



**AN EXPLORATION OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR DESIGN
INTERVENTIONS TO REDUCE CRIME: A CASE STUDY SITUATED IN
BRIDGETOWN**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the possibilities of using design interventions in mitigating crime. The study employs the Design Against Crime (*DAC*) philosophy in dealing with crime, which provides a holistic perspective regarding crime and related issues. High crime levels in South Africa necessitate alternative approaches to dealing with crime, as it is becoming evident that the old strategies that have been utilised are not providing the desired effects. The focus is on the emergence of crime amongst youth at risk, living in communities-in-tension and more specifically, the Bridgetown community near Cape Town. Communities which constitute the lower socio-economic income level, usually suffer the most with regards to crime. The effects of crime negatively influence the development of the community, allowing the cycle of poverty and crime to continue. If the cycle of crime can be broken in these communities, development may take place which will strengthen them in a number of ways, including their standing in society. In order to gain a better understanding of the crime situation in South Africa, the study investigates the country's crime history and its widespread effects on society today. The research also looks at other factors such as personal and environmental settings that inform an individual's decision to commit crime. Delinquency and its results are also explored.

The theoretical lens used in the study is that of Socially Responsible Design (*SRD*), with *DAC* as a subsection. *SRD* looks at providing solutions to societal problems from a holistic point of view.

The study uses a qualitative approach which focuses on people in real life situations, allowing the researcher to gain insight into what motivates people in their specific circumstances. The participants involved in the study are members of the Bridgetown community, youth from that community and the Reconstructed Living Labs (RLabs) team, who were previously involved in crime. The researcher sought the views of experts in the field with regards to crime alleviation in communities such as Bridgetown.

This research study concludes that opportunities exist for holistic and multi-faceted deployment of *DAC* strategies in that community to ameliorate crime, when these strategies target youth at risk.

Keywords:

Bridgetown; Cape Town; Communities-in-tension; Design Against Crime (*DAC*); Socially Responsible Design; Youth at risk.

DECLARATION

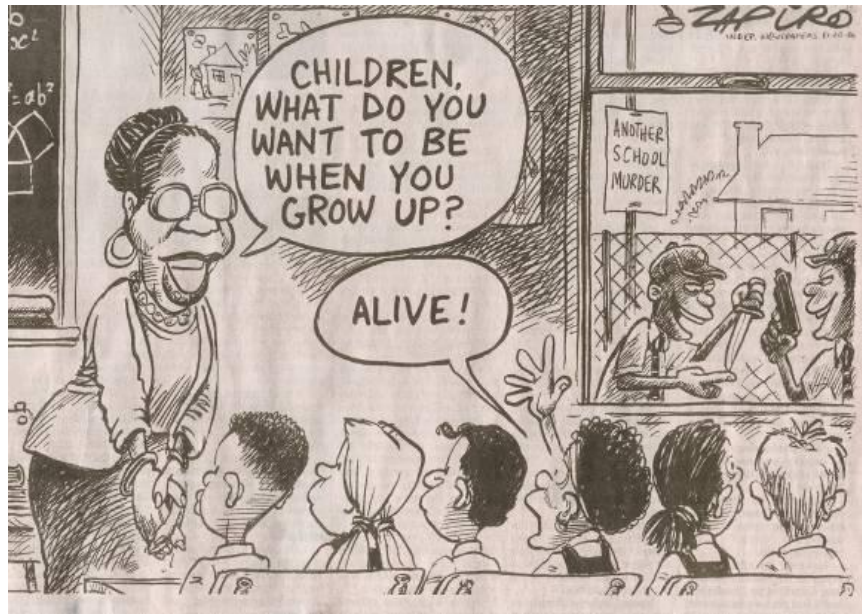
I, Adelina Omagano Tukwatha Kankondi hereby declare that, to the best of my knowledge, the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Signed

Date

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Cape Town's youth at risk.



'Insecurity will be a growing concern in cities of the developed world in the future'

(United Nations, 2006)

Source: Cape Times 11/10/2006 cited in Crime in Cape Town (Gie & Haskins, 2007:2)

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Abbreviations

DAC	DESIGN AGAINST CRIME
FIFA	FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION
HCD	HUMAN CENTRED DESIGN
HRSC	HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL
INTERPOL	INTERNATIONAL POLICE ORGANIZATION
NCCS	NATIONAL CRIME COMBATING STRATEGY
NCPS	NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY
OED	ONLINE ENGLISH DICTIONARY
SRD	SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE DESIGN
SAPS	SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Terms and Concepts Cited

Term	Definition
Apartheid	Apartheid - Afrikaans word for "apartness," this word came into use from 1930 the political policy under which the races in South Africa were subject to "separate development." (World news)
Delinquency	Minor crime, especially that committed by young people: <i>social causes of crime and delinquency</i>
Design Against Crime	Is a socially responsive, practice-based research initiative, which uses the processes of design to reduce all kinds of crime and promote community safety whilst improving quality-of-life.
Socially Responsible Design	The use of design to address social, environmental, economic and political issues (Socially responsible design).
Wyfie	A prisoner who acts out the duties of a wife for a gang member
Youth	In this document youth is those between 15-18 years of age.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

This research wishes to explore the opportunities for possibilities of design intervention against crime. Design is currently being used as an alternative method of addressing crime in countries such as England and Australia. This approach is known as *Design Against Crime(DAC)* and it is an international programme which uses designers' distinctive skills of approaching problems, to come up with interventions that are aimed at reducing crime (Cooper, 2005:1). *DAC* operates under the Socially Responsible Design (SRD) umbrella, as crime is one of the eight tenets that characterises SRD. SRD provides an alternative holistic perspective of social problems (Cooper, 2005:5). The SRD model looks at applying design initiatives to real world problems to produce positive impact on the problem (Cooper, 2005:1).

Initially, the focus of the research was "crimes against the person" in the Bridgetown Community but a discussion with some of the members of the community revealed a problem that they felt in need of urgent attention. They pointed out that an issue of greater concern is the socialising of youths on the corner. Unfortunately, this seemingly harmless pastime contributes greatly to the emergence of crime in the community. The presence of crime affects a large number of people directly or indirectly, a certainty is that the repercussions can be felt by the whole community showing up as a lack of development and fear of crime.

Communities are the building blocks of society and in order to effectively address the crime problem in a country, any intervention should be community focused. When there are evident elements within the community that threaten the wellbeing of the community, this community is defined as "a community under stress" (Parker, 2008:1). This research will be looking at the root causes of crime in a distressed community. To do this the crime situation in the Western Cape and, more specifically, Cape Town will be interrogated.

Currently, the crime situation in South Africa has labelled it as "the crime capital of the world" (South Africa, 2007:2). The government's efforts to fight and manage the crime level are evident in its choice to increase the funds available for this purpose. If the injection of funds into the fight against crime does not correspond with the fall in crime rates then this translates into ineffective methods.

Design Against Crime offers methodological tools that address the root cause of the problem and deals with it from the core rather than merely dealing with the consequences. *DAC* has the power to introduce sustainable methods of addressing crime. This allows for opportunities to improve the quality of life for those living in the community. *DAC* uses an approach that seeks to understand the problem holistically first before developing any ideas. Before a solution is permanently implemented, there is a back and forth process of design and tests. This process is illustrated in the figure below. (Gamman & Pascoe, 2004:3)

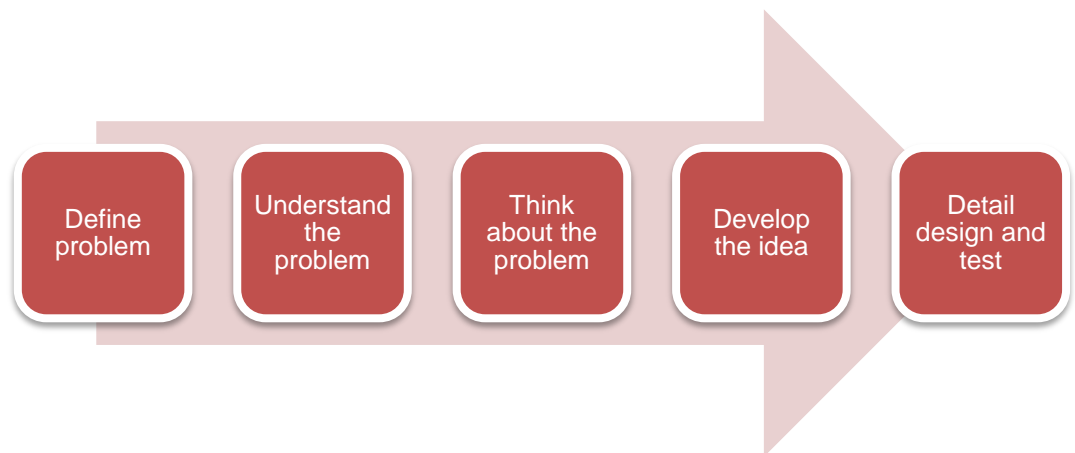


Figure 1.1: The basic process that design uses to find a solution
(Source: Gamman & Pascoe, 2004:3)

1.2 Problem statement

The purpose of this study is to explore the opportunities and possibilities of design intervention against crime. In order to do this, the study will look at the root causes of crime and its effects in a distressed community, looking at Bridgetown as a case study.

1.3 Motivation for this Research

Crime instills fear in people's lives and this fear at times keeps individuals from participating fully in life. The effects of crime can slow down development in a community thus perpetuating some of the conditions/factors that contribute to the emergence of crime in the community. If the community can be liberated of crime, it can improve people's lives beyond removing the fear associated to crime.

Crime needs to be researched from a perspective that will offer a holistic approach to solution. To propose a more effective solution, those involved with designing preventative measures need to start addressing the root causes of crime. It is evident that the current approach is no longer relevant or effective because crime is still prevalent. The responsibility of developing preventative measures should not lie solely with the South African Police Service (SAPS) alone, other sectors need to be employed to help combat the problem while the *DAC* provides a strategy for us to introduce this idea to other sectors. Social design tackles social issues that seem too complex and has proved that it can have a largely positive impact on people's lives when applied to a social problem.

I was interested to see how the *DAC* approach can be useful in the South African context. If the knowledge base for the crime research can be expanded then the idea of a crime free South Africa may soon become a reality.

1.4 Background of the Research Problem

Given that the central focus of this research is crime, it is fitting to start off by defining crime. Even though it may seem like a simple question, there are a surprising number of answers. The definition has had scholars at odds for many years. Why? Crime is a complex subject that involves a variety of factors, also known as root causes. Any given type of crime can have multiple root causes and this adds to its already complex nature (Burger, 2007:46). Another reason that has been stated is that law is a social construct and therefore society determines the meaning of crime. The following is one of the definitions: crime is an act that society as a collective has deemed unacceptable; this results in various meanings (De Rosiers & Bittle, 2004: vii).

An accepted definition by the Oxford English Dictionary is as follows:

It is "an act punishable by law, as being forbidden by statute or injurious to the public welfare." (Oxford dictionaries)

A broader seemingly more suitable definition by Burger (2007:46) is:

Crime is an unlawful act of commission or omission which results from a number of risk factors, including but not limited to socioeconomic, environmental and political factors and which is punishable by law.

There are various types of crime and as a result it targets in a non-discriminatory manner. Any area affected by crime is left scarred in many ways, the environment, the development of the community, the spirit and general attitude of the people. Research shows that many countries struggle with the issue of crime and South Africa happens to be one of those countries. The inability to successfully deal with crime comes from an inability to deal with the root causes of crime and not its effects (Burger, 2007:46). When looking at South Africa's history, it is important to note that the country has a violent past and even though it has been 16 years since the country experienced (political) extreme violence, its effects remain evident in the country's present state.

The following statement by the former President Thabo Mbeki (2007:13) advocates this point.

We cannot erase that which is ugly and repulsive and claim the happiness that comes with freedom if communities live in fear, closeted behind walls and barbed wire, ever anxious in their houses, on the streets and on our roads, unable to freely enjoy our public spaces. It should further be emphasized that one's home is not only the physical structure (between the walls), but also the piece of land on which it stands.

South Africa has experienced a rise in its overall crime beginning in the 1980's continuing until the early years of the 1990's. Its current crime levels taint its international image thus creating a well-founded fear of the country both internationally and nationally. For the country a tainted image deters foreign investors, thus having a negative impact on the economy and in turn its citizens (South Africa, 2007:14).

A glimpse of South Africa's crime situation is illustrated in the Figure:1.2

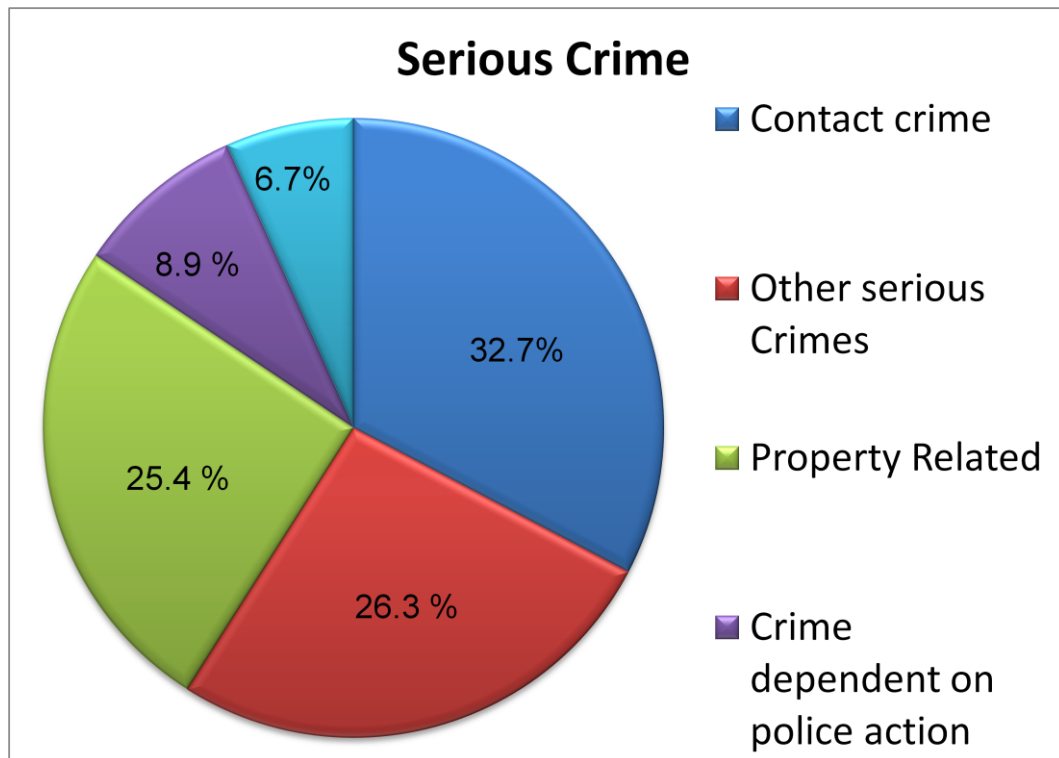


Figure 1.2: Serious Crime in South Africa: 2008/2009, 2.1 million cases
(Source: South Africa, 2009:2)

“Reinforcing the fight against crime is both about effective institutions and appropriate mobilisation of resources” (South Africa, 2007). In the 2007 budget, the then Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel, allocated over R10 billion to the fight against crime and in 2009 an additional R 5.4 billion was provided to this cause(South Africa, 2009). According to INTERPOL, post-apartheid South Africa still struggles with “high but manageable” levels of crime, manageable meaning it can be controlled (South Africa, 2007). The allocation of large amounts of funds does not mean much if the projects and initiatives that are on the receiving end are using old thinking and stagnant methods,when trying to solve the problem.

To address the problem of crime effectively, one has to go beyond the consequences and address the issues that deal* with the root of the problem. As stated earlier, one of the main causes of the emergence of crime in the Bridgetown community is when youths choose to socialise on the street. One of the reasons that youths prefer to socialise in this manner is because their home situation is not ideal and they would rather be on the street with their friends.

The image of the ideal family is that of the nuclear family, where the father is the head and he provides for the family and the mother is the caregiver (Davis, 2003:140). Many households in distressed communities such as this, no longer have traditional nuclear family structures but instead single parent (usually single mothers) homes are more common. It has been observed that single mother households have less authority and as a result provide less discipline than in traditional nuclear households (Richter, 2006:53).

“There is no doubt that it is round the family and the home that all the greatest virtues of human society are created, strengthened and maintained.” Winston Churchill (Thinkexist, 2010).

The home is where children learn their mannerisms and how they interact with the world, this is also the foundation on which they build their identity. Churchill cements this fact in his statement above. Children from unstable households will carry with them whatever negative mannerism they have picked up from their home and it is usually children from these households who prefer to spend more time outside socialising on the street (Dissel,1997:2). Socialising with their friends offers more than just entertainment for the few hours they spend together. A brotherhood is formed during their time. This brotherhood acts like a substitute family and can provide for them when their blood family cannot. The passage into manhood elicits respect and acceptance and this is what they look for amongst their peers. The issue of masculinity comes into play here, youths with high masculinity and who do not have an acceptable outlet tend to turn to violent outlets (Ibid).

“The spider may survive the fall but he can’t survive without his web”
(Wilson, 2006:32)

The South African family structure has been disturbed by forced removals; the once dependable extended family is no longer there. The notion of “it takes a village to raise a child” is no longer in effect because that extra support is not there and when children are found in the street misbehaving there is no one to reprimand them when their parents cannot. This is another drawback to the upbringing of youths who are already disadvantaged in many ways (Wilson, 2006:32). “It takes a village to raise a child” is derived from a concept as old as the human race: *Ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* states that “a person is a person through others” so if you neglect the other, you in turn neglect yourself (Eklund, 2008:14). The ideals of *Ubuntu* are not being implemented into the foundation of the community and this is evident in the way the youths are developing,

turning to ways that harm their own lives and contribute to the breakdown of the community. A sense of community, which is based on *Ubuntu* principles, is needed now more than ever because if the community looks after its children, it looks after its self.

So far, the South African Police Services and Community policing have been the basic forms of regulating and observing the countries official figure, these methods of policing are not enough (South Africa, 2009:36). Crime is a social problem and all sectors of society should lend a hand to alleviate the problem so the burden should not fall solely on the Police Service. The arrest and convict cycle is proving to be ineffective and more sustainable methods of approaching crime need to be implemented.



Figure 1.3: Arrest and convict cycle
(Source: Author's construct)

Countries that have looked at other methods of reducing crime are England and Australia, the alternative method is design (Pease, 2001:27).

Designers are trained to anticipate many things: the needs and desires of users, environmental impacts, and ergonomics and so on. It is they who are best placed to anticipate the crime consequences of products and services and to gain this upper hand in the technological race against crime.

To date, no *DAC* initiatives are evident in South Africa and with crime being a great source of concern South Africa needs to invest in other means of addressing the crime situation. According to *DAC* documentation, design has positively tackled crime related issues where it has been applied. Using the existing *DAC* model, one of the objectives of this study is to explore and understand the reasons that lead individuals to partake in criminal acts and to explore the ways in which design may counter the emergence of crime.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What are the causes that lead to the emergence of crime in the community?
 - 1.1. How does the prevalence of crime impact upon a community and its ability to function cohesively?
2. What (if any) are the forms of interventions currently in place to target the ontogeny of crime in Cape Town?
3. Why have previous attempts at mitigating crime in Cape Town not been effective?
4. How can a design against crime intervention potentially reduce the opportunities that allow for the emergence of crime?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

- The objects of this research are to understand and determine the personal and environmental factors that lead to a life of crime.
- To evaluate and understand the impact of crime on society and specific communities.
- To find out what interventions have been put in place and how they have worked thus far, in order to be able to determine how design can promote a socially responsible outlet for youth at risk
- To propose a *DAC* intervention that fits into the South African context.

1.7 Significance of Study

South Africa has a serious crime problem and the various strategies that have been put into place by the government, do not seem to be yielding the desired results. It is the author's view that the government's focus should be changed, in order to have

real influence on the crime situation. If the root cause can be targeted effectively it will have a positive effect on the whole crime cycle. The starting point should be in communities, especially those that are at risk, the community may gain confidence if the problems they are facing are being addressed appropriately. The results of this study aim to provide a positive outlet for youths at risk.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 of this thesis introduces the topic under investigation and takes a closer look at the focus of the study detailing the research questions, research objectives and the significance of study. Chapter 2 takes an in-depth look at crime, the definition, the factors that contribute to the emergence of crime and its general effects. Factors such as South Africa's crime history, the repercussions of apartheid and its influence on the current crime situation are examined. The chapter also looks at Cape Town's population structure (which is a contributing factor to the levels of crime in the city) and crime in Cape Town. In addition, the South African Police Service government's efforts, policies and the action they have taken are scrutinised.

In Chapter 3, the author discusses how factors such as forced removals and distressed communities contribute to the emergence of youth at risk. The issues of masculinity and the construction identity are investigated with regards to how they play a role in the emergence of youth at risk. When youth at risk succumb to the influences of their environment they are likely to join a gang, which more often than not leads to imprisonment.

Chapter 4 takes a closer look at the structure of a gang and life in prison for adults and juvenile delinquents. The chapter also introduces two organisations concerned with interventions for youth at risk. In Chapter 5, Design thinking, Design against crime and Design for the user are introduced, defined and explored. Chapter 6 discusses the research design and the methods that were implemented for data collection. Chapter 7 analyses the collected data and summarises the main findings. Chapter 8 concludes the study and presents the conclusion, recommendations, the study's contribution to knowledge and proposed future research topics as informed by the study are also presented in this chapter.

1.9 Summary

South Africa is notorious for its high levels of crime and various approaches have been used to address crime but more often than not the strategies look at crime once it has happened and not the root causes that inform it. Available research records do not reveal any studies related to *Design Against Crime (DAC)* in the South African context – this thesis seeks to redress this by providing an exploratory study of opportunities for *DAC* intervention in a community at risk. *DAC* acknowledges that society cannot expect crime to be solved exclusively by the police. Rather, a number of inter-related government departments, organizations, and private sector entities need to be involved in a concerted effort to combat crime. *DAC* strategies focus on the ontogeny of crime holistically thus allowing for deeper interrogation of factors impacting on the prevalence of crime and its negative consequences on a community's aspirations to function in a socially equitable and cohesive manner. The following chapter foregrounds the available literature and offers an in-depth overview of the diverse factors associated with crime within the South African context.

CHAPTER TWO

Crime

“Society prepares the crime, the criminals commit it”. Henry Thomas Buckle

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the causes of crime and discusses the reasons why certain individuals may gravitate towards a life of crime. The chapter looks at a range of factors that influence such choices from diverse perspectives and explores the myriad manifestations of crime in the country. South Africa’s crime history is also investigated to determine how it informed the current crime situation. The last section of chapter two looks at the population dynamics of Cape Town which plays an interesting role in the crime situation of the city.

2.2 Crime: Anatomy

In order to properly address the issue of crime we need to understand its causes and as stated earlier, crime is a complex issue with various facets. A misconception is that there is a single reason for an individual becoming involved in a life of crime but actually there are various factors that contribute (Melkonyan, n.d:1). Some of the main factors are listed below and each one has more than one sub-factor:

- Social
- Political
- Environmental
- Economic
- Personal

2.3 Social Factors

2.3.1 Social Environment

The manner in which the hierarchy of society is set up may put certain people at a disadvantage, economic or otherwise. Some of the social problems that are contributing factors to the emergence of crime are inequality, low income, poor service delivery, lack of family structure etc. These factors create stressful living conditions and increase the likelihood of an individual turning to crime (CS&CPC,1996:1).

2.3.2 Peers

Peer pressure is one of the reasons that some youths get involved in crime. When socializing there will be some youths who are from disadvantaged homes who cannot afford the clothing, cell phones, shoes etc that their friends may have. They then turn to crime to be able to afford these commodities in the hope that it will place them on the same social standing (Melkonyan, n.d:1). A life of crime may lead a youth into gangs and within the gang world it is easier to increase one's material gain and at the same time elevate one's status (which is highly desired by youth searching for respect) (Melkonyan, n.d:1).

Another aspect of peer pressure is when youths who are already involved in crime try to recruit their peers by using degrading language. This puts their peers in a position, where if they do not agree to join a life of crime they are looked down upon and considered to be cowards.

2.3.3 Drugs and Alcohol

Research has shown that a large number of offenders are under the influence of either drugs or alcohol when crimes are committed (CS&CPC, 1996:7). Being under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol reduces one's ability to judge a situation and factors that should act as deterrents go unnoticed.

2.4 Environmental Factors

2.4.1 Home environment

The home forms the foundation where individuals begin to construct their identity. Parenting methods have a great influence on the home situation and as a result the quality of individuals. If this foundation is unstable in any way the individuals that are reared in that environment may have developmental problems. These developmental problems in conjunction with other risk factors put the individual at risk of being seduced into a life of crime. Research shows that "over 50% of violent youth offenders have been brought up in a household where they witness physical abuse and 80% of incarcerated males have been victims of sexual abuse"(CS&CPC,1996;7).

2.4.2 Community

If a person grows up in a community that is riddled with crime then chances are that they will be desensitized and they may not be able to view it as something that is wrong. If a community does not have opportunities for members to improve their lives financially, they can turn to crime as an option (Palmer, 2004:12).

2.4.3 Economic Factors

Economic deprivation is considered to be one of the biggest reasons why individuals get involved in crime. This however does not mean that all poor people are criminals; it is those who feel deprived who turn to crime (Maree, 2003:54). In addition to lack of financial resources, poverty manifests itself in a lack of educational opportunities, lack of meaningful employment options, poor housing, lack of hope and the prejudice against persons living in poverty.

2.4.4 Personal Factors

Some individuals have personal reasons for committing crimes and these reasons range from jealousy, greed to pride and anger. Their reasons for taking on a life of crime are not influenced by anything else and they see a life of crime more profitable than a regular job.

2.4.5 Poor parenting skills

Children who have the misfortune of having parents, who abuse them or neglect them due to poor parental skills, are more likely to end up leading a life of crime. Research indicates that children who are brought up in “fatherless” households are also more likely to choose this path (Melkonyan, n.d:1). A parent’s attitude towards certain issues can determine in what regard the child will hold it, if a parent’s attitude towards crime, violence and drugs is blasé or if they tolerate it then the children will often have the same attitude towards it. If there are displays of violence within the family or if family members take drugs and consume alcohol, this all adds to the likelihood of the children being involved in the same activities (University of Nevada, n.d.).

2.4.6 Unemployment

Research shows that a large number of prisoners who are/have been incarcerated were unemployed at the time of their arrest. Being unemployed for long stretches of time can create a feeling of hopelessness leading individuals to turn to crime to provide for themselves and their families. In addition, this hopelessness can result in individuals being violent or turning to substance abuse, which further adds to their despair.(CS&CPC, 1996:6)

The fact that there are risk factors present does not mean that the result will be a criminal offence.

2.4.7 Human motivation

During the 1960's Abraham Maslow, a psychologist, developed a theory regarding human motivation. Bernard *et al.* (2005:134) describe motivation as "the *why* that causes an organism to initiate and persist in certain behaviors as opposed to others". Maslow arranged the human needs in a hierarchy (see Figure 2.1 below) starting with basic needs followed by psychological needs and then lastly by self-fulfillment needs. Due to the hierarchical arrangements of the human needs "each level of the pyramid is dependent on the previous level" (Huitt, 2004:6). Maslow believed that in order to fulfill one level of the pyramid the previous level needs to be satisfied as a result of the previous point, Maslow states this is the reason "man is a perpetually wanting animal"(Maslow, 1943:3).

If an individual has what Maslow describes as needs deficits which is when one does not have enough of something (needs deficit make up the last four levels of the pyramid) then the individual will try to fulfill this need. An example is when an individual fulfills their biological needs (the needs for oxygen, food, water, and a relatively constant body temperature) then the motivation to fulfill these needs is no longer there (Poston, 2009:348).

