickers on their windows from the security company that provided them with their alarm sytem, also as a sign to deter burglars. In many interviews I had with residents, they told me in detail about their neighbours even in instances where they indicated they did not interact much with them. Gossip was a way of sharing information of what was going on in the neighbourhood from those who observed their streets and neighbours through their curtains and blinds.

Social control over young people was exercised through strong family relationships, educational programmes and financial dependence, which was especially visible in terms of how the youth were not found hanging around street corners as was the case in Kayamandi and Kylemore. The young people in Die Boord spent their time at activities at school and their homes. The quietness in the streets could almost deceive one into thinking there was no-one at home during the day. On summer weekends, the voices in the backyards and splashes from the houses with swimming pools gave one an indication that the occupants were at home relaxing or entertaining friends and relatives.

5.5   Kayamandi

One of my first impressions of Kayamandi was provided by an interview with one of the councillors in Kayamandi in April 2007. He told me that 'most of the people in Kayamandi come from somewhere else. If put it in percentages, about 40% of the people here are originally from Kayamandi'. This reminded me of how Davis (2008) had referred to Kayamandi as a 'half way house'. This is because Kayamandi becomes an initial home for most people that come looking for employment from the Eastern Cape. Many migrants from other African countries have over the years come to settle in many townships across South Africa, including in Kayamandi.
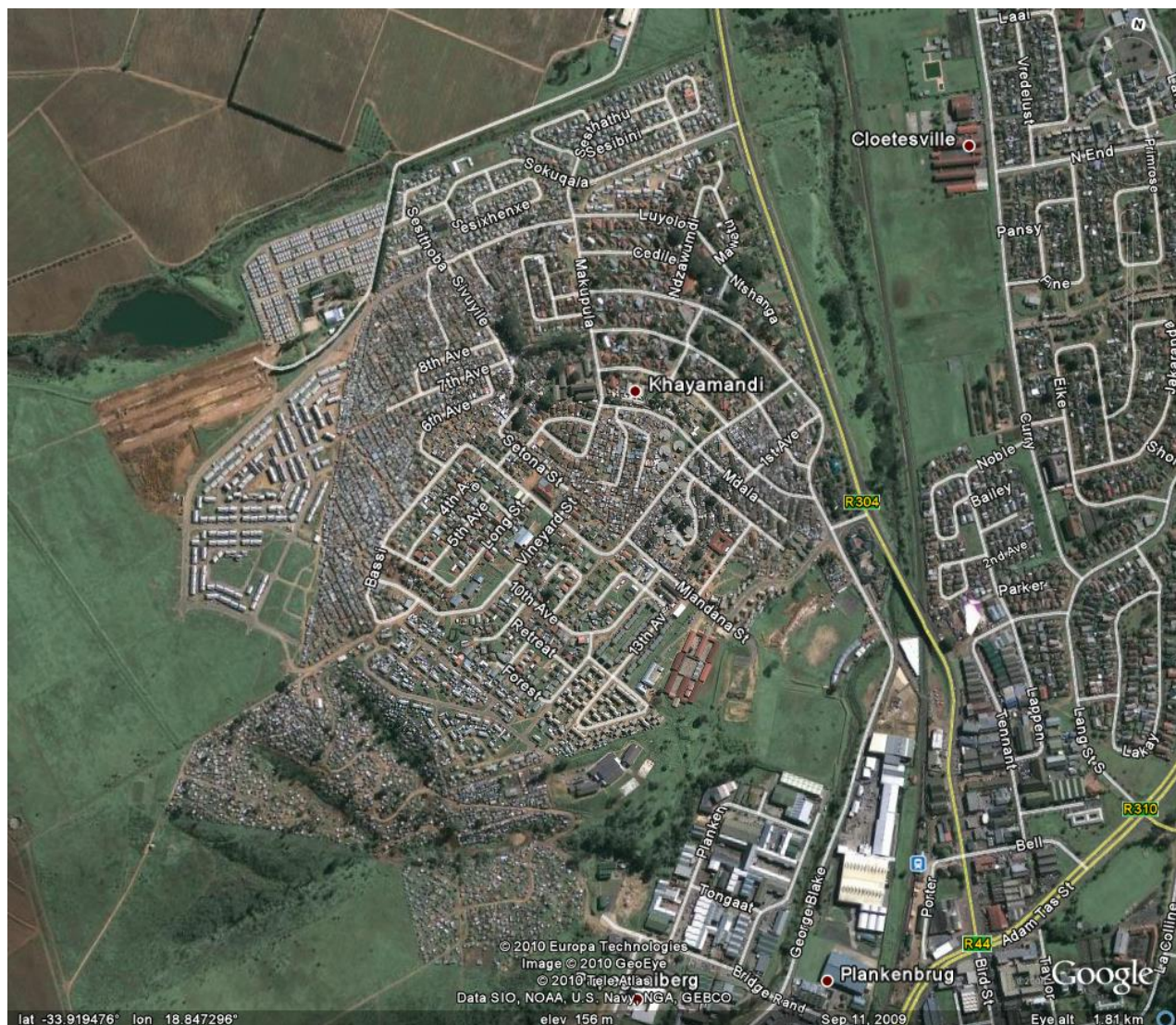
Figure 3: Aerial photograph of Kayamandi: adapted from Google maps: 2009

Kayamandi is situated to the north of the Stellenbosch town centre; about ten minutes drive from the town centre. The word Kayamandi in isiXhosa means 'pleasant home'. '*Kaya*' means home and '*mandi'* is derived from '*umnandi*', which means sweet. In 2008, during an interview with one of the volunteer organisers for Prochorus, a non-governmental organisation that runs several projects in Kayamandi, he referred to the irony of the name Kayamandi or 'sweet home' when the largest percentage of the residents live in inadequate housing or shacks. A family of four or even more may share a small two-roomed shack. In winter, most of these housing structures are damp and at times get flooded with water. In summer, the heat inside the inadequate housing makes sleeping in them unbearable.

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Tracing the development of Kayamandi, rewind to around 1918, an informal settlement near Stellenbosch was started by black people who came to the area looking for jobs. This settlement was then referred to as '*Kafferland*' and was next to Stellenbosch Farmers Winery. Many of the white farmers were unhappy about the fact that the workers lived so close to the wineries. This led to discussions with the Stellenbosch municipality and a decision was made to move the black workers to a new area. The development of the township started in the early 1930s. Around 1936, a location for black people was established. In 1941, Kayamandi was recognised as a township of Stellenbosch in the urban planning structure that separated people of different population groups. By the end of 1941, 55 houses were built and the black people living in coloured areas were moved to Kayamandi. The location of the residential areas indicate the apartheid style demarcation of residential areas with Cloetesville situated across the road from Kayamandi and the white neighbourhoods on the other side of the town centre, separated from the township by an industrial zone and a railway.

The population of Kayamandi has steadily grown over the years as indicated by statistics in the previous section. The abolition of the apartheid laws that restricted the movement of black people in 1986 saw the influx of more people from rural Eastern Cape in search of job opportunities and better education for their children. Kayamandi is home to a number of language groups: Sotho, Zulu and Tswana but the majority by far are Xhosa-speaking. Kayamandi over the years has also become home to a number of migrants from several African countries. Somalis and Ethiopians often own small grocery shops, commonly known as *spaza*[4] shops. Zimbabwean, Burundi, Congolese, Malawian and Nigerian migrants are amongst the people who make up Kayamandi's population. The continuous rapid increase in the population of Kayamandi has caused problems in terms of space for accommodation and infrastructure. Drug and alcohol problems among the young people and low literacy are some of the problems that were cited. Poverty and unemployment remain contributing causes to crime as well. Malnutrition and a high level of HIV/AIDS related illnesses were referred to by some of the NGOs who are actively working with feeding programmes and education programmes in the township.

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[4] *Spaza* shops are small retail enterprises (convenience shops) operating from a residential stand or home and engaged in the trading of consumer goods: bread, alcohol, soft drinks, maize meal, paraffin, candles, cigarettes and tobacco. Some of the *spaza* shops have developed to be mini grocery stores. Start-up investment for a *spaza* shop is from private savings or loans from relatives or friends usually.

The population in Kayamandi is mainly black with a few coloured and some white people who live there as well. Prochorus estimated the population of Kayamandi to be around 33 000 in 2009, living on 76.06 hectares of land with 10% of the population being children under 10 years of age and more than 50% of these being children of single mothers. The meagre child grant for children under 15 years that was set by the South African Social Agency at R240 per month in 2009 barely met the minimum needs of the child and mother. The grant for those over 60 and disability grants were set at R1 140 per month. On many occasions, I spoke to the elderly who were taking care of their grandchildren with the grant because their daughters were not working. Furthermore, many families relied on one income, often close to the minimum wage that was not sufficient to meet the daily needs of the family. According to the research by Erasmus, Mans and Jacobs (2006) that was conducted for the Unit for Religion and Development Research at Stellenbosch University, the average income in Kayamandi was very low, at R681 per month. Although minimum wages are revised every year, the minimum wage cannot adequately cater for the needs of a family.

During my fieldwork in Kayamandi, I encountered almost the same township scene that may be experienced in any black township in South Africa. There is a sharp contrast between Kayamandi and the nicely manicured lawns and well-maintained buildings of the town and houses in Die Boord and nearby suburbs. In an interview with the Programme Manager at Prochorus, he highlighted the plight of more than 65% who live in inadequate accommodation or shacks (Prochorus 2010). Only a third of the Kayamandi population live in formal and decent housing. There is a mixture of housing structures in the different areas of Kayamandi. *'Enkanini'* on the north-western hill of Kayamandi consists mainly of shacks and wooden housing structures. The area developed since 2007. The development of this area and the number of shack dwellings in between houses in other sections show the shortage of formal housing and also indicates the growing population in Kayamandi. The government-provided housing projects cannot cope with the demand for housing. After picking up Thandiswa in Kayamandi, who became one of my major informants and a friend, she commented as we drove through the different sections of Kayamandi. The names of the sections of Kayamandi are: Tubelisha, Watergang, Zone A, Zone O, Zone I, Costerland, Old Location, Holloway, Snakevalley, Tenten, Mpelazwe, Enkanini, Emadamini, and Emakandleni. The accommodation in Kayamandi includes flats, government provided houses or RDP houses, and houses built by homeowners as permanent structures or as shacks.

What is particularly noticeable is the growth of informal housing in Kayamandi. The concept of informality has structured what Kayamandi is today. Another issue is that there is always tension around land. Kayamandi is surrounded by farms and expansion is difficult. The name of the new shack location, '*Enkanini*', means 'stubbornness' or 'force'. Residents referred to how they occupied that land by force. They said 'it has become our home now'. They decided they were going to make their housing structures there and live there when they came to Kayamandi because there were no other housing options. Although there are communal water taps, there is no formal access to electricity in *Enkanini*. Some of the residents have resorted to illegally transferring electricity from the poles that were there. This was also general practice in many other areas in Kayamandi. As I walked along the small roads between the shacks, I could see wires hanging from the bigger electricity poles and all sorts of connections crisscrossing above the shacks. However, there is still insufficient street lighting. Communal toilets have been put up by the municipality in Enkanini and other sections of Kayamandi. Expansion and building on municipal land is regulated by land acquisition laws and town planning. The problems around land and pressure on housing were expressed in a CPF meeting in May 2009 by a Kayamandi resident who said:

> The housing problems are made worse by the carelessness of the municipality; there is no service delivery, as we would want it in Kayamandi. People from other settlements move to Kayamandi, for example from Khayelitsha. They see Kayamandi as having less pressure on land in comparison to their area but here there are people who have always been living in the backyards of their parent's houses because they do not have the ability to get their own houses. The shacks are built in any available empty space. It is a problem when there is a fire, the ambulance or fire truck cannot move around to get to the scene. I think everyone gets the picture, you already know. The housing situation causes serious challenges for the police as well. After elections, maybe the people may concentrate on service delivery, otherwise …

He shrugged his shoulders and stopped abruptly. I experienced how dark it can be in the township during patrols with the police, the neighbourhood watch and the reservists when they were called to attend to a case of disagreement and fight between friends over a debt. The land is uneven with ridges and holes between the shacks. The police van could not navigate there. We had to park and walk for ten minutes, jumping over puddles of water and small ridges. On that first night in Enkanini, I lit my handy basic Nokia phone torch to see where I was stepping to avoid falling. It was obviously an environment that posed a serious challenge for policing. As the days went on, I asked even more questions about the idea of just responding to crimes and talking about reducing crime when not much is changing in terms of the social and economic circumstances of many of the residents. I witnessed the frustration on the faces of the police and volunteers about the difficulties to respond to crime in time.

There were also visibly bigger and expensive houses that were being built in Kayamandi by the professional and upcoming middle class who worked in the town, for example the University or companies as far away as Cape Town. This was a category of professionals that preferred to live in the township and had invested in building permanent houses for themselves. Some houses that had been built in recent years had beautiful walls and alarm systems. They made use of private security companies. Lester, one of the women from the church I frequented in Kayamandi lived in one of the beautiful three-bedroomed houses at the top of the hill near the church. She shared the house with her brother and two children. Their parents had moved back to the Eastern Cape. They enjoyed living in this home that was secured with an alarm system. The brown brick-faced home faced a street of shacks across the road. The situation in Kayamandi showed that, for the majority of the people the provincial, local planning and urban renewal rhetoric that had been there for some time had not successfully transformed the township or brought in improvements that were meaningful for most people's lives. The reality was a sense of neglect of large parts of the township that was echoed in many conversations I had with the residents. The physical and social space, the changing composition of the township, and the families of shack dwellers who have limited access to everyday amenities reminded me of what Bank (2009:15) describes when he explains the scene of townships since democracy as 'a bitter reminder of the little we have achieved in the townships since democracy'. This is in sharp contrast to the township tourist brochures, which portray the township as an emerging suburb and tourist destination without giving much attention to the social and economic problems in the townships.

The problem of housing in Kayamandi is clearly illustrated in the Table 5 which shows dwelling types in Stellenbosch municipality. The figures show that the number of black people living in formal housing in Stellenbosch municipality was substantially lower compared to other population groups. In addition, a large population of 48% of the black people lived in informal housing in the whole municipality. In fact, informal housing in the form of shacks was increasing especially in Kayamandi. The trend is clearly shown in all other areas in the Western Cape as well.

Table 5: **Estimates of dwelling types in Stellenbosch Municipality: 2006**

Population Group	Formal	Informal	Traditional	Other	Total
Black	36.1	48.2	11.5	4.3	100.0
Coloured	84.5	11.3	4.0	0.2	100.0
Asian	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
White	96.4	2.6	1.0	0.0	100.0
Total	78.2	17.7	3.7	0.4	100.0

Zietsman (2007:46)

5.6   Kylemore

Kylemore is a semi-rural town situated 12km north of Stellenbosch. It is part of the Dwars River Valley in the picturesque route to the tourist town of Franschhoek. Describing the localities of the semi-rural communities in the Dwars River Valley, Van der Waal (2008:3) points out that

> [t]he localities in the area share a uniquely bounded geographical character, an agricultural history of interdependence between land-owners, factories and workers and the emergence of villages with strong local identities.

The history of Kylemore is linked to the neighbouring villages that make up the Dwars River Valley. The diverse villages in the Dwars River Valley comprise Lanquedoc, Kylemore, Pniel and Meerlust. Residents in the villages are mostly coloured with some black residents living in Lanquedoc. There was a sense of assumed hierarchy amongst the villages in terms of social and economic status with Pniel being the most developed and most resourced.

The older part of Kylemore had evidently bigger houses that were well-painted and was home to some of the families who had resided in Kylemore for a long time since its establishment in about 1900. The smaller houses close to the schools were smaller RDP houses. Informal housing made up part of this section on the southern side of Kylemore.
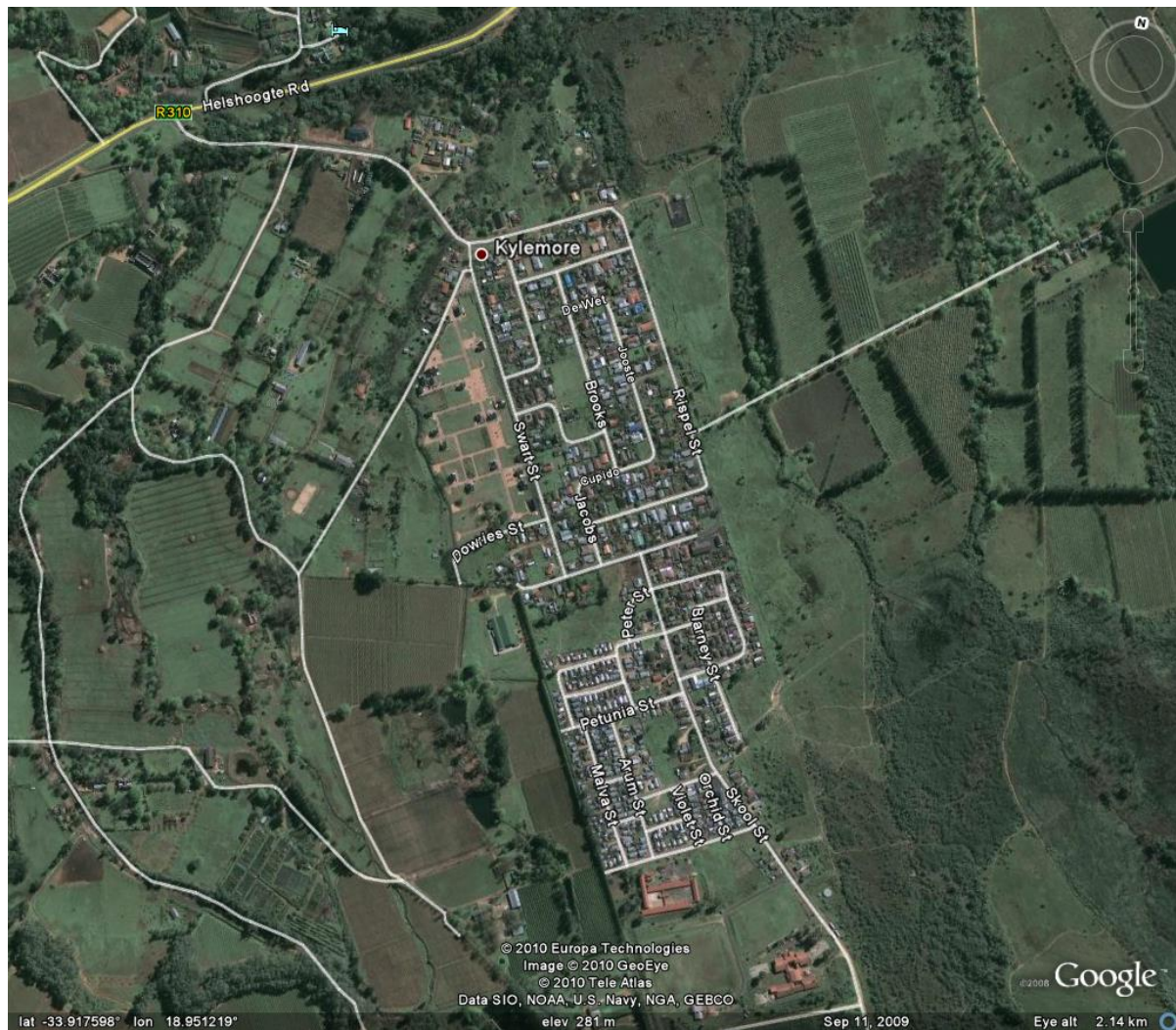
Figure 4: Aerial photograph of Kylemore: adapted from Google maps: 2009

In Kylemore, most of the people worked on the surrounding wine and fruit farms or in the local fruit factory. Some worked in Stellenbosch or Franschhoek and others were self-employed or bought and sold different goods. According to the 2008 community profile that was compiled by a community development worker working for the Cape Winelands District, Kylemore's total population was approximately 2100 in 2008, 90% of whom were coloured Afrikaans-speaking and a small percentage were black Sesotho, Zulu and Xhosa speaking residents as indicated in Table 6.

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Table 6: Demographic distribution of Kylemore in 2008

Language	Total number
Afrikaans	1968
English	20
Xhosa	104
Sesotho	8
Zulu	12
Total	2112

Source: Kylemore 2008 Community Profile

Table 7 shows the population distribution by age and gender in 2008. The category of males and females in the ages 5 to 35 makes up over 70% of the total population, therefore the population is relatively young.

Table 7: Population distribution by age and gender in Kylemore in 2008

GENDER BY AGE	Population number
Males 0 to 4	124
Males 5 to 14	234
Males 15 to 34	353
Males 35 to 64	286
Males 65+	76
Females 0 to 4	119
Females 5 to 14	172
Females 15 to 34	183
Females 35 to 64	496
Females 65+	69
Males total	**1073**
Females total	**1039**

Source: Kylemore 2008 Community Profile

High levels of unemployment and inequalities in income were characteristic of Kayamandi and Kylemore. Employment in the wine and fruit industry around Kylemore was seasonal as the demand for labour was lower during winter on the surrounding farms. On many week days, as I walked around Kylemore, I met young men and women who would mention that they were not employed or that they would start work again in the harvesting months. Some of them worked for a few days of the week for a few hours when there was a job opportunity on the farms, or on the road where the province was upgrading an old road

during the period when I was conducting fieldwork. Table 8 shows work and income information for women in Kylemore. The information was gathered in 2008 by community development workers in Kylemore.

Table 8: Work which most women did in 2008

Type of work	Problem	Pay
Factory	Long hours	R750 p/w
Farm	Under paid	R300 p/w
Wineries	Seasonal	R400 p/w
Restaurant	Seasonal	R580 p/w
Public Works	In winter no work due to rain	R750 p/w

Kylemore Community Profile 2008

In most of the conversations I had with those who had jobs, they wished for stable employment that could pay them better. Those who were employed during the peak season on the farms earned between R400 and R580 per week according to the community survey of 2008. Despite the problems around unemployment in Kayamandi and Kylemore, both places had some kind of community charm that could not be missed. From Friday evening and all throughout the weekends, loud music was played from cars, the *shebeens*[5] and taverns were alive with people drinking and socialising, meat was *braaied* and there seemed to be an endless party on weekends. On the other hand, underneath the charm, the party vibe on weekends, the seemingly endless celebrations during summer time, both places exhale an air of need and a range of feelings about the many unattended social and economic problems in their communities. In Die Boord, social life was much more private with much less social activity visible from the streets. People would entertain guests at their homes or organised recreation outside the suburb.

The following sections deal with the nature of crime occurring in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. The information used in these sections came from police statistics and how people in the three places talked about crime.

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[5] Historically, *shebeens* have been informal and unlicensed liquor traders selling liquor largely to customers in townships. They have always served and provided a platform for socializing and drinking at one's place of residence. In terms of the Liquor Act, *shebeen* and tavern owners have to apply for special liquor licenses in order to legalize their businesses. Some have licences and others do not. It is illegal to sell liquor unless you have a licence.

5.7   The usefulness and paradox of crime statistics

Police departments use crime statistics for administrative and planning purposes. The statistics are also a way in which the police communicate with the population they serve. In the police world, crime statistics provide a way of legitimising police work. Crime statistics are also a way of giving feedback to those higher up in the hierarchy, on the provincial and national level. The statistics are used in a comparative aspect in the international discourse on crime. The statistics are one aspect that is considered when allocation of resources to deal with crime occurs. Statistics, however, do not necessarily present an adequate or accurate measure of the crimes being committed, but they do give a broad picture of the problematic issues. Nevertheless, crime statistics are useful in so far as they point to the patterns of crime in specific localities.

Different legal and justice systems within which the police worked meant that crime categories were defined differently in various places. For example, an assault case might be defined as an attempted murder in a different country. Domestic violence was referred to as a crime in some countries, but in South Africa it was not reflected as a crime category on its own but such cases were recorded in a separate domestic violence register. Hence, I concur with Pollard (1997:53) who argues that, '[c]ounting crime is a notoriously unscientific process. There are different ways of interpreting crime definitions even with the best of intentions'. However, official crime statistics in this section serve the purpose of revealing the nature and geography of crime in Die Boord, Kayamandi, and Kylemore. The statistics are meant to paint a broad picture of both the similarities and differences regarding the most pressing crime problems in the three places. Nevertheless, while using the statistics, I am aware of the controversies surrounding crime statistics in South Africa. The criticism in academic commentary about crime statistics is that they are not reliable and do not offer a full reflection of all the crimes being committed. For example, statistics may be an underrepresentation of the true extent of crime (Glanz 1994:39). It is problematic if crime statistics are exclusively relied on when it is well known that some crimes go unreported.

Further controversy with crime statistics was evident in 2001 when the Police Commissioner at that time, Jackie Selebi, announced that every police station would be measured in their performance using crime statistics as one major measurement. Steinberg (2011) commented that this gave an incentive for the police to '*cook*' their crime statistics. Such a comment shows the sensitivities around the statistics for not only the police but also the communities who are tired of the insecurity and fear of crime they experience.

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In 2009 and 2010 there were media reports that made the headlines with accusations that some police stations were 'cooking' statistics through false reporting because they wanted to be seen as doing their jobs well when performance reviews for the police stations were done. With an article titled, *'Crime Stats Rot Spreads'* the *Mail and Guardian,* on 5 March 2010, rang the alarm bells on the issue of manipulating crime statistics at some police stations in the Western Cape. One of the whistle-blowers for that article was a retired police officer of the Kirstenhof Police Station in Cape Town who claimed that fictitious dockets were fabricated to create the impression that Kirstenhof police had made more arrests than they really had. This would boost the station's low performance ratings. He also claimed that the management had been manipulating the crime statistics by registering false complaints and that fictitious persons were charged. He mentioned that he was frustrated when he asked about the issue and was told to mind his own business. The result of the ensuing scandal was that an investigation was launched in the province. This further illustrates the controversy that surrounds crime statistics.

In 2009, Gugulethu Police Station in Cape Town was also involved in the crime statistics scandal. Since then there has been a lot of debate about crime statistics in all the provinces. Questions were asked concerning what the statistics showed and what they hid. Some of the crimes were recorded under different categories to downplay the incidence of particular crimes. To confirm this, I quote a local policeman who made the following remark with a smile after a formal interview: 'the streets we patrol are hot, the recorded statistic that you see are just a tip of the iceberg, there are raw statistics but there are other issues that the statistics cannot show when you talk about crime'. That statement made me think a lot about the reliability of crime statistics. There were complaints about political bashing by those who analysed crime statistics and claims were made that the ensuing debates were not always fair. I refer to comments that were made in response to suggestions made about the crime statistics moratorium when Bheki Cele took office as the National Police Commissioner. Anthony Krijger on August 5, 2009 commented in the *Mail and Guardian* online about the moratorium on crime stastics by saying:

> If Cele is worried about political bashing over crime stats, all he has to do to avoid this is to actually tackle crime and improve the stats. This is something that the ANC seems totally unable to do, and therefore would rather sweep it all under the ever-growing carpet (Krijger 2009).

Burger from the Institute of Security Studies had the following to say in the Mail and Guardian regarding a suggested moratorium on crime statistics:

[P]eople within the police services have become oversensitive to criticism. That is the wrong reason. You cannot become less transparent just because you have been criticised. If crime statistics are not released the police will be even more criticised and people will draw negative conclusions from that (Burger 2009).

The other thing to consider regarding the debate on crime statistics is that the police might present an overall picture of crime statistics, but they were not the only custodians of crime statistics. As Burger (2009) has rightly pointed out, the South African Development Community and the Consumer Goods Council and the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) compiled their own statistics and we may draw conclusions based on all these statistics released by different bodies. Although the samples they used may be small and limited, they provided an important oversight to the whole issue of crime statistics. Compiling and finalising crime statistics is an internal job or the business of the police. There is not necessarily an outside external audit of the statistics which may make it difficult to deal with the inside 'cooking' of crime statistics. Despite the controversies around crime statistics, it is apparent that crime statistics still remain as one indication for the citizens to know what threats they face in terms of crime. Although the reliability was questioned, statistics did at least offer some kind of indication of the crimes that were happening,

5.7.1   Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore Crime Statistics

The crime statistics used in this section came from reported cases at the Stellenbosch police station (for Die Boord and Kayamandi statistics) and Groot Drakenstein police station (for the statistics related to Kylemore). The crime statistics provided below from Kayamandi and Die Boord are from the first quarters of 2009 and 2010, for a three month period. The statistics from Kylemore are from the Groot Drakenstein police station. This was a compilation of statistics from all the villages for the period, April 2007 to March 2008 and the period April 2009 to March 2009. The statistics were from different periods because of the difficulties encountered to access statistics from the same periods. Even though the statistics are from different periods, the purpose they served was to show the prevalence of crimes and the major crime problems in the areas. Table 9 shows crime statistics from Die Boord during the first quarters of 2009 and 2010.

Table 9: Crime Statistics of Die Boord: January to March 2009 and January to March 2010

CRIME CATEGORY	Jan - March 2009	Jan - March 2010
CONTACT CRIME (CRIMES AGAINST A PERSON)		
Murder	0	1
Rape (Attempts Included)	*0*	*1*
Rape	0	1
Attempted Rape	0	0
All Assaults (Included: Attempted murder; Assault GBH; Assault Common)	*9*	*15*
Attempted Murder	0	0
Assault Grievous Bodily Harm	5	3
Assault Common	4	12
All Robberies (Robbery Aggravate and Robbery Common (attempts included))	*9*	*4*
Total of Robbery Aggravate (Attempts included)	*5*	*3*
Robbery Aggravate	5	3
Attempted Robbery Aggravated	0	0
Total of Robbery, Common (Attempts included)	4	1
Robbery Common	4	1
Attempted Robbery Common	0	0
Sexual Assault	0	0
Sexual Offences	0	0
Total	*18*	*21*
CONTACT RELATED CRIMES		
Arson	0	0
Malicious Damage to property	16	7
Total	*16*	*7*
PROPERTY RELATED CRIMES		
All Burglaries (includes Burglaries Residential and Business (Att. Included))	*32*	*56*
Total of Burglaries at Residential premises	*23*	*38*
Burglaries at Residential premises	22	36
Attempted Burglaries at Residential premises	1	2
Total of Burglaries Business premises (Attempts included)	*9*	*18*
Burglaries at Business premises	9	18
Attempted Burglaries at Business premises	0	0
Total of Theft of motor vehicle (Attempts included)	*29*	*14*
Theft of motor vehicles	24	10
Attempted Theft of motor vehicle	5	4
Total of Theft out of/from motor vehicle (Attempts included)	36	85
Theft out of/from motor vehicle	34	76
Attempted Theft out of/from motor vehicle	2	9
Theft of all stock	0	0
Total	*97*	*155*

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OTHER SERIOUS CRIMES		
Total of other theft (Attempts included)	*61*	*67*
Other theft	61	67
Attempted Other theft	0	0
Commercial Crime	10	8
Shoplifting	5	6
Total	*76*	*81*

Source: Stellenbosch Police Station Statistics Compilation

The statistics in Die Boord show that the most common crime problems there are theft out of motor vehicles and burglaries from business premises and residential houses. Theft out of motor vehicles is a major problem with 24 cases in the first quarter of 2009 having been reported. Total burglaries at residential areas were 23 for the first quarter of 2010 and 38 for the second quarter of 2010. The fear of house break-ins was expressed by many of the residents who often mentioned that in addition to having taken the necessary security measures to make their families safe, they were always on the lookout for potential or suspicious activity and counted on the security patrols in their area. I will discuss issues of private security in Die Boord, Stellenbosch town and broadly in South Africa in the next chapter. The seriousness of property-related crime was echoed often in meetings on crime, mentioned in everyday talk and this informs the day-to-day strategy for police planning as well.

The crime statistics of Kayamandi in Table 10 are from the same periods as the statistics in Die Boord in the previous table.

Table 10: Crime Statistics of Kayamandi: January to March 2009 and January to March 2010

CRIME CATEGORY	Jan - March 2009	Jan - March 2010
CONTACT CRIME (CRIMES AGAINST A PERSON)		
Murder	3	6
Rape (Attempts Included)	*5*	*9*
Rape	4	8
Attempted Rape	1	1

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All Assaults (Included: Attempted murder; Assault GBH; Assault Common)	*49*	*48*
Attempted Murder	2	3
Assault GBH	26	28
Assault Common	21	17
All Robberies (Robbery Aggravate and Robbery Common (attempts included))	*26*	*25*
Total of Robbery Aggravate (Attempts included)	*18*	*18*
Robbery Aggravate	18	17
Attempted Robbery Aggravated	0	1
Total of Robbery, Common (Attempts included)	*8*	*7*
Robbery Common	8	7
Attempted Robbery Common	0	0
Sexual Assault	0	3
Sexual Offences	1	0
Total	*84*	*91*

CONTACT RELATED CRIMES

Arson	1	0
Malicious Damage to property	11	11
Total	*12*	*11*

PROPERTY RELATED CRIMES

All Burglaries (includes Burglaries Residential and Business (Att. Included))	*32*	*33*
Total of Burglaries at Residential premises (Attempts included)	*15*	*23*
Burglaries at Residential premises	15	23
Attempted Burglaries at Residential premises	0	0
Total of Burglaries Business premises (Attempts included)	*17*	*10*
Burglaries at Business premises	17	10
Attempted Burglaries at Business premises	0	0
Total of Theft of motor vehicle (Attempts included)	*5*	*5*
Theft of motor vehicle	5	4
Attempted Theft of motor vehicle	0	1
Total of Theft out of/from motor vehicle (Attempts included)	*9*	*16*
Theft out of/from motor vehicle	9	15
Attempted Theft out of/from motor vehicle	0	1
Theft of all stock	0	0
Total	*46*	*54*

OTHER SERIOUS CRIMES

Total of other theft (Attempts included)	*37*	*33*
Other theft	37	33
Attempted Other theft	0	0
Commercial Crime	1	1
Shoplifting	0	0

Source: Stellenbosch Police Station Statistics Compilation

Table 10 shows that the most common crimes in Kayamandi were burglaries at residential areas with 32 cases reported during the first quarter of January to March 2009 and 33 cases during the same period in 2010. Nine cases of theft and attempted theft of and out of motor vehicle were reported in the first quarter of 2009 and 16 cases in the first quarter of 2010. In total, 49 cases of assault were recorded for the period January to March 2009 and 48 for the same period in 2010 and this was actually higher than theft. Contact crimes were often the cases that the police mentioned were problematic in Kayamandi. There were three murder cases in the period January to March 2009 and they doubled in the same period in the following year. In comparison, the murder cases were low in the whole valley were Kylemore was situated with three cases reported for all the villages.

There were four reported cases of rape in first quarter of 2009 and eight in first quarter of 2010 in Kayamandi. Attempted rape cases were five and nine respectively for the same quarters of 2009 and 2010. The cases of rape are often linked to the assault cases.

Table 11: **Groot-Drakenstein crime statistics: April to March: 2007/2008 and 2008/2009**

CRIME CATEGORY	April 2007 to March 2008	April 2008 to March 2009
CONTACT CRIME (CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)		
Murder	3	3
Total sexual crimes	29	35
Attempted murder	3	0
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	118	84
Common assault	41	39
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	9	2
Common robbery	17	10
CONTACT RELATED CRIME		
Arson	3	5
Malicious Damage to property	48	51
PROPERTY RELATED CRIME		
Burglary at business premises	48	40
Burglary at residential premises	91	88
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	5	6
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	24	32
Stock-theft	17	17
CRIME HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON POLICE ACTION FOR DETECTION		
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	0	4

Drug-related crime	42	74
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	7	9
OTHER SERIOUS CRIME		
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	156	129
Commercial crime	4	1
Shoplifting	0	0
SUB CATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY FORMING PART OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY ABOVE		
Carjacking	2	0
Truck hijacking	0	0
Robbery at business premises	2	0
Robbery at residential premises	0	0
OTHER CRIME CATEGORIES		
Culpable homicide	6	5
Public violence	1	0
Crimen injuria	10	15
Neglect and ill-treatment of children	1	1
Kidnapping	0	0

Source: Crime Information Management, South African Police Service

The situation of property related crime poses a huge problem in the Groot Drakenstein area where Kylemore is situated. Table 11 is a compilation of all crime statistics of all the localities in the Dwars River Valley and surrounding farms for the whole policing district of Groot Drakenstein, whereas the statistics for Die Boord and Kayamandi were figures specifically for that locality for a three month period as previously stated. In the period April 2007 to April 2008, there were 91 burglaries at residential areas and 48 cases of burglaries at business premises. The total for sexual crimes was 29 for the same period. Cases of theft out of motor vehicles were 24 during the period April 2007 to March 2008 and 32 cases during the period of April 2008 to March 2009. Another worrying issue were the 118 cases of assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm. The same categories of crime had worrying figures in the period April 2008 to March 2009.

5.7.2   Differentiation of the town in the experience and handling of crime

In terms of how crime was handled historically in Stellenbosch, according to the history of Stellenbosch, documented in a volume edited by Smuts, (1979:147) reference is made to 1681 when Van der Stel

informed the Council of Policy that there was a need to find ways to deal with disputes that had arisen with regards to farm boundaries. The urgency of that situation led to discussions within the council. The result was the appointment of four 'leading inhabitants *(the well-known farmers then)* under the name *Heemraden*'. This was the beginning of the local government of Stellenbosch. The first duty of the *Heemraden* was to put in place a court of justice that attended to minor lawsuits. Meetings were held once a month to settle disputes that involved boundaries, roads and debt. Van Reede was the first chief of police and was assisted by a junior police official to do arrests of lawbreakers.

