

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg

Crime Prevention Strategy

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Introduction

Crime in South Africa has increased dramatically since the late 1980s. While recent evidence suggests that some categories of crime are stabilising, national crime levels remain high. Much of the country's recorded crime takes place in the major cities. Of these, Johannesburg is characterised by some of the highest levels of criminality.

Reducing levels of crime in Johannesburg relies on a multi-faceted strategy that draws on the resources and skills of a variety of role players. This is because crime cannot be ended through policing interventions alone: some types of crime, such as those associated with high levels of alcohol abuse, for example, are most effectively prevented through initiatives which aim to undermine the causes of and opportunities for crime. The police are not always well placed to carry out such interventions. And since the causes of (and by definition the opportunities for) crime vary, people and places will be affected in different ways.

Crime prevention thus refers to those activities that are intended to reduce or prevent the occurrence of specific types of crime (or the fear thereof). This can be done either by altering the environment in which they occur, or by intervening more broadly to change the social or other conditions which are thought to have causal significance with regard to them. Reducing crime also requires that much greater effort is directed towards providing support and advice for those who have already been victimised.

This not only supports the process of police investigations but should also seek to ensure that re-victimisation does not occur.

Preventing crime demands a process of analysis to determine the cause of specific types of criminal actions (and their costs for particular groups of victims) as well as the co-ordination of resources and skills of a range of role players to develop and implement appropriate interventions. These requirements mean that crime prevention programmes are most likely to be effective if developed in the localities where the problem occurs, rather than at national level. This requires a targeted approach which focuses various activities towards a single crime problem.

Local government's role in crime prevention

Local government, in conjunction with the South African Police Service (SAPS) and a variety of other role players, has an important role to play in controlling and preventing crime. Local government – the level of government closest to the citizenry – is in a unique position to initiate and actively participate in local crime prevention exercises.

Also, local government, through reorienting many of the services it provides, can begin to address some of the opportunities for, and causes of, crime. Indeed, many of the functions of day-to-day local level crime prevention are inherent to the services performed by local government.

City and town government is the level at which planning can take the needs of local communities and their particular crime problems into account. Potentially, this provides an effective link between local representatives, municipal departments and the national police service. Local government is well placed to

co-ordinate the activities of various departments that can contribute to crime prevention.

There are also real incentives for municipal authorities to ensure a safe locality:

revenues are increased through, among other factors, the provision of a safe

environment, actively encouraging investment by business. There is also an important

political dimension: many local politicians are under increasing public pressure to be seen to be acting against crime. Developing and implementing local crime prevention policy will ensure that ward councillors respond to the needs of their constituents. The advantages of focusing crime prevention at the level of cities and towns, however, are little in evidence among metropolitan and municipal government in south africa. Few successful local government crime prevention initiatives have been recorded in the country and there is comparatively little experience to draw from. Evidence from elsewhere suggests that knowledge of what works for crime prevention (and perhaps more importantly of what does not) will only be gained incrementally through targeted interventions in relation to particular crime problems in defined localities. Such a process has slowly begun in south africa: many local governments have, independently of national initiatives, attempted to improve their crime fighting capabilities. In some places, measures – although often limited to target hardening or projects which focus on wealthier parts of the city where funds are available – have been taken to intervene in the built environment in a way that enhances safety. In durban, the city police have long performed policing functions in support of the south african police service (saps). Local government is therefore, although on a limited scale, becoming involved in crime prevention.

At the level of local government, interventions can now begin in three broad areas:

Establishing metropolitan and municipal police services:

local government will soon have the option of setting up its own police service (based on the model of the durban city police) with a crime prevention function. Such services, while not empowered to investigate crime, will provide visible policing in high density urban areas.

Aligning resources and objectives within a crime prevention framework:

crime and crime prevention is increasingly seen as central to the planning and functions of all municipal departments. This places crime prevention on the agendas of among others, planning, transport and traffic departments at limited cost to local government.

Initiating targeted crime prevention programmes:

local government is well placed – provided the required funding is available – to design and implement programmes targeted at specific crime problems. Such prevention programmes can either be financially supported by local government itself or through business, donor or national government funding.

The need for these kinds of interventions has been recognised by decision makers at national and more recently provincial level. But the continued absence of guidelines and direction from national government has meant that local interventions in cities and towns, where they do occur, are largely developing in a policy vacuum. The one exception however is municipal policing services. In this regard, the policy debate has been underway for two years and legislation making the establishment of police services at local level possible should go before parliament shortly.

The national crime prevention strategy (ncps) increasingly phrases national support for local government crime prevention in terms of Safer Cities Programmes. Initiating these has been included as one of the key ncps objectives for 1998.

While this support is critical, unless it takes the form of committed guidance and most critical, financial assistance, local initiatives will continue to be ad hoc and slow in their delivery.

Toward effective local crime prevention



How local crime prevention is funded becomes critical, not only for the actual implementation of programmes, but importantly, for shaping the role which local government takes as the co-ordinator of initiatives to prevent crime. Crime prevention (both in south africa and elsewhere) is often considered an add-on to line function local government activities. This is particularly the case when funding for these initiatives is drawn from outside the local government budget. This limits accountability for delivery, weakening local government's responsibility towards crime prevention. So while often politically attractive, Safer Cities Programmes run the danger of being little more than political window dressing.

As it is, south africa's urgent development priorities mean that there are seldom additional resources for crime prevention. Indeed, Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg is largely funded by foreign donors, although the metropolitan council is committed to financing the project in the long term. Under circumstances in which funds are limited, crime prevention initiatives are more likely to be seen as peripheral to other municipal programmes and will lack long term sustainability. It should be emphasised, however, that crime prevention programmes should not be seen as separate from more general development objectives since they are central to promoting a better quality of life.

