

Effective Crime Prevention in Durban, South Africa

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Introduction

South Africa has experienced soaring crime levels during the last years of apartheid, which continue unabated into the ten years of democracy.¹ Durban, the largest city in the KwaZulu-Natal province, has increased by 15% between 2001/2002 and 2004/2005, with more than 190 000 cases of crime between 2004/2005.² The city officials have therefore forged development negotiations, peace pacts and partnerships that have come about as mechanisms to prevent crime in Durban. This has been facilitated by the 1996 South African constitution and various pieces of legislation like the 1995 South African Police Service Act The White Paper on Safety and Security, 1999 – 2004 and the National Crime Prevention Strategy, 1996 (Revised 1999). All these efforts are an attempt to strengthen community based involvement in the development process the new South Africa, a notion that aligns well with the concept of participatory democracy. The paper therefore looks at some of the results of these efforts. Key issues are centered around creating and carrying out partnership processes, the problems (and value) of incorporating the informal sector into crime prevention efforts, targeting programs for vulnerable groups, and crafting effective social and environmental design initiatives.

Background and Context

The Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA) is found along the eastern coast of South Africa within the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and covers an area of approximately 2,285sq kms which is nearly 1.5% of the total area of KZN (see Figure 1). Land under residential use is approximately 41%, with the balance used for agriculture (20%), for urban economic purposes (5%), and for public and social facilities (3%). A small amount of land falls under road, rail or harbor use (3%).

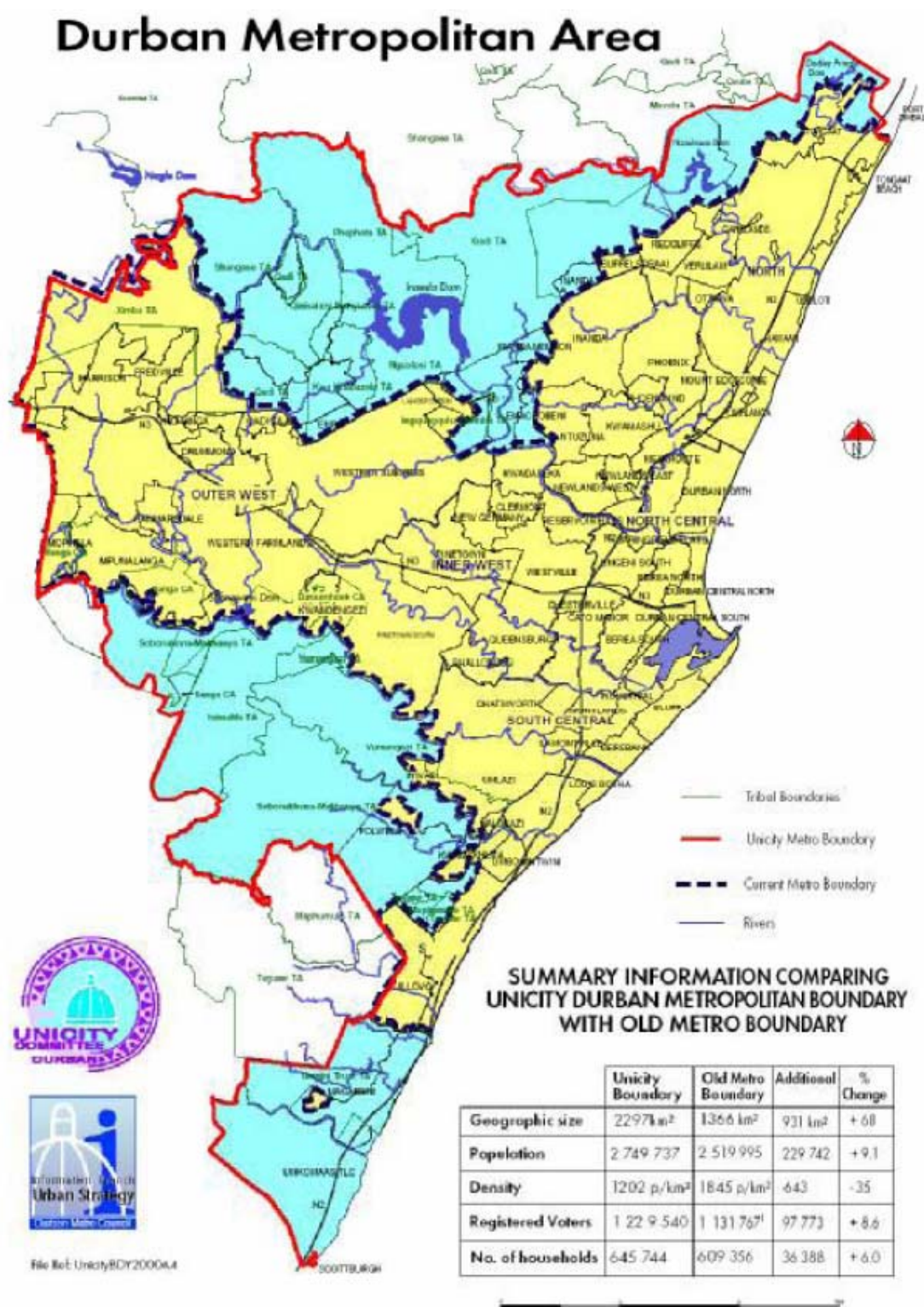
Just over a quarter of the area is not suitable for development and a large portion of this, nearly 27%, constitutes the vital ecological habitats which are an important component of the Durban Metropolitan Open Space System. The DMA has a population of approximately 2.5 million, with the Black African community making up the largest sector (65%) of the population, followed by the Asian community (21%). The age profile of Durban reveals that the working age group comprises 68% (nearly 1.7 million) of the population. Employment levels in Durban are unacceptably low, with 40.7% of the economically active people unemployed. Of the employed population, about half work in the informal sector. This is problematic given the fact that the Ethekwini Municipality Area's (EMA's) economy is currently growing at a slow pace of 1.8% per annum, meaning that the city faces a severe unemployment situation.³

