

Violence Prevention in a South African Township

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South Africa's townships count amongst the places with the highest indices for violence and crime worldwide. The causes for this are complex and specific to the place; therefore attempts towards violence reduction necessarily need to be multi-dimensional, too. The paper describes the suggested approach for a German cooperation project for Khayelitsha Township near Cape Town. The project has recently started in the field.¹

Increasing presence of violence has become a major concern in most big cities of the South. However, the actual threat still differs enormously from one country to another. Southern Africa belongs to the places of worst reputation, and within the country, and even within each city, the extent of violence can vary considerably. One rather remarkable example is Cape Town, where one may find some white bourgeois quarters where the fear of violence certainly is present—to tell by all the visible alarm and “armed response” signs outside of the houses—even if that fear might not be supported by police reports from that area. But then there are the townships, some of which present frightening violence statistics. Take Khayelitsha, with almost half a million inhabitants it is the biggest township of Cape Town, where two German cooperation pro-

1 This article is based upon the feasibility study for the German-South African Financial Cooperation project “Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading” that the author prepared as team leader of AHT International for the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) and the City of Cape Town. Co-authors of the quoted sections of the report are Ivan Jonker, Sean Tait, Jasmin Nordien, Einhard Schmidt-Kallert, and Nina Corsten.

jects are currently attempting to reduce urban violence.² In 2002 figures, the recorded yearly homicide rate for young black males amounted to 300 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants (almost one per day), whereas the national average was 48. In just one month (June 2002) there were more than 300 assaults reported to the police, 109 burglaries, almost 100 cases of robbery, 33 attempted murders, and 29 cases of rape. When interpreting these figures, one must keep in mind that (apart from murder, which is difficult to hide) only a fraction of violent incidents are reported to the police; realistic figures are estimated to be up to five times higher.

In order to reduce violence it is necessary to distinguish between different forms in which violence typically occurs in a particular place. This will help to understand its causes and circumstances, which is necessary to grab the evil by its roots. In Khayelitsha, these forms can be identified as follows.

Economic violence

Burglary and robbery are the most predominant incidents of economic violence in Khayelitsha. The prime targets of this type of violence are businesspeople, many of whom have already left the neighbourhood in fear of their lives. Though vibrant, the informal economy in Khayelitsha has limited infrastructure and is vulnerable to crime and robbery: there are only two banks and three ATMs in Khayelitsha, which makes people who earn or receive money easy prey for robbery, including old-age pensioners who often get assaulted after collecting their monthly pension. The other most vulnerable group are normal residents, whose belongings at home get stolen when nobody is home, or are robbed when only a woman or children are present. Particularly in the informal settlements, the makeshift houses cannot be securely locked.

According to police statistics, the level of economic violence has been rising since 1995; this has been connected to increasing poverty levels. While certain sectors of the Khayelitsha community are becoming more affluent, others nurse disappointed hopes of unfulfilled aspirations after the end of Apartheid. Also, the very poor conviction and punishment rates in the criminal justice system have been blamed for the increase: criminals have a sense of impunity, as the consequences of their activities will not be dire.

2 Urban Conflict Management Peace and Development Project (PDG) supported by the German Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (<http://www.gtz.de/de/weltweit/afrika/suedafrika/11629.htm>) and “Violence Reduction through Urban Upgrading” by the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (http://www.kfw-entwicklungsbank.de/DE/Home/Laender_und_Projekte/).

Shebeen violence and substance abuse

Shebeens are informal taverns and are a very typical feature in townships. They belong to the most developed informal economic activities and have also generated the most violence in the community. Estimates suggest that there are approximately 1,500 shebeens in Khayelitsha, 200 of which are considered problematic. Shebeens are practically the only places where residents can meet or congregate and socialize in the dull township environment. People can dance, play billiards, and meet the members of the opposite sex without needing a pretext, opportunities that are almost unavoidably linked to the consumption of alcohol. But the lack of regulation of shebeens and taverns also intensifies social conflict, as there is no uniform closing time at night and loud juke box music is played until late at night without consideration for neighbours.

Most of the shebeen customers are youths from 12 years upwards. The landlords, known as Shebeen Kings and Queens, often start their businesses as a survival strategy, since only little investment is needed. Nonetheless, many of the shebeen landlords can generate some capital quite quickly, especially if they get involved in the business of marketing information and stolen goods.

