

The transitional urban spaces of a post-apartheid South Africa.

**Existing practices to ameliorate safety
and an investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety
in the Pretoria CBD.**

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Statement of authenticity of material

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

Lukas T. Hoyer

Berlin, January 30th 2015

Abstract

As is the case with many cities in a post-apartheid South Africa, Pretoria's central business district is in a state of decline; this persistent demise of the 'centre' is as a result of the preference of businesses, and more affluent parts of society, to locate themselves within the new suburban centres. High rates of violence and crime affect the image of inner cities in South Africa. A study from the year 2000 concluded that crime, and more importantly the perception of crime, must be addressed if successful development is to take place. The upgrading of the area around the Pretoria Station was identified as one of the key interventions necessary to strengthen the qualities of the inner city. The aim of this study was to investigate if the enhancement of the environment, through physical features and surveillance, has the potential to change the public perception of safety and, as a reciprocal effect, the actual safety of an area. Crime maps, based on raw data from the South African Police Services, and perception surveys were carried out along the central spine of the inner city. This data revealed that there is a contrast between the way that citizens perceive their environment, and the actual danger posed, allowing for greater understanding of the relationship between physical and social characteristics of the area. The analysis has uncovered the link between urban renewal and crime reduction, in the immediate perimeter of the intervention, but reveals also that a displacement of crime to the surrounding areas might have occurred. In order to stimulate an improvement in safety conditions, as well as enhance the quality of the living and working environment in the surrounding area, an approach to crime prevention that addresses the risk factors and encourages integration would strengthen the already essentially inherent qualities of the inner city, such as vibrancy and diversity.

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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany
CBD	Commercial Business District
CJCP	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DynASS	Dynamische Arrangements städtischer Sicherheitskultur
GIS	Geographic Information System
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ISCPS	Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PRASA	Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAPS	South African Police Service
TRT	Tshwane Rapid Transit
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
VCP	Inclusive violence and crime prevention for safe public spaces
WHO	World Health Organisation

Preface

This thesis is a product of research undertaken during the months spent as an affiliated-researcher for the Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention (VCP) Programme for Safe Public Spaces, implemented on behalf of the German International Cooperative *Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ), based in Pretoria, in South Africa. This research benefitted from the collaboration and contributions of both Metroplan, a local town planning and urban design firm, and the Pretoria Street Photography Society. In addition, during my stay in South Africa I had an affiliation with the Centre of Urbanism and Built Environment Studies (Cubes) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. My practical work at the VCP entailed the investigation of participatory planning processes for the prevention of crime as well as making safety concerns a priority in the urban policy agenda. In this way I have acquired expertise which provides a solid basis for the analysis of the socio-spatial and the built environmental factors of the public open spaces of the Central Business District (CBD) of Pretoria. Part two of this study deals with the research carried out in this urban setting, while part one consists in a descriptive account of the causes and spread of urban violence and crime in South Africa as well as already existing policies and approaches to get the phenomena under control.

There are many people who offered their friendship and help during the field study and writing of this research document. Patricia Theron from the Architecture School of the University of Pretoria, who provided support with her experience in scientific writing and read the manuscript with attention to detail. Emmanuel ‘Man-E’ Munano and Reatile Moalusi as well as Ilze Rooikoppie Tee from Pretoria Street Photography, who besides their generosity in contributing all the photographs used in this research, provided insight into the urban peculiarities of the CBD of Pretoria and therefore made an indispensable contribution to the findings of the study. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Marinda Schoonraad and Renier Oosthuizen from Metroplan, through whom I was able to obtain access to rare and sensitive data and who, above all, proposed that this thesis serve as a contribution to the City of Tshwane’s Inner City Regeneration Strategy. Sincere thanks to Dr. Tina Silbernagl, Terence Smith and Christiane Erkens from the VCP for their highly appreciated feedback on the earlier draft versions of the document. Thanks are also due to Dr. Marie Huchzermeyer and Dr. Sarah Charlton for their invitation to have an affiliation with CUBES from the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. Finally I would like to thank my parents, who, with their strong commitment and dedication to higher education, have been supporting me on my journeys around the world to acquire knowledge.

Part I
Existing practices to ameliorate safety

1. Phenomena of violence and crime in South Africa

South Africa's National Development Plan highlights high levels of violence and crime as one of the most serious impediments to economic growth, development and transformation in the country.

(Minister Tsenoli, 2014, p.1)

Max Du Preez, one of South Africa's foremost journalists and political analysts, elaborates on crime and policing in his book '*A Rumor of Spring: South Africa after 20 years of Democracy*', (Du Preez 2013) by stating that no week goes by without crime being a major feature on the front pages of South African newspapers. Crime stories will most likely dominate any social occasion. "South Africans are obsessed with crime" (Du Preez, 2013, p.187).

During my five-month stay in South Africa, I socialised with people from different groups of society and I can confirm the above: the topic was always discussed. The statistics prove that in the daily experience of citizens, there are high levels of violence and crime. "In fact, according to national crime statistics, some of the country's cities are amongst the most unsafe in the world" (Minister Tsenoli, 2014, p.2). However, it is important to realise that there are a number of other cities in the world such as those in Sierra Leone, Mexico, Brazil, Columbia, El Salvador and Honduras as well as cities in America, including Detroit and Chicago, where there are as many cases of murder, rape, car hijacking and robbery as in Johannesburg or Cape Town (Du Preez 2013). One theory is that the high crime levels could be related to the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, since similar patterns can be found in other transitional societies such as in the Latin Americas, which have moved from military to civilian rule, or the former communist regimes of Eastern and Central Europe and other African countries (Shaw 2002).

The unique quality of the crime situation in South Africa is that there is such a high level of violent crime. "[...] South Africa is labelled as one of the most violent societies in the world" (Gotsch et al., 2013, p.6). In the book *A Country at War with Itself: South Africa's Crisis of Crime*, Altbeker (2009) highlights the fact that the extraordinarily distressing feature of crime in South Africa, is not how common it is, but how violent.

For the last two years it has been found that serious violent crime is on the increase. According to the official crime statistics for the year 2013/14, (South African Police Services (SAPS), 2014b) the violent 'contact' crime rate has decreased overall by 0.8% while the particular types of violent crimes such as murder, attempted murder and aggravated robbery, that cause the most fear and trauma, have increased (Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2014b). These statistics reveal that there are an additional 809 murder cases, which led to an increase of 5%. Home robbery has increased 7.4%, with 1 334 additional cases. Business robbery is up by 13.7% with 2 238 more attacks than in the previous year and there were 1 231 more car hijacking attacks than in the previous year; in other words car hijacking has increased by 12.3%. "Crime in South Africa remains a serious challenge and there is a general feeling in the country that the situation is worsening" (Kruger and K. Landman, 2008, p.75).

On the website of ISS Gareth Newham, head of the ISS Governance, Crime and Justice Division, is quoted saying that there is an urgent need for a new approach to reduce violence and crime. “We must address serious challenges facing the police, involve other government departments, and look hard at the factors which cause violence” (Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2014b).

His colleague Anthony Collins specifically points out the need to examine violence as a separate category, addressing the issue that violence in South Africa is embedded in social norms, which have developed as an everyday aspect of the organisation of society (Collins 2013).

[...] Rather than focusing on violent crime as a specific type of criminality, we should examine violence as a separate category that sometimes overlaps with crime and sometimes does not. This shift in focus reveals that it is not South African crime that is so violent, but South African society in general. It shows that many of these forms of violence are both legal and socially acceptable.

(Collins, 2013, p.29)

2. Terminologies: violence, crime, safety and security

2.1 Definition of violence and crime

2.1.1 Violence and crime: different categories

The topic ‘violence’ is discussed very controversially. The discourse goes beyond the mere discussion on whether a certain act is violent at all, and if so, whether or not it is legal. The moral question of whether it is right or wrong and whether it can be legitimised or not is raised.

The violence and crime prevention strategies of most international organisations, as well as many South African organisations, are based on the definition of violence developed by The World Health Organisation (WHO), and published for the first time in 2002 as part of the “World Report on Violence and Health”, still a central reference document when talking about violence and crime prevention.

“Violence and crime are often quoted together and used as synonymous” (Mathéy et al., 2008, p.3). In fact, violence and crime do not belong to the same categories. They do not however, necessarily exclude one another, as they may occur simultaneously. Some types of crime, like murder, assault and rape which would fall under ‘contact crimes’ in South Africa, are violent by definition. Criminals using weapons constitute a threat of physical violence. On the other hand, crimes such as shoplifting are not necessarily violent. In other words, not every case of violence is a crime, and not every crime is violent. In the majority of cases, violence is involved, while in a minority of crime cases there is none. Due to the fact that not all violence is regarded as criminal and some forms of violence are considered as a legitimate means of solving everyday problems and disputes, Collins (2013) suggests that it is necessary to distinguish conceptually between violence and violent crime in South Africa in order to understand the multi-dimensional dynamics of violence and crime.

2.1.2 What is violence?

There exist a broad range of definitions of violence. According to The World Health Organization 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.

It is of significance that in the World Report on Violence and Health, Krug et al. (2002) emphasize that an act has to be committed '*intentionally*.' Unintentional incidents, although they may have produced injury, are excluded from this definition. The question of intentional or unintentional becomes more complex when considering the disparity between intended behaviour and intended consequence as well as the closely related distinction of the intent to injure and the intent to use violence. In mentioning '*the use of physical force or power*' in the definition, one goes beyond the conventional understanding of violence, to consider the aspect of neglect and other types of abuse. Abuse may be of a physical, sexual or psychological nature, including self-abuse which may result suicide. Krug et al. (2002) point out that when studying outcomes, such as psychological harm, deprivation and maldevelopment, one acknowledges that possible substantial burdens on individuals, families, communities and health care systems worldwide which do not necessarily lead to injury or death, fall under the definition of violence. Thus the understanding of the full impact of violence on individuals, communities and society at large has found growing recognition.

2.1.3 Definition of crime

In order to clarify the difference the difference between violence and crime, we should consider that crime occurs when law is violated. The *Oxford English Dictionary* states that crime is:

An act punishable by law, as being forbidden by statute injuries to the public welfare. [...] An evil or injurious act; an offence, a sin; esp. of a grave character.

At first it would appear that the definition of crime as an illegal act, seems to be straightforward and without controversy. But when questioning what is actually considered injurious, sinful or evil, the moral dimension is addressed and the question arises as to whether moral and legal codes are inseparable. Furthermore, is there a widely held consensus as to the nature of an unlawful action? We are considering whether such conceptions are universal and unchanging and or whether societies at different moments require different kinds of law (Muncie and McLaughlin 1996). So it becomes clear that perceptions of the nature of crime are in fact more complex than they might appear initially. This would have to consider the broader legal, political and moral discourse and go beyond the purpose of this research. The conceptualisation of crime of McLaughlin and Muncie (2001) as a behaviour defined by law and sanctioned as a violation of codified law, suffices as a basis for the discussion of this study. It is apparent that whether or not an act is classified as a crime, is dependent on the laws of individual countries, which may change due to shifts in the

political realm and social values. “Crime clearly takes on different meanings for different social audiences” (Muncie and McLaughlin, 1996, p.63).

2.2 Definition of security and safety

The origin of the term ‘security’, can be found in the Latin word *secures* which means ‘without preoccupation or anxiety’. This basic human need demonstrates the social and psychological dimension of the nature of safety in cities.

The German word *Sicherheit* as well as the Spanish word *seguridad* can both be translated into English either as safety or security. This often causes misunderstanding between native and non-native English speakers. Furthermore, in order to understand the notion of safety and security, one needs to differentiate between subjective and objective safety.

2.2.1 Security

“In English, ‘security’ refers to protection against known or perceived threats or dangers [...]” (Holtmann, 2011, p.1) rather than to the condition of an area. Security therefore implies the concrete techniques used for protection within areas that are considered as being unsafe (Gotsch et al., 2013).

In South Africa, both government and civilians reflect a conviction that security is more important than safety. The state, for instance, provides over 190 000 police officers but less than 12 000 social workers. Bolstering the state security budget, private citizens spend over R50 billion annually on private policing and guarding services, electric fences, surveillance cameras, burglar bars, sophisticated access systems, beams, vehicle tracking systems and armed response services.

(Holtmann, 2011, p.2)

2.2.2 Safety

[...]‘Safety’ describes a state in which less security is needed” (Holtmann, 2011, p.1). Safety refers mainly to the condition of an environment and is determined based on the real and perceived risk of becoming a victim. An unsafe area thus refers to environments where violence and crime are a significant characteristic (Gotsch et al. 2013). “Unsafety is intended to convey a state in which many communities exist, where they neither feel nor are safe, most of the time. Unsafety is offered as the opposite of safety” (Holtmann, 2011, p.1).

2.2.3 Subjective safety and perceived safety

“Crime is indeed a matter that is constantly in the minds of most South Africans” (Kruger and K. Landman, 2008c, p.75). According to the Statistics South Africa (2014) between April 2013 and March 2014, about 86.5% of households felt safe in their areas during the day, while 65.1% felt unsafe when it is dark. More than a third of households (34.7%) avoided going to open spaces when they are alone because of their fear of crime, while about a quarter would not give permission to their children to move around without being supervised by an older person or play freely in their neighbourhoods. “People are affected by crime in different ways, and therefore their perceptions about crime also differ” (Altbeker, 2009).

The actual security situation and public perceptions often differ. A central finding of the research by the *Dynamische Arrangements städtischer Sicherheitskultur* (DynASS) is that empirical data of crime statistics often does not explain the fear of crime of the inhabitants. Thus, the fear of crime in one place may be high, although the objective security situation does not justify it (Abt 2013). In the book *Problem of Crime*, (Muncie and McLaughlin, 1996, p.58) the authors go even a step further by stating that fear of crime appears to have an inverse relationship to the respective occurrence according to statistics, which means that people are concerned most about those crimes of which they are least likely to become victims. According to Abt (2013), fear of crime is an emotional reaction to crime events and, although they are rarely occurring, depending on the psychological condition of an individual a situation could be perceived as a personal threat.

In order to understand the notion of safety and security one needs to differentiate between subjective and objective safety. The object sense of safety refers to the behavioural as well as environmental dimension, whereas subjective safety refers more to the mental and distinctive sense of security, or insecurity. Both these dimensions are capable of influencing each other either negatively or positively (Forde, 1993).

This interrelation between the two as well as the discrepancies between the perception and factual danger constitute a key content of this research.

3. Understanding the dimensions of Violence and Crime in South Africa

3.1 Historical background

An analysis of the characteristics of the urban environment and its relationship with opportunities for crime, should start with a study of its past. The legacies of the past, concerning particularly poverty and inequality, are recognised by most academics as a factor contributing to the high crime rate in South Africa.

When going beyond the urban characteristics and looking at the root causes of South Africa's high rate of violent crime, one would need to start with the building of a nation, originating in the eastern and central parts of South Africa in the early 19th century, with the arrival of the Voortrekkers. Apartheid was a violent ideology but so too was the resistance against the oppression, namely with practices such as necklacing (Du Preez 2013).

Extrajudicial kidnapping, torture and assassination by death squads such as the Vlakplaas Unit, and the Civil Cooperation Bureau and the Directorate of Convert Collection, and the Third Force activities fomenting violence between back groupings, continued with impunity even into the early 1990s.

(Du Preez, 2013, p.189)

The shape of South African cities and towns is to a large degree influenced by planning practices that were a result of apartheid policies. Cities were segregated into various zones based on race.

The residential areas, which surround the central business core, were traditionally reserved for the white population. The infrastructure and facilities of those areas are usually well-maintained and sophisticated. The migrant black labour force was allocated townships, on the periphery of the town or city, characterised by underdeveloped and inadequate infrastructure and lack of recreational facilities. The Coloured and Indian communities were often located between the white and black areas, functioning as a buffer. In addition there were purposely-designed buffer zones further separating the white communities from the townships. Such buffer zones were either set aside for industry or left unused and are nowadays not infrequently occupied by informal settlements. Besides the separation of the different communities through vacant land, the wide disparity in standard of living is evident in many of the Apartheid cities. The spatial dislocation of the poor, has resulted in long and costly commuting patterns, often leaving commuters vulnerable to victimisation. Another typical characteristic of the Apartheid city, is the exclusion of many residents from the amenities and economic opportunities offered by the city core, as well as the rigid mono-functional zoning of land which leaves some areas deserted at night and others deserted during the day, reducing residential areas to virtual dormitories (Kruger 2005).

In South Africa the equal right of all citizens to access public spaces has been neglected in the past. The discriminatory policies regarding access to the city centre and certain areas, was enforced through spatial segregation. During the Apartheid era, public spaces were not provided in settlements; this has left a legacy resulting in the absence of quality public spaces in townships today.

“Although considerable progress has been made since 1994, the form and structure of the apartheid city has not changed significantly during the past 13 years.”

(Kruger and K. Landman, 2008, p.76)

3.2 The Post-Apartheid city

Although farm murders are recognised to be a serious problem (South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) 2013), crime and violence are disproportionately concentrated in South Africa's urbanised areas, corresponding to the global trend. Various factors contribute to this, such as the rapid growth and transformation of cities, opportunities for criminals provided through urban configurations, socio-economic disparities, socio-spatial contrasts and spatial segregation, which have arisen largely as a result of Apartheid-planning (Boisteau 2005; Samara 2005; Samara 2008; Samara 2011 quoted in Gotsch et al. 2013).



Fig.: 1 Pretoria CBD at night, 8.12.2014 (Source: Emmanuel Munano from Pretoria Street Photography)

3.2.1 Infrastructure

Even today the frequency and quality of public space tends to diminish with the distance from the city centre. It is likely that the “public space deficit” (Garau, 2014, p.9), where public spaces are insufficient, or of poor quality, will occur in peripheral lower-income neighbourhoods and even more so in informal settlements and slums.

Living conditions for the poor have not really improved. Rapid urbanisation since 1994 has brought millions of people to unfamiliar surroundings, often tearing families apart. Many of the poorer townships and their adjacent informal settlements, still do not have adequate roads, electricity and water supply and the infrastructure is not maintained on a regular basis. These areas lack recreational facilities such as community halls and sports facilities, and are therefore a fertile ground for the spread of illegal taverns.

In cities like Johannesburg or Pretoria, many citizens do not own private vehicles and use taxis or busses. This means that they commute on foot from taxi-ranks, sometimes for a considerable distance and most areas are not designed to prioritise pedestrian use.

Provision is often not made for pedestrian traffic in the form of, for instance, walkways, pedestrian bridges or adequate lighting, thus exposing the poor in particular to situations where they are vulnerable to victimization.

(Kruger and K. Landman, 2008a, pp.76–77)

There isn't a lot of hope in the country's townships and squatter camps, but rather a feeling of helplessness, marginalisation and rage, which can't but contribute to violence and criminality.

(Du Preez, 2013, p.190)

Luyanda Mpahlwa, one of the first black South Africans to study architecture, claims in a newspaper article that social housing must be rethought and questions posed as to why we [black South Africans] only build in the townships. He argues that people are ignoring the fact that the centre should be a place to live in, not just for the rich elite, but for the middle class (Weißmüller 2014b). Luyanda Mpahlwa refers to Cape Town, where he lives and works, where the inner city is more affluent compared with the poverty of the Pretoria and Johannesburg city centres. Nevertheless, the aspect of residential use in the inner city is of relevance for this study, and will be addressed in the discussion on the findings of the fieldwork.

As was the case in inner cities all over the world, a process of CBD decline was first observed in the 1960's in South Africa. The inner city is losing its position as the most important retail, office and cultural centre due to the construction of new suburban centres. These areas have the reputation of being more convenient, safe and modern as well as better planned and designed, with sufficient parking facilities and attractive landscaping. In several international cities, as with Cape Town, this process has been reversed and the inner city has once again become an important economic venue and a sought after locality (Schoonraad et al. 2000).

3.2.1 Gentrification

In an interview with the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the Johannesburg based urban planner Gerald Garner, having monitored the development over the past two decades, said that the deterioration of the city centre is being reversed (Andrea Tapper 2013). His observations are based on a small area in the CBD of Johannesburg, i.e. Braamfontein, which is undergoing a transformation. I spent a few weekends myself in this revitalized student and club area, which attracts thousands of young visitors and is one of the few places where people of different races mingle.

The urban transformation can also be observed in Maboneng, a downtown area with a popular art centre, 'Arts on Main'. This area was revived when a large investment was made by the real estate investor Jonathan Liebmann, who bought and refurbished 25 buildings in the rundown neighbourhood (Andrea Tapper 2013). Many sightseers visit Maboneng and the area is protected by a large number of private security guards, who stand patrol every 20 meters. This small area is like a bubble, in the otherwise still highly poverty-stricken and dangerous neighbourhood, where you find informal waste collectors and many homeless people in close proximity. Following the development in the Maboneng Precinct in downtown Johannesburg, a success story that is discussed controversially, Liebmann's company Propertuity launched the first phase of the project Rivertown neighbourhood, coinciding with the International Union of Architects (UIA) 2014 conference in Durban (Property 24, 2014).

