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State of Urban Safety in South Africa Report 2016

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This report was made possible by the commitment and direction of the SA Cities Urban Safety Reference Group. The project is also supported through the financial contribution and guidance of the GLZ's Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention Programme (VCP).

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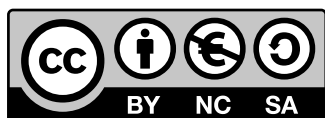
Photo credits are as indicated.

Suggested citation:

SACN. 2016. *State of Urban Safety in South African Cities Report 2016*. A report of the Urban Safety Reference Group. South African Cities Network: Johannesburg.

Available online at www.sacities.net and www.saferspaces.org.za.

ISBN 978-0-620-71159-3



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Published by

South African Cities Network (SACN)
Urban Safety Reference Group
158 Civic Boulevard
Braamfontein, 2017
Johannesburg

With the support of

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention Programme
333 Grosvenor Street
Hatfield, 0028
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FOREWORD

It is our great pleasure to present the first *State of Urban Safety in South Africa Report 2016*. This report is produced by the members of the SA Cities Urban Safety Reference Group (USRG), hosted by the South African Cities Network (SACN), with the support of the GIZ's Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention (VCP) programme. It is a collation of experiences in peer-to-peer learning, advocacy and knowledge generation and sharing among city practitioners since the USRG's inception in early 2014.

The USRG was established to rectify the lack of structured collaborative learning, exchange and advocacy among city practitioners and national government stakeholders on issues of urban safety. It is the first institutionalised forum in South Africa that enables evidence and practice-based learning on the theme of urban safety and violence prevention to inform urban policy, planning and management. This report is a key contribution to that end and will strengthen the case for supporting cities to build urban safety capability.

The national annual crime statistics for 2014/15 released by the Ministry of Police in September 2015 highlight the importance of the urban safety conversation, as cities are places not only of opportunity, but also of inequality and high levels of violence and crime. The statistics reveal a chilling picture of the devastating reality of violence and crime in South Africa, with 17 820 people murdered in 2014/15, the equivalent of 49 murders a day (De Koch et al., 2015). According to the Mexico Citizens Council for Public Security's annual global ranking, four South African cities are listed as being among the 50 most violent cities in the world.¹

Politicians, experts and ordinary citizens have had much to say about the crime statistics. However, one aspect largely missing in the analysis is the spatial distribution of violence and crime, and specifically their urban concentration. Nine major municipalities (City of Johannesburg, City of Cape Town, eThekweni, Ekurhuleni, City of Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay, Mangaung, Buffalo City and Msunduzi) are home to 38% of South Africa's population but experience a disproportionate proportion of crimes reported nationally.

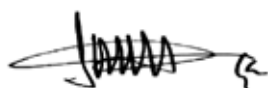
Within this context, this report presents, possibly for the first time, a consolidated city-level reading of the state of crime and violence in South Africa. The report's overall objective is to provide a sound evidence base (aggregated to city level) to inform policy and practice, and to strengthen the case for improved fiscal allocations to the urban safety functions of cities. To that end, it is the first in a series of annual reports that will present, analyse and assess city-level trends with the aim of improving urban safety and violence prevention planning and strategy development.

Although the report's findings show that violence and crime in South Africa are heavily concentrated in urban settlements, particularly the largest metros, this does not mean that the safety in "non-urban" communities warrants any less attention. The report makes the case for South Africa to adopt a more targeted, evidence-based approach to reducing and preventing violence and crime. In particular, interventions should incorporate a national spatial perspective with a strong link to cities and towns, and identified "hotspot" areas within them.

1 Bender J and Macias A. 'The most violent cities in the world: Latin America dominates list with 41 countries in top 50', *Business Insider*, Monday 25 April 2016 <http://ind.pn/1T97wB0>

Apart from presenting and analysing data for the SACN's member cities, the report also seeks to share developments within the safety and security policy sector, insights into city-level practices and inspirational case studies, as well as common challenges and recommendations flowing from these. While the learning generated is drawn primarily from the USRG member cities, the report should find resonance with, and be equally interesting to, other cities and even smaller municipalities, both in South Africa and beyond.

The USRG is a platform for peer-to-peer learning, support and knowledge generation among the member cities of the SACN, as well as other key role-players. It relies for its success and sustainability on the enthusiastic and dedicated participation and contributions of its members. On behalf of the two convening partners of the USRG, the SACN and the GIZ-VCP, we would like to extend our heartfelt appreciation to the Reference Group members and express our sincere wish that the spirit of solidarity and joint endeavour towards making South Africa's cities safer, more liveable places will continue well into the future.



Sithole Mbanga
CEO, SACN



Dr Tina Silbernagl
Programme Manager, GIZ-VCP

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACC	African Centre for Cities
AFUS	African Forum for Urban Safety
APCOF	African Policing and Civilian Oversight Forum
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CJCP	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CPTED	Crime prevention through environmental design
CSF	Community Safety Forum
DCoG	Department of Cooperative Governance
DSD	Department of Social Development
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IGR	Intergovernmental Relations
ISCPS	Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
JCPS	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security
JCSS	Joburg City Safety Strategy
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
MILE	Municipal Institute of Learning
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NPC	National Planning Commission
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
SACN	South African Cities Network
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAPS	South African Police Service
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro-sized Enterprises
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UCLGA	United Cities and Local Governments Africa
UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
USRG	Urban Safety Reference Group
VCP	Violence and Crime Prevention Programme
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

01

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing understanding, both globally and in South Africa, that cities or metros need to play clear roles in advancing urban safety. The Urban Safety Reference Group (USRG), with the technical support of the South Africa Cities Network (SACN) and the GIZ Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention (VCP) programme, has emerged as a key mechanism and platform for coordination and advocacy on urban safety.

Cities have distinct safety challenges and tend to experience higher rates of crime, which have implications for their growth, development and quality of life. As a result of poor planning and socioeconomic factors, low-income areas, such as townships and informal settlements, suffer from particularly poor levels of safety. This uneven spatial distribution of safety affects the overall inclusivity, efficiency and functioning of cities.

To address the social, economic, spatial and political drivers of violence and crime will require integrated approaches that go beyond conventional security and policing. Resource allocation is essential to the success of such approaches, and so a greater focus is needed on how the fiscal set-up can and should enable safety. Targeted interventions should be supported by consistent, long-term urban safety policies that are comprehensive, cross-sectoral and set out the competencies, responsibilities and accountability of local governments, as well as other spheres of government and other role-players such as civil society.

Figure 1 The agenda for making our cities safer



Source: GIZ-VCP

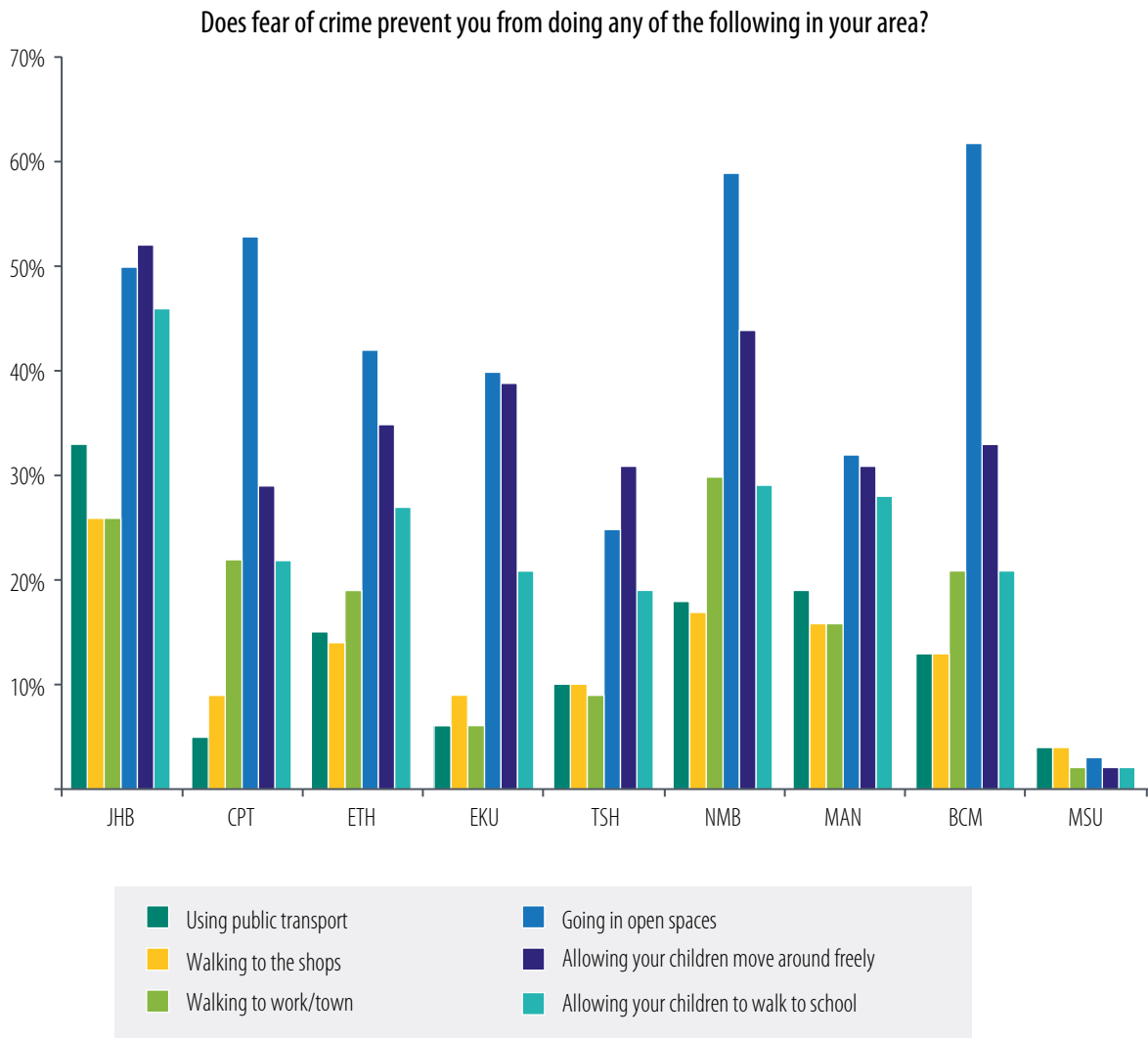
The Urban Safety Reference Group

The USRG comprises safety managers and practitioners from the SACN member cities. Other relevant institutions and departments represented include the South African Local Government Association (SALGA), the Department of Cooperative Governance (DCoG), the Department of Social Development (DSD), National Treasury and the Civilian Secretariat for Police. Thus the USRG is more than a platform for urban safety managers and practitioners to share experiences and establish a common language around integrated strategies to reduce violence and crime; it is also a space for city practitioners to interact with their national counterparts.

The USRG seeks to influence greater policy, legislative, institutional and fiscal investment in violence and crime prevention through the following:

- Facilitating peer-to-peer learning and knowledge sharing among urban safety practitioners.
- Creating space for regular interaction and networking among city practitioners and national departments with safety-related functions
- Identifying topical matters requiring lobbying and interaction
- Providing a platform for structured engagement between South African municipalities and international urban safety networks, such as the United Cities and Local Governments Africa (UCLGA), Global Network on Safer Cities and the African Forum for Urban Safety (AFUS).

Research by the USRG in 2014/15 revealed the impact of socioeconomic drivers on levels of safety and crime, as well as the impact of perceptions of crime on the growth, development and liveability of cities. The research also found a relationship between the fear of crime and movement, which speaks to a diminished quality of life as a result of high crime and violence levels in cities. It suggests the need for urban planning, design and infrastructure development that emphasises safety. In particular, as cities move towards eco and non-motorised mobility, they will need to consider how their violence and crime prevention strategies can be aligned with safety issues associated with these forms of mobility.

Figure 2 Fear and freedom of movement

Source: SACN

Overall, the research reinforces the need to advocate for urban safety to be mainstreamed in relevant policy implementation, such as the White Paper on Safety and Security, the White Paper on Police and the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF). This advocacy must be based on research and measurement, and emphasise the administrative, political, institutional and fiscal support needed by cities to realise the urban safety agenda. It must also prioritise integrated approaches that include policing, planning, built environment and social development sectors.

CONCEPTS: DEFINING AND UNDERSTANDING URBAN SAFETY

Background

More than half of the world's population live in urban areas and, by 2030, two-thirds of the population will be urban dwellers.² Cities represent the promise of opportunities for people from all walks of life but, at the same time, are concentrations of crime and violence. This stems from factors such as extreme inequality, unemployment, inadequate services and health provisions, social exclusion and overcrowding.

Cities of the Global South, which includes South Africa, have similar dimensions and drivers of crime and violence. Urban safety is a key component for realising viable, competitive and sustainable cities and must therefore be prioritised. The most appropriate driver for urban safety responses is local government, which is the primary point of contact between the state and communities.

² Speech by M. Naidu, Indian Union Minister for Urban Development at the XI Metropolis World Conference, Hyderabad, India, 7 October 2014.

The USRG was established as a platform for SACN member cities. One of its objectives is to develop a set of standardised indicators for describing and measuring the state of urban safety in South Africa. For this, the following are needed:

- A comprehensive overview and understanding of current city approaches to violence and crime, beyond the paradigm of law enforcement.
- A better understanding of how cities can contribute further to the prevention of violence and crime through holistic strategies that address the social and economic drivers of violence.
- A deeper understanding of the intergovernmental relations system (including functional and fiscal assignments to local government) and how it can better support local community safety interventions and innovations.
- A common frame of reference for urban safety among South African cities that acknowledges the differences in organisational structures and conceptualisations of safety.

Once developed, the standardised indicators need to be able to describe and measure the state of safety that goes beyond crime statistics. In addition, a well-researched and evidence-led view of urban safety should speak to programmes and investments by cities that contribute to ongoing efforts to make cities safer.

Why urban safety matters

Urban safety is recognised globally as essential for urban development. According to UN-Habitat, 60% of all urban residents in developing countries have been victims of crime at least once over the past five years – 70% of these residents live in Latin America and Africa.³ Urbanisation is typically accompanied by increased crime and violence, the proliferation of weapons, substance abuse and mass youth unemployment. These crime levels and feelings of insecurity hamper the social and economic development of cities. Thus the prevention of violence and crime is recognised internationally as a key feature of sound urban safety strategies (UN-ECOSOC, 2003).

Locally, in South Africa, the issue of safety and security figures strongly in strategic policies and plans. Chapter 12 of the National Development Plan (NDP) is entitled “Building Safer Communities” and proposes an integrated approach, the demilitarisation of police and special provisions for vulnerable groups including youth, women and children. The government has developed 14 Outcomes that reflect the desired developmental impacts to be achieved in order to meet various national objectives. The aim of Outcome 3 is that “all people in South Africa are and feel safe” (The Presidency, 2014). This safety and security outcome is driven by the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster with various departments, safety and security MECs and community policing forums (CPFs) identified as delivery partners.

South Africa’s new urban policy, the IUDF, presents urban safety as a cross-cutting issue for urban development and governance. It describes safety as:

Safety – defined as living free from the threat or fear of violence and crime – is a basic human right, a public good, and both a necessary condition for, and outcome of, the realisation of its [the IUDF’s] core intended outcomes, such as spatial transformation, integrated and sustainable human settlements, economic development, job creation and active citizenship.

3 <http://unhabitat.org/urban-themes/safety/>, year unknown

The IUDF recognises that fear of violence and crime prevents residents from benefiting from the economic, social and cultural opportunities offered by cities, and calls for safety to be mainstreamed in the different sectoral plans and programmes (COGTA, 2016).



Framing an integrated approach in South African cities

As the platform for structured engagement and advocacy for defining cities' role and function, the USRG:

- Recognises the need to locate the urban safety and violence prevention agenda within the experience and knowledge needs of cities of South Africa and the Global South more generally.
- Acknowledges the unique position of local authorities to play a critical role in developing an approach that understands the intersecting and cross-cutting nature of issues, and that responses need to extend beyond conventional security approaches such as policing. A more integrated approach means investing more in violence and crime prevention measures. Metros/municipalities are best placed to drive holistic preventive approaches, in a manner that resonates with the Constitution and the progressive spirit of national policy.
- Is committed to sharing experiences and learning in order to develop a cohesive understanding of prevailing issues. This is predicated on the understanding that, while cities need differentiated and context-based approaches, a common language and vocabulary are needed to drive the shift towards an integrated approach.
- Is aware of the challenge in institutionally locating urban safety. While the national policy position is often clear about the desired outcomes, local authorities need to define more clearly where safety should be positioned, what their responsibilities are, and how these should be financed and supported.

Integrated violence and crime prevention

There is a need to identify and address the social and economic drivers of urban violence and crime. The USRG approach recognises that most challenges cannot be solved by policing alone but are symptomatic of greater social issues. Social, institutional and policy elements are critical for reducing crime and violence and creating safer cities.

The cross-sectoral and intergovernmental relations relevant to the creation of safe cities are also important, and that all stakeholders understand clearly their role. However, although the different stakeholders may understand their respective mandates, this does not always translate into understanding their specific role in the urban safety agenda.

Summary of key concepts

Crime and violence manifest in various forms and are primarily driven by socioeconomic factors. Crime and violence affect the psycho-social wellbeing and physical safety of citizens, have a negative impact on the productivity and sustainability of urban environments, and erode the democratic rights and constitutional integrity of cities, particularly in regard to freedom of movement and access to public spaces.

Institutional, fiscal, social and interventions are needed to ensure that South African cities meet their developmental potential. These need to be part of an integrated preventive approach, which rests on a clear and common understanding of roles and responsibilities, and the requisite intergovernmental and cross-departmental relations. In practice, the integrated approach underscores social crime prevention, i.e. interventions and programmes that emphasise prevention alongside conventional law enforcement and policing, with a focus on vulnerable groups and targeting risky behaviours early on. Social crime prevention deals with the root causes of crime and violence that are often embedded in social attitudes. For example, a global safer cities initiative in 2012 found that 92% of women in New Delhi experienced some form of sexual violence in public spaces during their lifetime (UN Women, 2013). It also found that, in Kigali, women are reluctant to participate in activities outside the home for fear of sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence. Thus interventions need to target the root of the problem and encompass early childhood education, gender equality sensitisation among youth and adolescents, as well as awareness-raising around freedom of movement and the right of all to public space.

Good practices in the Global South view safety not only as a public good but also as a precondition for the sustainability of their development. Furthermore, increasing securitisation⁴ has a negative impact on cities and does not protect the developmental and social functions of cities.

The concept of urban safety goes beyond the safety of persons, the integrity of investments and the sustainability of urban development – it invokes freedom of movement and access to public spaces, and unfettered participation in school, public life, and income-generating activities.

⁴ Here securitisation refers to the regulation and fortification of buildings, spaces and things.

THE STATE OF CRIME AND SAFETY IN CITIES

The lack of useful data at city level is hampering the implementation of effective urban safety interventions. Different cities and different areas within a city have different incidences, patterns and drivers of crime. The trends, experiences, contexts and roots of each area/city's safety challenges need to be understood in order to be able to craft good interventions and measure their effectiveness.

This section outlines some of the limitations to crime statistics and gives a brief overview of national crime trends over the last decade. It then demonstrates how city-level crime statistics can be extracted from the national statistics and, using the data, describes the trends of the last decade. Finally, this section identifies other indicators that exist or need to be developed.

Interpreting crime statistics

Various factors can influence if (and how) a criminal incident appears in official statistics. Victims and witnesses may be unwilling or unable to identify or accurately report the crime; the police officers on duty may be unwilling or unable to properly record the crime; the recorded data may be poorly stored and handled; laws may change over time; data publication may be incomplete or misleading; and so on. Variation in these factors can skew results considerably. This makes it difficult to determine whether crime stats are different across jurisdictions or time because of a real difference in crime numbers or because of a difference in the social, political or institutional factors.

Victimisation surveys and other data sources suggest that certain crimes are under-reported (e.g. murder, car hijacking and car theft), while others are well reported (e.g. bicycle theft, robbery excluding home robbery and carjacking, theft of personal property and assault). Less than half of the second group of crimes are reported, making official statistics for them substantially inaccurate. This should be kept in mind when using official crime statistics, which nevertheless remain a very useful tool, especially when used in conjunction with a number of other indicators, as discussed below.

The national picture on crime and safety

Over the last 10 years, South Africa's crime and safety trends have been mixed. Murder rates have declined considerably – by about 20% over the decade (2005/06–2014/15), according to the SAPS crime data released in September 2015. This is a very positive sign, as the recorded murder figures are believed to be a good reflection of reality, and murder is considered a broad but reasonable proxy for crime, violence and safety in general. However, in recent years, the downward trend has begun to reverse, increasing by 9% between 2011/12 and 2014/15. This pattern, of a long decline that then slowed or reversed slightly in the last two or three years, is found for a number of other types of crime:

- Public/street robbery: decreased by a total of 27% over the decade, but up by 24% since 2011/2012.
- Common robbery – down by about 35% over the decade, but by only 1% since 2011/2012.
- Carjacking – down by about 12% over the decade, but up by 29% since 2011/2012.
- Burglary at residential premises – down by about 15% over the decade, but by only 1.3% since 2011/2012.
- Theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles – down by about 43% over the decade, and down by 11% since 2011/2012.

Reported rates of “social” crimes have sustained their decline:

- Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm – down by about 29% over the decade, and down by 9.5% since 2011/2012.
- Common assault – down by about 37% over decade, and down by 15% since 2011/2012.

The two glaring exceptions to these trends of long-term decline are robbery at residential and non-residential premises. Between 2005/06 and 2013/14, robbery at residential premises increased by 76%, showing an increase in eight out of the 10 years, while robbery at non-residential premises increased by a total of 286%, showing an increase in all but one of the 10 years.



The urban concentration of crime and violence

Nine major municipalities are home to 38% of South Africa's population but experience a disproportionate proportion of crimes reported nationally. The nine municipalities are the City of Johannesburg, City of Cape Town, eThekweni, Ekurhuleni, City of Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay, Mangaung, Buffalo City and Msunduzi. According to the official statistics, 78% of all carjackings, 58% of all house robberies, 51% of all common assaults and 47% of all murders occur in these nine municipalities. The exception to the rule is, unsurprisingly, stock theft.

This imbalance may be because of reporting factors (e.g. longer distances to the nearest police station may discourage reporting in rural areas), but other factors make it likely that, in reality, these crimes are more prevalent in certain urban environments. This means that crime in South Africa as a whole can be disproportionately reduced through focusing specifically on the larger urban areas.