¹ Foster, 2004

² SAPS, 2005

³ Memeza, 2000

Figure 1: Durban Location Map



Source: eThekweni Safer City Project: Evaluation June 2003 47

While Durban is a typical South African city in terms of the legacy left from racial planning and institutions, it is distinctive in terms language, ethnic and racial mix, and political make-up. This spatial development pattern has resulted in inequity and inefficiencies across the city. The two major national highways, (N2), which stretches from the Durban Airport through Umdloti Beach, and (N3), which starts from Berea through Hillcrest, has a T-shape forming the main structuring elements. Areas closer to the national roads tend to be historically white areas, well provided with physical infrastructure and social amenities, and are associated with less crime, while areas at the periphery tend to be poorly resourced, and occupied mainly by the Black African communities and these are crime laden.

Only 35% of the area is predominantly urban in character, with over 80% of the population living in these areas which contain the majority of the dense informal housing. Housing within Durban consists of formal, semi-formal, informal and traditional dwellings. Two thirds of the population live in formal accommodation, i.e. houses or rooms in houses while the rest live in informal settlements or traditional structures especially in peri-urban areas like KwaMakutha and Chesterville, where there are huts juxtaposed to modern structures. Most of the townships, informal and peri-urban areas, which have predominantly black residents, have poor levels of infrastructure and hence limited access to basic services. This has resulted in a distinct pattern of inequity across the Durban Area. The skewed pattern of separate development initiated by the apartheid regime still lingers, is evident in the environment which results in the high levels of crime. Among such are less resourced residential areas like Ntuzuma, KwaMashu, Phoenix, Cato Manor, Wentworth, and Chatsworth.

Why Durban is a Good Case Study Relative to Crime and Crime Prevention

The Safer Cities Steering Committee consisting of city councilors, public officials, South African Police Services, Business Against Crime and other stakeholders was established to guide project development. A Research Advisory Group was established to advise on research, information gathering, analysis and best practices, mainly in the area of "social" crime prevention: violence against women, victim support, youth development, understanding the causes of violence. While most of these initiatives are still in their infancy, results prove to be positive. Communities are more involved in the prevention of crime, and the business sector has also become more involved by funding and supporting crime prevention activities. Durban, being exposed to the international world through international conferences like the International HIV/AIDS Conference; the Grand Prix, Cricket, and soon the famous FIFA World Cup to be held in year 2010. Durban being South Africa's playground is a major tourist attraction centre in Southern Africa. Therefore Durban also serves a caricature of a globalized city with high levels of unemployment, HIV/AIDS, poverty and crime are such problems embedded within globalization to which the international world seek practical solutions. This provides predicates for the lessons that could be learned from Durban's experience, especially since South Africa, being an example of a transitional democracy is worthy of studying, makes Durban a City that the rest of the world should know more about relative to crime and crime prevention.