Fast forward to the 21st century, let me refer to policing that targets the protection of particular geographical areas or attending to particular crime problems in Stellenbosch. An example is safety and security around the university. The Stellenbosch University security service involves multiple strategies. Firstly, the primary focus is to secure the numerous university buildings and property around the town. It has an extended function that is crime-specific and this entails the prevention of car theft, theft out of motor vehicles, theft of bicycles and making the students and personnel safe. The administration at the university's security services pointed out that one may say that the crime in Kayamandi, in town and around the University was the same. What was different was that in town there were a lot of people and companies who did something about it, referring to private security. The risk was higher to get caught in town for example for car theft. Therefore, the criminals went where they knew they might be successful in their efforts. Property-related crimes were a problem around the University as well as in Kayamandi and Kylemore. The difference was that there was a better functioning network of private security and technology to reduce and prevent incidents around the University but risk was still high, hence the message to the students, staff and its visitors to prevent themselves becoming targets of crime.

Local government was actively involved in the town's security. Designated security guards as well as surveillance cameras were strategically installed around the town centre. The University of Stellenbosch security guards who patrolled the university and the surrounding areas enhanced security around the town. I had 10 in-depth interviews with security guards working around different University buildings and town buildings. One security guard who worked for the University security services compared the security situation around the town, the University and Kaymandi during an interview, saying:

> I live in Kayamandi, I feel safer when I am at work here at the University. I have people who may help me if there is trouble. I have the radio and my colleagues are on standby if there is a situation with criminals I cannot handle. In Kayamandi, when people come to your house and

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want to steal, they will take what they want, they may hurt you, if you want to play hero, you may be killed.

He expressed the perception that it was safer to be at work because of the network of security services that was dedicated to making the University and its surrounds safer. It was a perception that was to some extent true. That false sense of security was thwarted by the theft from cars and theft from buildings, when you left your office even if it was just for a short while.

The issue of house and car break-ins were a problem in all three areas. In Kayamandi and Kylemore, however, contact crimes of a violent nature were big problems whereas in Die Boord they were only a small problem. This also links up with the whole crime situation in the Western Cape where the trend of high contact crime is recorded and reflected in many places. Contact crime is one of the categories that generates the greatest fear of crime and drives the insecurity and individual and public perceptions of crime (Holtmann and Domingo-Swarts 2008:99). Sexual crimes were high in Kylemore.

Based on the statistics and on how people talk about crime, Table 12 illustrates the most common crime problems in the three areas.

Table 12: **Most common crime problems by place**

Crime problems in Die Boord Suburb	Crime problems in Kayamandi	Crime problems in Kylemore (including the whole of the Groot Drakenstein as indicated by statistics)
• Burglary at residential premises • Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle • Theft out of or from motor vehicle • Robbery at residential premises	• Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, common assault • Robbery with aggravating circumstances • Robbery at residential premises • Robbery at business premises • Malicious damage to property • Burglary at business premises • Burglary at residential	• Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, common assault • Robbery at residential premises • Robbery at business premises • Malicious damage to property • Burglary at business premises • Burglary at residential premises • Theft of motor vehicle and

	premises • Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle • Theft out of or from motor vehicle • Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition • Drug-related crime • Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs • Public violence • Neglect and ill-treatment of children • Domestic violence	motorcycle • Theft out of or from motor vehicle • Drug-related crime • Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs • Public violence • Neglect and ill-treatment of children • Domestic violence • Sexual crimes

According to Table 12, as explained earlier in section 5.7.1, the crimes that occurred in Die Boord were property-related crimes, mainly house and car break-ins. In Kayamandi and Kylemore, property-related crimes were also a problem. Neglect and ill-treatment of children were cited among the most problematic issues in Kylemore. Sexual crimes were also related to the neglect of children. Domestic violence in Kayamandi and Kylemore was related to contact crimes that were mostly recorded under assault, but as is well-known, most such cases were never reported.

5.7.3 Methods other than police statistics used for assessing the extent of crime

As stated in the previous section, crime statistics are just one aspect that informs us of the crimes occurring in communities. There are several other methods of recording crimes besides the official police statistics. Hospital records, insurance records, periodic surveys and victimization surveys are other ways of measuring the extent of crime. The media also expose some hidden incidents of crime in an ad hoc manner, as illustrated in radio or television programmes where people's views about the criminal system and their experiences and perceptions of crime are aired. Victimisation surveys provide useful information in so far as they add meaningful understandings of the ways in which crime is experienced in the society (Holtmann and Domingo-Swarts 2008). Victimisation surveys ask members of the public about their experience with crime. These figures may be used to supplement police statistics. However as Burton *et al*

(2003) have cited, victimisation surveys are more useful when they are conducted regularly and used to assess the information provided by crime statistics.

Even though hospital records, victimisation surveys, insurance records and the media go a long way in taking into account or recording the crimes that the official police statistics miss, many crimes still go unreported given the hidden nature of crime. Some cases of rape and child abuse go unreported unless the guardians of these minors report the cases. In addition, even where there are witnesses, cases of vandalism of public property often go unreported. Lack of confidence in and mistrust of the police are some of the reasons why people do not bother to report crimes. Some take matters into their own hands to find justice, while others try to prevent crime from happening by finding ways to protect themselves. The people I encountered during fieldwork, made reference to not being taken seriously by the police at times when they reported a case. They gave examples of seeing their perpetrators walk the streets or being released without trial. The police cited lack of evidence or that some witnesses were not willing to come forward as reasons for criminals not being taken to court. The blame game was the order of the day and people cited not feeling protected enough to warrant them reporting crime to the police. A low rate of reporting crime may be attributed at times to the negative perception that people may have of the efficiency of the police. If people feel that their case will not receive the attention it deserves, then the chances of reporting are lower.

Local Crime Prevention Safety Audits offer studies of specific communities and allow for comparison. Although it may be on a small scale, local Crime Prevention Safety Audits allow for assessment of what needs urgent attention in terms of the most frequent crimes occurring in a place. Other ways of assessing the nature of crime in a place on a broader or even smaller scale is through demographic information used together with socio-economic information. This provides a useful ways with which to explain the nature and experience of crime. It is for this reason that I used the information from the respective municipality and community profiles to give meaning to the conditions in which crimes occur and analyse the crime contexts in section 5.7.2.

5.7.4   Media reports of crime

Our understanding of crime is not just framed by statistics, crime stories and gossip. Different forms of media, like television, the Internet and magazines also expose crime. Reports flow from every direction and

inform the sorts of opinions of residents, the police and policy-makers who deal with crime. The media are known to keep things in the spotlight, reporting truths and half-truths, creating controversies and brainstorming security issues in various ways to create dialogue and to bring various voices to light. However, different forms of media have also been criticised for having different agendas when it comes to security issues. What may not be denied, however, is that the media plays a crucial role in reporting crime stories, initiating debates and seeking solutions to problems.

Referring to the important role of the media in reporting on crime and policing issues, Radelet and Carter (1994:476) state that the media 'have a responsibility to inform the public of critical issues and make a profit'. Potgieter and Mersham (2002:55) are of the opinion that the media have a role to play in modern theorising about crime and policing. However, the media's sensationalist reporting is sometimes criticised. Their relationship with the police is often sour and antagonistic as the police accuse the media of hurting the police's image and not being sensitive to the complex environment in which the police work. Historically, the South African government has had a complex and conflictual relationship with the media. This turbulent relationship between the police and the media, however, has been known to facilitate and keep communication lines open between the citizens and the police. Even though the media plays a big role in stirring up issues for debate, one should also not underestimate the academic community for its role in informing policy.

Girling, Sparks and Loader (2001:887) are of the view that crime is a topic that never stays quite still and submits itself to dispassionate examination. This means that the media are instrumental in bringing to light crime and the responses to crime in various communities. For example, the '3rd Degree' investigative journalism programme on ETV television station in August 2010 aired a programme on people taking the law into their own hands as they seek justice, being tired of crime. In a shocking manner, Debora Patta, the presenter, told the story of how a mother was forced to throw the first stone on her son who had murdered a man. The distraught mother sadly narrated her ordeal. The families of the dead men also narrated their stories in the interviews and it was clear that the issue was not resolved even though the alleged murderer had been killed by the mob. The chilling story spells out another failure in the justice system and how vigilante violence was being used to resolve conflicts in some communities. In light of the above story, Simpson (1998) is correct to point to the social and psychological insecurity generated both by real levels of crime and by public hysteria associated with media presentations that contribute to feelings of fear and helplessness.

The local Stellenbosch newspaper, *Eikestadnuus* reported consistently on crime problems occurring in the town. In every edition of the paper, the crime hot spots for that week were published and crimes that had been committed and criminals that had been apprehended were mentioned. In the *Eikestadnuus* of Friday, the 13th of August 2010, the following was reported in the crime hot spots section: 'although the Stellenbosch Police had a number of success stories this week, a few areas were still targeted with housebreaking still a serious problem' (*Eikestadnuus 2010*). What followed were the reports of six incidents of housebreaking in the suburbs around Stellenbosch. The headline 'Caught in the act' reported a house-breaking in Keet Street. Another report said:

> On 6 August at 09:15, a woman returned in Kayamandi, only to find that the burglar bars had been forced open and clothes had been stolen. Witnesses later called to say the culprits were seen selling clothes. She called Constable Gary Vanto who arrested Simpiwe Nombuye (24) and Avanda Phongdo.

The point I make is that the print media expose crimes and those with access to that information are made aware of them. This also informs their view on safety and security in the places where they live, work, go to school or raise their families.

5.7.5 How crime was talked about in everyday language

Residents presented competing and differing sensibilities about crime and security through the stories they told me. The stories were accounts of experiences of criminality, and gossip, what they had heard from friends, neighbours and colleagues. How the people I engaged with talked about crime was also obtained from what they read or came across in different forms of media.

The observation I made was that for the most part when people talked about crime, they were often referring to place as well. Place and social experience inform how people construct their everyday talk on crime. In most of the crime stories I listened to for a year, people would talk about the crime in their area, their stories were linked to place. Most times, they would make comparisons between the horror stories of crime in their area and from other places near them or far away, stories they read about or heard about in the media or that they discussed with their friends and colleagues. Although people go about their normal business everyday, the idea of place and space still matters when they talk about crime (Sparks, Girling

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and Loader 2001). This point informs my argument in the following chapter where I discuss the meanings people attach to community policing and the nature and form that community policing has taken in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore.

Sparks, Girling and Loader (2001:887) make an interesting commentary about how people talk about crime and their experiences with criminality by saying:

> [P]eople's talk about crime is dense and digressive. It slips from topic to topic, changes gear and direction. It talks in stories, instances and anecdotes, but then moves to speculations, conjectures, theories. It roams from the present, to the remembered past and possible wished-for and threatened futures. It is heavy with experience and skips between abstractions. It makes sense of troubling and alarming events, but also expresses confusion and uncertainty. It effects connection between people, but also draws boundaries and distinctions and crystallises hostilities, suspicions and conflicts. It invokes authority and demands order yet voices criticism and mistrust of authorities and order.

I noticed that in those seemingly confused accounts and disjointed stories, there was a link in terms of issues that came out. For example, the role of drugs and alcohol abuse, property-related crimes and domestic violence. In a sense, when people talked to me, they formed their crime stories into some kind of autobiography where their story was interwoven with imagery, metaphors and expressions that did not only refer to crime or community policing but expressed their aspirations for their families, career, relationship with others in the communities where they lived and their rights as citizens. Their viewpoints were at most times pregnant with nostalgia, fear of crime and even desperation, giving up on a safe and secure environment that they yearned for. Furthermore, the ways in which people from diverse backgrounds spoke about crime revealed many other issues that were happening that went beyond crime. I noted similar issues that Caldeira (2000) has written about from her fieldwork in São Paulo. She argues that the talk of crime extended to many other themes. I experienced related issues in so far as how

> [d]iscussions of crime almost always [led] to reflections on the state of the country. Economic crisis, inflation, and unemployment were repeatedly associated with violence by people who were losing their hope of social mobility Caldeira (2000:53).

Let me turn to how residents in the three places talked about crime. I found that there was a perception that certain conditions led to a high prevalence of particular crimes. In Kayamandi and Kylemore, the residents' stories reflected the issue of drug abuse, alcohol abuse and shebeens and their connection to contact crimes. During an interview in Kayamandi, one young man (in July 2007) told me that

Every weekend something happens in Kayamandi. I am not saying the incidents of crime are not there during the week, they increase over the weekend. Over the weekend, someone is either stabbed, robbed or beaten and most of the time it is related to drugs or being drunk. The crime spots are near many of the drinking areas, whether it is a shebeen or registered tavern, it does not matter. The areas that are more overcrowded are hot crime spots as well. Zone 0 area or Enkanini are problem areas.

In November 2006, a middle-aged woman in Kayamandi reflected on the same issues, she said,

after eight in the evening from Friday to Sunday, robberies may happen. Two weeks ago, one shop-owner was killed. The same week, two men shot at each other after a dispute about money they had stolen and one of them died.

A similar story was narrated to me by a young woman in her early twenties who had become a victim of a house break-in. She said

I was dropped off the taxi after my night shift, I saw the owner of the house and other people chasing someone from my house. The door to my room was wide open. My cousin who was in the house said a guy had entered the room just after 1 am just the time I get home after the night shift. My cousin thought I had come back from work only to notice moments later a man standing next to the bed. He pointed a knife at her and told her to keep quiet. The man grabbed a phone that was on the charger before he fled. In shock, she screamed which alerted people in the house and the neighbours.

The above incidents were also linked to planned attacks by criminals who know the patterns of movement of those who work till late, especially in restaurants in town. One young lady who worked as a waiter in town told me that

those who attack others in Kayamandi take advantage of the fact that most people work at restaurants and come from work from 10 o'clock and some come back even after midnight. Some restaurants do not give their workers transport if it is before 10 pm. Attackers wait in the darkness for people to be dropped before they rob them. They obviously know they have money from tips they get at work.

Such incidents do not only happen under the cover of darkness. There are many incidents of crime that occur in broad daylight in all three areas. One resident in Kayamandi told me that during the day people watch these *tsotsis* (thieves) attack and rob. Either they are helpless out of fear, or there is a response long after the incident has already occurred. In the suburbs, she said, it is better. She told me of her perception that a person there would not be robbed or have their house broken into during the day. However, in the quietness or stillness of the suburbs despite the existence of private security and 24 hour patrols, the same incidents are reported. In September 2009, a 47-year-old mother was killed in her home in Die Boord and her car taken. Her distraught three children and many residents in Die Boord were shaken by the incident because murder cases and such brutality were not often reported in Die Boord. The false sense of security

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brought about by private security, alarms and walls was talked about after that incident when I investigated the heightened efforts by the neighbourhood watch following that incident. Overwhelmed by emotions, one elderly resident in Die Boord told me after that incident that, 'there is something wrong with our society, when we kill each other in cold blood. It does not matter where you live, you may be a victim of such violent crime and policing is not going to stop that'.

The reality of crime not being about stealing from another, but involving brutality in many cases echoed in statements like,

> when they [criminals] are armed with either a knife of a gun, they use these items to threaten people. The most painful thing is that when these thieves do not find anything valuable on you or in your house, they end up attacking you or hurting you so badly.

Over the year that I conducted fieldwork in the three places, in Die Boord for example, I was given statements like,

> It is frightening for residents to come back and find that their place has been burgled. Most of the crimes here are economic crimes, theft out of motor vehicles or common robberies. You have to be careful, if you park your car in the street, you make sure it is locked (Die Boord interview with a retired resident, 2007).

This confirmed what I had been told by one resident in Die Boord when I started fieldwork there in 2007 that

> Die Boord has changed a lot since we moved in we cannot sleep with the bedroom sliding door open in summer. People living across us had their house broken into twice so they are renting out their house now because their son felt unsafe in the house. They moved to a gated community.

However, a housewife in Die Boord commented, if one puts up a big wall around their house, other people cannot watch the place, as they cannot see what is happening there. A high wall is no guarantee that something will not happen there. The interviews I conducted in Die Boord over a three-month period revealed a common trend of house break-ins and opportunistic crimes. One interviewee said that

> house and car break-ins are high, there are constant opportunistic criminals. If you leave a leather jacket, laptop or something, it will be gone in 30 minutes.

In another interview, one man said that

> a few years, people down the street did not have an alarm system. They were away on holiday when people broke into their house and everything was dismantled. I walked past and a bakkie was inside the garage loading stuff. The police came quickly but the thieves got

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away. They got away with computers, DVDs and a Spanish guitar to the value R50 000. That person refused to put a perimeter fence but now has a sophisticated alarm.

One mother in Die Boord who works from home told me about people who moved around looking for handouts and how some of them have often been implicated or involved in opportunistic crimes. She said that

> farm workers, elderly couples, walk around here looking for handouts and if you leave your front door open, your handbag will be gone. There has been a new type of theft, car keys are stolen and later the car is stolen, that happened a year ago, but people will claim insurance. Incidents of house break-ins are low because alarms will go off. Whenever an incident occurs, there are heightened patrols, so all is calm and more measures are taken to make the place secure. Overall, the response is very quick by the patrol of the neighbourhood watch but people tend to relax until you hear of another incident. You know that at some point, you will hear of an incident of theft after a month or more, but something will happen.

Similar issues were raised by other interviewees in Die Boord with one housewife narrating that,

> I saw two men with blue overalls running away down the street. I called the police and after investigations, it was discovered they had broken into a house up the road. They were caught the same month.

A considerable number of Die Boord residents were of the view that although incidents of crime and especially house break-ins and theft from motor vehicles were a problem, the situation was better in comparison to other places. An elderly man who had moved from Johannesburg made a comment that,

> I am originally from Johannesburg. People here in Die Boord take a walk or jog until the sun has set and do not necessarily feel threatened but are cautious. People over 65 take walks at night. In Johannesburg, I will not walk from a friend's house that lives within a fifteen minutes walking distance. My friend would not allow it even if I do not have anything valuable on me. If you look down the street, there are several houses without walls around them, which means the owners have not felt the need for walls because it is relatively safe. There are no hijackings around the suburbs here. I have not heard of any, it is not anything like Johannesburg. The most common thing is car break-ins when it is parked or house break-ins.

One resident in Die Boord who lived in one of the few enclosed complexes was of the view that there were differences in terms of how house break-ins occurred in Die Boord and considered students' houses in a suburb to be more susceptible to house break-ins than family houses because at student houses there were more visitors, things might be stolen by people who came to the house and over time duplicate keys could be made by various people who lived at a place at different times.

Another resident in Die Boord who taught at the University summed up the experience of crime from a broader perspective by commenting that

> The politics of crime are about redistribution, if one does not have a job, they will take from another or somewhere else to feed themselves and their family. Since apartheid, the rich have got richer and the poor poorer and our democracy has not done well in addressing that gap. As a whole, crime policy does not look good, not only from the political system but even private policing which we rely on here. Levels of crime are high, from white-collar crime, fraud, insider trading, and violent crime. The state is overburdened with the levels of crime and people take the law into their own hands.

How crime was talked about during interviews, in everyday talk about crime and related issues and during crime prevention meetings, for example those of the CPF, confirmed the issues reflected in statistics and revealed individual experiences with crime. The stories in this section especially give meaning to the place where crime occured, the conditions in the place and the ways in which people expressed issues of crime and criminality in their localities and perceptions that people had about the occurrences of crime. The way crime was talked about in everyday language in the three places reflected the issues of fear of crime that I discuss in the following section.

5.7.6   The fear of crime

Closely linked to how people talk about crime is the issue of fear of crime. People expressed this fear of crime in the ways they talked about crime or took measures to protect themselves. Reflecting this fear of crime, a resident in Die Boord told me that,

> Nowadays when you come back home, you have to look around just to check if something is wrong. I think most people do that, out of fear of crime. We are afraid of crime because our way of life is threatened. We are afraid of threats of violence and even of being witnesses to crime. Images of victims of crime we have seen and heard of compound the fear. Hence, the perceived or actual increase in crime levels increases the fear of crime.

According to Glanz (1994:22), the fear of crime leads to avoidance behaviour, isolation and the erection of barriers. One resident of Die Boord pointed out that 'he is a prisoner of his own castle', when he made reference to the alarm system, the dogs and the high wall that he put up after a break-in at his house some years ago. These actions by a resident of Die Boord confirm the view of Zedner (2000) who points out that fear of crime affects even the most mundane of our everyday routines like child care, travel, consumption and our domestic arrangements.

What drives the fear of crime in South Africa is the violence that often comes with many types of crime. Criminals in many cases do not only engage in being petty thieves where they just break into a house and steal one's goods, the reality is more distressing. Criminals use violence in all forms to instil more fear, they rape, kill, hurt people in their homes or in the streets during the criminal acts. Altbeker (2007) refers to this violent nature of crime and argues that it is what brings out the extraordinary nature of South Africa's crime. It is violent and is sustained by social norms that have been embedded in many parts of our society. Some people use this violence to torture, injure and take from others as they go about their day. People do not receive this violence passively or wait to be maimed. Rather, they use their own means to protect themselves, from measures to protect their families through private security or responding to community initiatives to address crime. These efforts seemingly happen in vain as perpetrators of crime find new ways in both planned and opportunistic ways to perform crime.

I observed that the fear of crime makes people retreat into their zones of safety. I also discovered that the threat and fear of crime might be caused by people being suspicious of known criminals who live close by them or being afraid of seeing that criminal walk the streets after being out on bail. Therefore, much of the fear of crime is concerned with the protection of homes, communities and streets from a threat that is viewed to come from somewhere else (Sparks, Girling and loader 2001). In addition, fear of crime may result in feelings of despair, anger and loss of hope and this may lead to vigilante violence as residents try to sort out the crime problems.

The statement by Comaroff and Comaroff (2001) that the fear of crime in South Africa is unevenly distributed compared to anywhere else in the world makes sense in this discussion of fear of crime. This is because some people have the ability to reduce the impact of crime by using better means of transport and availing themselves of more personal and property protection (Glanz 1994:36).

There is a blurred boundary between the worries and the fear of crime and fear and anxieties about other things according to Sparks, Girling and loader (2001). The authors are right to point out the connections between 'crime-related' anxieties of citizens and social conflict and division, social justice and economic justice. I noted that fear of crime was not just the fear of crime on its own, but this was connected to other anxieties people had that showed unfulfilled needs as citizens and the fear of the 'other'.

Attitudes towards the police may have an effect on the fear of crime or the absence thereof. Roberts (2008:5), writing on the dynamics of fear of crime in South Africa, points out that the fear of crime is related to the erosion of people's confidence in the police and dissatisfaction with the crime-fighting abilities of the police at the neighbourhood level. There is evidence of some cases of the police playing the 'good guy as a cop and by night playing on the other side of the fence' with the criminals and being on their pay-roll or part of criminal syndicates. This has had an effect on the levels of fear of crime. The long controversial trial in 2009 of former National Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi compounded this fear of crime caused by a deep mistrust of the police because of the entanglements and connections to the criminal underworld. The prosecution, conviction and 15-year sentence of the former National Police Commissioner was evidence of the corruption and incompetence that citizens complained about and that the media highlighted. The reality was that some members of the police, after taking the oath to protect citizens, still got their hands dirty by being involved with the dangerous criminal underworld which they should be rooting out.

The fear of crime was expressed by everyone in this study, regardless of their gender, class, age, race or ethnic background. There have been attempts to deal with these fears in reports of the positive work that the police do to make the streets and the places where we live safe. One cannot help but look over his or her shoulder when at every turn one is bombarded with fresh crime stories from colleagues, the media or having the experience of being that victim of crime yourself.

5.8   Conclusion

This chapter presented the historical development of Stellenbosch and the more recent developments in the town. The recent history of the town indicates that it has been shaped by its character as an agricultural centre and tourist destination as well as being an educational centre. I discussed how the social categories were defined by race and class. In the following chapter, I will demonstrate how these differences influenced social ordering and security forms of governance. This chapter also highlighted the crime problems in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. I have unpacked and analysed the crime patterns from crime stories, official statistics and the media. The crime statistics give an indication of the crime problems in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. The interpretation of those crime statistics went hand in hand with a discussion of the reliability of crime statistics.

I argue that crime statistics when used together with other sources gives a clearer picture of the situation on the ground. Stories of the experiences of crime provide details of how these crimes occurred and illuminate many issues missed when crimes are merely recorded during reports. The fear of crime, media reports of crime and how crime was talked about in everyday language provide an initial point of discussion for the next chapter on crime and community policing.

The major point I made throughout the discussion in this chapter revolved around the issue that the nature and incidence of crime in Stellenbosch need to be understood in terms of socio-economic conditions and experiences with criminality in the three areas. It was essential to spell out and analyse the local conditions that inform a variety of responses to crime that are the subject for discussion in the following chapter. Therefore, this chapter gave a background to the discussion in the next chapter where the discussion centres around how people imagine and perform security through local community policing initiatives, the sensibilities that inform those initiatives and the perceptions around the discourse and practice of community policing in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore.

Chapter Six

CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIME MANAGEMENT PARTNERSHIPS: TRANSLATIONS OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN DIE BOORD, KAYAMANDI AND KYLEMORE

6.1 Introduction

The subject of this chapter is a description and analysis of how people created local sensibilities about crime and community policing in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. I illustrate this by illuminating the local crime prevention and crime management initiatives together with the people's perceptions. With this in mind, the objective of this chapter is to bring out how community policing was understood, translated and acted out in the three localities. Therefore, the focus of this chapter is how people conceived of what happened on the ground in terms of community policing. The ethnography shows that, in broad terms, when community policing is referred to, it is about partnerships between community-based organisations, local people and the police in order to deal with crime. I found out that the local crime fighting-initiatives that arise from these partnerships differ depending on local conditions of place, local needs and responses of the communities, and the issues that are prioritised by those who take leadership in local community policing initiatives.

The description and analysis of community policing initiatives in this chapter include a comparative analysis of the community policing models that I encountered and how these were supported or resisted in that locality. I simultaneously integrate the people's perceptions of community policing with how they viewed their relationship with the police and consequently the effect that had on how they perceived community policing. What was apparent, was the ever-changing police-community relations which also vary from place to place (Fourchard 2011). Let me also mention from the onset that I noted during the course of the research that community policing at times was not visible. It occurred in different spheres and some of it beyond onlookers and was experienced with differing structures and processes. The findings therefore point to crime and policing not only being contained in one sphere, but also that policing processes and crime occurrences were both visible and invisible. Crime was invisible in that some of it was not recorded but talked about in interviews.

I especially point to the differences in access to resources of the different local crime fighting initiatives, and how their knowledge bases fed into each other. I also refer to the ways local crime-fighting initiatives worked independently of each other with the different technologies they used.

It is worthwhile noting that the concept 'translation', discussed in Chapter Three, is used here to explain how people at the local level as well as security practitioners at the provincial and national government level make sense of community policing. Therefore, translation as a concept is useful in presenting the different faces of community policing that are discussed in this chapter plus the varied views on community policing. I also direct attention to the issue that the government expected general volunteerism in terms of partnerships between residents and the government efforts in crime-fighting. I noted, however, that there often was apathy and resistance to local community policing initiatives. The state pushed for community policing on the policy level while in practical forms it offered insufficient support for community policing initiatives. This resonates with Corbridge et al's (2005:6) view that the state at times acts as an 'impersonal and disinterested actor'. Lastly, in the course of the discussion of the findings, the point I will also constantly refer to is that although formal structures were put in place through national policy, crime prevention and crime management carried different meanings in different communities.

6.2 Reflections from the study sites: Major issues

In Chapter One and Two especially, I established that community policing encompassed a variety of philosophical and practical approaches and was still evolving. I further illustrate this in this chapter. In the previous chapters, I pointed out that community policing is a broad concept with different definitions in different contexts. I concur with Fourchard (2011:2) who demonstrates this point by pointing out that '[c]ommunity policing – which does not have a uniform definition may be used as a euphemism for a particular concept of police-civil society relations which includes different local structures'. The particular police-civil society partnerships that I encountered are what I discuss and analyse here. The findings in this chapter show that community policing was a form of multi-nodal security governance as suggested by Johnston and Shearing (2003). Multi-nodal security governance entails, for example, policing by the police, private security, and a variety of community organisations taking on changing functions as they respond to the complex world of crime and related problems in their localities. The features of multi-nodal security governance involve diverse foci and Berg (2010b:34) argues,

some are proactive, taking care to promote security in a particular area, while some are reactive and respond to incidents that have happened. Some are ad hoc, while others are sustained and continue for many years. Some are simple , while others can be complex.

I noted that at a minimum, these organisations used their discretion when responding to crime. They concentrated on particular primary functions at different times and this was dependent on a variety of issues. In Baker's (2010:599) conceptualisation, security actors at different levels have what he calls different 'mentalities (ways of thinking about the security concerns they seek to govern); and also 'technologies (method of exerting influence over security events);' plus different levels of resources they can draw from. These are the issues the research findings point to as well. I also found out how race and class impacted on social life and were further extended to security issues in both implicit and explicit ways. As people created their sensibilities about crime, local crime-fighting initiatives demonstrated the following, firstly, the issues that came up from the three localities show that community policing was a social process. Secondly, the patterns of interaction among various levels of partnership in policing revealed that people had different aims, objectives and interests when it came to safety and security issues. Consequently, people organised themselves in the different kinds of social order that were supported by the structures that existed in their communities. Thirdly, community policing made use of community organisations. What distinguished the way local community policing initiatives unfolded had to do with institutions, organisations and beliefs that differed between localities. The ways in which community policing is institutionalised differently is explained by Benit-Gbaffou (2008) who argues that different types of order may call for different types of policing. Furthermore, 'there are different 'cultures of policing' and different conceptions of local social orders embedded in different local histories and contrasting socio-economic settings' (Benit-Gbaffou 2008:93). Although this argument may be problematic when an argument is made about equality in access to security, Benit-Gbaffou's work provided me with a plausible interpretation for understanding the different contexts in which these community policing initiatives arose. Benit-Gbaffou (2008:97) further highlighted that security norms are implemented through community policing at the neighbourhood level and are negotiated by the community and municipalities. This is an issue that I will allude to through descriptions and analysis of the local crime-fighting initiatives. Hence, local differentiation in terms of policing practice is what the research results show.

6.3   The police as translators and knowledge brokers of community policing at the local level

From the issues that emerged from my interactions with the police and in-depth interviews with them, I took note of the fact that the police was the major element used by the state to translate the message of community policing. Amongst the wide net of strategies used by the Department of Community Safety, the police acted as a channel to translate ideas of community policing to the localities in which they worked. I noted in CPF meetings that the police communicated recent messages from the state about the place for community policing in crime-fighting. The resources the police had in terms of crime-fighting inherently made them have a role in so far as policing priorities are concerned. However, I realised early on that the police service is not a homogeneous entity and that it contained differing perceptions about community policing. Illuminating these differences in perceptions by the police, a police inspector commented: 'although the ideas of community policing have been written into their training as police, we have to constantly do more to stress this message to the police and for them to embrace that message'.

My first interview with a police constable in Kayamandi was more like a crash course and tutorial collapsed in one as she talked about community policing in Kayamandi. At that time, in 2007, she was responsible for the social crime prevention projects and consequently community policing projects. One striking comment that was made by the police constable was:

> From my understanding of what community policing should be like in Kayamandi, it has not developed, some people dislike the police, some people are not co-operative, and everyone has different opinions about the police because they have different experiences with the police. The police are an important component in terms of those partnerships to fight crime. It is difficult to work together if there is that dislike of the police by the people.

When I asked her what her understanding of community policing entailed, she responded that 'it would help if they had more support in the localities they worked in, in the form of better partnerships with CBOs and the local people being more forthcoming to attend to the issues of crime together with the police'. She revealed how the social crime prevention function that was being run by the police was suffering because most of the CBOs in Kayamandi were not working consistently with the police. I noted her frustration as she explained how difficult it was to get 'everyone on the same page'. 'That is on my wish list and I will keep trying'. The issues that this particular police constable raised were sentiments that were echoed by other police officers who displayed anxieties that came from not having control over the issues at hand

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sometimes. Her frustrations also came from the lack of capacity of the police to attend to the issues that they were confronted with daily.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, one of the most visible forms of community policing has been the CPFs. I inferred from the CPF meetings that I attended that the police acted as knowledge brokers of community policing ideals for the people who attended. They communicated the vision they had in terms of how they saw themselves working together with their localities. What I learnt from the CPF meetings was that the police found the information that came from those who attended the meetings useful in so far as crime mapping was concerned. Ratcliffe (2005:1) explains 'crime mapping' by arguing that crime may be understood in depth by looking at its geographical component. The idea is to look at the relationship between crime in an area and its environment: the socio-economic characteristics of that area. This relationship is then used to assess the effectiveness of policing and crime reduction programmes that are applied in particular places. I gathered from the CPF meetings in all three localities that CPFs were platforms especially useful in so far as the setting of policing priorities by the police was concerned. The issues that were raised in the CPF meetings formed part of the input the police used to keep track of the crimes occurring in the various geographical areas they operated in and helped to plan their interventions. I listened with interest as the police probed the issues that were raised by members during the CPF meetings or the operational meetings that were held between the police and the CPF committee.

The nature of community policing as used by the police in Stellenbosch revolved around the sector policing method. Sector policing as a form of community policing adopts a more decentralized approach targeting specific smaller geographical areas (Maroga 2004). In addition to this, there was sector-to-sector collaboration which was facilitated by the communication between different sector managers about the problems they faced and the sharing of solutions to those problems. A police inspector from Kayamandi explained to me the reasons why the sector policing method was used in Stellenbosch:

> The sector policing system is trying to improve the working of community policing. We cannot reach out to the whole community. The needs of the Stellenbosch community are different; this means you cannot police them effectively if you cluster them into one. The police working with the people need to understand for example the language of the people for better communication. The police need to understand the crime problems which differ from one area to another.

Policing in Stellenbosch revolved around the sector policing method hence the division of the Stellenbosch town into four sectors, which are the town centre, surrounding residential areas, the farms and Kayamandi. Kylemore belonged to another policing district and was a sector on its own in its policing district under Groot Drakenstein. The rationale behind sector policing was that the level of crime and related problems in these sectors differed and therefore varying flexible interventions were needed. Furthermore, information about crime trends in the four sectors in Stellenbosch formed one of the bases of policing planning each month. However, this was only effective if most incidents of crime were reported for the essential planning of interventions.

In Kayamandi the sector policing method was further decentralised. Crime forums under the umbrella of sector policing were created after encouragement from the police who were working with the CPF. Crime forums were small committees of people from the different sections in Kayamandi. One resident volunteer was responsible for a crime forum in an area. Crime forum members included members who lived in the streets close to each other. The idea of having crime forums was that the CPF would have easier access to information of what was going on in different parts of the relatively large township. The representatives from the crime forum reported to the CPF committee once a month. The logic of having crime forums, according to a resident of Kayamandi who was a crime forum manager was that,

> The CPF cannot be all over, therefore they need ears and eyes from the representatives of the crime forum to know what is happening in the streets. There are issues that are not necessary to report to the police for example if there is an argument about money issues between friends in a particular place and the issue escalates, the crime forum may intervene. There are also family matters that people would rather have someone they know help them to resolve rather than report to the police. Therefore, people use the services of the crime forum in this regard.

Later on in 2008, the issue of zone committees was emphasised in Kayamandi with the police working with representatives from different zones in Kayamandi. Some of these representatives were self-appointed, some of them were recruited through the CPF. The sector manager at that time found the existence of crime forums and zone committees useful for gathering information about the issues that needed to be attended to in the various zones in Kayamandi. He told me,

> we cannot function as the police without these structures. We need them to know what is happening. At times, these forums go a long way in intervening and attending to family related problems and some people find it easier to solve problems through some familiar people they relate well with who live in their vicinity.

In comparison, the police station in the Dwars River Valley (Groot Drakenstein police district) also employed sector policing with specific police officers being responsible for a village. The sector manager for Kylemore pointed out that sector policing helped with the delegation of police duties. Moreover, sector policing through the allocation of police personnel to a particular place was an attempt to make people more familiar with the police who worked in their area. The use of sector policing showed that the methods the police used were influenced by what they wanted to achieve. Through sector policing, the police prioritised information gathering from the localities within which they worked.

6.4   Performing community policing through CPFs

In Chapter Two, I mentioned that my first point of contact in the field were the CPFs in Stellenbosch. I attended my first meeting in February 2007 at the Stellenbosch Police Station. During the course of the research, I attended a total of 17 CPF meetings of which ten were at the Stellenbosch Police Station. During the four months I conducted fieldwork in Kayamandi, I attended all four CPF meetings which were convened. I attended three CPF meetings in the Groot Drakenstein during the four months of fieldwork there. The other meetings I attended were *ad hoc* community meetings that discussed various issues in that locality especially in Kayamandi and Kylemore. In this section, I discuss the issues that were discussed at the CPFs. I also include particular interactions that unfolded in the CPF meetings. I especially direct attention to the set of actors in the CPF meetings and the various issues they brought for discussion to these meetings.

