

Western Cape Safety Plan

Working Document

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1. INTRODUCTION

High levels of violent crime resulting in the general lack of safety experienced by most communities in the Western Cape constitutes one of our most serious and complex challenges. Safety, or the lack thereof, deeply affects our residents' lives, from their ability to participate and thrive in the economy, to move about freely without fear, to attend school and recreational activities, to access government services, or to feel safe and supported inside their own homes.

Considering the complexity of the problem of crime and violence, its effect on our progress in every other respect, and the interconnected and holistic responses which must be explored, the Western Cape Provincial Cabinet, under the leadership of Premier Alan Winde, is putting its full might behind improving safety over the next five years. This Western Cape Safety Plan aims to both boost law enforcement capacity in our least safe neighbourhoods, but also seeks to address the root causes of crime, and of violent crime more specifically, in our society.

The strategies adopted in the Western Cape Safety Plan are informed by evidence, and will be implemented using data and technology. Progress will be monitored and evaluated at the highest level to ensure expected outcomes are achieved, with change measured regularly against set metrics (or outcome indicators) agreed upon by each Minister.

Importantly, this document must be read in conjunction with the 2019-2024 Provincial Strategic Plan, which provides a more comprehensive policy narrative and framework for the realisation of the vision of the Western Cape Government for the next five years, which is "A values-based competent state that delivers opportunity, responsibility and a safer Western Cape".

The 2019-2024 Provincial Strategic Plan outlines five "Vision-Inspired Priorities" for the Province. These are:

- Safe and Cohesive Communities:
- Empowering People;
- Enabling Economy and Jobs;
- Public transport, Mobility and Spatial Transformation;
- Innovation and Culture.

This document provides an analysis of the problem of crime and violence in the Western Cape, outlines the Safety Priorities which are being rolled out in this term, and contains a series of principles for implementation to ensure the successful realisation of the vision of the 2019-2024 Provincial Strategic Plan.

2. VISION FOR A SAFER WESTERN CAPE

The vision of Premier Alan Winde and the Western Cape Cabinet is to seek to ensure that the Western Cape is a place where all people feel secure and live free from fear.

The Western Cape Safety Plan will be achieved through a focus on increasing law enforcement presence where and when crime happens, and through strengthening society's resilience to crime at several levels: in families, in the school environment, amongst youth at risk, as a result of the harms caused by substance abuse and alcohol abuse, through increased safety in public spaces and by strengthening social cohesiveness and connectedness.

While the ultimate success of the Western Cape Safety Plan will be measured through a reduction in the murder rate, a series of outcome indicators related to the Safety Priorities below will be determined to track progress against specific interventions.

3. LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK

The legislative and policy framework guiding the Western Cape Safety Plan includes the following:

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 108 of 1996;

The Constitution of the Western Cape:

The Criminal Procedure Act, 51 of 1977;

The South African Police Service Act. 68 of 1995:

The Children's Act, 38 of 2005;

The Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act, 13 of 2005;

The Western Cape Community Safety Act, 3 of 2013;

The National Development Plan (2012):

The White Paper on Families (2012);

The National Anti-Gangsterism Strategy (2016);

The White Paper on Safety and Security (2016);

The Integrated Urban Development Framework (2016):

The Western Cape Integrated Violence Prevention Policy Framework (2013);

The Western Cape Youth Development Strategy (2013).

4. **DEFINITIONS**

For the purposes of the Western Cape Safety Plan, the following terms are defined as follows:

Child - A child is understood as "a person under the age of 18 years", as defined under the Children's Act, 38 of 2005.

Data - Data is a representation of facts, concepts, or instructions in a formal manner, suitable for communication, interpretation, or processing by humans or by automatic means. Data are the raw elements of a database or dataset and are made up of characters, fields and records. Data can also consist of lines, polygons, points, or pixels if the data is spatial or imagery.

Evidence - Evidence is information and data that can confirm, or reject, assumptions about a policy's anticipated effectiveness and how it is best achieved.

Law enforcement officer - A law enforcement officer is a person duly appointed by a government entity to perform the powers and duties associated with a peace officer.

Violence - For the purposes of the Western Cape Safety Plan, the definition of "violence" adopted by the World Health Organisation and echoed by the Western Cape Integrated Violence Prevention Policy Framework (2013) is followed. Violence is defined as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in, injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation". Therefore, this definition identifies three sub-types of violence: self-directed violence, interpersonal violence and collective violence.

Youth - For the purposes of the Western Cape Safety Plan, youth is understood as all residents of the Western Cape aged 15 to 25 years old, as determined by the Western Cape Youth Development Strategy (2013).

5. OUTLINE OF THE WESTERN CAPE SAFETY PLAN

5.1. Crime and boots on the ground

5.1.1. The problem: Concentrated high levels of crime and an inadequate police response

It is a well-known fact that Western Cape residents, and some communities in particular, face extremely high levels of crime and violence. According to the 2018/19 national crime statistics, the Western Cape has the second-highest level of murder in the country (murder being the best proxy indicator for violence), with the murder rate at 60 per 100 000 people, almost double the national average of 36.4/100 000.¹ And yet almost half of all murders are recorded in just ten police stations in the Province. This has been the pattern for the past few years, with the "top 10 stations" having remained unchanged since the 2013/14 financial year. These are:

Table 1 Top 10 Murder Police Precincts in the Western Cape - 2013/14 to 2018/19

The Top 10 Murder Police Precincts in the Western Cape						
Police station	Number of murders per financial year (position in that year)					
	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19
Nyanga (and Samora Machel in 2018/19)	305 (1)	300 (1)	279 (1)	281 (1)	308 (1)	319 (1)
Delft	144 (6)	163 (3)	143 (6)	183 (2)	195 (3)	247 (2)
Khayelitsha	146 (5)	146 (5)	161 (4)	179 (3)	192 (4)	221 (3)
Philippi East	73 (10)	87 (9)	122 (8)	150 (5)	205 (2)	185 (4)
Harare	164 (2)	141 (8)	166 (3)	174 (4)	142 (8)	166 (5)
Gugulethu	149 (4)	165 (2)	184 (2)	136 (7)	182 (6)	155 (6)
Mfuleni	118 (7)	154 (4)	139 (7)	125 (8)	157 (7)	154 (7)
Kraaifontein	112 (8)	141 (6)	152 (5)	142 (6)	186 (5)	151 (8)
Mitchell's Plain	156 (3)	141 (7)	119 (9)	103 (9)	140 (9)	148 (9)
Bishop Lavis	73 (9)	82 (10)	77 (10)	97 (10)	98 (10)	144 (10)
Top 10 total murders	1440	1520	1542	1570	1805	1890
Total murders WC	2904	3186	3224	3311	3729	3974
Top 10 stations contribution	49,6%	47,7%	47,8%	47,4%	48,4%	47,6%

Source: South African Police Service, 2018-19 crime statistics

¹ South African Police Service, 2018/19 Crime Statistics. The province with the highest murder rate is the Eastern Cape, with 60.8 murders / 100 000 people.

However, it is also known that violent crime is usually concentrated in microlocations, such as a specific block of streets, a park, a shopping mall, taxi ranks, shebeens etc.² Different crimes will concentrate in different locations. Therefore, in a setting like South Africa with extremely high levels of violent crime and limited police resources, deploying visible policing to an entire police precinct without clear focus risks having limited impact in interrupting violent criminal behaviour. What is required is targeted policing where and when crime happens most, and problem-solving with communities.³

Micro-locations of crime can be identified through technology and the analysis of reported criminal incidents, such as murders, robberies, assault etc. Detailed crime and violence hot-spot maps, as well as the typical profile of victims of violent crime, can be enhanced through other datasets, such as ambulance data, emergencies admission data, traffic data or data from citizens and from Neighbourhood Watches (NHWs) in particular. A key part in making the Western Cape Safety Plan successful, will be to develop and/or enhance our technology and data analysis capability.

In addition, violent crime usually occurs at specific times. The SAPS, when releasing the 2018/19 crime statistics, indicated that on average and across the country, 60% of all murders occurred between 15:00 on Friday and 09:00 on Monday, and that 25% of murders occurred between 15:00 on Saturday and 09:00 on Sunday, a mere 18 hours in a week (or 11% of a week).⁴ Time patterns at specific police precinct level are not publicly available, although would provide a more localised understanding of when violent crime takes place.

A comprehensive problem analysis of the current state of policing in South Africa is widely available. In summary, these include deployment policies and decisions by SAPS that are not sufficiently based on data and technology, a large proportion of administrative staff versus enforcement staff, inadequate skills, a lack of accountability for poor police service and for criminal behaviour by police, weak community-police

² I Edelstein and R Arnott "Point-level analysis of crime in Khayelitsha. A critical review", ISS Policy Paper (2019); T Abt, What works in reducing community violence: A meta-review and field study for the Northern Triangle, USAID (2016).

J Redpath "Does policing prevent crime?" Presentation at SaVI Conference, 16 October 2018; ACJR, "Visible Policing - Clarifying Concepts and Expectations" (2019) Factsheet No 14, Dullah Omar Institute, available at https://acjr.org.za/resource-centre/fact-sheet-14-vispol.pdf (accessed 09 September 2019); UK College of Policing "The impact of police numbers on crime rates" and "The effectiveness of visible police patrol" available at https://whatworks.college.police.uk/Research/overview/Pages/more.aspx (accessed on 09 September 2019).

⁴ South African Police Service, "Crime Situation in Republic of South Africa Twelve (12) Months (April to March 2018_19)", PowerPoint Presentation to National Parliament, 12 September 2019, Slide 26.

relations and challenges in police leadership.⁵ These challenges directly affect the level of police service received by residents living in areas covered by underresourced police stations, but also the very police officers who are deployed to those police stations and have to work under extremely difficult conditions.

Furthermore, the South African criminal justice system faces efficiency challenges, with a large proportion of arrests focusing on minor offences instead of focusing on serious offences, the latter requiring in-depth detective work. This has resulted in an overall decrease in convictions over the years, especially of serious offenders.⁶

The National Development Plan (NDP) sets a vision for 2030 of "professional [policing] institutions staffed by skilled, disciplined, ethical individuals who value their work and serve the community". ⁷ The Western Cape Safety Plan seeks to contribute to this vision

5.1.2. Our response: Enhanced enforcement and investigative capacity

The Constitution determines that policing is a hybrid function, with national government holding the primary power for policing, but which must be exercised while taking into account the requirements and specificities of each province.⁸ In addition, municipalities have some policing powers.⁹ Provinces are mandated to play an oversight role, which can be proactive and reactive, and have control over

Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry, Towards a safer Khayelitsha: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of Police Inefficiency and a Breakdown In Relations between SAPS and the Community of Khayelitsha, Cape Town: Capitil Press, 2014; L Muntingh and G Dereymaeker Understanding impunity in the South African law enforcement agencies, CSPRI Research Report (2013); J Redpath and F Nagia-Luddy "Unconscionable and irrational - SAPS human resource allocation" 53 (2015) SACQ 15; G Newham "Avoiding another Marikana massacre: Why police leadership matters" 53 (2015) SACQ 39; J Burger "Leading a horse to water ... Assessing review mechanisms of SAPS performance" 53 (2015) SACQ 49; A Abdool Karim "Policing corruption reports are on the rise", Daily Maverick, 12 April 2019; ACJR, "Visible Policing - Clarifying Concepts and Expectations" (2019) Factsheet No 14, Dullah Omar Institute, available at https://acjr.org.za/resource-centre/fact-sheet-14-vispol.pdf (accessed 09 September 2019). The police human resource allocation model used by SAPS for deployment in the Western Cape was found, in December 2018, to unfairly discriminate against Black (African, Coloured and Indian) and poor people on the basis of race and poverty: See Social Justice Coalition and others vs Minister of Police and Others, Equality Court of South Africa (Western Cape Division), 14 December 2018, case no. EC03/2016.