Durban plays a crucial role in South Africa's economy. As the country's second largest city, it generates 9% of the country's GDP, has 10% of the country's industry, accounts for 14% of

household income and 11% of employment. The port of Durban is the busiest in Africa, generating 50% of KZN economic output. Durban is the country's premier domestic tourism destination, receiving 500 000 visitors per year while KZN accounts for 52% of the domestic tourism market. The city's economic success is evident in its attractive beachfront developments, its prestigious conference centre and the scale and cost of current mega projects underway in the city. Unfortunately, the city is also suffering the negative effects of industrial restructuring evident in unemployment as high as 41%. The city faces the daunting task of managing rapid urbanisation of a mostly poor rural population since the 1980s, who, despite its best efforts, still contend with housing backlogs, the spread of informal settlements, few or no services or jobs and high levels of crime.⁴ These factors contribute to increased crime, which could negatively affect investments for the city.

As a metropolitan area that juxtaposes the extremes of wealth and poverty, the lessons learned here about sustainable development planning have relevance to many parts of the world faced with economic polarities and growing threats to natural and human environments. Key development, environment and growth concerns include the destruction of natural ecosystems (Durban is located within a region of high biodiversity); the spread of un-serviced informal settlements; a rise in unemployment, social division, conflict, crime, domestic abuse, rape and sexual assault; an increase in industrial pollution; and some of government's shortcomings in terms of service delivery. With the government restructuring that began in 1994, the DMA is now divided into six local council areas, each with 30 to 70 councillors elected through a ward system. The responsibility for issues like those mentioned above lies with local government and ward committees. There are also a number of NGOs and CBOs in Durban dealing with social and developmental issues in their specific communities. Industry and business have social responsibilities but seldom get involved unless they have a direct interest in an issue.

Durban and Crime

In a survey undertaken in the Durban Metropolitan Area in 1998, the results show that burglary and robbery were the most prevalent crimes: 11% of those surveyed said they were a victim of burglary in the past year (1997), and 10% said the same about robbery. Levels of assault (6%) and car theft (5%) were similar in the city, while 2% experienced a car hijacking and 1% sexual assault and 1% sexual harassment. Overall, Black/African and Coloured people faced the greatest risk of victimization, followed by Indians/Asians and Whites. Women were more at risk of crime than men. Those aged between 16 and 25 years, followed by those over 61 years of age, faced greater chances of victimization than people in other age categories. The risk of victimization varied most according to ethnicity and category of crime. Black/African people were most at risk of burglary, followed by Whites. Vehicle theft was more likely to be experienced by Whites, followed by Indians/Asians and Coloureds, and Indians/Asians were more at risk of violent property crimes such as robbery and hijacking. Other violent crimes such as assault and sexual offences were more likely to be reported by Black/African people than other city residents.⁵

⁴ Memeza, 2000

⁵ Robertshaw et al., 2001

Crime statistics from the SAPS Information Analysis Centre show that burglary at residential premises, other forms of theft, common assault, robbery with aggravating circumstances, assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm and theft out of or from motor vehicles are among the leading forms of crime, constituting 60%, 18%, 9%, 8%, 6% and 5.9% respectively of the total crime. While total crime in general has increased in Durban, there have been noticeable decreases in particular forms of crime like other theft, theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle; burglary at business premises; and arson which have reduced by 10%, 2%, 1.5% and 1% respectively between 2001 and 2005. On the obverse, sharp increases in crimes like burglary at residential areas, common robbery and drug related crimes have increased by 47%, 4% and 2% respectively, contributing to increased crime in Durban⁶.