The issues that were discussed in CPF meetings not only gave me an indication of the crime problems that were being dealt with but they brought out the perceptions of community policing of those who attended. Being an observer and occasionally a participant in the CPF meetings gave me an opportunity to compare the issues that came up there with my interactions, observations and interviews with residents in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. Being part of the CPF meetings until the writing stage kept me informed of the issues that were unfolding in the localities. People's engagement and deliberations with one another in these meetings revealed their varying interests, disappointments and the traumatising realities of crime. The issues that were discussed in CPF meetings were determined by what was raised by those who attended the meetings. After the minutes from the previous meeting were read in the Stellenbosch CPF, sector managers gave reports of crime statistics in their areas. The sector managers also answered questions from residents. The questions from the residents centred mostly on why the police had not done

their duties well, for example not maintaining enough police visibility around the trouble spots. During most of the Stellenbosch CPF meetings, car break-ins and bicycle theft in and around the town were cited amongst the most occurring crimes. In the Kayamandi CPF, issues varied as well, during one meeting, concern was for the increase in the number of *spaza* shops that were robbed that month. During another monthly meeting, concern was also raised about house break-ins and the increased incidents of people who were robbed in the early hours of the morning during winter. In another meeting, more concerns centred on how the *shebeens* were being handled by the police. The residents during that meeting in 2009 were of the view that the police were not assisting them enough with finding solutions that were associated with *shebeens.* The debate sparked arguments in the meeting. Some residents were of the view that the problems were not emanating from all the *shebeens* but there were known hot-spots around the *shebeens* where people were often robbed and the police were not doing much to stop that. Although the police responded citing the meetings they had with *shebeen* owners and the closing times they were enforcing, this did not seem satisfactory to the people who seemed tired of raising concerns around *shebeens.*

Although those who attended CPF meetings aired their views, I noted that the depth of information from various sources was hindered by poor attendance in CPF meetings. Nevertheless, I noted in all meetings that people were more than willing to share their concerns and offer some kind of suggestions on how to tackle the problems. The perception I got, however, was that the police viewed the people as the eyes of the police whereas the people came with an expectation to hear from the police how they were going to tackle the problems they were bringing to the table. Conflict of expectations is what I noted from the different sets of actors who attended these meetings in all three places. The police were the group that benefited the most from these meetings because they had an opportunity to hear many things which they missed when they patrolled.

Although in the agenda of CPF meetings a platform was given for residents to air their concerns, CPF meetings acted largely as planning platforms for the police. Even the venue of the meetings often being the police station gave an indication of how the agendas for community policing activities were created. So even if people were encouraged to take part in their own policing, the state still had control over the process, and this minimised the process of participation of residents.

I picked on the politics of co-existence of the actors involved in CPF meetings. This emerged from the ways the people in the CPF meetings pushed for different issues that they thought deserved to get priority action in terms of policing. Through observations, I noted that the stakeholders who dominated the discussions were the ones who were actively engaged with the police outside of the meetings and pushed for particular policing priorities. What I concluded from the interactions in CPFs is that the translation of (in this case community policing) takes place within fields of unequal power (Merry 2006:40). Although everyone had a chance to raise their issues, it did not follow that policing priorities reflected everyone's concerns.

Figure 5: 2008 Kayamandi CPF new executive elected at the Annual General Meeting

Those who attended the CPF meetings represented their localities at meetings with the police to discuss ways of dealing with crime in their localities. I noted that CPFs at times seemed to hold endless meetings without much that happened on the ground afterwards. The realisation in the CPF that there were merely ongoing discussions, without much work being done by the CPF in Stellenbosch, led to suggestions for employing someone full-time to co-ordinate the local crime prevention initiatives for Stellenbosch. By the time I finalised the research, no one had been employed. However, the new committee in 2009 became more active by having fortnightly meetings and expanding the efforts of increasing the number of organisations represented in the Stellenbosch CPF. The challenge of not having much happening on the ground in terms of crime prevention and crime management activities as would have been desired especially by those active in CPFs pointed to what was noted by Baker (2010) as a wish for security and justice sectors to have more economic, social, cultural or symbolic capital to work with in their efforts to attend to crime and related problems. The issue of not having significant results in terms of attending to

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crime by the different state and non-state actors can also be explained by what Baker (2009) points to as links between these different actors being fragile and too informal to be consistent in the work they do or attempt to do.

The issues discussed in the CPFs largely pointed to community policing that was driven by the state, which was the police. The provincial governments, through the Department of Community Safety used the police as the main channel to convey ideas and allocate minimal resources for community policing to the communities. The government used the police as both its knowledge broker and mediator. Although in the agenda of the meetings residents' concerns could be aired, the meetings acted largely as planning platforms for the community work of the police. However, some debating of the challenges and priorities in policing was done in these meetings.

6.3.1 Structural marginality of community policing shown through CPFs

The fact that at the start of 2007, during the discussion of the finances there was only R541 in the Stellenbosch CPF bank account was a worrying issue and pointed to the ways in which community policing initiatives were marginalised. I had noted the frustration in many CPF meetings because projects were planned or suggested but not much happened on the ground because funds were not available. The Stellenbosch CPF committee tried to source funds in 2009 from the businesses in and around Stellenbosch that were represented in the CPF meetings. However, not much was made available through those fund raising efforts. I could not help but notice the horror on people's faces in the first meeting of the year when the CPF chairperson said,

> we are still owed the money from last year from the Department of Community Safety. All the forms were completed and handed in on time but the money was not credited into the account and yes we have followed up on the money before.

A police inspector who was in the front row asked a question whether the chairperson had sent all the relevant documentation for that year for the application of funds to the Department of Community Safety. The chairperson responded, 'the forms were sent, I will look into that again but we need financial support to do more', he said as he shook his head in despair. The discussion on the police open day continued the discussion of approaching more businesses for CPF related projects.

A call for strong participation by the people to be part of community policing ideally would be matched with substantial financial support for community policing initiatives. Funding to sustain the activities of the CPFs was managed in various ways in the different provinces. Some of the funding initially came from international donors who even provided training for the CPFs in certain areas, especially in the early years of establishing the CPFs as discussed in Chapter Four. Funding was barely enough even to sustain CPF projects for a month. The yearly funds allocated by the Department of Community Safety were pegged at R3 500 in 2009 for the whole year. The government was not providing sufficient support for the work of the CPFs. On the other hand, when the government representatives went on public platforms, they encouraged and motivated for CPFs, which was ironic when there was not enough financial support for the CPFs. The money was needed by CPFs to run their events and crime prevention initiatives. I also noted the capacity constraints on the part of the police in attending to the needs of the CPFs. The CPF committee had no access to telephones to use for CPF related issues. This was interpreted by some of the CPF committee members, especially in Kayamandi, as the police not taking seriously the initiatives of the CPF and other CBOs to prevent crime. The perception arose that community policing was merely procedural. The negative attitude of residents towards community policing also stemmed from this apparent structural marginality of community policing.

The delegation of responsibility has had the opposite effect of fostering strong partnerships between local communities and the police. Instead of creating a reciprocal relationship between government and the people in policing, I noticed the absence of a real connection between the communities and the state. The real relationship between the communities and the police leave questions unanswered with both sides in a stalemate at times on how best to have a fruitful relationship, evident in the ways such statements featured in most community discussions on security.

6.3.2   Low attendance of CPF meetings

Concerns were often raised about the poor level of participation in CPF meetings and local crime-fighting initiatives. Reasons given by residents for not participating in community policing initiatives included lack of contact with the leadership of CPFs and different views they had concerning how to attend to what they perceived as the most pressing problems. The low attendance of CPF meetings gave an impression of the meetings being ritualistic with the same faces present at most times. Some people pointed out that there

was no need to attend the CPF meetings because the CPF did not have the resources to do things on the scale they wanted in terms of local crime prevention activities.

I noted some unwritten rules of participation, people saying they were not comfortable with attending CPF meetings because they were not sure if they were taken seriously. Many residents in Kayamandi and Kylemore noted that they did not have ownership of the community policing initiatives and therefore were not aware of what was taking place or which projects their CPF and the police were running. For these reasons, they did not feel the need to be part of community policing meetings.

The station commander at the Stellenbosch police station mentioned one illuminating issue about why he thought the CPF had weakened in the way it functioned. He explained:

> The understanding of community policing varies in the area. Those who started in the early 1990s mobilising their communities and spreading the need to work with the police are now councillors. The responsibility for the CPFs is now with other individuals. Those who have moved on to other positions as councillors do not offer a support base or improve networking with those who are now responsible for CPFs. We would expect those who were there from the beginning of CPFs to be mentors in some way for the new people who come to CPFs at different points. The municipality has a budget for safety and security issues but we have a problem of better co-ordinating the issues that need to be attended to in terms of safety and security in all the sectors where we work as the police.

He was of the view that local government could play a bigger role than they were doing in assisting the police to deal with crime and related problems. He was concerned that there was not much accountability in the local government to the local people when it came to safety and security issues in areas outside of the town centre. He gave an example that local government was doing their job but the issues that were attended to were not approached in a holistic manner. For example, there were more CCTV cameras installed. While this was a good idea, crime had simply moved to other areas. There was an improvement in the car guards system in town and proper identification of the car guards through numbers and jacket reflectors they wore, but that did not take care of the house break-ins around the town centre. The perception of local government was that this helped to send the message of an organised town where security was taken as a top priority and protect the image of the town as a safe place.

Lack of representation from below through the low attendance in CPFs and community meetings that discussed issues of crime and security reflected the language of 'community policing' as mere rhetoric. Municipalities had their own structures of planning for safety and security issues in their municipalities.

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Residents in the poor localities around Stellenbosch cited that the issues that they encountered on a daily basis were not being taken note of by their municipalities. Some residents in Kayamandi complained about the greater emphasis on tourism in Stellenbosch without seriously taking care of the everyday issues the residents of the townships and surrounding farms faced. The township tourism idea in Kayamandi has become well developed over time but there is slow progress in terms of better service delivery in Kayamandi or attention to dealing with unemployment in Kylemore and Kayamandi.

In the CPFs in all three localities, there were challenges with regards to attracting more people to be part and actively participate in the meetings. At one CPF meeting, a committee member in this regard stressed that

> there is some reluctance for some of the residents to become part of the policing activities in their communities and it may become relatively easy to ignore them but the input of the residents will always be needed to combat crime.

The Stellenbosch police station commander responded: 'while we regard community members who participate in CPFs as committed and that things are looking good, there is more room for improvement'. An elderly man who lived in one of the suburbs near Die Boord responded to the station commander by explaining what he saw as the reason for reluctance to participate in CPF meetings and local crime-fighting initiatives:

> We have a role to create something that is more 'tolerant' *(make the work of the CPF known to the public)* in order to draw the attention of the public: we need something that will make them more passionate, for now we just have to wait for new ideas.

Although the emphasis was placed on the support of the people in their respective localities, the solution could differ from area to area since the problems and the translation of the approach to these problems may differ. Benit-Gbaffou (2008) argues that there is continuous effort to homogenize security but this actually increases local differentiation regarding the context and practice of policing. Instead of attempts to find ways to increase the number of participant platforms that discuss crime and security issues, the effort may be channelled more towards relevant local crime fighting initiatives. It is not the number of people participating in crime fighting initiatives that brings results, but the relevance of what is being put in place in the localities. From the ways in which the sector managers explained the work in their sectors, I noted the need for what Sherman (1968:245) pointed out as 'substantial interaction between the characteristics of each community and the way it is policed'.

6.4   The Neighbourhood Watch (NW) in the three localities

NWs in the three localities that were studied were one of the evident forms of community policing. NWs were an outcome of police initiatives and their committee members attended CPF meetings. However, the three NWs operated with differing forms and levels of participation, were funded differently and their day-to-day activities were organised differently. The examples of NWs in the three localities show the differentiated translation process of community policing. The ways in which the leadership organised the activities of the NWs showed that as mediators and translators, they had their own interests as well as their own ideas through which they framed how community policing was to be performed. I especially noted in the NWs in Kayamandi and Kylemore the power asymmetries which were evident in how those who were in positions of authority positioned themselves and made attempts to speak for the people in their locality thereby enhanced their position. They became important players articulating safety and security issues in their localities. Those in leadership positions in the NWs in Kayamandi and Kylemore translated that which was policed by the NWs and what was acceptable or not acceptable behaviour among those active in them. NW volunteers in Kayamandi and Kylemore used their discretion about where and when to intervene as they conducted patrols or when community problems were presented to them.

The ways in which those who were active in the NWs used positive language to describe their work and their wish for many more people to join in the work of the NW gave an impression of inclusion in the way they performed community policing in their localities. However, that was not actually the case, as I will illustrate in the following subsections that discuss how the NWs in the three localities were organised and how they functioned.

6.4.1   Die Boord NW: Private policing and other techniques for surveillance

The discussion of the NW in Die Boord and private policing in this section is an attempt to interrogate the kinds of spaces that are produced by neoliberal policing. Let me first refer to the Stellenbosch Watch and how it worked in Die Boord. The Stellenbosch Watch was formed by residents in Stellenbosch and initially used to do its own patrolling. By the time I conducted the research, it had already been several years since the patrolling had been outsourced to a private security firm (ADT) which conducted the 24-hour vehicle patrols daily. The residents who were members paid monthly subscriptions of R80.00. The Stellenbosch Watch was also supported financially by the Stellenbosch municipality. According to the chairperson of the

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Stellenbosch Watch, 80% of the residents were paying monthly subscriptions during the time I conducted fieldwork. The decisions on how the patrols were conducted came directly from the Stellenbosch Watch committee.

In the suburbs of Stellenbosch where the residents were predominantly white, there was a lot of use of private security companies for the protection of individual properties. The use of alarms as one Die Boord resident explained, appeared as 'imprisoning yourself in your place of freedom because you want to make sure that you are safe in your personal haven'. Residents in Die Boord, viewed the provision of security as their personal responsibility. This was possible when the residents had the financial means to pay for their own security through private security companies. In the affluent neighbourhoods across South Africa, the residents paid the hefty price tag that buying or renting in that area implied in the extra cost of security.

The working of private security shows that the upper and middle classes have 'taken their direct responsibility for their policing. In reducing their reliance on the state as a guarantor of peace, they have taken control over the ways in which their worlds are secured' (Davis 1990 in Brogden and Shearing 1993:4). Private policing has indeed become vital in the provision of policing in South Africa. Private policing is thus a way of assisting the state in maintaining public order, peace and security within certain guidelines and is only for those who are able to afford paying for it. The affluent areas or suburbs tend to have high levels of security, walls, some gated flats and surveillance. As a result, crime is relatively lower in those areas. However, high walls for security reasons has an effect on how public space is used. According to Caldeira (2000:301), in her study of the changes in São Paulo because of the building of high walls and gated communities over the past decades, high walls result in diverse changes but what is observable is that these high walls are driven by the desire to create safe spaces and they also 'create policed borders and consequently leave less space for indeterminancy in public encounters. They all promote intolerance, suspicion and fear'.

However, from the statistics and the crime stories I presented, crime does happen in areas where private security is active. Although risk is minimised, the measures taken by residents who may afford extra security does not mean that they will not be victims of crime. The major focus of private security companies is to reduce the risk of crime for their clients.

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The knowledge that middle and upper class are still vulnerable even with the active private security has expanded their need to be able to defend and protect themselves in the form of technological advancement for security. The use of passwords, CCTV, alarm systems and more passwords, controlled access and armed patrols are a reflection of this. One elderly woman in Die Boord demonstrated to me the measures she had taken to make sure she was safe. She explained how she had bars on her windows, an alarm system, and one of her neighbours and the Stellenbosch Watch on speed-dial as well. She flashed the two remote control pads she had one with panic buttons. She clinched onto the keys for a moment as if her life depended on them and she seemed to feel good holding on to them. She jokingly said she would not reveal other extra measures of security to me. She was confident she was protected and if there was an attacker in her home, help would be there for her promptly. She also felt confident of the private security vehicles that often drove up and down her street, day and night.

The patrols by private security involved some kind of supposed 'elimination' of suspected threat to the neighbourhood. Security personnel approached those they suspected of having sinister intentions. Racial profiling was used with black and coloured men at times being approached if they were considered to be just loitering the streets in Die Boord. Old cars were at times followed and occupants asked if they were lost. This often happened if a car was identified driving around many times without actually going to a particular place in Die Boord.

Many Die Boord residents felt confident because of private security and technology used to protect their homes and families. With a smile, a middle aged man in this regards told me that

> ADT is always excellent, we are always aware of their presence. ADT is just like part of the furniture for us. If I see them, we are safe. However, when I see the police cars and fire brigade for example, then I know there is real trouble.

The issues he raised showed that he preferred to rely more on private security than the police. He felt he was protected by the mere presence and patrols of private security. However, I noted that some Die Boord residents realised the false sense of security they lived in. One resident who was very critical of private security told me that

> It is not just our crime policy that does not look good; there is a problem with private security as well. They market themselves as if they may protect you at all times and if nothing may happen to you. We spend a lot on the private security people but it surely does not function without flaws.

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The above quote was true in so far as it related to the house break-ins and car break-ins in Die Boord. Surely, the private security companies could not avoid these from happening. Worse still, the murder of a mother and house break-in that I referred to in Chapter Five was a wake-up call for many residents. Private security always patrolled in Die Boord, but a brutal murder nevertheless occurred. Among the many crimes that were talked about and recorded in Die Boord, such a brutal murder was extra-ordinary. In the aftermath of that murder, flyers were handed out in Die Boord by the NW about the need to be more proactive in a collective way to prevent crime in Die Boord. The flyer that was distributed read, 'for a NW to be effective, it is critical to get as many as possible residents to become involved'. Further information encouraged residents to provide the NW committee and volunteers with their phone numbers and email addresses for easier and quick communication about safety and security issues in their neighbourhood. They gave the example of the NW in one of the nearby suburb which had an efficient database, 95 volunteers and residents who patrolled in their own cars. The meetings and deliberations that followed after those flyers were distributed resulted in the establishment of zones, updating of the database with residents information and patrols by residents. At the time that I conducted research in Die Boord before the brutal murder of a mother in her house in 2009, residents were not actively involved in the patrols of Die Boord. When I spoke to several residents after the brutal murder, many expressed anxiety about security and were eager to do something about to 'improve' their security situation. Driving around Die Boord in 2011 and early 2012, I noticed more fences, gates and walls that had been erected around a considerable number of houses that never had any surrounding walls a couple of years earlier.

Although anxieties around security were evidently there among many residents in Die Boord, some elderly people I interviewed in Die Boord expressed some confidence from the knowledge that the 24-hour security patrol was at their service. One woman noted that she had not made an effort for some time to pay the NW subscription but she knew she was 'taken care of'. She also made a remark about some of the low fences or absence of fences for about 50% of houses in the neighbourhood. She mentioned that this made it easier for people to know each other and watch out for each other. For her, community policing was about watching out for the neighbours and knowing their daily patterns. As someone who had retired, she had the luxury of knowing details of her neighbours daily schedules. I was reminded of Wallman (1998:1840) who reasoned that the residents of neighbourhoods get to know each other by sight. They meet during shopping, at the bus stop or walking on the street, and over time they learn the public habits and timetables of people they do not know by name and probably never visit where they live. Recognising and being

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recognised by others creates a sense of belonging in a place. Nonetheless, there was a sense in which there was a general sentiment that security was a responsibility for the individual in Die Boord.

What may be inferred from the working of private security was discussed by Samara (2010) based on his fieldwork in Cape Town. He pointed to the production and reproduction of racial spaces produced by neoliberal policing, especially private policing. Samara argues that private policing 'produces a form of social ordering based on emerging conceptions of racialised citizenship linked to market access' (Samara 2010:639). Private policing in this case works to regulate non-white poor people by surveillance in the predominantly white surburbs. Hence, exclusionary spaces are created where race and class play a crucial role and private policing plays a big role in producing spaces formed with race and class being the defining factors. My findings build upon the work of Glover (2008) and Samara (2010) who indicate that both race and class are elements that influence participation or exclusion from the so-called secure places.

6.4.2   The NW *(Bambanani)* and Police Reservists in Kayamandi

The version of the NW in Kayamandi involved two bodies. The first version involved police-trained volunteers, called reservists, made possible through funding provided by an initiative that was launched in 2002 by the then MEC of the Western Cape for Safety and Security. The second version was a NW funded by government funds known as *Bambanani* (neighbourhood watch). The *Bambanani* (NW) volunteer programme was initiated by the Western Cape Community Safety MEC, Leonard Ramatlakane, in 2003. It entailed the mobilization of communities as volunteers to assist the police and other law enforcement agencies in addressing crime, especially contact crimes, in the Western Cape. The name denotes a spirit of working together to solve problems, a shared goal and solidarity. The word *Bambanani* has been used as a rallying point for those who want to participate in community policing activities. The term was used by the provincial campaigns for the NWs and on T-shirts and jackets for volunteers carrying the *Bambanani* emblem. The reservist initiative was run by the police whereas the *Bambanani* NW was the initiative of the residents with support provided by the Department of Community Safety in the form of training. The police however actively identified people to run the *Bambanani* NW intiative.

Figure 6: *left* - Police reservists in uniform and NW volunteers wearing the yellow and black *Bambanani* T-shirts. *Right* - NW volunteers in Kayamandi

Six months training was provided for the reservists. The first volunteers I encountered when I conducted fieldwork in Kayamandi in 2008 were the police-trained reservists. The reservists together with the police were deployed to guard schools and patrol the streets in town everyday. In January 2011, in a telephone interview to update me on the reservists, a police inspector in Kayamandi confirmed that reservists were going to be absorbed permanently in the police. No new reservists would be trained because there were no new funds from the Provincial Safety and Security portfolio to carry on that initiative. Since 2009, the reservist initiative has been under review and no new police reservists have been enlisted.

The reservists cited the payment they received as one of the reasons they enlisted to be police reservists. The incentive structure had a bearing whether one would participate in community policing initiatives or not. The payment the police reservists received, though insufficient according to most of them, was cited as one of the reasons for enrolling into the programme. In 2012, a considerable number of police reservists had stopped because there was no payment for their services. Therefore an incentive in the form of payment was linked to how community policing was perceived. A considerable number of young adults in Kayamandi pointed out that it was no use being part of something they were paid for very little or not paid for. For this reason, some chose to stay away from volunteer initiative because there was not a sufficient incentive in terms of monetary reward.

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Let me turn to the details of how the *Bambanani* NW initiative functioned in Kayamandi. I sat at the concrete ledge outside the Kayamandi police station, waiting for the Kayamandi NW chairperson. A Kayamandi police inspector had arranged the appointment for me. When he arrived, he passed me and went straight into the police station. A few minutes later, he emerged from the building, called out my name and I got up swiftly relieved that he had come for the appointment. He gave me a firm handshake and quickly proposed we do the interview outside. He got straight into talking, breaking the ice before I could even ask any questions. He began his story:

> How did I end up being involved with the NW? Alright, here is my story, firstly, crime is very high here; the statistics do not record everything that is happening. One day when I was coming back from work, I found that my house had been broken into and I reported to the police and they said they would investigate. Three days later, my sister found the guy selling my things, a television set and clothes. I went straight to the police and told them that I knew the suspect and they should come with me. They did not do that and they said they were still investigating. I was very angry. You see, if you follow the government rules, it does not work sometimes because they do not deal with your concerns. We found the man and we beat him with my friends. (*He used the legs and hands to show that they gave the man a thorough hiding).* He confessed and said he will pay me for what he stole from me and that then we left him. *(He said with confidence how the method they had used was effective in dealing with the suspected thief who confessed after the beating). Sisi* (sister), (he affectionately called me), after that incident I asked myself how many people have gone to the police and told them they knew who had committed a crime and nothing was done.

In an indirect manner, he told me how he condoned the use of vigilante methods to deal with a problem or criminal but only when they were sure of the facts. He stressed that the ways in which the NW worked entailed the ability to use their discretion and the example of how he solved the issue of his stolen goods demonstrated that. He continued his story by telling me that

> we started recruiting people and encouraging them to join in to do something about crime. At that time, the *Bambanani* initiative had been launched. We had to organise people to go for training as NW volunteers. The volunteers are given one week's training. We have ways of doing our investigations if there is a crime that has been committed. We know the ones who cause trouble. We make sure we have meetings every month or even twice a month especially if there is something very urgent. People are busy trying to organise their lives as well so attendance depends on who may come. Training for volunteers has stopped now; there are no funds for that initiative.

The issues he raised point to matters that I raised earlier, namely that there was no sufficient financial and institutional support for local community policing initiatives. The local community policing initiatives in Kayamandi and Kylemore owed their existence to those few who were dedicated and had the ability to sacrifice their time and financial resources.

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The NW chairperson in Kayamandi pointed out that if he had office space at the police station it would make it easier and quicker to liaise with the police and deal with issues and the residents would find them easier. The chairpersons of the CPF and the NW in Kayamandi stressed the issue of the unavailability of space at the police station. That workspace symbolically represented being taken seriously by the police in terms of crime fighting in the neighbourhood or not. During an informal discussion with the NW chairperson, he told me that he was going to stop working with the NW because of family commitments and that he had to concentrate on finding another job. Being unemployed had put pressure on him since he did not have the money to do some of the NW tasks, for example making phone calls to organise and co-ordinate the NW activities. He stressed how being at the forefront of such community initiatives meant that he had to use his own financial resources to get things done, for example giving airtime to make telephone calls and making arrangements for people to go for training. He noted how there was a need for more volunteers and he spoke proudly about those who had been able to go for training.

One representative in Kayamandi told me that, 'on a good day, 25 volunteers would turn up during the patrols which occurred during weekends'. However during some of the weekends that I participated in patrols, at times only six people would turn up for the NW. The patrols in Kayamandi consisted of a group of police reservists, the police on duty that evening and the *Bambanani* volunteers. The volunteers who were part of the *Bambanani* group and police reservists consisted of more women than men. I understood this to be awareness by the women of their vulnerability from crime hence their interest in being volunteers. Moreover, their economic vulnerability and need for money was one reason they stated as taking up roles as volunteers. A policeman made a remark about the gender asymmetry: 'the ladies show more interest than men, during the weekends, most men are sitting in the shebeens and are not very interested in the *Bambanani*'.

The reservists, NW volunteers and the police met at the police station early in the evening before weekend patrols. There was a briefing before the patrol started. The idea was to maintain some form of visibility. I found it absurd when we took off in three police cars for the patrol in a township that had almost 30 000 residents. The police were surely overwhelmed and could not be in all the trouble spots at the same time. The ways in which the police and volunteers went about their duties during the weekends resonated with what Comaroff and Comaroff (2010) in a recent paper pointed out, namely how the police perform security because they are sensitive to the ambivalent responses with which they are regarded. Therefore, they have

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devised techniques through which to enact their visibility and efficacy. The police play out in raids to send a message that the new South Africa is taking shape in a vital effort to produce social order. I observed that for the police, showing visibility was a way of attending to a populace that does not trust them, hold them in high regards or have confidence in them. The ineffectiveness of police and civilian patrols were reflected in statements by a Kayamandi resident such as:

> The police need to be innovative in the ways they go about their business. The criminals know the ways of the police. The moment they finish patrols or the police leave an area, the criminals know they have an hour before the police patrol the same area or streets again. *(He pointed out police visibility only would not result in discouraging criminals to do their 'business').*

One of the things the police attended to during the patrols together with the NW volunteers and reservists was enforcing the closing times of the *shebeens* in Kayamandi. This is an example of the negotiation of the way rules are put in place through local community policing initiatives. Although a considerable number of *shebeens* are not registered, some residents of Kayamandi and Kylemore feel that the *shebeens* provide a service for them. As expected, not everyone approves of the existence of the *shebeens*. In Kylemore, the opening of a registered sports bar and games room has not deterred people from going to the *shebeens*. The *shebeens,* according to the regular patrons, provide a more relaxed atmosphere compared to the registered bar in Kylemore. In addition, alcohol is relatively cheaper at the *shebeens*. Over the years, however, *shebeens* have become associated with major problems: they are places for using drugs and incidents of rape as well as alcohol being sold to minors have often been reported. In Kayamandi the police, NW and the *shebeen* owners often had meetings to discuss closing times, weapons and drug use by patrons which caused problems. The 11 o'clock p.m. closing time was an attempt to avoid the numerous incidents of alcohol related violence or people being robbed because they were drunk and left the *shebeen* late. However, the closing time of 11 o'clock p.m. for the *shebeens* as negotiated between the police and NW was often not observed. *Shebeens* often closed in the early hours of the morning. As soon as the police left, people walked back into the *shebeen.*

Stone-throwing and cynical remarks made to the police and NW during the patrols in Kayamandi were an indication that the people yearned for something else instead of the ritualistic patrols by the police and the volunteers. Many mornings after the weekend patrols, there were several reports of contact crimes and house break-ins. On Saturday morning, I went back to Kayamandi after a patrol on Friday night. I found the police busy rushing out to attend to a murder report that had just been made that Saturday morning. The

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paradox was that the commentaries people made after such incidents reflected or blamed the police for not being visible enough. The message to the police was that the police should have avoided the murder from happening. I was reminded of Steinberg's (2011) commentary at a seminar that policy programmes demanded community participation but on the ground, there was a whirlwind of complexities. The police made an effort to convey an image of strength but they were doing so from a point of weakness due to insufficient resources to deal with the issues at hand. The people perceived their efforts with cynicism because the problems had not been dealt with effectively, hence the incidents of vigilante violence where suspected criminals were often beaten up in Kayamandi before the police were called or arrived at the scene.

6.4.3   Kylemore's NW

According to Mr D, the chairperson of the NW in Kylemore during the time I conducted research, the NW in Kylemore was formed in 1997 through an initiative of a group of men with the support of the police. The rationale for establishing the NW was because of the ways in which they had seen their place change. They wanted to attend to the issue of disturbances that arose from alcohol abuse, the resulting violent behaviour and theft that was a cause of concern at that time. The issue for that group of men was to invoke a vision for the residents of Kylemore who would strive to work to have a better place where they could improve their socio-economic conditions.

The first members of the NW registered the NW with R55 from their own pockets. They attended initial training for NW volunteers at the Apostle Battery in Hout Bay. In the early days after its establishment, members of the NW patrolled the streets on foot and relied on using very limited resources to communicate with each other and report crimes. They relied on the few telephones in their locality to contact the police or each other to attend to an incident. The expense and inconvenience of not having a reliable communication channel lasted a short while as a two way radio system was provided by the Fynbos organisation for use during weekends.

As incidents of theft were reported on the surrounding farms, some of the farmers approached the Kylemore NW to patrol on their farms. The NW received a much needed boost through the financial support and the car that they received from the farm owners. A two way radio system for the NW was sponsored by

the owner of Leview farm and the car for the patrol was provided by the Tokara farm owner. The vision and work of the NW was initially dominated by men. Although their membership grew, females only joined officially early in 2003. In comparison to the Kayamandi NW, where women actively patrolled the streets alongside male volunteers, the role of the female members of the Kylemore NW centred on attending to the radio, recording incidents and putting together the reports after night patrols. One of the NW members commented that the women performed these roles better. One woman told me that since she stayed at home, she was safer from the unpredictable things they might encounter during the daily patrols. However, I noticed that the women had their fair share in making suggestions during the short debriefing sessions after the patrols.

Just before a typical night of patrol, one member on duty brought me a hard copy of the duty roster for that month and phone numbers of volunteers that I could interview. He showed me the duty roster with pride as he explained how the men were allocated a week's duty at a time. A female member who was part of that week's shift stayed at home and attended to her radio, reporting any incidents that came to her attention each night. As we set off for the patrol, we went to Nene's house, the female who was on duty that night. There was a short briefing and the radios were checked. Filling the fuel tank and recording of the kilometres on the speedometer was done. The sun had not yet set since it was summertime so we patrolled Kylemore neighbourhood for about an hour. I sat in front with two of the four men who were on duty that night. They explained to me as we went around how they went about the daily patrols. They maintained a high degree of alertness throughout. The patrols around the farms involved checking with the farmers whether everything was ok and driving slowly through the area and reporting if there were incidents to be recorded. The Kylemore NW provided the farmers with a boost to the private security and alarm systems and other security measures on their farms. The NW was provided with remote control access to the eight farms we patrolled each of the nights that I was part of the patrols. The last phase of the patrols involved patrolling Kylemore itself again. The NW men beamed their large torches around as they patrolled to make their presence known.

Some residents in Kylemore mentioned that even though they appreciated the work done by the NW, there was still no realistic solution offered by their patrols to the most pressing problems. Nonetheless, the pleasant greetings and waving as the NW car drove past was a sign of consent from the residents for the

NW to patrol in comparison to the episodes of stone throwing to the police and the volunteers from the NW as they patrolled sometimes in Kayamandi.

The people who steered the NW and community policing initiatives in Kylemore shared a positive attitude and believed in shaping a better situation than the one existing at that time, based on what they viewed as the immediate security needs of the community. The men who patrolled the streets were family men who had roles in the church, had jobs and established families. It appeared that they presupposed that trust was an inherent quality in the communities they reside in and they shared mutual interests. They relied on taking advantage of opportunities that presented themselves to spread a positive message, namely that it was up to the people in the community to do something about the issues they did not like in their communities instead of waiting for the government to do something about crime and social problems they had. Those who were active in the patrols in Kylemore referred to how they were trying to appeal to the good nature of people through the voluntary work they did and encourage others to do what they defined as positive work for their place of residence.

Visser (2009) writing on respectability in Kylemore pointed out (what I also witnessed in the men of the NW) the expressed ideals, derived from the church, of 'policing respectability'. I heard comments such as how unruly behaviour would destroy the youth and if only they could listen to God's word and learn good behaviour. There was not much crime in Kylemore, but the existence of surveillance was the way people performed respectability and responsible citizenship. Hence, when people talked about crime, it was more to do with a certain kind of moral order that those in the NW and church members envisioned for the community. I noted that there was a sense in which those who were spearheading the NW patrols in Kayamandi and Kylemore were concerned with enforcing particular kinds of norms that were consistent with their interests. Those who were enforcing these norms felt some kind of reward, social prestige, from this.

6.4.4   The ad hoc nature of community policing

Although there were concerns about insufficient participation in community policing by residents, what struck me was that if there was a pressing need for resident mobilization efforts were made to tackle the problem. Ad hoc policing was a good example where law and disorder happened alongside each other.

The order of legality and illegality were closely connected. Ad hoc community policing initiatives showed the desire not to be complicit with crime or a form of disorder that was viewed as not acceptable or threatening the general peace.

I may cite the example of xenophobic-related attacks on foreign nationals in April 2007. Before the xenophobic attacks, there were reports of robberies at the *spaza* shops in Kayamandi predominantly owned by African refugees but also by some South Africans. Their shops serviced the population of Kayamandi by selling groceries. Threats to the shop owners during the xenophobic attacks led to the closing of the shops and the owners moving their stock with the help of the police. The inconvenience caused by the short closure of the shops made many residents to condemn the attacks on foreign nationals. The shop owners returned after discussions with the police and the community policing on safety. An emergency CPF meeting condemned the attacks and discouraged any further attacks with the help of the chairperson of the Kayamandi CPF, police reservists and the police. However, tension remained as many shop owners were of the view that they were not receiving much protection from the police and felt vulnerable operating their shops. They were aware of the precarious position they occupied, for example being targets of robbery.

From interviews with residents from the three residential areas, it emerged that if something happened that was viewed as a threat, people might see the need to do something. Community policing for some residents, was done in an ad hoc manner, when they felt there was a need and it was a one-off event at a given time. One example was that of patrolling of Die Boord by residents after the murder in 2009. Some residents who had not been part of the NW in Die Boord even attended meetings that were arranged by the NW in the aftermath of the murder. For some residents, it was sufficient that they participated in local community policing initiatives only if they viewed matters unravelling in their locality at that time as posing a threat to their everyday way of life. The police on the other hand defined community policing as residents continually being on full alert and reporting crime and also being willing to be part of any initiative that attended to crime prevention and related problems in their locality.

6.5 Exploring perceptions of community policing in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore

In this section, I unpack the perceptions people had of community policing and the issues that influenced those perceptions. I noticed that the ways in which some of the local people expressed their views about crime and community policing was an articulation of other issues that respondents were not happy with in their localities. For example, the general condition of their environment, unemployment, service delivery problems in Kayamandi, the wish for a better neighbourhood in Kylemore, the wish for more jobs in Kylemore and the wish for a safe middle class existence in Die Boord. I observed that many of the problems people expressed about community policing were actually other personal, social and economic problems that were conceived of or illuminated as problems of safety and security. Therefore, in all three localities, people had a way of framing and translating issues according to their most pressing needs. Out of frustration, people blamed the police for the social problems linked to crime. The negative perceptions towards community policing came from regarding the police as failing in their duties although there was a general sense in which people viewed the police as an important component of community policing but only if they were succeeding in performing their duties. Another issue was that if people resided in the same locality, it did not follow that they took interest in local matters and wanted to have a part in security or development issues.

Although the older people showed that they were seriously worried about crime, at times they could not do as much as they wanted to do about it. In Kayamandi, one elderly man told me that

> I cannot go to the streets with the police and walk around the whole place telling people to do something about crime. The young people who are supposed to do that do not take their place. The young people do not respect us, the older people, they will tell you to go away or get lost. It makes you afraid to talk to them. I see a lot happening around here. When it is sunny from early in the morning, I sit outside, I see a lot of what is going wrong.

In terms of the NWs in the three places, people defined the NW differently which stresses that community policing is a fluid concept. The ways in which NWs in these three localities were organised show the ways in which people made community policing their own and how they defined their socio-spatial issues. The ways in which they prioritised what the NW should do was influenced by the way they defined crime. What was interesting to note was the multiple roles of actors especially regarding the NWs in Kayamandi and Kylemore.

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A Kylemore resident who supported the work of the NW told me that the people who found themselves being very critical of the NW were hypocrites as they did not offer any solutions to the problems Kylemore had as a community. He stressed that

> I see nothing malicious if people have their own interests and in an attempt to try and serve their interests they do something for the community in terms of community policing. Whilst serving their interests, they care about the community.