Nevertheless, the pressures for service delivery and development on new (and often weak) local government structures is immense. But many development projects are in

fact in a position to take account of crime prevention requirements without necessarily increasing the resources that are allocated to them. Thus, addressing crime need not be seen as an additional burden. The consolidation of local government structures presents a window of opportunity for integrating crime prevention into the line functions of local departments. This will ensure better service delivery to citizens on the ground. Whatever their advantages, however, faced with limited funding and a myriad of other urgent development priorities, city-driven crime prevention must prioritise particular crime problems. There is a danger, notably in cities such as Johannesburg where crime is prevalent and driven by varied causes (and where political pressure for action is increasing in the run-up to an election), that prevention strategies will attempt to do too much.

The most viable crime prevention strategies are those which aim at a particular crime (or particular group of crimes) and aim to put in place a focused programme of preventive measures. It is essential that any initiatives taken can be measured to determine their immediate benefit. It may also be wise (particular given political pressures) to ensure that programmes selected for implementation are a mix of both short and longer term interventions.

Prioritising interventions which target specific crime problems requires an accurate understanding of the nature and levels of crime in any area, as well as the extent of fear of crime. Information about the extent and nature of criminal activity and the profiles of victims and offenders, is key to developing crime prevention programmes at local level. Also, actual risks of victimisation do not always match fear of crime. In particular, some areas (most commonly the inner city) where crime may not in fact be high compared to other areas, prioritising interventions requires information on citizens' perceptions. Police statistics do not always accurately describe the nature and extent of crime; they also do not reflect perceptions of the public and fear of crime. As the main source of crime information, the police can only provide details of part of the crime picture.

Official crime statistics across the world are largely limited to those incidents which the public choose to report to the police, and which the police in turn record. The unrecorded 'dark figure' of crime can be substantial. This is particularly so in the case of certain categories of crime such as sexual crimes and mugging, and less so for others such as theft of valuable property.

As a result of these and other factors, surprisingly little has been known about the levels and types of crime in Johannesburg. This has limited the debate on possible crime prevention strategies for the city. One of the key aims of the country's first focused crime prevention programme at metropolitan level, the Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg project, was to gather accurate information on crime patterns in the city in order to begin to address the safety of its residents. The history of Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg suggests that both the gathering of information around crime, as well as the experience gained by implementing some pilot projects, provides a useful foundation on which to develop a comprehensive crime prevention strategy for the city.

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg was established during 1997, following a collaborative agreement between the United Nations-Habitat, the International Centre for

prevention the crime (icpc) and the public safety and emergency services cluster at the Greater Johannesburg metropolitan council (gjmc).

Core funding for the project were provided by the dutch government, channelled through the un-habitat. These funds will sustain the critical operations and outputs of the project over three years. Additional matching funding is required to support project implementation. After this period, the financial sustainability of the project will be the responsibility of the metropolitan council.

Led by the metropolitan council, the crime prevention initiative aims – within the framework of the national crime prevention strategy – to reduce crime and the fear of crime, thereby creating a safer urban environment where economic enterprise and community life can flourish.

The project is developing a range of focused crime prevention programmes in collaboration with all interested parties at local, provincial and national level. These include the police, the business sector, non-government organisations and community groups. A dedicated Safer Cities co-ordinator has been appointed to work closely with officials responsible for public safety and emergency services.

In addition to developing new programmes, Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg aims to co-operate with other crime prevention initiatives in the city in order to maximise their impact. While analysis of crime in Johannesburg has been an important component of the initial months of the project, a number of prevention programmes have also been implemented to ensure that the project is seen to be taking immediate action against high levels of crime.

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg has initiated two collaborative crime prevention programmes since its inception. The first, at the joint request of the member of the provincial executive committee for safety and security and the mayor of Johannesburg, was a co-ordinated response to crime and city management problems in hillbrow. This initiative is the first major multi-agency local crime prevention response of its kind in the city. The initiative engaged more than 11 agencies from both local, provincial and national level. The four week operation balanced law enforcement interventions with the need to make environments less conducive to crime. The project provided a valuable learning experience and has subsequently stimulated other similar initiatives.

The second project originated out of a request from the saps, local and provincial politicians. Like the hillbrow operation (although with a stronger law enforcement component), the project targeted crime in the suburban and shopping area of rosebank, just north of the city centre. In particular, the operation focused on criminal activity associated with the suburb's busy night life activity. Over 17 departments took part in the operation. Both the hillbrow and rosebank projects aimed to show that Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg could bring immediate benefits to citizens.

Another important initiative during Safer Cities:

Greater Johannesburg's first year of operation was a project designed to stimulate and guide the development of a metropolitan police service for the city. The imminent enactment of legislation giving local authorities the option of providing municipal police services in their areas required a response from the metropolitan council. Primarily, this has entailed a critical assessment of current council functions and services which would need to be transformed to accommodate a metropolitan police service.

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg also sought the critical review of a senior canadian police officer and recognised international expert on city policing issues. This provided

an independent opinion on the mechanisms needed to transform current metropolitan council structures and functions to create an effective metropolitan police service.

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg has focused on establishing working relations with relevant departments in the metropolitan council, raising awareness of the project in the city and most importantly, gathering information on crime from various sources in order to prioritise areas for intervention.