The White Paper on Safety and Security (September, 1998) defines the role of local government as “ensuring an environment less conducive to crime” and “implementing targeted at specific crime problems and groups at risk”. The Durban Municipality, known as eThekweni Municipality, is a structure at local government level tasked with the responsibility to deal with such issues as social, development and safety and security. In dealing with crime, the Municipality targets to reduce crime in the city by setting up inter-departmental government co-operation, identify actions to prevent crime through environmental designs for the city and education campaigns, as well as partnership programmes. With this in mind, the Durban Safer City Project was launched in November, 2000. The Durban Safer City Project is a partnership comprising of the Durban Unicity, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), the National Department for Safety and Security and the South African Police Service. The purpose of the partnership is to contribute to crime prevention activities of all agencies in the Durban Unicity Area. In this attempt, the eThekweni Municipality established the Durban Metropolitan Police Service in July, 2000. The role of the Metro Police was to complement that of the South African Police Services within the Unicity area.

In 2003, the new eThekweni Municipality Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy was developed and adopted by council as part of a five-year strategic plan of action. The Durban Safer Cities Strategy brings different role-players together in a prevention partnership. Three pillars of the strategy include:

- Effective Policing and Crime Prevention
- Targeted "Social" Crime Prevention
- Crime Prevention through Environmental Design.

Effective Policing and Crime Prevention

The Durban Metropolitan Council is involved in various crime prevention initiatives. The Safer Cities Project is a crime prevention project which was implemented in 1997 following a collaborative agreement between the UN-Habitat and the eThekweni Municipality. The project co-ordinates crime prevention initiatives at city level within the framework of the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS). The project aligns all interested local, provincial and national role players from inter- departmental and inter- agency levels (Government

⁶ SAPS, 2005

departments, civil society and NGOs). The NCPS project aims to reduce crime in creating a safer environment where economic enterprise and community life can flourish.

Community Police forums: eThekweni Municipality participates in the following crime prevention initiatives such as the Community Police forums (CPFs). Chapter 7 of the South African Police Service Act, No 68 of 1995, deals with Community Police Forums and Boards with a provision in Section 19(l) for CPFs to be established at all police stations that should be "broadly representative of the community. CPFs are intended to provide forums for organizations and groups in the community to engage with the police around issues of safety and security. They therefore serve as a potentially important platform for the involvement of all stakeholders in safety and security issues. Such a liaison between the SAPS and the community is intended to assist in:

- establishing and maintaining a partnership between the community and the SAPS;
- promoting communication and co-operation between the SAPS and the community;
- improving police services in the community;
- improving the transparency and accountability of the SAPS to the community;

CPFs are located in every of the 186 police stations in KZN (with 43 police stations in Durban). In more affluent areas, CPFs have often assisted the police by raising funds, for example, from business concerns to improve the facilities at police stations or to provide the police with additional vehicles. In certain cases, CPFs have also mobilized the community to assist the police in other ways, for instance by serving as volunteers in some police stations. However, CPFs in some areas have generally not been as successful in this regard. In some areas, there have been problems in the operation of CPFs arising from limited resources and capacity. Many CPFs also facing difficulties in sustaining community participation and therefore cannot really claim to be fully representative of the community.

CPF members face the danger of merely serving to legitimize existing police policies rather than to provide real community inputs and, where necessary, actually challenging the SAPS. While it would seem that, as formally elected representatives of the community, it would be appropriate for local councillors to be formally represented on CPFs, the reality is that the involvement of local councillors is of a limited nature in many cases. However, it is not only questions of participation by local councillors which need to be addressed, but the issue of the relationship between CPFs and the local authorities in general.

While the involvement of local authorities in CPFs, should aim to strengthen and improve their functioning, care should be taken to ensure that local authorities do not dominate the CPFs and that an emphasis continues to be placed on community participation. Certain community interests, such as the taxi industry, hostel resident's associations or women/children's organizations, are often not represented at the local authority level. These are the kinds of important community representatives whose involvement makes the existence of CPFs particularly worthwhile. One of the difficulties is the fact that local council boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of policing areas. In general, this complicates the relationship between local authorities and SAPS and makes the issues of joint planning and co-operation highly complex, due to the demarcation of the municipality. It may contribute to uncertainty with regard to which local councillors and local councils should

be responsible for involvement in particular CPFs and what police services are available in any particular local authority area.