I witnessed the same ritualistic patrols by the NWs in Kayamandi and Kylemore. The issue that brought about much criticism of the NW from residents in Kayamandi and Kylemore was the inability to attend to the social problems in the two places. I noted the problems of mobilisation of volunteers to be part of initiatives in the NWs. Although formal structures were put in place through national policy, crime prevention and crime management carried different meanings in different localities. What emerged as similar, were the concerns for a safe and secure environment for families and children and the actual and perceived fear of crime. Structures might have been the same, for example the NWs and CPFs, but the activities to deal with crime were determined by the needs of actors within the localities: those who took the initiative for community policing and the actual crimes they encountered. Therefore, how the NWs functioned showed local differentiation and competing visions about what community policing entailed, regarding the context and practice of policing of those who actively participated in the Kylemore and Kayamandi NWs and those who stood on the sidelines. I noticed that there was something romantic about the way in which those who were actively involved in the NWs perceived their role.

There was a significant number of residents in Kayamandi and Kylemore who expressed a radical view when they defined community policing. They pointed to the use of violence as one way of dealing especially with criminals who were caught in the act. Statements such as, 'if you are caught red handed and you are beaten for it, you have no one to blame but yourself'. Vigilante violence in this case was cited as a form of community policing because it supposedly took care of the problem. Such views came out in spite of the efforts the police made to define community policing to the people in Kayamandi as reporting crime and not taking the law into their own hands. One resident even cited that 'I have become impatient with the police'. She shrugged her shoulders and continued: 'but I feel sorry for them as well. Here in Kayamandi there are not so many of them on patrols yet there are so many things that need the attention of the police every day.'

Residents noted that they were conscious of the police going about their daily duties and the challenges they faced, however as Mark, an entrepreneur who lived in Die Boord, expressed it:

> Opinion polls show that the people are afraid of the police because of corruption, police brutality and some bad experiences they note from the media and everyday interactions with the police. The typical negative reaction to the police came from the perception that the police was not your friend. There is a huge mistrust of the police. Let me give you an example, if my car breaks down late at night somewhere outside of Die Boord and a car with blue flashing lights stops next to me, my first impression would not be to thank God that help has arrived. I would be sceptical at first and I would want to check cautiously how to deal with the people from that car and be sure they are police who really want to help me.

Echoing the same sentiments of mistrust of not only the police but a general mistrust of each other, I was told by one Die Boord resident that, 'there is generally something wrong with our country, people shoot and kill each other in cold blood every day and many of those incidents never become headline news, not even for a few minutes. He posed a question to me, 'so tell me, what kind of the so-called community policing is going to stop that?' What I learnt from the rest of the issues he raised in the in-depth interview was that he was very pessimistic of people coming together to do something about crime because of what he called 'people's selfishness and being afraid'. He cynically referred to people who forgot that their families went out of their zones of safety and were often out of their perceived safe homes.

A young father of two who lived in Die Boord was of the view that for a long time the criminal justice system was too lenient with those who had been convicted for very violent crimes. He told me that

> the death penalty must come back. Some of the sick criminals rape and kill children and kill people in their own homes. If you give that person 20 years in prison, they will come back. These people should be put away for much longer. If they know they will lose their life if they commit a horrendous crime, maybe that will act as a deterrent for other criminals.

One elderly man in Kayamandi explained to me how people have retreated unto the private sphere and were indifferent to everyday issues that affected other families. He angrily said:

> a long time ago it was easier to talk about the community coming together to do something. At that time, the enemy was apartheid, but now the enemy is the community itself. We are concerned more about bad publicity that comes for example if a volunteer from overseas is hurt or killed. We leave out concern of real issues, about a child who is being abused at the next house.

The following statement from an outspoken mother in Kayamandi also revealed similar issues:

> As a community, we must just unite and not leave the job to the police. If I am a parent, and I see someone doing wrong, I should report or try and do something about it and make sure

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that stops. People who keep quiet about crime are very wrong, the wrongdoers are supposed to be taken care of by the law. The people blame the police but sometimes people do not report and keep complaining, so how are the police supposed to do their jobs excellently?

There was a sense in which some expected the government to play a bigger role in community policing. 'The government has failed', said one elderly man during an interview in Die Boord. He looked at me and hit his fist in his other palm, saying:

> There is no place that is totally safe in South Africa. Some time ago, the police would patrol and you could talk to them and they would know and listen to your concerns. *(He did not hide his nostalgia at all for the times when the police concentrated on protecting and making sure the white neighbourhoods were safe).*

The points he raised, blaming the government and especially the police for not doing their job, reminded me of a story that was featured by ETV news on the 5th of January 2007. It was of a man who threatened to sue the government because he was attacked by a burglar. His argument was that it was the responsibility of the government to protect him.

These narratives represent the fragmented and diverse views on community policing that I encountered. I also noted that among some residents, there was a lot of misunderstanding and ignorance about the police. Such statements as, 'the police are always complaining about the lack of manpower, but after hours, at night, there will be many police vans parked in and outside the police station'. That general perception that the police were not doing their job came from lack of knowledge at times about the day-to-day duties of the police.

The frustration on the part of the police brought about by the lack of enthusiasm from the people to work with them was expressed during a discussion I had with two police officers when one told me:

> Community policing has lost its edge, I support the idea of working with the community, but we need to go back to the drawing board and find ways of establishing new and meaningful relationships in the communities. We should work on crime, not just relationships or partnerships just because we have to do that.

Bruce Baker's extensive research in Africa has explored the links of state and non-state actors and justice providers. I concur with him when he states that 'these links are worth strengthening for the sake of delivering security and justice to the South poor' (Baker 2010:598). In spite of a reluctance for partnership from both state and non-state actors in security and justice service in South Africa,

consistent links that come with efforts towards improving relationships between state and non-state actors would be commendable.

6.6 Understanding the responses to community policing in their contexts: class and race

Historical factors have led to differentiation in terms of residential areas, class and access to services and resources as I illustrated in Chapter Five. These issues also contribute to the differentiated experiences of crime and reactions to community policing. Post-apartheid anxieties around race were implicated in my discussions of crime and community policing. Mbembe (2011) argues that democracies have not resolved the issue of race successfully which reminded me of the many instances when people talked about crime and articulated crime and policing in terms of racial issues. The same way in which crime was politicised occurred when crime was explained in terms of race as the people I encountered tried to explain the place they found themselves in. Racial typologies extended the understanding of crime as well as the presumed biases and fear of the other.

I noticed that issues of race and class were linked to access to security. The perceptions of community policing I came across among many whites revealed a sense in which being situated near non-white people posed a risk in terms of crime for them. Part of the ways in which race has always worked has been to segregate. One Die Boord resident told me:

> Most people think criminals are black people. Whites have lost their sense of protection, they are more exposed to crime now and are not as comfortable as before. Many of them think of criminals as black people. They talk about crime and their insecurities at gatherings in both subjective and objective ways.

The above statement reminded me of an earlier interview I had with another resident who was nostalgic about the sense of security they used to enjoy as white people. He felt that years ago the police did their job better. He said that

> a long time ago the police would patrol the streets and stop at your house for a cup of coffee. There was a relationship. I feel insecure now because I do not see the police patrolling as much as they used to.

The space in which the debate on crime was carried out reflected some kind of racial profiling or the presumed face of crime that was defined as black without acknowledgement that not all black people were criminals. Bak and Askvik (2005:2) argue that 'when people trust each other, they are willing to take risks and make themselves vulnerable in order to attain goods they could not get on their own.' The ways in which talk about crime had racial innuendos and suspicion showed an element of distrust of one another. The result was absence of the element of dependence to assist each other in a situation of risk caused by crime. I was told by a resident in Kylemore:

> Some people who are better off here do not want to integrate in community initiatives to make things better in this place because they think they do not need anything from anyone. However, we never stop knocking on their doors to tell them what is happening and take what they may contribute in the things we want to do for this place.

From comments that I noted from all races, there was a sense in which the element of social exclusion because of poverty made one more vulnerable to crime. On the other hand, class impacted on the ability to minimise risk because if one had the capital you had the means to make yourself safe and live a lifestyle that kept you away from crime by avoiding or participating in social spaces where there was a perceived risk of crime. You had a choice when you had money or a car, and you did not have to walk around when you came home late from work, you might choose to live in a security complex and there were security guards who made sure you were safe while you slept. Of course, there was no guarantee that you were totally safe, but risk was minimised because you had the means to protect yourself. The issues that were highlighted to me reflected ways in which the middle and upper classes were of the opinion that being in the affluent areas meant a lesser risk, less exposure to crime and more protection from private security. One's class position determined what sort of alternatives were available in terms of one's security.

Writers on crime mapping refer a lot to the geographical component of crime. The point here is that crime does have an inherent geographical component. In Chainey and Ratclifee's view (2005:1):

> When a crime happens, it happens at a place, with a geographical location. For someone to have committed a crime, they have also come from a place, for example home, work or school. Place therefore plays a vital role in understanding crime and how it may be tackled.

I introduced this issue in Chapter Five where I stressed that if one looked at the crimes in Kayamandi and Kylemore, there was surely a big relationship between crime, the environment and socio-economic characteristics. Relating crime to the environment and social economic characteristics was still strongly linked to how the rate and prevalence of crime were defined in many localities.

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6.7   Local initiatives for the youth

Let me briefly introduce the issue of youth crime which will be the subject of discussion of the next chapter. The picture below was from a march in Kayamandi that was organised by the police in 2007. The NWs, reservists, and schools participated. The purpose of marches like these in Kayamandi and Kylemore were to alert residents of the need to be part of local initiatives that do something about crime. The police constable and inspector who were responsible for this particular march said that the inclusion of students from both the primary school and high school in Kayamandi was meant to galvanise them for action, specifically the problems in schools that were being caused by some of them engaging in drug abuse and being perpetrators of crime, especially high school students who were being implicated in considerable numbers of theft.

Figure 7: March organised by the police and NW in Kayamandi to encourage residents to the part of crime-fighting.

Local crime prevention and crime management initiatives and outreach programmes that targeted the youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore were initiated and run with the purpose of giving the youth something to do and to prevent them from being involved in crime. A police officer in Kayamandi said 'there are many organisations that are doing some commendable things with the youth to keep them away from crime'. The soccer academy was one example. In Kylemore, there was an art and crafts project that aimed at training high school children in craft-making and some of those crafts were sold including jewellery and cushion covers. At the primary school in Kylemore, I volunteered for three weekends in a group that took in primary

school children on a Saturday for drawing lessons in 2008. The children who attended were given meals in the mornings and afternoons. Some of the children I talked to told me that they attended the class because it gave them something fun to do and they were given food. For a group of five friends, attending that class was a way to spend time as friends together on a Saturday. A similar initiative was run by Prochorus and Kuyasa in Kayamandi with a soup kitchen and feeding scheme for primary school children. These initiatives were meant to cushion the children and young adults who came from vulnerable homes and to take care of them in terms of reducing the possibilities of being involved in criminal activities. The issue of youth crime will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted various ways in which people in the three localities responded to crime and how they perceived community policing. I indicated how the chains of translation of community policing emerged. Therefore, the chapter showed how community policing was shaped and perceived at the local level. Throughout the chapter, I directed attention to how ideas around community policing ideas were translated, modified, embraced and rejected at the local level, the reasons why that happened and under what circumstances and with what actors involved. The comparisons of this chapter in terms of the responses to community policing point to persistent and ever-changing governing demands set against an ever-growing societal diversity, differing local dynamics and complexity.

I have attempted to understand crime and community policing through multiple dialogues about the various crimes and related problems in the three localities. The manifold motivations of the various actors who were involved in the local community policing initiatives were illuminated. I demonstrated the diversity with which the local community policing initiatives operated in the three localities. Well-off white residents in Die Boord could afford to buy security through the services of a private sector company (making use of black and coloured staff) and associated technologies of protection in a crime-ridden society in which the SAPS could not protect private property sufficiently. Community policing in this context was facilitated through payments for a higher service than that offered by the state. In Kylemore, the mainly working class and emerging middle class, were surveilled by the mainly male local volunteers that had strong identifications with respectable citizenship and seniority. Social control had a gendered and generational dimension. In Kayamandi, among a mostly black working class and poor population, community policing was paid for by

the state in the form of reservists, while volunteer surveillance by a NW seemed to be less viable and even denigrated by many residents. Mostly women were involved here, partly due to the prospect of an income related to becoming a police reservist and their understanding of how vulnerable they were to not just crime, but also by being unemployed.

Alternative policing forms, such as vigilantism and its associated collective violence in public was resorted to especially in Kayamandi where the police services of the state were experienced as highly insufficient. Violent methods of social control were on occasion connived at and used by the NW in Kylemore.

The local socio-economic and contextual factors I discussed in Chapter Five had a bearing on the organizational outcome around which community policing was organized. The organization and function of NWs and CPFs were determined by the social and economic status of the residents, the organizational framework for their existence (including limited SAPS funding), and crime and related problems that occurred in a particular place. The indifferent attitude of some local residents towards community policing stems from the noticeable structural marginality of this model, which is reflected in the way community policing activities are facilitated. Communities prioritise different things in policing, based on the problems they encounter. From the interactions and analysis of observations, the findings revealed that community policing has taken on different forms, depending on what organisations were available in a given community, what the people might afford in terms of their own policing, and the priorities of those who supported community policing. The community-based organisations in the three residential areas showed that although the community policing organizations that existed were basically the same in form, for example the NW, they differed in the way that they were organised. Their organisation and function was determined to some extent by those who were committed to running community policing, funding and the crime and related problems that needed to be attended to in that particular place. I indicated that cooperation, contestation and resistance to community policing was linked to such variables as the socio-economic characteristics of the place. These factors were important as they gave me the lens to use for understanding how people generally responded to policing and subsequently how they viewed community policing.

Therefore, in this chapter, I have discussed how the community policing model for crime prevention that originated in the global north came to be adapted to local circumstances after being officially made part of

policy on the national and provincial levels. The following chapter attends to the ways in which youth crime was referred to and perceived. In the previous section of this chapter, I briefly alluded to the ways in which community outreach programmes responded to the issue of youth crime through initiatives that discouraged youth to be part of crime. The next chapter relates to how community policing translation impacts on specific social categories, for example the youth.

Chapter Seven

CRIME, THE 'YOUTH' AND THEIR REACTION TO COMMUNITY POLICING

At one time feared, young people are at another pitied for their vulnerability. They are simultaneously constituted as in need of control, but also protection….The adult gaze is fixed on youth as something both desirable and threatening (Muncie 1999:11)

7.1   Introduction

The youth as perpetrators of crime were frequent concerns in many of my interactions especially in Kayamandi and Kylemore. In this chapter, I especially direct attention to the ways youth as both perpetrators and victims of crime were talked about. I bring out the youth's relationship to crime and community policing. Let me mention early on that most of the information used in this chapter was from the youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore for the simple reason that they were more accessible in the streets and places where they met to have fun. This was quite the contrary with the youth in Die Boord where they were closely controlled by their parents and were not as easily accessible in the streets and their homes. The group of high school students from Die Boord that I managed to talk to at a later stage in the research process was accessed through their high school and not at their homes. Therefore the focus on youth in this chapter leans more to the youth who lived in Kayamandi and Kylemore. Again, the youth's relationship with crime is different because of context and place.

I discuss how the youth imagined security, and how they resisted or supported the ways community policing worked in their localities. I pay special attention to defining who the youth are, their experiences as young adults, their interaction with community policing and policing, their perceptions of community policing and the context within which those perceptions were formed. The point I make is that there are different forms of agency that the youth exhibited and that this was informed by the context, roles and challenges that they found themselves in. In contrast to clichés that lump youth into a problem category of confused people who, on the most part, make a mess of things as they experiment and learn, I highlight the different voices of the youth about their experiences and how they communicated the decisions they made in their socio-economic environments. Therefore, I turn the spotlight on the youth and report on the multiple ways in which the perceptions of community policing emerged. The youth's perceptions of crime and security were connected to how they negotiated the everyday issues they confronted in their lives. In addition,

through the youth narratives I illuminate how the youth described their experiences and defined their roles and challenges as young persons. My ethnographic work illuminates the broader discussions of youth in the Western Cape in terms of drug and alcohol abuse, youth unemployment and youth as victims and perpetrators of crime.

The argument in this chapter deals with the extent of exclusion and inclusion of youth in local community policing initiatives, generational relationships shown by conflict of expectations regarding responsibilities, and power relations. Borrowing from Foucault's (1991) work on governmentality, I extend the argument from Chapter Six where I demonstrated that, although the state tried to locate people within rigid parameters in the ways in which they were policed, people often contested and resisted these ways and constantly defined and redefined the way in which they wanted to police themselves, and to be policed. The youth's perceptions and reactions to community policing revealed that the youth participated in public life in diverse and less predictable ways. I concur with Pelser (2008) who has long advocated the commitment to implement a dedicated crime reduction policy that makes provision for attending to the known risks that South Africa's youth face.

7.1.1 Expressing themselves candidly: The various dimensions of youth agency

The youth expressed themselves candidly when they told me their life stories. They spoke about their aspirations in both pessimistic and optimistic ways, giving reasons for criminal activity, drug and alcohol abuse or being responsible young persons. The findings revealed that youth agency manifested itself in multiple ways as shown by how the youth contextualised the decisions they made in their daily lives in relation to their physical, social and economic environments. Their narratives revealed how they reacted to and were acted upon on by societal structures both as victims and as perpetrators of crime. In light of this, I dwell on the various dimensions of youth agency by bringing out the ways youths made sense of their worlds as they described their social experiences, roles and challenges.

The quotation at the beginning of this chapter points to the paradoxical situations youth often find themselves in. Such paradoxical situations and the nature of their relationships were articulated through the varied decisions the young people made about their lives. These decisions took the form of looking for opportunities to better themselves, making an effort in their school work, talking and writing about their

experiences, taking drugs, throwing stones at the police and neighbourhood watch as they patrolled, returning that *'gaze'* from the police, and other activities that will be discussed in this chapter. Hence, the numerous youth sub-cultures that shaped the youth biographies were apparent in the ways the young men and women that I engaged with expressed themselves, both positively and negatively.

7.1.2   Expanding on the core issues of this chapter

The issues of being proactive, being inclined toward problem identification, problem-solving, and partnership between the police and the community are still emphasized in how community policing is written into policy and how it has been communicated at all levels. Ideally, this entails joint problem identification by the police, the community and any other parties, and coming up with interventions to deal with crime and related problems. In the light of this, my research questions asked: how and to what extent do local level community policing initiatives make attempts to address the often-raised youth-crime nexus.

There's no denying youth crime and how senseless and problematic it is, or the issues of remorseless youngsters who turn brutal and violent, moving from committing petty crimes to serious crimes as they grow older. As mentioned in Chapter Five, I will extend the discussion on youth crime here. In addition, I address the questions, to what extent, if at all, the youth are integrated in the local community policing initiatives and what types of platforms are available on which they may articulate their viewpoints and interests in terms of crime and safety? My findings show that where there is space for the youth to interact and articulate their interests, they may do so.

7.2   Defining the youth and their social experience

Officially, according to the National Youth Commission Act (1996) the youth in South Africa are defined as those from the age of 14 years to 35 years old. The National Youth Policy (NYP 2009-2014), based on the National Integrated Youth Development Strategy for the youth sector, recognises the diverse problems experienced by the youth in that broad age category. In terms of how I defined and conceptualised youth for the purpose of this chapter, what was immediately relevant to me was not to look at the youth from just a specific age cohort or age categories as stipulated in formal policy. I utilised Wyn and White's (1997:3) ideas of defining the youth in their book *Rethinking Youth*. Their work provides a framework in which the 'youth' are seen not only in the narrow sense of the word, for example as just being below a certain age but point out that being a young person, 'is tied to historical and specific circumstances and the ways in which

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relations of social division play out. 'Youth' then, is a historical construct which gives certain aspects of the biological and social experience of growing up their meaning'. Of importance is how they view:

> [...]'youth' as a specific process in which young people engage with institutions such as schools, the family, the police, welfare and many others. The outcomes are shaped by the relations of power inherent in the social divisions of society [...] the concept of *youth* is important in enabling us to understand some of the complexities of social change and the intersections between institutions and personal biography (Wyn and White 1997:3,10).

The ways in which Wyn and White frame definitions of youth provided me with a tool to define being a young person as a social process shaped by relations of power and historical and specific circumstances as the youth interact with complex institutions in society. Framing the definition of youth in this way enabled me to work out and analyse the issues of youth agency and marginalisation that emerged from my interactions with the youth and follow their interaction with their environment, in particular with the police, with family and consequently with community policing.

Another point of value that Wyn and White make is that the way young men and women negotiate their futures varies, depending on cultural and national context. They go on to argue that the position and opportunities of young people in society are ultimately shaped by relations of poverty and wealth. This point is particularly useful regarding the young people who exist on the fringes of the communities outlined in Chapter Five, when I discussed economic conditions in Kayamandi and Kylemore.

From another angle, Chisholm (cited in Wyn and White 1997:3) suggests a framework for understanding youth that takes into account continuity and change, relations of age, generation, social divisions of class, and gender. These are some of the variables I integrate in this chapter to argue that the youth are neither a homogeneous nor static social category.

A brief step back and a snapshot of the history of the youth in South Africa provide a key insight on issues that have concerned the youth from a historical viewpoint. Young people from the colonial and apartheid eras were overlooked in a development policy that was based on racial segregation and separate development. In the 1970s and 1980s, the youth in South Africa were part of a movement inspired by the political mobilization for a democratic country and were instrumental in fighting for a non-racial democratic South Africa. The township youths who were part of the uprisings in the 1970s and 1980s are still recognized for the role they played. Glaser (2000) noted that between the early 1970s and early 1990s, most of what was written about black youth centred on their role in the politics during that period. However,

this youth have also been labeled the '*lost generation'*, a phrase used to refer to the youth that still exist in the fringes of our economy and is marginalized, reflecting the economic legacies of segregation during apartheid. That same image of the '*lost generation'* has been adopted to explain crime and violence, especially perpetrated by older township youths, and hence the statement that *'...the lost generation has not been found...'*. The issues affecting youth show that their developmental needs are yet to be adequately addressed. In the '*new'* South Africa, challenges facing the youth are obvious, as many young men and women struggle to realize their full potential even with government efforts, community based organizations and youth-led initiatives that support and work towards youth development. Some youth continue to find themselves on the margins of society. This youth marginalization according to Wyn and White (1997: 123, 125) refers to:

> Being disenfranchised from major institutions and material benefits of society...[and] subjected through dual processes of disconnection from institutions revolving around production, consumption and community life...[and] which in turn directly affects how young people engage in and with time, space, activity and identity formation. When their needs are not met because of failure of being integrated into mainstream society, the result is being engaged in criminal activity for the youth to achieve or get material possessions and symbols of status.

In addition to the above, using the general strain theory, this disjuncture between aspirations and actual achievements, for example aspirations for a job and earnings, may result in one resorting to illegal means to get earnings and resulting in negative relations with others. On the other hand, Agnew (1985, 1992) expanded ways of looking at strain. She provided a framework for explaining stories of young men and women who did not resort to crime despite the disjuncture between their aspirations and actual achievements. Agnew's argument helped me in presenting the issues relating to the youth who found positive stimuli to adapt to the strain they faced because of what they perceived as positive outcomes from doing so. An example of this would be the young police reservists and volunteers in Kayamandi whom I referred to in Chapter Six who kept volunteering even though they were outnumbered by the people who criticized them in the streets. Even though payment for these youth volunteers was very small and some did not receive any payment at all, they participated because they felt being part of this would open new opportunities for them which they could benefit from in the long term.

The issues I have raised in this section already draw attention to the social experiences, roles and challenges (or strain) facing the youth and the way they interact with institutions for security and views of community policing. Obvious constraints and marginalization of the youth in South Africa are reflected in

terms of unemployment, poverty, disrupted family life and poor learning environments which are issues reported by the youth. These obvious constraints of the youth that are reflected in the debates surrounding youth issues in the economic, social and political spheres in South Africa point toward polarization of the youth issues in terms of class, race, and locality among others.

7.2.1   Why the youth?

The realities of especially the marginalized youth in the local context of Kayamandi and Kylemore point generally to the persistent inequalities in South Africa and to similar issues facing youth in comparable contexts. I obtained insight in the issues of youth and crime through the crime stories that implicated the youth. I was also reminded in my reading of Wyn and White (1997:6, 9) about why it is vital to study the youth: 'It is important to study youth, because the points where young people engage with the institutions that either promote social justice or entrench social division are significant points of reference for every society'. They added that youth 'are embarking on a process involving transitions in many dimensions of life, towards becoming an adult and establishing a livelihood' (Wyn and White 1997:9). Such statements reiterate what is often said, that youth represent a country's future. As I had a strong research interest in youth and women development, when I was bombarded with stories of youth crime and challenges the youth faced in Kayamandi and Kylemore in interviews, informal discussions, meetings and interactions with the youth, I pursued those issues.

Participants were accessed through various means. I made it clear to them early on that participation was voluntary and I wanted to find out as much as they could possibly reveal about their lives and their experiences with criminality and what they knew or thought community policing entailed. Most of the youth I talked to were diverse in terms of age, gender and class. Some of the youth were doing their matric; some had finished school, there were unemployed and employed youth and those who were actively looking for job opportunities. There was no specific age category.

Participants were accessed by developing contacts with youth forums in Kayamandi and Kylemore, plus engaging with the volunteers in community policing initiatives, especially in Kayamandi. Another way of engaging the youth was through focus group discussions (FGDs). According to Mwanje (2001) FGDs capitalise on group dynamics and allow a small group of respondents to be guided in discussing key issues

of a research topic in detail. The FGDs in Kayamandi and Kylemore generated rich responses as well as new issues for discussion. In addition, I was able to observe the group dynamics in the course of the discussions. Short debates ensued that brought out new insights. Issues that emerged from the FGDs and narratives from the youth revealed their lived realities in terms of crime and their perceptions of community policing. The table below is a summary of the data that I generated from FDGs. The table shows ten profiles of the youth by age, work or scholar category, their needs and the comments they made about safety, security and community policing.

Table 13: Selected data from FGSs with the youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore

Area	Age and gender	Work/Scholar Category	Interests	Needs	Facilities Needed	Comment on crime and Community Policing
Kylemore	19 F	Just finished school	Rugby	Better work	Better Sports ground	NW doing a good job
Kylemore	22 F	Unemployed	Singing and dancing	Fruit packing or other better work	Swimming pool	There is not much crime here
Kylemore	23 M	Part-time work	Music	Training, marketing	Games room	Drugs are a problem, people steal because of drugs
Kylemore	18 M	Unemployed	Rugby	A permanent job	Better sports field	Let those who have the energy do something about crime
Kylemore	17 F	Scholar	Netball	Get matric, go to University and become someone in life	Dance Hall Youth Centre	Try to keep myself safe and the police should do their job
Kayamandi	27 M	Employed	I want to learn more about the security	Open a business one day	Better house	Make it a safer place and improve tourism

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					business	
Kayamandi	20 M	Unemployed	Soccer	Job and training	Soccer Coach and formal training facilities	I do not care
Kayamandi	19 F	Scholar	Drawing, singing	Help to finish matric	Studio	No comment
Kayamandi	22 F	Scholar	Cooking	Funds to finish training	A college	Police reservist wish more may join
Kayamandi	21 F	Unemployed	Just need a job, help to run a crèche	Job	Better Youth and children centres	Police reservist, I want to do my part

I accessed their life stories in a number of ways. I gave some of the young men notebooks which I collected after a week. At times I handed out pieces of paper on which they wrote down issues we identified about themselves after a focus group discussion. I am not claiming that their life stories represent the worlds of all the youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore, but the issues they wrote or talked about gave me insight for my investigation which included issues of youth as perpetrators and victims of crime and how they defined and perceived community policing.

7.3   Problems facing the youth

Above, I laid down the definitions, argument and analysis for this chapter. I turn now to the crucial issues of this chapter, which spell out the social experiences, roles and challenges of youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore.

7.3.1   Unemployment

Time after time, in the first few minutes of the conversations I had with the youth, they referred to the problems they faced as young people. In one of the initial interviews during the first month of fieldwork in Kylemore in June 2007, Anni, a 20 year old girl, raised her voice with frustration and told me that, 'there are just not enough jobs for us after we leave school'. She paused, and I looked at her face as she raised her

eyebrows expecting a comment from me. I nodded to indicate that I was listening, kept nodding for a few seconds, smiled and put my hand forward to indicate that she could continue as I opened the next page of my notebook ready to continue writing. She elaborated on the lack of jobs for the youth in Kylemore and the rest of the valley when she said 'It is in the afternoon but I am sitting here, if I had a job, we would not be talking now. I would be at work. It is Wednesday'. She placed emphasis on the point that it was mid-week and ordinarily if she had a job, she would not have been at home that afternoon.

In another conversation with 22-year-old Noni in Kayamandi, she told me her story starting with the reasons why she had moved to Kayamandi:

> I moved to Kayamandi last year in 2006. I used to live in East London before I came here. I could not find work. Nowadays it is difficult to find work if you do not have matric. It is better here because you may look for work in the restaurants around here or in Cape Town but it is still difficult and may take a very long time to find the job but at least you have somewhere to look (Nono: Police Reservist Interview, 2007).

As indicated above, one of the major challenges facing youth in South Africa is unemployment. Thus, it was obvious that Treasury Director-General Lesetja Kganyago pointed out after the presentation of the 2011 budget that unemployment was one of the main challenges the youth of South Africa faced today. Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan in 2011 highlighted the same problem by referring to the 42 percent of people between the ages of 18 and 29 who were unemployed. In his view, most of these young people were willing to learn:

> Young men and women in cities, informal settlements, towns and villages may not have jobs, but they have skills in life […] they possess the awareness and the ability to learn. And they have hope and look to us to give meaning to that hope. In response, we must take measures that our young people may look forward to decent work in productive, competitive enterprise (*Business Report:* 24 February 2011:4).

Giving young people hope and tapping into their skills and facilitating skills training is what the five billion Rand youth employment subsidy was intended to do. The new Growth Plan that was unveiled with the budget in 2011 placed emphasis on job creation to ensure an equitable redistribution of benefits that will reduce inequality. How difficult this was to achieve was echoed by the pessimistic sentiment of the Trade Union Solidarity that cited the economic growth of 1.1 percent over the past two years as an indication of how impossible it was to reach the 7 percent growth target. The percentage of economic growth for the past five years has been too slow in terms of job creation, given the growth of the population. Efforts

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towards the equitable distribution of benefits that will reduce inequality in rural and urban communities continue to be shaped and influenced by the changing realities of the global economy. Even in the face of such constraints, the budget prioritized the plight of the youth with initiatives to work on skills development through expanding education, student financial assistance and new school building programmes. Small enterprise development as an important source of employment and funding for the National Youth Development Agency for job creation was highlighted. However, the slow pace of 'economic freedom' and employment for youth was emphasized during a march that was organised by the ANC Youth League in October 2011. Despite the controversies deriving from the political battles of the Youth League's leadership that embroiled that march, the occurrence of the march itself stressed the concerns of youth about getting their share of employment opportunities and upliftment of the poor into the mainstream economy.

Kganyago (2011) highlighted what many often point out that if not addressed effectively, this problem of unemployment among the youth will lead to remarkable negative consequences. Some of these negative consequences of youth unemployment are already evident in what youth experience and in their life stories.

The youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore were aware of their socio-economic conditions. From the government's viewpoint the issues raised above are only general policy items. The issues the youth raised in my interactions with them spelled out the effect unemployment has on them. They especially pointed to their struggles to find opportunities; some lived in despair or gave up at different points as young adults and some moved between hope, disappointment, optimism and limbo. Those without jobs expressed a wish to improve themselves, furthering their education or acquiring new skills. On many occasions, I probed further to learn more about this anxiety or optimism among the youth. On one occasion, 21-year-old Kabwe talked with a lot of seriousness and I sensed an air of optimism as she told me her life story. Although she had told me about her challenges as a young woman, she confidently ended her story with, 'there are opportunities out there, you have to go out and search, it is like being on a treasure hunt, at times you may hit a wall but keep searching even if it is hard'.

In a series of interviews in December 2008 with Community Development Workers (CDWs) in Kayamandi and Kylemore, they placed the problems the youth face under the microscope. Erick, a CDW from Kylemore, summarised the problems not only for the youth in Kylemore but for the whole Dwars River Valley when he said, 'in terms of development, it is slow in the whole of the valley. The youth need jobs'.

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The issue of youth unemployment acquires more meaning when discussing statistics of those who finish matric (final school year) and the limited options that are available when one does not finish matric or has a poor matric result. Matric is important as the school-leaving certificate that provides a starting point for young adults to look for opportunities and place themselves in terms of training and further education. According to official statistics, learners who drop out between Grades nine and twelve are 'lost'. Burroughs (2011) referred to about 20 percent of learners that are 'lost' before getting a matric certificate. The official statistics revealed that of the 537 543 learners who wrote the National Senior Certificate (NSC) in 2009, 364 513 (67.8%) passed and 126 371 (23.5%) achieved university entrance passes (Burrough 2011:42). In addition, Burroughs raised a concern that is often raised by others: the limited options to acquire matric beyond the school system if one drops out. These statistics vividly illustrate that there are youths who end up falling through the cracks with no access to training after school. Most of these youths also do not get the necessary guidance from their families or immediate environment. There are efforts to create opportunities for the youth but these are not adequate. Burroughs' (2011:42) concern about this is summarised in the following statement:

> A large group of young people who leave school without matric, or with a poor one, have limited options for returning to learning as a means of improving their life chances. Alternative post school interventions such as learnerships and extended public works programmes have been on so a small scale that they have not really made any difference in the system.

The issues discussed in this section show the challenges the youth face in terms of unemployment and limited economic opportunities. The youth talked about unemployment together with what they aspire for as young people. Though unemployed, some chose to actively look for opportunities, while others lived in despair and had lost hope. Self-conscious human agency is at play. Faced with the same challenge they choose different pathways to deal with the challenges. The young men and women I interacted with had different ways of dealing with the strain that came from the lack of jobs that marginalised the youth.

7.3.2 The way drug and alcohol abuse was talked about in Kayamandi and Kylemore

Drug and alcohol abuse by the youth was one of the ways in which youth crime was discussed, as I pointed out in Chapter Five in the discussion of how crime was talked about in everyday language. Following up on this in Chapter Six, I referred to the nature of social orders in Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore, which have an effect on the ways crime was defined and talked about, and consequently the kinds of community

policing initiatives that existed within these particular social orders. In this section, I particularly refer to the ways in which drug and alcohol abuse was talked about by not only the youth, but how these issues were raised in conversations with the older generation and professionals from different backgrounds. The problem of youth crime was linked to drug and alcohol abuse.

7.3.2.1   It is everyone's problem

Justine, a retired social worker in Die Boord made an insightful statement about the issue of drug abuse generally:

> No one is excused of the 'Tik' problem or any drug use. If I do not take drugs then I say it is not my problem. There is a general perception that drugs are taken by the poor people. The rich kids even abuse drugs more because they may afford the drugs. The drug issue is everyone's problem. As a retired social worker, I have families who come to me for counselling. I work with the families from different backgrounds. The issues I discuss with these families reveal many anxieties not only about drugs that offer a temporary period of excitement and some kind of relief. Drug abuse cultivates new problems and new anxieties for the individuals and to the families which they come from.

Justine's statement was profound as it zoomed in on the assumptions about drug abuse. She was precise when she framed this as 'everyone's' problem because of the chain reaction caused by drug and alcohol abuse.

On this same issue, that drug abuse is everyone's problem, a police inspector told me that, 'the idea that 'Tik' is considered a 'coloured thing' does not mean that it is not there in Kayamandi. Drug users here have learnt to use all kinds of legal and illegal drugs'.

My conversations with Justine and the police inspector resonate with what a church pastor in Kayamandi articulated as the issues affecting the youth. He viewed these issues as everyone's problem as well. He elaborated on this when he said:

> They know [the youth] what they are doing is wrong, they are aware of the risks. There is a magnet pulling them to drugs and alcohol. I am not just talking about the guys, the girls as well. Some people think this drug and alcohol abuse issue is among the guys only. The girls, some as young as fifteen, see these things happening around them already and they take part. So at that age they feel as if they are all grown up, they dress to party, see it as normal and part of growing up. Where is the family when this is happening? The community sees all

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these things happening, we might talk about it but are we then prepared to deal with it and discuss what is really causing that? Is it failure of the family, the schools, or the church? The chaos manifests itself as teenage pregnancy; a child is raised in the same kind of situation and we get stuck in a circle of despair. These are critical issues and all stakeholders within the community have a responsibility. The major security player, the municipality, turns a blind eye when something goes wrong in Stellenbosch town, they blame it on Kayamandi. This means we should realize as a community that we should deal with the issues affecting us. You would be surprised how many people who live just minutes away from Kayamandi have never come here.

The drug of choice in the Western Cape is methamphetamine known by the street name 'tik'. From the users in Kayamandi and Kylemore I spoke to during FGDs, I learnt that tik is sold in small bags that cost about R40 each. However, one may get the cheaper quality of the drug for a lower price. It may be snorted or injected and may stay in one's body for up to eight hours. A twenty-year-old recovering addict who had stopped using Tik told me of the desperation the drug may push one to:

> When you do not work or have any source of money, R40 for a fix is a lot of money and you will need more than one fix per day. When you are desperate, you will steal from anyone in your house to get that money for a fix. You will turn the house up-side-down looking for money. If you do not find any, you will get something you may exchange for the drugs or sell to get that one fix.

He said he had stopped because his family had made it clear to him he would have to leave if he continued but the decision was his to stop. It is evident that the R120 for a '*lolly*', the glass globe used for smoking Tik, is a lot for someone without a source of income, therefore one has to resort to illegal means to get that '*fix*'.