Crime can provide a way of meeting one's basic needs and if one's basic needs are fulfilled then the next level is security. This can be viewed from a child's point or adults. For a child they require a safe family environment, warmth and love. If these needs are not met the child will not move beyond this point. For adults security may not necessarily be safety from danger but economic security because this need is connected to an array of factors/needs that can improve their lives. If financial security

is not met then some individuals set about to fulfill them in any way possible. Maslow was of the belief that society places obstacles in the way of some individual's path to the top of the pyramid and as a result they remain stagnant (Maslow, 1943:

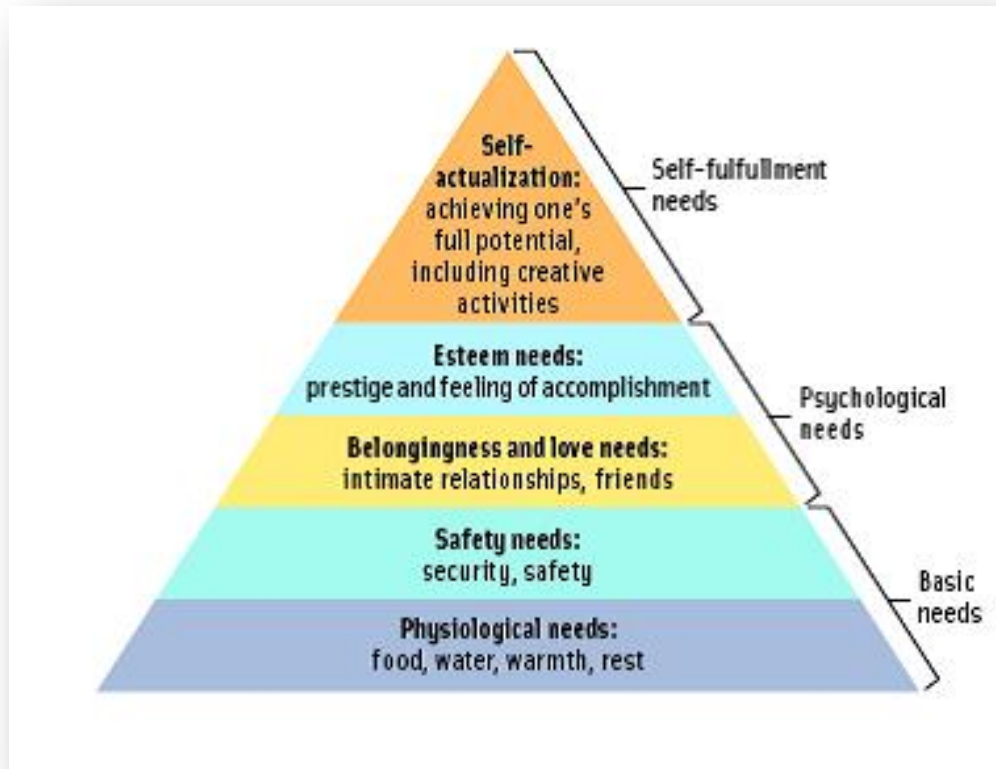


Figure 2.1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs
(Source: Poston, 2009:348)

2.5 Crime in South Africa

2.5.1 Crime History

South Africa's current crime state cannot be justly discussed without a historical review of its "criminal past", specifically looking at the years of apartheid. Apartheid was introduced in 1948 when the National Party came into power (Sorrentino, 2010:2).

The leaders of the NP stated that apartheid was introduced as "the only guarantee for racial peace" because the party was uncomfortable with the high volumes of black people who had migrated to urban areas in search of work (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:35). H.F. Verwoerd who is infamously known as the "architect of apartheid" stated that "the survival of white civilization in South Africa is of more importance to me, even more important than the expanded industrial development" (Giliomee

&Schlemmer, 1989:36). The statement clearly illustrates Verwoerd's passion to maintain racial dominance and when he spoke the words above, he did so with authority as the country's Prime Minister. Even the church sided with the government. In the following statement, the Dutch reformed Church justifies apartheid: (Clark & Worger, 2004:52)

God divided humanity into races, languages and nations. Differences are not only willed by God but are perpetuated by Him. Equality between natives, coloureds and Europeans includes a misappreciation of the fact that God in His providence, made people into different races and nations . . . The natives must be led and formed towards independence so that eventually they will be equal to Europeans but each to their own territory and each serving God and their own Fatherland.



Figure 2.2: Segregated seating at a sport event.
(Source: Apartheid-Stand Up With Us)

As stated earlier, the apartheid era was one of fear and violence. Unfortunately, the violence (not in its apartheid form) has spilled over into post-apartheid South Africa. Violence was used as a tool to control the “African mind” and by so doing, keep the

'peace' and maintain a form of structure that was comfortable for the then government (Butchart *et al.*, 2005:32). If African people questioned authority and did not adhere to the laws that had been established then they would be imprisoned or killed (Clark & Worger, 2004:77).

During the 1960's the government increased the power the police had, they were allowed to detain a prisoner for 180 days without charge, trial or legal representation (Clark & Worger, 2004:77). It was also possible for a police officer to charge anyone who "annoyed" him, a police officer was able to search without a warrant, close down premises or prevent a meeting it was all within his power (Pinnock, 1984:97). By 1972, 21 people had died while in police custody and in 1977, the South African Institute for Race Relations reported that 617 Africans had died as a result of violence since June of the previous year (Clark & Worger, 2004:78). In 1977, the government announced that it would be making adjustments to the constitution in an attempt to calm the restless Africans. This did little help as violence continued to erupt throughout the African townships (ibid). Over the years, as the African population expressed its frustration with the government, violence moved from being a tool used to control a race to a tool used to fight against the government for freedom (Butchart *et al.*, 2005:32). The armed struggle was focused on first and foremost ridding the country of its oppressive government; the other focus was to break down geographic and economic divisions (Butchart *et al.*, 2005:35).



Figure 2.3: Police violence during apartheid
(Source: Apartheid-Stand With Us)

Those who have lived through the pre-1994 era were subjected to crime as a manipulating tool, negatively affect one's self-esteem. They, the oppressed, became accustomed to using violence as a means of getting their message across or removing themselves from an undesirable situation. To some extent this belief is still rooted in some people's consciousness, an example is the protests we see and read about in the media (South Africa, 2005:174). With this belief forming part of society's construct, crime has increased since 1994 (Lemanski, 2004). Looking at crime before and after 1994 it is noted that recorded crime has increased by 30%. It is however possible that the increase in crime can be attributed to the fact that more victims are reporting crime (Institute for Security Studies, 2005:428).

2.6 The current situation

South Africa has been battling with crime for a long time; in 1946 Alan Paton (Author of Cry, The Beloved Country) wrote the following: (Paton Luafer, 2001:2)

We shall live from day to day , and put more locks on the doors and get a fine fierce dog when the fine fierce bitch next door has pups and holds onto our handbags more tenaciously. . . We shall be careful and knock this off our lives and knock that off our lives and hedge ourselves about with precaution. They are holding a meeting in Parkold tonight. And the people will ask for more police and for heavier sentences for . . . housebreakers and for the death penalty for all who carry weapons when they break in.

The situation that Alan Paton was talking about was different from the current crime situation that is today's reality. Altbeker states that which makes South Africa's crime a problem is not necessarily its volume but the amount of violence that is linked to crime. The levels of violent crime are so high that it is considered a major threat to national and individual security (Burger, 2007:4). There seems to be an addiction to violence in South Africa, and the manner in which crime is dealt with is another point of debate. Research shows that the police pay little attention to the causes of crime (Burger, 2007:46). These factors contribute to the notion that there needs to be a feeling of urgency when dealing with crime (South Africa, 2009: 35-38).

There can be no doubt that the crime situation in South Africa is serious.

So where does South Africa stand in relation to other countries? It must first be stated that some countries do not have a proper system of recording crime and some

countries have not updated their statistics in years. Looking at the available data [for total crimes (per capita)], provided by the CIA Factbook, South Africa is ranked 10th out of 60 countries. Of these 60 countries there are only 3 African countries, South Africa is leading with 77.1862 per 1.000 people. The other African countries that are in the top 60 are, Zimbabwe at position 26 and with 28.8753 per 1000 people while Zambia is in position 52 with 5.27668 per 1000 people (Nationmaster, 2009).

Crime in South Africa is divided into 5 main categories and they are as follows (South Africa, 2007:2):

- Contact crime
- Contacted-related crimes
- Property-related crimes
- Crimes heavily dependent on police action for detection
- Other serious crime

The numbers for crime categories and the types of crimes are listed in table 2.1

Table 2.1: Serious crimes in South Africa (Source: South African Police Service)

<u>SERIOUS CRIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA</u>		
	TYPE	Number of incidents reported
2005/2006	1. Contact Crimes (Against the person)	75 6118
	2. Contact related Crimes	12 887
	3. Property Related Crimes	57 0698
	4. Crime heavily dependent on police action for detection	14 2259
	5. Other Serious Crimes	55 1334
	6. Subcategories forming part of	28514

	aggravated robbery	
2006/2007	1. Contact Crimes (Against the person)	73 0346
	2. Contact related crimes	15 1194
	3. Property Related Crimes	54 7258
	4. Crime heavily dependent on police action for detection	157 304
	5. Other Serious Crimes	54 2342
	6. Subcategories forming part of aggravated robbery	33 941
2007/2008	1. Contact Crimes (Against the person)	69 2550
	2. Contact related crimes	14 4364
	3. Property Related Crimes	42 1516
	4. Crime heavily dependent on police action for detection	171015
	5. Other Serious Crimes	52 7574
	6. Subcategories forming part of aggravated robbery	39789
2008/2009	1 Contact Crimes (Against the person)	68 4119

	2. Contact related crimes	14 1107
	3. Property Related Crimes	53 2184
	4. Crime heavily dependent on police action for detection	187 382
	5. Other Serious Crimes	55 2371
	6. Subcategories forming part of aggravated robbery	48 710
2009/2010	1. Crime detected as a result of police action	67 6445
	2. Contact related crimes	13 8835
	3. Property Related Crimes	55 3368
	4. Crime heavily dependent on police action for detection	21 2321
	5. Other Serious Crimes	54 0918
	6. Subcategories forming part of aggravated robbery	48 634

To gain insight into how safe South African's feel within their country and communities, the HSRC conducted attitudinal surveys which show that:

- a) Percentage of people "feeling personally unsafe" dropped from 49% in 1991 to 30% 1998.
- b) In 2005, 2006 and 2007, the results of the surveys showed that people are more fearful of walking alone during residential areas after dark in 1998 the figure was 44% but in 2007 it jumped to 74%. (Gie, 2009:5)

Crime is rife because of the nature of people in communities that make up society. An individual's surrounding as well as their background plays a big role. Respect for law is not a sentiment possessed by all citizens and the lack of it contributes to crime. The manner in which the government deals with crime is also a contributing factor to crime statistic (South Africa, 2007:189). The way that police handle crime is to arrest and convict and this method is seemingly not as effective as intended (not all who are arrested are convicted). Current methods of investigation have to be adjusted or re-evaluated in order to be successful (The Institute for Security Studies, 2009:36).

2.7 Cape Town

Cape Town is the third largest city in South Africa that is located on the continent's most south-western tip; It was founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 and is known as the oldest settlement (Lemanski, 2004:103).

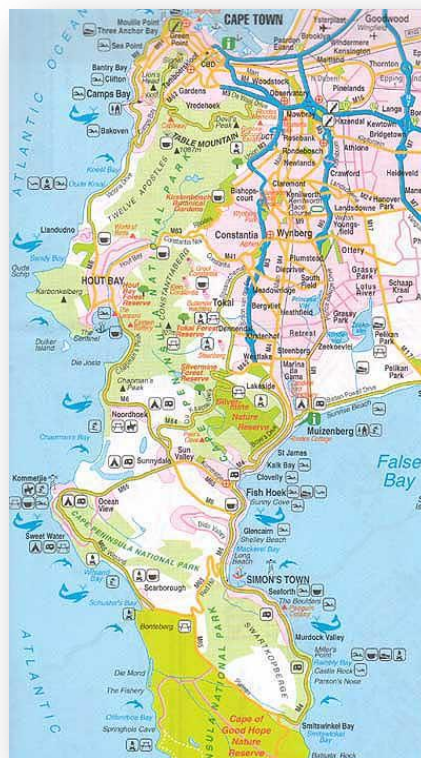


Figure 2.4: Cape Town
(Source: Cape Town)

Some cities or towns within South Africa have not taken to post-apartheid transformation, either because of economic reasons or stagnant ways of thinking. During the years of apartheid, Cape Town had a unique population composition in comparison to the rest of the country. It had a dominant coloured population where in most South African cities the largest sect of the population is the black population. Post-apartheid brought an increase of the black population and with this, the fear of crime (especially amongst the white inhabitants) (Lemanski, 2004:103).

The segregation that was introduced during apartheid was the reason the different races feared each other. The black and coloured people were kept much further away from the white people, whose fear of these two race groups was more a result of government propaganda than what they had actually witnessed. The spatial distance perpetuated the fear of the “other” (Ibid). Segregation amongst communities is still evident; the segregation is not exclusive to geographic conditions, it also manifests in economic segregation which is usually a result of the geographic location of the community (Ibid). The areas inhabited by coloureds and blacks are those areas that have the poorest resources and it has been studied that where there is an unfair distribution of resources there will be a crime. This is brought about partly by those who do not have, as they will try to obtain what they lack via criminal means (Gie & Haskins, 2007:4).

2.7.1 Population Dynamics

Table 2.2: Population by race and gender for 2007 (source: Small, 2008:6)

Race	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Black African	590,546	16.9%	629,435	18.0%	1,219,981	34.9%
Coloured	744,437	21.3%	793,878	22.7%	1,538,315	44.0%
Asian	31,101	0.9%	31,253	0.9%	62,354	1.8%
White	327,175	9.4%	349,272	10.0%	676,447	19.3%
Total	1,693,259	48.4%	1,803,838	51.6%	3,497,097	100.0%

Table 2 shows the population break down as recorded in the last population census. Females make up the greater part of Cape Towns population with 51.6% and within

the female population the large majority belong to the Coloured race (22.7%) followed by the Black African (18%),White (10.0%) and finally the Asian race (0.9%).Within all race groups, females make up the large part of the race's population (Small, 2008:6).

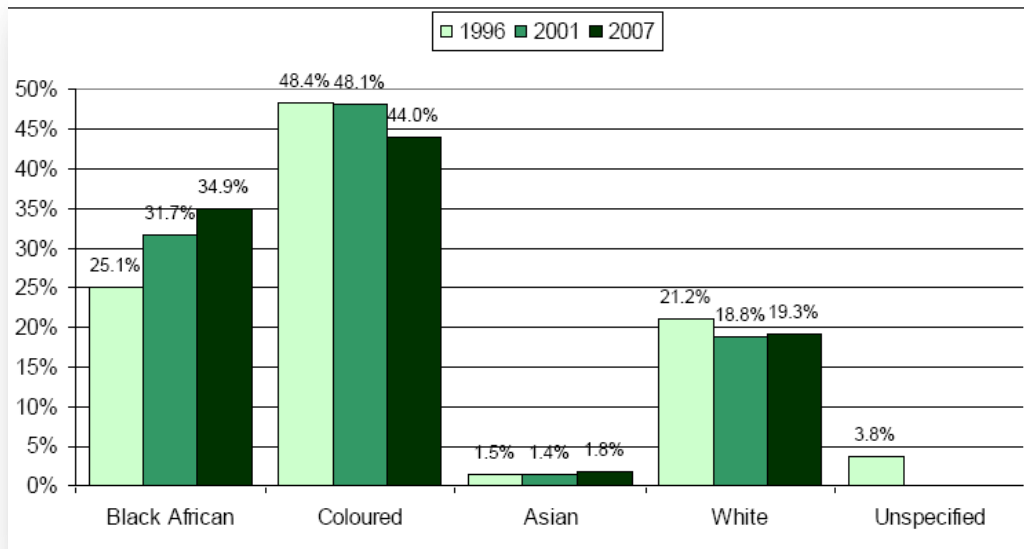


Figure 2.5: Population by race for 1996,2001and 2007
(Source: Small, 2008:6)

Figure 7 shows Cape Town's population from 1996 through to 2007 and there are some notable differences such as the decrease in the Coloured population by 4.4% since 1996.From 1996 to 2001 the White population has also declined by 2.4% then increased by 0.5% in 2007,while the Black African population increased by 9.8% since 1996 (Ibid).

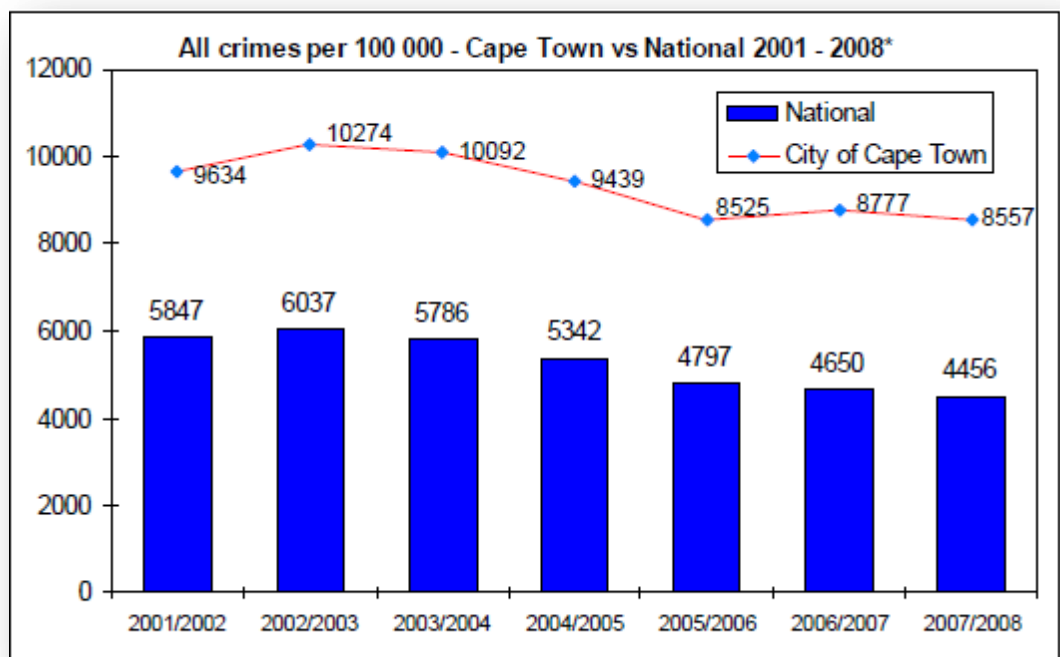
Records show that Capetonians have revealed “higher levels of fear and insecurity” more than the country as a whole (Lemanski, 2004:105). Cape Town has been described as one of the country's crime hotspots exhibiting the highest levels of murder and drug-related crimes (Gie, 2009:4). Besides the effects on victims' crime also has social effects which can have negative effects on the city's development (Ibid).

2.7.2 Crime in Cape Town

The Western Cape might not have the highest numbers nationally but when comparing Cape Town's figures to the national figures a scary picture is painted of how serious crime is in Cape Town. The city is a world renowned tourist destination but the fear of crime within the city is a threat to this status (Mail & Guardian, 2009). Cape Town has been one of the host cities for the FIFA World Cup in 2010.With such an international mega event being hosted by the country tourist should feel safe in the

country and whichever city they choose to watch the games. The fear of crime is as big a problem as crime itself, and this is a fear that the local people have to live with (Design Council, 2003). The presence of crime in communities results in lack of investments, which in turn affects the standard of living and communities remain in the cycle of poverty and crime.

The South African Police Services provides crime statistics for all types of crimes committed in the country. Below is a graph that illustrates Cape Town's position in relation to the rest of the country.



**Figure 2.6: Incidence of all reported crimes
Cape Town versus National (2001-2008)
(Source: Gie, 2009:9)**

National crime statistics show that there was an increase from 1996/97 and then it stabilised during 2000/01 and there has been a decrease since then. Figure 2.6 shows that for all the reported crimes there was a decrease of 9.7% between 2004/05 and 2005/06 then there was an increase of 3% between 2005/06 and 2006/07. Statistics for 2006/07 to 2007/08 show that there has been a decrease of 2.3% but even though this is the case the crime levels are still too high (Gie, 2009:9).

2.8 South African Police Service and crime

Pre-1994 the police was the main enforcer of “peace” and went about doing so in a violent way and thus the development of feelings of mistrust towards the police (Lemanski, 2004:104). Between 1994 and 2005, the money spent on crime prevention effort has increased from R14.4 billion to R38.2 billion. Though sentiments towards police may not be the same, the one unchanged fact is that the police force still remains the main enforcer of the law and who citizens look to for crime prevention initiatives (South African Police Service, 2009). The question is what is the South African Police Service (SAPS) doing to reduce crime in the city of Cape Town? Firstly who is the SAPS and what is their role in the reduction and prevention of crime. In the Design Against Crime Report crime prevention is described as “anything that reduces delinquency, violence and insecurity by successfully tackling scientifically identified casual factors” (Design Council, 2000:21).

The SAPS’ (post apartheid) purpose was detailed in a document “Ready to Govern” on 31 May 1992 by the Interim Constitution. The Interim Constitution provided the foundation on which the SAPS were to be developed in Chapter 14, Section 214-223.

In the constitution the SAPS is expected to prevent crime (its primary function) and to “guarantee the personal security of citizens and the free and peaceful exercise of their constitutional rights” (Burger, 2007:71). The word ‘guarantee’ was changed from endeavour, changing the words made the SAPS task a bit harder.

Act No.200 of 1993 states that functions of the SAPS (in section 215) are:

- a) The prevention of crime
- b) The investigation of any offence or alleged offence
- c) The maintenance of law and order
- d) The preservation of the internal security of the Republic.

(Burger, 2007:71).

The current SAPS is subsequently established to execute section 5 of the *South African Police Service Act, 1995* (Act No.68 of 1995) (Burger, 2007:72).



Figure 2.7: Members of the South Africa Police Force
(Source: www.saps.gov.za)

Section 215 (titled crime prevention) does not define nor does it explain what means by crime prevention even though this is described as the SAPS's primary function. Due to the lack of clarity regarding this concept, the SAPS can only assume what is meant by this term. The first minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi introduced the Green Paper on 25th May 1994 which made an effort to clearly define the concept of crime prevent and the function of the police (Ibid).

The Green Paper highlights the following:

- The existence of complex socioeconomic conditions, including interpersonal violence, which is at the root of the high levels of crime in South Africa.
- The realisation that policing alone will not save the crime problem, and the consequent need for a reconstruction and development programme
- The idea that the police should play a role in local development forum aimed at socio-economic development
- The notion of a problem-solving role for the police, in terms of community problems relating to crime and disorder
- The acceptance of the central role of local government in addressing the issues and condition (at that level) which are conducive to crime and violence(Burger, 2007:73)

Two years after the introduction of the Green Paper, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) was set up in May 1996. The NCPS was one of the two strategies drafted in an attempt to reduce crime in South Africa. Civilians were involved in drafting the NCPS; the strategy had two main goals; the short-term goal was intended to restore the public's confidence in the police and the suggested approach was to increase police visibility (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005:431). The long term goal, change the focus from crime control (reactive) to crime prevention (proactive) and move to start looking at crime as a social issue instead of a security issue this way the police can stay true to the suggested focus (Burger, 2007:75). The NCPS was created to provide a structure for various interdepartmental programs intended to increase safety.

The strategy had the following objectives:

- The establishment of a comprehensive policy framework which will enable government to address crime in a coordinated and focused manner which draws on the resources of all government agencies, as well as civil society.
- The promotion of a shared understanding and common vision of how we, as a nation, are going to tackle crime. This vision should also inform and stimulate initiatives at provincial and local level.
- The development of a set of national programmes which serve to kick start and focus the efforts of various government departments in delivering quality service aimed at solving the problems leading to high crime levels.
- The maximisation of civil society's participation in mobilising and sustaining crime prevention initiatives.
- Creation of a dedicated and integrated crime prevention capacity which can conduct ongoing research and evaluation of departmental and public campaigns as well as facilitating effective crime prevention programmes at provincial and local level (Du Plessis & Louw ,2005:431).

The introduction of the NCPS showed the government's far sight and understanding that the development of a country is linked to how safe it is. With the ushering in of a new administration in 1999, many of the NCPS visions remained just that, the new administration was under more and more pressure to act on crime and the NCPS's goals would not be able to show them results as promptly as they needed to please the public (Du Plessis & Louw,2005:430-431).

The second policy was the National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS) where the NCPS was drafted with the aid of civilians the NCCS was drafted by the South African

Police Service (SAPS). The NCCS has two fundamentals; one focus is on crime ridden areas to provide them with the necessary resources so that factors such as service delivery may be improved. The second is focused on organised crime where detectives investigate syndicates; a focus in this area was needed urgently as this is where the majority of crimes happen (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005:430-431).

The crime issue and the role of government in addressing crime have received much publicity in the press lately, and there has been great pressure on government to deal more effectively with the crime issue. "Finding a solution to crime goes beyond just law enforcement issue alone and it is therefore essential that everybody work together to solve crime – law enforcement can only deal with the symptoms of crime" – Commissioner Mzwandile Petros, Provincial Commissioner of the South African police Service, Western Cape (Personal Comms, 2008). According to Temba A Notlutshungu, director of the Free Market Foundation (Cape Argus 17th April, 2008), the response to crime has so far focused on the punitive aspect of crime management, which is necessary. He sees prevention, however, as equally important and proposes the following preventative measures:

- . Massive deployment of plain clothes police personnel
 - . Improvement in remuneration and employment conditions and adequate insurance cover for the entire police force
 - . Separate first-time, petty offenders from hardened prisoners in prisons
 - . Devolve policing powers to provincial and local levels
 - . Establish a culture of the rule of law (Cape Argus 17th April, 2008)
- (Gie,2009: 6)

To believe that the police is solely capable of preventing crime shows very little understanding of the causes of crime and how complex crime is (Burger, 2007:41).Secondary to the SAPS efforts is Community policing initiatives, where the community steps in and takes measures to protect their living surroundings. Some communities take on community policing because of a lack of faith in the police while others do it to strengthen the police's efforts. Currently the SAPS have a division called the Sector Policing. Under this division the community and the sector commander for that area are involved in looking after the area taking action to certify safety (South Africa, 2009). It must be noted that not all communities that take up community policing as a form of protection are working side by side with the police

2.9 Summary

No one factor can be responsible for an individual committing a crime; more than one of the factors explored in this chapter have to be present. Personal factors have the greatest effect on an individual. South Africa's crime history was investigated and it is apparent that the conditions set up by apartheid are still present in today's society especially in the manner in which people think. The racial divide from the apartheid regime is still evident and in Cape Town the hostility between the different races is one of the reasons the city residents experience high levels of insecurity. The South Africa Police Services approach to crime has been looked at and the reveal that old thinking is still being employed in addressing a persistent problem.

CHAPTER THREE

Influences of the past

“The family is the corner stone of our society. More than other forces it shapes the attitudes, the hopes, the ambitions and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a large scale the community itself is crippled [...]” Lyndon Baines Johnson

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three looks at the factors that contributed to delinquency starting out with environmental factors that may contribute to rearing of a delinquent. Then the author looks at Family matters and eventually internal matters such the construction of identity as the literature has identified that at the point when youths are construction their identity, they need guidance and its absence may contributes to the development of delinquent behaviour in a youth. The African Philosophy of *Ubuntu* is investigated as this is linked to the development of a functioning family and ultimately positive members of society if it is employed.

3.2 Forced Removals

Forced removals were a result of the *Group Areas Act* and this act was one of the many rules implemented to solidify the divide between the white race and other races. One of the justifications for all the rules that were implemented was to maintain dominance by the white race. In 1949, J.G Strijdom (who later became prime minister) stated that: (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:82)

The white population of our country, which is in the minority can remain white only if they retain their consciousness of colour...[and] their national pride, their pride as a race...A sense of colour cannot be maintained on the basis of equality, that is, if there is no apartheid for daily intercourse in social affairs, politically or in any other field.