Business against crime (BAC): Partnership with BAC has created an alliance with various business sectors in the Durban area so that their different safety needs can be identified and presented to the SAPS and the Durban City Police. BAC has proved to be a formidable force in aligning various stakeholders and interested parties in the fight against crime. An example of such partnership is that of the Tracker anti-hijack company and the police department that uses the Company's Hi Tec equipment to detect and apprehend hijacked and stolen vehicles. The North Council has entered into partnership agreements with a private company called TELUMED Pty (Ltd). The company works with council in ensuring observance of traffic rules. Cameras and parking meters have also been installed and serviced in the Verulam and Umhlanga areas. The Council has also entered into agreements with other business which has donated motorbikes and assists towards payment particularly towards beach patrol officers. The Council has entered into an agreement with the property wing of the Tongaat Hullets Group to assist in the building of police stations in the northern part of Durban. Also, out of BAC's initiatives came the Traders Against Crime (TAC) –for groups of street traders who know their areas and can easily spot criminal elements and criminal activity when it happens and report immediately to the SAPS or Metro Police. In certain instances the TAC has apprehended criminals and handed them over to the SAPS or the Metro Police.

Education: In the area of education the Council and the Durban City Police have been working closely with the Department of Transport in implementing road safety strategy in schools. Studies have also shown that some schools in Durban are unsafe and often become places for criminal activity and recruitment. Drug dealing and gang violence represent only two concerns which challenge the safety of some schools. Given that schools represent the places where young members of society begin their training, it is imperative that they be made safe from criminal activities. Due to increased violence in schools, a safety forum, Strategy on School Safety, has been launched by the KZN Provincial Task Team which includes the Department of Community Safety and Liaison, Transport, Education, Health, Social Welfare, Agriculture, Justice, the SAPS and BAC and other stakeholders. BAC has committed to donate funds for the 61 worst affected schools in Durban. The impact of this new education initiative is yet to be assessed.

Other crime prevention strategies: The Metro Police Unit also works in conjunction with local SAPS stations at certain times, assisting with roadblocks, raids for drugs and weapons, as well as having visible foot patrols. Through this collaboration the ingredients for successful crime prevention have become evident and include preventative, inclusive and multifaceted approaches to crime. In Durban, mounted patrols aim to prevent opportunistic crimes (muggings, bag snatching, stealing from beachgoers) and to engender feelings of security. The inner city has extensive CCTV networks that are monitored by municipal police. Regarding the management of public spaces, developers of the new International Conference Centre (ICC) have invested substantial amounts in treating surrounding public routes and spaces around the new facility to make it safe for users. High-quality finishes have been used (flags, trees, wide pavements), CCTV has been installed between the ICC and the beach front, and lighting levels will be high. This is an example whereby crime prevention through environmental design is an integral part of the planning process at a city level and conceived

at an early stage of the project. These have been very effective in detecting and reacting to crime.

Various groups in the city form organizations to deal with criminal elements and protect their livelihoods, such as car guards to deter car thefts. Traders against Crime in the Warwick Avenue are one such example. Schonteich (1999) argues that in an effort to police and control crime, the growth of the private security industry has been associated with increasing levels of crime. This has led to the inclusion of community safety in the Integrated Development Plan, to ensure that communities are consulted in about their own security. Throughout the city administrative areas have been established to ensure integrated and efficient delivery of services on the local level. The Safer Cities project had worked closely with Community Policing Forums to hold training workshops - at which people were taught local crime prevention strategies

Durban suburban strategies: The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project in the Durban city has developed some innovative practices and partnerships. The project is situated in Warwick, an area that makes up a large portion of the central business district- with the main bus terminus, train stations and taxi ranks situated in this area. It has record of 300 000 citizens utilizing it as daily passers by, commuters or shoppers. The project included the provision of new infrastructure such as multipurpose centres and conducive environments for street traders to carry out their business activities. The project also revamped the streets, lighting and sanitation in the area, and through this, created conditions in which criminal activity could not flourish. The project led to a drop in the high crime incidences previously reported around the Warwick area. The Warwick project, apart from its safety and security component also aims to achieve the following: attract local and foreign investment into the area; facilitate the provision of better transport; to strengthen the informal economy; the provision of social housing and the improvement of living conditions of the dwellers of the area⁷.