It can be seen, with these gentrification projects, that upgrading is specific to an area and may not benefit the surrounding communities or the inner city as a whole. With the Gautrain intervention,

the stations were intended stimulate urban renewal in the surrounding areas and to provide an improved living and working environment for local users (Gautrain Management 2014). The question of whether this has been achieved or whether it has been of benefit mainly to the affluent, will be of significance for the analysis of the field study carried out in this research.

3.2.2 Education

“[...] The failing education system has been dumping millions of teenagers who fail to pass matric back into the townships” (Du Preez, 2013, p.190).

In a newspaper article, Nic Spaul (2014) states that, although the matric exams are an important institution in South Africa, its pass rate is very misleading and should not be used as the primary indicator of school-system performance. The results give insight about those who reach matriculation level and their exam performance, but no information is provided concerning the more than 500 000 pupils who started school in 2002 but never reached matric.

If we look at the matric class of 2013, there were 562 112 full-time candidates, of whom 439 779 passed, yielding a matric pass rate of 78.2%. [...] The calculation I am suggesting we do yields a truly shocking cohort matric pass rate: 40%! That is to say, of every 100 pupils who started school, only 40 made it to matric in 2013, 40 passed and 16 qualified to attend university.

(Nic Spaul, 2014)

It seems like the 500 000 children who drop out of the educational system and have no qualification, contribute to the overwhelming high unemployment rate of 50%, among the 18 to 24 year old group, which is twice the national average (Statistics South Africa 2014).

3.2.1 Unemployment

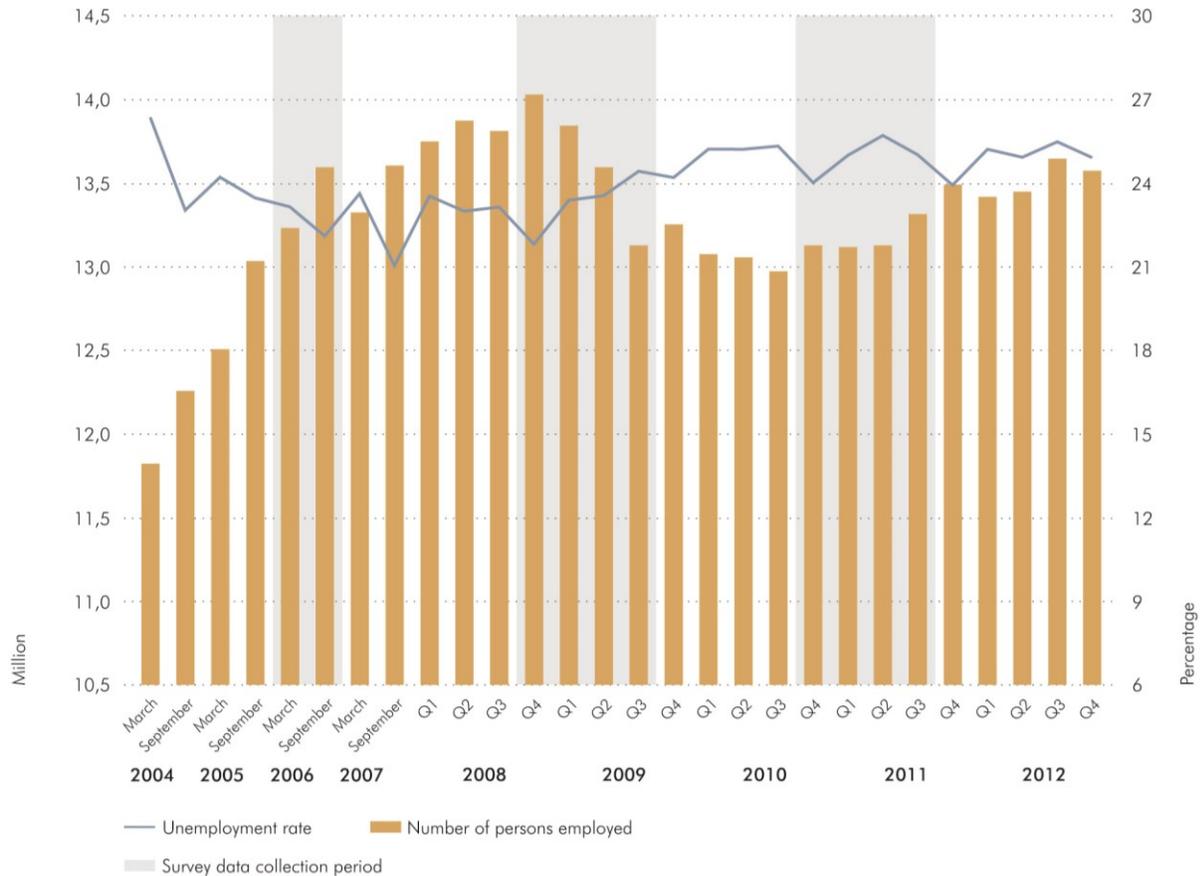


Fig.: 2 Number of employed persons and the unemployment rate from 2004 to 2012 (Source: Statistics South Africa 2014)

“Unemployment is still extremely high with no prospects of improving soon” (Du Preez, 2013, p.190).

During the world financial crisis of 2009, the South African economy weakened considerably, recording its lowest quarterly growth rate in eleven years. South Africa was officially in recession by the first quarter of 2009. As illustrated in fig.: 2, an estimated 1 million jobs were lost as a result of the crisis, following the sharp decline in the demand for South African exports and the drop in commodity prices (Statistics South Africa 2014).

Employment levels been recovering slowly since South Africa emerged from the crisis in the third quarter of 2009, roughly 350 000 jobs were reclaimed by the economy, mainly driven by public-sector employment growth. In 2011, growth in the public sector employment accelerated to 4.6%, the highest rate of growth since 1975 according to the South African Reserve Bank. However there was still a net loss in jobs in the economy overall (Statistics South Africa 2014).

3.2.2 Poverty

According to the report on Poverty Trends in South Africa, released by Statistics South Africa (2014), poverty levels dropped in South Africa between 2006 and 2011, reaching a low of 20.2% for extreme poverty and 45.5% for moderate poverty. This report states that there were about 10.2 million South Africans living in extreme poverty in 2011, compared to 12.6-million in 2006; and 23 million living in moderate poverty compared to 27.1 million in 2006. There is a third category of poverty, which the country's NDP uses in setting its ambitious target of eliminating poverty by 2030. It is defined in terms of a "lower-bound poverty line" (in between extreme poverty and moderate poverty), below which people can afford an adequate diet but would have to sacrifice food to purchase non-food items. 32.3% of the population, or roughly 16.3 million people, were living in this less extreme poverty in 2011, down from 42.2% or 20 million people in 2006. The report recognises that the global financial crisis of 2008/09 had a dramatic impact on the people living in extreme poverty. The numbers had increased to 15.8 million in 2009 before dropping below the levels of 2006 again by 2011.

3.2.3 Inequality

“And then there is the gross inequality in society, which some analysts say contributes more to crime than poverty itself” (Du Preez, 2013, p.190).

While the poverty situation is improving, inequality in South African society remains a serious problem. The Gini coefficient of 2011 was recorded as approximately 0.65, a figure based on expenditure data (per capita excluding taxes) and 0.69 based on income data (per capita including salaries, wages and social grants). These high levels of inequality (0 indicates total equality and 1 indicates total inequality) are amongst the highest in the world, and are hardly smaller than the Gini coefficient calculated in 2006 (Statistics South Africa 2014).

One's neighbourhood, one's profession and the type of leisure activities one engages in, are still largely dependent upon skin colour. Whites in South Africa earn an average of six times more than blacks (Weißmüller 2014a).

3.3 Risk factors

Further to the discussion, the issues that have been addressed constitute the multi-dimensional urban risk factors. Apartheid's spatial legacy in towns and cities: unemployment, poverty, inequality, lack of social cohesion, as well as inadequate services, health provisions and overcrowding, are correlated with incidences of crime and violence (Gotsch et al. 2013). Exposure to these risk factors increases the likelihood that deviant behavioural patterns will develop (P.J. and R.J. 1994). The greater the risk factor, the more likely the individual is, to resort to violence. Therefore more must be done to reduce risk factors by supporting parents, counselling those affected by violence and ensuring basic service delivery (VCP 2014 and ISS 2014a).

4. Typology of violence

In order to systemise the complex phenomenon of violence in its multiple forms, WHO developed a “typology of violence”. Although this typology is far from being perfected, it is universally accepted and provides a useful framework for understanding the complexity of violence occurring on a global scale, as well as violence in the ordinary daily routine of individuals, families and communities. By addressing the nature of violent acts, one aims to master many of the constraints of other typologies by considering the setting, the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim and the potential motivations for violence (in the case of collective violence). It is important to be aware that, in research as well as in practice, the dividing line between the different types of violence is often blurred (Krug et al. 2002).

There are other models such as the ‘Moser Model’, which classifies the causal factors and drivers that produce a variety of forms of violence and differentiates between the social, economic, political and institutional categories. This contextualisation gives insight into the different forms and manifestations of violence and therefore emphasizes that the causal factors depend on the specific context, which may lead to incidences of varying degrees and forms of violence (Gotsch et al. 2013).

Annex D gives further information on the categories as well modes of infliction of violence.

4.1 Violence in South Africa – Types and Facts

4.1.1 Types of violence and crime

Crime and violence appear in many forms in the South African context, including armed robbery, homicide, politically-motivated violence, gender-based violence, intra- and inter-gang fighting, rape, neighbourhood fights or quarrels, and xenophobic violence, etc (Ashforth 2005; Collins 2013; Comaroff and Comaroff 2007; Gwala 1989; Neocosmos 2008 quoted in Gotsch et al. 2013, p.6) The definitions of crime used in this study are based on the crime statistics from SAPS. Some categories are merged in order to simplify the mapping. However, “it should be kept in mind that, perhaps apart from murder which is difficult to hide, the majority of committed crimes are never reported” (Mathéy et al., 2002, p.50). The reduction in reported assault over the past financial year (2013/14) does not necessarily mean that there are fewer assaults. “It may mean that the legitimacy of the police is decreasing in the eyes of the public” (ISS 2014a, p.2).

4.1.2 Overview of recent key crime trends

According to a fact sheet from SAPS ISS (2014a) from a crime reduction point of view South Africa experienced two of the worst years in the last ten years. The overall reduction levels of crime between 2003 and 2011 slowed down in 2011 and the most significant categories of crime have increased in in the past two years.

Although in total the violent crime rate has decreased by 0.8% in the recently released statistics, there has been an increase in the particular types of violent (‘contact’) crimes, which generate the most fear and trauma.

In the case of homicide the number of murders and the murder rate has increased for a second consecutive year for the first time in even two decades. The numbers of murder incidents rose from 16 259 in 2012/13 to 17 068 in 2013/14. In other words, there were 809 more people murdered than in the year before.

The police do not publish the cases of domestic violence reported to them at the stations, although they are obliged to a register of all. Sexual offences have decreased in total by 11.2% since 2008/9 from 70 514 to 62 649 recorded cases in 2013/14. In terms of reported cases of rape there has been a slight decrease of 3%, since 2008/9 from 47 588 to 46 253 in 2013/14. “The Medical Research Council has estimated that only one in nine rapes are reported to the police. Thus the actual numbers of rapes in SA is much higher than numbers recorded by the police” (ISS 2014a, p.3).

The definition of robbery is applicable in the case of threat or use violence by armed perpetrators. All categories of robbery which are referred to as ‘violent property crimes’ have increased over the past year. Most sub-categories of aggravated robbery, such as Street or public robberies, house robberies, business robberies, vehicle and truck hijacking, increased and led to an overall increase of 12.7% from 105 888 cases in 2012/13 to 119 351 cases in 2013/14.

Crimes in which property is stolen but there is no direct confrontation between perpetrators and victims are defined as ‘property crime’. Sub-categories are residential burglary, which has decreased by 0.6% to a total 260 460 incidents; business burglary, which has hardly changed; theft out of or from motor vehicles increased by 3% adding up to a total of 143 812 incidents; commercial crime incidents decreased by 13.6% to a total of 79 109 cases; and the category called ‘all theft not mentioned elsewhere’ with an increase of 1.6% to 368 664 reported cases. Other property crimes that decreased are theft of motor vehicle, which has decreased by 2.6%; shoplifting, which has only decreased by 1.1%; and stock theft, which has decreased by 6.2%. All between 2012/13 and 2013/14 (ISS 2014a).

5. Different measures to ameliorate urban safety

5.1 Urban safety in national policies

[...] there is an urgent need to develop policies that balance the immediate need for safety and security with the long-term objective of achieving systemic social change.

(Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.23)

There is an on-going debate in South Africa as to whether the current approach to crime prevention or law enforcement is an adequate response to the high levels of crime. “The discussion about how to reduce crime has become polarised between advocates of long-term solutions versus those who seek immediate results” (Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.25). According to the *Victims of crime survey 2013/14* 64.1% of households believe that social and/or economic development is the more effective way of reducing crime. About 20% of households indicated that money should rather be spent on law enforcement, while an estimated 15.6% believe that resources should be allocated to the judiciary/courts to assure an effective reduction in crime (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p.2).

Authors like Altbeker argue that the criminal justice system should “come down like a ton of bricks” on violent offenders in order to reassert the social norms discouraging violent behaviour. On the other hand, Pelsler from the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP), argues that the law-enforcement approach should be left behind in favour of a focus on the social dimension of violence through improved education and welfare in order to reduce the risk of youth being attracted by violence and criminality (Collins 2013). Dr. Bettina Silbernagl, representative of the VCP, always emphasises that policing plays an important role in the reduction of crime with an immediate effect. Silbernagl also points out the discrepancy between the high numbers of police officers, over 200 000, compared to the number of 20 000 social workers in South Africa. Gareth Newham, Head of the Governance, Crime and Justice division at the (Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2014b) argues that it is time to realise that there is a need for social workers and teachers to do the ground work in order to prevent crime, instead of combating it when it is too late. Marc Mauer, director of the Sentencing Project in Washington DC, emphasises that one cannot place crime prevention and law enforcement at opposite ends of the spectrum, claiming that either the one or the other is the right approach (Ehlers and Tait 2009).

In the introduction of a background paper for the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF), Gotsch et al. (2013) state that, due to high levels of crime and violence in South Africa, disproportionately concentrated in urbanised areas, a more effective and integrated intervention strategy by government and non-government organisations is required.

A number of policy documents frame the role of local government in supporting the SAPS with the development and implementation of crime prevention initiatives. In particular, the White Paper on Safety and Security, published in September 1998, clearly identifies local government as a key player in local level crime prevention.

(Kruger et al., 2001a, p.9)

The NDP calls for a strengthening of the criminal justice system and a reform of the police force; this while stressing the importance of addressing underlying root causes of violence and crime.

It is necessary to move from a narrow law-enforcement approach to crime and safety to a focus on identifying and resolving the root causes of crime. To achieve this, a wider range of state and non-state capacities will need to be mobilised at all levels, which requires shifting to an integrated approach with active citizen involvement and co-responsibility.

National Development Plan: Vision for 2030

One can observe that, consistent with the current policies, politicians are acknowledging the need for improved crime prevention strategies, shifting the focus from the arrest and prosecution of criminals.

According to Du Preez (2013), in April 2008 the Deputy Minister of Safety and Security, Susan Shabangu, told police officers: ‘You must kill the bastards if they threaten your community. You

must not worry about the regulations. I want no warning shots'. Four years later, the Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) said in a speech at the SACN/GIZ Networking Event at the World Urban Forum:

“Dealing with these multi-dimensional causes requires long-term, integrated and holistic approaches involving both state and non-state actors [...] Such approaches are outlined in sound national safety and security policies, such as the national White Paper on Safety and Security (which is currently being revised) and the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy.”

(Minister Tsenoli, 2014, pp.1 – 2)

In fact there are a many elaborated polices. The real challenge for the future lies in the implementation of such policies. “The non-implementation of the subsequent 1999 White Paper on Safety and Security [...] and the fact that it has since lapsed, effectively shut down the strategy in all but name” (Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.23). “This question refers to the second critique of Altbeker’s book – it misses the essential point of South African crime prevention policy, which is simply that it has never been implemented.” (Pelser 2007)

5.2 Departments of Justice and Correctional Services

The Department of Justice and Correctional Services constitutes, along with the police, a key component of the Criminal Justice System (CJS) in the detection, prosecution and punishment of crime. The state is responsible for the provision of services in respect of victim empowerment or victim offender mediations. *The Department of Social Services* now plays an important role in the assessment of youth crimes and Local Governments are progressively assuming responsibility for meeting the needs, in terms of safety and security, of its citizens. Besides the state agencies there is a range of non-state NGOs, which are active in areas such as domestic violence and rape (Mathéy et al., 2002, p.61).

According to the *Victims of crime survey 2013/14* more than 60% of households were satisfied with the way in which police and courts were doing their work (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p.2). This, compared to the survey carried out in Germany, where 76% of citizens have confidence in the law and 71% in the courts.

The question of “How do we negotiate the tension between the project to promote safety and the project to promote democracy” (Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.24) is of universal validity and is of particular concern in the South African context, where democracy has only been in place for 20 years.

Current concerns in South Africa include the introduction of increasingly repressive criminal justice legislation; decreasing levels of access to information held by criminal justice agencies (notwithstanding enabling legislation offering the contrary); and the weakening of institutions established for the purposes of promoting human rights (e.g. the Human Rights Commission).

(Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.24)

A discourse on human rights is not the main focus of this research, but in the following discussion of the values of public spaces, the question arises as to how the safety of citizens can be ensured without restricting their freedom to enjoy political and civil liberties (Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.24).

However, it is conspicuous that South Africa's incarceration rates are amongst the highest in the world (Ehlers and Tait 2009). Approximately 350 in every 100 000 South Africans are in prison. In a paper on the state of South African prisons, (Jules-Macquet, 2014, p.5) states that the total prison population is 162 162, of which 49 695 (31%) are people awaiting trial and 112 467 (69%) are sentenced offenders. Nationally, the prison capacity is at 137%. In 2014, the murder trial of Oscar Pistorius, and his five-year prison sentence, has focussed attention on conditions in South African prisons, driven by media coverage.

5.3 Formal surveillance

5.3.1 Policing

In 1994 the South African Police were named the South African Police Service and the Military was converted to provide additional policing. Unlike the Apartheid police force, the new Police were meant to serve the people, giving them greater legitimacy than their pre-liberation counterparts (Du Preez 2013).

Of the 60% of households which were satisfied with the police performance in their area, 78.0% of these were satisfied with the speed with which police arrived at the scene of the crime while 73.7% felt that the police were doing their duty. Over 60% of households saw a police officer in uniform patrolling in the area at least once a day or once a week, while about 20.5% were likely to see the police patrolling at least once a month. The highest rate of police patrolling takes place in the Western Cape, (80.4%) followed by Gauteng (80.3%) (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p.2). These numbers seem to reflect quite a high contentment with the police amongst South Africans. A similar survey conducted in Germany, shows even greater confidence in the perceived effectiveness of the police force with a statistic of 77% (Institut für Demoskopie 2014). The survey carried out through this research in the CBD of Pretoria will show a very different picture from the national *Victims of Crime Survey*.

“The ratio of one police official for every 303 South African citizens is not low compared to international standards. In April 2013 there were 157 518 members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and about 6000 Metro Police officers” (Du Preez, 2013b, p.191). According to the 2014/15 Annual Performance Plan the SAPS intends to realise a personnel strength of about 198 010 members (South African Police Services (SAPS), 2014a, p.4).

The ISS identified an improvement in public confidence in the police as one focus area for the reduction of crime and violence. “The ISS welcomes the statement by the Minister of Police that the recommendations contained in the National Development Plan (NDP), adopted by the Cabinet in 2012, need to be implemented” (ISS, 2014b). One of the fifteen chapters of the South African government's NDP 2030, recognises a deterioration in police professionalism and contains a

number of extensive recommendations for improvement in policing (Johan Burger, Senior Researcher, ISS, 2013).

Professional policing means that all police know, understand and apply relevant procedures, rules and regulations; that they respond rapidly when crime occurs or is reported; conduct effective investigations, and treat all citizens with respect and dignity.