A victim survey conducted in co-operation with Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg – which canvassed a representative sample of people over the age of 16 across the metropolitan area in July 1997 – provided information, not only on crime levels and patterns in the city, but also on victims' perceptions of the problem. In particular, those areas perceived to be most unsafe in Johannesburg were identified, along with the degree to which fear of crime prevails in relation to different sectors of the city.

The results of the survey were discussed with (and inputs were received from) a number of important role players including the saps, national and provincial safety and security secretariats, local councillors and a wide array of civil society groups.

What follows is a broad overview of the nature of criminal victimisation in Johannesburg as determined by the survey.

Victims of crime in Johannesburg: 1993-1997



Crime is high in Johannesburg: two-thirds of the city's residents (62%) (or in some cases members of their households) were victims of crime between 1993 and July 1997. Contrary to what might be expected in a city such as Johannesburg with a reputation for violence, almost as many property crimes as violent crimes were reported. Of the crimes covered by the survey, 44% were directed against property and 45,5% against people. Since 20% of burglary victims said that violence was used in the course of this crime, fractionally more crimes can be regarded as having been violent.

The most common crime experienced by the city's residents between 1993 and 1997 was burglary, with nearly a quarter of the respondents (24%) reporting this crime to the survey. The types of incidents reported most frequently after burglary were violent

crimes: mugging and robbery (16,5%) and assault (15,5%).

After burglary, robbery and assault were the second most prevalent crimes occurring in Johannesburg according to the survey. This is significant, since Johannesburg does not currently feature among the 10 police districts with the highest levels of these crimes in the country. And since few of these crimes, and in particular mugging, are reported to the police, assault rates are likely to be much higher in Johannesburg than official statistics suggest.

Car theft, which according to other victim surveys in Johannesburg and abroad is the crime most likely to affect city residents, happened to just over 12% of respondents between 1993 and 1997 according to the survey.

As many as 6% of respondents experienced (either as a driver or passenger) violent car theft in the form of car hijacking. The survey did not record details of car ownership, but comparative studies both locally and abroad show that the risk of having a vehicle stolen is twice as high for owners as for the general population. The chances of being a victim of both car theft and hijacking in Johannesburg are therefore probably much higher than the 12% and 6% respectively recorded by the victim survey.

Probably of the greatest concern is the fact that most victims surveyed in Johannesburg have been the targets of the same type of criminal activity more than once. This was the trend for all major crimes covered in the survey, except car hijacking. It is cause for concern, since multiple victims are less inclined to report these repeat crimes. This tendency also heightens the fear of crime, as well as people's vulnerability to further attacks. Equally unsettling is that 28% of all those interviewed had experienced more than one type of crime in the past five years.

Crimes which are aimed at property affect those people and those parts of Johannesburg which present the greatest opportunities for theft: according to the victim survey, the white and asian communities (which are generally wealthier than the african and coloured communities), as well as people living in the suburbs are most at risk. Most Johannesburg residents (over the age of 15 years) are equally at risk of robbery and mugging, although asians, residents of the inner city and the elderly are slightly more vulnerable.

In the case of burglary and car theft, white and asian people are disproportionately victimised compared to the proportion of the population they represent. Just over half (52%) of car theft victims reported that the crimes happened near their homes, the majority of which are in the suburbs.

The use of violence in the course of these property crimes is more of a threat for african victims than for other groups. Violence was used in 20% of all burglaries reported to the survey. One quarter of african victims experienced violence, compared with only 9% of white burglary victims. Similarly, between a quarter and one third of victims living in townships, informal settlements and, to a lesser extent the inner city, reported the use of violence, while this was the case for only 14% of victims living in the suburbs.

The greater risk of violence for africans in the course of property related crimes is also evidenced by car hijacking trends. As many as 73% of hijacking victims were african. Contrary to popular media representations which depict the victims of car hijacking as wealthy and white, africans in Johannesburg are most at risk. Since fewer africans probably own cars than whites, if car ownership is taken into consideration, a relatively small group of africans comprise the high risk group for hijacking. This trend may reflect lifestyle patterns, such as where and when people travel, as well as the nature of precautions taken.

Africans living and working in Johannesburg are not only more exposed to violence in the course of property crimes, but also to violent interpersonal crimes such as assault,

murder and rape. More than three quarters of the victims of assault, rape and murder in Johannesburg were african and in the case of murder and rape, the majority of victims live in townships.

According to the survey results, men are most at risk of violent crime in Johannesburg. This is not always the trend internationally, and probably relates to the fact that sexual incidents and domestic violence – the kinds of violent crimes women are often vulnerable to – are unlikely to be reported to a street victim survey. Although the extent of sexual crimes against women was poorly captured by the victim survey, data from alternative sources in Johannesburg verify some of the tentative survey findings.

During 1997, in a study conducted by the Johannesburg sexual offences forum, the socio-economic profiles, as well as details about rape incidents, were recorded for 786 victims reporting to district surgeon's offices in hospitals and clinics in parts of Greater Johannesburg. Well over 70% of these victims were african (as reflected in the crime survey), with the majority aged between 13 and 30 years. Of the 42% of victims who knew their attackers, most of these were known by sight only, although as many as 19% of the known offenders were either relatives or partners. Although rape is less likely to be reported to the authorities when the offender is known to the victim, the proportion of rapes committed by strangers is nevertheless large in Johannesburg. The circumstances in which these crimes occurred present opportunities for preventive action by local authorities, the police and potential victims. Almost one quarter of rapes occurred in open ground and most were probably related to commuting patterns and evening social activities, since rapes peaked between 18h00 and 22h00. High levels of crime in the city of Johannesburg, as outlined above, have bred high levels of fear of crime in the city. The victimisation survey showed clearly that the majority of the city's residents felt insecure, particularly at night; around 65% of the survey respondents reporting this to be the case. In particular, many perceived that they were particularly vulnerable to crime in the inner city areas of Johannesburg. The survey also suggested that the majority of victims were unhappy with the service received from the police. Respondents argued that they wanted more information on the process in which the police would deal with their case. However, the majority of respondents also felt strongly that the only solution to crime lay in more and better policing. In particular, residents of the city suggested that more visible policing would increase their feelings of safety.