The Cato Manor Development Project and the KwaMashu pilot project of 2001 are examples of such projects where communities have been consulted and have become partners. Consultation with the various communities revealed that the Metropolitan Police Service provided fragmented and unbalanced service to the previously disadvantaged communities of the North. As a result, these areas now receive 24-hour service coverage; have greater access to the police through the establishment of CPFs; localized Community Service Centres have been established and localized 24-hour call centres are available to deal with emergencies and a Directory of responsible officials and local services was compiled. eThekweni municipality has adopted an Area Based Management approach to focus and improve council's delivery of services.

The Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) areas were identified by President Thabo Mbeki as key nodes for development in his first speech in Parliament in 1999. Selection criteria focused on areas that had the highest rates of poverty, unemployment and violent crime in the Province. These three adjoining areas, collectively known by the acronym INK, are located in the north of the city. They are located 15-20km from the Durban CBD, with KwaMashu closest to the city. Kwamashu and Ntuzuma are better-serviced than Inanda, but access to services varies considerably in different parts of the node. Although the three areas are similar

⁷ Nel et al., 2003

(especially in that they are dormitory areas, with little economic activity, inadequate physical infrastructure and severe physical degradation), they also exhibit different characteristics and therefore have different renewal needs. Although the entire area is predominantly residential, density and form of dwelling varies across the three sub-areas; as do the demographics of the communities – unemployment and education levels vary significantly between different parts of the node.

Inanda is the oldest area, having been established in the mid-19th century as a reserve for African labour, where a large number of Indian people also settled. In 1936 it was declared an 'African' area. Forced removals and the implementation of influx control in other parts of Durban increased the population of Inanda during the apartheid era. Violence against Indian residents in 1985 was followed by a period of warlordism and then by various conflicts over control of the area. Ntuzuma was a planned African township built by the City of Durban in the 1970s. It was developed in different sections with different service levels, tenure arrangements and political affiliations, which contributed to high levels of political violence in the area in the 1980s. KwaMashu was built by the City of Durban between 1957 and 1968 to accommodate African people who were being relocated from other parts of the city. In 1988 it was incorporated into the KwaZulu homeland. High levels of political mobilization characterised KwaMashu in the 1980s, and it also became notorious for criminal and gang activity in the late 80s and 1990s.

The INK area is approximately 9423 hectares in size, with a population estimated at over 500 000 (18% of the total population of the metropolitan area). The population is predominantly young (approximately 41% are below 20 years of age), with high levels of unemployment, low levels of education, and high levels of poverty. Unemployment averages 55% across the INK area, with higher levels in Inanada (61%) and Ntuzuma (57%). Approximately half the population of the INK node are located in Inanda, with one third in KwaMashu and the remaining 17% located in Ntuzuma. The INK area is serviced by two SAPS stations: KwaMashu (which also services Ntuzuma) and Inanda. There are satellite stations in Ntuzuma C Section, Amaoti, Newtown and Vela. Serious violent crimes (such as murder, armed robbery, rape and assault GBH) dominate the police priorities in the KwaMashu area, whereas property crimes such as housebreaking and common robbery dominate in the Inanda area. The entire area has a history of political and community violence, which continues to shape perceptions of safety.

Targeted “Social” Crime Prevention

While the criminal justice system looks at the effects of crime, social crime prevention focuses on its causes and the social and economic conditions which contribute to criminal and violent behaviour. Social conditions, which promote crime, are varied and further complicated by resource imbalances that were created and entrenched by the apartheid system. Substance abuse, street children, inadequate access to education, high levels of victimisation and a depressed job market have been identified as some of the main causes of a social condition which promotes the occurrence of crime and violent behaviour. Nowhere is a multi-agency approach more critical than in dealing with these adverse social conditions.