The shebeens are considered to be the primary source of conflict and violence in Khayelitsha. There are many assaults that happen late at night when people leave the shebeens: Men rape women or go home drunk and abuse their partners. The police also believe in a strong link between shebeens and murder. The alcohol/drug and crime nexus is widely acknowledged. Statistical information notes a convincing correlation between the use of alcohol and drugs and crime. Fifty-five percent of unnatural deaths in Cape Town in 1998 involved people who had blood-alcohol concentrations greater than 0.08g/100ml, with the highest levels recorded in homicide-related deaths. Between 67 % and 76 % of domestic violence cases are alcohol-related. There is also a noted link between alcohol abuse and child abuse, with drinking parents more inclined to become negligent and abusive (Parry 2000).

Domestic violence

In a place where violence in public is part of everyday life, one is not surprised to discover that violence occurs just as much in the private sphere, namely, at home or in families where women and children experience abuse (Fisher et al. 2000). Women interviewed in Khayelitsha defined their experiences of violence against them in the following categories; economic, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse (Nedcor 1999). Alcohol abuse (mostly by

men) results in women being battered weekend after weekend, as well as an increase in child abuse and incidences of rape.³

In a social climate of rapid urbanisation and enforced modernisation, poverty and stress often rule domestic life, and traditional forms of male-female division of labour prove to be incompatible with the modern reality of income earning: At least in parts of Khayelitsha, the majority of the households are headed by women. Other households have a female wage earner, while the husband is unemployed. Nevertheless, the man usually considers his wife as being fully in charge of children and household in addition to her job. About 80 % of the domestic violence cases reported are stirred up by disputes over the household budget.

Unlike public places, where individuals are protected—at least in theory—against violence, a victim at home finds it even more difficult to find assistance. Where maltreatment at home is evident, the police are often reluctant to take up the case and prefer not to interfere in “matrimonial matters,” as they call it. During interviews some women indicated that the absence of suitable mechanisms of policing and justice has often meant that “*the most dangerous place for them is at home.*” The discrepancy between incidents of domestic violence and reported cases remains high for various reasons, in particular, because the women have no alternative places to go after reporting to the police, and women are also often afraid to lose their only wage earner if the man has a job. Even sexual abuse of children by their fathers over long periods of time is not seldom ignored by the mothers.

Gender-related violence

Gender-related violence in Khayelitsha includes various kinds of domestic violence, rape, indecent assault, and abuse of children and women, occasionally also of men, and neglect of children. Tensions and conflict between men and women are an integral part of life. In most cases, women and children become victims in one way or another. Sometimes they are physically hampered for life, sometimes also severely injured and infected with HIV; frequently, they are killed. In some cases, women and children live in a climate of extreme insecurity, with more reasons to be afraid than men.

A social study on Khayelitsha⁴ revealed that two-thirds of interviewed women consider rape, violence, and abuse against women and children as major concerns, whilst the males prioritised theft and assault, drug trafficking, and political intolerance as major problems. According to data collected by assistant institutions, there is an average of three rape cases every day. Need-

3 Khayelitsha Development Project Summit, 2002.

4 Taylor study in Khayelitsha, Khayelitsha Development Project Summit, 2002.

less to say, especially for rape, only a tiny fraction of victims ever report the incidence to any institution at all. Children are frequently raped because of the myth that sex with a virgin is a cure for HIV infection.

Over six percent of known cases are gang rapes. When cases are reported, the case tends to be withdrawn by the victim at a later stage because of fears of revenge, or possibly even being beaten to death. Between ten and twenty percent of the victimised women are already HIV-positive. Around half the rape victims are between 14 and 19 years old.⁵ The main time during which women and girls are attacked is the early evening or the night; about half the cases reported happen outside. Some places seem to be particularly prone, and residents sometimes try to make these places less dangerous, for example by cutting bushes and other greenery in publicly accessible areas.

School violence

Violence at schools has recently become a worrying issue in two respects. Firstly, secondary school pupils increasingly carry knives and even firearms at school, where they intimidate other children and staff. Theft or robbery of valuables, such as cell phones, and rape are frequent. Gang fights across school yards, while more common in certain other townships, are by no means unknown in Khayelitsha. Secondly, marketable goods such as computers, furniture, sanitary equipment, etc. may get stolen during break-ins.