Methodology

Police precinct boundaries do not correspond with municipal boundaries, which makes it difficult to track and compare crime levels within and among municipalities. SAPS provide crime statistics at police-station level, which are then aggregated to the provincial level and then the national level. This is because policing is chiefly directed nationally, then provincially, with provinces further divided into area clusters, each consisting of between three and a dozen stations. Therefore, to be able to track and compare crime levels within and among municipalities requires doing further work with the SAPS data.

First, using geographic information system (GIS) technology, the spatial boundaries of the police precincts (available from the SAPS website) were overlaid with the spatial boundaries of the municipalities (as used by Stats SA).⁵ All police stations whose precincts overlapped with municipal boundaries were listed, and the extent of each overlap assessed. The list was reduced to include only stations that had more than 50% of their precinct located within a municipal boundary. Then, the crime figures for these police stations in each municipality were added up. This gave the total crime figures (by type of crime) for each municipality over the last 10 years.

The international norm is to present crime statistics as the annual number of reported incidents per 100 000 people in the area concerned, which allows places of different sizes to be compared. While this allows satisfactory comparison for interpersonal crimes, figures for crimes against objects, should ideally be presented in proportion to the number of those objects in the area in question. For instance, carjacking statistics given in proportion to the number of cars; burglaries in proportion to the number of residential units; stock theft compared to livestock numbers; cell phone theft compared to the number of cell phones in an area. However, as it is generally impossible to obtain regular and reliable estimates of these “objects”, population figures are used, and so these stats should be interpreted with a measure of caution.

In order to be able to compare crime totals for municipalities of very different sizes, the number of people living within each area were determined (i.e. the area covered by all those police stations with more than 50% of their precincts within the relevant municipal boundaries). Using GIS technology, the precinct boundaries were overlaid with the Small Area level boundaries (used by Stats SA) and associated headcounts from the 2011 Census. The headcounts were then added up for each municipality. Finally, the municipal total crime totals were divided by the appropriate 2011 municipal population totals to create rates per 100 000.

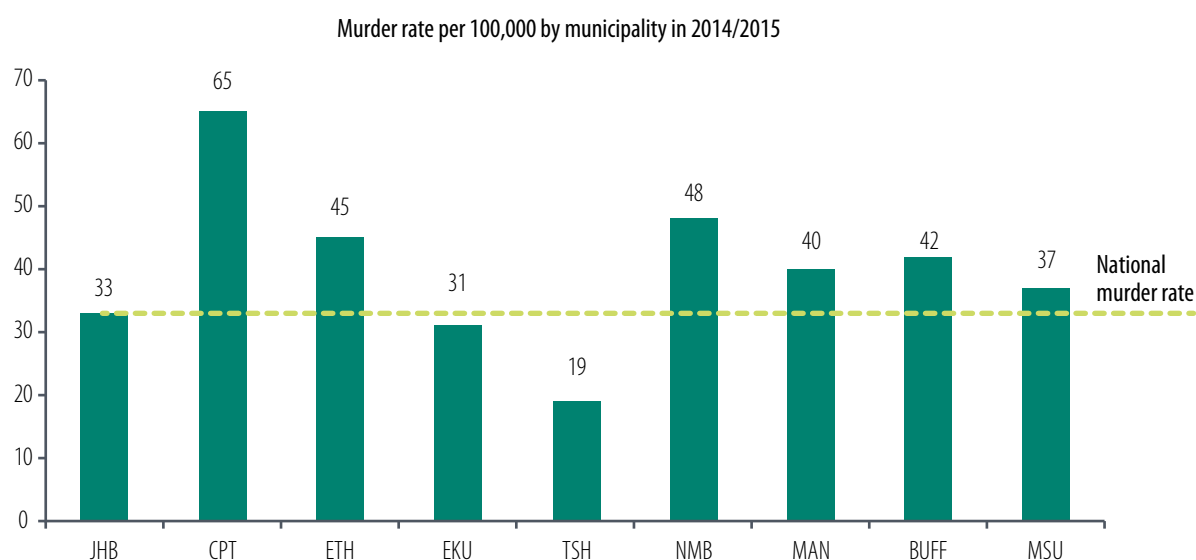
This methodology allows some rough comparison of different sized municipalities, but it does not take into account the change of population over time because the only population figures available are from 2011 (i.e. the Census). It can be expected that changes in population sizes will result in proportionate changes in crime figures. However, for the purpose of this study, the crime rates allow for the differences in population size among municipalities but not for changes over time.

⁵ Assistance in this was kindly granted by the University of Cape Town's GIS Laboratory.

Crime statistics

According to the latest SAPS release of the crime statistics for 2014/2015, the national murder rate is now roughly 33 per 100 000. When the municipalities are looked at individually, however, it is clear that each has a different story to tell. The fact that the municipalities differ fundamentally is easily demonstrated on a graph of their murder rates, for example:

Figure 3 Murder rate per 100 000 by municipality (2014/15)

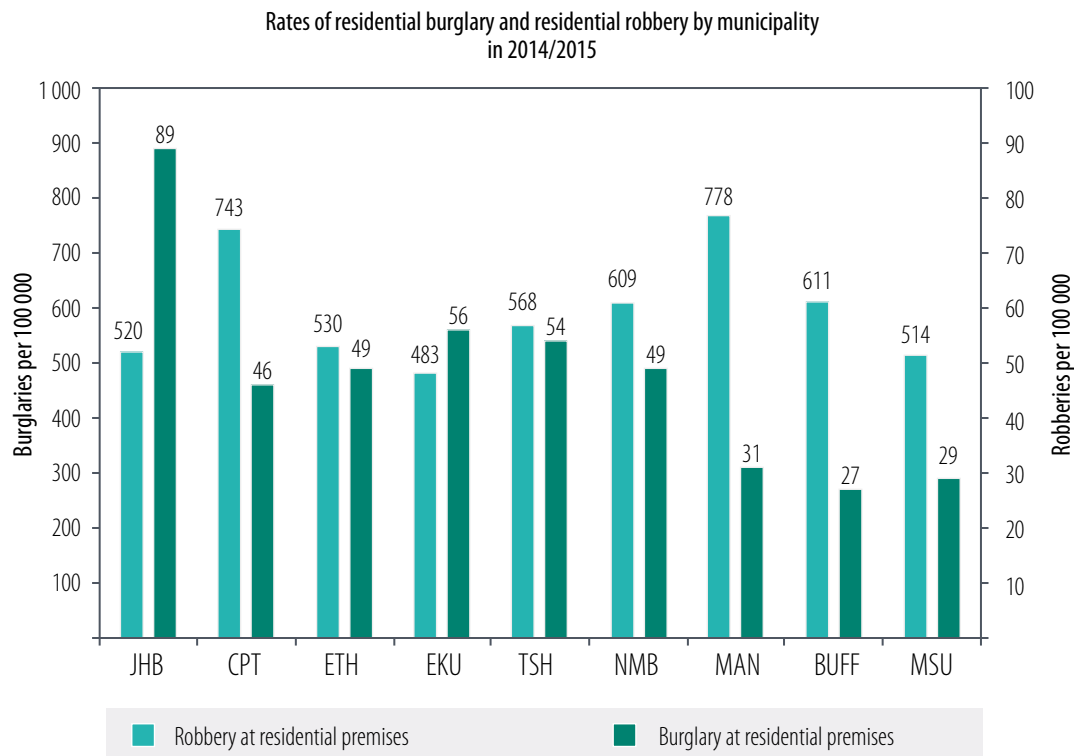


Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Whereas the City of Johannesburg's murder rate nearly matches the national rate at about 33 per 100 000, the City of Cape Town's murder rate is far higher (double), and the City of Tshwane well below it, with the other municipalities somewhere between these two extremes.

By repeating this task for other crime categories, what emerges is not simply that some municipalities have "more crime" than others, but rather their recorded crime patterns are different, with some crimes more common/rarer from one municipality to another. There is a difference, for example, between rates of burglary at residential premises (which does not involve the threat or use of force, and usually happens when the residents are not at home or aware of what is happening) and rates of robbery at residential premises (which does involve the threat or use of force, and usually happens when the residents are at home). The national rate of burglary at residential premises for 2014/2015 is about 470 per 100 000. All of the nine urban municipalities included in this report have residential burglary rates above this level, suggesting that this is a particular urban problem. The cities with the highest recorded rates of residential burglary are Mangaung (about 778 per 100 000), the City of Cape Town (743 per 100 000), Buffalo City (611 per 100 000) and Nelson Mandela Bay (609 per 100 000).

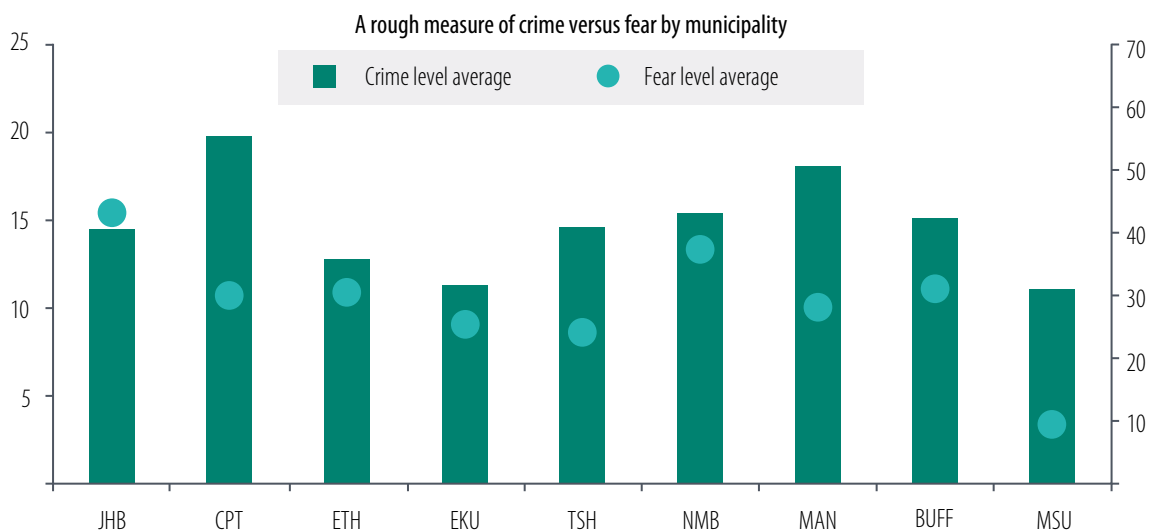
On the other hand, the national rate of robbery at residential premises for 2014/2015 is about 38 per 100 000. Here, in contrast to residential burglary, Buffalo City and Mangaung have below average rates – indeed, among the lowest of any of these municipalities. The City of Cape Town (at 46 per 100 000) is still above the national average, but it is now ranked sixth rather than second and is dwarfed by the City of Johannesburg's rate of more than twice the average (at 89 per 100 000). In short, the same municipalities may have relatively high rates of some crimes and relatively low rates of others. These variations in crime rates are illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Rates of residential burglary and robbery by municipality (2014/15)

Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Crime versus fear

The level of crime experienced by inhabitants of a space does not necessarily determine how they will perceive and feel about crime. Reliable city-based measurements of fear and perceptions of crime are not currently available with a high enough degree of accuracy, but the point can be broadly demonstrated. The South African national victims of crime survey does not report its results down to the municipal level, but some municipal level data can be extracted. The percentage of affirmative responses to the questions on fear (for example whether fear of crime prevents them from doing things like allowing children to walk to school) can be averaged, and then compared to an average crime rate (which here represents the average of the rates of total contact crimes and total property-related crimes).

Figure 5 A rough measure of crime vs. fear by municipality (%)

Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)



What this suggests is that levels of fear and crime do not appear to correspond (i.e. high or low in the same places). For example, fear appears to be high in Johannesburg in relation to the crime level, whereas in Cape Town fear appears to be considerably lower than in Johannesburg, despite a higher crime level. Similarly, fear in Msunduzi is much lower than in Ekurhuleni, despite similar rates of crime. Factors other than levels of contact and property-related crime appear to be driving fear. More precise measures need to be developed at city level to confirm these relationships.

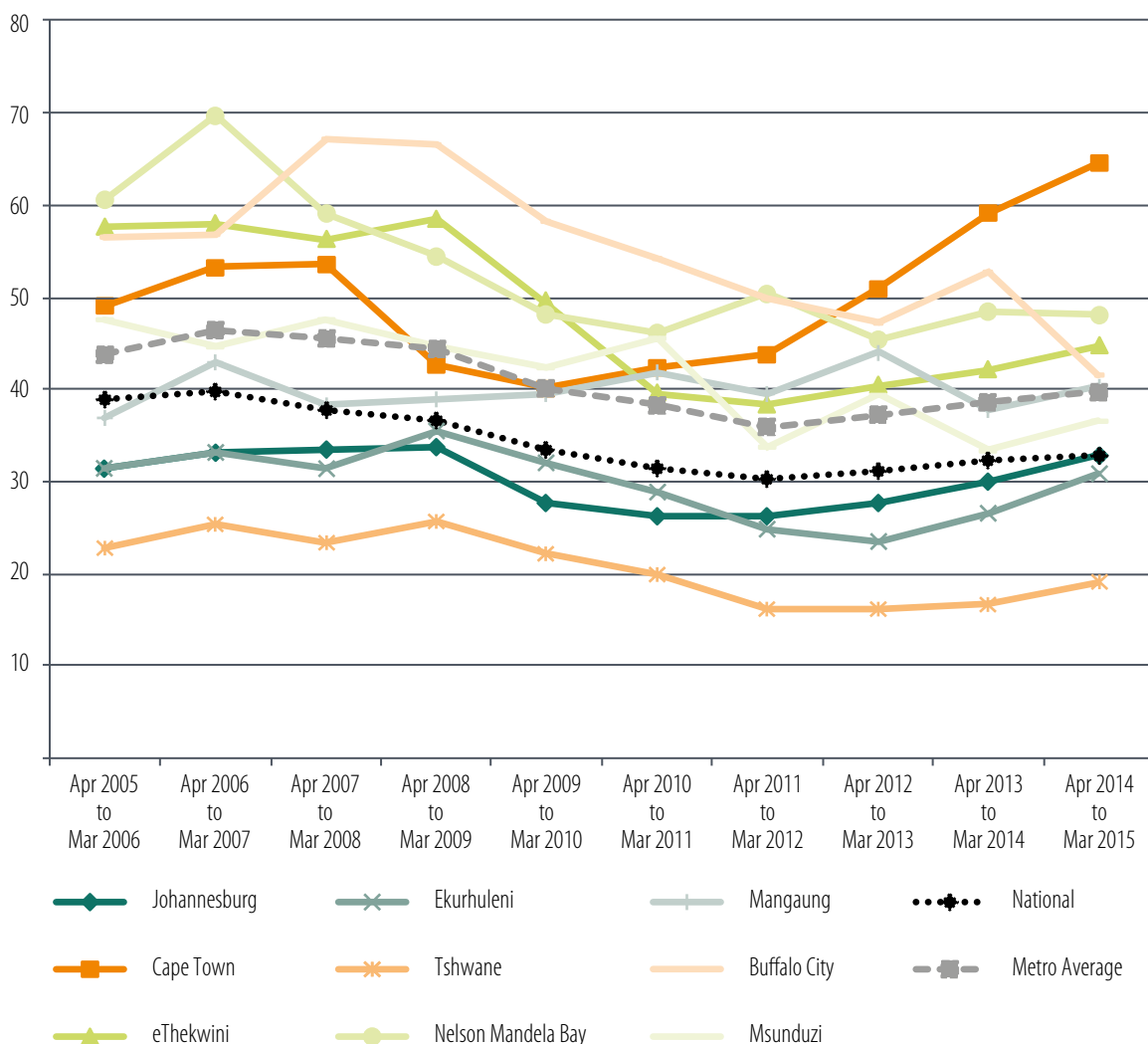
City crime trends

A snapshot of reported crimes in the various municipalities for a particular year is of limited usefulness for understanding crime and safety trends and patterns. However, having the same snapshot of each municipality for the past 10 years reveals richer information that can be used to inform crime understanding and prevention. For example, in one year two cities have the same (or similar) rate of a certain crime type, which for one city is its lowest rate on record, while for the other may be its highest rate after a decade of increase – these two situations would require very different courses of action.

This section looks at some of the main crime types over the last 10 years and compares them to national trends. As mentioned, population figures used are from the 2011 Census and do not reflect any changes in population size over the years. Furthermore, no municipal-level data is available that might reveal possible differences in reporting rates between these municipalities.

The national murder rate has shown a general downward trend since 2005/06. Between 2005/06 and 2011/12, it decreased from 39 per 100 000 to 30 per 100 000, but increased slightly to 33 per 100 000 in 2014/15. Figure 6 compares the murder rates for the nine municipalities with the national trend over the past 10 years.

Figure 6 Recorded murder rates per 100 000 by municipality (2005/06–2014/15)



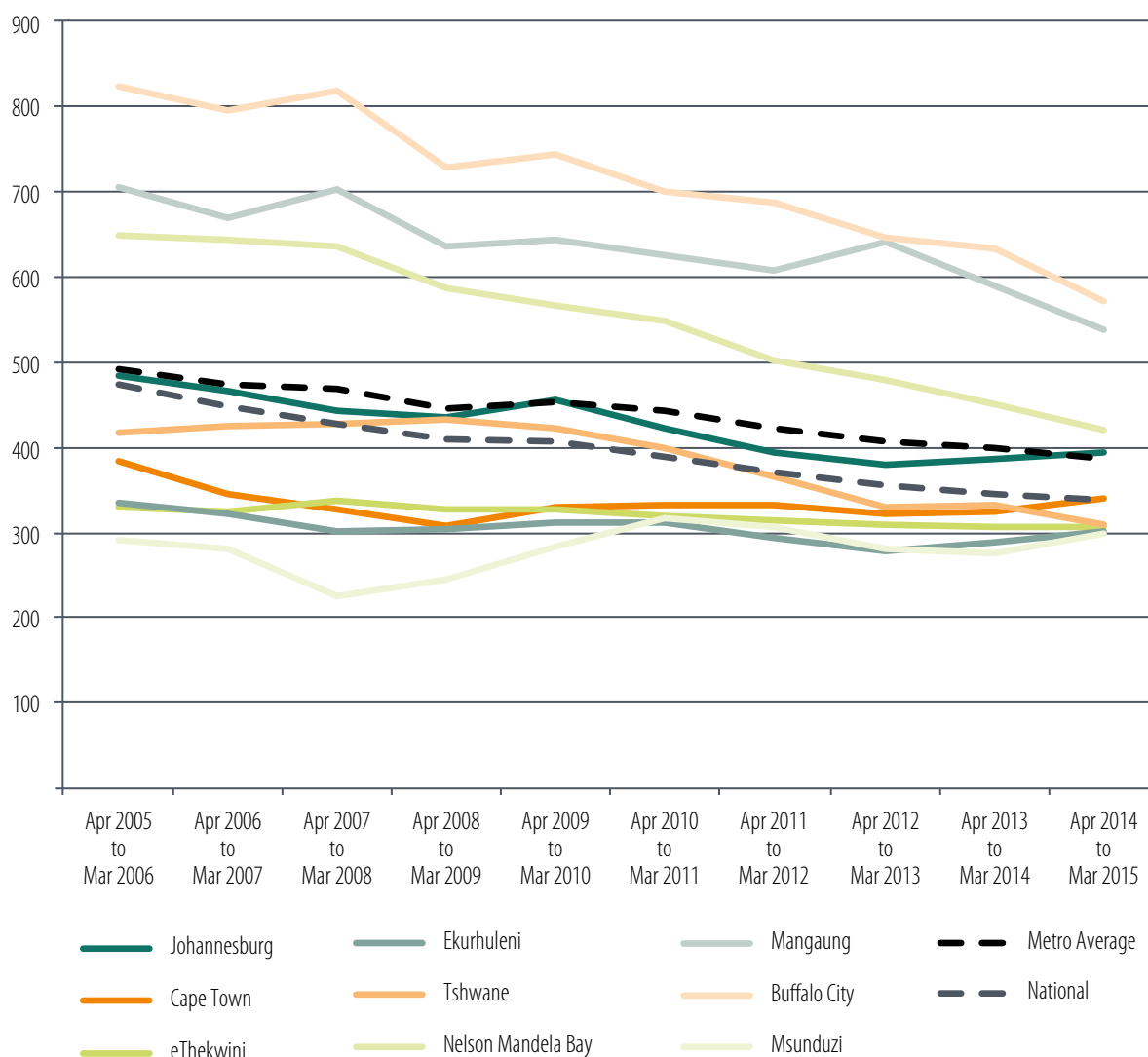
Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

As Figure 6 illustrates, over the 10-year period, Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Bay had the highest murder rate and yet, along with eThekweni, they are also the cities that have experienced the greatest decrease in murder rates since 2005/06. The murder rates in the three Gauteng metros (Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and especially Tshwane) have remained below the national average. In contrast, Cape Town has seen its murder rate rise since 2009/10 and from 2012/13 had the highest murder rate of all nine municipalities. In 2014/15, Cape Town's murder rate (65 per 100 000) was almost double the national average.

Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm

The crime “assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm”, which is also known as “assault GBH”, requires the intention to cause major harm. As Figure 7 illustrates, the variation among cities is considerably less than for murder.