Given this analysis any crime prevention strategy for the city of Johannesburg needs to account of the following factors:

- Violent crime is a key problem in the city and must be confronted not only through better law enforcement but by ensuring that areas of the city are less conducive to criminal victimisation.
- Mugging and robbery in inner city areas could be prevented by interventions which seek to improve the environment in which they occur to facilitate prevention.
- Burglary is the most common crime in the city. At least some instances can be prevented by more visible policing and advice to victims on precautions to prevent revictimisation.
- A large proportion of Johannesburg residents who own a motor vehicle had been victimised by related crimes. Interventions in this area are thus essential.
- Crimes against women are a particular problem in the city and should be confronted through more visible policing, advice to victims and the development of environments which are no longer conducive to victimisation.

- Many victims in the city have been victimised a number of times. This suggests that interventions which seek to ensure that victims are in a position to take precautions to prevent revictimisation are critical.
- Fear of crime in the city is high. Visible policing, law enforcement and environmental design interventions are critical in undermining high levels of insecurity among residents. This applies particularly to inner city areas.
- Public perceptions of the police are poor. Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg must seek to bring these views to the attention of the saps through improved co-operation, and should, in conjunction with the police, seek to improve service delivery.

Preventing crime in Johannesburg



The broad overview of crime in Johannesburg provides some indication of the seriousness of the problem. Clearly, not all crime types and issues can be tackled at once by Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg. However, the survey suggests that a limited number of strategies – concentrated in areas where the metropolitan government has the greatest influence – would bring meaningful reductions to levels of crime (and the fear of it) in Johannesburg.

The analysis above suggests that Safer Cities:

Greater Johannesburg needs to intervene at three broad levels.

Making environments less conducive to crime:

the city is in a unique position to initiate programmes which seek to ensure that areas of the city provide fewer opportunities for crime and reduce the fear of crime.

Developing a culture of crime prevention:

the city actively needs to begin the process of ensuring that crime prevention programmes are initiated and implemented.

Ensuring effective crime prevention:

it is clear that key to adequately responding to high levels of crime and fear of crime in the city must be an attempt to upgrade the capacity of the state to enforce the law. One of the priority areas for Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg is making the city safer for women. Since violence against women can be reduced through interventions in each of the areas above, appropriate strategies are outlined throughout the document. These will be developed in partnership with organisations representing women's interests. The selection of these broad areas and possibilities for their implementation were discussed with key role players already engaged in crime prevention activities in Johannesburg, or those likely to be involved in new Safer Cities Programmes.

Among others, these included the police, local and provincial government departments, non-government and community based organisations, the business sector, representatives of the justice system, religious organisations, women and youth groups and community police forums (cpfs).

Shaped by these processes, eight priority projects have been selected as the basis of the Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg crime prevention strategy. The selection of these projects is based on the victim survey data and extensive research and consultation on crime in the Johannesburg area. These processes shaped the choice of a key target group, namely women, as well as a key target area, namely the inner city, for intervention.

However, children are an important target group not specifically covered by a particular project. They will nevertheless benefit indirectly from interventions in all three focus areas.

Children are considered to suffer extensively from crime as well as the effects of crime on their families. Measuring the extent and impact is limited by a lack of data: conducting research on children is complex and police statistics provide little useful data. As a result, designing interventions for this target group is difficult. Safer Cities does however intend lobbying for more applied research in this field.

Given the limited funding currently available for the Safer Cities project, activities such as promoting additional research around violence against children as well as developing and implementing most of the strategy programmes, would require additional resources. While the programmes have been formulated with these budgetary constraints in mind, a balance has been sought between what is most appropriate and urgent on the one hand, and what is affordable on the other.

The strategy covers a three year time span, with most projects being initiated within a two year period. The focus is therefore on short to medium term interventions rather than long term ones. This choice is based on the need to develop local capacity to make crime prevention in Johannesburg sustainable.

Once the projects proposed here have established the foundation for Safer Cities and have been assessed, longer term projects can proceed drawing on these lessons. For example, programmes which target offenders typically require sustained intervention. Substantial emphasis will be placed on monitoring and evaluating the outputs and impact of Safer Cities' individual projects as well as the strategy as a whole. This will enable an iterative process, whereby experiences are used to revisit the strategy on an annual basis. Monitoring and evaluation will also play a pivotal role within the policy debate, and will provide an objective foundation for lobbying for the continued and increased support of local crime prevention initiatives.

Focus area 1:

Managing environments conducive to crime

Crime and the fear of it are caused by a range of factors which can occur in variety of environments in the city. While the built environment in which crime occurs, and which can potentially generate fear of crime, constitutes only one of a range of causal factors, targeted interventions here could reduce both opportunities for crime and enhance feelings of safety.

Designing particular environments to reduce crime must be supplemented by visible interventions in high density inner city areas to reduce levels of crime. This includes visible policing initiatives (such as the development of a metropolitan police service as outlined below) but also other programmes which increase surveillance in the city centre.