The social and economic inequalities that breed crime must be carefully addressed. Without development, growth and economic empowerment, the social conditions leading to crime are

likely to persist. Perpetrators are usually male youths with very limited resources coming from deprived rural and urban environments. They need facilities which offer recreation opportunities, training, counselling and organised youth activities. Offering youth a secure environment where constructive activities take place, could go a long way towards preventing crime.

Violence against Women and Children

South Africa has one of the highest incidences of violence against women (and children) in the world⁸. In the year, from April 2004 to March 2005, there were 55,000 reported rape cases in South Africa. No wonder, then, that Interpol has claimed that South Africa has one of the highest incidences of rape in the world, a rate comparable with a war zone such as Darfur in western Sudan, Rwanda or wartime Bosnia (Dempster, 2006). This is one of the saddest and most alarming manifestations of violence in a society, generally regarded as traumatized and wracked by violent crime and [very often] violent interpersonal and public behavior. Although the causes of the high levels of violence in South African society are manifold and complex, they broadly relate to the country's violent history of colonialism and apartheid. One can also safely assume that the high levels of poverty and unemployment in the country and the resultant economic hardships and frustrations add to the already volatile social and political atmosphere in the country. Also, patriarchal attitudes, which we share with other societies, make it particularly difficult for women to attain economic independence. As a result, many women are unable to permanently leave their abusive partners, thus failing to protect themselves and their children from physical, sexual, emotional, economic and other forms of abuse. As times get harder and choices extreme narrow, some women and young girls resort to prostitution as a way of survival. This also includes ordinary rural women who have lost all traditional means of livelihood. In some cases they have been abandoned by a male partner or [increasingly] been left destitute by the premature death of their partner due to AIDS. Having to resort to sex work obviously makes women more vulnerable to sexual abuse/ attack, but also to the very real risk of HIV/AIDS infection⁹.

Street Children

Owing to the HIV-AIDS epidemic and increased poverty, the numbers of street children in Durban have swelled and this strains social services as has been the experience in other South African cities like Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town. The management of street children is a strategic priority since they are children in need of care and are vulnerable to crime, exploitation and abuse. Most of these neglected youngsters lack social and practical skills which increase the likelihood that they will participate in criminal activity. Since they congregate in business and tourist districts they can intimidate residents and tourists to the detriment of the city's economic growth.¹⁰

⁸ Memeza, 2000

⁹ Edwards, 2002

¹⁰ Memeza, 2000

The Women Safety Audit- A Case of KwaMakutha (Durban)

The history of the Women's Safety Audit was born out of best practice that was discussed during the first International Woman Seminar "Making the Links" held at Montreal in 2002. The importance of this approach is to ensure the protection of women and children against violence in a community. The Women's Safety Audit offered a wide range of benefits to the participants and the community at large, decision-makers, planners and those who work in crime prevention. Through the Women's Safety Audit, there were various environmental factors that were taken into consideration in looking at what were the symptoms in the community that made crime easy. It is as follows: They were:

- Lighting
- Signage
- Isolation (Eye Distance)
- Isolation (Ear Distance)
- Movement Predictors
- Entrapments Sights
- Escape routes
- Maintenance
- Overall design

The benefits of the women's safety audit are that it:

- i. Leads to projects/programs that addressed the issues of violence directly
- ii. Is useful as an educational tool as it increases awareness of violence against all other vulnerable groups
- iii. Provides useful information on personal security
- iv. Becomes an effective tool for building communities
- v. Assesses the environmental design of the community relative to women's safety
- vi. Creates a platform to share common concerns, and creating change (no matter how small) building confidence and increased individuals' sense of control over their lives.

Against this background and information, the KZN Network on Violence against Women, in partnership with the KZN Department of Community Safety and Liaison, and Safer Cities from eThekweni Municipality decided to adopt the theme of the Women's Safety Audit. A project of this nature had never been implemented before in KwaZulu-Natal and perhaps in South Africa. This pilot project was conducted in KwaMakhutha (south of Durban - peri-urban area). Most of its people are unemployed, which also adds to issues of social crime. A needs assessment and a strategic planning workshop was conducted with service providers (NGO/CBO/FBO's), and local government departments that provide a service in the community, as the Women's Safety Audit is not about an individual's response to crime, but a

community response to crime. The audit looked at the needs, gaps and safety issues in the community, and focused on the safety of women. The problems women face is not only victimization in the home, but also their fear of criminal victimization in the public sphere. The feelings of fear and insecurity end up controlling and restricting women in their social and economic activities. It limits their freedom and fundamental rights.