Figure 7 Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm (2005/06–2014/15)



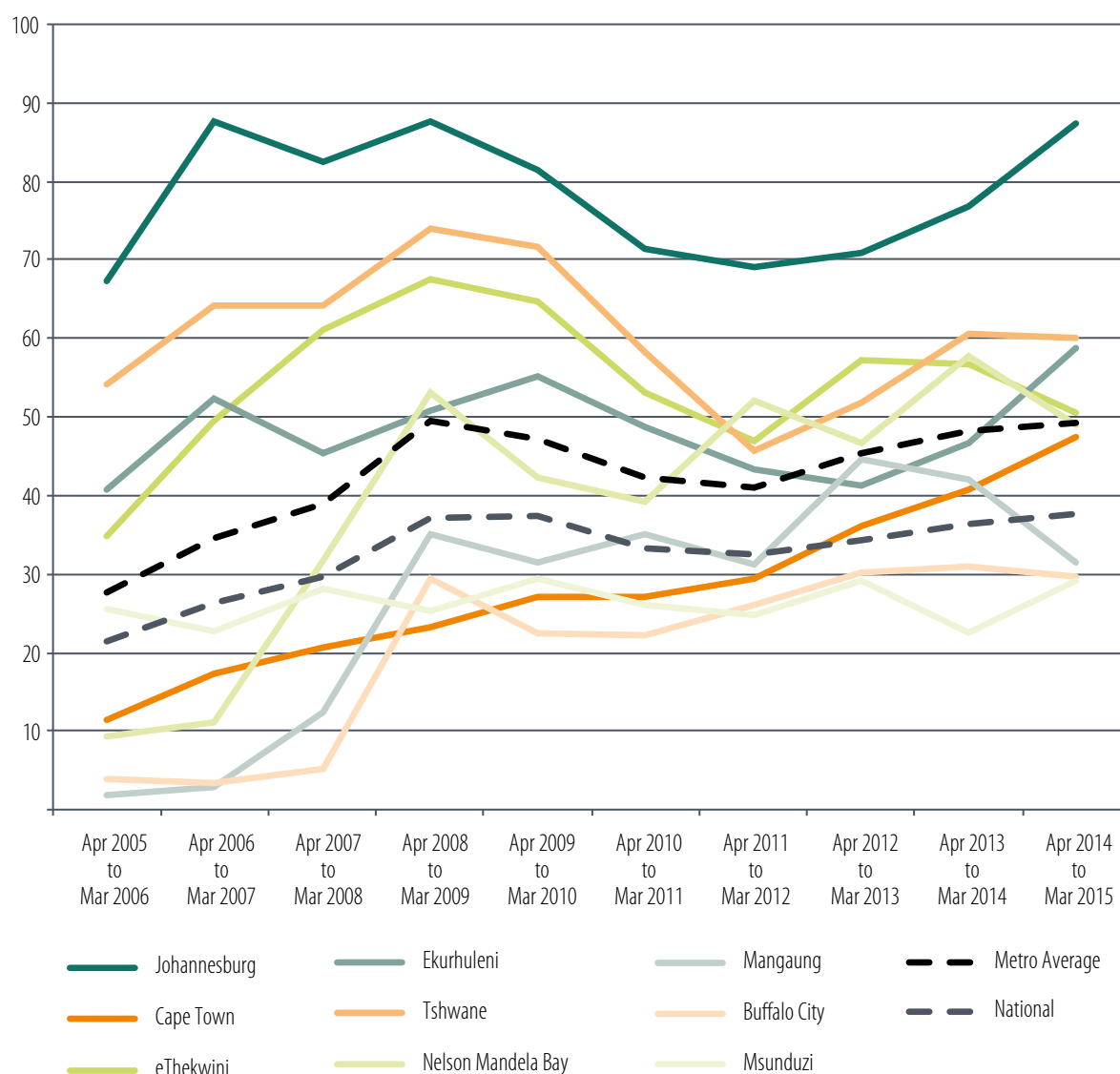
Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Nationally, reported assault GBH rates have decreased steadily since 2005/06, from 476 per 100 000 to 338 per 100 000 in 2014/2015. Over this 10-year period, four municipalities (Buffalo City, Mangaung, Nelson Mandela Bay and Johannesburg) have consistently had rates above the national rate but also seen their assault GBH rates decline more than the other municipalities. All nine municipalities (except for Msunduzi) have seen a fairly steady downward trend. Msunduzi had the lowest rates of all nine municipalities until 2009/10 but now has similar rates to Ekurhuleni.

Robbery residential and non-residential

Robbery and burglary both involve the unlawful and intentional removal of tangible property but differ in that the former involves the threat or use of force while the latter does not involve force and usually happens without the victim's being present or aware of the crime. Although robbery in public spaces is far more common, robbery in homes and businesses is one of the biggest drivers of South Africans' fear and insecurity (Stats SA, 2014: 8). Nationally this crime is one of the few that has increased significantly over the past 10 years, from 21 per 100 000 in 2005/06 to about 38 per 100 000 in 2014/15. This national pattern is reflected in most of the nine municipalities, although from different baselines and to varying degrees (Figure 8).

Figure 8 Recorded robberies at residential premises per 100 000 (2005/2006–2014/2015)



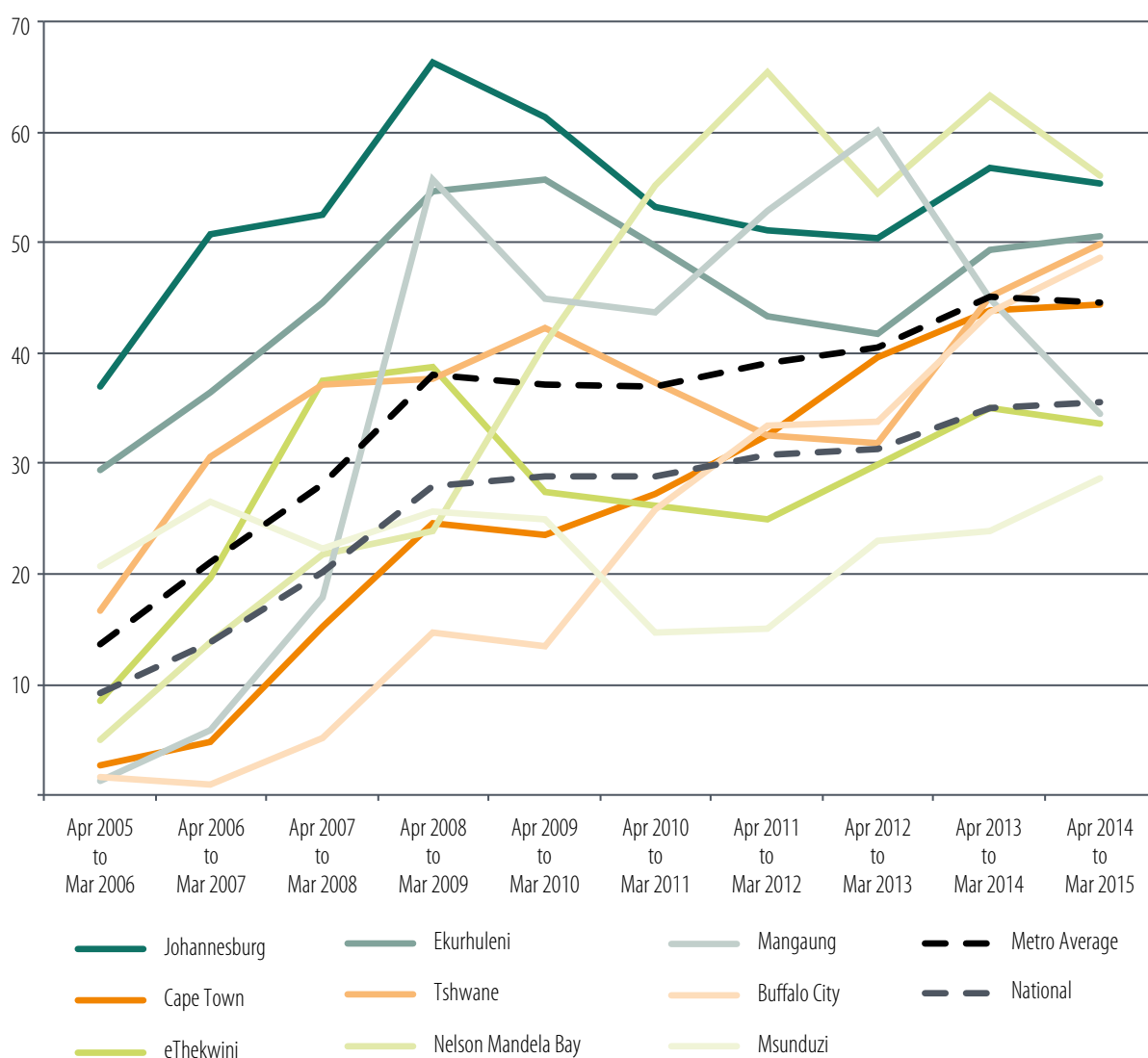
Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Over the 10 years, Johannesburg was the clear leader in robberies at residential premises, which were two to three times higher than the national rate. After increasing between 2005/06 and 2008/09, the rate decreased for a few years until increasing again from 2011/12. Ekurhuleni followed a similar pattern but at a much lower rate. Since 2013/14, Tshwane, eThekweni, Nelson Mandela Bay, Mangaung and Buffalo City have seen a decline in residential robberies. Only Buffalo City remained below the national rate

throughout the decade, whereas Nelson Mandela Bay and Cape Town saw their rates of robberies at residential properties move from being among the lowest to exceeding the national rate. Msunduzi is again an exception, as its rate has remained fairly stable, fluctuating slightly up and down year to year, with no clear longer-term trend.

Over the past decade, robbery at non-residential premises is the crime type that has seen the most dramatic increases nationally, from a rate of 9 per 100 000 in 2005/06 to 35 per 100 000 in 2014/15. Interestingly, at municipal level, the pattern is different from that of robbery residential (Figure 9).

Figure 9 Robbery at non-residential premises (2005/06–2014/15)



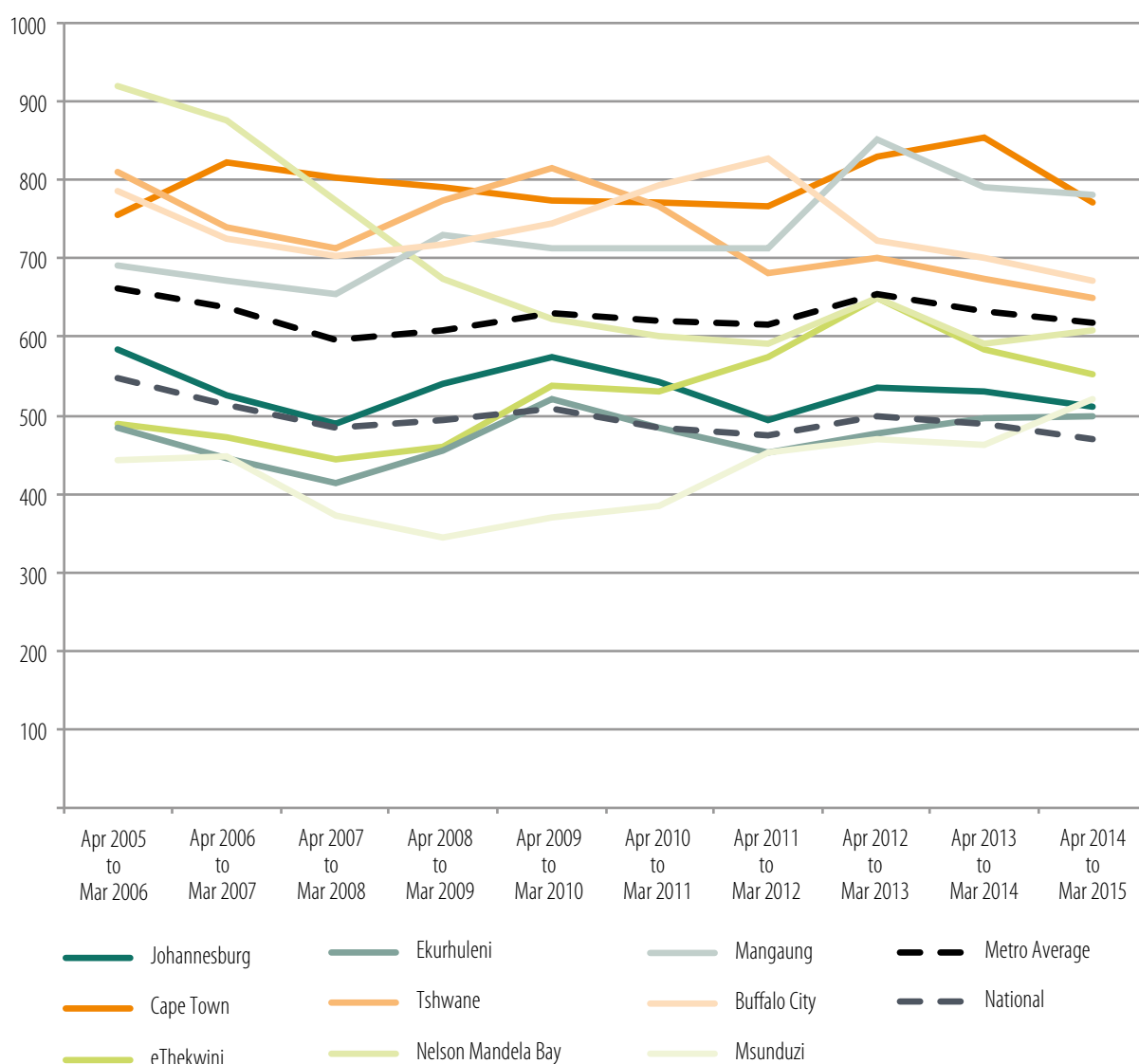
Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Msunduzi is again something of an anomaly, with year-to-year fluctuation but no dramatic longer-term trend, when compared with other municipalities. Apart from Msunduzi, eThekweni was the only other city to have a lower rate than the national rate for robbery at non-residential premises (since 2009/10). Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Bay have seen the steepest increase over the 10 years – in 2010/11 Nelson Mandela Bay overtook Johannesburg as the municipality with the highest rate, with 55 per 100 000 compared to 14 per 100 000 in 2005/06. Mangaung showed the most extreme variations across the decade, going from the lowest rate in 2005/06 to the second highest in 2008/09, and then declining steeply from 2012/13 and dipping below the national rate in 2014/15.

Residential burglary

Nationally, residential burglary declined from a rate of 551 per 100 000 in 2005/06 to 470 per 100 000 in 2014/2015. The picture for residential burglary is different from that of residential robbery.

Figure 10 Burglary at residential premises (2005/06–2014/15)



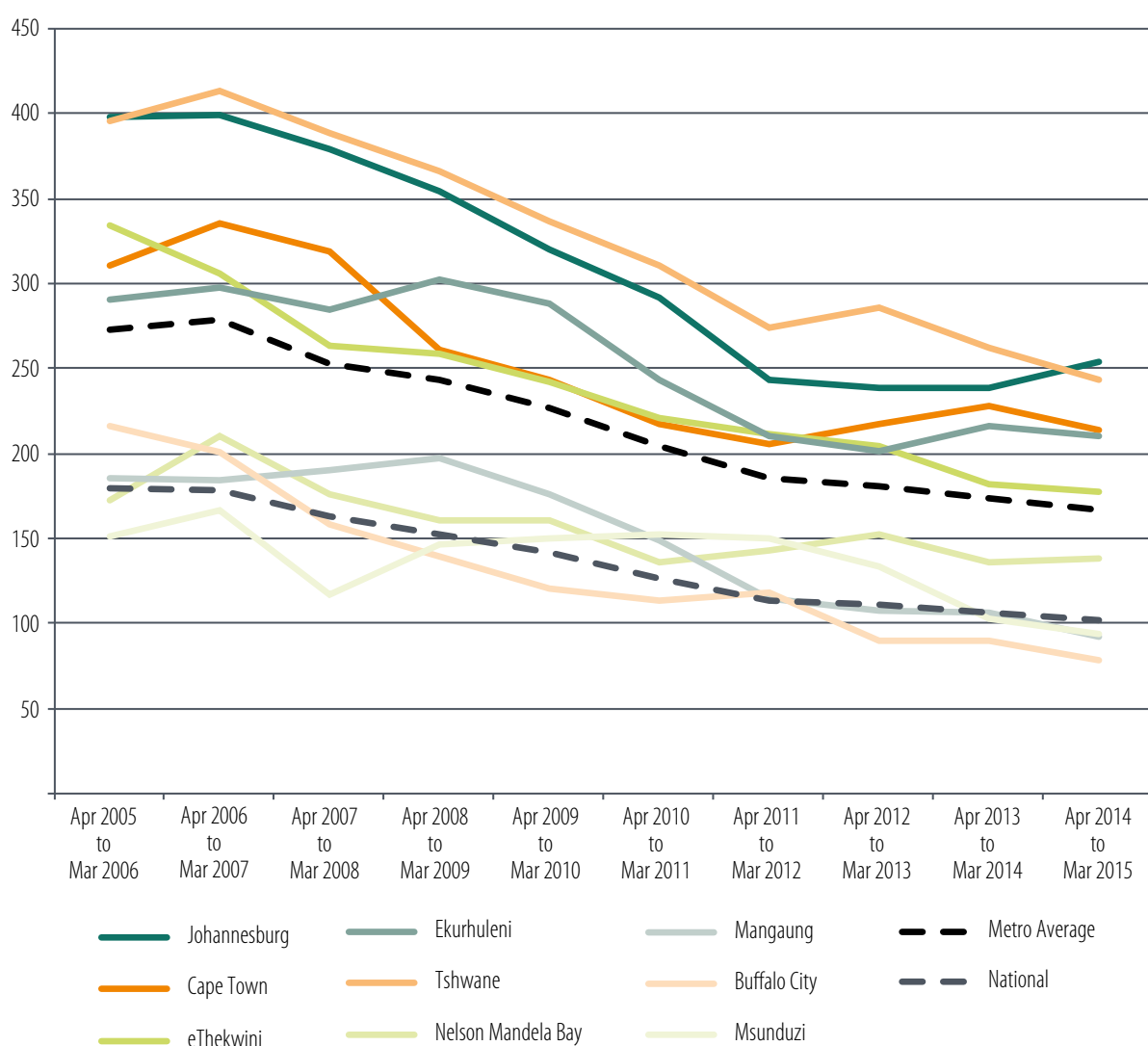
Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

In contrast to residential robbery, Johannesburg is close to the national rate, whereas Cape Town has some of the highest rates for residential burglary. Nelson Mandela Bay also shows a different pattern: instead of increasing (like residential robbery), burglaries at residential premises have declined since 2005/06, with the municipality going from the highest to the fifth highest among the nine cities. In 2014/15, all of the nine cities had higher rates of burglary at residential premises than the national average, with Cape Town and Mangaung leading the pack.

Vehicle theft and carjacking

Since 2005/06, theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles at the national level has fallen fairly steadily.

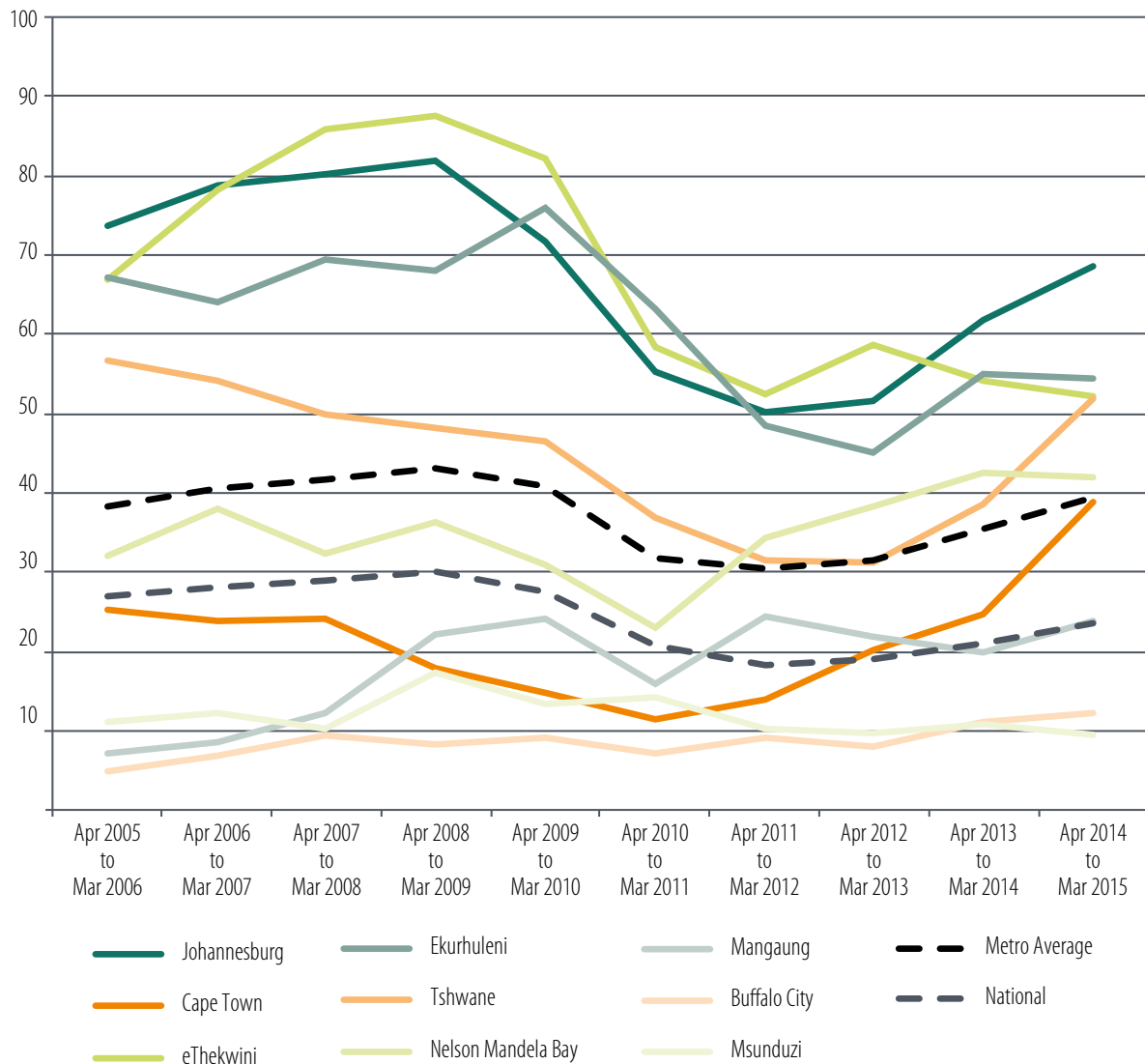
Figure 11 Vehicle and motorcycle theft (2005/06–2014/15)



Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

As Figure 11 shows, theft of vehicle and motorcycles is mostly an urban crime. The rates in almost all of the cities were well above the national rate throughout the period, with the exception of Buffalo City (2007/08), Msunduzi (2005/06–2009/10 and since 2013/14) and Mangaung (since 2011/12). eThekweni has seen particular success in curbing this type of crime, dropping from the third to the fifth ranking over the period. eThekweni had the steepest decline in this type of crime over the 10 years.

Nationally, carjacking rates rose slightly between 2005/06 and 2008/09, and then declined to 2011/2012, when they began to increase again. However, in 2014/15, the national rate was still lower than in 2005/06 (Figure 12).