In a conversation with Jos in Kylemore, he stated:

> Drugs you use depend on how much you want to spend and the people you do drugs with. You may choose from cocaine, tik, dagga, it depends on how much you want to spend. I am sure it is almost the same not just in Kayamandi but everywhere.

Jos was spot-on when he mentioned that the drug issues may be said to be the same in Kayamandi as well. The seriousness of the issue of drug and alcohol abuse among the youth in Kayamandi was especially referred to by the director of CPFs in Cape Town in 2008 who emphatically noted that:

> In the next decade, you will see what drugs would have done to the youth if nothing is done about it. When you start asking about the whereabouts of leaders in our communities in the next decade, you will see the effect especially in the Western Cape.

Evidence from the Medical Research Council (MRC) (2004) review on drug and alcohol abuse in the Western Cape during the period 1997-2004 captures the issue of drug and alcohol abuse being everyone's problem. The review illuminated the fact that, the range of drugs abused and the burden of drug use was generally greater in the Western Cape in comparison to other provinces. The scope of the problem was brought out in that same report by the following results: in 1997 one in six Grade 11 male students was identified as having consumed dagga. More shocking was that learners in the Western Cape exceeded the national average in terms of substance abuse and a large proportion started drinking at age thirteen. Furthermore, six out of ten people arrested in Cape Town in 2000 tested positive for an illegal drug and most significant was the increase of patients having Tik as a primary or secondary drug since the second half of 2003. In the first half of 2004, about 376 patients with drug and alcohol related issues were attended to and half of those were under twenty years old. From another emotional and sad story, the seriousness of the drug and alcohol abuse problem was featured when a mother killed her son in the Cape Flats in 2009. Such an occurrence gives meaning to these statistics from the MRC report. The mother said she could no longer take the abuse she suffered at the hands of her son who was often violent because of drugs and had started selling things from the house for drugs from an early age. She was interviewed on ETV news in 2011 telling her story and describing the support group that was formed by mothers in her area to find ways to deal with the victimisation they go through as mothers because of the drug and alcohol abuse of their children.

The problems of youth and drugs in Kylemore were further illustrated to me during another interview with a mother, Fortune, in Kylemore in April 2007 who told me that:

> I have witnessed Kylemore change over the years and one thing that keeps upsetting me is the drugs the young people are using. The adults in the same home may be using as well, so they see it from a very early age happening. Our children are being eaten by drugs. It makes me sad. This cannot go on forever. The best option is to give our children something they are interested in. The dealers will never stop, they will keep looking for new customers from our children and they will keep persuading those who are using already to use more. We need to create a social life for our children. We could have hiking clubs or something educational like teach them about flora and fauna here. We should target programmes with the primary school more to catch the children while young. The dealers and other older kids who use drugs catch the young ones at a tender age.

The above narrative shows how as a mother, Fortune was troubled by the issue of drugs in Kylemore, and throughout my conversation with her that day she kept pointing out what she viewed as the solution. For

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her, ideally, if the young people were given something to do, they would stop using drugs. She saw that as the most important thing to do. However, having something to do for the youth does not necessarily solve the problem.

At some point, it was almost normal for the issue of drug and alcohol abuse to come out when I talked to anyone in Kayamandi or Kylemore about crime prevention. Naledi from Kylemore reported the issue of drug and alcohol abuse in her life story when she told me:

> We do not have lots of crime here in Kylemore, but the big problem is the drug dealers and the drug users. There are three guys I know, they dropped out of school, they get jobs to do part time sometimes but instead of going to buy food, they buy drugs. The parents do not care or they are too busy or stressed I don't know, but they do not tell these guys to go back to school or stop what they are doing. Girls get pregnant early, I fall in the same category, now I am 23 but I got pregnant when I was 17. It was because there was no communication in the house, everyone was doing their own thing, drinking, so I just went out to have sex and I got pregnant after some time. Now I know better. That is why I was telling you I do not want that sports bar to open in front of our house. I have a child now and I want to protect my child. If it is opened, he will see all those things that people do when they get drunk right outside our door, no. I was pregnant at 17 but there are even much younger girls who get pregnant.

Naledi identified a web of problems that extend from youth drug abuse and she attributed the problem to communication issues in the family, teenage pregnancies and the link with drug and alcohol abuse. In another conversation with a mother in Kylemore, she simply said,

> tik use is getting out of hand. I do not know what else may be done about that, but it is getting out of hand. The girls take it so that they stay skinny and all they end up doing is using tik and drinking coffee. They look sick, you may see when you look at some of these girls they use it a lot.

She asked me to talk about something else instead. She avoided talking about the issue of drug and alcohol abuse because she said it made her upset, as everyone knew what was happening but it seemed there was no solution to the problems. She kept the frown on her face and changed the subject.

Situating the drug problem amongst a range of problems in Kylemore, one of the CDWs in Kylemore said:

> There is rugby, soccer, netball that's it. Most of the bigger guys would rather do drugs. The extent of the drug problem is big such that these guys destroy the lights so that they may do what they do in the dark. Lights are fixed almost every second week and we only get a certain

amount allocated for fixing streetlights. There is no multipurpose centre [although in the nearby village Pniel there was one]. There is no library; there is nothing for them to do.

On another occasion, while having an informal conversation with an elderly man in Kayamandi, he stated:

> The youth think by drinking you are being superman, the more you drink the more you feel good. It just drowns the problems, that's it. Drugs are used by some youngsters going to school and the older ones use dagga, tik or cocaine. These drugs come from somewhere else not here. The police cannot control it [drug use]. They need the evidence, [he clapped his hands], but where may they get evidence?

In Kayamandi, in an interview in September 2007 with one of the co-ordinators at Prochorus, one of the NGOs involved in community development projects, concern for the youth was also elaborated on when he situated youth problems amongst a range of social problems:

> Many of the youth problems we have are because there is a lack of vision on the part of the youth and on the part of the community itself. Some of the young people just live for the moment, talk about pregnancies, alcohol abuse, experimenting with all sorts of drugs. These issues mean we have a problem among us as a community. Fifty percent of the girls are single parents either with their children here or someone is taking care of their children '*ekhaya'.* There are not so many things to do for them so they end up in a group doing anything to excite them, and anything goes - interpersonal violence when they drink and being mugged when they leave the shebeen late at night.

Tisha, an elderly woman in Kylemore, rang alarm bells as she told me how it was easy for those using drugs to go back to the habit even after stopping for a while:

> This is a peaceful place but there are problems with the kids and drugs. Sometimes they get help but they do it again. The parents may talk to them, but they do not listen. There were workshops about this drugs thing, but I do not see them happening anymore.

After the interview with Tisha, the conversation I had with Pieterse on the same day raised the same issue of drug abuse and how the whole DRV has not been able to come up with effective ways of dealing with the problem of drug abuse by adults and youth. He pointed out that the neighbourhood watch in Kylemore should worry about the main problems, drugs: 'They drive around, it is ok, but I wish they could worry more about the major problems. The people who do drugs are crazy; they do not worry about other people. You know what addicts must do to solve their problems, small crimes and crazy things'. He used swear words and used the word crazy almost every other sentence and that was a way of showing how fed up he was with the situation.

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7.3.2.2   'My friend smoked bath salts'

An example of the desperation that comes from being addicted was a story that came from one of the young men who participated in a FGD. One of the participants in the group talked about a friend who got ill after using bath salts and smoking them as an alternative to tik. 'He thought it was going to work just as tik does', he said with a loud laugh and most of the other boys joined in the laughing. As he continued narrating the story, he told the group how his friend reacted to the bath salts and his head got swollen. 'He was taken to hospital it was bad, bad, bad.' He said the word 'bad' three times to express the seriousness of the issue. 'He could have died', he shook his head. Another young man in the same group said, 'my sister, I got tired of using tik, it burns when you take it but you get high'. He paused for a moment and continued, 'you will not understand if you have not done it before'. I was sure he was asking if I had tried it before. I showed a sly smile without saying whether I use drugs or I have tried to before. He paused for a moment waiting for me to respond, I just tilted my head to the side and waited for him to continue talking. 'You may make your own if you know which chemicals to use in the house but it is dangerous that is why I laughed about my stupid friend who ended up using bath salts'. Another person added, '[w]hen you get high, you just want to do something crazy, you feel like the world is yours, man, you dance and get happy man'.

During the days I talked to the youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore, I heard a lot of stories of drug users and those who had stopped and their reasons for stopping or continuing to use drugs. Over time, high tik usage results in hallucinations, the mind deteriorates, teeth rot and one becomes fearful and violent. All of these side-effects were referred to in my conversations with the youth. Even though someone may feel very powerful, alert and euphoric, in the long term the side effects of drug use will include severe paranoia, inability to sleep or eat, twitching and jerking of the body. Many users end up using more to avoid those side-effects. In an excited manner, some of the guys told me how excited they got from using drugs and they were also smart and eloquent enough to tell me of the negative effects of drug use especially the ones made from all kinds of combinations of toxic chemicals. David, a CDW and passionate about doing something about drug and alcohol abuse, at one time jokingly told me that he always told drug users in his first meetings with them that given how innovative they were, they could do more if they used their innovative ways for business, work or school instead.

The materials in this section showed that a number of drug users revealed that they had either someone in the family already using drugs or a friend in school or someone they lived close to and spent most of their time with. In addition, this section also pointed to the anxieties, frustration, desperation, reasons for using drugs and experiences of drug use. The next section contains stories I was told of how drug users end up stealing, selling or exchanging anything in return for drugs.

7.3.2.3   Exchange anything for cash and drugs

Desperate measures to get drugs involved turning to petty crime that could evolve into serious crime over time to feed the habit. The stories of drug use and drug addiction that were narrated during FDGs and interviews showed the desperation that drives drug users to do anything to feed their habits. I was told of clothes being stolen from washing lines. Just before my interview with Radia one morning in Kylemore, she told me, 'we should sit outside in the sun and look out for the clothes on the washing line and shoes. My shoes are new', she pointed to the two pairs of white and blue running shoes. Apart from it being a beautiful day, she wanted us to sit outside because of the possibility that her clothes and shoes on the line could be stolen. I was also told of car tyres and valuable electrical goods being stolen on many occasions in Kayamandi and Kylemore. The explanations given of this *skelm* (unacceptable) behaviour was that drug users would exchange anything for cash to use for drugs.

From another conversation, crime by the youth in Kayamandi was talked about by a middle-aged man:

> Some of the young people are involved in snatching people's bags as they go to get the taxis or train to go to work early in the morning. Some of them get involved in house break-ins and car break-ins. They use spark plugs to tap the window until it just breaks […] breaking of bottles on the street as a hobby and show of power.

Lee Ann from Kylemore also told me:

> I know about a woman in Pniel who was using her computer sitting in her house who had a new kettle stolen from the kitchen as she was working in the house. They may take phones, sunglasses anything.

7.3.2.4   Marches and letters: 'It looks like we are fighting a losing battle'

How angry people were with alleged or known drug dealers was evident in a march against drugs in Kylemore in March 2007. The churches, the schools, the neighbourhood watch and the police got together

and made a petition that they presented at each house where they had information that drugs were being sold. The alleged drug dealers were made to sign a petition that they would stop selling drugs or they faced being forcibly chased away from Kylemore. Faced with the crowd that participated in the march, the report I received was that one of the dealers confessed and said he would stop selling drugs. The march took place just before I started fieldwork in Kylemore. The reality however was that even though a show of action was made by the residents of Kylemore, drug users did not stop getting the drugs elsewhere. Echoing this sentiment one mother told me:

> There will always be other sellers. If I am a user, I will not tell you where I am getting my drugs from unless maybe if we do drugs together. If I cannot get them here in Kylemore, Stellenbosch is not far; I may get into a taxi and buy from town. Stopping drug and alcohol abuse will not happen overnight. A user will not stop unless if they want to stop. It is worse because the teachers will not put up some of their free time since it does not earn them money *[on probing from various sources, it seemed teachers were overwhelmed as well but some parents felt they were not going an extra mile to help the children]*.

The mother went on to tell me that 'I think if you keep the child busy with something they are interested in, that deals with discipline problems because the child has something to look forward to.'

Drug dealers target their *customers* from a very early age. This was pointed out by the chairperson and numerous members of the neighbourhood watch in Kayamandi. A police inspector I spoke to in Kayamandi particularly stressed this, hitting his open left palm with his right fist:

> I have written to the MEC of Safety and Security about the kind of support we need about youth and drugs. The safe schools project is not working; adults still give the kids drugs to sell in schools. Those who sell drugs recruit from the school; they may hang out just near the school and wait for the kids. They have a strategy, they give the kids drugs for free a couple of times. It means after the free drugs are finished the child wants to have more and then the cycle continues until the habit becomes worse well into adulthood. The challenge is worse during the school holidays when schoolchildren have more than enough time on their hands and nothing productive to do.

At a CPF meeting in Kylemore, one woman pointed out similar issues with an angry tone: 'sometimes it looks like we are fighting a losing battle when you see children in primary school not only using but wasted by Tik.'

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The narratives in this section further illuminated the desperation and frustration expressed by some who attempted to do something about drug and alcohol abuse. The issues also revealed the story of drug and alcohol abuse told by the youth.

7.4   Teething gangsters

Crime is often related to gangsterism in the Western Cape. I concur with Glaser (2000:10) who has long argued that 'gangs are a particular kind of youth association that may be more or less criminal according to circumstances'. In Kayamandi and Kylemore especially, what I picked up was that there were no hard-core gangs in comparison to the gangs on the Cape Flats, hence the title for this section, *teething gangsters.* The situation as explained by the police was that there were gangs from the Cape Metropole who in an effort to extend their influence, often came to look for new recruits for their gangs and places to sell more of their drugs, and hence targeted places like Kayamandi and Kylemore. In Kayamandi I was given three gang names in my conversation with the police. They had members that had moved to Kayamandi and were looking for ways to extend their *'influence'* in Kayamandi by selling drugs and stolen goods.

In Kylemore I was told stories by 38 year old Jano of young men and women who acted tough by using drugs and pretending to be 'gangsters'. He said:

> Tik and dagga are the biggest problems here. There are no sporting facilities here, so what do you think these young girls and boys are going to do? Smoke and drink. They want to be gangsters but they are not gangsters, they walk around as if they are gangsters, if you are high you may feel you have power that you do not have [...] Three weeks ago, two of the main drug dealers here were caught and they were locked up.

Lester echoed the same sentiments that Jano pointed out when she talked about some of the people who would defend themselves when something went wrong in their particular street.

> They work like gangs, some of the people in Rona, and they get in trouble. Rona Street has got a lot of drugs. That street is creepy. People there drink a lot, most of the crime stuff happens there. When an ambulance comes, people say it is going there. People in Rona street stand together against the police. If someone does something there, they will defend that person when the police come and they will not say anything. They work like gangs some of the people there, looking for trouble. Everyone here gets along but there are tensions about Rona Street. [*The conversation moved back to the youth issue again].* May we not have a youth centre? There should be money for that somewhere. A youth centre will do something for the youth not the sports bar. I actually understand if drug use is high, it is because there is

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nothing to do. In the park, I am sure you have seen it, everything there is broken. Children do not want to go and play. People go there to do their drugs.

Framing the issues in this section with the concept of youth agency, the issues I discuss here indicate that at some point in their life, the young men and women I talked to, made a choice to take drugs for a variety of reasons. A community of peers or friends may share drugs as a form of recreation, in order to fit in a particular youth subculture, or as a hobby or a life style. They made different decisions and had different perspectives on drugs, alcohol abuse and crime. Youth agency was informed by the context and interaction the young men and women had with their immediate environment or peers and was based on individual perceptions of their situations. The issue of youth agency was reiterated in what a young lady told me in Kayamandi:

> If you do not want to do something, you will not do it. You tell yourself that and try some self-control. But sometimes even if you have self-control, it is hard. Let me explain. If you want to enjoy yourself here, you drink: there is nothing interesting. The people who are enjoying here are the ones who are drinking. They may play pool and the music *tjo,* [she exclaimed, stood up and danced a very brief moment and both of us laughed].

The above quote and findings show that the youth are both enabled and constrained by their situations. The issues that I pointed out and emphasized in this section from my interactions with the youth demonstrate their agency.

7.5   Youth crime: The normative use of violence or earning respect?

Pepinsky (1980:18) argues that there are numerous psychological ways to explain delinquency and crime among the youth by referring to poverty, disrupted family life and poor learning environments. Krug *et al* (2002) *World Report on Violence and Health* reported similar issues in identifying risk factors for youth crime and violence such as associating with delinquent peers, poor law enforcement, and a history of early aggressive behaviour associated with poor family relationships and the normative use of violence to resolve conflict by the youth. Palmary and Moat (2002) present the same line of argument when he points out that the family and peer group may be the primary sources of social control but weak family control and the presence of a particular peer culture may support anti-social behaviour.

In this discussion of findings on youth crime and the questions that arise from the normative use of violence by the youth, I draw on Anderson (1999) in Forman (2004:4) whose argument refers to young men and

women walking a tight-rope faced with 'street values and decent values'. The so-called decent values would be the kind of moral order as defined by the schools, churches, family and the law. On the other hand, there are street values from peers with known and unmentioned rules of what is acceptable and unacceptable from their peers and the streets. Some of the young men and women I interacted with had self-justifying explanations and others criticised youth crime. Some expressed worry about the young people who were engaged in crime. The most interesting outcome was that they were able to give me numerous reasons why the youth engaged in crime.

Pelser (2008:10) has pointed out the misconception that crime comes from another place from 'others' or 'them', as if the perpetrators of crime were not present in communities when actually the criminals are children of those communities. Official strategies to deal with crime at times end up looking outwards instead of inwards in communities. Local children being part of crime was evident from the young men who were implicated in crime stories and some who even told me their own crimes stories. I am not biased by referring mostly to the young men in this discussion on youth crime and the normative use of violence. This is supported by research, namely that in comparison to young women, young men constitute a larger percentage of the perpetrators of crime. Involvement in crime from an early age may come from peer groups, learning from the environment the young people grow up in, or knowledge from someone in the family or in the community who has been involved in crime but was never punished or imprisoned. Khumbula's experience as a CDW in Kayamandi meant he dealt with youth who had been involved in crime from a very early age:

> Ten young guys I know have already been in prison….there is a 17-year-old boy who stole a R3000 cheque and he was in prison for six months. The system is not hard enough or soft enough either. What I mean is there is no effective rehabilitation for the youth when they go through those things. You need rehabilitation because I know once one goes to prison at an early age, there is some taking care of that young person that is needed. If that does not happen, things spiral out of control for that person in most cases. They go on to do worse things when they come out of prison because the system is not soft enough to rehabilitate in an effective way.

Muntingh (2008:1) also rings alarm bells concerning how young the prison population is, with 38% being below the age of twenty-five. A police reservist in Kayamandi also told me of the young offenders she encountered as she performed her duties at the Kayamandi police station: 'go to the police cells; you will see young people there. Most of them will not be even more than 30 years old'. What she said gave

meaning to the accounts from interviews and reports from the police of people being mugged by groups of young boys which could happen even in the afternoon. One woman in Kayamandi told me of an incident where she and her companion were mugged. They had withdrawn money on a Friday afternoon. A group of young boys came to them from all directions with small knives and took the money, her bag and cell phone. They ran away laughing and to her it looked as if they actually had fun at her expense. This resonated with what some youths in an informal discussion told me about how one may buy stolen goods and you may even *'order goods'.* The young men who do the '*job'* may steal those goods. This referred mostly to mobile phones and valuable electrical goods.

When I had an interview with a Youth Pastor at one of the churches in Kayamandi, he talked about the issue of youth crime in the following way, '…crime increases during the school holidays and when certain *'characters'* come out of prison.' I asked him specifically about young offenders, to which he replied, 'those who are below thirty are more likely to be involved in crime. Those above 35 are more likely to have a family and past the stage of mere experimenting'. He was confident that as one grows older, the likelihood of being involved in crime was less.

The second subject of discussion in this section is the normative use of violence. I was told the following about fighting in schools in Kayamandi:

> There is fighting in the school and outside all the time. Guys would rather fight than talk about things. There is fighting to be a man, fighting for respect. The girls fight over the boys and the guys fight over the girls. ….the arguments and fighting start in simple ways…..he may say the girl lives in my area so she is my girlfriend and you cannot talk to her. The police, the teachers and the community are concerned about the fighting at the school. Last month there was an incident of one group fighting another because of drug related issues, from the information that came up later. The crime forum tries to deal with these issues with the parents before the matter gets out of hand and goes to the police.

The above quote resonates with what the South African National Youth Victimisation Study highlighted (Leoschut and Burton 2005). The findings of the youth victimisation indicated that: one in five youth have been threatened with harm, scared or hurt at school. In addition, 43.9 percent of such incidents had been inflicted by learners from other classes and 38.1 percent by their actual classmates. The same report stated that one in ten had faced a situation where they had been forced to do something they felt was wrong. More interesting is the revelation that assaults were more likely to occur at school, with 26 percent who

acknowledged that and 21 percent who said assaults were likely to occur in the streets and near shops and 20 percent said at home. Nine out of ten young people mentioned that they knew their attacker.

Similar issues of fighting in school were referred to in Kylemore. Boys fought over girls or to show who was the best or leader among a group of peers. I interpreted the way fighting was talked about as a way of survival, a way of showing self-worth by a young man or young woman. This was important for the boost their self-esteem received, the respect they earned from being a good fighter or willing to fight for what they wanted and being vocal in the process.

A male friend of mine from Kayamandi shed some light on fighting among young men in Kayamandi when I asked him. He pointed out that:

> You have to understand the Xhosa way of upbringing. Stick fighting is used as a means of earning respect. To make you understand it in its most basic way, stick fighting was used as a way from an early age for young men to get respect and it was a way of recreation. As the best stick fighter in the community, you earn respect from your peers and in the community. Alliances were built through stick fighting. The bonds and respect young men would create through stick fighting were critical from a young age and later on circumcision formalised that respect. Gang forming happens from the initiation schools and aligning oneself with where they come from, for example their home town. This carries on in the school through forming of bonds for respect and creating a collective.

From another angle, one elderly man from Kayamandi told me:

> About the young men, some of them do not make the transition to becoming a man in a good manner. [I asked him what he meant] …How do you handle yourself as an adult for example. The implied change that is supposed to take place after circumcision is some change as a man within yourself and learning and taking responsibility for your actions. That involves relooking into yourself and reflecting on what you do for example for that troubled teenager. The community, people around you, expect to see that change from how you behave as a man after that process (circumcision). Ideally, there is an assumption that after that process, that troubled teenager I talked about will resolve the conflict within himself as a man and become responsible. It is difficult to happen because there are deep-seated things the young man has to deal with in their community.

To sum up the issues in this section, my analysis from the above two quotations and especially fighting by young men shows how the youth reconstruct ideals of masculinity as they try to cope with being on the fringes of their communities, often facing hostile environments. Socially constructed and shifting identities

of masculinity are translated into fighting in everyday life which earns one respect. The normative use of violence may graduate to different survival strategies well into adulthood in a positive or negative manner.

7.6   Local youth crime prevention and management initiatives

Glaser (2000) and Kynoch (2003, 2005) have written commendable work on the historical dimensions of local policing structures in black and coloured townships pre-1976. They especially point to how the youth were disciplined in the context of the gangs that existed in those times plus also in the context of the role the youth played in the struggle against apartheid. The historical dimension of how the youth were disciplined is not part of the larger scope of the study, but it is important to mention the social conditions in which the youth lived during that time, the role they played in creating order and disorder during the apartheid period and the continuities with that past. What has changed during different periods is how and for what reasons the youth are mobilised; and what is targeted in youth and crime related programmes. Let me refer to Glaser's (2000) documentation of the history of the youth during the pre-1976 period in Gauteng. Glaser revealed how gangs played a huge role in the social and economic lives of young and old men in townships. In the 1980s the comrades politically mobilised the youth, not just to control criminal gangs in the townships, but also to get them to participate in the intensified struggle against apartheid. Recently, the youth in numerous townships across the country often get mobilised around demands for better service delivery. Local political entrepreneurs and local influential older youth play a role in this kind of mobilisation of the youth. These protests have also become a platform for the youth to air their frustration caused by unemployment. For the police, this brings in a complex dimension during the often violent protests. The police have to navigate among different parties with varying interests and clashes between the police and the protesters are well documented in South Africa. The youth are an integral part of such protests. At the time of finalising the research project in the later part of 2012, service delivery protests implicated many youth in Kayamandi who were said to act for the interests of local political leaders. In light of the complex mix of issues affecting the youth, it is clear that local youth crime prevention and crime management initiatives reflect different foci in different places and issues that change constantly.

In Chapter Six, section 6.8, I presented the diverse and at times competing local youth crime prevention and management strategies aimed at not only dealing with youth crime but related issues, especially regarding youth development in Kayamandi and Kylemore. These diverse and at times competing discourses arise from the different ways in which youth crime issues are, interpreted and discussed. The dynamics of the initiatives presented in Chapter Six show the numerous challenges of local youth crime

prevention and management initiatives. One Stellenbosch Ward Councillor particularly pointed out the difficulties of dealing with youth crime and related issues when she said:

> it is true what they write about young people being involved in crime and drug and alcohol abuse in the Cape, but there have not been effective ways to deal with it. The problems that have always been there are still there. When the police or we in our families try and deal with it, we will only be touching the tip of the iceberg.

At the time I conducted fieldwork, the chairperson of the Kayamandi CPF told me what he viewed as the problems in Kayamandi that went beyond just crime and what he viewed as the causes of the failure of the general local crime prevention and management strategies, especially where it concerned the youth:

> Unless we begin to address the issues as families, create opportunities for our young people we will not have positive things to talk about when we talk about the youth. We are fortunate to have quite a few people from diverse backgrounds here who are capturing the idea of taking the community forward, but if there is only a handful then there is a problem. There is some kind of an intellectual forum, if you might call it that, for people who have a vision for Kayamandi but they are not vocal enough. There are many people we may draw experiences from who know what is happening from their interaction with people from all walks of life in Kayamandi and I may give the example of my church leader, you have met him at church, and even people who work at the University and other places in town who live here. Some people do things without payment because they have a vision of a better Kayamandi one day. They may add a lot of value to deal with youth issues in Kayamandi. There is a lot of potential if stage by stage we address the issues around infrastructure, development, housing, and improving the schools. Everyone knows our problems centre on these issues but we have not been pulling together to work on this.

The issues the CPF chairperson raised showed that although there are local initiatives that not only deal with youth crime but youth development, a lot could still be done to strengthen the social infrastructure and social capital networks that are focused on promoting safe communities. A CDW in Kylemore raised similar issues that the CPF chairperson in Kayamandi alluded to when he said:

> The youth feel isolated if you consider the limited goods and services that they have access to. I explained to you in the beginning that there is not much to do for the young people here in basic terms if you look at recreational activities or after school activities. There are people who try to provide those after school activities but these are not broad enough and do not cater for most of the interests young people have. Aunty D has the beads programme but only a few fully participate there. Those who do participate feel good about it. There are three girls I know who have been part of it at the high school. They talk about it a lot and such things boost a young person's self-confidence, you know.

Furthermore, a number of people talked about the importance of strengthening social infrastructure and social capital networks through providing role models. One man in Kylemore posed rhetorical questions by saying:

> Where are the role models? That is a serious question I ask myself when I consider the young people going in all crazy directions. There are only a few people I may single out as role models here. I want you to add that question and ask who the role models are for the young people in Kylemore. Role models do something to help build a healthy community but where are they?

In both localities, projects that target the youth in drug awareness campaigns work most times with minimal support. In these localities, there has been a realization that breaking the vicious cycle of drug abuse and crime related to it entails looking at broader issues. The family, the church and the schools are being used as platforms for educating young people about drugs and crime for example. These institutions in addition are constantly making efforts to support and encourage the youth to participate in sport and to stay away from drug and alcohol abuse. However, just giving them something to do or preaching to them does not necessarily translate into an effective way to deal with youth as perpetrators and victims of crime. The success and sustainability of local youth crime prevention and crime management strategies depends on the commitment and support not only of the community but also of local government. Nevertheless, it is still important for the youth to have things to do. One elderly man in Kylemore stressed this issue when he told me:

> Young people want to be given an opportunity to explore and experience new things, not just sit around and do nothing. An idle mind is the devil's workshop. If they have nothing to do they will experiment with dangerous things, and may you blame them? Yes they will do the drugs and look for ways to get drunk, get high and have fun. We should find ways to make them learn and play as well and avoid them being idle.

As a mother, Rene reiterated the same concern yet sounded optimistic when she said that:
> We need to teach our children to dream, but to dream with their eyes open and not watch life go on without participating. Instil values for positive growth and do not expect to be carried by your families or assistance from the government only. Some of them take life casually and see no need for action or visualise what their life will be like in a decade or even further when they are old.

Another Kylemore resident echoed the same sentiment above when he said:

The youth want to experience something they learn from and at the same time have fun with. If they are given the freedom to do that, they will learn and play as well. Different styles of learning need to be introduced. We have to be creative as parents. The computer centre has not been working well, but it is something that may be upgraded. People do not pull it together to make it work.

Absence of commitment and failure to make the youth part of local youth crime prevention and crime management initiatives were frequently cited as contributing to the failure of these initiatives. Concerning local initiatives that targeted the youth, one mother in Kylemore told me that:

The intention is good but you need the young people to be part of that as well. If people are serious about tackling the drug abuse issue, you need the whole community on board. I have noticed that people do not want to admit that there is a problem with their own child. They will tell you their child is nice, he or she cleans the house and listens to them, but everyone knows that they are using drugs and stealing around here. Let us talk to our children and make them part of how we are trying to help them.

Some methods being used to deal with the problems facing the youth were cited as unhelpful. Many were critical of the ways the churches approached the problems in their communities. Their intentions were cited as good but in need of a review in the ways they approached the problems especially where it concerned the youth. Speaking directly to this issue, a middle-aged man in Kylemore told me:

The church is doing their work on their side and providing their teachings, but the problem is that the church is judgemental when they deal with these things; they come down hard on the youth. It is their approach, the issue I am raising is those who are doing something about it are using the means they have and method they think is appropriate for them to use for not only the young people but to help the parents and guardians where the youth come from.

A Ward Councillor in Kayamandi pointed to the urgent need of implementing a multi-agency approach to deal with not only the problems associated with the youth as perpetrators of crime but address the position of young victims of crime. He viewed the overall youth problems as a reflection of a larger community that is not taking responsibility to do something about the situation and not getting enough support from local government to address issues. He pointed out:

The problems you see the youth are having, for example teenage pregnancy, drugs and alcohol abuse are only a symbol of chaos that manifests itself for the youth that are stuck in a circle of despair and frustration. These issues should bring critical ways for self-reflection as a community and as individuals. All stakeholders within the community have a responsibility.

The issues raised in this section stress crucial issues seen as overlooked in terms of local youth crime prevention. There was an overall dissatisfaction from Kayamandi and Kylemore residents with the support they are receiving from local government to deal with issues that go beyond just youth crime and related problems. Another issue is that there is insufficient commitment from the majority of residents when it comes to helping look for solutions to deal with youth crime. The absence of positive role models for the youth was cited as having a negative effect on the development of the youth. The challenges of the local youth crime prevention management initiatives were multi-faceted, as the residents of Kayamandi and Kylemore pointed out.

7.6   The extent of inclusion of the youth in local safety initiatives

In this section I refer to the extent the youth were included, excluded and abstained from community policing initiatives. My observation from regular group deliberations with police officers such as the CPF was that young people were not generally involved in this type of discussion about crime and community safety. This is ironic when I consider that at most times the youth were either implicated in most of the crime stories as perpetrators or victims. The youth were also targets of some community policing initiatives, for example the patrols by the NWs in Kayamandi and Kylemore. In Kylemore, the NW patrol one night explained to me it was their duty to make sure there were no young men and women roaming the streets very late 'because in most cases if they were in the streets very late at night, there was bound to be trouble brewing'. As the car approached from the farms patrol that night, a group of young men and women dispersed from the street before the car reached them.

The space for articulation of issues in terms of safety and security was dominated by the adults in all the CPF meetings in Kayamandi, Kylemore and Stellenbosch and in other community meetings as well. The youth deliberately excluded themselves and gave me their reasons. In one FGD in Kylemore, I was told 'let them who came up with the idea do the job. It is to keep us safe' he said with a tone of sarcasm. 'There are enough people doing the patrolling already'. We may do other things. 'They think they know it all'. Several people in the FGD nodded their heads to the point, 'we may do other things'. I asked them what exactly and most of them kept nodding their heads and one responded 'we will figure things out'. I thought about the youth forums that existed in the villages in the DRV and the Kayamandi Youth Forum. In both places, the youth forums had been intiated by community development workers. In Kylemore the community

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development worker worked for the municipality and in Kayamandi the community development worker worked for one of the local non-government organizations. Meetings were usually called for in an ad hoc manner when there was a programme for the youth that was being run on a weekend. The overall idea through these youth forums was to give young adults something to do during their spare time. Although participation in terms of numbers was low in these forums, the youth still found ways to talk about drug and alcohol abuse and development issues in the DRV and showed support to recovering addicts, although it was on a very small scale in Kylemore for example.

Data gathered by Hill and Wright (2003) based upon an ethnographic study in two English cities highlighted the gaps between policy and practice in relation to the inclusion of young people in the local safety initiatives. The argument is that the discourse of community policing is underpinned by a limited notion of inclusion, predicated upon 'law abiding' citizenship and a specific interpretation of the concept of community. The study concludes that in order to include and de-pathologise young people, the strategies of implementation need to match the rhetoric of inclusion. Young people are excluded from the platforms where safety and security issues are deliberated because at times they are viewed as not fitting the profile of a 'law abiding' citizen. Even when they do raise issues, they are not taken seriously.

My findings show that the youth resisted participating in formal fora and initiatives in their communities when they were not involved from the beginning. This reminded me of James Scotts' book Weapons of the Weak: *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985) which sheds light on the numerous ways in which the 'weak', in this case the youth, resisted and fought back the *'technologies of governance'* which they viewed as not serving their immediate and long terms interests as young people. His conceptualisation of subaltern resistance is especially relevant. Visser (2009) also noted how the youth in Kylemore resisted the paternalism of the older men who were active in the NW by not being part of the neighbourhood watch. During a report back meeting in the Dwars River at the municipality buildings, a police inspector who had served the villages in the valley, including Kylemore, gave a similar reason why they had failed to integrate the youth in the local crime fighting initiatives:

> There were youth camps in 2007 so we could talk to the youth but that did not work. We established a Youth League against crime but after two months we failed, they feel we want to control them.

Similarly, I was told by an elderly lady in one meeting that 'the youth feel the NW is watching them all the time. They [the youth] do not want to become part of an organization that they do not help plan'. The NW in

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Pniel was used as an example. Kylemore's neighbouring village talked about it in the same meeting: 'Pniel's NW organisation at some point made an 80 year old man the chairperson. As a youngster you do not want to join an organisation led by people who are their father's age'. She identified the generation gap in terms of the way the youth identified their problems and the different ways in which they suggested and framed solutions to problems.

There is an assumed positive image of community policing but there are also negative issues around it. These issues were not always expressed directly but came out through what I observed, mostly during patrols, noting how angry some people on the streets were as we patrolled and the unpleasant looks we received in the sheebens when we patrolled with the police after eleven at night when the *shebeen* owners had to close in Kayamandi. The explanation for this was that community policing initiatives were not realistic in terms of youth problems. This showed cleavages in the community, partly along generational lines.

Nonetheless, in an attempt to integrate the youth into community policing and increase police personnel, 'the reservist initiative has been a way of encouraging the youth in being part of community policing' (Police Inspector 2007). The majority of those who were reservists were youths. At times the youth were a resource that was mobilized by communities when there was a need, for show or for symbolic support. In Chapter Six I gave the example of the marches in Kayamandi and Kylemore that made young adults part of them. In Kayamandi the high school and primary school children in school uniform participated in marches organized by the NW. The young reservists provided a cheap way of adding personnel to the police. The youth were excluded from the major platform of crime prevention and crime management yet were called upon as a cheap resource that was moblised for the crime-awareness campaigns, like in the case of the marches in both Kayamandi and Kylemore.

7.7   The youth's perceptions of community policing in Kayamandi and Kylemore

A recurrent theme in this thesis is presenting ways in which community policing is defined by the people and how it is translated into ways of dealing with crime and related problems in their localities. In this section, I present youth perceptions of community policing. I expand on issues that I presented in Chapter Six where I reported on the other residents' perceptions of community policing.

The ways in which the youth revealed what they knew about community policing and their views of it show their youth agency. 'Young people do exercise agency, to varying degrees and under diverse circumstances, but this agency is subject to the pressures on, and limits of, activity arising from their material position and the relations in society' (Wyn and White 1997:142). With this in mind, the findings of this study show that the perceptions of community policing among the youth were linked to their perceptions of the police. The extent that they viewed community organisations doing work in terms of youth development and giving them prospects for improving their individual lives, for example in the form of a career or job, were also relevant.

One of the recurrent perceptions of the youth of community policing that came out was that they did not want to be part of something they were not gaining anything from. One young woman from Kayamandi, called Nthando told me:

> If people were paid, more would volunteer. [The reservists were not getting any payment by the time I finalised the research in 2012. The programme was under review from the Department of Community Safety].You cannot volunteer and go back home without money, with more stress because you are going back to the problems at home. You have something to do if you are a volunteer but you are not being paid for it. It is better for me to look for a job first, then, if I have time, volunteer with the *Bambanani* or go to the meetings.