A range of Acts were introduced to help the state maintain racial dominance, *The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949* was amongst the first of the Acts to be implemented. Another means of securing racial divide was through communal apartheid, which meant classifying people into race groups and forbidding interaction (other than necessary business and the like) between different racial classes. To reinforce this, the different race groups were divided into residential areas but the divide was not exclusively geographical it extended to education and amenities (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:82).

Another was The Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified people according to their race, be it white, coloured or native. Then there was the Immorality Act of 1950 and 1957, which was put in place to forbid “extra-marital sexual intercourse between whites and Africans”. (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:87)

The riots of 1949 between the Indians and Africans were the justification that the state needed to implement the Group Areas Act, which then “secured” apartheid and according to Prime Minister Malan it would be “a fresh start for South Africa” (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:87). The Group Areas Act of 1950 was enforced to segregate races geographically. This affected mainly the coloured race (until then they had been allowed to live in integrated areas) because the Africans were already living in separate areas as according to the Native Affairs Act of 1920. Under this Act, no person was allowed to live in an area not designated to his or her race group. The ownership of property was regulated by the state, Africans were not allowed to enter or make use of restaurants, cinemas, theatres or sports clubs in areas classified as ‘white areas’. What Malan phrased as a new start was the beginning of a downward spiral for the coloured and African race (Ibid).

In Cape Town when the Group Act Area was implemented the whole area from Table Mountain to Muizenberg was classified a white area and this meant all the coloured and African people that lived there needed to be moved to new areas chosen especially for them. Coloured people who once lived in areas such as District six and Kalk Bay found themselves in the Cape Flats, Mitchells Plain or Atlantis (40km from Cape Town). The move was involuntary and this created great distress amongst the people because extended families were broken up and so were communities that had been supporting and raising children for decades. (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:90)

3.3 Distressed communities

“Given the framework within which Group Areas removals took place in Cape Town, a social disaster was inevitable. As the familiar social landmarks in the closely grained working-class communities of the old city were ripped open, a whole culture began to disintegrate” (Pinnock, 1984:55)

These segregated communities form part of the communities in tension. Parker (2008:1) argues that: “Communities in tension are those whose wellbeing is threatened. These communities face socio-economic problems that include poverty and substance abuse. Different political thinking also perpetuates the segregation. These problems contribute to the communities’ ability to function and to crime within the community.”(Selfhelpmanenberg, 2009).

Crime within a community breaks it down from the inside and deters those on the outside with the financial capability to invest in it.

“We are a society overwhelmed by fear of crime, experience of crime, the impact of crime and violence” (Holtman, 2008:14). The available information on “Crime in South Africa.” unfortunately makes the above statement resonate South Africa’s truth. There is a connection between crime and development that cannot be ignored, as where there is crime there cannot be successful development. The irony of this fact is that crime is usually rife in the areas that have been ignored by development, in the first place.

Communities are what forms society and to rid society of crime, work has to begin from the inside out, thus starting with the distressed communities. The environment in which individuals grow up can have a deciding factor on whether they will commit crime or not, thus if the community is changed in a positive manner, it can in turn have a positive effect on those it rears (Design Council, 2000:22).

3.4 Family structure - fatherless homes

Communities are made up of families. “There can be little doubt that the crime wave in South Africa is intimately bound up with a crisis in the relationship between adults and youth (Steinberg, 2001:3).

The family plays the most important role in the development of an individual, which is why the type of family one comes from can determine the type of person one will become. This institution forms the foundation of our belief system, teaching us what is wrong from right (this may or may not be intentional), social conduct and other vital mannerisms. Unfortunately, the family structure within the coloured and black communities has been shaken by the powers that ruled the country prior to 1994.

The labour system during apartheid provided conditions for the breakdown of the family structure. The South African economy flourished off the sweat of migrant labourers mainly due to the migrant labour policy, men worked in mines or they would move away from home to find work in the bigger towns or cities (Clark & Worger, 2004:69). This kept them away from their families for long periods of time which left the women to take on the role of both mother and father, changing both the nuclear and extended family system (Dissel, 1997:1). The conditions in which the fathers were working were harsh and produced men who were tough,

accustomed to hardship and violence. The distance from their family drove some men to abandon their fatherly responsibilities (Morrel & Richter, 2006:5).

When the male figure in the family is absent from the family's daily life it creates an "incomplete family" and this puts pressure on the mother to be in charge of the household, raising and taking care of the family. In some situations, both parents are absent due to work, the mother may work far and is only home for weekends or leaves early in the morning and only comes back late in the evenings. This means that the rearing of the children is left to the oldest child or a guardian and this deprives children of their parents care and love. A lack of love and care may result in the children displaying behavioural problems (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 200:59). If the parents are mostly absent from the home, it means there is also a lack of parental supervision, meaning children are left to their own faculties to decide what is acceptable behaviour and what is not.

"My dad walked out when I was young. Once my mum had a new boyfriend, she had more time for him and less time for me. I started going wrong at school. My head just went everywhere. Come 14 or 15, I dropped out of school. I got into fights hoping that I wouldn't live through. I took drugs. Me and the boyfriend got into a fight. The police were called. She wouldn't leave him. So I walked out." YMCA tenant - evidence to the Social Justice Policy Group (Smith, 2007: 6)

If children have both their parents available, it means they receive more attention and if both parents work, they are able to provide a more stable foundation for their children. Studies performed in the United Kingdom show that there is a connection between delinquency and children who are brought up in a one parent home; results reveal that 6.70% of delinquent youth come from these homes (Smith, 2007:6).

Violence within the family, between family members or the parents can have a negative effect on the development of the children brought up in that household. It has been reported that children who are brought up in a household where violence is common are more likely to display delinquent behaviour than those from a home with an "incomplete family" (Risk factors, n.d:4). When a family breaks down or when a family is dysfunctional, the children are the most affected, the situation at home may drive them to look beyond the home for what they lack. They find interests outside the home and some of these interests keep them away from home on permanent basis, while some may lead them to a life of crime (Dissel, 1997:2).

In addition to what has been mentioned above, if the family also displays the characteristics listed below, it further increases the chance of a youth being involved in crime and choosing to lead such a life:

- Parents are involved in crime
- Their parents neglect them, there is erratic discipline or they are treated harshly
- Family income is low or they are isolated
- Lack of communication between children and parents.
- Lack of respect and responsibility amongst family members
- Abuse and neglect of children
- Family breakup

(Muhammad, 2008:4)

3.5 Ubuntu

The family's influence is vital in the early stages as the child's value system is still being formed (Broodryk, 2007:40). The extended family is part of an African belief which is that a child is not your own but that of the whole family or community and as a result the family or community is allowed to step in to raise the child. This is one of the vital elements that is missing in today's society. When the parents are not present there is no one with authority to step in and make the children accountable for their actions, teaching them the difference between right and wrong. This is part of an African philosophy, Ubuntu, which helps individuals understand who they are in relation to others; Ubuntu says that we are because others are, "umuntu ngubuntu ngabantu" (Broodryk, 2007:41).

Archbishop Desmond Tutu describes Ubuntu as (Panse,2006:1):

It is the essence of being human. It speaks of the fact that my humanity is caught up and is inextricably bound up in yours. I am human because I belong. It speaks about wholeness, it speaks about compassion. A person with Ubuntu is welcoming, hospitable, warm and generous, willing to share. Such people are open and available to others, willing to be vulnerable, affirming of others, do not feel threatened that others are able and good, for they have a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that they belong in a greater whole. They know that they are diminished when others are humiliated, diminished when others are oppressed, diminished when others are treated as if they were less than who they are. The quality of Ubuntu gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanize them.



Figure 3.1: Ubuntu Sketch by Marle van Pletzen
(Source: Broodryk, 2007;4)

There are eight basic core values of *Ubuntu*:

- a. Compassion
- b. Forgiveness
- c. Responsibility
- d. Honesty
- e. Self-control
- f. Caring
- g. Love
- h. Perseverance

An *Ubuntu* belief states that, “Each human being has the potential for development to the highest good,” (Broodryk, 2007:17) so if these values become part of a human being’s system then they have the potential to be used as weapons against moral decay in the physical world (Broodryk, 2007:62). The fact that this philosophy of “it takes a village to raise a child” is no longer being practiced, means we are losing a large number of children to the streets and eventually to crime.

3.6 Youth at risk

All the conditions discussed from 3.1 to 3.2 create the conditions for communities to raise youth who can be defined as youth at risk. The accepted definition of a youth in the South African context is someone who is between the ages of 15 and 30 (Rita Horn, 1996:1). A definition for youth at risk has been proposed by the National Crime Prevention Council, they suggest that “risk factors are experiences in a young person’s life that increase the chances of a youth being victimized or of developing one or more behavioural problems. Such problems include self-destructive behaviours such as alcohol, other drug abuse and criminal behaviour directed towards other persons or property (St. Thomas University, n.d).

The risk factors work at the core of one’s being and may affect their reasoning, which makes it easier for these youths to lead a life of crime. As a result they end up contributing to that very harmful environment which has contributed to them choosing to become a delinquent youth. This contributes to the cycle of violence and crime in the community. In Palmer’s thesis on youth at risk in the Western Cape (2004: 13), citing Regoli (1994:145), she explains that the cycle of communities producing delinquents “is caused by the fact that dilapidated and deprived areas create social disorganisation. Social disorganization gives birth to cultural conflicts. Cultural conflicts allow crime and delinquency to flourish to the point where it becomes a permanent phenomenon in the community. Male youth are seduced by violence and it connects them (Kinnes, n.d:2). Table 3.1 lists other reasons as to why delinquent youth choose to join a gang, the reasons are varied and range from protection to it being a family matter. The table shows that some of the reasons are related to fun and not a matter of survival.

Table 3.1: Reasons for joining a gang (adapted from Krohn, 2003:78)

Friends/Family
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Brothers and guys centred in it• Friends were in it and wanted to be part of it• My brother was in the posse• My boyfriend is a gangster-boy
Protection
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For the protection and the “in” thing to do• Protection of friends’ joint• So gang members wouldn’t bother me
Fun/Action
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A lot of fun• Something to do• There was nothing else to do – I was bored

Other reasons

- **Just to be in it**
- **Felt like it**
- **For what they believed in**

Communities do not recognise delinquents as a product of their environment but rather as “deliberate law breakers” (Palmer, 2004:12). The community makes up the environment that these youth grow up in so ultimately they are responsible for the type of youths that make up their community. This means that the community should be part of the solution to elevate delinquent youth (Michele Palmer, 2004:12).

3.7 Masculinity

In distressed areas, crime has been linked to feelings of masculinity, where crime is used as a right of way to manhood.

The issue of masculinity has to do with the way men view their role in society, this contributes to the construction of their identity. Their view is formed as a result of various influential factors such as environmental, social, biological or cultural factors. These determine the type of masculinity that will be formed, either it will be one that is positive and shows courage and control or a negative one that is based on aggression and competition. Negative masculinity can be attributed to men feeling emasculated. The traditional structure of society and culture are changing and along with these changes comes a change in the role of both men and women in household society. These changes often put the female in the position of authority that is traditionally reserved for the male. As a result some men want to reaffirm their masculinity and turn to criminal behaviour in order to do so (Unifem Gender Fact Sheet No.5. n.d.).

When crossing from childhood to adulthood there is search for respect, respect from one’s peers is sometimes the only form of respect and admiration available. Those in the areas with gangs want to break ties with their childhood by becoming part of an “us” and showing the group that they are grown, mature and deserve to be part of the “us” (Pinnoock, 1997:30-31). Some cultures provide a way for young people to move from childhood to adulthood, these maybe rituals such as initiations of young men in the Xhosa culture. If practices with the same aim as this (initiations into manhood) are missing from communities then the energy that young men possess may be aimed at irresponsible harmful behaviour (Pinnoock, 1997:20).

The figure that is in a position to demonstrate what true masculinity is to young male is their father and if he is not present, be it emotionally or physically, they will have to depend on other sources to define masculinity. According to the Oxford dictionary, masculinity is “the possession of the qualities traditionally associated with men” (Oxford Dictionary, 2011)

The definition of the word father has been altered as social conditions have changed (Morell, 2006:13). Biology is not the only determining factor of a father; one can be a social and an economic father. A social father supports a youth in everyway but he may not be the youth’s biological father. On the other hand, there is the economic father who only supports financially (Morrel, 2006:14). Despite popular belief, masculinity is also determined by one’s environment. The men present in a youth’s immediate environment, mould the youth’s definition of manhood, whether the examples are positive or negative (ibid). Even though a father is an important factor in the development of a male youth, it is much more important for a child to have good relationships with adults who are providing care for them than to be in contact with biological parents who are a bad influence (Morell, 2006:15).

Claiming manhood is the ultimate goal for male youths, physically there is a change but the determining factor is the change in attitude. The change in their attitude is usually a result of lessons learnt from elders or rituals meant to signify this transition. In the Xhosa culture the transition from a boy to a man is signified by an initiation process of circumcision, while Jewish boys signify their ascent to manhood by becoming a Bar Mitzvah which is translated to “son of commandment” (Pelaia, n.d).

Within the Xhosa tradition, a male can only be identified as an adult once he has gone through the initiation. They are taken to the bush where elders will teach them how to behave as an adult, they are also taught, “etiquette, laws of respect and how to honour the ancestral spirit”. (Xhosa, n.d: 11) At this point, he is held responsible for his actions; he is allowed to be included in decision-making and may even marry (ibid).



Figure 3.2: Xhosa boys going through their initiation into manhood

As stated in the preceding section, a Bar mitzvah is a son of the commandments and a Jewish boy becomes a bar mitzvah when he turns 13 at this point he is recognized as a grown man. “A Bar Mitzvah is now morally and ethically responsible for his decisions and actions.” (Pelaia, n.d.: 1). This transition is marked by his first *aliyah*, where the boy has to read blessings from the Torah (Jewish Holy book). To prepare for this event the boy will study with a Rabbi for months or even years (Pelaia, n.d:2).



Figure 3.3: Bar mitzvah of a Jewish boy

3.8 Construction of identity

Havighurst (1994) states that during the period commonly known as adolescence, youths are at work with building an identity. Gouws and Kruger define identity “as the meaning attached by a person to herself as a person” (Gouws & Kruger, 1994:86). Psychosocial moratorium is a phase during which adolescents determine who they are and at that time a model or models of who they would like to become is chosen, they then use this person as the basis for their identity (ibid). There are times when adolescents try to construct their identity based on an admired peer. This does not always last; eventually they will construct an identity based on what they value (Ibid). Havighurst developed a psychosocial model, which list a number of tasks the adolescent is supposed to work on during their adolescence, stating that the development of the eight tasks leads to maturity and under-development leads to “an inability to act like an adult”. Tasks depend on the culture, society and some from biological needs (Gouws & Kruger, 1994: 79).

The eight tasks are:

- Acceptance of one’s physique and effective protection and use of the body
 - Attainment of emotional independence from parents and other adults
 - Initiation of new and more mature relationships with members of the peer group of both sexes
 - A desire for and attainment of socially responsible behaviour
 - Acquisition of a set of values and an ethical system as guidelines for behaviour (development of a life and world)
 - Appropriation of a male or female sex role
 - Preparation for an occupation
 - Preparation for married and family life
- (Gouws & Kruger 1994: 79-80)

3.9 Summary

The chapter interrogated the effects of the forced removals in Cape Town and how such social upheavals contributed to the breakdown of the extended family. This in turn meant that young children were left unattended and frequently did as they pleased. Parents were moved away from their places of employment and had to travel further to get to work meaning the time they spent at home was reduced drastically, children did not receive the attention and guidance needed. This resulted in children having to define good and bad behaviour on their own. These conditions put youth at risk of delinquency and how youth deal with masculinity and how they see themselves plays big role in whether they will fall prey to delinquency.

Rites of passages were introduced to illustrate how some communities deal with youth at a time when they are forming their identity, have an abundance of energy want to feel respected by their community. The next chapter tackles the psychosocial impact of gangsterism in greater detail.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gangsterism

"We are all connected to everyone and everything in the universe. Therefore, everything one does as an individual affects the whole. All thoughts, words, images, prayers, blessings, and deeds are listened to by all that is." Serge Kahili King

4.1 Introduction

Gangs are mysterious to the outside world and this chapter takes a closer look at the origins of gangs in South Africa, the reasons that lead individuals to pursue this lifestyle and also the gang's typology. Once an individual in a community at risk chooses a life of crime they end up in a gang and more often than not in prison, the chapter looks at the prison conditions both for adults and juveniles and the types of relationship that exist there.

4.2 Gang Life

"They are intriguing yet frightening; mysterious yet visible. They want respect and inspire fear. It is this combination that often makes ordinary citizens feel helpless and afraid" (Nott *et al*, 1990:1)

Gangsterism is not a phenomenon that is exclusive to South Africa, countries such as Colombia, India, Jamaica, Kenya, New Zealand, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are faced with the same problem. The advent of gangs in South Africa can be traced back to the 1880's at the time of the discovery of gold on Witwatersrand. (Kinnes, nd:1) Initially gangs started out in prisons and with time they moved out into the free world. The common perception in South Africa is that gangs were started by the coloured community but it was actually the black community back in the 19th century; their influence is still evident in the language that they speak which is made up of black terminology (Herrendorfer, 2004:1).

In Cape Town, during the 1950s, the coloured community lived predominantly in District Six and they had gangs such as the famous Globe gang, which provided protection and financial loans. Forced removals changed the gangs' dynamics; they then had to adjust to the new surroundings. Their new home had high rent and parents had to go look for work which left the children unattended because the extended family had been broken up (Nott, 1990:3). Along with the fact that the youth had nothing to do after hours they were easy subjects for gangs to recruit. The gangs stepped in to be the surrogate families (Nott, 1990:4). A certain percentage of youth state that they joined gangs because it was the only way they were able to protect either themselves or their family (ibid). Besides the materialistic gain, Don Pinnock

states that male youth are attracted to gangs because they are provided with a recognized passage from boyhood to adulthood, a process that is lacking from most communities (Dissel,1997).

Since this vital process is missing(usually in the urban context), youth no longer have a platform where they are encouraged and made to feel part of the community. The youth are then left to create or find a platform that offers the same protection and guidance during the transition (Dissel,1997).Nott (1990:3) adds that the youth is left with no good role models and they have no sense of identity and they turn to gangs for both.

The world has developed an unhealthy consumption culture and those in areas where there is unfair distribution of resources; people also want to be part of this culture where they can build their material riches. Gangs demonstrate to a community how easy and quickly it is to obtain material riches, if they are willing to take the risks. (Kinnes, n.d:2)

Gangs thrive in situations where there is unequal distribution of resources and there are minimal opportunities to rise above the socio-economic conditions of their areas. The gangs take advantage of these conditions to work in favour of their main goal (Kinnes, n.d:1).Respect is a virtue that is of great importance amongst gang members and they aspire to get it from each other and their community. Within the gang, a member can gain respect by committing acts of crime and proving their bravado, while from their community they gain respect by instilling fear into the community (Nott *et al*, 1990:1). The life that gang members live leads them to have little or no respect for their life or the lives of others. (Nott *et al*, 1990:5)

There are a large number of gangs, the typology varies but fundamentally there are only four types of gangs; street gangs, prison gangs, family mafia and syndicate gangs (Kinnes,n.d.:1).Street gangs are small and are made up of members who socialise on the street corners, smoking and drinking. They are sometimes hired by the bigger gangs to perform tasks that do not require much planning and execution that is straight-forward (Herrendorfer, 2004:2).The other types of gangs are usually bigger, wellorganisedand because of this, they can be more problematic for law enforcers. The infamous 'Numbers' gang and other organised gangs fall under this category, it "consists of lower and upper structures governed by strict codes of conduct and gang rules" (Herrendorfer, 2004: 2).Gangs in South Africa choose the drug business as this is their main source of income (Kinnes, n.d:3).



Figure 4.1: Members of the American Gang in Cape Town
(Source: Steinberg, 2000:87)

4.3 Gang typology

Street gangs

These are led by youth with dominant personalities who have the ability to implement their power over the others. Street gangs are changing, they are broadening their focus, previously their operations involved theft and selling drugs but of late, they are moving into supplying drugs (Kinnes, n.d:3).

Prison gangs

As stated earlier gangs originated in prison, these gangs are started to control the trade in prison. They are present in all South African prisons and have been the most active of all the gangs (Kinnes, nd: 4). It is believed that most inmates are in a gang because gangs recruit them as soon as they are introduced to the general population in the prison. These gangs rule the prison after-hours, if new inmates do not want to join a gang they are usually subject to abuse because they have no protection. The 'Numbers' gang is the most notorious gang within the prison walls but their influence extends far beyond the prison walls, the street gangs are heavily influenced by the prison gangs' philosophy. Their main source of "income" comes from the drug trade (Nott *et al.* 1990:6).

Family mafia

This type of gang is made up of family members (including extended). The leaders of these gangs have a common history; at some point they were involved in prison gangs and were in a leadership position (Kinnes, nd: 3). The mafia is involved in bigger business dealings in the informal sector, they organise thefts from large warehouse to shops. They are also involved in drug dealing but on a much larger scale than the street gangs, they supply the street gangs with drugs for distribution (Nott *et al.* 1990:7). Not only do the street gangs distribute the drugs but they also protect what is known as the “Yards” which belong to the mafia. Their move into distributing drugs came after 1994 when border restrictions were lifted. Now they are moving into the transport and entertainment business (Kinnes, nd: 3).

Syndicate gangs

This type of gang is led by someone who has been involved in criminal acts and has spent time in prison. It has been noted that this is the fastest growing typology in South Africa. Syndicates are involved in a range of crimes, i.e. fraud, car theft, drug distribution, extortion, human trafficking, to name a few (Kinnes, n.d.:3). They have managed to involve people who previously have not led a life of crime such as businessmen. (Nott *et al.* 1990:7) To be able to carry out their business effectively they have made the use of corrupt officials such as police officers and in some cases, corrupt communities. The main members of this type of gang are very few but they employ large numbers of people to do their work for them, usually the employees are not aware of who the bosses are.

Gang structure

The prison gangs and large street gangs use the following structure:

The General: The leader of both typologies is called a general and this position is earned through experience. Audience with him is restricted as he is only consulted on important issues, his second in charge acts as the mediator between the general and the rest of the gang. (Nott *et al.* 1990:8)

Shebeen owners and drug merchants: They control the liquor and drug distribution in the gang’s territory. They form part of the second level of the street gang’s leadership structure, this level plus the general forms the executive and they only meet when there are emergencies (Ibid).

The Judge: This position is for a member of the prison gang and he is called upon when there is conflict. There is a council of judges who will then listen to the conflict presented to them and the council will decide on the punishment for the guilty party. There are times when a gang rape is handed out as the punishment; rape is used as a way of degrading the guilty party. (Nott *et al*, 1990:8)

The Teacher: He teaches and introduces potential members to the rules and philosophy of the gang(Nott *et al*. 1990:8).

The Killer: This is the person who carries out the killing and he can make decisions about murders (Nott *et el*. 1990:8).

Those who do not have a title constitute a large part of the gang and they are the ones who sell drugs on the street, commit petty thefts and they turn out to be the rapists. All members are required to adhere to the rules set out by the gang and disobedience could result in death (Herrendorfer, 2004:2).

Each gang has a piece of territory they “own” and these territories are called turfs, rival gang members entering their territory is all the reason needed to spark a gang war. It is in these territories that they run their businesses from. Gangs not only target young boys but also young girls, some of the girls recruited by the gangs become their mules or they are forced into prostitution and their income is handed over to the gang. To be able to have a hold on the girls they are usually forced drugs and their addiction keeps them reliant on the gang. Some of these girls will form their own gang that is a female sect of the male gang, as part of the male dominated gang a female is not likely to gain a position of power in a gang (Ibid).

Gangs usually have a strong hold over the community in which they operate. They use fear to rule and at the same time, they provide some seemingly vital services. They charge some business owners protection money, should the business owners have any problems with rival gang members the agreement is the gang they pay a protection fee will step in and protect them. They provide loan services to members of their community who would otherwise not be able to get loans elsewhere but at the same time this allows them to keep a hold on them. If the community members do not keep their part of the agreement whether it is with paying their protection money or repaying their loans they can face dangerous consequences as a result (Herrendorfer,2004: 2).

In Cape Town the following areas have been identified as some of the gang hotspots, Mitchells Plain, Hanover Park/Philippi, Manenberg, Bishop Lavis and Elsie's River (Herrendorfer, 2004: 3).

4.4 Prisons

If anyone residing in the republic commits a crime, they have a right to a fair trial and on conclusion of that trial if they are found guilty of a crime they are then sentenced to imprisonment. The individual is then put under the care of The Department of Correctional Services.

Society expects the prison term to aid the convicted individual in letting go of their criminal way of life but prison is a world on its own and the conditions there do not allow for the individual to come out rehabilitated (Dissel, 1996:1)



Figure 4.2: Prisoners in a group cell.

(Source: Subotzky n.d)

There are officials whom are employed to run prisons and instil order among the prisoners while they serve their term. During the day some of the prisoners are allowed to walk around within the prison to shower, exercise or play soccer but from 4pm to 7am (in Pollsmoor Prison Western Cape), they are locked up in their cells and it is during this time that the gangs take over. During this period, there are very few wardens on duty and the gangs take advantage of this (Burger, 2004:3). The 'Numbers' gang is prevalent through all the prisons in South Africa and because of their status and size they control a large portion of the trade

in prison. They rule with an iron fist and punishments are handed out on Saturdays, as this is part of their rule.

If a newcomer does not belong to a gang and does not want to be recruited, he will have no protection and will constantly be at the mercy of the gangs. He may be beaten up, his possessions stolen or become a gang members “wife” - this is considered to be the worst. (Gear & Ngubeni, 2003:6). Some prisoners choose to become a “wife” as a form of protection (Steinberg, 2004:35). The relationship is then recognised as a marriage and the husband is expected to look after his “wife” by providing them with material goods and drugs while the “wife” is supposed to take care of domestic chores like washing and cooking for the “husband”(Gear & Ngubeni, 2003:6). Once a prisoner is made a wife, the other prisoners will look at him as a sexual object (Steinberg, 2004:20). Besides the “forced marriages,” there are other relationships that are recognised in prison:

Table 4.1: Some defining features of three reported sexual relationship types in prison.

<i>Some defining features of three key reported sexual relationship types in prison</i>			
Type of relationship	Role players	Norms operating between participants	Sex norms
Marriage • Entrenched and endorsed by prison gangs and prison culture • May involve gang members or non-gang members or both • Usually brought about by coerced sex act perpetrated by husband against wife	Husbands • Identified as <i>men</i> • Often the older partner	<i>Husbands</i> are the superior partners: • Own and control their <i>wives</i> • Must provide for <i>wives</i> (food, drugs and other goods) • Involved in the ‘business’ of prison (smuggling, procuring goods)	<i>Men/ husbands</i> penetrate
	Wives • Identified as <i>women</i> • Often the younger partner	<i>Wives</i> are the inferior partners: • Must defer to their <i>men</i> • Must maintain the home space and serve their <i>men</i> • Must service their <i>men’s</i> sexual desires	<i>Women/ wives</i> are penetrated
Ushintsha ipondo • Outlawed by gangs • May involve gang members or non-gang members or both • Consensual	• Protagonists do not occupy distinct roles • They tend to hold similar positions in broader inmate culture • If in a gang, are of similar gang rankings • May both be <i>wives</i> of other prisoners • Of similar ages	• Neither partner is considered superior or inferior • Relationship/interaction defined in terms of equal sexual exchange • Both parties provide sex to the other	Partners take turns to penetrate and receive
Other consensual relationships (least information available) • Consensual • Often understood to involve gay people	Protagonists do not occupy distinct roles	Relationship defined by ‘love’-feelings that partners have for each other	Actual sex not discussed

Besides the physical and sexual abuse from gangs the prison conditions are also very bad. In Dissel (1996) paper *South Africa's Prison Conditions, The Inmates Talk*, she highlights some of the conditions:

- Prisoners are provided with 5 rolls of toilet paper for 42 prisoners and these rolls are expected to last two weeks (Dissel, 1996:3).
- Ablution facilities are not clean and they are often blocked, prisoners have spent up to a week with facilities that are blocked (Ibid).
- In some cells the prisoners cook, clean and use the toilet in the same area (Ibid).
- Prisoners are provided with one bar of soap every two weeks to wash both their body and their clothing (Dissel, 1996:4).
- Prisoners awaiting trial often have to wait up to a year to get their day in court and this is a result of the backlog of cases (Ibid).