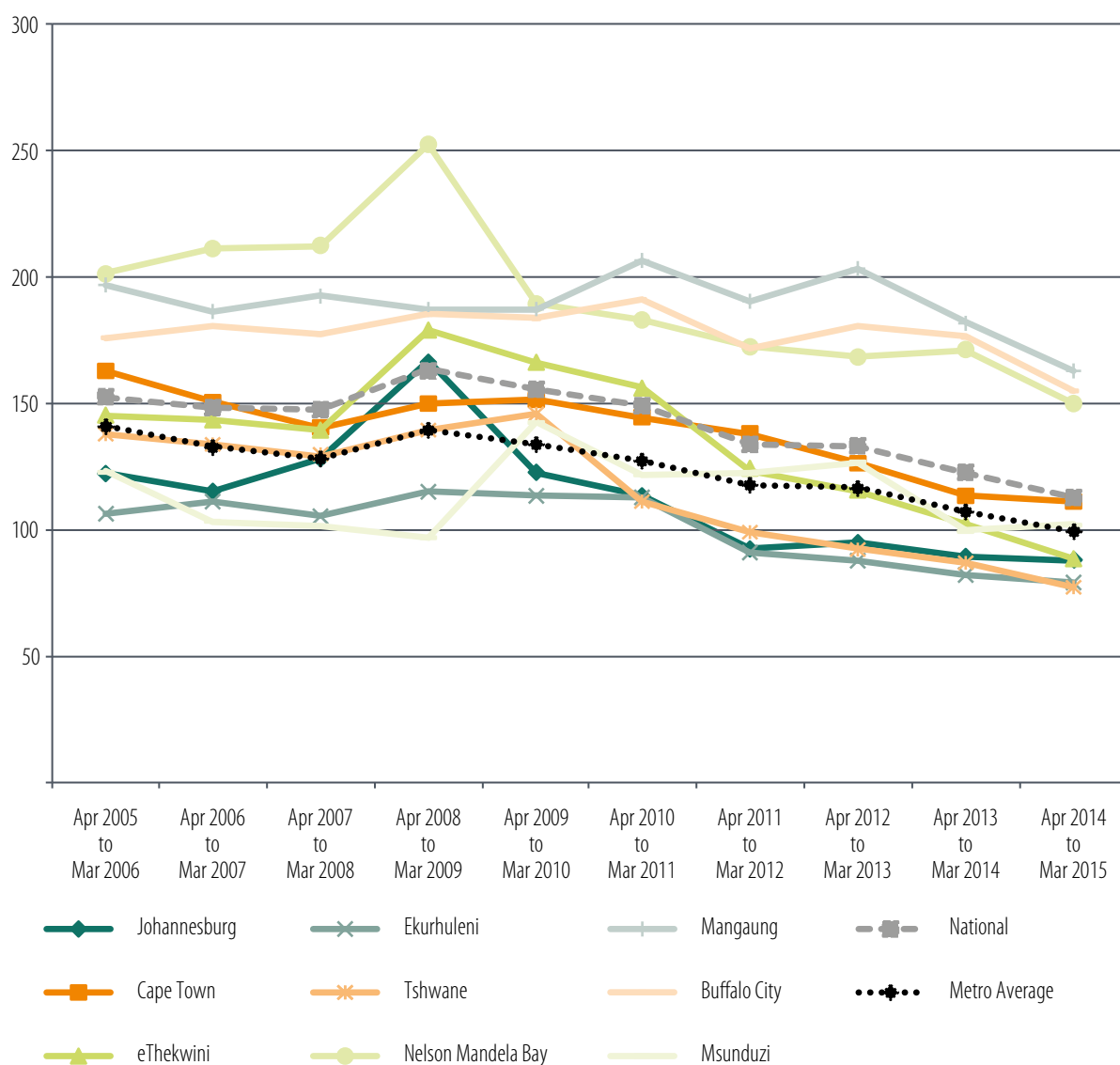
Figure 12 Carjacking (2005/06–2014/15)

Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Carjacking levels vary considerably across the cities, ranging from 69 per 100 000 in Johannesburg to below 10 per 100 000 in Msunduzi in 2014/15. Carjacking rates have risen significantly in Nelson Mandela Bay and Cape Town since 2010/11 and in Tshwane and Johannesburg since 2012/13. Rates in Buffalo City and, to a lesser extent, in Msunduzi have remained relatively steady throughout the 10 years.

Sexual offences

Reporting factors can influence whether or not crimes appear in official statistics, especially for sexual offences. Cultural, psychological, institutional and practical barriers affect the reporting of sexual offences. As a result, it is difficult to determine if a change in the sexual offences rate represents a real difference in the number of sexual offences or, for example, a change in the willingness and capacity of victims to report incidents or of the police to record those incidents. Declines in the reported rates of sexual offences may sometimes be a worrying sign of declining trust in the police. Furthermore, the legal definitions of a number of sexual offences have changed, while in their latest release of statistics, SAPS has put sexual crimes detected as a result of police action into a new category, providing these figures only as of 2011/2012. With all these caveats, Figure 13 shows sexual offences in the municipalities between 2005/06 and 2014/15.

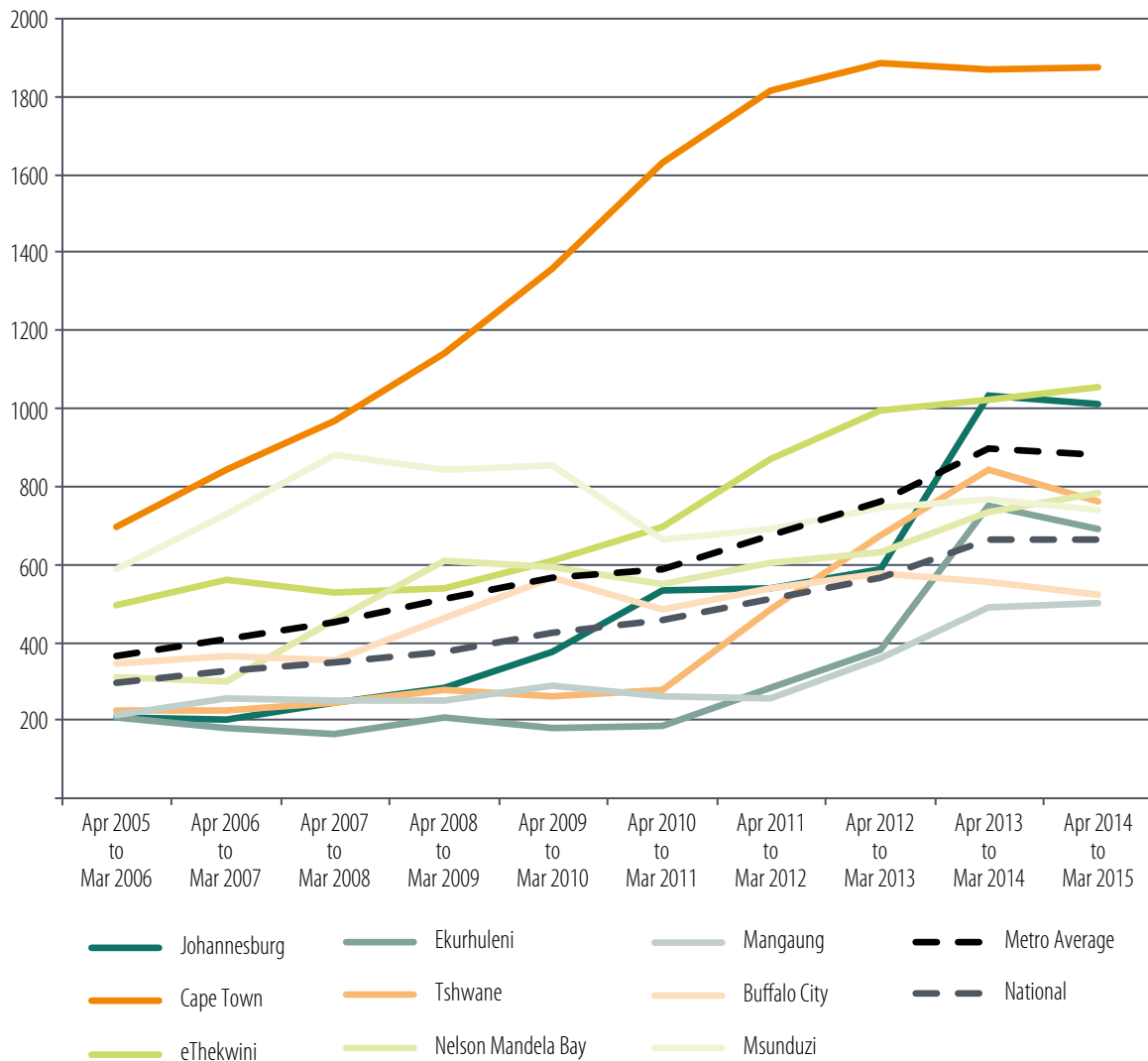
Figure 13 Sexual offences (2005/06–2014/15)

Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

Throughout the 10-year period, the recorded rates of sexual offences in Nelson Mandela Bay, Mangaung, Buffalo City and Cape Town were above the national rate. However, since 2012/13, all nine municipalities have seen a moderate decline in the recorded rate of sexual offences.

Crime detected as a result of police action

The final category is crime detected as a result of police action, which covers illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, drug-related crime and driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Unlike other crime types, recorded incidents are largely driven by the actions taken by police. Thus an increase in these crimes may reflect a real increase in the number of such activities and/or an increase in focused and effective policing of these activities.

Figure 14 Total crime detected through police actions (2005/06–2014/15)

Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2015)

All cities have seen an increase in this type of crime since 2005/06, although since 2013/14 there has been a slight decline in Johannesburg, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni. Cape Town is an outlier, starting with a slight lead in 2005/06 and increasing dramatically until 2011/12, since when the rates have tapered off. More detailed analysis showed that this increase was largely a result of the dramatic increase in recorded rates of drug-related crime. In 2014/15, only Mangaung and Buffalo City had rates below the national rate.

Future measurement⁶

The city crime trends show clearly that municipalities may exhibit similar trends but have different crime profiles. A much larger database needs to be developed in order to understand the reasons for these differences, as well as which are the best possible levers to target in order to address each city's most pressing crime concerns.

However, research has found that many factors can have a bearing on urban crime and safety. One way to conceptualise these factors is as an “onion” of three interlinked tiers (Figure 15), which have strong conceptual and practical interconnections.

Figure 15 Factors influencing crime and safety



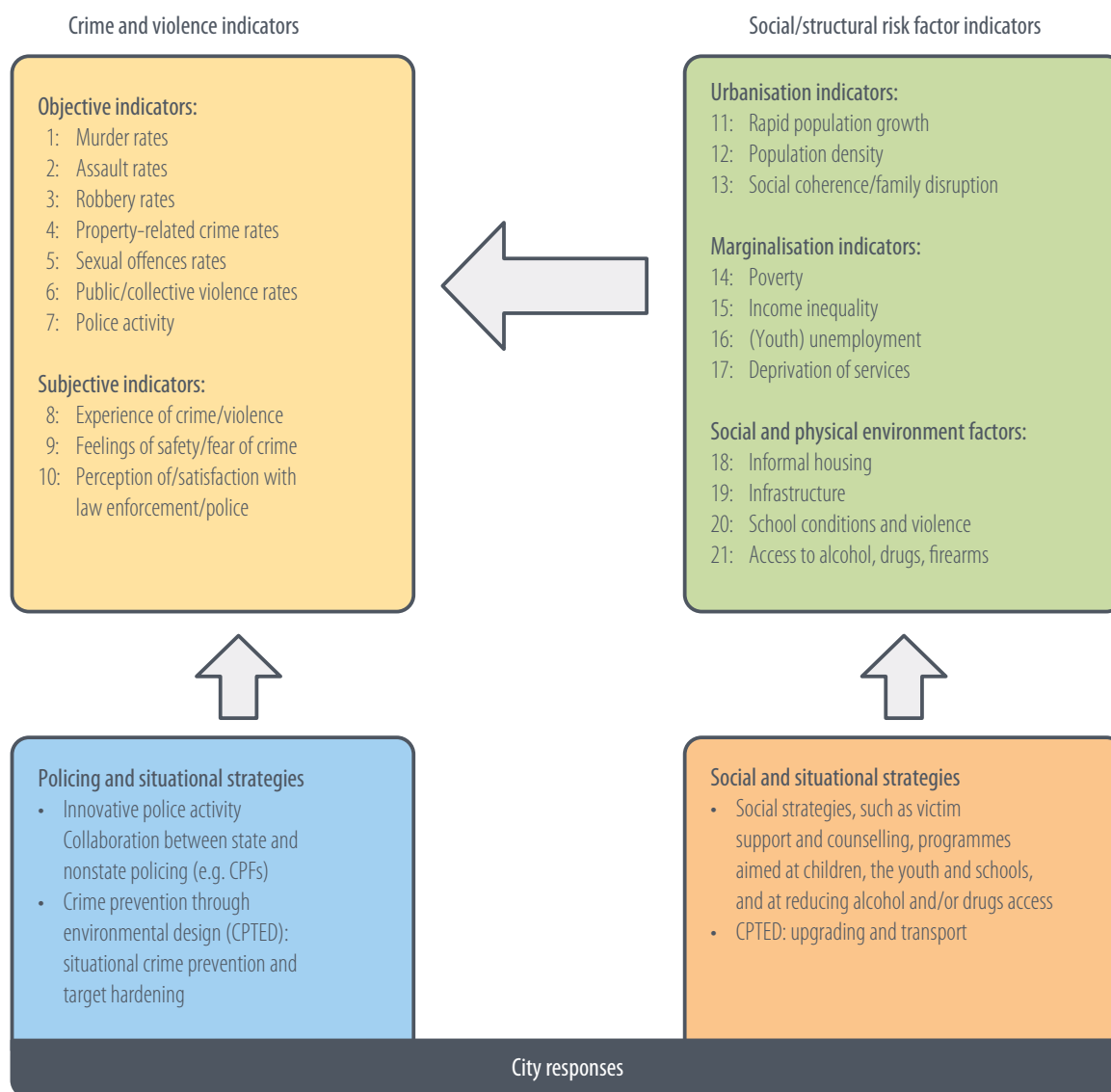
The inner tier, “conditions of crime and violence” includes both crime and violence statistics and people’s perceptions of their safety. The second tier refers to social/structural factors that might increase conditions of crime and violence. The third tier covers existing and potential policing, crime and violence prevention programmes, which cannot be measured quantitatively; instead a qualitative assessment is done over time to evaluate the effects of the programmes.

Based on an extensive literature review, 21 proposed indicators were identified, grouped into the two inner tiers, in order to standardise the description and measurement of urban safety in South African cities. These indicators, when adapted to take into account each city’s unique context, can provide the basis of comparison, assessment and planning. For some of the indicators, the data exists and is available at municipal level, but for others additional research is required to make them useful and comparable.

⁶ This section draws on the Urban Safety Indicators Report compiled for the SACN (UCT Centre of Criminology, 2015). Please refer to that report for further detail and for references.

The data should be compiled at a city level as well as for each police precinct within each city. In this way, the differences within each cities – the “hotspots” that contribute disproportionately to crime figures – can be highlighted. Furthermore, some of the indicators require measurement along other dimensions such as gender, age or nationality. This dataset will need to be developed progressively over time.

The indicators can be listed and grouped as follows:



Inner tier: Conditions of crime and violence

Objective indicators

For all their shortcomings, official crime statistics are an invaluable tool for identifying, comparing and evaluating urban crime problems, as well as being the most frequently used data source.

Indicator 1: Murder rates

Murder or homicide is the most commonly used indicator for measuring safety, as it is readily measurable, consistently defined and relatively well-reported. Data from police statistics can also be supplemented by data from other sources, such as mortuary records. However, the murder rate does not account for non-fatal violence, which may be related to the availability of certain weapons and the quality of medical care. Attempted murder rates can therefore sometimes be useful as a sub-category, although these definitions may vary between cities in different legal jurisdictions.

Indicator 2: Assault rates

Mortality is only the tip of the iceberg of violence, as non-fatal outcomes are much more common than fatal outcomes. In the SAPS crime statistics, assault is the most frequent category of violent crime and includes “common assault” and “assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm”. Underreporting rates mean that assault is a less reliable indicator than murder. Understanding patterns of assault (as well as many of the other indicators) requires more detailed data than SAPS currently provides, especially related to the gender and age of both victims and perpetrators.

Indicator 3: Robbery rates

Robbery crosses the divide between contact or violent crime and property crime. It is a major safety threat, as it results in injury and property loss, and has a large impact on the fear of crime. SAPS statistics for robbery include “common robbery”, “robbery with aggravating circumstances”, “robbery at residential premises”, “carjacking”, “robbery at non-residential premises”, “truck hijacking”, “robbery of cash in transit” and “bank robbery”. Reporting rates vary considerably among these crime types. For example, reporting rates are high for carjacking but low for common robbery that takes place on the street.

Indicator 4: Property-related crime rates

In the SAPS statistics, property-related crime includes burglary at residential premises, burglary at non-residential premises, theft of motor vehicles and motorcycles, theft out of or from motor vehicles and stock theft. Although not necessarily violent, these offences can be highly invasive, affect feelings of safety, have potential long-term psychological impacts on the victims and stigmatise neighbourhoods and districts. In some contexts, data from crime statistics can be usefully supplemented with data on insurance claims for losses as a result of property crime.

Indicator 5: Sexual offences rates

The rates of sexual offences have a strong bearing on understanding gender-based violence. In the SAPS statistics, the category “total sexual offences” contains dozens of sub-categories, including rape (by far the largest sub-category), sexual assault, offences against children and many others. As of 2014/2015, sexual crimes detected by police action (such as sex work and child pornography-related offences) have been reported separately. This is a marked improvement, but the data remain limited in numerous ways and should be supplemented by data from specialised surveys.

Indicator 6: Public / collective violence rates

The SAPS crime statistics for “public violence” include incidents arising from xenophobia, vigilantism and violent public protest. However, these definitions are variable and highly contested, and the extent and nature of public or collective violence in each city is likely to require further research that is more context-sensitive.

Indicator 7: Police activity

Police-detected crimes include the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, drug-related crime and driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Their rates are related to police capacity and motivation, and can thus enrich an understanding of each city's crime and crime prevention situation.

Subjective indicators

Some valuable crime and safety indicators are less about how many legally defined crimes occur in each space and more about how crime and safety are experienced, remembered and perceived on a subjective level. These factors are best accessed through surveys, as well as more qualitative methods such as focus groups and interviews, which are not applicable to the general urban population but can provide insight into how particular groups relate to and experience crime and safety.

Indicator 8: Experience of crime / violence

Rather than relying on the crime information that people volunteer to the police, victimisation surveys proactively approach people and ask them about the crimes that they have experienced, thus providing a useful means of checking the reliability of police statistics. The most up-to-date research comes from Stats SA, which conducts its victims of crime survey annually and aligns its dates with those of the SAPS statistics. Respondents are asked about the crimes they had experienced in the 12 months prior to the survey. Victimisation surveys and the other research tools can also be more specialised, for example focusing on gender-based violence, which can be poorly reported, for example, where the entire household is involved in the survey.

Indicator 9: Feelings of safety / fear of crime

Those people who experience a higher number of crimes are not necessarily those who are most afraid of crime. Consequently, it is important to determine not just how high crime risks are but also what this means for people's experience of their urban space. It is standard in victimisation surveys to ask respondents how safe they feel when walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day or at night, as well as in which areas they feel most or least safe.

Indicator 10: Perception / satisfaction with law enforcement / police

A final important component of subjective experiences of crime and safety is that of residents' perceptions of and feelings about law enforcement. Crime statistics can be of limited use in reflecting police performance because statistics can be fixed and many types of crime fluctuate independently of policing. Consequently, perceptions of the police provide an indication of feelings of safety, as well as being a helpful indicator of police success, and the level of community confidence in, satisfaction with and trust of police.

Second tier: Social/structural risk factors

Crime and violence factors exist within a range of social structures and interact with them. Deciding which of these structures to focus on as indicators and possible drivers of urban insecurity depends on the theoretical approach adopted. However, a strong basis can be found in the three overlapping categories of urbanisation, marginalisation and the state of the social and physical environment. As with the objective indicators, the data from these indicators should be broken down into smaller areas of the city, where possible, in order to identify correlations and to draw attention to the areas where crime rates are high.

Urbanisation factors

Research has shown that the rapid growth of urban spaces can lead to overcrowding, instability in human relations and communities, competition for scarce resources, weak state security, and an escalation in crime and violence. Specific indicators of urbanisation factors include rapid population growth, population density and social disruption.

Indicator 11: Rapid population growth

It is not population growth in itself that is seen to contribute to insecurity, but rather the rate of population growth. The strength and mechanisms of this indicator are disputed, but it nevertheless serves as a useful data point in understanding urban crime and safety.

Indicator 12: Population density

Crime can be an effect of the decline of interpersonal relationships in heavily populated cities. Again, the significance of this factor has not been settled in prior research, but it remains a useful tool for analysis.

Indicator 13: Social coherence / family disruption

Social disorganisation, as expressed in the pace at which people change households or the experiences of family disruptions, for example, is often connected to crime and violence. This is related to both the psychological impacts that family disruptions could have and to the potential lack of social coherence resulting from the instability of residents in a neighbourhood.

Marginalisation factors

It is generally understood that violence and crime are more prevalent in cities and areas of cities with economic disadvantages, social exclusion and poverty, but the exact nature of the relationships is complex and the literature discussing the relationship between these factors and crime is vast.

Indicator 14: Poverty

Poverty has long been considered a key determinant of urban violence because, although poverty does not cause crime in the straightforward way some might imagine, people living in poverty are more vulnerable to crime and violence victimisation. Poverty is thus one of the indicators relevant to identifying vulnerable neighbourhoods.

Indicator 15: Income inequality

Income inequality has been argued to have greater explanatory power than poverty when looking at factors that cause crime. There is strong statistical evidence that inequality is an important factor in crime and violence.

Indicator 16: (Youth) unemployment

Changes in unemployment are often linked to changes in crime and violence, particularly among the youth. This relationship is also fairly complex, but high (youth) unemployment is nevertheless a useful indicator of urban insecurity.

Indicator 17: Deprivation of services

Deprivation – such lack of access to basic social services and state security protection – can drive criminal or political violence and instability in response. It can also make residents more vulnerable to victimisation.

Social and physical environment factors

The state of the direct physical and social environment can drive insecurity. Inadequate homes, infrastructure and sanitation raise the risk of crime and violence, while spatial deprivation increases vulnerability to environmental disasters such as flooding and fire.

Indicator 18: Informal housing

Human security relies on security of tenure. Those living with insecure tenure face a high degree of financial insecurity and the threat of eviction. They are also generally more vulnerable to both environmental disasters and to crime and violence.

Indicator 19: Infrastructure

A lack of infrastructure, such as street lighting or access to sanitation, increases vulnerability to crime and violence. In South Africa, informal settlements often lack infrastructure, such as roads, electricity, sanitation facilities and street lighting, which is linked to several safety issues.

Indicator 20: School conditions and violence

Whether or not children experience violence at school is a good indication of the level of urban violence. Poor schooling conditions also drive, among other things, poor socialisation and achievement, which, in turn, can drive crime.

Indicator 21: Access to alcohol, drugs, firearms

Although alcohol consumption on its own does not cause crime, heavy alcohol consumption can worsen the crime situation and act as a catalyst for interpersonal violence. Drugs are also integral to many forms of violence, especially as they are often linked to gang violence. Finally, the availability of firearms can certainly exacerbate crime situations. With this in mind, the availability of (and access to) alcohol, drugs and firearms is often seen as a major contributor to levels of crime and violence.