Road and transport violence, gangs

Transportation generates a multitude of violence in Khayelitsha. There are conflicts between (minibus-) taxi associations, which flare up regularly: the taxi associations are in conflict with the buses, and commuters get caught in the crossfire of these conflicts, or are the victims of crime. Taxis were outlawed until deregulation in 1987. The taxi violence peaked in 1993, ceased in 1994, but has steadily been increasing since then. It is interesting to note that since 1997, injuries have not increased as much as deaths, suggesting that killings are becoming more focused and accurate.

Khayelitsha commuters who use public transport are incredibly vulnerable to crime and violence, as workers commute daily for approximately two hours—leaving home in the early hours of the morning and arriving home late at night. They travel using public transportation that is increasingly unsafe and unreliable. Buses are overcrowded, especially during peak hours, and taxis are

5 The rape of children under fourteen is not included in these figures.

not roadworthy. For example, it is a common sight to see a taxi without wind-screen wipers on rainy days.⁶ Taxi drivers have been reported to extort sexual services from women passengers who cannot pay their fare. According to the South African Police Service, buses in Khayelitsha have become prime targets for robbery. Most robberies and assaults reported occur en route to and/or at transportation junctions where people converge to commute to work, as they are carrying cash in order to pay for transport services. This risk can also be related to certain environmental factors:

- The lighting is poor, and commuters start travelling from as early as 4:00 a.m., when it is dark.
- There are some railway stations with no roads leading to the station, hence commuters have to walk between shacks or across bushy fields to get the station, making them vulnerable to being attacked.
- The buses, taxis, and trains are overcrowded.

Use of firearms

Gun violence is rife in Khayelitsha. Armed robbery tops the list of most-feared property crimes for residents. Serious crime such as murder, attempted murder, and aggravated robbery accounted for 42 % of crimes reported in 2001.⁷ Death by firearm is listed as the second most common single cause of death (8.5 %) in Khayelitsha.⁸ Gun violence is also highlighted as one of the biggest threats facing youth in the area today, both as offenders as well as victims.⁹ As such, it impacts heavily on the social and economic lives of residents, and especially those of shopkeepers and street vendors—the entrepreneurs, and the self-employed, who tend to become the victims of shootings more than any other group. In addition, transport stations are particularly vulnerable to gun violence, being points of concentrated economic activity that become targets for crime. Clinics are robbed at gunpoint to access medicines which subsequently are resold to needy patients.

A key explanatory factor in armed violence is, in the first place, the ample availability of guns in the community. It is easy even for minors to buy such a weapon. One of the most important sources of illegal weapons is stolen legal fire arms, especially those stolen from the local police.¹⁰

6 Khayelitsha Development Project Summit, 2002.

7 SAPS, 2002. Statistics for Khayelitsha 1995 to 2001.

8 Khayelitsha Health Summit 2002.

9 Khayelitsha Violence Prevention through Urban Renewal Focus Group meeting 6 July 2002.

10 A practice not unusual was reported at the evaluation forum, whereby policemen on duty are offered free spirits at shebeens, and this, when they are drunk, makes it easy to grab their pistols.

Fear of violence

It is not surprising that exposure to high levels of violent crime directly, through common acquaintances and through the media, has an impact on residents' fear of crime. The Cape Town victim survey noted that there was little difference in fear of crime between people who had been victims of crime and those who had not personally suffered crime. Fear of crime was highest at night, when both victims and non-victims felt unsafe. Fear of crime and feelings of insecurity add considerably to the stress and tensions of life. This in turn impacts on productivity, with negative implications for the economy, and general feelings of well-being—eventually impacting political and social stability. In a survey conducted in Khayelitsha in 2002¹¹, the residents identified crime as their major concern and, in particular, referred to robbery, burglary, and gangsterism. Fifty-eight percent of all respondents said that they felt very unsafe in their homes, and 34 % felt very unsafe while walking in their neighbourhood areas during the day.¹²