⁶ In the 2017/18 financial year, 36% of arrests were for crimes less serious than shoplifting – see SAPS, "Crime Situation: Western Cape, 2017/2018 financial year", PowerPoint Presentation to Western Cape Standing Committee on Community Safety, 26 September 2018. The data contained in the presentation was further analysed. See also L Muntingh, J Redpath and K Petersen, An Assessment of the National Prosecuting Authority: A Controversial Past and Recommendations for the Future, May 2017, ACJR Research Report, available at https://acjr.org.za/resource-centre/acjr-npa-2017-fin. pdf (accessed 10 October 2019).

⁷ National Development Plan 2030 - Our Future, make it work, p. 53.

⁸ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, sections 205(2) and 206(1) and (2).

Onstitution of the Republic of South Africa, sections 152(1)(d), 156(1) and 206(7) and Schedule 5, Part B, of the Constitution; South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995 (SAPS Act).

provincial traffic services.¹⁰ The fragmented nature of policing in the South African context requires formal and informal cooperation to optimise resources and which aims to lead to effective collaboration.

In addition, the private security industry provides an important force multiplier in increasing the security of public spaces. Close to 500 000 private security officers are employed by registered private security companies, representing a ratio of 2.5:1 SAPS officers. Private security is relied upon by private individuals, businesses, education institutions, NGOs as well as government institutions.

While the Western Cape acknowledges the efforts and work of the majority of dedicated SAPS officials on the ground – especially those working in violent environments characterised by police under-resourcing – management and policing methods currently being used hamper the effectiveness of police service delivery. Violent crime has reached such levels in the Western Cape that the WCG has no choice but to intervene in a more proactive manner than it has done so far to improve policing. It has decided to do so through reviewing its own provincial law enforcement capabilities, continuing its partnership with the SAPS and other criminal justice stakeholders, boosting its oversight role and expanding its current partnership with law enforcement entities at the local government level.

In short, in order to ensure the deployment of safety enhancing resources where they are most required the WCG is radically supporting and enhancing municipal and provincial law enforcement capabilities in the Western Cape. Recruitment and deployment will be evidence-led and data-driven. It is envisaged that 3000 new personnel will be recruited in the next five years, with 1000 of them being trained and deployed in the next twelve months. Such recruitment figures might be reviewed as the evidence of the impact of the deployment provides the relevant information to make such policy decisions.

The WCG is partnering in the first instance with the CoCT to fund, train and deploy these additional law enforcement officers. In addition, the WCG will review the size, role and powers of its own provincial traffic services and Security Support Team to further enhance its own capabilities. This complements the SAPS' own efforts to increase its own staff component in the Western Cape.¹¹

While the law enforcement officers appointed through the agreement with the CoCT will remain employees of the CoCT, the WCG and CoCT will sign an agreement which determines the proactive oversight role which the WCG will play in order to facilitate the data-led deployment of the law enforcement officers it funds. Through agreements with other municipalities and district municipalities, these officers will

¹⁰ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, sections 104(1)(b) and 206.

K Palm, "WC Police Service Boosted by Addition of 1,000 New Recruits", EWN, 09 September 2018, available at https://ewn.co.za/2018/11/09/wc-police-service-boosted-by-addition-of-1-000-new-recruits (accessed 12 September 2019).

be able to operate province-wide. The goal is for the CoCT and the WCG to jointly coordinate the implementation and direction of the project. In future, it is envisaged that other local governments, may be capacitated similarly to further enhance law enforcement at the point of origin.

In addition, the WCG will continue to engage with the SAPS on police resourcing in the Province, both in terms of its police resource allocation model and policies as well as overall number of SAPS human resources in the Western Cape in order to effectively address high levels of violent crime in the Western Cape. This relates especially to visible policing and detectives. Indeed, funding additional law enforcement resources should not be a provincial responsibility. The Constitution of South Africa, and therefore the WCG, regards the SAPS as bearing the primary responsibility for preventing and combating crime. It sees its financial contribution to enhancing law enforcement deployment as a temporary (and costly) measure which it will seek to decrease as soon as the SAPS provides the required capabilities to effectively address violent crime in the Western Cape.

Secondly, in order to increase the conviction rate of serious offenders who pose a real safety threat to our communities, the WCG will review its own investigative oversight work over police performance and efficiency, which is currently exercised by its Court Watching Brief unit and the Western Cape Police Ombudsman, and seek to expand its impact. It will further use its data capabilities to better understand crime and violence patterns to respond more adequately to such patterns in order to target serious repeat offenders and crime hotspots. The WCG will also explore partnerships with the CoCT (as well as other local governments in time to come) and the SAPS to reinforce the skills and resources of their respective detective and investigative capabilities. These different initiatives will be led by a team of investigators which the WCG will fund, train and deploy. It is envisaged that up to 150 investigators will be recruited in the next five years, with 50 in the next twelve months already. Again, the investigators' functions will be evidence-led and data-driven and their efficacy will constantly be reviewed as the evidence assessing the impact of their work provides the relevant information to make such policy decisions.

Finally, the WCG will continue to exercise its constitutional oversight mandate over those exercising policing functions in the Western Cape. In doing so, it will aim to ensure that local law enforcement officers adhere to the highest professional standards and target the most important safety threats to the residents of the Western Cape. It will also aim to ensure that the SAPS uses its resources more rationally and deploys its police resources in accordance with the Province's policing needs and priorities, and that its staff adhere to the highest professional standards. This is in line with the Province's constitutional oversight mandate over policing.

5.1.3. Our approach: Data-led law enforcement and evidence-based policing

The entire Western Cape Safety Plan is guided by a series of principles for implementation which are outlined in section 6. While all principles are relevant throughout the implementation of the plan, two specific principles are mentioned here as they constitute the corner stones of successful interventions aimed at improving arrests and convictions for serious offences threatening the safety of our communities.