The toughest challenge that the audit faced was to get local government to buy into the process, and to sustain that relationship between the community and them. If all of these factors were properly designed and a proper coordinated partnership between local governments with the full participation of the community, we would be able to have a safer community in KwaMakutha. Implementation is the most critical and most difficult stage of the safety audit process. If actions are not taken to address the safety concerns that are identified, then no real improvements occur and the usefulness of the safety audit is diminished, also participants become discouraged and may feel that nothing they do makes a difference. Action must go beyond making the links to bridging the gaps.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

While Safer City partnerships are increasingly gaining attention, there is an inadequate understanding of crime prevention through environmental design at the local authority level. Practitioners are more aware that crime prevention should become a central consideration in the design process, but many officials and policy-makers have a poor understanding of the concept. There is no evidence that some local authorities grasp the implications of crime prevention through environmental design as a strategy for building better environments and, through this, improving the quality of life. Crime prevention through environmental design has also not been factored into the town planning process. Few regulations address how buildings relate to surrounding public spaces, but instead are designed chiefly for the users of buildings.

It is commonly recognised that for every crime there is a victim and a perpetrator, however the environment in which the crime occurs is less often thought about. Interventions into the design of the environment can help to reduce the incidence of crime. Internationally, this strategic component is known as Crime Prevention through Environmental Design or CPTED and it is being successfully employed in many cities worldwide. CPTED is based on certain principles of architecture, landscaping, visibility and lighting, aesthetics and the marking of spaces that create greater public security both in real terms, and in terms of people feeling safe in a location.

Implementing CPTED often starts by training those city employees who deal with the environment. Key departments must work together to incorporate CPTED principles into local government crime prevention plans, building codes, and information campaigns to impact positively on the city. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design works best when integrated within a broader crime prevention strategy which includes law enforcement and social crime prevention. CPTED can range in scale from small to medium to large. Small and medium scale interventions can involve landscaping, building design and increased surveillance. Large scale urban renewal projects such as Warwick Junction made use of existing buildings and infrastructure, while the Cato Manor project required both housing and infrastructure. Both projects involved large budgets, multi-disciplinary teams and focused

attention. In addition to looking at the fixed city environment, transport must also be considered within an urban design strategy.

Conclusion and Lessons that can be learned from Durban

Unless developing cities deal with issues of development and environmental design, they will continuously face the challenges of soaring crime. Durban is an example of a city that has taken crime seriously through several initiatives that involve partnerships with various role players with equal co-ordination and commitment. Given the social milieu of Durban, it can be concluded that while these initiatives have not eradicated crime, they have to a greater extent contained it.

Clearly the challenges are almost overwhelming and, to have any impact at all, there is a strong need to co-ordinate exceedingly well and build strong alliances within the sector but also across society. This should include strong links with relevant government departments, business, media, civil society (including churches), traditional leaders and healers and communities.

- i. There is still lack of co-ordination between government departments on safety and security. Building coordinated efforts is a necessary step if anti-crime and violence programs are to be effectively implemented.
- ii. The effective implementation of crime prevention programs is essential if confidence in public authorities is to be achieved and maintained.
- iii. Despite government's public commitment to prioritize crime, they have no time-frames/ performance indicators in place concerning service delivery. Measurement of performance is a crucial step in program evaluation and essential to planning and policy making processes.
- iv. Importance of directly involving the business community (e.g. The BAC effort).
- v. Harnessing the power of the informal sector and unemployed youths as part of local crime prevention efforts (e.g. the TAC and youth car guards)
- vi. Importance of targeting vulnerable groups (women and children) for special attention
- vii. Importance of the Women Safety Audits relative to gaining first-hand knowledge about crime and violence due to the environmental design of a community.
- viii. Problems of crime in transitional societies are significant but can be tackled by concerted public and private efforts, as in Durban.

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