Reena echoed the sentiment that was expressed above by Nthando when she pointed out that 'nowadays people do not want to do something that they are not paid for'. In the same line of argument in a different conversation, a 26 year old told me emphatically, 'If I do it, the security thing, I am not going to get paid. I want a permanent job and do a course man'. Therefore economic conditions are a negative factor in terms of how they view community policing.

There were others who did not want to be involved or did not care about community policing. Lizwe told me, 'I do not know much about that, doing something about crime thing, the neighbourhood watch, *Bambanani*, CPF, whatever. I hear they have meetings but I do not know when the meetings happen and I do not care, I have other things to figure out'. He was actually annoyed by my asking about crime and community policing issues.

Other youths perceived community policing as something that contributed positively or was a step in the right direction in terms of security in their locality, so they actively participated in community policing. The

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motivation to engage in community policing initiatives resulted in being volunteers for the NW, reservists or participants in youth forums. Their circumstances did not necessarily differ from the ones who had negative perceptions of community policing.

Twenty-three year old Wanda, who was one of my key informants in Kayamandi, told me as we sat outside her house in Kayamandi: '…those who do not want to join the neighbourhood watch or reservists say those are not realistic about the problems here in Kayamandi'. I asked her what alternative do they say they have in terms of dealing with crime and issues that affect them as the youth. She shrugged her shoulders, 'they don't say much, they just watch you do the patrols and they keep quiet or they may cause problems when you patrol with the police'. She continued:

> The people in the streets who throw stones at us say we are not educated. That is why we are patrolling at night without getting paid. During the day, they will make fun of you and tell you to find something to do that makes you money. If you are a woman, they go on and tell you it is because you do not have a boyfriend that is why we go around Kayamandi at night. It is young people against young people. There is us who support patrolling with the police then there are the other young people who want to do everything to stop us. On the 16th of December last year [referring to 2006] two reservists were hurt by stones. We were patrolling with the police and there were men in the streets that started throwing stones at us. That was before I went home for the holidays to the Eastern Cape. Some of the very same young people who throw stones at us and the police when we patrol go to church and when you see them there, they look very decent but after church, they are different people.

This quote speaks of the hostility that those who participated in community policing initiatives experienced. The issues Wanda talked about I had already witnessed a few times that year when I was part of patrols with the police, reservists and the NW during weekends in Kayamandi. The low level of satisfaction with the police resulted in hostility and negative perceptions of the police and of those who participated in community policing initiatives.

Youth expressed negative, positive or mixed feelings, no knowledge at all or simply disinterest about community policing. Some of the young women who were reservists and participating in the NW translated the pressures they felt in terms of their vulnerability as women by doing something about crime as volunteers. The young women reservists talked about their vulnerability in terms of being mugged and domestic violence. Their vulnerability to crime made them take on new responsibilities as reservists or volunteers with the NW.

I spoke to Thobile one weekend in Kayamandi. He worked as a security guard in a housing development in Die Boord. I made an appointment with him for the following week. When I saw the 27 year old Thobile the following week, he looked different, smart in his blue uniform when I found him at the entrance of the housing development in Die Boord. He talked a lot about his job and about security issues in the township comparing that with the suburb and linking this with his perceptions of community policing:

> I chose security because that was the first job I got years ago. I like it, I protect my country. There are many people who come to visit our country especially here. If we do not care about our country and the people who come, we lose out. I work the night shift most times so that I may do my course and study during the day. I try to study, it is not easy but I am trying. I want to do more. *[He pointed out to the surroundings]* Die Boord is a safe place unlike the townships where a lot of things happen. It may be peaceful and you enjoy but anything may happen any time. In Kayamandi, you may be walking late at night, coming from the shebeen or to see your friends, you may get robbed, stabbed or killed. It is not easy for the police to come and help you straight away; I think the police are afraid. They may take thirty minutes to come. We live with the police, they are our friends, we know them, it is a difficult job, *[he mentioned again]*, they are afraid. However, if I compare Kayamandi to other townships, Kayamandi is a better place. Things happen but there are people from overseas who come to visit and even some of the students stay for some time in Kayamandi. It is bad but it is quiet. [*I asked him what he meant by bad]* There are difficult places, the Cape Flats they have strong real gangs and serious issues. We have also issues with crime and drugs but [*he paused for a moment]*, if I compare with other places, Kayamandi is bad but not very bad… [*I was puzzled when he kept saying it is bad but not very bad].* Even if I am not part of the patrols in Kayamandi, I am doing my part because I work as a security guard. The CPF is very good, together with the police reservists they patrol and go to each tavern and tell them to close and stop selling alcohol when it is after eleven at night.

Thobile's positive perception of community policing in Kayamandi was related to his idea that being part of security meant one was contributing positively since he worked as a security guard. He made a very important observation, however, that the police were afraid and overwhelmed by the tasks they had. Youth crime and related problems cannot be solely attended to by the police. After all, the police are not social workers, nor are they community development workers, though they seem to take on those roles, especially when they attend to youth crime issues. I became aware of this from the way some of the police inspectors told me intimate details of the family background of the young men and women who had on one or several occasions been implicated in crime.

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7.8   Conclusion

In conclusion, the major objective of this chapter was to highlight the social experiences, roles and challenges of the youth in Kayamandi and Kylemore and the context that shaped their experiences. The chapter highlighted voices of the youth, with ethnographic descriptions and analysis of the issues that were raised around the youth-crime nexus, and youths' perceptions of community policing. While critical notions of youth may describe them as irresponsible, disillusioned, confused and irrational, evidence from the findings showed that some young men and women at the margins of society make hard choices. Some get involved in crime and violence, drug and alcohol abuse, while others make a choice to be involved in community policing and various youth subcultures that facilitate personal growth. The same young men and women may move between trying to be a responsible young person and being involved in deviant or anti-social behaviour. The overall argument and findings show that although the young men and women exist in similar structural environments, they respond in different ways to the issues and challenges. Their life stories and how they engaged and deliberated issues in FGDs, interviews and informal discussions revealed anxieties about the youth both as victims and as perpetrators of crime. Most of the young men and women raised issues about not having adequate opportunities in their lives and issues of crime and community policing were woven together with their aspirations as young people. How I framed the discussion in this chapter supports Christiansen, Utas and Vigh's (2006: 11) argument that, '[we need to look at the ways youth are positioned in society and the ways they seek to position themselves in society, as well as the ways young people construct counter-positions and definitions.' The issues I discussed in this chapter also point to what was long noted by Pinnock (1997:3) that South Africa's justice system does not act in ways likely to win and change the attitudes of young people and in part this is caused by a legal system that is designed for control and not for social restoration.

What I gathered was that if the youth could not participate in the CPF or NW meetings, it was up to the police to go on the platforms where the youth participated and deliberate the issues affecting them, for example in the youth forums. At the same time, the chairpersons of these youth forums needed to communicate with the CPFs where issues concerning them as youth were discussed. That required even more commitment on the part of the police, youth forums, leadership in the CPF and neighborhood watches. It became clear for me that for the police and the diverse community organisations in Kayamandi and Kylemore to actively engage with the youth, they needed to be more proactive, to go into the spaces where the youth were, to communicate and hear them out. After all, ideally, community policing is about

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opening up channels of communication and this may entail engaging with the youth within the spaces where they live as young adults. As my findings revealed, there are other options to be explored instead of merely making the youth targets for community policing.

Community policing relies on and functions through community organisations and numerous partnerships to deal with crime and related problems. The discussion in Chapter Eight reveals how domestic violence was talked about and identified as a problem together with other crime related problems. The questions addressed in the next chapter revolve around how the police and community organisations viewed the issue of domestic violence and how to intervene in it. Women's voices are foregrounded in the next chapter.

Chapter Eight

'TREADING WITH CAUTION': AN ANALYSIS OF INTERVENTIONS TO ADDRESS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Chapter Prologue

I woke up early in the morning on Women's Day, the 9th of August 2011, to listen to the news and browse through the many press articles that had been written by various authors to commemorate the day. I listened to the several people who were being interviewed on radio and television about the issues affecting women in South Africa. One woman on the radio asked rhetorically, 'August will always be women's month', and every year we hear all the messages celebrating women, but why can't we dedicate all the days of the year to seriously deal with those issues, especially violence against women?'. Among the many issues discussed on radio and television were gender equality, women and employment, female-headed households, women and HIV/AIDS and women and education. It was, however, violence against women that I paid special attention to amongst the issues that came up in the discussions. During my visit to Kayamandi on the same day, I made note of the statement that was made by a counsellor who attended to domestic violence issues in Kayamandi, when she said, 'If women are still afraid and look over their shoulder and arm themselves only with the loudest of their screams at times, when will all women enjoy that particular right to freedom and security? Women are still afraid of the violence they may encounter at anytime and anywhere'. This reminded me of the commentaries that I had read earlier in the day that pointed to the fact that even though legal instruments for the protection of women existed, the persistent violence against women in South Africa presented a frightening situation and a long way to go in terms of proactively dealing with domestic violence. The police form the crux of the formal responses to domestic violence but they are often criticised because of the inadequate and insensitive ways they deal with the intricate issue of domestic violence.

8.1   Introduction

My study of crime and community policing led to the identification of domestic violence as a pertinent area of concern. This was brought to light when residents conceptualized, experienced, and talked about crime and its mitigation. Domestic violence emerged as one of the residents' main concerns. In this chapter, through the issues I discuss, I demonstrate that through engagement with the community there is potential and scope for the police to incorporate the loose connections and be more accessible and open to working

with the community-based advocates for better prevention and response to domestic violence in terms of both victim protection and offender accountability. After all, implementation of state instruments to address domestic violence takes place largely at the local and provincial levels.

The *2009-2010 Report on the Identification of Policing Needs and Priorities in the Western Cape* was compiled by the Department of Community Safety (2010). In that report, domestic violence featured amongst the top five priority areas needing attention based on information collected by CPFs from local communities. Moreover, 60 police stations out of 149 identified domestic violence as a major concern in the Western Cape Province. Thus domestic violence emerged as a thematic area in my study.

In light of the above, this chapter situates domestic violence within the broad aims of the study of crime and community policing. As the research project evolved, the issue of domestic violence moved to centre stage, and more importantly, led to the examination of community policing as a means of addressing domestic violence. My sense of women's rights heightened my attention to domestic violence issues. In making my argument, I prioritised women's voices and experiences with domestic violence. To do this, I drew upon particular features and perspectives from feminist thought. Though there are diverse interpretations of feminist methodology, in broad terms, feminist methodology especially provides re-imaginings of knowledge that are grounded in women's experiences and the role of the researcher. In addition, the insight that context is critical in understanding social situations was useful for looking into the extent that voices of women in different contexts were heard in community policing. With its claim to being consultative, participatory and proactive, community policing's task is to attend to crimes and related problems, including the problem of domestic violence. As Hill and Wright (2003) argue, the use of feminism made it possible to explore and unearth patriarchal social dynamics and relationships from the perspective of women.

The central aims of this chapter are therefore three-fold. The first section of this chapter reveals through literature, statistics and fieldwork, the context in which domestic violence occurs. Through case illustrations, I prioritise women's voices and their experiences of domestic violence. These case illustrations provide examples of how domestic violence was experienced and assist in framing the discussion. While prioritising women's voices, I was mindful of women not being a homogeneous group. In fact, the violence that women

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experience and how they respond is shaped by dimensions of their identity which encompass class (Isaack 2010) and issues such as age, race, social location and educational background.

The second objective of this chapter is to provide an extension of the discussion in Chapter Six where I showed that community policing attends to crime and related issues through a number of community-based organisations (CBOs) and that there are occasional partnerships of these CBOs with the police. Therefore, the second objective of this chapter is related to how CBOs attended to domestic violence and related issues. While bringing out the diverse objectives of the CBOs in terms of addressing domestic violence, my findings build on Vetten's (2005:3) argument that with regards to dealing with domestic violence:

> There is limited, sustained, active networking or sharing of experiences between organisations…. Many projects and initiatives remain undocumented and rigorous evaluation of the impact is rarely conducted.

The *National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) Report* compiled by Padayachee (2009) confirmed Vetten's argument that domestic violence service delivery is still fragmented, uncoordinated and culturally inappropriate, with a lack of adequate collaboration between the different agencies and CBOs that attend to domestic violence issues.

Moreover, I extend the findings of Chapter Six that although residents are able to identify and talk about the crimes and related problems they have in their localities, there is not enough active working together by the CBOs. I found a lack of institutional support at the local level to attend to domestic violence. The same goes for community policing initiatives targeting other crimes as discussed in Chapter Six. Hence, non-state actors in community policing, while generally encouraged to deal with crimes and related problems in their localities, are not sufficiently supported in their attempts. This is comparable to Padayachee's (2009:1) point that as a country, there is still a lack of a comprehensive integrated strategy and coordinated approach to deal with domestic violence, even with the existence of an instrumental legal instrument such as the Domestic Violence Act (1998) (DVA).

Section 8.3 of this chapter deals with the third objective of this chapter which is highlighting the ethical dimension that inevitably comes into play in domestic violence research and that I introduced in Chapter Two, section 2.5. These issues are a background to how I positioned myself in the process of engaging with domestic violence by volunteering with some of the CBOs that attended to domestic violence.

The intricate issue of domestic violence particularly sheds light on the ways in which policing priorities are set in broader community policing structures. My research results show that not all crimes are viewed as constituting the same kind of threat and are not managed in the same way. The state concentrates more on crimes that are viewed as a threat to national security and invests more resources and manpower in addressing such crimes. Armed robbery, cash in transit heists and hijackings are top of the list, although the state acknowledges the need to protect victims of domestic violence. The effort and resources for fighting crimes considered as priority crimes are not the same as what has been put in place for domestic violence. The state's intention to deal with domestic violence is evident in the legal provisions it has facilitated, but there is limited capacity to engage with domestic violence at the local level. The language of the state through community policing is for communities to be actively engaged with finding ways to deal with domestic violence and even encourages families and CBOs to attend to domestic violence issues, as they are in close proximity to the problems.

How inadequately domestic violence issues were dealt with made me question the way policing priorities are set, the setting of the agenda in dealing with domestic violence, and the resources the police have at their disposal. The questions around the contested terrain of policing priorities address both the implicit and explicit power dynamics in policing. My findings point towards what Berg (2010a) refers to as the issue of power inherent in community policing partnerships which may be legal and symbolic. I focus on the relations of power in setting out policing priorities, in particular how and which policing priorities are set and the actors who participate in that regard. Pereira (2002) indicates that some social categories are marginalised in indirect ways in the process of governance by institutions of the state. This view is largely consistent with the argument that I developed in Chapter Six that indicated that some residents felt they did not have the space to articulate their views, as that space was dominated by certain individuals.

I also question what are defined as public issues in community policing as far as crime and related issues are concerned. Although there was awareness of domestic violence, it was still viewed as a private affair. It was noticed that it was only when a victim of domestic violence reported and actively sought measures to address the situation that there was an elaborate use of the CBOs or police to deal with the situation. The paradox remains that domestic violence has become a public issue on the national level rather than merely private, as illustrated in legal instruments to protect victims. However, there was a sense in which domestic violence was largely treated as private on the local level, as shown by the ways in which domestic violence

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was placed at the bottom of the list through being side-lined for further discussion or brainstorming for solutions at a later stage. I noticed this several times during CPF meetings in Kayamandi. It became apparent from the moments of silence and people looking around and expecting a response from others that after domestic violence was raised as an area of concern, people in the meeting knew it was a problem but seemed to be overwhelmed by it and did not have much to contribute. On three occasions, the task was left with three individuals to brainstorm ways in which services to domestic violence victims could be improved. This chapter shows that there were challenges in attempts to broaden the notion of domestic violence from private violence to public violence. This was illustrated in the ways in which issues were considered and community policing strategies were set, particularly in CPF meetings.

CBOs and the police had different knowledge bases about the extent of domestic violence in their localities and this was related to the issue of who victims of domestic violence reported to and the kind of effort that was made by the CBOs to find information on domestic violence. I found that the counsellors from the NGOs in Kayamandi and the managers of the safe houses in Kylemore at times had more information about domestic violence victims than the police. This may be explained by the fact that they worked with a primary focus on domestic violence. They were involved in the first step of taking a statement from the victim. They talked to the involved parties before any intervention or reporting to the police happened, and in some cases, the victim decided not to report the matter to the police. My ethnographic work confirms the argument made by Thacher (2009) that community policing, and in this case policing domestic violence, occurs without the police. The police, however, is instrumental in applying legal sanctions.

8.2   Domestic violence

The endemic nature of violence against women presents persistent challenges for South Africa. Women are the majority of victims of physical, emotional, sexual and financial abuse. Campbell (1998) writing on the dismantling of the apartheid military regime, argues that after many years of coercion, violence and repression, apartheid had cemented violence as an integral aspect of an anti-democratic system. Women had suffered disproportionately from the warfare and violence in the public sphere, which encouraged domestic violence and other forms of oppression against women. In present day South Africa, violence has crystallised into different forms, ranging from violent service delivery protests, domestic violence, taxi violence, xenophobic attacks, to violent strikes and violent crime. The state itself is embroiled in all kinds of

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controversies with regard to violence. Media images of the state's violent responses to crime and violence reveals a state that uses violence to deal with the dangers that are the result of the everyday violence. Comaroff and Comaroff (2011) refer to the reporting of crime that is dramatised and distributed in different forms of media. Retaliation to the violence of the state on the other hand, is shown by police murders and by those who have been victims of police brutality suing the state. What do these manifestations of violence tell us about the family and how it is situated in this context of violence? The fundamental issue immediately relevant at this point is the inability of families and communities to deal with the violence against women and children who constitute the majority of domestic violence victims. Women and children succumb to violence in the families and communities where their protection should be provided.

8.2.1 Expansion of domestic violence definitions

The language with which domestic violence is defined has mutated over the years. The way in which domestic violence is looked at has moved away from looking at the problems as mainly psychological or emotional issues. Marcus (1994) has pointed out that domestic violence is a limited and inadequate term and instead likens domestic violence to politically motivated terror directed at a community. Her brave and provocative leap in conceptualising domestic violence as *Terrorism in the home* makes sense in so far it explains how traumatic and catastrophic domestic violence experiences are, with the same consequences as terror by politically motivated terrorism. The exceptional way in which Marcus redefines domestic violence is an example of the ways in which definitions have been expanded over time.

Sometimes Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is used synonymously with domestic violence. However, in this chapter, I make use of the term domestic violence to encompass the kind of abuse and violence that extends beyond the intimate partners in question but also affects those related to them, particularly the immediate family. This resonates with Marshall's (1998) broad definition of domestic violence as a term that encompasses any form of violence within the family.

I also join Bollen, Artz, Vetten, and Louw (1999) who refer to the complexity of domestic violence by stressing that domestic violence is not just a once-off serious incident but a continuum where a series of on-going patterns of abuse occur. In addition, I define domestic violence as a combination of abusive behaviours that come from one or both partners in a range of domestic relationships.

The DVA acknowledges the high incidents of domestic violence cases that take place in many domestic relationships. The range of domestic relationships covered by the DVA are: a marriage relationship (whether the marriage subsists or not, including marriage according to any law, custom or religion); cohabiting relationship (past or present); same sex or heterosexual relationships; parents of a child; family members related by blood, affinity or adoption; engagement, dating or customary relationship including an actual or perceived romantic, intimate or sexual relationship of any duration; or persons who share or have recently shared the same residence (Vetten 2005:4). Domestic violence in that range of domestic relationships consists of physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and economic harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry into complainant's home without consent, any other controlling and abusive behaviour towards a complainant, where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety health or wellbeing of the complainant (Domestic Violence Act 1998). The overwhelming number of cases of violence perpetrated by men to their intimate partners. Although women may also be violent to their intimate partners, the vast majority of victims are women experiencing violence from men. Victims of domestic violence are protected by the provisions made in the DVA, but domestic violence as such is not a crime in terms of South Africa's criminal law. Only rape or assault reported in conjunction with domestic violence incidents are perceived as criminal acts.

8.2.2   The context of domestic violence in South Africa

The pervasive nature of violence in South Africa so often referred to manifests itself through patterns of abusive behaviour to the most vulnerable in our society. The current predicament is that the majority of the victims of domestic violence are women. A statement released by the Constitutional Court expressed the harsh realities of domestic violence in 2000:

> All crime has harsh effects on society. What distinguishes domestic violence are its hidden, repetitive character and its immediate ripple effects on society, and in particular, on family life. It cuts across class, race, culture and geography, and is all the more pernicious because it is so often hidden and so frequently goes unpunished (Constitutional Court Statement 2000).

Statistics from a study carried out by Gender Links (GL) and The Medical Research Council (MRC) (2010) show the perennial challenges of women as the majority of victims of domestic violence. The 2010 report from the study, *The war @ home: Preliminary findings of the Gauteng Province violence prevalence* pointed out that 78.3% of men in the Gauteng Province in their study admitted to perpetrating some form of violence against women. Another 65.2% of men admitted to perpetrating emotional violence to women and

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43.7% of women reported experiencing emotional violence. These figures represent unacceptably high levels of forms of domestic violence that occur in our society. Even on the face of these high levels of domestic violence in terms of statistics, domestic violence is still under-reported. From the instances I came across, some of the cases of domestic violence were unreported for reasons that varied from being less confident of the process of intervention by the police, to avoiding the trauma that comes with being exposed through investigation. Victims who know the available channels but choose not to report do not like the attitude of service providers, be it the police or the CBOs.

From another angle, Joyner (2009:287), in her health care study on intimate partner violence victims, revealed what many often echo concerning the notorious issue of domestic violence. She stated that 'the scourge of IPV (domestic violence) points to extremely high levels of dysfunctional family relationships in South Africa'. Joyner's point corresponds with what Justine as a retired social worker in Die Boord said in an interview as the lessons she had learnt during her many encounters at work:

> I do find there are many family problems in our families. If you go deep down inside, it is people being afraid of firstly what is happening within their own homes then what is happening in the communities they live in. The result is they take it out on each other. That situation where people take it out on each other happens when relationships have deteriorated and fear and anxiety rules the home and may be heard and seen by the things that happen in our communities. It may happen everywhere and to anyone. Some people may say it happens with poor people but people with too much money beat up each other, have anxieties and there is disharmony in some of those homes. The effect domestic violence has on families is huge, when are we going to focus on families as well? I know a lot is happening to address violence in families, but we need more. I do not have solutions, but I am commenting based on what I have witnessed from years of experience in my line of work.

Justine also reiterated how relationships and families have become dysfunctional and people use violence to communicate with each other.

Still on statistics that illustrate the notorious nature of violence against women, Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) revealed that one woman is killed every six hours by intimate partner violence in South Africa and in some parts of the country, one in two women have experienced domestic violence in one form or another. Explaining the violent paths some men take, Mathews, Jewkes and Abrahams (2010) in their article *"I had a hard life": Exploring childhood adversity in the shaping of masculinities among men who killed an intimate partner in South Africa*, argue that men find it challenging sometimes to find affirmation from others in a social environment that appears to be a pathway to crime and violence. Poor parenting, neglect and abuse

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have a profound effect on identity formation on both men and women. The result is involvement in crime and risk-taking behaviour to gain a sense of self-worth and respect. Moreover, Daniel (2010) in his article, *Understanding violent men*, has explained domestic violence in the Western Cape in terms of unpleasant childhood experiences, violence in the home, or at work.

So far, in this section I have dwelled on the context of domestic violence in South Africa. Let me now briefly turn to the broader literature on domestic violence. Literature on domestic violence is broad, spanning male and female socialisation, gender dynamics that encompass social practices, cultural and historical constructions of men and women, women's rights, feminist ideology and contemporary theories of gender, in particular the concept of gender and its relevance to how relationships are lived. How does the concept of gender relate to violence and abuse between intimate partners? Gender is a variable social construction. For example, the state and the family participate in mutually inclusive ways to construct gender norms. Marcus (1994:26) points out that:

> The family socializes its members to accept a pattern of hierarchical gender relations; social, religious and cultural institutions assist in perpetuating male control over women's sexuality, mobility, and labour, inside and outside the home; the state provides the legal basis for the family and other institutions to perpetuate these relations.

Gender and power are also linked to other forms of inequality and cultural symbols. For example, women's expected role to take care of the family persists in contemporary society.

Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller in *Population Report, Ending Domestic Violence* (1998) point to the factors that indicate the likelihood that a man will abuse his intimate partner. They categorised these factors into society factors, community factors, relationship issues, and individuals. The table below summarises what Heise *et al* point out as issues that form in an intertwined way the likelihood that a man may abuse his intimate partner. The issues in the table are used to interpret the cases in section 8.4.

Table 14: Reasons why a man may abuse his partner

Society	Community	Relationship	Individual Perpetrator
• Social norms, acceptance of violence as a way to resolve conflict. • Masculinity dominance • Honour • Aggression	• Poverty • Low socio-economic status • Unemployment • Associating with delinquent peers • Isolation of women and family	• Male control of wealth and decision making in the family	• Being male and witnessing violence as a child • Absent or rejecting father • Abused as a child • Alcohol and drug abuse

Adapted from Heise (1998) Population Reports, Ending Domestic Violence

8.3   Finding yourself in the thick of things: Treading with caution

In section 2.5, I introduced the issues of ethics and investigating domestic violence. At every stage, one has to tread with caution or walk on eggshells when talking to victims of domestic violence and dealing with sensitive information. I realised I had to deal with crises of expectation from the informants and my own internal conflict as I dealt with emotionally draining situations at times, avoiding becoming entangled in the lives of participants even though I was a volunteer. Nevertheless, I came to embrace my role as an ethnographer situated in the thick of things. I became inevitably drawn into the women's groups and some of them saw me as part of their cause. A volunteer who had served for a long time at the Kuyasa organisation in Kayamandi told me once, 'you have good energy we may do so much more together'. She no longer saw me as an observer, that researcher or student from the University, but she expected me to contribute in brainstorming for suggestions. I often had to reorient myself and keep focusing on what was at stake in terms of research. The politics of representation of the data and what you are as a person, as Scheper-Hughes (1999) writes in *Call for a militant anthropology*, points to the anthropologist's responsibility to intervene, but the question is what form does the intervention take? It creates a crisis of expectation and representation. In as much as I would have wanted to exert my energies into being fully part of the groups, it would have been exhausting, and I therefore mentioned that I could not be committed full-time as I had obligations of work and studies and could only put in time when I had it.

As a researcher unearthing domestic violence issues, one deals with potentially traumatising events for the respondent as she relives the violence. Those who have witnessed or experienced domestic violence are opening up a pandora's box at times, revealing the most intimate issues between partners, for example when conversations move to sexual encounters that happen after arguments and physical fights. One woman told me that she could not grasp how sexual encounters follow physical violence. For what seemed a very brief moment, she told me very explicit details of the sexual encounters after physical violence. She whispered how she often scrubbed herself vigorously the next day in tears telling herself it will not happen again. When one reveals such personal intimate details, personal privacy has been invaded. Women entrusted me with very intimate and sometimes shocking encounters with their partners. I found the brief counselling training sessions I had previously attended useful, but still, reliving domestic violence experiences for a respondent may be dangerous if not handled well. The participant may feel overwhelmed as was the case cited by Zimmerman (2000) where during domestic violence research in Cambodia a woman committed suicide because of being overwhelmed by revealing the details of her abuse. In light of these sensitivities as an ethnographer, one finds oneself treading with caution when constructing a project and chasing leads for information.

Another issue is that there is a difficulty in saying that some people consider you a friend over time and then writing about them, when the things you write about are sensitive issues. At the same time, ethnography requires us to be close to our work, enough to make the common strange and make the out of the ordinary familiar. The women I engaged with related their stories and I bore witness to cases of domestic violence interventions by the police and NW during the patrols with the police, neighbourhood watch and reservists in Kayamandi. I was also told of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch interventions in cases of domestic violence when they received calls to intervene. The narratives were from people talking about their friends, neighbours or their own experiences of domestic violence.

8.3.1   The sombre picture of domestic violence

The case illustrations and stories I chose for this chapter mirror what Perreira (2002) points out: that women's struggles have centred on retaining their integrity and that of their families. Although the women's voices are diverse, I join Pereira in insisting on looking at women as human beings who exercise their

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agency under circumstances of need and crisis. The argument that Pereira (2002:49) makes to this effect is that

> The conventional notion of 'woman-as-victim' presupposes that women are victims because they are 'not-men'. In other words, 'woman' generally signifies one who is characterised by a lack or 'absence' – 'not-men' and therefore passive. Re-imagining women requires recognition of women as human beings who exercise agency … that means exercising agency under circumstances of need and crisis that few men ever have to contend with.

The above argument by Pereira was especially relevant for interpreting ways in which women talked about facing violence and what they did in those circumstances of need and crisis that not many men ever have to deal with. The point is that the image of women as victims of violence should not be seen as the natural consequence of being a woman. Rather, to paraphrase Pereira (2002), it should be seen as a result of being subjected as a woman to violence often perpetrated by men whose masculinity encompasses violating women as a way of violating their communities or denying that which causes their feelings of inadequacy as men. Maguire (1996) says that drawing on feminism entails a dedication to unearth and understand what causes and sustains oppression and in this case women's experiences in domestic violence in all forms.

I developed compassion for the women who narrated their life stories, who offered commentaries on domestic violence and shared what they knew about other women who had experienced domestic violence. The women I talked to formed their crime stories into a kind of autobiography where their story was interwoven with imagery, metaphors and expressions that not only referred to what they knew about domestic violence, what they witnessed or experienced as victims, but expressed their aspirations for their families, careers or work relationships and their rights as citizens. Their viewpoints were at most times filled with mixed feelings about domestic violence, ranging from general fear of crime and violence, to optimism for a place where women could live and feel safe. Some women found participation in the research to be a positive experience personally in that it gave them a chance to express their opinion or unburden themselves to a sympathetic stranger. I found myself in that role of sympathetic stranger, listening and at times joining in social activities with some of these women.

A year before I started fieldwork in Kylemore, Van der Heijden conducted research on women's articulations of empowerment and livelihood practices in the DRV. She found out that domestic violence in Kylemore was talked about and viewed by women as the result of men's lack of responsibility and the

perceived disempowerment through unemployment and alcohol abuse (Van der Heijden 2009). I experienced similar issues in Kylemore where people talked about domestic violence and gave reasons why it happened, why at times, they talked about it and at times, they did not but found other ways of dealing with it. Speaking about the psychological impact of violence on women in Kylemore Kruger (2008) made a comment at a workshop,

> Violence is the cost women have to bear. The men are so emasculated that they have to bring out their frustrations on women. Violence has been part of the place for a long time. As a woman, it is a harsh reality to live in. On the other hand, little is written about what is happening to the men. They are drinking, depressed and most of them without full time jobs. Violence becomes the kind of language some people use to talk to each other in Kylemore.

Kruger gave an example of the cycle of violence where a drunken husband beats up his wife and she directs her frustration on their 10-year-old boy by beating him too.

In Kayamandi, I listened to stories about contact crimes that were constantly cited by police and residents in Kayamandi. Explaining the contact crimes in Kayamandi, a police inspector told me that most of the cases they attended to were between intimate partners, friends or family members where issues degenerate after arguments or after a social evening with drinking. The more general issues that the cases below reveal are the multiple forms of violence experienced by women and the range of strategies women use to resist abuse and confront that violence in their intimate or domestic relationship. The case illustrations are also indicative of the entanglements women find themselves in. The police, men and women I talked to about domestic violence, paint a sombre picture that shows the perennial challenges to women as the usual victims of domestic violence. On the other side, however, the women's stories resisted the discourse of women as victims of domestic violence, but showed their rethinking of their lived realities. Pereira's argument (2002) makes sense when she states that women's resistance and struggles have often focused fundamentally on retaining especially their dignity and integrity and that of their families.

In the case studies below, I look at women's experiences with domestic violence at the individual level and the decisions they made about the situations they found themselves in. Watson (2009) points out that in situations where people occupy largely peripheral positions, and this applies to the context of community policing, they develop a different voice. The different voices of those who have experienced domestic violence may best be described by the metaphor of a 'submerged discourse' used by Ferguson (1984). Employing feminist discourse meant that I made an effort toward revealing submerged discourses about

women's experiences with abuse and violence, which at times are inaccessible and distorted (Watson 2009). Through the case illustrations, I seek out, reveal and write about those submerged discourses, uncovering women's lived realities in terms of domestic violence.

Different as the case illustrations may be, they all show what Marcus (1994:32) referred to especially, that 'violence against women is designed to maintain domination and control, to enhance or reinforce advantages, and to defend privileges of the perpetrator by violence. Not all women who become victims of violence respond in the same way or in a manner that is consistent over time'.

Case 1: Women who no longer put up with domestic violence

Anele, a middle-aged woman in Kylemore, told me about her experiences with domestic violence and the decision she made to leave her marriage and talk about what she had endured for many years. Her case is an example of women who are no longer hesitant to talk about domestic violence and who sometimes make the decision to leave. Anele was physically, emotionally and financially abused for a long time. She said she put up with the abuse and violence because she wanted her marriage to work and was concerned about what her community and her relatives would think if she broke things off. In an interview, she told me that:

> People do not talk about it (domestic violence) loud here in Kylemore. I was a victim for years. I did not say anything. I was sad, lived in a dark place. I wanted things to work out. I talk about it now, you see I am talking about it and I have been saying a lot of what I have experienced for the past hour, I have grown a lot as a person now, I am confident.

She paced up and down the length of the small living room between the chairs showing in a symbolic way how confident she has grown over the years. She continued;

> Years ago, I was not this confident person, I almost expected something to happen every day, either I was shouted at, pushed or he would be in a very bad mood that made me afraid. I was unhealthy, I could not eat after the beatings, I fought back sometimes but then I would be beaten even more if I fought back. I was afraid but I did not even want to think beyond what I could do with the situation at that time. I could not endure it anymore and at some point, I made a quick decision to end it.

She considered her survival in the abusive relationship as a challenge to the abuser. When she moved out of the relationship, she viewed her survival as a challenge. She tells her story to other women to challenge them to do something if they find themselves in the same situation.

Case 2: 'My complicated situation – Just letting things off my chest'

Unlike Anele in Case 1, Thembeka's case illustrated that some women choose to just talk about the violence and abuse they face but stay in the situation. Thembeka told me, 'I have my own reasons why I do not leave my husband'. She told me that she was verbally abused and he said some hurtful things by calling her *'isifebe'* (women of lose morals) and slapped her occasionally, but she shouted back. Thembeka told me:

> You may talk about it to your friend but you do it just to get things off your chest, but sometimes it is better to find a way to deal with it on your own. It is more complicated than you think. I may pray about it and remain hopeful that the situation may change when I have one of those bad days.

Like Thembeka, 26 year old Vele from Kayamandi also told me that:

> When I talk about it, I just want to let it out for that time. I know the situation I am in and it is not easy. I have a son. My boyfriend works in Bellville and gets paid enough to take care of me and my son and I get money to send home. I live with him and do not pay any rent. He buys most of the groceries. The job I do is part time, so for now, I am going to put up with him until my situation is better.

Vele's case shows that some women endure the violence because they are financially dependent on their abuser. One may put up with the violence for the supposed financial security the relationship offers at that time. Thus, their structural position is related to the way they respond to the violence they experience. 'I know that I should leave him, but who will give me money? He gives me money. I go to work sometimes but the money is too little. I have my young child and he takes care of us'. She endured abuse because her partner was taking care of her and her son. She was aware of the abusive relationship she was in but she endured the situation, hoping for better days when she could earn more to sustain herself and her son. Those who make decisions to talk about it to friends, the police or counsellors do not necessarily want to come and represent themselves as merely victims. In one woman's viewpoint, 'not reporting to the police does not necessarily mean that I am not doing anything about it'. When one seeks intervention, it does not mean that she wants to leave her partner but may sometimes be looking for someone to talk to, to comfort them after an incident. I noticed such responses especially during the calls received on the hotline for rape and domestic violence that was managed by Prochorus CBO volunteers in Kayamandi. Some women called because they wanted another woman to talk to but refused to have the counsellor come out to them to talk face to face. The above is a clear indication that women find themselves having to make paradoxical choices and situating themselves in positions where they experience violence.

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Case 3: Understanding and denial of vulnerability

Both understanding and denial of their vulnerability forms part of the mixed emotions some women in difficult domestic settings or violent relationships find themselves in. There are some women who stay with their boyfriends out of desperation; most of the abused women do not report because they have no choice and nowhere to stay. Thando told me:

> I was chased away by my cousin and her husband. We come from the same area so when I came here I lived with them. After some time, my cousin thought her husband liked me. Things were tense in the house, he was playful with me in a way I did not quite like and I told him a lot of times. Some money went missing in the house [and] my cousin accused me of stealing the money and chased me away. I went to live with a male who liked me but we did not have a relationship. We started living together and had sex sometimes. We did not talk much about the kind of relationship we had. I knew he had a girlfriend, but I lived with him and helped with the grocery expenses. When I refused to have sex with him when things turned bad, he shouted and after some time, I left the place and got my own place to live.

Thando moved from one situation of abuse to another. She was aware of the uncertain position she found herself in with the males in the place she called home when she moved to Kayamandi. She kept living with her 'sister' and she understood the vulnerable situation she was in but at that time, she did not know many people in Kayamandi to be able to move away from that situation.