An important factor contributing to the feeling of insecurity derives from the deficiencies of the social justice system. Considering the size of Khayelitsha, the assigned police compliment of 270 members (in 2002) is negligible, especially as this figure includes 50 % civilian and support staff. Allowing for shifts and leave, only less than 50 policemen are on duty at any one time. Furthermore, the shift patterns do not coincide with crime patterns: over the violent peak periods after hours and on weekends, the station is often depleted of personnel. The deplorable shortage of vehicles is further exacerbated by the absence of a driver's licenses among police staff. This situation implies that there are very remote chances that police will be able to interfere when and where violence occurs—or at least to secure evidence once it has happened. As a result, it is estimated that only a very few of all crimes are reported to the police and suspects are eventually arrested in only less than 25 % cases. Once in court, the conviction rate is around 75 %—less than 10 % of all the committed crimes. For certain types of crime the rate is even lower: For armed robbery, common assault, attempted murder, and theft between 80 % and 100 % of cases were also closed as undetected. Since only a fraction of cases taken to court lead to a conviction, conviction rates may drop as low as one percent!

11 Micro Cosmos Survey supervised by the author as part of the KfW feasibility study "Violence prevention through Urban Upgrading" in Khayelitsha.

12 While 74 % felt very unsafe while walking during the night.

An integrated approach towards violence reduction

As outlined above, high levels of violence in Khayelitsha occur in many different sectors, including different forms of economic violence, domestic and gender violence, social violence, transport violence, etc.¹³ The causes of violence are highly complex and interlinked. To be effective, any attempt to reduce overall levels of violence in such a setting must take this into account. The analytical tool known as the “Triangle of Violence” (cf. Liebermann/Landmann 2000 and Kruger/Landmann/Liebermann 2001) can be helpful for developing suitable strategies for action. This tool refers to different factors that are always present in an act of violence and therefore imply the need to react on different fronts at a time: they must be directed towards discouraging a potential violator (offender), supporting the victim of violence, and to arrange the environment in a way suitable to reduce the opportunity for crime to happen. The following diagram illustrates the triangle for the example of rape:

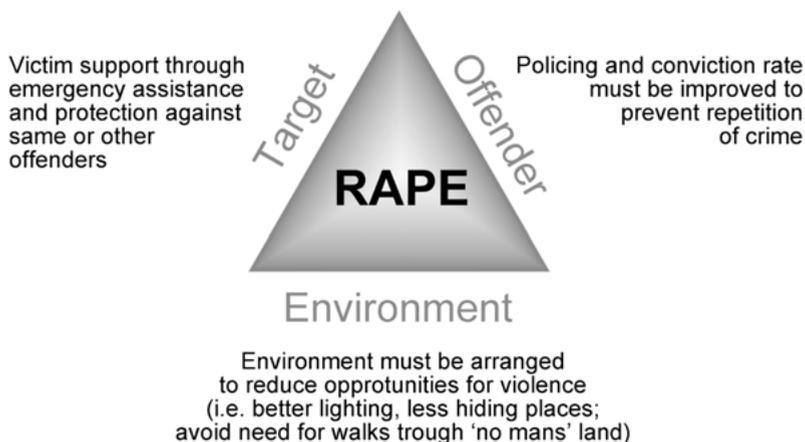


Figure 1: Triangle of Violence: Example 'Rape' © Kosta Mathéy

In other words: the triangle concept illustrates the need for an integrated programme to address violence in Khayelitsha, or any other township—and it leads to alternative options different from the “zero tolerance” approach adopted in certain other countries.

Considering the size of Khayelitsha, with its almost half a million inhabitants, a choice must be made about the geographic concentration of any intervention, since an equal spread of necessarily limited assistance over the entire township would not mean more than a drop in the ocean and have little perceivable impact. On the other hand, a limitation on only a few “hot spots”

13 Fortunately, gang and political violence are less prominent, but have been seen in the past and may show up again.

would probably not lead to the desired effect of violence reduction, but rather to the displacement of the same crimes to surrounding areas. Therefore, the definition of core zones of integrated action—including, for example, policing, infrastructure improvement, service provision, job creation measures, with a wider ring of “softer” measures, seems to be an adequate response to the given situation.