Also, some environments in particular are conducive to the victimisation of woman. Specific interventions are required here to ensure not only that physical conditions are changed, but also that woman are empowered to protect themselves through ensuring practical alternatives to violent situations.

1.

Car guards

The visible presence of car guards will not only reduce vehicle related crime in the city centre but also, through a high visible presence reduce other forms of crime, and the fear of them. In addition, the support of existing car guard schemes will contribute towards job creation in the city.

According to the victim survey, car theft is the fourth most common crime reported in Johannesburg, with 12% of respondents (all over the age of 16) saying they were victims over the past five years. Although by no means Johannesburg's most serious crime problem, the chances of being a victim of this crime are probably much higher than the survey findings suggest.

Comparative studies show that the risk of having a vehicle stolen is twice as high for owners as for the general population. In a similar survey carried out in Johannesburg in 1995 for example, the incidence of car theft was 11,5% for the general population and 24% for vehicle owners.

The presence of car guards however – if professionally organised – do more than prevent car theft. Vehicle related crimes, such as theft out of cars as well as other thefts, muggings and even some violent crimes may be prevented as a result of the surveillance function performed by the guards.

Car guards, many of which are independent and uncoordinated in their efforts, are mushrooming throughout Johannesburg. While some operate well and prevent crime in the areas which they cover, others are less successful and have even been found to harass motorists and heighten levels of fear and insecurity.

Aware of the current trends in the car guarding business, and the potential benefits and dangers for the city, Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg aims to be proactive in

supporting and developing these initiatives. By working with organisations of car guards, the programme aims to regulate the activities of those involved in the city centre. This should minimise the potential for conflict between the groups and the subsequent harassment of motorists when competition between car guards becomes fierce. The programme will also focus on training and assisting in developing a professional car guarding system. This project will ensure that the safety of parked cars in downtown Johannesburg will improve, and that car guards are not exploited. Funding for this project has already been secured from the gauteng urban renewal grants fund.

The car guards programme will involve:

- Learning from the successes and failures of similar schemes in the durban and cape town metropolitan areas.
- Facilitating the recruitment of car guards in co-operation with existing car guard bodies.
- Co-ordinating organisations and systems of managing the car guards.
- Networking with other role players concerned with safety on the streets of Johannesburg (e.g. Saps, traders, property owners and tenants).
- Developing and encouraging public support for the car guards in exchange for a professional service to motorists.
- Regulating the car guard industry through providing training, establishing the maximum fees which can be levied to the guards, and ensuing a professional and presentable public image.

Geographic location of project: Johannesburg inner city

Proposed project partners: saps, metro traffic, metro marketing, Johannesburg metro tourism association, metropolitan and mlc service departments, cpfs, existing car guard organisations, conflict resolution ngos, private sector sponsors

2.

Safer public environments for women

In some places, the structure of the city of Johannesburg has been associated with high levels of violence against woman. This must be prevented through altering environments conducive to these crimes and empowering woman to take practical preventive measures.

Violence against women is profoundly damaging to the social fabric of the city's residents. The long term implications for the health of Johannesburg's communities are serious, since families and children are often also secondary victims of this type of crime.

Intervening to prevent violence against women is difficult since these crimes can seldom be solved by policing or law enforcement alone. Instead they require broad strategies which include examining the environments in which these crimes occur as well as programmes aimed at education and the provision of information for prevention (see focus area 2 below).

A strategy which aims to alter environments conducive to violence against women would need to address aspects of the physical environment to enhance

the safety of women. This might include improving street lighting, the design of parks and public transport facilities as well as the infrastructure which supports these facilities.

Geographic location of project: four locations within the Johannesburg inner city and an additional three locations within each of the metropolitan local councils.

Proposed project partners: saps, local community based organisations, local women’s groups, ward counsellors, metropolitan and mlc service departments, ngos working in the field of violence against women, metro planning and environmental management

Indicators for programme success

Project purpose impact indicators	Means of verification
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced feelings of insecurity in the metro. • Stabilisation or reduction in levels of crime related to public space, such as rape, mugging, car breaking. • Increased self employment opportunities within the inner city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime statistics. • Perceptions and attitudinal survey. • Recruitment records of guard organisations.
Project output indicators	Means of verification
Upgraded security within the public environment particularly relating to the needs of women.	Safety audits, community needs analysis and project reports
An effectively regulated, efficient and independently operated car guard service running in the inner city.	Car guard registration records and guard recruitment statistics. Quarterly reports form car guard organisations Existence of a regulatory mechanism.

Initial financial support provided to car guard organisations towards critical functions.	Fund disbursement documentation.
Increased skills of car guards and their operating organisations.	Training assessment questionnaires.
Public information materials disseminated through car guards.	Materials distribution lists.
Positive public support for car guard programmes.	Perception and attitudinal surveys. Car guard income assessments. Media coverage.
An established network of role-players concerned with the car guard industry	Minutes of established network

Focus area 2:

Developing a culture of crime prevention

Central to the task of an effective Safer Cities Programme for Johannesburg will be placing the issue of crime prevention firmly on the agenda of local government departments. Critically also, citizens (and in particular victims of crime) must be made aware of possible preventive measures.

1. Capacity building for city crime prevention

Local government has a key responsibility to ensure that crime prevention is placed on the agenda of its various departmental functions, and that the responsible officials are adequately trained to ensure effective implementation.

The metropolitan government of Johannesburg has a range of functions and services which should contribute to more effective crime prevention in the city. However the potential crime prevention functions of the different local departments have not been clearly defined and as a result, co-ordination has not always been possible. In addition, the potential crime prevention impact of various types of council work is often not recognised.