Identifying the specific times and places of incidents of crime and violence and analysing such information to inform the deployment of police or law enforcement has been successfully implemented in other parts of the world.¹² Furthermore, it is being explored in South Africa. ¹³The Western Cape wishes to lead the use of data and technology to understand violent crime patterns and then inform the deployment of law enforcement resources and investigators accordingly.

An important component of the success of such deployment is research and analysis. Because data-led deployment is only at its infancy and done on an ad-hoc basis in South Africa, there are several assumptions (based on knowledge from other jurisdictions) and unknowns which must be tested, analysed and verified in the South African context, and more specifically in the Western Cape context. For example, it is assumed that the concentration of law enforcement in a specific hotspot will not displace violent crime to another location. One unknown is the number of law enforcement officers which would be required at a specific time and place to have an effective impact in reducing violent crime.

R Muggah and others "Reducing Homicide in Brazil: Insights Into What Works", available at https://www.americasquarterly.org/content/reducing-homicide-brazil-insights-what-works (accessed on 09 September 2019; A Meijer & M Wessels "Predictive Policing: Review of Benefits and Drawbacks", International Journal of Public Administration. (2019) 42:12. pp 1031-1039.

September 2018 to the Western Cape Standing Committee on Community Safety that the implementation of Provincial Instructions (including focus on high crime intensity areas, maximised personnel deployment over high crime days and times, integrated operations with other agencies, targeting "persons of interest" and crime generators) resulted in a reduction of contact crimes: SAPS, "Crime Situation: Western Cape, 2017/2018 financial year", PowerPoint Presentation to Western Cape Standing Committee on Community Safety, 26 September 2018, slide 11. In addition, the SAPS has established a Division: Research at its Head Office which aims to promote evidence-based research and exchange knowledge between the relevant stakeholders. The City of Cape Town relies on its "Emergency Police Incident Control" (EPIC) system to geolocate, track and analyse criminal incidents and personnel for integrated public safety and better coordination. In addition, its Shotspotter technology gun detection technology in Manenberg and Hanover Park allows for the geolocation of gunshots and commensurate policing and victim assistance responses. Finally, the Western Cape Transport Management Centre collects and analyses a large amount of traffic and incident-related data.

¹⁴ T Abt, What works in reducing community violence: A meta-review and field study for the Northern Triangle, USAID (2016), p. 11.

This is where evidence-based policing (EBP), an emerging policing practice, will assist. ¹⁵ Through rigorous research, EBP seeks to target, test and track policing activities to evaluate and learn from assumptions in the success of policing. In short, it seeks to use data and evidence to check whether assumptions on "what works" in policing to reduce violent crime are correct or not, and then adapt policing practices based on those research findings.

Both data-led deployment and evidence-based policing are central to the Western Cape Safety Plan's aim of enhancing the efficiency of crime fighting and maximising the use of existing law enforcement and investigative resources. As part of the Western Cape Safety Plan, the WCG will explore partnerships with all implementing partners, practitioners and external researchers to build capacity in analysing and better understanding the impact of the data-led deployment it seeks to facilitate. Our aim is to develop shared knowledge and learn lessons accordingly.

5.1.4. First action steps

In order to ensure the successful implementation of the first leg of the Safety Plan, the following initiating actions will be taken by the WCG:

- Continuously build partnerships with all implementing partners and key stakeholders in improving security in the Western Cape, which include the SAPS, the CoCT, different WCG Departments, private security companies, other private sector stakeholders and community safety structures (such as NHWs and CPFs);
- Continuously develop partnerships with the private sector and relevant researchers and academic institutions and to build capacity in enhancing the knowledge- and evidence-base of the Safety Plan;
- Map all providers of policing and security services to determine the optimal deployment of additional law enforcement officers to violent crime hotspots;
- Provide a detailed analysis of gaps in securing convictions, and of all options for increased investigative capacity, mapping how they will contribute to an increased conviction rate of violent offenders:
- Map existing violence and crime data and information systems, determine gaps in data and information, and explore the integration of such systems to allow for the identification of micro-locations of crime and violence as well as the times at which such incidents are likely to occur;

Evidence-based policing can be defined as follows: It "seeks to promote the use of the best available research on the outcomes of police work to implement guidelines and evaluate policing". See Institute for Security Studies, Draft Document on "Introduction to Evidence-based policing", September 2019. See also L Sherman, Evidence-Based Policing, Police Foundation (1998).

 Determine the nature of coordinated direction between the CoCT and the WCG in deploying additional law enforcement capacities.

5.2. Reducing and preventing violence

5.2.1. The problem: Underlying causes of crime and violence

Focusing exclusively on law enforcement to reduce crime and make communities safer is insufficient. It shows action quickly (and at times is necessary) but is a reactionary and expensive response which does not deal with the underlying causes of criminal behaviour

Under a public health approach to violence, the focus shifts towards preventing violence from occurring through identifying and addressing the causes and underlying factors that lead to violent and eventually criminal behaviour. In Importantly, a public health approach calls for interventions to be, as far as possible, evidence-based. In other words, interventions should be tested and evaluated to assess what works and what does not work (and why, where and how it works) before scaling up such interventions. In

Extensive evidence now exists on the determinants of violence in South Africa and around the world - explaining what can cause people to adopt violent behaviour (also called "risk factors of violence") and what can build people's resilience to violent behaviour (also called "protective factors of violence", or possible solutions to reduce violence). The Safety Priorities informing this Western Cape Safety Plan are largely based on the existing evidence of what works in reducing violence.