Case 4: Starting a new life

During my first interview with Leah, she told me she had been living in Kayamandi for a year. Before that, she had lived in the Eastern Cape with her boyfriend whom she expected to marry. She told me, 'he did not treat me well'. I asked her what she meant by not treating her well. She told me that her boyfriend used to flirt with other girls and he received calls from other women and talked to them even when they were in bed. She talked about how at times he would not come back during the weekend and his phone would be off or he would not answer his phone when she called to ask him at what time he would be back. When he came back home, he demanded to have sex with her. She exclaimed 'It is not a good thing to have sex when you are upset with your boyfriend, it does not feel ok'. Leah went on to tell me that he did not beat her at all but told her he wanted to find her at home all the time and refused to talk to her if she received visits from friends and relatives. She endured subtle forms of abuse that he used to maintain control. When a friend came to visit during the holidays, she decided to go back with her to Kayamandi and start a new life.

She told her boyfriend that she was visiting her mother and would be back after a few days. She left some of her clothes to mislead him into thinking she was coming back. At the time of the interview, Leah worked as a domestic worker in town.

Case 5: Abuse and violence extending to children

A counsellor from Prochorus narrated a case that occurred in 2008. Rose owned a day care centre. She lived with her husband and her four-year-old daughter. Her husband had been abusing his step-daughter for some time. It is alleged that the woman knew of the issue and when the neighbours got to hear about it and noticed the child seemed ill most of the time, they reported their suspicions to the police. The police investigation found it to be true. They feared some of the day care children may also have been abused by this man.

While I got my hair plaited on one occasion, I was told of an incident that had occurred the previous evening where a man had been beaten after a six-year-old child revealed she had been raped by the man. The police arrived at the scene when the man had been beaten badly. The police confirmed the incident when I inquired that week. These cases illustrate how children are caught up in domestic violence situations, contributing to the cycle of violence. Rose did not report him at first because she was not sure. According to the counsellor she seemed afraid of her husband. The man was arrested and never returned to Kayamandi. The last time they heard about him was when he was awaiting trial.

Case 6: The cycle of violence

One time we went with a police inspector to visit an elderly woman in Kayamandi. Her husband was a security guard and had been killed months before as he was coming back from work. The police inspector told me that they believe he was attacked because the perpetrators thought he moved around with his firearm. When the father was killed, his son was in high school. He was very depressed. He dropped out of school, started drinking and the mother became very concerned about him. Later, the mother's concern moved to concern for herself because her son started verbally abusing her. The first time she reported, he had pushed his mother against the wall and was demanding money after he had sold things from the house. The police officer said he had become an addict over time. He was angry when his father was killed and the killers were never prosecuted, the investigation is still open but people have not come forward and no suspects were arrested. The elderly woman had reported twice and asked the police to come talk to her

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son. When we visited her, the mother defended her son and said she had asked people from her church to talk to him. This case indicates a circle of violence where one remains concerned for one's safety but still protects the perpetrator as well.

Case 7: Multiple vulnerabilities

The following case reflects the multiple vulnerabilities victims of domestic violence find themselves in. One of the most heartbreaking stories was the case I was told by the neighbourhood watch chairperson that involved a mentally ill teenager in the Enkanini section of Kayamandi who was sexually abused. A man locked her up and sexually abused her for days. There was a lot of commotion when the girl was looked for and later discovered in the room. The police acted quickly when the man was found, as people followed, wanting to beat him and deliver instant justice. 'The man is in jail for that and he should never come back here when he comes out, people will kill him,' a NW representative commented.

In another story, a 16 year-old girl we visited who was pregnant and was using drugs, stopped going to school. The boyfriend had been shouting at her and was emotionally abusing her. The counsellor made a comment after talking to her to set an appointment. 'I know why he shouts and throws a tantrum at her, he feels the heat of the situation. He did not want to stay with the girl and being a father is worse for him'. The girl's mother was upset and the situation at home became worse. She had been taking a lot of strain about the girl being pregnant and the mother had been shouting at the girl about it. When we visited her, the counsellor spoke to the mother about the situation and the need for both of them to be there for each other and especially the need to be a mother to her pregnant child. The above case is not an isolated incident. The high number of teen pregnancies in both Kayamandi and Kylemore not only puts a strain on the young pregnant girls but results in a strain in many domestic set ups.

Case 8: I may deal with it on my own

Kotena told me in an interview:

> My neighbour from where I used to reside lived with his girlfriend who was pregnant. They used to argue a lot and he would beat her from time to time and drag her outside and she would beg him to go back inside and talk about it. Most mornings she had bruises and a swollen face. We just used to greet each and not talk that much. She could get help but she did not. The beatings continued and were unnecessary. It was worse during the weekends when he came back from drinking with his friends. They made too much noise arguing. In her

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situation, there are women who stay with their boyfriends out of desperation. Most of those who are abused and do not report feel they have no choice, they have nowhere else to stay.

I include this case to show how violence is embodied in women's bodies in the ways in which scars and signs of physical abuse show on the outside and inside as well. The case of Kotena's neighbour is indicative of women who blame themselves that things are not coming right in the relationship and feel too ashamed to end it or look for help for fear of being seen as having failed the family or relationship.

Recounting the experiences of domestic violence by women through the case illustrations in this section is evidence of how domestic violence was talked about and experienced by some of the women and the different decisions taken in those circumstances. These cases vividly show domestic violence spreads beyond intimate partners to other members of a family.

8.4 Community-directed initiatives attending to domestic violence: Going beyond the criminal justice system

The extent of violence against women drew me to look closely at the synergies and interactions of the state, the home and CBOs as they attend to domestic violence issues. CBOs and NGOs provide services and attend to domestic violence issues, showing an element of subsidising the state (Vetten and Khan 2002). Before I discuss state responses to domestic violence, let me turn to local support and interventions for domestic violence. I started asking myself in the context of domestic violence, how do communities construct hope for the future, given the prevalence of violence, in this case domestic violence? It is through organisations that deal with domestic violence that norms are reconstructed, a sense of awareness is created and a critical voice is used to attend to domestic violence. My goal is thus to show the ways in which community-directed initiatives worked with other safety nodes in dealing with domestic violence. My findings show both the occasional partnerships and at times the absence of the necessary partnership and engagement with the police to attend to domestic violence.

I found that despite the existence of community-directed initiatives to deal with domestic violence, it was not always the case that victims of domestic violence actively sought their services. Therefore, to attend to domestic violence issues, much needed to be done that went beyond the criminal justice system although the legal instruments to deal with violence and abuse against women were an essential part of addressing domestic violence. Issues remained hidden in the private spaces in which domestic violence occurred when

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help was not sought or when there was a failure of intervention on behalf of the victim. This relates to Altbeker's view (2007) that although the criminal justice system is a crucial component in the response to crime, a great deal of what needs to be done to turn crime levels around is outside the realm of the criminal justice system.

I occasionally took part in the work of CBOs and shadowed individuals who were part of community initiatives that attended to domestic violence. This gave me the opportunity to talk to victims of domestic violence, mostly women who made use of those services provided by CBOs. I also had access to NGOs and women who were part of initiatives aimed at not only dealing with domestic violence, but women's capacity building and projects, women who had roles in various capacities in neighbourhood watches in both Kayamandi and Kylemore. What this revealed was that in terms of domestic violence, the police are not necessarily involved. Victims sometimes looked for advice from counsellors without reporting to the police. From the point of view of some police officers, they may only intervene in domestic violence if called upon to do so, or if someone intervened in the form of making a report as soon as the incident occurred or even afterwards, in which case they could investigate.

Community policing was supposed to work through civil society and families to prevent and manage crime. The core of the community policing discourse centred on encouraging communities to deal with their crimes and related problems in their own community and take responsibility and ownership of efforts to deal with those. What were the ways in which communities were doing so in light of the arguments about various family problems that case studies had revealed? The interventions in domestic violence and related issues that I encountered included psychological counselling for victims, shelter for domestic violence victims, legal protection for victims, and a dualistic approach to the problem of domestic violence where the perpetrator was included in the interventions. What was apparent in the range of the interventions I came across was that they were based on beliefs regarding the causes and repercussions of the domestic violence problem. Let me give an example of the L'Abrie de Dieu centre for the prevention of domestic violence in Stellenbosch. According to the report by Rousseau (2010) their success came from family-centred interventions and capacity-building for domestic violence victims who looked for shelter through the centre. In 2010 they had 59 mothers and children who were resident at the centre, 18 of the children continued with their primary schooling, 12 were pre-primary, two enrolled at Boland College in Stellenbosch, two were doing training in catering at the Bergzicht Training Centre in Stellenbosch, and 17

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families were reunited as a result of counselling. These families moved back to their homes. White women came for counselling but did not stay at the shelter.

As I made sense of the local initiatives that attended to domestic violence, the invisible nature of intimate partner violence meant my fieldwork included being part of the intervention processes, volunteering in the women's network groups, which made it possible to access the invisible space in which the violence and interventions occurred.

8.4.1   Interventions and support for domestic violence victims: The role of CBOs

I worked with women who were engaged in community dialogue and mobilisation to raise awareness in Kayamandi and Kylemore on not only about domestic violence, but also about issues that went further than that. There were a number of initiatives that were taking place in Kylemore concerning violence against women. My observations and findings regarding the scope of support within which CBOs and community policing attended to domestic violence in Kayamandi pointed to the need for a more expansive framework within which CBOs and community policing initiatives worked. There was a problem with the limited capacity with which CBOs worked to attend to domestic violence. Prochorus and Kuyasa CBOs had notable programmes for domestic violence interventions in Kayamandi. Explaining how the programme was running in Kayamandi through Prochorus, Linda told me:

> In 2006, I started counselling training at Prochorus, Kayamandi. [*During the time I volunteered with them in 2009, there were 4 counsellors].* When a woman calls on this telephone line, we go to her. Before 2007 there was no trauma room at the police station, now it is better. There is a trauma room. If someone was raped, if there was a man there at the front office, they did not take it seriously and asked embarrassing questions. For example comments from the police (*man*) as they took the statement: *'but you are in love with the guy',* you may imagine how hurtful it was if you heard that and you had gone through the trauma of rape*.* As counsellors, we may now also take the statement for the police and accompany the woman to report to the police. We go all the way with the woman and also when she goes to hospital. However, when the case goes to court, it is not our duty and we are not able to follow up to the courts. We check up on the woman, but some end up dropping the charges.

Parallel to the efforts of Prochorus and Kuyasa that were targeted at domestic violence during the time I conducted research, there was a project where the police in Kayamandi were visiting rape victims. A police constable who was dealing with the project of visiting rape victims pointed out that there was at least an incident of rape reported every week. She explained to me how the project was running:

> For those who report, we have a project now of visiting all rape victims who reported, finding out if they were satisfied with the way the case was handled or is being handled. But more information needs to be work-shopped to the women, for example the need to see a doctor within 72 hours and the need to report such issues. Most of the reported cases are rape by someone they know.

Interventions to domestic violence need to pay more attention to what happens within families or in any particular domestic relationship, and should not be just abstract interventions such as handing out pamphlets or stickers, though that is still important for information dissemination. The women I interacted with felt that the structures which were in place did not provide them with long-term solutions to their experience of violence. The same issue was echoed by women who had experienced some form of violence in their lives; they felt that if they actively looked for intervention, at most times it offered only short-term solutions and caused even more tension if the partner was not willing to talk about it.

The ways in which domestic violence issues were attended to and neglected showed that the issues of what was prioritised were deeply gendered in ways that supported patriarchy. I observed that there was a conservative male power structure in the neighbourhood watch and CPF in Kylemore. I am not dismissing the efforts of the NW who attended to domestic violence incidents. Actually, the Kylemore neighbourhood watch at times conducted individualized interventions at homes if a report was made to them about an incident of domestic violence. One active member of the Kylemore NW told me that:

> We do not take nonsense. If someone fights with a woman, the NW people will be the first people on the scene if they are called. They get there and discipline the man. The best is to talk to the man in the language that he is using because that's what he understands, so they may beat him as well or handle him rough. He will not go to the police and tell them I have been assaulted because he knows he is wrong. So they may beat him to teach him a lesson.

The fact that the neighbourhood watch intervened in domestic violence cases was echoed by several women in Kylemore who told me that they called upon the NW if they had trouble at their homes instead of reporting to the police. The fact that domestic violence was not reported to the police was an indication that those who attended to domestic violence had serious questions about how the law as a system of rules or

norms could effectively address that particular social problem. Patriarchal tendencies that discriminated against women were indicated by what a woman from Kylemore said:

> Everyone knows what the problems here are. Our problems as women are hidden in our homes and as a woman, you do not want your neighbours or everyone in the street to know you are having problems in your home all the time.

My findings on the kind of interventions to domestic violence in both Kayamandi and Kylemore revealed that there was not enough information to assess whether the victims' needs were being met when they looked for intervention. There was not enough collaboration with the community to improve the responsiveness to the victim's needs. Power relations in community policing were observed in the ways domestic violence violence issues were responded to on platforms where safety and security issues were discussed in both Kayamandi and Kylemore. In Kylemore, there existed what I may call sub-communities run by women who had taken the initiative and had their own foci in terms of how they attended not only to domestic violence issues but other family related problems. An example of this was when two women in Kylemore, in an initiative started by a social worker, used their own homes as safehouses for women who needed a place to stay or someone to talk to if they had problems at home. Some women I spoke to in Kylemore mentioned the two women and one regarded them as 'kind-hearted'. One of the women who used her home as a safehouse in Kylemore told me that she used every opportunity she got to let the women in Kylemore know that her house was always open for them. In Kayamandi, groups of women from different churches gave support to each other in the women's associations in their different churches. One woman who led such a group told me how they encouraged each other to share problems they had in their homes and ask for help when they needed it.

8.4.2 An assessment of state provisions for addressing domestic violence

In the previous sections, I discussed the local support structures for domestic violence. Let me turn to the provisions made by the state. Interventions dealing with critical social problems were directed at the perceived root of the social problem. In the area of domestic violence, there have been enormous changes in the last 15 years both in perception of and responses to domestic violence. The issue had been placed firmly on the public agenda. The South African government had joined other states in their commitment to deal with domestic violence. South Africa is a signatory to international human rights instruments such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW). Using the travelling models

concept, one can see that international human rights norms have been appropriated by governments to articulate the human rights discourse in a country in specific ways.

The DVA has been a measure to attend publicly to domestic violence issues and especially to protect victims and prosecute perpetrators of violence. The point I would like to stress from the ways in which the DVA was referred to is that with its implementation more attention needed to be given to the ways in which it was used and made sense of at the local level. Victims knew they could get support from skilled counsellors in local CBOs but a considerable number did not do so. The 16 days of activism against gender-based violence from 25 November to 10 December every year is yet another example of spreading the word of efforts against domestic violence, although commendable, there was too little exposure of the aims of such campaigns on the ground at the local level as I discovered.

The government and civil society are interlinked in numerous ways through outreach programmes and campaigns against domestic violence. However, as Public Prosecutor Thuli Madonsela said on television on Women's Day in August 2010,

> rape victims are often subjected to red tape, which result in unreported or withdrawn cases. The state must care for the victims and their families as well as effectively prosecute perpetrators. However, the criminal justice system often failed victims by not only subjecting them to secondary victimisation, but also denying them justice and human dignity.

8.4.3   Sites of domestic violence activism that are often overlooked

It has often been said that interventions against domestic violence lack the inclusion of men. The whole issue of domestic violence involves men, so the absence of the men in framing interventions leaves a huge gap. There is a need for a Dual Treatment Approach with programmes for both men and women, especially in terms of a partner support programme that addresses issues of having a healthy relationship and support in the family. Such family and couples counselling needs to be taken more seriously.

The DVA, which has come a long way as legislation that targets domestic violence, has nonetheless been criticised by Daniel (2010) for its lack of provisions focussing on perpetrator treatment. An initiative that does aim at improving relationships is represented by organisations such as the Men Stopping Violence programme offered by FAMSA in Cape Town. FAMSA includes programmes that work toward improving relationships in families with rehabilitation programmes for perpetrators of domestic violence. They are

currently doing it on a small scale. The co-ordinator who was running the programme to attend to perpetrators described it as good but said that they lacked capacity to expand, implement, monitor and evaluate their programmes. Legal instruments to protect victims of domestic violence, for example the DVA and the Sexual Offences Act, still have a long way to go in practical terms for example making more interventions to lean towards the Dual Treatment Approach, which entails more programmes for both men and women. I noted in the course of fieldwork that programmes attending to domestic violence were mostly interventions driven by people who spoke for a particular group, focussing on women and protection of domestic violence victims as the major foci.

8.5   Conclusion

In conclusion, by focusing on domestic violence as one of the issues that came up in the discussions on crime and related problems, I highlighted the diverse forms of violence against women and what was hidden when we talk about domestic violence. The case illustrations that I presented were meant to direct attention to the complex issues of women's economic empowerment, and gender justice that are so intertwined with domestic violence. The deliberate choice of domestic violence issues was to show the extent to which 'submerged discourses', in this case women's voices, were heard in community policing, with its claim to being consultative, participatory and proactive in attending to crimes and related problems. I drew upon these case illustrations to show how domestic violence issues were topical as people spoke about crime and its related problems. The findings expanded on four major issues in the way in which domestic violence was responded to through community policing and other interventions for domestic violence. Firstly, support and intervention at times happened in a vacuum where there was not a sufficiently multi-agency approach to deal with domestic violence. Secondly, domestic violence service delivery was still fragmented, uncoordinated and culturally inappropriate. Agencies and CBOs that attended to domestic violence issues lacked adequate collaboration. Thirdly, there was insufficient networking and sharing of experiences for institutional support at the local level to attend to domestic violence. Finally, I noted that the ways in which people thought of their problems, in this case domestic violence, framed the solutions they came up with. The ways in which domestic violence was attended to by CBOs directed us to what has always been known and said in South Africa: that more needs to be done with regards to domestic violence interventions.

Challenging the ways power relations and gender relations and roles are articulated has always been noted as an issue that needs to take centre stage when we talk about attending to domestic violence. The problem with domestic violence interventions is that when we respond, we are only scratching the surface and not attending to the real issues that cause domestic violence to occur in the first place. In the programmes that deal with domestic violence, instead of talking a lot about domestic violence, during the 16 days of activism or during Women's Day, for example, meaningful interventions on domestic violence should be an everyday thing.

Another issue that this chapter illuminated was that doing ethnographic work, touching on domestic violence issues was an intricate process where a researcher had to tread with caution. However, as I demonstrated through the case material, it is through that intricate research process that one attains analysis.

The next chapter scrutinises the ways in which community policing was being reconceptualised in policy circles and the various actors involved in those processes. The travelling model concept and translation notion are especially critical in the next chapter as they show the ways in which various ideas were being grappled with at different stages in re-writing community policing in both policy and practice.

Chapter Nine

CHANGING NAMES, CHANGING FACES AND THE NEW COMMON SENSE

Chapter Prologue

The 2009 Community Safety Forums (CSFs) Consultative Meetings in Stellenbosch

In 2009, I attended a number of consultative meetings that were hosted by the Department of Community Safety at the Stellenbosch Municipality with the aim of finding out how CPFs were working in light of the challenges they faced as they attended to crime and security issues. These meetings created a platform for the multidisciplinary team spearheaded by the Department of Community Safety for communicating to the locals the proposed establishment at that time of CSFs in Stellenbosch and surrounding areas. During the first meetings that lasted most of the day at the Stellenbosch Police Station, representatives from the Department of Community Safety and Security from Pretoria and representatives from the Western Cape Provincial Government Safety and Security Portfolio used the platform to explain what the proposed incremental reforms to community policing entailed. After the presentations, there were questions from the police and the invited guests. I observed that this in itself was an event meant to jumpstart the process of CSFs in Stellenbosch. The way in which the message was being communicated from the Provincial Department of Community Safety showed their realisation of what has always been known for some time, that community policing still occupied the margins of the crime prevention and crime management discourse and practice. Through CSFs they aimed at tapping into more local resources to fight crime and more importantly make all government departments play their role in the multi-agency approach to crime fighting. I listened with heightened interest to the responses that came from the police, invited guests and other familiar faces who attended the monthly CPFs. I eagerly awaited the public meeting that was scheduled to start at six o'clock in the evening at the town hall about twenty minutes' walk from the police station. The low attendance at the town hall public meeting showed that the message was not well communicated in adomestic violenceance. The poor attendance was no surprise to me because I had attended CPF meetings for over a year where the maximum number of people who attended was around fifty at the main Stellenbosch CPF annual general meeting. The image of community policing that the state wanted to project was of community policing where everyone had a space to participate and articulate local security issues with the support of the state. The reality however, pointed to a state that was struggling to achieve this level of community policing in practice. The CSF pilot project had been initiated through pilot projects as early as 2000 in eight places in the Western Cape with the non-governmental organisation U Managing Conflict (UMAC) playing a central role in establishing these forums. The slow pace and problems with the establishment of CSFs was one of the reasons the Department of Community Safety was making efforts towards active intervention meant to make community policing work better.

9.1 Introduction

The argument presented in Chapter One and Chapter Three indicated that community policing in South Africa was introduced from a different context where it worked with different capacities and resources. The travelling models concept and the notion of translation helped to unpack these issues. Writers have often highlighted the problem with community policing in South Africa (Rauch 2000, 2002; Tshehla 2002). The idea of CSFs is proof of the failure and inadequate capacity of what CPFs may actually do as I have alluded to in Chapter Six's discussion on the CPFs from the study site.

In Chapter Six especially, I presented an analysis related to how community policing unfolded on the ground in the three places studied. In this chapter, I go a step further and discuss how community policing was being conceived in policy in terms of changes during the time I conducted research. The travelling models and translation concepts again foreground the argument of this chapter through pointing out the roles of the numerous role-players and their conversations on community policing. These concepts make it possible to point to change in not just crime prevention and crime management policy but also in practice on the local level.

The argument in this chapter is framed around the series of continuously changing strategies directed toward crime prevention and crime management. Employing the notion of translation, I bring out the mix of ideas from various role-players in the incremental reform of community policing. During the period of this research, the issues of incremental reform of community policing and improvement of the criminal justice system were being deliberated by the Department of Community Safety, the police, politicians, local communities and, most importantly, the knowledge brokers and mediators who were actively involved in the consultation processes and driving the establishment of CSFs.

The concept of the CSF attempted to deal with the inadequacies and challenges of CPFs by 'approaching the security problem from a development perspective…Increased co-operation and interaction would improve the function of the criminal justice system and the delivery of crime prevention projects' (Tait and Usher 2002:59). In addition, the community safety approach to crime placed emphasis on seeking ways to effectively encompass the social crime prevention aspect and mobilizing greater participation from communities and government departments in dealing with crime. The key question of the chapter therefore,

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concerns the fourth research objective of this thesis and asks how and to what extent the realities of the experiences with crime informed crime prevention and crime management strategies.

The argument of this chapter starts with a discussion of new directions in the light of broader policing challenges in South Africa and the pressure to have increased public participation in crime-fighting initiatives that work. It then moves on to the reconceptualisation of the community policing model, discussing how language, knowledge brokers and mediators communicated the message at the local, provincial and national levels. I put across the seeming paradox of the state that was held in contempt by many for not doing its part 100 percent in crime prevention and crime management. The state was perceived mostly in the local communities as not yet having 'struck the right code' when it came to dealing with crime, although there was acknowledgement of the state's efforts. These perceptions of the state reminded me of a state that was seemingly labelled as an 'impersonal and disinterested actor' (Corbridge, Glyn, Srivasta and Veron 2005:5), regardless of its efforts at crime prevention and crime management.

Hence, the chapter is a discussion of how and to what extent reactions to community policing feed back into the formulation of new models of crime management at the various levels of government. I look especially at the tensions, paradoxes and ambiguities in policing and debates in reconsidering the community policing model. Reference is made to the dynamics of policy and practice. I expand on the inadequacies and challenges in policing, especially the creation and maintenance of an integrated approach to fighting crime in which communities are thought to be a crucial element.

Another issue of significance that I point to in this chapter is complexity theory, because the issues I encountered in the field in terms of experiences with criminality, perceptions of crime, community policing, broad policing challenges, and the fear of crime, reveal what Altbeker (2007:136) described as:

> Our crime problem is not spatially confined to small areas. Our crimes are not committed by a small, readily identifiable group of offenders. Most importantly, our criminals have unpredictable and eclectic tastes in target, and a demonstrated ability to shift from one target to another in response to changing patterns of reward and security. These factors make our crime problem unsusceptible to most of the tools in the policing's toolbox.

This chapter also illuminates the difficulties that role-players are faced with in navigating the web of ideas about crime prevention and crime management in the quest for strategies that actually bring significant results to the complex crime problem. I illuminate the factors that are influencing the work of community

policing. In the process, I perceive that in terms of crime prevention and crime management strategies, the ways in which the state and local communities are overwhelmed have taken us to a point where the strategies employed to deal with crime have become more like trial and error because of the constantly changing patterns of crime.

9.1.1   The motivation for writing this chapter

The motivation for writing this chapter originated in a series of meetings I attended on the proposed incremental reform to community policing. My research between 2007 and 2009 coincided with consultations which were facilitated by the state about incremental reforms of community policing. The state indicated its commitment to expand the community policing ethos. At the themed conference *'Policing in South Africa 2010 and beyond'*, the national Minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, stressed that 'the government is committed to adopting a tough yet smart stance to fighting crime, while holding firm to its commitment to a community policing philosophy' (Newham and Dissel 2010:3). That statement set the record straight in making it known that the state had plans to make more proactive efforts to encourage and improve community policing whilst tough law and order maintenance was emphasised.

Long before the consultative meetings that I attended, there were calls not only by communities, but policy makers and the police for *'a strategic rethink'* because strategies of crime prevention and management failed to produce sustained positive results. The state was struggling to create a balance between crime prevention and crime management strategies and social development. Of late, the state's emphasis seemed to lean more towards law enforcement while on paper they were calling for a balance, with a commitment to community policing. There was a paradox in calling for community policing but driving for a forceful approach to deal with crime. Amidst the policing challenges, the promotion of community policing as a national agenda was still being considered as one option that could contribute to both short and long-term changes in crime prevention and crime management. Marks and Goldsmith (2006: 139) argue that, 'while policing in South Africa, as elsewhere, is carried out by a multiplicity of social agencies, the state should assert itself as the anchor of collective security provision'. The state was looking for ways of asserting itself in security provision while at the same time looking for ways to work with communities and civil society to develop priorities in policing and work out effective interventions to deal with crime. The government was making a case for the establishment and consolidation of stakeholder-based participatory

processes for coming up with solutions to crimes of all types. The assumption here was that these multi-stakeholder processes in crime-fighting, would be inclusive and would result in participation and solutions to problems. This inevitably ignored the politics involved in such multi-stakeholder processes (discussed in section 9.3).

9.1.2   Challenges of policing in South Africa: Where to from here?

Throughout this thesis, I discuss the perennial demand for successful crime prevention and management strategies. These were raised by those I interacted with in the local communities, in deliberations by provincial and national government representatives, by policy makers, academics, and non-governmental organisations.

Altbeker (2007), in his thought-provoking book *A Country At War With Itself, South Africa's Crisis of Crime*, argues that the crime problem in South Africa cannot be explained from one perspective, hence the demand for a better understanding of the nature of the problem and more rigorous public discussion on what to do next. In admitting that government was overwhelmed by crime and in agreement with Altbeker's view about the crime problem not being explicable from one perspective, Deputy Minister of Justice, Johnny de Lange, while presenting a review of the criminal justice system to the portfolio committees on justice, safety and security, told Parliament in August 2008:

> The fight against crime was hopelessly paralysed by mistaken policy decisions, unprofessional personnel and a massive shortage of resources and accountability. The criminal justice system was ineffective, as it was fragmented, dysfunctional and tainted by backlogs. The situation is sometimes so overwhelming that we don't know what to do about crime. We have not necessarily taken the right decisions over the past 15 years or used resources efficiently. We have to brace ourselves now.

Nationally, levels of crime, notably robbery, rape and murder, were still high. In the area of study, house break-ins, burglaries at residential and business premises, drug abuse and alcohol-related crimes were also high. Johan Burger from the Institute of Security Studies, in November 2011, touched on the constantly changing patterns of crime with criminals who keep looking for new ways to avoid detention. He particularly referred to kidnappings, which have become a new lucrative source of money for criminals. In October 2011, the child killings, child abuse, and child kidnappings in the Western Cape topped the agenda for most of the year because of the increase in the number of children falling victim to crime. These issues

pointed to the need for prioritising constantly changing patterns of crime as problems shifted from place to place.

From another angle, Shaw and Shearing (1998), in one of their reviews of transformation and governance of the security sector in South Africa, have argued that there was a need to move from clichés of reform to experiment with concrete ideas for new practices and to have funds made available for that process. They also emphasized that the process would work better if the progress toward a safer society was measured using indicators that were outside of police arrests and performance statistics.

Commenting on the complexity, inefficiencies, challenges and changes in the policing field in South Africa, Shaw (2002:157) views the system as, 'a policing system that is unprepared to face the new challenge and in need of significant reforms as well as complex political responses'. I concur with him for advocating for a focus on greater accountability of the police to the citizens at the local level, as well as a focus on improving the state's various departments to intervene with a range of specialised skills. He goes further by sounding the alarm that failure to do so in the long term will lead to higher levels of crime, public dissatisfaction and alienation from the police, which is what this research confirmed.

In political circles, issues are sometimes skirted and consultations continued with no sense of urgency regarding issues on the ground. To illustrate this, Ehlers (2009:10) notes that since the advent of democracy the emphasis has been on strengthening the criminal justice system, while actual support for crime prevention has been inconsistent. For this reason, the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) together with the Departments of Community Safety in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng are exploring ways in which the government may develop policies that balance the immediate need for safety and security in the context of high levels of crime with the need to build models or long term approaches, for crime reduction (Ehlers and Tait 2010).

Drawing specifically on policing issues that were raised in terms of challenges related to community policing in the area of study, many referred to crime and related problems with frustration because of a perceived lack of adequate responses from government to match the energy with which issues, (see the findings in Chapter Six) were raised. In Chapters Five and Six, an expectation from the public for crime-fighting approaches that work was shown from crime stories and residents' expressions of insecurity caused by fear and the experience of crime.

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The literature related to community policing continuously stressed the need to evaluate crime prevention and crime management strategies in use and to tailor them in the light of problems related to crime. An example of this, referred to in Chapter Six, is the idea of building social infrastructure and social capital networks that are focused on promoting safe communities through a holistic analysis and problem solving approach.

Lack of adequate information concerning local crime-fighting initiatives was often mentioned in discussions of community policing with residents from the three places studied. Busi, a resident from Kayamandi, commented in a community meeting in May 2008 at the Stellenbosch Town Hall that 'the CPF leaders have not made themselves sufficiently visible to the people for them to see the need to come on board'. The issue came up when a resident furiously commented that they were not aware of the people who were responsible for the CPF in the first place, so for her, it was awkward to say they were going to the next step in terms of community policing by having CSFs. In the same vein, I also asked myself, how could there be an expectation for more participation when some of the residents were not fully aware of whom to contact or what the role of the CPF was in the first place? However, the other side of the story, which another resident raised, was that 'even if the CPF leadership was not sufficiently visible, residents could take the initiative to be involved'. The discussion in this section points to the matters that I have discussed with regard to the challenges of CPFs and local crime prevention and crime management projects. I pointed out that the explanations given by residents and representatives from the Department of Community Safety came from what I observed as processes of trying to re-read what community policing meant.

9.2   The role-players in the incremental reform of community policing

In this section, the point I make is that incremental reform to community policing has largely been driven by NGOs and research organisations from as early as the early 1990s. With regard to incremental policy reform, Merry (2006:40) argues that 'new ideas and practices may be ignored, rejected or folded into pre-existing institutions to create a more hybrid discourse and organization'. This makes sense especially when looking at how new ideas about community policing were being engaged by knowledge brokers and mediators in the Department of Community Safety, in NGOs with an interest in community safety and the criminal justice system. The non-governmental organisation UMAC especially took the driver's seat and became the mediator between the Department of Community Safety and other NGOs and research

organisations. UMAC also acted as a knowledge broker in terms of putting together and drawing on expert knowledge from their teams to brainstorm the implementation of CSFs. UMAC was largely responding to the challenges and inefficiencies of the CPFs, which they had previously promoted. From the early 1990s, UMAC has therefore taken on overlapping roles in driving the community policing model agenda concerning finding solutions to crime problems from the local level while drawing from broad policy.

UMAC found a role in 2001 in the Western Cape Provincial Crime Prevention Committee (PCPC) which was formed to implement the NCPS. The PCPC evolved into the Multi-Agency Delivery Mechanism (MADAM) a management team whose mandate included making sure relevant agencies were involved in the response to local crime and related problems. Working within MADAM, UMAC highlighted the challenges of CPFs and pushed the agenda for the multi-agency approach to crime prevention and management that was already held by MADAM. They promoted the idea of CSFs arguing that CSFs would 'provide a single local forum where all relevant government departments would meet, air their ideas and work co-operatively on projects (Tait and Usher 2002:59). UMAC was appointed as the agency responsible to implement CSFs. The funding for the project was sourced from the British Government's Department for International Development (DFID) and the Open Society Foundation for an initial three-year pilot plan. According to one of the UMAC representatives, they formed their think tank from experts from numerous disciplines, mostly from South Africa, and most importantly, local organisations from the initial pilot sites for community policing, for example Khayelitsha, Tygerberg and George. The police and existing CPFs were identified as important role-players in so far as the establishment of the CSFs were concerned.

The idea of CSFs using a multi-agency approach had long been used in the Western Cape and municipalities in Gauteng before this presumably 'new' consultative process started. Hence, the idea of pluralism and fragmentation of policing at the national and local level was not a representation of something new. Hollands and Khalane (2010), in a commentary on community policing in the *Mail and Guardian*, pointed out that 'politicians tend to dust off the CSF concept whenever they feel the need for a shiny new policy instrument in the fight against crime'. Hollands and Khalane went further to point out that politicians seemed at times to re-discover already existing processes, for example the idea of CSFs which has long been used. The multidisciplinary team of consultants I spoke to during one of those consultative meetings mentioned that they were drawing on the evaluations from the pilot CSF projects in which UMAC had played a leading role, firstly in the Western Cape and then in KwaZulu Natal, since 2000.

UMAC is an example of an NGO that has acted as a knowledge broker for a considerable number of years, translating and influencing policing through active research, advocacy, and playing significant roles in the implementation of local structures for community policing initiatives. There has been an acknowledgement by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Community Safety of the groundwork that UMAC has done in terms of CSFs. This comes from UMAC's knowledge of grassroots organisations working on safety and security issues. The wealth of experience UMAC has in terms of CSFs came from its role in the initial establishment of CPFs in the early 1990s. By 2001, UMAC had even commissioned evaluations of pilot CSFs. The evaluations were mainly carried out by the Institute of Security Studies. The mandate was to find out the positives, the challenges and the replicability of these CSFs elsewhere.

9.2.1   Incremental reform of community policing

The state's decision to reform community policing illustrated a demand for more commitment to work towards crime prevention and crime management from its departments as well as from the local people. The re-reading of community policing and incremental ways of situating community policing in the crime prevention and crime management discourse resonated with what Brogden and Shearing (1993:6) say about the incremental reform in policing that seems to take place in most countries:

> [In] policing as in other areas of social life, there is no clean slate; we seldom - perhaps fortunately - have an opportunity to start from scratch. The task at hand is nearly always one of institutional transformation within a context of existing policies and disagreements over what should be accomplished. This is certainly true within South Africa where a new order is unlikely to arise like a phoenix out of the ashes of the old but will have to reshape and transcend the old and create a world in which the new institutions empower South Africans.

Incremental reforms to community policing were envisaged through developing and strengthening Community Safety Forums. Perceived as much broader structures, CSFs were being put in place in every municipality to replace the voluntary CPFs. The CPFs were intended to become a sub-set of the bigger CSF. The CSF concept advocated a mechanism to create and maintain functional relationships and settle disputes between departments of national, provincial, and local government around issues of community safety and prevention of crime (Bentley and Connor 2010)[6]. Using community safety terminology in this

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[6] The function of community safety forums becomes one of coordination of the crime prevention activities of all government and non-governmental organizations that are involved in crime prevention in an area. The idea is to develop complete safety plans for the area and ensure that they are implemented. (UMAC, U-MANAGING CONFLICT: 2010)

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case related to the broader approach of crime prevention and management, which entailed linking crime prevention with the promotion of social justice, collective trust, human rights and social inclusion. The careful choice of the various concepts used in the fight against crime in post-apartheid South Africa showed that symbols and rhetoric were used in policy to evoke a certain imagery for the police, communities and various organizations that work in the fight against crime. However, on the ground, there were still problems of resources, communication and lack of co-ordination of local crime prevention initiatives as I discussed, especially in Chapter Six.

The global trend pointed at so-called 'community safety' and 'governance of security', with the emphasis on taking care of the development challenges so that local communities also influence how the fight against crime is seen, encompassing a range of issues, not just being reactive to crime. The issues involved related to the point that a safe and secure environment encompassed a range of issues, for example better service delivery. To implement this, all government departments would be obliged by legislation that was being prepared to perform their functions in terms of crime prevention and crime management. The government's reasoning behind this was that commitment on the part of government departments will result in better service delivery, more commitment in communities and a more integrated approach in dealing with crime and related problems (Department of Community Safety 2009).

9.2.2 Community policing – a model reconceptualised

In the light of the aforementioned, the CPFs have been described as being limited to a 'skeleton without the flesh' regarding the nature of what they may achieve in the fight against crime. What has been missing, according to the Department of Community Safety, was an overall approach combining all government departments as part of these CPFs. According to a Department of Community Safety representative, the envisaged next stage of incremental reform to community policing and establishing the Community Safety Forums (CSFs) was a governmental move to demand more commitment from its departments to service delivery and eliminating their apathetic attitude. He added that 'other departments cannot leave the responsibility to us and always point fingers because of the many things that go wrong because of crime that is not attended to'. His point was that, with representatives from communities, government departments, support structures and resources, information sharing and problem solving would become easier.