There are some facilities that offer education and vocational training for adults but not all do. Some of the prisoners complain about being idle. A prisoner from Leeuwkop prison states:

"I don't do anything. We don't have work here, there is no trade. We must learn something here so that when we leave we don't go back to car hijacking. When I get out of prison I won't be able to do anything. I just sit or walk around all day. I get sick because I don't do anything." (Dissel, 1996:6)

Some of the prisoners work to deal with being idle but some also complain about the rates they are paid.

"The harder you work in this place, the less you get for it. I get paid R7.00 a month for my work. The good you do doesn't give you any feedback" (Ibid)

The prisoners state that even though the prisons are now called correctional services they feel that they are not being rehabilitated nor are they being equipped with the necessary skills to be able to re-enter society and be productive members. Prisoners declare that because they do not have anything to do they talk about crime and how to improve their "criminal skills" (Dissel, 1996:6-8).

I have learned nothing in prison: only how to kill people; how to stop an alarm; how to steal a car - nothing I can teach a person. Most prisoners talk about how to commit another crime. (Abednigo: Leeuwkop)

At the Modderbee prison in Gauteng, prisoners play soccer as a form of rehabilitation. There are those who have positive remarks about the rehabilitation:

I was a bad person. But today I have changed. The warders came to me one day and said if I changed, I could be a better person in the future because the future lies in my hands. I have taken their words. Now I have changed. They gave me support when I needed support. (Rodney: Modderbee) (Dissel, 1996:7).

The implication of prisons not having rehabilitation or vocational facilities is these prisoners leave with no knowledge of how to improve their lives when released, which in turn increases the chance that they will be back behind bars.

4.5 Juveniles in Prison

Unfortunately youths make up a part of the prison population. In her research on boys in prison, Ridder (1997:30) discovered that the prisoners had one similarity which was they had at some point in their life experienced abuse, violence and trauma. These children have been subjected to poor parenting and abuse both emotional and physical (Ridder, 1997:30). A traumatic event is the cause of most of the children's downward spiral into a life of crime and eventually prison (Ridder, 1997:31).

The law states that, "Every child has the right...to be kept separately from detained persons over the age of 18 years..." (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:12). According to the South African constitution (Section 28) and the United Nation convention juveniles should be held separately from the adults but in some cases they are smuggled into the adult section (with the help of wardens) to be "wyfies" and both wardens and the "wyfies" are paid for their services (Dissel, 1996:9). Sometimes, prisoners above the age of 18 forge their birth certificates so that they may be held in the juvenile section, one of the reasons is to secure free bail or to receive lighter sentences. A youth from St. Albans divulges that, "it is very easy to change a birth certificate by pasting the age you want to be and photocopying it" (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:12).

Research by the Community Law Centre reveals that there are three dedicated facilities for juveniles: Rustenburg prison, Brandvlei and Ekuseni (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:15).

Those held in the juvenile section are not as forthcoming about gangs as the adult section is. One youth had this to say about gangs:

“My clothes and shoes were also taken away from me. After the assault, the gang members ordered me to join their gang. They said that if I agreed that I would be protected by them from being assaulted again the way they assaulted me. I had no choice but to join. This was the only way I could survive. I learnt that after only one night. I was immediately tattooed with the gang’s logo on my right hand and welcomed into the gang” (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:50).

Among the juveniles there are also cases of sexual abuse and there is a general consensus that rape is an experience that all juveniles in prison fear; it has been compared to torture. In prison, sex is used to demoralise and break prisoners, it is humiliating and as a result it crumbles their masculinity (Ridder, 1997:32). Juveniles are more fearful of reporting sodomy as apposed to any other form of abuse, if they report the abuse they usually do not mention at whose hand they suffered the abuse. When a rape is reported, the victim is removed from the cell where the abuse took place and they see a social worker or a psychologist. Victims of sodomy say that very few of them actually get to see a social worker (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:51-52).

While they are serving their sentences, juveniles have the right to obtain an education; the law makes it compulsory for juveniles up to the age of 15. Some prisons do not offer any educational facilities at all, while some prisons such as St. Albans education is free up to standard five, from the next grade onwards the students have to pay for every subject (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:35). Some of the prisons such as Brandvlei are well equipped and have reported a pass rate of 70% (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:37). Vocational training is offered at some of the facilities and some of the products they make are sold. At the Barberton prison, prisoners are paid between R7 to R30 for their work (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:40).

Rehabilitation programmes are supposed to be available at all prisons but this is not the case, some prisons have no programmes in place at all. At the facilities that do offer programmes, there are inconsistencies with what the social workers and what the juveniles say. Social workers claim that there are programmes but the juveniles say they have very limited contact with the social worker and some are not even aware of the programme (Sloth-Neilsen, 1996:42).

4.6 Summary

If youth at risk take on the lifestyle of gangsters, then chances are high they will end up in jail. The reviewed literature paints an unpleasant picture of what goes on behind bars. The conditions for juveniles are not as violent as that of incarcerated adults but they still

experience abuse which ranges from regular beatings to sexual abuse. Consequently, the chances that an individual comes out healed or rehabilitated are very slim. It seems that the entry into prison is what solidifies a life of crime. Life in a gang is hard wherein injuries from gun battles, permanent disability, and even possible death are a very real possibility for the vast number of delinquent youth. With this scenario as a backdrop, the next chapter offers possible solutions informed by benign design interventions in the form of Design Against Crime (DAC).

CHAPTER FIVE

Design Against Crime

“We can’t solve a problem with the same thinking that created it” Albert Einstein

5.1 Introduction

Design Against Crime (DAC) is the philosophy that this study is based on, this chapter expands on the thinking that informs the DAC movement and gives working examples of design solutions that have been handed in. The role of who is responsible for the fight against crime is discussed and reasons as to why design is one of the best approaches in crime reduction are provided.

5.2 Design Against Crime

In order to successfully deal with a problem, one has to deal with all the aspects that make up this problem. Design has a multi-faceted way of approaching a problem and this technique is advantageous when dealing with crime. Design is best described as “the optimum solution to the sum of the true need of a particular set of circumstances” (Jones, 1992:4).

Design addressing social problems is not a new phenomenon, this approach can be traced back to the 19th century, dealing with working conditions of craftsman and in the 1960^s civil unrest and in the 1990^s eco-design (Cooper, 2005:2-3). The reason designers are able to tackle social issues is because one of the major roles of a designer is to be a communicator, providing the public with necessary information about various issues.

Ideas and views can be conveyed by different medias that designers use. This power that they hold can be used to positively influence social issues. The following quote illustrates the important role designers’ play in society. “Designers are to our Information Age what engineers were to the age of steam, what scientists were to the age of reason” (Prusynski, 2003:2). For a long time designers have not paid much attention to their actions or the consequences of their product but our current environmental situation can no longer tolerate this behaviour (Prusynski, 2003:4).

In 1964, Ken Garland wrote a document named *“First Things First Manifesto”*. In 2000, Adbuster magazine updated the manifesto calling for what Garland did 45 years ago, for designers to be more conscious of their actions and to practice more ethical design

(Prusynski, 2003:6). The manifesto was created to make designers aware of how important their role in society is and that they are able to make a real difference in the world (Prusynski, 2003:2). Prusynski (2003:9) states in her document “Ethics in Design“ that designers are able to “serve a social or cultural purpose, or fill a need in society”. Using design to deal with crime serves a social purpose.

5.3 Socially Responsible Design

In their paper “*Design for the Surreal World*,” Davey et al (2005:1) introduces Socially Responsible Design (SRD) as the alternative model to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). The CSR model is focused on “corporate governance and reflects issues facing global corporations” (ibid). It also allows businesses to reflect on their actions and change them to have a positive social effect. The SRD is much more practical a model than the existing CSR, the new model aims to alleviate social problems by placing emphasis on “the products, environments, services and systems that can alleviate real world problems and improve quality of life.” The new model calls on designers to use a design approach when dealing with the problems from the different tenets of the SRD (Davey *et al.*, 2005:5).

Figure 5.1 represents the SRD model and Davey *et al.* (ibid) explains the eight tenets below:

- **Government** – design can help to make the process of national, regional and local government more responsible or representative. This might involve helping to increase efficiency, enabling more people to vote or facilitate the participation of under-represented groups.
- **Economic policy** – design can contribute to national, regional and local economic policy by promoting sustainability and responsibility.
- **Fair Trade** – design can provide support for workers’ rights and reduce exploitation of poor economies through interventions in relation to finance, investment, manufacture and trade.
- **Ecology** – design can help reduce pollution and minimize environmental impact, as well as use green technologies. This might involve developing “green buildings” that improve air/water quality, encouraging building re-use, introducing recycling or creating environmentally friendly packaging.
- **Social inclusion** – design can reduce discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, age, class, education, wealth and it can combat social exclusion by understanding people’s particular needs. For example, ethnic minority housing that meets needs specific to family size and religion might be developed. Products that are easier for older people to use have been produced (e.g. Oxo ‘Good Grips’ range).

- **Health** – design for health promotes better service delivery and patient care, and develops methods of improving people’s health within society at large. This might involve improving the quality of medical resource provision, developing devices that enable medicines to be administered outside of the healthcare system and helping produce equipment that prevents injury for vulnerable groups (e.g. cooker monitor for older people).
- **Education** – design can improve the quality and efficiency of delivery. This might involve architects and interior designers designing schools to better facilitate learning or design professions providing support for school projects.
- **Crime** – design can be used to reduce the incidence of crime, alleviate fear of crime and minimise the impact of crime

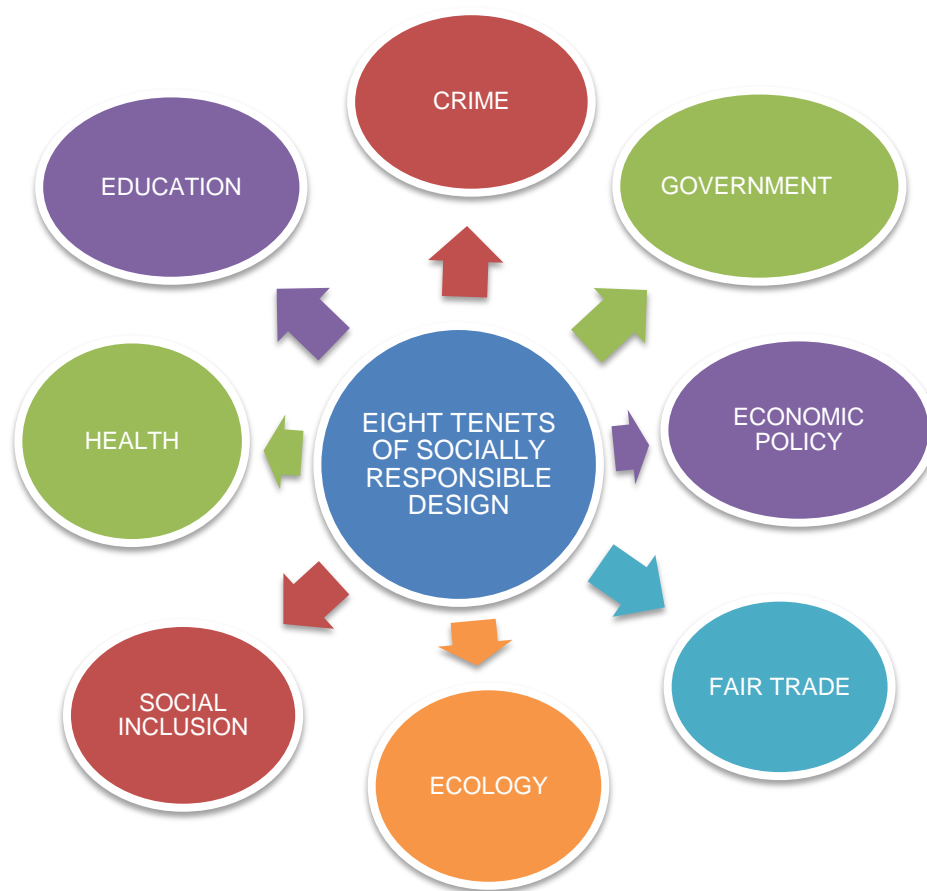


Figure 5.1: Socially Responsible Design Model
 (Source: Davey *et al.*, 2005:7)

As illustrated in the diagram above, crime is one of the social issues that the SRD addresses. In the United Kingdom, the cost of crime per year is £60 billion. This is a staggering amount of money that could be reduced if the approach to crime moves away from dealing with the consequences and invests in measures that prevent future incidents (Davey *et al.*, 2005:7). Gamman and Thorpe (n.d, 2) explain Design Against Crime (DAC) as “a socially responsive,

practice-based research initiative, which uses the processes and products of design to reduce all kinds of crime and promote community safety whilst improving quality-of-life". The authors also explain the DAC's aims:

1. To reduce the incidence and adverse consequences of crime through design of products, services, communications and environments that is 'fit for the purpose' and contextually appropriate in all other respects.
2. To equip design practitioners with cognitive tools and practical resources.
3. To prove and promote the social and commercial benefits of design against crime to manufacturing and service industries, as well as to local and national government, and society at large (Gamman & Thorpe, n.d:2)

Design against crime deals with preventative measures while other initiatives deal with the consequences (Design Council, 2003:13). Designers are able to use their abilities to address crime especially product based crimes; they are able to look at crime from a perpetrators point of view which is called to "think thief", which makes a huge difference. They have to learn the methods and techniques that criminals use to commit crime and how a product may be mishandled in their hands, designers then have to design to reduce this chance (*Cooper et al.*, 2001:2). Designers always have to stay one step ahead of the criminals (Design Council, 2003:15).

DAC looks at opportunistic crimes where the aim is to remove the opportunity or to increase the risk involved in successfully committing the crime. Improved locks, smart alarms, immobilisers and tracking systems are some of the examples of DAC in everyday products (Davey et al, 2005:7). These features are then used to attract customers to buy vehicles (Cooper et al, 2001:2). Cooper et al (2001:2) state that designers can reduce the risk of a product being stolen by incorporating features that make it less attractive to criminals; a good example is the car radio. The integration of the car radio into the dashboard (see Figure 5.2) has become a regular feature but not so long ago they were removable which made it easy for criminals to remove – with a DAC approach that is no longer possible.



Figure 5.2: A car radio incorporated in the dashboard
(Source: Pease, 2001:19)

DAC allows for subtle solutions that do not harm the surrounding environment. For example (Davey *et al.*, 2005: 8):

Problem: Young people congregating and ‘hanging out’ in areas causing anxiety among the residents.

Solution: Classical music played softly around the area. This is a non-intrusive solution that deals with the problem without conflict.

Problem: Patrons using drugs in clubs

Solution: “installing towel holders and windowsills in toilets with rough or sloping surfaces to deter cocaine use, and using blue light bulbs in toilet cubicles which make it difficult to locate veins for drug injection”. Design is a tool for social policy (Cooper *et al.*, 2001:5)

One of the areas that DAC looks at is situational crime prevention (SCP). SCP is based on the idea that some forms of crime are committed because the opportunity is there; SCP argues that if the opportunity is removed, the crime can be avoided. This approach brings about immediate changes. The SCP approach is illustrated below in Figure 5.3 (Design Council, 2000:23):

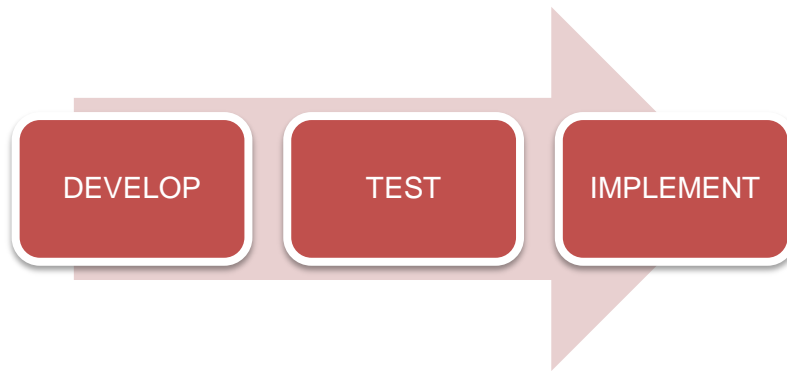


Figure 5.3: Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) approach.

SCP has three primary approaches:

- Deterrence
- Discouragement
- Removing excuses

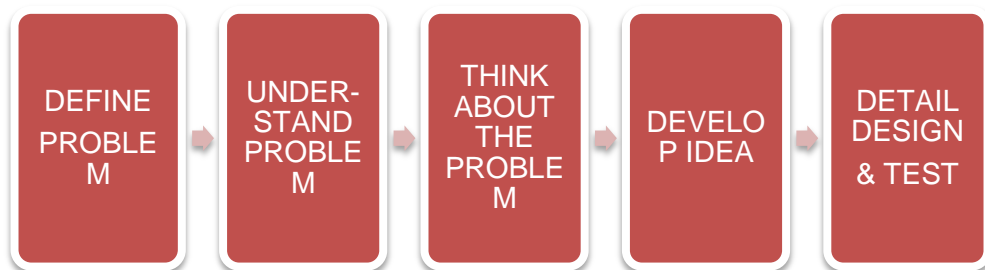


Figure 5.4: The basic process that design uses to find a solution

(Source: Gamman & Pascoe, 2004:3)

Above Figure 5.4 and 5.5 shows the process that DAC implements to find solutions to problems related to crime. Figure 5.4 shows a more basic process while, Figure 5.5 shows an iterative process, one that works on the solution until the designers find the best fit – this is done by testing the solution time and time again until it is considered suitable.

The DAC approach

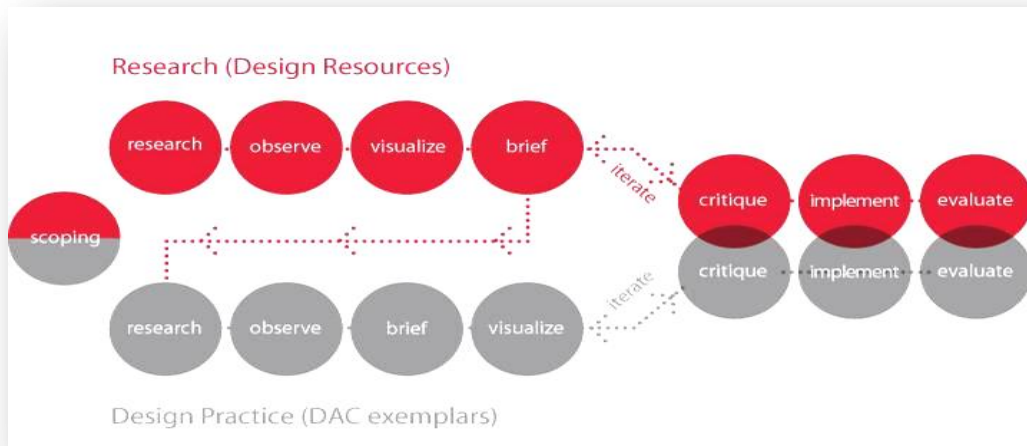


Figure 5.5: DACRC Iterative Design Model

(Source: Gamman & Thorpe, 2008:14)

The DAC's approach to crime prevention:

Stage 1

The DAC needs to gain support for the project and determine the approach to be used.

Stage 2

Access (research) the risk of the crime related problem being handled. Step into the criminal's mind then develop ideas.

Stage 3

Test the ideas to confirm that they do indeed tackle the issue.

Stage 4

Develop a market strategy that is sensitive to customers' fears.

5.4 Examples of Design Against Crime

Some examples of DAC and their approach to crime are as follows:

(Design Council, 2003:16 & 17)

1. In the United States of America, 2 million shopping carts go missing every year and this results in a total cost of \$175 million. In addition the 22,000 casualties were a result of the design of the shopping cart. IDEO was invited to redesign the cart. Sixteen designers observed the use of the carts and developed solutions. The final design saw to the removal of the main basket (which was attractive to joy riders) and this was replaced with an open frame

able to hold two hand baskets in two layers. This resulted in a design that was useful to shoppers but bad to thieves and joy riders (Design Council, 2003:16).

2. Esquire Collection and CNE Tech in Korea joined forces and targeted bag theft. Bags are either snatched, searched or an incision is made and the perpetrator rummages through the bag. A two-piece system comprising a sensor connected to an alarm. The sensor is placed within the lining of the bag and an alarm sat in a pouch.

3. The anti-theft chair (seen below in Figure 5.6) has a slot on the front part of the seat that allows the user to slot their handbag onto the chair securing it safely to the chair and between the user's legs. The anti-theft chairs are another example of design intervention. The chairs are designed for busy areas such as cafes, bars and restaurants. The chairs are a result of a project by the Central Saint Martins College of Art and Design that was sponsored by the Design Council (Pease, 2001:17).



Figure 5.6: Anti-theft chair
(Source: Pease, 2001:17)



Figure 5.7: An example of DAC approach to reducing crime
(Source: Pease, 2001:13)

Figure 5.7 shows a handbag that is strapped around the body of the woman. This type of hand bag would be impossible to snatch from this individual.



Figure 5.8: London Underground
(Source: Pease, 2001:18)

Creative Design used DAC when they refurbished the London Underground Train according to research. Passengers voiced concern about “not feeling in control of their environment” (Pease, 2001:17). By listening to the users concerned the figure (Figure 5.8) above shows the new lay out, which allow for “greater fields of view, much improved lighting and better demarcation of personal space” (ibid).

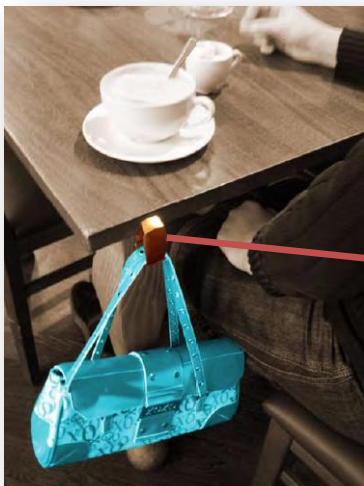


Figure 5.9: Proposed solution to bag snatching from public places
(Source: Gamman, 2007: 40)

Figure 5.9 is an alternative solution to the one presented in Figure 5.6 (theft chair), the hook is used in public spaces such as restaurants. Patrons hang their handbags/bags on the hook to avoid thieves snatching their belongings.

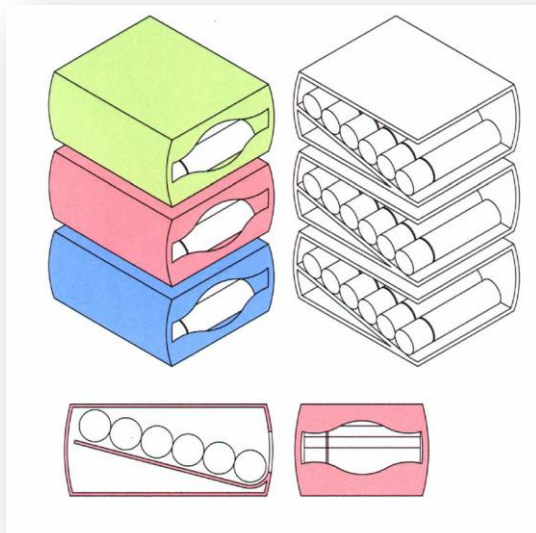


Figure 5.10: Dispenser for aerosol cans
 (Source: Cooper *et al.*, 2001: 64)

Aerosol cans are a target for shoplifters. Figure 5.10 shows a proposal for a dispenser that only allows one can to be dispensed at one time, to reduce theft of multiple items.

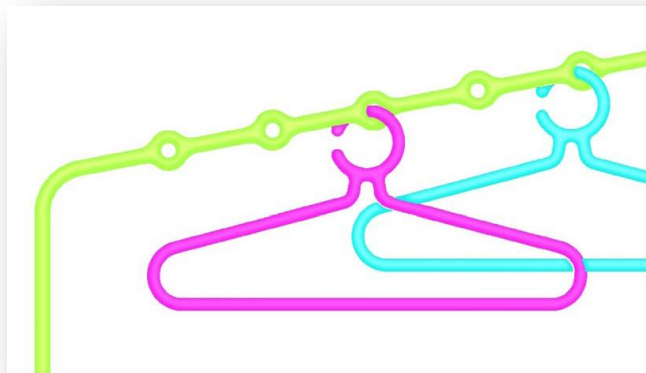


Figure 5.11: Coat hanger and rail
 (Source: Cooper *et al.*, 2001:65)

Figure 5.11 is a proposed solution to “rail grabbing” where shoplifters grab the coat hangers of the rail and stuff them (with the clothes on them) into their bags. The coat hangers go through loops on the rail to make it more difficult to remove large numbers of items in one pass. (Cooper *et al.*, 2001:65)

Some results of DAC initiatives also include the following:

- Introduction of Secure by Design housing in the UK reduced burglary levels by 30%.(Pease, 2001:5).
- The ticket machine in London's Underground transport system resulted in reduction of crime; individuals would insert 10p coins covered in foil as the machine could not distinguish the difference between the two, this practise used to cost the company £40, 000 a month.
- Fraudulent use of cheque cards was reduced by 15% in Sweden as a result of adding the owners photograph (Pease, 2001:16).
- In the UK a range of 500 SCP initiatives were implemented over a few years and the impact on burglary ranged between 10%-30% (Design Council, 2000: 27).

DAC has won awards for innovation and contribution to education, crime prevention and other areas (Gamman & Thorpe, 2008:1). Another reason why design should be taken into consideration as a possible method of alleviating crime is that design can provide sustainable methods of prevention (Gamman & Thorpe, 2008:2). Crime is a threat to the sustainable development of an area; sustainable development being "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Gamman & Thorpe, 2008:2).

This added to the fact that South Africa has some of the highest crime statistics in the world. It is all the reason needed to seek methods of crime prevention that are not only sustainable but also effective. The available literature proposes that the DAC approach is both sustainable and effective. It must be noted that the DAC is not a quick fix method and that it takes time but it has enormous potential to produce desired effects on crime levels.

5.5 Summary

Designers have taken it upon themselves to use their special skills and join the fight against crime. The manifesto from 45 years ago, pleaded for designers to be more conscious of their actions and to practice design more ethically. The examples provided in this chapter show the ability for design to prevent crimes when the opportunities are removed or when crime is looked at in a more holistic manner.

CHAPTER SIX

*“Life’s most urgent question is: What are you doing for others?”
Martin Luther King*

Research Design and Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design and the methods that were implemented for data collection in order to realise the objectives of the study (outlined in Chapter One) and to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the causes that lead to the emergence of crime in the community?
 - a. How does the prevalence of crime impact upon a community and its ability to function cohesively?
2. What (if any) are the forms of interventions currently in place to target the ontogeny of crime in Cape Town?
3. Why have previous attempts at mitigating crime in Cape Town not been effective?
4. How can a design against crime intervention potentially reduce the opportunities that allow for the emergence of crime?

It also provides a description of the chosen paradigm used in this study. Paradigms are a system of “interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of inquiry.” (Blanche & Durrheim, 1999:6). There are three dimensions involved in this process of inquiry, ontology (nature of reality), epistemology (relationship between the researcher and what can be known) and methodology (describes the methods which a researcher uses to collect data) (*ibid*).