Importantly, it is now widely accepted that there is a significant relationship between exposure to or experiencing violence as a child (both boys and girls) and later perpetration of violence by men, and later violence victimisation by women. Indeed, research has repeatedly found that a child who witnesses violence or is a victim of violence has a higher chance of committing violence as a man or to be a victim of violence as a woman. Indeed, as a child gets exposed or experiences violence, it then becomes a normalised tool to communicate and socially interact and is replicated at school, with friends, when becoming sexually active and in adult life. Violence is a cycle which must be broken. Therefore, reducing children and women's exposure to and experience of violence is key to reducing high levels of violence and eventually violent crime by men. Enhancing other protective factors to violence is as important.

¹⁶ Western Cape Government, Integrated Violence Prevention Policy Framework (2013).

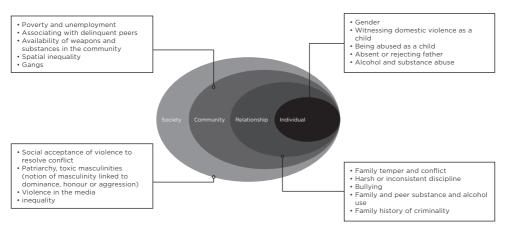
¹⁷ World Health Organisation, "The Public Health Approach", available at https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/public_health/en/ (accessed 12 September 2019).

¹⁸ Mathews and others, Towards a more comprehensive understanding of the direct and indirect determinants of violence against woman and children in South Africa with a view to enhancing violence prevention, UNICEF and Safety and Violence Initiative, University of Cape Town, 2016.

In addition, the democratic government has inherited spatial segregation and unequal infrastructure development from apartheid, which has had the perverse effect of not only fracturing social cohesion, inhibiting business development in such areas but also providing fertile breeding ground for criminal activity in under-resourced areas. Therefore, addressing spatial inequality and the lack of social cohesion in our communities are further important dimensions of the Western Cape Safety Plan.¹⁹

Risk factors of violence against women and children are best explained using a socio-ecological framework, identifying the multitude of factors at the individual-, relationship-, community- and societal level which contribute to violence.²⁰ The below Figure highlights some of those key risk factors.²¹

Figure 1 Socio-ecological model for risk factors of violence in South Africa



Source: Adapted from Heise (1998) and Mathews and others (2016)

This is echoed as one of the priorities of the White Paper on Safety and Security (2016), which 'safety through environmental design' as one of six key themes for crime and violence prevention. See Western Cape Department of the Premier, "Draft Strategic Case: Safe and Cohesive Communities Provincial Strategic Priority - 2019 - 2024" (September 2019).

While the determinants of violence against women and children are largely known, the determinants of gang violence and their possible variation from determinants of other forms of violence are less known and should be explored further, in order to develop adequate responses to the specificities of this form of violence. Currently, government responses to gang violence are largely based on assumptions and opinions.

Mathews and others, Towards a more comprehensive understanding of the direct and indirect determinants of violence against woman and children in South Africa with a view to enhancing violence prevention, UNICEF and Safety and Violence Initiative, University of Cape Town (2016); World Health Organisation, Violence Prevention: The Evidence. An Overview (2009); G Lamb and G Warton, "Why is crime in South Africa so violent? A rapid review" PSPPD report (2016); S Skeen and others "Early intervention - A foundation for lifelong violence prevention" 51 SACQ (2015) at 5; L Sherman and others "Preventing Crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising" National Institute of Justice Research Brief (1998); C Hsiao "Reducing violence in South Africa. From research to action" ISS Policy Brief (2018).

The NDP calls for an integrated approach to safety, which aims to address the underlying causes of crime and violence. This is echoed by the White Paper on Safety and Security and by the Western Cape Integrated Violence Prevention Policy Framework. The Western Cape Safety Plan seeks to contribute to this vision.

5.2.2. Our response: Prioritised holistic, integrated and long-term actions

As demonstrated above, violence is complex and its determinants are far-reaching. Addressing the drivers of violence can seem like an enormous task. At times, the solution appears to lie in better coordination of ordinary government services such as health, social development and education services. At other times, the solution appears to call for an overhaul of such services or the provision of additional services, in particular to those who present a number of risk factors outlined above. The answer probably lies in between. Importantly, no solution is easy or straightforward and will require adaptive and flexible management which will be firmly rooted in a knowledge-based approach, relying on evidence and data to make the necessary policy decisions.²²

Reducing and preventing violence calls for a holistic life-course approach, which recognises and responds to the different needs of individuals as they progress through their life trajectories. Therefore, solutions are necessarily long term, aimed at building the collective resilience of our households and communities to crime and trauma.

The White Paper on Safety and Security (2016), which outlines the following themes for intervention:

- Effective criminal justice system;
- · Early intervention to prevent crime and violence, and promote safety;
- · Victim support;
- · Effective and integrated service delivery for safety, security and violence and crime prevention;
- · Safety through environmental design;
- · Active public and community participation.

The Western Cape Government Integrated Violence Prevention Policy Framework (2013), which recommends the following strategies and interventions:

- Developing safe, stable and nurturing relationships between children and their parents and caregivers;
- Developing life skills in children and adolescents:
- Promoting gender equality to prevent violence against women and changing cultural and social norms that support violence.

²² In conceptualising possible solutions, the following resources were given particular consideration: The World Health Organisation report entitled "Violence Prevention: The Evidence" (2010), which recommends the following strategies and interventions:

Developing safe, stable and nurturing relationships between children and their parents and caregivers;

Developing life skills - for example, social, emotional and behavioural competencies - in children and adolescents;

[·] Reducing the availability and harmful use of alcohol;

[·] Reducing access to lethal means, including guns, knives and pesticides;

[·] Promoting gender equality to prevent violence against women;

[·] Changing cultural and social norms that support violence; and

Identifying victims and providing care and support programmes.

The WCG is already championing a number of innovative interventions aimed at reducing violence during the life trajectories of our residents. For example, the Western Cape Education Department has adopted a "Transform to Perform" Strategy aimed at promoting a values-driven organisation to positively impact on the motivation levels and mindsets of staff, learners and educators. The Strategy has started being rolled out at a number of schools in 2019. Furthermore, the Department of Health has been championing a comprehensive 1st 1000 Days Programme in a number of pilot sites. The WCG will seek to enhance the knowledge- and evidence-base of such programmes.