From a local government representative's perspective, departments could use the CSFs to discuss community issues and service delivery problems. The representative went on to tell me that funds and human resources should be allocated based on necessity to attend to crime and development-related issues that affected crime. While in theory this was a noble idea, this would only yield notable results when and if taken seriously by all parties concerned.

9.2.3 Working with the multi-agency approach in crimefighting: Mapping the way forward with Community Safety Forums

The multi-agency approach entailed several different agencies working toward a shared aim, in this case dealing with crime. The idea was to have funding through different mandates for government departments, meaning each department would have a budget related to crime fighting activities. In emphasising the idea of the multi-agency approach in the fight against crime, the minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, in September 2010 at an Institute of Security Studies Conference stressed that:

> [a]s government we appreciate efforts that have been made by many communities, institutions, researchers and various stakeholders throughout South Africa in addressing various socio-economic challenges, including crime. We recognize that to win the war against crime it is essential that government join hands with all these partners in forming concrete partnerships (Newham and Dissel 2010:4).

In September 2007, the Department of Community Safety organized a CPF summit in Cape Town. The summit sent feedback to the Department of Community Safety that, so far, not all parties in the criminal justice system were fully playing their roles in the fight against crime and in facilitating the better functioning of the criminal justice system. It was this indifferent attitude that necessitated the summit. The Director of CPFs at that time highlighted high crime rates that necessitated a new approach. She maintained that CPFs would continue to exist until a new Act replaced the current legislation and would provide a basis for further developments. This indicated an incremental policy reform in crime management in which all government departments would be obliged to take part. The new CSFs, therefore, would include the Departments of Justice, Correctional Services, Health, Social Services and Local Government as well as other government bodies. The next stage of carrying forward the community policing model was instituting and developing CSFs. This was a move to increase commitment by government departments to service delivery. The government hoped they would be able to deal with the apathetic attitude in some of the communities that were hard hit by crime. The multi-agency approach to crime management proposed

targets, mostly around social crime prevention, using for example the Department of Justice's identification of trends and occurrences of crime from the cases coming to court and being prosecuted.

CSFs would draw on the notion of a multi-agency approach and lean toward integrated service delivery between the various departments within the criminal justice system and other stakeholders in the communities. The main goal of bringing in CSFs was greater cooperation between local government, communities and all government departments. The idea was therefore a move toward more accountability by the respective departments and putting a procedure in place for reporting on what each department is doing about existing crime and related problems. In addition, local government was the face of the state's service delivery, therefore the establishment of CSFs through the respective municipalities' safety and security portfolios in local municipalities would facilitate the co-ordination of different government departments and local CBOs in crime fighting efforts.

Table 15 : List of agencies interconnected in attending to crime and related issues in CSFs

Municipal Driven Local Crime Prevention Partnerships: Agencies involved in CSFs
Designated Councillors SAPS Community representatives from various organisations Department of Community Safety Department of Justice Social Services Education Correctional Services Agriculture Transport and Public Works Health Cultural Affairs and Sport Department of Human Settlements Environmental Affairs and Development Planning

(Adapted from Bentley and Connor 2010:57)

The table above, adopted from Bentley and Connor (2010:57), provides a list of the agencies and organisations interconnected in the fight against crime. It shows the ideal role-players in the CSFs in a municipality. The projected or assumed relationships and responsibilities between the organizations in the

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diagram was that of interdependence in their work in dealing with crime. The idea was an organised effort with information sharing from these departments, each doing their part to deal with crime. It almost sounded utopian as the department envisioned a system that will work in a flawless way at the national, provincial and local levels. Service delivery protests often exposed the inefficiencies and inadequacies of the departments mentioned in the table above. In Kayamandi and Kylemore, an ideal situation would be that CSFs facilitate building the social infrastructure and social capital networks that are focused on promoting safe communities through a holistic analysis and problem-solving approach that attends to the social and economic environments of these places.

The diagram below shows the ideal flow of ideas through the multi-agency approach. The idea communicated by policy through the multi-agency approach to crime-fighting is interdependent relationships from the national to the local level in crime fighting.
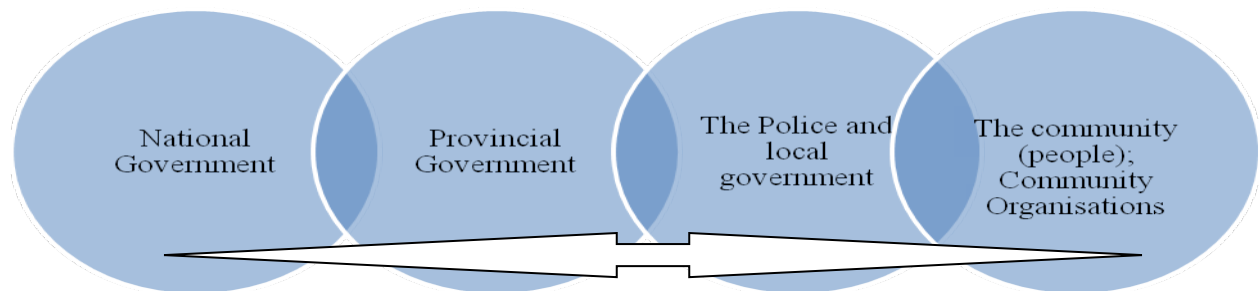
Figure 8: Ideal Overlapping relationships and flow of ideas and feedback on policing issues

At first glance, the diagram shows an ideal of overlapping relationships from the national to the community level and vice versa, where information was shared at each stage with everyone and feedback was used to improve the policing structures. In theory, this was a noble idea, capable of achieving results if taken seriously by the organisations and government departments that participated in the CSFs. However, it was not always the case that there were interdependent relationships flowing from each level, for example from local, provincial and national when policy was formulated and implemented.

9.2.4   Concerns raised at the Community Policing Summit 2007

The Community Policing Forum 2007 summit held in preparation of the rollout of CSFs saw concerns being raised about the readiness of some government departments to be fully part of the fight against crime. The issues were mostly related to logistics, the legislative framework, and the continuous integration of the various government departments. There had not been effective packaging and marketing to the people in terms of the benefits of CSFs and the role community organisations were expected to play in the development of local safety plans and the implementation of resulting initiatives. I discovered a general lack of information about the proposed CSFs in all three research locations. Information sharing may facilitate the 'co-production of safety' (Mottiar and White, 2003:3) by the relevant government departments and communities who feel under-policed. Further questions that were raised at the summit reflected worries about the process of moving towards CSFs without adequate preparation, operational efficiency and effectiveness of the CSFs. The process is being driven from top to bottom, that is, from the government departments, to speed up the process. Preparatory consultations before a decision was actually made to move to CSFs were omitted. Through examining and exploring the changing multiple roles of and relationships between individuals, the police, private security, and community-based organisations in community policing networks, a better way of working with additions to policy could be established in the long term.

9.2.5   Slow process in the establishment of CSFs

By the time I finalised this chapter in early 2012, CSFs had not been established in either Kayamandi Kylemore, or Stellenbosch, but there was a process of getting community organisations together and consulting for local safety plans in the three areas. In addition, during the same time period, consultations were still taking place before full legislation on CSF was drafted and debated although the pilot CSFs had been in existence since 1999. Legislation would ensure that the required funding and human resources would be made available in all departments to carry out their responsibilities in the safety plans that would stem from the CSFs.

At the municipal offices in Stellenbosch, the update that I received at the beginning of 2012 was that the department that deals with local safety issues was expanded through the employment of locals with expertise on safety and security and with a knowledge base from which local safety and security plans

could be established. The slow process of establishing these CSFs did not surprise me, as Pelser and Louw (2002) in their evaluation of pilot CSFs highlighted the slow process in which CSFs were established in George for example. The process took between 12 and 28 months. They further expressed their concern that even after the development of safety plans by all the agencies in the CSFs, there was a disjuncture between the development of those plans and the implementation of actual safety initiatives.

What the consultations in all provinces in South Africa and pilot CSF projects show is that the previously articulated community policing model was being extended with new ideas. A projected launch date for the CSFs has not yet been set. Meanwhile, the CPF in Stellenbosch was making plans for the establishment of CSFs when I finalised this thesis. The name change would not come into being until the Act governing CSFs creation had been passed. The new Act that was drafted for governing CSFs would imply changes in the Municipal Structures and Systems Act, as well as changes in the National Crime Prevention Strategy. There already was a draft South Africa Police Amendment Bill, which set in motion the changes in the relevant legislative and legal frameworks.

9.3   Policy reform and its politics

Tensions between policy and practice show that inconsistencies and contradictions are hardly unusual in policy implementation and reform. In the Western Cape Province, this is especially evident because the province is a contested province politically. This comes out more clearly when it comes to attending to the critical issues in the province, for example crime, especially in the townships around Cape Town. The change of power from the ANC to the DA in the provincial government in 2008 showed how contestations about crime prevention and crime management policy between the two parties at the national level also happened on the provincial level. The DA claimed it was doing well in terms of attending to crime and related problems in the poor localities, but stated that they were constantly undermined by the ANC. Although both the DA and ANC view a heavy hand on crime as essential especially in the Cape Flats both parties had different approaches on the ground. These were viewed as integral to addressing the problems that extended to issues beyond crime. These different approaches were constantly contested on public platforms by both political parties as they made efforts to garner political support for their political parties. Fourchard's (2008) case studies from Nigeria have shown how politics and policing in Africa are intertwined and often involve contestation between private security companies, private armies, warlords, powerful vigilante groups, political parties and local government.

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In light of the above, one can infer that politics and contestations are part of policy reform. Sutton, Cherney and White (2008:88) refer to political variables, including a range of role-players, that inevitably affect crime prevention. The fact that the multi-agency approach places the collaboration of different agencies at the core of fighting crime makes it susceptible to conflict between the various agencies (as I have illustrated in Chapter Six, where I explained community safety interests which inevitably differ from what is prioritised by government departments). Sutton, Cherney and White (2008:88) refer to other authors (Cherney 2004b; Crawford 1997, 1998; Crawford and Jones 1995; Gilling 1997; Homnel 2006) who argue that, 'when crime prevention policy draws on multiple partners, problems do occur, usually arising from conflicting agendas and priorities amongst the agencies'.

Although there appears to be a general consensus on the urgent need to review and present something that achieves results in South Africa's crime prevention and management policy, the actual unfolding of events points to slow progress during the period 2007 to 2009 due to a number of developments in the political arena. Debates on the way forward highlight the gap that may develop between policy models and actual practice. Changes in political leadership is at most times accompanied by significant policy changes. With the end of Mbeki's terms after his resignation as President, some government departments also experienced a sudden change in leadership, including the Department of Community Safety. With the new minister in office, changes took place. A series of meetings were held to review previously launched programmes. During one of the CPF meetings I attended at that time, however, the police affirmed that the new politics should not interfere with what had been achieved. A police inspector in a CPF meeting in October 2008 said in this regard:

> We do not want the political climate to disturb the good programmes that have been going on. What people care about is service delivery; so we will continue with the programmes, under a different name, until the plan by the new minister has been rolled out.

What the police inspector said is what I encountered in the three localities, namely that political dynamics were not very visible with regards to how community policing functioned at the local level. At the provincial and national government level however, the political dynamics involved with crime prevention and crime management issues plus especially issues of service delivery were observable. One example that brings this to light would be the comment made by the Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa in November 2012 about what he termed as the failure of the Democratic Alliance's Western Cape Premier to attend and respond to the problems in Khayelitsha related to frequent service delivery protests, problems with youth bullying in schools and drug and alcohol abuse and crime in the Cape Flats. The Police Minister used the basic

exhortation he has always used that the police should work hand in hand with the people, but without also stressing the complexities of policing in Khayelitsha and the Cape Flats as well as the encompassing issues around poor service delivery and poverty.

Despite what he said, issues of contestations of what was prioritised by the core management of the Department of Community Safety and Security, the police, and the communities cannot be ignored. Constestations involving local police, residents and policymakers show competing interests in terms of what to prioritise in dealing with crime, as illustrated in Chapter Six. Hidden aspects of power relationships become apparent as an integral part of the policing and the policy making process. On the outside, consultative meetings invite public debate on how crime and related issues should be tackled by using community policing and other initiatives. Behind the scenes, however, there are restrictions. One prominent example was the debate about the '*Bambanani*' programme during the time I conducted fieldwork. While the people in the provincial Department of Safety and Security wanted to roll out new campaigns, the local communities, Kayamandi included created logos for '*Bambanani*' – which could be considered as a local translation of the neighbourhood watch idea and thus, community policing. The provincial government's request to remove the '*Bambanani*' logos had thus created contention. Here, the local police who worked with the communities responded by continuing with the programmes they had been running successfully until the Department of Community Safety and Security came up with their own new logos and names for new programmes. The contention about the '*Bambanani*' neighbourhood watch logo was mainly caused by the fact that it was a project that the previous minister had initiated and implemented. The changing of names was regarded as the new minister's attempt to put his stamp on a successful programme. The stalemate demonstrated how policies are political phenomena, yet it is a feature of policies that their political nature is disguised by the objective, neutral, legal and rational idioms in which they are portrayed. One is left with questions regarding these name changes because the issues that people raised echoed what the Department of Safety and Security representative said:

> People do not trust the society they live in or the government to look after them, which is why restructuring is coming in. However, we should be careful that when we are coming up with new names and changes we are not covering the problem with another cloth (Stellenbosch CSF Consultative meeting 2009).

The same representative was, however, optimistic about community policing when he said, given the right circumstances, people may give community policing another chance.

The state alleged that it wished to give the communities more say and to give the local police more authority. The question is, was this really what was taking place? While it seemed that responsibilities and activities were delegated and decentralised, the process also brought up new centres of power in policing that opened up more platforms for power struggles and competing interests. Instead of decentralising the police as was intended by the new model, my findings show that political interests and power games still outweighed cooperative practices. Although feedback may stream into the policymaker's offices continuously, this does not ensure its use. A reason for this is given by Shore and Wright:

[p]olicies are most obviously political phenomena yet it is a feature of policies that their political nature is disguised by the objective, neutral, legal-rational idioms in which they are portrayed. In this guise, policies appear to be mere instruments for promoting efficiency and effectiveness. This masking of the political under the cloak of neutrality is a key feature of modern power (Shore and Wright 1995:120).

Stressing consultative meetings before CSFs were enacted showed that the government disseminated information on policy making on its own initiative, and that citizens could access the information upon demand. The danger was that in both cases that information flows were essentially in one direction, from the government to the citizens. The government might ask and receive feedback from citizens, but it also determined how that information was sorted, what was prioritized and what came out as new policy. The two-way consultative process could become limited, causing the reform to be in vain. The ideal situation for policy formulation is to have open channels for government-citizen participation that value the citizens' input as a resource.

This brief section on the political dynamics of crime prevention and crime management serves only to allude to the inherent political nature of crime prevention and crime management, especially at the provincial and national levels in South Africa. This focus of this thesis was about documenting especially the local responses to community policing. Research by other scholars (maybe in the future) will also prove valuable by exploring the extent of political competion in crime prevention and crime management.

9.4   Communication and the multi-agency approach to crime-fighting

When numerous changes within the police were taking place from the early 1990s, Brogden and Shearing (1993:165) dealt with the issue of communication in policing and the same issue was being heard again 20 years later. The authors argued that constructing a system of civil and state policing that works requires the

maintenance of channels of communication and forums between civil society and state policing. That makes it possible to both identify and co-ordinate policing resources for the maintenance of local order and to share standards of policing. As Shaw (2002:142) rightly points out, in the first few years of democracy little information was available to understand the levels and causes of insecurity. There is increasingly greater value placed on research on crime by the police and other government departments. The state has commissioned reports since the early 1990s on causes of crime and challenges in the criminal justice system. The issue that is still lacking is to have clear direction, systematic support from all government departments and an improved organization, which works with civil society and communities toward better public safety. For example in the Department of Justice, trends in crime could be identified from court cases. Through information-sharing among the various departments those issues could be brought to the table and dealt with through a pool of energy and allocated resources. There was a move, therefore, toward more accountability and opening up of various lines of communication through the multi-agency approach, with respective departments reporting on what each was doing about an existing problem. The consultations at the stage before full legislation was drafted were linked to the idea that legislation needs to be rooted in the community and that ways had to be sought to improve communication.

Although support from the communities is sought, especially by the police, it was conceded by the Department of Safety and Security at the CSF consultative forum in 2009 that solutions may differ from area to area. The idea therefore was to have relevant projects that dealt with crime and related problems in the communities. It is not the number of people that brings results when dealing with crime, but the relevance of what is being put in place in the localities. If there are success stories about what has been put in place, it may be a pull factor for those who have found it easy to be apathetic towards efforts to deal with crime. It is one thing to have a committee of a CSF that has representatives from all government departments, but it is another for residents to feel they have ownership of projects for crime prevention and crime management. Absence of ownership of the projects was especially identified in the narratives of the residents who wanted little or nothing to do with community policing initiatives. They stressed what has always been known as a problem with community policing: that people do not have adequate information about the local crime fighting initiatives in their localities and especially my three study sites.

9.5 Conclusion

In its drive to look for long-term solutions to persistent crime, the South African government still situated community policing as one of the important elements in the fight against crime. However, the paradox that I observed was the rhetoric of participation against the lack of responsiveness on the side of the state. Crime prevention and crime management policy reform is an ongoing process. CSFs as the next stage in community policing was being packaged by a multi-disciplinary team of consultants that emphasised the multi-agency approach to crime-fighting. They were drawing on the work that was initiated by UMAC as a leading knowledge-broker and mediator as well as a number of NGOs and research institutes in consultation with the police.

The ways in which the debate on crime policy unfolded indicated a drive toward a multi-agency approach to crime-fighting which focused on social crime prevention, and related service delivery issues. The idea was to bring various departments to the table and re-allocate resources to solve problems related to crime. In this way there seemed to be movement toward encouraging and improving accountability of the respective departments. Instead of the focus in community policing being on the partnership between residents and the police, that relationship was being expanded to take on board other stakeholders. This was an indication of incremental policy reform in crime management. The existing CPFs were envisaged to form the base on which the CSFs would be created and hence to be a subset of CSFs. However, if something new is to be perceived in the efforts towards incremental reform of community policing, then a sufficient level of commitment on the part of the government departments should match that reform.

In this chapter, I have presented the challenges of post-apartheid policing in South Africa. Inadequacies in the policing structures have continuously called for a debate on the way forward. The consultative forums taking place countrywide were continuing in debate centering on how the social crime prevention process could effectively be extended and how to mobilize greater participation from communities and government departments. However, the question remained whether the space for consultation was flexible enough to include the changes and challenges in policing that had taken place from the early 1990s in South Africa. There had been continuous setbacks, judging from the crimes that were reported through various media or revealed in the statistics in the community policing forum meetings and from the expression of residents' concerns.

It appears there has been some reading and recounting of the success stories 'travelling' from other parts of the world where they were using community policing concurrently with other approaches. This acted as an indication for policy makers that an incremental reform of community policing was still a viable route to take. The danger however, is of ending up with a name change only without tangible results in the long run that deal with crime and related problems. Some residents in the CPF meetings expressed doubts that these much talked about changes would bring more commitment from government departments and thus substantial results. Local residents did not have a coherent perception of what community policing meant for them in the form that it existed in their localities, but there seemed to be an underlying assumption by those preparing the draft policy that the new ideas in community policing would be better received at the local level.

Throughout the thesis, I have shown that crime in the post-conflict situation in South Africa was still one of the indications of broader social and economic issues that continued to plague a society moving from apartheid and huge inequality towards democracy, a society that was going through continuous transformations. This chapter has shown that the recent history of policing in South Africa indicated a continuous manifestation of ideas, translations, reformulations, contestations and negotiations of not only community policing, but of the whole process of policing in South Africa. The core of the debate in reviewing the crime management policy in South Africa centred on how to implement responsible strategies to combat crime with commitment at all levels through incremental reform and by formulating fresh approaches which could deal with crime in an effective manner as a matter of urgency.

Chapter Ten

CONCLUSION

10.1   Introduction

I set out in this thesis to research community policing as part of technologies of social ordering related to crime prevention and crime management. The work centred on the documentation and interpretation of the differences and similarities in the practice of community policing and local people's perceptions to it in three localities: Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore in the Stellenbosch municipality of the Western Cape. The idea of presenting 'community policing' as a travelling model in this thesis was useful in so far as it facilitated unravelling the flow of ideas and practices of community policing in the state's definitions of community policing and the connections this had with global developments in crime prevention and crime management discourse. Furthermore, the use of the translation concept made it possible to refer to the local processes of community policing which were prioritised in this thesis. I observed and made sense of the 'chain of translation processes' (Rottenburg 2008), of community policing at the global, national, provincial and local level. The research project therefore was about looking and re-looking at globally circulating ideas around community policing and then finding the model's local appropriation. This entailed engaging with the work of institutions, mediators, and knowledge brokers at the local, provincial and national levels in order to make sense of community policing in theory and in practice.

This thesis should, however, not just be viewed as the mere recording or categorising of local community policing models and perceptions of community policing, but as research that sought to use ethnographic methods to theorise from observations and analysis of the translation processes of community policing that would otherwise have remained mute or only known in the local context. Moreover, the thesis analysed and scrutinised the challenges of local crime prevention and crime management initiatives. The key issue that was examined in the research was how people understood community policing and how they created local sensibilities about community policing as a response to crime. This was discussed throughout the thesis together with the issues that informed people's perceptions of community policing and how in turn these had an effect on how people talked about crime and how they conceived of security.

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10.2 Summary of the chapters

In Chapter One, I looked at crime prevention and crime management as top of the list of priorities at national, provincial, and local levels. I elaborated on the inadequacies of the state's capacity to deal with crime and hence its support for local crime prevention and crime management issues. After the discussion of the multiple definitions of community policing, I presented community policing as a body of knowledge on crime prevention and crime management from which several strategies for dealing with crime, may be drawn. This in itself gave a foundation for the various translations or multiple lenses in theory and practice within which community policing was labelled at the local level. In Chapter One, I introduced the concept of the travelling model and the notion of translation. The 'travelling model' concept, as I explained in section 1.6, was utilised in this thesis to refer to the mobility of technologies of social ordering. I established that the travelling of a model is possible because it is translated into text, narratives or pictures by mediators and knowledge brokers (Rottenburg 2011). A model therefore travels because it is translated, reformulated and recontextulised in different places.

Chapter Two's purpose was to outline and explain the decisions made during the research process, dwelling particularly on ethnography as the choice of methodology for this thesis, and more importantly showing how the ethnographic methods facilitated and enabled me to bring out the socially embedded conversations going on at different levels about crime and community policing. I explained the decisions I took in the course of the research. Therefore, the issues that were discussed in Chapter Two were meant to direct attention to how I gave meaning to the different situations encountered, ranging from CPF meetings, informal interactions, telephone interviews and participant observation. I demonstrated in Chapter Two that, as a researcher, one works in a particular time and space adding to an already existing discourse. The issues surrounding multi-sited ethnography and comparison were engaged with. I discussed the beneficial ways in which using oneself as a research tool works in so far as it gives you access to different kinds and levels of networks, in this case local community policing initiatives. The ethics of doing research on safety and security issues were also discussed.

Chapter Three provided a theoretical discussion of the research theme. The discussion of neo-liberal ideas of governance gave a framework for understanding the context within which community policing works. The travelling models concept and the notion of translation were used as tools to follow the various perceptions

and meanings of community policing. The travelling models concept and the notion of translation formed the main anchors on which the findings were discussed and interpreted. Foucault's writings on knowledge and power and governmentality were useful in explaining the complexities of interactions and power relations between various actors in policy formulation as well as in the responses to implementation, continuous review and incremental reform to crime prevention and crime management. In addition, volunteerism as a concept was used to explain the general idea or expectation in the community policing discourse that people will volunteer to do something about crime and related problems. Ideas around travelling models and the concept of translation provided key theoretical perspectives around which the findings of the thesis were discussed.

Chapter Four presented the historical time line of transformation of the police and, in particular I discussed the history and issues that were unravelling around community policing and broad policing issues in South Africa during the time of the research. The discussion in this chapter related to the larger argument of the thesis in so far as I used the travelling models concept to explain the ideas and source of ideas that informed policing changes during different time periods. I showed where the ideas of community policing came from and how they were modified, both in implicit and explicit ways, by various knowledge brokers and mediators at the national, provincial and local levels.

The key point in Chapter Five was that the nature and incidences of crime in Stellenbosch need to be understood in terms of the socio-economic conditions and experiences of crime in the three localities: Die Boord, Kayamandi and Kylemore. Conditions in these localities revolved around economic disparities, poverty, class and race. Stellenbosch presents a place where the contradictions and complexities of South Africa in terms of economic disparities, class and race are clearly apparent. I observed what Robins (2002) and others have brought out in their work, namely that, the middle classes and the media especially highlight the horrors of crime and violence and yet have a propensity to overlook the structures of inequality that have an effect on the rate of crime and problems associated with social inequality and racial polarisation. In Chapter Five I reflected on the perceptions of crime in these three research sites and how they relate to general perceptions of crime in the province and nationally. Using local narratives, I also revealed how crime and the fear of crime were spoken about in everyday language. I discovered that these issues affected how people formed their perceptions of community policing and that they extended beyond community policing.

In Chapter Six, I sought to identify and give evidence of the crime prevention and crime management partnerships in the three localities together with the perceptions of the specific practices and models of community policing in each place. The objective of this work was to find the local responses and perceptions of community policing and how that plays out in terms of the form of community policing. With this in mind, the issues that were presented in Chapter Six showed how community policing was understood, translated, acted out and perceived in the localised nodes of community policing. The comparison of models of community policing indicated the extent to which these were supported, resisted or responded to in each locality. The power issues, conflict, and the social and economic context within which these issues were entangled are reflected in the findings. The discussion in Chapter Six is interwoven with the perceptions of the SAPS and the consequences these had for the reception of community policing.

I explained how mediators communicated the methods and means of implementing the community policing model that they conceptualised based on their understanding of the context they found themselves in and the ideals of community policing. I especially examined how community policing was institutionalised, informed as it was by various texts and narratives and by the interpretations of actors and mediators in community policing. I drew from and largely agree with Shearing (1990) who has long argued that in any locality you may have various networks of policing on one hand and on the other hand networks resisting policing structures. In finalising my arguments for Chapter Six, I especially directed attention to the work of Sutton, Cherney and White (2008:93) with whom I concur when they pointed out that crime prevention works better when it is embedded in subtle ways in everyday routines and activities of schools and families. Their criticism of conspicuous security measures of crime prevention and crime management that are merely ritualistic without any noticeable results, helped to understand the patrols by volunteers or the drive towards more visible policing by the police.

In Chapter Seven, I turned the spotlight on the youth and reported on the multiple ways in which the issues and perceptions of community policing affected the youth. I also presented how the youth imagined security, and how they either resisted or supported the ways community policing worked in their localities. I defined who the youth were in the three localities, their experiences as young adults, their interaction with community policing, their perceptions of community policing and the context within which those perceptions

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were formed. The point I made was that, there were different forms of agency which the youth exhibited and this was informed by the context, roles and challenges which they found themselves in. I showed, through the various narratives, that the youth's perceptions of crime and security were connected to how the youth negotiated everyday issues they were confronted with in their life-worlds. In addition, through the youth narratives I illustrated how the youth described their lived experiences and how they defined their roles and challenges as young persons. My ethnographic work illuminated the broader conversations of youth in the Western Cape in terms of drug and alcohol abuse, the worrying youth unemployment and the youth as both victims and perpetrators of crime.

In Chapter Eight, I situated domestic violence within the broad imperatives of the study of crime and community policing. My efforts to interrogate crime and community policing unearthed domestic violence as a pertinent area of concern. Hence, through case illustrations, I prioritised women's voices and their experiences of domestic violence. In so doing, I discussed how CBOs functioned and in what form they attended to domestic violence. I suggested that, through engagement with the community, there was potential and scope for the police to be more accessible and open to working with the community-based advocates for better prevention and response to domestic violence in terms of both victim protection and offender accountability. After all, implementation of state instruments to address domestic violence took place largely at the local and provincial levels.

In Chapter Nine, I tied together the issues that came up in the challenges to policing in the area of study and in South Africa broadly. I referred to crime prevention and crime management as a blueprint and I referred to the changes in the way the community policing blueprint was being conceived in policy and practice during the time the research was conducted. This was as a result of the translations from all levels through voicing concern about the problems of community policing and how community policing was perceived in the international discourse of crime prevention and crime management. I discussed how community policing was being conceived in policy in terms of changes during the time I conducted research. The travelling models and translation concept again foregrounded the argument of Chapter Nine through pointing out the roles of the numerous role players and their conversations on community policing. Those concepts made it possible also to discuss the changes in national policy as well as changes on the local level with regards to crime prevention and crime management. Therefore, the argument in Chapter

Nine was framed around the series of continuously changing strategies directed toward crime prevention and crime management.

The pilot studies of the incremental reforms of community policing through CSFs referred to the changes to community policing that were facilitated by mediators and knowledge brokers, mainly NGOs and research institutes with interests in areas of safety and security. The financial support of such initiatives for incremental reform to community policing by international institutes indicated the general support for the international trend to read community policing in an expanded way in so far as partnerships and networks for crime prevention and crime management were concerned. I also engaged with the debates about the place of community policing in crime-fighting and further analysed the relationship between the police and the general populace in terms of the extent that the police and government were attentive to the matters of community policing. I found out that in an effort to get programmes and projects running, policy-makers and safety and security practitioners had challenges in so far as setting time aside for the systematic and inclusive analysis of crime and related problems before putting in place appropriate interventions.

10.3 Revisiting the main findings: Illuminating the observable social processes in community policing

- Drawing from the project conceptualisation of community policing as a 'travelling model', as I explained in Chapter One and further elaborated on in Chapter Three, the issue that was especially evident from the findings throughout the thesis is that community policing manifests in numerous models and its abstract form is adapted to local circumstances, changes over time and is amended to cater for situations that differ from place to place (Behrends 2011).

- The main findings of the thesis show that in spite of its claim to broad participation, community policing attracts too little cooperation from the people. What I was confronted with were underlying assumptions about the positives that community policing was said to achieve and the idea for those at the forefront of local community policing initiatives that it is imperative or inevitable for citizens to participate in community policing. However, the unwritten rule of policing I encountered resonated with what Johnny Steinberg said in his 2008 book *Thin Blue Line*: 'South Africa's general population has yet to give its consent to being policed'. I observed people cynically watching the police go about their daily duties and holding them in contempt because they had no solutions to

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the crime problems they were facing. Some marched to a different tune as the police and volunteers patrolled the streets as I explained in Chapter Six.

- It is evident from the issues that came up that crime in the post-conflict situation in South Africa is an indication of broader social and economic issues that continue to plague a society nurturing and developing its relatively young democracy, moving from apartheid and huge inequality in a process of continuous transformation. It is still very much a reality that when we talk about crime, social and economic inequalities and racial polarisation are issues that are still very much intertwined in a complicated way. Samara (2010:652) argues that 'race continues to serve as a rationale to social ordering'. I found that race together with class play a big role in social ordering determining who participates in so-called safe and unsafe spaces albeit in implicit ways at times.

- The issues that came up in the research showed that people in the different localities are not just passive recipients of the services that the Police provide but play an instrumental role in shaping the way policing is done in all sorts of ways. Their reactions range from positive to violent or passive. Partnerships to deal with crime are also influenced by the extent to which people in these communities perceive the state to be doing its job in terms of crime prevention and crime management. One issue that came up in the research was that there is insufficient commitment in terms of the social crime prevention function, which would of course require financial and human resources. Another crucial element to this equation in crime prevention would be encouraging grassroots organisations to be part of crime prevention issues in their localities. This would only work if the police take the problem-solving function in community policing seriously in so far as the partnerships they have with other stakeholders in their localities are concerned.

- Brogden and Shearing (1993:6) are correct in their long-standing argument that in the struggle for better and effective means of policing all over the world, there are no 'package cures' that South Africans may embrace. I concur with them in so far as they stress that:

  > There are no established models that South Africans may simply adopt…there is no unilinear deterministic path of progress to a more humane social order. South Africans are not going to be able to simply ride piggyback on the work of others. The issue should be of learning, and quickly or in small doses from the lessons of committed people who have come up with responses to deal with issues in crime prevention policy and

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management. It has already been established in discussions in everyday discourse that the issue extends to being the work of the police alone.

- Although the findings show that the support for community policing is low, the meetings that community policing affords residents and various interest groups create platforms for dialogue on safety and security issues. However, as I have noted, discussing the problems and noting them on paper does not result in solutions.

10.4   Recommendations

Broad policing needs to take issues from local contexts seriously when reform to crime prevention and management is considered. What I observed was that people and the police at meetings and in the interviews talked about crime and its related problems, but later made little effort to coordinate their efforts in fighting crime. Improved communication is needed to enhance partnerships in crime fighting. The work of the police entails serving the populace yet I was perplexed about the relationship between the people and the police that makes it so difficult to work together at times. Newer kinds of training and retraining is evidently critical at every level of the police service. Those who develop the curriculum for training and retraining of the police must especially adopt a more hands-on approach.

Clearly, the work of dealing with crime and its related problems is not just the work of the police. It would be of great value also if community-based organisations subtly embedded initiatives aimed at preventing crime even if their focus may not be on crime per se. The multi-agency approach in policing admits that safety involves a chain of institutions and people. That chain embraces the police, teachers, parents, municipalities, churches and families. The issue is how to engage within that chain and coordinate attention to crime. Cooperation entails that people in a locality know what other people in the chain are doing, for example in housing, schools, and social welfare. Information I gathered in 2009 through conversations with a representative engaged in community police work in the Netherlands, showed that the police there concentrated on what they call Chain Meetings where representatives from the community and government agencies worked to give people their input in terms of improving their neighbourhoods. In the United Kingdom, they referred to 'reassurance policing' instead of talking of community policing. The point in referring to these is not to copy and use them for our templates, but to see where they are going with their programs and what we may learn and use in the context of crime we live with. Policy-makers and

communities alike need to be responsive to changes in communities not only about crime issues but about social and economic issues as well.

Chainey and Ratcliffe (2005:3) argue that 'through monitoring and evaluation of crime trends, information may be used by the people engaged in community policing forums to design initiatives that may produce results in tackling particular crime problems in their area. The idea here is to collect reliable information to act on that goes beyond just numbers on crime. A combination of statistics, crime mapping, and crime stories provides rich information that local crime prevention partnerships may work with. Dissemination of crime information through newsletters or even word of mouth may make the residents aware of the current crime patterns.

Another issue that the findings show is that the cliché that development problems contribute to crime is still very significant. There is especially a need to extend not only the social crime prevention aspects but to have long-term attempts to deal with the social and economic problems that make the gap between the rich and poor continue to grow. In Chapter Six especially, I brought out the apparent but at times not often referred to links between class, race, criminality and poverty which play a role in the constructing and labelling of so-called safe places or zones of danger. Although there were claims and work of revitalisation of the unsafe areas through numerous social and economic projects in the period 2011-2012 municipality plans, I still noted what Glover (2008) cites as the production and reproduction of racial boundaries through exclusionary spaces with class added in the mix. The affluent still maintain the same sensibilities that they use to create their safe places, those of race and class, adding to the experience and perception of inequality.

In this thesis, local community policing examples demonstrate the need to engage with issues that unravel at the local level in order to be more responsive to the complex crime problems that are intertwined with a variety of development problems. Therefore I suggest that policy-makers take local concerns more seriously and I further challenge people in the local contexts to take their place as co-producers of their own safety and security. I noted with concern the feelings of insecurity and fear of crime that continue to grow in the light of the ever-changing crime patterns.

The issues that were evident to me during the course of the research showed the need to seriously promote the role of leadership in local crime prevention and crime management activities. I found that at times the absence of the few who were at the forefront of local crime-fighting initiatives resulted in loss of enthusiasm and lack of organisational skills to make the local initiatives a success. The relevance of problem-oriented strategies and partnership policing is especially appropriate when I reflect on the wealth of knowledge local people had about crime and related problems in their localities. Most of this information is unused because the police are either overwhelmed with what they are already dealing with or they are busy with their trial and error approaches.

Through the focus on the chains of translation, the thesis also expanded on the complexity and contextual specificity that qualifies success in crime prevention and crime management, as demonstrated in Chapters Six and Nine. More importantly, this research journey illustrated to me how local level struggles to a large extent define the ways in which people think of crime and related problems. One cannot ignore how in theory and practice there are circles in which community policing still faces heavy criticism. However, although I have identified authors who heavily criticise community policing as promoted by the state, people nonetheless also have a responsibility to do their part as citizens. Perspectives from the local level of community policing pointed to the poorly connected partnerships of local crime-fighting initiatives and the neglect of the key element of mobilising people, resources and partnerships in crime-fighting. The problem of crime in South Africa may be attributed to a complex web of factors. Community policing as one way of dealing with crime, was inadequate in the ways in which it deals with such complicated issues. However, what community policing did facilitate was dialogue on the issues between the community, the police, community-based organisations (CBOs) and private sector policing.

All in all, I noted that in terms of responding to crime in South Africa, there is a sense in which being overwhelmed with the situation has made the situation we are in like a trial and error period for everyone from the local, to the provincial to the national levels. The complexity that community policing manifests at the local level showed that there are clearly theoretical and practical difficulties with community policing. Nevertheless, the input from the people cannot be underestimated when we talk about responding to crime and its related problems.

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