6.2 Focus of the study

The aim of the study is to explore the opportunities for design intervention against crime. In order to do this, the researcher has focused on how crime affects a community at risk, paying more attention to the youth. Key concern is why they get involved in crime and how can design be used to deter their interest in leading a life of crime. The participants who were involved in the study are members of the community (general community members, youth from the community and former gang members). They took part in focus groups and unstructured interviews. Experts from the field were sought for their views on or what they are doing to elevate crime in communities such as Bridgetown (in the form of structured interviews). The study is contextually based in Bridgetown.

6.3 Rational for qualitative research

The approach to research is what highlights the differences between qualitative and quantitative research (Durrheim, 1999:47). The main difference between “quantitative and qualitative data in social research is essentially the distinction between numerical and non-numerical data” (Babbie, 2004:26). As the research deals with people and how they interact with their environment and others in their environment, the study follows a qualitative research approach. A qualitative approach is able to gain insight into the people being dealt with to determine their motivations. To comprehend their actions, one first has to understand the value individuals place on these actions through qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2006: 53). In order for the researcher to be able to gain insight into the participant’s motivations and to understand their behaviour, the research takes place in a natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:3). The researcher is an observer and is able to develop an insider’s perspective (Henn, *et al*,2006:176). The methods of research offered by the qualitative approach allow the research to investigate issues in depth and detail (Durrheim, 1999:47). Henn *et al* (2006: 183) state that within qualitative research the researcher’s principal goal is to “understand the social process than obtaining a representative sample, the researcher is then able to construct a theory (or theories) because qualitative research involves theory construction rather than theory testing” (Henn, *et al*,2006:176).

Durrheim explains the qualitative design strategies as naturalistic, holistic and inductive, elaborated in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Themes of qualitative inquiry (Source Durrheim, 1999:47)

1. Naturalistic	Studying real-world situations as they unfold naturally; non-manipulative, unobtrusive, non-controlling; openness to whatever emerges –lack of predetermined constrains on outcomes
2. Holistic	The whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts; focus is on more complex interdependencies, not meaningfully reduced to a few discreet variables and linear, cause-effect relationships

3. Inductive	Immersion in the details and specifics of the data to discover important categories, dimensions, and interrelationships; begin by exploring genuinely open questions rather than testing theoretically derived (deductive) hypotheses
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Qualitative research is made up of various paradigms. These inform the way the research will go and dictate whether the research will be an exploratory, descriptive, explanatory application or basic research (Durrheim, 1999:47).

6.4 Ontological and Epistemological stance

This study is grounded in the interpretive paradigm. Durrheim (1999:6) explains ontology as “the nature of reality that is to be studied and what can be known about it”. Humans have the ability to think about what they do, how they do it and why they do it. This enables them to be able to choose a different route if necessary and this is informed by their thoughts (Henn *et al*, 2006:16). This supports the interpretive position which “treats people as if they were the origin of their thoughts, feelings and experiences” (Henn *et al*, 2006:278). Within this paradigm, the researcher’s ontological stance is that the participants’ reality of the world is subjective. As a result, the researcher will use research methods that are interactional (Henn *et al*, 2006:7).

Durrheim and Blanche (2006:6) define epistemology as “the nature of the relationship between the researcher (knower) and what can be known. The desire to understand human action from the perspective of our participants is an interpretive approach (Henn *et al*, 2006:16). Within the interpretive ontological dimension the *nominalist* epistemological stance has been adopted in this study, this stance is grounded in the belief that “the meaning of human action is inherent in that action and that the task of the inquirer is to unearth that meaning” (Schwandt, 2001:134). Using Max Weber’s argument, Henn *et al*. (2006; 15) explain that to be able to increase our knowledge base of the social world it is necessary that we aim to comprehend the world from the point of view of the research participants, therefore within this paradigm the researcher is an observer.

Table 6.2: Delineation of paradigmatic assumptions and perspectives

(Adapted from Maree & van der Westhuizen 2007:33-34)

Ontological dimensions	Epistemological dimensions	Nature of relationship between researcher and what is being studied
Realist stance: external reality is stable; general laws govern universe	Positivist (modern)	Researcher is an objective, detached observer
Nominalist stance: informants' internal and subjective experiences are important	Interpretivist (postmodern)	Researcher is empathetically and (inter-) subjectively immersed in the research
Reality is constructed by persons; researchers need to analyse the informants' discourses	Constructivist (postmodern)	Researcher is suspicious of object of study; political understones can be identified; constructs own version of events

6.5 Types of research

Inquiry comes down to making observations and interpreting them. Once a researcher has looked at his/her research questions, they are able to determine which research route would be the best to follow for their particular study. Research design is about determining how the observation and analysis will be made (Babbie, 2004:87).

6.5.1 Applied research

For this study, the researcher has chosen applied research as the method of inquiry. The intention of this type of inquiry is to contribute to the knowledge base of a specific social problem, this knowledge allows people to take action and deal with the problem (Patton: 1990, 217). Applied research looks at finding practical solutions to human and social problems (Durrheim, 2006: 45). Within this method of enquiry researchers try to understand how to deal with a significant social problem. This study deals with crime, which is one of the most significant problems facing society, crime can affect society in different ways, economically, physically (community members) and psychologically. Applied research also seeks to "illuminate a societal concern" once a problem has been highlighted it can be addressed properly, firstly, by gaining an understanding and then choosing the appropriate manner in which to address it (Patton, 2002: 217).

6.5.2 Exploratory research

Exploratory research is used in research that is heading into a fairly new direction (Durrheim, 2006:44). Babbie (2004:88) states that this type of investigation is especially suitable for persistent phenomena and is pursued for one of the following reasons;

1. To satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding
2. To test the feasibility of undertaking or a more extensive study
3. To develop the methods to be employed in any subsequent study

The methods that are used in exploratory research are usually focus groups and discussions.

6.6 Role of researcher

The nature of the research requires the researcher to be an active participant observer in the focus groups. The researcher acted as a facilitator in the focus groups, leading the process by asking questions, encouraging participation of the focus group, making sure the participants are comfortable and that none of the members are marginalised (Kelly,2006:305). The researcher also acted as a guide to the youth members who took part in the self-documentation exercise by keeping a journal.

6.7 The Gatekeeper

Durheim (2006:49) describes sampling as "the selection of research participants from an entire population". The aim of sampling is to select a group that represents the targeted population well (in terms of size and knowledge and the topic to be discussed). The subject of this study is considered sensitive and selecting participants can be a rigorous process. With this in mind, a gatekeeper was necessary to ensure a good sample.

Mr. Marlon Parker is a lecturer at the Information Technology Department at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. Aside from this, he is also involved with the Reconstructed Team. They are a team of men who once led a life of crime or abused drugs. Now they use the social medium MXit to counsel and provide guidance to those who wish to leave the life of crime behind. Mr. Parker was the research's gatekeeper to the Bridgetown community and he introduced the researcher to the men. One of the members of the reconstructed group then introduced the rest of the members who formed one of the focus groups and the community. The youths that form the third focus group attend the school on the same premises where the researcher was further introduced.

6.8 Research Design

The research design is the plan that outlines the structure of the research process. By following a specific research plan, the researcher is able to address all the research questions. The research plan lays out the types of methods to be used to best address the questions (Durheim, 2006:34). The research design is also referred to as the methodology. Henn et al (2006:10) explain the difference between methods and methodology:

“Method refers to the range of techniques that are available to us to collect evidence about the social world. Methodology however concerns the research strategy, as a whole.”

Within qualitative research, there are three main methods that are used as methods of data collection. 1) In-depth, open-ended interviews, (2) direct observation and (3) written documents (Patton, 2002:4). Researchers use a variety of methods in order to address the research questions and to get the most out of the time spent with the participants. The methods chosen for this study are listed below.

- Literature review
- In-depth interviews
- Focus groups
- Observations (Self-documentation)

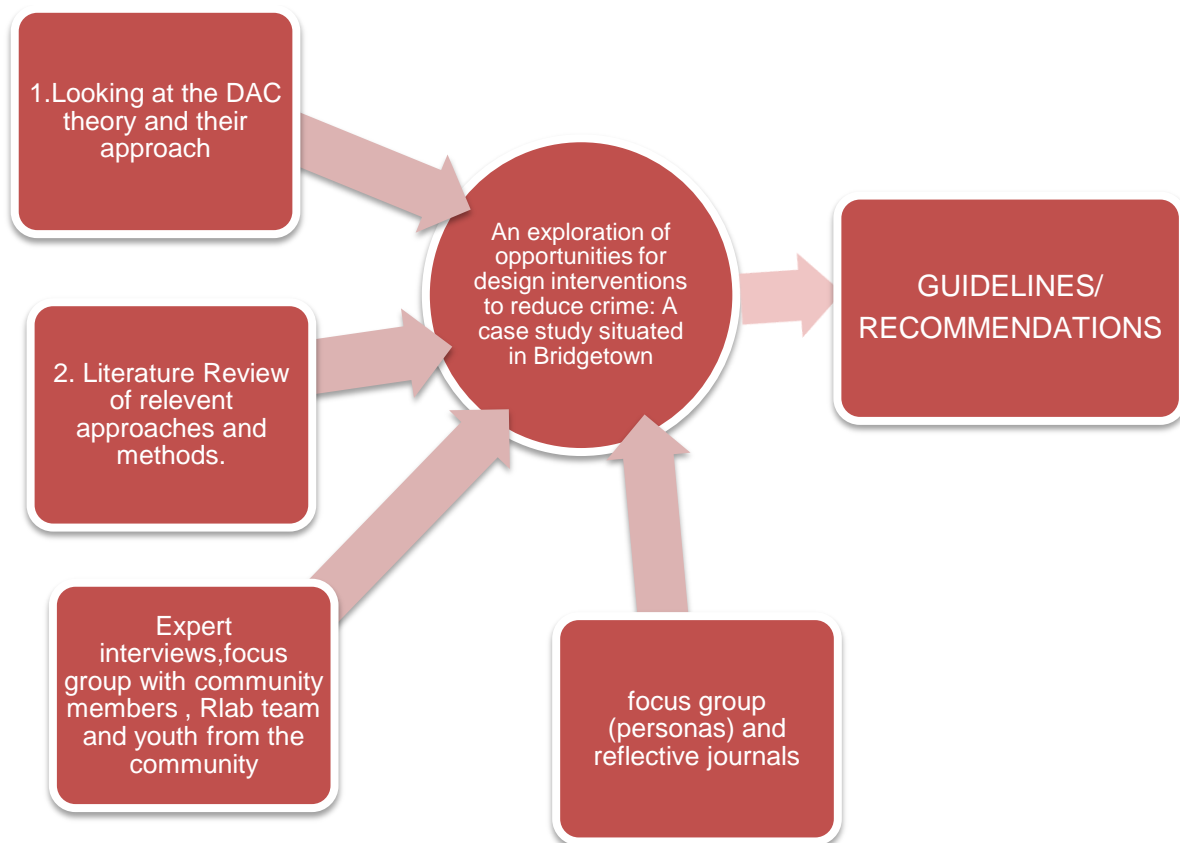


Figure 6.1: The overall research design
 (After Korpela *et al.*, 2006:18)

6.8.1 Literature review

The initial phase of data collection is the desktop review. This involves looking at the available information regarding the intended area of research. With this information the researcher is able to specify how the research fits into the body of information that already exists (Babbie, 2004:487). Literature review “involves the identification and analysis of information resources and/or literature related to one’s research project” (Kaniki, 2006:19). The information that makes up the literature informs the researcher of what is known and what is unknown about the area that they intend to investigate (Patton, 2006:226); it also justifies why the study is necessary (Henn et al, 2006:281). A review of the literature allows the researcher to identify knowledge gaps that have not yet been investigated and it points in which direction the study should move (Henn et al, 2006:280). Building up the literature, the researcher looks at the following resources:

- Academic Journals;
- Articles;
- Conference papers;
- Books; and
- Internet-based resources

The information gathered from these resources lays the groundwork for the researcher's study (Babbie, 2004:487). During this initial phase the researcher focused on specific crimes such as theft, street theft, victimisation and what policies had been put in place by legislators. Soon after this period of data collection began, the researcher had a meeting with members of the Bridgetown community indicated that their main concern is delinquency. The researcher then began to investigate various topics regarding delinquency, the causes of delinquency and what programmes had been put in place to address delinquency.

6.8.2 Interviews

Babbie (2004:263) defines an interview as “a data collection method in which one person (an interviewer) asks another a set of questions (a respondent).The advantage of using interviews is that they enable the researcher to find out that which cannot be observed. With interviews the researcher is introduced to the situation from the participants' perspective (Patton, 2006:340-341). Conducting interviews is a more natural form of interacting, it gives a chance to understand how people think and feel (Kelly, 2006:297). The interviewer is able to clarify anything that the interviewer does not understand (Babbie, 2004:264).Interviews are conducted in one of two ways, they can be one on one or they are in-depth group interviews, referred to here as focus groups. One on one interviews were conducted with the expert while the focus groups were made up of members from the Bridgetown community (Henn *et al*, 2006:186). Interview also allows the researcher to interview and observe the respondents (Babbie, 2004:264).

6.8.3 Expert interviews

The expert interviews were conducted to gain deeper understanding of the crime issue, from the view of those who implement the laws and set up programs to prevent crime (HCD Toolkit, 2009:38). As stated earlier, qualitative research takes place in the “natural setting” thus all interviews were conducted at the participant's place of work. For the expert interview the following experts were called upon:

- A representative of the South African Police Service;
- A criminologist;
- A representative from the Department of Community Safety;

The following elaboration is provided with respect to the aforementioned expert respondents:

1. I spoke to The Police Captain, who is the Communication Officer for the South African Police Service in Cape Town. The meeting was held on the 15th of November 2010 at 10:00am and the interview lasted about 20 minutes. The Police Captain gave his consent for the interview to be recorded. This interview was set up to establish what the police are doing with regards to juvenile delinquency, as well as to determine what policies or programmes are in place to address this.
2. The Criminologist is a senior lecturer at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and is associated with the National Research Foundation (NRF)'s African Security and Justice Programme at the Centre of Criminology at UCT. The meeting with The Criminologist was held on the 16th of November 2010. The intention of this meeting was to discuss and understand crime from a criminologist's point of view.
3. I met The Representative of the Department of Community Safety on the 15th of November 2010. This meeting was set up to identify what policies have been put in place by the Department of Community Safety to address crime and to find out whether there were any specific policies or programmes in place to address delinquency.

6.8.4 Focus groups

Kelly (2006: 304) explains a focus group as “typically a group of people who share a similar type of experience but a group that is not ‘naturally’ constituted as an existing social group”. These groups afford the researcher a valuable opportunity to learn about a community quickly; their values, their concerns and just to understand the community in general. The Human Centred Design Toolkit (2009:30) suggests meeting “on neutral ground in a shared community space that all people have access to” and in taking this advice, all focus groups were conducted at the Impact Centre in Bridgetown. The focus group participants either attend school or work in and around the Impact Centre. This allowed the author to get a feel for the community and it put the participants at ease to fully participate in the focus group. Qualitative research needs to take place in a real-world setting (Patton, 2002:39).

The intention of focus groups is to stimulate discussions among people and to bring to the surface responses that otherwise may lay dormant (Henn *et al.*, 190).

The membership of a focus group is determined by some shared attribute amongst the participants. This might be an experience, a known opinion or position, a social-demographic characteristic or some variable (Henn *et al.*, 190).

With acknowledgment and consent, the focus group sessions were recorded.

Focus groups with Bridgetown community members

The first focus group was conducted with members of the community. This was to gain a better understanding of the community views on crime, the problems they face and their strengths and weaknesses as a community. As stated earlier, the focus group was conducted on the 11th May 2010 at the Impact Centre. There were 5 females and 1 male in the group.

Focus groups with members of the Reconstructed Team

The second focus group was conducted at the same location and as the one mentioned above. This group was made up of 5 males and of these members, 4 were previously involved in a life of crime including being part of gangs. The fifth member (like the rest of the group) was an addict. The aim of this focus group was to find out their views of the reasons for the emergence of crime in their community and to find out the reasons that lead them to a life of crime.

Focus groups with members of the youth from the Bridgetown community

This focus group was conducted to find out what the youths thought of crime in their community and what personal challenges they face as youths growing up in a community under stress.

6.8.5 Self-documentation

Self documentation is an observation method used when the researcher cannot be there. It is a powerful method that captures the details of everyday life. The researcher provided the participants with journals to use as a record-keeping tool. These records allow the researcher to see the participant's lives from the participant's vantage point. The participants whom were recruited for this exercise are the same participants who formed the youth focus group. They were given the journals with the instructions to record their daily experiences over an initial period of two weeks (See Appendix C).

6.9 Ethical consideration

Ethical consideration relating to the Informants

Ethics in research need to be considered to make sure that the participants are protected and the data was collected in an appropriate manner. As dictated by the ethics of qualitative research, the participants were presented with an explanatory statement (Appendix B) and a consent form (Appendix A), which they were required to sign upon agreeing to take part in the research. The consent form states the reasons and objectives of the research. The participant has the right to pull out at anytime and that the data collected will be used and documented in this study. The form further stipulates that any information obtained in connection with this study that can be linked with the participant will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with their permission.

Additional measures have been taken to secure the ethics of the study:

- Due to the nature of the research, this document does not contain photographs of any of the participants to ensure their anonymity.
- The names of the participants will not be used in the findings
- The participants were not deceived but were told the truth about the intent of the study.
- The participant may choose to withdraw from the study at anytime.
- Participants were not coerced into taking part in the research.
- It was with the participants' permission that the interviews and focus groups were recorded.

Ethical consideration relating to the Researcher

The researcher also has ethical consideration to adhere to; the researcher took the following into account:

- The researcher endeavored to ensure that the data collection procedure and interpretation was not biased.
- Appropriate methodology was used when conducting the study.
- The results of the report were communicated correctly without bias.
- There was no information obtained from the subject in any adverse manner to them.

- The investigator endeavored to uphold accepted and expected code of ethics principles incorporating others, the guidelines of beneficence, respect for human dignity and justice.

Ethical consideration as CPUT

Ethics requirement will be compiled as stipulated by the CPUT ethics Committee.

1. The study will require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited.
2. Participants will not take part in the study without prior knowledge and consent at the time — for example covert observation of people in non-public places.
3. The study will involve discussion of sensitive topics.
4. The study will not involve invasive, intrusive, or potentially harmful procedures of any kind.
5. The study will not involve prolonged or repetitive testing on sentient subjects.
6. There will be no financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) offered to participants.
7. The research will not involve environmental studies which could be contentious; neither will the outcome use materials or processes that could damage the environment.

6.10 Summary

The research design is about determining how the observation and analysis will be made. In order to research the crime phenomena the study used a qualitative research approach. The research also looks at how people and how they interact with their environment. A qualitative approach is able to gain insight into the people being dealt with to determine their motivations this is inline with the strategies put forward by DAC in order to deal with crime holistically. As the DAC has not yet been tested in South African the research is exploratory. The following chapter discusses specific findings arising out of the exploratory research study described herein.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESEARCH FINDINGS

“We cannot live for ourselves alone. Our lives are connected by a thousand invisible threads, and along these sympathetic fibers, our actions run as causes and return to us as results”.

- Herman Melville

7.1 Introduction

The findings presented in this chapter were acquired from 4 focus groups, 5 reflective journals and 4 expert interviews. The focus groups were conducted with community members, RLab team and youth from one of the schools in the community. The set of questions prepared for the focus groups were arranged in two parts, one part had a few questions about the Bridgetown community which were asked in every group, the second part then had a set of questions aimed specifically at that group of participants. The purpose of the questions relating to the community was to illustrate the community from the residents' perspective, allowing them to highlight their concerns and introduce the researcher to aspects of Bridgetown that only a community member would know. The participants from the RLab team were asked question specific to their previous life of crime, the youth participants were asked question specific to their socialising and to gain insight on how they view crime and gangs in their community.

7.2 Focus Groups

A number of questions were posed to all three focus groups with respect to the Bridgetown community. This was to enable the community members, RLab team and the youth to illustrate the type of community they live in.

To outsiders, the community of Bridgetown has a stigma attached to it. In response to the question, *“As a member of this community what would you say are the positive aspects of this community?”* the community members reported feelings of positivity toward the community influenced in part by the work of certain organisations within the community this they feel brings about a welcomed sense of wellbeing and belonging. Resident's value having a greater range of services available to them as compared to other communities that are in a similar situation. The following are samples of verbatim responses:

- *There are definitely positives, the positives are that, Bridgetown is a close nit community everyone knows everyone. There is that little bit of hope in the community. There is always organizations for instance, Impact I can only speak about Impact. [...] We are the guys that came out of the community that did the drugs been the worst of the worst in the community and we have come out of that. We work in the community so that the kids in the community*

- can see. There is a chance and there are role models that they can model out (Team member 1).*
- *We are actually in reach of everything that we need. We have a shopping mall, we have schools surrounding us. It's not that we have to travel far and lose money because; financially this community is not enriched. (Community member 3)*
 - *There is a lot of people in Bridgetown that have come clean and not just here by the centre but people don't see that, they still see the negatives and that is sad cause there area lot of positives (Team member 2).*
 - *It is a very quiet area (Youth number 1).*
 - *There are little beacons of hope especially in this road, we've got the Madrasa, and we got Impact (Team member 4).*
 - *The whole concept of community is actually manifested in an environment like this, due to the social engineering design of the apartheid regime. It actually does have a benefit where it forced people to commune because they have to interact with each other closely because of the density. So it does encourage communal living, where everybody knows your name (Community member 4).*

As previously mentioned the community has a stigma attached to it and the answers to the question stated below illustrates what the community members feel are the negative aspect. They acknowledge that the community members make up the low-income bracket and as a result basics such as school fees are out of reach for some. A problem echoed by participants of two of the 4 focus groups is that neighbours no longer look out for one another's children as previous generation once did. They added that the lack of recreation leads the youth to the streets, usually resulting in anti-social behaviour. An interesting comment that sums up the communities collective mentality as one of a "crab mentality" which is explained further in the last verbatim response presented for the following question: "As a member of this community what would you say are the negative aspects of this community?"

- *[...] the negative would be where parents can't afford schooling or education and that causes kids to be idle or just to be at home and hang around. The government hasn't really looked at how to enrich the community in that way. I mean because if you know you are living on an income of a thousand rand or two thousand rand you can't still afford education. You have to pay for text books we have to pay for education and uniform and they also have a system in place where if you haven't paid your school fees you cannot have your report. So there is actually no incentive and plus even if the child has worked hard it's not the child's fault that the parent at the end of the day can't pay the school fees, you know? So kids pay a higher price at the end of the day because of that kind of structure not being in place (Community member 1).*
- *[...]everybody thinks that someone else's problem is not their problem but when it comes to substance abuse it is a huge problem in our area and the people isolate themselves and they*

think if someone else's kid is on drugs it's not their problem. So I think that is one of the negative aspects and in actual fact it does affect everyone at the end (Team member 1).

- *Lack of recreation (Community member 4).*
- *When I grew up neighbours use to look out for one another's children but now it is like don't you tell my child or else we are going to have a fight that type of thing, you can't tell anybody's child nothing so what you do is, now its not my problem so I can't say nothing so its not going to be my problem. So I think . . . it sort of ties into one another. The lack of positive role models in the community and also it is like a new fashion for the kids to drop out of school. (Team member 2)*
- *There are a lot of gangsters in the area (Youth number 4).*
- *[...] they rob you a lot because it is quite it is an advantage for them (Youth number 2).*
- *One of the negatives is as well unfortunately in our community we have what they call the crab mentality [...] Yes, we look at a bucket of crabs – one crab tries to crawl out of the bucket, the other ones try to pull him down so that he can get up (Team member 1).*

The types of crime experienced in Bridgetown are mainly social crimes that arose mainly from drug addictions. Drug dealers have found an easier way to get money from addicts and this has created a new type of crime that is explained further in one of the responses to the question: *“In your view what is the crime situation in Bridgetown?”*:

- *At the moment crime, it's more to do with damage of property [...] because there is this new thing that is springing up in our community, it's like scrap yards but they have it at their homes. So it is no more we have to take your scrap to the industrial [drop-off points] so people actually have it at their homes. People come and they bring their scrap and they weight it and they give them less than they would actually get BUT these scrap yards are like 24/7 basically and at these scrap yards they sell drugs as well. So you basically bring your scrap and they give you your drugs (Team member 2).*
- *The crime rate is high; it's extremely high because of all these drop outs at school. These youngsters they just want to get money in hand they do practically everything, anything or everything just to have money to sustain themselves (Community member 3).*

The previous question was to gain a view of the overall crime situation; the question stated below is to find out the specific types of crime that the community deals with: *“With respect to crime, what is the biggest problem that this community faces?”*:

- *A lot of social crime, it is a result of drug addiction (Team member 1).*
- *Gangsterism (Youth number 4).*
- *[...] like theft (Community member 2).*
- *Break-ins (Community member 1).*
- *Sustenance crime [...] as a result of substance abuse, drug abuse, illicit drug abuse (Community member 4).*

When asked: “*what they thought, were the reasons for the specific forms of crime in the community?*” the responses also covered the question “*what do you think is the greatest contributing factor to the emergence of crime in the community?*” The community’s greatest concern is the abuse of both alcohol and recreational drugs. Substance abuse leads to specific forms of crime such as prostitution; young girls are selling themselves to maintain their addiction. Community member 3 sheds a different light, she sees the situation from a gangster’s point of view and her response illustrates this.

- *Substance abuse [...] because with substance abuse there are different types of illegal activities, like prostitution [...] that is like huge now [...] Heroin is a very addictive drug; you have to have a fix a couple times a day. So the easy way for them is to sell their bodies. So with the drugs there is stealing* (Team member 2).
- *[...] to satisfy the substance and illicit drug taking which is TIK (Methamphetamine) that is the common drug that is found here or around Cape Town. Of course the organized crime targets these types of areas because it’s conducive for their marketing campaigns, its easy markets* (Community member 4).
- *[...] Besides that they have to feed their other siblings also they have to see their mother has something for a pot of food for tonight. Some of these gangsters do that [...] and the mothers accept it because there is no other way of providing for the family* (Community member 3).

The responses to the question: “*What has been done by the police/government to reduce the prevalence of crime in this community?*” shows that the community feels that the police is doing something but they feel that it is restricted to the streets surrounding the Impact Centre and when problems are experience away from the centre the police is not attentive. The following are some of their responses:

- *Lots of talk* (Community member 1).
- *I guess its strategy is visibility. They are visible in this road simply because of the centre; there is a lot of interaction with the local police station and the station commander and so on. So they always have to exercise their duties [and] be held accountable* (Community member 4).
- *I have seen some police vans at the school, at the high school because in the past there was a lot of fighting, so you would find them at the high school* (Community member 2).
- *They patrol the whole area, Bridgetown, Silvertown* (Community member 3).
- *It’s like weird because when you need the police you get no response or they come an hour or two later. Like we have an issue in our road, in the road which we live in it’s just three roads down and there is a mom who chooses to have her son and his friends do their smoking on the premises but we live two doors away from her but when I walk into the house or I come around the corner then I can smell that they smoking. When I come into the house then the house is stinking of the substance and so by the time the police and so by the time the police come they are all up and gone. So we look like fools, so why did you call us. You know? It’s wasting our time kind of thing* (Community member 5).

There are some members of the community who are taking action to reduce crime in the Bridgetown community. Community member 5 and 6 explained the initiatives when asked, “*Has the community taken any initiatives to reduce crime in the community? If so, please describe a few.*” Some responses to this question are listed below.