Twenty-one key indicators for measuring urban safety, crime and violence in South Africa have been suggested. They include 10 direct indicators for measuring the conditions of crime and violence, and 11 indicators for measuring surrounding social and structural factors that can increase risks of, and vulnerability to, crime and violence. Developing data on these two sets of indicators will allow for better research into possible correlations between them. The next step is to identify priorities for developing these indicators, as well as the way forward.

Urban environments can foster various risk factors for crime and violence. Each city faces its own unique crime, spatial and social mix. In order to make sense of these differences and conditions, data on these 21 indicators, as well as on the range of city responses to crime and violence, should be collected at a general city scale. This data should then be disaggregated into the different areas of the city in order to identify and understand particularly unsafe neighbourhoods. In this way, insight can be gained into the many potential sets of complex correlations between risk factors and high levels of crime and violence. Understanding these correlations is vital to working out what kind of crime and violence prevention strategies to initiate and where to focus them.

POLICY

This section provides an overview of, and a commentary on, the policy and legislative framework related to urban safety in South Africa. One of the core areas of reflection and learning within the USRG is how better to leverage the existing policy setup in South Africa in order to empower cities and other stakeholders more effectively to prevent and respond to violence and crime as a key developmental priority at local level. As part of its advocacy agenda, the USRG has made formal policy submissions to the government, and its members have participated in a variety of consultative platforms to give input into current policy development processes.

Local government and community safety

According to South Africa's Constitution (1996: Section 152), local government's objectives include promoting a safe and healthy environment. However, there is no common understanding of what constitutes "a safe environment". Does "safe" mean reducing and mitigating threats of natural or man-made disasters, workplace health and safety hazards and fatal road accidents, or does it refer to freedom from violence and crime? While arguably the term should encompass all of the aforementioned, community safety is not one of local government's competencies contained in Parts 4B and 5B of the Constitution, which has tended to undermine the importance of violence and crime in the understanding of "safe". At the same time, almost all of the service delivery and developmental responsibilities assigned to local government in the Constitution and other legislation contribute in one way or another to creating safer, more inclusive communities.

The 1998 White Paper on Local Government offered a roadmap towards the transformed, democratic, non-racial and equitable local government system envisaged in the Constitution. Importantly, from a community safety perspective, it introduced the notion of developmental local government, as “local government that is committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and to improve the quality of their lives”.

The White Paper gave rise to a raft of local government legislation aimed at redressing the structural deficiencies and inequalities in the local government system, and defining how to achieve the White Paper’s vision (Table 1). Crucial among these was the obligation in the Municipal Systems Act (No. 2000) that all municipalities prepare five-yearly integrated development plans (IDPs) as the core strategic planning instrument to address the developmental needs and potential of their municipal spaces. The IDPs were originally conceived to be a plan for the municipality that brings together all contributions from every sphere of government and sector. In reality, however, IDPs typically reflect municipal service delivery plans only, with little integration of sectoral and spatial plans and investments by provincial or national government. This is an important shortcoming of the IDP process and has meant that community safety planning and implementation processes at local level, including the contributions of other spheres, have not been systematically included in IDPs.

Table 1 The role of local government with regard to community safety and violence prevention

Legislation/policy	Local government’s role
The Constitution, 1996	One of the local government’s objectives is “promoting a safe and healthy environment”.
The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), 1996	<p>Introduction of a four-tiered approach to crime prevention focused on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Re-engineering the criminal justice system to improve efficiency. ● Reducing crime through environmental design. ● Community values and education – importantly, aimed at enhancing public participation and involvement in crime prevention. ● Transnational crime. <p>The NCPS also recognises the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Government cannot manage crime on its own and the institutions of government (at all three spheres) need to work in partnership with civil society to reduce crime. ● Law enforcement and the criminal justice system alone will not be able to address crime in the country. ● Prevention efforts need to focus on victims and potential victims. ● Activities aimed at preventing crime need to address the fear of crime.
White Paper on Local Government, 1998	Local government must promote integrated spatial and socioeconomic development that is socially just and equitable. This calls for crime prevention considerations to be integrated into other aspects of local development, including economic development. Local government is encouraged to enter into partnerships with community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations, especially where these agencies have expertise that is traditionally lacking within local government, such as crime prevention.

continued

Legislation/policy	Local government's role
White Paper on Safety and Security, 1998	<p>Local government's role in crime prevention is unequivocal, and municipalities must play a positive and active role. Local government should:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate, coordinate and participate in targeted social crime prevention projects. • Work with local police to set joint local safety priorities and establish possible areas for local government intervention. • Align municipal resources and objectives with a crime prevention framework, to ensure that development projects take crime prevention into account. • Effectively enforce municipal bylaws. • Assist victims of crime by providing information on available support services in the municipal area. • Establish municipal police services, where appropriate and financially feasible, to enforce road traffic laws and bylaws, and perform visible policing functions. (Legislation enabling and regulating the establishment of such municipal police services was passed in 1998.)
Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000)	All municipalities must prepare IDPs every five years, to be the core strategic planning instrument for addressing the developmental needs and potential of their municipal spaces.
Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy (ISCPS), 2012	The role of local government is pivotal in effecting safe communities. National government assumes responsibility for providing an enabling legislative and policy environment and, through Treasury, making adequate budgets available for the implementation of policy. Provincial government, in relation to crime and violence prevention, is "a virtual environment that can only achieve its objectives at a local level". Local government's role is to deliver services and goods to communities, develop partnerships with local service providers and institutions to facilitate this delivery, and mobilise community support for the implementation of the ISCPS.
National Community Safety Forums Policy, 2012	Community safety forums (CSFs) must be established at municipal level. CSFs do "not aim to replace or duplicate any existing structure or forum at a local level. [They] will serve as a coordinating structure for collaboration and integrated planning and implementation at a local government level [...] the main intention remains the replication of the coordination and monitoring functions of the JCPS (justice, crime prevention and security) structure to streamline and enhance integrated planning at a local government level".
South African Police Services (SAPS) Act (No. 68 of 1995, amended 2008 and 2012)	Provides for the establishment of CSFs at police stations, through the Provincial Commissioner and Executive Council, respectively. This links to the overall objectives of Section 215 of the Constitution, which speaks to the establishment and maintenance of partnerships between communities and the SAPS.

continued

Legislation/policy	Local government's role
National Development Plan, 2012	<p>South Africa's first National Development Plan (NDP) was published in August 2012. The plan provides a long-term vision for the country, with two over-arching goals: to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030.</p> <p>The NDP has a chapter dedicated to "Building Safer Communities". The plan identifies high levels of crime and violence as being a key impediment to growth, development and transformation in the country, especially with regards to gender equality. The proposed actions to achieve the vision of safer communities include strengthening the criminal justice system and reforms to the police service. There is a strong emphasis on tackling the underlying root causes of South Africa's high levels of violence. These include poverty, unemployment, inequality, a lack of social cohesion, inadequate care of children, apartheid's spatial legacy in cities and towns, alcohol and drug abuse, and the widespread availability of weapons. Dealing with these dimensions requires a long-term, holistic approach to building community safety, in which both state and non-state capacities and resources are mobilised. Crucially, the active participation and co-responsibility of citizens are encouraged.</p>

The need for greater policy coherence

A barrier to making cities safer in South Africa is the lack of a clear and coherent framework that pulls together all the different policy intentions and directs, aligns and integrates urban safety interventions, planning instruments and investments by all government spheres and sectors. Many of the urban safety policy building blocks are in place at national, provincial and municipal levels (as seen in Table 1), but they are fragmented and uncoordinated. As a result, there is no common understanding of what municipalities should do in order to enable and implement integrated responses to making communities safer. Municipal responsibilities relating to traditional "public safety" functions, such as traffic safety, fire and emergency services, and disaster risk management, are relatively well-defined and accommodated in municipal plans, budgets and institutional structures. However, the mandate of municipalities to promote community safety (i.e. respond to and prevent crime and violence) is not sufficiently elaborated, and so community safety fails to attract the required political buy-in and prioritisation. Consequently, municipalities struggle to motivate for and secure adequate (and sustained, long-term) funding, capacity development and other kinds of support to effectively contribute to community safety.

From a national perspective, a more spatially differentiated policy response is needed that takes into account the concentration of violence and crime in the country's cities and towns, and directs and prioritises the allocation of financial resources and technical capacity development support accordingly. Such a focused *urban* approach should reflect the multidimensional nature of urban violence and urban safety, and integrate both law enforcement and targeted social crime prevention measures. Within this approach, the roles and responsibilities of the different spheres of government and different departments (including within the criminal-justice cluster), as well as other non-state actors, need to be more clearly defined.

Starting to come together? Recent policy developments

A number of recent policy developments offer the potential for improved coordination among the different strands of local government and community safety policy and legislation, and to articulate a more enabling framework for local government and cooperative governance.

National Development Plan

The Vision 2030 of the NDP (NPC, 2011: 387) is that: “In 2030, people living in South Africa feel safe at home, at school and at work, and they enjoy a community life free of fear. Women walk freely in the streets and children play safely outside”.

The NDP proposes that local government should play a more prominent role in responding to community safety concerns and violence prevention. Among the recommendations are some concrete suggestions of what local government should do:

- Local government should use its Constitutional mandate to promote community safety creatively and innovatively.
- Municipalities and communities should be assisted to develop skills for safety design.
- CPFs as mechanisms for community participation in safety should be strengthened.
- Municipalities should undertake safety audits with communities to establish safety needs and strategies.
- Local government should report on environmental designs aimed at addressing the safety of women, children and other vulnerable groups.
- Local governments should have safety plans and corresponding budgets.

“Safety involves the criminal justice system, local government, community, and private sector and role players involved in economic and social development.”

(NPC, 2011: 405)

Soon after the NDP was published, two other key policy processes were initiated: the revision of the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security and the development of a national urban policy for South Africa, the IUDF.

White Paper on Safety and Security

The 2016 White Paper on Safety and Security builds on the 1998 original and advocates a developmental approach to creating safer communities through addressing risk factors on different levels. It also advocates more effective and integrated planning and implementation by government, informed by a sound knowledge base and active community participation.

Importantly, the new White Paper attempts to deal with gaps within the intergovernmental system by proposing the roles and responsibilities of different government spheres in relation to community safety. Local government is recognised as “a key role player in the delivery of safety and security to communities” (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2016: 42):

The location of municipalities, (at the most direct interface of government with communities), and the mandate of municipalities, represents the most inclusive range of interventions required to create an enabling environment for delivery of services which impact on the safety and wellbeing of communities.

Specifically, the responsibilities assigned to municipalities, in cooperation with and supported by other spheres of government, are outlined in Table 2.

Table 2 Municipalities' responsibilities in terms of the 2016 White Paper on Safety and Security

Responsibility	Description
Budgets and resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Allocate budgets for strategy, plans, roles, programmes and interventions for safety, crime and violence prevention at local and district municipality levels. ● Align resources to objectives of safety, crime and violence prevention outcomes. ● Secure funding for programmes and interventions to achieve safety, crime and violence prevention outcomes. ● Capacitate and resource the Municipal Directorate for Safety, Crime and Violence Prevention. ● Account to the municipal council for the spending of budgets and outputs for safety, crime and violence prevention.
Legislation and policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Align legislation (bylaws) and policy to safety, crime and violence prevention outcomes.
Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Develop a local strategy and community safety plans for implementation of the White Paper. ● Develop strategies and integrate safety, crime and violence prevention outcomes into strategic plans, performance plans, norms and standards, etc. ● Integrate safety, crime and violence prevention outcomes into the IDP. ● Align and complement planning of IDPs with other municipalities and organs of state to ensure that safety, crime and violence prevention are prioritised and that best practices are integrated across municipalities. ● Ensure alignment of key performance indicators (KPIs) in strategies, plans, norms and standards with the White Paper.
Implementation structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establish an implementation structure to ensure effective implementation of the White Paper.
Intergovernmental cooperation systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Develop implementation protocols with other spheres of government and organs of state to facilitate implementation of the White Paper at local level. ● Contribute to setting joint safety, crime and violence priorities and interventions with other tiers of government, departments and municipalities. ● Participate in intergovernmental forums on national, provincial and local levels and ensure that issues relating to the implementation of the White Paper are discussed, consulted and put into action.
Evidence-based assessments and monitoring and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Conduct a local needs assessment. ● Develop a monitoring and evaluation framework. ● Implement the monitoring and evaluation framework at local level. ● Conduct a baseline study. ● Ensure alignment of KPIs in the IDP. ● Conduct community safety audits on an annual basis. ● Report to municipal council on the implementation and outcomes of the White Paper.

continued

Responsibility	Description
Programmes and interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordinate safety, crime and violence interventions within the municipal area. Ensure effective enforcement of bylaws on safety, crime and violence prevention. Implement programmes and interventions aligned to safety, crime and violence prevention outcomes.
Active public and community participation	<p>Establish sustainable forums for coordinated, collaborative and ongoing community participation.</p> <p>Facilitate public and private partnerships to support safety, crime and violence prevention programmes and interventions.</p>

Integrated Urban Development Framework

The IUDF (COGTA, 2016) is a policy response to South Africa's current and projected urbanisation trends. Its intention is to provide a national framework for how best to manage urbanisation to reap the potential benefits for cities and towns that are more resilient and inclusive, and for the national economy.

The IUDF presents urban safety as a cross-cutting issue for urban development and governance. It highlights the urban concentration of violence and crime in South Africa, as well as the consequent need for an urban approach, as part of the national response to making the country safer. The IUDF further emphasises safety in public spaces as an essential ingredient for creating liveable and prosperous cities.

While the safety of all communities (both urban and rural) matters equally, an urgent, dedicated focus on urban safety is required. A lack of safety in urban areas directly affects the socioeconomic development prospects not only of cities and their inhabitants, but also of the entire country and population.

While noting the existing legislative and institutional frameworks in place to promote community safety, the IUDF draws attention to a range of challenges:

- The underlying root causes of violence and crime are not sufficiently addressed, i.e. inequality, unemployment, poverty, lack of social cohesion, availability of opportunities and motives for crime and victimisation.
- Most implementation mechanisms neither sufficiently reflect the multidimensional nature of urban violence and urban safety nor focus on prevention.
- Local safety is not sufficiently mainstreamed into the entire fabric of municipal programmes.
- Communities are not sufficiently activated and resourced to play a meaningful role in community safety.
- Poor planning and management make public spaces crime hotspots.
- There are insufficient mechanisms for generating and transferring knowledge about community safety among practitioners and community members.

As a response, various considerations and recommendations related to urban safety are found across the IUDF's nine "policy levers". These include the following:

- Public transport nodes should be safe, inclusive, pedestrianised public spaces.
- Densification strategies should require communal and open spaces with clear urban management plans that consider the safety and security of users.
- The regeneration of inner cities should prioritise safety.

- The principles of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) should be actively encouraged and supported, along with municipal norms and standards in urban design, planning and management that give priority to safety considerations in enhancing people's experience of the built environment.
- The lack of safety and high rates of crime are also a direct deterrent to household and private sector investment, and negatively affect informal, small and township businesses and neighbourhoods in particular.
- Urban safety must be specifically addressed in order to create conducive local conditions and mobility for citizens' engagement in economic activity.

USRG policy submissions

The USRG made submissions on and inputs to the new White Paper on Safety and Security and the IUDF. The White Paper submission highlighted the position of cities regarding the establishment of CSFs. In addition, the USRG proposed a research-based approach to developing the White Paper on Police, led by SALGA as a coordinating body. Furthermore, the USRG participated in various processes in the development of the IUDF in order to strengthen the importance of urban safety in the document. This culminated in safety being made one of the selected cross-cutting issues.



PRACTICES

This section of the report profiles progress made in harmonising practices and implementing integrated urban safety interventions during 2014/15. Given that the report is the first of its kind and aims to be incremental, the profile of existing practices constitute the baseline for measuring member-city progress in future.

The USRG platform has played a crucial role in developing a common language, a frame of reference and a harmonisation of safety practices at city level. USRG interactions and exchanges have helped identify core objectives for, and direct the operationalisation of, urban safety in South African cities. The USRG has recognised the need for a shift towards integrated approaches in urban safety practices and underscored the importance of research and knowledge generation for sound decision-making. Sharing among cities has been invaluable to reflecting on the respective institutional approaches and identifying the key areas for harmonising practices, particularly in dealing with shared challenges of violent and organised crime, displaced persons, substance abuse, xenophobia, gender-based violence and youth unemployment.

Although policing and the criminal-justice system are core components of dealing with violence and crime, as the NDP recommends, a far stronger focus on prevention is needed that addresses the many socioeconomic roots of the problem. Therefore, in addition to conventional law enforcement, integrated approaches to urban safety need to include spatial planning, education and early childhood development, and social and economic development. As a result of this new orientation, USRG member municipalities are increasingly viewing safety as a key consideration when planning and implementing new projects, in particular the upgrading of informal settlements. The Duncan Village case is one

example of how safety has been incorporated in the re-imagining and re-making of the urban spatial environment towards safer, more productive and inclusive cities.

City approaches / strategies

Some cities are developing their city safety strategies and implementation plans in line with their IDP, while others are still at conceptualisation stage. USRG's interaction with each city, in particular its discussions with each city of where their safety-related functions sit, has assisted member cities in thinking more deeply about the components necessary for their city safety strategies, how these align with their IDP and the overall objective to harmonise urban safety practices.

In 2014/15, the City of Joburg shared its draft City Safety Strategy (JCSS) with the USRG. This comprehensive document comprises an implementation plan and is linked to the objectives of the City's Growth and Development 2040 Strategy. The JCSS recognises the changing realities in Johannesburg and the need for a cogent response to the pressures of urbanisation and development, the changing population dynamics, persistent inequality and resource scarcity, as well as new risks and new types of crime. Thus, the City of Joburg has adopted a tailored, multi-disciplinary and multi-agency approach.

Discussions among member cities following the presentation of the JCSS revealed that:

- Cities are experiencing similar challenges in terms of bylaws, and are calling for political buy-in, as law enforcement alone cannot produce the desired change.
- The City of Joburg is moving towards densification, while Ekurhuleni is considering de-urbanisation as a model for development.

USRG member cities will be presenting and sharing their respective city safety strategies in future Reference Group sessions, as part of unpacking the key convergences and divergences among member cities relating to their urban safety functions.



Institutional arrangements

There are key differences in language among cities with regard to urban safety and related functions. For example, some member cities refer to “community safety”, while others talk of “city safety” or “safer cities”. This has highlighted the areas needing greater convergence, in particular policy and institutional arrangements in order to harmonise practices. Furthermore, it occasions deeper analysis, perhaps in future reports, as part of tracking convergence over time. Beyond budget allocations to safety functions, the report(s) should also paint a picture of how monies are used and allocated to safety across member cities.

The discussion of institutional arrangements facilitated learning and exchange on:

- The gradual shift from classical crime prevention to community safety models and whether existing institutional arrangements within cities are conducive.
- How cities approach safety functions (e.g. in terms of available forms and avenues for funding, as safety is an unfunded mandate).
- Coherence among cities on funding, policy advocacy, knowledge generation and raising the profile of safety.
- How safety is still regarded as a policing matter – anchoring the USRG’s push for integrated approaches/incorporating cross-cutting issues in policy and strategy formation.
- The introduction of “urban safety officers” in the eThekweni Metro Police, whose function encompasses health, social issues, building monitoring, as an example of the necessary institutional shifts towards integrated implementation.

The thinking is that under safety, personnel need to be able to pick up on whole issues rather than one thing. For example an electricity inspector should be able to recognise social aspects. The view is to fill the positions by next year. (eThekweni Municipality, 4th USRG Session)

Programmes

The various urban safety programmes were another opportunity for learning and exchange among cities. Presentations on these programmes gave practical examples of the application of cross-cutting, integrated and multi-agency approaches. The issues covered, which included integrated planning towards safer cities, the role of social development services, homelessness and substance abuse, resonated with all member cities and institutions.

Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality)

Duncan Village is the densest informal settlement in Buffalo City. Because of its proximity to the city centre, it has experienced several waves of intra-urban, cross-border and rural-to-urban migration by people seeking economic opportunities. Informal dwellings outnumber formal ones, with about 75% of community members earning no regular income (Sam and Wiseman, 2006). With the aim of reducing overcrowding, the redevelopment project seeks to introduce housing that is more formal and change the spatial form towards a healthier and safer community. The planned relocation of a number of households to an identified site in Mdantsane is criticised as being counterproductive in terms of reduced proximity to city centres and economic opportunities. However, from a safety point of view,

the redevelopment incorporates some of the core elements of an integrated approach targeting cross-cutting issues and key partnerships.

Qalakabusha Intervention Programme (eThekweni Municipality)

The Qalakabusha initiative aimed to address the plight of homeless people and immigrants within the CBD, particularly those residing at Albert Park and inner city surroundings. The project comprised profiling homeless people in the identified area, identifying their skills, experience, documentation status and the incidence of drug use among them. Qalakabusha was coordinated by the Safer Cities and iTRUMP units of the eThekweni Municipality. As a multidisciplinary approach, it brought together the departments of cooperative governance and social development, Metro Police, Youth Ambassadors and Community Safety Liaisons, among others. eThekweni has followed up the initiative with a more comprehensive study into homelessness.⁷ The Qalakabusha initiative, as an example of a collaborative approach, has been a possible model for member cities facing the challenge of safety being an unfunded mandate. Furthermore, it is a demonstration of an integrated, multidisciplinary and evidence-led approach at work.

Tsosoloso Township Renewal Programme (City of Tshwane)

Tsosoloso is a safety and peace promotion initiative being piloted in Mamelodi East by the City of Tshwane in partnership with KfW (German Development Bank). Conceptualised in 2006 and using an urban upgrading programme, it aims to align the reconstruction and development of townships with infrastructure development to promote a better quality of life (in line with the City's Vision 2055). The key elements of the project include transforming public spaces in the township through greening, to create vibrant, liveable, durable and beautiful urban environments. The project draws on a range of supporting instruments and policies to make the case for inter-departmental coordination and to bring safety elements across more strongly. The relevant policies include the IDP, the City Development Strategy, the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework, the Integrated Transport Plan and the City of Tshwane Safety Strategy. Tsosoloso is funded by pooling line functions under capital projects in the IDP, applying for various grants and integrating several sector projects. Safety as a core element and outcome are built into the project through the City Safety Plan for 2014/15, which prioritises safety through environmental design. Another key element is early childhood development, in as far as the project plan includes a child development centre. While some of the necessary processes, such as funding and management are ironed out, the conceptualisation of the project and the elements to be targeted coincide with the key advocacy points of the USRG, particularly the role of planners in the streamlining of urban safety elements in projects and the role of early childhood development as a targeted long-term approach to reduce urban crime and violence.