A programme to develop crime prevention expertise in the metropolitan council is needed. This is in line with the national crime prevention strategy which recognises that all levels of government need to take responsibility for research, analysis and training around crime and crime prevention.

The programme which is envisaged for Johannesburg would involve:

- Closer links between the local government and various bodies which conduct research on crime in Johannesburg, enabling the council to have good quality information about crime to inform its strategic choices.
- A training programme in crime prevention for officials from a wide range of council departments.
- Building relationships with other cities (particularly in africa) which are tackling similar safety challenges.
- Improving the information flow about crime between local government and other government agencies which deal with crime.

2. Initiating integrated local crime prevention projects

Central to effective long term crime prevention will be the experience gained from implementing and learning from a range of small local projects in the short term.

Crime prevention initiatives are most likely to succeed when they are situated at the local level. Successful prevention programmes also require the involvement of a wide range of partners from government and civil society. This includes those not traditionally viewed as having a 'crime-fighting' role. The Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg programme will develop a limited number of integrated local crime prevention pilot projects, in particular parts of the metropolitan area.

Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg will investigate the viability of establishing a competitive bidding system at the metropolitan level in order to fund local crime prevention projects. The aim of such a system will be to stimulate the establishment of local level crime prevention projects in areas across the city.

An integrated approach requires a committed partnership between government agencies from local, national and provincial governments, businesses and communities. Such partnerships require a great deal of time and energy in order to be vibrant and sustained.

Areas would need to be selected on the basis of their crime profile, the needs of the local community and the priorities of the metropolitan government.

The establishment of local crime prevention pilot projects would involve:

- Forming representative and dynamic partnerships between all local role players.
- Committing resources to the pilot project by all the local role players.
- Implementing co-operative styles of problem solving.
- Identifying safety priorities.
- Developing multi-faceted programmes of action to tackle the safety problems.
- Networking with similar local initiatives in other cities.

Geographic location of project: two pilot projects, one of which will be located within the Johannesburg inner city. The second will be selected from among the following suggested areas klijptown, joubert park, hillbrow, newtown and alexandra.

Proposed project partners: saps, local community based organisations, an ngo or coalition of ngos providing facilitation services and community mobilisation

services, cpfs, ward counsellors, metropolitan and mlc service departments, ngos and other service providers, metro planning and facilitation services

3. Information and tools for preventing crime

The Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg strategy will focus on providing information to victims of crime, rather than intervening to assist victims directly. In particular, the strategy will target those who are most likely to be victimised by particular crimes, those exposed to repeat victimisation, as well as groups likely to be vulnerable to the impact of crime.

The Johannesburg survey suggests that comparatively few victims of crime have made use of the services of specialised agencies to address their needs. Indeed, the knowledge among victims of the existence of such organisations appears poor. The data suggest that where they exist, access to such services is probably an excluding factor for the majority of victims. Only one in every 10 crime victims had used victim support and of this proportion, white victims and victims living in the suburbs used agencies more than the average of 11%. Only 3% of victims living in the inner city of Johannesburg (ironically where some of these agencies are actually situated) had made use of specialised agencies.

There was little evidence from the survey that victims of violent crime made more use of agencies than victims of property crimes, except in the case of rape victims, 17% of whom had receive help. This significantly higher proportion of victims who received specialised assistance suggests that prioritised interventions to address the needs of victims of sexual offences have made some in-roads. Although levels of use were low among all victims, more than half of all victims however thought this kind of support would have been useful.

In recent years, criminal justice agencies responsible for crime prevention have shifted their focus from arresting and convicting criminals, to include providing better treatment and services for the victims of crime. A crucial component of this is providing victims with information about the impact of crime, the services that are available to them and their potential benefits, as well as details of the process and kind of support they should expect from the criminal justice system. In this way, addressing the needs of victims, both practically and emotionally, enables them to better cope with their victimisation and to regain faith in the criminal justice system's ability to protect them.

Providing adequate levels of information to victims of crime will involve:

- Producing a directory of services available to victims in the Johannesburg area.
- Distributing pamphlets in police stations, clinics, hospitals and churches which aim both to prevent further victimisation but also to describe the process that should be followed both by the authorities and by victims once a case is reported.
- Promoting community based support to victims of crime. This will draw on existing informal support networks of friends and family, in addition to providing information on the traditional counselling model of victim support offered by many agencies.
- Educational programmes aimed at citizens of a particular area Johannesburg to make them aware and intolerant of violence against women. Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg will link with a programme being developed to address sexual violence in high schools in alexandra.

- Creating women centres in kliptown and diepsloot. The centres will be designed and built by women in the particular community. Women from the community will also be trained to run and manage the centres and the programmes they offered. The primary focus of the centres will be the prevention of domestic violence through a holistic approach that will address a broad range of issues such as reproductive health, job creation and violence counselling.

Geographic location of projects:

Directories of victim services will be issued in relation to the area covered by a particular police station. Initial pilots will be undertaken within the inner city. Subsequent directory development will be demand driven and could be potentially developed for all police station areas within the metro.

Repeat victimisation prevention materials will be distributed across the metro. **Community based victim support** will be piloted in two areas, one of which should be ideally linked to one of the two integrated pilot project areas (see project 4 above) that are not within the inner city. As such, alexandra and kliptown would be the most likely areas.

Projects aimed at preventing sexual violence in high schools will take place in alexandra.