(ISS, 2014b)

“My guess is also that our police service must be among the most corrupt, inefficient and brutal in the democratic world.” (Du Preez, 2013, p.189) Corruption is taking place among ordinary police officers (I myself witnessed how an officer from the National Traffic Police provided the choice between a bribe of R30 and reviewing whether the driver had any unpaid bills) as well as top ranks of commissioners. Jackie Selebi, the first post-apartheid police commissioner, was convicted of corruption in 2010. His successor, also coming from inside ANC ranks, was suspended in October 2011 for being involved in awarding a R1.3 billion contract for police accommodation, in dubious circumstances. He was fired as commissioner in June 2012 (Du Preez, 2013, p.189). In an internal audit of the SAPS (2014), conducted in 2009, it was revealed that there are 1 448 police members with a criminal record. Investigating crime amongst police officers is not a topic of this research but it has certain relevance since the field study revealed that many respondents of the survey, in particular informal traders, considered the police patrol to be a threat.

Community Police Forums (CPFs)

In the colonial era in South Africa, the traditional tribal chiefs had a degree of legal authority. The origin of community opposition to Apartheid can be found in this tradition, where communities were responsible for their own safety and security systems, which included a variety of informal policing and community ordering. After 1994 the street committees and neighbourhood watches were integrated into the state apparatus, instead of formalising a second system parallel to the police (Mathéy et al., 2002, p.61). This study will focus on the CPFs, being only one of many different community protection formations, since they play an important role in the study area in terms of formal surveillance.

The objectives of CPFs are clearly stated in section 18(1) of the South African Police Services (SAPS) Act 68 of 1995:

CPFs together with the police should establish and maintain a partnership with the community, promote communication between the police and the community, promote cooperation and ensure that the police fulfil the needs of the community in respect of policing, improve the service of the police to the community, improve transparency and accountability of the SAPS and promote joint problem identification and problem solving.

(South African Police Services, 1995)

5.3.2 Private security companies

“The popularity of community involvement particularly in formally disadvantaged communities is also linked to the inability of residents to afford the private security available to their more wealthy counterparts.”

(Mathéy et al., 2002, p.61)

In a newspaper article, (Steyn 2013) argues that the private security industry in South Africa has become one of remarkable value. In 2011 R50 billion was spent alone on guarding fees, which composes 16% of the national gross domestic product for that year.

In its 2013-2014 annual report, the (Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority, 2014, p.35) revealed that there is ‘positive’ growth in most categories of security businesses. Over two million security service providers were registered by the authority since its inception as a regulator and there was an increase of 9.35% of registered employed (active) security officers amounting to a number 487 058 (plus 1 962 unregistered) during the past financial year, compared to 14.09% in the previous period (445 407).

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A highly controversial issue in the South African media is the large amount of foreign-owned security companies, avoiding the requirement that local operators need to have a local shareholding of at least 51%.

But four of the largest security companies operating in South Africa are foreign owned, which is a concern for the South African Police Service (SAPS) and an alleged threat to national security. [...] The main foreign-owned private security companies operating in South Africa, namely ADT, Chubb, G4S and Securitas, are also among the largest in the market and collectively employ 30 000 South Africans.

(Steyn, 2013)

There are nearly nine thousand private security companies in South Africa and they employ about 400.000 registered security guards – more than the police and military combined. They are not police officers, but without them our crime rate would be significantly higher. Strictly speaking, though, they’re not part of the criminal justice system and that’s where South Africa falls dismally short.

(Du Preez, 2013, p.191)

5.4 Violence and crime prevention

5.4.1 Definition of crime prevention

According to the *Sage Dictionary of Criminology*, crime prevention is defined as:

Any action taken or technique employed by private individuals or public agencies aimed at the reduction of damage caused by acts defined as criminal by the state. Given that crimes are events proscribed only by legal statute, it is not surprising that there is a great plethora of activities and initiatives associated with the term ‘crime prevention’.

(McLaughlin and Munice, 2001, p.77)

5.5 Different violence and crime prevention approaches

There are different models relating the different categories of violence and crime prevention to each other. Some distinguish between primary, secondary and tertiary from social violence and crime prevention (VCP 2014) and others differentiate more precisely between the different strategies in the realm of urban planning, like concepts such as ‘defensible space’, environmental criminology, CPTED and situational crime prevention (Mathéy et al. 2008). The model from Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU), based on a model from the WHO, is based on the three main groups of institutional, social and situational violence and crime prevention.

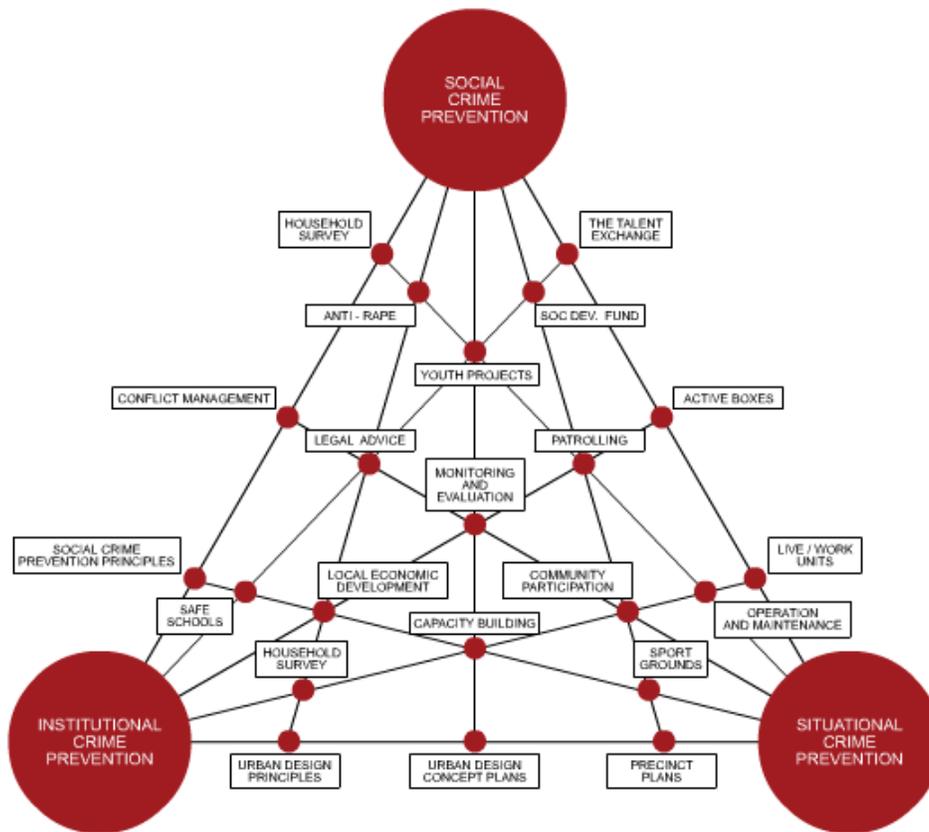


Fig.: 3 The model of intervention of the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) – Khayelitsha (Source: <http://www.vpuu.org.za/index2.php>)

5.5.1 Situational Crime Prevention

While social violence and crime prevention is trying to solve the underlying causes and address the risk factors, relevant to this research is the focus on interventions dealing with the design and

planning of urban spaces and activities, which are allocated under situational crime prevention in the triangular model (see fig.: 5) (Math  y et al. 2008).

Situational violence and crime prevention refers to the physical and spatial environment, e.g. urban upgrading as investigated in this research, with the objective of reducing opportunities for crime and violence to emerge from environmental factors (VCP 2014). CPTED is in many ways identical with situational crime prevention, though only the more inclusive approaches of CPTED consider socio-spatial measures, like e.g. through the promotion of participation, activation, empowerment of citizens and neighbourhood management.

5.6 Crime prevention through environmental design

5.6.1 The different practices of CPTED and its sphere of influence

The multi-disciplinary approach of CPTED is based on the previous work of major figures in urban design such as Jane Jacobs with her concept of "eyes on the street"¹ as well as James Q. Wilson's and George L. Kelling's "broken window theory"² A lot of what has been written on the subject is contradictory. The first model of CPTED, developed by the criminologist C. Ray Jeffery, is more comprehensive than the approach of the architect Oscar Newman, who believed that criminal offenses could be controlled and reduced through good neighborhood design (Math  y and Matuk 2014). Jeffrey's approach to CPTED includes the consideration of the internal environment of the offender and aspects of social ecology and psychology. According to the International CPTED Association (2014), the strategies of CPTED aim to influence the offenders' decisions as to whether or not to commit a crime. The definition of Schoonraad et al. (2000) goes beyond the ability to influence the offender's decision. According to the authors, sound design and management principles can be applied to the built environment in order to reduce fear of crime.

As described in chapter 2.2.3 certain environments can induce fear, even in areas where levels of crime are relatively low, while others can encourage a feeling of safety. Enhancing feelings of safety in areas that citizens perceive as dangerous, through the implementation of planning and design measures, is a very relevant aspect of CPTED for this study.

On the other hand, the research addresses the risk that responses in the built environment merely induce a displacement of crime, and in the worst case scenario, encourage more violent crime (Kruger and K. Landman 2008). This effect may be caused by extreme forms of target hardening, where communities are gated or extensively privatised and control is territorially reinforced and access is restricted. It also occurs in semi-public spaces like train stations, as in the case of this

¹ 'eyes on the street' 'protective eyes' refers to the extent of visual contact that people have with a space, together with the degree of their being visible to others determines the extent to which they can intervene and whether the users feel safe (Kruger 2005).

² It is based on the idea that the visibility of a broken window will provoke vandals to break more windows. It is said that a positive image in the community shows a sense of pride and self-worth that cannot be taken away from the residents.

research. The implication explored in chapter 5.4.1, is that those measures labeled as crime preventative, often need to be questioned - particularly in the case of target hardening.

An important issue relevant in the context of the study area, is formal and informal surveillance³. It is however important to realise that a level of surveillance can seem exclusionary and have a negative effect, causing urban fragmentation and segregation.

5.6.2 Limitations

CPTED interventions do not provide a universal remedy and can only address certain types of crime that occur under specific conditions. It can only be effectively implemented when the local crime situation is comprehensively understood and there are conditions under which such interventions will have no effect. Planning and design interventions are most effective where opportunistic types of crime occur, such as muggings (Schoonraad et al. 2000; Kruger et al. 2001).

5.6.3 CPTED in the South African context

The 'exclusionary' approach of gated communities, security estates or enclosed neighbourhoods, can be found increasingly in South Africa (Kruger and Landman 2008). One can observe that middle to high-income areas are increasingly responding to threats with a form of fortification, resulting from principles of target hardening by limiting and controlling access to their precincts.

In a journal article, Kruger and Landman (2008) explore to which degree theories of environmental criminology and situational crime prevention can be employed outside the 'developed' countries and to what degree they are relevant to crime reduction in urban South Africa. There are a range of key challenges, such as extreme levels of poverty and inequality; the fact that crime is particularly violent in South Africa; the urban and spatial characteristics of the South African landscape; different levels and effectiveness of policing; and capacity deficits and lack of faculties and in local government, could reduce the effectiveness of certain crime prevention measures in South Africa.

In South Africa, attempts have been made to reduce crime through the implementation of mechanisms that respond specifically to particular contextual problems and involve, to some extent, a local interpretation of international experiences.

(Kruger and Landman, 2008, p.76)

In a personal interview (November 2014), Mr. Kruger, Research Group Leader of the Sustainable Human Settlements and Informatics at CSIR stated that any crime prevention initiative should be context-specific and respond appropriately to local problems.

³ "Formal surveillance can be obtained through a police presence or security guards or surveillance cameras. Informal surveillance is achieved by the presence of residents or passers-by, by people carrying on with their daily activities, by 'protective eyes'. A balance between formal and informal surveillance is needed." (Schoonraad et al., 2000b, p.61)

Part II

**An investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety
in the Pretoria CBD**

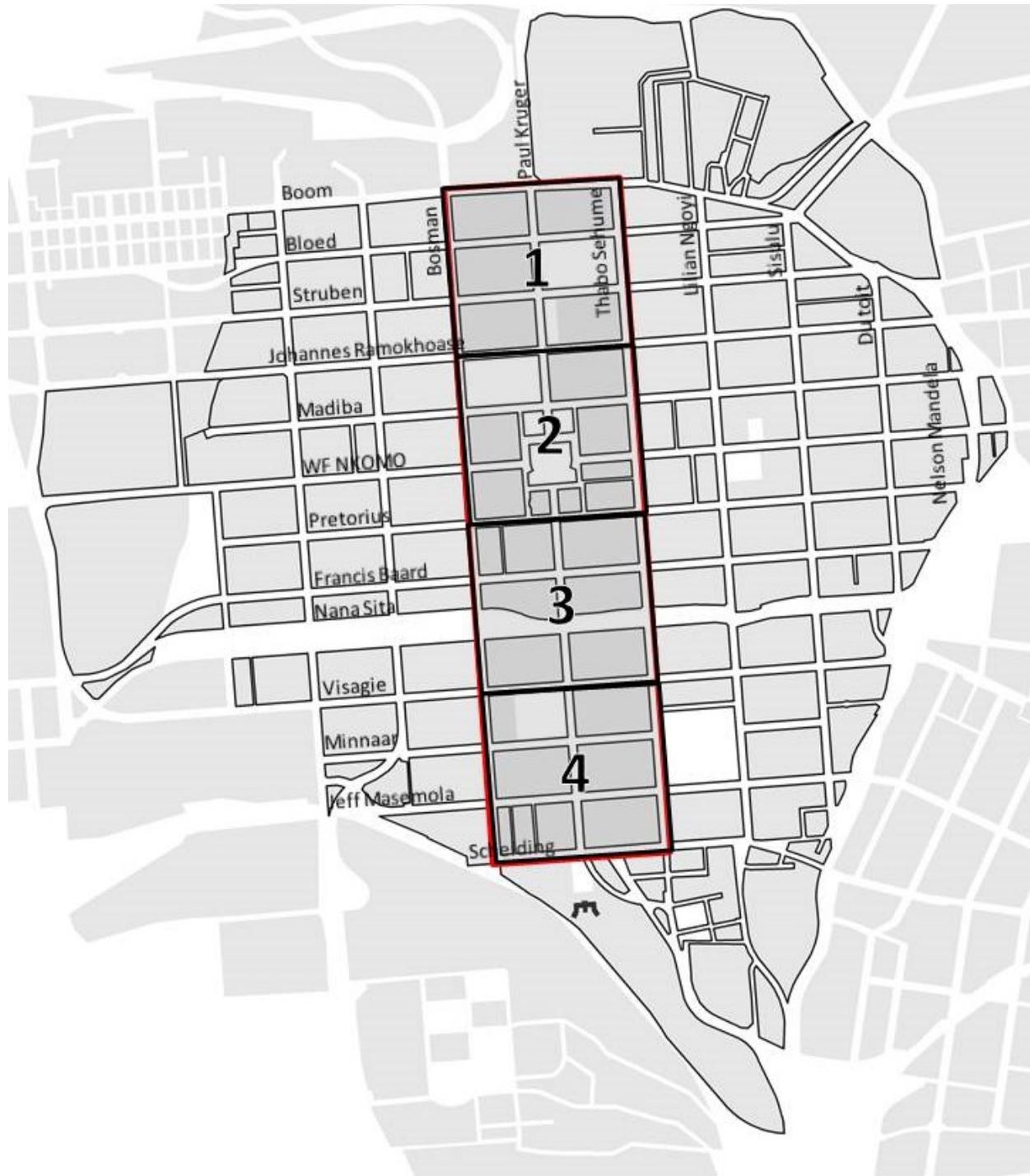


Fig.: 4 Map shows the CBD of Pretoria with the delimitations of the four sectors of the study area

6. Introduction

This research is of particular relevance to the City of Tshwane's Inner City Regeneration Strategy which places a major emphasis on making Pretoria CBD a safer place. Due to my professional background as an architect and urban designer there is a clear proximity to the field of work of

Metroplan; the investigation of the connection between the built environment and the prevalence of crime makes a contribution to furthering the aims of the City's project while the choice of the CBD as the subject of this study is in alignment with the City's concerns. The investigation was furthered by my experiences on-site which enabled the testing of the literature through direct immersion in the context.

The Tshwane Inner City Regeneration Strategy aims to prevent the process of further decline of the CBD through adequate planning and design to improve its environmental quality and image. The city of Tshwane wants to develop a strategy to make the inner city more competitive with the new suburban centres and therefore avoid further loss of important retail and offices while reinforcing its position as a governmental and cultural centre. If any success is to be achieved this development ought to take place hand in hand with the improvement of safety conditions (Schoonraad et al. 2000). The on-going development of the Tshwane Inner City Regeneration Strategy is to a large extent based on a previous study called the Urban Design Framework for Paul Kruger Street Spine, which was compiled by the University of Pretoria on the instruction of the City Council of Pretoria in the year 2000. Although, it is in line with the current round of neo-liberal globalization, the topical framework puts more emphasis on the vision of achieving a 'world cities' status.

An on-going polemical dispute involving the safety of tourist venues has centred on the area of the National Zoological Gardens in Pretoria which is considered a high risk area for crime. On the 9th of September 2014, the US embassy in South Africa issued an advisory warning to their citizens to avoid the Pretoria Zoo due to the number of criminal incidents that have occurred there (Mhlana 2014). Two such incidents involving visitors occurred outside the zoo recently. The Marketing Manager of the Zoo assured that all measures are in place to avoid any further incidents and described the warning as "unfortunate". The management of the Zoo is taking the matter seriously but has also advised visitors to remain vigilant. In addition to the Zoo's security staff, the South African Police Service and the City's Metropolitan Police have, in response, increased their activities and visible presence in the area. The Marketing Manager added that the facilities are included in the constant CCTV surveillance of the Tshwane city CBD.

In an interview with a member of the Zoo's security staff, it was stressed that the negative image of the area does not correspond to the actual danger posed. According to him, the informal traders located on Bloed and Boom Streets actually caught the perpetrator in one of these incidents. The victim in the other incident went to the press with the story but it was not reported to the police and they were unable to pursue the matter.

These incidents are few but they illustrate the contradiction between the perception of danger and the real risk factor. This controversy of how fear of violence and crime can differ from factual danger and how such perception can be influenced is already reflected in the report from the year 2000 on the improvement of environmental conditions along the Paul Kruger Street Spine (see fig.: 1).

The area surrounding Pretoria Station and the area between Boom and Bloed Streets are regarded as the most unsafe [...] Police statistics reveal a different pattern. Although street corners are the most unsafe, the Station area and Boom and Bloed streets are not the most unsafe areas.

(Schoonraad et al., 2000a, p.36)

6.1 Hypothesis

The adaptation of the built environment plays a limited role in the prevention of violence and crime. However, the modification of the environment through a specific intervention, has the potential to change public perception of safety in an area. This would encourage citizens to use the public spaces more and contribute to a measure of surveillance provided by the phenomenon of 'eyes on the street'. Ultimately, as part of an integrated approach, this will make the urban environment safer. The *genius loci* as well as customs and behavioural patterns of a specific location need to be considered when implementing physical violence and crime prevention measures. Otherwise, there exists the risk that responses in the built environment merely induce a displacement of crime.

6.2 Problem statement

The National Development Plan of South Africa (South Africa and National Planning Commission, 2011, p.350) has the objective that in 2030 all people living in South Africa will feel safe and will have no fear of crime. With the majority of South Africa's population living in urban settings, the sound development of cities (including urban-rural linkages) plays an essential role in the creation of an equitable, just and sustainable future for the country. 71.3% of South Africa's population will be living in cities by 2030 (South African Cities Network 2011). A large proportion of the urban population suffers from high levels of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, social deprivation and is affected by a lack of services. Due to the fact that South Africa has such a high crime rate in combination with its increasing urbanisation, more effective measures need to address urban violence and crime. In addition to the estimation that in 2050 more than 70 percent of the world's projected population of 9.1 billion people will live in cities, a report, (KPMG 2013) argues that, using 2007 as a basis, the urban population in 2050 will represent a growth of 94 percent globally: 267 percent for sub-Saharan Africa and 51 percent for South Africa. The juxtaposition of crime and violence rates in cities with population growth statistics, demonstrates the urgent need for urban safety measures. "It should go without saying that realising the many potential advantages of urbanisation requires that cities are safe for all their residents [...]" (Minister Tsenoli, 2014, p.1).

During the Apartheid era in South Africa, all citizens were not granted equal access to public spaces. The discrimination on access to the city centres and certain areas was enforced through spatial segregation. During apartheid public spaces were not actively valued so most settlements did not include quality public spaces. Even today the supply and quality of public spaces and with it the notion of a liveable and human environment tends to diminish. There can be found a few counter movements, which find mentioning in this study. However, such developments then often

come hand in hand with gentrification. The image of the inner city is critical since it are public spaces such as the streets of the inner city where city life takes place and where people experience the city. But public spaces are often neglected and do not form a coherent part of the urban fabric or structure. Among the lack accessibility in the city, especially for pedestrians, social inclusion etc. insecurity and violence contribute to the decline of the inner city. Through public spaces cities can promote more inclusive, convivial and safer places for their citizens, which as a consequence will reinforce social inclusion, organization and community participation to prevent insecurity and violence.