A Case Study on Cosmo City

In recent years, the focus of urban safety in South Africa has been on recommending a clear delineation of the competencies, responsibilities and accountability of local government. The framing of urban safety has further been rooted in the idea of cities as economic centres. Cities offer attractive economic opportunities but experience higher rates of crime, which has direct implications for city growth and development and the overall quality of life. On a governance level, municipalities are increasingly tasked with safety-related functions, but without the necessary funding. Furthermore, there is an emerging recognition that law enforcement/policing alone cannot deal with the overwhelming incidence and

⁷ To be profiled in the 2016 Annual Report.

effect of violence and crime on cities and their residents. These factors bring into focus the need to strengthen intergovernmental relations (IGR) and have greater clarity on the roles and functions of both local governments and other relevant institutions and departments.

The growing focus on urban safety also highlights the tendency of public discourse to focus on the middle class, while evidence suggests that those who least can afford it are disproportionately affected by high crime and violence (UN-Habitat, 2015). In the South African context, low-income areas, such as townships and informal settlements, are characterised by poor safety because of socioeconomic factors as well as poor and exclusionary planning, much of which is a legacy of apartheid. This affects perceptions of safety and the interaction of urban residents with public space (driving a retreat to the private).

Cosmo City is hailed as an exemplary mixed-use and mixed-income settlement. Located in the North-West of Johannesburg, it is the outcome of a public-private partnership (CODEVCO) between real estate developer Basil Read, a black economic empowerment consortium called Kopano, the City of Johannesburg as landowner, and the Gauteng Provincial Government as subsidy provider. The formal population in Cosmo City is estimated at around 70 000 people, but the total population may be closer to 100 000 because the number living in backyard sublets is unknown.⁸

The Cosmo City case is relevant to understanding some of the dimensions of an integrated approach to crime and violence prevention, in terms of the IGR, as well as the cross-sectoral and interdepartmental collaboration necessary for the desired urban safety outcomes. It is important to note that Cosmo City was not built specifically with crime prevention or citizen security as guiding outcomes, although some elements of its planning and construction sought to address these issues.

The main objective of Cosmo City was to promote better “social cohesion” between diverse residents and thereby reduce levels of crime. The model responds to the challenge of South Africa’s fragmented cities where income inequality is extremely high (with “income cliffs” between socioeconomic levels), and many areas are sharply segregated by class and race.

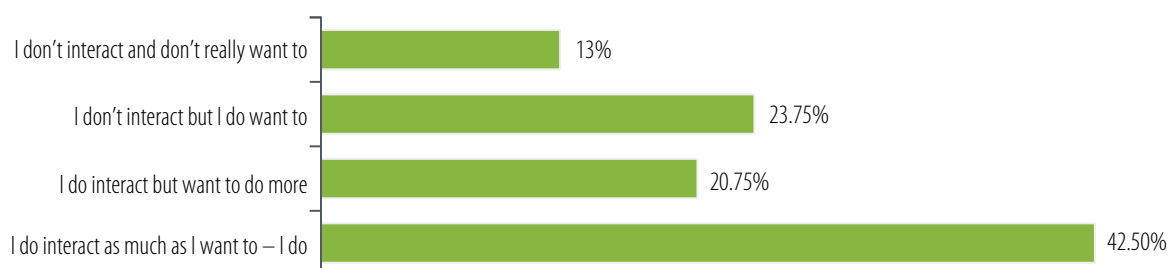


8 Interview with Brian Mulherron and Paddy Quinn, 5 May 2015.

Cosmo City's unemployment rate is about 30% (compared to Johannesburg's average of 25%). The main employment sectors are: private households; wholesale and retail; public sector or government; community, social and personal services; and construction. Household income ranges between R3201 and R12,800 per month, with the clear majority of households earning far less than R12,800. Two-thirds (66%) are formally employed and a fifth (40%) are informally employed. Other sources of household income include government grants, such as pensions (25%), from family support or remittances (14%), and rent from a dwelling, flat or garage (10%).

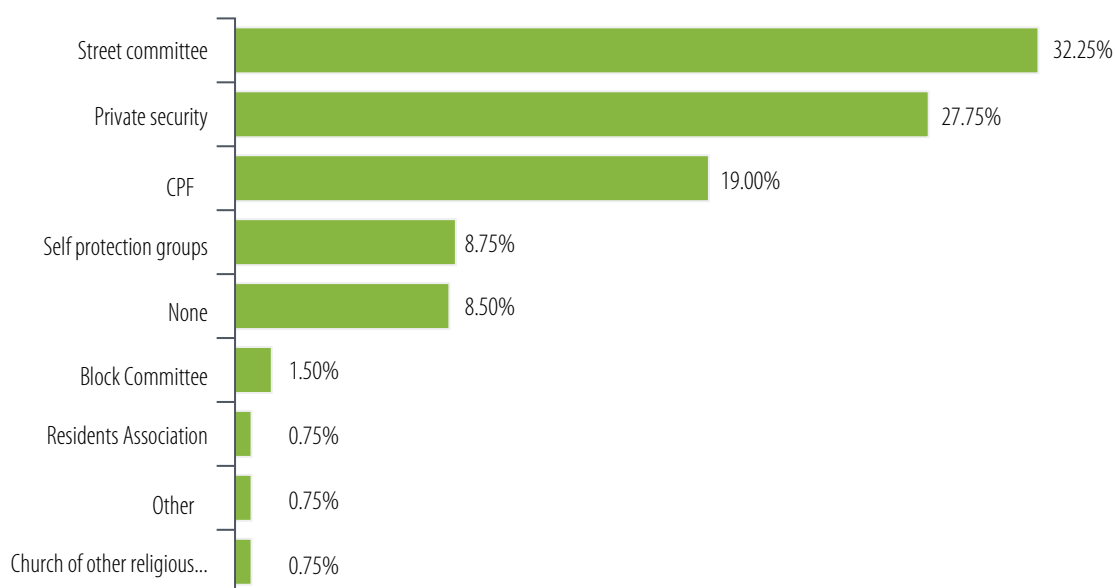
To assess social cohesion and local governance, residents were asked about how they interacted with other people and which organisations made the most difference to their quality of life.

Figure 16 Social cohesion: How would you describe your interaction with other people who live in Cosmo City?



Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2014)

Figure 17 Local governance: Which, if any, of these organisations makes the most difference to your quality of life in your neighbourhood?

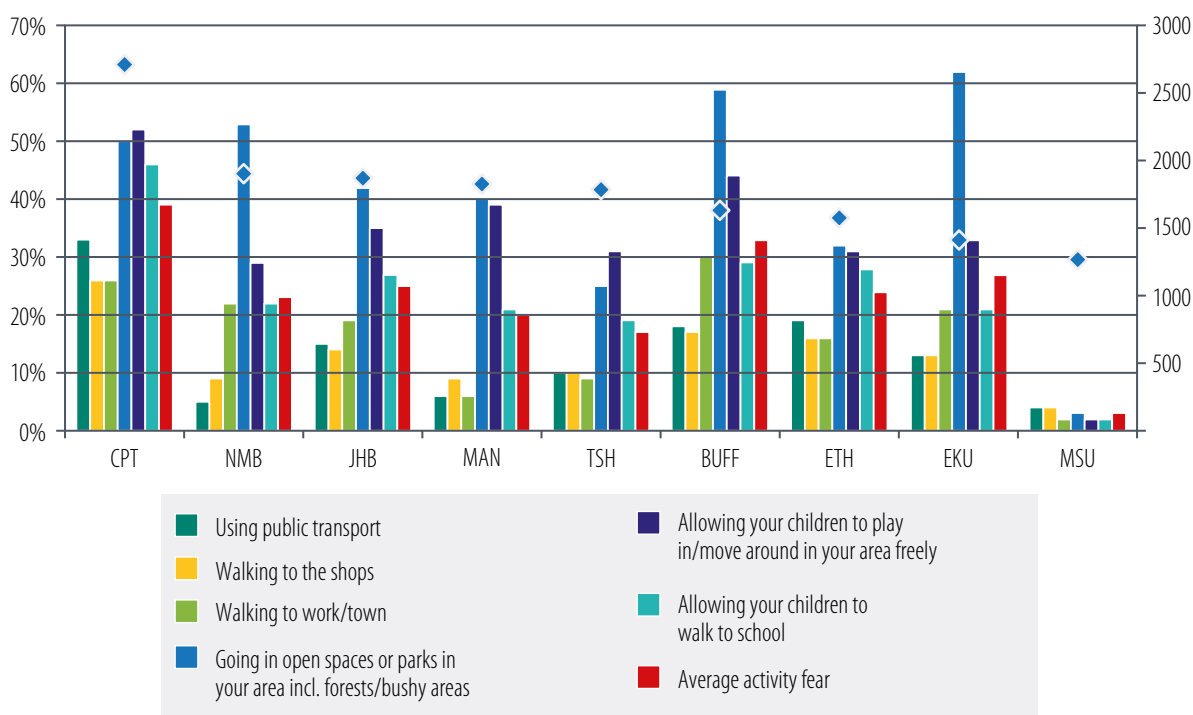


Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2014)

The results suggest unequivocally that people in Cosmo City feel part of their communities and that strong bonds have developed at local neighbourhood level. Street committees have the greatest impact on respondents' quality of life, while private security has a surprisingly high relevance, particularly for the more affluent households.

As Figure 18, perceptions of safety directly drive willingness to participate in public life and space.

Figure 18 Crime: Does fear of crime prevent you from doing any of the following in your area?



Source: UCT Centre of Criminology for SACN (2014)

Social cohesion rests on active citizenship, and sharing in public life and in public space, while research suggests a correlation between perceptions of crime and the growing retreat from public space. Therefore, safety and reduced crime and violence create the conditions for (and precede) social cohesion.

06

CAPACITY AND LEARNING

The USRG is a platform for structured engagement on urban safety, both internationally and locally. It focuses on Global South learning, exchange and cooperation around issues of safety and prevailing forms of crime and violence in them.

Having concluded that greater policy, institutional and fiscal commitment are needed to drive the safety agenda in South African cities, the USRG has engaged with various institutions and processes. These include Anglophone Africa, with the Executive Mayor of Johannesburg as vice-chairperson; the UN-Habitat's Global Network on Safer Cities, also chaired by the Executive Mayor of Joburg; the AFUS, driven by eThekweni Municipality; and the AfriCities Conference, hosted by the City of Joburg in partnership with SALGA, DCoG and UCLGA in December 2015.

These processes widen the scope of USRG advocacy beyond South Africa. While the core focus is on South African cities, driving the agenda internationally will better position the USRG to raise the profile of urban safety locally.

International learning visits: The Latin America urban safety study tour

The SACN, together with DCoG and the GIZ, organised an urban safety study tour to the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Bogotá and Medellín. These cities share a Global South context and have had relative success applying integrated safety concepts and strategies. The trip was an invaluable opportunity for South African safety practitioners to meet various stakeholders, participate in the 7th World Urban Forum and visit exemplary social crime and violence prevention projects.

In 2014/15, one of the USRG's key outputs and knowledge products, which emanated from the study tour, was the Urban Safety Study Tour Report. Lessons from the tour included the need to champion safety at the highest political levels and partnerships among non-government players and civil society (Table 3).



Study tour members

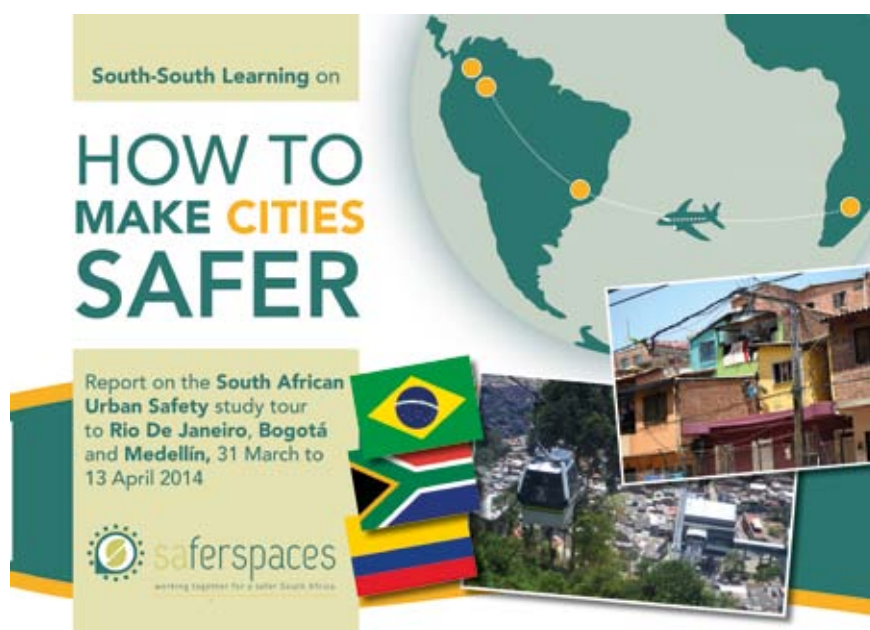


Table 3 Lessons from the Latin America urban safety study tour

Policy	Operational	Resource
People-centred development, with humanity and fairness at the core of city visions: e.g. extending infrastructure to marginalised communities.	Holistic, integrated approaches to address the social, economic and political drivers of violence and crime, e.g. Police Pacification Units (Brazil).	Supporting social services and resource allocation are essential to the success of holistic, integrated approaches.
Champion safety at the highest political level. Institutional mechanisms driven by the highest offices elevate the agenda.	Focus on youth, with targeted interventions, e.g. development of programmes promoting alternatives to violence.	Incentivise work (volunteerism is not sufficient) to ensure sustainability of interventions. Permanent structures staffed by salaried employees are needed.
Consistent, long-term urban safety policies that are comprehensive, cross-sectoral and set out the competencies, responsibilities and resources to be committed by different actors.	Make use of technology and data. Integrated information systems are critical to creating safe environments and can be used to develop innovative solutions, and improve decision-making and reaction times.	Safety-related capacity is typically locked at national level. Human resources and technical capacity are needed within municipalities to support violence and crime prevention efforts.
Strengthen the role and accountability of local government. Institutional clarity is key to implementation at local level.		

The above lessons were translated into recommendations, which are not intended to be exhaustive but to inspire thinking about what role-players can do, individually and collectively, to promote urban safety in South Africa. The recommendations can be classified into three broad categories: policy, operational and resources. The recommendations also informed some of the further activities of the USRG upon return from the study tour including: evidence-based interventions that address the causes of urban violence and crime, advocacy to promote sustained political will to tackle the wide-ranging and multi-dimensional causes of urban violence and crime, and the allocation of resources to drive implementation of safety programmes. The latter, in the context of South African local government, is linked to the fact that urban safety is an unfunded mandate.

Peer-based learning and capability building

Local government is tasked with implementing government programmes and policies, and is therefore the appropriate sphere for coordinating and executing urban safety programmes. This is the basis for city-level cooperation, under USRG auspices, to exchange knowledge and consolidate a research-based agenda.

What is currently missing in South Africa is a comprehensive overview and understanding of how cities can deal effectively with challenges of violence and crime, beyond the paradigm of law enforcement. Cities and local governments need to understand how to use integrated violence and crime prevention strategies, which go beyond policing, to address the social and economic drivers of crime. Therefore, the USRG emphasises knowledge-based learning, peer-to-peer knowledge sharing and capability building among South African cities around urban safety issues.

Practice-based learning is central to building capacity of USRG members. The USRG meetings are, in and of themselves, occasions for learning and exchange. In the first cycle of the USRG, member sharing and reporting helped identify key divergences in organisational structure and positioning of safety among member cities. This demonstrated the internal value of USRG interaction, particularly its influence on how members can reposition and realign their urban safety functions where necessary.

Local study visits

USRG meetings also include site visits to exemplary projects in respective host cities. As part of its 3rd Session in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, in August 2014, the USRG undertook a visit to the Duncan Village informal settlement upgrading project. The formalisation process – drawing on various departments and stakeholders – demonstrated an integrated response, targeting various types of crime and their drivers.

During the tour of Duncan Village, the USRG gained key insights into the integration of safety planning in informal settlement upgrading projects, which is an important area for realising safer South African cities. After the visit, a feedback session captured the learnings, cross-cutting issues and areas of convergence and divergence among cities, which are to be taken forward as research questions in the ongoing creation of a city-level knowledge base by the USRG.



Duncan Village site visit

Table 4 Learning and exchange following the Duncan Village site visit

Three priority outcomes/shifts to be achieved in order to call this area 'a safe and healthy environment'	List measurable indicators for the three outcomes	Which functions/role-players are implicated?
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Accessibility 2. Development 3. Employment 	Town planning, road construction, industries that will create jobs.	Town Planning, Economic Development
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic development 2. Illegal connections 3. Engineering and design 	Street trading formalisation, recycling projects (establish co-ops), infrastructure services upgrade, formalisation of taxi services and ranks.	SMMs, Economic Development, Environmental and Waste Management, Infrastructure Services, Security, Human Settlements, Transport
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Basic service delivery 5. Sustainable human settlements 	Recreational facilities, local economic development, enforcement of bylaws, public space improvement, street cleaning, health services, stormwater and drainage maintenance.	Parks, Sports and Recreation, Economic Development, Law Enforcement, Solid Waste, Water, Health, Engineering
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Income-generating opportunities 2. Food security (gardens) 3. Culturally sensitive planning (planning should not tacitly criminalise organic lives of communities, e.g. bylaws that restrict cultural activities) 	Crime reduction, settlement's contribution to Buffalo City's economy, improved public life, prevalence of stress-related illnesses, happiness index (measuring human dignity, inclusion etc.), tenure security, review of bylaws.	Human Settlements, Social Development, Economic Development, Health, Policing, Human Rights
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sustainable livelihoods 2. Basic services (street lighting) 3. Quality public spaces 	Small, medium and micro-sized enterprises (SMMs), skills development training, electricity, parks, youth development, libraries.	City, Provincial, National Youth Development Agency,
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Waste management 2. Disaster management (illegal connections and damaged hydrants) 3. Schools/clinics/community centres/animal welfare 	Greening initiatives, fruit trees, food gardens, solar energy, after-school programmes, skills development.	Environment, Economic Development, Planning and Disaster Management, Social/Economic Development, non-governmental organisations (NGOs)/community-based organisations (CBOs), public-private partnerships (PPPs)

Source: Responses from a worksheet completed by members at the feedback session of the site visit

At the 7th Session hosted by Ekurhuleni in August 2015, the USRG visited three sites that demonstrate the current and emerging safety challenges in the city.

In **Reiger Park**, gangsterism, recruitment of young boys and men into gangs, endemic drug dealing and vandalism of schools are rife. The apartment block spatial form appears to compound these issues. Thus far the metro has been reactive in dealing with issues in this area. The construction of speed humps has stemmed the street car racing that used to take place in the area.

Ramaphosa is a township that contains informal settlements. The practice of sub-letting RDP houses has shifted the demographics in the area to include a large section of foreign nationals. It was the centre of the 2008 xenophobic attacks, characterised by an image of a man being burned alive that went viral. The safety issues prevalent in this particular area demonstrate the need for an established bylaw enforcement unit.

OR Tambo Cultural Precinct is an eco-park built on a protected natural wetland. The surrounding area of Wattville has benefited from this development through the introduction of solar powered street lighting (although solar panels have since been vandalised and stripped), as well as gym equipment and mini parks in open public spaces. The precinct also neighbours an informal settlement which benefits from the floodlighting in the precinct's amphitheatre.

Two other growing challenges for Ekurhuleni are illegal mining and sex workers linked to truck hijackings. Abandoned mines coupled with poverty and unemployment have resulted in illegal mining and the accompanying security challenges: rival gangs shooting at each other and the police (with a growing number of fatalities), the use of explosives to open shafts (same explosives used in ATM bombings), destabilised and fearful communities because of the violence, entire underground colonies, disruption of municipal services and destruction of infrastructure (water, electricity). Along the Heidleberg R103 highways, sex workers are common and tend to collaborate with hijackers. Truck hijackings not only affects safety but is also having a negative impact on local industries and the city's overall productivity.

USRG held a robust discussion that yielded practical takeaways, which underscored the importance of an integrated approach, particularly in respect of abandoned mine land, which is private property and thus presents a policing challenge. The USRG identified an opportunity to work with the Department of Minerals and Energy to formulate legislation and the requisite bylaws as a safety and security measure. Existing strategies and approaches to the problem of drugs reflected a need for an integrated social approach. Drugs and related crimes emerged as one issue that resonated with all member cities.





Ekurhuleni site visit

The tour of Ekurhuleni also demonstrated the range of issues faced by municipal police that extend beyond their basic mandates, particularly in cities with growing peri-urban or rural areas. It highlighted the need for joint solution-seeking among cities. Such collaboration must emphasise information and data, moving beyond anecdotal narratives towards specialised trend analysis and quantification as advocacy tools for policy intervention.

Other opportunities for capacity-building, learning and exchange

SaferSpaces (www.saferspaces.org.za)

SaferSpaces is an interactive platform run by (and for) community safety and violence prevention practitioners in South Africa with the aim of connecting, sharing knowledge and learning from each other. SaferSpaces supports the sharing of knowledge on community safety and preventing violence in South Africa. It serves as a source of good practices and experiences, as well as a virtual meeting place for those involved and interested in safety-related interventions. The USRG is profiled on SaferSpaces, among other projects and initiatives promoting safer communities.



VCP Toolkit

The Violence and Crime Prevention (VCP) Programme Toolkit for Participatory Safety Planning is conceptualised around the idea that safety has a profound impact on mobility, quality of life and the ability to participate in public life and access public space. Seeing the causes of violence and crime as complex and layered, the toolkit presents a systematic approach based on active cooperation across disciplines and stakeholders among the three spheres of government. The toolkit comprises five sections that provide practical tools and methods that can be mixed and applied according to the user's specific context. With participation as a central tenet, the toolkit further emphasises data and information collection and analysis as the key to systemic planning of violence prevention and safety measures at local level.



UN-Habitat Guidelines on Safer Cities

Several global flagship reports highlight the nexus of crime and violence in urban areas. As already mentioned, cities are places of greater economic opportunity but also places of high crime and violence. Given this stark reality, the criminal justice system (police, courts and corrections services) alone can no longer stem crime and violence. In addition to city-level capabilities and funded interventions, the situation urgently requires collaboration and integrated solutions that draw on the political, academic and private sectors, as well as on civil society.