Women’s centres will be developed in diepsloot and kliptown. Project implementation will depend on an initial risk evaluation, community needs analysis, and project support and consensus from the community.

Proposed project partners:

Directories of victim services: saps, victim support organisations, health and emergency services, local businesses providing repair services and security products, ward counsellors, private sector sponsors, metro printing

Repeat victimisation prevention materials: saps, department of justice, nadel, human rights organisations, ngos working in crime prevention, churches, clinics, ngos, cbos, unions, ward counsellors, metro printing

Community based victim support: victim and trauma counselling organisations, department of health, community based organisations, stokvels

Preventing sexual violence in high schools: high schools in alexandra, adapt, saps alexandra, ward counsellors in alexandra, department of education, youth organisations in alexandra, parent/ teacher associations

Women’s centres: ward counsellors, community based organisations, political structures at community level, architects and the construction industry, organisations and networks working in the field of violence against women, conflict resolution and community mediation ngos, training organisations in the fields of small business development, reproductive health, literacy, etc., Project management specialists, organisational development specialists

Indicators for programme success

<p>Project purpose impact</p>	<p>Means of verification</p>
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indicators	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced feelings of insecurity in the metro and specific project localities. • Reduction in levels of crime in the metro and specific project localities. • Increased crime prevention planning and project. Implementation by the metro and the mcl departments. • Reduction of repeat victimisation rates for specifically targeted crimes. • Reduction in victim trauma in targeted areas. • Reductions in incidents of sexual violence in high schools in alexandra. • Reductions in domestic violence in diepsloot and kliptown. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime statistics. • Perceptions and attitudinal survey. • Recruitment records of guard organisations. • Metro and mlc departmental plans. • Repeat victimisation rates of targeted individuals compared to the data of the jhb victim survey. • Qualitative follow-up questionnaire with trained trainers. • Focus group study of women centre participants.
Project output indicators	Means of verification
Increased crime prevention expertise and skills among council staff.	Course assessments.
Community generated and implemented crime prevention plans.	Project reports.
An established crime prevention information centre disseminating information to other cites and agencies.	Resource lists and queries.

Trained community members skilled in informal trauma counselling.	Distribution lists for developed materials.
Functional community-run 'women's centres.	Training report and assessment.
Increased knowledge and skills of people in klijptown and diepsloot in relation to small business operation, reproductive health, literacy, parenting, counselling and project management.	Project report and evaluation. Training assessments.
Increased skills and knowledge of high school students in alexandra in relation to dealing with problems of sexual violence.	Project report and training assessments.

Focus area 3:

Ensuring effective crime prevention

The culture of lawlessness in south africa must be confronted by greater efforts at showing that government, at all levels, is capable and willing to enforce the law when it is broken. The city can assist the saps in achieving this through the implementation of three priority projects.

1. By-law enforcement

Successful by-law enforcement is critical to making Johannesburg a cleaner and safer city.

The breakdown in enforcement of certain by-laws such as street trading, littering and alcohol licensing, particularly in inner city areas of Johannesburg, contribute both to high levels of certain crimes, such as theft, mugging, assault and even rape, as well as to fear of crime. Thus, the victim survey found that after burglary, robbery, mugging, assault and car theft were the crimes affecting Johannesburg's residents the most.

These categories of crime, particularly mugging and robbery are notorious in inner city areas where the problem of weak enforcement of by-laws is most serious. According to the victim survey, 27% of robbery and mugging victims live in the inner city, which is greater than the portion of all victims living in this part of Johannesburg as covered by the survey. More significantly, just over half of victims (52%) surveyed in Johannesburg identified the inner city as the most unsafe part of Johannesburg.

While certain crime levels are high in the inner city, the survey found that the majority of car thefts probably occurred in residential areas such as suburbs and to a lesser extent townships. In the case of assault, evidence that the inner city was particularly affected by this crime type, was not conclusive. It is likely that the

fear of being victimised in the inner city does not match the likelihood of becoming a victim. This suggests that interventions are needed to address these fears quite apart from actual crime.

Overcrowding and inner city degradation contribute both to fear of crime and create opportunities for crime. In Johannesburg's city centre, these factors are associated with the large numbers of informal traders lining the pavements. Informal trading per se on the city's streets and in open spaces has often unfairly been connected to increasing crime levels in the inner city. Informal trading prevents surveillance by the public shopkeepers and the informal traders themselves, and also limits visible police access and patrols. In many cases, informal traders themselves are victimised given their often exposed position on sidewalks and inability to prevent crime.

The enforcement of by-laws can also stem inner city degradation, which along with overcrowding and actual victimisation, increases insecurity and fear of crime and causes business to move elsewhere. In hillbrow, inner city decay is characterised by high levels of overcrowding and a breakdown in service delivery in many buildings. Together with overcrowded pavements, a poor management and use of public open spaces, and weak policing, levels of crime such as car theft, robbery, assault and murder are high in these areas.

Several role players in Greater Johannesburg agree that by-law enforcement in the city needs to be strengthened. By-laws regulate issues as diverse as parking, squatting, health standards in restaurants, hawking, noise and the issuing of licenses for the sale of alcohol. However, changes to local government structure in recent years coupled with transformation in the social and legal environment more broadly, have resulted in the weak enforcement of by-laws. The laws themselves are less of a problem: instead they are not comprehensively enforced since this function has yet to be demarcated to specific tiers and departments within the metropolitan council.