In the urban design framework for the improvement of environmental conditions on the Paul Kruger Street Spine, Schoonraad et al. (2000) state that the inner city of Tshwane has lost its standing as the most important retail, office and to a certain extent governmental and cultural centre in the city, as well as many of its wealthier patrons. The flight of businesses to the suburbs such as Hatfield, Brooklyn and Menlyn represents a serious threat to the City of Tshwane as a location accommodating important governmental functions. Compared to the suburban centres, which are perceived as safer and more convenient as well as offering an abundance of parking facilities and landscaping, the image of the inner city became one of crime, grime and inconvenience.

Public space is by definition for the use of *all*, allowing for freedom of access; inequality in terms of inequitable access to public spaces is an everyday urban reality. In the Urban design framework for the improvement of environmental conditions along the Paul Kruger Street Spine, Schoonraad et al. (2000) argue that the CBD is really the only public space left in Pretoria due to the prevalence of suburban and privatised spaces in the rest of the city. One of the few urban interventions that has taken place in the CBD of Pretoria since 2000 is the new Gautrain Station (sector 4 of the study area), which was opened to the public on the 2nd August 2011. In an online newsroom, the (Gautrain Management 2014) state that besides providing access to and from the Pretoria CBD, the Gautrain will also have an important effect on tourism and stimulate urban renewal in the CBD.

[...] the station would be a catalyst for the upgrading and renewal of the Pretoria CBD area, which will provide an improved living and working environment for local users. The latter is integrated with the need to create proper linkages, provide pedestrian pathways, cleaning the environment and counter-acting urban decay.

(Gautrain Management, 2014)

The Gautrain management described its service as a ‘world class’ integrated public transport service. The use of this terminology reveals an alignment with the commitment of the City of Tshwane⁴ towards achieving a ‘world city’ status. The development priorities of such urban policies, which are based on a neoliberal model implying the privatisation of public space, include topics such as the expansion of infrastructure. Achieving such a vision of a ‘world city’ status has

⁴ Pretoria, as one component of the City of Tshwane municipality, is the administrative capital of South Africa.

“implications such as discouraging the poor from living in the city by making it unattractive to them by denying basic services and legitimacy” (Huchzermeyer, 2011, p.53).

Ironically, strategies to increase safety (by privatizing space) actually increase the dangerousness of remaining public space by abandoning it to those excluded from the privatized world. These strategies invoke limited profit-driven understandings of public safety, failing (or refusing) to recognize the fine line between safety and exclusion, and legitimizing the latter supposedly in the name of the former. This retreat from public space promotes inequality and separation, which are irreconcilable with the democratic values of universality and equality, crucial to post-apartheid South Africa.

(Lemanski, 2004, p.107)

In a journal article, Kruger and Landman (2008) refer to the increasing response to perceived threat by the application of principles of ‘target hardening’, which involve the limitation and control of access. This ‘exclusionary’ approach to the control of crime will not strengthen the quality of the inner city. An approach to crime prevention that encourages integration and participation would promote the vibrancy, diversity, and accessibility of the environment; this is where community members ascertain crime problems and their concerns are identified in order to implement adequate responses.

[...] there is an enormous risk that urban stakeholders continue to apply the prevention models of two decades ago that have achieved little impact due to their design and lack of systematization – consequently the scourge of crime and violence continues to perpetuate itself in those cities and communities and more segregated urban communities continue to be produced offering no social context or cohesion, no new hopes or possibilities for the most vulnerable groups in the society.

(International Crime Prevention Centre (ICPC) et al., 2014, p.5)

The assessment of the impact of interventions which have been implemented in the study area, raises the question as to whether an attempt has to be made to prevent crime through the implementation of mechanisms that respond specifically to particular contextual problems. Often crime prevention theories, approaches and practices from the Western perspective may have not been re-contextualized, and are therefore not applicable to countries such as South Africa. A local interpretation of international experience is necessary.

However, it may be of value to raise some questions regarding the appropriateness and applicability of crime studies conducted in ‘developed’ countries such as the USA, Canada, the UK and Australia to conditions experienced in countries such as South Africa.

(Kruger and K. Landman, 2008a, p.76)

The principal problem addressed in this study is the fear of violence and crime, being one of the main impediments to the mobility of citizens, their quality of life and participation in the public realm, as well as the sustainable development of the city in its entirety. This depends greatly upon a perception of the safety of public spaces. In order to increase the attractiveness of the inner city, urban safety is essential and the notion of a liveable and human environment needs to be affirmed.

“The key to the success of the inner city thus lies in the successful design and development of its key open spaces” (Schoonraad et al., 2000a, p.3).



Fig.: 5 Pretoria City Hall - Pretorius Square being partially fenced-off, 9.12.2014 (Source: Reatile Moalusi from Pretoria Street Photography)

6.3 Research question

An investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety in the Pretoria CBD

The research will study ‘hotspots of crime’ and fear of violence, by analysing crime statistics and comparing these with findings of a survey, which identifies places that are perceived as dangerous by the public. Through the evaluation of this data and the analysis of the environmental characteristics of public spaces in the inner city, this study aims to explore the relationship between actual safety, perceived safety and the built and social environment. Based on these findings and the evaluation of the effectiveness of previous intervention in the built environment, using the example of the Pretoria Gautrain Station, this study examines the outcome of attempts to improve the quality of open public spaces and the influence on perception of violence and crime.

6.4 Secondary research question

Crime statistics and perception survey

What forms do violence and crime take and where are the hotspots identified by crime statistics within the particular delimitations of the Central Business District of Pretoria?

To which degree do these coincide or contradict with the perception of violence and crime of the users (shop owners, pedestrian and government officials)? What are the reasons for possible discrepancies?

Are there any differences between the current crime statistics, the results of the survey on perception of violence and crime and the study conducted in 2000? If so, why has this difference arisen?

Built environment and uses

Are there analogies between the built environment, its land uses (e.g. informal traders, security guards, etc.) and the occurrence of violence and crime? If so what are the favourable as well as adverse urban design elements and uses?

Spatial dimension of unsafety

Do practices of applying stricter rules, as is the case in semi-public spaces, function as preventative measures of violence and crime or do they just provoke the displacement of violence and crime?

Crime prevention measures

To which degree can violence and crime be prevented or reduced through measures such as environmental design interventions? Can such interventions go beyond the decrease of subjective perception of violence and actually prevent violence and crime from occurring?

6.5 Relevance

The research will contribute substantially to the aim of the Tshwane Inner City Regeneration Strategy to prevent, through adequate planning and design, the further decline of the CBD in order to improve its environmental quality and image. The city of Tshwane wants to develop a strategy to make the inner city more competitive with the new suburban centres and therefore avoid further loss of important retail and offices while reinforcing its position as a governmental and cultural centre. Due to perceptions of high levels of crime within the inner city, many businesses and have relocated to the suburbs. There are tendencies of important government functions to also move out of the inner city. In order to combat this exodus of commercial enterprise and administrative elements, recommendations of the previous urban design framework for the improvement of environmental conditions on the Paul Kruger Street Spine (2000) should be applied. I.e., the qualities of the inner city such as vibrancy and diversity should be promoted in order to complement the cultural and heritage value of the existing city fabric. In order for this to be achieved, the accessibility of the inner city core and its connection to the greater metropolitan context needs to be improved via an efficient public transport network. (Schoonraad et al., 2000, p.2). The strengthening of these public transport networks would require improved safety measures, particularly in forming connections between the various public spaces within the CBD. As previously mentioned, the nature of public space is by definition inclusive; due to the limited number of viable public areas within Pretoria, the development of a secure and equitable system of public spaces in combination with the adequate provision of public facilities is of real

importance at the heart of the city. Through revitalizing the inner city, by making it a safer space, democratic values of universality and equality are being reinforced.

The high levels of crime and violence experienced in South Africa's cities have proved to be a weighty barrier to sustainable and inclusive urban development. Unsafe urban environments are one of the most serious impediments to economic growth, development and transformation of the country. For this reason, it was agreed that urban safety should be incorporated as one of the central components in the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) of the Republic of South Africa. The concept, articulated and substantiated throughout this research, that the reclamation of public space goes hand-in-hand with the provision of secure environments, contributes to the claim made in the latest draft version of the IUDF that the design and management of public spaces and facilities is an essential component for the development of liveable and prosperous cities, where citizens feel safe from violence and crime (Cooperative Governance of Traditional Affairs, 2014).

6.6 Aims of the research

The objective of this study is to explore and evaluate the reciprocal relationship which exists between crime and environment. This focus is opposed to the most popular form of physical crime prevention, which is often based on the concept of target hardening, which can actually be counterproductive and is unlikely to prevent crime effectively in the long term. Western Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles are not universally applicable because they often lack consideration of the *genius loci* as well as customs and behavioural patterns of a specific location. Based on this belief, the goal of this study is to demonstrate that by enhancing the quality of public spaces, fear of violence can be reduced. Furthermore, this would encourage citizens to use public spaces more and contribute to a level of natural surveillance and ultimately, as part of an integrated approach, result in a safer urban environment. In order to gain a better understanding of the interrelated dynamics of the relationship between violence and crime as well as the perception of such, social formation and the physical environment are analysed comprehensively. This understanding will contribute towards an assessment of, to which degree opportunities for crime could be reduced through modification of elements in the built environment and socio-spatial dimension. Reflection on the implementation of sound design and management principles in discouraging opportunistic crime in the built environment, has the objective of convincing others of the necessity of implementing measures which can reduce the root causes of violence and crime and ameliorate safety, through the provision of work opportunities and the improvement of living conditions in surrounding areas. The study aims to provide a data set, consisting of crime maps based on dockits⁵ from the South African Police Services (SAPS) and a summary of a perception survey, which could be updated in the future and therefore provide a tool with which to monitor possible changes in the crime patterns and perceptions of safety.

⁵ Document identifier of reported crime from the South African Police Services

7. Methodology

The current investigation involves the analysis of four sites in order to study the changing patterns of violence and crime. The sites are selected from along Paul Kruger Street, a spine running from the zoo up to the old train station in the heart of the CBD district. A total of 45 public opinion surveys are collected and analysed in order to get empirical data on the perception of danger levels. These findings are being compared with the dockits from SAPS which contain information on the exact location, time and type of crime; the assimilation of this data provides a good indication of the most dangerous areas. The survey and the records provide a measure of understanding of the link between the built environment and contextual social dynamics. By comparing public opinion with reported crime, one can better analyse the effect that specific built-up areas have on creating that perception in order to learn lessons from the environment. This method provides an indication of which crime prevention strategies, theories, approaches and practices may have to be re-contextualized. The data used, self-generated as well as provided, is highly topical. However, the perception of the type of crime and its frequency of occurrence might be biased to some extent, due to the fact that the people interviewed work during the day, leaving the hours of darkness undocumented. However, the 45 respondents represent a diverse group of citizens, the results are therefore representative.

The methodology of this research entails three main steps (1) embedding; (2) fieldwork; (3) analysis; (4) evaluation/findings. Each step consists of respective subordinated steps.

(I) Embedding

(I.1.) Literature review / practical experience:

Proceeding to the definition of the research question, I have conducted an extensive literature review in addition to my practical experience at the VCP, which dealt with theoretical and conceptual analysis as well as looking to policy-oriented documents on urban violence and crime prevention. The readings included research into institutions such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVr), the World Bank and UN Habitat as well as the National Development Plan (NDP) and reports from SAPS etc. A specific focus was placed on experiences in the field of physical crime prevention in the South African context. The practical experience, which I gained during the work at the VCP embedded me into the urban context of Pretoria and served, in addition to the literature research, as preparation for the research topic.

(II) Fieldwork

(II.1.) Selection of a sampling area:

Forming part of a contribution to the Tshwane Inner City Regeneration Strategy, this research is carried out within a demarcated area of the Paul Kruger Street Spine within the CBD of Pretoria. The spine has been divided, in this document, into 4 sections in order to allow for comparison of the sections. Special attention is given to the southern sector, where the station is located as well

as to some extent to Nana Sita Street (former Skinner St) as the site of the only major intervention in the built environment since the previous survey in 2000. Some focus is also put on the area of the Zoological Gardens due to its controversy in terms of fear of violence and crime and the relative frequency of actual crime incidents.

(II.II) Selection and documentation of the variables and indicators in the physical and socio-spatial dimension:

Having access to a selection of data from a Geographic Information System (GIS) proved a great asset to the research process. Particularly useful for the analysis, is the land-use plan which differentiates between the floors of each building (often there is commercial use on ground floor level with offices above on the 2nd and 3rd floors and vacant or residential use on the upper levels) as well as a plan providing a value for each property which is based on the respective tax rates. In addition, existing buildings as well as historic/cultural attributes along Paul Kruger Street are being studied in terms of their uses and density as well as on the basis of observation and the Tshwane Building Report Files from GWA Studio (2012).

(II.III) Carrying out the perception survey:

A perception survey was conducted by the University of Pretoria in 2000. In order to update this information, a similar survey is being conducted for the purposes of this research where 45 citizens including pedestrians, shop owners and informal traders are interviewed in the defined area of the Paul Kruger Street Spine. The questionnaire (see Annex B) addresses topics of safety & security, lighting, cleanliness, transportation, the public environment and social issues.

(III) Data analysis

This research is based on facts generated through the collection of original material as a primary source from raw data, case studies, surveys, and observations.

(III.I) Analysing the current crime patterns:

The broader crime patterns and trends that are found in public spaces in South Africa's inner cities are being studied. Only certain types of crime that occur under certain conditions can be addressed by environmental design interventions, which makes it necessary to understand as much as possible of the local crime situation. Moving from the general, the crime patterns is being sorted according to the type of crime, location and time by using the crime statistics provided by the SAPS and identifying the hotspots in the delimited area of the Paul Kruger Street Spine. Based on the acquired insight into the crime patterns and trends, the specific crime 'hotspots' are observed. In order to achieve a grounded analysis, the different types of crimes that are occurring and the different locations are compared.

Since the crime statistics published by the SAPS only give information at a macro level and are not necessarily specific to particular localities, it is impossible to make a reliable comparative analysis to monitor differences in crime at street level.

Crime data are recorded at the level of fairly large geographical blocks and not according to the physical address of the incident. These blocks do not correspond with the boundaries of smaller neighbourhoods or gated communities, which complicates comparisons between crime levels of specific areas.

(Kruger and K. Landman, 2008, p.82)

The fact that this research is related to the Tshwane Inner City Regeneration Strategy, commissioned by the Council of Tshwane, is an advantage as the Crime Information Office of the SAPS has provided access to the dockets. These records provide detailed information about exact locations, times and types of crimes.

In order to identify the areas where certain crimes are committed more frequently, the data is processed through GIS, which allows the capture and presentation of crime hotspots on a map. Mapping the information according to geographical locations allows for its analysis in conjunction with information pertaining to the physical and social characteristics of the area.

(III.II) Analysing the current fear of violence and crime:

Based on the perception survey, it is identified what citizens perceive as the hotspots of crime and violence and approximated what the physical and socio-spatial influences on these perceptions might be.

(III.III) Detecting changes between 2000 and 2014:

A comparison of recent crime statistics, as well as of the fear of violence and crime, with the equivalent data which has been recorded 2000 gives useful insight into changing crime patterns.

(III.IV) Contrasting the crime patterns with the perception of violence:

The identified criminal hotspots are compared with the findings of the survey detecting the places that citizens perceive as most dangerous. Through this process, congruencies as well as discrepancies between the perception and the hard data become visible. This comparison sheds light on whether a perception of fear is grounded in reality or reveal other psychological factors.

(III.V) Observations (ethnographic research):

Users of the Gautrain are taken into account (photographs/contextual interviews) in order to gather insight, in terms of where the users are coming from and what their destination is as well as how the commuters interact with the surrounding environment of the station precinct.

(IV) Evaluation/findings

(IV.I) Possible links with the physical and socio-spatial dimension the local crime situation:

By assessing and analysing crime and the environment the nature of possible linkages between the physical and socio-spatial dimension to the local crime situation can be identified.

(IV.II) Effective physical measures:

The assessment of types of intervention which could have a positive influence on diminishing fears of violence and crime within the built environment, may have to be re-contextualised so as not to limit strategies of crime prevention methods and theories to those of a formerly, largely western approach.

8. Case study Central Business District of Pretoria

8.1 Overall safety and security assessment

The original assumption is tested: that through improving the image of public spaces, citizens will perceive their environment as safer and will be encouraged to frequent these areas, contributing to natural surveillance and de facto improving safety.

As described in the previous chapter, the mapping of crime incidents and perception surveys constitute the core of the methodology of this study as described. The geographical specification of crime incidents in conjunction with the time of occurrence, and the type of offence, allow for a contrasting juxtaposition with the way citizens perceive certain areas and information pertaining to the physical and social characteristics of the area. Generally speaking, the analysis and comparison of the characteristics and perception of the sites, Pretoria Station and rudimental Nana Sita Street, before and after the intervention, has brought about the upgrading of those areas which implies a reduction in crime in the immediate perimeter of the intervention, particularly in the case of the station precinct, it appears that a displacement of crime to the surrounding areas. So far it cannot be observed that intention to improve the living and working environment in the CBD of Pretoria, with the Gautrain Pretoria Station as a stimulator for urban renewal, has succeeded. The data collected through the survey allows one to detect more precisely, the degree to which perceptions by citizens of a particular area differ from the initial survey fourteen years ago. When comparing the findings of the two surveys, safety and security and more importantly the perception of crime must be addressed in order to promote successful development. As can be seen in fig.: 6 almost all respondents of the topical survey see safety and security as the most important issue in the concluding rating of the survey.

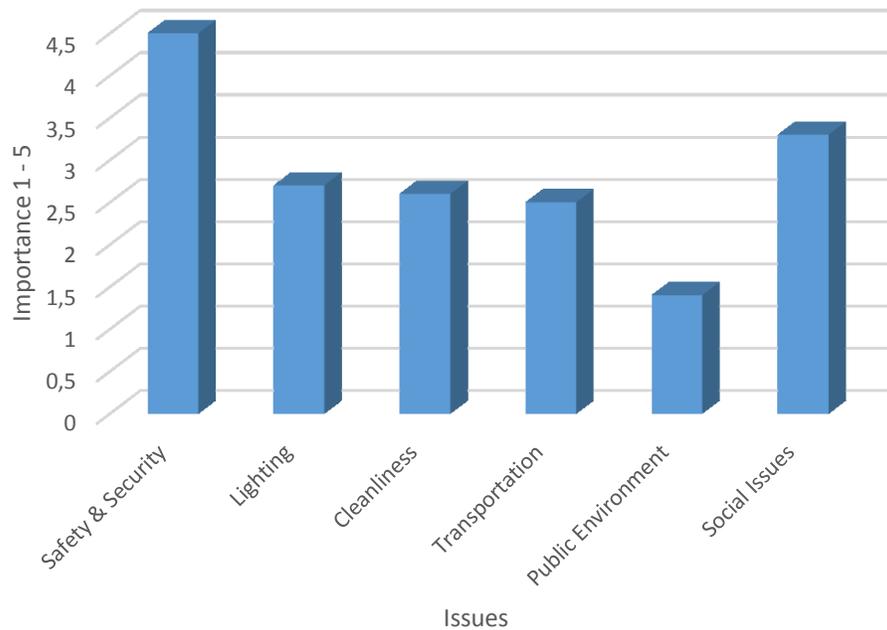


Fig.: 6 Ranking of issues (1 less important, 5 most important) (own source through survey)

8.2 Crime patterns and perception of safety

8.2.1 Types of crime

As can be seen in fig.: 8, police statistics reveal that most common crime committed is theft and robbery, with general theft (19%) occurring most frequently followed by theft from (or out of) cars (15.3%). Shoplifting as a category is not often used, but when dockets are examined in detail it appears that many descriptions of general theft must have actually occurred in stores. For example, one comment on a case of general theft is as follows: “He arrested the suspect Miss X who stole sunlight 200g soap, stuidruppels and parmalat gouda cheese all worth R35.95 at Shoprite Store Cnr Lillian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph on the 2014-11-03 at about 09h40”. It is evident that a large proportion of offenses do not imply violence, which is also confirmed by the analysis of crime hotspots carried out at ISS. This analysis shows that the rate of property crime, where there is no direct confrontation between perpetrator and victim, is also very high in the South African CBD (Lancaster 2013).