Since 2011, member states accredited to the governing bodies of UN-Habitat and UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) have called for the preparation of UN Guidelines on Safer Cities, which must include crime prevention and urban safety strategies, as well as the fostering of social cohesion, as priorities to be incorporated into sustainable urban planning, management and governance policies. These would be based on the Guidelines for Cooperation and Technical Assistance in the Field of Urban Crime Prevention (ECOSOC, 1995/9) and the 2002 United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime (ECOSOC, 2002/13). Within the current UN-wide effort to build the Post 2015 Agenda, urban safety is recognised as a major concern for the future, as it converges with the preoccupation for sustainable

development, as a condition for the permanence of built spaces and an element in the quality of urban projects: “Making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” is the 11th Sustainable Development Goal.

The Guidelines aim to facilitate the planning and implementation of integrated and preventive urban safety mechanisms at local government level. Since they contain specific methodologies and approaches for building safer cities, the USRG hopes, (through the AFUS), to contextualise these and make them relevant to African cities.

The Learning Exchange on Urban Safety and Crime Prevention

Hosted by the Municipal Institute of Learning (MILE) and ITRUMP units of the eThekweni Municipality, the Learning Exchange took place on 3–5 December 2014. It brought together a range of stakeholders, including UN-Habitat, the City of Joburg, the national Department of Social Development, SALGA, DCoG, the academic and research sectors, as well as representatives from local municipalities and CPFs. Sessions covered various themes, such as social crime prevention, city responses to drugs and other vulnerabilities, strategic partner mobilisation, and the role and position of local government on community safety. The conference also had the opportunity to hear presentations on ongoing projects, policy frameworks and case studies, including the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU), the IUDF and the Urban Safety Toolkit of the UN-Habitat. Breakaway group discussions, facilitated sessions and site visits formed part of a dynamic format that maximised capacity building.

The Dialogue on Safety and Security

The third international Dialogue on Safety and Security took place in Cape Town from 25–27 February 2015. It was convened by the Igarapé Institute together with African Policing and Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF) and the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP). The guiding rationale for the dialogue was the collective recognition of a shift from traditional law enforcement to a crime prevention approach that emphasises community safety and public health. Central to its success is community ownership and multi-sectoral, holistic interventions dealing with the conditions that give rise to very high levels of crime and violence. The dialogue covered a range of discussions, including the Luanda guidelines on pre-trial detentions in Africa and the role of research and monitoring and evaluation in violence prevention. The post-2015 international development agenda also took centre stage, in terms of spending priorities currently being negotiated, including two draft Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with the potential to advance the urban safety agenda.

Urban Conference 2015

The 2015 Urban Conference was convened by SA Cities Network in partnership with SALGA, DCoG, the City of Tshwane and the Dialogue Facility of the European Union Delegation to South Africa, from 3–6 March 2015. It brought together about 300 delegates from the academic, private and public sectors for critical conversation and knowledge sharing on the urban agenda. The conference provided an opportunity to elevate the urban safety agenda, which featured in two events, as a cross-cutting issue of national importance.



Firstly, the DCoG together with GIZ hosted an IUDF Stakeholder Consultation aimed at strengthening and streamlining the safety content in the main IUDF policy document. This culminated in a report and a further round of consultations, drawing on the USRG for inputs, to cement urban safety as a cross-cutting priority in the realisation of prosperous and liveable cities.

Secondly, a world café session on urban safety café was hosted by GIZ-VCP together with the USRG under the theme “urban safety as a priority issue in achieving the potential of cities”. Key messages and themes highlighted included:

- Safety as a priority and key issue, not just an afterthought.
- Social dimensions: The relationship between structural violence and interpersonal violence. Violence as more than physical violence, including “invisible” forms of violence, e.g. emotional, which contributes to forms of violence that are more visible.
- Effect of urbanisation: What impact does the influx of people into cities have on the psyche of people?
- Criminal justice system: While prevention is important, the criminal justice system needs to be strengthened. The capacity for enforcement is important, but there is a lack of trust in law enforcement institutions.
- Policies and bylaws: There is a misalignment of the different (safety) policies. How can they be brought together and whose responsibility is it to ensure safety policies are integrated/aligned? Municipal bylaws need to be reviewed in terms of how they contribute to (or negatively affect) safety.

VPUU short course

The Mainstreaming Urban Safety and Inclusion short course for practitioners took place at the University of Cape Town from the 13–16 April 2015, in a joint effort by the African Centre for Cities (ACC), the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) project and VCP (GIZ). The aim of the course was to provide municipal practitioners and officials with practical training on (preventive) safety planning in urban upgrading projects. The course was presented in a dynamic, experiential format, combining theoretical perspectives, group exercises and field study visits. The programme was designed to explore the interrelation between informality, violence and violence prevention. There was also a focus on the upgrading of informal settlements and the application of upgrading as a tool to prevent violence by more direct or intentional safety planning. Participants were introduced to the VPUU methodology, which formed the case study for the course. USRG members have raised the need for similar training around urban safety indicators, their aggregation to city level, as well as how cities can use them to enhance their reporting, advocacy and progressive development of a city’s position on urban safety.

07

RECOMMENDATIONS

The drivers of violence and crime in South African cities include rapid population growth, population density, social incoherence (family disruption), poverty, income inequality, (youth) unemployment, poor service delivery and deprivation. Informal settlements demonstrate a myriad of cross-cutting factors that drive violence and crime in them. Substance abuse has also emerged as a common challenge among USRG member cities.

Integrated approaches are needed to address the social, economic, spatial and political drivers of violence and crime in cities. Cities also need to have a clear mandate for playing a direct role in the production of safer cities, supported by resource allocation and policy development – all of which are critical to the success of integrated violence and crime prevention approaches.

The USRG's key messages are:

- Safety must be championed at the highest political level.
- Socioeconomic drivers must be understood as central to determining levels of safety.
- Interventions must target youth and other vulnerable groups, as they are key to addressing the root causes and socioeconomic drivers of violence and crime.
- Crime and perceptions of crime must be understood as central to the growth, development and liveability of cities.

The following recommendations are proposed:

1. Develop long-term urban safety policies

These must be consistent, comprehensive and cross-sectoral, and set out, clarify and strengthen the competencies, responsibilities, roles and accountability of local governments and metropolitan municipalities in urban safety.

2. Develop capacity within local government

Based on an audit of existing institutional and human resources available within metros and other municipalities, provincial and national government should assist local government to set up appropriate fiscal, personnel and organisational systems to fulfil their violence and crime prevention responsibilities.

3. Activate and resource communities to play their part

The state has the primary responsibility for ensuring the safety of citizens but cannot do it alone. A vital part of the solution is active citizenship and the social energies that exist within communities, based on people's innate desire to live in safe environments that provide social and economic opportunities. The social cohesion approach used in the Cosmo City case is one ingredient, while street and block committees (and CPFs) have an important role to play in creating safe environments, particularly for income groups that cannot readily access private security.

4. Design for cohesion and safety

Urban planning, design and infrastructure development must emphasise safety. As such, the importance of intergovernmental and cross-departmental interactions needs to be understood, particularly in the planning and social development spaces. Aspects that need to be considered include ensuring good mobility and accessibility to various means of transport, promoting multi-functionality of public spaces, drawing in people of diverse backgrounds to share the same services and facilities, as well as feelings of comfort and safety (Pinto et al. 2010). As safety precedes and creates the conditions for social cohesion, more purposeful safety and crime prevention planning is needed.

5. Promote adequate resources and capacity

These are dependent upon good fiscal relations and intergovernmental coordination around safety functions and programmes, and will determine the capability of cities in developing, implementing and managing urban safety strategies.

In line with these recommendations, the USRG reiterates that policy development and review processes are the key impact areas of its advocacy. To this end, it has made submissions and contributions to the IUDF process, the White Paper on Safety and Security and the White Paper on Police.

The USRG also acknowledges the important role of research and knowledge-building in influencing policy processes and understanding city challenges. It views research, measurement and analysis as critical to the success of advocacy towards administrative, political, institutional and fiscal support for the urban safety agenda, with clear roles and functions for local governments. Finally, the USRG deems it imperative to support and drive an integrated approach to urban safety, drawing on policing and social crime prevention, as well as on social development and the built environments.

The cities answered questions related to community safety under various headings. It should be noted that “community safety” is not understood in the same way across all government spheres, posing a

	BUFFALO CITY (BCMM)	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	CITY OF TSHWANE
Organisational mandate How does the city currently interpret its mandate with regard to the function of community safety (by community safety we mean crime and violence reduction/prevention)?	To implement the BCMM Crime Prevention Strategy. The city supports and works together with the SAPS as a core component of crime and violence reduction. The city attends ward committee and ratepayer association meeting, as part of its community-level preventive interventions.	In 2002, the City of Joburg (CoJ) established a Metro Police Department (JMPD), thus taking direct responsibility for city safety. The understanding of the city's mandate for community safety has developed through the years. Since around 2004, the city's IDP also began to have a focus on safety indicators, which became cross-cutting. The challenge with safety indicators in the IDP is that often departments do not understand their mandate, do not budget for safety indicators (e.g. safety norms and standards in Planning Departments), and believe that this is a city policing function.	The city's community safety mandate is aligned in terms of Section 152 (1)(d)(e) of the objectives and mandate of local government, i.e. to promote a safe and healthy environment and encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government.
Policies and strategies Does the city have a dedicated policy and/or strategy pertaining to community safety? To what extent is the city's policy/strategy implemented? (How) do other policies incorporate community safety and how is community safety reflected in the municipality's IDP?	The Crime Prevention Strategy (CPS) is the primary instrument pertaining to community safety in BCMM. With no other policies that explicitly speak to community safety, the link to the city's IDP is found in the CPS.	Johannesburg developed its first “Joburg City Safety Strategy” in 2003 and has been implementing a safety strategy since 2004. The city revised its strategy in 2015 in order to update it and align it to the city's new priorities and objectives as formulated in its 2040 Growth and Development Strategy. The safety strategy is a multi-agency approach, with roles and responsibilities identified for other city departments and entities. The new institutional arrangement in the city has established a cluster approach to service delivery. Safety is located in the Human and Social Development Cluster, which requires that safety be a focus for Health, Community and Social Development. There is a “Safer City” IDP programme, which forms one of the Executive Mayor's strategic priorities.	The city has an approved Safer City Policy and Strategic Implementation Framework that were reviewed in 2014. Through different policy implementation instruments and the reviewed system, the Community and Business Safety division has an obligation to advise and also ensure that other departments incorporate safety provisions in their policies and programmes. The IDP outlines clear outcomes that the city should work towards, based on the sound developmental principle of promoting a safe and healthy city through the use of smart urban management solutions that bring about safe, efficient, healthy and productive communities. A core concern is the promotion of initiatives that seek to ensure that the City mitigates and adapts practices in response to threats to public safety.



challenge as to how each municipality, province and national government deal with this area in terms of institutional arrangements and policies. A summary of the responses are found in the table below, to allow for comparison across cities.

EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY	ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY	MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY	NELSON MANDELA BAY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY (NMBMM)
<p>Community safety in Ekurhuleni is administered through the Social Crime Prevention Unit of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD). The city's core objective in respect of safety is the safety of its citizens. In discharging its role, the Social Crime Prevention Unit works through participatory processes, drawing strongly on communities themselves. Communities are sensitised on safety issues through education by the Unit, which also conducts school visits where educational and awareness campaigns are undertaken. This is the result of an understanding of a need to shift the focus of crime and violence prevention towards paying greater attention to communities as critical role-players as well as to early childhood development and education to stem the social drivers of crime.</p>	<p>eThekweni has a statutory responsibility in terms of community safety. This is highlighted in the Long Term Development Framework as well as the Integrated Development Plan, linked to Plan 4, the goal of which is to promote and create a safe, healthy and secure environment. The city is responding to the National Crime Prevention Strategy which emphasises the role of local government in community safety.</p> <p>Additionally, since the vision is for eThekweni "to become the most caring and liveable city by 2030", efforts to promote the safety of citizens are paramount, as articulated in various strategic documents, including Safer Cities Strategy 2013–2018.</p>	<p>The city's mission is aligned in terms of Section 152 (1)(d) of the objectives and mandate of local government, i.e. to promote a safe and healthy environment. Its intended outcome is a city that is a friendly and safe for its citizenry. The relevant partnerships and initiatives arising out of this mission include a partnership with the Msunduzi Safe City initiative, which has rolled out CCTV camera surveillance of the city, operational 24 hours a day. The initiative is in conjunction with SAPS and the Municipal Traffic and Security Division. Safe City monitors and detects mainly crime and bylaw infringements. It also facilitates prompt responses to these incidents. Msunduzi also has an Automatic Number Plate Recognition Programme (ANPR) to detect stolen or wanted vehicles and vehicles with unpaid traffic fines.</p>	<p>To improve the safety of all communities within the NMBMM area through the provision and proper alignment of municipal services and through the formation of collaborative and effective partnerships with civil society and other organs of state to reduce crime and social violence.</p>
<p>The Crime Prevention Unit of the EMPD is in place to implement the relevant strategies, which are contained in the Ekurhuleni Metro Police strategy document. The Unit is small and has not been formalised in terms of an organisational structure.</p>	<p>The city has a Safer Cities Strategy that emphasises Social Crime Prevention, Effective Policing, Community Safety Involvement, Urban Safety and Management of the Built Environment, as well as Research, Crime Mapping and Analysis. The Safer Cities Unit within eThekweni Municipality has an implementation framework that is articulated in the IDP under Plan 4. This is within a strategic focus area designed to promote the safety of citizens where Community Safety is incorporated.</p>	<p>There are currently no approved policies or strategies to deal with issues of safety. However, through processes such as the IDP, we are moving towards the development of a Safety and Security Plan. In the Interim, we operate using the following stakeholder partnerships and resources:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe City (CCTV) and ANPR, Public Address System (cautioning and warning members of the public against illegal activities) • Municipal bylaw enforcement • Law enforcement management • Participation in Police Community Forums (Safety & Security Clusters held weekly) and Sector Policing. 	<p>NMBMM does not have a dedicated community safety policy or strategy but recognises that safety is integral to the city's liveability and economic prosperity, and its use by residents, tourists, visitors and businesses. The emphasis is on taking a broad outlook on the causes of, and solutions to, safety issues. Reducing the incidence of crime and unintentional injury in a community requires a focus on the natural and built environment, and cultural, social and economic factors that affect safety. Developing effective partnerships and increasing community participation are critical to the creation of a safer, mutually protective community. A community-building approach that emphasises the importance of social capital (social justice, trust, participation and sharing common values) is vital when working towards local safety solutions.</p>



	BUFFALO CITY (BCMM)	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	CITY OF TSHWANE
Organisational set-up Where in the municipality is the function of community safety located? Is there a dedicated unit for community safety? Since when has it been in place? Is such a unit planned? How many staff members, and at which levels, are allocated to the community safety function? Are there specific key performance indicators (KPIs) assigned to community safety? (examples if possible) Note: city organograms can be found at the end of this table	<p>Community Safety sits with the Directorate of Health and Public Safety. There is no dedicated unit or specified staff, although they are planned for.</p> <p>Among the key performance areas are the establishment of CCTV surveillance systems, and a reduction in motor vehicle accidents in high risk areas.</p>	<p>Since 2011, the City has been going through an institutional restructuring, and JMPD and Emergency Management Services (EMS) were merged under one Public Safety Department (PS). Safety is the focus of the whole PS Department. However, there is a "Joburg City Safety Programme" which is responsible with monitoring the implementation of the City Safety Strategy and also provides the department with strategic capacity with respect to urban safety policy, research and project implementation on specific strategic interventions. Joburg has a very large PS Department that includes the Licensing Department, EMS and JMPD. There are currently 2500 metro police officers (MPOs). The Department has a business plan and key indicators that speak to crime prevention, bylaw enforcement and traffic management. Emergency and disaster management are also included in the deliverables.</p>	<p>Community and business safety are administered under one division located within the office of the City Manager. The Community and Business Safety Division is headed by a Strategic Executive Director who reports directly to the City Manager. KPIs for the 2014/15 year are, among others, the coordination of community and business safety; interdepartmental collaboration and streamlining of community and business safety concept for corroborative implantation; the number of articles produced and contributed by the division, profiling good practices and promoting the image of the City and submitted and approved community and business safety implementation plans.</p>
Budget Is it possible to provide a figure for the budget allocated to community safety? What are the sources of funding (e.g. equitable share/conditional grants)? What does the funding cover (e.g. institutional costs/ programmes/ services/ infrastructure)?	<p>No budget is allocated to the community safety function. The city uses its own funds, drawn from the Operating Budget.</p>	<p>Public Safety budget for CoJ in 2014–15: the operating budget was R2.6-billion while the multi-year capital budget allocation was R453-million. The budget covered various emergency management and safety programmes. Safety functions are mainly funded through city-allocated funds from the central budget. Funds are also generated via traffic fines and licencing functions. The funding covers all public safety activities.</p>	<p>The budget is centralised and managed within the office of the City Manager. Other functions are funded internally funding. The central budget covers operations.</p>



EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY	ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY	MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY	NELSON MANDELA BAY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY (NMBMM)
<p>The Community Safety function is located in the EMPD. A proposal has been made to formalise and increase the capacity of the unit. The Social Crime Prevention Unit has been in place since 2006. Plans are in place to grow the unit. The Unit comprises sixteen (16) members, all of whom are Metro Police Officers at constable rank. EMDP KPIs include the number of points providing customer service throughout the City of Ekurhuleni; the number of functional ward committees; multi-departmental participative stakeholder engagements; interventions to decrease crime and related incidents; a decrease in road fatalities and in bylaw violations; and the number of functional partnerships for crime prevention.</p>	<p>The Safer Cities and Metro Police Units within eThekweni Municipality are responsible for crime prevention. Safer Cities, however, is more focused on community safety as part of social crime prevention, whereas the Metro Police Units are more involved in law enforcement. Safer Cities is a dedicated Unit. It was established initially as a programme in 2000 and later reconfigured as a Unit in 2010, with an allocated budget and human resources. The Unit comprises a Head, two Senior Managers (Urban Safety and Social Crime Prevention), a Spatial Land Use Manager, an Operations Manager, a Local Economic Development Officer and a number of facilitators, field workers, coordinators and environmental health officers, among others. (Note: most posts are vacant as a result of funding constraints. The restructuring of the Unit is also being considered at present.) The specific KPIs are the number of projects implemented in relation to the identified Social and Situational Crime Prevention Strategy, as well as urban safety management of the built environment throughout the eThekweni Municipal Area (EMA).</p>	<p>Safety functions sit with various divisions, such as Community Services, Risk Management, Municipal Traffic Police, Municipal Security, Safe City, the Emergency Communications Control Centre and Disaster Management Unit. The Public Safety function draws on the Msunduzi Traffic Police together with the Municipal Security and Safe City units. Staff in public safety related functions include 37 Safe City officials, 79 traffic officials, 136 fire and rescue personnel and 7 security inspectors. The safety KPIs in Msunduzi relevant to the integrated urban crime and violence prevention approach are municipal bylaw enforcement, and the protection of Council land and property from illegal invasions.</p>	<p>Post-2010, Safety and Security has been providing a service delivery function which includes the Service Delivery Operational room, whose sole purpose is to ensure that identified municipal interventions are addressed and (in some instances) collaboration between different Directorates. While there is not yet a dedicated unit for community safety, it is reflected in a draft proposed structure.</p>
<p>Council funds safety-related functions in Ekurhuleni. The funding provided is from the operational and capital budget.</p>	<p>The budget allocated for Community Safety within Safer Cities Unit is R23.7-million. This allocation is from the equitable share and covers institutional costs, programmes/projects, services and infrastructure.</p>	<p>At the 2015 mid-year review, an amount of R1-million was requested to fund safety-related functions and projects.</p> <p>The key sources of funding for public safety are Council and the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) which cover infrastructure, broadly.</p>	<p>There is no particular budget allocated to community safety functions.</p>



	BUFFALO CITY (BCMM)	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	CITY OF TSHWANE
Key interventions What are the key programmes/ interventions of the city with regards to community safety?	The use of surveillance cameras and targeted and routine policing of liquor outlets – anticipated to reduce the incidence of other types of crime and violence.	Interventions are contained in the Business Plan (Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plan), the IDP and the Joburg City Safety Strategy.	The city has reviewed its macro structure and strategically repositioned the division under the Deputy City Manager responsible for regions. This is to facilitate further alignment with the regionalisation model of the City of Tshwane.
Stakeholder collaboration What institutional mechanisms are in place for the city to interact with and mobilise contributions from other stakeholders with regards to community safety (other spheres of government, civil society, business) e.g. Community Safety Forum? How well is the mechanism functioning?	The Border Kei Chamber of Business is an example of the type of stakeholder collaboration in the area of community safety. Ward Committee and ratepayer association meetings are also a key spaces where the city fosters and facilitates links with communities towards the reduction of crime and violence.	The city has introduced Jo'burg 10+ which decentralises policing and service delivery to a ward level. This means a greater emphasis on working with communities and community structures. The city also has a Citizen Relations and Urban Management Department with closely established links with community-based structures (still to be evaluated). Capacity, skills and resources are issues that affect the ability to sustain the level of intensity required for this approach, however.	The Community and Business Safety Division has a database for different stakeholders. Continual engagements are held in order to entrench a collaborative culture on matters of safety.



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All issues with regards to safety are delegated to the EMPD.	The city plans and executes activities relating to social policing in line with Ward Safety Plans and associated Community and Safety Structures. This is in addition to activities relating to crime prevention and awareness; drug and substance abuse in line with the Moral Regeneration Strategy; and the profiling of bad buildings (closing down and/or rehabilitation thereof). The city also undertakes integrated joint operations on identified challenges and facilitates the serving of contravention notices on building owners.	The key programmes pertaining to safety in Msunduzi include the Safe City initiative with CCTV camera monitoring installed in strategic areas. Furthermore, there are Peace Officers placed at strategic crime hot spots for preventive purposes. Msunduzi has also put in place the People Living On the Streets (LOTS Project) which relocates and houses homeless persons, particularly children, in a places of safety .	<p>Leadership: Council is responsible for coordinating relevant community safety practices and initiatives, but the success of these initiatives also depends on commitment from those who live, work, study in and visit the NMBMM.</p> <p>Planning for the future: the NMBMM monitors closely the changing needs of the community, and measuring the effectiveness of Council's work in safety through a range of indicators is essential and improves future planning.</p> <p>Community education: is critical to instil confidence in the community and promote an understanding of how safety issues interrelate, and includes encouraging safe behaviour through consistent monitoring and promotion.</p> <p>Advocating change: The NMBM is committed to representing the interests of the community to other levels of government and key agencies responsible for services over which Council has no or little control.</p> <p>Service provision, development and coordination: Council has an important role to play in coordinating services within the overall service system as well as advocating and supporting social justice and equity for all.</p> <p>Maintaining infrastructure: Safety is paramount in providing basic facilities and services such as public toilets, street lighting, street furniture, street cleaning and maintenance of streets and parks.</p>
There is close cooperation with all relevant stakeholders, including SAPS (from Provincial up to Cluster level). There is also close collaboration with national and provincial departments involved in social crime prevention, under a signed Memorandum of Understanding. As a legislated requirement and a key part of community mobilisation, the EMPD also participates in Community Policing and Community Safety Forums. The mechanism is sufficient to enable Council/EMPD to meet its legislated responsibilities.	eThekwinI has signed Memoranda of Understanding with different stakeholders, including provincial and national government departments (departments of education, correctional services and home affairs). Stakeholder forums are held with civil society and business stakeholders, depending on the relevant strategic intervention (Local Drug Action Committees, School Safety Committees, Ward Safety Committees, Community Safety Forums, CPFs, Neighbourhood Watches, Urban Improvement Precincts, Operation Sukuma Sakhe, Masakhane, etc.). Stakeholder engagement is challenging, as it has to bring together different constituencies in a sustained manner. Generally, this is achieved when there is joint planning for programme/ project implementation and shared resources.	Stakeholders relationships have developed with various role-players, include Business Fighting Crime, the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business, Community Police Forums and Neighbourhood Watches, NGOs and the Department of Home Affairs' Immigration Division.	A Community Safety Forum has been established but without any human resources. Currently, the only active forum is the Disaster Management Advisory Forum.