In the case of the Khayelitsha upgrading project, as it was conceived in the KfW feasibility study, this conclusion was the result of participatory analysis in the course of a “consultation forum” that drew together many different stakeholders, including a majority of residents apart from business people, local politicians and administration, the police, and NGOs. The same forum also gave an assessment on the most pressing security concerns, which should guide an anti-violence intervention:

- High vulnerability through the absence of police protection in cases of need, and conviction rates close to zero.
- Additional vulnerability through the need for long walks at awkward times because of the absence of facilities needed close to homes on a daily basis and due to a poorly functioning public transport system.
- Desperate material needs as a consequence of extremely high unemployment, poor education, and an alarmingly bad state of health.

Keeping this in mind, and referring to the above-mentioned need to concentrate interventions in a few selected locations, the “Safe Nodes” concept was formulated, which promises to have the best multiple impact on the complex causes and circumstantial nexus. This approach was equipped with two additional elements: a Social Development Fund and supporting complementary activities, as will be explained in the following section. A vector-impact prognosis shows how all three elements directly or indirectly contribute to the different predominant forms of violence in Khayelitsha.

The “Safe Nodes” concept

A “safe node” can be defined as a small urban sub-centre, principally catering to the residents living within easy walking distance, bringing together a combination of commercial, service, and work opportunities presently missing in the neighbourhood. Its contribution to the aim of violence prevention is achieved through:

- Proximity to a protective institutional policing body that will deter potential violators and criminals, and increase security for both shop and service operators and the public in general. With this improvement, business peo-

ple will thus flock to the centre rather than move out of Khayelitsha, which is happening at present.

- Better access to public transport, as each node will be supplied with bus stops and a taxi rank. The concentration of customers in these sub-centres will automatically imply a more readily available transport service.
- The availability of essential services to the residents within the neighbourhood will avoid the need for long walks through partially vacant land and thus reduce the exposure to risk of violence, especially assaults and rape.
- Additional local labour and education opportunities will contribute to better incomes and ultimately effect a drop in economic violence.

A safe node could be arranged around an open space, like a village square. This “place” would very soon become a social centre, and would be used, for example, for open-air public meetings and the popular music rallies that seem to occur especially on Sundays. In some densely built-up areas, a generous “Pedestrian Avenue” might be a more practical alternative to the square, and thereby create a “sense of place” in this otherwise very densely housed environment. Conversations with residents have also shown a surprising preparedness by many of them to give up their plots if needed for the benefit and general good of the community. For this reason a partial clearance and proposed relocation of some dwellings to the second-floor level of any new development or into overspill areas is a possibility when vacant land is not available for rehousing.

In greater detail, a safe node would offer the following facilities, of which the first three correspond to the three concerns in the “triangle” concept, and thus directly address violence, whereas the remainder indirectly contribute to lessen violence in the township:

- *Security through better policing*

The need for physical protection through some kind of policing has been explained, but obviously it will not be possible to place a police station in every neighbourhood. Therefore the installation of other institutions that can offer refuge, protection, and can at least enable contact to the police is an essential asset of the safe node. In the case of Khayelitsha, such institutions could be, for example, offices for the PDP¹⁴ or the city police,¹⁵ a fire

14 The Peace and Development Project (PDP) was started in 1997 in the townships of Crossroads and Nyanga with the support of the GTZ. Its central elements are patrols of voluntary and unarmed peace workers recruited from the same neighbourhood, who also receive training and thus improve their job opportunities after this service.

15 The city police supplement the National Police Service and mostly look after traffic issues.

brigade, the Neighbourhood Watch,¹⁶ or a Community Corrections Office.¹⁷

- *Victim Support*

It has been criticised that the current policing and criminal justice system pays more (if not all) attention to the violator/offender than to the victim. Progressive anti-violence policies need to correct this, and one way of achieving it is through the provision of “Victim Support Centres.” Different expressions of violence cause a variety of individual needs and call for a larger number of specialized support centres. Equally needed are “safe houses,” which can offer refuge for battered/ raped women and children. There are NGOs that operate in this field but lack the necessary facilities and accommodations. In general, such institutions may receive financial support from the Province, among other donors.