In a newspaper article, Lancaster, Manager at the Crime and Justice Information Hub at ISS, (2013) states that the CBD’s remain the most high-risk areas in terms of violence in general, specifically robbery. Pretoria Central is listed behind the clear front-runner Johannesburg Central, as well as Durban Central, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town Central.

When looking at the result of the data processed in this study, robbery with a weapon (including firearms and others) is high in contrast to common robbery (13.4%) with a ratio of 10.8% which is considerably high. Others implying the use or threat of violence such as murder, culpable

homicide, sexual assault or rape constitute less than 1% each, which includes cases that are only attempted, but not successful. As stated in chapter 4.1.2 incidents of murder have increased. Murder qualifies well as a monitor, because unlike other crimes the number of reported murders coincide with the actual number committed. South Africa’s murder rate has risen from an average of 45 murders per day in 2012/13 to 47 murders per day in 2013/14. However, it makes up only 2.5% of all violent crime in South Africa. In this respect the CBD of Pretoria performs relatively well. Since the murder rate is regarded as one indicator of a country’s stability, one could assume that the CBD is more stable than other parts of the country. According to the crime research and statistics of SAPS (see fig.: 7), Pretoria Central reported 20 murder cases, outnumbered by Pretoria West with 24 cases (Pretoria Moot: 1 and Pretoria North: 9) in the period from April 2013 to March 2014, which amounts to 1/3 of the 66 murders which occurred during the same time in Johannesburg Central. Cape Town Central only counts 5 cases. But other areas of the Cape Town like Khayelitsha have had 146 murder cases between April 2013 and March 2014 (South African Police Services, 2014b).

The perception survey (see fig.: 9) reflects the reported crime incidents quite well and confirms that most crime committed is petty theft such as theft from cars, muggings and shoplifting. A considerable amount of interviewees added drug dealing when asked about other crimes which are occurring frequently. It is reasonable to assume that drug abuse contributes to thefts and robberies. This causal connection is substantiated by a closer analysis of some of the hotspots (see e.g. Annex A map A-P.16), where general theft and possession of narcotics are the two offenses that occur most frequently.

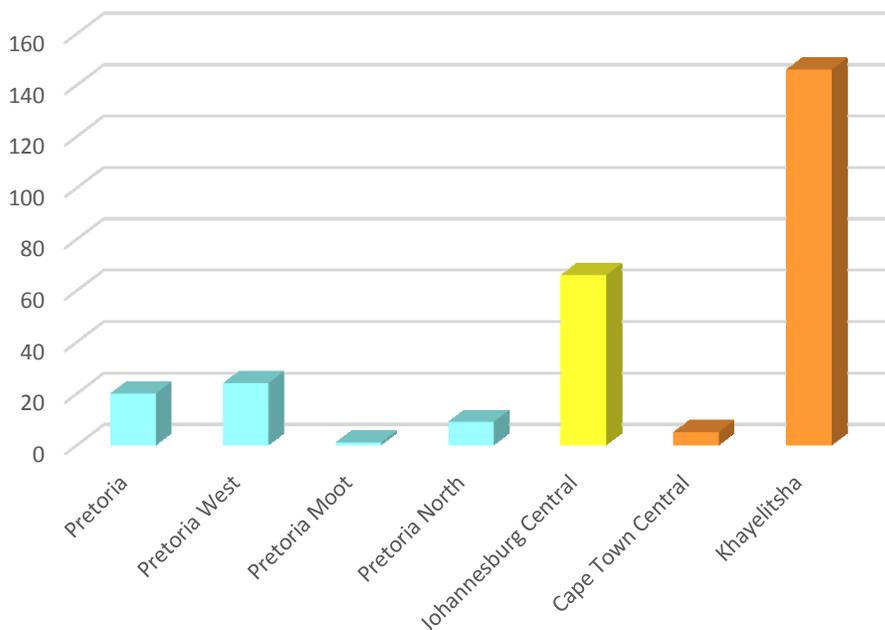


Fig.: 7 Reported murder cases from April 2013 to March 2014
 (Source: own source based on data from the crime research and statistics of SAPS)

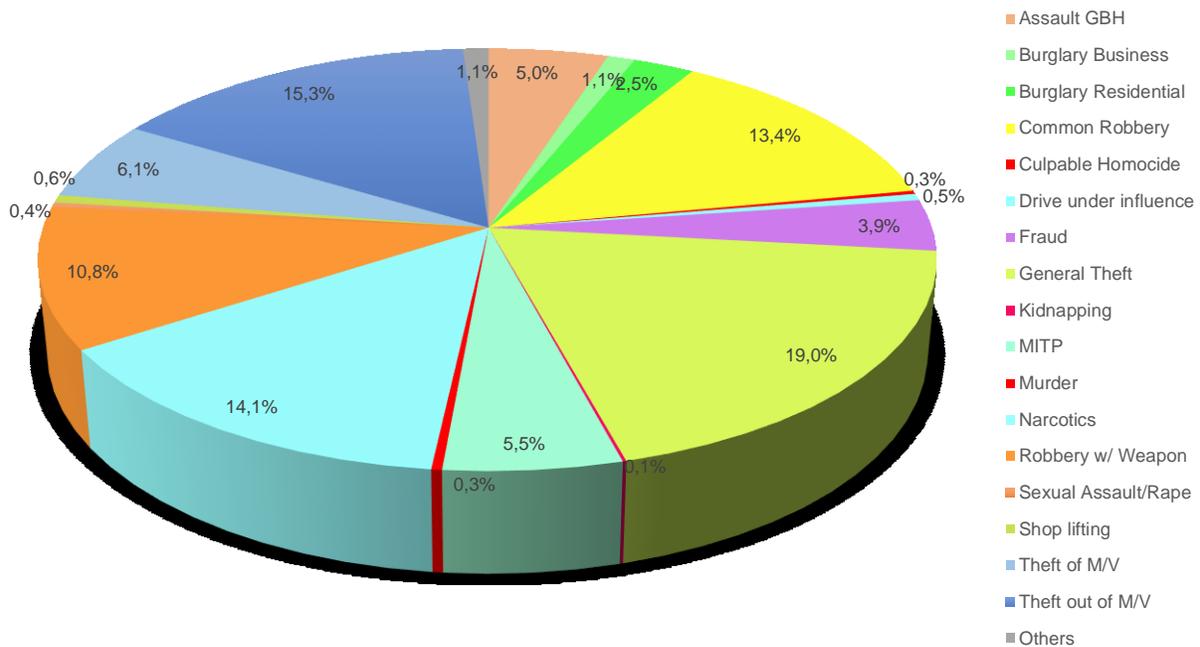


Fig.: 8 Percentage of the offenses according to the crime statistics (Source: own source based on data from the Crime Information Office of SAPS, Pretoria CBD)

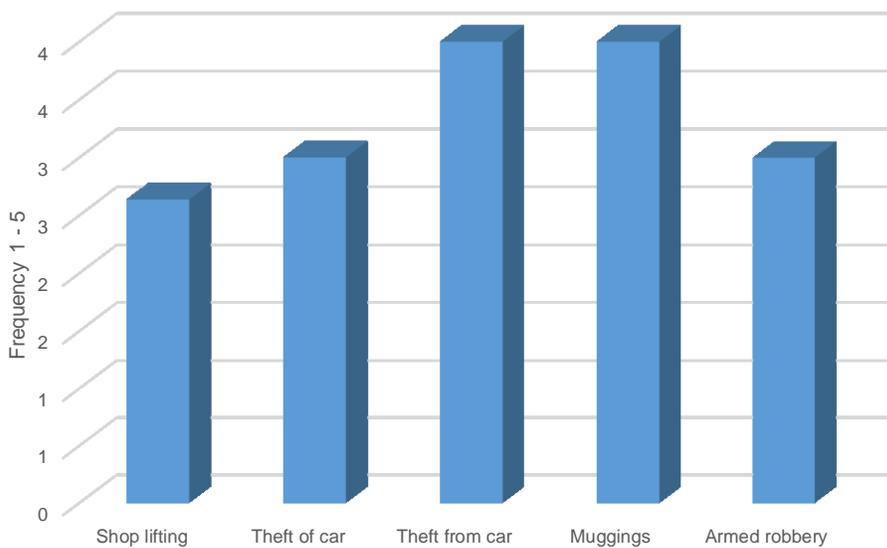


Fig.: 9 Types of crimes occurring most frequently (1 never, 5 very often) (own source through survey)

8.2.2 When crime occurs

The maps A-P.3 and A-P.4 (see Annex A) indicate that far more incidents of crime are occurring during the week than on weekends. In fact, on Sundays (228 reported cases) there are less than 1/3 of incidents than those occurring on Fridays (701 cases). During a security awareness training

session for GIZ staff, the security advisor Mr. Burgmer (5.8.2014) said that car hijacking and theft from cars is taking place on Friday afternoons in particular, since potential victims are most distracted on their way home after the last day of work of the week. As illustrated in fig.: ... most respondents regard 'after-hours' as the time when most crime takes place, although almost as many regard it as unsafe 24 hours of the day. However, police statistics reveal that most crime occurs during work hours. One needs to consider though, that work hours (8-17) and night time (21-5) cover twice as many hours as early morning (5-8) and evenings (17-21).

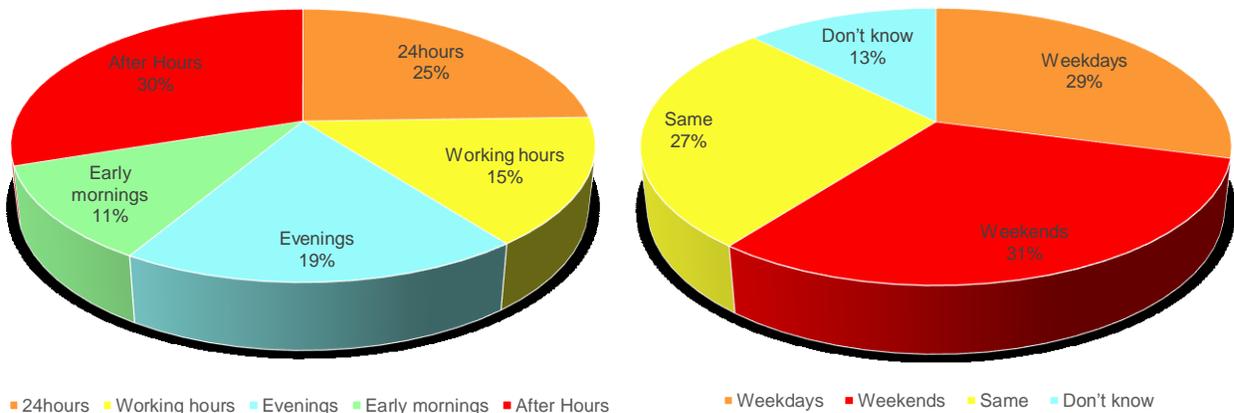


Fig.: 10 Crime occurrence according to the survey carried out in 2014; clock time (left) day of the week (right) (own source)

8.2.3 Where crime takes place frequently

The perceptions survey reveals that areas where people feel unsafe are often crowded areas, and areas that are neglected, dirty and not properly developed. From the crime statistics one can derive that those areas that have no residential component and are badly lit at night as well as streets with dead facades are the most unsafe.

The map A-P.1 illustrates where agglomerations of incidents are taking place. The two areas where crime is most pervasive, confirm the perception of what is widely considered to be the most dangerous areas in the CBD of Pretoria, namely both ends of Brown Street in the north east (see map A-P.16) and the corner of Boom Street and Kgosi Mampuro Street in the north west (see map A-P.17). Especially in the case of Brown Street (see cover image), a rough analysis of the built environment shows that many criteria acknowledged to enhance opportunities for perpetrators, such as accessibility or store fronts on the ground floor, can be found in this context. However, the two zones are slightly outside the study area which is why this study will focus on hotspots, such as the one on the corners of Scheiding Street and Bosman Street, or the intersection of Kruger Street with Scheiding Street and Jeff Masemola Street (see Annex A map A-P.10, 11 and 12 as well as fig.: 11).



Fig.: 11 Jeff Masemola St. & Bosman St. (left) Scheiding St. & Bosman St. (right) 12.1.2015 (Source: Reatile Moalusi from Pretoria Street Photography)

Fig.: 11 (left) illustrates some physical features, which contribute to a pedestrian unfriendly environment. The image to the right shows the fenced-off area just next to the station on Scheiding Street, which is already outside of the highly surveyed station precinct. Commercial use only takes place on the other side of the road. During an interview (25.11.2014), an older female shop owner selling herbs and traditional medicine pointed toward the section covered by the bus in the image (see fig.: 11; right), where one could see young men. “The Shangaan from Mozambique hang out there and never leave the area. They terrorise the people and well known to the police but are never being caught”. A further analysis of the hotspots in terms of CPTED criteria would bring about further obvious deficits regarding the environmental design. One’s attention is immediately aroused by the pedestrian unfriendly environment and the often fenced-off buildings with no commercial use which compose at least one side of the street.

A comparison of the data collected in 2000 and 2014, adds some important information on the crime patterns and the perception of safety. With regards to the corners measured in the year 2014, none can be labelled as very high crime areas as there are hotspots far more dangerous, located in the Corner Boom Street and Kgosi Mampuro Street in the northwest and at both ends of Brown Street in the northeast (see cover image and Annex A map A-P.16/17).

Corner Crime Indicator

- Very high
- Above average
- Average
- Below average
- Very low

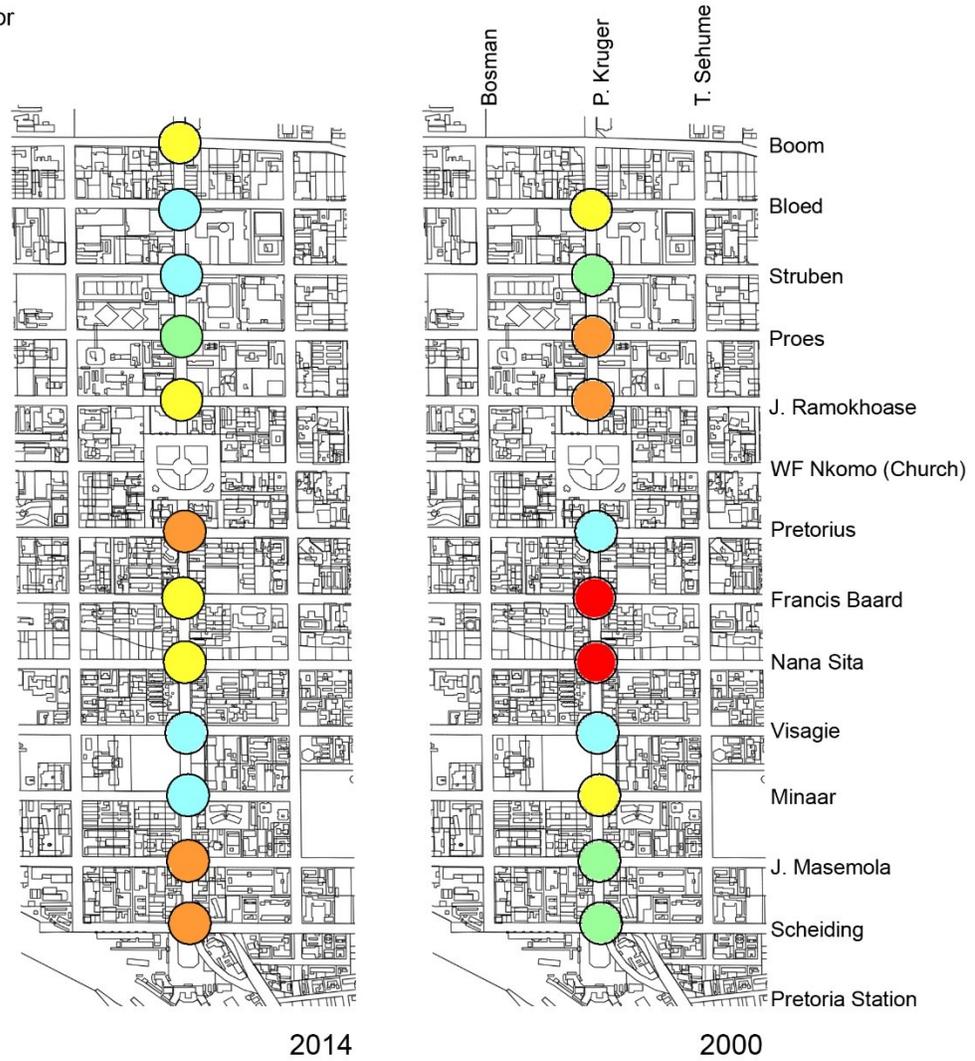


Fig.: 12 Comparison of the corner crime indicators of 2000 and 2014 (own source based on Urban Design Framework for the Improvement of Environmental Conditions on Paul Kruger Street Spine)

The corners are the locations where most crimes occur. This was the case in 2000 and remains mostly unchanged, which is why a comparison of the corner crime indicators (see fig.: 12) can be revealing. What is most remarkable when comparing the two maps, is that the major changes have occurred in the two areas where interventions have been implemented. This is namely in the area of the intersection with Paul Kruger Street with Nana Sita Street (sector 3) and Scheiding Street (sector 4), which will be analysed in further detail in the following chapter.

8.3 Variables and indicators in the physical and socio-spatial dimension

8.3.1 Infrastructure Analysis

Historical heritage as a main feature

In general the CBD of Pretoria exhibits a diverse mix of buildings. Next to historicising architecture of the early 20th century in the colonial tradition one can find postmodern buildings, brutalist

concrete buildings from the apartheid legacy as well as unique African interpretation of the *International Style*, perhaps with some influence from the Brazilian modernism and other African countries such as Mozambique. The cultural and religious diversity of the inner city is additionally reflected by buildings such as the synagogue and the mosque.

Paul Kruger Street is an important historical axis and an important pedestrian and tourist area, with many factors changing quite drastically along the route. Although there are important features, such as the central Church Square, the analysis will focus on section 4 with some mention of section 1, where the Zoological Garden is located.

Section 4 features a variety of important landmarks, which are mostly in a well-restored state. On Paul Kruger Street, between Visagie and Minnaar Street, the National Museum of Natural History can be found (see Annex F) just across the street of the City Hall with its apron Pretorius Square (see Annex F and Fig.: 5). Pretoria Station, at the southern end of the sector, constitutes the gateway into the CBD of Pretoria and a variety of historic buildings are arranged around the station forecourt with the old Herbert Baker buildings being most visible.

Mixed land use

The area can be described as vivid; as reflected in the land use plan there is a wide range of mixed activities from shops to hotels, residential, governmental and administrative uses as well as banks, this in addition to the informal trade and partially formalised street vending trade. The majority of buildings are comprised of ground level shops with office space above. The uppermost levels are not infrequently vacant. Some lower quality residential areas can be found towards Thabo Sehume Street, which is one of the few areas left with residential activity in Pretoria's CBD. Given that the station is an important modal interchange for busses, taxis and trains, many commuters congregate in the station forecourt especially before and after working hours.

Transverse street section

Typical of the streetscape and in section 4, the buildings lining the street, form a high wall consisting of eight or more storeys. On Paul Kruger Street the buildings often accommodate shops at street level but due to the fact that there are no cantilevers, which would make the scale more human, the pedestrians are surrounded by plain high walls. In addition, the pedestrian environment is uninviting due to the poor state of the pavements.

Pedestrian environment

In the urban design framework for the improvement of environmental conditions on the Paul Kruger Street Spine, Schoonraad et al. (2000) argue that the streetscape is in many cases hostile to pedestrians. The pedestrian flow is highlighted as an important aspect of the successful functioning of a city street. The crossing of streets, particularly Skinner (former name of Nana Sita Street), Scheiding Street and Boom Street where the continuity of pedestrian movement is interrupted, is considered difficult and dangerous for pedestrians. "To be a successful pedestrian environment, it needs to be safe, interesting and convenient" (Schoonraad et al., 2000, p.32).