Considering the above and building on the 2019-2024 Provincial Strategic Plan, the WCG has decided to champion prioritised and coordinated interventions which, it is anticipated, will have the most effective impact on building resilience to violence. These interventions focus on several social or infrastructural nodes:

Strengthening families' resilience to violence through:

- Offering a comprehensive 1st 1000 Days programme by health practitioners, specifically to mothers and caregivers at risk - led by the Western Cape Department of Health;
- Supporting families at risk to use alternatives to violence, reduce substance abuse and address gender-based violence through evidence-based parenting programmes and other interventions - led by the Western Cape Department of Social Development;

Strengthening learners and educators' resilience to violence through:

- Upgrading the physical security infrastructure of schools to increase school safety - led by the Western Cape Education Department;
- Implementing programmes aimed at reducing violence on school grounds, including the Western Cape Department of Education's Transform to Perform initiative – led by the Western Cape Education Department with the support of the Western Cape Department of the Premier on the Growth Mindset pillar of the Transform to Perform initiative;
- Support educators who interact with youth at risk or work in environments with high levels of violence - led by the Western Cape Education Department with the support of the Western Cape Department of Community Safety;
- Strengthening the resilience of youth at risk and shifting them from violence to opportunities through:
 - Identifying, profiling and supporting youth at risk of violent or criminal behaviour led by the Western Cape Department of Social Development;
 - Expanding after school programmes to specifically target the needs of youth
 at risk to reduce anti-social behaviours and school dropouts led by the
 Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport;
 - Expanding and diversifying the Chrysalis Academy programme to increase throughput and offering, increase support to graduates and ensure sustained

- employment after the programme led by the Western Cape Department of Community Safety;
- Coordinate our Youth-in-Service programme to reduce youth unemployment
 led by the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport;
- Building society's resilience to violence by increasing safety in public spaces and by strengthening social cohesiveness and connectedness through:
 - Increasing road safety and reducing the high number of road deaths led by the Western Cape Department of Transport and Public Works;
 - Increasing safe spaces and natural surveillance through crime preventionled urban and rural planning, environmental design, management and utilisation - led by the Western Cape Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, the Western Cape Department of Local Government and the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements;
 - Increasing participation in recreation, sport, arts and culture led by the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport;
 - Rolling out a comprehensive rural safety strategy led by the Western Cape Department of Agriculture;
 - Enhancing economic opportunities in violent crime hotspots areas aimed at stimulating growth and job creation but also aimed at creating natural crime prevention nodes through increased ownership of public spaces - led by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism;
- Building society's resilience to the harms caused by substance abuse and alcohol abuse - led by the Western Cape Department of Social Development and the Western Cape Department of Community Safety;
- Improving access to emergency services for our residents by improving EMS response times led by the Western Cape Department of Health;
- Increasing tourism safety as a key lever for economic growth and job creation led by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism.

Importantly, the respective WCG Departments will seek support from other Departments when and where relevant. The Safety Cabinet is envisaged to be the formal forum to enhance collaboration across the government.

5.2.3. Our approach: knowledge-based, adaptive and coordinated interventions

The interventions we seek to employ are largely based on existing legislation, policies and knowledge of what works in reducing violence, both in South Africa and in other contexts. However, this is the first time that a government in South Africa is spearheading a coordinated approach to specifically address the determinants of violence. The success of this Western Cape Safety Plan relies on our ability to

monitor, evaluate and learn from what we implement to assess whether we are realising the change we want to see.

Therefore, this innovative approach to addressing one of the most complex problems of the Western Cape requires a certain set of principles for implementation that will guide all interventions implemented under the Western Cape Safety Plan. They are all outlined in the next section. While all principles are relevant throughout the implementation of the plan, three specific principles should be mentioned in this section as they constitute the corner stones of successful interventions aimed at reducing violence.

Firstly, all interventions must be knowledge-driven. This requires each WCG Department to plan, document and evaluate the various interventions upon which they embark to assess whether the metrics associated with each Safety Priority are on track toward being met, and importantly, why, where and how. Building evidence on the implementation of each component of the Safety Plan and measuring change through data which is relevant and relatively easy to source is a key element of the Safety Plan.

Overall, the Western Cape Safety Plan is premised on the assumption that a specific focus on prioritised interventions that have been found to reduce violence in the long term, delivered by different government departments, will have a positive impact on the Province's safety record. It is expected that such changes will only be reflected in the long term, in at least seven to ten years. However, data and information produced through the implementation of the Western Cape Safety Plan may necessitate a change of focus, interventions and/or operational framework – in effect, this plan is open to adaptation based on results. This can best be done through the production and sharing of knowledge on the implementation of the Safety Priorities.

This also requires strong collaboration and coordination between the different WCG Departments, as they work towards realising the shared goal of increasing safety and ultimately reducing the murder rate. Such collaboration and coordination must happen transversally across Departments, and at different managerial levels within Departments. The structure of such collaboration will emanate from the Safety Cabinet and its transversal thematic working groups, as well as support provided by the Safety Cabinet Secretariat.

6. PRINCIPLES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

The Western Cape Safety Plan aims to address one of the most complex problems of the Western Cape through prioritised interventions, monitoring of the expected outcomes following the roll out of such interventions, and a regular report-back system at the Safety Cabinet.

This innovative approach of promoting government service delivery calls for a set of principles for implementation that will guide all interventions implemented under the Western Cape Safety Plan. These are put forward to guide all WCG Departments which implement Safety Priorities under the Western Cape Safety Plan. The aim of the principles for implementation is to maximise success, and ultimately to ensure that crime decreases and violence is reduced.