- *Safer environment*

Acts of violence are facilitated in certain types of environment, or may be discouraged through certain design principles for a “safer city.” Examples include the provision of better street lighting, possibly a CCTV system (if connection to a central monitoring station and quick response in cases of emergency can be assured), good visibility, refuge and alarm systems, etc. Segments of the safe node, such as a courtyard, can be gated with metal detectors and transformed into gun-free zones. It must be emphasized, however, that the environment is one of many contributing factors. The notion of “designing out crime” cannot be considered a realistic perspective.

- *Decentralised service facilities*

In order to reduce travelling need, those services required by the citizens on a day-to-day basis, such as a post office, cash-withdrawal and payment facilities, a surgery or clinic, information and counselling services, a library and internet access point, coin-operated laundromats, etc. should exist within walking distance from home and will be included in the safe node. Minority group-oriented installations, like pre-schools, old age homes, and special-needs schools should be considered wherever the subsequent operation of the same can be assured—interviews with relevant NGOs in Cape Town indicate a realistic perspective to attract more services of that kind in Khayelitsha. A very demanding need has appeared over the last years in catering for the AIDS orphans, who may exceed 100,000 within less than ten years. This urgent and complex problem will be dealt with in a different paper.¹⁸

16 Neighbourhood watches consist of specially trained and accredited civilians who act in extension of the national police SAPS.

17 Community correction offers assistance to reintegration of convicted law offenders as an alternative to imprisonment.

18 Research project on housing needs of AIDS orphans in South Africa at PAT/Technical University Darmstadt, cf. www.par-darmstadt.de.

- *Neighbourhood training and income opportunities*

Whilst there apparently is an over-supply of primary and secondary schools (although not always of the desired standard) in Khayelitsha, opportunities for professional training and adult education are rare. As up-to-date skills are essential for any income-earning job, education is the best possible investment. Both NGOs and businesses provide a number of courses already, but the lack of suitable accommodations creates a bottleneck for extending the service. Adult classrooms and offices for continuous education should therefore be part of the accommodations provided in node development. Equipment and computers could be provided via donations.

Direct income-earning opportunities will be created through a small market with lockable stalls, in order to provide a safer and more comfortable operational base to the vulnerable street vendors. Workshop space for rent will be provided for artisans and small industries, as there is a proven demand for it. Commercial retail shops would be included in the nodes as well, and the resulting rent income at market price could cross-subsidise social facilities, which, by definition, cannot be run on a profit-making basis.

- *Leisure facilities*

Presently, shebeens are about the only available venues where residents can socialise in the township, but they have also been identified as a major factor in the spread of crime and violence, especially for adolescents. Special efforts are therefore needed towards the provision of alternative and competitive leisure facilities. Multi-functional youth clubs would be the first choice, apart from video-cinemas, licensed taverns and coffee shops, community halls, sports facilities, etc.

- *Replacement dwellings*

Some parts of the township, which are older and offer better transport, may get quite crowded and do not contain empty land needed for creating a safe node. Therefore it may be necessary to clear a piece of land and to relocate a limited number of existing dwellings. The upper floors of a safe node can accommodate such replacement units and simultaneously inhibit a desertion of the node at night.

Community cohesion through a Social Development Fund

The creation of an island situation where violence is kept under control implies a serious risk that violence will just move out of the areas into the immediate neighbourhoods. Therefore the neighbouring environment of a safe

node and its residents needs to be included in the programme. Ample participation of the population is essential, but experience shows that this can only be achieved and sustained over a longer period if the residents have some power over decision making. The Social Development Fund is a very good instrument to reach this goal: The fund will be at the exclusive disposal of a neighbourhood and may be invested for the benefit of the community according to its own preferences. The target group may choose from a menu of typical investments, or can elaborate their own proposals. A better value from the allocated budget may be obtained through self-help inputs.

Self-organisation is required for the operation of these parochial projects, and this will help to stimulate and build up a strong and supportive community that is better prepared to put a stop to violence. Furthermore, it will foster the growth of collective self-esteem among the residents, and teach them the skills needed to obtain subsequent funding for community needs from third-party sources. Investments to be provided basically fall into three categories, namely technical infrastructure, measures directed towards a safer environment, and income generation:

- *Technical infrastructure*

Townships were originally planned by the Apartheid government and commonly contain basic infrastructure. Allocation of residence was controlled by the authorities. However, with the fall of the Apartheid regime also came the freedom of residence, and many people arrived in the townships from the countryside and from the homelands. Many of them settled on the plots of friends and family, or squatted on empty land in and around the townships.