- *[Yeah] and I think like with Pastor Solly [and] them as well doing this whole thing on a Saturday, they go into different parts of the community and they interact with the children [...] they have drum majorettes and they have a bands playing. That’s just to get the kids away from the negative environment* (Community member 5).
- *I know there are people who form these groups; I remember here in Bridgetown where my cousin lives, how [...] there are people living in the yard so they are selling drugs. So what they did, they can’t get them out because once you have people squatting or whatever you can’t put them out without. So they selling drugs from her house you know, their squatting there, living at the back but they are selling. So what the community did there, it’s like the [...] opposite the house they sat and they formed a group. And then they like they sat there the whole night during the night so one group will sit there and they will go and you know just burning a fire, make a fire and just sit around the fire, preventing the guys going in there from buying* (Community member 6).

Below are some of the programmes that are in the Bridgetown community, they were given as a response to the question: “*Have there been any formal projects/interventions put in place to deal with the root causes of crime?*”:

- *The Civic* (Community member 4).
- *The RLabs* (Community member 3).
- *The Impact centre* (Community member 1).
- *They have a rehab place [called] Renaissance here at the back [one of the youth members was there] and they go there for discipline and to help them with the drug problems* (Youth member 3).

The older members of the community feel that some of the programmes are making a difference. However from Youth member 1’s point of view when a programme (such as rehabilitation) is free, those that make use of it do not take it seriously because they know that they can afford to come back as many times as they please which ultimately means the programmes efforts are wasted on some individuals. Below are the responses to the question “*Have the programmes made any difference and has there been a change in the community since they were implemented?*”

- *Yes [...] the exposure that the programmes have on the community also encourages them to become more participatory [...] referring kids that they know of, like their neighbours kids and*

- so on because now kids can sense [...] there is sense of hope that change is possible”* (Community member 4).
- *Holiday programme and these kids look forward to it so [...] although maybe on a small scale it is making a difference because there has been an increase in the number of kids attending* (Community member 1).
 - *And those kids would otherwise be engaged in other activities [...] anti-social ones* (Community member 4).
 - *We also have a community centre which is there to umm [...] they should run programmes for the kids during the day but the sad thing is it's not free. And so kids go and at a later stage they drop out because like they have a karate thing going on there and I just spoke to a mommy this morning and her daughter is. [...] she attends the karate thingy but because of her financial situation that she is in the child doesn't always have money she feels she doesn't want to let the child go anymore because there isn't finances and so they are not looking at parents don't have you know and maybe work around something to like have fun raises to cover those kind of stuff man you know they are just looking at the parents to* (Community member 5).
 - *Programmes don't make a difference. There is a programme here that is free so youth abuse it, come and go as they please. After they leave the programme they go back to the life they had before* (Youth member 1).

One of the reasons for the emergence of crime (stated herein) in a community is the lack of resources or development in a community. When asked about development within the Bridgetown area the focus group members agree that there have been developments but they were dissatisfied with a specific one. Vangate Mall is the main mall for the area and at the initial phase the community was promised that the jobs created from this venture would benefit them. Unfortunately when the mall was completed the agreement was not honoured. Presented below are the answers to the question “*has there been any development in the community with regards to school, community centres, hospitals, recreational and job creation?*”:

- *I think Vangate mall was the job creation* (Community member 1)
- *But not for this community* (Community member 3).
- *The shops there would just bring the staff from other areas* (Community member 1).
- *[Yeah] there have been developments, they upgraded new flats Status Heights, they upgraded the park and the soccer field. We go to the soccer field on Saturdays but sometimes they are there, breaking glass and all that stuff. We were almost robbed there the other day* (Youth member 2).

The following comments by the participants illustrate that overall, the residents feel tense but they persevere because they see that others appear to be managing under the same

conditions. The question posed to them was: “Describe the general feeling relating to (in) security in your community?”

- *Tense I would say because of the gangs but at the same time not tense to the point where people [...] fear to walk outside (Team member 1).*
- *It is like a volcano, you don't know when it is going to erupt, it's still active (Team member 2).*
- *You know I personally think the reason why it isn't happening [why people don't sit still in fear], I see so and so sitting on the 'stoep' [Afrikaans word for veranda] and they manage to get some bread it is ok, I am going to be ok. They think it's just going to be ok (Community member 1).*
- *There is a feeling of insecurity, never know who will break in. Can't tell children to play outside because they can start shooting anytime and out of nowhere. They shoot in front of your house. You get busy people [which is slang for noisy] who go outside to witness shooting (Youth member 1).*

The community has become use to the presence of crime and they are surviving the only way they know how and that is to be resilient. For the reason that it is a norm the children growing up in the Bridgetown area model out what they see, ultimately affecting the manner in which the community functions. The question posed was “Does the presence of crime affect the way in which a community functions?”

- *[...] As I said earlier on kids model out what they have seen growing up and yes the situation our community is in does definitely contribute to the fact that there is a high dropout rate at school, kids rather go into gangsterism, doing drugs because that is what has been happening in our community all these years (Team member 1).*
- *I don't think so I think the community is actually very resilient, they bounce back very nicely (Community member1).*
- *Because they are expecting the next thing to happen again (Community member 3).*

Even though the crime rate is high the fear of it does not keep the members from pursuing certain activities although youth member 4 states that there are some activities that gangsters will and do disturb. Team member 1, highlight that there are other communities that are not as lucky as Bridgetown. Children in other communities have dropped out of school as a result of criminal activities by gangsters. The questioned posed was: “Is there a fear that keeps community members from certain activities?”

- *No we don't have lights out [giggles] (Community member1).*
- *Other communities that we know of, I have heard of kids that drop out of school because of their older brother association with a gang and their family [...] there is one way into this community there is only one way in and there is one way out. So if you live on one end there are like four or five gangs you have to pass and because of this guy's older brother being a*

leading member in a gang he cannot go to school anymore because he has to walk past all those gangs (rival gangs). They are probably going to get him because he has been already stabbed so he just decide he is not going to go to school any longer cause his life is in danger. That does happen in some communities (Team member 1).

- *People can't take part in certain activities, you get mugged. You can't decide to have a party because the gangsters will gate-crash, they will talk to the pretty girls and then they rob your house. (Youth member 4)*

All the participants want to see their community crime and ultimately drug free. They want to see it filled with love and for the negatives to be restored to positives.

- *Crime free and that is crime holistically. The ladies here [the Impact centre] deal with women who are really abused and broken in so many ways not just physically but emotionally (Community member1).*
- *Education should be free; we should have so much more love in our community (Community member 3).*
- *Drug free. Just the reverse of whatever is happening now that is my dream; I am really busy with that reconstructing people's lives (Team member 3).*
- *For the community to be gang free and safer (Youth member 7).*

7.3 RLab team

The following questions were posed to the RLab team members only, the questions enquire about their former life and what ultimately lead to a life of crime including using recreational drugs. This is to gain insight into the reasons that would lead an individual onto a similar path. (See Appendix E for RLab's profile).

The majority of informants felt that personal; (as opposed to peer-informed) choices were responsible for their choosing a path of negative/anti-social behaviour. The following verbatim statements are sampled from the responses to the question: *"How did you start out on a negative path?"*

- *The first time I use drugs I never saw drugs ever in my life. I just went to party and my friends asked me for a R40 and I gave them a R40 and they came back with drugs. And that was the first time I saw them and I told them no you can't use this it is very bad and all that, that goes with drugs but the next minute I chose to do it myself. So I won't say it is peer pressure or anything it was just me (Team Member 3).*
- *It is a very grey area for me to be honest I was a very rebellious young man but not to the point where I would wreak havoc. I always wanted to try things. I started very late with my drug addiction, I didn't even smoke that is now the God's honest truth. I smoked my first joint when I was already twenty-one and after that, it really started with that joint. All the years I said I am not going to smoke dagga and then I tried it I said what's next? [Yeah], ok so now I am going*

to try cocaine, ok did that then ecstasy did that and that is how it went on and on and on. And it is a peer's pressure thing definitely if you are with friends they do it the possibility is higher that you will end up using it or trying. I tried it out quite a few times and then it became an addiction (Team Member 1).

- For me I never took the hard-core drugs that they did, so for me I was more into like drinking and stuff like that but I was introduced to beer and stuff like that from a very young age.[...] imagine I was still at school and she [grandmother] would offer me to stay home and she would bribe me with beer. Then I would say ok I will stay home and she would buy me six beers and all my friends would know if I am not at school. [...] then they will come to my place. I was introduced to that kind of stuff from ten years old my father use to give me beer so basically I didn't know anything else (Team Member 4).
- I basically started out because I wanted to be a hero into drinking and stuff like that; I always believed you can rather drink instead of using drugs man. I use to hang with my gangster friends because we all grew up in the community. I would try and encourage them to drink rather but they would sit and smoke and before long I fell into the same trick (Team Member 2).

According to the Team members a path of negative/anti-social behaviour involve activities that may lead one to a life of crime. Below Team member 2 explains how choosing a negative path lead to getting involved in crime. The paragraph below was not prompted by any question that was set or presented to the team. It is the researcher's opinion that the response below will provide the reader insight into how easy it is to move from antisocial behaviour to a life of crime.

- [Yeah] and I use to like to drink, I drank also from a young age and started late with drugs when I used the drugs I was like WOW! It made me awake and it made me feel like superman. I started to use it also because then I could drink more, I could stay awake longer to drink. See that is also a huge deception. Ok so if I use this drug methamphetamines or coke I can stay awake longer than I can drink longer and party longer. Cause when you drink you drink to a certain level then you pass out for like eight nine hours. [Yeah] and it got worse cause when you use drugs you have to consult certain people [...] where can I find this and because we all grew up together I started slowly moving away from my drinking buddies but still being friends with them and being more with the gangsters and stuff like that and that is where I got involved in the American gang in the area. **[Yeah] that is how the whole thing started and then I stared dealing in drugs afterwards and stuff like that.** And that time nobody knew about methamphetamines there was only a clique of people it wasn't as bad as it is now (Team Member 2).

Team member 2 acknowledges that drugs and crime go hand in hand. The next question posed to the participants was about the types of crime that they were involved in as a result of either their gang activities or drug use. The types of crime all revolve around gangsterism.

- *I was involved in a lot of things, a lot of illegal stuff. Not getting my hands dirty I was more involved in planning (Team member 1).*
- *Drug dealing and with drug dealing there is illegal fire arms (Team member 2).*
- *I was also involved in exactly what Team member 2 said [Yeah] that is all that I am going to say (Team member 3).*

As stated in chapter 5 one of the strategies DAC uses is to “THINK THIEF” the question below was to allow the researcher to employ that strategy. The question was stated as follows “*what types of thoughts go through your mind when committing these crimes?*”. The response were not the desired responses and Team member 3 explained that at this point you are high on drugs and what one feels is good.

- *You under the influence, you on that high so it is a good feeling at the time but each drug addict ne, he gets his alone time. Like go to bed and he is alone, that is the time when it is all starting to eat on you and that is actually the time you get mad (Team member 3).*

The question “*Are there any feelings towards the victims?*” received the following comment which shows feelings of remorse for the victim.

- *I must be honest, I always did. I always felt bad but you always know when you know you are going to do something (Team member 1).*

The participants’ personal justification, for committing the crimes stated above were mainly related to their drug use and Team member 3 states that there are times when it was about survival, Team member 2 affirms this by sharing a personal experience:

- *To feed the addiction (Team member 1).*
- *Not just to feed the addiction but when you in a gang you have this reputation to live up to and so if they say come we are going to do this now. Even if you don’t feel like it especially when you hear it involves shooting or something like that and you don’t want to but then you go with (Team member 2).*
- *But if you don’t go then they shoot you or kill you (Team member 3).*
- *I was involved in something like that. This guy was out and he came back all fumed up and we were busy using drugs and he said come we are going to go now these people bothered him we are going to shoot them now and stuff like that. So we got out the guns they were busy and I was busy like taking the last couple hits and he saw that so I didn’t react quick enough for him. He saw me doing the drugs and asked me “ look here is this drug more important than me?” and then he turned on me and he pistol whipped me across the mouth and I am looking at him like when did this come from now ? And in all that anger he turned on me like that, then he had the gun in my mouth. He was also drugged out of his mind already, turned afterwards and he told me I must hit him back, he gave me the gun and he said I must hit him back because there is a rule if blood get taken it must be taken back (Team member 2).*

When asked “*What is your definition of gangsterism*” the RLab team members explain their definition as follows:

- *For me I was never a gangster but my definition of a gangster is the one who organises everything is the one who actually goes and do it is the puppet himself. The gangster is the one who sits behind every plan and plans it carefully he is the one who never ends up in jail (Team member 4).*
- *For me it would be a place where you can go and easily get recognition for something that you did. In the real world you have to do so much and you get no recognition or someone else is taking credit (Team member 1).*

The following verbatim statement was prompted by the question: “*What are the positives of gangsterism?*”

- *If you are a child that grew up without parents or street child then I suppose it can become a safer haven for you a lesser evil so to say but No I can't see any positives. Although you learn a lot of things I must say, you become street smart you learn things you can use in your life afterwards for a better cause. You learn quite a few skills (Team member 1).*

The reasons why youth at risk chose a negative path is one of the issues addressed by this study, to understand this from individuals who were previously considered at risk the following question was presented to the team “*what are the reasons for getting involved in gangsterism?*”:

- *Why I went into gangsterism [...] a sense of belonging a sense of [...] I can't say I went in there for a role model or a father figure because my father was very active and he was in the household, so I can't say it was that. For others it definitely is that but for me it was [...] I wanted recognition for some reason. That is why I got involved in crime to prove a point of how quickly I could elevate myself to a certain level in the underworld (Team member 1).*
- *I was just a go with the flow type so I was just with it. I realized what I was into but I couldn't also get out because these are my close friends these are the only friends that I got so I must go back to them and I must do the bad things (Team member 3).*

In order to understand the inner workings of a gang the researcher asked “*how does a gang work and what goes in within a gang?*”

- *Actually it is quite close to the Ten Commandments if you can say that. The book is based on that. You don't steal from a member of you own gang; you don't covet a member of the gangs wife, things like that. Not those words but basically it comes down to that. You don't kill a member of your gang unless you were instructed to. There are guidelines and every gang runs on those guidelines. Respect and discipline is where it all starts, respect and discipline is the number one rule in any gang, you respect your members of the gang and you don't step out of line. There are structures like you said and you have certain responsibilities and you only go as far as that, you don't step out of that and over. Those are the boundaries in which you*

operate unless you are promoted to a new level, so it starts with that respect and discipline
(Team member 1).

Popular belief is that there are pressures to join a gang the following verbatim responses to the question “*Are there pressures to join or does one have a choice?*” go against the reasons presented in a majority of the literature on the topic. All the participants’ state that they were not forced to join by friends or anyone else. They do however acknowledge the fact that their friends were in a gang made it easier and it was inevitable that they would join.

- *For us, we grew up and all our friends became gangsters it was like normal. It was part of what we did. We tried a few times to have our own name we didn’t want to be associated with the Americans, same thing that is happening with our young guys. We said we are going to prove our own worth man. We don’t need to be associate with that name although all our friends was that, we going to prove our own worth and we ended up in a lot of things. So to become part of the gang culture in a community like Bridgetown it is normal it is part of life*
(Team member 1).

The numbers gang is notorious and as team member explains it is not easy to leave but the street gangs are not as difficult.

- *I think the number gang is stricter when it comes to blood in blood out but in the street gangs to a certain level depending on where you were in the structures* (Team member 1).

The verbatim statement presented below is one of the responses to the question “*What is a gang’s purpose?*”

- *A gang’s purpose is to keep the soldiers busy. You guys doing the dirty work you keep each other busy by killing each other off. The soldiers are out fighting each other while the bosses sit around the same table drinking a whiskey. They are killing each other so they don’t look at the bosses and say but you are getting the benefit out of everything. The bosses know their territories as in from these block to this block is mine but every now and then they send out guys into the opposing gangs territory to start something* (Team member 2)

During the focus group the inner workings of gangs were explained and it was established that the gang bosses of opposing gangs are civil to one another and in order to keep the gang going they incite fights among the foot soldiers that will eventually lead to war. When asked whether the ‘foot soldiers’ have any idea of what is going on among the top ranks. Team member 1 answers states that the soldiers never know.

- *They are civil in a honour amongst thieves type of thing but if I see there is a way I can take you out, I am going to take you out. Everyone lives with that in the back of their minds; it is just part of life* (Team member 1).

- *Never, that is why they have to fight to keep each other busy and kill each other off (Team member 1).*

Team member 1 explains what he feels is the alternative to gangsterism.

- *A brotherhood it has always been designed like that, life has been design for people to a sense of belonging that is why you have communities; clubs with that sense of belonging [...] everybody has got that. You need to know that no man is an island you need people and that is just how God has designed it. That is how it is always going to be and if you don't have it you are going to look for it somewhere. Somewhere you are going to look for that association somewhere [...] cause you need to be associated. And each young boy grows up with it whether it is a family unit, whether it is a soccer club or cricket or rugby or whatever. There needs to be some association where I know I am part of that. So gangs target guys that are outcast because they have a lot of anger, they are not part of anything they are out casts nobody wants to them so they target those guys easier because they can use that and channel that. Definitely to have things in place whether it is a youth group [etc.] (Team member 1).*

Team member 1 explained that after he had decided to change his life style he sat in on a few meetings with the police and his thoughts were "*[...] I use to listen to these people and I would be like how ignorant can you be? You are the police you are supposed to know.* When asked are your thoughts on the justice system in general, even though he knows that they are not as well informed about the underworld as they should be, he acknowledges their hard work. He also adds that, that being the case there is a lot of corruption within the police service.

- *They work very hard; if they didn't work hard it would be a lot easier for the corruption to come into the police (Team member 1).*
- *Corruption, corruption and corruption. They are also being kept busy by the powers that be (Team member 1).*

Is rehabilitation an answer and if so what would be the most effective way to rehabilitate? To the above question team member 1 explains his thoughts on rehabilitation:

- ***It is definitely part of the equation; no ways can you take that out. [...] you need to deal with the issues that you have in your life at that time and the things that initially drove you to do the things that you did, those things need to be addressed. I think we need prisons for certain people they deserve to be in prison then you have people that are victims of circumstance they are in prison because of a drug addiction but they grew up in a home where that was all they saw. So what chance did they have of achieving, so those types of people need to be rehabilitated? Yes they need to serve their time for the crimes that they did but in a space that is conducive to rehabilitation not in a prison because in a prison you are going to be it a breeding ground for you to become a bigger gangster. You go to prison you come out but now you have learned more. You even sharper now, now you know***

*better how to commit crime, because that is what **they teach you easy and better ways**. So we need rehabilitation centres' where our youth can be and shown an alternative to that but at the same it needs to not just stay in those four walls. Families need to be involved so that people can be reintegrated into a home that is conducive for them to grown and to wan to achieve more so it is a big task. **But rehabilitation is definitely a big part of it. It needs to start in structures where kids are really taught it mustn't just be a programme or an organization that is doing it because they put in a good business plan and it is just about the money it needs to be** (Team member 1).*

7.4 Youth

The purpose of the focus group with youth members was to gain insight on the crime situation from their vantage. They presented their thoughts and highlighted some of the challenges they face growing up in a community at risk.

Members of the community voiced their concern about youth hanging on the street corners and the RLab team added that this is usually the starting point to a life of crime, when asked “*what are your reasons for socialising outside your homes and other informal ways*”, the response to the question is as follows:

- *We don't really hang on the street it's not inappropriate* (Youth member 2).

In response to the following question: “*With regard to the youth who hang on the street why do you think they do it?*” The answers show that the conditions at home lead some of the youth onto the street because here they are able to escape their situation for a while.

- *They hang there because there are too many people at home and It's like crowded man so there is a lot of stress at home* (Youth member 1).
- *They don't get enough attention* (Youth member 2).
- *And sometime their mommy will “skell ”[Afrikaans word for scold]a lot or they get beaten*(Youth member 1).

To find out the activities that the youth get involved in, the researcher posed the following question: “*The ones who are part of these groups what activities do you get involved in?*” A list of activities that are considered to be anti-social emerged from the answers.

- *On Thursday, they buy bottles, smoke some weed; they have cigarettes, oka pipe* (Youth member 5).

Considering that a large number of the youth who choose to socialise on the street are males, the topics of discussion within the social group centred mainly females. This is understandable because this is considered a topic of great interest for teenage boys.

- *You see ne, they like talk about gangs and stuff and also girls. (Youth member 5)*
- *And also sex, like you know how many girls they have slept with for the week or the day (Youth member 1)*

Participants from both the RLab team and the youth focus group agree on the possible gain of socialising in a gang. They both state that support is the gain that can be derived.

- *They support each other and it makes them feel good. Like if I hit one of the girls from their gang the [...] you see you get the Playboys then the girls are the Playgirls, so if I beat up or do something to one of the girls in the gang then the whole gang will come after me you see (Youth member 3).*
- *I think they like the attention because it feels nice for them when people look at them and don't want to mess with them (Youth member 2).*

As previously stated the community is concerned about the socialising on the streets and youth member 5 answers in the affirmative when asked “*are these social gatherings ever discouraged by the community?*”

- *The aunties skell [Afrikaans word for scold] a lot (Youth member 5).*

The comment below is a response to the question “*Are males and females equally represented in gangs?*”

- *For every male gang there is a female gang, they hang together and join forces (Youth member 2).*

Below is a comment in reply to: “*What is the gangs influence both in the group or wider community?*”

- *The little ones want to join when they see the gangster hanging (Youth member 2).*

The comments listed below are in response to the question, “*Are these social gangs referred to as gangs by the community?*”:

- *The guys that just hang on the street, then the community think they are gangs but maybe they not. You can see the gangster because of how they dress, they [...] like have a dress code (youth member 1)*
- *So you see you can't just hang out (Youth member 4).*
- *They guys that hang on the street we call them getuie (Afrikaans word for witness) (Youth member 1).*

Established gangs have found a use for the youth who hang on the street because they know that these youngsters look up to their lifestyle. The youth members state that the relationship between social gangs and the established gangs is a business one.

- *They small gangs do things for the big gangs, they steal for them. They want to join the big gangs because they see its going lekker. And the big gangs don't mind using the small guys. (lekeris Afrikaans for nice)(Youth member3)*

- *They steal from business and then the big guys sell the stuff* (Youth member 3).

The final question presented to the youth members was one to establish their overall look on their lives and situation (growing up in a community at risk). The youth members all state that they look forward to a positive future this was in response to the question, “*When the youth members were asked what are your hopes and dreams for your personal future?*”:

- *To work hard for my future* (Youth member 2).
- *Without getting into gangs or that stuff* (Youth member 5).
- *I want to achieve my goals when I finish school* (Youth member 1).

Youth member 5 admitted that he was involved in antisocial behaviour such as smoking dagga. The researcher was interested in what would have helped this youth during that time. “*When you were heading down the path that eventually lead you to Renaissance (the rehabilitation in the community), what would have made you choose a positive path?*”

- *Encouragement would have help* (Youth member 5).

Another question directed at Youth member 5 was “Now how do you manage to stay away from that lifestyle?”

- *I stay in the house and keep busy with school work* (Youth member 5).

7.3 Reflective Journal

In Chapter 6 it has been stated that the youth members were given a reflective journal to keep for two weeks starting on 11th October 2010 until 25th October 2010. The participants were all given an empty journal with instructions on the front page that explained how they were to use it. The researcher asked the participants to record the following:

- Their daily activities
- Their thoughts
- Or whatever has happened during that day
- Hopes and dreams.

Further instruction was given to use pictures/drawing if they felt that they would better illustrate what they were feeling or a particular situation. They were also asked to decorate the journal to make it more personal. They were informed that no one but the researcher would have access to their journals once they had been collected. The researcher also assured them of their anonymity that they would only be referred to as “girl1” or “boy 1” (inserting the appropriate number). Of the seven journals handed out and after the allocated time had passed only five journals were collected. The thematic analysis of the journals

resulted in nine themes, which were employed in the coding framework. The themes are expanded below.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| RLS- Relationship | REL- Religion | FAM- Family |
| SCH- School | NOD- Nodes | FRD- Friends |
| HOM- Home Duties | PRT – Parents | SOC- Socialising |

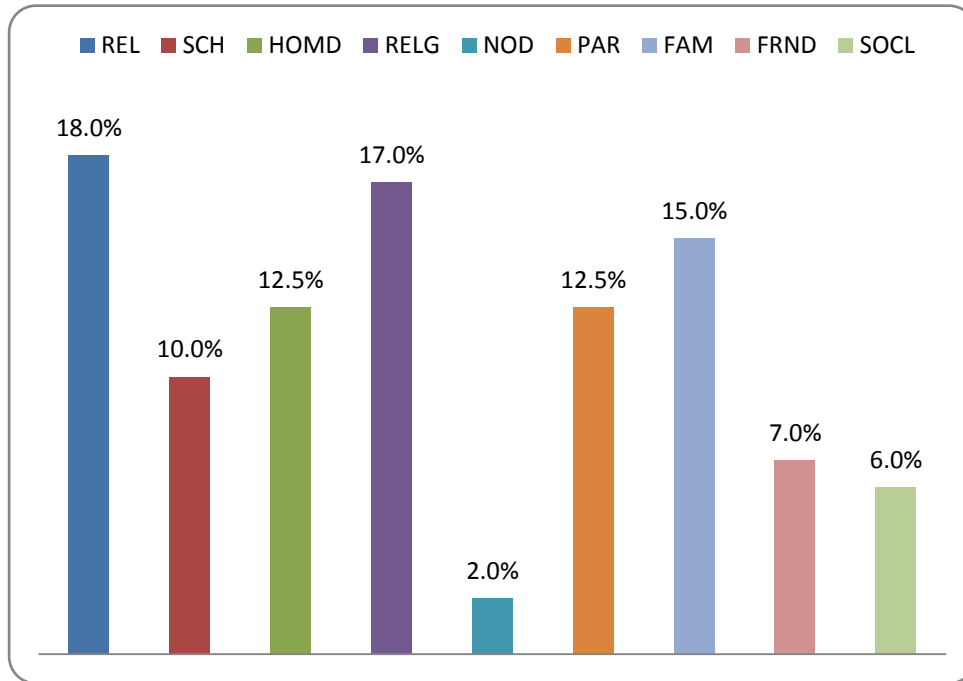


Figure 7.1: Representation of the reflective journal responses.

The responses show that one of the students' main concern is relationships as a few of them mentioned that they were romantically involved while one of the student was pining for a love interest, One of the students stated her glee at having two boyfriends by saying:

- *Thank God for boyfriends like mine (Girl 1).*

Only one of the participants mentioned how she longed for her ex boyfriend by stating that:

- *I just lay awake and thought of my ex boyfriend when things just didn't work out for us, how we built a relationship and how we planned to get married (Girl 4).*

From the analysis it is evident that most of the participants have a good relationship with their parents, Girl 3 state:

- *Every day I thank God for the type of parents that i have, they always show me how much i mean to them and i like that.*

Girl 4 gives an example of her dad bringing he breakfast in bed:

- *Oh today is church I received breakfast in bed from my dad, I don't know what I did to deserve this but also didn't ask I just enjoyed it*

All the participants made commentary about their families in a positive light. They mentioned activities that they did as a family such as eating out and watching movies together.

- *[...] my dad brought a Bollywood movie and we watched it in the night and dad bought some takeaway because mom worked late [...](Girl 4)*

80% of the participants helped around the house performing duties such as washing dishes and helping with the younger siblings. The following comments show their sense of responsibility.

- *"I got home and didn't still clean because I cleaned this morning (Girl 4).*
- *After the Gatsby I went home to do some chores which I hate doing (Boy 1).*
- *Every night I cook for my mom which I enjoy very much, tonight I am preparing meat, hot chips and rolls feels like Friday night (Girl 3).*
- *I had a nap for about 3 hours I woke up and bathed my baby brother and at half past we had dinner [...] (Girl 2).*

Religion is the second most talked about topic amongst the participants and it is evident that it plays a big role in a more than 50% of the participant's lives; they attend a youth group and take turns to lead the group. They also attend church regularly. There was a continuous proclamation of gratitude and trust in God:

- *I went off prepared me for youth and we had fun with lots of activities (Girl 4).*
- *I just thank God for who and what I am and I thank God that I am alive today and that I have a roof over my head (Girl 2).*

The researcher identified the mall and the local tuck-shop as potential nodes because the participants frequented these places. The general attitude towards school is pleasant although the youth mention some members of staff whom they were not happy – and in true adolescent fashion, they gave them nicknames.