Evidence-led implementation: The implementation of all interventions should follow a thorough evidence-led policy cycle that starts with (i) a detailed analysis of the problem and different options for addressing the problem, (ii) planning, design and budgeting of the proposed programme or intervention, (iii) implementation and monitoring of the programme or intervention and (iv) and assessment of its outcomes and impact and whether the desired and undesired changes that the programme brought were aligned to what was anticipated and constitute value for money. This should be accompanied by constant documentation, evaluation, reflection and learning. The objective is to assist in making better decisions based on knowing what works with an estimated degree of certainty, at achieving which outcomes, for which groups of people, under what conditions, over what time span, and at what cost:

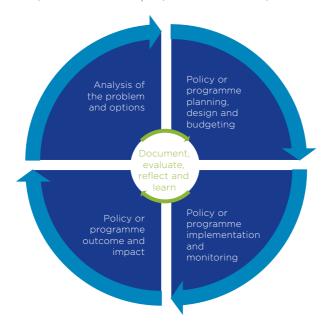


Figure 2 Evidence-based policy-making and implementation cycle, adapted from the DPME policy cycle²³

²³ Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and UCT, "What is evidence-based policy-making and implementation?" (2016).

- Data-driven implementation: Building on the above, it is important that all interventions implemented under the Western Cape Safety Plan be, where relevant, informed by data during the planning phase, and thoroughly documented through quality and relevant indicators to allow for the assessment of change and the realisation of the desired outcome. In addition, data will be central to the deployment of the additional law enforcement officers and the work of the investigators. Data will be embedded in several violence prevention mechanisms, in particular when seeking to identify youth at risk. The mechanisms to collect such data may or may not exist already. Where they do not exist, they should be created. Furthermore, such data should as much as possible be shared and made publicly available, in line with relevant legislative prescripts. Finally, strong ethical considerations will guide all processes linked to collecting and analysing data as well as any policy and implementation decisions taken based on the said data - private data, or any data which is deemed to put residents at risk, will be protected. The goal is, by 2024, for the WCG to have an integrated data information system accompanied by the required analytical capabilities to be able to inform policy development and policy implementation:
- Flexible and adaptive implementation: Stemming from the above, lessons learned from the early implementation of the interventions should be acted upon. This means that programmes should be adapted if the evaluation information indicates that interventions do not lead to the desired change or that change could be reached through more effective actions. Effectiveness can be measured in many ways and include cost-effectiveness, time-effectiveness and outcome-effectiveness. Scrutiny and critique by internal and external stakeholders in the review process is encouraged;
- Outcomes-based budgetary allocations: Programmes that have not measured change or that have shown negative change should be thoroughly reviewed and adapted. Budgetary allocations should be informed by programme evaluation (or the lack thereof);
- Human-centred design: While acknowledging different community dynamics and acknowledging the fact that both government legitimacy and community cohesion can be weak, all interventions should place the communities as end-users at the centre of the programme design, implementation and evaluation and aim to be as inclusive as possible;
- Partnerships for whole-of-society and whole-of-government approaches: The complexity and interrelatedness of the problem of crime and violence requires a holistic and integrated approach to realising the vision of the Western Cape Safety Plan. Such integration is best realised through a whole-of-society and whole-of-government approach to delivering the vision of a Safer Western Cape for all, understood as an approach built on partnerships with citizens, civil society, business, and other spheres of government in the province and beyond. Therefore,

the Western Cape Safety Plan is based on the premise of strong partnerships that ensure the success of the Safety Plan. Those partnerships are located at three levels:

- Partnerships with communities and the private sector: The Western Cape Safety Plan will be implemented through strong social and stakeholder and community engagement including civil society and the private sector. Importantly, collaboration with communities will be key to receive and disseminate relevant crime-related information to understand specific crime trends affecting different communities, which will assist the WCG in better evaluating the change it seeks to bring to communities. It will also assist in the data-led deployment of law enforcement officers. Partnerships with the private sector, researchers and academia will be developed to enhance the knowledge-base and data capabilities of the Safety Plan. Finally, strong collaboration with the private security industry to act as a force multiplier will be actively sought;
- Partnerships between Western Cape Government Departments and its people:
 The transversal nature of the Western Cape Safety Plan requires formal and informal platforms for exchanges and learning between officials at different levels of seniority in order to adapt deliverables and build a community of practice to maximise outcomes;
- Partnerships with other spheres of government: The Western Cape Safety Plan cannot happen without the support and engagement of other spheres of government, in particular the CoCT (who is a key partner in the first instance in deploying the law enforcement officers and investigators) as well as at national level the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster and the Presidency;
- Area-based approaches: In order to maximise the impact of the different interventions, these will be rolled out in targeted high-crime priority areas. Particular sites will be determined and adapted as data and information on the different areas are provided;
- Trauma-informed implementation: Interventions should be trauma-informed and acknowledge each person's "wholeness" - his or her life course, challenges and successes;
- **Gender sensitivity in implementation:** Any interventions aimed at addressing gender-based violence must be age and gender appropriate.

7. MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Under the Western Cape Safety Plan, each Minister and ultimately each WCG Department will lead one or several "Safety Priorities" with the common goal of fighting crime and reducing violence. Each Priority takes its origin in the 2019-2024 Provincial Strategic Plan.