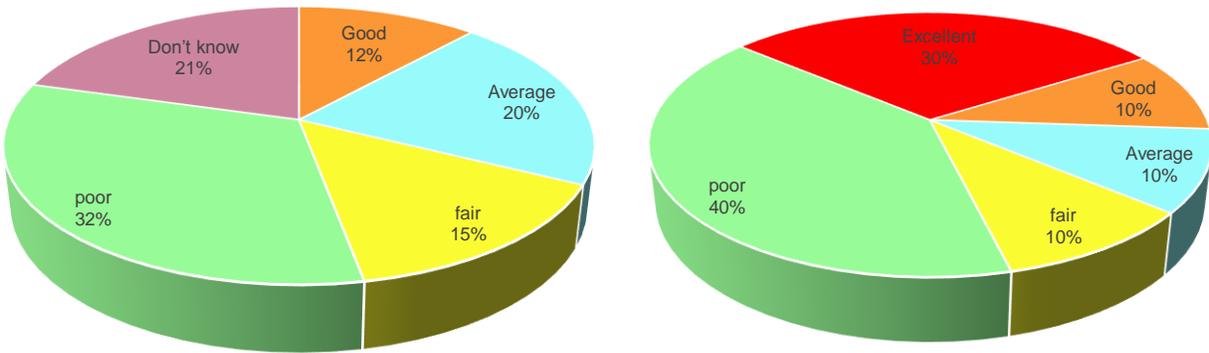


Fig.: 13 Rating of the public parking situation in 2014; left: total of all sectors; right: sector 4 (own source)

One of the most emphasised aspects of CPTED is to make a city or town pedestrian-friendly. In the Manual for Crime Prevention Through Planning and Design, Kruger et al. (2001) state that in South Africa most areas have been designed to make the use of motor vehicles convenient, often resulting in pedestrian-unfriendly environments. “Pedestrians are therefore vulnerable and exposed to environments that make them feel unsafe” (Kruger et al., 2001, p.43).

Vehicular traffic

At the time of the field study there was still on-street parking on the northern side of the road but, according to the owner of a tailor and dry cleaning shop (25.11.2014), “the parking situation will even worsen with the expansion of the brand new Tshwane Rapid Transit (TRT) since the view places in front of the shop will be eliminated and there haven’t been arranged any parking alternatives so the customers won’t find a safe parking space anymore.” Compared to the predominantly negative total rating of all four sectors, the respondents of this sector in general did not differ strikingly as illustrated in fig.: 13.

8.3.2 Socio-spatial characteristics

While some respondents had a positive perception of the informal parking attendants, the tailor (whom I learned to appreciate as a good observer) was amongst those with a more negative attitude towards them. “They are not actually watching your car.” Some even had a worse opinion, stating

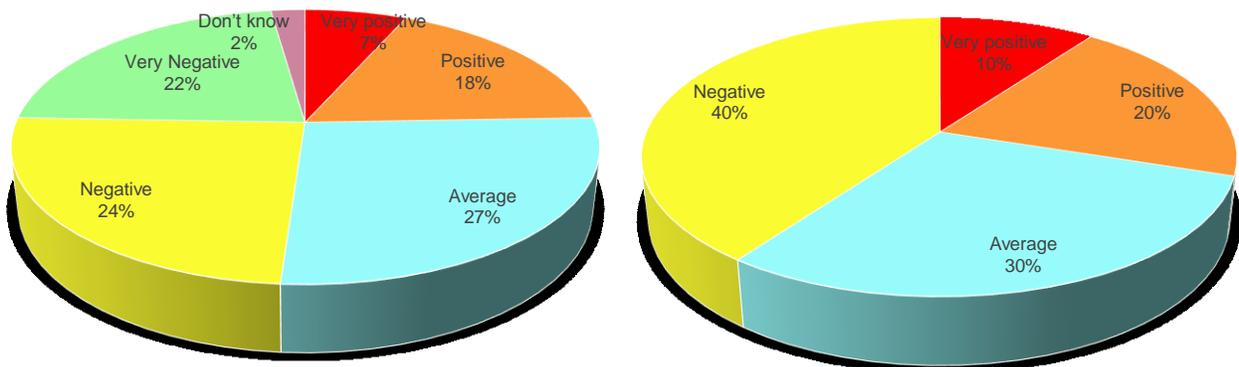


Fig.: 14 Perception of the informal parking attendants in 2014; left: total of all sectors; right: sector 4. (own source)

that “some parking attendants contribute to crime, they know the thefts.” While others believed that “due to the informal parking attendants there is less car theft and theft out of car in the area.” A luggage carrier at the bus station next to the train station forecourt was of a different opinion, saying that “You have to distinguish between the informal parking attendants that want to help and the ones involved in crime.”



Fig.: 15 Informal parking attendants (street kids) in front of Pretoria Station, 9.12.2014 (Source: Reatile Moalusi from Pretoria Street Photography)

Informal traders

Besides the southern section around the station, informal trade is concentrated in the northern section around Bloed Street as well as in the pedestrian zone on Church Street. As described in the introduction, the informal traders can play an active role in the natural surveillance of a site. Nevertheless, they are often associated with unsafe environments by citizens. The survey reflects that the opinions on whether or not informal traders have a positive or negative effect on safety, diverge widely whereas a slight majority (48%) believe that they have a negative effect (41% positive and 11% neither) on the safety of their environment. Often crowded areas where street vendors contribute to a high density of pedestrians are perceived as more dangerous than others while the crime statistics do not necessarily confirm such perception. Statements like “Some informal street vendors are pushing drugs” and “Informal traders become targets of the

perpetrators, they hide amongst them” demonstrate the concerns of citizens about the informal street vendors. An insightful observation was made by the owner of a traditional medicine shop that is across the street from the station, “the informal traders clearly contribute to the safety, but it looks unsafe since they always have one or two people standing around with them.” The same shop allows informal traders to hide in his store when they are being harassed by police.



Fig.: 16 Street vendors in front of Pretoria Station, 9.12.2014 (Source: Reatile Moalusi from Pretoria Street Photography)

A street vendor at the station forecourt, who is licensed by the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (Prasa), confirmed that the police used to confiscate his goods before he entered into partnership with the landowners. The few street vendors left at the Zoological gardens have been incorporated into similar partnerships. According to one trader, the municipality are trying to take the informal traders out of the busy areas but the traders depend on the flow of people and many of them had been here for years. He gave a description of policemen confiscating the goods of the traders outside the Zoo (see fig. 17). He assured me that he and the other vendors contribute to the safety of the area since they have an interest, given that their business depends largely on tourism. “As soon as we see a new face we observe them. We know the guys so we tell them that we got our own justice system.” An alarming observation from the same trader is that a large proportion of the robberies and burglaries are committed by organised criminal groups who operate from the scrap yards where they can process and sell the stolen goods. He indicated that one such scrap yard is at the corner of Bloom Street and Paul Kruger Street just next to the parking lot of the Zoological

Gardens. Further, he observed that since the US embassy gave out a warning to avoid the Zoo area, the CPF passes by every 30 minutes, which gives the street vendors some peace of mind.



Fig.: 17 Street vendors at the Zoological Gardens and demarcation of the property of the Zoo and the municipality, 9.12.2014
(Source: Reatile Moalusi from Pretoria Street Photography)

Formal surveillance

In a policy framework for informal trading, the (Small Enterprise Development Agency (Seda) (2008) demand that the local municipalities should promote the establishment of CPF in order to provide safety and security, especially for informal street traders.

The *Victims of crime survey 2013/14* revealed that the CPFs play a relevant role when it comes to reported incidents. For example, 18,0% of households reported incidents of housebreaking/burglary to community policing forums (31,6% to other authorities) and murder was mostly reported to community policing forums with 33,4% (29,1% to traditional authorities). Most cases of car hijacking (67.0%) were reported to community policing forums instead of the police. From these numbers one could conclude that the CPFs enjoy greater popularity among the citizens.

[...] A great deal of interest was expressed in the workings of the CPF. Mainly because the CPF members had worked hard to win the community over and got involved in various endeavours such as assisting the police in tracking down suspects thereby making the area safer.

(Mistry, 1996)

The open interviews in the CBD of Pretoria revealed that, as was the case with views on informal parking attendance, that the perception among the citizens of the inner city is more controversial regarding the efficiency and behaviour of the members of the CPF.

I only learned during the surveys, of the important role that the CPF play in the study area. According to an Indian tailor, recently the CPF has increased its patrols on Scheiding Street noticeably. From his point of view, the CPF make a positive contribution by searching people for drugs and weapons. The older lady selling herbs at the corner of Scheiding Street and Bosman Street (see fig.: 11; right) has very harsh views on the CPF, whom she has observed harassing foreigners [mostly from Mozambique and Zimbabwe]. “The volunteers are getting money out of the foreigners. Various corners are controlled by different groups. They are worse than the police.”

The same day of the interview, a man was complaining on the radio of how a CPF forced him to hand over his bag for inspection.

As described in chapter 5.3.1, according to the national *Victims of Crime Survey*, South Africans seem to be quite satisfied with the police service. The survey carried out during this research in the CBD of Pretoria, does not confirm the positive image of police officers. In this specific study area, the respondents were asked whether they believe that the current formal surveillance, including policing and security services in the area, were effective (see fig.: 18). A large majority (33 out of 45) answered that it was not and many concerns about the officers' morals and commitment were expressed in the open interviews. The older female shop owner, selling herbs and traditional medicine, stated (25.11.2014): "Basically we have enough police. They just need to be honest." A similar claim was made by an employee at the National Museum for Natural History (20.11.201): "We need honest police - no bribing." The informal trader licensed by Prasa, thinks very poorly of the police officers. He said: "The police come in cliques of 20 to 30 in uniform but they lack skills in terms of interaction with the people and are lazy." Similar stories to the ones about the CPF were told, where police were making foreigners without papers [work/visitor permit] pay money in order to avoid being detained. On the one hand, the survey and open interviews demonstrated that the police patrol frequently and are approved of by citizens, who consider them as an efficient security measure, but on the other hand, the police are seen as a threat to marginalised citizens such as foreigners and informal traders. These findings seem to reflect a wide spread phenomenon.

"In all those places visited it is the poor population who suffers most from the threat of violence and wherever we met a new community to work with, the proximity of a police station was among the top "needs" listed by the residents. This was somehow paradoxical, as only a short time later they would express that the police were least likely to help them in case they got attacked (and in certain cases, the police themselves were actually the biggest threat of all)."

(Math y and Matuk, 2014, p.7)

What the maps with the crime incidents illustrate, is that those areas which are under constant surveillance, are the areas where less crime is occurring. The most evident example is the above mentioned station precinct, where a police station is located just next to the old station building from where police officers start their daily patrols. In addition, there are private security agents standing in smaller groups on the station forecourt. The northern border of the precinct along Scheiding Street, can be clearly recognised on the crime map A-P.1 (see Annex A) where the high crime rate ceases at the edge of the forecourt.

8.3.3 Interventions at hotspots

At the end of 2014, an upgrading of the sidewalks was done in conjunction with the implementation of the TRT route along Nana Sita Street. The new pavement is shared by various users, including pedestrians, cyclists and people with disabilities.

This study does not provide evidence that the intervention in Nana Sita Street has had a positive effect on the crime occurring in the area. It is one indicator though, that this might be the case. However, there is no indication that the perception of the sector, in which the corner is located, has improved, if at all. When asked about the overall rating of the security situation in 2014, seven respondents felt that it was poor; one believed it was fair; another felt it was good and two excellent (see fig.: 18) A predominantly negative perception prevails, just as it does in sector 1 and 2; only in sector 4 the positive and negative balance each other with three respondents finding the security situation poor; one fair; two average; three good and one excellent.

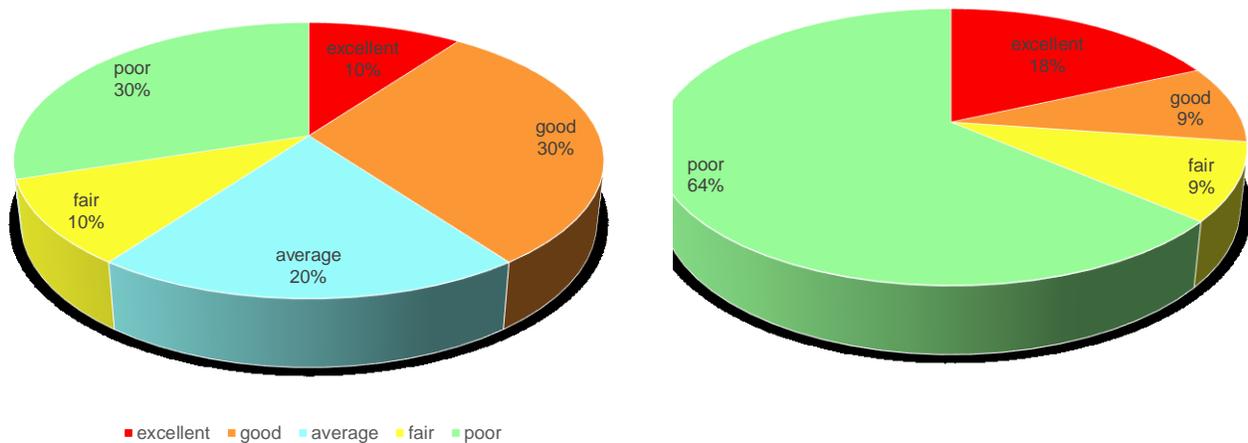


Fig.: 18 Overall rating of security situation in 2014 of section 4 (left) and 3 (right) (own source)

The survey of 2000 revealed that the area surrounding Pretoria Station is regarded as one of the most unsafe (Schoonraad et al. 2000) while the corner indicator (see fig. 12) shows that the crime on Scheiding/Paul Kruger was below average; it was perceived as more dangerous than it actually was. In 2014, the same area has become more dangerous according to the crime corner indicator, although, as stated above, the perception is that the area is relatively safe. One explanation for such a shift, could lie in the intervention at the Pretoria Station.

Pretoria Station

The intention to upgrade the station forecourt, as well as the improvement of pedestrian safety in the surrounding area, is proposed as an important intervention in the Urban Design Framework for the Improvement of Environmental Conditions on the Paul Kruger Street Spine of the year 2000. The new Pretoria Gautrain Station project has fulfilled the claim made by Schoonraad et al. (2000) and its own proposition to upgrade the station forecourt and improve the safety within the station precinct. The high levels of safety are intended as part of the new Pretoria Gautrain Station project. The demarcation of the secured area is clearly defined.

Safety and security of Gautrain passengers and other affected parties are of utmost importance. The safety and security features are extended to other facilities of the services such as the station precinct and vehicle parking areas.

(Gautrain Management 2014)



Fig.: 19 The Gautrain Pretoria Station; located adjacent and to the south-east of the existing Pretoria Main Station with its historic Herbert Baker station building. (source: <http://www.gautrain.co.za>)

The presence of the private security guards, hired by Prasa, and the officers of SAPS, with its station situated directly on the precinct, must clearly contribute to the perception as well as the actual safety. It is quite likely that the environmental design, which is pedestrian friendly and allows an overview of the site, contributes to both aspects too. On the station forecourt, there are a few fast-food restaurants and some benches, where people are waiting or using their cell phones, apparently without inhibition (see e. g. fig.: 20; middle right). Two students, who were having lunch in one of the restaurants, made very significant statements when interviewed. The survey distinguishes, in a variety of questions, between the area where the interview took place (in this case sector 4) and the other three sectors. The two black South African students, who seemed to have a high level of education, referred to the station precinct as their own area and differentiated it from other areas, clearly with regards to their perception of their own rank within the social scheme of things. Both rated the overall security situation in the station precinct as good while the situation on the entire stretch of Paul Kruger Street was rated as poor.

The Gautrain management's formulation of a clear delimitation of security measures is not found with regards to the upgrading and renewal of the environment. On the contrary, it is claimed that the Gautrain Pretoria Station will stimulate urban renewal in Pretoria's CBD and act as a catalyst for the upgrading and renewal of the area, which will improve the living and working environment for local users. The need to create adequate connections through pedestrian pathways and to clean the environment as well as counteract urban decay is explicitly expressed on the website of Gautrain Management (2014). However, it has not resolved the main problem of the harsh pedestrian environment, with its crossing over Scheiding Street, by e.g. gradually upgrading the paving and street furniture.

[...] Gautrain Pretoria Station is deemed to bring with it urban upliftment and revitalisation encouraging business, residential and tourism trips. In particular existing land uses must be improved and renovated and pedestrian links created ensuring safe passage for commuters.

(Gautrain Management 2014)



Fig.: 20 Pedestrian crossing at Scheiding St. (top left) view towards the station; (top right) view towards Paul Kruger St. Commuters at the Pretoria Station precinct (bottom four images) 9.12.2014 and 20.1.2015 (Source: Emmanuel Munano and Reatile Moalusi from Pretoria Street Photography)

The research reveals that the Gautrain intervention has had only a minimally beneficial effect on the surrounding area. In a recent survey, most shop owners in the area stated that the intervention had not brought additional clients. According to an Indian tailor who runs a shop on Scheiding Street, just across from the station, the majority of the Gautrain users (see examples in fig.: 20) come from more affluent areas. When asked how the intervention of the Gautrain Station has affected his business he answered: “The Gautrain users come from upmarket areas. They just park, take the train and are gone. For them it is very convenient but the area doesn’t benefit from the intervention. The station is upgraded but it doesn’t affect the surrounding area.” For the commuters, the Indian shop owner referred to, it might be in point of fact very convenient to use the train in order to reach their work in e.g. banks or governmental administrative offices but they do not interact with the people or use the surrounding infrastructure. Since there is little socio-economic engagement between commuters and businesses in the locality of the Gautrain Station, the area seems not to benefit substantially from the intervention. When looking through the safety lens, the contrast between the highly monitored surveillance of the station and the bordering Scheiding Street is clearly apparent as is illustrated in the image below (see Annex A map A.P.1/2). The successful restructuring and upgrading of the station precinct, to meet passenger requirements in terms of mobility and safety, has not included an upgrading of the surrounding areas. Furthermore, this built environment intervention has possibly merely resulted in the displacement of violence and crime rather than serving as a preventative measure. Due to the fact that places like train stations and shopping malls are more strictly controlled, they are perceived as safer; therefore a dramatic increase of such ‘semi-public’ spaces can be observed in South Africa.

9. Discussion

9.1 A leading international African capital city

Originally the title of this study included the expression “revitalizing the inner city in South Africa” but then I started to interrogate the proposition behind such diction. In the sense that to ‘revitalize’ is “to make (someone or something) active, healthy, or energetic again”, as defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the question arises as to which state in the past one is referring to, when implying that it was once vital? In the documentary film “In search of our own”, which portrays the influence that the Pretorian architect Norman Eaton has had on the architecture of the city, from the early 30’s to the 60’s with his very uniquely African interpretation of the *International Style*, one interviewee Gus Gerneke describes in a nostalgic way, the life of the inner city of Pretoria in the 50’s with its elegant cafés and vibrant street life. It was not a political statement but it also did not address the fact that the central business core was reserved for the white population. Obviously the Council of the City of Tshwane, when making reference to regeneration, must be using the terminology more in line with the global trend of major cities, in trying to address environmental, economic and social deficits. However, the interrogation of the title Tshwane Inner City Development and Regeneration Strategy, with its vision “to become the leading international African capital city of excellence that empowers the community to prosper in a safe and healthy

environment” (City of Tshwane, 2006, p.4), raises questions regarding the chosen terminology and what is more, the objective behind such a strategy. The following statement, “the City of Tshwane is committed towards the revitalization of the Inner City, in line with the trend in other major cities in the country and around the world” is indicative of a clear commitment to the neoliberal development model, which the Cities Alliance promoted through the mechanism of city development strategies in the drive for globally competitive cities (Huchzermeyer, 2011). The vision of achieving ‘world cities’ status, where cities constantly measure their status and level of global connectedness against other cities (Stevenson, 2013), has “implications such as discouraging the poor from living in the city by making it unattractive to them by denying basic services and legitimacy” (Huchzermeyer, 2011, p.53). The terminology that the City of Tshwane uses is clearly based on neoliberalist beliefs in market forces and competing economies, which is in line with the national economic policy of the African National Congress (ANC) since 1994.

In the last decade of apartheid, the NP had jumped on the neoliberal bandwagon and embraced the concept of globalisation. The ANC had no choice but to be very wary of white business and international fears and prejudices as they took power.

(Du Preez, 2013, pp.85 – 86)

According to Stevenson (2013), the competition to become a ‘world class city’ has had a direct impact on the focus of urban policies. The expansion of infrastructure is amongst the urban development priorities; the Gautrain can be understood in this context. To become the host of global events, such as the Olympic Games or the FIFA World Cup and its consequent upgrading of the urban environment, raises the status of a city considerably and although the Gautrain was conceived prior to the FIFA World Cup event, an incentive amounting to R150 million was provided to encourage the opening of the Gautrain in time for the football tournament in 2010 (Gautrain Management 2014). The Gautrain, described by its own management as a ‘world class’ integrated public transport service, is integrative in technical terms, including an extremely efficient transfer system from the train to associated bus services. It is very convenient for those who can afford the fees but definitely not integrative in the wider social sense. This service makes no provision for the poor, for whom the train fare is unaffordable. The stations were also not conceptualized to encourage passenger stopovers: one is not allowed to eat or drink inside the station and the benches were not designed to sit on but only to allow one to lean against them. The service provided is indeed efficient, but the stations are purposely uninviting as places to remain for any extended period of time, all this to discourage loitering.