Friendships are treasured and they support and value one another.

- *My one friend that walked with us was a member of this gang that approached us. So I think that if he didn't walk with us we would have been robbed (Boy 1).*

One of the popular ways of staying in touch with friends is via MXit a mobile social network and 80% of the participants mention it several times in their individual journals. They sometimes spend all night chatting and do not get enough sleep.

- *I got into bed and logged on to MXit until passed 11 (Girl 3).*
- *[...] Afterwards I cleaned myself and logged onto MXit where I chatted with my friends (Boy 1).*

On the topic of socialising they admit to liking it especially partying and Girl 3 is aware that her mother is concerned about partying and admits to understanding her mother's position.

- [...] I went to sleep straight afterwards because it was boring because it is Friday and normally it's party time because that is what youngsters do now a days. That is why if I want to go to a party my mom wants to know everything because in today's life you can't trust anyone and I don't blame my mom (Girl 3).

7.5 Personas

A third focus group was conducted and was held with the same participants of the youth focus group. The focus group was to determine the way the youth views the gender roles in their community. With regards to the recommendations (which are to be presented in chapter 8) this could help in identifying which gender the participants are more receptive to.

The result of the focus group are two fictional characters which the Youth members created, looking at the characters it is obvious that the participants see women in a more positive light than the males. The biographies for the characters are presented below (the images used are not those of the participants)



Figure: 7.2 Female persona

Name: Jesebell

Age: 16 years

Lives in Heideveld

School: Cathkin High School

Grade: 10

Hangout spots

- Her house
- The mall
- Music store
- Likes to do her nails

Daily routine

- Goes to school
- Comes from school , does her homework
- Reads her daily book
- Watches her mathematics programmes on television
- Has lunch
- Takes a nap
- Writes in her diary
- Takes the dog for a walk
- Spends some time with her little sister
- At 6pm her mom comes home and starts cooking
- Her dad works the nightshift

Parents' occupation

- Mom works as a teller
- Dad works on the ship

Relationship

- Has a good relationship with her parents
- They are proud of her
- They always ask about her day
- She is a nerd, wears glasses and has braces.
- There is a guy she likes at school, he is a popular guy on school he also like her but he is afraid of what his friends will say.
- She assists in the library

Community

- They can tell their kids to look up to her
- They admire her

School

- They think she is a nerd but they like her because she is very clever.

Family

- They adore her

Opportunities

- Casual work at the library (to earn some money)

- Encourages others
- Youth leader

Future plans

- She wants to be a social worker
- Wants to get married
- She wants to serve God
- She wants to publish hr own book

Issues

- Low self-esteem
- Peer pressure to smoke ect to fit in
- A bit suicidal sometimes

How can we help her?

Her parents need to encourage her

Encourage positive behavior.

Jezebel is a shy responsible girl who does well at school and is seen as a nerd by the students the other students. She longs for her crush to notice her but he is part of the cool students and it is socially unacceptable to be romantically involved with her. She suffers from low self esteem and has at points been pressured to take parts in activities other deem cool in order to fit in. Her home is more stable than the male character and has dreams of being a social worker. In order to make her dreams come true she helps out in the library and saves money.



Figure: 7.3 Male persona

Name: Johnny

Age: 17 years

Lives in Bridgetown

School: Bridgetown High School

Grade: 11

Hangout spots

- Friends yard
- Park
- Soccer field
- Multipurpose hall (quiet place)
- Drink, pop E,
- Beach

Daily routine

- Pretend to go to school but bunks with friends
- Smoke dagga at friends house
- Play soccer cause they are high and invite girls
- Goes home to prepare a snack cause he is high
- Logs onto MXit
- Afterwards goes to the corner with friends
- Mom calls him in for dinner
- Goes to play soccer
- Afterwards chats with friends on MXit the whole night (vang n nagie)
- Does whatever his friends tell him to do,

Family Life

- He does not have a good relationship with his step-father
- His mom does not listen to him
- His step father's children live with them
- Mom is a nurse
- Dad is a mechanic
- Johnny never wants to be home because it is too tense
- He wants his parents to get back together (the divorce effected his life & it is why his life is the way it is)
- He cannot stand his step-father
- Johnny is a player but there is one girl he loves – her name is Joanne
- He wants to get married one day

Community

- Aunty Angie- she is like a grandmother to him. She knows that Johnny is not bad but people talk bad about him .She feels bad about that because she knows what he is capable of.

Friends

- His friends think he is 'Mr. Cool' but they do not know that he is a softy

School

- Teachers know his true self and know he is being influenced by friends
- He is quiet and does “bad” in the dark (still waters run deep)

Family

- At home he is quiet, shy, they think he is intelligent and they would never think that he is capable of being influenced.

Issues

- Peer pressure
- His parents divorce
- Relationship with his step-father
- Relationship with girls
- Not confident so he is not himself
- He has no self respect

Future plans

- He wants to study mechanical engineering

Opportunities

- He is clever
- If he stops following his friends he can go far
- He is talented at soccer can go far
- His mom can get him a bursary because she is a government worker

Johnny is considered the “bad boy” who easily falls prey to peer pressure and involves himself in anti-social behavior such as taking recreational drugs and drinking alcohol. His teachers are convinced he can do better at school and believe he is smarter than he presents himself to be. He unfortunately comes from a broken home where he lives with his mother and stepfather and he does not like his stepfather. He longs for his parents to reunite. He feels he gets no attention at home so he spends most of his time socialising with his friends on the street. His hope in the community is an aunty who has hope in him and encourages him.

7.6 Interviews

7.6.1 South African Police Service

The Police Captain was the South African Police Service's (SAPS) representative whom the researcher interviewed in order to understand the SAPS's position on the emergence of crime and how they deal with delinquent youth. The Captain's responses are italicised.

What is the SAPS's view on the emergence of crime and what are they doing about it?

- *Our aim is zero tolerance, therefore we try to the best of our ability to curb these criminals from committing further crime and also we have various processes in place, we have our crime prevention here at the station, we have our social crime prevention, we have our communication officer at the station and they all interact with the communities. They sit in meetings. We also have the community police forum who sits with the police monthly at every station. We also have our victims' support system, it is not a rehabilitation programme but it is a programme where . . . our victim support system is basically to empower victims against the crime. So we mentor the victim so that the victim can become a victor again.*

From the SAPS view, what is the definition of a community at risk?

- *Basically we call it our Red areas. That is the police's term our Red areas where there is a need for a specific crime to be addressed. Say for instance we find that in a certain area there are quiet a few house break in ,so what we are doing our crime prevention guys concentrate on that area in making the people aware of safety measures, what to do and what not to do, patrol the areas and any suspicious guys they would stop and search which we call our VCP' our visible check points and our vehicle check points the vehicles that move in and out of the area they check them Many of our guys are successful in that.*

What programmes have been put in place to ensure community safety?

- *Every station has a victim support system and many of our victim supporters, victim empowerment co-ordinators are trained by NICRO. It is a community rehabilitation organisation. They basically train our members with regard to [...] sort off debrief the victim regarding this crime then the crime prevention guys are the guys that goes outside and try to prevent the crime. To be proactive, in patrolling being visible in their communities, regularly interact with their communities. That is why our communication officers also interact by distributing pamphlets, awareness programmes and awareness pamphlets. The crime prevention guys go out in a proactive way, the communication officers go out in awareness.*

From your point of view what are the root causes of crime?

- *Well many of them say unemployment. Which sometimes plays a role but it is also greed. Greed and drugs play a magnificent role in committing crime. Substance abuse whether it be drugs whether it be alcohol they need to sustain their habit and in order to sustain their habit they need to go steal.*

Has the SAPS enlisted help from other parties and If yes which parties and what are their roles?

- *Yes we have various parties involved firstly we have our business against crime which is an NGO, we do have a lot of NGO's and they involve themselves with the police and so we try to combat crime to the best of our ability. Especially at shopping malls you know also giving hints and putting up posters and so on.*
- *Ja it is quite scary but you know we have programmes i myself I am one of the drug awareness presenters, I go around with a coffin. I have a real coffin, a six foot coffin and what I do is whenever, [...] my job is exhibitions, wherever I go my coffin goes with me, we try to make sense in the community. Many of our communities are shocked when they see it.*

Does the SAPS feel that the role of preventing crime should lie solely on their shoulders?

- *We have a saying that child protection is everybody's business .And so is crime, crime is everybody's business. If you see crime is occurring or happening in your presence you need to do what you need to do as a citizen don't expect the police to be everywhere.*
- *But you can be the eyes and ears of the police by informing them of what is happening of what is happening. You don't have to give you name all you have to do is give the description of the suspect or the area that the crime is being committed and lo and behold SAPS will do their job.*

What is the SAPS definition of delinquency?

- *Explain the meaning of delinquency? (the researcher proceeded to explain the meaning of the word and as a result was unable to ask some questions that followed on the same topic)*

What is the process regarding juvenile delinquents, what happens to them once they have been arrested?

- *Various police stations do it differently but I also believe in you know if the crime is not that serious, if the crime is not that serious there is ways. Assault at school or maybe a youngster caught with a dagga stop. At school or whatever if we can address them in helping them. Basically I have done it many times where I went beyond the call of duty. One instance is that I have arrested two grade eleven pupils, boys for possession of dagga and when we brought them to the office I said to them "guys you know I have an open door policy come talk and they refused to talk so I sent them to court because they have received a warning before but*

then the one's mom came to me and mum she ask me what she can do. So I said to her " your best bet is to get your child into a rehab centre" which she has done and eventually the case was withdrawn against the youngster and a week before he finished his rehab he phoned me and he actually invited me to come to the place. So when I came there his mentor was sitting next to him and then he apologised to me for his behaviour.

But what is generally the process once they have been arrested and then a case is laid against them?

- *[Yeah] the case goes to court and the prosecutor decides whether to prosecute or not depending on the age, depending on seriousness of the crime you know [...] if the prosecutor decides to prosecute then we need to go with that decision but if the prosecutor declines prosecution then the prosecutor will write referring the youth to a rehab centre or to NICRO or to community duty.*
- *Once the youngster under the age of eighteen are being arrested they have been brought to that station the necessary filling and paper work needs to be done but depending on the seriousness of the crime the youngsters are being let out under the responsibility of the parents. But if it a more serious crime then the court makes that decision.*

Once they have been arrested, convicted and sentenced they will serve their prison term are there programmes to help them once they come out?

- *Well in prison there are programmes to help them.*
- *I just want to explain to you the duty of the SAPS, the duty of the SAPS is to put the criminal behind bars. Once the criminal has entered the court the justice department takes over. When the justice department has made a decision say for instance found a suspect guilty and sentenced him then the prison authority take over. So everyone has their own duty.*

In your opinion does the prison system deter people from committing crime?

- *Well as far as I know the prison system is there to deter people but you know when you look at big criminals guys that has been in prison for many years for them it's like home, they don't mind going there. But when we look at youngsters making a change in the lives of the youngster as far as possible [...]I also have young children God forbid they use drugs but we give the youngsters an opportunity in life if he messes up he has to take the consequences*

But do you think the fact that prisons are there actually gets youngsters thinking "you know what, that is where I am going to end up I actually don't want to commit crime?"

- *Well i hope so for many youngsters. That is the reason there is prisons it is to deter you from committing crime but many of these youngsters its like they are in demand to go to prison.*

Do you receive reports of officers who are being paid off by criminals to help them out?

- *I don't know if you watch when duty calls the programme on TV on Monday nights at 6 (SABC 2) its a police programme and what has happened there many of our corrupt police officers have made themselves guilty of offences or of crimes on camera they were arrested in uniform their tags have been taken off and their put behind bars so there is ways and means of combating that as well.*

Do you involve former criminals in your services so that they can help you gain a criminals perspective on crime?

- *[Yeah] what I have done previously there was a organisation, I can't recall the name now but it was ex criminals that have been in prison ,have committed crimes but they have reformed themselves they go out and spread the message about youngsters or people not to do crime. I have made use of them previously i do have the book in my office which i took some photos with them so we have a system in place where we also give people a second chance in life to come and talk. I use them also at various presentations where they would basically empower the youngsters not to do crime.*

One of the most concerning matters that arose from this interview was the fact that a member of the police force was unaware of the meaning of delinquency. Which begs the question; if individuals within the SAPS are unaware of this how are they to deal with the situation? The SAPS's view on the emergence on crime is not clear as when The Captain was asked to explain their position, the answer was unclear. SAP's definition of a community at risk is a community that has the need for a specific crime to be addressed. This is not in line with the members from these communities nor is it in line with the academic definitions of these areas. Using the definition provided ultimately every community in the city of Cape Town has experienced some aspect of crime which according to the definition provided above makes it a community at risk.

The approach to the crime situation in these communities is mainly visibility, handing out of pamphlets in communities to increase awareness and collaborating with NICRO which has programmes in place to empower victims of crime. The word "debrief" was used to explain how the programmes deal with victims of crime, a word that is that is very technical and is detached from the human experience which is concerning. When asked what are the root causes of crime was, the response was in agreement with what has been stated in the literature review and some comments that were made by the RLab team members. The Captain attributes the roots causes of crime to unemployment and adds personal factors such as greed.

The relationship between the SAPS, justice system and correctional services described here is lacking in the sense that it appears that there is very little if any communication between the three. This lack of communication could result in, irregularities.

Within the *DAC* literature it has been established that in order to successfully address crime the responsibility for the “fight against crime” cannot lie solely on the shoulders of the police. The SAPS stand behind this and The Police Captain says that the police needs the help of the public to successfully combat crime.

7.6.2 Community Safety

The following are the question and responses from The Representative of the Department Of Community Safety. This interview was to establish what the government was doing in order to address both the emergence of crime in a community at risk and with the youth from those communities. The Representative’s responses are italicised.

What is the role of the Department of Community Safety?

- *Number one we busy with road safety that is one of our responsibilities provincial road safety. Secondly we also involved with the risk management in other word looking after government buildings and so on. So those are our two key things. The third thing is we are monitoring and have an oversight role of the role of SAPS so the police we have an oversight role with regard to all their responsibilities.*
- *Our particular directorate we are called the social crime directorate. So we are involved with a couple of stuff but the one thing that we doing, strictly speaking is not social crime prevention but we are placing neighbourhood watch people at high risk schools to look after the schools. So we have a hundred and thirty odd schools where we place five people per school. They are community neighbourhood watch volunteers.*
- *Then we also busy designing a school safety model where the school can actually take care of the child together with the education department because strictly speaking it was felt that we shouldn't be doing that it should be the responsibility of the school itself. Then I am busy working with a gang programme, it is gang intervention programme and forms part of the provincial gang strategy the strategy consists of four pillars which is research , intervention, prevention as well as law enforcement and my mine focus is on the intervention model.*

What is your definition of delinquency?

- *My understanding is a youth at risk is a youth that is involved in gang activity. That is associated with it; a youth that displays anti social behaviour and that is maybe involved with drugs.*

Do you have any programmes aimed at youth delinquency?

- *Social crime prevention is basically coming in with. . .we identify high risk people youth maybe fifteen till about eighteen nineteen and we take them on life skill training camps. We also have substance abuse programme with them and behaviour modification type of programmes with the same boys. But then also general prevention, all the schools we will target in that area, substance abuse programme, some life skill programmes then we also. . .with the youth that we targeting for more intense intervention we also have parental skills training programme for their parents. So those are some of the things that we are doing and are working close with all the other government departments.*
- *Like we have a camp this week-end forty two youngsters from Manenberg and they stayed there, we had schools and psychologist different people involved in the programme. I spoke to the principal this morning and he was very chuffed about it. Those were his naughtiest boys that went on and he met with them this morning and he said they were so excited and when can they go back.*

What would a programme like that involve?

- *It's not necessary to have psychologist, it was the first time. We had social workers we had people from the community police form, people from the police, teachers, people from the school governing body. Then we also have facilitators they might normally come from a NGO CBO or something and they would. It would include stuff like dealing with the dangers associated with drugs and gangs, he will deal with the basics of self awareness, of communication, of peer pressure. It will also include some physical activities on Saturday morning, they will go up the mountain at six o'clock maybe come back two three hours later. So they do that type of stuff so it is a lot of physical, participatory but not too lecturing and that type of thing.*

What is your definition of a community at risk?

- *We might have different definitions my definition is a community that is experiencing regular incidents of gang violence that is my definition.*
- *But another project in our department will define a community as a school for instance so they will look at schools that are exposed to regular vandalism and antisocial behavior, gang activity in and around the school so it differs from component to component. But if we can have a regular definition it might be a challenge, our projects are different and if we say at risk it is basically [...] general at risk is a community that is experiencing high levels of crime that for me is a community a risk. Also bear in mind that the level of community mobilisation is not so high. You find in affluent areas like by UCT there were a couple incidents that was at risk but then they mobilised themselves now I wouldn't see them as at risk because they are also fairly well resourced, maybe Nyanga is not so well resourced so they might be experiencing crime both of them at risk but the one's capacity is a bit low we would rather go where the capacity is low.*
- *So we work in high risk communities such as Kewtown, Nyanga, Delft, Manenberg, Hanover Park and so on. And we come up with social crime preventions and law enforcement.*

What factors do you say contribute to the emergence of crime in a community?

- *Well I did say now where the level of community mobilisation and involvement is low it kind of creates an opportunity for crime to thrive. So then of course the general thing where there is alcohol abuse, where there is drug abuse, where there is lack of facilities, the unemployment is high so general factors you know. But one factor on its own does not necessarily generate or make it a high risk or contribute to [...] it is a combination of factors. Because there are certain areas where maybe there are no jobs but there is almost no crime.*

What programmes have been put in place to ensure community safety?

- *Our particular directorate we are called the social crime directorate. So we are involved with a couple of stuff but the one thing that we doing, strictly speaking is not social crime prevention but we are placing neighbourhood watch people at high risk schools to look after the schools. So we have a hundred and thirty odd schools where we place five people per school. They are community neighbourhood watch volunteers.*

Besides the neighborhood watch do you have others?

- *We train general community members in conflict management, so if there is conflict in the area they have the capacity to resolve those issues. Because many of these conflicts if it is not managed it leads to bigger problems.*
- *So they do that and the ceasefire programme that I am talking about that is very exciting, i am not necessarily looking at ex gang members. We looking at people that enjoy a bit of credibility in the gang world so you might not be an ex gang member. Because many communities have an aunty or an uncle that just manages to enjoy respect across the board especially amongst the gangsters. They can talk to them and resolve issues, they just enjoy some capabilities. So it sounds like an exciting project, like in Kewtown which is just next to Bridgetown we find that many gang conflicts communities aren't generally scared. They don't feel they want to be remotely be involved because the then become victims. But I know a couple people that would maybe I know this gang and you know this gang through us intervening separately with these guys but in a coordinated way we can actually get them to resolve some stuff. Of course stopping gang violence is good cause that is my priority but gang members are also involved in other things like selling drugs but that is not my priority though but that is important to deal with and that is a law enforcement thing and if you dealing with the supply of drugs which is also law enforcement but demand for drugs is again working with youngsters.*

Do you know any communities that use to be at risk but are no longer?

- *I am sure there is, man but there is different levels of risk you know. So an area where the crime rate has stabilised is Michelle's plain. It stabilised but I wouldn't say it is not at risk anymore but it is at much lower risk and one of the reasons for that is it is a very well resourced police service, there is a high level of community mobilisation. There are thousands*

of street community members, there is at least thousand neighborhood watch members .The government has implemented many programmes some of it [...] like physical stuff you know building schools or shops, roads or other buildings that are designed for safety because if you have a bush that is not designing for safety .If you don't have street lights it is not designing for safety. So where those things are addressed you also reduce the risk. So I think Michelle's Plain's gang violence and crime rate has stabilised.

What would your definition be of a safe community?

- *A safe community, you know safety can also be defined in different ways you know. There is this thing of road safety; there is this thing of people so it's just not crime necessarily. But if you want to focus on crime then it is a community that has very little crime almost no serious crime and where the community is resistant to crime. In certain of the communities especially the high risk communities' people aren't resistant it is like.*

You say that you enlist the help of other bodies, which department are these?

- *Social development, cultural affairs and sport it is the South African Police Service, it is the City of Cape Town, it is Correctional Services sometime it is Customs, sometimes the NPA sometimes it is health.*

Do you work with the judicial system or correctional services?

- *In Atlantis we have a dedicated senior prosecutor working with four organised crime detectives and their main job is just to get gang leader crime boss.*
- *They are fairly successful I mean they have made sixty six arrests; forty four of them are facing criminal charges. Some of them are in custody but all forty four are facing criminal charges. And one was sentenced to life imprisonment about two months ago. So they are they are making some headway.*

The answers from the above interview established that the department understands the meaning of delinquency (refers to delinquent youth as youth at risk) and community at risk (as defined by the literature). They have programmes in place that are targeted at youth who are considered at risk, they also have programmes in place to deal with community safety. They have volunteers who are placed at different schools to keep schools safe. Community members are trained in ceasefire negotiations so that issues in the community can be solved before they escalate and result in tension.

From the departments point of view the emergence of crime is attributed to lack of community mobilisation. The area surrounding the University of Cape Town (UCT) was given in an example of how affluent areas that experience crime can reduce emergence of crime because they have the finances to mobilise the community. Mitchell's Plain was given as an example of how crime in a community can stabilise if there is community mobilisation.

The department works with the judicial system but no examples of their work in Cape Town was given only one in Atlantis was provided.

7.6.3 Criminologist

Below are the questions and answers to the interview with The Criminologist. The questions are to gain an understanding of issues related to crime from a professional point of view and how a criminologist's opinions can inform solutions to the emergence of crime. The Criminologist's answers are italicised.

What is the definition of criminology, actually what does a criminologist do?

- *That is actually a big question because we have different criminology in South Africa. There is a range of different types of criminology, so for us Criminology is much more than the study of crime and criminals.*
- *For us criminology is about exploring governance – who governs security who governs crime. So this goes way beyond crime it is about social ordering, it s about policing is much more broadly conceived then sate police. So we take criminology really to a broad level and we are also very involved in other disciplines because we believe criminology has to be inter-disciplinary because of the nature of insecurities. The fear of crime, crime, risks in the country so we don't focus on crime per say. For instance we have a climate change lab here we, we call it a lab which involves the governance of climate change issues, institution governance how do you change the governance of institution so that they can address the insecurities of climate change. So we look at insecurities and safety very broadly.*

How would a criminologist fit in, in the war against crime and what would their role be? Does the SAPS ever contact criminologists to help them coming up with strategies?

- *Yes we do have projects but we are more interested in not in offenders offender profiling [...] we not really interested in forensic analysis even though our students are so we teach something in that. We are very much interested in institutions, how the government, how the public think about and do things to address crime and insecurities and safety.*
- *So in that respect we don't focus particularly on say policing we focus more on innovative ways in which the public can come up with their own security solutions.*
- *We very much involved with the province at the moment part of community safety. We have tried to create a whole society approach to policing. We are tying to get out of this pre occupation with law enforcement and prisons. We are trying to move beyond that into something much broader that includes things like crime prevention through environmental design which includes neighborhood watch which includes infrastructural design technology. So different ways of dealing with crime rather than specifically imprisonment.*

Do you by any chance work in conjunction with designers?

- *[Yeah] we link up with CSR, the council of scientific and industrial research, Karina Lankman. She works a lot with the social aspect of crime prevention looking at gating and things like that. Trying to look at the positives of gating and looking at how can we design in a positive way? Cause at the moment we looking at designing in a very negative way to exclude.*
- *Our designing at the moment is very reactive.*

In your opinion what is the definition of delinquency?

- *Well I think you know it is a very fluid concept, I think delinquency depends on how society defines it. The society of the day, a delinquent in the 18th hundred is very different to a delinquent today. Homosexuality, mixed marriages even were considered delinquent during apartheid days, it is not considered delinquent today. So this is very based on sub-cultural theory we have a dominant culture in this country and i use the word culture very broadly here which determines what is delinquent and what is not and this is usually in line with our constitution but you have sub-cultures who don't believe in the same values as the broader society. So delinquency really I would say is determined by what society thinks/views at that particular time.*

Do criminologists have a set definition or this is it that it depends?

- *[Yeah] we very interested in how people asses delinquency how they asses responses to delinquency. We don't decide that this is delinquency so lets examine it, some criminologist do. Crime is delinquency and we are going to study crime. But the definition of crime changes as well.*

Would it not be beneficial for the South African Police Service if in their training they had a course of criminology to at least broaden their view of what crime is?

- *They do have this and I have taught it, it was very basic criminology. It was the 'rawest' criminology I have ever seen. It didn't engage with these issues at all. They had things like how to know how old a bruise is, if it's dark grey than it is two weeks old. If it is yellow than it is three weeks. I mean how useful is that? It is useful in some respect if the police are going into a violent context but it didn't deal with theory at all and that is what is lacking.*

In your opinion what do you think (in a broader sense) are the reasons for delinquency, If we look at it in a crime way why youth go off in a tangent and lead a life of crime that kind of delinquency especially amongst 15/16 year old?

- *There is a range of theories on this. We teach a theory course for 12 weeks just o the variety of theories and it is really based on a number of factors. The closest theory that we can relate that comes close to South Africa is linked to the concept of relative deprivation. We have one of the most unequal societies in the world that has been one of the main issues that we have taken into account to explain not only high levels of crime but why we are so violent. And there*

is just a list of things unemployment, lack of opportunity just usefulness. Just having youth at that age, you know how youth are like at that age, just having youth put into that situation who already trying to find themselves, lack of employment and also the attractiveness of subcultures like gangs. It's very attractive that's a way to acquire status and wealth and meaning in your life than you join a gang. There is also the issue of teen pregnancy, single parent household lack of fathers.

How can delinquency be relieved?

- *What I can tell you is not going to solve delinquency is police. That is the one thing that is going to make it worse and that is the one thing that they always focus on put more police in the streets. Okay visibility it has its uses for some types of crime but definitely not for all of them. It doesn't deal with root causes anymore.*
- *Not all people will commit crime, like you at much greater risk if have many or most of those factors in your life. Some people are more resilient than others.*

Taking all of this into account what would be the best way for South Africa to deal with crime or the government, whoever is put in charge to deal with crime what would be the best way from your point of view?

- *I think the best way first of all is for all government departments to acknowledge that they have a responsibility to deal with crime; they have allocated it to one department, safety and security that is just the police.*

The police's work ends when they arrest and then they hand over the individual to the justice system and the justice system hands over to correctional services but is there any conversation between the three groups?

- *There was meant to be there were integrated development plans, there were meetings at provincial levels to try and engage various departments but sustainability is an issue to try and get just to carry on. So the conversation don't happen as they should happen and as much has they should happen between these various departments so they end it with imprisonment so we have overcrowded prisons because there is no communication between the courts so we have options for these diversions don't use them send them off to jail or prison. There is no communication between these three and as you said they are at the very end the person has offended already. What is the good of intervening now. I mean one can intervene much earlier, why don't you intervene at the stage of teen pregnancy? Supporting teens who are pregnant, providing facilities education knowledge. Why don't you intervene with mothers who are drinking fetal alcohol syndrome is huge in terms of the biological make up of the baby that is born into the circumstance. That is what I am saying all government departments need to take responsibility; nobody takes responsibility except for the now Ministry Of Police so when you have your crime stats rolled out they are the only department to take responsibility. They don't say ok department of housing hat did you do, department of education what did you do. You see what I mean?*

How do you think we can break the cycle?