Effective enforcement of by-laws will require:

- An investigation into which by-laws currently exist (this has already begun in the metropolitan area), which of these currently receive the most attention from those responsible for enforcement, as well as the existing capacity for enforcement. This will include an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the current arrangements for enforcement.
- Possible restructuring of the by-law enforcement agencies of the metropolitan government.
- Updating and publicising the by-laws of Greater Johannesburg.
- Improved training and management of law enforcement officials employed by the metropolitan government.
- The treatment of these matters in court will be reviewed. In particular, the prioritisation of by-laws will be encouraged. The possibility of establishing a special metropolitan by-law court in Johannesburg specifically for prosecuting by-law violations, as exists in cape town, will be investigated.
- Increasing the capacity for by-law enforcement by recruiting as well as providing training for reservist enforcement officials who are volunteers from the Johannesburg community.
- Tightening the issuing and control of licenses for the sale of alcohol, and the enforcement of trading hours for bars, taverns etc.

Geographic location of project: the primary focus will be on the inner city but the project will have an impact across the whole metro.

Proposed project partners: metro planning, metro public safety, all enforcement and licensing structures within the metro and mlcs, saps, taverners' associations, sab, metro printing, department of justice

2. Developing metropolitan policing

The development of a metropolitan police service for the city will enable effective visible policing, crime prevention and by-law enforcement.

Many local governments are now considering the establishment of municipal police services to operate in their jurisdictions. The crime prevention functions of municipal police services will be primarily exercised through the visible presence of law enforcement officials by means of point duty, foot, vehicle or other patrols. Visible policing will include responding to complaints and reaction to instances of crime where a delay in activating the saps could lead to loss of life, loss of property or the escape of the perpetrators. Visible policing is also key to reducing the public's fear of crime.

Municipal police services will be charged with:

- Acting as the primary bodies policing road traffic and related laws.
- Policing municipal by-laws.
- Performing crime prevention functions.

Much investigation is still required in Johannesburg to determine how an effective municipal police service will be structured. The transformation of the existing traffic and security functions – which will ideally form the core of a new metropolitan police service – constitutes a major exercise in institutional transformation.

The metropolitan policing debate in the city is gaining momentum. A comprehensive planning process is now needed to actualise metropolitan

- Safer Cities will play a support role to the newly formed structure tasked with the planing and transformation process. The dissemination of best practice from the international arena and the provision of technical assistance from international community policing experts will form part of this support package.

3. Co-ordination with the saps

Given that local government has only limited resources and powers, effective co-operation with the police – the primary agency charged with law enforcement and crime prevention – is critical.

Local government alone cannot make a significant impact on crime levels in Johannesburg; nor can the saps solve the problem on their own. Indeed, the police themselves have limited resources for targeted crime prevention. The police are therefore less likely to impact on the social causes of crime than they are to respond to acts of criminality once they have occurred. This means that

the success of social crime prevention requires a strong relationship between the police, local authorities and other partners. It is therefore necessary to pay special attention to building this relationship, not just at the level of senior management, but at every local council and police station in the Greater Johannesburg area.

A strategy to achieve this would involve:

- Close communication between relevant levels of the saps and sections of the metropolitan authority in Johannesburg. The saps have divided the Johannesburg police area into four control areas as part of a new initiative to reduce crime in the city. Safer Cities will work closely with those saps officials who represent each control area. However several areas which fall within the metropolitan boundary are not included in the Johannesburg police area, soweto being the largest of these. Safer Cities will also therefore establish links with station commissioners in these areas.
- This network should provide a forum for discussing co-operation on specific projects identified by Safer Cities: Greater Johannesburg, other agencies concerned with crime prevention and the saps.
- Safer Cities will put in place street names in areas of the city which do not currently have identification signs. This initiative should facilitate rapid response by police and emergency services operating in these areas.

The exchange of contact information (names and numbers) between metropolitan authorities and the saps in Greater Johannesburg. For example, the police at a particular local station must know who to call when malfunctioning street lights cause a safety problem; and the council department responsible for public gatherings must know which police officer to call for assistance in securing a sports game or public meeting.

Indicators for project success

<p>Project purpose impact indicators</p>	<p>Means of verification</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reductions of feelings of insecurity within the metro. • Improvements to the physical environment related to bylaw enforcement, such as cleanliness, traffic flow, liquor trading. • Developing a culture of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions and attitudinal survey. • Crime statistics.

<p>bylaw adherence and respect for the law.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stabilisation or reductions in levels of those crimes which articulate at a local level and that can be effected not only by the criminal justice response. • Improved public perception of the saps and the metro as well as their levels of service delivery. 	
Project purpose impact indicators	Means of verification
Increased warnings and fines issued in relation to bylaw infringements.	Warning and fines records.
Increase in the number of reservist/enforcement officials.	Employment and reservist records.
Creation of a dedicated bylaw magistrates court.	Department of justice records.
Creation of integrated enforcement teams.	Council records.
Increased fine tariffs for critical bylaws	Bylaw fine traffics rates.
Creation of a metropolitan police service.	Gjmc executive records.
Rationalisation of metro enforcement duties and improved management practices.	Gjmc committee reports.
Improved enforcement officer skills.	Training assessment questionnaires.

Disseminated public awareness information regarding bylaws.	Distribution lists for public information materials.
Improved boundary alignment for the service delivery units of the police and metro, particularly in relation to sector policing plans.	Service delivery area boundaries for saps and metro services detailed in organisational reports.
Increased co-operation and planning between the metro and saps.	Joint participation in planning, discussion and implementation forums, workshops and committees.
Provision of street name signs in areas without such provision.	Project reports.
Creation and exchange of directories between saps and the metro at sector level.	Distribution lists for developed directories.