The existing infrastructure could cope with the unplanned population increase, and the squatter areas still lack most basic facilities such as water, sanitation, footpaths, and storm water drainage. The Social Development Fund can provide for an economic infrastructure in the eligible settlements, like shallow sewer systems (10 % of normal cost), plastic piping for water connections, additional bucket-system toilets, and street lighting.

- *Safer environment*

The environment can be improved and made safer through community efforts. Examples include playgrounds to keep children off the streets, peace gardens, safer pedestrian walkways and road crossings, the relocation of shebeens, and establishing an address system for the easy location of homes by police or other authorities.

- *Income generation and education*

Provisions from the Fund can be invested directly in community-based income producing projects, like urban farming, or a waste recycling scheme. Neighbourhood-based pre-schools or other educational initiatives could receive special training. Cultural identity workshops and courses or a local history room could be funded. Special attention may be paid to arts and music projects (e.g. “township jazz”), as these provide a real opportunity for black, low-income residents to enter the national and even international stage.

Logistical support and complementary activities

“Invisible” development efforts, many of them logistical or educational, are at least as important as “hard” physical investments that can be visited and photographed. In this context, “Supporting Activities” may be defined as soft project elements that are essential for the safe nodes and the Development Fund to function, but also peace building, conflict management, and assistance to community self-administration would fall into this category, even if they could be directed towards the whole township of Khayelitsha, and not only to the residents living close to a secure node. Examples for Supporting Activities, as they were already identified in participatory workshops, include:

- Civil peace-building workshops dealing especially with female victims of violence and with conflict management.
- Awareness-raising campaigns on domestic rights and facilities for family conflict resolution.
- Conflict management and development programmes to avoid possible outbreaks of violence.
- Introductory civil rights training for members of Community Safety Forums.
- Training and internal administration support for Street Committees.
- Staff training for (especially informal) pre-schools.
- Training for KDF/KDT organs and delegates in preparation of safe node administration.
- Teacher training in adult education and preparation for self-employment and market-related skills in support of provided facilities.
- Training of staff for advice and counselling facilities to be provided.
- “Trusty taxi driver” and “Recognized shebeen” programmes.
- Housing design and finance management for replacement housing.
- Participatory design for community open space and housing.
- Cultural roots development (arts, collective memory, and history).

Part of the success of an improvement and development programme lies in the capability to detect and facilitate synergies with existing activities and possible projects by other stakeholders and development agencies—which is the role of urban management and governance. Particularly when considering the complexity of violence-prevention issues, complementary efforts should be well-coordinated and synchronised in order to produce a visible outcome and thus maintain the support of residents. After all, what was repeatedly criticised both by the population and by the experts is the lack of coordination of efforts by the municipality and private and voluntary stakeholders in their recent development efforts. Typical fields in which those complementary activities might be placed include:¹⁹

- Improvements to the criminal justice system.
- Improvements to the youth justice system.
- Technical infrastructure provision.
- Management support for infrastructure.
- Environmental improvements.
- Social Services (initiation camps, orphans hospices, old age homes, cemeteries).
- Business and job creation.
- Support to the projected Central Business District.
- Improvement of the transportation system.

From theory to practice

The Feasibility Study for a possible German Cooperation Project, on which this paper is based, has been prepared for the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 2002. The contract for the execution of the project was finally signed in 2005, and implementation will hopefully start in the same year. In the meantime, some circumstances have changed. Most staff and community leaders, who cooperated in the initial project formulation, have changed jobs and may have moved elsewhere. The business situation seem to have improved after the construction of a number of supermarkets, which does not necessarily create much employment, but improves shopping facilities and reduces the distance that residents have to walk carrying either money or goods. But violence remains a central concern, like elsewhere in South Africa—this is why another upgrading project with a focus on violence prevention with KfW support is already in the conception phase in Buffalo City, in the Eastern Cape Province.²⁰

19 The Feasibility Study prepared for the KfW project recommended some 130 complementary projects and identified adequate third-party funding for most of them.

20 Another research project on urban violence in Southern Africa has been formulated at the PAR institute, Darmstadt University (www.par-darmstadt.de).

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