- *There are many alternatives to imprisonment, what do prisons do? Think about what it does, it creates an environment which is even more violent than the outside. It creates a place and belonging familiar with men, there are linkages between gangs on the inside and outside and research has shown actually that prison damage communities. They damage the community more than the crime itself, if that makes sense?*
- *Extract fathers, not to say that all criminals are men, extract fathers from the communities who maybe the primary bread-winners. You move them into the prison institution disease carrying violent. When they come out many of them have been effected with AIDS or tuberculosis or some other disease they have been scared. When they re-enter the community can you imagine the health implications of that? Biologically what they are spreading and mentally how they damage the community. There is no support for them in the communities, they get rejected by the community there is no integration of them with the community again they, there is no job prospects so they have no other avenues to explore except the illegitimate avenue which they followed in the beginning which is criminality and so they get sent back.*
- *But there are options; there is a variety of options which we have explored but only on the periphery. Restorative justice, community service sentencing I mean this is once the offence has already happened I am not even talking about what they can do before they have offended, NICRO counseling programme but the government doesn't support these types of institutions; the NGO's have to run on their own. The government supports the main stream support which is mass imprisonment established private prisons to carry on*
- *Private prisons, they have sub-contracted the management of the prison to a private company G4 manages the private prison. So there are alternatives but government isn't spending in these directions.*
- *We don't have enough social workers in this country we don't have enough probation officers but the alternatives to imprisonment are not fully explored because they are not popular people want to see prisoners being punished. Imprisonment could be reserved for a small percentage of people who actually need to be removed from society. It shouldn't be reserved for people who have a mental problem. Prison has become now a new space for people with mental problems because of budget cuts in mental institutions.*
- *There is a vast majority of people who don't belong there who are there for petty offences who can't afford a lawyer. Imprisonment is largely reserved for he poor and yet we use this system without factory how damaging it is to communities.*

Besides the alternatives that you have mentioned, are there others?

- *Restorative justice, that is a way of mediating, well there is a bit of controversy about this sort of justice, family group conferencing, victim offender mediation where the offender and the victim have a chance to reconcile rape cases not so much. But it is a way of assisting the offender to be reintegrated back into the community and to facilitate opportunities, I mean there are good thing that are happening in prison that should be supported. There are a lot of*

faith based organization that go in there, there are skills development that can happen in prison

- *We should be dealing with a very small percentage of people in prison, we should be pulling our resources trying to manage communities so that they don't continue to produce offenders. Some communities they just churn out offenders because the factors in this community are contributing to crime.*

When we deal with youth what would be the best way to deter them from that life?

- *You know a large part of the problem is a lack of opportunities, if they know that their attending school is a waste of time they are not going to take it seriously. If there are opportunities beyond school if they have a clear trajectory which they can follow, this school is a feeder school for a college or university these are the options for you can get financial support to study her, this will lead to a job or you know even if it is not academic we do not have in many schools , in many schools it is just every man for himself basically. Then that could be an incentive not to follow short cuts to dress as well as the person next to you. So that is the short answer, I mean they use to be a number of facilities designed specifically to teach certain types of skills to students, not academic skills.*
- *[Yeah] that is it; there use to be a lot of those. And those schools have actually been closed down one by one and we are calling for them to open these types of schools. Where there is a clear job prospect, we need these types of workers [...] plumbers, electricians things like that we need that. And there just isn't enough development for those courses for people who can't make it to university. And if you can create an incentive the [...] it is a good incentive to move away obviously there are going to be youths that will not follow his way. There will be no incentive not to follow that direction but I think a vast majority if they have clear prospects, they have a possible future mapped out for them support along the way then they may take that path over and above a shortcut*

Criminologist view crime holistically and from a social vantage rather than a policing one. This makes them the perfect partner for the SAPS to collaborate with when planning strategies. The Criminologist explains that they are involved in some projects with the police. When asked whether a course in criminology would not be beneficial for police she answered in the affirmative and confirmed that such a course had been taught and explained that the type of criminology being taught was rather basic. It did not focus on the social aspects of crime but looked at how to tell whether a bruise was two or three weeks old and other related matters. This type of criminology is needed but it does not broaden the police's view on the social aspect of crime which this study has shown is pertinent to successfully mitigating crime.

When looking at delinquency, criminologists are of the opinion that delinquency is determined by society at the time an example, during apartheid inter-racial marriages were viewed as

delinquent behaviour but that is no longer the case. As criminologists are informed by a different school of thought than the police, they believe that police will not solve the problem of delinquency as the approaches used by the police are not targeted at youth at risk. Reasons for delinquency are recognised as lack of opportunities for youth that coupled with the fact that during their teens they are going through an overall change of their being and are usually prone to being rebellious. There is also attractiveness to subcultures such as gangsterism and the lifestyle afforded by this lifestyle.

Imprisonment is not seen as a positive way of dealing with offenders and the government is blamed for not exploring alternative methods to imprisonment. Team member 1 from the RLab team echoed the same sentiments when he stated that there are some people who belong in prison but there are others who could be helped in other manners. An example of an alternative to imprisonment is restorative justice which focuses on mediation between the offender and the victim (this however can only be applied to some forms of crime, for example it is not recommended when a victim has been raped). The fact that prisons were being used as a “dumping” ground for mentally challenged people was highlighted. The criminologist is of the opinion that imprisonment creates more problems than it solves. When offenders are released they have little or no alternatives to crime as a way of making a living. They go back to the very community that created the situations that lead them to prison and at times rejected by those communities. When the men are incarcerated most often households lose a bread winner and upon release they actually damage the community biologically (diseases contracted during their incarceration) and mentally (aggression resulting from staying in a violent place for an extended period of time). From the response to whether they (Criminology Department at UCT) team up with designers in solving problems related to crime, the researcher was informed that this did indeed happen and they are looking at designing “against” crime in a positive way because at present design solutions (in their view) is approached from a negative view. A suggested way of deterring youth from a life of crime is providing a clear trajectory of their life once they leave school, when they know that there is a better option and they are guided to it they will have more confidence in pursuing a better life.

7.6 Summary

The answers to the questions on the community posed to the focus groups paint a grave picture of Bridgetown. The negative and the positive were highlighted and it appears that the negative outweigh the positives. Notwithstanding, there is still hope that the situation is redeemable through informed design interventions. Gangsterism and substance abuse are high in the community; the combination has given rise to a new type of crime which results in property damage. The life experiences that the RLab shared showed the dangers of both

gangsterism and drug abuse. The fact that they left that life behind also shows the hope that the members have for their community. The final chapter will consolidate these various concerns by offering pertinent conclusions and proposing promising directions for further research into this important topic.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter reviews the key findings and presents conclusions of this exploratory study. In addition the chapter introduces design strategies and recommendations aimed primarily at youth growing up in communities at risk so as to encourage them to choose more productive and responsible lifestyles. In so doing, participating youth would choose a way of life other than one of crime. The study set out to explore the opportunities for design interventions to reduce crime using the *Design against Crime* (DAC) philosophy – a strategy that explicitly focuses on endeavours to reduce and prevent crime from taking place. The initial phase of the study set out to understand the complex nature of crime within a community in tension in the South African context, as well as to interrogate the myriad factors that lead to crime in general. A variety of qualitative methods (such as focus groups, interviews and reflective journals) were employed to obtain the rich data that was presented and analysed in the previous chapter.

8.2 Revisiting the Aims of the Research

This study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the causes that lead to the emergence of crime in the community?
 - a. How does the prevalence of crime impact upon a community and its ability to function cohesively?
2. What (if any) are the forms of interventions currently in place to target the ontogeny of crime in Cape Town?
3. Why have previous attempts at ameliorating crime in Cape Town not been effective?
4. How can a design against crime intervention potentially reduce the opportunities that allow for the emergence of crime?

Further, the objectives of the study were stated thus:

- To understand and determine the personal and environmental factors that lead to a life of crime;
- To evaluate and understand the impact of crime on society and a specific communities;

- To find out what interventions have been put in place and how they have worked thus far in order to be able to determine how design can promote a socially responsible outlet for youth at risk; and
- To propose a DAC intervention that fits into the South African context.

8.3 General Conclusions and Proposed Strategies

With regards to the factors that influence an individual's decision to take on a life of crime this study found that the reasons are varied and no single factor influences the choice of a life of crime. This thesis argues that a lifestyle involving crime is a combination of personal and environmental factors. Personal factors include the need to make easy money, or due to specific nuclear family dynamics such as whether a person was brought up in a single or two parents home. Further, the critical role of the extended family and wider community are acknowledged as factors influencing psychosocial wellbeing as well as emotional stability. Unfortunately (as is reported herein) some individuals have the misfortune of being brought up in an unstable home environment where abuse is a norm. This reality is often bolstered by unfavourable environmental factors results in a life influenced and characterised by crime.

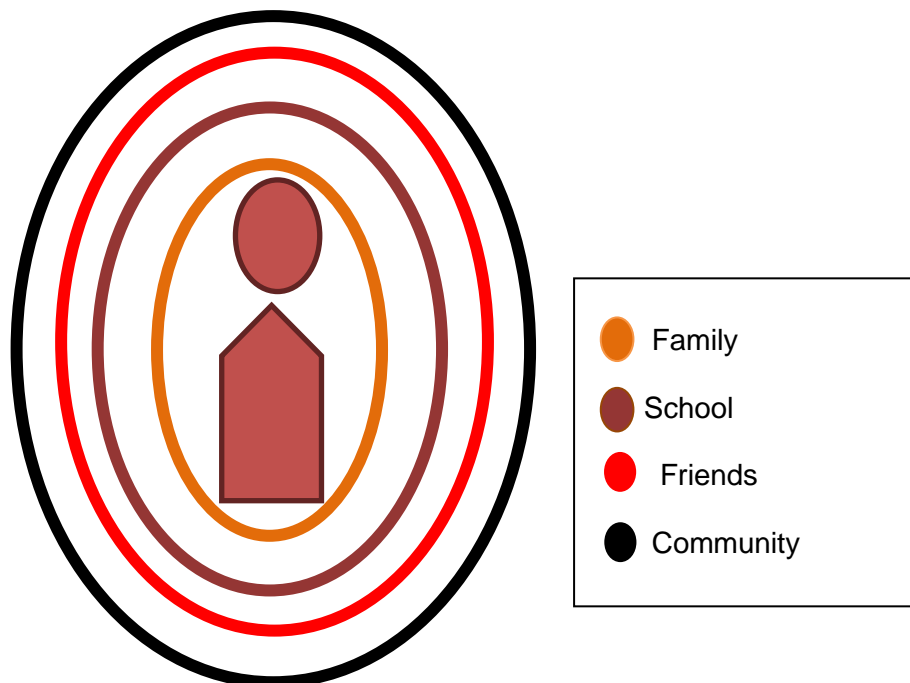
The study also looked at South Africa's history and how the apartheid legacy continues to affect today's society. Looking at *The Group Areas Act* of 1950 and the forced removals that resulted from the implementation of this act, one can see that the communities that are now regarded as communities in tension can trace their current malaise to the period of social uprooting and subsequent upheaval occasioned by the forced mass relocation. These self-same communities are not provided for sufficiently and their people continue to suffer from systemic effects of socio-economic exclusion. They are caught up in a cycle of poverty, which in the words of one community member captures the collective sentiments thus:

I think they did, I the brilliance of Verwoed and his [apartheid-era] cronies [...] the nationalists they were extremely brilliant in their design and how it would impact the community mindset [...] to infiltrate the mind that is the key – that is where imprisonment is actually – it is in the mind (Community member 4).

Concerning the youth and masculinity, the study revealed that if appropriate guidance is not provided for youth while during their transition to adulthood, there is a risk of developing a warped sense of their social gender roles leading to a misplaced and excessive (display of) masculinity – this makes the male youth even more vulnerable. When undergoing the process of identity construction, some cultures provide for their

boys with age old practices such as initiation in the Xhosa culture (and *Bar Mitzvah* – a celebrated Jewish rite of passage). This study advocates for similar (yet context-sensitive) practices with positive role models as mentors. In this way, youth growing up in a community at risk will be arguably less likely to succumb to a life of crime, end up in gangs, spend time in prison, or use recreational drugs.

When looking at how to address the youth of the community, the most important factor to consider is that related to the sphere of influence. The findings of this research support the view that there are four main spheres of influence as illustrated below in Figure 8.1 and they are (starting with the closest): the family; followed by the friends; then school; and lastly the community. When considering an intervention one has to target the closest sphere of influence to be the launching pad of the intervention. The findings state that whatever intervention is proposed for youth at risk, it should include a special focus on the home. The critical role of the home in ensuring effective interventions was also confirmed by informants at the RLab team.



**Figure 8.1: Sphere of influence
(Author's construct)**

When addressing a phenomena as complex as crime as this study shows, there are a number of contributing factors and it is not possible to address all factors with one solution. Hence more than one proposal is proffered to ameliorate the crime amongst the youth. In order to address the diverse factors relating to the ontogeny of crime successfully, the following recommendations are proposed:

8.3.1 Recommendation One

When the RLab team members were challenged to propose alternatives to gangsterism, there was general consensus around the proposal by one team member that a “positive gang” of brotherhood between participating youth for mutual support. This research therefore supports the provision of a space and place for the youth to socialize with a view to replicating the strong sense of belonging and identity that comes from associating with one’s peer group members. In so doing, these youths can connect with each other in a safe, supportive, and nurturing space in the knowledge that they can achieve more in life in a collaborative context. This strategy is also supported by Marlon Parker (2010) who motivated for a positive place for the youth in the community to meet. Indeed, a “HUB of BELONGING” was the concept endorsed by the focus group in their discussion of how youth could be diverted from a life of crime. For this hub to attract and maintain a healthy and positive dynamic among the youth, it would ideally offer facilities for sports, ‘edutainment’, and creative interaction in an inclusive, participative and non-prescriptive manner.

8.3.2 Recommendation Two

Africa has a strong history of storytelling and this can be used as inspiration to encourage youth to choose a path that leads away from crime and to achievements. Members from both the community focus group and that of the RLab team stated that there is a lack of positive role models in the community so the youth act out what they see with their parents and community. This study supports the formation of a semi-structured mentorship scheme to expose young people to accessible role models whose own lives mirror the reality the youth are familiar with. To this end, members of the RLab are ideal candidates to offer mentorship to youth in the local community. The youth need to be shown that it is possible to get out of the cycle the way the RLab team members have managed to. Another option is to have the local heroes available to them for mentorship to guide them that way and help them with challenges that rise up in daily life.

Additionally, comic books are arguably one of the most loved forms of reading for children and young adults. The youth of the community need to be exposed to the good that is happening in their community as a whole and a comic book that demonstrates to them and educates them about the good in their community can raise their consciousness as well as act as a catalyst to change the way they see their community and the people therein. This is where the local heroes are introduced and it updates on their current achievements. Youth are naturally rebellious if it is presented in a format that they enjoy they will take it in better.

8.3.3 Recommendation Three

There is also a need to attend to the children who are twelve years old and below so by the time they are the youth of the community they are informed about how to make decisions that keep them on the positive path to achieving their goals. During a discussion with Jörn Messeter (2011) the suggestion to use gaming as a means to educate the youth was put forth. The game is a miniature version of a part of the community. In this game winning depends on the type of choices you make, the questions asked are in the form of situation that the player need to get out of or to solve and there are suggested solutions. When they choose positive they proceed but if they choose an inappropriate suggestion there are consequences either heading back a few steps, going back to the beginning, losing the “wealth” gained on the journey up to that point. The basic concept of the game is if the player chooses positive suggestions they are promoted if not they face the consequences.

8.3.4 Recommendation Four

One of the strongest statements from both the community focus group and that of the RLab team is that the parents need to be educated about the pressures and challenges their children experience on a constant basis. Further, the following specific concerns were noted with regards to parental ignorance:

- *What opportunities were available for their children;*
- *What their children were up to (gang activities and the like); and*
- *How their actions in the home ultimately influence their children.*

This study strongly supports the participation in parents in any DAC strategies as they play a pivotal role in maintaining social equity and cohesiveness. To this end, creative programmes of engagement would need to compliment the active engagement of

parents with their children. This could be facilitated via participation in communal activities linked to schools, and at the youth-centred facilities (discussed in Recommendation One), and promoted actively through the games (proposed in Recommendation Three) among other strategies. Such strategies should be ideally negotiated in a participatory manner involving all parties so as to ensure buy-in and uptake.

8.4 Contributions to Knowledge

This study sought to “explore the opportunities for possibilities of design intervention against crime”. As discussed in the first two chapters of this thesis, DAC is currently being used in industrially developed countries such as England and Australia, as an alternative method of addressing crime. Notwithstanding, there is a dearth of information on related strategies in developing or majority world contexts. Subsequently, this study represents an important contribution to the discourse on amelioration of crime in general, and specifically addresses strategies that draw on *socially responsible design* as a conceptual framework for interrogating this critical subject. Issues of sustainability, law enforcement, the home, schools, as well as the [potential] roles and responsibilities of other key stakeholders was also discussed to determine the efficacy of DAC-informed thinking. This study also makes a contribution by bringing together such diverse fields as gaming, mobile telephony and informatics, as well as traditional design disciplines (including industrial and graphic design) to address the issue of crime in a manner that takes cognisance of the aspirations of the youth.

Additionally, this study offers support for the relevance and applicability of DAC as a suitable frame of reference with regards to interrogating the complex and multi-dimensional facets of crime. DAC has proved to be a versatile tool for interrogating crime-related issues from psychosocial, right through to socio-technical perspectives thus informing in the adjustable and context-responsive recommendations proposed in the previous section.

8.5 Limitations of Research

Due to the complex nature of crime, coupled with time constraints it has been not possible to pursue all the recommendation to the point of testing their feasibility in the real world. Further, the study was limited to the activities involving the youth and community actors, but could not conceivably have engaged parents – one of the key

elements of the DAC landscape. Notwithstanding, the proposed DAC strategy anticipates a pivotal role of parents specifically, as well as a supportive role within the homes that the affected youth come from.

8.6 Implications for Further Research

This study focuses on the emergence of crime in a community at risk. The recommended strategies each address a different issue that needs to be addressed with regards to the ontogeny of crime. The strategies that have been put forward would need further implementation and testing to prove their effectiveness – this should form the focus of a dedicated study at a later date.

Further study needs to be done to establish the versatility of DAC responses in a multi- or cross-cultural context. The Athlone area (where the primary research was carried out) is relatively homogenous from a socio-cultural point of view – it would see how the recommendations can be operationalised. A future study in other parts of Cape Town (or even further afield) would potentially aid in determining the more generalisable features of DAC strategies proposed herein, as well as to shed light on which features retain a uniquely local complexion irrespective of context.

8.7 Summary

Design against Crime (DAC) is a specific aspect of the socially responsible design ethos which seeks to deploy design thinking to proffer solutions to address the ontogeny of crime in all its manifestations. As discussed herein, DAC-related discourse though new to our context, offers useful and adjustable strategies for addressing crime. This chapter revisited the research questions and aims/objectives set out in Chapter One to establish the degree to which they have been addressed.

The study revealed opportunities for holistic and multi-faceted deployment of DAC strategies to ameliorate crime within a community in tension. The adjustable strategies are informed by the participatory process that the author employed in engaging with both the subject matter and the participating informants. Finally, the chapter identified the specific contributions made through this study and proposed some possible directions for further research to strengthen the case for DAC as a suitable intervention within the greater Cape Town and similar contexts both regionally, and nationally.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent Forms

Appendix B: Explanatory Statement

Appendix C: Reflective Journal Insert (Girls)

Appendix D: Reflective Journal Insert (Boys)

Appendix E: RLabs profile

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form



Informed Consent Form

Study Title: An exploration of opportunities for design interventions to reduce crime: A case study situated in Bridgetown

Investigator: Adelina Kankondi, Master in Industrial Design Candidate

Miss Kankondi is a Master's candidate studying the impact crime has on a community and how design may be used to address it.

The study supervisors and other appropriate authorities at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), in the Western Cape Province, have approved the study and its procedures. The study procedures involve no foreseeable risk or harm to you. The procedures include:

- (1) A focus group to discuss their opinions on the emergence and effects of crime on the community and how design may be used to address it.

Please feel free to ask any questions about the study or about being a subject and you may call Miss Kankondi at 082-0984559 (mobile) if you have further questions. Additionally, you can contact her via email: akankondi@gmail.com

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you are under no obligation to participate and you have the right to withdraw at any time should you so choose. Your identity will not be revealed while the study is being conducted or when the study is reported or published, unless you give explicit consent for the same. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all study data will be collected by Miss Kankondi, stored in a secure place, and not shared with any other person without your permission apart from supervisors and academics involved.

I have read this consent form and voluntarily consent to participate in the study:

Signature of Participant

Date

I have explained this study to the above subject and have sought his/her understanding for informed consent:

Signature of Investigator

Date

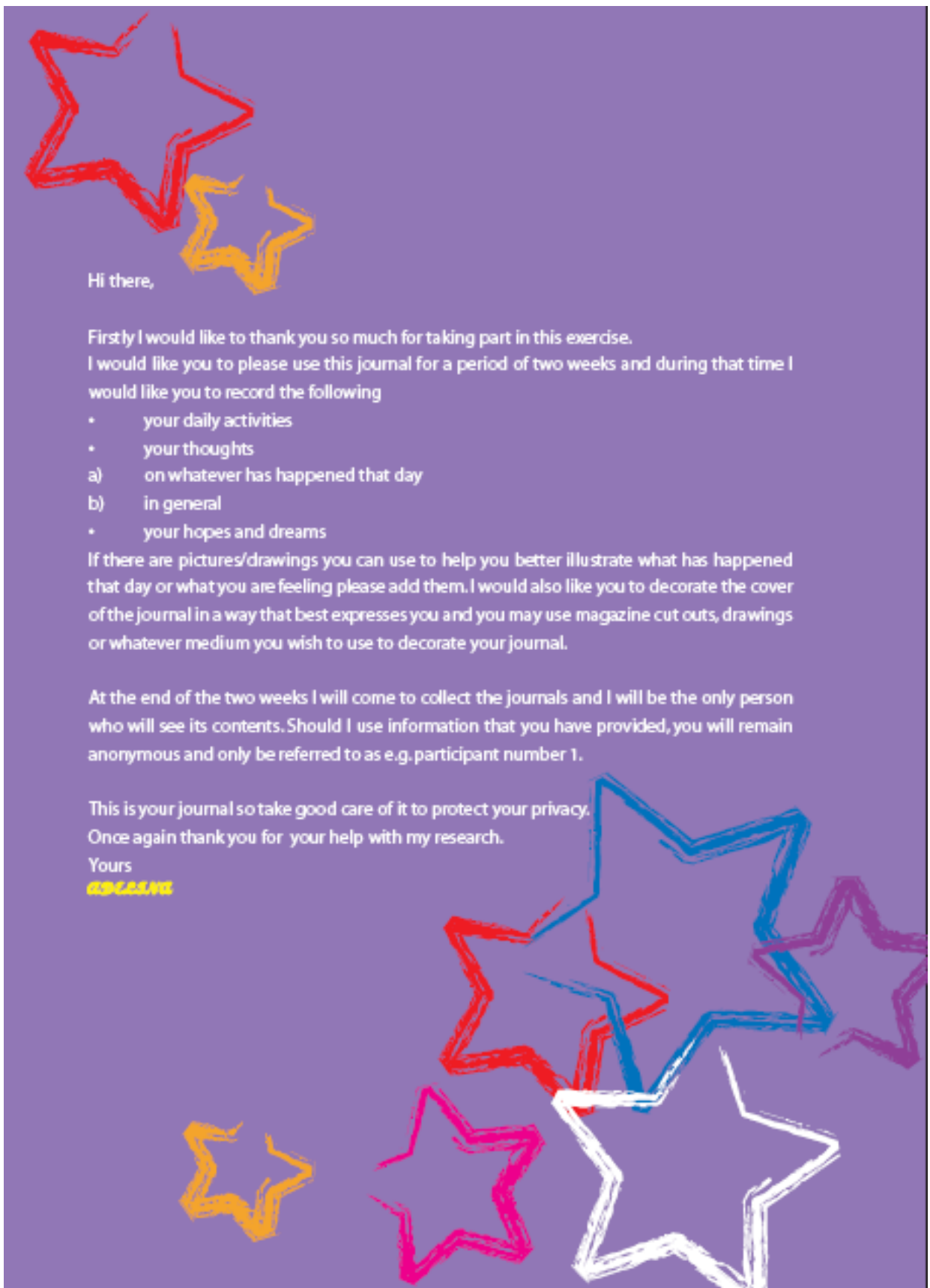
Co-Supervisor: Aletia Chisin Tel: +27-21-469 1036

E-mail: ChisinA@cput.ac.za

Student Researcher: Adelina Kankondi Tel: +27-82 098 4559

Email: akankondi@gmail.com

Appendix C: Reflective Journal Insert (Girls)



Hi there,

Firstly I would like to thank you so much for taking part in this exercise. I would like you to please use this journal for a period of two weeks and during that time I would like you to record the following

- your daily activities
- your thoughts
- a) on whatever has happened that day
- b) in general
- your hopes and dreams

If there are pictures/drawings you can use to help you better illustrate what has happened that day or what you are feeling please add them. I would also like you to decorate the cover of the journal in a way that best expresses you and you may use magazine cut outs, drawings or whatever medium you wish to use to decorate your journal.

At the end of the two weeks I will come to collect the journals and I will be the only person who will see its contents. Should I use information that you have provided, you will remain anonymous and only be referred to as e.g. participant number 1.

This is your journal so take good care of it to protect your privacy. Once again thank you for your help with my research.

Yours
ASCLASVE

Appendix D: Reflective Journal Insert (Boys)



Hi there,

Firstly I would like to thank you so much for taking part in this exercise. I would like you to please use this journal for a period of two weeks and during that time I would like you to record the following

- your daily activities
- your thoughts

a) on whatever has happened that day

b) in general

- your hopes and dreams

If there are pictures/drawings you can use to help you better illustrate what has happened that day or what you are feeling please add them. I would also like you to decorate the cover of the journal in a way that best expresses you and you may use magazine cut outs, drawings or whatever medium you wish to use to decorate your journal.

At the end of the two weeks I will come to collect the journals and I will be the only person who will see its contents. Should I use information that you have provided, you will remain anonymous and only be referred to as e.g. participant number 1.

This is your journal so take good care of it to protect your privacy. Once again thank you for your help with my research.

Yours
ADDELINA



Appendix E: RLabs profile



The Reconstructed Living Labs (RLabs) located in Athlone, Cape Town are part of the “*global movement and registered Social Enterprise that provides innovative solutions to address various complex problems*” (RLabs,2011:1). Cape Town houses the main hub. Their aim is to “*impact, empower and reconstruct local and global communities through innovation*”.

Their mission is to: To create an interaction space for collaborative design, creation, dissemination and application of knowledge

- To develop and empower champions in communities through innovation.
- To give hope and make a difference.
- To be leaders in innovation continuously adding value.

(RLabs,2011:1).

Some of the services provided by Rlabs are:

1. Mobile Consulting Services, Strategy and Product Development where they give “advice and strategy for integrating mobile into your business or organisation”.
2. Research and Development Services Through, R Labs provide research and development services in the areas of social development, ICT, Mobile Technologies, Innovation and Entrepreneurship.
3. Mobile Counselling Services, This innovative contact support centre offers counselling in the areas of HIV/AIDS, substance abuse, abuse, stress and depression, career counselling etc. These services are offered via mobile chat platforms (MXit, GTalk etc.) and mobile social networks. The reconstructed: *The Reconstructed: Social Media for Social Change Course (20 Weeks)* This course is offered to young men and women who comes from difficult backgrounds and looking for an opportunity and outlet to not only learn new skills but also to be transformed through the use of Innovation.
4. Social Media for Teens, This course is offered to young teenagers where they are taught life skills (Identity, HIV/AIDS, coping etc.) through the use of Social Media. Skills acquired will include:
 - Web and Information Literacy
 - Basic Computer Literacy
 - Extensive experience on Various Social Media Tools

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