9.2 Safety within a limit

The overall crime map A.P-1 proves that the high degree of surveillance is effective. As explained with the help of the crime maps the incidents proliferate just outside the delimitations of the station precinct. The presence of the private security guards, hired by Prasa and the officers of the SAPS, with its station situated directly on the precinct, must clearly contribute to the perceived as well as the actual safety. It is likely that the environmental design, which is pedestrian friendly and allows an overview of the site, contributes to the security and perceived safety as well. When observing

my own impressions and sense of awareness, I could detect a significant change in the fear of crime and violence, when walking in the surroundings of Brown Street (see Annex A map A.P-16) or on the edges of the station precinct.

As described in chapter 2.2.3 empirical data of crime statistics often does not explain the fear of crime of the inhabitants. Although the objective security situation does not justify it, the fear of crime in one place may be high. But in the case of the hotspots, analysed in chapter 8.2.3, the sense of insecurity was in accordance with the actual degree of unsafety. The described environmental characteristics of these areas, for example fenced-off buildings or pedestrian unfriendly environments, fulfil virtually the criteria of a CPTED catalogue (see cover images and e.g. fig.: 11). Although it would be narrow minded to believe that the problems could be resolved only through the improvement of such deficits, it seems plausible that offenders will feel restrictions on their possibilities of escape. Mr Reichert from the office for physical crime prevention at the police department of criminal investigation of Berlin, stated in a telephone interview (17.9.2014) that a realistic expectation towards physical crime prevention approaches, is to make it as difficult as possible for the offender to be successful and as likely as possible that the victim will be unharmed in any incidents. I have confidence that a potential victim would feel safer in an upgraded environment, as has been proven in the case of the Pretoria Station, where the intervention changed the public's perception of safety as well as reduced the levels of crime. As described in chapter ... the behavioural as well as environmental dimension (object sense of safety), and the mental and distinctive sense of security or insecurity (the subjective safety), are capable of influencing one another. In fact, the citizens are encouraged to use the facilities at the Pretoria Station, through the placement of physical features and formal surveillance. By increasing the visibility of social interaction, the citizens contribute to the natural surveillance and as a result, potential offenders sense the increased control and restriction on their possibilities of escape. Ultimately, this makes the environment much safer. The crime statistics as well as the findings of the interviews, indicate that in the case of the Pretoria Station, the intervention has had such an effect.

However, this study also emphasizes that the benefits gained from such intervention could have been much greater if the approach had made the attempt to improve the conditions of the neighbouring areas. The Gautrain Station project has not resolved the main problems of urban decay in the surrounding area. So far, the data collections do not indicate that the intervention has been a stimulator for the living and working environment in the CBD of Pretoria. The risk that responses in the built environment merely induce a displacement of crime, might have occurred in this case (Kruger and K. Landman 2008). At this point, it is necessary to suggest that a comprehensive contrasting juxtaposition has its limitations. Although the questionnaire of 2014 complies to a high degree with the one from 2000, the earlier data is only available in the form of a summarised evaluation (percentage) and not in its raw format (number of incidents). The different degrees of crime, from very high to very low, as illustrated in fig.: 12, are relative since they refer only to the respective year. For example, the number of incidents which occurred in one area, in 2000, might be high in comparison to other areas in that year but would not necessarily be high in the year

2014. Nevertheless, the figure demonstrates that there has not been a positive change in the patterns of crime on Scheiding Street. In fact, following the logic of the data comparison described above, the corner crime indicator has worsened from below average to above average, which substantiates the induction of a displacement of crime.

Future work could now be based on the data provided in this study, which includes the exact number of crime incidents with the precise location and time of occurrence. Follow-up work could monitor the changes in crime patterns and perception of violence and crime and evaluate whether, in the short, medium or long term, this will remain precarious or will have improved. An important question for future studies is to determine whether the intervention at the Pretoria Station will have stimulated urban renewal in the surrounding areas or have exerted a positive effect on the living and working environment of local users, as was intended originally by the Gautrain management.

“Other programmes aimed at building community responsibility are essential and the inclusion of communities in crime prevention strategies is critical.” (Kruger and K. Landman, 2008a, pp.79–80) In the *Feasibility Study for the Support of the Khayelitsha Urban Renewal Programme*, (Mathéy et al., 2002) propose ‘safe nodes’, which are smaller urban sub-centres principally combining commercial, service and work opportunities which are unavailable in the neighbourhood, as a contribution to violence prevention. Such social centres could host open-air public meetings and other community events. The Pretoria Station actually fulfils some of the requisites of a ‘safe node’ by providing access to public transportation, with its bus stops and taxi ranks. In addition, there is direct proximity to a “protective institutional policing body that will deter potential violators and criminals, and increase security” (Mathéy et al., 2002, p.88). What is missing though, are the essential components such as the availability of basic services for all citizens and, as has been demonstrated throughout this research, the provision of local labour as well as educational opportunities which could increase incomes and therefore reduce risk factors. It appears that the city’s development strategies, which aim to drive for the status of globally competitive cities, did not consider the potential of the Gautrain Station project, in becoming a ‘safe node’. However, I could witness at the end of the year 2014 that the TRT, with its upgrading of the sidewalks, started operating effectively and that this transportation service is de facto more integrative, since its fees are not just affordable for the more affluent parts of society. There are positive indications that the safety on Nana Sita Street has improved, as to whether the intervention will have a sustained positive effect on the amount of crime occurring and the perception of safety of the area remains to be proven.

9.3 A vivid and inclusive city

As a visitor, one can easily fall into the behavioural pattern of criticising the conditions of the foreign country. It seems that most South Africans from more affluent areas, with the exception of those working at government facilities or banks, tend to avoid going into the CBD. On the one hand, warnings such as the one released by the US embassy need to be taken seriously, but on the other it became evident that the Zoological Gardens are not in fact remarkably unsafe. The logic of ‘eyes on the street’ surveillance can have the reverse effect. The less visible the social

interaction, the less surveillance there is, which is why also on a personal level each individual can make a contribution to safety through actively promoting inclusivity.

[...] “Indifference to difference”: that is, a natural disposition to considering people in strange dress and who look different from us as perfectly normal. This disposition, natural in children, has to be re-acquired by adults. Again, this can happen best in a city’s public spaces.

(Garau, 2014, p.7)

Once I got involved with the citizens during the interviews, I felt the environment to be quite open and welcoming. In fact, the CBD of Pretoria is, to make use of the Merriam-Webster dictionary’s terminology, very active and energetic. It is in appearance at least, one of the most vibrant districts in Pretoria. Maybe in the shopping malls of Pretoria’s fashionable eastern suburbs, the goings-on of the crowd is similarly active, but such spaces are semi-public places, with open access to the public but activities geared towards the higher end commercial sphere, excluding those who are of lower incomes. Although the city council neoliberal approach to become internationally more competitive must be questioned, it is compelling to strengthen the inner city’s advantages compared to the suburban centres.

To ameliorate the environmental quality and image of the inner city, which is the “only really public urban space in Pretoria as opposed to the suburban and privatised spaces in the rest of the city [and] contains the most important historical, architectural and cultural buildings and places in Pretoria.” (Schoonraad et al., 2000, p.3), this needs to be recognised as an essential contribution towards achieving the objective of retaining current business and attracting new businesses, as well as maintaining important government functions which are accommodated in the centre.

In a people-centred city, the public space is central to the notion of a liveable and human environment.

It is one of the few places where integration between people of different income, race, religious conviction, political affiliation -to name but a few- can take place. As such it is of extreme importance to the successful building of our nation. Several sociologists have stressed the importance of integration for a healthy society. Its accessibility for all groups enhances this quality.

(Schoonraad et al., 2000, p.3)

Prioritising inclusiveness and recognising the agitation of citizens for the ‘right to the city’, is in contrast to the pervasive feature of many African cities’ drive for recognition as globally competitive cities (Huchzermeyer 2011). During a lecture of Marie Huchzermeyer at the Technical University of Berlin (15.7.2014), an interesting discourse arose as to whether the right to the city is only applicable to citizens; this would imply that illegal immigrants would not be included. Particularly in the CBD of Pretoria, there are a large percentage of foreigners from other African countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe or Nigeria. The results of the open interviews illustrated the controversy of this issue. On the one hand, they felt harassed by the CPF and the Police, while on the other they feared mugging and other petty thefts by South African citizens. A

luggage carrier on the station forecourt explained that the high numbers of foreigners in the city centre is the reason for the lack of social cohesion, which is why he estimated the effectiveness of initiatives addressing social issues (see fig.: 6) as low.

9.4 Types of crime and effective reduction

Obvious changes have taken place in one and a half decades, in terms of occurrence of crime. In the year 2000, most crimes occurred during the night and not during working hours, as was the case in 2014. At the time, the number of crimes over weekends was almost four times more than during the week. However, this study cannot give answers to all facets of the crime patterns.

Furthermore, the survey of 2000 differentiates between users of the street and shop owners, since the emphasis of the intervention was on business aspects, while the survey of 2014 represents a cross section of the local population, consisting of shop owners, pedestrians, service providers, informal traders etc. Nevertheless, contrasting the perception survey with the crime statistics from SAPS and comparing this information with the statistics from the different years, certainly gives insight into the differences in terms of the perceived and factual safety along the Paul Kruger Street spine. The findings can be presented to the Council of Tshwane, given by the office Metroplan, to inform recommendations as part of the Tshwane Inner City Regeneration Strategy.

The results of the study have portrayed some possible linkages between the socio-spatial characteristics and the types of crimes occurring in certain areas. The relatively low rates of murder could be explained by the fact that “[...] Most murders, attempted murders and rapes occur between people who know each other” (ISS, 2014a, p.3). As can be seen in fig.: 7 there are far more cases of murder in a township like Khayelitsha than there are in the CBD of Pretoria, where, apart from the claimed lack of social cohesion, there is a lot less residential use and therefore presumably more anonymity. Further to the argument, the crime maps illustrated a probable correlation between drug abuse (or possession) and thefts and robberies. In order to prevent young citizens from becoming drug addicts and committing theft, the risk factors need to be reduced, which requires a long-term investment in the prevention of social violence and crime. The police cannot be expected to prevent the majority of crimes from occurring when the appropriate preventative measures are not in place.

Throughout my fieldwork, I became more and more convinced that in spite of the fact that the slight majority of interviewees associate informal traders with unsafe environments, they do actually contribute to effective informal surveillance. The argument that they have a personal interest in securing their environment, since the success of their businesses depend largely on their clients’ willingness to frequent the area, is compelling. The number of stories of informal traders having their goods confiscated by the police is alarming and leads to the suggestion of the incorporation of street vendors into similar partnerships, as are occurring in the case of the Zoological gardens and Prasa.

The organised criminal groups, which according to the street vendor at the Zoological Gardens commit a large proportion of the robberies and burglaries, operate from the scrap yards where they

can process and sell the stolen goods. They can be removed from society, through solid detective work, decreasing the risk to others and ultimately reducing these types of crime (ISS 2014a). According to a list by ISS (2014a), good policing practices can reduce crimes (with the exception of thefts committed by organised crime syndicates) such as street robberies, vehicle and truck hijacking, residential and non-residential robberies and residential and business burglaries. But the ISS also points out that “the ability of the police to reduce crimes such as robbery has been negatively affected by instability in senior police management and the deterioration of police crime intelligence” (ISS, 2014a, p.7). The findings of the interviews are that, although many citizens see policing as an efficient security measure, the police force itself appears to be a threat to the marginalised citizens such as foreigners and informal traders. Many respondents lament the inefficiency and low morals of the officers. According to the NDP, senior police managers should be assessed against clear standards to assert whether they have the required expertise, skills and integrity. This request responds to the claims of many of the interviewees that the police need to be more honest and more motivated in order to help citizens.

9.5 Arrest and prosecution of criminals and crime prevention strategies

As a response to the latest crime statistics released by the SAPS on Friday 19 September 2014, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) said on the same day that the multiple and complex reasons for high rates of violence and crime cannot be addressed only by the police or criminal justice sector. The ISS postulates that in order to reduce violence and crime, a multi-sector approach is required and strategies need to adapt to the ones identified by UNICEF as being key to the prevention of violence in society (ISS 2014a).

Marc Mauer, director of the Sentencing Project in Washington DC, emphasises that one cannot place violence and crime prevention and law enforcement at opposite ends of the spectrum, claiming that either the one or the other is the right approach (Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.25).

My preparation for this research at the VCP consisted, amongst other assignments, of the preliminaries for a stakeholder workshop for the successful implementation of the urban approach to safety as part of the IUDF. Based on my experience at the GIZ in South Africa, I think it is safe to say that the Republic of South Africa has many highly elaborate polices emphasising the need of preventive measures. The real challenge for the future lies in the implementation of such policies. “The non-implementation of the subsequent 1999 White Paper on Safety and Security [...] and the fact that it has since lapsed, effectively shut down the strategy in all but name” (Ehlers and Tait, 2009, p.23). “This question refers to the second critique of Altbeker’s book – it misses the essential point of South African crime prevention policy, which is simply that it has never been implemented” (Pelser, 2007).

There is good reason to believe that the stakeholder workshop, for a successful implementation of the urban approach to safety of the IUDF in March 2015, will show some positive results. Ultimately the future achievements will depend on a willingness of politicians to support the frameworks.

10. Conclusion

This research has demonstrated, on the basis of crime statistics, a perception survey and an analysis of the physical and socio-spatial dimension, that an intervention in the built environment, such as the exemplified new Gautrain Station, has the potential to change the public perception of safety and, as a reciprocal effect, the actual safety in an area. The upgraded environment is significantly safer as well as being perceived as such, encouraging social interaction and frequent use of available public space.

However, it is reasonable to suppose that this rather 'exclusionary' approach to the reduction of crime, involving the limitation and control of access, has not strengthened the quality of the public realm within the inner city. Security measures, which are not affordable for all citizens, are counterproductive in the long term, as they do not address the root causes of violence and crime but lead to further exclusion and inequality. An approach to crime prevention that encourages integration and participation would promote the vibrancy, diversity, and accessibility of the urban environment.

The data collections indicate that the Gautrain intervention did not have a great effect on the improvement of the surrounding living and working environment, its benefits are limited to its immediate area and have little influence on countervailing urban decay in the CBD of Pretoria as a whole. Rather, the apprehension that the intervention merely induces a displacement of crime is substantiated by the fact that the crime indicator has worsened. Based on the collected data of this study, future work could monitor possible changes and determine whether the intervention could ameliorate safety conditions in times to come, as well as influencing positively, the living and working conditions in surrounding areas. To date the project of the new Gautrain Station has missed this opportunity.

The current data evaluation confirms, that the results obtained in the earlier study of 2000 are to a large extent still valid. Crime, and more importantly, the perception of crime must be addressed if successful development is to take place. Integral to this ambition, is regular maintenance and urban upgrading of key spaces and the pedestrian environment, this remains a priority today just as it was at the time of the previous study. In order to successfully ameliorate the inner city of Pretoria, urban policies based on a neoliberal development model and aiming for the status of 'world class city', need to focus on these issues as a priority and develop inclusive strategies which address the root causes of violence and crime, while promoting inclusion and equality. The CBD's competitiveness, with regards to other areas in the city, needs to be patronised in order to preserve governmental functions and attract new businesses. It could be inferred that the inner city of Pretoria is already the most vivid area in the city and it has the potential to integrate citizens from all parts of society, who need to be encouraged to use the last true public spaces that are left in Pretoria.

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Annexes

Annex A: Crime maps with hotspots

Annex B: Questioner of perception survey

Annex C: Spread sheet with the data collection of the surveys

Annex D: Notes of observations during open interviews

Annex E: Typology of violence

Annex A

Crime Maps

The transitional urban spaces of a post-apartheid South Africa

Existing practices to ameliorate safety

and an investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety in the Pretoria CBD

Lukas Terrence Hoyer

Degree of Master of Science in Urban Management at Technische Universität Berlin

Annex B

Perception Survey of Paul Kruger Street

METROPLAN
Town Planners and Urban Designers

In collaboration with

Lukas Terrence Hoye
The Urban Management Program of the Technical University of Berlin

and

Pretoria City Council

November 2014

The transitional urban spaces of a post-apartheid South Africa

Existing practices to ameliorate safety

and an investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety in the Pretoria CBD

Lukas Terrence Hoye

Degree of Master of Science in Urban Management at Technische Universität Berlin

Background information

1) **Age?** 0-15 16-24 25-34 35-45 45-60 >60

2) **Gender?** Male Female

3) **Race?** Black African White Coloured Indian or Asian

4) **Profession?**

5) **Location?** Sector 1 Sector 2 Sector 3 Sector 4

1. SECTION: SAFETY & SECURITY

1.1. Types of crimes taking place

In our knowledge what types of crimes occur most frequently? Please rate the following types of crime from 1–5 (1 = very often; 2 = often; 3 = sometimes; 4 = rarely; 5 = never)

	Shop lifting	Theft of car	Theft from car	Muggings	Armed robbery	Others (specify)
This specific area						
Along Paul Kruger St						

1.2. Location of crimes

Where in your opinion do most crimes occur within the area? Please try to be reasonably specific.

1.3. When does crime occur more often?

Weekdays Weekends Same Don't know

1.4. Times of crime

At what times do most crimes occur?

24 hours	Working hours	Evenings	Early mornings	After hours	Other

1.5. Do you think that informal trading has an effect on safety?

Positive Negative Neither

1.6. Current formal surveillance

In your opinion is the current formal surveillance including policing and security services in the area effective?

Yes No Don't know

1.7. Overall rating of security situation

How do you rate the overall situation?

	Excellent	Good	Average	Fair	Poor	Don't know
This specific area						
Along Paul Kruger St						

1.8. What do you suggest could be done to improve the safety in the area?

Patrols	Visibility	Houses	Community participation	Educational workshops	Recreation

Other initiatives? Please try to be reasonably specific.

2. SECTION: LIGHTING

2.1. From a security point of view, do you feel that the lighting in the area is adequate?

Yes No Don't know

Other initiatives? Please try to be reasonably specific.

3. SECTION: CLEANLINESS

3.1. Litter

Is litter on pavements / kerbs a problem?

Yes No Don't know

3.2. Graffiti

Is graffiti a problem?

Yes No Don't know

3.3. Overall cleanliness rating

How do you rate the overall cleanliness?

	Excellent	Good	Average	Fair	Poor	Don't know
This specific area						
Along Paul Kruger St						

4. SECTION: TRANSPORTATION

4.1. Public parking

How do you rate the public parking situation?

	Excellent	Good	Average	Fair	Poor	Don't know
This specific area						
Along Paul Kruger St						

4.2. Informal parking attendants

What is your perception of the informal parking attendants in the area?

Very positive	Positive	Average	Negative	Very negative	Don't know
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4.3. Public transportation

How do you rate the public transportation provided?

	Excellent	Good	Average	Fair	Poor	Don't know
This specific area						
Along Paul Kruger St						

4.4. Mini-bus taxis

How do you perceive mini-bus taxis in the area?

Very positive	Positive	Average	Negative	Very negative	Don't know

4.5. Road and traffic signage

How do you rate the standard of road and traffic signage (street names, traffic signs, road marking etc.)?

	Excellent	Good	Average	Fair	Poor	Don't know
This specific area						
Along Paul Kruger St						

5. PUBLIC ENVIRONMENT

5.1. Areas

What is your perception of the following environments in the area?

	Very positive	Positive	Average	Negative	Very negative	Don't know
Residential						
Taverns						
Public open spaces						
Taxi ranks						
Shopping areas						
Informal trading						
Cultural institutions (museums)						
Hotels						
Schools						

6. SECTION: SOCIAL ISSUES

6.1. Street children

6.1.1. Are street children problem?

	Yes	No	Don't know
This specific area			
Along Paul Kruger St			

6.1.2. If the answer is YES, why do you regard them as a problem? Please rate the following types of crime from 1–5 (1 = very often; 2 = often; 3 = sometimes; 4 = rarely; 5 = never)

Loiter	Beg	Sleep in area	Drugs	Steal	Other (specify)

6.1.3. If the answer is YES, when are they a problem?

24 hours	Working hours	Evenings	Early mornings	After hours	Other

6.1.4. Where?

6.2. Homeless community

6.2.1. Are the homeless a problem?

	Yes	No	Don't know
This specific area			
Along Paul Kruger St			

6.2.2. If the answer is YES, why do you regard them as a problem? Please rate the following types of crime from 1–5 (1 = very often; 2 = often; 3 = sometimes; 4 = rarely; 5 = never)

Loiter	Beg	Sleep in area	Drugs	Steal	Other (specify)

6.2.3. If the answer is YES, when are they a problem?

24 hours	Working hours	Evenings	Early mornings	After hours	Other

6.2.4. Where?

6.3. Prostitution

6.3.1. Is prostitution a problem?

	Yes	No	Don't know
This specific area			
Along Paul Kruger St			

6.3.2. If the answer is YES, why do you regard it as a problem?

6.3.3. If the answer is YES, when are they a problem?

24 hours	Working hours	Evenings	Early mornings	After hours	Other

6.3.4. Where?

6.4. Drugs

6.4.1. Is drugs a problem?

	Yes	No	Don't know
This specific area			
Along Paul Kruger St			

6.4.2. If the answer is YES, when are they a problem?

24 hours	Working hours	Evenings	Early mornings	After hours	Other

6.4.3. Where?

7. SECTION: OVERALL RANKING

Please rank the following issues in order of importance

(1 = most important and 6 = least important)

Safety & Security	
Lighting	
Cleanliness	
Transportation	
Public Environment	
Social Issues	

Annex C

Survey Data Collection

The transitional urban spaces of a post-apartheid South Africa

Existing practices to ameliorate safety

and an investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety in the Pretoria CBD

Lukas Terrence Hoyer

Degree of Master of Science in Urban Management at Technische Universität Berlin

Sector 1

Table for Sector 1 containing demographic information, safety and security questions, and public involvement questions. Columns include Respondent 1 through Respondent 10 and various question categories.