Minister	Department	Safety Priority	Linkage to Vision-Inspired Priority in the 2019-2024 Provincial Strategic Plan	
Minister of Social Development, Sharna Fernandez	Social Development	Responsible for identifying, profiling and supporting youth at risk of violent or criminal behaviour. Responsible to deliver evidence-based parenting programmes with a focus on reducing violence, genderbased violence and substance abuse, which have been shown to work in other areas around the world.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Empowering People	
Minister of Community Safety, Adv Albert Fritz	Community Safety	Responsible to oversee the training and deployment of 3000 law enforcement officers and 150 investigators to the places and times where and when violent crime happens. Expand the Chrysalis Academy programme, enhance police oversight and work to change legislation to ensure that cheap alcohol pricing is altered.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Empowering People	

Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Anroux Marais	Cultural Affairs and Sport	Responsible for the coordination of the Youth-In-Service programme, which will be scaled up to increase opportunities for unemployed youth aged 18-24 in accessing the important first work opportunity. Additional after school programmes will be targeted to reach at-risk youth who currently do not always attend these programmes, to reduce anti-social behaviours and school dropouts.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Empowering People
Minister of Finance and Economic Opportunities, David Maynier	Finance Economic Development and Tourism	Responsible for upscaling the uptake of Chrysalis Programme youth into job opportunities after their one-year job placement. A focus will also be placed on improving tourist safety.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Enabling Economy and Jobs Empowering People
Minister of Health, Nomafrench Mbombo	Health	Focus on rolling out first 1000 days support to 10 000 mothers and caregivers, with a focus on at risk mothers. The first 1000 days of a child's life, from conception to the age of two, are key in the development and thriving of a child's life, including to ensure strong bonds between children and caregivers, setting the path for healthy families. Focus on improving EMS response time.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Empowering People
Minister of Agriculture, Ivan Meyer	Agriculture	Responsible for the roll-out of the rural safety plan.	Jobs Safe and Cohesive Communities Enabling Economy and Jobs

Minister of Education, Debbie Schäfer	Western Cape Education Department	Will work to increase school safety through an upgrade of physical infrastructure and the implementation of programmes aimed at reducing violence on school grounds. A major such programme is the Western Cape Department of Education's Transform to Perform strategy which instils values in every learner across the Province.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Empowering People
Minister of Transport and Public Works, Bonginkosi Madikizela	Transport and Public Works	Focus on road safety and reducing the high number of road deaths as well as the optimisation of the provincial Highway Patrol - all through data-driven, technologyenabled methods.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Public transport, Mobility and Spatial Transformation
Minister of Human Settlements, Tertius Simmers	Human Settlements	Increase safe spaces through environmental design. These include the inclusion of simple elements like stoeps, lighting and communal spaces in all new developments falling under his mandate.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Public transport, Mobility and Spatial Transformation
Minister of Local Government, Environmental Affairs and Development Planning Anton Bredell	Local Government Environmental Affairs and Development Planning	Responsible for the review of policies and processes to improve safety through urban and rural planning, design and spatial planning. Such planning plays an important role in preventing (or facilitating) crime and in building (or fracturing) social cohesion.	Safe and Cohesive Communities Public transport, Mobility and Spatial Transformation Empowering People
Premier Alan Winde	Premier	Responsible for the running of the Safety Cabinet	Safe and Cohesive Communities Innovation and Culture

Each Safety Priority will be outlined in a detailed implementation plan, which will emanate from this Strategic Framework for Implementation and be developed by the relevant government departments.

8. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Under the Western Cape Safety Plan, each Provincial Minister will champion Safety Priorities which will contribute to the overall goal of reducing murder, and encouraging a province in which all people feel secure and live free from fear. In order to ensure mutual accountability, progress on each intervention will be measured through reporting on agreed-upon indicators, which will be done at a special regular Cabinet called the "Safety Cabinet". National Departments of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster will also be invited to attend to foster mutual collaboration and provide relevant crime-related data which will aid stakeholders to bolster their outcomes

The Safety Cabinet will be chaired by the Premier of the Western Cape.

Safety Priority change metrics, as well as data from the CoCT and other stakeholders of the criminal justice system, will be collated into a Safety Dashboard. In order to allow for sufficient time and space for violence-prevention related metrics to show real change, it is anticipated that metrics will be presented and discussed on a regular basis. These metrics will address the following focus areas:

- Performance and operational data related to the deployment of law enforcement officers and investigators;
- Performance and operational data related to other criminal justice system stakeholders:
- Performance and operational data related to violence prevention metrics.

The purpose of the Safety Cabinet is to provide regular feedback - and ultimately, executive oversight, on each Department's respective metrics. This said, flexible and adaptive management requires tools for learning (such as strong documentation and data of implementation) but also spaces for learning, where adaptive reflections on implementation are encouraged and engaged with at senior level.

Therefore, the Safety Cabinet will be the platform at which progress, successes, challenges, possible adaptation and requests for enhanced collaboration will be explored.

The management of the Safety Cabinet will be done through a support unit which, it is envisaged, will be called a "Safety Cabinet Secretariat". It is expected that its mandate and focus will be three-fold:

 Receive and analyse the data stemming from the metrics linked to the Safety Priorities, as well as the evidence and background information that inform and/or are linked to the metrics' data. This data will serve as the basis for the transversal management of the Western Cape Safety Plan;

- Provide policy and implementation support in realising and adapting the different Safety Priorities to those Departments requesting it, in close collaboration with the respective Departments;
- Enhance various Partnering Frameworks to facilitate the coordination of the Western Cape Safety Plan.

In addition, transversal thematic working groups will be established to create a space for exchanges and learning, and to establish a community of practice to champion the decrease in the murder rate and reduce violence in the Western Cape.

Finally, all Safety Priorities, as well as their associated metrics, will be reflected in the respective WCG Departments' Annual Performance Plans.

9. CONCLUSION

The Western Cape Safety Plan provides a bold vision aimed at increasing and improving crime-fighting capacity through the use of data and technology, and at addressing the root causes of crime and violence. It does so through the identification of Safety Priorities assigned to each Provincial Minister.

Each Priority will be implemented under the guidance of a series of principles for implementation, which include a strong evidence-base, data-driven implementation, adaptive implementation and a focus on collaborative partnerships.

The coordination of the implementation of the Western Cape Safety Plan will be done at the highest level. The Safety Cabinet, chaired by Premier Alan Winde, has been constituted as the platform for each Provincial Minister to report on metrics, and to assess whether the desired change is being realised. In addition, other spheres of government will be invited to provide relevant data in order to provide the Safety Cabinet as a whole with a comprehensive picture of the entire safety-enhancement capability of the Western Cape.

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