	BUFFALO CITY (BCMM)	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	CITY OF TSHWANE
Successes and challenges Are there any notable successes/achievements with regards to community safety? What are the key challenges the City is facing in efforts to respond to and prevent violence and crime?	<p><i>Successes:</i> the completion of the first phase of CCTV camera installation – they are now operational. The policing of illegal liquor outlets has been effective.</p> <p><i>Challenges:</i> inadequate street lighting in some areas, the proliferation of illegal night clubs and the abuse of drugs and alcohol.</p>	<p><i>Successes:</i> a well-defined City Safety Strategy which provides a sound framework for all to work within, in addition to a tool-kit and a methodology to implement the strategy.</p> <p><i>Challenges:</i> related to increasing urbanisation (homelessness, lack of skills, unemployment, crime, etc.); capacity (human, skills, etc.) to deal with the problems in a sustainable way.</p>	<p><i>Successes:</i> rapport has been created with large shopping centres (malls) and other stakeholders within the municipal jurisdiction. The division also engages in a case-flow management forum that involves relevant role players in the Justice Cluster. Sustained engagement and projects with SSA, SAPS in addition to City departments in terms of strategic interventions and the review of the Safer City Policy.</p> <p><i>Challenges:</i> cable theft, fraud and corruption and the mainstreaming of safer city initiatives within other City departments. There is also the challenge of filling vacant posts, which is due to issues of funding.</p>
Major lessons/insights Any points to add in terms of specific lessons or insights gained from working on this topic?	<p>Among the key insights gained over time is that crime prevention and policing continue to be seen purely as a function of law enforcement agencies. Cities increasingly have violence and crime-related functions and in addition, are affected by phenomena over which they have no direct mandate. This makes intergovernmental collaboration essential. Crime prevention also requires smaller, sustainable programmes over long periods of time. Periodic or event-based approaches like one day of “sport against crime” achieve very little.</p>	<p>City safety in Johannesburg is not defined as a project but is a dedicated focus for service delivery. However, the implementation of the strategy has posed challenges in that safety is often understood by other line departments as a policing function, and this paradigm shift still has to be made. While the role of other departments and municipal-owned entities is recognised, the skills, capacity and understanding of the multi-dimensional causes of crime is still a challenge. The fact that cities are geared for service delivery and not crime prevention in how they are institutionally set up is something that requires more focus and thought in addressing.</p>	<p>Community involvement is key as communities have a strategic role to play on safety. Other departments have an important role to play with regards to safety and the streamlining of safety measures among internal or intra-city stakeholders.</p>

Note: The Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality’s report was not available in time for publication.



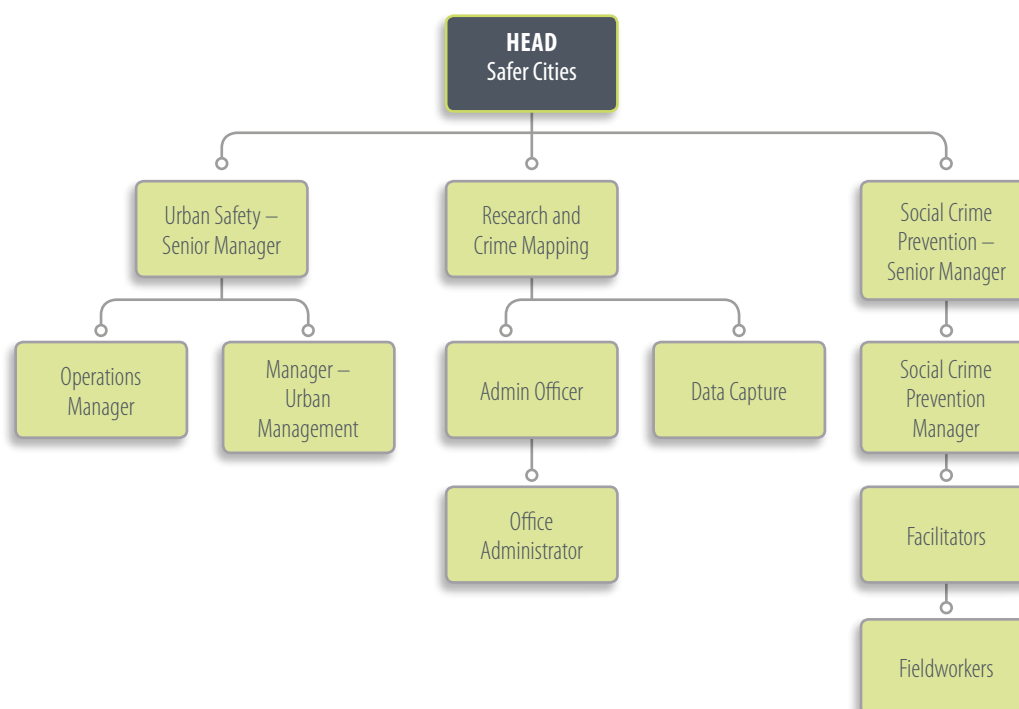
EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY	ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY	MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY	NELSON MANDELA BAY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY (NMBMM)
<p><i>Challenges:</i> illegal mining, drugs (selling and consumption thereof) and illegal taverns which exacerbate the abuse of alcohol within communities.</p>	<p><i>Successes:</i> Stakeholder engagement and proactive partnerships – dealing collaboratively with stakeholders from inception and planning, down to implementation; joint Interventions (crime awareness campaigns undertaken with communities, enforcement agencies and civil society); building cohesive communities (initiatives linked to ward safety profiling, the development of ward safety plans and increased crime prevention); environmental design initiatives, where communities reach consensus as a collective on what needs to be done to promote safety.</p> <p><i>Challenges:</i> funding for programme/project implementation and posts which cannot be filled because of insufficient funding; rapid urbanisation and social ills such as homelessness, drug and substance abuse, prostitution and street begging; unfunded mandates, such as social development services or programmes, which still require the city's attention and action.</p>	<p><i>Successes:</i> the reduction in street-related crimes, which is ascribed to monitoring by the Safe City initiative; an increase in compliance with law enforcement at crime hot spots, such as major intersections; decline in criminal activities, which is credited, in part, to Operation Fiyela.</p> <p><i>Challenges:</i> gaps in the management of informal trading, the lack of sufficient public participation in combating crime and the banning of some apparatus used to detect and ascertain the level of consumption of alcohol (and drugs).</p>	<p><i>Successes:</i> a Community Safety Forum was established and an item has been before the Safety and Security Standing Committee.</p> <p><i>Challenges:</i> currently, no staffing or budget has been allocated to community safety, which creates a challenge in the implementation of programmes.</p>
<p>The capacitation of structures in terms of compliance with policies and processes that enable safer communities is key. Constant communication and feedback to and from communities builds the necessary trust to support initiatives and interventions.</p>	<p>Assessing the impact of the programme on beneficiaries has not been explored but remains a critical element requiring urgent attention, particularly in terms of the objective of research-based responses and approaches.</p>	<p>There is a dire need for buy in from all role-players and stakeholders. Youth Desks needs to be fully implemented. Informal trade must be formalised, properly managed and regulated.</p>	<p>The intention is to improve the safety of all communities within the NMBMM area through the provision and proper alignment of municipal services and through the formation of collaborative and effective partnerships with civil society and other organs of state, to reduce crime and social violence. It is believed that this will result in a focus that is currently missing within the NMBMM, namely the enhanced use of safer city initiatives to assist in crime reduction in the NMBMM and in the improvement of service delivery to the community.</p>



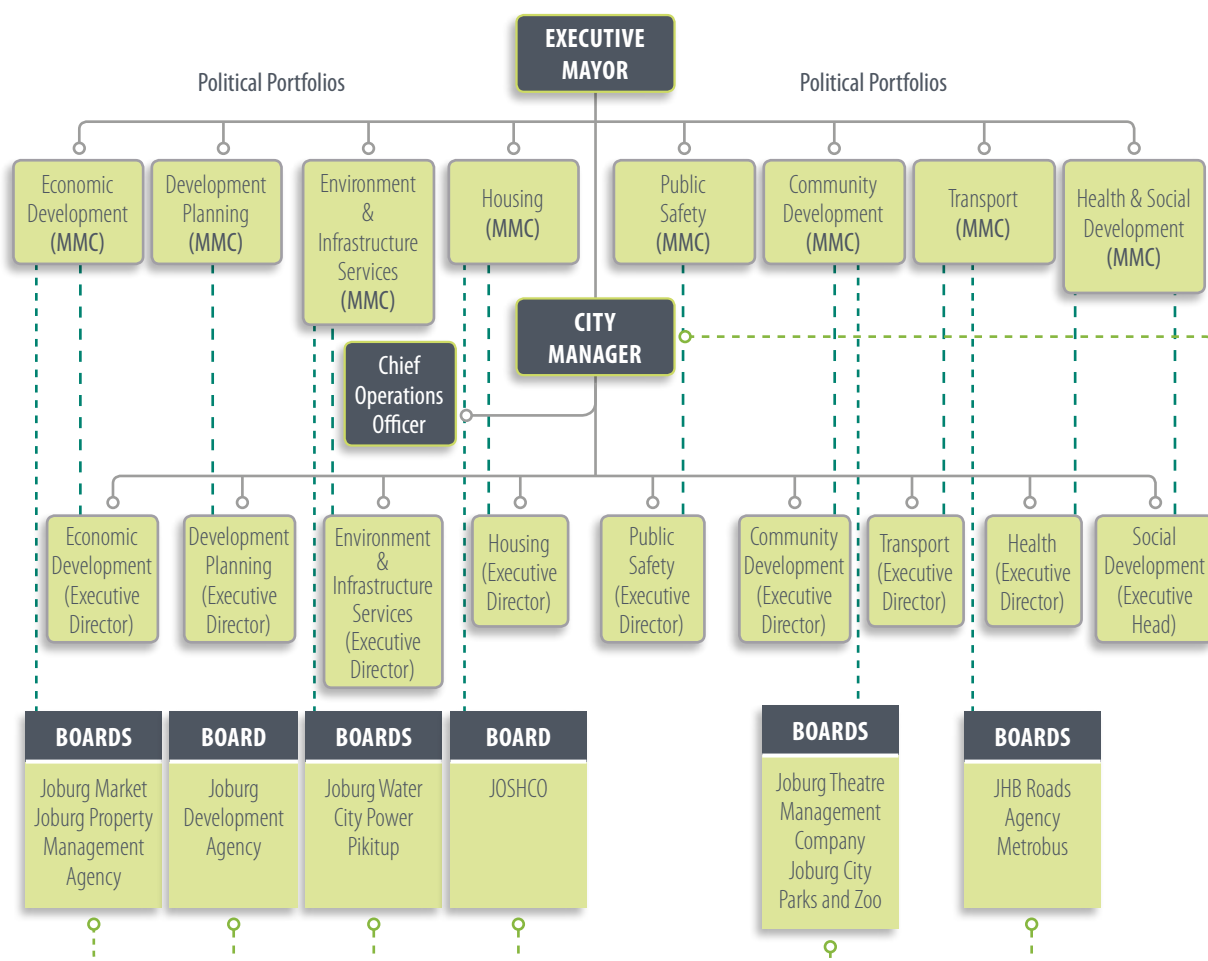
ANNEX B: CITY ORGANOGRAMS

Organisational location of urban safety

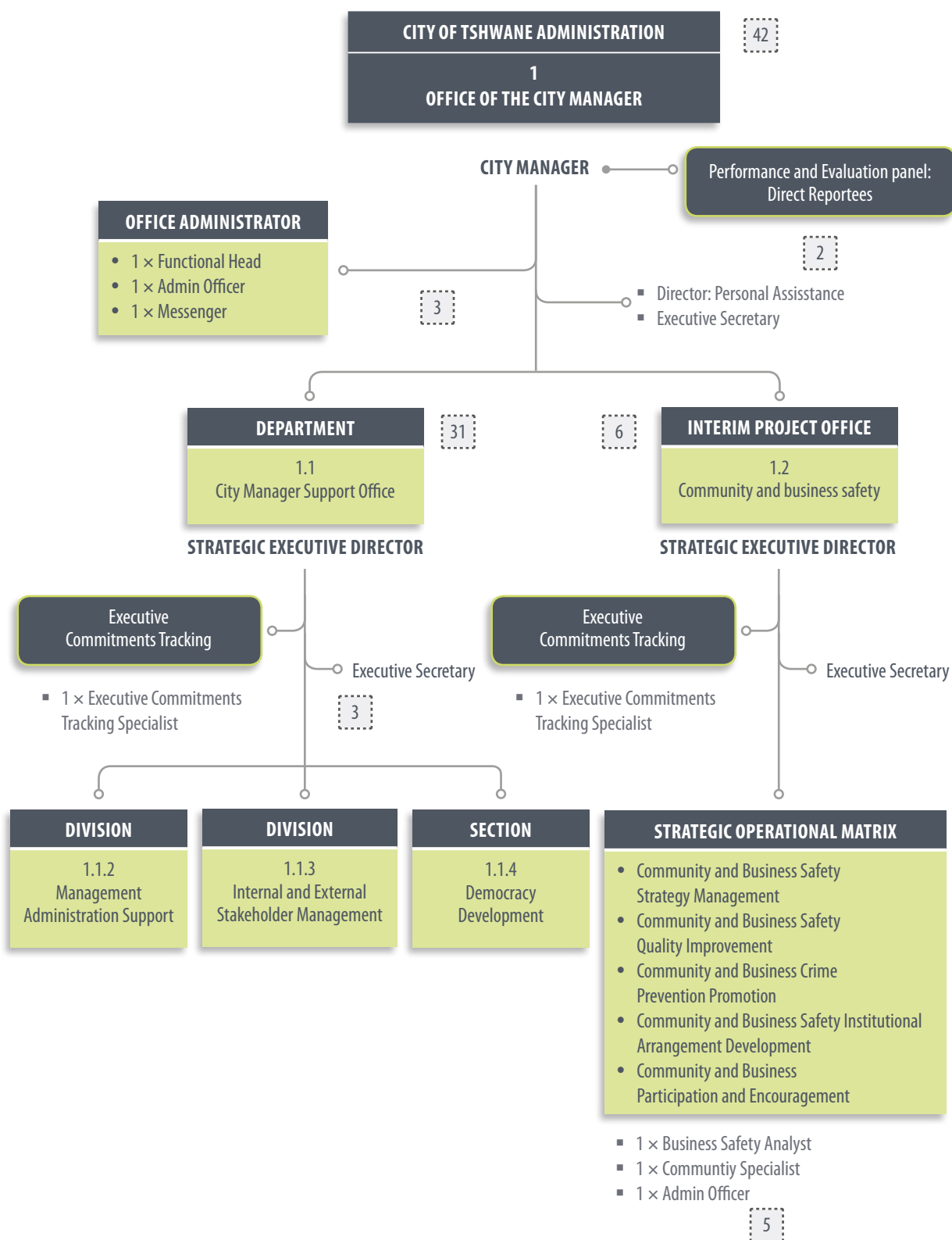
eThekweni

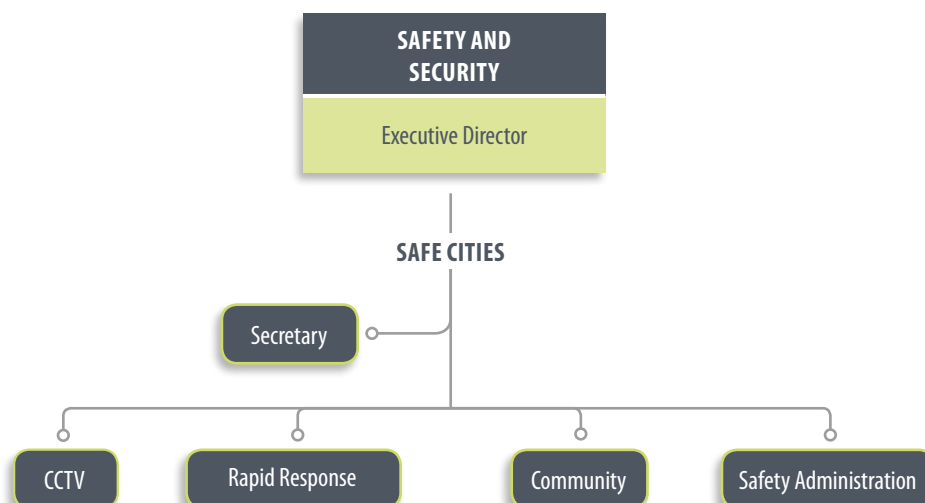


City of Johannesburg

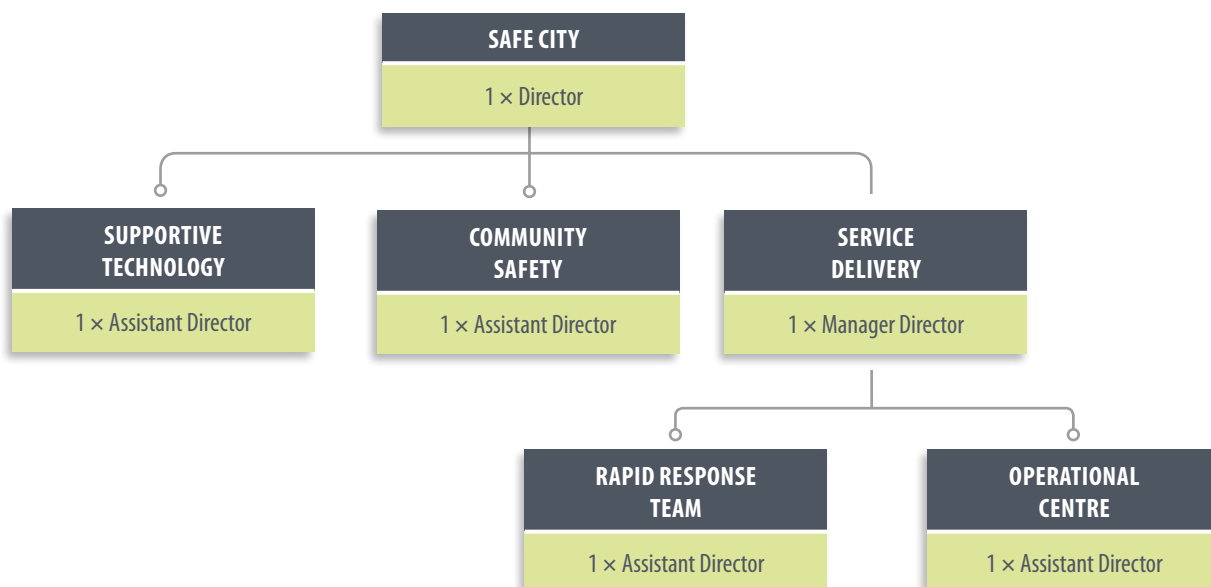


City of Tshwane

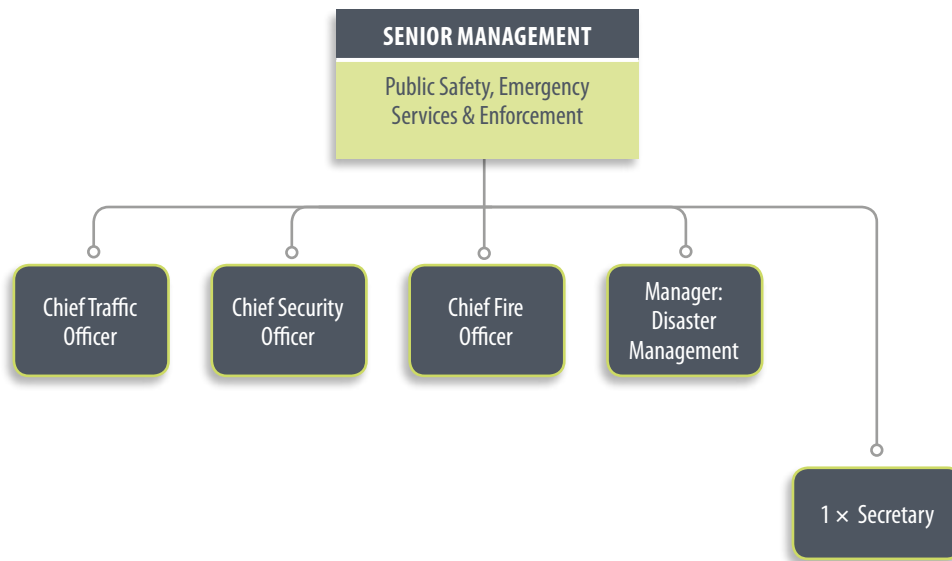




Nelson Mandela Bay: Proposed Safer City sub-Directorate



Msunduzi Municipality



Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality



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Ms.	Ngobese, Siphelele	South African Cities Network	USRG Coordinator

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NOTES



URBAN SAFETY REFERENCE GROUP

The State of Urban Safety in South Africa Report is a flagship publication of the South African Cities Urban Safety Reference Group (USRG). The USRG constitutes the first institutionalised forum in South Africa that enables practice-based learning on the theme of urban safety and violence prevention to inform urban policy, planning and management. It has proven to be a valuable platform for peer-to-peer learning and knowledge sharing amongst practitioners from the SACN member cities as well as other key government role-players on urban safety and violence prevention.

The USRG was established in early 2014. It is convened by the South African Cities Network (SACN) with the support of the Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention (VCP) Programme.

The VCP Programme is a joint South African-German intervention coordinated by the South African Department of Cooperative Governance and implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).



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ISBN 978-0-620-71159-3