Sector 2

Table for Sector 2 containing demographic information, safety and security questions, and public involvement questions. Columns include Respondent 1 through Respondent 10 and various question categories.

Annex D

Notes of observations during open interviews

The transitional urban spaces of a post-apartheid South Africa

Existing practices to ameliorate safety

and an investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety in the Pretoria CBD

Lukas Terrence Hoyer

Degree of Master of Science in Urban Management at Technische Universität Berlin

Observations: Perception Survey of Paul Kruger Street

Date: November 2014

Respondent 1:

Since the respondent works as a luggage carrier at the station he was clearly trying to make Prasa, its security etc. appear especially well.

- Maybe the information that homeless people sleep in the somehow park like center of the square in front of the station was the only negative issue that I could detect out his overall very biased perspective.
- Most likely literate.
- ➔ Low quality interview

Respondent 2:

- Perceives the hotels as very positive since she works as a receptionist.
- She knows that prostitution is taking place in the hotels -> map them!
- Believes that initiatives that will bring many people together are negative since those ultimately provoke more crime.

➔ decent interview

Respondent 3:

- good details on crime (theft from car, drugs) lack of parking in front of the museum,
- adds drug dealing as very often!
- **Some parking attendants contribute to crime, they know the thefts (women in herb shops also says her car will be fine but they know when it's someone from outside!)**
- **Public space in front of the museum fenced?! Supposed to be open!**
- Taxi ranks should be forced to get removed! Good for perception mapping!
- Street kids are often the prostitutes

➔ good interview

Respondent 4:

also works as a luggage carrier at the station but is smarter than R1

- Crime occurs at the Chinese shops on Bosman St. Confirmed by Woman selling herbs
- He rates security as very poor in contrast to R1. More trustworthy.
- **Employ people that are willing to do something. Honest police - no bribing**
- You have to distinguish between the informal parking attendants that want to help and the ones involved in crime
- Mini busses should improve their appearance and organization
- In terms of road signage he is being asked a lot by people which way to go

- The taxi ranks he considers as very dangerous. When he gets tipped by costumers having carried luggage to the taxi he is scared of the drivers since they get jealous and aggressive
- Museums etc. are not accessible for everyone because of the entrance costs
- ➔ decent quality interview

Respondent 5:

Young educated female student

- Clearly distinguishes between the train station area (positive) and the surrounding (negative)
- But knows to distinguish between the topics. In some she distinguishes more than in others
- ➔ good answers, no personal interview

Respondent 6:

2. young educated female student (friends)

- **Clearly distinguishes between the train station area (positive) and the surrounding (negative)**
- Crime happens along Paul Kruger ST by Pretorius St, mostly in high traffic buzz area
- Thinks that drugs is not problem, but rates it high among street kids.
- Misunderstanding in final ranking, taken over like she ticked
- ➔ good answers, no personal interview

Respondent 7:

Shop owner, herbs and traditional healing

- He has been since 2005. Nothing has really changed.
- The pet store got robbed twice, but that was a few years ago and since then nothing has really happened.
- **This area relatively safe since there is a lot of police**
- **Crime taking place in the area is basically drug dealing and cell phone stealing**
- Doesn't want to make judgment about the other sectors.
- Schelding is safer than rest of the block (questionable since towards Bosman that does not seem to be the case)
- **Also the police making foreigners without papers pay**
- **Police are a big problem, they chase the informal traders, which hide in his store when they come**
- **The municipality wanted to take the informal traders out of the busy areas but the traders depend on the flow of people and many of them had been here for years and will be here anyway (link with Ilze's story where police confiscated there goods while they are at the toilet)**
- **The informal traders clearly contribute to the safety, but it looks unsafe since they always have one or two people standing around with them**

- Formal surveillance is effective but the police lacks training (anecdote of the female cop spraying paper spray at an innocent person and afterwards not attending him)
- **In terms of lighting there has been a lot of improvement since the Gautrain came**
- There aren't that many informal attendants in the area since people park their car here during the day, **they mingle with the car thefts (also confirmed by R3)**
- Anecdote of a famous graffiti artist. They weren't aware that they had cleaned an expensive piece of art
- He is aware that his judgment about time is biased because of he's only in the area during the working hours
- ➔ excellent answers, additional open interview

Respondent 8:

- He is from Cape Town and here for 2 years (working as informal trader licensed by Prasa for 1,5)
- The police confiscate the goods of informal street vendors but he is licensed by Prasa. Initially he was supposed to pay them monthly, but after the second month he wasn't asked to pay anymore
- He himself calls on occasions the security when he sees some crime occurring
- Bag snatching is done by the street kids
- **Where there are a lot of people it gets more dangerous**
- There is no political will to change hotspots such as Brown St, which is a center for Nyope
- **There are a lot of foreigners in the inner city that's why social cohesion doesn't work here.**
- **Although the Gautrain station is very safe the intervention didn't have any effect on the area**
- **This and most public spaces are maintained well**
- **The police come in cliques of 20 to 30 in uniform but they lack skills in terms of interaction with the people and are lazy. Has an absolute low opinion of the police officers.**
- **In a place like this (precinct of the station) where there is a lot of security crime doesn't really happen**
- Questioner adopted from test version
- Crime takes place at Church Square, normally when there are a lot of people, not often at the station since there is a lot of security
- **Due to the informal parking attendants there is less car theft and theft out of car in the area**
- Nyope is the drug consumed
- ➔ excellent answers, additional open interview

Respondent 9:

Older Indian shop owner (tailor and dry cleaning)

- some informal street vendors are pushing drugs
- the informal parking attendants are not actually watching your car ...
- for him as a shop owner the TRT will even worsen the parking situation since the view places in front of the shop will be eliminated and there haven't been arranged any parking alternatives so his customers won't find a safe parking space anymore
- **Many businesses went down because of the high crime taking place**
- **Community policing are searching people for drugs and weapons. They patrol quite often, which is positive (only here since the last few weeks) (contradicting R10)**
- Point 4.5. Describes the incidents of a truck accident in the sharp curve
- The reason for the destruction is that in SA pride and passion is missing!
- **The Gautrain users come from upmarket areas. They just park, take the train and are gone. For them it is very convenient but the area doesn't benefit from the intervention. The station is upgraded but it doesn't affect the surrounding area.**
- **The homeless used to sleep all over but not anymore.**
- Wants to rate under point 7 all equally important, which I did (might need to be checked?!)
- ➔ excellent answers, additional open interview

Respondent 10:

Older female shop owner selling herbs and traditional medicine

- The Shangaan from Mozambique hang out on the streets and terrorize the people. They are well known by the police but are not being caught
- **Informal traders become targets of the perpetrators, they hide amongst them**
- **Crime hotspot Bosman/Schelding**
- **The volunteers are getting money out of the foreigners. On different corners different groups. They are worse than the cops. (look into Community Policing Forums, maybe interview Nazira)**
- **If you call the police they cannot help**
- Calling for honesty. **“Basically we have enough police. They just need to be honest”**
- There is a lot of security around (metro police, saps) but it is about the behavior
- Apparently there are some community meetings
- The streets used to be a lot filthier (80%) but since June this year it is not as bad as before
- Since the employees from Home Affairs park outside there is less parking space for shop owners and customers
- There are many accidents on this sharp corner, but the problem is more the behaviour than the traffic signage (same as Indian shop owner). Every 3 months the bollards have to be replaced.
- **The informal parking attendants help out. I haven't heard of any stealing.**

- There are hardly any residential areas
- Till 2pm it is ok, but then they she is scared of walking by the taverns. They seem to clean up the bottles in the morning but it smells intensely like urine.
- Before (a month ago?!) street kids were a problem, they used to sleep in the streets till 11am but now they are gone, so she ticked NO problem.
- The taverns don't close until the people leave.
- 6.2. Homeless: across the street there are 12 guys from Zimbabwe hanging out here that never leave the area
- **Gautrain is very positive! It made the area nicer.**
- She didn't want to do the final rating
- ➔ Excellent answers, additional open interview

General:

- Good mix of different people surveyed (students, informal traders, museum employee, shop owners, hotel receptionist, etc.)
- People usually don't distinguish between their sector and the rest of Paul Kruger St.
- When it comes to the perception of unsafety one clearly can distinguish between the train station area (safe) and the surrounding (unsafe)
- Gautrain Station has no effect on its direct surroundings. Completely detached. Only lighting (see R7)
- Formal surveillance is mostly rated effective but opinion of police officers is very low. Often they are even perceived as a threat
- I saw undercover police stopping one pedestrian next to me on Paul Kruger St. (sector 4)
- Victoria and Manhattan Hotel seems to be well perceived and known

Unstructured telephone interview with Mr Thomas Reichert from the *Berliner Landeskriminalamt (LKA) Präz 1, Bereich "Städtebauliche Kriminalprävention"*

Date: 2014/09/17

The office for physical crime prevention at the police department of criminal investigation of Berlin does not make use of a manual of implementations but starts each intervention with an individual problem analysis. Some material such as best practices and research papers can serve as a basis but the most distinguished learning is acquired through practical experience. Mr Reichert expressed strong reservations against universal principals of physical crime prevention in form of a tool kits since the provision of safety requires a highly reflected adjustment process. Mr Reichert even points out the negative effect that applying catalogued measures could have since those would often not be accurate. Unreflective failures need to be avoided since they could play into the hands of critics who would question too large investments showing only little impact. Therefore implementations need to be pinpointed and effective without experimenting in order to keep the costs low.

Since the Broken Window Theory the strategies have not changed essentially. They can have an effect but it is not necessarily sustainable. The criteria need to be differentiated constantly according to the community members and the achievements of the practical work of the police department of criminal investigation are very much related to the particular target group.

According to Mr Reichert crime prevention strategies based on environmental design can never achieve an area to be free of any problematic issue but they can significantly improve the use value. A particular area cannot be dealt with being a selected point but has to be seen spatially more far-reaching within its urban as well as socio-spatial context. Currently both are considered though more and more attention is drawn to the urban spaces.

In order to influence the perception of safety effectively, relatively drastic interventions are required. (He points out that there is a research deficit regarding the subjective perception of safety) From Mr Reichert's point of view a realistic expectation of physical crime prevention approaches is to make it as difficult as possible for the offender to be successful and as likely as possible for the victim to get harmless out of an interaction. Through camera surveillance, lightening, perceptiveness, longer ways of approximation the risk of being discovered decreases. A high usage of a public area makes it less attractive for offenders to actually commit a crime since the chances to get detected are higher. The more taken care of an area is the more likely it is that civil society will intervene when they see a crime happening since they identify with the environment and therefore are less willing to accept disturbances. Vice versa in public spaces which show poor maintenance conditions it is more likely that citizens will avoid engaging in an interaction since they cannot identify as easily the nature of a confrontation.

Mr Reichert believes that crime has become more ruthless and in spite of the technological assistance and expansion of persecution pressure there will always be crime. He states that ultimately crime in public spaces could be reduced to almost zero by increasing the surveillance technically in combination with the resourcing of police with a high amount of additional personnel. Nevertheless, there will always be cases of sociological and psychological error where the perpetrator does not make rational decisions and acts from the affective. Mr Reichert acknowledges that what he referred to as few cases of non rational decision based perpetrators could actually be a broader problem in a South African context and adds causes such as strong desperation. In such context safety cannot be achieved merely through security measures, but a more systemic approach is needed.

Summary:

- a realistic expectation of physical crime prevention approaches is to make it as difficult as possible for the offender to be successful and as likely as possible for the victim to get harmless out of an interaction.
- Mr Reichert expressed strong reservations against universal principals of physical crime prevention in form of a tool kits since the provision of safety requires a highly reflected adjustment process. Therefore implementations need to be pinpointed and effective without experimenting in order to keep the costs low.

- ultimately crime in public spaces could be reduced to almost zero by increasing the surveillance technically in combination with the resourcing of police with a high amount of additional personnel.

Annex E

Typology of Violence

The transitional urban spaces of a post-apartheid South Africa

Existing practices to ameliorate safety
and an investigation on current crime patterns and perceptions of safety in the Pretoria CBD

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1. Typology of violence

In order to systemise the complex phenomenon of violence in its multiple forms, WHO developed a “typology of violence.” Although this typology is far from being perfected, it is universally accepted and provides a useful framework for understanding the complexity of violence occurring on a global scale, as well as violence in the ordinary daily routine of individuals, families and communities. By addressing the nature of violent acts, we aim to master many of the constraints of other typologies by considering the setting, the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim and the potential motivations for violence (in the case of collective violence). It is important to be aware that, in research as well as in practice, the dividing line between the different types of violence is often blurred (Krug et al. 2002).

There are other models such as the ‘Moser Model’, which classifies the causal factors and drivers that produce a variety of forms of violence and differentiates between the social, economic, political and institutional categories. This contextualisation gives insight into the different forms and manifestations of violence and therefore emphasizes that the causal factors depend on the specific context, which may lead to incidences of varying degrees and forms of violence (Gotsch et al. 2013).

Considering that not all violence is criminal and not all criminal acts are violent, the ‘Galtung Model’ complements the ‘Moser Model’ in its classification of the typologies of violence. This model defines the categories of visible, direct forms of violence and invisible, structural and cultural violence (Gotsch et al., 2013). Although this model is more relevant in the discipline of peace and conflict studies, it is helpful to add the category of structural violence to the four general categories established by the WHO.

1.1 The three categories of violence

The typology proposed here divides violence into three broad categories according to characteristics of those committing the violent act: self-directed violence; interpersonal violence; collective violence.

(Krug et al., 2002a, p.6)

1.1.1 Interpersonal violence

“Interpersonal violence refers to violence between individuals, and is subdivided into “family and intimate partner violence” and “community violence”. The former category includes child maltreatment; intimate partner violence; and elder abuse, while community violence is broken down into acquaintance and stranger violence and includes youth violence; assault by strangers; violence related to property crimes; and violence in workplaces and other institutions.”

(Butchart and World Health Organization., 2004, p.1)

1.1.1 Self-directed violence

Self-directed violence can have an effect of interpersonal violence. Suicide is the most severe form of self-directed violence.

“Self-directed violence refers to violence in which the perpetrator and the victim are the same individual and is subdivided into self-abuse and suicide.”

(Butchart and World Health Organization., 2004, p.1)

1.1.2 Collective violence

“Collective violence may be defined as: the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group – whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity – against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve political, economic or social objectives.”

(World Health Organization, 2002, p.1)

“Collective violence refers to violence committed by larger groups of individuals and can be subdivided into social, political and economic violence.”

(Butchart and World Health Organization., 2004, p.1)

1.2 The four modes of infliction of violence

In the *Guide to Implementing the Recommendations of the World Report on Violence and Health* (Butchart and World Health Organization 2004) it is explained that there are four modes in which violence may be inflicted, cross-cutting each of the above mentioned categories namely physical, sexual, psychological attack and deprivation. Fig. 2 illustrates a classification of violence according to its type and mode of occurrence. Although not universally accepted it provides a useful framework for understanding the complexity of the patterns of violence.

It is not unusual that several types of violence coexist, co-occur, interrelate and strengthen each other. In addition, although the effects of a violent act may be psychological, the nature of the act can actually be physical. Interpersonal violence for example, can by its nature be physical, sexual, psychological, or can result from deprivation or neglect.

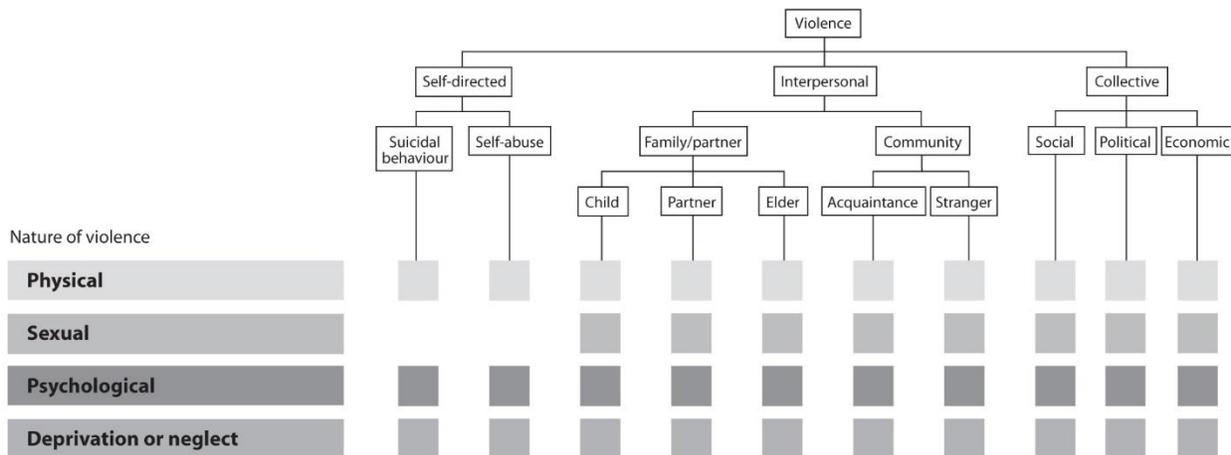


Fig.: 1 The different faces and nature of violence. “A Typology of Violence” (Source: World Health Organization)

1.2.1 Physical violence

Physical violence does not only lead to physical harm, but can also have severe negative psychological effects, e.g. if a child is frequently a victim of physical violence at home, s/he can suffer from mental health problems and be traumatised as consequence of this victimisation.

(Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention for Safe Public Spaces (VCP) Programme, 2014b)

According to VCP (2014), not only does physical violence lead to physical harm, but to severe mental health problems and traumatisation as a consequence of victimisation.

1.2.2 Sexual violence

In the World report on Violence and Health, Krug et al., (2002) state that sexual violence can lead to physical harm. In most cases though, it has serious psychological effects. According to WHO, victims of sexual assault have an increased risk of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, abusing drugs and alcohol, being infected by HIV or contemplating suicide.

1.2.3 Psychological violence

Psychological violence includes harassing and degrading the victim, limiting his or her autonomy. This not only leads to mental health problems, but also to severe physical problems, such as psychosomatic disorders.

(Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention for Safe Public Spaces (VCP) Programme, 2014b)

According to VCP (2014), psychological violence can lead not only to mental health disorders, but also to severe physical afflictions, such as psychosomatic diseases.

1.2.4 Deprivation

Deprivation or neglect can lead to physical as well as psychological illness: e.g. under- or malnutrition directly affects health.

(Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention for Safe Public Spaces (VCP) Programme, 2014b)

1.2.5 Structural (indirect) violence

As mentioned above the additional category of structural violence is highly relevant for violence and crime prevention in South Africa. Johan Galtung developed this additional category as the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies. A distinction is made between visible violence, where an actor or perpetrator can be clearly identified (direct violence) and invisible violence where there is no direct actor (cultural and structural violence). All forms of self-directed violence and interpersonal violence, as well as many forms of collective violence, can therefore also be defined as direct violence.

“[...] cultural and structural violence cause direct violence, using violent actors who revolt against the structures and using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments. Obviously peace must also be built in the culture and in the structure, not only in the »human mind«. Cultural and structural violence cause direct violence. Direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence.”

(Galtung, 2004, p.1)

In 'Theories of Conflict', Galtung (2010) argues that, if people are starving through inequalities of law and opportunity, then 'structural violence' is occurring. Violence here, is inherent in the legal codification resulting in unequal life chances and unequal power distribution. The occurrence of exploitation, conditioning, segmentation, and marginalization or exclusion, can be understood as indicators of 'structural violence'.

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